Russian Scrambling, feature typologies, and syntactic 'marking for movement'
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In this paper, I argue that three interrelated points about A'-dependencies (wh-mvt and Long Distance Scrambling, both present in Russian), motivate a particular articulated theory of movement that incorporates the spirit of Bošković's 2007 "goal-driven movement", within the framework of Rizzi's 1990/2014 Relativized Minimality.

The three initial points are these: (i) that A'-scrambling must be treated as feature-driven movement (as argued in Kawamura 2004), despite its apparent optionality, and not simply a discourse-driven process (Miyagawa 2006); (ii) that the Scrambling feature ($[\Sigma]$), must be integrated into the typology of A'-features in Rizzi 2004, in order to account for a range of blocking effects in Russian extraction; and (iii) that A'-features must be seen *as a hierarchically organized bundle*, whereby some A'-features, such as $[\Sigma]$, "subsume" others, such as [+Q] on quantifier QPs.

We begin from the well-known observation that Russian long distance dislocation (scrambling) is A'-movement (Bailyn 2001, a.o.), sensitive to standard movement constraints such as the Constraint on Extraction Domains (CED), as shown in (1a), or the Complex NP Constraint (Subjacency) as shown in (1b). Wh-mvt is similarly constrained as shown in (2):

(1) a. ***Borisa** ja ušel domoj, [potomu čto Maša ljubit ___]   (*Scr)
   Boris$_{ACC}$ I left to.home [---because --- Masha loves ___]
   *"Boris I went home because Masha loves?"

  b.*Ty **doktor**   znaeš' [ljudej [kotoryx ___ volnuet]] ?   (*Scr)
   you doctor$_{NOM}$ know [people [who$_{ACC}$ ___ worries]]
   *"The doctor do you know people who worries?"

(2) ***Kogo** ty ušel domoj, [potomu čto Maša ljubit ___] ?   (*wh)
   who$_{ACC}$ you left to.home [--- because--- Masha loves ___]
   *"Who did you go home because Masha loves?"

However, as noted in Müller & Sternefeld (1993), scrambling is not sensitive to wh-islands (3a), which otherwise constrain wh-mvt (3b):

(3) a. Ty **musor** slyšala, [**kogda** uvozili   ___]?   (√ Scr)
   You trash$_{ACC}$ heard [when took away ___]
   "Did you hear them taking the trash away?" (Zemskaya 1973: 399)

  b. *Ty **čto**   slyšala, [**kogda** uvozili   ___]?   (*wh)
   You what$_{ACC}$ heard [when took away ___]
   *"What did you hear them taking away?"

Similarly, relativization is also not sensitive to wh-islands, as shown in detail in Lyutikova 2009:

(4) tut pojavljaetsja novyj mir, **v kotorom** ja ne znaju [kak žit' __] (√ Rel)
   here appears   new world in which I neg know [how to.live]
   "And there appears a new world here in which I don't know how to live" (Lyutikova 2009: 36)

Finally, a survey of blocking effects with scrambling based partly on Shields 2005, reveals that a base-generated adverb is a more powerful blocker than a scrambled element:

(5) a. ??Ja **bystro**$_{[+\Sigma]}$ xoču, [čtoby ona **často**$_{[+Mod]}$ ___ exala] . (*Scr over [mod])
   I quickly want [that she often   ___ went]
   "I want it to often go quickly." (ex from Shields 2005, my diacritics)

  b. **Ivanu**$_{[+\Sigma]}$ ja **srazu**$_{[+\Sigma]}$ xoču,[čtoby ona   pozvonila ___ ___] .
   Ivan$_{DAT}$ I right away want [that she   call   ___ ___]
   "Ivan I want her to call right away." (LD Dat arg scrambling over scrambled temporal adverbial)

The typology of various kinds of blockers is given in (6): I adopt a version of Rizzi's 2004 feature class analysis of A'-dependencies, whereby a superset distinction is made between [+Q] (WH, Neg, Foc, Quant) features and [-Q] features, such as [+Top] and [+Mod].

(6) Relativized Minimality blockers in Russian

|	------------ [+Q] blockers ------------				----- [-Q] blockers -----	
	[+WH]	[+Foc]	[+Quant]	[+Neg]	[+Mod]	[+Σ]
kind of mvt						
WH-movement	*	*	*	*	√	√
Focus movement	*	*	*	*	√	√
Scrambling	√	√	√	√	*	√

Given (6), one would predict scrambling of [+Q] quantificational elements across wh-islands, also a [+Q] element, to induce degradation. However, such extractions are fully grammatical (7):

(7)   Ty   **vsex**$_{+Q], [+Σ]}$ slyšala, [**kogda**$_{[+wh]}$ uvozili   ___]?   (√ [+Q] Scr over [+WH])
       You   everyone$_{ACC}$ heard   [when   took away ___]
       "Did you hear them taking everyone away?"

We have reached an apparent paradox: [+Q] elements block Agree relations between other [+Q] elements, and yet they themselves are not blocked by wh-islands. We argue that this is because the Scrambling feature [+Σ], inherently [-Q], *subsumes* the [+Q] feature of the quantifier in the derivational formation of a Scrambling Phrase, whereby [+Σ] marks DP for movement:

(8) Syntactic object after Marking for Scrambling:

i. [+Σ] + ii. DP/CP$_{[Lexical Feature Bundle]}$ →   (iii)   ΣP (a DP/QP marked for Scrambling
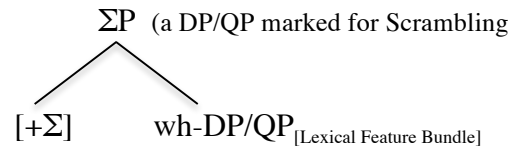
The subsuming of the otherwise active [+Q] feature
in scrambling contexts parallels the lack of island
sensitivity in relativization shown in (4) above,

[+Σ]   wh-DP/QP$_{[Lexical Feature Bundle]}$

which falls out under the feature class system, if we introduce hierarchical relations among features,

(9) Feature relations: a. QuestionP: [+Q], [+wh]   b. Relative pronoun: [-Q], [+wh]
                          c. Quantifier QP [+Q]   d. Scrambled QP: [+Σ] (no longer [+Q])
                          e. base-gen adverb: [+Mod]   f. Scrambled Adv: [+Σ] (no longer [+Mod])

True wh question phrases are both [+Q] and [+wh], whereas relatives are also [+wh] but not [+Q]. [+Q] Quantifiers phrases block wh-mvt, but become [+Σ], and hence [-Q], when scrambled, and as such can escape wh-islands, as we have seen. Similarly, base-generated adverbials block scrambling, but previously scrambled modifiers do not, having had their [+Mod] feature subsumed by [+Σ]. If feature bundles are organized hierarchically, with syntactic additions subsuming lexical features, we have an account for how A'-blocking works. In conclusion we discuss how the theory proposed comprises an argument against extreme syntactic cartography in the sense of Rizzi 2004.

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