

# Korean Case Stacking and the Nominal Template

Soo-Hwan Lee and Yining Nie\*

## 1 Introduction

Korean exhibits apparently optional *case stacking*, where a single nominal can appear with more than one case marker. Subjects already assigned dative (DAT) or honorific nominative case (HON.NOM), for instance, can appear with an additional nominative (NOM) marker, as in (1, 2), respectively.

- (1) sensayngnim-**hanthey**-man-**i** Jill-i kulip-ta.  
teacher-DAT-only-NOM Jill-NOM miss-DECL  
'Only the teacher misses Jill.'
- (2) sensayngnim-**kkeyse**-man-**i** Jill-ul ana-ss-ta.  
teacher-HON.NOM-only-NOM Jill-ACC hug-PST-DECL  
'Only the teacher hugged Jill.'

Case markers, stacked or otherwise, are strictly ordered with respect to each other as well as other nominal markers, such as the focus particle *-man* 'only'. As the co-occurrence possibilities in (3) demonstrate, HON.NOM (*-kkeyse*) must precede *-man* and NOM (*-i* or *-ka*, depending on phonological context), with NOM as the outermost marker. Two instances of the same marker are also ruled out.

- (3) a. sensayngnim -kkeyse  
b. sensayngnim -i  
c. sensayngnim -kkeyse -man  
d. sensayngnim -man -i  
e. sensayngnim -kkeyse -man -i  
f. \* sensayngnim -i -man -kkeyse  
g. \* sensayngnim -kkeyse -man -kkeyse  
h. \* sensayngnim -i -man -i

Cho and Sells (1995) establish the order of Korean nominal markers in (4) (we omit an additional slot that is not directly relevant to case stacking). Curiously, HON.NOM appears in the same slot as DAT rather than NOM. Cho and Sells argue that this unexpected difference in the distribution of HON.NOM and NOM cannot be derived from the syntax and must be enforced by an independent morphological template. Because all previous approaches to Korean case stacking assume that HON.NOM and NOM are assigned in the same way, they have had to appeal to this morphological template to capture the ordering of nominal markers (Schütze 2001, Levin 2017).

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

We present a syntactic approach to case stacking which explains the morphological distribution of these nominal markers. Following Schütze (2001), we take the inner markers in stacked nominals to reflect genuine case, and the outer markers to be associated with discourse marking. We show that inner markers are assigned within VoiceP and thus occur lower than the outer markers, assigned at CP. Crucially, HON.NOM is assigned by Voice, and NOM is assigned higher. Our analysis thus derives the templatic ordering of morphemes in Korean nominals and the difference in distribution between honorific and non-honorific cases.

\*We thank Gary Thoms, Anna Szabolcsi, Alec Marantz and audiences at NYU, PLC 45 and LSA 2021 for their valuable feedback. Any remaining errors are our own.

## 2 Previous Work

Two main approaches to Korean case stacking have been advanced in the literature. The first approach assumes that both the inner and outer markers reflect genuine case assignment, a morphosyntactic feature assigned to nominals based on their grammatical function (e.g. Gerdts and Youn 1988, Cho and Sells 1995, Yoon 2005, Levin 2017). Levin (2017), for example, proposes that DPs in Korean can be case-marked in two different phase domains (VoiceP and CP). However, in order to explain (i) why case stacking is not obligatory, and (ii) why NOM-NOM is not possible, as shown in (3h), Levin is forced to appeal to Cho and Sells's morphological template. Yoon (2005) provides a syntactic explanation for the presence of HON.NOM-NOM and the lack of NOM-NOM by proposing that postpositional phrases that are inherently case marked with HON.NOM can receive an additional NOM, a structural case assigned to subjects; DPs, by contrast, do not receive an inherent case and therefore can only be assigned NOM. Under Yoon's analysis, NOM is always a genuine case, which is not directly related to discourse marking. However, NOM can appear on a variety of non-subject and non-DP constituents, where it induces a focus interpretation. For example, when temporal and locative adjuncts are marked with NOM, as in (5, 6), they are necessarily interpreted as focused. Thus in addition to the discourse-neutral NOM that marks subjects for genuine case, Korean also has a NOM that is associated with focus marking (Schütze 2001; see also Chung 2012).

- (5) ecey-**ka** halmeni-ka cengmal apha-ss-ta.  
 yesterday-NOM grandmother-NOM really sick-PST-DECL  
 '[Yesterday]<sub>F</sub>, grandmother was really sick.'
- (6) paykakkwan-an-ey-**ka** siwuenha-ci-ka ana-ss-ta.  
 White.House-inside-LOC-NOM cool-CI-NOM NEG-PST-DECL  
 '[Inside the White House]<sub>F</sub>, it wasn't cool at all.'

The second approach to case stacking takes the outer marker to be an instance of the focus NOM rather than the case NOM (Schütze 2001). Schütze (2001) provides several arguments showing that the stacked NOM is associated with focus. For instance, case stacking generally requires a focus particle such as *-man* 'only', as in (1, 2). NOM is also obligatory in the presence of the negated copula *anila*, even if the nominal already bears case, as shown in (7).

- (7) halmeni(-kkeyse)\*(-**ka**) anila Mary-ka John-ul poa-ss-ta.  
 grandmother-HON.NOM-NOM but.not.be Mary-NOM John-ACC see-PST-DECL  
 'Mary, not [grandmother]<sub>F</sub>, saw John.'

We adopt this latter approach and assume that in addition to NOM on subjects assigned from T, Korean also has a focus-associated NOM which is assigned from a Focus projection in the CP domain. The outer marker in case stacking is an instance of the focus-associated NOM.

However, Schütze (2001) does not fully explain the difference between HON.NOM and the non-case stacked NOM on DPs. Under his analysis, it is assumed that HON.NOM and the unstacked NOM have the same source in the syntax; whatever head assigns HON.NOM should also assign NOM (the two cases possibly being treated as honorific-sensitive allomorphs; see Kim and Chung 2015). This predicts that wherever HON.NOM can appear, the unstacked NOM should also be possible, and vice versa. However, this prediction is not correct: HON.NOM and the unstacked NOM do not have the same distribution in the nominal template, as reiterated in (8).

- |     |                      |               |         |            |        |             |     |
|-----|----------------------|---------------|---------|------------|--------|-------------|-----|
| (8) | Noun <sub>root</sub> | Slot 1        |         | Slot 2     |        | Slot 3      |     |
|     |                      | <i>kkeyse</i> | HON.NOM | <i>man</i> | 'only' | <i>i~ka</i> | NOM |
|     |                      | * <i>i~ka</i> | NOM     |            |        |             |     |

In order to capture the order of morphemes in Korean nominals, previous work on case stacking has had to adopt morphological co-occurrence restrictions that enforce Cho and Sells' template in (4) post-syntactically. In this paper, we show that case stacking can be derived in the syntax, without recourse to an independent morphological template. We argue that HON.NOM is assigned lower than NOM, which explains their relative positioning in the Korean nominal complex.

### 3 NOM vs. HON.NOM

In this section, we compare and contrast the properties of NOM and HON.NOM and argue that they have different sources in the syntax. Like NOM, HON.NOM can appear on the (honorified) subject of various argument structure types, including unaccusatives, passives, unergatives, and transitives:

- (9) a. *kyoswunim*{-i/-kkeyse} *tochakhay-ss-ta*.  
 professor-NOM/-HON.NOM arrive-PST-DECL  
 ‘The professor arrived.’  
 b. *kyoswunim*{-i/-kkeyse} *kyengchal-eyuyhay cap-hi-ess-ta*.  
 professor-NOM/-HON.NOM police-by catch-PASS-PST-DECL  
 ‘The professor was caught by the police.’  
 c. *halapeci*{-ka/-kkeyse} *wus-ess-ta*.  
 grandfather-NOM/-HON.NOM laugh-PST-DECL  
 ‘Grandfather laughed.’  
 d. *halapeci*{-ka/-kkeyse} *phyenci-lul ssu-ess-ta*.  
 grandfather-NOM/-HON.NOM letter-ACC write-PST-DECL  
 ‘Grandfather wrote a letter.’

However, HON.NOM is restricted to appearing on subject DPs, whereas NOM also appears on adjuncts, which, as we saw above, results in a focus interpretation.

- (10) *paykakkwan-an-ey*{-ka/\*-kkeyse} *siwuenha-ci-ka ana-ss-ta*.  
 White.House-inside-LOC-NOM/-HON.NOM cool-CI-NOM NEG-PST-DECL  
 Intended: ‘[Inside the White House]<sub>F</sub>, it wasn’t cool at all.’

We follow the standard assumption that NOM that appears on subjects is assigned from T. Importantly, we take the Spec-TP position to be discourse-neutral in Korean and assume that once an argument moves to Spec-TP, it cannot undergo further movement into the CP domain for focus or any other discourse marking. This restriction explains the absence of NOM-NOM stacking in Korean, even with an intervening focus particle as in (11). In other words, a subject cannot receive NOM from both T and Focus. This also predicts the unavailability of NOM stacked with the topic marker *-(n)un*, as shown in (12). Once a subject moves to Spec-TP, it is “frozen” there for discourse-neutrality and cannot bear a focus or a topic reading.

- (11) \**hoycangnim-i-man-i* *wus-ess-ta*.  
 chairman-NOM-only-NOM laugh-PST-DECL  
 Intended: ‘Only the chairman laughed.’  
 (12) \**hoycangnim-i-nun* *wus-ess-ta*.  
 chairman-NOM-TOP laugh-PST-DECL  
 Intended: ‘As for the chairman, he laughed.’

HON.NOM, by contrast, *can* co-occur with focus and topic marking. We have already seen several instances of HON.NOM-NOM stacking; less attention has been devoted in the literature to HON.NOM-TOP stacking, which is also possible, as shown in (14).

- (13) *hoycangnim-kkeyse-man-i* *wus-ess-ta*.  
 chairman-HON.NOM-only-NOM laugh-PST-DECL  
 ‘Only the chairman laughed.’  
 (14) *hoycangnim-kkeyse-nun* *wus-ess-ta*.  
 chairman-HON.NOM-TOP laugh-PST-DECL  
 ‘As for the chairman, he laughed.’

We propose that HON.NOM and NOM differ in terms of where they originate in the syntax. Instead of T, we postulate that HON.NOM is assigned by the external argument introducing head Voice (Kratzer

1996) to DPs with an honorific feature. If an honorific subject is assigned HON.NOM by Voice, then it does not need to move to Spec-TP for case. Instead, HON.NOM-marked arguments can move directly to the CP layer to receive a focus or a topic interpretation, with corresponding NOM or TOP marking (e.g. Rizzi 1982, McCloskey 2000). “Case stacking” is thus possible with HON.NOM-marked nominals because they do not move into the discourse-neutral TP position which bleeds the availability of focus and topic marking.

Evidence that the locus of honorific marking (HON) is in VoiceP comes from verbal root suppletion. Chung (2009) observes that the verb *kyey~eps~iss* ‘to exist’ in Korean is a suppletive triplet, which is sensitive to the presence of both negation (NEG) and HON:<sup>1</sup>

(15) Suppletive triplet (*kyey~eps~iss* ‘to exist’)

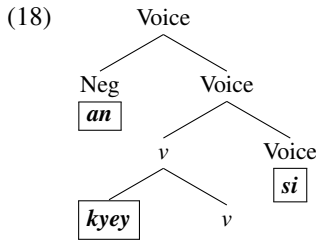
- a.  $\sqrt{\text{EXIST}} \leftrightarrow \text{kyey} / \text{— HON}$
- b.  $\sqrt{\text{EXIST}} \leftrightarrow \text{eps} / \text{NEG —}$
- c.  $\sqrt{\text{EXIST}} \leftrightarrow \text{iss} / \text{elsewhere}$

Choi and Harley (2019) argue that the conditioning of root suppletion in (15) is modulated by structural locality. Adopting much of Choi and Harley’s discussion as well as Chung’s initial insight, we argue that the suppletion of ‘to exist’ that is normally triggered by NEG (16) is blocked in the presence of HON, spelled out as *-(u)si* on the verb (17). Thus HON appears to be structurally more local to the verbal root than NEG is. (16, 17) illustrate this point:

- (16) \**apeci-kkeyse silhemsil-ey eps-usi-ta.*  
 father-HON.NOM lab-LOC not.exist-HON-DECL  
 Intended: ‘Father is not in the lab.’ (Chung 2009: 545)

- (17) *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)

Taking this blocking effect into consideration, Choi and Harley propose that the verbal HON originates below T and below Neg. Specifically, they claim that the feature is realized on Voice.<sup>2</sup> We suggest that HON.NOM is also associated with Voice. Hence Voice is associated with HON marking on the verb as well as on the subject.



Further evidence that it is the external argument introducing head Voice that assigns HON-sensitive case, rather than some other head along the extended projection of the verb, say *v*, comes from psych predicates. Direct objects in psych predicates can receive NOM, but not HON.NOM. We assume that the NOM on a psych predicate object is assigned from *v*. HON.NOM, on the other hand, is not assigned from *v*, but Voice. Thus HON.NOM cannot appear on objects.

- (19) *kyoswunim{-i/-kkeyse} halmenim{-i/\*-kkeyse} kulip-ta.*  
 professor-NOM/-HON.NOM grandmother-NOM/-HON.NOM miss-DECL  
 ‘The professor misses the grandmother.’

In Section 5, we show that only external argument introducing heads can license HON-sensitive cases; Voice and Appl(icative) heads can assign an HON-sensitive case, but *v* cannot.

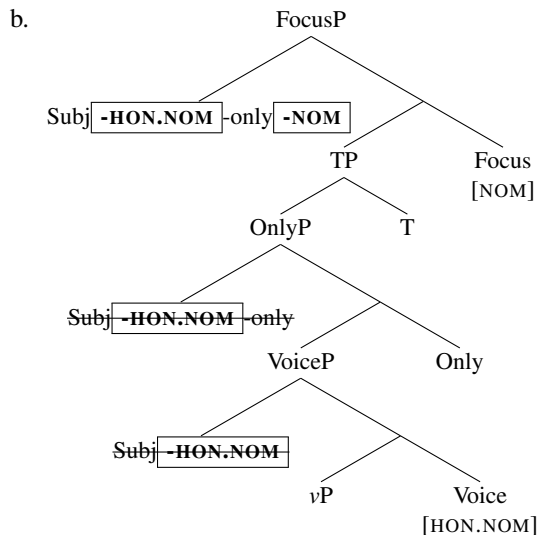
<sup>1</sup>Other instances of Korean verbal root suppletion have been reported in the literature. See Lee (2018) for an overview.

<sup>2</sup>Choi and Harley (2019) label the head as *v*, which is equivalent to Voice under our approach.

## 4 Case Stacking

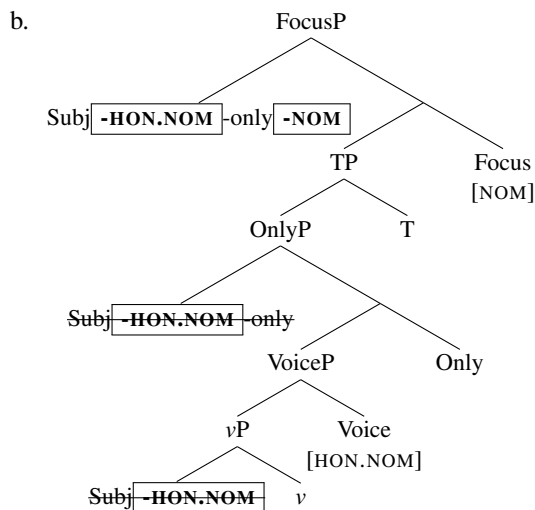
We flesh out our proposal in greater detail and illustrate with several examples. A nominal assigned HON.NOM by Voice, if focused, moves to Spec-FocusP for an additional NOM. In (20), the subject *sensayngnim* ‘teacher’ receives HON.NOM from Voice. It moves to Spec-OnlyP, where it is marked with *-man* ‘only’ (see Lee 2005, Koopman 2005), and then to Spec-FocusP, where it receives NOM with focus. The syntactic derivation is sketched below.

- (20) a. *sensayngnim-kkeyse-man-i wus-ess-ta.*  
 teacher-HON.NOM-only-NOM laugh-PST-DECL  
 ‘Only the teacher laughed.’



In derivations where Voice does not introduce an external argument, we assume that Voice can assign HON.NOM downwards.<sup>3</sup> This captures the availability of HON.NOM on subjects of unaccusative verbs, as illustrated in (21). The subject merges as the complement of *v*, where it is assigned HON.NOM from Voice; if focused, it then moves to Spec-FocusP to receive an additional NOM.

- (21) a. *sensayngnim-kkeyse-man-i tochak-hay-ss-ta.*  
 teacher-HON.NOM-only-NOM arrive-do-PST-DECL  
 ‘Only the teacher arrived.’



<sup>3</sup>See Nie (2020) and Tyler (2020) for proposals that Voice can assign case downwards.

Our discussion has so far focused on case stacking with HON.NOM subjects. However, DAT experiencer subjects can also undergo case stacking, as in (22).

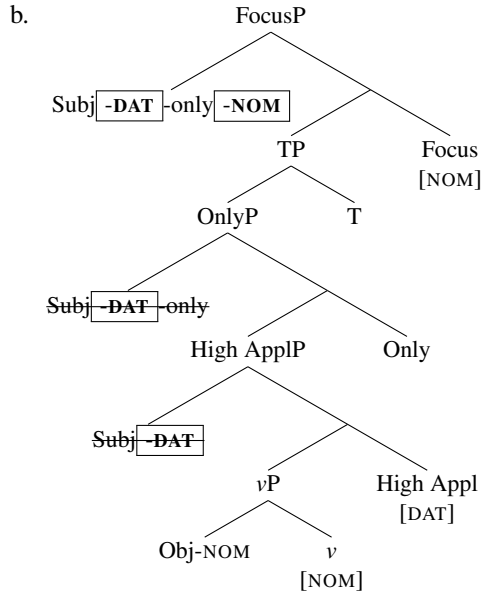
- (22) John-**hanthey**-man-**i** koyangi-ka silh-ta.  
 John-DAT-only-NOM cat-NOM hate-DECL  
 ‘Only John hates cats.’

We assume that DAT arguments are introduced and assigned case by external argument introducing Appl(licative) heads in Korean (Pylkkänen 2008, Kim 2011). Levin (2017) provides evidence that DAT is assigned low from scope of negation. In scrambled OSV clauses, a NOM-marked subject with a universal quantifier always takes scope over negation, while a DAT-marked subject can scope either above or below. This suggests that DAT subjects can be interpreted low, below the position for NOM subjects.

- (23) holangi-ka, motun namhaksayng-**i** an-mwusewe.  
 tiger-NOM all male.student-NOM NEG-be.afraid  
 ‘Tigers, every male student doesn’t fear (them).’ ( $\forall > \neg$ ;  $*\neg > \forall$ ) (Levin 2017: 476)
- (24) holangi-ka, motun namhaksayng-**hanthey** an-mwusewe.  
 tiger-NOM all male.student-DAT NEG-be.afraid  
 ‘Tigers, every male student doesn’t fear (them).’ ( $\forall > \neg$ ;  $\neg > \forall$ ) (Levin 2017: 476)

We assume that DAT on experiencer subjects is assigned from High Appl, which merges above  $v$  but below Voice (when present). (25) illustrates how DAT case stacking proceeds. The experiencer subject, after being assigned DAT from High Appl, moves to Spec-OnlyP to receive *-man* ‘only’, and then to Spec-FocusP, where it receives the focus NOM.

- (25) a. sensayngnim-**hanthey**-man-**i** Jill-i kulip-ta  
 teacher-DAT-only-NOM Jill-NOM miss-DECL  
 ‘Only the teacher misses Jill.’



Summing up, our proposal captures both the syntactic and morphological properties of Korean case stacking. By assigning HON.NOM from Voice rather than T, we explain why HON.NOM differs in behavior from NOM and patterns morphologically with DAT. Our approach allows the order of Korean nominal markers to be derived solely in the syntax without appeal to an independent post-syntactic morphological template.

## 5 HON.NOM & HON.DAT vs \*HON.ACC

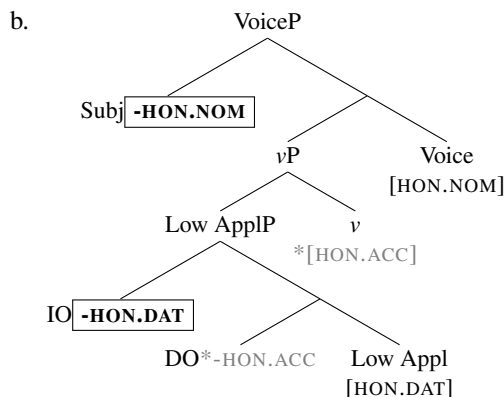
Before concluding, we would like to explore why HON.NOM should differ from NOM in its syntactic behavior. To do so, we must consider the general distribution of HON-sensitive cases in Korean. In addition to HON.NOM, Korean has HON.DAT. For some speakers, HON.DAT is available on experiencer subjects and indirect objects, just like plain DAT:<sup>4</sup>

- (26) sensayngnim{-hanthey/-kkey} Jill-i kulip-ta.  
 teacher-DAT/-HON.DAT Jill-NOM miss-DECL  
 ‘The teacher misses Jill.’
- (27) Jill-i kamtoknim{-hanthey/-kkey} pyenci-lul ponay-ss-ta.  
 Jill-NOM coach-DAT/-HON.DAT letter-ACC send-PST-DECL  
 ‘Jill sent the coach a letter.’

Following Kim (2011), we assume that experiencer subjects and indirect objects are introduced by Appl heads. Experiencers are introduced by High Appl, which takes *v*P as its complement. Indirect objects are introduced by Low Appl, whose maximal projection merges as the complement to *v*.

As Kim and Chung (2015) have pointed out, however, there is no \*HON.ACC in Korean. While the direct object in clauses such as (28) can in principle be honorified, there is no dedicated \*HON.ACC in the language. Thus subjects and indirect objects can receive HON-sensitive case in Korean, but direct objects cannot. We suggest that this contrast can be explained if HON sensitivity is limited to external argument introducing heads such as Voice and Appl (see also Kim and Chung 2015). We assume that direct objects are assigned case by *v*; since *v* is not an external argument introducing head (e.g. Marantz 1984, Kratzer 1996, Pytkäinen 2008), it cannot assign its object an HON-sensitive case. This explains why \*HON.ACC is not available in Korean.

- (28) a. halapeci-kkeyse halmeni-kkey sensayngnim-ul sokayhay-ss-ta.  
 grandfather-HON.NOM grandmother-HON.DAT teacher-ACC introduce-PST-DECL  
 ‘Grandfather introduced the teacher to grandmother.’



If HON sensitivity is indeed a property of external argument introducing heads, then this provides additional support for HON.NOM being assigned by Voice rather than an inflectional head like T. Our proposal does contrast with some existing views where honorific or formality-related features originate high and exclusively in the matrix clause (e.g. Oyharçabal 1993, Zu 2013). As (29) shows, however, both HON.NOM and HON.DAT can surface in an embedded clause, supporting an approach where honorifics can be licensed low.

- (29) Jay-ka apeci-kkeyse emeni-kkey panci-lul tuli-ess-tako mit-ess-ta.  
 Jay-NOM father-HON.NOM mother-HON.DAT ring-ACC give-PST-COMP believe-PST-DECL  
 ‘Jay believed that father gave mother a ring.’

<sup>4</sup>Other speakers accept HON.DAT on indirect objects but not on experiencer subjects. While we cannot discuss this variation in detail here, we suggest that this may be evidence in favor of Korean experiencer arguments being introduced by a Peripheral Appl, as proposed in Kim (2011).

Our proposal may also be extended to the speech act domain. The Korean vocative marker (VOC)  $\phi \sim ya$ , which surfaces on the hearer argument, is also sensitive to honorification, as shown in (30); honorification also correlates with the presence of the clausal politeness marker  $-yo$ .

- (30) a. Sarah-**ya**, halmeni-ka cip-ey ka-ss-e(\*-yo).  
           Sarah-VOC, grandmother-NOM house-LOC go-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.’

We assume that participants of a conversation are introduced as external arguments in the syntax (e.g. Speas and Tenny 2003); the hearer sits in a specifier position of the Speech Act Phrase (SAP), which is the top layer of the matrix clause (see Hill 2007, Haegeman and Hill 2013). Choi (2016) shows that the SA head is spelled out in Korean as  $-yo$  if the hearer is honorified, suggesting that the head is HON-sensitive. Just like Voice and Appl which introduce thematic participants, then, the SA head which introduces speech act participants is also HON-sensitive. Thus external argument introducing heads can exhibit honorification in both the thematic and speech act domains. The fact that external argument introducing heads pattern together with respect to honorification also points to a unified approach along the lines of Wood and Marantz (2017), where these heads are flavors of a universal argument introducing  $i^*$ .

## 6 Conclusion

In this paper, we argued for a purely syntactic approach to Korean case stacking. We presented evidence that inner stacked markers (HON.NOM and DAT) are assigned within the thematic domain, while the outer stacked markers (Focus NOM and TOP) are assigned in the discourse domain. Pairing this proposal with the assumption that discourse-neutral DPs in Spec-TP cannot move further into a focus or topic position, we were able to capture co-occurrence restrictions in the Korean complex nominal without reference to an independent morphological template. In addition, we argued that HON sensitivity is a property of external argument introducing heads, which captures the fact that HON.NOM and HON.DAT are possible in Korean, but \*HON.ACC is not.

Our analysis that the outer stacked markers are discourse markers, as originally suggested by Schütze (2001), also accords with the properties of nominal stacking phenomena cross-linguistically. While the overt stacking of nominal markers appears to be fairly uncommon across languages, when it does occur, it is usually associated with discourse marking.<sup>5</sup> Like Korean, Japanese allows datives and locatives to receive additional topic marking (Moravcsik 1995, Richards 2013):

- (31) Taro{-**ni/-kara**}-**wa**  
           Taro-DAT/-from-TOP (Richards 2013: 42)

In Miyara Yaeyaman (Ryukyuan; Japan), the focus particle *du* can appear on a variety of constituents, including arguments already marked for case (Davis 2013):

- (32) a. taa=**du** suba tsukur-ee-ru?  
           who=DU soba make-RES-PRS  
           ‘Who made soba?’  
       b. jurie=**n=du** tsukur-ee-ru.  
           Yurie=NOM=DU make-RES-PRS  
           ‘Yurie made (soba).’ (Davis 2013: 30)

Finally, Chen (2018) shows that case markers can be stacked overtly in Amis (Formosan; Taiwan) to indicate a contrastive topic:

<sup>5</sup> A notable exception is Lardil (Tangkic; Australia), which has obligatory case concord within nominals and in control clauses and tense concord within verb phrases, and thus behaves quite differently (Richards 2013).

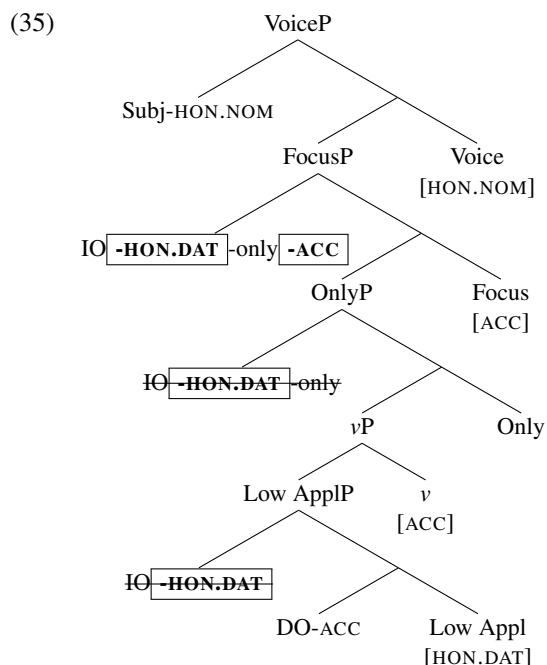
- (33) a. Asip-en **ni** Panay ko cecay a codad inacila.  
 read-PV GEN.PN Panay NOM one LNK book yesterday  
 ‘Panay read a book yesterday.’ (Chen 2018: 83)
- b. Asip-en **ko-ni** Panay to cecay a codad inacila.  
 read-PV NOM-GEN.PN Panay ACC one LNK book yesterday  
 ‘[Panay]<sub>CT</sub> read a book yesterday.’ (Chen 2018: 87)

Although the details differ by language, in each of these stacking patterns, the inner marker is a reflex of case while the outer marker indicates discourse function. We have argued that the same holds in Korean.

While our paper has focused primarily on the stacking of the NOM marker on subjects, ACC stacking on DAT and HON.DAT indirect objects is also possible, as demonstrated in (34b).

- (34) a. Kim-i sensayngnim{-**hanthey**/**-kkey**} senmwul-ul tuli-ess-ta.  
 Kim-NOM teacher-DAT/-HON.DAT present-ACC give-PST-DECL  
 ‘Kim gave the teacher a present.’
- b. Kim-i sensayngnim{-**hanthey**/**-kkey**}-man-**ul** senmwul-ul tuli-ess-ta.  
 Kim-NOM teacher-DAT/-HON.DAT-only-ACC present-ACC give-PST-DECL  
 ‘Kim gave only the teacher a present.’

Like stacked NOM, stacked ACC is associated with a focus interpretation (Schütze 2001). We suggest that in addition to the high FocusP in the CP domain which provides a second source of NOM, there is a low FocusP in the VoiceP domain, located between *v* and Voice, which provides a second source of ACC. Focused indirect objects, after being assigned DAT or HON.DAT from Low Appl, can then move through Spec-OnlyP to the low FocusP to receive an additional ACC. This is sketched in (35).



NOM and ACC stacking therefore can receive parallel derivations in our approach. There are two focus domains in Korean; stacked NOM is assigned in the high focus domain, and stacked ACC is assigned in the low focus domain.

## References

- Chen, Tingchun. 2018. Multiple Case Assignment: An Amis Case Study. Doctoral dissertation, MIT.
- Cho, Young-mee Yu, and Peter Sells. 1995. A lexical account of inflectional suffixes in Korean. *Journal of East Asian Linguistics* 4:119–174.

- Choi, Jaehoon. 2016. The discourse particle *-yo* in Korean: its implications for the clausal architecture. *Rivista di Grammatica Generativa*, 38 65–73.
- Choi, Jaehoon, and Heidi Harley. 2019. Locality domains and morphological rules. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 37:1319–1365.
- Chung, Han Byul. 2012. *Ilka* marks focus. In *Japanese/Korean Linguistics* 22. Tokyo.
- Chung, Inkie. 2009. Suppletive verbal morphology in Korean and the mechanism of vocabulary insertion. *Journal of Linguistics* 45:533–567.
- Davis, Christopher. 2013. Surface position and focus domain of the Ryukyuan focus particle *du*: Evidence from Miyara Yaeyaman. *International Journal of Okinawan Studies* 4:29–49.
- Gerdts, Donna B, and Cheong Youn. 1988. Korean psych constructions: advancement or retreat? In *Proceedings of the 24th annual regional meeting of the Chicago Linguistics Society*, 155–175.
- Haegeman, Liliane, and Virginia Hill. 2013. The syntacticization of discourse. *Syntax and its limits* 48:370–390.
- Hill, Virginia. 2007. Vocatives and the pragmatics–syntax interface. *Lingua* 117:2077–2105.
- Kim, Jaieun, and Inkie Chung. 2015. A unified Distributed Morphology analysis of Korean honorification morphology. *Studies in Generative Grammar* 25:631–650.
- Kim, Kyumin. 2011. External Argument Introducers. Doctoral dissertation, University of Toronto.
- Koopman, Hilda. 2005. Korean (and Japanese) morphology from a syntactic perspective. *Linguistic inquiry* 36:601–633.
- Kratzer, Angelika. 1996. Severing the external argument from its verb. In *Phrase Structure and the Lexicon*, ed. J. Rooryck and L. Zaring, 109–137. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Lee, Soo-Hwan. 2018. Suppletion in serial verb constructions. *Studies in Generative Grammar* 28:449–470.
- Lee, Youngjoo. 2005. Exhaustivity as agreement: The case of Korean *man* ‘only’. *Natural Language Semantics* 13:169–200.
- Levin, Theodore. 2017. Successive-cyclic case assignment: Korean nominative-nominative case-stacking. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 35:447–498.
- Marantz, Alec. 1984. *On the Nature of Grammatical Relations*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- McCloskey, James. 2000. Quantifier float and wh-movement in an Irish English. *Linguistic inquiry* 31:57–84.
- Moravcsik, Edith. 1995. Summing up Suffixaufnahme. In *Double Case: Agreement by Suffixaufnahme*, ed. Frans Plank, 451–484. Oxford University Press.
- Nie, Yining. 2020. Licensing arguments. Doctoral dissertation, New York University.
- Oyharçabal, Bernard. 1993. Verb agreement with nonarguments: On allocutive agreement. *Generative studies in Basques linguistics* 89–114.
- Pylkkänen, Liina. 2008. *Introducing arguments*, volume 49. MIT press.
- Richards, Norvin. 2013. Lardil “case stacking” and the timing of case assignment. *Syntax* 16:42–76.
- Rizzi, Luigi. 1982. *Issues in Italian syntax*. De Gruyter Mouton.
- Schütze, Carson T. 2001. On Korean case stacking: The varied functions of the particles *ka* and *lul*. *The Linguistic Review* 193–232.
- Speas, Peggy, and Carol Tenny. 2003. Configurational properties of point of view roles. *Asymmetry in Grammar* 315–345.
- Tyler, Matthew. 2020. Argument Structure and Argument-marking in Choctaw. Doctoral dissertation, Yale University.
- Wood, Jim, and Alec Marantz. 2017. The Interpretation of External Arguments. In *The Verbal Domain*, ed. R. D’Alessandro, I. Franco, and Á. Gallego, Oxford Studies in Theoretical Linguistics, 255–278. New York NY: Oxford University Press.
- Yoon, James H. 2005. Non-morphological determination of nominal particle ordering in Korean. *Clitic and affix combinations: Theoretical perspectives* 239–282.
- Zu, Vera. 2013. Probing for conversation participants: The case of Jingpo. In *Proceedings of the 49th annual regional meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society*, 379–389.

Soo-Hwan Lee

Department of Linguistics, New York University  
10 Washington Place, New York, NY 10003, USA  
soohwan.lee@nyu.edu

Yining Nie

Department of English and American Studies, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin  
Unter den Linden 6, 10099 Berlin, Germany  
yining.nie@hu-berlin.de