

Revisiting the A-A' Distinction in Korean Long-Distance Scrambling

Daniel Plesniak (Seoul National University, DHPlesniak@gmail.com)

Korean scrambling does not seem to respect the purported distinction between A-scrambling and A'-scrambling (Ko, 2018). One crucial case in point: A-scrambling ought to be limited to scrambling within a clause, but Korean objects scrambled from a lower clause to a higher one ("long-distance scrambling") appear to display both A- and A'-properties, e.g., the ability to both quantificationally bind and be quantificationally bound by the subject of the higher clause. Following an approach to the same problem pioneered by Ueyama (1998) for Japanese, this talk argues that, if we distinguish between quantificational binding based on syntactic structure via the relation Formal Dependency (FD) from other types of binding, a clearer picture emerges: long-distance scrambled objects cannot bind the higher subject via FD, though they can be bound by it, precisely the result predicted by the purported clause-bounded restriction on A-scrambling but not A'-scrambling. Instances of the higher subject being bound by long-distance scrambled objects can be clearly identified as cases of "non-syntactic" binding, especially via the relation Indexical Dependency (ID), which relies purely on linear precedence, rather than syntactic structure, to determine what can bind what.

It is instructive to examine the pattern of acceptability of quantificational binding of two bindees, *casin* 'self' and *ku* 'him'. For many speakers, the former can be quantificationally bound only under FD, i.e., when it is c-commanded by its binder, and the latter can be bound only under ID, i.e., when it is preceded by its binder. In simple SOV sentences, quantificational binding possible for both bindees (✓) when the binder is the subject and the bindee is in the object, while it is impossible (*) when these positions are reversed:

- (1) Motun kyoswunim-i ✓casin/✓ku-uy haksayng-ul chingchanhayssta
every professor-Nom self/him-GEN student-Acc praised
'Every professor praised ✓self's/✓his student.'
- (2) *Casin/*ku-uy haksayng-i motun kyoswunim-ul chingchanhayssta
self/him-GEN student-Nom every professor-Acc praised
'*Self's/*His student praised every professor.'

The two bindees display different behaviors, however, when the object is scrambled. Specifically, *casin* can reconstruct (the hallmark of A'-scrambling), whereas *ku* cannot:

- (3) ✓Casin/*ku-uy haksayng-ul motun kyoswunim-i chingchanhayssta
self/him-GEN student-Acc every professor-Nom praised
'✓Self's/*His student, every professor praised.'

Conversely, *ku* can be bound even by a binder embedded in a separate clause, **if** the binder precedes it; *casin* cannot be bound in such environments, regardless of the word order:

- (4) Motun cakka-ka tochak hal dday na-nun *casin/✓ku-uy cakphwum-ul
every author-Nom arrive will.do time I-Top self/him-Gen work-Acc
chingchan.hal.kes.i.ta.
will.praise
'When each author arrives, I will praise *self's/✓his work.'
- (5) *Casin/*ku-uy cakphwum-ul motun cakka-ka tochak hal dday na-nun
self/him-Gen work-Acc every author-Nom arrive will.do time I-Top
chingchan.hal.kes.i.ta.
will.praise
'*Self's/*his work, when each author arrives, I will praise.'

The generalization seems to be that *casin* can be bound only when *c-commanded* by its binder and *ku* can be bound only when *preceded* by its binder. One might worry that *casin*'s behavior might be due to "subject-orientation" rather than anything to do with c-command, but this concern can be dispelled by its acceptability in (non-long-distance) A-scrambling constructions, where the scrambled object binds into the subject:

- (6) Motun kyoswunim-ul ✓casin/✓ku-uy haksayng-i chingchanhayssta
 every professor-Acc self/him-GEN student-Nom praised
 'Every professor, ✓self's/✓his student praised.'

We may also dismiss concerns about locality restrictions on *casin*: like *ku*, it is bindable from a higher clause, and unlike *ku*, can even reconstruct after long-distance (A'-)scrambling:

- (7) Motun kyoswunim-i con-i ✓casin/✓ku-uy haksayng-hanthey
 Every professor-nom John-Nom self/him-Gen student-Dat
 cenhwa hayssta ko mal hayssta.
 phonecall did that speech did
 'Every professor said that John called ✓self's/✓his student.'

- (8) ✓Casin/*ku-uy haksayng-hanthey motun kyoswunim-i con-i
 self/him-Gen student-Dat Every professor-nom John-Nom
 cenhwa hayssta ko mal hayssta.
 phonecall did that speech did
 '✓Self's/*his student, every professor said that John called.'

Turning to potential A-scrambling, we can see that long-distance scrambling of the embedded object binder over *casin* in the subject does not allow the bound reading (unlike the monoclausal case in (6)). It does, however, enable binding of *ku*.

- (9) *Casin/*ku-uy haksayng-i con-i motun kyoswunim-hanthey
 self/him-Gen student-Nom John-Nom every professor-Dat
 cenhwa hayssta ko mal hayssta.
 phonecall did that speech did
 *Self's/*his student said that John called every professor.'
- (10) *motun kyoswunim-hanthey casin/✓ku-uy haksayng-i con-i
 every professor-Dat self/him-Gen student-Nom John-Nom
 cenhwa hayssta ko mal hayssta.
 phonecall did that speech did
 *Every professor, *self's/✓his student said that John called.'

Ku's behavior, however, is now totally explicable without any reference to A- vs. A'-scrambling: the binder has moved to a position that precedes it, so as in all other cases, binding is now acceptable. On the other hand, *casin*'s inability to be bound is striking, given the minimal contrast with both the monoclausal A-scrambling case (6) and the long-distance A'-scrambling case (8). This inability to be bound by an object scrambled from a lower clause precisely follows from the clausal-boundedness of A-scrambling. Thus, we may conclude that Korean does indeed respect the A-scrambling vs. A'-scrambling distinction, but that the relevant judgement patterns only emerge when we focus on binding that is based on FD, precisely as Ueyama (1998) concluded for Japanese.

References: Ko, H. 2018. Scrambling in Korean syntax. *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Linguistics*. • Ueyama, A. 1998. *Two types of dependency*. Ph.D. Dissertation., USC.