

Title: Splitting Nominal and Prepositional Phrases in Russian: What of Linearization?

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Russian allows for splitting constructions, whereby the elements of an XP are pronounced in disparate parts of the clause, as exemplified in (1) and (2). The ordering of the discontinuous elements of nominal phrases is largely free – “simple/inverted splits” in Pereltsvaig (2008), but the constituents show sensitivity to certain Island effects. Prepositional phrases are restricted in that the preposition must always precede a fronted adjectival modifier or a noun, i.e., the structures expressed in linear terms in (3) are impossible. “Light” prepositions, as in (2), can be repeated before stranded material (2a), and even pronounced in situ (2b). This differentiates them from “heavy” prepositions, which demonstrate severe limitations on the relative distance and order of the discontinuous elements (4).

- (1) Očen' on interesnuju kupil knigu.  
Very he interesting bought book
- (2) a. [ $*(V)$  starom]<sub>i</sub> on ždet svoju podругu [(v) restorane  $t_i$ ].  
In old he waits self's girlfriend (in) restaurant  
b. On ždet svoju podругu [v starom v restorane].
- (3) \*N... < [ppP Adj  $t_N$ ], \*Adj... < [ppP  $t_{ADJ}$  N]
- (4) a. [ $?*$ [Nesmotrja na tščatel'nuju]<sub>i</sub> Ivan provalil èkzamen [ $t_i$  podgotovku]].  
Regardless of careful Ivan failed exam preparation  
b. [ $*(Na)$  tščatel'nuju [nesmotrja na  $t_i$  podgotovku], Ivan provalil èkzamen].  
c. [ $*(Na)$  tščatel'nuju, Ivan provalil èkzamen [nesmotrja na  $t_i$  podgotovku]].  
Of careful Ivan failed exam regardless of preparation

This paper attempts to align Russian NP/PP splitting facts with Fox & Pesetsky's (2005) hypothesis of cyclic linearization, which posits that the linear ordering established in a given Spell-Out domain is fixed and may not be altered.

References:

- Fox, Danny, and David Pesetsky. 2005. Cyclic Linearization of Syntactic Structure. *Theoretical Linguistics* 31.1: 1-45.  
Pereltsvaig, Asya. 2008. Split Phrases in Colloquial Russian. *Studia Linguistica* 62.1: 5-38.