Against the post-syntactic node-sprouting for the Korean honorific morpheme

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Outset

Does an operation X take place **after** or **in** syntax?

- Systematic lack of semantic effects ⇒ X is a post-syntactic/PF operation
- Under debate: *Head movement* (see Dékány 2018)

Dissociated morphemes in DM (Embick & Noyer 2007, Embick 2015) are inserted after syntax and therefore do not have semantic effects (e.g., case and agreement morphemes).

Choi & Harley (2019) [= CH]

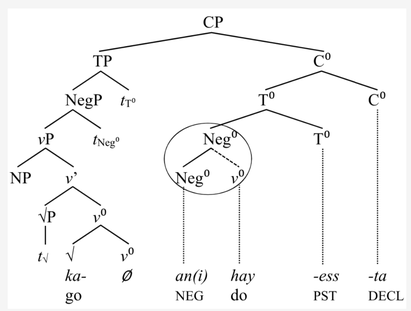
The Korean subject honorific verbal suffix *-si* is a dissociated Agr° node, inserted via "node-sprouting" after syntax, given the right syntactic configuration.

I show that honorification affects semantic interpretation, and argue that Choi & Harley's motivation for node-sprouting is based on the incorrect analysis of postverbal negation.

Comparison: CH's & my proposal

CH:

- *Do*-insertion, monoclausal analysis of postverbal negation is correct, so we must reanalyze how honorification works.



My proposal:

- The *do*-insertion analysis is wrong.
- Postverbal negation involves **restructuring** (i.e., there are two underlying clauses, with the reduced lower clause).

A (non-)challenge for AgrP analysis

From CH, p. 1333, (24c), with CH's gloss and translation; emphasis mine:

(4) Halapeci-kkeyse ka-**si**-ci an(i)
grandfather-NOM.HON go-HON-CI NEG
ha-**si**-ess-ta.
do-HON-PST-DECL
'Grandfather didn't go.'

- This is apparently a problem for the AgrP analysis of honorification, assuming that the same AgrP cannot be merged twice in a single clause (Yi 1994, Sells 1995).
- However, (4) would be a natural result if there were two underlying clauses for a postverbal negation structure, such that each underlying clause may contain one AgrP.

Novel data: Honorification affects semantic interpretation

The wide scope negation reading is unavailable when the honorific morpheme appears on the negation.

(1) motun kyoswu-nim-i saymphul-ul manci-**si**-ci anh-ass-ta.
every professor-HON-NOM sample-ACC touch-HON-C NEG.do-PST-DEC
'✓ (3a) (= ∀ > ¬); ✓ (3b) (= ¬ > ∀)'

(2) motun kyoswu-nim-i saymphul-ul manci-ci anh-**usy**-ess-ta.
every professor-HON-NOM sample-ACC touch-C NEG.do-HON-PST-DEC
'✓ (3a) (= ∀ > ¬); * (3b) (= ¬ > ∀)'

(3) a. 'For every *x*, *x* a professor, *x* did not touch the sample.' (∀ > ¬)
[*Context*: There were five professors. None of them touched the sample.]
b. 'Not every professor touched the sample.' (¬ > ∀)
[*Context*: There were five professors. Two of them touched the sample.]

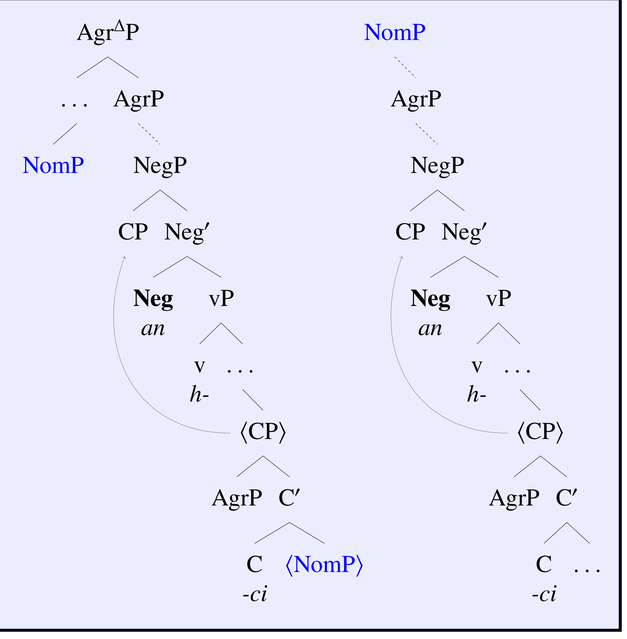
Proposed analysis for postverbal negation

In postverbal negation structures:

- *an* is Neg° and *h-* is v°.
- *h-* is a raising restructuring verb that does not assign any thematic roles.
- *an* selects for vP headed by *h-* and the reduced clause headed by *-ci*.

The arguments of the predicate within the *ci*-clause receive case either **inside** or **outside** the *ci*-clause (= **lower** or **higher** than Neg°).

However, the external argument must receive case outside the *ci*-clause when the honorific agreement marker *-si* (= Agr°) follows *anh-*.



Evidence for restructuring analysis

The *ci*-clause is a reduced clause **without the TP layer**, because its tense depends on the tense marking on *anh-*.

The tense marker suffixed to the main verb of the *ci*-clause renders the sentences unacceptable:

(5) a. * Pola-ka khephi-lul masy-**ess**-ci
Bora-NOM coffee-ACC drink-PST-C
anh{-ass/-nun}-ta.
NEG.do{-PST/-NPST}-DEC
(Intended:) 'It was/is not the case that Bora drank coffee.'

b. * Pola-ka khephi-lul masi-**n**-ci
Bora-NOM coffee-ACC drink-NPST-C
anh{-nun/-ass}-ta.
NEG.do{-NPST/-PST}-DEC
(Intended:) 'It is/was not the case that Bora drinks coffee.'

Furthermore, the time adverb that mismatches with the tense on *anh-* cannot occur within the *ci*-clause, as opposed to the one that matches.

The *ci*-clause behaves like the reduced clause selected by a restructuring verb, as opposed to the full sentential complement.

The full CP headed by *-ko* can be scrambled, leaving the "matrix" subject stranded between the complementizer:

(6) [Pola-ka cha-lul hully-ess-ta-**ko**] Hwun-i
Bora-NOM tea-ACC spill-PST-DEC-C Hoon-NOM
malha-yss-ta.
say-PST-DEC
'Hoon said that Bora spilled the tea.'

In contrast, the reduced restructured clauses cannot be scrambled in the same manner:

(7) * khephisyop-i ka-**ko** Pola-ka siph-ess-ta.
coffee_shop-NOM go-C Bora-NOM want-PST-DEC

(8) * khulwuasang-ul mek-**e** Pola-ka pw-ass-ta.
croissant-ACC eat-C Bora-NOM try-PST-DEC

The *ci*-clause behaves like the reduced restructured clauses:

(9) * khephisyop-ul tani-**ci** Pola-ka
coffee_shop-ACC go-C Bora-NOM
anh-nun-ta.
NEG.do-NPST-DEC

Furthermore, with a full CP, the adverb modifying the matrix verb can appear between the complementizer and the matrix verb. With a reduced restructured clause, this is not possible.

Framework for analysis: T. Kim (2023)

As a framework for the proposed analysis, I adopt T. Kim (2023) where I assume:

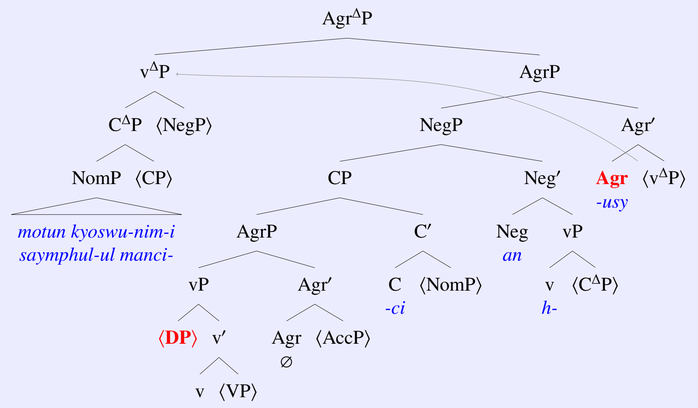
- **Antisymmetry** (Kayne 1994) and **cartography** (Cinque & Rizzi 2015), building on Koopman & Szabolcsi (2000), Cinque (2005), Koopman (2005).
  - The linear order of elements reflects their hierarchical order, with the only possible order being the Spec-Head-Complement order (e.g., OV & VO are not symmetric).
  - Every movement is leftward, phrasal (⇒ **no head movement**), and overt (⇒ **no QR**), obeying the Extension Condition.
  - There is no distinction between "narrow" syntax and "post-syntactic" syntax (and between syntax and morphology): There is only one syntax.
- Importantly, the **nominative case** marker *-ka/-i* and the **accusative case** marker *-(l)ul* are **heads** in the clausal spine (i.e., NomP and AccP) (Whitman 2001, Koopman 2005).
  - If a DP moves into SpecNom or SpecAcc, it is assigned case and it **takes scope from that position**; **the scope relations are determined in syntax** (no QR is allowed).
- Agreement is established under a **"Spec⁺-head" configuration**, where Spec⁺ is the transitive closure of the specifier relation (Stabler 1999) and a feature of XP in Spec⁺ of Y° can check the matching feature of Y°.
- A "head-final" head is composed of **a pair of heads**:
  - One head from a pair (call it X)—overt & meaningful—is merged lower than the other head (call it X^{Δ}; read as "X delta")—silent & meaningless—in the functional sequence, à la Kayne's (2005) proposal about postpositions.
  - The head X is ordered with respect to other heads in the functional sequence, and carries a feature α which triggers movement of an element bearing α into its Spec.
  - On the other hand, the head X^{Δ}, once merged, obligatorily **triggers movement of the complement of X°**, regardless of the type of the complement.

Implications

- Examples such as (1) & (2) strongly support the approaches that view honorific agreement as a genuine case of syntactic agreement (e.g., Koopman 2005), specifically the AgrP approaches to honorific agreement, because the overt agreement morphology determines the possible scopal readings.
- Having the right analysis of postverbal negation (further, the right syntax for Korean) allows us to discern ultimately what the right analysis of honorific agreement should be.

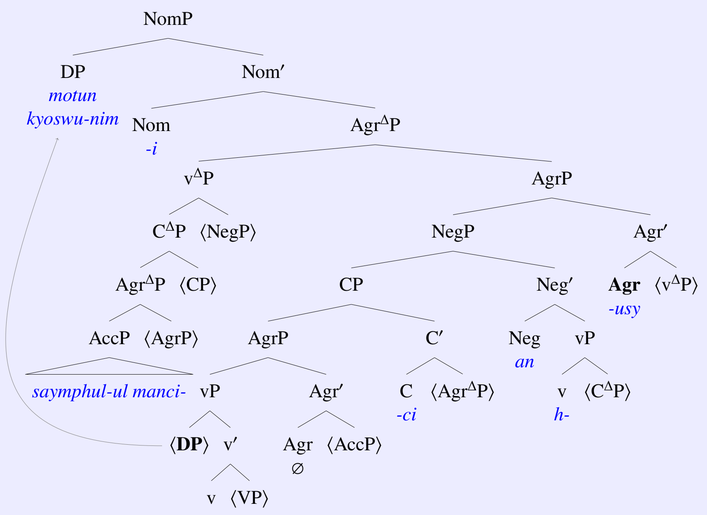
Trees: Impossible wide scope negation

(10) *¬ > ∀ for (2)



The external DP argument in Spec⁺Agr has already moved out and therefore cannot agree with the honorific Agr° ⇒ Derivation crashes

(11) ∀ > ¬ for (2)



The external DP argument in Spec⁺Agr has agreed with HON Agr° and takes scope over negation from SpecNom

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