Russian Adverbs and Relativized Minimality[*]

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This paper investigates Russian adverb scrambling in Relativized Minimality (RM) contexts. New data are presented which show that long-distance adverb scrambling obeys RM, but some cases of local adverb scrambling do not. This suggests that RM is not a condition on movement in general, but only on movement that moves "far enough" in some relevant sense. I propose that extremely local movements are immune to RM if the landing site is within the c-command domain of the licenser of the chain, because in this case the head of the chain remains visible to its licenser.

1   Background: Adverbs and Minimality

First I review some necessary background information and theoretical assumptions.

1.1   Hierarchy of adverbs (Cinque 1999)

Numerous researchers have noticed that adverbs fall into semantically coherent classes, and that their syntactic behavior is determined to at least some extent by their class membership (Heny 1973, Thomason and Stalnaker 1973, McCawley 1983, among many others). For example, adverbs of the epistemic class must in general precede adverbs of the frequency class, as shown in (1). In this paper I will assume for the most part the theory developed in Cinque (1999), which captures these facts by positing that adverb phrases are specifiers of functional

heads projected in a strict hierarchy above the verb. A subset of Cinque's hierarchy is given in (2), where ">" stands for "asymmetrically c-commands."

(1)   a.   He probably frequently visits them.
        b.   * He frequently probably visits them.

(2)   evaluative > evidential > epistemic > frequency > manner

1.2   Relativized Minimality (Rizzi 1990, 2001)

I will also be assuming the Relativized Minimality Condition of Rizzi (1990, 2001). The (2001) formulation is given in (3).

(3)   **Relativized Minimality Condition (RMC)**
        Y is in a Minimal Configuration with X iff there is no Z such that
        (i)   Z is of the same structural type as X
        (ii)   Z intervenes between X and Y

The RMC has the effect of ruling out the configuration in (4), if X c-commands Z, Z c-commands Y, and X and Z are of the same structural type. This means that an element cannot move from Y to X across Z, if Z is of the same type (head, A-specifier, A′-specifier) as X.

(4)   *… X_i … Z … Y_i …

The RMC has been claimed to constrain a wide range of movement types, including adverb movement. Rizzi (2001) discusses RMC effects in topicalization, focalization, and V-2 movement of adverbs. Li, Lin, & Shields (2005) discuss how the RMC constrains wh-movement and topicalization of adverbs. (5) gives a Dutch example, due originally to Koster (1978), illustrating how the presence of an intervening evaluative adverb blocks the otherwise possible V-2 movement of an epistemic adverb.

(5)   **RMC effects in adverb movement** (Koster 1978, cited in Rizzi 2001)
        a. $Helaas_i$ is hij t_i waarschijnlijk ziek.   (Dutch)
                $unfortunately_i$ is he t_i probably   sick
                'He is unfortunately probably sick.'
        b. $Waarschijnlijk_i$ is hij (*helaas) t_i ziek.
                $probably_i$ is he   unfortunately t_i sick

1.3 Potential Movement Condition (Li, Lin, & Shields 2005)

Li, Lin, & Shields (2005) propose that the RMC be further restricted by the Potential Movement Condition (PMC) (6), which essentially states that a particular type of adverb movement (topicalization, wh-movement, etc.) is blocked only by an intervening expression which itself has the potential to undergo that type of movement. An expression which cannot in principle undergo that type of movement does not induce an RMC effect, even if it is of the correct structural type.[1] This is shown in (7), where the topicalizable but not wh-movable adverb *probably* blocks topicalization across it, but allows wh-movement in the same configuration.

(6)　**Potential Movement Condition (PMC)**
　　　If *x* ranges over types of movement (*wh*, topic, …) and [*X*] over the features that signal a constituent's ability to undergo *x*-movement, then *x*-movement of an adverb is blocked only by a c-commanding [+*X*] adverb.

(7)　a.　How skillfully$_i$ does John (*frequently) t$_i$ mow his lawn?
　　　b.　How skillfully$_i$ does John (probably) t$_i$ mow his lawn?
　　　c.　Skillfully$_i$, John (*frequently) t$_i$ mows his lawn.
　　　d.　Skillfully$_i$, John (*probably) t$_i$ mows his lawn.

(8)　a.　how skillfully…?
　　　b.　* how probably…?

2　Russian scrambling: an RMC puzzle

RMC effects in topicalization, wh-movement, V-2 movement, and head-movement are well-known. The question naturally arises whether RMC effects can be found in another type of dislocation, scrambling. Bošković & Takahashi (1998), who propose a lowering account of scrambling, claim that this type of movement is immune to the RMC, but they consider only arguments. In this section I look at Russian adverb scrambling in Minimality contexts.[2] We will see

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[1] The contrasts in (7) are difficult to accommodate if Minimality effects are analyzed in terms of Chomsky's (1995) Minimal Link Condition (MLC), as Li, Lin, & Shields show. I therefore discuss Minimality effects in terms of Rizzi's RMC, rather than the MLC.

[2] The fact that adjuncts scramble in Russian is reported in Bailyn (2001, 2004). Contra Bošković (2004), this does in fact seem to be "true" or Japanese-style scrambling, and not topicalization. As Bošković points out, topicalization is subject to a number of islands such as wh-island, but scrambling is not. Like Japanese-style scrambling, and unlike topicalization, adjunct extraction in Russian can cross a wh-island (i). I therefore follow Bailyn in assuming that adjunct extraction may involve a process identical to the one involved in argument scrambling.

that in some cases adverb scrambling is constrained by the RMC, but in other cases it is not. A solution to this puzzle is presented in section 3.

2.1   Types of Russian scrambling

Scrambling in Russian can target a number of positions. I will divide scrambling into three types depending on the landing site: short local scrambling (targets a position to the right of the subject), long local scrambling (targets a position at the left edge of the clause), and long distance scrambling (targets a position across the clause boundary). Examples of each type for argument and adjunct scrambling are provided below (with the exception of short local adjunct scrambling, which cannot be seen clearly without adding additional adjuncts into the example). A broad range of scrambling examples can be found in Zemskaja (1973) and Shvedova (1980).

(9)   Arguments:
   a.   Oni kupili   kvartiru.   **base order**
          they bought apartment.ACC
          'They bought the/an apartment.'

   b.   Oni kvartiru$_i$ kupili t_i.   **short local**
          they apartment.ACC$_i$ bought t_i

   c.   Kvartiru$_i$ oni kupili t_i.   **long local**
          apartment.ACC$_i$ they bought t_i

   d.   Ja kvartiru$_i$ znaju [chto oni   kupili t_i].   **long-distance**
          I   apartment.ACC$_i$ know [that they bought t_i]
          'I know that they bought the/an apartment.'

   e.   Kvartiru$_i$ ja znaju [chto oni   kupili t_i].
          apartment.ACC$_i$ I   know [that they bought t_i]

(10)   Adjuncts:
   a.   On bystro   pechataet.   **base order**
          he quickly types
          'He types quickly.'

(i) Bystro$_i$ vidish'   [kak on t_i pechataet]?
     quickly$_i$ you.see [how he t_i types]
     'Do you see how quickly he types?'

b.　　Bystro$_i$　on　t$_i$　pechataet.　　　　　　　　**long local**
　　　quickly$_i$　he　t$_i$　types

c.　　Ja bystro$_i$　xochu [chtoby on t$_i$ napechatal].　**long distance**
　　　I　quickly$_i$ want　[that　　he t$_i$ typed]
　　　'I want him to type it quickly.'

d.　　Bystro$_i$　ja xochu [chtoby on t$_i$ napechatal].
　　　quickly$_i$ I　want　[that　　he t$_i$ typed]

2.2　Russian scrambling and the RMC

These various types of scrambling behave differently when it comes to the RMC. Long distance scrambling obeys the RMC, as expected. For example, the frequency adverb *chasto* 'often' can (marginally) be scrambled long-distance to the matrix clause, and the presence of the lower manner adverb *bystro* 'quickly' has no effect on the judgment (11a).[3] This shows that such scrambling of adjuncts is not in general sensitive to the presence of other adjunct material in the lower clause. But long-distance scrambling of the manner adverb is blocked by the presence of an intervening frequency adverb (11b): an RMC effect.

(11)　a.　? Ja chasto$_i$ xochu [chtoby ona t$_i$ (bystro) exala].
　　　　　I　often$_i$　want　[that　　she t$_i$ (quickly) went]
　　　　　'I want it [e.g. a car] to often go (quickly).'

　　　b.　Ja bystro$_i$　xochu [chtoby ona (*chasto) t$_i$ exala].
　　　　　I　quickly$_i$ want　[that　　she (often)　t$_i$ went]
　　　　　'I want it to (often) go quickly.'

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[3] Long-distance scrambling of an adjunct is degraded if the adjunct is also semantically compatible with the upstairs predicate, as in the case of the frequency adverb in (11a). However, such sentences do appear to be marginally possible if a context is presented that biases toward the downstairs reading. For example, out of the blue (11a) was judged to have only the matrix reading for *chasto* ('I often want…'). But *chasto* can be construed (although somewhat awkwardly) with the embedded predicate if the speaker is complaining about a game, say, where some vehicle is programmed to go slowly most of the time and quickly only very rarely. Minimal pairs like (11) without this added complication are difficult to construct, because the higher adverb classes such as frequency and epistemic are compatible with essentially all verbs.

　　　The marginality of sentences like (11a) does not affect the main point here, however. What is important for us is that there is no difference in judgment for (11a) with or without the downstairs adverb *bystro* 'quickly,' while there is a sharp contrast between (11b) with and without the intervening downstairs adverb.

The situation is different when we consider long local scrambling, however. There appear to be two distinct dialects with respect to this type of movement. For some speakers, sentences with long local scrambling were judged to be the same as the long-distance cases: that is, scrambling of an adverb is possible only if it does not cross a higher adverb. These speakers rejected sentences like (12b). But for others, no contrast was felt between sentences like (12a) and (12b). In this dialect, there is unexpectedly no RMC effect with long local scrambling.

(12) a. Reguljarno$_i$ on t$_i$ grubo otvechaet.
            regularly   he t$_i$ rudely answers
            'He regularly answers rudely.'

       b. √/* Grubo$_i$ on reguljarno t$_i$ otvechaet.
            rudely   he regularly   t$_i$ answers

Short local scrambling shows yet another pattern. Here, speakers of both dialects accepted sentences like (13a) and (13b). The grammaticality of (13b) in both dialects is unexpected, as the RMC constrains long local adverb movement in one dialect and long-distance adverb movement in both dialects, as we just observed.

(13) a. On reguljarno grubo otvechaet.
            he regularly   rudely answers
            'He regularly answers rudely.'

       b. On grubo$_i$ reguljarno t$_i$ otvechaet.
            he rudely regularly   t$_i$ answers

The three different patterns represented in (11-13) present an intriguing puzzle: why can RMC effects be obviated with some types of scrambling, but not others? And what is responsible for the variation across speakers? Table 1 presents a summary of the facts to be accounted for.

Table 1: Dialects of adverb scrambling

	Adverb scrambling obeys RMC?		
	Short local	Long local	Long distance
Dialect 1	No	No	Yes
Dialect 2	No	Yes	Yes

2.3   RMC with PMC constrains WH-mvt

It may be tempting to view (13b) as a case of allowable base-generation in violation of Cinque's (1999) hierarchy. In other words, (13b) might be ruled in by claiming that no dislocation has in fact occurred in this case, supposing that Russian allows manner and frequency adverbs to be base-generated in either order in the local clause.[4] However, note that this would cause problems for the analysis of (11) and (12). If Russian allowed manner adverbs to be generated higher than frequency in this way, we would lose our explanation for the ungrammaticality of (11b) and (12b).

Furthermore, RMC effects with Russian adverbs are observable in wh-movement as well as in scrambling, and a rigid implementation of the hierarchy is necessary to account for these facts. Wh-movement of the frequency adverb *reguljarno* 'regularly' is possible in (14), because *grubo* 'rudely' is a lower manner adverb. But wh-movement of the manner adverb in (15) is only possible if the higher frequency adverb is absent. Again, this would be difficult to explain if manner and frequency adverbs could be generated in either order.

(14)   Kak reguljarno$_i$ on t$_i$ (grubo) otvechaet?
        how regularly$_i$ he t$_i$ (rudely) answers
        'How regularly does he answer (rudely)?'

(15)   Kak grubo$_i$ on (*reguljarno) t$_i$ otvechaet?
        how rudely$_i$ he   (regularly) t$_i$ answers
        'How rudely does he (*regularly) answer?'

Wh-movement of adverbs can in fact cross higher adverbs in some cases, such as (16), but these involve higher non-wh-moveable adverbs, as predicted by the Potential Movement Condition mentioned above.

(16)   Kak grubo$_i$ on (navernoe) t$_i$ otvechaet?
        how rudely$_i$ he (probably) t$_i$ answers
        'How rudely does he (probably) answer?'

The fact that there are RMC violations in both wh-movement and some cases of scrambling shows clearly that base-generation of manner adverbs higher than frequency adverbs is not an option in Russian. The adverbs must be base-

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[4] In some languages it may indeed be the case that a subset of the hierarchy is not rigidly ordered in the base: see for example Enç's (2003) proposal for Turkish, and the discussion of Menominee in Shields (2005).

generated in accordance with the hierarchy, in order to rule out those cases where Minimality violations surface. Cases like (13), which involve apparent violations of the hierarchy on the surface, must then be explained in some other way.

3 Proposal

3.1 Dialect 1: Allows A-scrambling of adjuncts

The first dialect described above obeys the RMC only for long-distance adverb scrambling, and allows apparent RMC violations for any scrambling within the local clause. For this dialect I suggest that clause-internal scrambling of adverbs can target A-positions. If the scrambling target is an A-position, rather than an A´-position, an intervening A´ element does not induce a Minimality effect, because it is not of the same structural type as the target position. We therefore predict RMC effects with A´ interveners to be obviated in exactly this case.

Indeed, the local/long-distance split corresponds to the availability of A-movement for argument scrambling in Russian.[5] Local scrambling of arguments (either short or long) may display properties of A-movement, but long-distance scrambling may not. Two of the ways in which local scrambling in Russian displays A-properties are illustrated in the following examples.[6] First, local

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[5] Bošković (2004) states that Russian does not allow local A-scrambling. His evidence for this comes from the inability of the word *drug druga* 'each other' to repair BCA violations in examples like the following (Bošković 2004: 627):

(i) *[Larisu   i   Tanju]$_i$ [materi   drug druga$_i$]   vstretili t$_i$.
      Larisa.ACC and Tanja.ACC mothers.NOM each.other.GEN met
      'Each other's mothers met Larisa and Tanja.'

However, as pointed out by Rappoport (1986), *drug druga* has special properties that distinguish it from reciprocals like English *each other*. Specifically, within an NP *drug druga* appears to require that the noun denote a symmetric reciprocal predicate, and takes as its antecedent the logical subject of this predicate. For example, Rappoport notes that *Oni prochitali vospominanija (*Tolstogo) drug o druge* 'They read (Tolstoy's) memoirs about each other' is not grammatical if the writer of the memoirs is specified as a single person such as Tolstoy, in contrast to the English case. Similarly, unlike *each other's mothers*, the NP *materi drug druga* must refer to two entities, each of which gave birth to the other. The ungrammaticality of (i) therefore stems from the special antecedence requirements of *drug druga*, and does not necessarily tell us anything about the availability of A-scrambling in Russian. Note that the unscrambled version of (i) is also unacceptable:

(ii) *[Larisa   i   Tanja]$_i$ vstretili t$_i$ [materej   drug druga$_i$]   .
       Larisa.NOM and Tanja.NOM met   mothers.ACC each.other.GEN
       'Larisa and Tanja met each other's mothers.'

[6] (17) and (18) a, b, and d, are from Bailyn (2004), with judgments from my informants (Bailyn reports the (b) sentences to be fully grammatical). Bailyn assumes that there is only one A-position available per clause in Russian, so that a scrambled object displays A-properties only in OVS word order, when the object has been raised to Spec, IP in place of the subject (as in the (b)

scrambling in (17b, 17c) fixes the Binding Condition A violation in (17a), but long-distance scrambling (17d) does not.

(17) a. *Svoi$_i$ podchinennye volnujut Ivana$_i$.
　　　　self's$_i$ subordinates.NOM worry Ivan.ACC$_i$
　　　　'Self's subordinates worry Ivan.'

　　 b. ?Ivana$_i$ volnujut svoi$_i$ podchinennye.
　　　　Ivan.ACC$_i$ worry self's$_i$ subordinates.NOM

　　 c. ?Ivana$_i$ svoi$_i$ podchinennye volnujut.
　　　　Ivan.ACC$_i$ self's$_i$ subordinates.NOM worry

　　 d. * Ivana$_i$ my xotim, chtoby svoi$_i$ podchinennye volnovali.
　　　　Ivan.ACC$_i$ we want that self's$_i$ subordinates.NOM worry
　　　　'We want self's subordinates to worry Ivan.'

　　　Second, local scrambling in (18b, 18c) fixes the Weak Crossover violation in (18a), but again long-distance scrambling (18d) does not.

(18) a. *Ee$_i$ sobaka ljubit kazhduju devochku$_i$.
　　　　her dog.NOM loves every girl.ACC
　　　　'Her$_i$ dog loves every girl$_i$.'

　　 b. Kazhduju devochku$_i$ ljubit ee$_i$ sobaka.
　　　　every girl.ACC loves her dog.NOM
　　　　'Her$_i$ dog loves every girl$_i$.' (cf. Every girl$_i$ is loved by her$_i$ dog.)

　　 c. Kazhduju devochku$_i$ ee$_i$ sobaka ljubit.
　　　　every girl.ACC her dog.NOM loves
　　　　'Her$_i$ dog loves every girl$_i$.'

　　 d. * Kazhduju devochku$_i$ ja xochu, chtoby ee$_i$ sobaka poljubila.
　　　　every girl.ACC I want that her dog.NOM loved
　　　　'I want her$_i$ dog to love every girl$_i$.'

　　　These examples show that local argument scrambling (long or short) in Russian can target an A-position. For dialect 1, I propose that even adjuncts can

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sentences). However, Russian in fact seems to be an IP-absorption language in the sense of Richards (2001), allowing multiple Spec, IPs, as shown by the A-status of the object the OSV (c) sentences.

scramble to this A-position. This dialect is then in fact completely well-behaved with respect to the RMC for adverb scrambling.

3.2   Dialect 2: RMC does not apply if movement is structure-preserving

In dialect 2 the RMC is obeyed for long local scrambling as well as long-distance scrambling. Apparent RMC violations are allowed only for short local scrambling. Therefore in this dialect A-scrambling of adjuncts must *not* be allowed, in order to prevent obviation of RMC violations with long local scrambling.

    Before presenting the proposal for this dialect we need some additional evidence concerning short local scrambling. As we saw above, a manner adverb can short scramble above a frequency adverb without producing a Minimality effect. This is also true for expected epistemic interveners:

(19)   a.   On navernoe grubo otvechaet.
               he probably rudely answers
               'He probably answers rudely.'

         b.   On $grubo_i$ navernoe t_i otvechaet.
               he rudely probably t_i answers

A frequency adverb can also scramble across an epistemic with no difficulty:

(20)   a.   On navernoe chasto otvechaet.
               he probably often   answers
               'He probably answers often.'

         b.   On $chasto_i$ navernoe t_i otvechaet.
               he often   probably t_i answers

    The manner, frequency, and epistemic classes can appear in any order within the space between the subject and the verb. However, this is not true for all adverb classes. Although a manner adverb may short scramble across a frequency or epistemic with impunity, it may not in fact cross a higher intervener, such as an evidential or evaluative. (21) illustrates this with the evidential adverb *predpolozhitel'no* 'presumably,' and (22) gives an example with the evaluative adverb *neozhidanno* 'unexpectedly.'

(21)   a.   On predpolozhitel'no gromko vsem   rasskazhet.
             he presumably   loudly everyone.DAT will.tell
             'He will presumably tell everyone loudly.'

       b.   * On gromko$_i$ predpolozhitel'no t$_i$ vsem   rasskazhet.
             he loudly$_i$ presumably   t$_i$ everyone.DAT will.tell

(22)   a.   On neozhidanno gromko vsem   rasskazhet.
             He unexpectedly loudly   everyone.DAT will.tell
             'He will unexpectedly tell everyone loudly.'

       b.   * On gromko$_i$ neozhidanno t$_i$ vsem   rasskazhet.[7]
             He loudly$_i$ unexpectedly t$_i$ everyone.DAT will.tell

The generalization that emerges is that epistemic, manner, and frequency adverbs can scramble across each other within the confines of the space between the preverbal subject and the verb, but that the hierarchy asserts itself when they attempt to cross a projection higher than EpistemicP. Assuming that frequency and manner adverbs are generated within VP, this means that in this dialect adverbs can scramble RMC-free as long as they do not cross the first functional projection above VP (EpistemicP).[8] I therefore propose that adverbs in this position occupy a domain within which they can move without being subject to the RMC. In other words, I am proposing that the RMC is not a condition on movement in general, but only on movement that moves "far enough" in some sense. Specifically, suppose that the RMC only constrains movement of elements that have moved out of the c-command domain of their original licenser, which I assume to be VP in the case of VP adverbs. Movement that is structure-preserving, such as the movement from Y to X in (23), is then not subject to the RMC, and may cross apparent interveners.[9] This is because VP c-commands X in
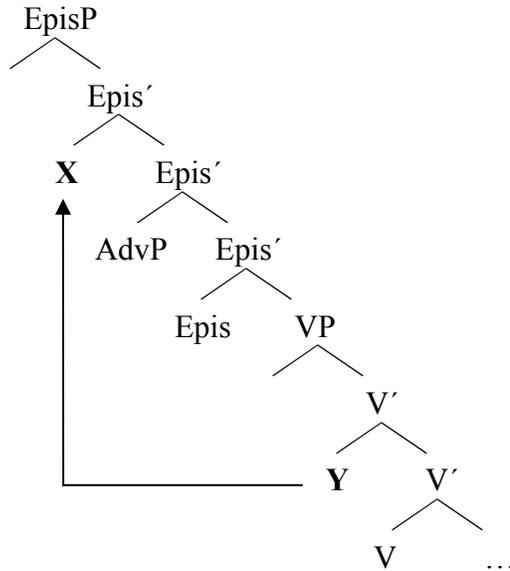
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[7] A speaker of dialect 1 judged this sentence to be grammatical. This is predicted if A-mvt is a possibility for short local scrambling, as suggested above. However, the same speaker rejected (21b), a fact which is problematic for the A-movement proposal. I leave this issue unresolved here.

[8] The assumption that frequency and manner adverbs are generated in VP deviates from Cinque's (1999) proposal. Cinque posits functional projections associated with these adverb classes as well: FrequencyP and VoiceP, respectively. (However, of the manner class he discusses only adverbs like *well/poorly*, which in English in fact pattern with resultative adverbs rather than with typical manner adverbs, so it is not clear to me whether he intended for manner adverbs like *rudely* to be associated with VoiceP along with *well/poorly*.) The manner and frequency classes are in my opinion classes for which Cinque has no convincing evidence of corresponding functional morphemes cross-linguistically, rendering plausible the assumption that they are not associated with their own functional heads, but rather are generated within VP as I have suggested above.

[9] The notion of structure-preserving transformations originates with Emonds (1970), but I am applying it here with the definition of c-command from Chomsky (1986), in which intermediate

(23), assuming the definition of c-command in Chomsky (1986). But any movement from within VP beyond EpisP will not be structure-preserving, because the VP will no longer c-command the landing site of the moved category. This movement will therefore be subject to the RMC.

(23)

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      EpisP
       /\
        Epis′
         /\
    X      Epis′
    ↑       /\
    |   AdvP   Epis′
    |          /\
    |       Epis   VP
    |              /\
    |               V′
    |               /\
    └──────────── Y   V′
                      /\
                    V    …
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     The intuitive explanation behind this idea is that categories such as adverbs need to be close enough in some relevant sense to their licensers. A category is automatically close enough if it is directly visible to its licenser, either by being adjoined to it (as it is in its base position) or by being located inside the licenser's c-command domain. A category may therefore move freely within the c-command domain of its licenser. But if a category moves outside the range of visibility of the licenser, then the relationship must be "recoverable," meaning that no (relativized) intervener may lie on the path from the licenser and the moved category. It is only in this second case that Relativized Minimality actually becomes relevant. On this view, RM is not a condition on movement per se, but a condition on licensing of categories that have roamed beyond the visibility domain of their licensers.

     More formally, we can redefine Rizzi's (2001) definition of Relativized Minimality as follows (new addition in bold):

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projections are transparent for c-command. For example, on this definition of c-command VP c-commands Epis, AdvP, and X in (23), because no maximal projection dominates VP that does not also dominate these nodes.

(24)   Y is in a Minimal Configuration (MC) with X iff **either**
        (1) X is located within the c-command domain of the licenser of Y;
or
        (2) there is no Z such that
                (i) Z is of the same structural type as X
                (ii) Z intervenes between X and Y

As in Rizzi (2001), every link of a chain is required to be in a Minimal Configuration with its adjacent c-commanding link. The impact of the proposed addition is that we only worry about a potential intervener Z if Y is separated from X by a maximal projection other than the licenser of Y. If X has moved only within (but not beyond) the first maximal projection above Y's licenser, the first clause of the disjunction is satisfied and Y is in a Minimal Configuration with X, regardless of the presence or absence of an intervener Z. If X has moved beyond the first maximal projection dominating the licenser of Y, the first clause of the disjunction will not be satisfied, and the second clause will be evaluated. The addition of a disjunction to the definition in (3) is obviously a non-trivial complication, but it is one that appears to be motivated by the data presented here.

4   Further implications

The data and analysis presented above have a number of further implications. First, movement of an adjunct to an A-position, as proposed for dialect 1 above, appears to violate the ban on improper (A′-to-A) movement. Assuming the proposal to be correct, this implies that the ban on improper movement is stated too broadly, at least for speakers of dialect 1. Further research to determine the true nature of the ban is then required. Notably, the data motivating the ban to my knowledge all involve A-A′-A chains, rather than simply A-A′ chains. Other possibilities could be explored to rule in A-A′ chains but rule out A-A′-A chains, such as distinguishing base-generated and derived A′ positions, or stating the ban in terms of homogeneity of the tail of the chain (the entire chain minus the head).
        Second, the fact that Russian adverb scrambling obeys Relativized Minimality at all may have interesting implications for various aspects of linguistic theory. Scrambling is known to be immune to certain constraints on movement, partially inspiring proposals that scrambling either does not involve movement (e.g. Bayer and Kornfilt 1994, Neeleman 1994, Tonoike 1997), or involves a type of movement such as lowering that is presumed to be immune to these constraints (e.g. Abe 1997, Bošković and Takahashi 1998). The fact that adverb scrambling is sensitive to the RMC but not other movement constraints has implications for the treatment of both dependency constraints and scrambling itself. For example, as mentioned above, scrambling in Russian (including adverb

scrambling) does not obey wh-island. Yet, wh-island is standardly analyzed as an instance of a Relativized Minimality (or MLC) violation (Chomsky 1995). But if Russian adverb scrambling can obey the RMC but not wh-island, then we may need to rethink this connection. One possibility is that this fact implies the need for a more fine-grained understanding of what counts as an RMC intervener for a given type of movement.

Another problem concerns the behavior of adjuncts versus arguments in scrambling and Minimality. While at least some types of adverb scrambling obey the RMC, as discussed above, it is well-known that argument scrambling does not appear to show sensitivity to this condition (Müller and Sternefeld 1993, Bošković and Takahashi 1998). Specifically, an A′ scrambled argument does not create an island for further A′ scrambling, whether long-distance or local. These and other differences between adjunct and argument movement clearly need to be further investigated, a project which I leave for future work.

5   Conclusion

To summarize, we have seen that Russian splits into two dialects in terms of whether adverb scrambling obeys Relativized Minimality. In dialect 1, only long-distance scrambling of adverbs shows RM effects, while in dialect 2 both long-distance and long local scrambling do. Short local scrambling is immune to the RMC in both dialects. I proposed that speakers of dialect 1 allow local A-movement of adjuncts. On this analysis, dialect 1 is in fact completely well-behaved with respect to the RMC as defined in Rizzi (1990, 2001). The proposal for dialect 2, however, involved a revision of Rizzi's original condition. Based on data from this dialect, I suggested that the RMC as Rizzi defined it is only evaluated over movement chains whose links are sufficiently far apart. If the links of a chain are "close enough," namely if the higher link is within the c-command domain of the licenser of the chain, that portion of the chain is well-formed whether or not it meets the original RM condition.

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