

### Introducing arguments in and out of the thematic domain

**Proposal.** Extensive research has focused on how VoiceP (Kratzer 1996), ApplP (Pylkkänen 2008), and *i*\* (Wood & Marantz 2017), an overarching term for Voice and Appl, establish argument structure *inside* the thematic domain (below TP). A question arises as to whether argument structure can be established *outside* the thematic domain (above TP). Chomsky’s (2021) notion of ‘Duality of Semantics’ predicts that external merge (EM) of nominals associated with theta-roles or the like is possible in the CP domain (p.30). This work provides empirical evidence mainly from Korean (as well as Basque and Magahi) in suggesting that the prediction is borne out. That is, an argument can be introduced by Voice/Apppl (*i*\*) in the left periphery.

**Puzzle & analysis.** Korean adopts a case system which displays overt realizations of NOM, DAT, ACC, and VOC (vocative). NOM is often associated with the subject, DAT with the indirect object (IO), ACC with the direct object (DO), and VOC with the addressee. Most of these markers have an honorific counterpart (i.e. HON.NOM, HON.DAT, and HON.VOC). A question arises as to why \*HON.ACC is absent in the case paradigm.

(1)	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	∅

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 transitive constructions) or Appl (in ditransitive constructions). Here, I argue that the specifier of an *i*\* is the target for HON-sensitive case licensing. The absence of \*HON.ACC on DOs follows accordingly: a DO is not an external or applied argument introduced by Voice/Apppl (*i*\*) in its specifier. 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. Here, we emphasize that the *alternation* between *(y)a* ∅ is what matters rather than the overt vs. null status of the forms themselves. 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 those who view *-nim* as HON.VOC. Under this approach, the head that hosts the addressee in the CP domain (SAP for Haegeman & Hill 2013; cP for Portner et al. 2019; AddrP for Miyagawa 2022) is a flavor of Voice/Apppl (*i*\*). According to Speas & Tenny (2003), the addressee receives a *p(ragmatic)*-role which is similar to a theta-role (see also Burukina 2021; Chomsky 2021; Haddican & Etxeberria 2022). Based on the discussion so far, all instances of HON-sensitive case markers can be categorized as inherent case since they are assigned together with a semantic role via the same head. In fact, this seems to account for why Voice/Apppl (*i*\*) is privileged for HON-licensing: HON is a part of the semantic role that has to be licensed together with case in Korean. The details of our proposal are fleshed out in (6).

**Data.** Our analysis applies to arguments in various constructions including unergatives and (di)transitives:

- (2) a. Halameni-**kkeyse** wus-usi-ess-ta.  
grandmother-HON.NOM laugh-HON-PST-DECL  
'Grandmother laughed.' (unergative)
- b. Halmeni-**kkeyse** halapeci-lul ana-ss-ta.  
grandmother-HON.NOM grandfather-ACC hug-PST-DECL  
'Grandmother hugged grandfather.' (transitive)
- c. Halmeni-∅, halapeci-**kkeyse** sensayngnim-**kkey** senmwul-ul tuli-ess-eyo.  
grandmother-HON.VOC grandfather-HON.NOM teacher-HON.DAT present-ACC give-PST-YO  
'Grandmother, grandfather gave the teacher a present.' (ditransitive & vocative)

**Predictions.** Based on the current assumption that only external and applied arguments are eligible for HON-sensitive case assignment, it is predicted that honorified causees and benefactives which are also applied arguments should receive an HON-sensitive case marker. This prediction is borne out as shown in (3a) and (3b).

- (3) a. Kamtoknim-kkeyse paywunimtul-**kkey** chimasol[(-)]TJ/F61 8.7273 Tf4nly give-  
director-HON.NOM actors-HON.DAT grandmother- HO- -kk0330Tc/F6110-9091Tf-37.57-13.549T

It is also predicted that HON.NOM-NOM stacking should be possible if we take the standard view that plain NOM is assigned from T. (4) shows that NOM is obligatorily realized with HON.NOM in the presence of the negated copula *anila* inducing contrastive focus (Schütze 2001). Here, switching the order of HON.NOM and NOM on *halmeni* 'grandmother' is not possible, which follows from the current analysis: Voice assigns HON.NOM and T assigns NOM.

- (4) Halmeni-**kkeyse\*(-ka)**      anila      Mary-ka      John-ul      poa-ss-ta.  
grandmother-HON.NOM-NOM but.not.be Mary-NOM John-ACC see-PST-