Successive cyclicity in DPs: Evidence from Mongolian nominalized clauses[*]

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1 Introduction

A well-established property of long-distance movement is that it is *successive-cyclic*: phrasal movement of an XP from its base position to the one where it is pronounced takes place in a series of shorter steps. This punctuated nature of movement is often tied to phasehood. Phases are taken to be special in that they (*i*) may provide intermediate positions along the path of successive cyclic movement where moving XPs can stop of and (*ii*) force XPs to land in these positions by virtue of being opaque domains otherwise. By now, there is a growing body of evidence that long-distance movement stops off at the edge of each intervening CP (Henry, 1995; McCloskey, 2002; Torrego, 1984) and *v*P (Bruening, 2001; Rackowski and Richards, 2005; van Urk, 2015) (see Citko 2014 for an overview). However, there is debate as to whether DP, another purported phasal domain, hosts escape hatches and allows intermediate movement through its edge (Bach and Horn, 1976; Chomsky, 1973; Cinque, 1980; Gavruseva, 2000; Giorgi and Longobardi, 1991; Matushansky, 2005; Svenonius, 2004; Szabolcsi, 1994; Tellier, 1991). On the one hand, Complex Noun Phrase Constraint effects as in (1) may be taken to show that DPs lack an escape hatch.

(1)   a.   Where$_i$ did you hear [$_{CP}$ that Mary bought a house t_i] ?

      b.   *Where$_i$ did you hear [$_{DP}$ a rumor that Mary bought a house t_i]] ?

On the other hand, left-branch extraction facts crosslinguistically have been argued to show the opposite (Cinque, 1980; Gavruseva, 2000; Giorgi and Longobardi, 1991; Szabolcsi, 1984, 1994). For instance, Szabolcsi (1994) shows for Hungarian that only possessors that appear to the left of determiners when non-extracted can undergo movement from their containing DP. She and others (e.g. Gavruseva 2000) have tied this to the availability of an escape hatch position within DP. Similarly, in Romance, only those arguments that can be possessivized can move out of the DP, which has also been taken to show that XPs must pass through Spec, DP in order to move out of the phase (Cinque, 1980; Giorgi and Longobardi, 1991). However, such interpretations of these facts is not uncontroversial. Left-branch extraction data have been analyzed by others as showing instead the *absence* of a D-layer altogether (Bošković, 2005, 2014; Uriagereka, 1998). Thus, the question remains: does DP allow — and require — movement of phase-internal material through its edge?

In this squib, I present novel evidence from Mongolian (Mongolic) showing that at least some DPs allow successive-cyclic movement from within the phase. Mongolian nominalized clauses are DPs and Ā-movement out of them must stop off at the edge. Supporting evidence comes from unexpected interactions between embedded subject case and movement. Subjects of these nominalized clauses can ordinarily receive nominative (NOM), genitive (GEN) or accusative (ACC) case. The subject of a nominalized clause receives accusative case if it occupies Spec, DP, but movement from within the clause disrupts this case possibility. Specifically, (i) ACC on the subject of a nominalized clause is impossible when a non-subject undergoes movement out of that DP, and (ii) ACC is impossible on the subject of any intermediate nominalized clause which is crossed by movement. I argue that the (un)availability of ACC-case marking is a reflex of successive-cyclicity in DPs: when ACC on a nominalized clause subject is blocked, it signals that the edge of that DP has been targeted for intermediate movement. More broadly, these results lend further support to a phasal view of DPs and suggest that phases of any category can, in

principle, provide escape hatches for movement out of them.

2 Mongolian Nominalized Clauses and Subject Case

2.1 Nominalized clauses are nominals

Subordinate clauses in Mongolian are ordinarily headed by the complementizer *geǰ*, as illustrated in (2).

(2)　a.　Bi [Bat tsuqlaa-nt　hoǰ-sən　geǰ]　mitən
　　　　I　[Bat lottery-DAT win-PAST C]-ACC know
　　　　'I know that Bat won the lottery.'

　　　b.　Naraa [Bat tsuqlaa-nt　hoǰ-sən　geǰ]　bot-dəg
　　　　Naraa [Bat lottery-DAT win-PAST C]-ACC think-HAB
　　　　'Naraa thinks that Bat won the lottery.'

A range of embedding predicates can take nominalized complements in addition. These predicates include verbs of perception (*harsəx* 'see', *suntsəx* 'hear'), (certain) cognitive factives (*mitəx* 'know, *oǯč mitəx* 'find out') and verbs of saying (*hiǰsəx* 'tell'). Though an overt nominalizer is absent, the nominal nature of these clauses is illustrated by the fact that they are obligatorily case marked (3), can complement prepositions (4), and may appear in subject positions (5). As shown by the comparisons with *geǰ*-clauses, CPs in this language do not show any of these properties.

(3)　*Nominalized complements must bear case; CPs cannot.*

　　　a.　Bi [Bat tsuqlaa-nt　hoǰ-sn]*(-iig)　mitən
　　　　I　[Bat lottery-DAT win-PAST]*(-ACC) know
　　　　'I know Bat won the lottery.'

　　　b.　Bi [Dorǰ oč-tɛɛ　bɛɛGaa]*(-t) haram-səŋ
　　　　I　[Dorj sick-COM COP]*(-DAT) regret-PAST
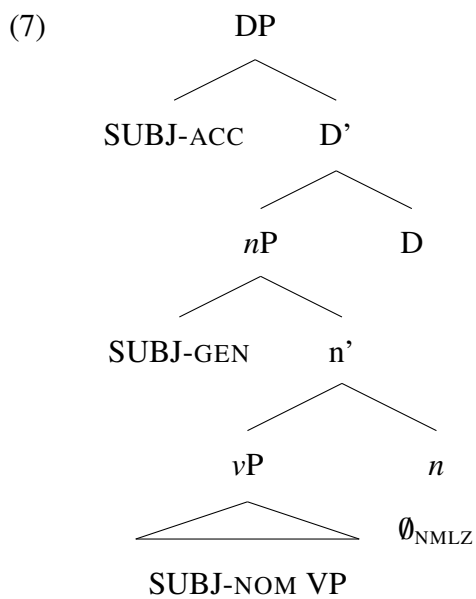　　　　'I regretted that Dorj is sick.'

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c. Bi [Bat tsuqlaa-nt hoǰ-sən geǰ](*-iig) mitən
   I [Bat lottery-DAT win-PAST C](*-ACC) know
   'I know that Bat won the lottery.'

(4) *Nominalized complements can complement prepositions; CPs cannot.*

a. Bi [hiŋ buǰigəɮ-sən] toxæ gɛɛhič bɛɛn
   I [who dance-PAST] about wonder PROG
   'I wonder about who danced.'

b. *Bi [hiŋ buǰigəɮ-sən geǰ] toxæ gɛɛhič bɛɛn
   I [who dance-PAST C] about wonder PROG
   'I wonder about who danced.'

(5) *Nominalized complements can be subjects; CPs cannot*

a. [Bat huɮɮ-oo hogeɮ-səŋ]-n miti-gd-səŋ
   [Bat.NOM leg-POSS break]-PAST]-SUBJ know-PASS-PAST
   'That Bat broke his leg is known.'

b. *[Bat huɮɮ-oo hogeɮ-sən geǰ](-n) miti-gd-səŋ
   [Bat.NOM leg-POSS break]-PAST C]-(SUBJ) know-PASS-PAST
   'That Bat broke his leg is known.'

2.2   Subject Case Alternations

Subjects of nominalized embedded clauses may be case-marked in one of three ways: with

NOM (unmarked), GEN (*-iin/nii*) or ACC (*-(ii)g*).

(6) a. Bi Bat tsuqlaa-nt hoǰ-sn-iig mitən
        I Bat.**NOM** lottery-DAT win-PAST-ACC know
        'I know that Bat won the lottery.'

     b. Bi Bat-**iin** tsuqlaa-nt hoǰ-sn-iig mitən
        I Bat-**GEN** lottery-DAT win-PAST-ACC know
        'I know that Bat won the lottery.'

     c. Bi Bat-**iig** tsuqlaa-nt hoǰ-sn-iig mitən
        I Bat-**ACC** lottery-DAT win-PAST-ACC know
        'I know that Bat won the lottery.'

Though seemingly in free variation, when we look beyond the basic cases, we find syntactic environments where one or the other case morphology is blocked. I will argue below that these asymmetries reflect differences in the syntactic position of the nominal in question, as schematized in (7).[1] Evidence for structural differences among differently case-marked subjects come from specificity effects, NPI licensing facts, and variability in case-possibilities depending on the syntactic position of the clause.

(7)

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                    DP
                   /  \
            SUBJ-ACC   D'
                      /  \
                    nP    D
                   /  \
           SUBJ-GEN    n'
                      /  \
                   vP     n
                  /__\    Ø_NMLZ
            SUBJ-NOM VP
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Case on subject nominals varies as a function of specificity. For instance, a non-specific indefinite subject of a nominalized clause can only bear NOM.

(8)   *Only* NOM *is possible on non-specific indefinites*

    a.   Bi   [hinnigin   Naraa-g   zur-sn]-iig   bi   mitič bɛɛn
        1.NOM someone.**NOM** Naraa-ACC draw-PAST-ACC know PROG
        'I know that someone drew Naraa.' (but I don't know who.)

    b. *Bi   [hinnigin-**ii**   Naraa-g   zur-sn]-iig   bi   mitič bɛɛn
        1.NOM someone-**GEN** Naraa-ACC draw-PAST-ACC know PROG

    c. *Bi   [hinnigin-**iig**   Naraa-g   zur-sn]-iig   mitič bɛɛn
        1.NOM someone-**ACC** Naraa-ACC draw-PAST-ACC know PROG

Pronouns, on the other hand, show the opposite pattern: NOM is impossible if the embedded subject is a pronoun.[2]

(9)   *Pronouns cannot be* NOM

    a.   Naraa [mini/namaiig/*bii   buǰigəʐ-iig]   har-səŋ
        Naraa 1.GEN/1.ACC/*1.NOM dance.INF-ACC see-PAST
        'Naraa saw me dance.'

    b.   Naraa [čini/čamaiig/*čii   buǰigəʐ-iig]   har-səŋ
        Naraa 2.GEN/2.ACC/*2.NOM dance.INF-ACC see-PAST
        'Naraa saw you dance.'

    c.   Naraa [tuunii/tuniig/*tir   buǰigəʐ-iig]   har-səŋ
        Naraa 3.GEN/3.ACC/*3.NOM dance.INF-ACC see-PAST
        'Naraa saw him dance.'

I take these specificity effects to provide indirect evidence for a positional difference between GEN/ACC-marked subjects and NOM subjects, the latter being structurally lower than the former. More specifically, I suggest that aNOM subject remains in the *v*P-internal position where it is generated, whereas GEN/ACC subjects move out of this position (see Asarina 2011 and Gribanova 2017 for similar claims about Uyghur and Uzbek respectively). The specificity effects follow if in (9), Existential Closure occurs immediately above *v*P (and below *n*P), such that *v*P-internal subjects remain in the scope of this operator (Diesing, 1992; Diesing and Jelinek, 1995). Any indefinite that receives an existential interpretation must be in the scope of Existential Closure. Moreover, since Existential Closure is taken to be unselective (Heim, 1982), any nominal that introduces a free variable and must not receive an existential interpretation, e.g. referring pronouns, must move out of its scope.

The distribution of NPI-licensing facts provides further arguments in favor of a correlation between syntactic position and case morphology on the subject of nominalized clauses. Indefinites with the focus particle *-č* attached to them are NPIs and felicitous only in downward-entailing environments. When the subject of a nominalized clause is an NPI

and its licensor is a clause-mate negation, the subject can only bear NOM (10). As (11) demonstrates, NOM case-marking is not a requirement for NPIs across-the-board, as those subject NPIs licensed by higher clause negation need not be NOM.

(10)   *Only* NOM *is possible on NPIs licensed by same-clause negation*

    a.   Bi   [neg-č hun   Naraa-t   tusɮaa-gui]-ig čamt hiɮ-sən
         1.NOM ∃-FOC person.**NOM** Naraa-DAT help-NEG-ACC 2.DAT tell-PAST
         'I told you that no one helped Naraa.'

    b. *Bi   [neg-č hun-**ii**   Naraa-t   tusɮaa-gui]-ig čamt hiɮ-sən
         1.NOM ∃-FOC person-**GEN** Naraa-DAT help-NEG-ACC 2.DAT tell-PAST

    c. *Bi   [Neg-č hun-**iig**   Naraa-t   tusɮaa-gui]-ig čamt hiɮ-sən
         1.NOM ∃-FOC person-**ACC** Naraa-DAT help-NEG-ACC 1.NOM 2.DAT

         tell-PAST

(11)   Bi   [neg-č hun(**-ii**)   uG-sn]-iig   tuunt hiɮɮɛɛ-gui
     1.NOM ∃-FOC person.**NOM-(GEN)** die-PAST-ACC 3.DAT tell-NEG
     'I didn't say that anyone died.'

These restrictions also follow if there is a positional asymmetry between NOM and GEN/ACC subjects. The syntactic position of negation in these clauses is structurally higher than *v*P, but lower than *n*P. As a consequence, only a *v*P-internal NPI — which must be NOM-marked — would be in the scope of the licensing clause-mate negation.

    GEN and ACC subjects pattern together in most environments, but the availability of ACC on a subject, crucially, is limited to clauses that occupy a complement position. When the nominalized embedded clause appears in subject position, ACC is unavailable (12).

(12)   *Nominalized clauses in subject position cannot have* ACC *subjects*

    a.   [Bat   huɮɮ-oo hogeɮ-sən]-n   miti-gd-sən
         Bat.**NOM** leg-POSS break-PAST-SUBJ know-PASS-PAST
         'That Bat broke his leg is known.'

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b.   [Bat-**iiŋ** huʤʤ-oo hogeʤ-səŋ]-n   miti-gd-səŋ
     Bat-GEN leg-POSS break-PAST-SUBJ know-PASS-PAST

c.   *[Bat-**iig** huʤʤ-oo hogeʤ-səŋ]-n   miti-gd-səŋ
     Bat-ACC leg-POSS break-PAST-SUBJ know-PASS-PAST

This suggests that the licensing of ACC on embedded subjects depends on the presence of some higher-clause element. Note, however, that an ACC-marked subject has not overtly raised out of the nominalized clause into the higher clause, as in more familiar Raising-to-Object constructions. This is illustrated by the fact that ACC-marked subjects obligatorily move with the nominalized clause when the clause itself undergoes scrambling (13).

(13)   a.   Bi [**Bat-iig** tsuqlaa-nt hoǰ-sn]-iig   mitən
            I [Bat-ACC lottery-DAT win-PAST]-ACC know
            'I know that Bat won the lottery.'

        b.   [**Bat-iig** tsuqlaa-nt hoǰ-sn]-iig   bi mitən
            [Bat-ACC lottery-DAT win-PAST]-ACC I   know

        c.   *[t_i tsuqlaa-nt   hoǰ-sn]-iig   bi **Bat-iig**$_i$ mitən
            [lottery-DAT win-PAST]-ACC I   Bat-ACC know

The resulting picture is one where ACC-marked subjects must stay within the clause, but also establish a dependency with some higher clause element that licenses ACC-case. Given the phasehood of DPs, the only position where material internal to the DP is visible for operations outside the phase is the edge, i.e. Spec, DP. Therefore, I propose that ACC-case can be licensed only on nominals that move to this peripheral position within the nominalized clause. Thus, whereas both GEN and ACC-marked DPs have vacated their *v*P-internal position, ACC-subjects, by virtue of being at the DP-edge, are structurally higher than GEN-subjects. GEN, I suggest, is licensed on DPs that move to the specifier of the nominalizing head, *n*P.

For the purposes of this paper, it is not important how subject case is licensed, as long as the DP in question is forced to be at the phase-edge to receive ACC. Two most prominent

families of theories of case — head-licensing approaches (Chomsky, 1981, 2000, 2001) and configurational approaches (Baker and Vinokurova, 2010; Bittner and Hale, 1996; Levin and Preminger, 2015; Marantz, 1991) — make the same predictions regarding this requirement. Consider first theories that attribute case assignment to dedicated functional heads. ACC-case on embedded subjects may be thought as being exceptionally licensed by a higher-clause *v*. On a configurational approach to case assignment, ACC case is a manifestation of *dependent case*, assigned to a DP if it is c-commanded by another DP within some local domain. ACC-marking on embedded subjects could arise because the nominal in question may be in the same case-competition domain as the higher-clause subject (Baker, 2015; Baker and Vinokurova, 2010). Importantly, on either approach, subjects receiving ACC must be local to some higher, clause-external element, either the higher *v* or the higher subject, a requirement that is met only by subjects at the phase-edge.[3]

To sum up, I have suggested that NOM-marked subjects of nominalized clauses remain within the *v*P domain, whereas GEN and ACC subjects occupy higher, derived positions. Because ACC-licensing requires that the relevant nominal be accessible to elements outside of the DP-phase, I proposed that ACC-subjects raise to Spec, DP. In the following section, I will argue that the availability of ACC case is a diagnostic of successive cyclicity in these nominalized clauses. The logic of the argumentation is as follows. Suppose a nominalized clause that otherwise permits ACC subjects loses its ability to host ACC subjects when movement has taken place. This is predicted if movement of an XP makes unavailable the edge position otherwise available to subject nominals, because the moving XP lands in that position on the way to its final landing site. In other words, it would indicate that Spec, DP is an escape hatch for phrasal movement in this language.

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3   Successive cyclicity in nominalized clauses

My evidence here will rely on topicalization involving the marker *bol*. The fact that *bol*-topicalization reconstructs for binding (14) suggests that the operation involves movement. It moreover shows hallmarks of Ā-movement. It is island sensitive (15) and can take place across a CP-boundary (16).

(14)   *Reconstruction for Principle A*

    a.   Bat [oor-iig-oo   tsoqlaa-nt   hodg-sen gideg-t] itigsen
        Bat self-ACC-REFL lottery-sc dat win-PST C-DAT   believed
        'Bat believed that he won the lottery.'

    b.   [oor-iig-oo   tsoqlaa-nt   hodg-sen gideg-t] BOL itigsen
        self-ACC-REFL lottery-sc dat win-PST C-DAT TOP believed
        'As for (the news) that he won the lottery, Bat believed it.'

(15)   *Island Sensitivity*

    a.   En tsaxjaa-g bol bi bič-sen
        This letter-ACC TOP I   write-PST
        'As for this letter, I wrote it.'   *Baseline*

    b. *En tsaxjaa-g bol bič-sen-∅   hun-iig   bi har-sen
        This letter-ACC TOP write-PAST-REL person-ACC I saw-PST
        Intended: 'As for this letter, I saw the person who wrote it.' *Relative Clause*

    c. *En tsaxjaa-g BOL bi bič-sen   bogod tir tsaxjaa-g unš-sen
        This letter-ACC TOP I write-PAST and   that letter-ACC read
        Intended: 'As for this letter, I wrote it and I read that letter.'   *Coordination*

(16)   *Movement across clause-boundary*

        en tsaxjaa-g bol Bat Naraa bič-sen   geǰ hiɮ-sen
        this letter-ACC TOP Bat Naraa write-PST C say-PST
        'As for this letter, Bat said that Naraa wrote it.'

Constituents inside nominalized embedded clauses can be extracted by topicalization, but

this movement interacts with subject case, whether or not it is the subject itself that is topicalized. First, if an embedded subject of a nominalized clause is topicalized, it must bear ACC case. Compare (18) to the baseline in (17), where the subject of the nominalized clause can be marked NOM, GEN or ACC. In (18), the embedded subject undergoes topicalization and only ACC is possible.

(17) bi [Naraa/Naraa-giin/Naraa-g   taŋ ba inx   unšič bɛɛG]-iig harsen
      I Naraa.NOM/Naraa-GEN/Naraa-ACC War and Peace read   PROG-ACC saw
      'I saw Naraa reading War and Peace.'

(18) a.   Naraa-g_i bol bi [t_i taŋ ba inx   unšič bɛɛG]-iig harsen
           Naraa-**ACC** BOL I   War and Peace read   PROG-ACC saw
           'As for Naraa, I saw her reading War and Peace.'

      b.   *Naraa$_i$ bol bi [t_i taŋ ba inx   unšič bɛɛG]-iig harsen
           Naraa.**NOM** BOL I   War and Peace read   PROG-ACC saw

      c.   *Naraa-**giin**$_i$ bol bi [t_i taŋ ba   inx unšič   bɛɛG]-iig harsen
           Naraa-**GEN**BOL I   War and Peace read PROG-ACC saw

   Second, if a non-subject XP is topicalized, the embedded subject cannot bear ACC case; compare the ill-formed (20-a), where the embedded subject bears ACC with (20-b) and (20-c), where the subject is unmarked and GEN-marked, respectively.

(19) a.   *buuts-iig$_i$ bol   bi [Bat-**iig** t_i avčer-ex]-iig   harsen
           dumplings-ACC BOL I Bat-**ACC**   bring-INF-ACC saw
           Intended: 'As for the dumplings, I saw Bat bringing them.'

      b.   buuts-iig$_i$ bol bi [Bat t_i avčer-ex]-iig   harsen
           dumplings-ACC BOL I Bat.**NOM**   bring-INF-ACC saw

      c.   buuts-iig$_i$ bol bi [Bat-**iin** t_i avčer-ex]-iig harsen
           dumplings-ACC BOL I Bat-**GEN** bring-INF-ACC saw

When the subject is pronominal and NOM is independently banned, only GEN is a possibility when topicalization takes place from within the clause.

(20) a. *buuts-iig   bol bi [**čamaig** t_i avčer-ex]-iig   harsen
          dumplings-ACC BOL I **2.ACC**   bring-INF-ACC saw
          Intended: 'As for the dumplings, I saw you bringing them.'

   b. *buuts-iig   bol bi [**či** t_i avčer-ex]-iig   harsen
       dumplings-ACC BOL I **2.NOM**   bring-INF-ACC saw

   c. buuts-iig   bol bi [**čini** t_i avčer-ex]-iig   harsen
       dumplings-ACC BOL I **2.GEN**   bring-INF-ACC saw

Finally, and strikingly, extraction of a constituent from an embedded nominalized clause

has ramifications for the case on the subjects of every intervening nominalized clause along

the path of movement. Specifically, the subjects of these intervening clauses cannot bear

ACC, even though movement did not originate from within them. The sentences in (21),

for example, involve the topicalization of a deeply embedded object nominal, but only the

variant where *Bat* is unmarked is acceptable. Crucially, ACC on intermediate subjects is

not blocked in (22), which is identical to (21) except that no movement has taken place.

This asymmetry confirms that it is indeed topicalization from the lower clause that blocks

accusative case of the intermediate nominalized clause.

(21) εεreg-iig   bol ixč [✓Bat /✓Bat-**iin** /*Bat-**iig**   [Doɬma t_i
      horsemilk-ACC TOP sister Bat.**NOM**/Bat-**GEN**/*Bat-**ACC** Dolma
      avčer-ex]-iig   harsn]-iig nadet hiɬsen
      bring-INF-ACC saw-ACC 1.DAT told
      'As for horsemilk, sister told me that Bat saw Dolma bring it.'

(22) ✓ixč [Bat-**iig** [Doɬma εεreg-iig   avčer-ex]-iig   harsn]-iig nadet hiɬsen
      sister Bat.**ACC** Dolma   horsemilk-ACC bring-INF-ACC saw-ACC 1.DAT told
      'Sister told me that Bat saw Dolma bring horsemilk.'

To capture this observed correlation between long-distance topicalization and subject

case, I propose that in Mongolian nominalized clauses, there is a single edge position, Spec,

DP, where any nominal that needs to be visible to phase-external operations must move.

If there is a single edge position accessible to phase-external processes, and if this is also

the only position in which the subject of a nominalized clause receives accusative case, the correlations discussed above are predicted and explained. This in turn supports a view of DPs as phasal and moreover, suggest that there need not be syntactic category-based asymmetries in the availability of edge-positions.

4   Other DPs in Mongolian

Even in Mongolian, not all DPs pattern alike. Unlike nominalized clauses, entity-denoting-DPs allow extraction of only the highest nominal. In other words, only those constituents which can appear at the phase-edge for independent reasons seem to be able to undergo movement outside of the phase. The asymmetry in acceptability of topicalization is illustrated by (23-b) vs. (23-c).

(23)   a.   Bi   [Bat-iin [uls tur-iin   taǯaar] nom]-iig   unsic been
             1.NOM Bat-GEN politics-GEN about   book-ACC read PROG
             'I am reading Bat's book about politics.'   *Baseline*

        b.   Bat-iin$_i$ bol Bi   [t$_i$ [uls tur-iin   taǯaar] nom]-iig   unsic been
             Bat-GEN TOP 1.NOM   politics-GEN about   book-ACC read PROG
             'As for Bat, I am reading his book about politics.'   *Possessor extraction*

        c.   *uls tur-iin$_k$ bol bi   [Bat-iin [t$_k$ taǯaar] nom]-iig   unsic been
             politics-GEN TOP 1.NOM Bat-GEN   about   book-ACC read PROG
             Intended: 'As for politics, I am reading Bat's book about it.'

                                                              Extraction of PP-complement

Thus, there appears to be differences within the phasal category DP in the availability of successive-cyclicity, raising interesting questions about the taxonomy of phases. What, for example, is the unifying property of *v*Ps, CPs and those clausal DPs discussed in this paper that allows them to host intermediate landing sites for movement? The "propositional" nature of *v*Ps and CPs is often taken to support their phasal status (Chomsky, 2000; Legate, 1998, 2003). The guiding intuition is that phases, being syntactic objects that can spell-out

before the entirety of the structure is built, are potentially interpretable in isolation; phrases that are truth-value denoting (assuming a simplistic, non-intensional semantics) have the requisite independence at LF. Mongolian nominalized clauses share with *v*Ps and CPs this feature: they, too, may be taken to denote truth-values. One possibility worth exploring is that the semantic nature of the phase in question determines whether or not movement can take place through its edge: whereas *v*Ps, CPs and DPs are all phasal, perhaps only those that truth-value denoting have the ability to trigger successive-cyclic movement.

Notes

[1]The assumed syntax is in the spirit of Abney (1987) and Borsley and Kornfilt (2000) in taking nominalizations to involve a verbal projection dominated by a nominal projection.

[2] Though this has been previously analyzed as a relating to Differential Subject Marking, with highly referential expressions requiring morphological marking (Guntsetseg, 2010), the contrast between pronouns and proper names (22) is surprising. Moreover, Differential *Object* Marking in Mongolian does not exhibit this contrast, and requires DOM on both proper names and pronouns (i).

(i)   a.   Bat namaiig/*bi   har-səŋ
             Bat 1.ACC/*1.NOM see-PAST
             'Bat saw me.'

       b.   Bat Naraa*(-g)   har-səŋ
             Bat Naraa*(-ACC) see-PAST
             'Bat saw Naraa.'

[3]There is tentative evidence that favors a configurational view of case. Complements of certain verbs cannot bear ACC, and instead appear with DAT case; this is the case even when the complement is a nominalized clause.

(ii)   Naraa [huuhət baksh-iig-aa   haǰ-sən]-d/*iig   uurlən-sən
        Naraa [child   teacher-ACC-REFL bite-PAST]-DAT/*ACC become.angry-PAST
        'Naraa got angry that the child bit his teacher.'

On head-licensing approaches, this would indicate that the case-licensing head associated with these verbs are

not capable of assigning ACC. Crucially, ACC is possible on the subjects of these clauses and DAT is impossible. This suggests, minimally, that ACC on subjects is not licensed by the same head responsible for case-licensing the complement.

(iii)   Naraa [huuhət-iig/*et   baksh-iig-aa   haǰ-sən]-d   uurlən-sən
           Naraa [child-ACC/*DAT teacher-ACC-REFL bite-PAST]-DAT become.angry-PAST
           'Naraa got angry that the child bit his teacher.'

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