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čto-clause translucence and the theory of weak islands: Beyond Subjacency, the ECP, and even the PIC

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Abstract. This article addresses two issues that emerge from a close look at extraction out of Russian indicative *čto*-clauses – the first being that these clauses show unexpected weak-island behavior, and the second the generally problematic question of how it can be possible for weak islands to allow "marginal" extraction at all (in argument cases), a grammaticality status never traditionally explained in pre-minimalist literature and theoretically impossible on core minimalist assumptions. An approach is proposed for weak islands under Minimalism that eliminates the non-minimalist principles that were claimed to account for their behavior (especially Subjacency and the Empty Category Principle [ECP]) and also allows for an understanding of why Russian indicative *čto*-clauses show the partial opacity observed.

Keywords. *wh*-extraction; adjunct/argument asymmetries; Russian *čto*-clauses; weak islands; featural Relativized Minimality; intervention; Referential Raising

1. Introduction. It is generally acknowledged that Russian indicative complements headed by the complementizer *čto* are, unexpectedly, somewhat opaque to the extraction of *wh*-arguments, (Müller & Sternefeld 1993; Khomitsevich 2007; Bailyn 2020, among many others).[1] Thus (1) shows a clear contrast between English long-distance *wh*-extraction of an argument out of an indicative, which is fully acceptable, and the Russian equivalent, which is degraded, as indicated. (The relevant complementizers, English *that* and Russian *čto* [što], are indicated in bold.)

(1) a. Who do you think **that** John invited __ (to the party)?
   b. Russian (Khomitsevich 2007)
   ?*Kogo ty   dumaeš', **čto** Ivan   priglasil __ (na večerinku)?
      who   you think   that Ivan   invited   __ (to party)
      'Who do you think that Ivan invited to the party?'

Because this is neither full opacity nor full transparency, I refer to the phenomenon as "*čto-translucence*". In this article, I show that Russian indicatives headed by *čto* induce translucence because they are in fact weak (*wh*) islands, despite their indicative status, and behave like English *wh*-islands, which are also known to be "translucent" for argument extraction (Rizzi 1990, among others).

   In fact, there are three extraction asymmetries out of selected CPs in Russian, the first being the adjunct-argument distinction known from English weak islands since at least Rizzi (1990). Thus (1b) contrasts with the completely unacceptable case of adjunct extraction across *čto*, shown in (2) (all non-English examples that follow are Russian unless otherwise indicated):

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[1] Something similar has been observed for Polish as well (Lubańska 2005; Orszulak 2010). I do not discuss the Polish situation here.

(2) *Kak ty dumaeš', **čto** Ivan počinil mašinu __ ? (Russian)
how you think that Ivan fixed car __
'How do you think that Ivan fixed the car?'

This is the first of three asymmetries in such extraction contexts, none of which have a successful explanation in the Russian syntactic literature, although the phenomenon has been fairly widely discussed (Müller & Sternefeld 1993; Meyer 1997; Stepanov & Georgopoulos 1997; Szczegielniak 1999; Stepanov 2001; Khomitsevich 2007; Knyazev 2016; Bailyn 2020; Gerasimova & Lyutikova 2021, among others).

The second asymmetry is an indicative vs. subjunctive contrast – extraction over the subjunctive complementizer *čtoby* is fully acceptable for both arguments and adjuncts:

(3) a. Kogo ty xočeš', **čtoby** Ivan priglasil __ ? (Khomitsevich 2007)
who you want that Ivan invite __
'Who do you want Ivan to invite?'
b. Kak ty xočeš', **čtoby** Ivan počinil mašinu __ ?
how you want that Ivan fix car __
'How do you want Ivan to fix the car?'
Lit: How do you want that Ivan fix the car?

As shown in (3), extraction of both adjuncts and arguments out of subjunctive clauses is fully acceptable. This is as one would expect and is the same as English indicatives.

Finally, as discussed extensively in Bailyn (2020), scrambling is better than *wh*-movement out of indicative clauses, as shown in the contrast in (4) for arguments:

(4) a.??Čto neprijatno, čto vy ne kupili ___ ?
what unpleasant that you neg bought ___
'What is it unpleasant that you didn't buy?'
b. Vot bumagi mne neprijatno, čto vy ne kupili ___
here paper me unpleasant that you neg bought ___
'The paper, it's unpleasant that you didn't buy.' (Zemskaya 1973)

These asymmetries are summarized in Table 1:

	wh-argument	*wh*-adjunct	scrambling
out of *čto* clause	??	*	✓
out of *čtoby* clause	✓	✓	✓

Table 1. Russian extraction asymmetries

It is the primary contention of this article that the concurrent existence of these three asymmetries cannot be accounted for by traditional approaches to *čto* indicative clauses, and that a novel approach is needed. I provide such an approach, while at the same time dispensing with recourse to pre-minimalist principles such as Subjacency and the Empty Category Principle (ECP). I provide a featural Relativized Minimality account (Rizzi 2004; Bailyn 2020) of the unavailability of adjunct extraction out of Russian *čto* indicatives, which allows us to better address the puzzle of why argument extraction is not impossible even when there is a Relativized Minimality intervener, resolving related puzzles for both English *wh*-islands and Russian *čto*-clauses. Consequences for phase theory and the typology of locality are discussed in the conclusion.

The article is structured as follows. In section 2, I present an overview of the empirical situation, based on previous literature, along with results of a native speaker survey, confirming the weak-island status of *čto*-indicatives as constructions on a par with "real" ("weak") *wh*-islands, well-attested in both Russian and English, and the reality of the three stated asymmetries in Russian *čto*-clauses. In section 3, I argue that minimalist assumptions both allow us and force us to treat the ungrammaticality of the adjunct cases as the norm in *wh*-islands, an effect of pure *Intervention*, as expected under featural Relativized Minimality (Rizzi 2004), with no necessity of invoking a principle such as the ECP.[2] Further, I argue that the intervention approach requires us to view argument extraction (the "mild" violations) as an "amelioration" effect for which we need a distinct account. In section 4, I present the "*čto*-confusion" account of the ungrammaticality of long-distance adjunct extraction out of *čto* clauses under a "featural" version of Relativized Minimality (Rizzi's 2004 fRM). fRM accounts for the Scrambling vs. *wh*- movement asymmetry, as has already been shown in the literature (e.g., in Bailyn 2020). In section 5, I then return to the original adjunct/argument asymmetry of both *čto* clauses and traditional *wh*-islands and show that the "amelioration effect" with arguments results from the "cost" of building an additional SpecCP escape hatch, in the spirit of Sabel (2002), though with significant differences. This allows us to dispense with any notion of Subjacency and bounding nodes. I conclude in section 6 by arguing that the overall picture allows us not only to dispense with the ECP and Subjacency, but also, potentially, with the Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC) component of Phase Theory itself, which is no longer necessary to account for weak islands. This is consistent with accounts such as Zeijlstra & Keine (2022), who claim that the PIC may not be involved in successive cyclicity at all. I end with speculation that if successive cyclicity itself is indeed unrelated to the driving force of movement, Phase Theory may have no theoretical value at all, and may be dispensed with entirely in syntactic theory, a welcome and truly minimalist achievement.

2. The empirical situation with Russian long-distance extraction out of *čto* clauses. It is well-documented that Russian *čto*-clauses are translucent for argument extraction, as seen above. The earlier example is repeated in (5a). Other examples from the literature are given in (5b-d). Grammaticality judgments are as indicated in the literature. Most agree on a status between fully acceptable and fully unacceptable.[3]

(5) a.??Kogo ty dumaeš', **čto** Ivan priglasil __ (na večerinku) ?
      who   you think   that Ivan invited   __ (to party)
      'Who do you think that Ivan invited to the party?'
      (reported as **?*** in Khomitsevich 2007)

   b.??[Kakuju knigu] ty dumaeš', **čto** Petr pročital __?
       which   book   you think   that Peter read   __
       'Which book do you think that Peter read?'
       (reported as **?*** in Müller & Sternefeld 1993)

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[2] The ECP was also claimed in Rizzi (1990) to account for *that*-trace effects. Those effects also need a newer treatment, and such have been proposed (Pesetsky & Torrego 2001). I do not discuss *that*-trace effects here.

[3] The comma preceding complementizers in Russian is an orthographic convention that reflects CP subordination (it precedes all CPs, including relative clauses). It does not, however, correspond to any known prosodic distinctions between Russian and languages that do not require commas in the same syntactic location, and we disregard it in what follows, other than to include it in examples for accuracy of transliteration.

c.??Vot   ženščina, kotoruju ja   znal, **čto** on   ljubil __.
    this   woman   which   I   knew that   he   loved __
    'This is the woman who I knew that he loved.'
    (reported as * in Khomitsevich 2007)

d.??Ne   znaju, kuda on dumaet, **čto** my   poedem __.
    not   know where he thinks   that   we   will-go __
    'I don't know where he thinks that we will go.'
    (reported as **??** in Meyer 1997: 171)

Khomitsevich (2007) summarizes the situation with argument extraction from *čto*-clauses as follows: "[such] constructions are never degraded for some … while they display various degree of degradation for others." Crucially, she argues, no such cases are as severe violations as extraction out of strong islands, which are as impossible in Russian as they are in English:

(6) ***Kogo**   Maša zaplakala, kogda Petja udaril __?   (Khomitsevich 2007)
    whoᴀᴄᴄ   Masha cried   after   Petya hit   __
    'Who did Masha cry after Petya hit?'

(6) is a case of extraction out of a sentential adjunct clause, which is strongly ungrammatical in both Russian and English, among many other languages (Boeckx 2012). (See Stepanov 2007 for an overview of possible accounts.) With the cases under consideration here, however, both the speaker variation and the mildness of the effect describe a traditional "weak-island", traditionally analyzed as a "weak" Subjacency violation (Rizzi 1990).

    Bailyn (2020) shows that the parallels between *čto*-opacity and "real" *wh*-islands is striking. Compare (7a) to the (a) examples of (4)–() and (7b) to (2). The same argument/adjunct asymmetry holds in *čto*-clauses that is (expectedly) found in true *wh*-island contexts.

(7) True *wh*-islands (based on Bailyn 2020)
    a.??Čem   tebe interesno, kogda Maša zanimaetsja __ ? (??obj *wh*)
      what_INSTR you   interested when   Masha does   __
      ?? 'What do you wonder when Masha does (as a hobby)?'   (lower reading – marginal)
    b. *Čem   tebe interesno, kogda Maša činil mašinu   ___ ? (*adjunct *wh*)
      who_INSTR you   interested when Masha fixed car   ___
      *'With what do you wonder when Masha fixed the car?"   (lower reading – totally out)

To confirm the weak-island status of extractions out of *čto*-clauses, a survey of 23 native Russian-speaking linguists was undertaken, which shows clearly the first two asymmetries (adjuncts vs. arguments out of *čto*-clauses and extractions out of *čto*-clauses vs. *čtoby*-clauses).

    Grey highlighting in (8b,d,f) indicates entirely transparent subjunctive *čtoby*-clauses where between 19 and 23 cases out of 23 are judged to be fully acceptable or nearly acceptable, regardless of argument vs adjunct status, whereas in (8e), we see that only 3 out of 23 cases of adjunct extraction are judged to be acceptable or nearly acceptable out of the identical *čto*-clauses (strong violations are highlighted in yellow). Contrast this with (8a) and (8c) (indicated in red), which are cases of translucence (argument extraction out of *čto*-clauses). Here, we find an evenly distributed range of judgments, including very few instances of full acceptability or full unacceptability. A particularly telling contrast is between (8c) and (8e), a near minimal pair – both use the same *wh*-phrase, the instrumental *čem* 'what', which serves as an oblique argument in (8c) and an instrumental adjunct in (8e). The difference in acceptability is striking – the latter is strongly dispreferred; the former has an evenly distributed range of judgments.

(8) *čto*-translucence, a recent poll:

Anonymous Russian Linguist Poll (2022) (*n*=23 / 33)	*	???	??	?	✓	
a. **Komu ty znaeš', čto Marija pozvonila __ ?** who you know that Maria phone "Who do you know that Maria called?"	4	7	3	6	3	(Dat arg from *čto*)
b. **Komy ty xočeš', čtoby Marija pozvonila __ ?** who you want that Maria phone "Who do you want Maria to call?"	0	0	0	3	20	(Dat arg from *čtoby*)
c. **Čem ty dumaeš', čto Marija zanimajetsja __ ?** what you think that Maria does "What do you think that Maria does (as a hobby)?"	3	8	4	4	4	(Obl arg from *čto*)
d. **Čem ty xočeš', čtoby Marija zanimalas' __ ?** what you want that Maria do "Who do you want Maria to do (as a hobby)?"	0	0	2	7	14	(Obl arg from *čtoby*)
e. **Čem ty dumaeš', čto Marija počinila mašinu __ ?** what you think that Maria fixed car "What do you think that Maria fixed the car with?"	13	3	4	2	1	(adjunct from *čto*)
f. **Čem ty xočeš', čtoby Marija počinila mašinu __?** what you want that Maria fixe car "Who do you want Maria to fix the car with?"	2	0	2	10	9	(adjunct from *čtoby*)

The survey thus confirms a classic adjunct-argument asymmetry with the latter being "mild" violations, still to be better understood, as is the central fact of *čto*-translucence to begin with. This empirical picture is what the remainder of the article is concerned with. I return in section 4 to an account of the reason behind Russian *čto*-translucence in particular, which contrasts with existing accounts. First, however, we look at traditional generative analyses of weak islands in standard *wh*-island contexts and show how they can be updated to be consistent with minimalist assumptions, which will serve as a starting point for the account of Russian *čto*-translucence.

3. The theoretical situation with long-distance extraction out of *wh*-islands.

3.1. PRE-MINIMALIST ACCOUNTS OF WEAK ISLANDS. The details of the Government and Binding era account of weak islands are well-known (see, e.g., Rizzi 1990: Chs. 1 & 3) – extraction must proceed successive-cyclically, through the SpecCP edge of intermediate domains. If SpecCP is occupied, as it is in a *wh*-island, this required escape hatch is blocked, and the extraction must proceed in one fell swoop (what Cinque 1990 calls "long *wh*-movement") in violation of Subjacency, a constraint that imposes locality conditions on the length of a single step of movement. The longer non-successive cyclic move is possible, but induces a violation of Subjacency, which is (for some reason) mild (for *wh*-islands, though not for relative clauses). The adjunct extraction cases shown above in (2), repeated in (9a), and (7b), repeated in (9b), were argued to involve the same Subjacency violation, but also to violate a distinct principle, the ECP, which requires antecedent government for adjunct traces (but not for argument traces; arguments can never violate the antecedent-government clause of the ECP).

(9) a. *Kak ty dumaeš', **čto** Ivan počinil mašinu __ ?
how you think that Ivan fixed car __
'How do you think that Ivan fixed the car?'
b. *Čem tebe interesno, kogda Maša činila mašinu __ ?
who$_{INSTR}$ you asked when Masha fixed car __
*'With what do you wonder when Masha fixed the car?'

In such constructions, adjunct traces, by virtue of not being lexically (theta) governed by a verb, must be antecedent governed. That is, there must be a clear c-command path between their final landing site and their base-position, without any intervening elements that would violate Relativized Minimality.[4] The relevant definitions, adopted with adjustments from Rizzi (1990), are given in (10)–(14):

(10)   **The ECP**: A non-pronominal empty category must be
    i.   theta governed   or
    ii.   antecedent governed

(11)   **Theta government**: X theta-governs Y iff
    (i)   X theta-marks Y
    (ii)   no barrier intervenes
    (iii)   Rel. Min is respected

(12)   **Antecedent government**: X antecedent-governs Y iff
    (i)   X and Y are coindexed
    (ii)   X c-commands Y
    (iii)   no barrier intervenes
    (iv)   Rel. Min is respected

(13)   **Relativized Minimality**: X α-governs Y only if there is no Z such that
    (i)   Z is a typical potential α-governor for Y
    (ii)   Z c-commands Y and does not c-command X

(14)   Z is a **typical potential head governor** for Y => Z is a head m-commanding Y
    a. Z is a **typical potential antecedent governor** for Y, Y in an A-chain =>
       Z is an A-specifier c-commanding Y
    b. Z is a **typical potential antecedent governor** for Y, Y in an A'-chain =>
       Z is an A'-specifier c-commanding Y
    c. Z is a **typical potential antecedent governor** for Y, Y in an X^0-chain =>
       Z is a head c-commanding Y

A summary of the effect of RM is given in simplified form in (15):

(15) Relativized Minimality (RM) (Rizzi 1990, 2004)
    In the configuration …X…Z…Y… a local relation connecting X and Y is disrupted when there is a Z such that Z is of the same structural type as X, and Z intervenes between X and Y

The *wh*-element in intermediate SpecCP forces a long distance move in (8c) and (8e), incurring a mild violation, but the adjunct cases also violate the ECP, due to intervention by the intermediate *wh*-element, a violation of Relativized Minimality, and therefore the antecedent-government clause of the ECP. The result is full ungrammaticality in the adjunct extraction case.

    The Russian extraction cases out of *čto*-clauses show this exact asymmetry. They behave as classic weak islands. This is unexpected, since the relevant SpecCP position is not occupied, and there is no apparent element that would intervene in antecedent government of an adjunct trace

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[4] Later, we will see that the type of interveners must be refined to reflect commonality of feature "classes", as in Rizzi (2004).

being established. In section 4, I propose an approach that accounts for the weak-island behavior of *čto*-clauses.

3.2. MINIMALIST ACCOUNTS OF WEAK ISLANDS. Of course, many of the constraints and principles referred to above are unavailable under Minimalist assumptions (in particular, Subjacency, antecedent government, and the ECP). Only Relativized Minimality remains a viable minimalist principle (if formulated as a Probe-Goal economy principle; see below). It is therefore an additional advantage of the proposed account that it can do without these anachronistic components of the grammar. Let us look more carefully at how a feature-driven, probe-goal system of *wh*-islands can be achieved.

First, let us assume that all movement is triggered by the establishment of an Agree relationship, initiated by a higher Probe searching for a matching Goal (such as a C^0 with [wh] feature seeking a *wh*-phrase) (Chomsky 1995). Once Agree is established, via Match, movement (formalized as Internal Merge) can take place.[5] I also assume at this point in the discussion the locality theory of Phases (Chomsky 2001), under which an Agree relationship cannot be established into the spellout zone of a lower phase head, in particular into the complement of phase head C^0, a restriction usually referred to as the PIC.[6] For Agree to be established, an embedded element must access the edge of the relevant phase (in our case, SpecCP), if it is available. This in effect derives successive cyclicity, whose effects are well-documented. Crucially, however, under this approach, if the escape hatch is occupied, as it is in a *wh*-island, the option of undertaking movement in "in one fell swoop" (Cinque's 1990 long *wh*-movement) should be entirely unavailable because the Probe and Goal cannot see each other to establish the initial Agree relation that launches movement. This is impossible in all cases under consideration (so far, *wh*-islands) for two overlapping reasons: (i) the PIC prevents search into a lower Phase, and its escape hatch edge is unavailable to circumvent that problem; and (ii) the Probe-Goal relationship, even if unconstrained by locality, is blocked by the intervening *wh*-phrase. *Wh*-islands should therefore be as opaque for arguments as they are for adjuncts; Agree simply cannot be established between the Probe and Goal, and the intermediate edge is unavailable.

The good news is that the completely unacceptable adjunct extraction cases are predictably ruled out by both the PIC and by Relativized Minimality. It is entirely unnecessary to stipulate either that traces must satisfy a principle like the ECP, or that a principle like Subjacency constrain "long" moves – the relevant derivations are ruled out simply by the failure to establish the necessary Agree relation to begin with. We can rule out such adjunct extraction cases as simple Relativized Minimality violations in the attempt to establish Agree. This is a standard case of the Minimal Link Condition, as stated in (16):

(16)   *Minimal Link Condition* (MLC)   (Chomsky 1995: 311, 2000)
       K attracts α only if there is no β, β closer to K than α, such that K attracts β

In our case, the higher C Probe cannot see beyond the closest c-commanded Goal with the relevant features (here, the *wh*-phrase in intermediate SpecCP). The attempt to attract the embedded (adjunct) *wh*-phrase fails. The derivation cannot proceed. Let us call this *Intervention*. Intervention as a Relativized Minimality violation thus replaces the ECP (at least the Antecedent

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[5] I do not take a strong position here on whether movement involves displacement or copy formation with a second instance of Merge, followed by deletion of lower copies. The issue is far from trivial, but does not directly impact the discussion in this article.

[6] Later, I return the issue of phases and the PIC in a discussion of the degree to which a requirement such as the PIC might be superfluous.

Government part), and we can say that Intervention, as mediated by fRM, *is* the modern ECP, for adjunct extraction. This is schematically shown in (17):

(17)   Probe-Goal failure to establish Agree between C^0 head and *wh*-element across *wh*-island:

X$^0_{[+WH]}$ ··· [$_{CP}$ **ZP**$_{[+WH]}$ ··· YP$_{[+WH]}$ ···]   (failed start of LD wh-mvt out of wh-island)
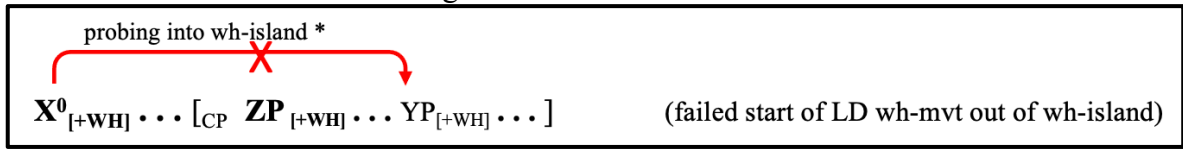
Across an intervening similar element, Probe-Goal Agree cannot be established. This is shown schematically in (18b) for the weak-island effect found in (18a):

(18)   a.??What do you wonder where John bought?

   b.   Intervention account of adiunct extraction out of a *wh*-island:
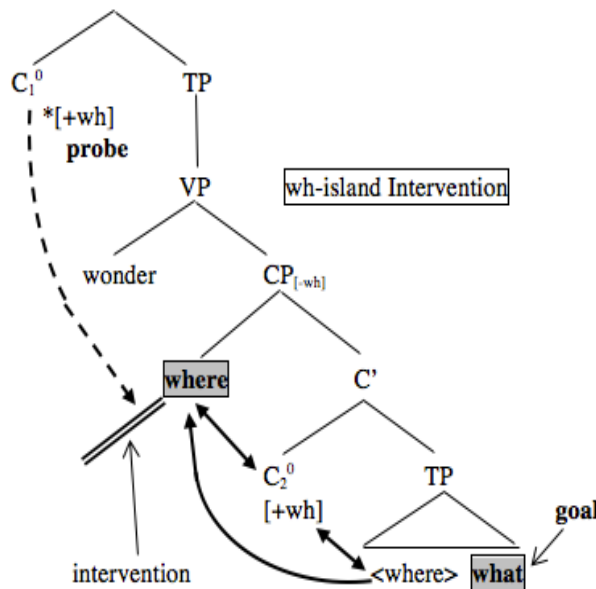
Furthermore, under Rizzi's (2004) *featural* Relativized Minimality (fRM), it is shown that the Relativized Minimality account of unavailable adjunct extraction out of *wh*-islands has the added advantage of correctly predicting that long-distance movement driven by a feature that is not of the same class as the *wh*-feature, such as long-distance Scrambling, should be available out of *wh*-islands, as we saw in (4) above. The featural approach can be summarized as follows:

(19)   Featural Relativized Minimality (fRM)   (Rizzi 2001, 2004, 2018)
   RM only holds within classes of features, but not across them   (Rizzi 2001: 104)

(20)   Classes of features relevant to fRM: (Rizzi 2004 (i-iiia,b); Bailyn 2020 (iiic))
   i.   Argumental: person, number, gender, case   (only relevant for A-movement)
   ii.   [+Q] Quantificational: Wh, Neg, measure, Focus …
   iii.   [-Q] Non-quantificational:
      a. [+Mod] Modifiers: evaluative, epistemic, Neg, frequentative, measure, manner, …
      b. [+Top] Topic
      c. [+Σ] Scrambling

Thus a [wh] feature does not intervene in the Probe-Goal relationship involved in Scrambling, allowing the acceptability of (4b). (This is how the scrambling/*wh*-movement asymmetry out of true *wh*-islands in Russian is captured in Bailyn 2020.)

The less good news is that this approach should also entirely rule out all the mildly acceptable argument extraction cases in exactly the same manner: Agree cannot be established (feature-based intervention being exactly the same in the two instances), and the escape hatch is occupied. Even if we hypothetically allowed for "long" movement to incur a mild rather than a severe violation, the necessary Agree relation needed to trigger that movement simply cannot be established. Thus, the puzzle becomes focused squarely on the mildly successful instances of argument extraction that we began with. As Rizzi (2001) puts it "*wh*-extraction from a *wh*-clause is generally barred, as expected under RM. *A systematic exception* involves D-linked argumental *wh*-phrases, which are marginally extractable" (Rizzi 2001: 99, my emphasis). Let us call the exceptional fact that arguments somehow circumvent this issue the "amelioration effect". We return to an account of the amelioration effect in section 5. But first let us turn to the opaque part of Russian *čto*-translucence and see how it can be accounted for by fRM in the same way as *wh*-islands.

4. *čto*-opacity as feature intervention. We have seen that the argument/adjunct symmetry known from English *wh*-questions holds for Russian *čto*-clauses. Here, there are two related but independent puzzles: (i) why *čto*-clauses are opaque for extraction of adjuncts, as opposed to their English counterparts, and (ii) why, as with English *wh*-islands, there are adjunct/argument asymmetries – that is, why we find an amelioration effect here as well. (The additional symmetries, those between subjunctives and indicatives and between scrambling and *wh*-movement, must also be covered by whatever eventual analysis is provided for English *wh*-islands). It is the central claim of this article that Puzzle (ii) (why there is an amelioration effect in *čto*-clauses) can be reduced to the equivalent puzzle for English weak islands, which we return to in section 5. Here, we examine how the Intervention account can account for the weak-island nature of Russian *čto*-clauses.

The crucial insight here is that *wh*-island intervention, as outlined above, is entirely *feature-based*, and in no way depends directly on the filled or empty nature of the Specifier of CP position – a claim that is part and parcel of the Rizzi (2004) fRM system. If this can be motivated, it is an improvement over existing accounts in the literature because it allows us to both account for traditional ECP effects in the manner we have seen above and opens the door for an approach to the amelioration effects, without stipulating otherwise unmotivated structural distinctions between Russian and English. That is, we do not have to posit any distinction in the architecture of Russian indicative embeddings to account for the effect found, such as claiming that they are not CPs but nominals (Knyazev 2016), or that all CPs, even those that form part of the verb's argument structure, are in fact adjuncts in Russian (Stepanov 2001), claims that both predict complete opacity and not translucence. Neither do we have to consider that the Russian indicative complementizer is in fact housed in the Specifier of CP position, thus causing a traditional A'-blocking configuration as proposed in Antonenko (2010), though the core intuition of that account is compatible with what I propose below. Rather, we seek an explanation for the distinction between English and Russian indicatives in the feature make-up of the complementizers themselves.

The only existing account that I am aware of that does not claim a core architectural distinction for Russian is that of Khomitsveich (2007), who argues instead that the Russian phase head is T rather than C, something she correlates with the lack of sequence of tense effects in Russian.

The account requires the following assumptions: (i) the relevant phase head is T not C; (ii) "C and T still form a unity, and CP is still the phase edge"; and (iii) *wh*-feature probes are located in T not C. Combined, these assumptions determine that "moved elements cannot reach the phase edge position at Spec,CP." Well beyond the somewhat stipulative nature of these assumptions, there are significant empirical issues with the account. First, it predicts full opacity, not translucence. Second, and more problematic, such an approach does not predict a difference between subjunctive and indicative clauses, unless the T-as-phase head claim applies to the latter and not the former, a claim that Khomtsevich does not make, but which would amount to restating the problem. As it stands, all CPs should be expected to be opaque to long-distance movement. Third, we would not expect long-distance scrambling to fare better than long-distance *wh*-movement out of *čto*-clauses, contrary to fact. Finally, we would expect the correlation between lack of sequence of tense and extraction difficulty out of indicatives to hold across languages. In fact, however, it does not even seem to hold across Slavic languages; thus Serbo-Croatian (BCS) and Bulgarian both do not have sequence of tense effects (like Russian) but allow free extraction from indicatives (like English).[7] Thus, even without looking farther than the Slavic and closely related languages, we can see that the strongly predicted correlation that results from Khomitsevich's appealing claim does not hold.

These observations, and the nature of the fRM account of *wh*-islands that is needed to account for the scrambling vs. *wh*-movement effects, lead us to the current proposal – namely, that it is within the *čto*-complementizer itself that the distinction between Russian and English is to be sought. We contend that Russian *čto* is misrepresented in speakers' lexicon as a result of "confusion" between its use as a complementizer and the same lexical item's other use in the language, namely as a nominal inanimate *wh*-phrase. Just as commonly as its use as a complementizer, *čto* doubles in Russian as an inanimate *wh*-phrase ('what') (in structural case positions).[8] This is shown in (21):

(21) a. **Čto** ty kupila __ ?   b. **Čto** ty znaeš' __ ob ètom?
         what you bought __   what you know __ about this
         'What did you buy?'   'What do you know about this?'

Thus, in the Russian lexicon we should have two distinct lexical elements <u>*čto*</u>:

(22) <u>Lexical features of *čto*</u>
      a.   as a complementizer: PHON: [što]   CAT: [+C$_{IND}$]
      b.   as a *wh*-phrase: PHON: [što]   CAT: [+D], [+wh]

This situation leads to what I have called "*čto*-confusion" (Bailyn 2022) – the association for speakers of the indicative complementizer with the [wh] feature that the very same lexical item is usually associated with. The resulting lexical entry would look like this:
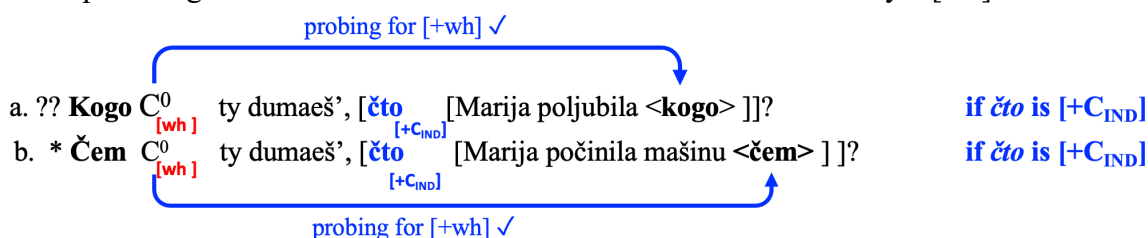
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[7] German also seems to pattern this way, although long-distance A'-movement in generally restricted to long focalization. There is crucially no adjunct/argument distinction in such cases, nor are there sequence of tense effects.
[8] In fact, there is a third *čto* (a relative pronoun/complementizer) carrying a [wh] feature, the existence of which may contribute to overall *čto*-confusion, something that is absent in Romance languages that also have homophony of interrogative 'what' and complementizer 'that'. Those languages may also have syntactic aspects of use of the interrogative element (such as subject-verb inversion) that help to distinguish the two and avoid something similar to *čto*-confusion.
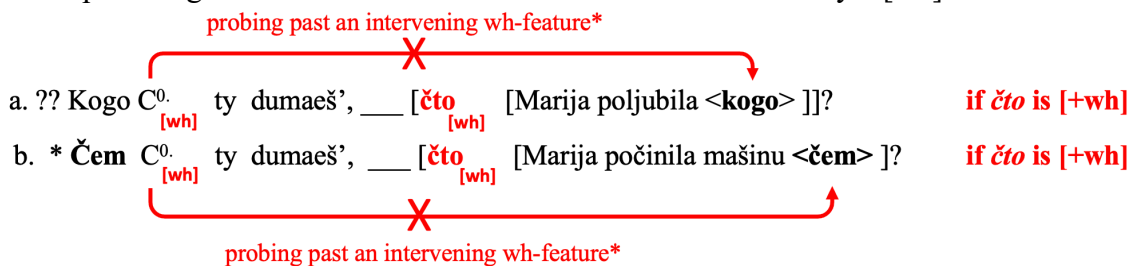
(23)   ***čto*-confusion**: The "confused" lexical entry of *čto* (as C head with a [+wh] feature):
            PHON: [što]   CAT: [+C_{IND}], [+wh]

What would the consequences of (23) be? Presumably, standard indicative CPs would be successfully headed by this element in the usual way. (And as expected, the SpecCP position would be empty as a potential "escape hatch" in relevant instances, such as long-distance scrambling.[9]) However, the presence of the [wh] feature on this same head will prevent a Probe-Goal relationship driving *wh*-movement from being established, as an instance of fRM. Crucially, the fact that the intervener is a head and not an A'-specifier is not relevant in the featural version of Relativized Minimality, independently motivated for feature class interventions discussed above. *Wh*-extraction fares exactly as well or as badly in such cases as it does with true *wh*-islands – exactly the situation we have already observed. (24) and (25) provide the relevant schematic representations:

(24)   Attempted long-distance *wh*-extraction across *čto* if *čto* does *not* carry a [wh] feature:

probing for [+wh] ✓

a. ?? **Kogo** $C^0_{[wh]}$ ty dumaeš', [**čto**$_{[+C_{IND}]}$ [Marija poljubila <**kogo**>]]?   **if *čto* is [+C_{IND}]**
b. * **Čem** $C^0_{[wh]}$ ty dumaeš', [**čto**$_{[+C_{IND}]}$ [Marija počinila mašinu <**čem**>]]?   **if *čto* is [+C_{IND}]**

probing for [+wh] ✓

(25)   Attempted long-distance *wh*-extraction across *čto* if *čto* *does* carry a [wh] feature:

probing past an intervening wh-feature*
✗

a. ?? Kogo $C^0_{[wh]}$ ty dumaeš', ___ [**čto**$_{[wh]}$ [Marija poljubila <**kogo**>]]?   **if *čto* is [+wh]**
b. * **Čem** $C^0_{[wh]}$ ty dumaeš', ___ [**čto**$_{[wh]}$ [Marija počinila mašinu <**čem**>]?   **if *čto* is [+wh]**

✗
probing past an intervening wh-feature*

Several important points should be made right away. First, despite the superficial similarity between indicative *čto* and subjunctive *čtoby*, we do not expect [wh] feature confusion with *čtoby* because the lexicon contains no [+wh] element such as *čtoby*. Its featural representation will be as expected, and we expect no extraction issues out of such clauses, which is what we have seen to be the case:

(26)   <u>The lexical entry of *čtoby*:</u>
            a.   as complementizer: PHON: [štoby] CAT: [+C_{SUBJ}]   (no confusion possible here!)

Second, we are now able to assume that long-distance probing across an intervening CP or phase is in principle possible, as argued for in detail in Bošković (2007), in cases where we find no Intervention, as with Scrambling out of *wh*-islands, where no weak-island-type degradation is

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[9] A reviewer asks how *čto*-confused clauses should be interpreted. From the feature bundle indicated here, we would not expect that even the confused *čto* would identify the subordinate clause as interrogative, on the standard assumption that [wh] is not a clause-typing feature, but rather a purely formal feature involved in Agree (which we also find on the relative pronoun *čto*). However, other issues of effects on semantic composition are relevant and warrant further study, as does the related question of the nature of the interpretability of the confused *čto*.

found (Bailyn 2020). I return to the advantages of this way of seeing Agree relations in section 6 below, but simply acknowledge it here. Given these assumptions, the *čto*-confusion account of the lexical complementizer in Russian, under fRM, predicts that *čto*-clauses will behave exactly like *wh*-islands – they will not constrain scrambling, they will contrast with subjunctives, and they expand the empirical scope of the puzzle of the amelioration effect, for which we now can have a single account that applies to all relevant cases – weak islands in both Russian and English, which do not differ in any significant structural ways, as well as Russian *čto* clauses. Additionally, as above, we avoid recourse to the ECP or antecedent government – the only constraint involved remains Relativized Minimality, independently motivated throughout the grammar of many languages. This is a highly welcome result and allows us now to address the amelioration effect directly. We turn to that issue now.

5. The amelioration effect as the cost of Referential Raising (RR).

5.1. THE PARADOX OF MILD WEAK-ISLAND EXTRACTIONS. We have arrived at a sort of paradox: empirically, extraction of θ-marked objects out of *wh*-islands and other weak islands is degraded, but only mildly. The degraded part can be attributed to Intervention. However, if [wh] is the only feature involved, we have no explanation for the mildly acceptable part. The feature-based theory that we have just motivated for the unavailability of adjunct *wh*-extraction out of *wh*-islands predicts that such movement is simply unavailable due to the intervention of the intermediate [wh] feature. If Intervention captures the adjunct side of adjunct/argument asymmetries, the mildly acceptable argument extractions cannot be triggered as *wh*-movement. Instead of trying to allow [wh] attraction as long *wh*-movement, let us embrace the absolute Intervention on *wh*-movement and assume it is just as strong with arguments as it is with adjuncts.

It is remarkable that the classic GB-era works on *wh*-islands, such as Cinque (1990) and Rizzi (1990), provide no particular explanation for the mildness of Subjacency effects and do not provide discussion of this partial acceptability. Thus, Rizzi (1990: 4) says "the weak deviance of the structure is solely determined by a Subjacency violation" with no further discussion. Subsequently, he says, "we will not address the question of how subjacency barriers are to be characterized" (Rizzi 1990: 6). Later in the same chapter, he adds that "the slightly degraded status of the sentence is presumably to be attributed to bounding theory, or to whatever property makes interrogative extraction out of an indirect question awkward in many languages" (Rizzi 1990: 13). There is no further discussion of the nature of that awkwardness.[10]

5.2. REFERENTIAL RAISING (RR) TO ESCAPE INTERVENTION. If [wh] probing is entirely blocked, then it must be the case that the first step of displacement of the embedded *wh*-element is not driven by attraction from a [wh] probe but by some other probe – here we return to take full advantage of what characterizes the elements that show such amelioration. As we know, what unifies them is their status as being *referential* in the sense defined by Rizzi (1990) – having a referential index. (Rizzi argues that this index is provided by theta-marking by the verb.) Let us assume that this marking takes the form of a [Referential] feature [+R]. [+wh] direct objects will thus carry both [+R] and [+wh]. We have already seen that [+R] elements are those that undergo the amelioration effect, [-R] elements (adjuncts) cannot do the same – they are, as predicted,

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[10] In Rizzi (2018), he returns to the issue, arguing that a grammaticality account, as opposed to a processing account, is entirely possible within fRM, an attempt to characterize the effect as resulting from partial and complete feature intervention, an approach similar to what is proposed here. In what follows, I also do not address processing accounts.

entirely unextractable in weak island contexts due to Intervention. In the partially acceptable cases, the [+R] element is attracted to the intermediate CP zone by a [+R] probe. An Agree relation between a [+R] head in CP and an [+R] *wh*-object circumvents the Intervention of the [wh] island seen with adjuncts (which, being [-R], have no escape route), and independently attracts the phrase to the edge of embedded CP, where it is free to be attracted by the main clause [wh] probe.[11,12]

In essence, being [+R] allows the element to escape [wh] islands just as scrambled elements do (which also have strong discourse-marking). If there is a [+R] probe, this helps it escape the island – but in the main clause, the [wh] feature will still attract it to the top *wh*-position where it can be interpreted as a question. The intermediate movement in this case is attracted by a feature from a different class of features – an [+R] or [+Top] feature, which in Rizzi's (2004) typography of features does not interact with [+Q] features such as [wh] for the purposes of Relativized Minimality. The "escape" for [+R] elements can thus be understood, as can the mild deviance, as we now show. Let us see how both (the acceptability and the mild deviance) can be implemented.

We refer to the lower movement involved as Referential Raising (RR) (as proposed in Bailyn 2018, 2022). RR accounts for why long-distance extraction of arguments out of *wh*-islands is possible at all, contrary to expectations in a Probe-Goal system, as described above, and also why such derivations produce a mild degradation effect. Thus, there are two distinct instances of movement in any case of long-distance *wh*-movement out of a *wh*-island – the lower one driven by [R], only available for arguments, and the upper one by [wh]. Because the two features are of different feature *classes*, Intervention in these cases is not observed, and the [R]-driven extraction can take place – this is the core of the amelioration effect.

However, because the intermediate zone is already [+wh], there is a stage in the derivation where two distinct [wh] elements occupy distinct Specifier positions in the same extended CP zone (distinct in the sense that they are related in interpretation to distinct C heads, one in the subordinate clause and one in the matrix clause) – and it is this conflict that causes the mild deviance we find in such cases. (27) summarizes the situation:

(27)   *Referential Raising* (RR) *and Cost-of-R:*
    a. Referential [+R] elements can be attracted to the left periphery by RR
    b. if they are also [wh] elements, they carry both [+R] and [+wh] – these are argumental *wh*-phrases

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[11] The existence of a CP-intermediate [R] probe is compatible with a theory of the CP zone that allows discourse-relevant properties such as Topic and Focus to be represented as features on C or as heads of distinct functional categories. Depending on one's theoretical assumptions, this can be formalized as a system utilizing multiple Specs, as imagined in Larson (2021), or with distinct functional heads, as in Rizzi's (1997) left-periphery. Here, I assume the more theory-neutral multiple Specifier approach, though nothing hinges directly on whether or not cartographic heads are assumed in the left periphery.

[12] The proposal of an intermediate additional SpecCP escape hatch even in cases of *wh*-islands is unusual, but not unprecedented – something similar in spirit is found in Sabel (2002), in which it is also proposed that wh-movement out of *wh*-islands proceeds via the creation of an intermediate additional SpecCP position, akin to the structure shown in (30) below. However, Sabel allows both adjunct and argument [wh] phrases to move to the intermediate additional Spec position, driven by the existing [wh] feature on C, a situation we have just seen to be untenable. Furthermore, he attributes the adjunct/argument distinction to the status of *-deletion at LF, an entirely pre-minimalist and highly representational notion. Nevertheless, the account to be discussed here shares more with the Sabel account than any other, and uses similar evidence for the existence of the intermediate landing site, as we see below.

c. *RR induces a cost when the head whose Specifier it moves to is already in an agree relationship with an element in Spec* (*wh*-islands, but not standard embeddings). Let us call this Cost-of-R
d. The Cost-of-R is what produces the mild violation – this is what we used to call Subjacency
e. Non-referential elements cannot undergo RR (contra Sabel 2002)

The derivation of a true *wh*-island, such as (7a), repeated here as (28), proceeds as in (29):

(28) ??Čem   tebe interesno, kogda   Maša   zanimaetsja   __ ?   (??obj *wh*)
       What$_{INSTR}$ you interested when   Masha   does   __
       ??'What do you wonder when Masha does (as a hobby)?'   (lower reading – marginal)

(29)   Relevant derivational steps in argument extraction from true *wh*-islands:
       Step 1. Subordinate TP is built, containing 2 [wh] elements, WH$_1$ and WH$_2$, the second of which carries both [wh] and [+R][13]
       Step 2. Intermediate C^0 is merged, carrying a [wh$_2$] feature[14]
       Step 3. WH$_2$ is attracted to SpecCP by the lower C$_{WH}$ head (forming a classic [wh] island)
       Step 4. WH$_1$ moves to an additional SpecCP attracted by C^0_R
       Step 5. A cost is incurred any time two non-agreeing [wh] elements are in the same domain (here as multiple Specifiers of CP) (as opposed to paired multiple *wh*-phrases of the same question)
       Step 6. The matrix clause is built up to TP
   Step7. Matrix C^0 is merged, carrying [wh$_1$]. WH$_1$ moves to matrix SpecCP attracted by [wh$_1$]

The relevant portion of the intermediate left periphery is shown in (30):[15,16]

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[13] I ignore for now cases in which the first *wh* also contains both [wh] and [R], though we will return to them later as evidence that this approach is on the right track.
[14] In the case of *wh*-islands, though not *čto* clauses, this C head will also have an interpretable interrogative clause-type feature ([Q]), satisfied by either a relevant complementizer (Russian *li*, English *if*, etc.) or a moved [wh] element. I do not indicate this feature here.
[15] The relevant portion of the intermediate left-periphery would look like (i), if one assumes cartographic heads:

(i)
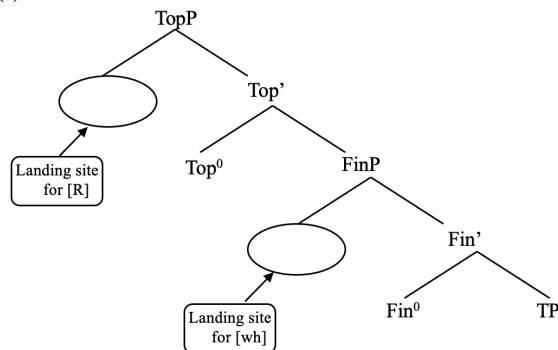
[16] A reviewer asks about the relative order of the two phrases in (30) and what would happen if the two were reversed. The latter is hard to test, given that there is no mutual intervention between them because they are of different feature classes. I assume the order of projected specifiers reflects the order of the internal hierarchy of the

(30)   Multiple SpecCP positions for [wh] and [R]:
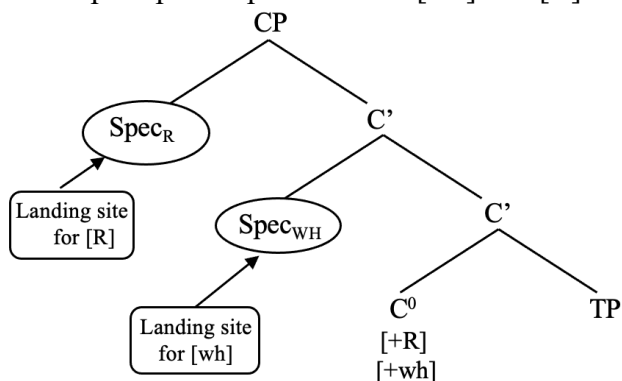
The particular structure of a *wh*-island with mildly deviant object extraction is shown in (31):

(31) RR account of mild deviance of *wh*-island argument extraction:
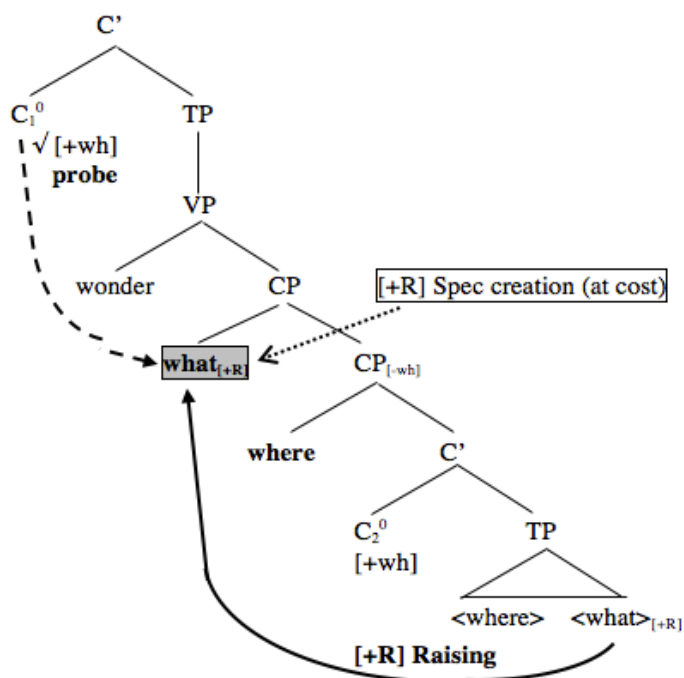
Crucially, (31) shows the stage of the derivation where two specifiers with distinct values of [+wh] are in a configurational agreement relationship with the same head. This is an intermediate step of the derivation, and the [+wh] feature clash does not therefore result in full ungrammaticality. However, it causes the mildly unacceptable flavor of the derivation that one would expect from a mismatch of this kind (and thereby becomes closer in character to the purported processing accounts of the mildness of some *wh*-extraction effects, though those accounts are not able to distinguish arguments from adjuncts or characterize the exact configurations in which extraction is available, yet degraded).

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feature bundle (as discussed in Larson 2021 for the nominal domain). The first specifier is a projection of the most prominent feature in the feature hierarchy, the next feature leads to projection of the next specifier and so on, as could be expected for multiple Specifiers. As to the exact source of the feature hierarchy itself, I assume it has to do with external factors that underlie aspects of cartography, as discussed in Ramchand & Svenonius (2014).

We now have an account of "mild Subjacency" effects that is entirely distinct from the "cannot move too far" approach of GB-era Subjacency. In traditional generative accounts, *wh*-islands are circumvented in argument extraction cases by undertaking "long *wh*-movement", or movement in "one fell swoop", as impossibility under a Probe-Goal system, mediated by fRM. Here, however, locality *per se* is never violated – as expected in all theories of locality, *the relevant* wh-*argument does move to the edge of the CP domain*, albeit to a distinct landing site. Other than Sabel (2002), I know of no other accounts that propose this local stop for the mildly deviant cases of *wh*-extraction from *wh*-islands (understandably, since either a multiple Spec analysis such as that given here or a cartographic approach would be required for the approach to even be considered). In addition to accounting for why these cases of Subjacency result in mild deviance, whereas movement out of Complex NPs (relative clauses) (traditionally also covered by Subjacency) cause severe deviance and show no argument/adjunct asymmetries, something entirely unexpected on traditional "Subjacency-is-mild" accounts, it is also empirically supported by the following evidence that an intermediate Spec position is utilized.

5.3. EVIDENCE FOR RR. First, there is reconstruction evidence that the *wh*-objects pass through an intermediate position as proposed. Consider the typical binding/reconstruction evidence in favor of successive cyclicity in long-distance *wh*-movement in (32):

(32)   a. *John$_i$ thinks [$_{CP}$ that [Mary bought some pictures of himself$_i$]].
       b. [Which pictures of himself$_i$] does John$_i$ think [$_{CP}$ __ that [Mary bought __ __]]?

Successful binding in (32) shows that at some point in the derivation the phrase *which pictures of himself* is located in the local c-command domain of *John.* Sabel (2002) provides similar evidence for intermediate reconstruction sites with mildly deviant *wh*-extraction from *wh*-islands, which is not expected if the *wh*-phase undergoes "long" (Subjacency-violating) movement:

(33)   a. *John$_i$ wonders [CP where [Mary bought some pictures of himself$_i$]].   (Sabel 2002)
       b. [Which pictures of himself$_i$] does John$_i$ wonder [$_{CP}$ __ [$_{CP}$ where [Mary bought__ __]]?

Russian shows similar intermediate reconstruction evidence with *wh*-islands, both of the embedded interrogative type, as in the improvement of binding of *sebe* by *Maria* in (34b), and of the *čto*-translucence type, as seen in (34c):

(34)   a. Maria$_1$ sprosila, kogda Ivan$_2$ uslyšal [novye sluxi   o   sebe$_{2 (*1)}$]
          Maria$_i$ asked   when Ivan$_2$ heard [new   rumors   about self$_{2 (*1)}$]
          'Maria asked when Ivan heard the new rumors about himself.'
       b.??[Kakie sluxi   o   sebe$_{?1//2}$] Maria$_1$ sprosila, [kogda Ivan$_2$ uslyšal ___]?
          [which rumors about self$_{?1/2}$] Maria   asked   [when   Ivan   heard   ___]
          'Which rumors about himself/herself did Maria ask when Ivan heard?'
       c.??[Kakie sluxi   o   sebe$_{?1//2}$] Maria$_1$ dumaet,   [čto   Ivan$_2$ uslyšal ___]?
          [which rumors   about self$_{?1/2}$] Maria   thinks   [that   Ivan heard   ___]
          'Which rumors about himself/herself does Maria think that Ivan heard?'

As we have already seen, in (34b,c) the mild deviance is caused by the conflict in [wh] agreement with the two specifiers in the intermediate domain (one occupied by the lower fronted *wh*-phrase and the other by the [+R] marked phrase being extracted to the main clause). However, the possibility of binding by *Maria* in (34b,c) (impossible in (34a) due to locality – the anaphor is not in the same domain as *Maria*) provides evidence that an intermediate stop is indeed made during the

course of the derivation. This shows that a multiple Specifier construction (or cartographic equivalent) must be being utilized in the derivation.

The final piece of evidence that the analysis here is on the right track concerns the possibility of blocking the [+R] movement of the object *wh*-phrase in the purported intermediate escape hatch. This cannot be constructed for the *čto*-translucence cases, but it can be for true *wh*-islands. Suppose the *wh*-phrase that fills the intermediate SpecCP is itself overtly [+R] marked, namely an argument. Such phrases would be forced, one might predict, into utilizing the higher SpecCP as their initial landing site. This should then maintain intervention of any matrix *wh*-probe to the second *wh*-phrase, since the [+R] escape hatch is now not available. As far as I know, this particular test of *wh*-islands has not been performed, but we do appear to find the predicated contrast, as in the English examples in ():

(35)   a. ??To whom do you wonder when John introduced the Dean __?   (mild)
       b. *To whom do you wonder who J introduced __ yesterday?   (severe)

If systematic, the contrast in (35) is remarkable confirmation of the account at hand – the matrix moved *wh*-phrases are identical – both [+R] theta-marked direct objects. The *wh*-creating lower element, however, is overtly [+R] marked only in the second case, and the result appears to be far worse. This is remarkable confirmation that the [+R] status of the intermediate zone must be available for the escape seen in (a) to take place. Further research on such contrasts is required to see if this result consistently holds with mildly deviant *wh*-extraction from weak islands.

5.4. *ČTO*-CLAUSE TRANSLUCENCE. Finally, we come full circle to the *čto*-translucence cases. Recall the account of impossible adjunct extraction due to featural intervention by the *čto* complementizer carrying the (illusory) [wh] feature that is lexically associated with it due to the element's other usage as a *wh*-phrase. Relativized Minimality disallows probing from the higher C to the lower *wh*-phrase, a standard case of Intervention, as we have seen for *wh*-islands above. Adjunct extraction in such contexts is entirely ungrammatical, as we have seen in examples such as (35). For the purposes of Relativized Minimality mediated by features, this is identical to a *wh*-island.

(36)   **?***Kogo   ty   dumaeš',   **čto[wh]**   Ivan   priglasil   __   (na večerinku)?
       Who   you   think   that   Ivan   invited   __   (to party)
       'Who do you think that Ivan invited to the party?'

(37)   *****Kak   ty   dumaeš',   **čto[wh]**   Ivan   počinil   mašinu   __ ?   (Russian)
       who   you   think   that   Ivan   fix   car   __
       'How do you think that Ivan fixed the car?'

However, the argumental element *kogo* in (36) is also [+R], being a θ-marked direct object. Therefore, it is able to be attracted by the [R] feature present in the intermediate left-periphery. After movement to that position, we have the configuration shown in (38):

(38)   The RR account of argument extraction from *čto*-clauses, based on ex. (36):
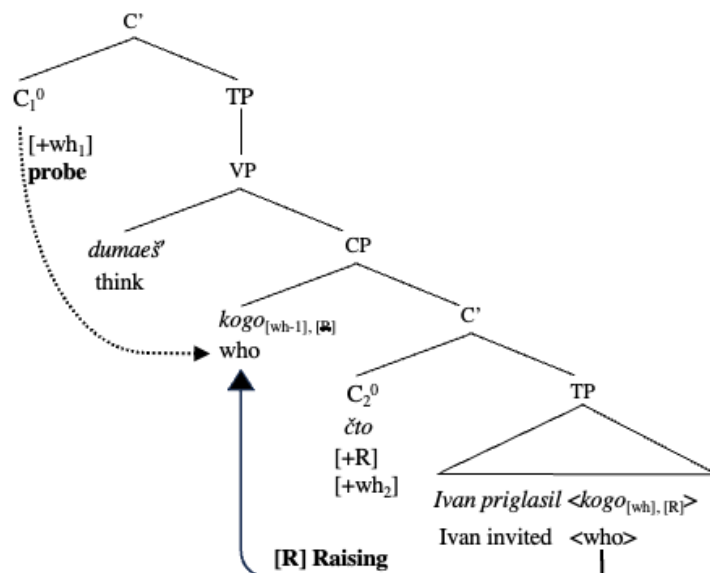
(38) shows the stage of the derivation when the lower [+R] *wh*-phrase has undergone RR to the intermediate left periphery, with features indicated for *čto*-confusion. The status of this intermediate stage of the derivation is what accounts for the significant speaker variation with this construction. Without *čto*-confusion, this structure is equivalent to the intermediate stage of successive cyclic *wh*-movement (as in the English equivalent), and as such is perfectly well-formed. However, *with čto*-confusion, this intermediate stage can only be derived if the raised element is [+R], in which case there is no Intervention for the higher [wh₁] probe, which will eventually attract it, deriving sentence (36). However, at the stage shown in (38) there is a clash between the C head that carries the (confused) [wh₂] feature and the [wh₁] on the moved phrase itself. This cannot be an Agree relation (the values of the two features being distinct), and as such creates a clash that causes the mild deviance of the derivation. Syntactically, nothing is ill-formed about the derivation (as opposed to the attempted equivalent adjunct movement, which cannot utilize RR to escape the [wh] intervention issue) and yet there is a feature clash that causes mild deviance.

6. The PIC is not involved in weak islands. Finally, we are in a position to return to the overall theory of locality in A'-movement. We have seen in Russian strong evidence for weak-island constructions, instantiated by both traditional *wh*-islands and indicative *čto*-clauses. The latter do not have a filled CP specifier, yet still induce strong intervention effects on adjunct extractions, implicating a feature-based Relativized Minimality account. Such an account allows us to dispense with the traditional ECP insofar as it applies to adjunct traces and leads to the multiple SpecCP [+R] account of mild deviance in argument extraction out of weak islands. This in turn allows us to dispense with Subjacency and its mysterious "mild" effects in such instances. All of this is very welcome progress.

    There is another potential benefit that is worth mentioning in closing – notice that to account for the ability of long-distance scrambling to occur out of *wh*-islands, which happens freely in Russian as we have seen, it is necessary to allow for Probe-Goal relationships to be established

across purported phase boundaries (assuming not all Scrambling instances instantiate [R] elements, yet all can scramble out of *wh*-islands; Bailyn 2020). That is, it is necessary to allow long-distance Agree as a normal unbounded phenomenon in language. Of course, this has been proposed in many places in the syntactic literature to allow for morphological long-distance agreement itself, as well as for certain movement dependencies, as independently argued for in Bošković (2007). In fact, Bošković (2007) concludes that Agree is not phase-bounded, the same conclusion we come to here. Importantly, Bošković also argues that successive cyclicity in long-distance indicative *wh*-extraction of the standard kind is not feature-driven at all, but rather a pure economy condition imposed on the size of movement steps and is not induced by the typical triggering process for movement. Here, because of the pure Intervention account that rules out adjunct extraction, the result is that we can now dispense with the PIC entirely in the derivation of long-distance movement. Agree can be established at any distance under c-command, so long as there is no Intervention of the fRM type. Successive cyclicity results either from the attraction by an independent feature, as with [+R] arguments, or for independent Economy conditions, as with standard successful long distance *wh*-movement in English. Neither is available in adjunct extraction out of *wh*-islands, and the result is severe deviance. The PIC is thus rendered superfluous in the grammar, though whether phases themselves can be eliminated in favor of RM effects entirely, as suggested by Zeijlstra & Keine (2022), remains a topic for future research.

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