

Introducing arguments beyond the thematic domain

Soo-Hwan Lee*

Abstract. Extensive research has focused on how external and applied argument introducing heads such as Voice (Kratzer 1996), Appl (Pylkkänen 2008), and *i** (Wood & Marantz 2017), an overarching term for Voice and Appl, are represented *inside* the thematic domain (below TP). A question arises as to whether Voice or Appl can reside *outside* the thematic domain (above TP). This work provides empirical evidence from Korean in suggesting that an argument can be introduced by Voice/Apppl (*i**) in the CP periphery. Specifically, it lends support to the claim that the discourse participant ADDRESSEE is represented in syntax (Haegeman & Hill 2013; Miyagawa 2017, 2022; Portner et al. 2019 among others). In this regard, this work draws parallels between the thematic domain and the speech act domain, which have been considered to be two separate domains.

Keywords. argument structure; case markers; speech act domain; honorificity

1. Introduction. Korean adopts a case system which displays overt realizations of nominative (NOM), dative (DAT), accusative (ACC), and vocative (VOC). NOM is often associated with the subject, DAT with the indirect object (IO), ACC with the direct object (DO), and VOC with the addressee.

- (1) Yuli-**ya**, Kim-**i** ai-**hanthey** sathang-**ul** cwu-ess-ta.
 Yuli-VOC Kim-NOM child-DAT candy-ACC give-PST-DECL
 Yuli, Kim gave the child candy.

Most of these case markers have an honorific counterpart. They are NOM~HON.NOM, DAT~HON.DAT, and VOC~HON.VOC:¹

- (2) Kamtoknim-**ø**, halmeni-**kkeyse** sensayngnim-**kkey** halapeci-lul sokayha-si-ess-eyo.
 director-H.VOC grandmother-H.NOM teacher-H.DAT grandfather-ACC introduce-H-PST-YO
 Director, grandmother introduced grandfather to the teacher.

A question arises as to why *HON.ACC is absent in the case paradigm as shown in Table 1 (see also Kim & Chung 2015 and Lee & Nie 2022).

The absence of *HON.ACC is predicted under a syntactic analysis. I propose that the honorific case markers (HON.NOM, HON.DAT, and HON.VOC) are associated with Voice/Apppl (*i**). Subjects and IOs are realized in the *specifier* of an *i** whereas DOs are realized as the *complement* of either *v* (in simple transitive constructions) or Appl (in double object constructions).

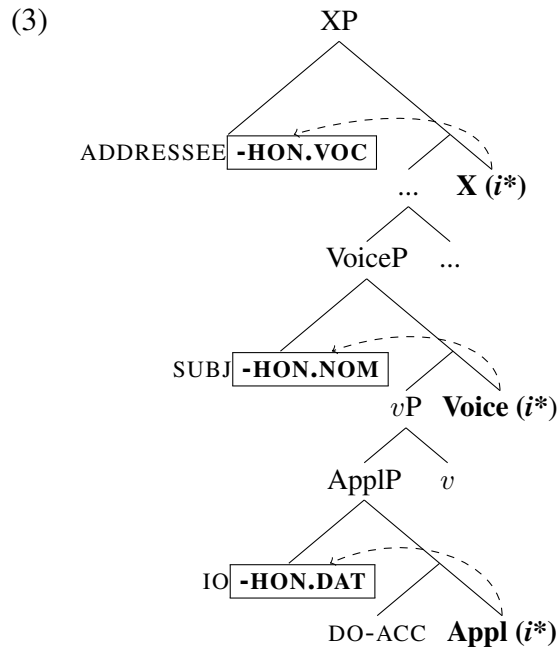
* I wish to thank Alec Marantz, Richie Kayne, Gary Thoms, Yining Nie, Jim Wood, Raffaella Zanuttini, Milena Šreikaitė, Julie Legate, Martin Salzmann, David Pesetsky, Danny Fox, Heidi Harley, Artemis Alexiadou, Masha Polinsky, Mike Barrie, and the audiences at NYU, Yale, MIT, and the University of Pennsylvania for their valuable comments. All remaining errors are my own. Author: Soo-Hwan Lee, New York University (soohwan.lee@nyu.edu).

¹ Here, I emphasize that the *alternation* between (y)a~ø (VOC~HON.VOC) is what matters rather than the overt vs. null status of the forms. Note that the same type of alternation holds for familiar and formal allocutive markers in southern dialects of Basque (Haddican & Etxeberria 2022). The current analysis is also compatible with the analyses that characterize *-nim* as HON.VOC.

NOM	<i>i~ka</i>	DAT	<i>hanthey</i>	ACC	<i>(l)ul</i>	VOC	<i>(y)a</i>
HON.NOM	<i>kkeyse</i>	HON.DAT	<i>kkey</i>	*HON.ACC	N/A	HON.VOC	∅

Table 1. Korean (honorific) case markers

Here, I argue that the specifier of an i^* is privileged for HON case-assignment. The absence of *HON.ACC on DOs follows accordingly: a DO is not introduced by Voice/Appl (i^*) in its specifier position. In other words, a DO is not an external or applied argument. The current analysis also provides an account for the presence of HON.VOC on the addressee: the addressee is realized in the *specifier* of an i^* above TP. Under this approach, the head that hosts the addressee in the CP domain, call it XP (SAP for Haegeman & Hill 2013; cP for Portner et al. 2019; AddrP for Miyagawa 2022), is a flavor of Voice/Appl (i^*). The gist of my proposal is fleshed out in (3):



A central claim of this work is that the addressee is a part of syntax, just like subjects and IOs, which is eligible for honorific case assignment. More crucially, I highlight that an argument can be introduced *outside* the thematic domain (above TP).

This work is organized as follows. Section 2 focuses on the basic distribution of Korean case markers and how various types of arguments are case-assigned. Section 3 puts forward the claim that case can be assigned to an argument introduced outside the thematic domain. Here, I show that parallels can be drawn between the thematic domain and the speech act domain. Section 4 concludes.

2. Case assignment inside the thematic domain.

2.1. T ASSIGNS NOM AND VOICE ASSIGNS HON.NOM. NOM and HON.NOM are often associated with the subject of a clause. The empirical picture becomes more complicated, however, when psych verb constructions and case stacking are given consideration. In this section, I argue

that NOM and HON.NOM originate from different syntactic heads. Specifically, I posit that NOM is assigned from T and HON.NOM is assigned from Voice following Lee & Nie (2022).

Both NOM and HON.NOM appear on the subject of various constructions, including unaccusatives, passives, unergatives, and transitives. This is demonstrated in (4):

- (4) a. Halapeci{-ka/-kkeyse} tochakha-si-ess-ta.
 grandfather-NOM/-HON.NOM, arrive-HON-PST-DECL
 Grandfather arrived. (unaccusative)
- b. Halapeci{-ka/-kkeyse} kyengchal-eyuyhay cap-hi-si-ess-ta.
 grandfather-NOM/-HON.NOM police-by catch-PASS-HON-PST-DECL
 Grandfather was caught by the police. (passive)
- c. Halapeci{-ka/-kkeyse} wus-usi-ess-ta.
 grandfather-NOM/-HON.NOM laugh-HON-PST-DECL
 Grandfather laughed. (unergative)
- d. Halapeci{-ka/-kkeyse} phyenci-lul ssu-si-ess-ta.
 grandfather-NOM/-HON.NOM letter-ACC write-HON-PST-DECL
 Grandfather wrote a letter. (transitive)

However, HON.NOM only appears on subject noun phrases, whereas NOM can also appear on adjuncts, which induces a focus interpretation (see Lee & Nie 2022; Schütze 2001).

- (5) Paykakkwan-an-ey{-ka/*-kkeyse} siwuenha-ci ana-ss-ta.
 White.House-inside-LOC-NOM/-HON.NOM cool-CI NEG-PST-DECL
 [Inside the White House]_F, it wasn't cool at all.

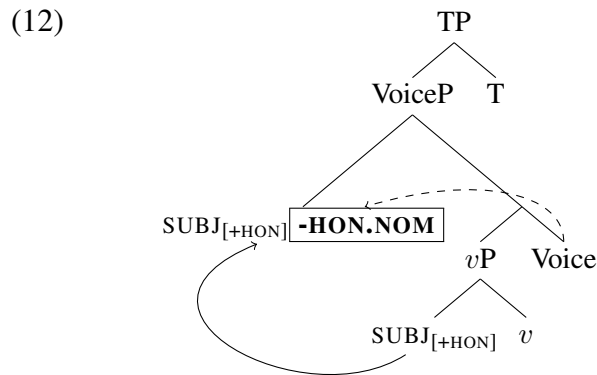
While NOM can appear on the object noun phrases inside psych verb constructions, HON.NOM never appears on objects as shown in (6).

- (6) Halapeci-kkeyse halmeni{-ka/*-kkeyse} kuliw-usi-ta.
 grandfather-HON.NOM grandmother-NOM/-HON.NOM miss-HON-DECL
 Grandfather misses grandmother. (psych verb)

Unlike NOM, HON.NOM can co-occur with a topic marker (TOP) as shown in (7). In order for (7a) to preserve its topic interpretation, NOM has to be absent. In (7b), however, HON.NOM is present.

- (7) a. *Sensayngnim-i-nun wus-usi-ess-ta.
 teacher-NOM-only-NOM laugh-HON-PST-DECL
 Intended: As for the teacher, he/she laughed.
- b. Sensayngnim-kkeyse-nun wus-usi-ess-ta.
 teacher-HON.NOM-TOP laugh-HON-PST-DECL
 As for the teacher, he/she laughed. (topicalization)

I posit that honorified subjects in unaccusatives and passives undergo movement to Spec, VoiceP in order to receive HON.NOM from Voice. Presumably, [+HON] on honorified subjects is checked in this position. This type of approach is consistent with Legate’s (2003) analysis in that the edge of VoiceP can be a derived position.³ While HON.NOM appears to share some typical commonalities with inherent case, there is precedence in the literature suggesting that inherent case can at times behave like structural case. Kayne (2004), for instance, argues that movement is involved in assigning what appears to be an inherent case in French transitive causative constructions, namely the prepositional dative case *à*. Under Kayne’s approach, the prepositional dative case is assigned to a causee via Internal Merge (IM) rather than External Merge (EM). This, in many ways, shares derivational commonalities with how HON.NOM in Korean is assigned in unaccusative and passive constructions. (12) fleshes out the details:



Choi & Harley (2019) provide independent evidence that Voice can host an honorific feature. Their evidence is obtained from verbal root suppletion. Chung (2009) initially observes that the verb *kyey~eps~iss* ‘to exist’ in Korean is a suppletive triplet, which is sensitive to the presence of negation (NEG) and HON:

- (13) Suppletive triplet (*kyey~eps~iss* ‘to exist’)
- a. $\sqrt{\text{EXIST}} \leftrightarrow \textit{kyey} / \text{--- HON}$
 - b. $\sqrt{\text{EXIST}} \leftrightarrow \textit{eps} / \text{NEG ---}$
 - c. $\sqrt{\text{EXIST}} \leftrightarrow \textit{iss} / \text{elsewhere}$

According to Choi & Harley, the root suppletion rules in (13) are modulated by structural locality. Adopting their analysis, I argue that the suppletion of the verb ‘to exist’ triggered by NEG is blocked by HON.⁴ This is because HON is structurally closer to the verbal root than NEG is. (14a) and (15a) show that *eps* is illicit in the presence of HON which is realized as *-si*. (14b) and (15b) show that *kyey* has to be realized instead.

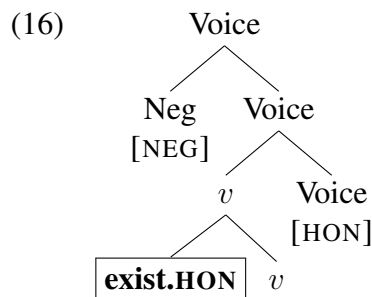
³ Legate (2003) argues that the edge of VoiceP (a phase) is an intermediate landing site for constituents undergoing long-distance movement (contra Chomsky 2000). According to Kastner (2016, 2017) and Nie (2020) among others, Voice is categorized into three subtypes: (i) one that always requires a DP in Spec, VoiceP, (ii) one that always rejects a DP in Spec, VoiceP, and (iii) one that is underspecified in terms of whether a DP should be realized in Spec, VoiceP. Here, I assume that unaccusatives and passives in Korean can bear an underspecified Voice.

⁴ Choi & Harley (2019) adopt Han & Lee’s (2007) view that Neg can be adjoined to VoiceP.

- (14) a. *Apeci-kkeyse silhemsil-ey **eps-usi-ta**.
 father-HON.NOM lab-LOC not.exist-HON-DECL
 Intended: Father is not in the lab.
- b. Apeci-kkeyse silhemsil-ey an-**kyey-si-ta**.
 father-HON.NOM lab-LOC NEG-exist-HON-DECL
 Father is not in the lab. (Chung 2009: 545)

- (15) a. *Halapeci-kkeyse pang-ey **eps-(u)si-ess-ta**.
 grandfather-NOM.HON room-in exist.NEG-HON-PST-DECL
 Intended: Grandfather was not in the room.
- b. Halapeci-kkeyse pang-ey an(i)=**kyeysi-ess-ta**.
 grandfather-NOM.HON room-in NEG=exist.HON-PST-DECL
 Grandfather was not in the room. (Choi & Harley 2019: 1349)

Taking the blocking effect in (14a) and (15a) into consideration, Choi & Harley propose that HON originates below NEG (contra Chung 2009). They claim that HON is realized on Voice.⁵ (16) schematizes a complex head structure in which HON suppletion is triggered in the presence of NEG (see Choi & Harley 2019: 1350).



The independent evidence collected from root suppletion adds weight to the claim that Voice is indeed a locus for honorificity.

2.2. APPL ASSIGNS DAT AND HON.DAT. DAT and HON.DAT are associated with IOs in ditransitive constructions, causees in transitive causative constructions, and experiencer subjects in psych verb constructions. Both DAT and HON.DAT are assigned by an applicative head (Appl) which is an applied argument introducing head (Pylkkänen 2008).

An IO in a ditransitive construction can receive either DAT or HON.DAT. For instance, the non-honorified IO *ai* ‘baby’ in (17a) receives DAT and the honorified IO *halmeni* ‘grandmother’ in (17b) receives HON.DAT.

⁵ The head is labeled as *v* under Choi & Harley’s analysis, which is equivalent to Voice under my analysis.

- (17) a. Yuli-ka ai-**hantey** chayk-ul cwu-ess-ta.
 Yuli-NOM child-DAT book-ACC give-PST-DECL
 Yuli gave the child a book.
- b. Yuli-ka halmeni-**kkey** chayk-ul tuli-ess-ta.
 Yuli-NOM grandmother-HON.DAT book-ACC give.HON-PST-DECL
 Yuli gave grandmother a book. (ditransitive)

Based on the current assumption that only external and applied arguments are eligible for HON-sensitive case assignment, it is predicted that causees in transitive causatives should receive either DAT or HON.DAT. This prediction is borne out as shown in (18). The non-honorified causee *ai* ‘child’ in (18a) receives plain DAT and the honorified causee *halmeni* ‘grandmother’ in (18b) receives HON.DAT.

- (18) a. Yuli-ka ai-**hantey** chayso-lul mek-i-ess-ta.
 Yuli-NOM child-DAT vegetable-ACC eat-CAUS-PST-DECL
 Yuli made the child eat vegetables.
- b. Yuli-ka halmeni-**kkey** chayso-lul mek-i-ess-ta.
 Yuli-NOM grandmother-HON.DAT vegetable-ACC eat-CAUS-PST-DECL
 Yuli made grandmother eat vegetables. (causative)

The same pattern holds for beneficiaries as in (19). (19a), for instance, shows that a non-honorified beneficiary receives DAT while (19b) shows that an honorified beneficiary receives HON.DAT.

- (19) a. Kim-i haksayng-**hanthey** khayikh-ul kwuwe-cwu-ess-ta.
 Kim-NOM student-DAT cake-ACC bake-give-PST-DECL
 Kim baked a cake for the student.
- b. Kim-i apeci-**kkey** khayikh-ul kwuwe-tuli-ess-ta.
 Kim-NOM father-HON.DAT cake-ACC bake-give.HON-PST-DECL
 Kim baked a cake for father. (benefactive)

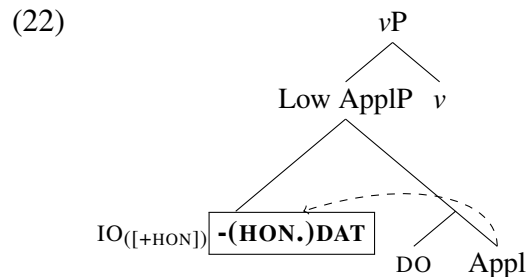
While agentive subjects are assigned NOM or HON.NOM, experiencer subjects of psych predicates can be assigned DAT or HON.DAT. Note that the object is marked NOM:

- (20) a. Yuli-**hantey** ai-ka kulip-ta.
 Yuli-DAT child-NOM miss-DECL
 Yuli misses the child.
- b. Emeni-**kkey** ai-ka kulip-ta.
 mother-HON.DAT child-NOM miss-DECL
 The mother misses the child. (psych verb)

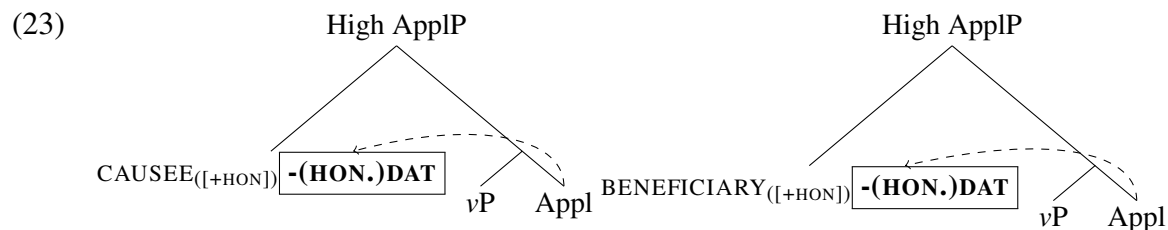
Unlike HON.NOM and NOM, HON.DAT and DAT cannot co-occur. This suggests that HON.DAT and DAT are in complementary distribution. The co-occurrence of the same marker is also ruled out (*HON.DAT-HON.DAT and *DAT-DAT):

- (21) a. * Emeni -kkey -hanthey
 b. * Emeni -hanthey -kkey
 c. * Emeni -kkey -kkey
 d. * Emeni -hanthey -hanthey

According to Pytkkänen (2008), ApplP is realized either above or below *v*P. Adopting Kim (2011a,b), I assume that there are at least two types of ApplPs in Korean. They are High and Low ApplPs. I posit that Appl can assign HON.DAT or DAT. Both honorified and non-honorified IOs are eligible for dative-assignment in Spec,Low ApplP as shown in (22).

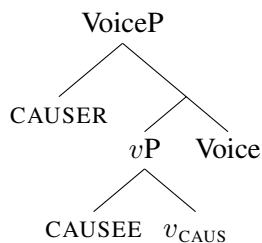


High ApplP, as opposed to Low ApplP, is realized above *v*P. Applied arguments such as causes and beneficiaries are introduced in Spec,High ApplP. Honorified and non-honorified causes and beneficiaries are dative-assigned by Appl as shown in (23).



Causes in unergative constructions are not associated with DAT, but rather with ACC. Legate (2014) argues that Acehnese causes under unergatives are externally merged as the complement of the verb. Under this view, a convergence between unergatives and unaccusatives occurs under a causative construction.

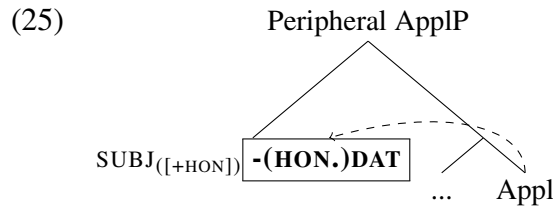
- (24) Intransitive causatives based on Legate (2014)



Marantz (p.c.) adds weight to this claim by discussing the empirical facts in Georgian causatives. Under this view, intransitives embedded under causative and simple transitives receive a parallel derivation in syntax. Specifically, the causee of intransitives and the DO of simple transitives

are both realized as the complement of the verb. Following this line of research, I posit that the causee is externally merged as the complement of an intransitive predicate in Korean causatives (see also Den Dikken 2006 for an argument that Italian causees are realized in a complement position).⁶ This accounts for the lack of dative assignment for causees under unergatives and unaccusatives. That is, DAT and HON.DAT can only be assigned by Appl in a Spec-head configuration. The assignment of ACC is possible if we adopt Burzio’s generalization (Burzio 1986). The distribution of ACC in Korean will be fleshed out in section 2.3.

Kim (2011a) assumes that there is an ApplP which is higher than High ApplP. This is referred to as Peripheral ApplP. Peripheral Appl introduces an experiencer subject. We take this Appl as a (HON.)DAT-assigner as shown in (25).



Based on the empirical data provided in this section, the generalization that emerges for datives seems to be quite straightforward. As long as an argument is realized in Spec,ApplP, the argument is DAT or HON.DAT-marked.

2.3. ACC BUT NOT *HON.ACC. ACC is often associated with the DO of a simple transitive and ditransitive.

- (26) a. Kim-i Yuli-**lul** ttayli-ess-ta.
 Kim-NOM Yuli-ACC hit-PST-DECL
 Kim hit Yuli. (transitive)
- b. Kim-i Yuli-hanthey sakwa-**lul** cwu-ess-ta.
 Kim-NOM Yuli-DAT apple-ACC give-PST-DECL
 Kim gave Yuli an apple. (ditransitive)

As Kim & Chung (2015) and Lee & Nie (2022) have pointed out, there is no *HON.ACC even when a predicate semantically associates the DO with honorificity or deference. (27) provides a relevant example:

- (27) Kim-i sacangnim-**ul** conkyeng-ha-n-ta.
 Kim-NOM boss-ACC respect-do-PRES-DECL
 Kim respects her boss.

⁶ Independent reasons for pursuing this type of approach for Korean comes from (i) the presence/absence of Condition B effect and (ii) the scope interpretations induced by the adverb *tasi* ‘again’ in intransitive causatives. The empirical facts based on these diagnostics suggest that unergative and unaccusative predicates under causative pattern alike. Due to limited space, I wish not to delve into this discussion in greater detail.

While DOs can in principle be honorified, the lack of *HON.ACC on DOs or any other constituents in the grammar for that matter suggests that the distribution of HON-sensitive case markers is restricted. The basic distribution of plain ACC associated with a DO follows Burzio’s generalization (Burzio 1986). This accounts for the realization of ACC in (26) and (27).

(28) Burzio’s generalization (Burzio 1986: 178)

All and only the verbs that can assign a theta-role to the subject can assign accusative Case to an object.

The lack of *HON.ACC can be accounted for if the assignment of HON-sensitive case is limited to a Spec-head relation between an argument and an *i** (Wood & Marantz 2017). The current analysis is also compatible with Marantz (2022) where *v* is viewed as an *i**. So long as an *i** establishes a Spec-head configuration with an argument, the analysis remains the same:

(29) An honorified argument receives HON-sensitive case from *i** iff the argument and *i** form a Spec-head configuration.

If (29) is on the right track, the absence of *HON.ACC follows quite straightforwardly. That is, the Head-complement relation established between a DO and *v* does not satisfy the necessary condition that triggers the realization of an HON-sensitive case marker. Here, it is worth noting that Korean allows multiple ACC constructions (MACs). I address how MACs are derived based on (29). Jung & Miyagawa (2004) argue that both IO and DO can be ACC-marked resulting in MACs. However, both instances of ACC are lost when passivization takes place. This is demonstrated in (30):⁷

(30) a. Mary-ka John-**ul** chayk-**ul** cwu-ess-ta.
Mary-NOM John-ACC book-ACC give-PST-DECL
Mary gave John a book.

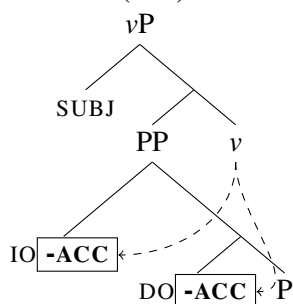
b. John-**i** chayk-**i** cwu-eci-ess-ta.
John-NOM book-NOM give-PASS-PST-DECL
John was given a book.

(Jung & Miyagawa 2004)

Based on the empirical picture provided in (30), Jung & Miyagawa (2004) claim that ACC originates from *v*. When *v* is intransitive or is associated with a non-causative construction, it loses the ability to assign ACC completely. This is in many ways consistent with Burzio’s generalization. (31) sketches out Jung & Miyagawa’s take on the issue.

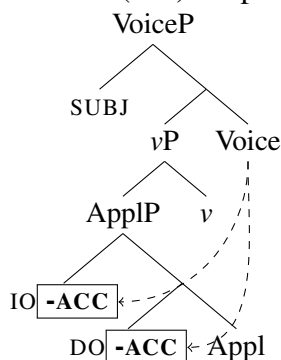
⁷ Passivization of DO also results in the absence of ACC.

(31) Tree for (30a) based on Jung & Miyagawa (2004)



The absence of *HON.ACC is due to the lack of a Spec-head configuration between an argument and an *i** that assigns its case (in this case Voice). I update the structure given in (31) and put forward (32) as the configuration reflecting MACs under a VoiceP/AppIP analysis. In (32), Voice assigns ACC downwards to IO and DO respectively.⁸

(32) Tree for (30a) adopting VoiceP (Kratzer 1996) and AppIP (Pylkkänen 2008)



(32) is in line with the overall analysis of this paper: Voice assigns ACC downwards and thus neither IO nor DO forms a Spec-head configuration with Voice. Hence, the absence of *HON.ACC is accounted for.

3. Case assignment outside the thematic domain. The current proposal makes predictions about where arguments are introduced in the syntax. Specifically it predicts that arguments can be introduced outside the thematic domain. The Korean vocative marker (VOC) has alternating forms (*ya*~ \emptyset) depending on the honorificity of the addressee. This is shown in (33). Honorification also correlates with the presence of the clausal politeness marker *-yo*. In the presence of plain VOC (*-ya*), the clausal politeness marker *-yo* cannot surface as shown in (33a). In the presence of HON.VOC (\emptyset), however, *-yo* surfaces as in (33b).

- (33) a. Sarah-**ya**, Halmeni-kkeyse cip-ey ka-si-ess-e(*-yo).
 Sarah-VOC, grandmother-HON.NOM house-LOC go-HON-PST-DECL-YO
 Sarah, grandmother went home.

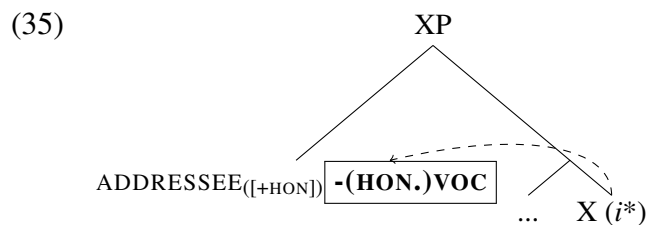
⁸ It may be that a non-case feature-bearing reduced nominal (e.g., *nP*) moves from Spec,AppIP to a higher position where the case-feature-bearing nominal projection (e.g. DP) is collected. This allows ACC to be assigned instead of DAT. This type of analysis can be handled via *external remerge* (de Vries 2009) and *layering derivation* (Thoms 2019). I leave open the possibility that alternative analyses may also be compatible with this phenomenon.

- b. Halmeni(*-ya), Sarah-ka cip-ey ka-ss-e-yo.
 grandmother-HON.VOC, Sarah-NOM house-LOC go-PST-DECL-YO
 Grandmother, Sarah went home.

Choi (2016) and Yim (2016) argue that the clausal politeness marker *-yo* is spelled out in the head SA of SAP (Haegeman & Hill 2013) if the addressee is honorified. Just like how Voice and Appl introduce thematic participants in their specifier position, then, SA introduces a speech act participant in its specifier position. Following this line of research, I argue that *ya* (VOC) and its honorific counterpart \emptyset (HON.VOC) are associated with the same head. For now, I remain agnostic about the label of the head itself as it has received different names in the recent years: SA of SAP under Haegeman & Hill (2013), *c* of cP under Portner et al. (2019), Addr of AddrP under Miyagawa (2022). Regardless of what the label is, I argue that it is an external/applied argument introducing head (i^*) that assigns VOC and HON.VOC to the addressee similar to the i^* that assigns DAT and HON.DAT to the IO (see section 2.2).

$$(34) \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{SA of SAP (Haegeman \& Hill 2013)} \\ \text{c of cP (Portner et al. 2019)} \\ \text{Addr of AddrP (Miyagawa 2022)} \end{array} \right\} \leftrightarrow i^* \text{ (Wood \& Marantz 2017)}$$

Under this view, the addressee is introduced as an applied argument in the syntax. This suggests that there is a type of Appl in the left periphery which is distinct from Pylkkänen’s high and low Appls in the thematic domain (see also Tsai 2018). According to Speas & Tenny (2003), the addressee receives a *p(ragmatic)*-role which is similar to a theta/semantic-role (see also Akkuş & Hill 2021; Chomsky 2021; Haddican & Etxeberria 2022). This opens the possibility that the addressee can be assigned a semantic-role and licensed case like any applied argument in syntax.



Summing up, the head that hosts the addressee in the CP domain is a flavor of Voice/Apppl (i^*). Based on the discussion so far, all instances of HON-sensitive case markers (HON.NOM, HON.DAT, and HON.VOC) are assigned via the same type of head, namely i^* . Thus, i^* can exhibit honorification in both the thematic domain and the speech act domain.

Cross-linguistic evidence that an addressee is introduced by i^* comes from Meadow Mari (Uralic). Burukina (2020, 2022) provides empirical data suggesting that an argument can be externally merged in embedded Spec,CP. Burukina (2020, 2022) points out that this argument is an addressee embedded under a speech-act verb such as *kalas* ‘to tell’. In Burukina’s term, the argument (an addressee) bears the ‘semantic properties of an obligation holder and a goal of communication’. It is also described as the ‘intermediary that receives the original message’. Under her analysis, the argument is assigned DAT from C. An example is provided in (36). According to Burukina, (36) is referred to as a double dative construction.

- (36) Maša mə-lan-na [CP **Petja-lan**; [FinP PRO_i tol-aš] (manən)] kalas-en.
 Maša we-DAT-POSS.1PL [CP Petja-DAT [FinP PRO come-INF] COMP] tell-PST2
 Maša told us for Petja to come. (Burukina 2022)

(37) shows that double datives are prohibited in the matrix clause. This suggests that an additional DAT-marked argument, if there is one, belongs in the embedded clause.

- (37) Məj Maša-lan (*tə-lan-ət) vurgem-əm nal-ən-am.
 I Maša-DAT you-DAT-POSS.2SG clothes-ACC buy-PST2-1SG
 I bought Maša clothes. / I bought clothes for Maša, on her behalf. (Burukina 2022)

Double datives are also prohibited in embedded finite subjunctive clauses as shown in (38). Instead, they are only possible when the embedded clause is an infinitival as in (36).

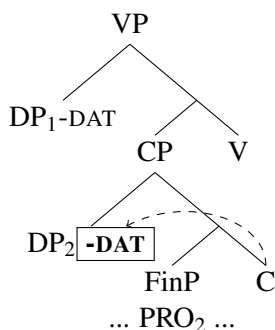
- (38) Maša t-lat [(***Petja-lan**/Petja tol-o manən)] kalas-en.
 Maša you-DAT.2SG Petja-DAT/Petja come-JUS COMP tell-PST2
 Maša told you that Petja should come. (Burukina 2022)

Furthermore, double dative constructions do not pass the idiom test used for control vs. raising constructions. The idiom chunk *šem pərəs koklaštəna kudal ertəš* roughly translates as ‘we quarreled’. The literal interpretation of the phrase is ‘the black cat ran between us’. (39) shows that only the literal meaning survives.

- (39) #Maša Petja-lan [**šem pərəs-lan** koklaštəna kudal ert-aš manən] kalas-əš.
 Maša Petja-DAT black cat-DAT between-POSS.1PL run-INF COMP tell-PST
 ✓ [Lit.] Maša told Petja to tell the cat to run between us.
 X [Id.] Maša told Petja for us to quarrel. (Burukina 2022)

Note that idiomatic interpretations are preserved under raising constructions, but not in control constructions. Hence, (39) suggests that double dative constructions are control constructions. This implies that PRO is the subject of the embedded clause. Burukina (2020, 2022) concludes from her findings that the second dative DP (the addressee) is base-generated in Spec,CP and that it is the closest DP that c-commands PRO. Hence, the second dative DP is the controller of PRO.

- (40) Tree based on Burukina (2022)



Evidence from Mari adds weight to the claim that an addressee is an applied argument. In fact, Saito (2022) argues that the empirical facts from Mari can be reanalyzed using Pylkkänen’s applicative framework. Under this view, the second dative DP is introduced in Spec,AppIP. Again note that this DP is DAT-marked, which resembles applied arguments that often receive DAT.

4. Conclusion. I have argued that HON-sensitivity is a property of external and applied argument introducing heads (Voice and Appl). Specifically, this work has emphasized the Spec-head relation between an argument and Voice/AppI (*i**). We have seen that subjects and applied arguments including causees and beneficiaries are eligible for HON-sensitive case assignment. The current analysis captures the fact that HON.NOM and HON.DAT are possible in Korean, but *HON.ACC is not. Moreover, the current analysis suggests that the addressee is a part of syntax, just like subjects and applied arguments, which is eligible for HON-sensitive case marking. From this, I have shown that an argument can be introduced *outside* the thematic domain (above TP). Overall, this work has drawn parallels between the thematic domain and the speech act domain, which have been considered to be two independent domains.

References

- Akkus, Faruk & Virginia Hill. 2021. Overt speakers in syntax. *Glossa: A Journal of General Linguistics* 6(1). 1. <https://doi.org/10.5334/gjgl.1286>.
- Burukina, Irina. 2020. When embedded C projects an argument. In Tae Sik Kim, Sae-Youn Cho & Jinyoung Bang (eds.), *Proceedings of the 22nd Seoul International Conference on Generative grammar*, 48–62. Seoul: Hankook Munhwasa.
- Burukina, Irina. 2022. External merge in spec, CP: Complementizers projecting an argument. *Syntax* (early access). 1–21. <https://doi.org/10.1111/synt.12246>.
- Burzio, Luigi. 1986. *Italian syntax: A government-binding approach*. Dordrecht: Springer.
- Choi, Jaehoon. 2016. The discourse particle *-yo* in Korean: Its implications for the clausal architecture. *Rivista di Grammatica Generativa* 38. 65–73.
- Choi, Jaehoon & Heidi Harley. 2019. Locality domains and morphological rules. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 37. 1319–1365. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11049-018-09438-3>.
- Chomsky, Noam. 2000. Minimalist inquiries: The framework. In Roger Martin, David Michaels, Juan Uriagereka & Samuel Jay Keyser (eds.), *Step by step: Essays on minimalist syntax in honor of Howard Lasnik*, 89–155. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Chomsky, Noam. 2021. Minimalism: Where are we now, and where can we hope to go. *GENGO KENKYU (Journal of the Linguistic Society of Japan)* 160. 1–41.
- Chung, Inkie. 2009. Suppletive verbal morphology in Korean and the mechanism of vocabulary insertion. *Journal of Linguistics* 45(3). 533–567. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022226709990028>.
- Den Dikken, Marcel. 2006. *Relators and linkers: The syntax of predication, predicate inversion, and copulas*. Cambridge, MA: MIT press.
- Haddican, Bill & Urtzi Etxeberria. 2022. Embedded allocutivity in Basque. *Syntax* 25(4). 545–566. <https://doi.org/10.1111/synt.12238>.
- Haegeman, Liliane & Virginia Hill. 2013. The syntacticization of discourse. In Raffaella Folli, Christina Sevdali, and Robert Truswell (eds.), *Syntax and its limits*, 370–390. Oxford: Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199683239.003.0018>.
- Han, Chung-hye & Chungmin Lee. 2007. On negative imperatives in Korean. *Linguistic Inquiry* 38(2). 373–395. <https://doi.org/10.1162/ling.2007.38.2.373>.

- Jung, Yeun-Jin & Shigeru Miyagawa. 2004. Decomposing ditransitive verbs. *Proceedings of SICGG 1*. 101–120.
- Kastner, Itamar. 2016. *Form and meaning in the Hebrew verb*. New York: NYU dissertation.
- Kastner, Itamar. 2017. Reflexive verbs in Hebrew: Deep unaccusativity meets lexical semantics. *Glossa: A Journal of General Linguistics* 2(1). 75. <https://doi.org/10.5334/gjgl.299>.
- Kayne, Richard S. 2004. Prepositions as probes. In Adriana Belletti (ed.), *Structures and beyond* (The Cartography of Syntactic Structures 3), 192–212. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kim, Jaieun & Inkie Chung. 2015. A unified Distributed Morphology analysis of Korean honorification morphology. *Studies in Generative Grammar* 25. 631–650.
- Kim, Kyumin. 2011a. *External argument introducers*: Toronto: University of Toronto dissertation.
- Kim, Kyumin. 2011b. High applicatives in Korean causatives and passives. *Lingua* 121(3). 487–510. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.lingua.2010.10.001>.
- Kratzer, Angelika. 1996. Severing the external argument from its verb. In Johan Rooryck & Laurie Zaring (eds.), *Phrase structure and the lexicon*, 109–137. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Lee, Soo-Hwan & Yining Nie. 2022. Korean case stacking and the nominal template. *University of Pennsylvania Working Papers in Linguistics* 28(1). 11.
- Legate, Julie Anne. 2003. Some interface properties of the phase. *Linguistic Inquiry* 34(3). 506–516. <https://doi.org/10.1162/ling.2003.34.3.506>.
- Legate, Julie Anne. 2014. *Voice and v: Lessons from Acehnese*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Marantz, Alec. 2022. Rethinking the syntactic role of word formation. In Nora Boneh, Daniel Harbour, Ora Matushansky & Isabelle Roy (eds.), *Building on Babel's rubble*, 293–316. Saint-Denis: Presses Universitaires de Vincennes.
- Miyagawa, Shigeru. 2017. *Agreement beyond phi*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Miyagawa, Shigeru. 2022. *Syntax in the treetops*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Nie, Yining. 2020. *Licensing arguments*. New York: NYU dissertation.
- Portner, Paul, Miok Pak & Raffaella Zanuttini. 2019. The speaker-addressee relation at the syntax-semantics interface. *Language* 95(1). 1–36. <https://doi.org/10.1353/lan.2019.0008>.
- Pylkkänen, Liina. 2008. *Introducing arguments*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Saito, Hiroaki. 2022. Losing a subject, keeping an indirect object: On the “semi-grammaticalized” speech verb in Meadow Mari. *Proceedings of the Linguistic Society of America (PLSA)* 7(1). 5253. <https://doi.org/10.3765/plsa.v7i1.5253>.
- Schütze, Carson T. 2001. On Korean “case stacking”: The varied functions of the particles *ka* and *lul*. *The Linguistic Review* 18(3). 193–232. <https://doi.org/10.1515/tlir.2001.001>.
- Speas, Peggy & Carol Tenny. 2003. Configurational properties of point of view roles. In Anna Maria Di Sciullo (ed.) *Asymmetry in grammar*, 315–345. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Tsai, Wei-Tien Dylan. 2018. High applicatives are not high enough: A cartographic solution. *Lingua Sinica* 4(1). 1–21.
- de Vries, Mark. 2009. On multidominance and linearization. *Biolinguistics* 3(4). 344–403. <https://doi.org/10.5964/bioling.8735>.
- Wood, Jim & Alec Marantz. 2017. The Interpretation of external arguments. In Roberta D’Alessandro, Irene Franco & Ángel J. Gallego (eds.), *The verbal domain*, 255–278. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Yim, Changguk. 2016. The unembeddable allocutive marker *-yo* in Korean and the syntax-pragmatics interface. *Studies in Generative Grammar* 26(4). 395–406. <https://doi.org/10.15860/sigg.26.4.201611.395>.