Introduction to Hyperactivity

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1 Introduction

Hyperactivity in Tigrinya. Nominal constituents in Tigrinya (Ethiopia and Eritrea, Semitic; SOV) display hyperactive behaviors, engaging in multiple A-relations, including agreement and movement, within and between clauses.

(1) *pro* [$_{CP}$ **ʔɨt-a** **səbajti** n=ət-om təmharo kəmzi-rəxab-**ət**-tom] rəsiʕ-om-**wa**
3MP ACC=DIST-FS woman DIST-MP student.PL COMP-meet.PRF-SM.3FS-OM.3MP forget.GER-SM.3MS-OM.3FS
'They forgot that the woman met the students.'

(2) ʔɨt-i məmħɨr **n=ət-om** **təmharo$_1$** [$_{IP}$ ***t*$_1$** nɨ=kɨ-xəjd-**u**] jɨ-dɨlj-**om**
DIST-FS teacher ACC=DIST-MP students ACC=SBJV-leave.IPFV-SM.3MP SM.3FS-want.IPFV-OM.3MP
'The teacher wants the students to read the book.'

(3) [$_{IP}$ **ʔɨt-a** **sebajti** n-ət-ən dəbdabe-tat kɨ-**ti**-ts'ɨħɨf-ən] ji-gɨbbaʔ-**a**
DIST-FS woman ACC=DIST-FP letter-PL SBJV-SM.3FS-write.IPFV-OM.3FP SM.3MS-need.IPFV-OM.3FS
'The woman needs to write the letters.'

Hypoactivity as the Default. The standard theory contains measures to prevent nominal constituents from engaging in multiple A-relations.

(4) **Generalized Activity Condition**
A nominal constituent that is formally licensed under AGREE is inactive, making it inaccessible to A-relations.

(5) **Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC)**
The complement of a phase head X^0 is inaccessible to syntactic positions that are outside XP.

(6) a. **Hyperagreement**
*It **are** likely [$_{CP}$ that **they are** leaving]

b. **Hyperraising**
***They$_1$ are** likely [$_{CP}$ ***t*$_1$** **are** leaving]

Implications from Tigrinya. The usual suspects for the (non-)hyperactive behavior of nominal constituents—including Case-licensing and defectiveness—do not contribute to an account of hyperactivity patterns in the language.

Licensing without Deactivation in Tigrinya
Nominal-licensing features and concepts of defectiveness are neither explanatory nor predictive of hyperactivity patterns.

Hyperactivity as the Null Hypothesis. Given similar conclusions elsewhere (e.g., Nevins 2005, Baker 2008, Carstens & Diercks 2013, Keine 2018), hyperactivity should start to represent the default behavior of nominal constituents, while theories work to derive nominal *hypoactivity*.

Towards Developing Theories of Nominal Hypoactivity
Constraints on multiple A-relations do not reflect properties of nominal constituents in human languages.

Predicting Hyperactivity in Tigrinya Patterns of hyperactivity in Tigrinya are predictable on the basis of the argument structure of the embedding predicate and the type of clausal complement.

The Factors for Hyperactivity Patterns in Tigrinya

	ki-CLAUSE	*kəmzi*-CLAUSE
TRANSITIVE	Hyperraising-to-Object	Long-Distance Hyperagreement
UNACCUSATIVE	Long-Distance Hyperagreement	—

Motivating Patterns of Hyperactivity. Patterns of hyperactivity in Tigrinya can be explained on the basis of the formal requirements of verbal functional heads in the matrix clause (Zyman 2018, Halpert 2019, Fong 2019, Lohninger et al. 2022, Lee & Yip 2024, Halpert & Zeijlstra 2024).

Enlightened Self-Interest of Functional Heads
Patterns of hyperactivity in Tigrinya reflect properties of the embedded clauses and the probes attempting to access them.

2 Background: Raising and Control

A Surface Ambiguity There is good reason to believe that at least two separate mechanisms can be employed to generate infinitival complement clauses (Rosenbaum 1967, Postal 1974), both in English and cross-linguistically (e.g., Davies & Dubinsky 2004, Landau 2013).

(7) **Raising-to-Subject (RtS)**
The students$_1$ are likely [$_{TP}$ t_1 to leave]

(8) **Raising-to-Object (RtO)**
Jason expected them$_1$ [$_{TP}$ t_1 to leave]

(9) **Subject Control (SC)**
The students$_1$ are eager [$_{CP}$ PRO$_1$ to leave]

(10) **Object Control (OC)**
Jason persuaded them$_1$ [$_{CP}$ PRO$_1$ to leave]

Argument Structure Differences. The empirical force behind the distinction between Raising and Control is the evidence for the presence of an additional argument in Control structures that is absent from the Raising counterpart.

(11) **Raising-to-Subject**
PRED : ⟨ __ TP ⟩

(12) **Raising-to-Object**
PRED : ⟨ AG/EXP __ TP ⟩

(13) **Subject Control**
PRED : ⟨ **AG/EXP** __ CP ⟩

(14) **Object Control**
PRED : ⟨ AG __ **TH** CP ⟩

The theoretical idea is that Raising and Control syntaxes are driven by requirements of the predicates (subcategorization frames) alongside the requirements of the arguments (Case, Θ-roles).

- **Raising :** targets positions that don't receive a Θ-role but can license nominals.
- **Control :** established in positions that receive a Θ-role but cannot license nominals.

Motivating Raising. Behind this story is the hypothesis that nominal constituents must be licensed in a syntactic representation and this is not possible in infinitival clauses (Vergnaud 1977/2008, Chomsky 1981).

(15) **Case Filter**
An overt nominal constituent must have its Case feature valued.

2.1 Raising-to-Subject v. Subject Control

Predicates that select for infinitival clausal complements are divided into two separate natural classes:

(16) **Raising-to-Subject**
- a. be *likely* to
- b. be *about* to
- c. *seem* to
- d. *appear* to

(17) **Subject Control**
- a. be *reluctant* to
- b. be *ready* to
- c. *try* to
- d. *decide* to

The idea is that these natural classes are determined by the different argument structures of their members. Any phenomenon that is sensitive to thematicity and the presence of an external argument should, in principle, diagnose the membership of a predicate.

- **Raising-to-Subject :** *unaccusative* predicates that select infinitival complements, but do not project an external argument.

  PRED : ⟨ __ TP ⟩

- **Subject Control :** *transitive* predicates that select infinitival complements and project an external argument.

  PRED : ⟨ **AG/EXP** __ CP ⟩

2.1.1 Diagnosing Raising and Control

Expletive Subjects. RtS predicates can appear with an expletive in the matrix subject position, but SC predicates cannot. This contrast is consistent with the idea that control predicates must assign an external Θ-Role, but RtS predicates do not.

(18) **Raising**
- a. **There** is likely to be someone here.
- b. **There** seems to be someone here.

(19) **Control**
- a. *__There__ is reluctant to be someone here.
- b. *__There__ tried to be someone here.

Null Complement Anaphora. RtS predicates are incapable of introducing their own subject in NCA constructions, but SC are not. This contrast is consistent with the idea that control predicates introduce an external argument but RtS predicates do not.

(20) **Raising**
- a. *__Sam__ is likely.
- b. *__Sam__ seemed.

(21) **Control**
- a. **Sam** is ready.
- b. **Sam** tried.

2.1.2 Raising-to-Subject Syntax

Unaccusative Argument Structure. RtS predicates do not project an external argument and are, therefore, a type of unaccusative predicate.

(22) **Raising-to-Subject**
PRED : ⟨ __ TP ⟩

The Puzzle. If the matrix subject is not an argument of the matrix predicate, and it is interpreted as an argument of the embedded predicate, how does it appear clause-initially?

(23) **The students** are likely [$_{TP}$ to leave]

Low Origin. Expletive constructions provide evidence for the low origin of the matrix subject in RtS constructions.

(24) There are likely [$_{TP}$ to be **some students** leaving]

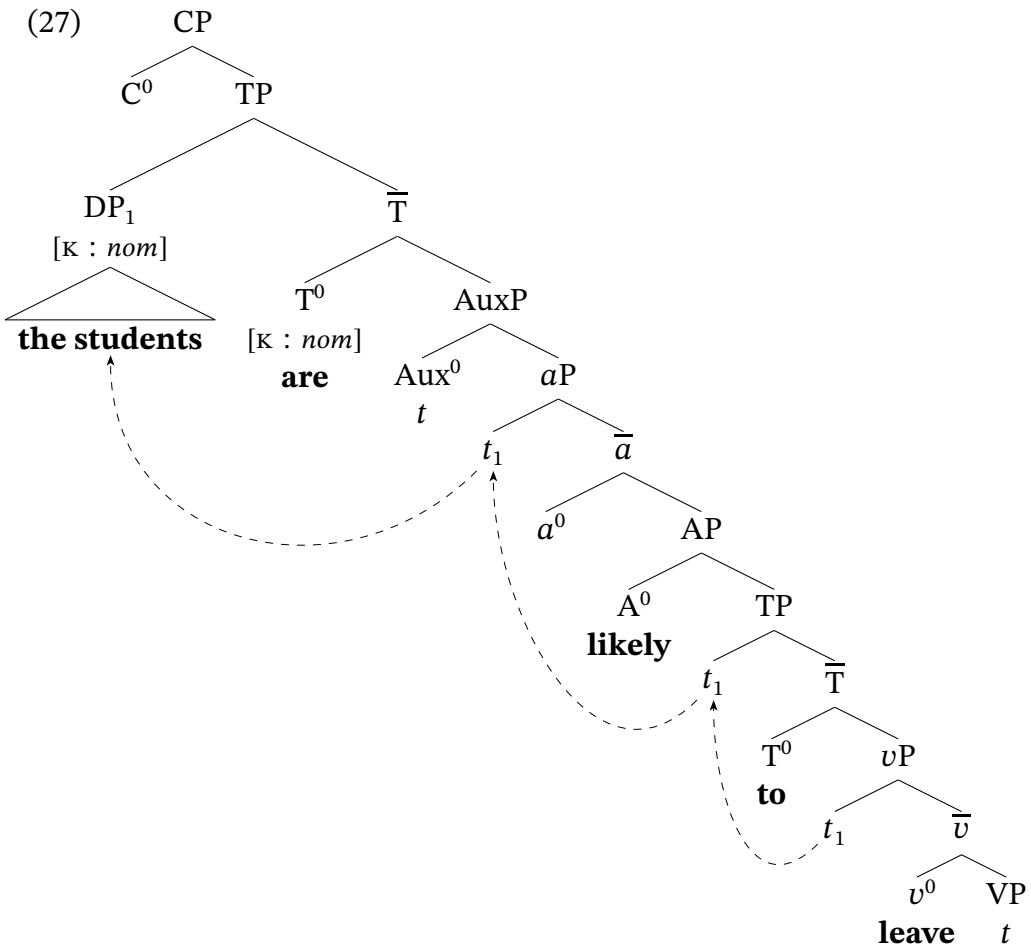
Locality of Selection. Generating the argument in the embedded clause can be motivated by something like the Θ-Criterion and locality constraints on the assignment of Θ-roles.

(25) **Θ-Role Assigment Constraint (ΘAC)**
Each Θ-role of a predicate ϕ must be uniquely assigned to some argument within ϕP.

Promotion to Subject. The ΘAC is satisfied if the DP *the students* is generated as an argument of the embedded predicate before raising to the matrix subject position (Rosenbaum 1967).

(26) **Raising-to-Subject (RtS)**
The students$_1$ are likely [$_{TP}$ t_1 to leave]

(27)



2.2 Raising-to-Object v. Object Control

Predicates that project external arguments and select infinitival clausal complements also separate into two separate natural classes:

(28) **Raising-to-Object**
- a. *believe* them to
- b. *allow* them to
- c. *expect* them to
- d. *prove* them to

(29) **Object Control**
- a. *persuade* them to
- b. *tell* them to
- c. *ask* them to
- d. *beg* them to

Once again, the idea is that these natural classes are defined by and reflect differences in the argument structures of the predicates. The operative difference is that we are now diagnosing a "pivot" argument as an additional *internal* argument or an argument of the embedded clause.

- **Raising-to-Object :** *transitive* predicates that select infinitival complements, but do not project an additional internal argument.

  PRED : ⟨ AG/EXP ___ TP ⟩

- **Object Control :** *ditransitive* predicates that select infinitival complements and project an additional internal argument.

  PRED : ⟨ AG ___ **TH** CP ⟩

2.2.1 Diagnosing Raising and Control

Expletives. RtO predicates can appear with an expletive in the pivot position, but OC predicates cannot. This is expected if the pivot receives a Θ-role from an OC predicate, but not from an RtO predicate.

(30) **Raising**
- a. Sam allowed **there** to be a party.
- b. Pam believed **there** to be a solution.

(31) **Control**
- a. *Sam persuaded **there** to be a party.
- b. *Pat told **there** to be a solution.

Passivization. Passivization of the embedded predicate shifts the thematic relations for an OC predicate, but not for an RtO predicate. This is expected if the pivot argument receives a Θ-Role from from an OC predicate, but not from an RtO predicate.

(32) **Raising**
- a. Sam allowed Kim to open the door.
- b. Sam allowed the door to be opened by Kim.

(33) **Control**
- a. Pat told **Kim** to open the door.
- b. #Pam told **the door** to be opened by Kim.

2.2.2 Raising-to-Object Syntax

Transitive Argument Structure. RtO predicates project an external argument and a single internal argument. As such, they are a type of transitive predicate.

(34) **Raising-to-Object**
PRED : ⟨ AG/EXP ___ TP ⟩

The Puzzle. If the pivot argument is not an argument of the matrix predicate, and it is interpreted as an argument of the embedded predicate, how does it (putatively) appear within the matrix clause?

(35) Jason expected them [$_{TP}$ to leave]

Low Origin. Expletive constructions again provide evidence for the low origin of the pivot argument in RtO constructions.

(36) Jason expected there [$_{TP}$ to be **some students** leaving]

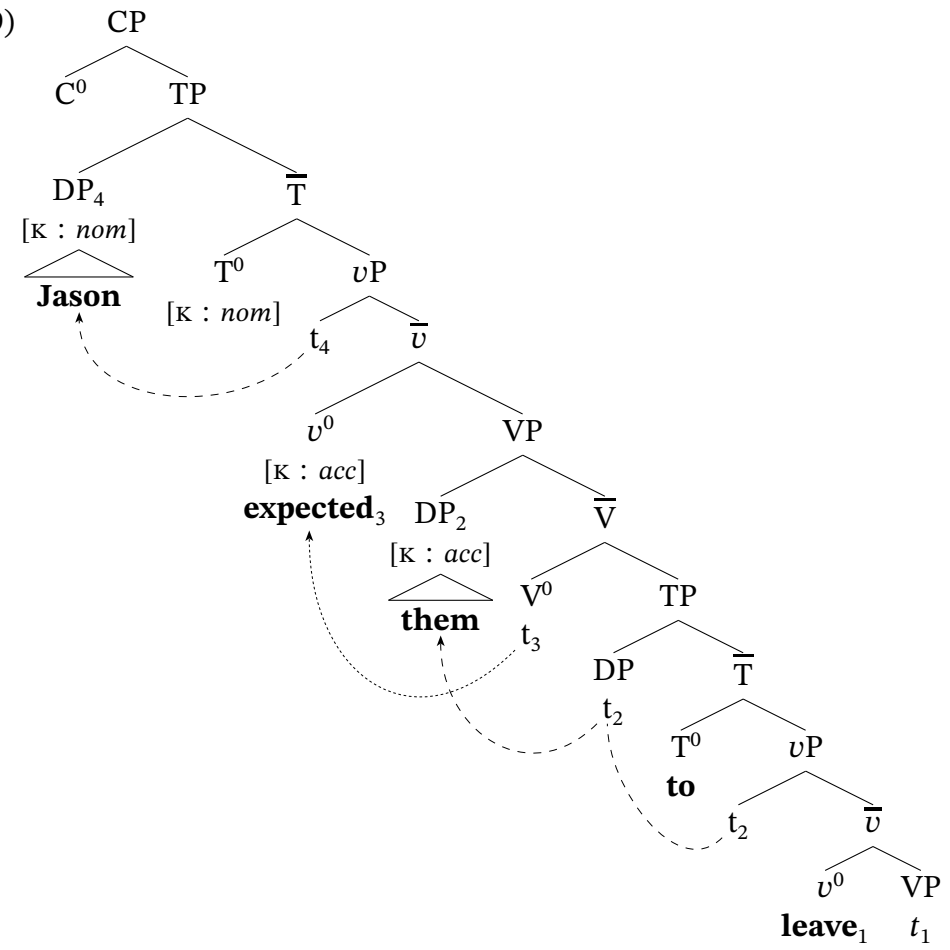
Locality of Selection. Generating the pivot argument within the embedded clause is once again motivated by the ΘAC.

(37) **Θ-Role Assignment Constraint (ΘAC)**
Each Θ-Role of a predicate ϕ must be uniquely assigned to some argument within ϕP.

Object Shift. The ΘAC is satisfied if the pivot argument is generated as an argument of the embedded predicate before raising to the matrix object position (Rosenbaum 1967, Postal 1974)

(38) **Raising-to-Object (RtO)**
Jason expected them$_1$ [$_{TP}$ t_1 to leave]

(39)



2.2.3 Raising-to-Object v. Exceptional Case Marking

Technology like Government (Chomsky 1981, 1986) and AGREE (Chomsky 1995, 2001) make readily available an alternative whereby the matrix predicate exceptionally assigns Case to an embedded argument (Chomsky 1973).

(40) **Raising-to-Object (RtO)**
Jason expected them$_1$ [$_{TP}$ t_1 to leave].

(41) **Exceptional Case Marking (ECM)**
Jason v^0 expected [$_{TP}$ them to leave].
AGREE

Relevant data that speak to the choice are intended to demonstrate that the pivot behaves like a grammatical subject/object, that it is a matrix/embedded constituent, and that it has/hasn't moved (see Postal 1974, Bresnan 1976). It's also possible that both mechanisms are available.

Passivizability. The pivot argument can be promoted to matrix subject under passivization. Given that only internal arguments can be promoted to grammatical subject under passivization, the pivot argument must be an internal argument at some point during the derivation.

(42) a. **Kim$_1$** was believed ***t*$_1$** [$_{TP}$ to ***t*$_1$** be the murderer]
b. **Pat$_1$** was proven ***t*$_1$** [$_{TP}$ to ***t*$_1$** be correct]

Rightward Movement. The pivot argument can undergo rightward movement (Postal 1974, Nissenbaum 2000, Overfelt 2015). Given that grammatical subjects cannot undergo rightward movement, the pivot argument must not be a grammatical subject at the point of application.

(43) a. Sam expected **the guy with an eye-patch$_1$** [$_{TP}$ to ***t*$_1$** be the murder]
b. Sam expected ***t*$_1$** [$_{TP}$ to ***t*$_1$** be the murder] **– the guy with an eye-patch$_1$**

(44) a. **The guy with an eye-patch** is the murder
b. ****t*$_1$** is the murder **– the guy with an eye-patch**

Particle Verbs. The pivot argument of RtO/ECM predicates alternate with the particle in verb particle constructions with the same pattern of Object Shift (Johnson 1991).

(45) a. Kim made out **the politicians$_1$** [$_{TP}$ to ***t*$_1$** be jerks]
b. Kim made **the politicians$_1$** out [$_{TP}$ to ***t*$_1$** be jerks]

(46) a. *Kim made out **them$_1$** [$_{TP}$ to ***t*$_1$** be jerks]
b. Kim made **them$_1$** out [$_{TP}$ to ***t*$_1$** be jerks]

2.3 Motivating Raising

Obligatory Raising. The distribution of expletives suggest that Raising-to-Subject is an obligatory operation in English (excepting the inclusion additional licensing auxiliaries; Deal 2009). It is significantly more difficult to demonstrate the same for Raising-to-Object.

(47) **Raising-to-Subject**
- a. **Some students$_1$** are likely [$_{TP}$ ***t*$_1$** to leave]
- b. There are **some students$_1$** likely [$_{TP}$ ***t*$_1$** to leave]
- c. *There are likely [$_{TP}$ **some students** to leave]

(48) **Raising-to-Object**
- a. Jason expected **some students$_1$** [$_{TP}$ ***t*$_1$** to leave]
- b. *Jason expected there [$_{TP}$ **some students** to leave]

Licensing Infinitival Subjects. The obligation for Raising from infinitival clauses coincides with the observation that infinitival clauses, unlike finite clauses, do not license overt subjects.

(49) **Infinitival clauses**
- a. It would be unwise [$_{CP}$ PRO to leave now]
- b. *It would be unwise [$_{CP}$ **they/them** to leave now]
- c. It would be unwise [$_{CP}$ for **them/*they** to leave now]

(50) **Finite clauses**
- a. It is likely [$_{CP}$ (that) **they/*them** will leave]
- b. *It is likely [$_{CP}$ (that) will leave]

The finiteness of a clause—a suspected property of T^0—determines both the possibility for a grammatical subject and its morphological case. This motivates the idea that:

- **Finite T^0 :** assigns nominative Case to a DP in the grammatical subject position of a clause (Chomsky 1981)
- **Infinitival T^0 :** cannot assign Case to a (overt) DP (Bouchard 1983, Martin 2001).

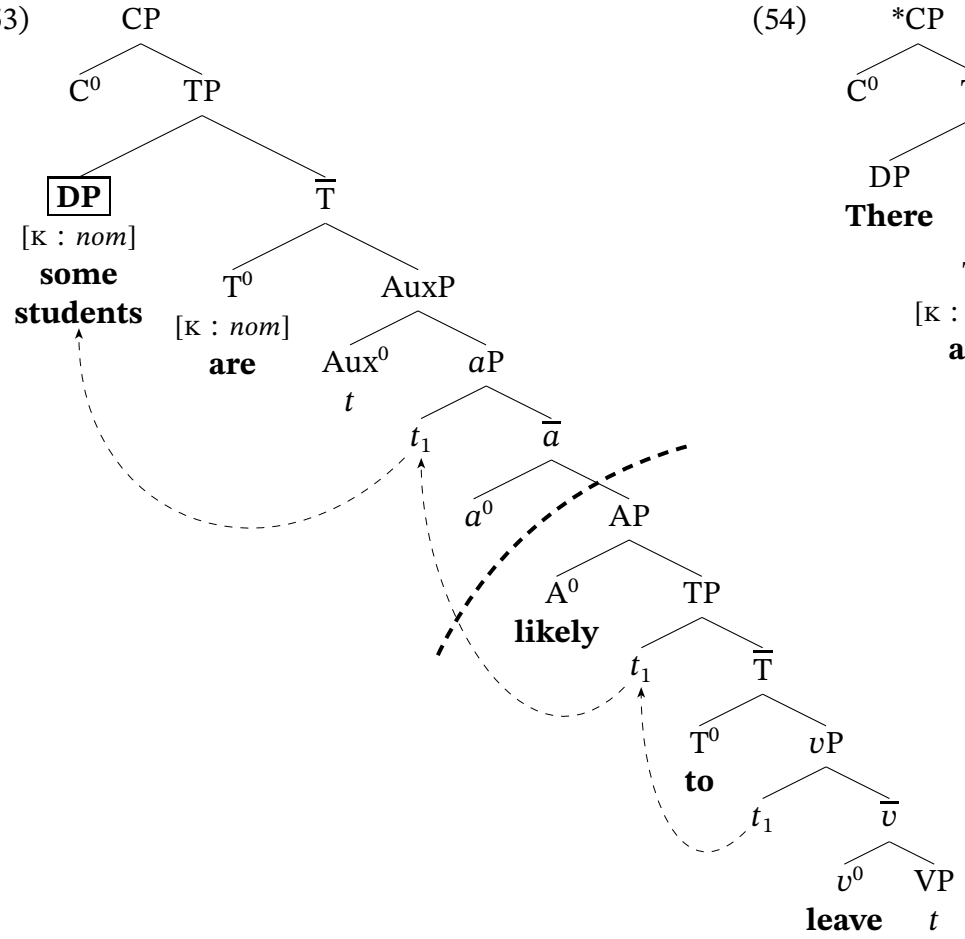
Case-Driven Movement. This makes it possible to see Raising as an instance of Case-driven movement that is motivated to avoid a violation of the Case-Filter (Vergnaud 1977/2008, Chomsky 1981). Something must also prevent nominative Case assignment across a clause-boundary.

(51) **Case Filter**
An overt nominal constituent must have its Case feature valued.

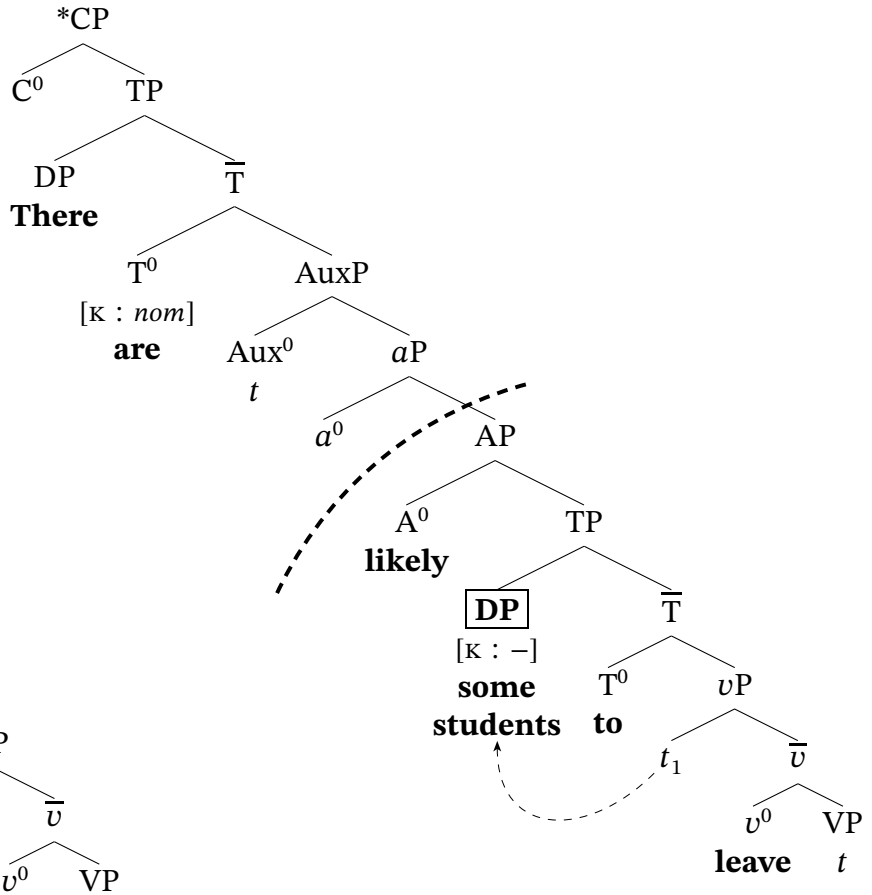
(52) **Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC)**
The complement of a phase head X^0 is inaccessible to syntactic positions that are outside XP.

Raising-to-Nominative. A DP that undergoes Raising-to-Subject from under an unaccusative predicate has its Case featured valued by the matrix T^0. A DP that remains in the embedded clause cannot have its Case feature valued and induces a violation of the Case Filter.

(53)



(54)



Extended Projection Principle. Raising-to-Subject also provides a means for satisfying the EPP.

(55) **Extended Projection Principle (EPP)**
The specifier of TP must be filled.

3 Towards Hyperactivity

3.1 Hypoactivity in English

Finite-Clause Boundedness. While Raising is possible out of an infinitival clause, Raising is not possible out of a finite clause (Chomsky 1973).

(56) **Raising-to-Subject**
a. It is likely [$_{CP}$ that some students will leave]
b. *Some students$_1$ are likely [$_{CP}$ t_1 will leave]

(57) **Raising-to-Object**
a. It is expected [$_{CP}$ that some students leave]
b. *There are some students$_1$ expected [$_{CP}$ t_1 will leave]

Constraining Raising. There are two major approaches for preventing Raising from finite clauses (see Keine 2018).

- **Clausal Opacity :** As a phase head, C^0 renders the embedded TP opaque for Raising (Chomsky 2000). Movement into the matrix clause from the Spec,TP of a finite clause will necessarily violate the Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC).

(58) *Some students are likely [$_{CP}$ C^0 [$_{TP}$ t_1 will leave]]
PIC-Violation

(59) **Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC)**
The complement of a phase head X^0 is inaccessible to syntactic positions that are outside XP.

The Ban on Improper Movement, combined with the assertion that only finite clauses are CPs, ensure that successive-cyclic movement through Spec,CP is not available (Chomsky 1973, 1981).

(60) *Some students are likely [$_{CP}$ t C^0 [$_{TP}$ t will leave]]
A, $\overline{\text{A}}$

(61) **Ban on Improper Movement (BIM)**
$\overline{\text{A}}$-Movement bleeds A-Movement.

- **Nominal Deactivation :** The fact that a DP is assigned Case within an embedded finite clause obviates the need for Raising. In effect, a nominal constituent that has been Case-licensed deactivated with respect to A-movement and agreement (Chomsky 2001).

(62) [$_{TP}$ BE likely [$_{CP}$ that some students will leave]]
⊗, ✓

(63) **Generalized Activity Condition (GAC)**
A nominal constituent that is formally licensed under AGREE is inactive, making it inaccessible to A-relations.

Coverage. Notably, the empirical coverage of these approaches (mostly) overlap in English. They are distinguished by their ancillary assumptions.

3.2 Hyperactivity Patterns

If applied universally, these approaches and their associated technology should lead us to expect that DPs embedded in finite clauses never engage in multiple A-relations with heads of a superordinate clause.

- **Nominal Deactivation :** The fact that a DP is licensed within a finite clause disqualifies it for further A-relations.
- **Clausal Opacity :** As a phase head, C^0 renders the embedded TP opaque for A-relations.

In reality, numerous languages have been found to exhibit hyperactive behaviors, allowing DPs to engage in multiple agreement relationships and undergo multiple applications of A-movement. (see Ura 1994, Sheehan et al. 2017, Lohninger et al. 2022, Deal 2023, Zyman 2023, Fong & Halpert to appear)

3.2.1 Hyperactive Agreement Patterns

Long-Distance Hyperagreement. An embedded absolutive argument in Tsez (Norhteast Caucasian, Southern Dagestan) optionally controls both embedded and matrix noun class agreement when interpreted as a topic (Polinsky & Potsdam 2001, Bhatt & Keine 2017).

(64) a. eni-r [$_{TP}$ už-ā **magalu** **b**-āc'-ru-łi].IV **b**-iy-xo
mother-DAT boy-ERG bread.III.ABS III-eat-PSTPRT-NMLZ III-know-PRES
'The mother knows the boy ate bread.' (*Tsez*; Polinsky & Potsdam 2001:606, (48a))

b. eni-r [už-ā magalu b-āc'-ru-łi].**IV** **r**-iy-xo
mother-DAT boy-ERG bread.III.ABS III-eat-PSTPRT-NMLZ IV-know-PRES
'The mother knows the boy ate bread.' (*Tsez*; Polinsky & Potsdam 2001:605, (47a))

Clausal-Opacity. Long-distance agreement is possible into nominalized clauses that minimally are projections of an IP, but the presence of a complementizer blocks long-distance agreement. This is expected from the PIC, but is problematic for the idea that licensed nominal constituents are rendered inactive for additional A-relations.

(65) eni-r [$_{TP}$ už-ā magalu b-āc'-si-**ƛin**].IV **r/*b**-iy-xo
mother-DAT boy-ERG bread.III.ABS III-eat-PAST.EVID-COMP IV/III-know-PRES
'The mother knows that the boy ate bread.' (*Tsez*; Polinsky & Potsdam 2001:635, (110b))

Local Hyperagreement. The grammatical subject in Swahili (Bantu, East Africa) controls agreement on the main verb and aspectual auxiliaries (Carstens 2001, Henderson 2006). Similar facts can also be observed in French (Chomsky 2000, Carstens 2011).

(66) **Juma a**-li-kuwa **a**-me-pika chakula
Juma 3SG-PAST-be 3SG-PERF-cook 7.food
'Juma had cooked food.' (*Swahili*; Carstens 2001:150, (5a))

(67) **Elle est** mort-**e**
she be.3SG dead-FSG
'She is dead.' (*French*; Carstens 2011:148, (1))

Complementizer Agreement. The embedded subject in West Flemish controls agreement morphology on the complementizer and the highest verbal element of the clause (see von Koppen 2017). These effects are common throughout West Germanic and Bantu languages.

(68) a. **da dienen student** nen buot gekocht **eet**
COMP.3SG that student a boat bought has

b. **dan die studenten** nen buot gekocht **een**
COMP.3PL those students a boat bought have
(Haegeman 2000:8, (25))

Interrogating the GAC. The possibility for multiple agreement relationships between and within clauses can be taken to suggest that nominal constituents are exempt from the GAC, possibly for one of the following reasons:

- **Self-Sufficiency :** nominal constituents may not require (Case) licensing (Carstens & Diercks 2013, Sheehan et al. 2017).
- **Deactivation Parameterized :** the GAC is parameterized between languages (Bhatt 2005, Baker 2008, Oxford 2017; also Nevins 2005).
- **Defective Agreement :** not all instances of AGREE result in nominal licensing/deactivation (Chomsky 2000, Carstens 2011).

3.2.2 Hyperactive Raising Patterns

Hyperraising-to-Subject. The subject of a finite complement clause in Zulu (Bantu, South Africa) optionally raises to the grammatical subject position of a matrix clause.

(69) a. **uZinhle u**-bonakala [$_{CP}$ ukuthi ***t*** **u**-zo-xova ujeqe]
AUG1.Zinhle 1S-seems that 1S-FUT-make AUG.1steam.bread
'It seems that Zinhle will make steamed bread.' (*Zulu*; Halpert 2019:124, (3b))

b. ku-bonakala [$_{CP}$ ukuthi **uZinhle u**-zo-xova ujeqe]
17S-seems that AUG1.Zinhle 1S-FUT-make AUG.1steam.bread
'It seems that Zinhle will make steamed bread.' (*Zulu*; Halpert 2019:124, (3a))

A Flipped Paradigm. Zulu shows the opposite pattern of English and does not allow Raising from infinitival clauses. These facts are particularly problematic for the idea that CPs always constitute a barrier for Raising while TPs do not.

(70) *uZinhle u-bonakala [$_{TP}$ *t* uku-(zo-)xova ujeqe]
AUG1.Zinhle 1S-seems INF-FUT-make AUG.1steam.bread
'It seems that Zinhle will make steamed bread.' (*Zulu*; Halpert 2019:124, (3c))

Hyper-Raising to Object. The nominative subject of an embedded clause in P'urhepecha (isolate, Central Mexico) can optionally raise to a position in the matrix clause where it is assigned accusative Case.

(71) a. Ueka-sïn-∅-dï=sï **Xumu-ni** [$_{CP}$ eska *t* u-a-∅-ka ma k'umanchikua]
want-HAB-PRS-IND3=pS Xumo-ACC that make-FUT-PRS-SJV a house
'They want Xumo that will build a house.' (*P'urhepecha*; Zyman 2018:97, (126))

b. Ueka-sïn-∅-dï=sï [$_{CP}$ eska **Xumo** u-a-∅-ka ma k'umanchikua]
want-HAB-PRS-IND3=pS that Xumo make-FUT-PRS-SJV a house
'They want Xumo to build a house.' (*P'urhepecha*; Zyman 2018:97, (125))

Interrogating the PIC. The possibility for Raising across a finite clause boundary suggests that finite CPs are not ubiquitously opaque for extraction, possibly for one of the following reasons:

- **Proper Movement :** Movement out of an embedded clause is in compliance with the PIC/BIM (Zyman 2018, Fong 2019, Lohninger et al. 2022).
- **Defective Domains :** A clause that is defective on some measure is transparent for extraction (Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 1999, Nunes 2008, Carstens & Diercks 2013).
- **Dynamic Phases :** A clause boundary is opaque to syntactic computation up to the point that it is "unlocked" over the course of a derivation (Halpert 2019, Lee & Yip 2024).
- **Delayed Opacity :** A clause boundary is transparent to syntactic computation up until it is "locked" over the course of a derivation (Deal 2017)

3.3 Structures under Consideration

Hyperactive Configurations. The puzzle of hyperactivity and the implications of the data presented above suppose that an argument of an embedded clause engages in A-relations with the matrix predicate.

- **(Long-Distance) Hypergreement :** The target nominal controls agreement with the matrix predicate from a position within the embedded clause.

(72) [... VERB-**AGR** ... [... **NOM** ... **VERB**-**AGR**]]
AGREE

- **Hyperraising :** The target nominal is a derived object of the matrix clause, where it controls agreement with the matrix verb.

(73) [... VERB-**AGR** **NOM** ... [... NOM ... **VERB**-**AGR**]]
AGREE
RAISE

Alternative Configurations. To the extent that we think we are learning something about nominal behaviors, it is necessary to rule out alternative structures in which no nominal engages in more than a single A-relation.

- **Cyclic Agreement / Concord :** The target nominal is a constituent of the matrix clause and controls a coreferential (possibly null) pronominal element in the embedded clause (Legate 2005, Henderson 2006).

(74) [... VERB-AGR ... [**C^0** ... **NOM** ... **VERB**-**AGR**]]
AGREE
AGREE

- **Prolepsis / Control :** The target nominal is a constituent of the matrix clause and controls a coreferential (possibly null) pronominal element in the embedded clause.

(75) [... **VERB**-**AGR** **NOM$_1$** ... [... *pro*$_1$ ... VERB-AGR]]
AGREE
COREFER

4 Looking Ahead

Cross-Clausal Hyperactivity in Tigrinya. Nominal constituents in Tigrinya (Ethiopia and Eritrea, Semitic; SOV) display hyperactive behaviors, engaging in multiple A-relations, including agreement and movement, between clauses.

(76) *pro* [$_{CP}$ **ʔɨt-a** **səbajti** n=ət-om təmharo kəmzɨ-rəxab-**ət**-tom] rəsiʕ-om-**wa**
3MP ACC=DIST-FS woman DIST-MP student.PL COMP-meet.PRF-SM.3FS-OM.3MP forget.GER-SM.3MS-OM.3FS
'They forgot that the woman met the students.'

(77) ʔɨt-i məmħɨr **n=ət-om** **təmharo$_1$** [$_{IP}$ ***t*$_1$** nɨ=kɨ-xəjd-**u**] jɨ-dɨlj-**om**
DIST-FS teacher ACC=DIST-MP students ACC=SBJV-leave.IPFV-SM.3MP SM.3FS-want.IPFV-OM.3MP
'The teacher wants the students to read the book.'

(78) [$_{IP}$ **ʔɨt-a** **sebajti** n-ət-ən dəbdabe-tat kɨ-**tɨ**-ts'ɨħif-ən] jɨ-gɨbbaʔ-**a**
DIST-FS woman ACC=DIST-FP letter-PL SBJV-SM.3FS-write.IPFV-OM.3FP SM.3MS-need.IPFV-OM.3FS
'The woman needs to write the letters.'

Implications from Tigrinya. The usual suspects for the (non-)hyperactive behavior of nominal constituents—including Case-licensing and defectiveness—do not contribute to an account of hyperactivity patterns in the language.

> **Licensing without Deactivation in Tigrinya**
> Nominal-licensing features and concepts of defectiveness are neither explanatory nor predictive of hyperactivity patterns.

Motivating Patterns of Hyperactivity. Patterns of hyperactivity in Tigrinya can be explained on the basis of the formal requirements of verbal functional heads in the matrix clause (Zyman 2018, Halpert 2019, Fong 2019, Lohninger et al. 2022, Lee & Yip 2024, Halpert & Zeijlstra 2024).

> **Enlightened Self-Interest of Functional Heads**
> Patterns of hyperactivity in Tigrinya reflect properties of the embedded clauses and the probes attempting to access them.

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