This article presents a unified analysis of Korean honorification morphology in the framework of Distributed Morphology (Halle & Marantz 1993). It pays particular attention to the common exponent -kkey on the nominative and the dative DPs when they are honorified and to a few verbs showing root allomorphy with such an honorified DP. It adopts Embick & Noyer’s (1999) and Choi & Harley’s (2015) mechanism of morpheme insertion in PF and Bobaljik’s (2008) idea of agreement operating in PF via feature sharing. Thus, the abstract honorific morpheme is inserted into the honorified DP in Spec-TP or in Spec-vP postsyntactically, and then this inserted honorific feature is shared with its verb head (T^0 or v^0) the choice of the suppletive forms of the nominative and dative case markers, and the honorific feature in T0 and v0 serves as the context for the suppletive contextual allomorphy of certain verb roots, with the honorific feature in T^0 realized as -si. Some consequences are (1) decomposition of honorific case markers -kkeyse and -kkey, (2) vocabulary insertion as feature addition (contra Bobaljik 2000), and (3) confirmation of locality of allomorphy (Bobaljik 2008, 2012).

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