Introduction to Hyperactivity

Jason Overfelt
Oakland University

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]

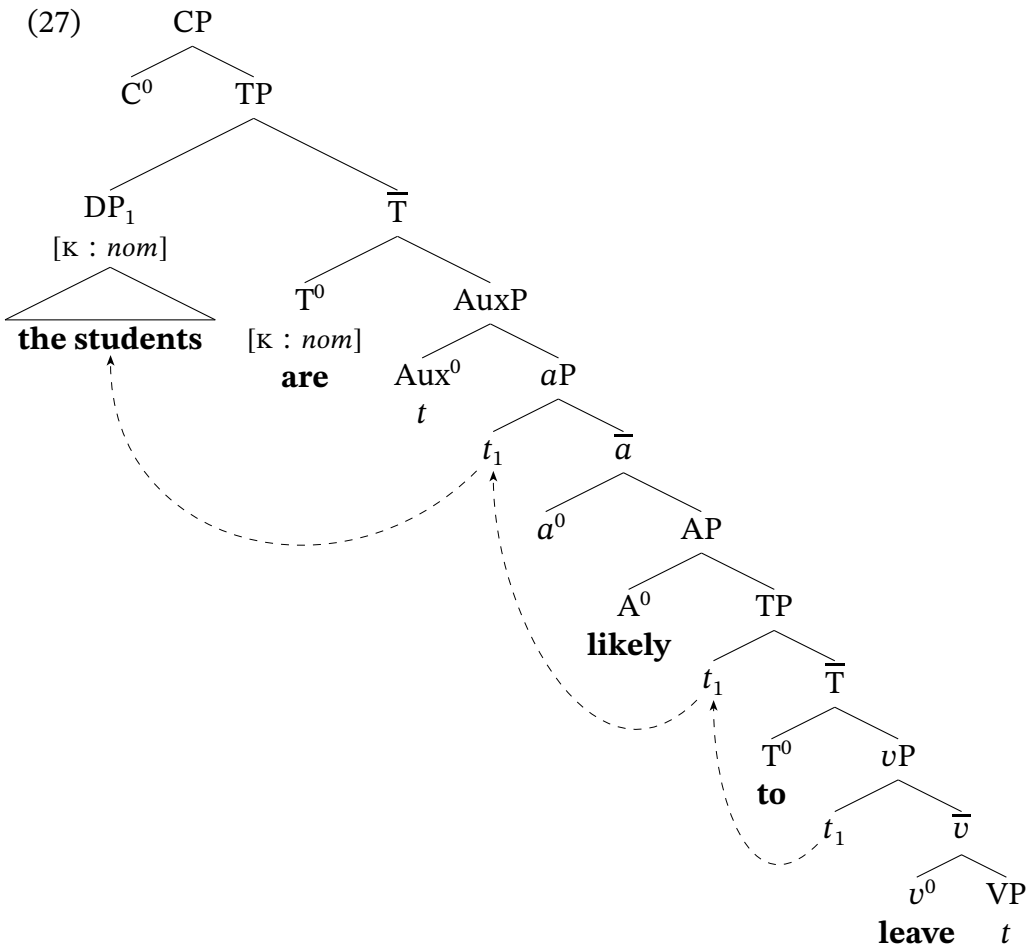
Locality of Selection. Generating the argument in the embedded clause can be motivated by something like the Θ-Criterion and locality constraints on the assignment of Θ-roles.

(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]

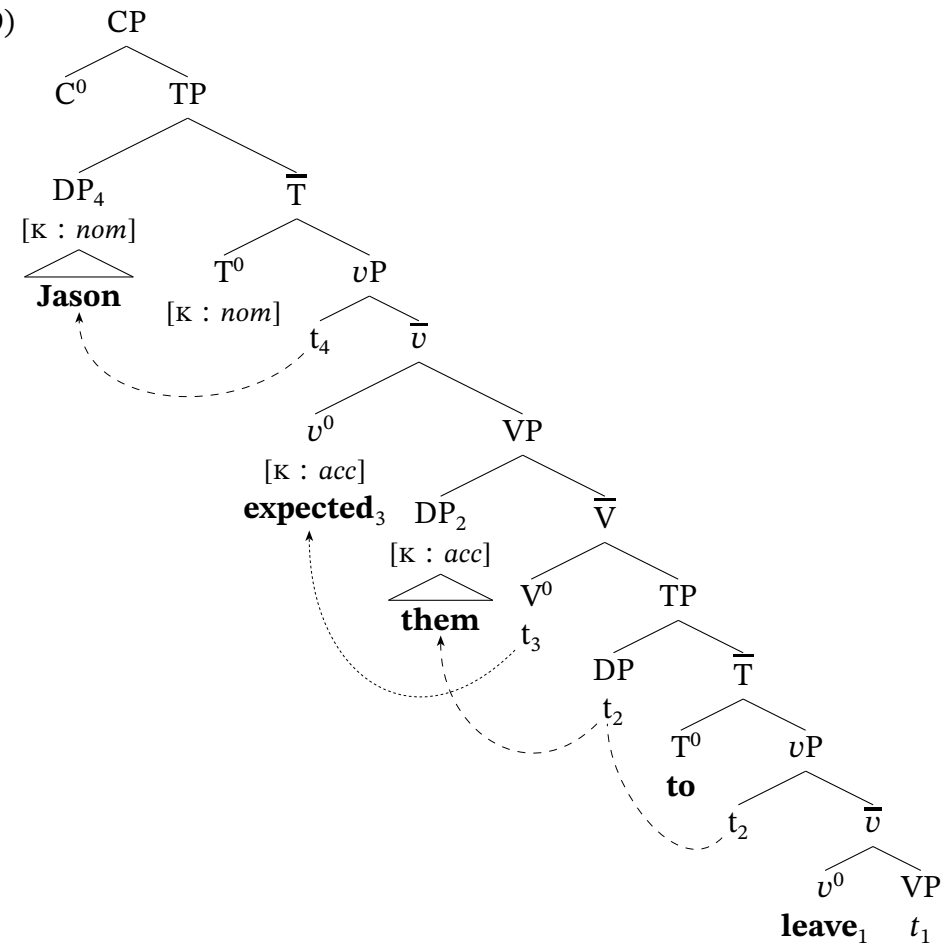
Locality of Selection. Generating the pivot argument within the embedded clause is once again motivated by the ΘAC.

(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).

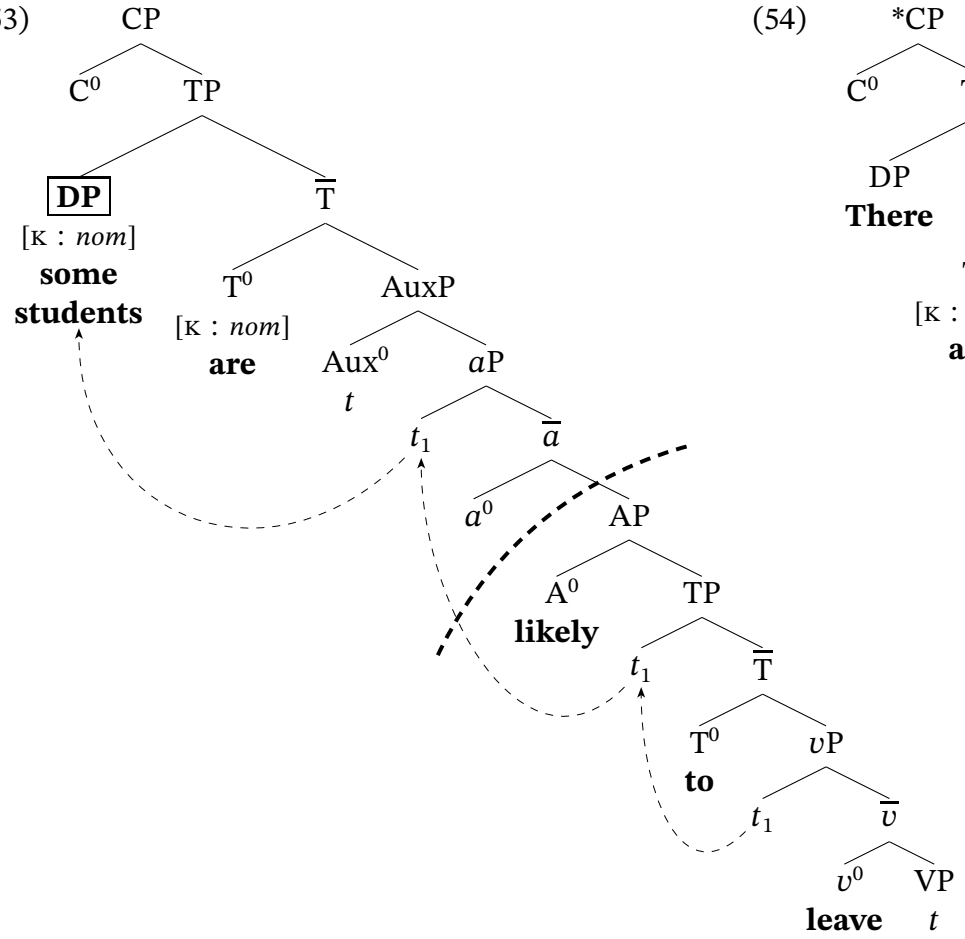
Case-Driven Movement. This makes it possible to see Raising as an instance of Case-driven movement that is motivated to avoid a violation of the Case-Filter (Vergnaud 1977/2008, Chomsky 1981). Something must also prevent nominative Case assignment across a clause-boundary.

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

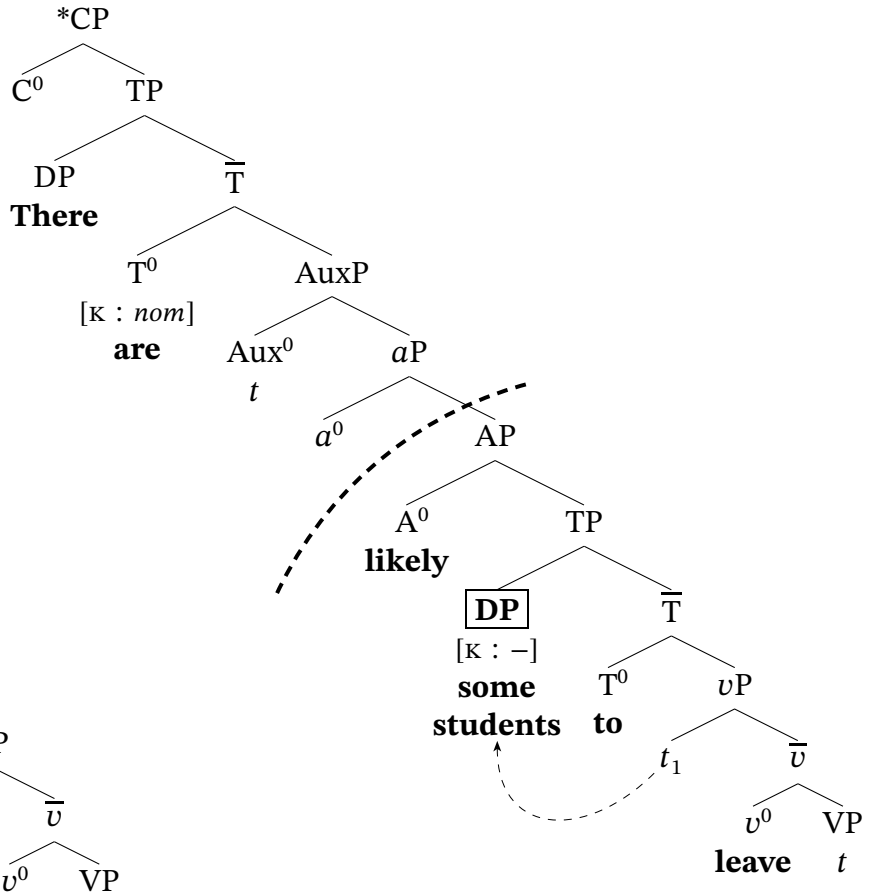
(52) **Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC)**
The complement of a phase head X^0 is inaccessible to syntactic positions that are outside XP.

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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Factors for Hyperactivity in Tigrinya

Jason Overfelt
Oakland University

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 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.'

(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=IRR-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-**tɨ**-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.'

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

	kɨ-CLAUSE	*kəmzɨ*-CLAUSE
TRANSITIVE	Hyperraising-to-Object	Long-Distance Hyperagreement
UNACCUSATIVE	Long-Distance Hyperagreement	—

• **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, Carstens & Diercks 2013, Keine 2018), perhaps hyperactivity should start to represent the default behavior of nominal constituents, while theories work to derive nominal *hypoactivity*.

> **Towards Theories of Nominal Hypoactivity**
> Constraints on multiple A-relations do not reflect properties of nominal constituents in Tigrinya.

2 Background on Tigrinya

2.1 Ethnographic Information

Classification. Tigrinya is an Ethio-Eritrean language on the Semitic branch. It is closely related to Tigré and Amharic and more distantly to Arabic and Hebrew.

Distribution. Tigrinya is spoken predominantly in central highland Eritrea and the Tigray region of Northern Ethiopia on the Horn of Africa. Diaspora populations exist world-wide.

Population. There are approximately 10 million speakers. Tigrinya is not endangered, although it is arguably a minoritized language.

Variation. There is non-trivial variation between multiple dialect groups that remain under-explored, with the notable exceptions of Tsehaye 2009 and Niguss 2021.

Consultants. Data were elicited from an individual from the Tigray region of Ethiopia and four individuals from the Eritrean regions of Debub, Gash-Barka, and Maekel.

Credit: Ronny Meyer (Weninger 2011)

2.2 Basic Morphosyntax

Agglutinating Synthetic Morphology. Verbs commonly carry prefixal morphology marking finiteness, mood, valency alternations, as well as affixal markers that cross-reference the subject, objects, and applied arguments (Leslau 1941, Nazareth 2011, Tesfay 2016).

(4) Yonas n=ət-a t'ɨrmuz **səbir-u-wa**
Yonas ACC=DIST-FS bottle break.GER-SM.3MS-OM.3FS
'Yonas broke the bottle.'

(5) ʔɨt-a t'ɨrmuz **tə-səbir-a**
DIST-FS bottle INTR-break.GER-SM.3FS
'The bottle broke.' / 'The bottle was broken.'

Nominative-Accusative Alignment. Subjects of transitive and intransitive predicates are aligned with respect to both case and agreement. Internal arguments are differentially accusative marked on the basis of definiteness/specificity and relative prominence (Nazareth 2011).

Head-Final Word Order. The default word order is SOV with a strongly head-final verbal domain.

(6) **ʔɨt-i** **təmaharaj** bɨqɨlt'uf məts'ħaf **jɨ**-nɨbɨb **ʔall-o**
DIST-MS student quickly book SM.3MS-read.IPFV AUX.NPST-SM.3MS
'The student is quickly reading a book.'

Object Marking and Object Shift. Objects that are marked with accusative case morphology are obligatorily cross-referenced by object marking on the main verb and are preferentially shifted to a predicate-initial position.

(7) ʔɨt-i təmaharaj **n=ət-a** **məts'ħaf$_1$** bɨqɨlt'uf ***t*$_1$** jɨ-nbɨb-**a** ʔall-o
DIST-MS student ACC=DIST-FS book quickly SM.3MS-read.IPFV-OM.3FS AUX.NPST-SM.3MS
'The student is quickly reading the book.'

Information-Structural Fronting. Operations of Topicalization and Scrambling may place phrasal constituents in a clause-initial position. Accusative case marking is generally optional on clause-initial nominal constituents.

(8) **ʔɨt-a** **məts'ħaf$_1$** ʔɨt-i təmaharaj bɨqɨlt'uf ***t*$_1$** jɨ-nbɨb-a ʔall-o
DIST-FS book DIST-MS student quickly SM.3MS-read.IPFV-OM.3FS AUX.PRES-SM.3MS
'The book, the student is quickly reading it.'

3 Patterns of Hyperactivity in Tigrinya

3.1 Long-Distance Hyperagreement into *kəmzɨ*-clauses

Clausal Complements of Factive Predicates. Factive predicates take clausal complements that are headed by the prefixal complementizer *kəmzɨ-* and that preferably (%) control object marking (Tesfay 2016, Spadine 2020, van Urk 2024, Cacchioli in preparation).

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

b. *pro* [$_{CP}$ ʔɨt-a səbajti **kəmzɨ**-xəd-ət] **fəlitʾɨ-na-(jo)**
1P DIST-FS woman COMP-leave.PRF-SM.3FS know.GER-SM.1P-OM.3MS
'We knew that the woman had left.'

Hyperagreement into Factive Predicates. A logical argument of the embedded clause can control agreement on the embedded predicate and object marking the matrix predicate.

(10) *pro* [$_{CP}$ **ʔɨt-a səbajti** n=ət-om təmharo kəmzɨ-rəxab-**ət**-tom] rəsiʕ-om-**wa**
3MP DIST-FS woman ACC=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.'

Unselectivity of Hyperagreement. Long-distance agreement is generally optional and can cross-reference any eligible nominal constituent. Hyperagreement with an argument corresponds with an "emphatic" or topicalized interpretation for the cross-referenced argument.

(11) ?*pro* [$_{CP}$ ʔɨt-a səbajti **n=ət-en dəbdabe-tat** kəmzɨ=nbɨb-et-**ən**] fəlitʾɨ-na-**jən**
1P that-FS woman ACC=that-FP letter-PL COMP=read.PRF-SM.3FS-OM.3FP know.GER-SM.1P-OM.3FP
'We knew that the woman read the letters.'

Schematization of Hyperagreement. The observations to come suggest that the hyperactive nominal controls agreement in the matrix clause from its grammatical argument position in the embedded *kəmzɨ*-clause.

(12) [$_{TP}$ ... VERB-**AGR** ... [$_{TP}$ ... **NOM** ... **VERB**-**AGR**]]
AGREE

3.2 Hyperraising-to-Object from *kɨ*-clauses

Clausal Complements of Intensional Predicates. Intensional predicates take clausal complements that are marked with the subjunctive prefix *kɨ-* (Cacchioli & Overfelt in preparation, Cacchioli in preparation).

(13) a. ʔɨt-i məmħɨr [$_{IP}$ ʔɨt-om təmharo **kɨ-**xəjd-u] **jɨ-dəllɨj**
DIST-MS teacher DIST-MP students SBJV-leave.IPFV-SM.3MP SM.3MS-want.IPFV
'The teacher wants the students to leave.'

b. *pro* [$_{IP}$ ʔɨt-om təməharo n=ət-a məts'ħaf **kɨ-**nbɨb-u-wa] **tɨ-ts'əbbə**
3FS DIST-MP student.PL ACC=DIST-MP book SBJV-read.IPFV-SM.3MP-OM.3FS SM.3FS-expect.IPFV
'She expects the students to read the book.'

Hyperraising-to-Object of Intensional Predicates. The logical subject of the embedded *kɨ*-clause can control subject marking on the embedded predicate and object marking on the matrix predicate while being marked for accusative case.

(14) 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 leave.'

Selectivity of Hyperraising. Raising-to-Object and the associated case marking are generally optional and contribute the typical topicalization interpretation associated with object marking. Notably, only the logical subject of the embedded predicate can control matrix object marking.

(15) **pro* [$_{IP}$ ʔɨt-om təmharo **n=ət-a** **məts'ħaf** kɨ-nbɨb-u-**wa**] tɨ-ts'ebɨj-**a**
3FS that-MP student.PL ACC=that-FS book SBJV-read.IPFV-SM.3MP-OM.3FS SM.3FS-expect.IPFV-OM.3FS
'She expects the students to read the book.'

Schematization of Hyperraising-to-Object. The observations to come suggest that an embedded subject that controls agreement in the embedded *kɨ*-clause becomes a derived object of the matrix clause.

(16) [$_{TP}$ ... VERB-**AGR** **NOM** ... [$_{TP}$ ... NOM ... **VERB**-**AGR**]]
AGREE
RAISE

3.3 Initial Considerations Against Prolepsis/Control

Alternative Configurations. We have seen feasible alternative structures in which no nominal engages in more than a single A-relation.

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

(17) [$_{TP}$ ... **VERB-AGR** **NOM$_1$** ... [$_{TP}$ ... *pro*$_1$ ... VERB-AGR]]

AGREE

COREFER

Ordering with Modifiers. Nominals with the potential for hyperactivity are able to follow modifiers of the embedded predicate, suggesting that they are arguments of the embedded predicate.

(18) ʔ*pro* [$_{CP}$ **tsʼɨbaħ** ʔɨt-a səbajti kɨ-t-xəjjɨd kəmzɨ-nəbər-a] rəsiʕɨ-na-(ja)
1P tomorrow DIST-FS woman SBJV-SM.3FS-leave.IPFV COMP-AUX.PST-SM.3FS forget.GER-SM.1P-OM.3MS
‘We forgot that the woman would leave tomorrow.’

(19) ??ʔɨt-i məmhir [$_{IP}$ **bɨqʼɨlʼuf** ʔɨt-om təmharo kɨ-xəjd-u] jɨ-dəlj-(om)
DIST-MS teacher quickly DIST-MP student.PL SBJV-leave.IPFV-SM.3MP SM.3MS-want.IPFV-OM.3MP
‘The teacher wants the students to quickly leave.’

Topicalization Constituency. Nominals with the potential for hyperactivity are able to be fronted along with the embedded clause in topicalization constructions, suggesting that they are constituents of the embedded clause.

(20) [**$_{CP}$** ʔɨt-a səbajti tsʼɨbaħ kɨ-t-xəjjɨd kəmzɨ-nəbər-a]$_1$ ʔɨt-om səb-at ***t*$_1$** rəsiʕ-om-wa
DIST-FS woman tomorrow SBJV-SM.3FS-leave.IPFV COMP-AUX.PST-SM.3FS DIST-MP person-PL forget.GER-SM.3MP-OM.3FS
‘Those people forgot that the woman would leave tomorrow.’

(21) [**$_{TP}$** ʔɨt-om təmharo n=ət-a mɛtsʼħaf kɨ-nbɨb-**u**-wa]$_1$ ʔɨt-i məmhir ***t*$_1$** jɨ-dəllɨj-(om)
DIST-MP student.PL ACC=DIST-FS book SBJV-read.IPFV-SM.3MP-OM.3FS DIST-MS teacher SM.3MS-want.IPFV-S.OMP
‘The teacher wants the students to read the book.’

Interpretive Properties. The generic bare nominal *səb* 'person, people' is restricted to subject positions but appears in the same grammatical position as nominals with the potential for hyperactivity, suggesting they can serve as the grammatical subjects of the embedded clauses.

(22) ʔɨt-a səbajti [$_{CP}$ **səb** kəmzɨ-xəd-**ə**] rəsiʕ-a
DIST-FS woman person COMP-leave.PRF-SM.3MS forget.GER-SM.3FS
'The woman forgot that people left.'

(23) ʔɨt-a səbajti [$_{IP}$ **səb** kɨ-Ø-xəjjɨd] tɨ-dɛllɨj
DIST-FS woman person SBJV-SM.3MS-leave.IPFV SM.3FS-want.IPFV
'The woman wants people to leave.'

(24) a. **səb** *pro* ħagiz-u-ni
person 1S help.GER-SM.3MS-OM.1S
'Someone helped me.'

b. *pro* *(**nɨ=**)**səb** ħagiz-e
1S person help.GER-SM.1S
'I helped people.'

3.4 Distinguishing Hyperagreement and Hyperraising

Paths to Hyperactivity in Tigrinya. There are at least two separate constructions in which a single nominal argument of an embedded clause controls agreement on the embedded predicate and the matrix predicate.

(25) *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.'

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

Different Instantiations of Hyperactivity. Different complement clauses in Tigrinya show different patterns of hyperactivity.

The Factors for Hyperactivity Patterns in Tigrinya

kɨ-CLAUSE	*kəmzɨ*-CLAUSE
Hyperraising-to-Object	Long-Distance Hyperagreement

Case-Marking the Nominal. Only the hyperactive nominal argument of the *ki*-clause complement of an intensional predicate, not the argument of *kəmzi*-clause, can be marked with accusative Case, reflecting the fact that Raising-to-Object only targets *ki*-clauses.

(27) *ʔit-om səb-at [$_{CP}$ **n=ət-a səbajti** ki-**t**-xəjjid kəmzi-nəbər-**a**] rasiʕ-om-**(wa)**
DIST-MP person-PL DIST-FS woman SBJV-SM.3FS-leave.IPFV COMP-AUX.PST-S3FS forget.GER-S-3MP-OM.3FS
Intended : 'Those people forgot that the woman would leave.'

(28) ʔit-i məmħir **n=ət-om** **təmharo$_1$** [$_{IP}$ ***t*$_1$** ni=ki-xəjd-**u**] ji-dilj-**om**
DIST-FS teacher ACC=DIST-MP students ACC=SBJV-leave.IPFV-SM.3MP SM.3MS-want.IPFV-OM.3MP
'The teacher wants the students to leave.'

Remnant Predicate-Fronting. A *ki*-clause under an intensional predicate, but not a *kəmzi*-clause, can undergo remnant topicalization to the exclusion of the hyperactive nominal, suggesting that Raising only targets *ki*-clauses.

(29) *[$_{CP}$ ki-**t**-xəjjid kəmzi-nəbər-**a**]$_1$ ʔit-om səbat **ʔit-a** **səbajti** ***t*$_1$** rasiʕ-om-**(wa)**
SBJV-SM.3FS-leave.IPFV COMP-AUX.PST-S3FS DIST-MP people DIST-FS woman forget.GER-SM.3MP-OM.3FS
Intended : 'Those people forgot that the woman would leave.'

(30) [$_{IP}$ ***t*$_1$** ni=ki-xəjd-**u**]$_2$ ʔit-i məmħir **n=ət-om** **təmharo$_1$** ***t*$_2$** ji-dilj-**om**
ACC=SBJV-leave.IPFV-SM.3MP DIST-FS teacher ACC=DIST-MP students SM.3MS-want.IPFV-OM.3MP
'The teacher wants the students to read the book.'

Promotion under Passive. The hyperactive nominal argument of the *ki*-clause complement of an intensional predicate, but not the argument of a *kəmzi*-clause, can be promoted to subject by passivizing the matrix predicate, reflecting that Raising-to-Object only targets *ki*-clauses.

(31) ***ʔit-a** **səbajti** b=it-om səb-at [$_{CP}$ ***t*$_1$** kemzi-xəd-**ət**] tə-rəsiʕ-**a**
DIST-FS woman INS=DIST-MP people COMP=leave.GER-SM.3FS INTR-forget.GER-SM.3FS
Intended : 'The woman was forgotten to have left.'

(32) **ʔit-om** **təmharo** b=it-i memħir [$_{IP}$ ***t*$_1$** ni=ki-xəjd-**u**] tə-dəlij-**om**
DIST-MP student.PL INS=DIST-MS teacher ACC=SBJV-leave.IPFV-SM.3MP DT-want.GER-SM.3MP
'The students are wanted by the teacher to leave.'

Minimality. The arguments of a *kɨ*-clause under an intensional predicate, but not a *kəmzɨ*-clause, are subject to Minimality effects with respect to being cross-referenced by matrix object marking, which is consistent with the proposed A/$\overline{\text{A}}$ distinction.

(33) ?*pro* [$_{\text{CP}}$ ʔɨt-a səbajti **n=ət-en** **dəbdabe-tat** kəmzɨ=nbɨb-et-**ən**] fəliʾɨ-na-**jən**
1P that-FS woman ACC=that-FP letter-PL COMP=read.PRF-SM.3FS-OM.3FP know.GER-SM.1P-OM.3FP
'We knew that the woman read the letters.'

(34) a. **pro* [$_{\text{IP}}$ ʔɨt-om təmharo **n=ət-a** **məts'ħaf** kɨ-nbɨb-u-**wa**] tɨ-ts'ebɨj-**a**
3FS that-MP student.PL ACC=that-FS book SBJV-read.IPFV-SM.3MP-OM.3FS SM.3FS-expect.IPFV-OM.3FS
'She expects the students to read the book.'

b. **pro* **n=ət-a** **məts'ħaf** [$_{\text{IP}}$ ʔɨt-om təmharo t_1 kɨ-nbɨb-u-**wa**] tɨ-ts'ebɨj-**a**
3FS ACC=that-FS book that-MP student.PL ACC-SBJV-read.IPFV-SM.3MP-OM.3FS SM.3FS-expect.IPFV-OM.3FS
'She expects the students to read the book.'

3.5 Interim Summary

Different Instantiations of Hyperactivity. Different complement clauses in Tigrinya show different patterns of hyperactivity.

The Factors for Hyperactivity Patterns in Tigrinya

kɨ-CLAUSE	*kəmzɨ*-CLAUSE
Hyperraising-to-Object	Long-Distance Hyperagreement

The Analytical Questions. This state of raises two questions regarding the analytical and theoretical picture here (Zyman 2023).

- **Interrogating the GAC :** What factors predict and explain the ability for a nominal constituent to engage in multiple A-relations?

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

- **Interrogating the PIC :** What properties of clauses predict and explain that they are differentially permeable for A-relations?

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

4 Non-Predictive and Non-Explanatory Factors for Hyperactivity

Accounting for Variation in Hyperactivity. Parameterization along different dimensions has been claimed to offer an account for the (non)-hyperactivity of nominal constituents cross-linguistically.

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

• **Predicting and Explaining Hyperactivity.** 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 in Tigrinya.

4.1 Case-Licensing and Nominal Deactivation

Parameterizing Case And Activity. Hyperactivity has been proposed to be a symptom of languages in which traditionally-understood Case is *not* involved in nominal licensing, as has been argued for Bantu languages (Carstens 2011, Carstens & Diercks 2013, Sheehan & van der Wal 2018).

(38) **Abaana** **ba**-labika [**ba**-beera mu-nyuumba eno]
2.children 2MS-seem 2MS-live 18-9.house 9.DEM
'The children seem to live in this house.'
(*Luganda*; Sheehan & van der Wal 2018:541, (27b))

Case and Licensing in Tigrinya. Along with other Semitic languages, Tigrinya shows several indicators of being a Case-licensing language (Weldu 2004, Nazareth 2011; see Sheehan & van der Wal 2018 for general discussion).

- **Accusative Case** : Definite/specific objects are typically morphologically marked and undergo Object Shift (Nazareth 2011, Overfelt 2022).

(39) ʔɨt-i təmaharaj **n=ət-a** **dəbdabe** qolt'ifu ts'ɨħif-u-wa
DIST-MS student ACC=DIST-FS book quickly read.GER-SM.3MS-OM.3FS
'The student quickly wrote the book.'

- **Preposition/Applicative Case Alternation** : Oblique arguments are marked either with a preposition or they are Case marked and cross-referenced with an applicative agreement marker on the verb (Nazareth 2011).

(40) **ʔab=t-i** **ʕarat** məts'ħaf ʔanbir-u
LOC=DIST-MS bed book put.GER-SM.3MS
'He put the book on the bed.'

(41) **n=ət-i** **ʕarat** məts'ħaf ʔanbir-u-lu
ACC=DIST-MS bed book put.GER-SM.3MS-A.3MS
'He put the book on the bed.'

- **Passive Agent Marking** : The demoted agent of a passive construction must be marked with a preposition.

(42) **ʔɨt-i** **təmaharaj** n=ət-a dəbdabe ts'ɨħif-u-**wa**
DIST-MS student ACC=DIST-FS book read.GER-SM.3MS-OM.3FS
'The student wrote the letter.'

(43) ʔɨt-a debdabe **b=ɨt-i** **təmaharaj** tə-ts'ʌħifa
DIST-FS letter INS=DIST-MS student PASS-write.GER-SM.3FS
'The letter was written by the student.'

- **Free v. Construct State Possessives** : Possessive constructions alternate between a prepositional possessor frame or fronted possessee DP frame (Nazareth 2011; though see Gebregziabher 2013).

(44) [$_{DP}$ ʔɨt-i [$_{PP}$ **naj=t-i** **məmħir**] məts'ħaf]
DIST-MS GEN=DIST-MS teacher book
'the book of the teacher.'
(adapted from Gebregziabher 2013:116, (37a))

(45) [$_{DP}$ [$_{DP}$ **ʔɨt-a** **ħafti**] ʔɨt-i ***t*$_1$** məmħir]
DIST-FS sister.F DIST-MS teacher
'the teacher's sister'
(adapted from Gebregziabher 2013:254, (68b))

Case-Licensing without Deactivation. Nominal constituents that are accessible to additional A-relations are appropriately case-marked and licensed within the embedded clause. The optionality of the hyperactive behaviors indicates that they are not for licensing purposes.

(46) ʔɨt-om səb-at [$_{CP}$ **ʔɨt-a** **səbajti** kɨ-**t**-xəjjid kəmzi-nəbər-**a**] rəsiʕ-om-**wa**/wo
DIST-MP person-PL DIST-FS woman IRR-SM.3FS-leave.IPFV COMP-AUX.PST-SM.3FS forget.GER-SM.3MP-OM.3FS/3MS
'Those people forgot that the woman would leave.'

(47) ʔɨt-i məmhir [$_{IP}$ (ʔbɨqʼɨltʼuf) **ʔɨt-om** **təmharo** kɨ-xəjd-**u**] jɨ-dəlij-**(om)**
DIST-MS teacher quickly DIST-MP student.PL SBJV-leave.IPFV-SM.3MP SM.3MS-want.IPFV-OM.3MP
'The teacher wants the students to quickly leave.'

No Case Discrimination. Hyperactive phenomena are not case discriminating (see Bhatt 2005, Bobaljik 2008). Thus, there is no sense in which unmarked nominative is somehow a defective or more accessible Case.

(48) ʔ*pro* [$_{CP}$ ʔɨt-a səbajti **n=ət-en** **dəbdabe-tat** kəmzɨ=nbɨb-et-**ən**] fəlitʼɨ-na-**jən**
1P that-FS woman ACC=that-FP letter-PL COMP=read.PRF-SM.3FS-OM.3FP know.GER-SM.1P-OM.3FP
'We knew that the woman read the letters.'

Moving away from Case-Licensing. Tigrinya adds to results that should push us away from theories of hyperactivity that rely on Case or Case-licensing (see Carstens & Diercks 2013 on Bantu languages and Keine 2018 on Hindi-Urdu).

Hyperactivity despite Case-licensing
Case-licensing nominals is neither explanatory nor predictive of the hyperactivity of nominals in Tigrinya.

4.2 Defective Domains and Non-Deacitivation

No Deactivation in Defective Domains. The hyperactivity of nominal constituents is an expected property of a language in which categories that might otherwise license and deactivate nouns are defective within particular domains (Chomsky 1981, 2000).

(49) **Defectivity Condition**
A featurally incomplete head is defective, making it unable to license and deactivate nominal constituents.

4.2.1 Defective Φ-Agreement

Incomplete Φ-Agreement. While it has been claimed that incomplete ϕ-agreement does not result in Case-licensing (Chomsky 2000, Ferreira 2009), Carstens (2001) and Nunes (2008) point out that it can be difficult to predict which subset(s) of ϕ-features result in Case-licensing and when.

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

(51) **o João$_1$ disse** [que **t_1** **comprou** um carro]
the João said.3SG that bought.3SG a car
'João said that he bought a car.'
(*Brazilian Portuguese*; Nunes 2008:87, (4))

Agreement Paradigms in Tigrinya. Tigrinya is relevant in this respect because agreement is (almost) always ϕ-complete and transparently shows (almost) entirely non-syncretic morphology for each combination of ϕ-features (Leslau 1941).

Subject	Imperfective	Gerundive	Perfect
SM.3MS	**jɨ**-säbbɨr	säbir-**u**	säbär-**ä**
SM.3MP	**jɨ**-säbɨr-**u**	säbir-**om**	säbär-**u**
SM.3FS	**tɨ**-säbbɨr	säbir-**a**	säbär-**ät**
SM.3FP	**jɨ**-säbɨr-**a**	säbir-**än**	säbär-**a**
SM.2MS	**tɨ**-säbbɨr	säbir-**ka**	säbär-**ka**
SM.2MP	**tɨ**-säbɨr-**u**	säbir-**kum**	säbär-**kum**
SM.2FS	**tɨ**-säbɨr-**i**	säbir-**ki**	säbär-**ki**
SM.2FP	**tɨ**-säbɨr-**a**	säbir-**kɨn**	säbär-**kɨn**
SM.1S	**ʔɨ**-säbbɨr	säbir-**ä**	säbär-**ku**
SM.1P	**nɨ**-säbbɨr	säbir-**na**	säbär-**na**

Table 1: Subject marker paradigms in Tigrinya

Object	Imperfective	Gerundive	Perfect
OM.3MS	jɨ-k'ätl-**o**	k'ätil-u-**wo**	k'ätäl-∅-**o**
OM.3MP	jɨ-k'ätl-**om**	k'ätil-u-**wom**	k'ätäl-∅-**om**
OM.3FS	jɨ-k'ätl-**a**	k'ätil-u-**wa**	k'ätäl-∅-**a**
OM.3FP	jɨ-k'ätl-**än**	k'ätil-u-**wän**	k'ätäl-∅-**än**
OM.2MS	jɨ-k'ätlä-**kka**	k'ätil-u-**kka**	k'ätäl-ä-**kka**
OM.2MP	jɨ-k'ätlä-**kkum**	k'ätil-u-**kkum**	k'ätäl-ä-**kkum**
OM.2FS	jɨ-k'ätlä-**kki**	k'ätil-u-**kki**	k'ätäl-ä-**kki**
OM.2FP	jɨ-k'ätlä-**kkɨn**	k'ätil-u-**kkɨn**	k'ätäl-ä-**kkɨn**
OM.1S	jɨ-k'ätlä-**nni**	k'ätil-u-**nni**	k'ätäl-ä-**nni**
OM.1P	jɨ-k'ätlä-**nna**	k'ätil-u-**nna**	k'ätäl-ä-**nna**

Table 2: Object marker paradigms in Tigrinya

Hyperactivity is not Φ-Discriminating. Nominal constituents that control ϕ-complete agreement within an embedded clauses remain accessible to additional A-relations; observe that all agreement relations in hyperactive contexts are ϕ-complete.

(52) ʔɨt-ən ʔanəʃti [$_{CP}$ *pro* **nət-om** **təmharo** kəmzɨ-rəxab-a-**ʔom**] rəsiʕ-ən-**ʔom**
DIST-FP women 3FTP DIST-MP student.PL COMP-meet.PRF-SM.3FP-OM.3MP forget.GER-SM.3FP-OM.3MP
'The women forgot that they met the students.'

(53) 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.3MS-want.IPFV-OM.3MP
'The teacher wants the students to read the book.'

Independence of Φ-Completeness and Activity. Tigrinya adds to results that should push us away from theories of hyperactivity that rely on the ϕ-completeness of licensing heads (see Carstens 2001, 2011 on Bantu languages).

Hyperactivity Despite Φ-Complete Agreement
The completeness of ϕ-agreement is neither explanatory nor predictive of the hyperactivity of nominals in Tigrinya.

4.2.2 Tense and Defectiveness

No Case-Licensing without Tense. Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou (1999) argue that the lack of semantic tense on T^0 in embedded subjunctive clauses is responsible for the lack of nominative case, motivating raising beyond an initial agree relationship.

(54) Ta pedhia arxisan [na trexoun **(*avrio)**]
the children started.3PL SBJV run.3PL tomorrow
Lit. 'The children started [to run (*tomorrow)].' (*Greek*; as cited in Zyman 2023:33–34, (10)–(11))

Distribution of Tense Auxiliaries. Embedded complement clauses in Tigrinya differ on the basis of whether they are able to contain tense-expressing auxiliary verbs as part of complex tense-aspect constructions, which presumably reflects the realization/presence of T^0.

(55) ʔɨt-om səbat [$_{CP}$ ʔɨt-a səbajti kɨ-t-xəjjɨd **kəmzɨ-nəbər-a**] rasiʕ-om-wa
DIST-MP people DIST-FS woman IRR-SM.3FS-leave.IPFV COMP-AUX.PST-S3FS forget.GER-S-3MP-OM.3FS
'Those people forgot that the woman would leave.'

(56) *ʔɨt-a məmhɨr n=ət-om təmharo$_1$ [$_{IP}$ t_1 jɨ-nəbib-u **kɨ-ʔall-om**] tɨ-dəlj-om
DIST-FS teacher DIST-MP student.PL SM.3MP-read.IPFV-SM.3MP SBJV-AUX.NPST-SM.3MP SM.3FS-want.IPFV-OM.3MP
Intended : 'The woman wants the students to be reading.'

Semantic Tense. The possibility for temporal adverbs that differ from the matrix time of evaluation offers evidence that *kɨ*-clauses generally express semantic tense, even if they are structurally reduced.

(57) [ʔɨt-a məmhɨr n=ət-om təmharo$_1$ [$_{IP}$ t_1 **ts'ɨbaħ** kɨ-xəjd-u] dəlij-a-tom nəjr-a
DIST-FS teacher DIST-MP student.PL tomorrow SBJV-leave.IPFV-SM.3MP want.GER-SM-3FS-OM.3MP AUX.PST-SM.3MS
'The woman needed to leave tomorrow.'

Hyperacitivity is not Tense-Discriminating. Nominal constituents that are licensed in embedded clauses that express Tense remain accessible to additional A-relations. Observe, however, that we can partially predict hyperraising from the morphosyntactic expression of Tense.

Independence of Tense and Activity. Tigrinya adds to results that should push us away from theories of hyperactivity that rely on the morphosyntactic and semantic expression of Tense (see Zeller 2006 on Zulu).

Hyperactivity Despite Variation in Tense
The expression of Tense is neither explanatory nor predictive of the hyperactivity of nominals in Tigrinya.

4.3 Interim Summary

• **Predicting and Explaining Hyperactivity.** 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 in Tigrinya.

Non-Predictive and Non-Explanatory Factors. The major approaches for constraining and restricting hyperactivity cross-linguistically do not contribute to an account of hyperactivity pattens in Tigrinya.

- **Interrogating the GAC :** Nominals in Tigrinya appear to be exempt from the Generalized Activity Condition.
- **Interrogating the PIC :** Embedded clauses that appear to be non-defective are differentially permeable for A-relations.

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

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

5 The Factors for Hyperactivity in Tigrinya

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

	kɨ-IP	*kəmzɨ*-CP
TRANSITIVE	Hyperraising-to-Object	Long-Distance Hyperagreement
UNACCUSATIVE	Long-Distance Hyperagreement	—

5.1 Hyperactivity under Argument Structure Alternations

Different Predicate Types. We observe variation in hyperactivity patterns with *kɨ*-clauses as a function of the argument structure of the matrix predicate, suggesting that properties of the matrix predicate determine hyperactivity patterns in Tigrinya.

5.1.1 Long-Distance Hyperagreement under Unaccusatives

Clausal Complements of Pseudo-Modal Predicates. Pseudo-modal predicates also take *kɨ*-clause complements (Tesfay 2016, Gebregziabher 2021, Cacchioli & Overfelt in preparation, Overfelt & Cacchioli under review).

(60) a. *expl* [$_{IP}$ ʔɨt-a səbəjti **kɨ**-ti-xəjɨd] **jɨ-gɨbbaʔ**
DIST-FS woman.F SBJV-S3FS-leave.IPFV SM.3MS-need.IPFV
'The woman needs to leave.'

b. *expl* [$_{IP}$ ʔɨt-a səbəjti **kɨ**-ti-xəjɨd] **nəjr-u-wa** (ʔall-o-wa)
DIST-FS woman.F SBJV-S3FS-leave.IPFV have.GER-SM.3MS-OM.3FS have.IPFV-SM.3MS-OM.3FS
'The woman had to leave.'

Unaccusative Predicates. Pseudo-modal predicates that take *kɨ*-clause complements show several indicators for being unaccusative constructions (Cacchioli & Overfelt in preparation).

- **No External Argument** : The obligatory 3MS subject marking on the strong modals cannot be interpreted as a contentful subject, suggesting the predicate does not introduce a subject argument. This similarly suggests that there is no Raising-to-Subject.

(61) (***nɨssu**) [ʔɨt-a səbəjti kɨ-ti-xəjjɨd] **jɨ**-gɨbaʔ-a
3MS.NOM DIST-FS woman.F SBJV-SM.3FS-leave.IPFV SM.3MS-need.IPFV-OM.3FS
Intended: 'He needs the woman to leave.'

- **Unpassivizeable** : The inability to express an agent as a prepositional phrase demonstrates that these predicates cannot be passivized, suggesting they are unaccusatives.

(62) *ʔɨt-om təmharo$_1$ **b=ɨt-a** **məmhɨr** [$_{IP}$ t_1 kɨ-xejd-u] jɨ-gɨbaʔ-u
DIST-MP student.PL INS=DIST-FS teacher SBJV-leave.IPFV-SM.3MP SM.3MS-need.IPFV-OM.3MP
Intended : 'The students were needed by the teacher to leave.'

Hyperagreement into Pseudo-modal Complements. A logical argument of the embedded clause can control agreement on the embedded predicate and object marking the matrix predicate. For reasons that are not clear, this is obligatory for the predicate /*hlw*/.

(63) a. [$_{IP}$ **ʔɨt-a sebajti** n-ət-ən dəbdabe-tat kɨ-**t**ɨ-ts'ɨħif-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.'

b. [$_{IP}$ **ʔɨt-om k'olʕu** bɨħɨdat kɨ-∅-nbɨb-**u**] ʔall-o-**wom**
DIST-MP children calmly SBJV-SM.3MP-read.IPFV-SM.3MP have.IPFV-SM.3MS-OM.3MP
'The boys have to read calmly'

Against Prolepsis / Control. Familiar observations suggest that the hyperactive nominal is generated as an argument of the embedded predicate, not as an argument of the pseudo-modal matrix clause predicate.

- **Ordering with Modifiers** : The hyperactive nominal follows modifiers of the embedded predicate.

(64) *expl* [$_{IP}$ **bɨ=bɨkeri səgɛn** maj kɨ-**t**-sətti] ji-gɨbaʔ-**a**
INS=cup Segen water SBJV-SM.3FS-drink.IPFV SM.3MS-need.IPFV-OM.3FS
'Segen needs to drink water with a cup.'

- **Bare Nominal *səb*** : The subject-locked bare nominal *səb* serves as the hyperactive logical subject of the embedded predicate.

(65) *expl* [$_{IP}$ **səb** nɨ=gəz-u kɨ-∅-xəjjid] ji-gɨboʔ-**(o)**
person LOC=house-POSSM.3MS SBJV-SM.3FS-leave.IPFV SM.3MS-need.IPFV-OM.3MS
'Someone needs to go to his house.'

Against Hyperraising-to-Object. Familiar observations suggest that the hyperactive nominal remains a constituent of the embedded clause and is not a derived argument of the pseudo-modal matrix clause predicate.

- **Non-Minimality** : The lack of minimality effects suggests that the hyperactive behaviors do not involve Raising.

(66) [$_{TP}$ **ʔɨt-a səbajti n=ət-om məts'ħaf-ti** kɨ-**t**ɨ-nbɨb-**om**] ji-gɨbaʔ-**a**/**om**
that-FS woman that-MP book-PL IRR-S.1S-read.IPFV-O.3MP S.3MS-need.IPFV-O.3FS/3MP
'I need to read the book.'

- **Case-Marking** : The fact that the hyeperactive nominal displays the case marking expected from its grammatical role in the embedded clause suggests that it does not undergo Raising.

(67) **expl* [**n=ət-a** **səbajti** kɨ-ti-xəjjid] jɨ-gɨbbaʔ-**(a)**
ACC-DIST-FS woman SBJV-SM.3FS-leave.IPFV SM.3MS-need.IPFV-OM.3FS
'The woman needs to leave.'

5.1.2 Raising-to-Subject under Passives

No Raising-to-Subject under Unaccusatives. The obligatory default 3MS subject marking on an unaccusative that selects a *kɨ*-clause suggests that there is no Raising-to-Subject in these contexts. Indeed the logical subject cannot control subject marking on the matrix predicate.

(68) *ʔɨt-a səbəjti [t_1 kɨ-ti-xəjjɨd] ti-gɨbbaʔ
DIST-FS woman.F SBJV-SM.3FS-leave.IPFV SM.3MS-need.IPFV-OM.3FS
Intended: 'The woman needs to leave.'

Raising-to-Subject under Passives. But there is no blanket constraint against Raising-to-Subject in the language; we observe exactly this in passive constructions.

(69) ʔɨt-om təmharo b=ɨt-i memħɨr [$_{IP}$ t_1 nɨ=kɨ-xəjd-u] tə-dəlij-om
DIST-MP student.PL INS=DIST-MS teacher ACC=SBJV-leave.IPFV-SM.3MP DT-want.GER-SM.3MP
'The students are wanted by the teacher to leave.'

The Composition of Predicates. These differences can be taken to reveal that predicates with different argument structures are compositionally distinct (e.g., Pylkkänen 2008, Alexiadou et al. 2015, Kastner 2016, Sokol 2025) and drive different hyperactivity patterns.

- **Transitive Predicates** : Transitive predicates contain a derived object position that can be targeted by Raising and agreement.
- **Unaccusative Predicates** : Unaccusative predicates lack a derived object position and shows only agreement with an embedded argument.
- **Passive Predicates** : Passive predicates contain a derived object position that can be targeted by Raising.

5.2 Clause Type and Hyperactivity Patterns

Different Clause Types. Complement *kəmzɨ*-clauses and *kɨ*-clauses can be distinguished on the basis of several factors, suggesting that differences amongst clause types determine hyperactivity patterns in Tigrinya.

Expression of Tense. The *kəmzɨ*-clause complement of a factive predicate, but not the *kɨ*-clause complement of an intensional predicate, is capable of hosting auxiliaries that express morphosyntactic tense.

(70) ʔɨt-om səbat [$_{CP}$ ʔɨt-a səbajti kɨ-t-xəjjɨd **kəmzɨ-nəbər-a**] rasiʕ-om-wa
DIST-MP people DIST-FS woman IRR-SM.3FS-leave.IPFV COMP-AUX.PST-S3FS forget.GER-S-3MP-OM.3FS
'Those people forgot that the woman would leave.'

(71) *ʔɨt-a məmhɨr n=ət-om təmharo$_1$ [$_{IP}$ t_1 jɨ-nəbib-u **kɨ-ʔall-om**] tɨ-dəlj-om
DIST-FS teacher DIST-MP student.PL SM.3MP-read.IPFV-SM.3MP SBJV-AUX.NPST-SM.3MP SM.3FS-want.IPFV-OM.3MP
Intended : 'The woman wants the students to be reading.'

(72) *[$_{IP}$ ʔɨt-a səbajti tɨ-nəbib **kɨ-ʔall-a**] jɨ-gɨbaʔ-a
DIST-FS woman.F SM.3FS-read.IPFV IRR-AUX.NPST-SM.3FS SM.3MS-need.IPFV-OM.3FS
Intended : 'The woman needs to be reading.'

Default Agreement. The *kəmzɨ*-clause complement of a factive predicate, but not the *kɨ*-clause complement of an intensional predicate, is capable of triggering default object marking in the matrix clause.

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

(74) *ʔɨt-a məmħɨr [$_{IP}$ ʔɨt-om təmharo nɨ=kɨ-xəjjɨd-u] **tɨ-dəlj-o**
DIST-FS teacher DIST-MP student.PL ACC=SBJV-leave.IPFV-SM.3MP SM.3FS-want.IPFV-OM.3MS
Intended: 'The teacher wants the students to leave.'

Clausal Object Shift The *kəmzɨ*-clause complement of a factive predicate, but not the *kɨ*-clause complement of an intensional predicate, can appear in a derived object position.

(75) [$_{CP}$ ʔɨt-a səbajti kɨ-t-xəjed kəmzɨ-nəbər-a]$_1$ tɨmali t_1 rəsiʕ-na-jo
DIST-FS woman SBJV-SM.3FS-leave.IPFV COMP-AUX.PAST-SM.3FS yesterday forget.GER-SM.1P-OM.3MS
'Yesterday we forgot that the woman would leave.'

(76) *ʔɨt-a məmhɨr [$_{IP}$ n=ət-om təmharo kɨ-xejjɨd-u]$_1$ tɨmali t_1 delij-a-ttom nəjr-a
DIST-FS teacher ACC=DIST-MP student.PL SBJV-leave.IPFV-SM.3MP yesterday want.GER-SM.3FS-OM.3MP AUX.PAST-SM.3FS
Intended: 'Yesterday the teacher wanted to students to leave.'

The Composition of Clauses. These differences reveal that complement clauses are compositionally distinct (e.g., Halpert 2019).

- ***kəmzɨ*-clause CPs** : CPs headed by *kəmzɨ-* satisfy the EPP features of functional heads and are targets for A-relations.
- ***kɨ*-clause IPs** : IPs headed by *kɨ-* do not satisfy the EPP features of functional heads and are not targets for A-relations.

5.3 Functional Heads Driving Hyperactive Behaviors

Explanatory Factors for Hyperactivity. Hyperactivity patterns in Tigrinya reflect the interactions of the formal properties of embedded clauses and the v^0 that that is probing them (e.g., Pylkkänen 2008, Alexiadou et al. 2015, Kastner 2016, Sokol 2025).

The Factors for Hyperactivity Patterns in Tigrinya

		kɨ-CLAUSE	*kəmzɨ*-CLAUSE
TRANSITIVE	v^0 : [EPP , ϕ]	Hyperraising-to-Object	Long-Distance Hyperagreement
UNACCUSATIVE	v^0 : [ϕ]	Long-Distance Hyperagreement	—
PASSIVE	v^0 : [EPP]	Hyperraising-to-Subject	CP Promotion to Subject

Argument Structure Drives Syntax. Tigrinya employs a series of v^0 heads that differ in their specification for a movement-licensing [EPP] feature and ϕ-features and these determine the deployment of A-operations.

5.3.1 Hyperraising-to-Object under Transitives

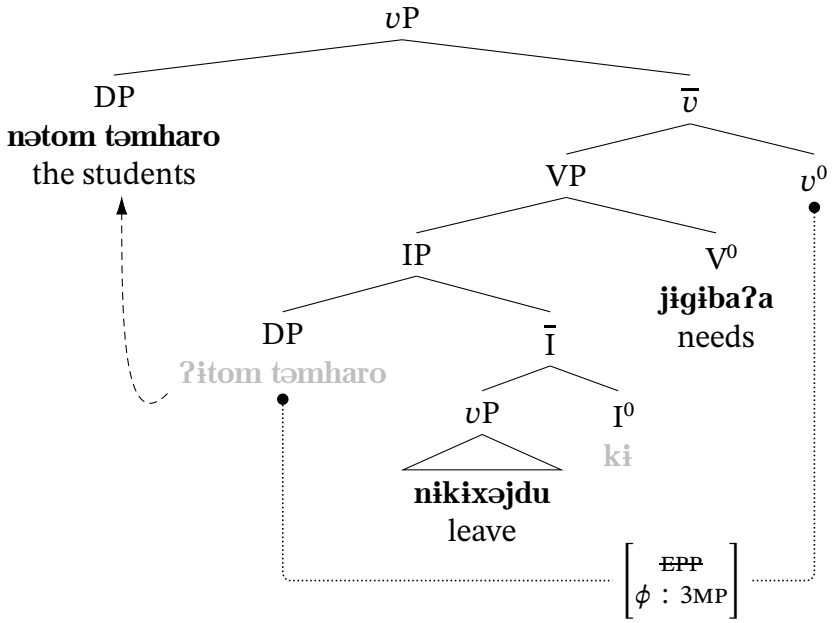
Φ-Features and EPP on Transitive v^0. A nominal argument in the *kɨ*-IP complement of transitive intensional predicate satisfies the [EPP , ϕ] features of the matrix v^0 and undergoes Hyperraising-to-Object.

(77) ʔiɬ-i məmħir **n=əɬ-om** **təmharo$_1$** [$_{IP}$ ***t*$_1$** ni=kɨ-xəjd-**u**] jɨ-diɬj-**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) **Analysis of Hyperraising-to-Object in (77)**

- Matrix v^0 probes to satisfy [EPP] and [ϕ :].
- The highest nominal argument can satisfy [EPP].
- The highest nominal argument values [ϕ : 3FS].
- The probed argument raises to the matrix object position.

(79)



5.3.2 Long-Distance Hyperagreement into *kəmzɨ*-CPs

Transitive v^0 with *kəmzɨ*-CP. The *kəmzɨ*-CP complement of a factive predicate satisfies the [EPP] of the matrix v^0 but does not value [ϕ :]. An optional second probe identifies the highest eligible nominal to value [ϕ :].

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

(81) **Analysis of Long-Distance Agreement in (80)**

- Matrix v^0 probes to satisfy [EPP] and [ϕ :].
- The *kəmzɨ*-CP is the highest object that can satisfy the [EPP]
- The *kəmzɨ*-CP cannot value the [ϕ :]

① **Default Agreement**

– Default 3MS features are inserted to satisfy [ϕ :].

– The *kəmzɨ*-CP shifts to matrix object position.

② **Long-Distance Agreement**

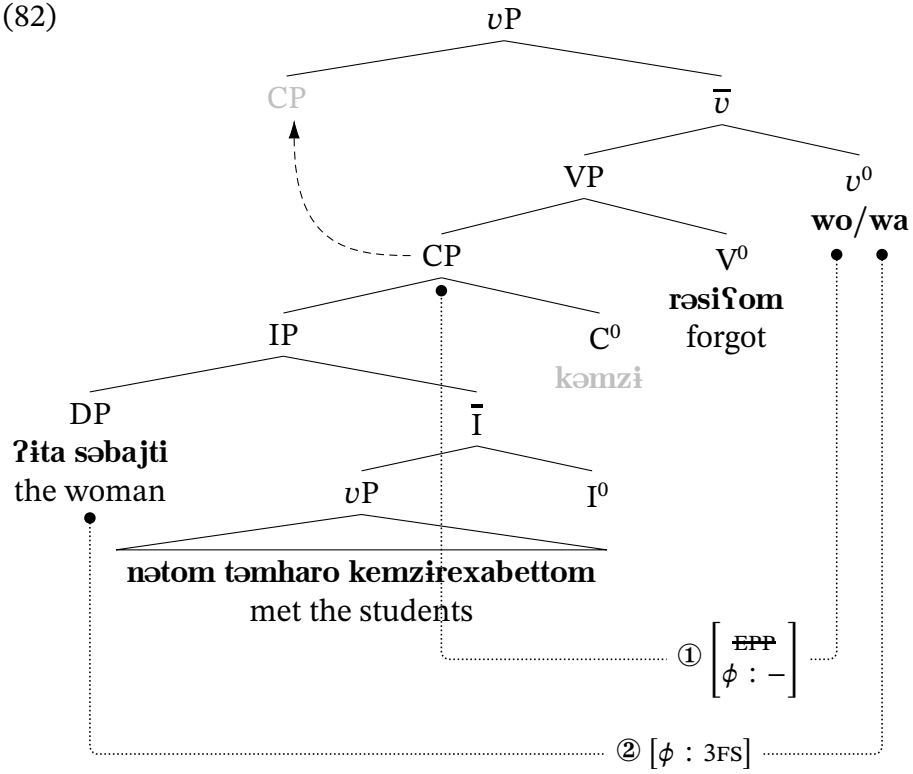
– Matrix v^0 probes again to satisfy [ϕ :].

– The *kəmzɨ*-CP is not an intervener for ϕ-probing.

– The highest eligible nominal argument values [ϕ :].

The *kəmzɨ*-CP shifts to matrix object position.

(82)



Interaction and Satisfaction. Like the analysis in Halpert (2019), the idea presented here is built upon a model of agree that allows a head to interact with multiple features but only be satisfied by a subset of those features (see Deal 2023).

5.3.3 Long-Distance Hyperagreement under Unaccusatives

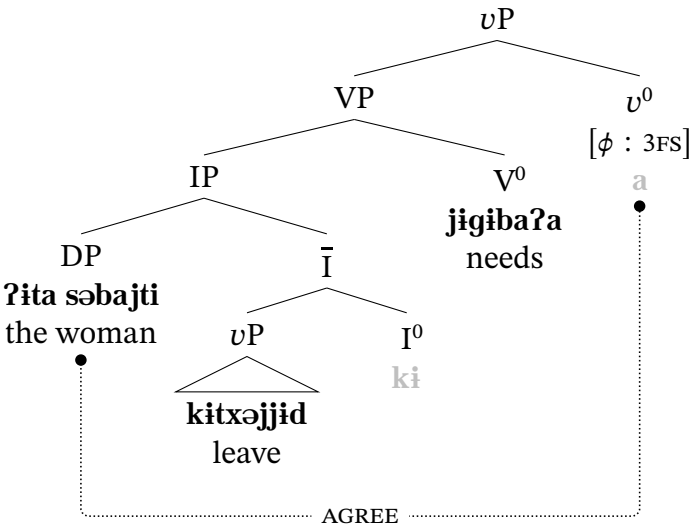
No EPP on Unaccusative v^0. A nominal argument in the *kɨ*-TP complement of an unaccusative pseudo-modal controls matrix object agreement to satisfy [ϕ :] of the matrix v^0.

(83) *expl* [$_{IP}$ **ʔɨt-a** **səbəjti** kɨ-**tɨ**-xəjjɨd] jɨ-gɨbaʔ-**a**
DIST-FS woman.F SBJV-S3FS-leave.IPFV SM.3MS-need.IPFV-OM.3FS
'The woman needs to leave.'

(84) **Analysis of Long-Distance Hyperagreement in (83)**

- Matrix v^0 probes to satisfy [ϕ :].
- The highest eligible nominal values [ϕ : 3FS].

(85)



Blocking Hyperraising-to-Subject. Something still has to be said for why there is no Hyperraising-to-Subject here. We might stipulate that null expletives are generated low in non-[EPP] positions and serve as targets for ϕ-agreement (Deal 2009), and therefore as interveners.

Comments on the Alternatives. The fact that long-distance agreement can target nominals that the embedded verb does not agree with suggests that hyperagreement is not verbal concord.

(86) ?*expl* [$_{IP}$ *pro* **ʔɨt-ən** **birʕo-tat** **n=ət-i** **temaharaj** ki-∅-hɨb-**o**] jɨ-gɨbaʔ-**en**
1S DIST-FP pen-PL ACC=DIST-MS student SBJV-SM.1S-give.IPFV-OM.3MS SM.3MS-need.IPFV-OM.3FP
'I need to give the student the pens.'

And while Cyclic Agreement (Legate 2005) and Read-Only Phases (Agarwal 2022) may generate long-distance agreement constructions in Tigrinya, these approaches neither predict nor explain the different instantiations of hyperactivity as a function of argument structure.

5.3.4 Raising-to-Subject under Passives

Only EPP on Passive v^0. A nominal argument in the *kɨ*-TP complement of a passive predicate satisfies the [EPP] of the matrix v^0.

(87) **ʔɨt-om** **təmharo** b=ɨt-i memħir [$_{IP}$ ***t*$_1$** nɨ=kɨ-xəjd-**u**] tə-dəlij-**om**
DIST-MP student.PL INS=DIST-MS teacher ACC=SBJV-leave.IPFV-SM.3MP DT-want.GER-SM.3MP
'The students are wanted by the teacher to leave.'

(88) **Analysis of Raising-to-Subject in (87)**

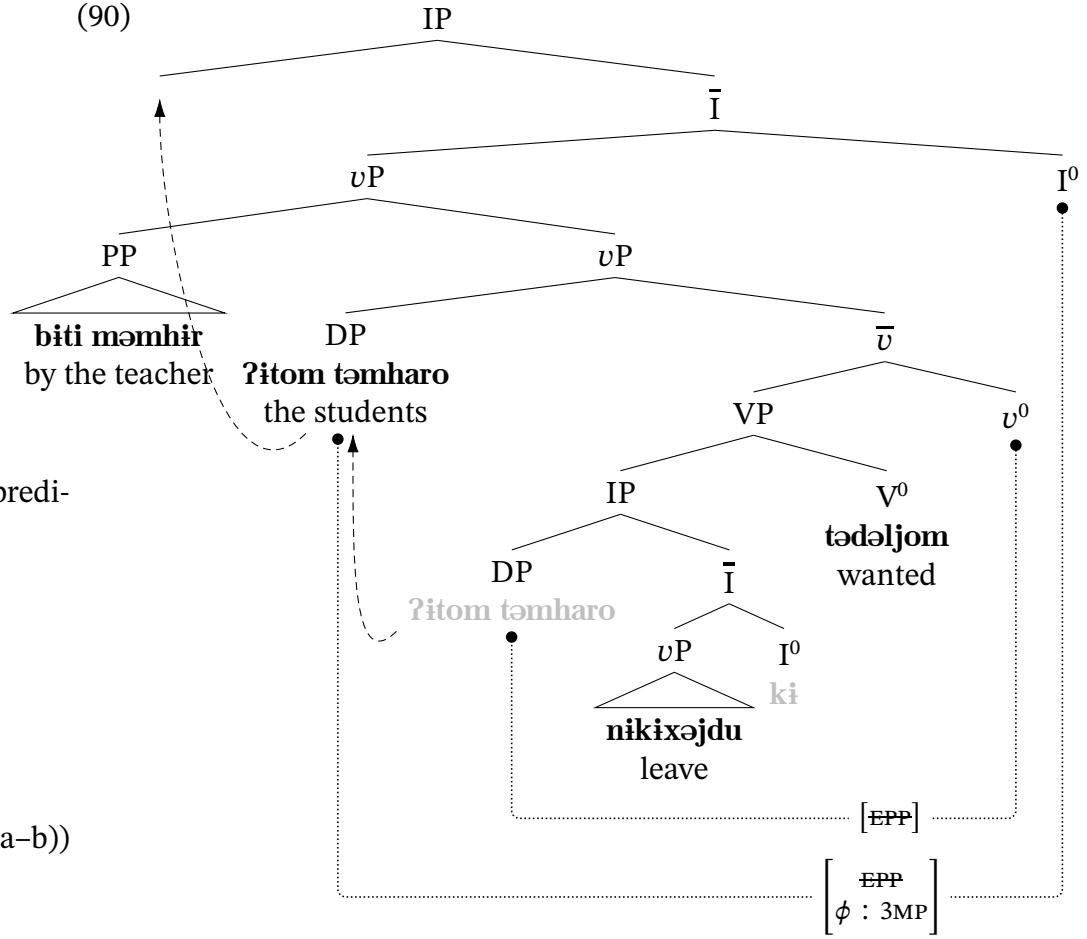
- Matrix v^0 probes to satisfy [EPP].
- The highest nominal argument can satisfy [EPP].
- The probed argument raises to the matrix object.
- Matrix I^0 probes to satisfy [EPP, ϕ].
- The highest nominal argument can satisfy [EPP].
- The highest nominal argument can value [ϕ].
- The probed argument raises to the matrix subject.

Lack of Object Marking. That the v^0 of a passivized transitive predicate lacks ϕ-features on passivized transitive predicates.

(89) a. Yonas n=ət-a t'ɨrmuz **səbir-u-wa**
Yonas ACC=DIST-FS bottle break.GER-SM.3MS-OM.3FS
'Yonas broke the bottle.'

b. ʔɨt-a t'ɨrmuz **tə-səbir-a**
DIST-FS bottle INTR-break.GER-SM.3FS
'The bottle broke.' / 'The bottle was broken.'
(Nazareth 2011:56, (55a–b))

(90)



6 Conclusion

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.

Predicting Hyperactivity in Tigrinya Hyperactivity patterns in Tigrinya reflect the interactions of the formal properties of embedded clauses and the v^0 that that is probing them (e.g., Pylkkänen 2008, Alexiadou et al. 2015, Kastner 2016, Sokol 2025).

The Factors for Hyperactivity Patterns in Tigrinya

			ki-CLAUSE	*kəmzi*-CLAUSE
TRANSITIVE	v^0 :	[EPP , ϕ]	Hyperraising-to-Object	Long-Distance Hyperagreement
UNACCUSATIVE	v^0 :	[ϕ]	Long-Distance Hyperagreement	—
PASSIVE	v^0 :	[EPP]	Hyperraising-to-Subject	CP Promotion to Subject

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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