

A in A'-domain

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Puzzle & overview

- Korean adopts a case marking system: NOM, DAT, and ACC.
- Korean has honorific counterparts to these case markers: HON.NOM and HON.DAT.
- A question arises as to why *HON.ACC is absent.
 - (1) halmeni-**kkeyse** sensayngnim-**kkey** halapeci-**ul** sokayha-si-ess-ta.
 grandmother-H.NOM teacher-H.DAT grandfather-ACC introduce-H-PST-DECL
 'Grandmother introduced grandfather to the teacher.'
- 1st puzzle: Why does Korean have HON.NOM, HON.DAT, but not *HON.ACC?

■ Korean (plain & honorific) case paradigm

(2)

NOM	DAT	ACC	VOC
HON.NOM	HON.DAT	*HON.ACC	HON.VOC

- NOM = nominative
- DAT = dative
- ACC = accusative
- VOC = vocative

- Cho & Sells (1995) establish the following order of Korean nominal markers:

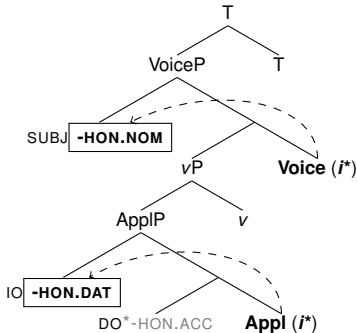
	Noun	Slot 1		Slot 2		Slot 3	
(3)		<i>hanthey</i>	DAT	<i>man</i>	'only'	<i>i~ka</i>	NOM
		<i>ey</i>	LOC	<i>kkaci</i>	'even'	<i>(l)ul</i>	ACC
		<i>kkeyse</i>	HON.NOM			<i>uy</i>	GEN
		<i>kkey</i>	HON.DAT			<i>(n)un</i>	TOP

- 2nd puzzle: Why do HON.NOM and NOM co-occur? (Why are they not in complementary distribution?)

- Proposal: Honorificity is sensitive to syntax.
- 📖 Korean honorific case marking is sensitive to argument structure and specifically to external and applied argument-introducing heads such as Voice (Kratzer 1996), Appl (Pylkkänen 2008), and in more recent term *i** (Wood & Marantz 2017).
- 📖 An argument receives HON-sensitive case from Voice or Appl (*i**) in a Spec-Head configuration.

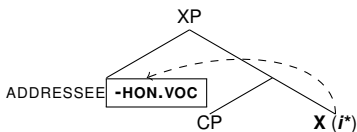
- (i) Korean lacks *HON.ACC, and (ii) HON.NOM and NOM can co-occur.
- (4) is based on Kratzer's (1996) Voice and Pylkkänen's (2008) Appl system:

(4) A tree for ditransitive constructions in Korean:



- A prediction about the speech act domain in the left periphery:
If a vocative DP (ADDRESSEE) is represented in syntax as an external or applied argument, it should be eligible for an honorific case marker via i^* .
 - i^* XP in (5) can be viewed as RP (Lohninger et al. 2022).
 - i^* X bears A-properties.

(5)



- We will see that this prediction is borne out.

- Based on this assumption, ADDRESSEE is a part of syntax just like subjects and indirect objects (IOs), which are eligible for an honorific case assignment.
- The *i** approach provides an implication to the existing literature on grammatically encoded discourse participants:
 - $\left(\begin{array}{l} \mathbf{SA} \text{ of SAP (Haegeman \& Hill 2013)} \\ \mathbf{c} \text{ of cP (Portner et al. 2019)} \\ \mathbf{Addr} \text{ of AddrP (Miyagawa 2022)} \end{array} \right) \Leftrightarrow i^* \text{ (Wood \& Marantz 2017)}$
- This work draws parallels between the thematic domain and the speech act domain, which have been considered to be two separate domains.

- Another implication:

A-properties such as nominal argument introduction and case assignment can be observed in the left periphery.

NOM

- NOM can appear on objects of psych verb constructions:

(6) John-hanthey halmeni-**ka** mwusep-ta.
John-DAT grandmother-NOM fear-DECL
'John fears grandmother.'

- HON.NOM cannot appear on objects of psych verb constructions:

(7) *John-hanthey halmeni-**kkeyse** mwusep-ta.
John-DAT grandmother-HON.NOM fear-DECL
Intended: 'John fears grandmother.'

- The distribution of NOM and the distribution of HON.NOM differ.

- The negative copula *anila*, which requires NOM on the negated focus alternative (Schütze 2001), cannot be satisfied with HON.NOM:

(8) halmenim-kkeyse*(-ka) anila Mary-ka John-ul manna-ss-ta.
 grandmother-HON.NOM-NOM but.not.be Mary-NOM John-ACC meet-PST-DECL
 'Mary, not grandmother, met John.' (contrastive focus)

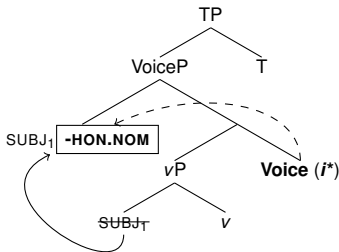
- Analysis: Stacked NOM is a focus marker assigned high and HON.NOM is a case marker assigned low in syntax.
- HON.NOM is assigned within the thematic domain (VoiceP) whereas NOM on the subject is assigned outside of the thematic domain (Lee & Nie 2022).
- This captures the fact that NOM and HON.NOM are not in complementary distribution.

- HON.NOM can be assigned to subjects in unaccusatives and passives.
- Derived subjects move to the edge of VoiceP where HON.NOM is assigned.
- I adopt the view that the edge of VoiceP can be a derived position (Legate 2003).

(9) a. *sensayngnim-kkeyse* *tochak-ha-si-ess-ta.*
 teacher-HON.NOM arrive-do-HON-PST-DECL
 'The teacher arrived.'

(unaccusative)

b.



- This approach bears similarities with the raising to ergative constructions in Shipibo (Baker 2014) and Nez Perce (Deal 2019), where a theme argument raises to Spec, VoiceP and is assigned ergative case.

DAT

- IOs can be associated with DAT or HON.DAT.
- Unlike NOM and HON.NOM, DAT and HON.DAT cannot co-occur.

(10) John-i halmeni-**kkey**(*-hanthey) senmwul-ul tuli-ess-ta
 John-NOM grandmother-HON.DAT-DAT present-ACC give.HON-PST-DECL
 'John gave grandmother a present.'

- DAT and HON.DAT are in complementary distribution.

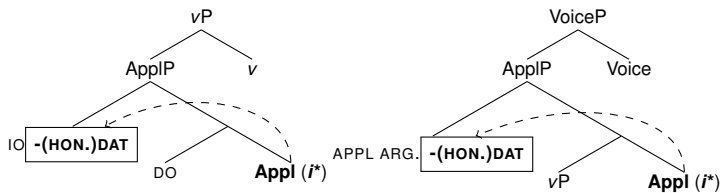
(11) a. * halmeni -kkey -hanthey
 b. * halmeni -hanthey -kkey

- Based on the current assumption, only external and applied arguments are eligible for HON-sensitive case assignment.
- Prediction: Honorified causees and beneficiaries which are also applied arguments should receive an HON-sensitive case marker.
- The prediction is borne out as shown in (12).

- (12) a. Kamtoknim-kkeyse paywunimtul-**kkey** chima-lul ip-hi-si-ess-ta.
 director-HON.NOM actors-HON.DAT skirt-ACC wear-CAUS-H-PST-DECL
 ‘The director made the actors wear a skirt.’ (causative)
- b. Apeci-kkeyse emeni-**kkey** khayikh-ul kwuwe-tuli-ess-ta.
 father-HON.NOM mother-HON.DAT cake-ACC bake-give.HON-PST-DECL
 ‘Father baked a cake for mother.’ (benefactive)

- DAT and HON.DAT are assigned from Appl (Pykkänen 2008).

(13)



ACC

- DOs can be associated with ACC.

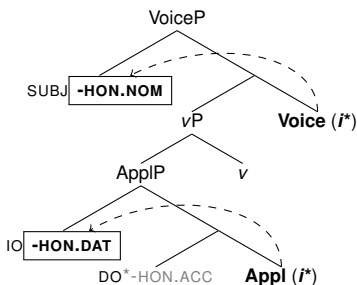
(14) Sarah-ka Yumi-**lul** ana-ss-ta.
Sarah-NOM Yumi-ACC hug-PST-DECL
'Sarah hugged Yumi.'

- But, there is no reserved morphology for *HON.ACC.

(15) Sarah-ka halmeni-**lul** ana-ss-ta.
Sarah-NOM grandmother-ACC hug-PST-DECL
'Sarah hugged grandmother.'

- An argument receives HON-sensitive case from Voice or Appl (i^*) in a Spec-Head relation.

(16)



- 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).

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

- Korean allows multiple ACC constructions (MACs).
- Jung & Miyagawa (2004) argue that both IO and DO can be ACC-marked resulting in MACs:

(18) Mary-ka John-**ul** chayk-**ul** cwu-ess-ta.
 Mary-NOM John-ACC book-ACC give-PST-DECL
 'Mary gave John a book.' (Jung & Miyagawa 2004)

- However, both instances of ACC are lost when passivization takes place:

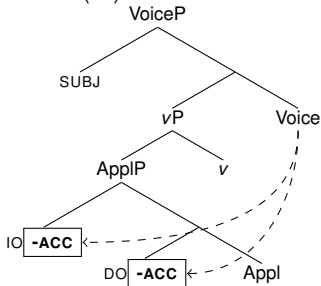
(19) John-i(/***-ul**) chayk-i(/***-ul**) cwu-eci-ess-ta.
 John-NOM(/*ACC) book-NOM(/*ACC) give-PASS-PST-DECL
 'John was given a book.' (Jung & Miyagawa 2004)

- Passivization of the theme also results in the absence of ACC:

(20) Chayk-i(/***-ul**) John-hanthey(/***-ul**) cwu-eci-ess-ta.
 book-NOM(/*ACC) John-DAT(/*ACC) give-PASS-PST-DECL
 'A book was given to John.'

- Voice assigns ACC downwards and thus neither IO nor DO forms a Spec-Head configuration with Voice:

(21) Tree for (18)



- The absence of *HON.ACC is accounted for.

HON

- If external and applied argument-introducing heads are indeed sensitive to honorificity, these heads should be able to interact with the verb in meaningful ways.
- Some verbs take on their honorific forms when the subject or IO is honorified (see Kim & Chung 2015):

(22) Verb forms that are sensitive to the subject's honorificity

- *mek* 'to eat' ~ *capswu* 'to eat' (honorific)
- *ca* 'to sleep' ~ *cwumwu* 'to sleep' (honorific)
- *iss* 'to exist' ~ *kyey* 'to exist' (honorific)

(23) Verb forms that are sensitive to the IO's honorificity

- *cwu* 'to give' ~ *tuli* 'to give' (honorific)
- *mwut* 'to ask' ~ *yecwu* 'to ask' (honorific)

- Voice and Appl, which introduce subjects and IOs, respectively, are the locus for honorificity.
- I assume the following:

(24) If a head X assigns an HON-sensitive case marker, X realizes HON on the verb.

- There are verbs that are sensitive to the DO's honorificity:

- (25) a. Sensayngmin-ul(/*ai-lul) **mosi**-ela.
 teacher-ACC(/*child-ACC) take.care.of-IMP
 'Take care of the teacher.'
- b. Nay-ka halapeci-lul(/*ai-lul) **poi**-ess-ta.
 1.SG-NOM grandfather-ACC(/*child-ACC) meet-PST-DECL
 'I met grandfather.'

- This does not hinge on the current analysis. (26) is repeated from (24).

- (26) If a head X assigns an HON-sensitive case marker, X realizes HON on the verb. (HON case » HON)

- In Japanese, honorified subjects and objects allow HON-marking on the verb, but *not* on the case markers.

- Independent evidence that Voice bears HON comes from the suppletive triplet *kyey~eps~iss* 'to exist'.

- Chung (2009) observes that the verb 'to exist' has a suppletive triplet:

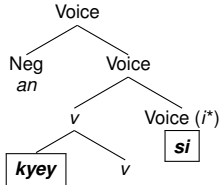
(27) Suppletive triplet (*kyey~eps~iss* 'to exist')

- $\sqrt{\text{EXIST}} \leftrightarrow \textit{kyey} / \text{--- HON}$
- $\sqrt{\text{EXIST}} \leftrightarrow \textit{eps} / \text{NEG ---}$
- $\sqrt{\text{EXIST}} \leftrightarrow \textit{iss} / \text{elsewhere}$

- In the presence of both HON and NEG, the verb takes the honorific form (i.e., *kyey*), not the negative form (i.e., *eps*).

- Choi & Harley (2019) argue that the HON marker that appears on the verb, namely *-si*, originates below T and below NEG. I translate Choi & Harley's vP as VoiceP.

(28) After head movement:



GEN

- *Uy* has been traditionally labeled as GEN in Korean.
- However, An (2014) argues that *uy* is not a genuine case marker.
- *Uy* attaches to already case-assigned PPs, numerals, and modifiers (examples from An 2014: 364):

- (29) a. ywulep-ulo-**uy** yehayng
 Europe-to-UY trip
 'a trip to Europe' (destination)
- b. mikwuk-ulopwuthe-**uy** pyenci
 America-from-UY letter
 'a letter from America' (source)
- c. sey-kwen-**uy** chayk
 three-CL-UY book
 'three books' (numeral)
- d. hayngpok-**uy** swunkan
 happy-UY moment
 'a happy moment' (modifier)

- *Uy* attaches to a DAT-assigned nominal:

- (30) haksayng-hanthey-**uy** senmwul
 student-DAT-UY present
 'a present to the student' (case-assigned ARG.)

- An (2014) argues that *uy* is an allomorph of the Korean prenominal modifier $n\sim l$.

(31) cip-ey ka-**n** ai
home-to go-N child
'the child who went home'

(32) cip-ey ka-**l** ai
home-to go-L child
'the child who will go home'

(33) Insertion of the prenominal modifier (K) (An 2014: 372)

a. $K \leftrightarrow n / [NP \emptyset_{\text{past/perfect/realis}} \text{ — } N]$

b. $K \leftrightarrow l / [NP \emptyset_{\text{future/imperfect/irrealis}} \text{ — } N]$

c. $K \leftrightarrow uy / \text{elsewhere}$

- *Uy* is a prenominal modifier, not GEN.
- GEN is absent in the Korean case paradigm and thus *HON.GEN is absent as well.

VOC

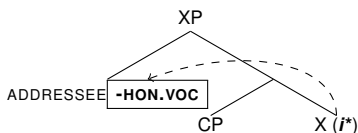
- Haegeman & Hill (2013) argue that the addressee (ADDRESSEE) is base-generated as an argument in the *specifier* of a speech act phrase (SAP; cP for Portner et al. 2019; AddrP for Miyagawa 2022).
- The speech act head can be viewed as an external/applied argument-introducing head (i^*).
 - $\left(\begin{array}{l} \text{SA of SAP (Haegeman \& Hill 2013)} \\ \text{c of cP (Portner et al. 2019)} \\ \text{Addr of AddrP (Miyagawa 2022)} \end{array} \right) \text{E} i^*$ (Wood & Marantz 2017)
 - Here, i^* can be viewed as R of RP above CP (Lohninger et al. 2022).
- Prediction: The head that introduces ADDRESSEE should be able to assign HON.VOC as its case.
 - The head bears an A-property.

- The prediction is borne out.
- The Korean vocative markers are realized as *ya* (VOC)~ \emptyset (HON.VOC) (Yim 2020, 2021).
 - In southern Basque dialects, a familiar allocutive marker is overt whereas the formal allocutive marker is null (Haddican & Etxebarria 2022: 5).
 - Middle Korean had *a* (VOC)~*ha* (HON.VOC) alternation (see Lee & Ramsey 2011: 191).
 - It is the *alternation* between two different forms that matters rather than the phonologically overt vs. null status of the forms.
- VOC and HON.VOC correlate with the presence/absence of the sentence-final politeness marker *yo* (Choi 2016, Yim 2016, among others).

- (34) 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.’
- 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.’

- HON.VOC is assigned to the ADDRESSEE, similar to how HON.NOM is assigned to the subject and how HON.DAT is assigned to the IO.

(35)

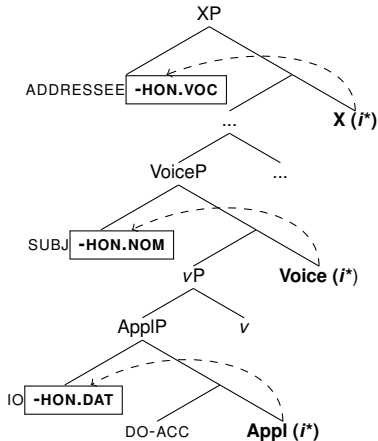


- Speas & Tenny (2003) draw parallels between p(pragmatic)-roles and theta-roles.
- The addressee receives a p-role which is similar to a theta-role (see also Burukina 2021; Haddican & Etxeberria 2022).
- For a more elaborated discussion on p-roles, see Akkuş & Hill (2021).
- External Merge (EM) of a nominal is possible outside the thematic domain.
- A-properties are observed in the matrix left periphery.

Conclusion

- Honorificity in Korean seems to be sensitive to i^* s.
- DOs cannot receive *HON.ACC, since they are not assigned case from an i^* in a Spec-Head configuration.
- ADDRESSEE seems to be represented in syntax (VOC~HON.VOC alternation).

(36)



- The analysis put forward in this work makes predictions about arguments introduced *beyond* the thematic domain such as the speech act domain.
- Previous analyses assuming speech act heads in the root clause (Akkuş & Hill 2021; Baker 2008; Haegeman & Hill 2013; Landau 2021; Miyagawa 2017, 2022; Portner et al. 2019; Speas & Tenny 2003, among others) are related to external and applied argument introducing heads usually assumed to be *internal* to the thematic domain.
- A-properties such as argument introduction and case assignment are observed in the left periphery.

Thank you!

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Control

- Using evidence from English control constructions, Landau (2021) argues that SPEAKER is represented in syntax.
- Landau (2021) argues that SPEAKER occupies the specifier of a speech act projection in the left periphery.

(37) Speech-act(SA)-oriented adverbs (Landau 2021)

Speaker A: [PRO_A to be honest], there is little to be done.

Speaker B: [PRO_{B/*A} to be honest], it doesn't matter.

- In (37), the sloppy reading produced by Speaker B suggests that PRO_{B/*A} inside the SA-oriented adverb is obligatory control which requires a syntactic controller, namely Speaker B.

- Based on the evidence from Meadow Mari (✎ Uralic), Burukina (2021, 2022) posits that an argument can be externally merged in embedded Spec,CP.
- Burukina (2022) mentions that this argument is an overt ADDRESSEE.

(38) Maša mə-**lan**-na [CP **Petja-lan**_i [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.' (Double dative construction, Burukina 2021)

- Double datives are prohibited in the matrix clause.

(39) 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.' (B. 2022)

- This suggests that an additional DAT-marked argument, if there is one, belongs to the embedded clause.

- Double datives are prohibited in embedded finite subjunctive clauses.

(40) Maša t-**lat** [*Petja-**lan** /Petja tol-žo manən] kalas-en.
 Maša you-DAT.2SG Petja-DAT/Petja come-JUS COMP tell-PST2
 ‘Maša told you that Petja should come.’ (B. 2022)

- Instead, they are only possible when the embedded clause is infinitival.

(41) Maša mə-**lan**-na [Petja-**lan** tol-aš manən] kalas-en.
 Maša we-DAT-POSS.1PL [Petja-DAT come-INF COMP] tell-PST2
 ‘Maša told us for Petja to come.’ (B. 2021)

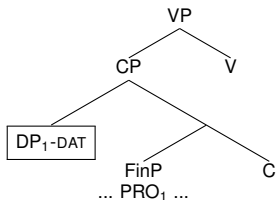
- Double dative constructions do not pass the idiom test used for control vs. raising.
- The idiom chunk *šem p̄əɾəs koklaštəna kudal ertəš* roughly translates as ‘we quarreled’.
- The literal interpretation of the phrase is ‘the black cat ran between us’.
- (42) shows that only the literal meaning survives.

(42) Maša Petja-lan [šem p̄əɾəs-lan koklaštə-na 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.’
 ✗ [Id.] ‘Maša told Petja for us to quarrel.’

(B. 2022)

- Burukina argues that the second DAT-marked argument (ADDRESSEE) is externally merged in embedded Spec,CP:

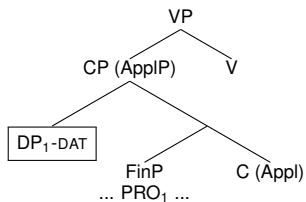
(43)



- Evidence from Mari adds weight to the claim that an argument can be realized beyond what we usually refer to as the thematic domain.

- H. Saito (2022) points out that the empirical facts from Mari can be reanalyzed using Pylkkänen's applicative framework.
- Under this view, DP₁-DAT is introduced in Spec,ApplP.

(44)



- This is desirable under the assumption that case is assigned to an applied argument by Appl (see Cuervo 2003, Holmberg et al. 2019, van der Wal 2017, among others).

Allocutive markers

- In southern dialects of Basque, the thematic argument-denoting clitics and the addressee-denoting clitics pattern alike in various ways.
- Both types of clitics are phonologically identical.
- The 2nd person familiar pronoun *hi* in (45a) and the covert familiar addressee DP in (45b) are both realized with the clitic *-a/na* depending on their gender feature.

(45) a. Hi-ri ema-n di -a/na -t.
 2SG.FAM-DAT give-PRF AUX-2SG.FAM.M/2SG.FAM.F-1SG.ERG
 'I have given it to you.'

b. Jon ikus-i d-i -a/na -t.
 Jon see-PRF EXPL-ROOT-2SG.FAM.M/2SG.FAM.F-1SG.ERG
 'I've seen John.' (Haddican & Etxeberria 2022)

- Note that *-a/na* also denotes DAT-marked 2nd person thematic clitics.

- The argument- and addressee-denoting clitics undergo the same type of allomorphy (*-a/na~k/n*)
- When the clitics are word-final, they are both realized as *-k/n*:

- (46) a. Hi-k egi-n du -k/n.
- 2SG.FAM-ERG do-PRF AUX-2SG.FAM.M/2SG.FAM.F
- ‘You have done it.’
- b. Jon etorr-i d-u -k/n.
- Jon come-PRF EXPL-ROOT-2SG.FAM.M/2SG.FAM.F
- ‘John has come.’

(H. & E. 2022)

- The allomorphy rule applies even when the familiar addressee is overtly expressed as a vocative as shown in (47) (# indicates an intonational break).

(47) Bihotza/laztana/tontoa/motel # berandu d-u -k .
 heart/caress/stupid/boy late EXPL-ROOT-2SG.FAM.M
 'Sweetheart/honey/dumbass/dude, it's late.' (H. & E. 2022)

- Hence, the clitics at issue have applicative-like properties in that they are associated with argument(/ADDRESSEE) introduction (see H. & E. 2022).

- Galician works in a similar fashion (see Huidobro 2022; Alok & Haddican 2022).

(48) Merquei-**cha**

bought.1SG-2SG.FAM.DAT.3SG.ACC.F

'I bought it.' / 'I bought you it.'

(Alok & Haddican 2022)

(49) **cha**

2SG.FAM.DAT;3SG.ACC.F

→ che

+ a

2SG.FAM.DAT

3SG.ACC.F

- When the ADDRESSEE-denoting clitics are used in a narrative, they involve a request for solidarity/empathy (see Haddican 2019; Huidobro 2022; a.o.).
- They are referred to 'solidarity datives' according to Haddican (2019).
- The thematic and the allocutive clitics share the same form, namely *che*.

(50) Creo que che está tolo.

1SG.think that 2SG.DAT.FAM COP.3SG crazy

'I think that he/she/it is crazy.'

(Haddican 2019)

- Note that *che* is DAT-marked suggesting that the ADDRESSEE is case-marked.

- ‘Attitude datives’ in Lebanese Arabic (Haddad 2013, 2014)
- In Lebanese Arabic, attitude datives are co-referential with the speaker or the addressee:
 - Haddad (2014) shows that Lebanese Arabic allocutive forms mark evaluative perspective, “anchored to the speaker’s (and hearer’s) values, beliefs and what she considers culturally acceptable or unacceptable” (p.79)
- Here is an example where the attitude dative *lak* is used.
- Note that *lak* is not the beneficiary. Instead, *zāwz-a*: ‘her husband’ is.

(51) Layla štare**t** -lak hidiyye bitzānnin la-zāwz-a:
 Layla bought-you.DAT gift stunning for-husband-her
 ‘Layla bought [you] a great gift for her husband.’ (Haddad 2014)

- Note that the addressee-denoting *-lak* is DAT-marked.

- A pattern emerges:
 - If addressee-oriented markers (e.g. Galician solidarity datives and Lebanese Arabic attitude datives) bear case, it is DAT (not ACC for instance).
- Cuervo (2003) among others argues that Appl assigns DAT.
- The data collected from Galician (Romance), Basque (Isolate), and Lebanese Arabic (Semitic) suggest that the addressee is associated with Appl.
- This is in line with the overarching claim of this work.