Explanatory factors for hyperactivity in Tigrinya

Jason Overfelt
Oakland University

1 Introduction

Hyperactivity in Tigrinya. Nominal arguments 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 DIST-FS woman ACC=DIST-MP student.PL COMP-meet.PRF-S.3FS-O.3MP forget.PFV-S.3MS-O.3FS
'They forgot that the woman met the students.'

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

Interrogating the Theory. Standard syntactic theorizing hypothesizes that hyperactivity is the exceptional result of obviating mechanism intend to ensure nominal hypoactivity (Chomsky 2000, 2001).

(3) **Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC)**
The complement of a phase head $X^0 \in \{v^0, C^0\}$ is inaccessible to syntactic positions that are outside XP.

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

Hypoactivity as the Default. These theoretical mechanisms reflect the analytical view that hypoactivity reflects the default state of nominal arguments.

(5) a. There **appear** [$_{IP}$ to be **some students** studying here]
b. **Some students$_1$** appear [$_{IP}$ ***t*$_1$** to be studying here]

(6) a. *It **appear** [$_{CP}$ that **some students are** studying here]
b. ***Some students$_1$ appear** [$_{CP}$ (that) ***t*$_1$ are** studying here]

Implications from Tigrinya. The traditional ways of accounting for the hyperactive behaviors of nominal arguments—including licensing, deactivation, and clausal defectiveness—do not contribute to an account of hyperactivity patterns in Tigrinya (e.g., Bhatt 2005, Nevins 2005, Baker 2008).

Non-Predictive and Non-Explanatory Factors for Hyperactivity

Nominal-licensing and defectiveness are grounded in factors that are neither explanatory nor predictive of hyperactivity patterns 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 how they interact with clausal complements (Halpert 2019, Halpert & Zeijlstra 2026, Mikkelsen et al. 2026).

The Factors for Hyperactivity Patterns in Tigrinya

	SUBJUNCTIVE CLAUSE	INDICATIVE CLAUSE
TRANSITIVE	Hyperraising-to-Object	Long-Distance Hyperagreement
UNACCUSATIVE	Long-Distance Hyperagreement	—

Refocusing Attention Upward. These results are part of a line of literature that shifts focus away from the properties of nominal arguments or of embedded content (e.g., Halpert 2019, Wurmbrand 2019, Lee & Yip 2024, Greeson 2025, Hammerly & Mathieu 2025, Mikkelsen et al. 2026).

The Superordinate Clause Drives Hyperactive

Constraints on multiple A-relations in Tigrinya reflect properties of the superordinate clause and how they interact with the embedded clause.

2 Nominal Activity Patterns

2.1 Hypoactivity in English

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

(7) a. **Some students$_1$** are likely [$_{TP}$ **t_1** to leave]
b. There are **some students$_1$** likely [$_{TP}$ **t_1** to leave]

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

Constraining Raising. There are two major approaches for preventing Raising from finite clauses (see Keine 2018, Zyman 2023).

- **Clausal Opacity :** As a phase head, C^0 renders the embedded TP opaque for Raising and additional A-relations (Chomsky 1986, 2000).

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

(10) **Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC)**
The complement of a phase head $X^0 \in \{ v^0 , C^0 \}$ 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, though see Lohninger 2024 and references).

(11) *Some students are likely [$_{CP}$ t_1 C^0 [$_{TP}$ t_1 will leave]]
A $\overline{\text{A}}$

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

- **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).

(13) [$_{TP}$ BE likely [$_{CP}$ that some students will leave]]
⊗ AGREE

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

2.2 Hyperactivity Patterns Cross-linguistically

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

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

Cross-linguistic Undergeneration. In reality, numerous languages exhibit hyperactive behaviors, allowing DPs to engage in multiple A-relations (see Ura 1994, Sheehan et al. 2017, Lohninger et al. 2022, Deal 2023, Zyman 2023, Lohninger 2024, Fong & Halpert to appear).

2.2.1 Hyperactive Agreement Patterns

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

(15) a. eni-r [$_{IP}$ 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 **[$_{IP}$** 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 in Tsez. 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.

(16) eni-r [$_{CP}$ 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 Cross-linguistically. 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).

(17) **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))

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

Complementizer Agreement in West Flemmish. The embedded subject in West Flemish controls agreement morphology on the complementizer and the highest verbal element of the clause (see von Koppen 2017). This is common in West Germanic and especially in Bantu languages, among others.

(19) a. [$_{CP}$ **da** [$_{TP}$ **dienen student** nen buot gekocht **eet**]]
COMP.3SG that student a boat bought has
'that that student bought a boat.

b. [$_{CP}$ **dan** [$_{TP}$ **die studenten** nen buot gekocht **een**]]
COMP.3PL those students a boat bought have
'that those students bought a boat.
(*West Flemish*; Haegeman 2000:8, (25))

2.2.2 Hyperactive Raising Patterns

Hyperraising-to-Subject in Zulu. The subject of a finite complement clause in Zulu (Bantu, South Africa) optionally raises to the grammatical subject position of a matrix clause (Halpert 2015, 2019).

(20) a. **uZinhle$_1$** **u**-bonakala [$_{CP}$ ukuthi ***t*$_1$** **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))

Infinitival Clauses in Zulu. 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.

(21) *uZinhle$_1$ u-bonakala [$_{TP}$ t_1 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))

Hyperraising-to-Object in P'urhepecha. 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 (Zyman 2018).

(22) a. Ueka-sïn-∅-dï=sï **Xumu-ni$_1$** [$_{CP}$ eska t_1 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))

2.3 Interim Summary

Interrogating the Theory. Hyperactive behaviors raise important questions regarding the analytical and theoretical picture developed under the standard theory (Keine 2018, Zyman 2023).

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

(23) **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?

(24) **Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC)**
The complement of a phase head $X^0 \in \{v^0, C^0\}$ is inaccessible to syntactic positions that are outside XP.

3 Patterns of Hyperactivity in Tigrinya

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

(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-S.3FS-O.3MP forget.PFV-S.3MS-O.3FS
'They forgot that the woman met the students.'

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

Predicting Hyperactivity in Tigrinya Patterns of hyperactivity in Tigrinya are predictable in part on the basis of the predicate and its clausal complements (Overfelt resubmitted).

The Factors for Hyperactivity Patterns in Tigrinya

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

Implications from Tigrinya. The standard ways of accounting for the hyperactive behaviors of nominal arguments—including licensing, deactivation, and clausal defectiveness—do not contribute to an account of hyperactivity patterns in Tigrinya.

Non-Predictive and Non-Explanatory Factors for Hyperactivity

Nominal-licensing and defectiveness are grounded in factors that are neither explanatory nor predictive of hyperactivity patterns in Tigrinya.

3.1 Background on Tigrinya

Classification. Tigrinya (**ትግርኛ**) is an Ethiosemitic language of Eritrea and Ethiopia, making it is closely related to Tigré and Amharic and more distantly to Arabic and Hebrew.

Population. There are approximately 10 million speakers, primarily in Eritrea and Northern Ethiopia. Tigrinya is not currently endangered, although it is under-studied and arguably under-resourced.

Nonconcatenative Root Morphology. Tri-consonantal roots acquire their category and inflectional information through transfixed vowel templates (Leslau 1941, Buckley 2003, Godfrey 2011).

(27) *Imperfective verb form*
ji-səbbɨr
S.3MS-break.IPFV
'It breaks.'

(28) *Perfective verb form*
səbir-u
break.PFV-S.3MS
'It broke.'

(29) *Perfect verb form*
səbər-ə
break.PRF-S.3MS
'It has broken.'



Credit: Ronny Meyer (Weninger 2011)

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 Amlesom 2011, Tesfay Tewolde 2016).

(30) jonas n=ət-a t'ɨrmuz **səbir-u-wa**
Yonas.M ACC=DIST-FS bottle break.PFV-S.3MS-O.3FS
'Yonas broke the bottle.'

(31) ʔɨt-a t'ɨrmuz **tə-səbir-a**
DIST-FS bottle INTR-break.PFV-S.3FS
'The bottle broke.' / 'The bottle was broken.'

Nominative-Accusative Alignment. Subjects of transitive and intransitive predicates are morphologically aligned. Internal arguments are differentially marked on the basis of definiteness/specificity, topicality, and relative prominence (Weldu Michael 2004, Kievit & Kievit 2009, Nazareth Amlesom 2011).

Information-Structural Movement. Objects that are differentially marked with accusative case morphology are obligatorily cross-referenced by object marking on a tautoclausal lexical verb and are preferentially shifted to a predicate-initial position (Overfelt 2022, resubmitted).

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

3.2 An Initial Look at Hyperactive Constructions in Tigrinya

3.2.1 Long-Distance Hyperagreement into indicative *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 Tewolde 2016, Spadine 2020, Cacchioli 2026, van Urk 2026).

(33) *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-S.3FS-O.3MP forget.PFV-S.3MP-O.3MS
'They forgot that the woman met the students.'

(34) *pro* [$_{CP}$ ʔɨt-a səbajti **kəmzɨ**-xəd-ət] fəlit'ɨ-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 with Embedded Arguments. A logical argument of the embedded *kəmzɨ*-clause can control agreement on the embedded predicate as well as object marking in the matrix clause (Overfelt in preparation).

(35) *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-S.3FS-O.3MP forget.PFV-S.3MS-O.3FS
'They forgot that the woman met the students.'

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

(36) [$_{Clause}$ … [$_{Clause}$ … **NOM** … **kəmzɨ**-VERB-**AGR**] VERB-**OM**]
AGREE (NOM … kəmzɨ-VERB-AGR); AGREE (NOM … VERB-OM)

Optionality and Emphasis. While long-distance hyperagreement is optional at some level, the multiply cross-referenced nominal receives a currently not-well-understood "emphatic" interpretation.

3.2.2 Hyperraising-to-Object from subjunctive *kɨ*-clauses

Clausal Complements of Intensional Predicates. Intensional predicates take clausal complements that are marked with the subjunctive prefix *kɨ-* and are optionally marked with the complementizer-like element *nɨ-* (Cacchioli & Overfelt submitted, Overfelt & Cacchioli resubmitted, Overfelt resubmitted).

(37) ʔɨt-i məmhɨr [$_{CP}$ ʔɨt-om təmharo (nɨ-)**kɨ**-xəjd-u] jɨ-dəllɨj
DIST-MS teacher DIST-MP students COMP-SBJV-leave.IPFV-S.3MP S.3MS-want.IPFV
'The teacher wants the students to leave.'

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

Hyperraising of the Embedded Subject. The logical subject of the predicate in the embedded *kɨ*-clause can be marked with accusative case morphology and control matrix object agreement as well as agreement on the embedded predicate (Overfelt in preparation).

(39) ʔɨt-i məmhɨr **n=ət-om** **təmharo$_1$** [$_{CP}$ ***t*$_1$** (nɨ-)**kɨ**-xəjd-**u**] jɨ-dɨlj-**om**
DIST-FS teacher ACC=DIST-MP students COMP-SBJV-leave.IPFV-S.3MP S.3FS-want.IPFV-O.3MP
'The teacher wants the students to leave.'

Schematization of Hyperraising-to-Object. The observations to come suggest that the grammatical subject of the embedded clause controls agreement on the embedded predicate of the *kɨ*-clause and is becomes a derived object of the matrix clause.

(40) [$_{Clause}$ ... **NOM** ... [$_{Clause}$ ... NOM ... **kɨ**-VERB-**SM**] VERB-**OM**]
AGREE, AGREE, RAISE

Optionality and Objecthood. Hyperraising-to-object is optional at some level, but the hyperactive nominal generally displays the morphosyntactic and information-structural properties direct objects.

3.3 Narrowing the Hypothesis Space: Against Hypoactive Alternatives

Hyperactive Configurations. The puzzle of hyperactivity and the implications of the Tigrinya data under consideration suppose that an argument of an embedded clause engages in additional A-relations with elements of the matrix clause.

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

(41) [Clause … [Clause … NOM … kəmzi-VERB-AGR] VERB-OM]
AGREE: NOM … kəmzi-VERB-AGR
AGREE: NOM … VERB-OM

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

(42) [Clause … NOM … [Clause … NOM … ki-VERB-SM] VERB-OM]
AGREE: NOM … VERB-OM
AGREE: NOM … ki-VERB-SM
RAISE: NOM → NOM

A Hypoactive Alternative. 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.

- **Prolepsis / Control :** The target nominal is a constituent of the matrix clause and controls a coreferential (possibly null) pronominal element that controls agreement on the embedded predicate from within the embedded clause.

(43) [Clause … NOM_1 … [Clause … pro_1 … VERB-AGR] VERB-OM]
AGREE: NOM_1 … VERB-OM
AGREE: pro_1 … VERB-AGR

Differing Predictions. The two approaches make different predictions regarding the derivational history of the potentially hyperactive nominal:

- **Hyperactivity :** The hyperactive nominal behaves as if it is a constituent of the embedded clause at some point in the derivation.
- **Control / Prolepsis :** The nominal that controls matrix agreement behaves as if it is only ever a constituent of the matrix clause.

Ordering with Embedded Modifiers. Nominals with the potential for hyperactivity are able to follow adverbs that are unambiguously constituents of the embedded predicate, suggesting that they are constituents of the embedded clause.

(44) **Hyperactive nominals follow embedded adverbs**
[$_{\text{Clause}}$ … [$_{\text{Clause}}$ *ADV* **NOM** … VERB] VERB]

(45) **Hypoactive nominals precede embedded adverbs**
[$_{\text{Clause}}$ … **NOM$_1$** … [$_{\text{Clause}}$ *ADV* *pro*$_1$ … VERB] VERB]

(46) *pro* [$_{\text{CP}}$ *ts'ibaħ* **ʔit-a** **səbajti** ki-t-xəjjid kəmzi-nəbər-a] rəsiʕi-na-ja
1P tomorrow DIST-FS woman SBJV-S.3FS-leave.IPFV COMP-AUX.PST-S.3FS forget.PFV-S.1P-O.3MS
'We forgot that the woman would leave tomorrow.'

(47) ʔit-a məmhir [$_{\text{CP}}$ *ts'ibaħ* **ʔit-om** **təmharo** ki-xəjd-u] dəlij-a nəjr-a
DIST-FS teacher tomorrow DIST-MP student.PL SBJV-leave.IPFV-S.3MP want.PFV-S.3FS AUX.PST-S.3FS
'The teacher wanted the students to leave tomorrow.'

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.

(48) **Hyperactive nominals move with the embedded clause**
[$_{\text{Clause}}$ [$_{\text{Clause}}$ … **NOM** … VERB]$_1$ … t_1 VERB]

(49) **Hypoactive nominals are stranded from the embedded clause**
[$_{\text{Clause}}$ [$_{\text{Clause}}$ … *pro*$_1$ … VERB]$_1$ … **NOM$_1$** … t_1 VERB]

(50) **[$_{\text{CP}}$ ʔit-a** **səbajti** ts'ibaħ ki-t-xəjjid kəmzi-nəbər-a **]$_1$** ʔit-om səb-at ***t*$_1$** rəsiʕ-om-wa
DIST-FS woman tomorrow SBJV-S.3FS-leave.IPFV COMP-AUX.PST-S.3FS DIST-MP person-PL forget.PFV-S.3MP-O.3FS
'Those people forgot that the woman would leave tomorrow.'

(51) **[$_{\text{CP}}$ ʔit-om** **təmharo** n=ət-a məts'ħaf ki-nbib-u-wa **]$_1$** ʔit-i məmhir ***t*$_1$** ji-dəllij
DIST-MP student.PL ACC=DIST-FS book SBJV-read.IPFV-S.3MP-O.3FS DIST-MS teacher S.3MS-want.IPFV
'The teacher wants the students to read the book.'

Interpretive Properties. The number-neutral 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 be interpreted as the grammatical subject of an embedded clause.

(52) **Hyperactive nominals are interpreted downstairs**
[$_{\text{Clause}}$ … [$_{\text{Clause}}$ **NOM** … VERB] VERB]

(53) **Hypoactive nominals are interpreted upstairs**
[$_{\text{Clause}}$ … **NOM$_1$** … [$_{\text{Clause}}$ … *pro*$_1$ … VERB] VERB]

(54) ʔit-a səbajti [$_{\text{CP}}$ **səb** kəmzi-xəd-ə] rəsiʕ-a
DIST-FS woman person COMP-leave.PRF-S.3MS forget.PFV-S.3FS
'The woman forgot that people left.'

(55) ʔit-a səbajti [$_{\text{CP}}$ **səb** ki-∅-xəjji̇d] ti-dəlli̇j
DIST-FS woman person SBJV-S.3MS-leave.IPFV S.3FS-want.IPFV
'The woman wants people to leave.'

(56) a. **səb** *pro* ħagiz-u-ni
person 1S help.PFV-S.3MS-O.1S
'Someone helped me.'

b. *pro* *(#**ni̇=**)**səb** ħagiz-e
1S person help.PFV-S.1S
'I helped someone.'

3.4 Distinguishing Hyperagreement and Hyperraising

Instantiations of Hyperactivity. Tigrinya displays distinct hyperactivity patterns on the basis of the clausal complement (Overfelt resubmitted).

The Factors for Hyperactivity Patterns in Tigrinya

SUBJUNCTIVE *ki̇*-CLAUSE	INDICATIVE *kəmzi̇*-CLAUSE
Hyperraising-to-Object	Long-Distance Hyperagreement

Differing Predictions. The two approaches make different predictions regarding the representational and derivational properties of these constructions:

- **Long-Distance Hyperagreement :** The hyperactive nominal behaves as if it is only ever a constituent of the embedded clause.
- **Hyperraising-to-Object :** The hyperactive nominal may behave as if it is a derived object of the matrix clause.

Case-Marking the Nominal. The logical subject of the *kɨ*-clause complement of an intensional predicate, but not a *kəmzɨ*-clause, can be marked with accusative Case, reflecting the fact that Raising-to-Object only targets *kɨ*-clauses.

(57) **Long-distance hyperagreement preserves downstairs case**
[$_{\text{Clause}}$ … [$_{\text{Clause}}$ **NOM** … kəmzɨ-VERB-AGR] VERB-OM]

(58) **Hyperraising-to-Object targets accusative marked positions**
[$_{\text{Clause}}$ … ACC=**NOM** [$_{\text{Clause}}$ NOM … kɨ-VERB-SM] VERB-OM]

(59) *ʔɨt-om səb-at [$_{\text{CP}}$ **n=ət-a** **səbajti** kɨ-t-xəjjɨd kəmzɨ-nəbər-a] rəsiʕ-om-wa
DIST-MP person-PL ACC=DIST-FS woman SBJV-S.3FS-leave.IPFV COMP-AUX.PST-S.3FS forget.PFV-S.3MP-O.3FS
Intended : ‘Those people forgot that the woman would leave.’

(60) ʔɨt-a məmhɨr **n=ət-om** **təmharo$_1$** [$_{\text{CP}}$ ***t*$_1$** ts’ɨbaħ nɨ-kɨ-xəjd-u] dəlij-a-tom nəjr-a
DIST-FS teacher ACC=DIST-MP students tomorrow COMP-SBJV-leave.IPFV-S.3MP want.PFV-S.3FS-O.3MP AUX.PST-S.3FS
‘The teacher wanted the students to leave tomorrow.’

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

(61) **Long-distance hyperagreement preserves grammatical roles**
[$_{\text{Clause}}$ … [$_{\text{Clause}}$ **NOM** … kəmzɨ-VERB-AGR] PASS-VERB-SM]

(62) **Hyperraising-to-Object derives grammatical objects**
[$_{\text{Clause}}$ **NOM** [$_{\text{Clause}}$ NOM … kɨ-VERB-SM] PASS-VERB-SM]

(63) a. ***ʔɨt-a** **səbajti** b=ɨt-om səb-at [$_{\text{CP}}$ ***t*$_1$** kemzi-xəd-ət] tə-rəsiʕ-a
DIST-FS woman INS=DIST-MP person-PL COMP-leave.PFV-S.3FS INTR-forget.PFV-S.3FS
Intended : ‘The woman was forgotten to have left.’

b. [$_{\text{CP}}$ **ʔɨt-a** **səbajti** kemzi-xəd-ət]$_1$ b=ɨt-om səb-at *t*$_1$ tə-rəsiʕ-u
DIST-FS woman COMP-leave.PFV-S.3FS INS=DIST-MP person-PL INTR-forget.PFV-S.3FS
‘That the woman left was forgotten.’

(64) **ʔɨt-om** **təmharo** b=ɨt-i məmhɨr [$_{\text{CP}}$ ***t*$_1$** nɨ-kɨ-xəjd-u] tə-dəlj-om
DIST-MP student.PL INS=DIST-MS teacher COMP-SBJV-leave.IPFV-S.3MP INTR-want.GER-S.3MP
‘The students are wanted by the teacher to leave.’

Remnant Movement. The *kɨ*-clause complement of an intensional predicate, but not a *kəmzɨ*-clause, can undergo remnant topicalization to the exclusion of the hyperactive nominal, suggesting that Raising only targets *kɨ*-clauses.

(65) **Long-distance hyperagreement targets embedded nominals**
[$_{\text{Clause}}$ [$_{\text{Clause}}$ **NOM** … kəmzɨ-VERB-AGR]$_1$ … t_1 VERB-OM]

(66) **Hyperraising-to-Object extracts the embedded subject**
[$_{\text{Clause}}$ [$_{\text{Clause}}$ NOM … kɨ-VERB-SM]$_1$ … **NOM** t_1 VERB-OM]

(67) *[$_{\text{CP}}$ kɨ-t-xəjjɨd kəmzɨ-nəbər-a]$_1$ ʔɨt-om səbat **ʔɨt-a** **səbajti** t_1 rəsiʕ-om-wa
SBJV-S.3FS-leave.IPFV COMP-AUX.PST-S3FS DIST-MP people DIST-FS woman forget.PFV-S.3MP-O.3FS
Intended : 'Those people forgot that the woman would leave.'

(68) [$_{\text{CP}}$ t_1 nɨ-kɨ-xəjd-u]$_1$ ʔɨt-i məmhɨr **n=ət-om** **təmharo$_1$** t_1 jɨ-dɨlj-om
COMP-SBJV-leave.IPFV-S.3MP DIST-FS teacher ACC=DIST-MP students S.3MS-want.IPFV-O.3MP
'The teacher wants the students to read the book.'

Minimality Effects. The logical subject of the *kɨ*-clause complement of an intensional predicate, but not a *kəmzɨ*-clause, undergoes A-movement and is subject to typical Minimality effects, suggesting that Raising only targets *kɨ*-clauses.

(69) **Long-distance hyperagreement is "unselective"**
[$_{\text{Clause}}$ … [$_{\text{Clause}}$ SUBJ **OBJ** kəmzɨ-VERB-OM] VERB-OM]

(70) **Hyperraising-to-Object involves A-movement**
[$_{\text{Clause}}$ … **OBJ** [$_{\text{Clause}}$ SUBJ OBJ kɨ-VERB-OM] VERB-OM]

(71) ʔ*pro* [$_{\text{CP}}$ 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-S.3FS-O.3FP know.PFV-S.1P-O.3FP
'We knew that the woman read the letters.'

(72) a. **pro* [$_{\text{CP}}$ ʔɨt-om təmharo **n=ət-a** **mətsʼħaf** kɨ-nbɨb-u-**wa**] tɨ-tsʼəbɨj-**a**
3FS that-MP student.PL ACC=that-FS book SBJV-read.IPFV-S.3MP-O.3FS S.3FS-expect.IPFV-O.3FS
'She expects the students to read the book.'

b. **pro* **n=ət-a** **mətsʼħaf** [$_{\text{CP}}$ ʔɨt-om təmharo t_1 kɨ-nbɨb-u-**wa**] tɨ-tsʼəbɨj-**a**
3FS ACC=that-FS book that-MP student.PL ACC-SBJV-read.IPFV-S.3MP-O.3FS S.3FS-expect.IPFV-O.3FS
'She expects the students to read the book.'

4 Non-Predictive and Non-Explanatory Factors for Hyperactivity

Instantiations of Hyperactivity. Tigrinya displays distinct hyperactivity patterns on the basis of the clausal complement (Overfelt in preparation).

The Factors for Hyperactivity Patterns in Tigrinya

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

Interrogating the Theory. Standard syntactic theorizing proposes that the hyperactive behaviors are the exceptional result of properties that can be ascribed to nominal arguments or the embedded clauses in which they are generated:

- **Parameterizing Case :** Languages in which Case is not a relevant licensing feature of nominals are not subject to an Activity Condition (e.g., Sheehan & van der Wal 2018).
- **Defective Domains :** A clause that is defective on some measure does not result in the deactivation of a nominal constituent (e.g., Chomsky 1981).
- **Variable Phasehood:** Certain complementizers may be defective/deficient and either do not create locality domains (e.g., Carstens & Diercks 2013) or do not properly license movement into their specifier (e.g., Lohninger 2024).

Implications from Tigrinya. The standard ways of accounting for the hyperactive behaviors of nominal arguments—including licensing, deactivation, and clausal defectiveness—do not contribute to an account of hyperactivity patterns in Tigrinya.

Non-Predictive and Non-Explanatory Factors for Hyperactivity

Nominal-licensing and defectiveness are grounded in factors that are neither explanatory nor predictive of hyperactivity patterns in Tigrinya.

4.1 Parameterizing Case 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 certain Bantu languages (Carstens 2011, Carstens & Diercks 2013, Sheehan & van der Wal 2018).

(73) **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))

(74) **Case-based Activity Condition** **(Chomsky 2001)**
A nominal constituent that has its Case-feature valued is inactive, making it inaccessible to A-relations.

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

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

  (75) ʔɨt-i təmaharaj **n=ət-a** **dəbdabe** qolt'ifu t_1 ts'ɨħif-u-**wa**
  DIST-MS student ACC=DIST-FS book quickly read.PFV-S.3MS-O.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 Amlesom 2011).

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

  (77) **n=ət-i** **ʕarat** məts'ħaf ʔanbir-u-**lu**
  ACC=DIST-MS bed book put.PFV-S.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.

  (78) **ʔɨt-i** **təmaharaj** n=ət-a dəbdabe ts'ɨħif-**u**-wa
  DIST-MS student ACC=DIST-FS book read.PFV-S.3MS-O.3FS
  'The student wrote the letter.'

  (79) ʔɨt-a debdabe **b=ɨt-i** **təmaharaj** tə-ts'aħif-a
  DIST-FS letter INS=DIST-MS student PASS-write.PFV-S.3FS
  'The letter was written by the student.'

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 these relations are not for Case-licensing purposes.

(80) *pro* [$_{CP}$ ts'ɨbaħ **ʔɨt-a** **səbajti** kɨ-t-xəjjɨd kəmzɨ-nəbər-a] rəsiʕɨ-na-ja
1P tomorrow DIST-FS woman SBJV-S.3FS-leave.IPFV COMP-AUX.PST-S.3FS forget.PFV-S.1P-O.3MS
'We forgot that the woman would leave tomorrow.'

(81) ʔɨt-a məmhɨr [$_{CP}$ ts'ɨbaħ **ʔɨt-om** **təmharo** kɨ-xəjd-u] dəlij-a nəjr-a
DIST-FS teacher tomorrow DIST-MP student.PL SBJV-leave.IPFV-S.3MP want.PFV-S.3FS AUX.PST-S.3FS
'The teacher wanted the students to leave tomorrow.'

No Case Discrimination. Hyperactive phenomena are not case discriminating (see Bhatt 2005, Bobaljik 2008, Kornfilt & Preminger 2015). Thus, there is no sense in which unmarked nominative is somehow a defective or more accessible Case.

(82) ?*pro* [$_{CP}$ **ʔɨt-a** **səbajti** n=ət-en dəbdabe-tat kəmzɨ=nbɨb-**ət**-ən] fəlit'ɨ-na-**ja**
1P that-FS woman ACC=that-FP letter-PL COMP=read.PRF-S.3FS-O.3FP know.PFV-S.1P-O.3FP
'We knew that the woman read the letters.'

(83) ?*pro* [$_{CP}$ ʔɨt-a səbajti **n=ət-en** **dəbdabe-tat** kəmzɨ=nbɨb-et-**ən**] fəlit'ɨ-na-**jən**
1P that-FS woman ACC=that-FP letter-PL COMP=read.PRF-S.3FS-O.3FP know.PFV-S.1P-O.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, and Bešlin 2022 on Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian).

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. Given a generalized version of the Activity Condition, hyperactivity 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).

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

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

Non-Defective Domains. The optionality of hyperactivity in Tigrinya suggests that the relevant domains are not defective on any dimension that would be relevant to licensing nominal arguments (e.g., mood, tense, ϕ-completeness; see Chomsky 1981, 2000, Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 1999, Nunes 2008).

(86) ʔɨt-om səbat [$_{CP}$ **ʔɨt-a** **səbajti** kɨ-**t**-xəjjɨd kəmzɨ-nəbər-**a**] rəsiʕ-om-**(wa)**
DIST-MP people DIST-FS woman SBJV-S.3FS-leave.IPFV COMP-AUX.PST-S3FS forget.PFV-S-3MP-O.3FS
'Those people forgot that the woman would leave.'

(87) a. ʔɨt-i məmhɨr [$_{CP}$ **ʔɨt-om** **təmharo** ts'ɨbaħ (nɨ-)**kɨ**-xəjd-**u**] jɨ-dɨlɨj
DIST-FS teacher ACC=DIST-MP students tomorrow COMP-SBJV-leave.IPFV-S.3MP S.3FS-want.IPFV
'The teacher wants the students to leave tomorrow.'

b. ʔɨt-i məmhɨr **n=ət-om** **təmharo$_1$** [$_{CP}$ ***t*$_1$** ts'ɨbaħ (nɨ-)**kɨ**-xəjd-**u**] jɨ-dɨlj-**om**
DIST-FS teacher ACC=DIST-MP students tomorrow COMP-SBJV-leave.IPFV-S.3MP S.3FS-want.IPFV-O.3MP
'The teacher wants the students to leave tomorrow.'

Independence of Feature-Completeness and Activity. Tigrinya adds to results that should push us away from theories of hyperactivity that rely on morphosyntactic deficiencies to manufacture failures to license nominal arguments (e.g., Carstens 2001, 2011, Zeller 2006).

Hyperactivity despite Featural Completeness
Defectiveness on the basis of featural deficiency is neither explanatory nor predictive of the hyperactivity of nominals in Tigrinya.

4.3 Defective Complementizers and Phasehood

Defective Complementizers. (Carstens & Diercks 2013) argue that defective complementizers in embedded clauses fail to create phase boundaries and are, therefore, transparent for additional A-movements.

(88) a. **Mikaeli a**-lolekhana [$_{CP}$ **mbo** t_1 **a**-si-kona]
Michael 1SA-seem COMP 1sa-pres-sleep
'Michael seems to be still sleeping.'

b. ***Mikaeli a**-lolekhana [$_{CP}$ **a-li** t_1 **a**-si-kona]
Michael 1SA-seem 1CA-COMP 1SA-PRES-sleep
'Michael seems to be still sleeping.' (*Lubukusu*; Carstens & Diercks 2013:109, (24)–(25))

(89) **Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC)**
The complement of a phase head $X^0 \in \{v^0, C^0\}$ is inaccessible to syntactic positions that are outside XP.

Hyperactivity and Complementizers. While hyperactivity patterns in Tigrinya are correlated with complementizers, there is no independent non-abductive evidence that complementizers in Tigrinya drive hyperactivity (though see Zyman 2018, Fong 2019, Wurmbrand 2019, Lohninger 2024, a.o.).

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

(91) ʔit-i məmhir n=ət-om təmharo$_1$ [$_{CP}$ t_1 **(ni-)**ki-xəjd-u] ji-dilj-om
DIST-FS teacher ACC=DIST-MP students COMP-SBJV-leave.IPFV-S.3MP S.3FS-want.IPFV-O.3MP
'The teacher wants the students to leave.'

Moving away from Phasehood. Tigrinya adds to results that should push us away from theories of hyperactivity that rely on the phasehood of complementizers (Halpert 2019, Halpert & Zeijlstra 2026, Mikkelsen et al. 2026).

Hyperactivity despite Phasal Categories
Clause size/type is neither explanatory nor predictive of the hyperactivity of nominals in Tigrinya.

5 The Factors for Hyperactivity in Tigrinya

Implications from Tigrinya. The standard ways of accounting for the hyperactive behaviors of nominal arguments—including licensing, deactivation, and clausal defectiveness—do not contribute to an account of hyperactivity patterns in Tigrinya.

Non-Predictive and Non-Explanatory Factors for Hyperactivity

Nominal-licensing and defectiveness are grounded in factors that are neither explanatory nor predictive of hyperactivity patterns 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 how they interact with clausal complements (Halpert 2019, Halpert & Zeijlstra 2026, Mikkelsen et al. 2026).

The Factors for Hyperactivity Patterns in Tigrinya

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

Refocusing Attention Upward. These results are part of a line of literature that shifts focus away from the properties of nominal arguments or of embedded content (e.g., Halpert 2019, Wurmbrand 2019, Lee & Yip 2024, Greeson 2025, Hammerly & Mathieu 2025, Mikkelsen et al. 2026).

The Superordinate Clause Drives Hyperactive

Constraints on multiple A-relations in Tigrinya reflect properties of the superordinate clause and how they interact with the embedded clause.

5.1 Argument Structure and Hyperactivity Patterns

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.

Clausal Complements of Pseudo-Modal Predicates. Pseudo-modal predicates also take subjunctive *kɨ*-clause complements, but cannot contain the complementizer *nɨ-* (Tesfay Tewolde 2016, Gebregziabher 2021, Cacchioli & Overfelt submitted, Overfelt & Cacchioli resubmitted).

(92) a. *expl* [$_{IP}$ ʔɨt-a səbəjti (*nɨ-)**kɨ**-tɨ-xəjjɨd] jɨ-gɨbbaʔ
DIST-FS woman.F SBJV-S.3FS-leave.IPFV S.3MS-need.IPFV
'The woman needs to leave.'

b. *expl* [$_{IP}$ ʔɨt-a səbəjti (*nɨ-)**kɨ**-tɨ-xəjjɨd] nəjr-u-wa (ʔall-o-wa)
DIST-FS woman.F SBJV-S.3FS-leave.IPFV have.PFV-S.3MS-O.3FS have.IPFV-S.3MS-O.3FS
'The woman had to leave.'

Hyperagreement into Pseudo-modal Complements. A logical argument of the embedded *kɨ*-clause can control agreement on the embedded predicate as well as object marking the matrix predicate.

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

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

Schematization of Hyperagreement. The observations to come suggest that the hyperactive nominal controls agreement in the matrix clause from a position within the embedded *kɨ*-clause.

(94) [$_{Clause}$ … [$_{Clause}$ … **NOM** … **kɨ**-VERB-**AGR**] VERB-**OM**]
AGREE
AGREE

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 adverbs that unambiguously modify the embedded predicate.

(95) *expl* [$_{IP}$ *ts'ɨbaħ* **ʔɨt-a** **səbajti** kɨ-t-xəjjɨd] jɨ-gɨbaʔ-a nəjr-u
tomorrow DIST-FS woman SBJV-S.3FS-leave.IPFV S.3MS-need.IPFV-O.3FS AUX.PST-S.3MS
'The woman needed to leave tomorrow.'

- **Bare Nominal *səb*** : The subject-locked bare nominal *səb* 'people, person' can occupy the grammatical position of potentially hyperactive nominals.

(96) *expl* [$_{IP}$ **səb** nɨ=gəz-u kɨ-∅-xəjjɨd] jɨ-gɨbaʔ
person LOC=house-POSS.3MS SBJV-S.3FS-leave.IPFV S.3MS-need.IPFV
'Someone needs to go to his house.'

Against Hyperraising. 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.

- **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-to-Object.

(97) **expl* **n=ət-a** **səbajti** [$_{IP}$ kɨ-t-xəjjɨd] jɨ-gɨbbaʔ-a
ACC-DIST-FS woman SBJV-S.3FS-leave.IPFV S.3MS-need.IPFV-O.3FS
'The woman needs to leave.'

- **Default Agreement** : The obligatory default 3MS subject marking on an unaccusative that selects a *kɨ*-clause suggests that there is no Raising-to-Subject.

(98) ***ʔɨt-a** **səbəjti** [$_{IP}$ t_1 kɨ-**tɨ**-xəjjɨd] **tɨ**-gɨbbaʔ
DIST-FS woman.F SBJV-S.3FS-leave.IPFV S.3MS-need.IPFV-O.3FS
Intended: 'The woman needs to leave.'

- **Non-Minimality** : The lack of Minimality effects associated with A-movement further suggest that the hyperactive nominal does not under Raising.

(99) *expl* [$_{IP}$ ʔɨt-a səbajti **n=ət-om mətsʼħaf-ti** kɨ-tɨ-nbɨb-**om**] jɨ-gɨbaʔ-**om**
DIST-FS woman DIST-MP book-PL SBJV-S.1S-read.IPFV-O.3MP S.3MS-need.IPFV-.3MP
'The woman needs to read the book.'

Unaccusativity. These pseudo-modal predicates show several indicators for being unaccusatives (Tesfay Tewolde 2016, Cacchioli & Overfelt submitted).

- **No External Argument** : The obligatory 3MS subject marking on the strong modals cannot be interpreted as a contentful subject.

(100) (***nɨss-u**) [ʔɨt-a səbəjti kɨ-tɨ-xəjjɨd] **jɨ**-gɨbaʔ-a
PRO.NOM-3MS DIST-FS woman.F SBJV-S.3FS-leave.IPFV S.3MS-need.IPFV-O.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.

(101) ***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-S.3MP S.3MP-need.IPFV-S.3MP
Intended : 'The students were needed by the teacher to leave.'

Explanatory Properties 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.

The Factors for Hyperactivity Patterns in Tigrinya

TRANSITIVE	v^0 : [EPP , ϕ]	Predicates that contain a derived object position that can be targeted by Raising and agreement.
UNACCUSATIVE	v^0 : [ϕ]	Predicates that lack a derived object position and contain only ϕ-features for agreement.

5.2 Clause Type and Hyperactivity Patterns

Different Clause Types. The variation that we observe in hyperactivity patterns between clause types in Tigrinya correlates with the ability for an embedded clause to display primary object properties.

Behavior under Passivization. The *kəmzɨ*-clause complement of a factive predicate, but not the *kɨ*-clause complement of an intensional predicate, is promoted to the grammatical subject position under passivization.

(102) **[$_{CP}$** ʔɨt-a səbajti **kemzi**-xəd-ət **]$_1$** b=ɨt-om səb-at t_1 tə-rəsiʕ-u
DIST-FS woman COMP=leave.PFV-S.3FS INS=DIST-MP person-PL INTR-forget.PFV-S.3FS
'That the woman left was forgotten.'

(103) ʔɨt-om təmharo b=ɨt-i məmhɨr **[$_{CP}$** t_1 nɨ-**kɨ**-xəjd-u **]** tə-dəlj-om
DIST-MP student.PL INS=DIST-MS teacher COMP-SBJV-leave.IPFV-S.3MP INTR-want.GER-S.3MP
'The students are wanted by the teacher to leave.'

Default Agreement. The *kəmzɨ*-clause complement of a factive predicate, but not *kɨ*-clause complements, is capable of controlling object marking on the matrix clause.

(104) *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-S.3FS-O.3MP forget.PFV-S.3MP-O.3MS
'They forgot that the woman met the students.'

(105) a. *ʔɨt-a məmhɨr **[$_{CP}$** ʔɨt-om təmharo nɨ-**kɨ**-xəjjɨd-u **]** tɨ-dəlj-**o**
DIST-FS teacher DIST-MP student.PL COMP-SBJV-leave.IPFV-S.3MP S.3FS-want.IPFV-O.3MS
Intended: 'The teacher wants the students to leave.'

b. *[$_{IP}$ ʔɨt-a sebajti **kɨ**-t-xəjjɨd **]** ji-gɨbbaʔ-**o**
DIST-FS woman SBJV-S.3FS-leave.IPFV S.3MS-need.IPFV-O.3MS
'The woman needs to leave.'

Clausal Object Shift The *kəmzɨ*-clause complement of a factive predicate, but not *kɨ*-clause complements, preferably appears in a derived object position.

(106) **[$_{CP}$** ʔɨt-a səbajti kɨ-t-xəjəd **kəmzɨ**-nəbər-a **]$_1$** tɨmali ***t*$_1$** rəsiʕ-na-jo
DIST-FS woman SBJV-S.3FS-leave.IPFV COMP-AUX.PAST-S.3FS yesterday forget.PFV-S.1P-O.3MS
'Yesterday we forgot that the woman would leave.'

(107) a. *ʔɨt-a məmhɨr n=ət-om təmharo$_2$ **[$_{CP}$** *t*$_2$ **kɨ**-xejjɨd-u **]$_1$** tɨmali ***t*$_1$** delij-a-ttom nəjr-a
DIST-FS teacher ACC=DIST-MP student.PL SBJV-leave.IPFV-S.3MP yesterday want.PFV-S.3FS-O.3MP AUX.PAST-S.3FS
Intended: 'Yesterday the teacher wanted to students to leave.'

b. *[**$_{IP}$** ʔɨt-a səbajti **kɨ**-t-xəjjɨd **]$_1$** tɨmali ***t*$_1$** jɨ-gɨbaʔ-a nəjr-u
DIST-FS woman SBJV-S.3FS-leave.IPFV yesterday S.3MS-need.IPFV AUX.PST-S.3MS
'The woman needed yesterday to leave.'

Explanatory Properties of Clauses. The differences in the behaviors of complement clauses can be understood as a difference in the whether they display primary object properties relative to their selecting predicate (e.g., Halpert 2019, Mikkelsen et al. 2026).

The Factors for Hyperactivity Patterns in Tigrinya

SUBJUNCTIVE *kɨ*-CLAUSE	INDICATIVE *kəmzɨ*-CLAUSE
CP/IP	CP : [EPP , 3MS]
CP/IPs that do not satisfy the EPP features of functional heads and are not targets for A-relations.	CPs that satisfy the EPP features of functional heads and are targets for A-relations.

5.3 Deriving Hyperactivity in Tigrinya

Refocusing Attention Upward. These results are part of a line of literature that shifts focus away from the properties of nominal arguments or of embedded content (e.g., Halpert 2019, Wurmbrand 2019, Lee & Yip 2024, Greeson 2025, Hammerly & Mathieu 2025, Mikkelsen et al. 2026).

The Superordinate Clause Drives Hyperactive

Constraints on multiple A-relations in Tigrinya reflect properties of the superordinate clause and how they interact with the embedded clause.

Predicting Hyperactivity in Tigrinya Patterns of hyperactivity in Tigrinya are predictable on the basis of the argument structure of the embedding predicate and how they interact with clausal complements (Halpert 2019, Halpert & Zeijlstra 2026, Mikkelsen et al. 2026).

The Factors for Hyperactivity Patterns in Tigrinya

		SUBJUNCTIVE *kɨ*-CLAUSE	INDICATIVE *kəmzɨ*-CLAUSE
		CP/IP	CP : [EPP , 3MS]
TRANSITIVE	v^0 : [EPP , ϕ]	Hyperraising-to-Object	Long-Distance Hyperagreement
UNACCUSATIVE	v^0 : [ϕ]	Long-Distance Hyperagreement	—

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.

The Superordinate Clause Drives Hyperactive

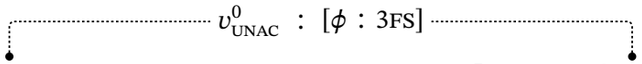
Constraints on multiple A-relations in Tigrinya reflect properties of the superordinate clause and how they interact with the embedded clause.

5.3.1 Unaccusative v^0 with Subjunctive IP: Long-Distance Hyperagreement

The Features of Unaccusative Predicates. An unaccusative predicate is specified with a set of unvalued ϕ-features [ϕ :].

The Transparency of Subjunctive Clauses. The subjunctive *ki*-marked IP does not carry features that correspond to the probes from the predicate and, therefore does not induce intervention effects for the [ϕ :] probe; this is a transparent domain for probing from the matrix clause.

Long-Distance Agreement. The ϕ-features of the predicate can probe the contents of the embedded clause and interact with an embedded argument, which controls object marking. Because there is no derived object position ([EPP]), there is ultimately no hyperraising, only hyperagreement.



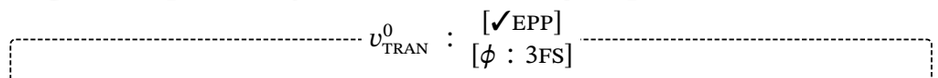
(108) *expl* [$_{\text{IP}}$ **ʔit-a** **səbəjti** ki-~~t**i**~~-xəjjid] **jɨ-gɨbaʔ-a**
DIST-FS woman.F SBJV-S.3FS-leave.IPFV S.3MS-need.IPFV-O.3FS
'The woman needs to leave.'

5.3.2 Transitive v^0 with Subjunctive CP: Hyperraising-to-Object

The Features of Transitive Predicates. A transitive predicate is specified for both an EPP-feature and a set of unvalued ϕ-features [ϕ :].

The Transparency of Intensional Clauses. The subjunctive *ki*-marked CP does not carry features that correspond to the probes from the predicate and, therefore does not induce intervention effects for probes from these features; this is a transparent domain for probing from the matrix clause.

Raising an Embedded Argument. Both the EPP-feature and ϕ-features of the predicate can probe and interact with an embedded subject, which becomes a derived object and controls object marking. The optionality of the derived object position ([EPP]) makes hyperraising optional.



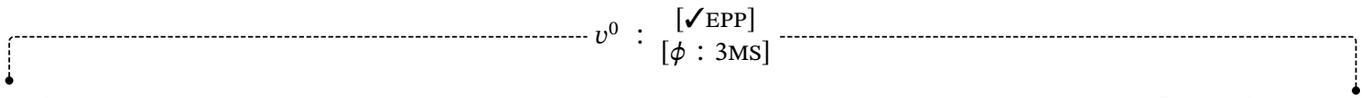
(109) ʔit-i məmhɨr **n=ət-om** **təmharo$_1$** [$_{\text{CP}}$ ***t*$_1$** ni-ki-xəjd-**u**] **jɨ-dɨlj-om**
DIST-FS teacher ACC=DIST-MP students COMP-SBJV-leave.IPFV-SM.3MP SM.3FS-want.IPFV-OM.3MP
'The teacher wants the students to read the book.'

5.3.3 Transitive v^0 with Indicative CP: Long-Distance Agreement

Transitive Predicates. A transitive predicate is specified for both an EPP-feature and a set of unvalued ϕ-features [ϕ :].

The Opacity of Indicative Clauses. The indicative *kəmzi*-marked CP can value the ϕ-features and satisfy the EPP-feature of the predicate. It therefore induces intervention effects for probes from these features. Minimality effects determine that there cannot be hyperraising; there can only be hyperagreement.

Default Local Agreement. Both the EPP-feature and the ϕ-features of the predicate can be valued by the *kəmzi*-marked CP, resulting in default object agreement on the matrix verb and primary object behaviors from the clausal complement.

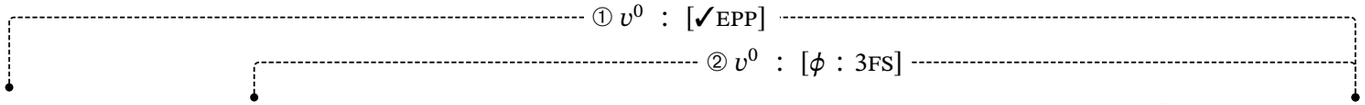


(110) *pro* [$_{CP}$ ʔɨt-a səbajti n=ət-om təmharo kəmzi-rəxab-ət-tom] **rəsiʕ-om-wo**
3MP ACC=DIST-FS woman DIST-MP student.PL COMP-meet.PRF-SM.3FS-OM.3MP forget.GER-SM.3MS-OM.3FS/3MS
'They forgot that the woman met the students.'

The Cyclicity of Agreement. Assuming that the EPP-feature and ϕ-features probe sequentially (Béjar & Rezac 2009, Georgi 2017, Pietraszko 2023), only the initial probe from a head is subject to intervention effects given the Principle of Minimal Compliance (Rackowski & Richards 2005, Halpert 2019).

(111) **Principle of Minimal Compliance**
Once a probe on a head H has established an agree-relation with a goal G, subsequent probes on H can ignore G for the rest of the derivation.

Long-Distance Agreement. Once the *kəmzi*-marked CP satisfies the EPP-feature of the predicate, the ϕ-features of the predicate can probe the content of the embedded clause and interact with an embedded argument, which controls object marking.



(112) *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/3MS
'They forgot that the woman met the students.'

6 Conclusion

Predicting Hyperactivity in Tigrinya Patterns of hyperactivity in Tigrinya are predictable on the basis of the argument structure of the embedding predicate and how they interact with clausal complements (Halpert 2019, Halpert & Zeijlstra 2026, Mikkelsen et al. 2026).

The Factors for Hyperactivity Patterns in Tigrinya

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

Refocusing Attention Upward. These results are part of a line of literature that shift focus away from the properties of nominal arguments or of embedded content (e.g., Halpert 2019, Wurmbrand 2019, Lee & Yip 2024, Greeson 2025, Hammerly & Mathieu 2025, Mikkelsen et al. 2026).

The Superordinate Clause Drives Hyperactive

Constraints on multiple A-relations in Tigrinya reflect properties of the superordinate clause and how they interact with the embedded clause.

Hyperactivity as the Null Hypothesis. This view of hyperactivity adds to a long list of literature suggesting that hyperactivity may represent the default state of nominal arguments (Bhatt 2005, Nevins 2005, Baker 2008, et seq.).

Towards Theories of Nominal Hypoactivity

Syntactic theorizing should work to derive the hypoactive behaviors of nominal arguments.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Biniam Tesfai, Tekleweini Weldemhret, Tewelde Zaid, Solomon Haile for their time and for their willingness to share their knowledge of Tigrinya. Kibrom Gebremedhin is owed an extra thanks for the countless hours he has spent discussing Tigrinya with me.

For helpful comments and feedback I would like to thank Milena Abraham, Elena Benedicto, Irina Burukina, Gioia Cacchioli, Mike Diercks, John Gluckman, Matt Hewett, Katherine Johnson, Patrick Kinchsular, Ruth Kramer, Travis Major, Ur Shlonsky, and Dominique Sportiche. This research has also benefited from exposure to audiences at the Université de Genève, Georgetown University, Oakland University, and Purdue University, as well as the audiences of ACAL 55 at McGill University, the 1st Workshop on Endangered and Minoritized Languages at the University of Minho, and ACAL 56 at the University of Minnesota.

The responsibility for any errors or misrepresentations of the ideas of others lies solely with the author.

References

Alexiadou, Artemis & Elena Anagnostopoulou. 1999. Raising without infinitives and the nature of agreement. In *Proceedings of the 18th West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics*, ed. Sonya Bird, Andrew Carnie, Jason D. Haugen, & Peter Norquest, 15–25. Sommerville, MA: Cascadilla.

Alexiadou, Artemis, Elena Anagnostopoulou & Florian Schäfer. 2015. *External arguments in transitivity alternations: A layering approach*. Oxford, UK: Oxford Universitiy Press.

Baker, Mark C. 2008. *The syntax of agreement and concord*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Béjar, Susana & Milan Rezac. 2009. Cyclic agree. *Linguistic Inquiry* 40:35–73.

Bešlin, Maša. 2022. Raising as a free syntactic operation: Evidence from Serbian. *Annual Review of the Faculty of Philosophy in Novi Sad* 47:63–86.

Bhatt, Rajesh. 2005. Long distance agreement in Hindi-Urdu. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 23:757–807.

Bhatt, Rajesh & Stefan Keine. 2017. Long-distance agreement. In *The blackwell companion to syntax*, ed. Martin Everaert & Henk van Riemsdijk. Malden, MA: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

Bobaljik, Jonathan. 2008. Where's phi? Agreement as a post-syntactic operation. In *Phi theory: Phi-features across interfaces and modules*, ed. Daniel Harbour, David Adger, & Susana Béjar, 295–328. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Buckley, Eugene. 2003. Emergent vowels in Tigrinya templates. In *Selected Papers from the 5th Conference on Afro-Asiatic Linguistics*, ed. Jacqueline Lecarme, 105–125. Amsterdam, NL: John Benjamins.

Cacchioli, Gioia. 2026. The syntax of clausal prefixes in Tigrinya. Doctoral Dissertation, Université de Genève, Geneva.

Cacchioli, Gioia & Jason Overfelt. submitted. *The syntax of verbal modality in Tigrinya*. Université de Genève and Oakland University, Geneva and Rochester, MI.

Carstens, Vicki. 2001. Multiple agreement and case deletion: Against ϕ-incompleteness. *Syntax* 4:147–163.

Carstens, Vicki. 2011. Hyperactivity and hyperagreement in Bantu. *Lingua* 121:721–741.

Carstens, Vicki & Michael Diercks. 2013. Parameterizing Case and Activity: Hyper-raising in Bantu. In *Proceedings of NELS 40*, ed. Seda Kan, Claire Moore-Cantwell, & Robert Staubs, 99–118. Amherst, MA: UMass GLSA.

Chomsky, Noam. 1973. Conditions on transformations. In *A festshcrift for Morris Halle*, ed. Stephen Anderson & Paul Kiparsky. New York: Holt, Rinehard, and Winston.

Chomsky, Noam. 1981. *Lectures on government and binding*. Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Foris.

Chomsky, Noam. 1986. *Barriers*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.

Chomsky, Noam. 2000. Minimalist inquiries: The framework. In *Step by step: Essays on Minimalist syntax in honor of Howard Lasnik*, ed. Roger Martin, David Michaels, & Juan Uriagereka, 89–156. MIT Press.

Chomsky, Noam. 2001. Derivation by Phase. In *Ken Hale: A life in language*, ed. Michael Kenstowicz. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Deal, Amy Rose. 2023. *Current models of Agree*. University of California Berkeley, Berkeley, CA.

Fong, Suzana. 2019. Proper movement through Spec-CP: An argument from hyperraising in Mongolian. *Glossa* 4:1–42.

Fong, Suzana & Claire Halpert. to appear. A-dependencies. In *The Cambridge Handbook of Comparative Syntax*, ed. Sjef Barbiers & Maria Polinsky.

Gebregziabher, Keffyalew. 2021. Clitics or agreement markers: A view from Tigrinya clausal possession and modal necessity. In *Celebrating 50 years of ACAL: Selected Papers from the 50th Annual Conference on African Linguistics*, ed. Akinbiyi Akinlabi, Lee Bickmore, Michael Cahill, Michael Diercks, Laura L. Downing, James Essegbey, Katie Franich, Laura McPherson, & Sharon Rose, 73–119. Berlin: Language Science Press.

Georgi, Doreen. 2017. Opaque interactions of Merge and Agree: On the nature and order of elementary opera-

tions. Doctoral Dissertation, Universität Leipzig, Leipzig.
Godfrey, Ross Martin. 2011. Optimal inflections in Tigrinya: A constraint-based approach to non-concatenative morphology in a Semitic language. Master's thesis, University of Toronto, Toronto.
Greeson, Daniel. 2025. Revisitng the connection between (hyper)raising and evidentiality. In *U. Penn Working Papers in Linguistics*, volume 31, 49–58. Pennsylvania, PA.
Haegeman, Liliane. 2000. The external possessor constructions in West Flemish. *Generative Grammar in Geneva* 1:1–19.
Halpert, Claire. 2015. *Argument licensing and agreement*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
Halpert, Claire. 2019. Raising, unphased. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 37:123–165.
Halpert, Claire & Hedde Zeijlstra. 2026. Off phases: It's all relative(ized). *Linguistic Inquiry* .
Hammerly, Christopher & Éric Mathieu. 2025. On the interpretation of long-distance agreement in Border Lakes Ojibwe. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 43:1517–1549.
Henderson, Brent. 2006. Multiple agreement and inversion in Bantu. *Syntax* 9:275–289.
Kastner, Itamar. 2016. Form and meaning in the Hebrew verb. Doctoral Dissertation, New York University, New York, NY.
Keine, Stefan. 2018. Case vs. positions in the locality of A-movement. *Glossa* 3:1–34.
Kievit, Dirk & Saliem Kievit. 2009. Differential object marking in Tigrinya. *Journal of African Language and Linguistics* 30:45–71.
von Koppen, Marjo. 2017. Complementizer agreement. In *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Syntax, second edition*, ed. Martin Everaert & Henk van Riemsdijk, 1–40. John Wiley & Sons, Inc.
Kornfilt, Jaklin & Omer Preminger. 2015. Nominative as no case at all: An argument for raising-to-accusative in Sakha. In *Proceedings of the 9th Workshop on Altaic Formal Linguistics*, ed. Esra Joseph, Andrew adn Predolac. Cambridge, MA: MIT Working Papers in Linguistics.
Lee, Tommy Tsz-Ming & Ka-Fai Yip. 2024. Hyperraising, evidentiality, and phase deactivation. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 42:1527–1578.
Leslau, Wolf. 1941. *Documents Tigrigna*. Paris: La Société de Linguistique de Paris.
Lohninger, Magdalena. 2024. Patterns in chaos: Compositve A'/A probes. Doctoral Dissertation, Universität Wien, Vienna, Austria.
Lohninger, Magdalena, Iva Kovač & Susanne Wurmbrand. 2022. From prolepsis to hyperraising. *Philosophies* 7:1–40.
Mikkelsen, Line, Grethe Schmidt & Ellen Thrane. 2026. Cross-clausal movemen and its limits. *Glossa* 11:1–45.
Nazareth Amlesom Kifle. 2011. Tigrinya applicatives in Lexical-Functional Grammar. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Bergen, Bergen.
Nevins, Andrew. 2005. Derivations without the Activity Condition. In *MIT Working Papers in Linguistics 49*, ed. Martha McGinnis & Norvin Richards, 287–310. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
Nunes, Jairo. 2008. Inherent case as a licensing condition for A-movement: The case of hyper-raising constructions in Brazilian Portuguese. *Journal of Portuguese Linguistics* 7:83–108.
Overfelt, Jason. 2022. Asymmetrical symmetry in Tigrinya object marking. In *Angles of Object Agreement*, ed. Andrew Nevins, Anita Peti-Stantić, Mark de Vos, & Jana Willer-Gold, 135–163. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
Overfelt, Jason. in preparation. *Cross-clausal argument relations in Tigrinya: Predictive and explanatory factors for hyperactivity*. Ms., Oakland Univesrity, Rochester, MI.
Overfelt, Jason. resubmitted. Factors for hyperactivity in Tigrinya. In *Selected Papers from the 56th Annual Conference on African Linguistics*. Berlin: Language Science Press.
Overfelt, Jason & Gioia Cacchioli. resubmitted. Hyperagreement and Case-licensing in Tigrinya. In *Selected Papers from the 55th Annual Conference on African Linguistics*. Berlin: Language Science Press.
Pietraszko, Asia. 2023. Timing-driven derivation of a NOM/ACC agreement pattern. *Glossa* 8:1–55.
Polinsky, Maria & Eric Potsdam. 2001. Long-distance agreement and topic in Tsez. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 19:583–646.
Pylkkänen, Liina. 2008. *Introducing arguments*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.
Rackowski, Andrea & Norvin Richards. 2005. Phase edge and extraction: A Tagalog case study. *Lingusitic Inquiry* 36:565–599.
Sheehan, Michelle, Theresa Biberauer, Ian Roberts & Anders Holmberg. 2017. *The final-over-final condition*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.
Sheehan, Michelle & Jenneke van der Wal. 2018. Nominal licensing in caseless languages. *Journal of Linguistics* 54:527–589.
Sokol, Coleman. 2025. The *ti-* in Tigrinya: An analysis of valence-decreasing morphology in Tigrinya. In *Queen Mary's Occasional Papers Advancing Linguistics*, 54, 1–30. London, UK.
Spadine, Carolyn. 2020. The structure of attitude reports: Representing context in grammar. Doctoral Dissertation, MIT, Cambridge, MA.
Tesfay Tewolde Yohannes. 2016. *DPs,* Phi*-features and tense in the context of Abyssinian (Eritrean and Ethiopian) Semitic languages*. Firenze, Italy: Firenze University Press.
Ura, Hiroyuki. 1994. Varieties of Raising and the feature-based Bare Phrase Structure theory. In *MIT occasional papers in linguistics*, volume 7. Cambridge, MA: MIT Working Papers in Linguistics.
van Urk, Coppe. 2026. Intermediate steps of lowering in Tigrinya. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 44:1–42.
Weldu Michael Weldeyesus. 2004. Case marking systems in two Ethiopian Semitic lanuages. In *Colorado research in linguistics*, volume 17, 1–16. Boulder: University of Colorado.
Weninger, Stefan, ed. 2011. *The Semitic Languages: An international handbook*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.
Wurmbrand, Susi. 2019. Cross-clausal A-dependencies. In *Proceedings of the Fifty-Fourth Annual Meeting of the Chicago Linguistics Society*, ed. Eszter Ronai, Laura Stigliano, & Yenan Sun, 585–604. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago.
Zeller, Jochen. 2006. Raising out of finite cp in Nguni: The case of *fanele*. *Southern African Lingusitics and Applied Language Studies* 24:255–275.
Zyman, Erik. 2018. On the driving force for syntactic movement. Doctoral Dissertation, University of California Santa Cruz, Santa Cruz, CA.
Zyman, Erik. 2023. Raising out of finite clauses (hyperraising). *Annual Review of Linguistics* 9:29–48.