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Intro: We present a case of opacity in scrambling out of Chechen nominalizations, conditioned by the case of the subject and the argument/adjunct distinction. Our claim is that it is better understood as an A/A'-rule ordering interaction rather than an opaque domain effect, absolute (Chomsky 1986; 2000 a.m.o) or not (Rizzi 1990; Abels 2012; Keine 2020).

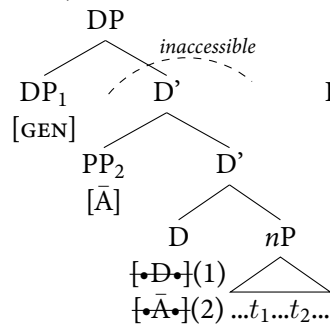
Data: Chechen shows the following scrambling pattern. Adjunct PPs may always scramble out of the nominalization (1d;2d). Argument DPs may scramble out of the nominalization only if the subject bears ERG case (1b;2b). The puzzle is that opacity arises when a conjunction of properties is met: neither GEN subject, nor scrambling of an argument are enough alone for the nominalization to be opaque. This observation made above rules out any opaque domain-based approach (see refs above): opaque domains are blind to what moves.

- (1) a. *suuna [ahw illi ala-r] d-ez-a*
 1SG.DAT 2SG.ERG epic.sing say-NMLZ.D D-love-PRES
 'I like your singing of the epic song.'
- b. *illi_i suuna [ahw ____i ala-r] d-ez-a*
 epic.sing 1SG.DAT 2SG.ERG say-NMLZ.D D-love-PRES
 'Epic song, I like your singing of.'
- c. *suuna [ahw illi vaj-ga ala-r] d-ez-a*
 1SG.DAT 2SG.ERG epic.sing 1PL.INCL-ALL say-NMLZ.D D-love-PRES
 'I like your singing of the epic song for us.'
- d. *vaj-ga₁ suuna [ahw illi ___₁ ala-r] d-ez-a*
 1PL.INCL-ALL 1SG.DAT 2SG.ERG epic.sing say-NMLZ.D D-love-PRES
 'I like your singing of the epic song for us.'
- (2) a. *suuna [hwan illi ala-r] d-ez-a*
 1SG.DAT 2SG.GEN epic.sing say-NMLZ.D D-love-PRES
 'I like your singing of the epic song.'
- b. **illi_i suuna [hwan ____i ala-r] d-ez-a*
 epic.sing 1SG.DAT 2SG.GEN say-NMLZ.D D-love-PRES
 Int.: 'Epic song, I like your singing of.'
- c. *suuna [hwan illi vaj-ga ala-r] d-ez-a*
 1SG.DAT 2SG.GEN epic.sing 1PL.INCL-ALL say-NMLZ.D D-love-PRES
 'I like your singing of the epic song for us.'
- d. *vaj-ga₁ suuna [hwan illi ___₁ ala-r] d-ez-a*
 1PL.INCL-ALL 1SG.DAT 2SG.GEN epic.sing say-NMLZ.D D-love-PRES
 'I like your singing of the epic song for us.'

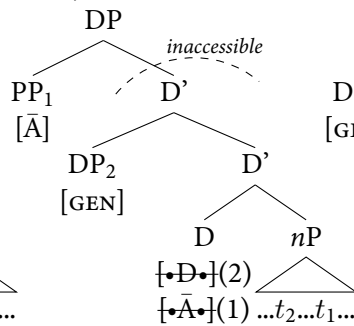
A/ \bar{A} -interactions: Our proposal is that the data is best captured by a feature-driven syntax, in which \bar{A} -movement of argument DPs to Spec,XP may bleed A-movement to the same position (Newman 2021). The core idea of the approach is that A- and \bar{A} -movement is driven by selectional features (Van Urk and Richards 2015 a.o.): A-movement is driven by a [\bullet D \bullet] feature and A'-movement is driven by a [\bullet \bar{A} \bullet] feature on the corresponding phase heads (ν , D, C). The core property of this system is that argument DPs only satisfy the [\bullet D \bullet] feature, scrambled adjuncts only satisfy the [\bullet \bar{A} \bullet] feature, while scrambled argument DPs satisfy both.

Bleeding: We need these assumptions. First one is that the subject has to move to Spec,DP to receive [GEN]. Second one is that the scrambled XP has to move to Spec,DP for cyclicity reasons. Third one is that specifiers project in the order of movement (tucking in; Richards 1997; the highest specifier moves first). Fourth one is that only the outermost specifier is visible for extraction. There are then four possible rule orders: (i) the subject A-moves and then the adjunct PP undergoes \bar{A} -moves \Rightarrow PP is unavailable for scrambling; (ii) the adjunct PP \bar{A} -moves and then the subject A-moves \Rightarrow PP is available for scrambling; (iii) the subject A-moves and then the argument DP \bar{A} -moves \Rightarrow the argument is unavailable for scrambling; (iv) the argument DP \bar{A} -moves and satisfies both selectional features, bleeding A-movement of the subject \Rightarrow the argument is available for scrambling but it bleeds assignment of [GEN] to the subject.

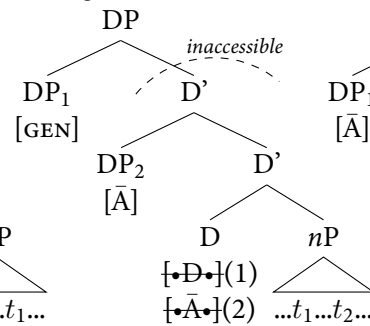
i. Adjunct: A \gg \bar{A}



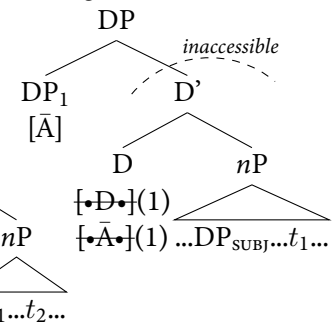
ii. Adjunct: \bar{A} \gg A



iii. Argument: A \gg \bar{A}



iv. Argument: \bar{A} bleeds A



Conclusion: This work presents a puzzling set of conditions on scrambling from nominalizations in Chechen. The pattern is best understood as an A/ \bar{A} -interaction, extending the framework of Van Urk and Richards (2015), Newman (2021) and others to the domain of nominalizations and cross-clausal scrambling.

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