

# **Korean nominal stacking and the argument/oblique alternation**

---

Yining Nie<sup>1</sup> & Soo-Hwan Lee<sup>2</sup>

AAAL Workshop 2 @ University of Cologne

<sup>1</sup>San José State University, <sup>2</sup>Gyeongsang National University

# Introduction

---

# Introduction

Korean “case stacking” as an argument/oblique alternation?

- (1) Lee-ka Mina-**hanthey**(-lul) senwmul-ul cwu-ess-ta.  
Lee-NOM Mina-DAT-ACC present-ACC give-PST-DECL  
‘Lee gave Mina a present.’
- (2) Lee-**hanthey**(-ka) Mina-ka kulip-ta.  
Lee-DAT-NOM Mina-NOM miss-DECL  
‘Lee misses Mina.’
- (3) Lee-ka hakkyo-ey(-lul) ka-ss-ta.  
Lee-NOM school-LOC-ACC go-PST-DECL  
‘Lee went to school.’

# Introduction

## (4) Korean nominal template (Cho and Sells 1995, Park 1995)

Noun	Slot A		Slot B	
N	DAT	<i>-han</i> <i>the</i> <i>y</i>	NOM	<i>-i~ka</i>
	LOC	<i>-ey</i>	ACC	<i>-(l)ul</i>
	HON.DAT	<i>-kkey</i>	TOP	<i>-(n)un</i>
	HON.NOM	<i>-kkeyse</i>	FOC 'even'	<i>-to</i>

- Slot A markers are in complementary distribution
- Slot B markers are in complementary distribution
- Slot A and B markers may alternate or stack

# Introduction

Slot B markers are in complementary distribution

(5) a. Lee-**ka** sakwa-**lul** mek-ess-ta.  
Lee-NOM apple-ACC eat-PST-DECL  
'Lee ate the apples.'

b. Lee(**\*-ka**)-**nun** sakwa-lul mek-ess-ta.  
Lee-NOM-TOP apple-ACC eat-PST-DECL  
'[Lee]<sub>TOP</sub> ate the apples.'

c. Lee-ka sakwa(**\*-lul**)-**nun** mek-ess-ta.  
Lee-NOM apple-ACC-TOP eat-PST-DECL  
'Lee ate [the apples]<sub>TOP</sub>'

# Introduction

Slot B markers are in complementary distribution

(6) a. Lee-**ka** sakwa-lul mek-ess-ta.  
Lee-NOM apple-ACC eat-PST-DECL  
'Lee ate the apples.'

b. Lee(\*-**ka**)-**to** sakwa-lul mek-ess-ta.  
Lee-NOM-FOC apple-ACC eat-PST-DECL  
'Even [Lee]FOC ate the apples.'

c. Lee-ka sakwa(\*-lul)-**to** mek-ess-ta.  
Lee-NOM apple-ACC-FOC eat-PST-DECL  
'Lee ate even [the apples]FOC.'

# Introduction

Slot A and B markers may alternate or stack

(7) a. Lee-ka Mina-**hanthey** senwmul-ul cwu-ess-ta.  
Lee-NOM Mina-DAT present-ACC give-PST-DECL  
'Lee gave Mina a present.'

b. Lee-ka Mina-**nun** senwmul-ul cwu-ess-ta.  
Lee-NOM Mina-TOP present-ACC give-PST-DECL  
'Lee gave [Mina]<sub>TOP</sub> a present.'

c. Lee-ka Mina-**hanthey-nun** senwmul-ul  
Lee-NOM Mina-DAT-TOP present-ACC  
cwu-ess-ta.  
give-PST-DECL  
'Lee gave [Mina]<sub>TOP</sub> a present.'

# Introduction

Slot A and B markers may alternate or stack

(8) a. Lee-**hanthey** Mina-ka kulip-ta.  
Lee-DAT Mina-NOM miss-DECL  
'Lee misses Mina.'

b. Lee(-**hanthey**)-**nun** Mina-ka kulip-ta.  
Lee-DAT-TOP Mina-NOM miss-DECL  
'[Lee]<sub>TOP</sub> misses Mina.'

(9) a. Lee-ka hakkyo-**ey** ka-ss-ta.  
Lee-NOM school-LOC go-PST-DECL  
'Lee went to school.'

b. Lee-ka hakkyo(-**ey**)-**nun** ka-ss-ta.  
Lee-NOM school-LOC-TOP go-PST-DECL  
'Lee went [to school]<sub>TOP</sub>'.

# Introduction

“Case alternation” and “case stacking” when NOM/ACC are involved

(10) Lee(-hanthey)-ka Mina-ka kulip-ta.  
Lee-DAT-NOM Mina-NOM miss-DECL  
'[Lee]<sub>FOC</sub> misses Mina.'

(11) Lee-ka Mina(-hanthey)-lul senwmul-ul cwu-ess-ta.  
Lee-NOM Mina-DAT-ACC present-ACC give-PST-DECL  
'Lee gave [Mina]<sub>FOC</sub> a present.'

(12) Lee-ka hakkyo(-ey)-lul ka-ss-ta.  
Lee-NOM school-LOC-ACC go-PST-DECL  
'Lee went [to school]<sub>FOC</sub>'

Use of a Slot B marker NOM/ACC when a Slot A marker is available  
results in a focused interpretation

## Previous work

(4) Korean nominal template (Cho and Sells 1995, Park 1995)

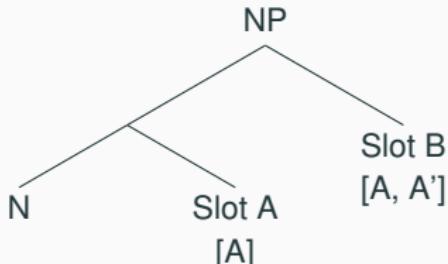
Noun	Slot A		Slot B	
N	DAT	<i>-hanthey</i>	NOM	<i>-i~ka</i>
	LOC	<i>-ey</i>	ACC	<i>-(l)ul</i>
	HON.DAT	<i>-kkey</i>	TOP	<i>-(n)un</i>
	HON.NOM	<i>-kkeyse</i>	FOC 'even'	<i>-to</i>

- Previous efforts have been concentrated on capturing “case stacking” with NOM/ACC (Gerdts and Youn 1988, Levin 2017)
- Slot A as inherent case, Slot B as structural or dependent case (Gerdts and Youn 1988, Yoon 2004, Levin 2017)
- TOP/FOC is often overlooked, or only used as evidence in support of analyses of NOM/ACC (Schütze 2001, Lee and Nie 2022)
- Nominal alternation is often overlooked, or is assumed to be derived from nominal stacking and deletion (Schütze 2001, Levin 2017)

# Proposal

- Slot A markers reflect agreement in the thematic domain:  
A-agreement with Appl, P, Voice
- Slot B markers reflect agreement in the discourse domain:  
composite A/A'-agreement with C, transitive Voice
- Nominal template is reflected in the structure of the nominal (Cho and Sells 1995): Slot A or Slot B or both heads may be present on the nominal, deriving alternation and stacking
- No real effect on argument structure: Non-promotional alternation

(13)



# Outline

1. Slot B markers as composite A/A'-agreement
2. Slot A markers as A-agreement
3. Slot A and B alternation and stacking
4. Argument/oblique alternation

## (4) Korean nominal template

Noun	Slot A		Slot B	
N	DAT	<i>-hanthey</i>	NOM	<i>-i~ka</i>
	LOC	<i>-ey</i>	ACC	<i>-(l)ul</i>
	HON.DAT	<i>-kkey</i>	TOP	<i>-(n)un</i>
	HON.NOM	<i>-kkeyse</i>	FOC 'even'	<i>-to</i>

## **Slot B markers as composite A/A'-agreement**

---

## Slot B markers

TOP and FOC markers display mixed case/discourse properties

- TOP/FOC can appear on adjuncts
- TOP/FOC can replace Slot A case marking on arguments (nominal alternation)
- TOP/FOC-marked nominals are exempt from weak crossover

NOM and ACC markers display the same above properties

## TOP and FOC

TOP/FOC can appear on adjuncts

(14) Ecey-**nun** Mina-ka cha-lul wuncenhay-ss-ta.  
yesterday-TOP Mina-NOM car-ACC drive-PST-DECL  
'[Yesterday]<sub>TOP</sub>, Mina drove the car.'

(15) Mina-ka cal-**un** anilato ancenhakey-**nun**  
Mina-NOM well-TOP even.though safely-TOP  
cha-lul wuncenhay-ss-ta.  
car-ACC drive-PST-DECL  
'Mina drove the car [safely]<sub>TOP</sub> even though she did not drive it  
[well]<sub>TOP</sub>.'

TOP/FOC can appear on adjuncts

(16) Ecey-**to** Mina-ka cha-lul wuncenhay-ss-ta.  
yesterday-FOC Mina-NOM car-ACC drive-PST-DECL  
'Even [yesterday]FOC, Mina drove the car.'

(17) Mina-ka ancenhakey-**to** cha-lul wuncenhay-ss-ta.  
Mina-NOM safely-FOC car-ACC drive-PST-DECL  
'Mina drove the car even [safely]FOC.'

## TOP and FOC

TOP/FOC can replace Slot A case marking on arguments (nominal alternation)

(18) Lee(-hanthey){-nun/-to} Mina-ka kulip-ta.  
Lee-DAT-TOP / -FOC Mina-NOM miss-DECL  
'[Lee]<sub>TOP/FOC</sub> misses Mina.'

(19) Lee-ka Mina(-hanthey){-nun/-to} senwmul-ul  
Lee-NOM Mina-DAT-TOP / -FOC present-ACC  
cwu-ess-ta.  
give-PST-DECL  
'Lee gave [Mina]<sub>TOP/FOC</sub> a present.'

(20) Lee-ka hakkyo(-ey){-nun/-to} ka-ss-ta.  
Lee-NOM school-LOC-TOP / -FOC go-PST-DECL  
'Lee went [to school]<sub>TOP/FOC</sub>.'

TOP/FOC-marked nominals are exempt from weak crossover (WCO) violations

- A'-movement incurs WCO violations, while A-movement does not (Postal 1971, Lasnik and Stowell 1991, Mahajan 1990)

(21) a. Who<sub>1</sub>  $t_1$  appears to her<sub>1</sub> mother  $t_1$  to be pretty?  
b. \*Who<sub>1</sub> does her<sub>1</sub> mother love  $t_1$ ?

- Topicalized objects in Japanese (Miyagawa 2009, 2017) and Dinka (van Urk 2015) are exempt from WCO

(22) [Taroo-to Hanako-o]<sub>i</sub> otagai-no sensei-ga  $t_i$   
Taro-and Hanako-ACC each.other-GEN teacher-NOM  $t_i$   
suisensita.  
recommended  
'Taro and Hanako, each other's teachers recommended.'  
(Miyagawa 2017:6)

TOP/FOC-marked nominals are exempt from weak crossover (WCO) violations

(23) **[John-kwa Mary-nun]<sub>i</sub>** selo<sub>i</sub>-uy sensayng-i  
John-CONJ Mary-TOP each.other-UY teacher-NOM  
chwuchenhaysssta.  
recommended  
'John and Mary, each other's teachers recommended.'

(24) **[John-kwa Mary-to]<sub>i</sub>** selo<sub>i</sub>-uy sensayng-i  
John-CONJ Mary-FOC each.other-UY teacher-NOM  
chwuchenhaysssta.  
recommended  
'Even John and Mary, each other's teachers recommended.'

## NOM and ACC

NOM/ACC can appear on adjuncts, resulting in a focused interpretation

(25) Ecey-**ka** Lee-ka cengmal aph-ass-ta.  
yesterday-NOM Lee-NOM really sick-PST-DECL  
'[Yesterday]<sub>FOC</sub>, Lee was really sick.'

(26) Lee-ka san-ul sey pen-**ul** ol-ass-ta.  
Lee-NOM mountain-ACC three times-ACC climb-PST-DECL  
'Lee climbed the mountain [three times]<sub>FOC</sub>.'

(27) Lee-ka sakwa-lul twu sikan-tongan-**ul** mek-ess-ta.  
Lee-NOM apple-ACC two hour-for-ACC eat-PST-DECL  
'Lee ate the apples [for two hours]<sub>FOC</sub>'

## NOM and ACC

NOM/ACC can replace Slot A case marking on arguments (nominal alternation), resulting in a focused interpretation

(28) Lee(-hanthey)-ka Mina-ka kulip-ta.  
Lee-DAT-NOM Mina-NOM miss-DECL  
'[Lee]<sub>FOC</sub> misses Mina.'

(29) Lee-ka Mina(-hanthey)-lul senwmul-ul cwu-ess-ta.  
Lee-NOM Mina-DAT-ACC present-ACC give-PST-DECL  
'Lee gave [Mina]<sub>FOC</sub> a present.'

(30) Lee-ka hakkyo(-ey)-lul ka-ss-ta.  
Lee-NOM school-LOC-ACC go-PST-DECL  
'Lee went [to school]<sub>FOC</sub>.'

NOM/ACC-marked nominals are exempt from weak crossover (WCO) violations

(31) **[John-kwa Mary-ka]**<sub>i</sub> selo<sub>i</sub>-uy sensayng-hanthey  
John-CONJ Mary-NOM each.other-UY teacher-NOM  
kulip-ta.  
miss-DECL  
'John and Mary, each other's teachers miss.'

(32) **[John-kwa Mary-lul]**<sub>i</sub> selo<sub>i</sub>-uy sensayng-i  
John-CONJ Mary-ACC each.other-UY teacher-NOM  
chwuchenhaysssta.  
recommended  
'John and Mary, each other's teachers recommended.'

## Composite probes

Slot B markers reflect agreement with composite A/A'-probes (van Urk 2015)

- A single probe can agree in both A- and A'-features
- A-feature: [CASE]
- A'-features: [ $\pm$ TOP], [ $\pm$ FOC]
- Composite probes are phase heads: C and transitive Voice

## Composite probes

Slot B markers reflect agreement with composite A/A'-probes (van Urk 2015)

- C probe: [NOM] + [ $\pm$ TOP /  $\pm$ FOC]
- Transitive Voice probe: [ACC] + [ $\pm$ TOP /  $\pm$ FOC]
- TOP/FOC markers appear on both subjects and objects
- NOM marker appears on subjects, ACC marker on objects
- Use of a Slot B marker NOM/ACC when a less marked form is available (Slot A) results in a focused interpretation

(33) A/A'-features associated with Slot B markers

	[+TOP]	[+FOC]	[−TOP]
C [NOM]	-( <i>n</i> ) <i>un</i>	- <i>to</i>	- <i>i~ka</i>
Voice [ACC]	-( <i>n</i> ) <i>un</i>	- <i>to</i>	-( <i>l</i> ) <i>ul</i>

## Slot A markers as A-agreement

---

## Slot A markers

Slot A markers encode thematic information but not discourse information

- Often analyzed as postpositions (Cho and Sells 1995, Yoon 2004)
- We focus on DAT and HON.NOM

(34) Slot A markers (Cho and Sells 1995)

DAT	<i>-hanthey, -eykey</i>
LOC	<i>-ey, -eyse</i>
INSTR	<i>-(u)lo</i>
GOAL	<i>-kkaci</i>
COM	<i>-hako, -(k)wa</i>
HON.DAT	<i>-kkey</i>
HON.NOM	<i>-kkeyse</i>

DAT and HON.DAT mark psych verb experiencer subjects, indirect objects (IOs) in ditransitives, and transitive causees in causatives

(35) Halmeni{-hanthey/-kkey} ai-ka kulip-ta.  
grandmother-DAT / -HON.DAT child-NOM miss-DECL  
'Grandmother misses the child.'

(36) Yuli-ka halmeni{-hanthey/-kkey} chayk-ul  
Yuli-NOM grandmother-DAT / -HON.DAT book-ACC  
tuli-ess-ta.  
give.HON-PST-DECL  
'Yuli gave grandmother a book.'

(37) Yuli-ka halmeni{-hanthey/-kkey} chayso-lul  
Yuli-NOM grandmother-DAT / -HON.DAT vegetable-ACC  
mek-i-ess-ta.  
eat-CAUS-PST-DECL  
'Yuli made grandmother eat vegetables.'

DAT and HON.DAT mark psych verb experiencer subjects, indirect objects (IOs) in ditransitives, and transitive causees in causatives

- DAT and HON.DAT have identical distribution, modulo honorification
- We assume that DAT is assigned by Appl
- Kim (2011) proposes 3 types of applicatives in Korean
  - Low Appl: IOs
  - High Appl: Causees
  - Peripheral Appl: Experiencers
- 2 basic behaviors for DAT arguments: Subject and object
  - Subject (highest nominal): Alternation and stacking with NOM
  - Object (not the highest nominal): Alternation and stacking with ACC

DAT (and HON.DAT) only involves A-features

- DAT undergoes nominal alternation and stacking with Slot B markers
- However, in contrastive focus constructions involving the negated copula *anila*, NOM is required, even if DAT is already present
- DAT does not encode A'-features

(38) Nay-ka senwmul-ul Mina(-hanthey)\*(-ka) anila  
1.SG-NOM present-ACC Mina-DAT-NOM but.not.be  
Lee-hanthey cwu-ess-ta.  
Lee-DAT give-PST-DECL  
'I gave a present to Lee, not [Mina]FOC.'

HON.NOM does not have the same distribution as NOM (Lee and Nie 2022, Lee 2024)

- Unlike DAT and HON.DAT, which have identical distribution
- HON.NOM is a Slot A marker, NOM a Slot B marker
- In the contrastive focus *anila*-construction, NOM is required, even if HON.NOM is already present
- HON.NOM does not encode A'-features

(39) Halmeni(-kkeyse)\*(-ka) anila Lee-ka  
grandmother-HON.NOM-NOM but.not.be Lee-NOM  
Kim-ul po-ass-ta.  
Kim-ACC see-PST-DECL  
'Lee, not [grandmother]<sub>F</sub>, saw Kim.'

HON.NOM does not have the same distribution as NOM (Lee and Nie 2022, Lee 2024)

- HON.NOM can appear in -(u)m nominalizations, while NOM cannot (Lee 2024)
- We assume that HON.NOM is assigned by Voice
  - Additional evidence from root suppletion (Choi and Harley 2019)

(40) [Kim sensayngnim{-kkeyse/\*-ka}-uy  
Kim teacher-HON.NOM / -NOM-UY  
kaluchi-si-**m**]-i               insangcek-i-ta.  
teach-HON-NMZL-NOM memorable-COP-DECL  
'Teacher Kim's teaching is memorable.'

LOC and other Slot A markers as agreement with a postposition

(41) Lee-ka      **hakkyo-ey**    ka-ss-ta.  
Lee-NOM school-LOC go-PST-DECL  
'Lee went to school.'

(42) Lee-ka      **kyengchal-ey-uyhay**    cap-hi-ess-ta.  
Lee-NOM police-LOC-depend.on catch-PASS-PST-DECL  
'Lee was caught by the police.'

## A-probes

---

Slot A markers reflect agreement with A-probes

- Appl: [DAT]
- Voice: [HON.NOM]
- P: [LOC], [INSTR], ...
- No A'-features

## Slot A and B alternation and stacking

---

## Nominal alternation

Slot A and B markers may alternate or stack

- TOP/FOC markers appear on both subjects and objects
- NOM marker appears on subjects, ACC marker on objects
- Alternation is often overlooked, or is assumed to be derived from nominal stacking and deletion (Schütze 2001, Levin 2017)

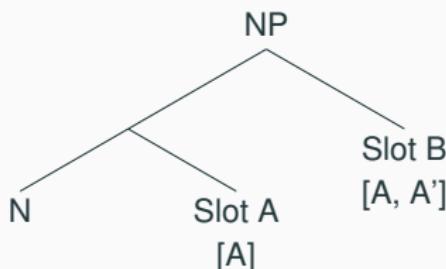
(43) Lee{-hanthey/-ka/-hanthey-ka} Mina-ka kulip-ta.  
           Lee-DAT/-NOM                                  Mina-NOM miss-DECL  
           'Lee misses Mina.'

(44) Lee-ka Mina{-hanthey/-lul/-hanthey-lul} senwmul-ul  
           Lee-NOM Mina-DAT/-ACC                                  present-ACC  
           cwu-ess-ta.  
           give-PST-DECL  
           'Lee gave Mina a present.'

## Nominal structure

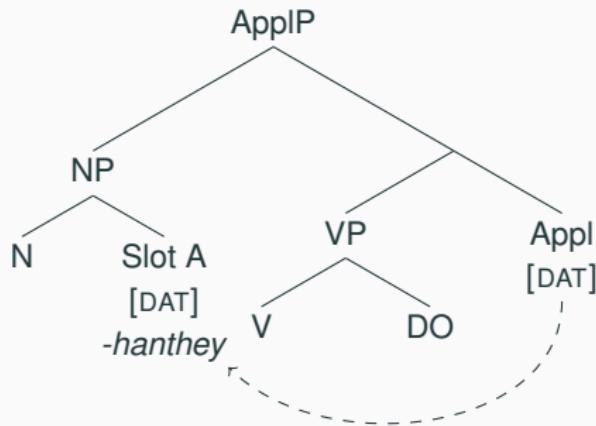
- Slot A markers reflect agreement in the thematic domain:  
A-agreement with Appl, P, Voice
- Slot B markers reflect agreement in the discourse domain:  
composite A/A'-agreement with C, transitive Voice
- Nominal template is reflected in the structure of the nominal (Cho and Sells 1995): Slot A or Slot B or both heads may be present on the nominal, deriving alternation and stacking

(13)



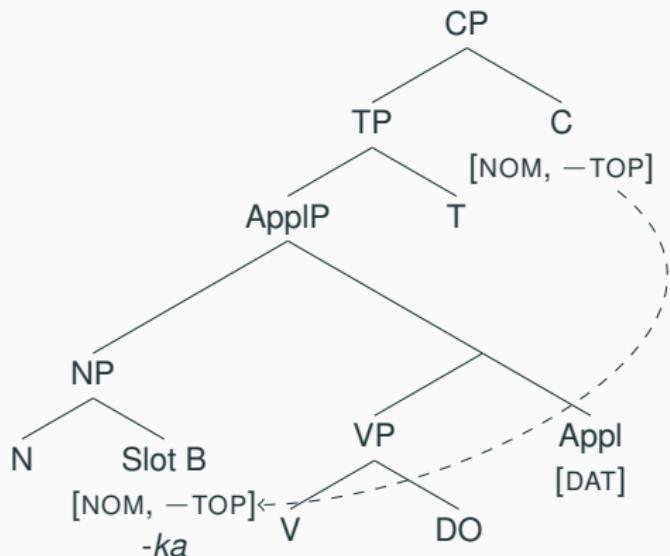
# Nominal alternation

(45) Slot A marking with DAT



# Nominal alternation

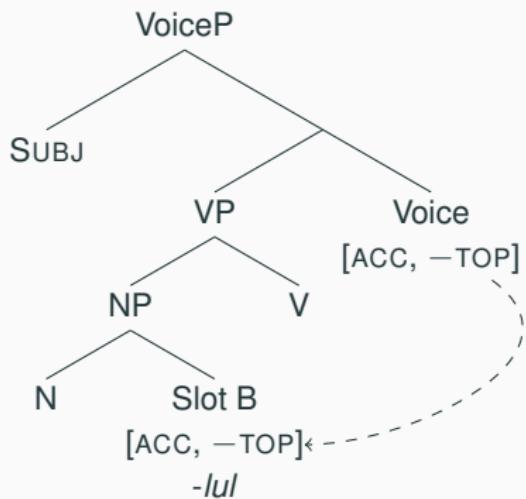
(46) Slot B marking with NOM



- NOM focus interpretation arises from pragmatic competition with a less marked form (Slot A)

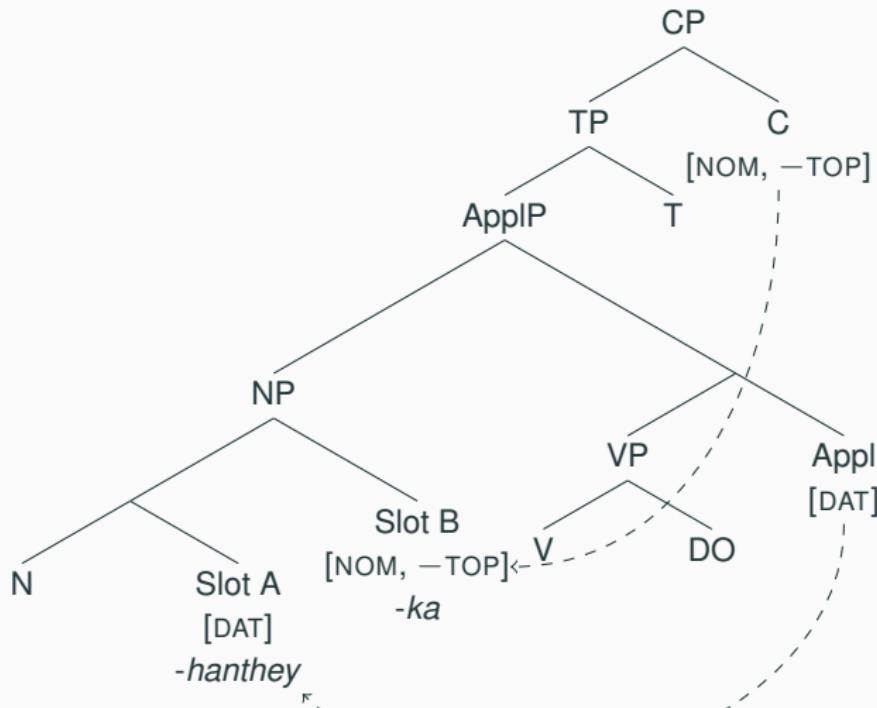
# Nominal alternation

(47) Slot B marking with ACC



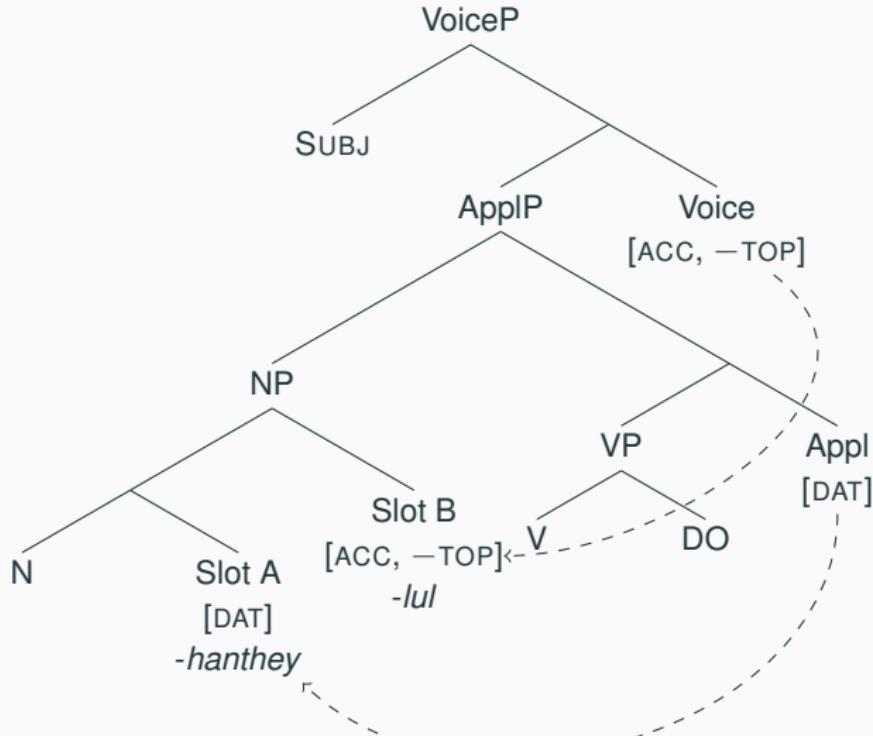
# Nominal stacking

(48) Slot A and B stacking with NOM



# Nominal stacking

(49) Slot A and B stacking with ACC



## Argument/oblique alternation

---

Case/agreement as a window into the argument/oblique alternation

- Structural case: Arguments
- Inherent case: Some arguments, obliques
- Multiple case assignment: Inherent case + structural case (Babby 1985, Moravcsik 1995, Richards 2013)
- Slot A as inherent case, Slot B as structural or dependent case (Gerdts and Youn 1988, Yoon 2004, Levin 2017)

“Case/agreement” markers may have other functions across languages

- Slot A markers: A-agreement in the thematic domain
- Slot B markers: A/A'-agreement in the discourse domain

## Slot B markers

NOM/ACC do not behave like structural or dependent case

- Multiple NOM and ACC constructions
- Multiple agreement with composite A/A'-probes
- Adverbials can be focused using NOM/ACC

(50) Cheli-**ka** apeci-**ka** pwucaya.  
Cheli-NOM father-NOM rich  
'[Cheli's]<sub>FOC</sub> father is rich.'

(51) Ecey-**ka** Lee-**ka** cengmal aph-ass-ta.  
yesterday-NOM Lee-NOM really sick-PST-DECL  
'[Yesterday]<sub>FOC</sub>, Lee was really sick.'

## Slot B markers

NOM/ACC do not behave like structural or dependent case

- Multiple NOM and ACC constructions
- Multiple agreement with composite A/A'-probes
- Adverbials can be focused using NOM/ACC

(52) Lee-ka Mina-**lul** senwmul-**ul** cwu-ess-ta.  
Lee-NOM Mina-ACC present-ACC give-PST-DECL  
'Lee gave [Mina]<sub>FOC</sub> a present.'

(53) Lee-ka san-**ul** sey pen-**ul** ol-ass-ta.  
Lee-NOM mountain-ACC three times-ACC climb-PST-DECL  
'Lee climbed the mountain [three times]<sub>FOC</sub>.'

## Adverbials

Adverbials can be focused using NOM/ACC

- “Situation delimiters”: extensive measure function which quantifies an event or state (Wechsler and Lee 1996)
  - Durative, multiplicative but not manner, frequency adverbials
- Situation delimiter adverbials can bear A/A'-features in Korean

- Relationship between argument promotion and discourse prominence
- Agreement driven by discourse features, e.g. [TOP]
  - Bantu object marking (Van der Wal 2015, 2022, Nie 2024)
  - Philippine-type voice (Chen 2017)
- A'-probing for closest NP, e.g. [PROBE:A'+D]
  - Subject-only extraction restrictions (Aldridge 2004, 2008, Branan and Erlewine 2024)
  - Composite A/A'-probes in discourse-configurational languages

Thank you!

## Appendix: A'-features

### Trivalent A'-feature system

- A'-features can have one of three featural specifications: [+F], [-F], and underspecified, notated [ $\emptyset$ F] (see Kastner 2020 on Voice)
- A nominal with an unspecified [ $\emptyset$ FOC] feature is not treated as focused morphosyntactically but may nonetheless receive a focus interpretation due to pragmatic factors

(56) Trivalent A/A'-features associated with Slot B markers

	[+TOP, -FOC]	[-TOP, +FOC]	[ $\emptyset$ TOP, $\emptyset$ FOC]
C [NOM]	-(n)un	-to	-i~ka
Voice [ACC]	-(n)un	-to	-(l)ul

# References i

Aldridge, E. (2004). *Ergativity and word order in Austronesian languages*. Cornell University.

Aldridge, E. (2008). Generative approaches to ergativity. *Language and linguistics compass* 2(5), 966–995.

Babby, L. H. (1985). Noun phrase internal case agreement in Russian. *Russian Linguistics* 9(1), 1–15.

Branan, K. and M. Y. Erlewine (2024). Ā-probing for the closest dp. *Linguistic Inquiry* 55(2), 375–401.

Chen, V. (2017). *A Reexamination of the Philippine-Type Voice System and its Implications for Austronesian Primary-Level Subgrouping*. Ph. D. thesis, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa.

Cho, Y.-m. Y. and P. Sells (1995). A lexical account of inflectional suffixes in Korean. *Journal of East Asian Linguistics* 4(2), 119–174.

Choi, J. and H. Harley (2019). Locality domains and morphological rules. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 37(4), 1319–1365.

Gerdts, D. B. and C. Youn (1988). Korean psych constructions: advancement or retreat? In *Proceedings of the 24th annual regional meeting of the Chicago Linguistics Society*, pp. 155–175.

Kastner, I. (2020). *Voice at the interfaces: The syntax, semantics, and morphology of the Hebrew verb*. Language Science Press.

Kim, K. (2011). *External Argument Introducers*. Ph. D. thesis, University of Toronto.

Lasnik, H. and T. Stowell (1991). Weakest crossover. *Linguistic inquiry* 22(4), 687–720.

Lee, S.-H. (2024). *Introducing arguments and case*. Ph. D. thesis, New York University.

Lee, S.-H. and Y. Nie (2022). Korean case stacking and the nominal template. *University of Pennsylvania Working Papers in Linguistics* 28(1), 11.

## References ii

Levin, T. (2017). Successive-cyclic case assignment: Korean nominative-nominative case-stacking. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 35(2), 447–498.

Mahajan, A. K. (1990). *The A/A-bar distinction and movement theory*. Ph. D. thesis, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Miyagawa, S. (2009). *Why agree? Why move?: Unifying agreement-based and discourse-configurational languages*. MIT Press.

Miyagawa, S. (2017). *Agreement beyond phi*, Volume 75. MIT Press.

Moravcsik, E. (1995). Summing up Suffixaufnahme. In F. Plank (Ed.), *Double Case: Agreement by Suffixaufnahme*, pp. 451–484. Oxford University Press.

Nie, Y. (2024). Applicative recursion and nominal licensing. *Linguistic Inquiry* 55(4), 725–768.

Park, K. (1995). *The Semantics and Pragmatics of Case Marking in Korean: A Role and Reference Grammar Account*. Ph. D. thesis, University of Buffalo.

Postal, P. M. (1971). *Cross-over phenomena*. Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Richards, N. (2013). Lardil “case stacking” and the timing of case assignment. *Syntax* 16(1), 42–76.

Schütze, C. T. (2001). On Korean case stacking: The varied functions of the particles *ka* and *lul*. *The Linguistic Review*, 193–232.

Van der Wal, J. (2015). Bantu object clitics as defective goals. *Revue roumaine de linguistique* 60(2-3), 277–296.

Van der Wal, J. (2022). *A featural typology of Bantu agreement*. Oxford University Press.

van Urk, C. (2015). *A uniform syntax for phrasal movement: A case study of Dinka Bor*. Ph. D. thesis, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Wechsler, S. and Y.-S. Lee (1996). The domain of direct case assignment. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 14(3), 629–664.

Yoon, J. H. (2004). Non-nominative (major) subjects and. *Non-nominative subjects* 60, 265–315.