Derivation versus Representation: Evidence from Minimality Effects in Adverb Movement

The dominant trend in recent generative linguistics has been to abandon representational models of constraints on movement in favor of strictly derivational ones (e.g. Chomsky 1995, Epstein & Seely 2002). Some researchers, however, have argued that the grammar must include at least some representational conditions (Lasnik 2001, Aoun & Li 2003, Boeckx & Lasnik 2006). This paper provides new data on adverb movement in support of the latter view.

In Russian and Japanese, long-distance scrambling of adverbs gives rise to Relativized Minimality (RM) effects when the movement crosses an intervening adverb (1-2) (Aleksey Malyutin and Yasuhiro Sasahira, respectively, p.c.). This is expected given Cinque's (1999) hierarchy of adverbs. However, some instances of local adverb scrambling can cross an intervener unscathed. This is true for frequency (3-4) and epistemic interveners (not shown). Given (1-2), the shorter movement clearly cannot feed the longer movement, although it was during the shorter movement that the intervener was crossed. It is not clear how this could be captured in a purely derivational approach. In a derivational approach each step is evaluated independently, and the presence of an intervener in a previous step should not have an effect on subsequent steps. A representational approach, by contrast, evaluates a particular configuration (presumably LF), at which it simultaneously has access to information about the presence of interveners anywhere along the chain as well as the ultimate distance between the head and tail of the chain. This simultaneous access to information that was created during different steps of the derivation is precisely what is required in order to account for the data in (1-4).

Additionally, speakers reject local scrambling sentences in which an adverb has moved across a higher intervener from the evaluative (5-6) or evidential classes (not shown). According to Iljoo Ha, p.c., the same pattern holds in Korean as well. The generalization that arises is that epistemic, frequency, and manner adverbs occupy a domain within which they can move without being subject to RM, but that RM asserts itself when they attempt to move farther. I therefore propose that RM is not a condition on movement in general, but only on movement that moves "far enough."

The specific implementation I propose is a modification to Rizzi's (2001) representational definition of RM. This revised RM expands Rizzi's notion of Minimal Configuration (MC) by adding the disjoint condition in (A) below. Assume that manner and frequency adverbs are adjoined to some phrase XP. I propose that XP is the **licenser** of these adverbs, in the sense that they must adjoin to this node in the base. Short scrambling to an adjoined position within the next highest phrase above XP creates a chain [α β] whose head α is still within the m-command domain of the node that β originally adjoined to (7). In exactly this case, I claim, the head and tail are automatically in a MC and need not meet the no intervener requirement of standard RM.

Revised Relativized Minimality Condition (additions in bold):
β is in a Minimal Configuration (MC) with α iff **either**
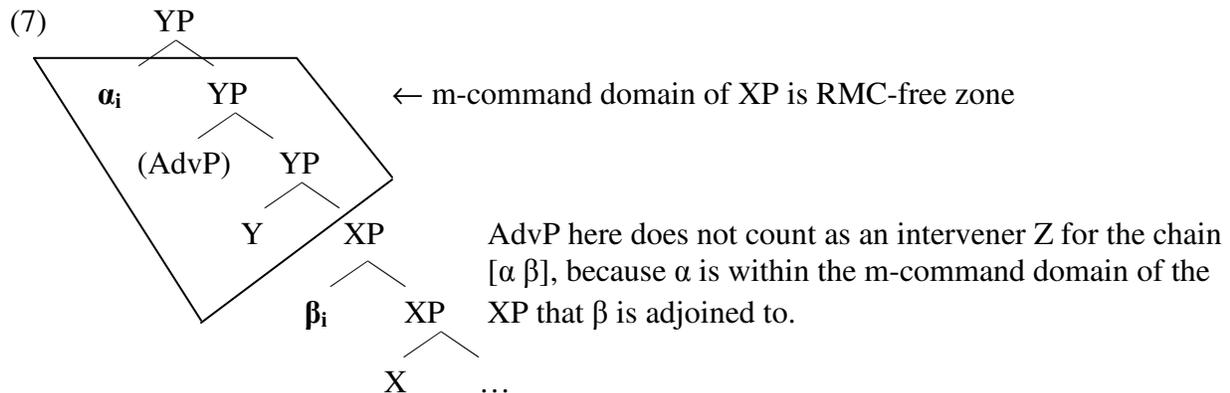**(A) α is located within the m-command domain of the licenser of the chain [α β];**
or (B) there is no Z such that
(i) Z is of the same structural type as α
(ii) Z intervenes between α and β

The representational proposal above expanded the empirical coverage of RM at the expense of a non-trivial complication to the grammar, a disjoint condition on the definition of MC. However, a derivational analysis with the same empirical coverage appears to be simply impossible.

(1)   Ja **bystro$_i$** xochu [chtoby ona (***chasto**) t$_i$ zavodilas'].
        I **quickly$_i$** want [that she (**often**) t$_i$ started]
        'I want it to (often) start quickly.'

(2)   **Hayaku$_i$**, boku-wa [Peter-ga (***hinpan-ni**) t$_i$ kuruma-o unten-suru to] sinjite-iru.
        Fast$_i$ I-TOP Peter-NOM (**frequently**) t$_i$ car-ACC drive that believe
        'I believe that Peter (frequently) drives fast.'

(3)   a. Ona **chasto bystro** zavodilas'.   b.   Ona **bystro chasto** t$_i$ zavodilas'.
         She **often quickly** started   She **quickly$_i$ often** t$_i$ started
         'It often started quickly.'

(4)   a. Sore-wa **hinpan-ni subayaku** hassinsu-ru
         It-TOP **frequently quickly** start-NonPast
         'It frequently started quickly.'

      b. Sore-wa **subayaku$_i$ hinpan-ni** t$_i$ hassinsu-ru
         It-TOP **quickly$_i$** **frequently** t$_i$ start-NonPast

(5)   * On **gromko$_i$ neozhidanno** t$_i$ vsem   rasskazal.
         He **loudly$_i$** **unexpectedly** t$_i$ everyone.DAT told
         'He unexpectedly told everyone loudly.'

(6)   ??kare-wa **oo-goe-de$_i$** **fui-ni**   t$_i$ min'na-ni   it-ta
         He-TOP **big-voice-in$_i$** **unexpectedly** t$_i$ everyone-DAT said
         'He unexpectedly told everyone loudly.'

(7)

← m-command domain of XP is RMC-free zone

AdvP here does not count as an intervener Z for the chain [α β], because α is within the m-command domain of the XP that β is adjoined to.

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