

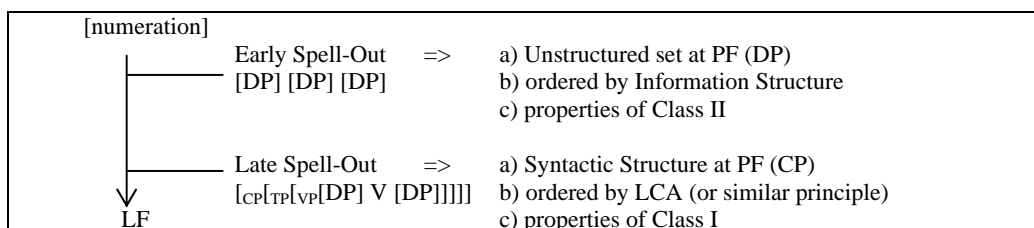
Early Spell-Out: Two Types of Derivation in Russian

The puzzle. This paper deals with the properties of two natural classes of word orders in Russian and offers a new perspective on the operation Spell-Out. In Russian, a language that allows a free ordering of the major constituents, the possible orders differ depending on the matrix/embedded status of the clause. While Class I orders (represented by SVO) appear in both matrix and embedded clauses, Class II orders (represented by VSO) are only possible in matrix contexts (1b). This difference correlates with others, e.g. verbal complexes can be split in Class II (2a), but not Class I (2b), and only Class II orders allow split constituents (3a) vs. (3b).

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>(1) a. Ja skazala chto Ivan ljubit detej (I)
I said that Ivan loves children</p> <p>b. ??Ja skazala chto ljubit Ivan detej (II)
'I said that Ivan loves children'</p> | <p>(2) a. *Iskat' Ivan budet knigu (I)
search will Ivan book</p> <p>b. Iskat' budet Ivan knigu (II)
'Ivan will look for a/the book'</p> |
| <p>(3) a. *Krasnuju ja vizhu knigu (I)
red.FEM.sg I see book.FEM.sg</p> <p>b. Krasnuju vizhu ja knigu (II)
'I see a/the red book'</p> | <p>Class I: - embedding, no split verbal complexes, no split constituents</p> <p>Class II: - split verbal complexes, split constituents, no embedding,</p> |

Moreover, Class I orders sometimes behave as Class II orders, but only in matrix clauses.

The proposal. I argue, contra analyses that take Russian scrambling to result from syntactic movement (Bailyn in press a.o.), that scrambling in this language is the result of UNMERGED structure where Class II orders are concerned. The contrasting properties of the two classes of word orders (Class I and Class II) suggest they are derived in different ways. I propose that there are two possible Spell-Out points in languages, one after the DPs have been formed, and one after the CP has been built. While Class I is the result of regular structure building (CP Spell-Out), I propose that Class II is derived by a process of Early Spell-Out where structure building (MERGE) above the DP follows the point of Spell-Out to PF. The effects of the two derivations are shown in the diagram. Once a derivation reaches PF, a process of linear ordering applies. In the absence of full syntactic structure (Class II), conditions of Information Structure select specific orderings from the set of possible random linear orderings that are in principle available. If higher syntactic structure is present (Class I), PF must respect it in the process of linearization (Chomsky 1995).



The fact that Class I orders are MERGED, while Class II orders are UNMERGED, explains their properties:

- **Embedding:** In a derivational system (Epstein *et al.* 1998) of the kind proposed above, the embedded CP must be MERGED prior to constructing the matrix clause. Therefore, only Class I orders can be embedded (1a vs. 1b), since Class II has not been MERGED into a CP yet by the time Spell-Out occurs.
- **Verbal complexes:** Only UNMERGED structures (Class II) allow the auxiliary to be split from the verb, and either to be placed anywhere in the sentence, depending on the Information Structure of the utterance (2a vs. 2b).
- **Split constituents:** The structure of a Russian sentence, once MERGED (Class I), is like that of an English one, therefore, no split constituents will be possible. However, if by the time of Spell-Out the structure contains only DPs (Class II), Information Structure will have no trouble separating adjoined elements, such as adjectives, from the DP they belong to (3a vs. 3b). At the relevant stage of the derivation, they have not been MERGED yet, and do not, therefore, yet form a constituent with the DP.

References: - Bailyn, John Frederick, in press, "Does Russian scrambling exist?" In S. Kirimi, ed., *Word Order and Scrambling*, Blackwell; Chomsky, Noam (1995), *The Minimalist Program*, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press; Epstein, Samuel David *et al.* (1998), *A Derivational Approach to Syntactic Relations*, New York: Oxford University Press.