On the long-distance scrambling/phonological suppression of adjuncts in Korean

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Unlike arguments, adjuncts are disallowed from undergoing long-distance scrambling in Korean or topicalization in English. This is because adjuncts do not enter into labeling when initially (pair-)merged into syntactic structure (cf. Chomsky, 2013). They do not bear any relevant formal feature either, hence failing to enter into an Agree relation with the higher Probe and undergo scrambling or topicalization. Put simply, adjuncts do not leave any record behind in a syntactic derivation involving external or internal merge, thus being unable to be moved back to the position from where it has moved (cf. Oseki, 2014). In Korean (and Japanese) where agreement is absent (cf. Kuroda, 1988), however, adjuncts can adjoin to argumental elements like object NPs without disrupting an Agree relation between the latter and their Probe (cf. Chomsky, 1986).

A similar, albeit not exactly identical, asymmetry also holds between arguments and adjuncts in regard to phonological suppression in Korean. Nominal adjuncts like time or place adverbials as well as arguments undergo phonological suppression, by assumption being realized as null pronominal *pro*. By contrast, non-nominal adjuncts such as manner or reason adverbials (and amount adverbials as well) cannot be phonologically suppressed (cf. Park, 1994). This contrast between the two differing groups is found in their distribution in cross-clausal or cross-sentential 'apparent VP ellipsis' constructions.

Since manner or reason adverbials adjoin to argumental elements like object NPs, the former can be recovered from the antecedent clause/sentence when the latter are recovered, by assumption, at LF (cf. Saito, 2016). This also renders additional supporting evidence for the fact that manner or reason adverbials are parasitic on arguments for the syntactic licensing in the course of their recovery.