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Long-distance dependencies in a phase-free world

Modeling the Principles & Parameters of Long-Distance Agreement
Barcelona, UAB
May 27, 2026

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The question

On Phases

I. On Phases

- According to standard phase theory (Chomsky 2000, 2001, 2008), syntactic structure is subject to period Spell-Out (or Transfer), which renders it unavailable for further syntactic processes.

- *Phase Impenatrability Condition (PIC)*: Once a phase has been completed and sent to the interfaces, the complement of the phase head is not accessible to operations at/above the next higher phase. Only the head plus its specifier(s), the *phase edge*, remain accessible at the next higher phase.

I. On Phases

- The traditional view (Chomsky 2000, 2001 and much subsequent work) holds that CPs and (transitive) *v*Ps are phases, at least in the verbal domain.

- More recently a number of alternatives has been explored in the literature, including that every phrase is a phase (Bošković 2002, Boeckx 2003, Müller 2004, 2010, 2011, Boeckx and Grohmann 2007; see also Manzini 1994 and Takahashi 1994), that every syntactic operation constitutes a phase (Epstein and Seely 2002), that phasehood is determined contextually (Bošković 2005, 2014, Den Dikken 2007, Gallego and Uriagereka 2007a,b, Takahashi 2010, 2011), and that CP is a phase but *v*P not (Keine 2016, 2020a,b, Grano and Lasnik 2018).

I. On Phases

- Evidence for phasality has traditionally been formulated in terms of *obligatory* successive cyclic movement. Extracting out of a the complement of a phase head is only possible when there is an intermediate landing side in the phase edge:

- Apparent examples of such evidence for that come from extraction morphology.

I. On Phases

- Irish complementizer selection (McCloskey 2002: 185–186) for successive cyclic movement in Spec,CP:

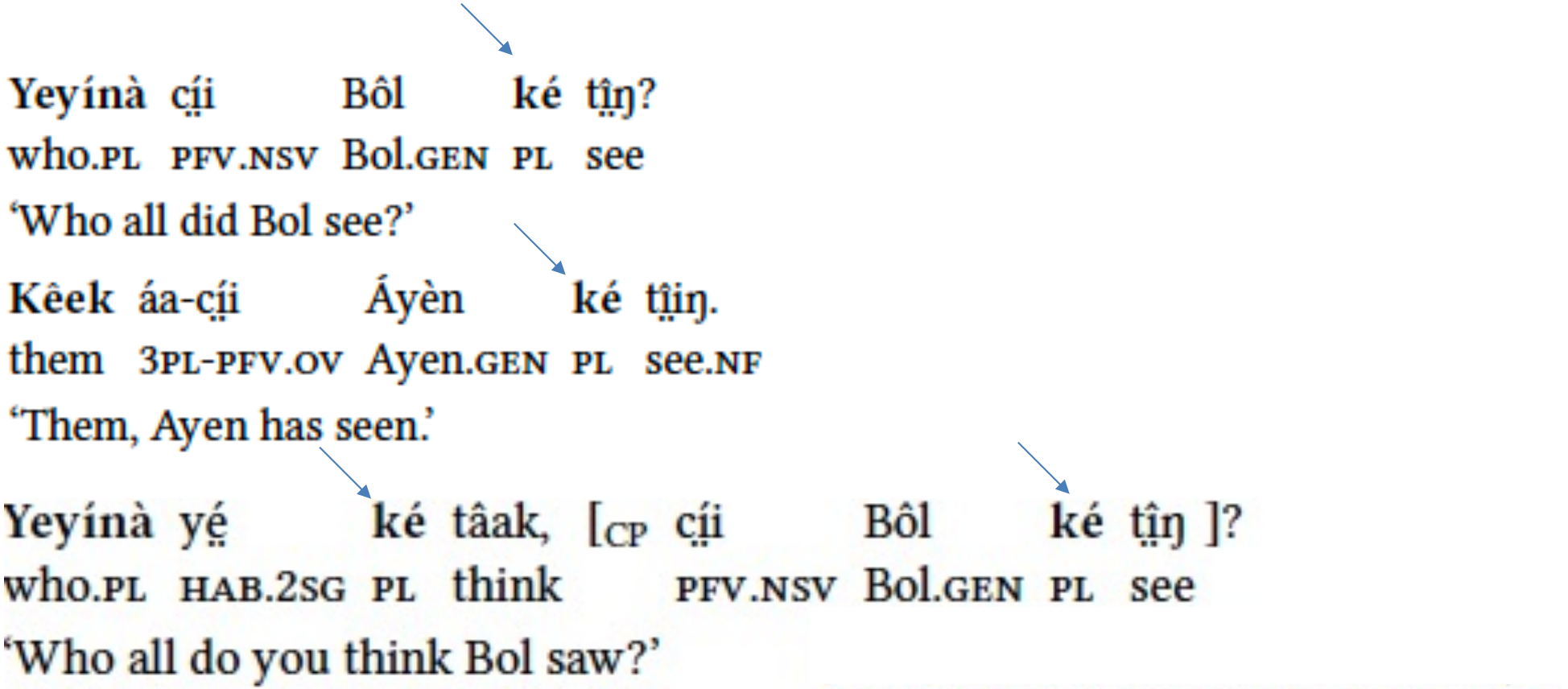
Creidim [$_{CP}$ gu-r inis sé bréag]
believe.1SG C.DCL-PAST tell he lie
'I believe that he told a lie.'

an fhilíocht [$_{CP}$ a chum sí _]
the poetry C.EXT composed she
'the poetry that she composed'

an t-ainm [$_{CP}$ a hinnseadh dúinn [$_{CP}$ a bh _ íar an áit]]
the name C.EXT was-told to-us C.EXT was on the place
'the name that we were told was on the place'

I. On Phases

- Dinka extraction morphology (Van Urk & Richards 20015: 127–128) for successive cyclic movement in Spec,*v*P:



Absolute vs. Relative Locality

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II. Absolute vs. Relative Locality

- But, as with every issue in locality, we can think of the requirement that underlies the intermediate landing sites either in terms of *absolutive* domains or in *relative* terms of intervention/minimality.

  - *Phase-based approach (absolute locality)*:
    Obligatory successive-cyclic movement through a clause-internal position is the result of a clause-internal phase.

  - *Relativized minimality approach (relative locality)*:
    Obligatory successive-cyclic movement through a clause-internal position is the result of some intervention effect as a result of relativized minimality.

II. Absolute vs. Relative Locality

- This talk:

- Assessing *v*P phasality (joint work with Stefan Keine); Dinka extraction morphology is better explained in terms of relativized minimality / leapfrogging.

  ➢ No clause-internal phases

- CP-phasality effects (joint work with Claire Halpert); CP being the only potential clausal phase, can (then) be explained as an intervention effect (C cannot probe beyond a lower C).

  ➢ Phasality reduces to relativized minimality

*v*P Phasality

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Dinka extraction morphology

III. Dinka extraction morphology

- Van Urk (2015), Van Urk and Richards (2015), Van Urk (2018): Whenever a plural DP is moved out of *v*P in Dinka, except for local subjects, the element *ké* (or *kêek*) must appear next to every verb that is crossed by the movement. This element is homophonous with the 3rd person plural personal pronoun.

- Mono-clausal arguments:

Kêek áa-cɟi Áyèn ké tɟiŋ.
them 3PL-PFV.OV Ayen.GEN PL see.NF
'Them, Ayen has seen.'

Rɔ̈ɔ̈ɔr áa-cɛ̈ (*ké) yɟin tɟiŋ.
men 3P-PFV PL you see.NF
'The men have seen you.'

III. Dinka extraction morphology

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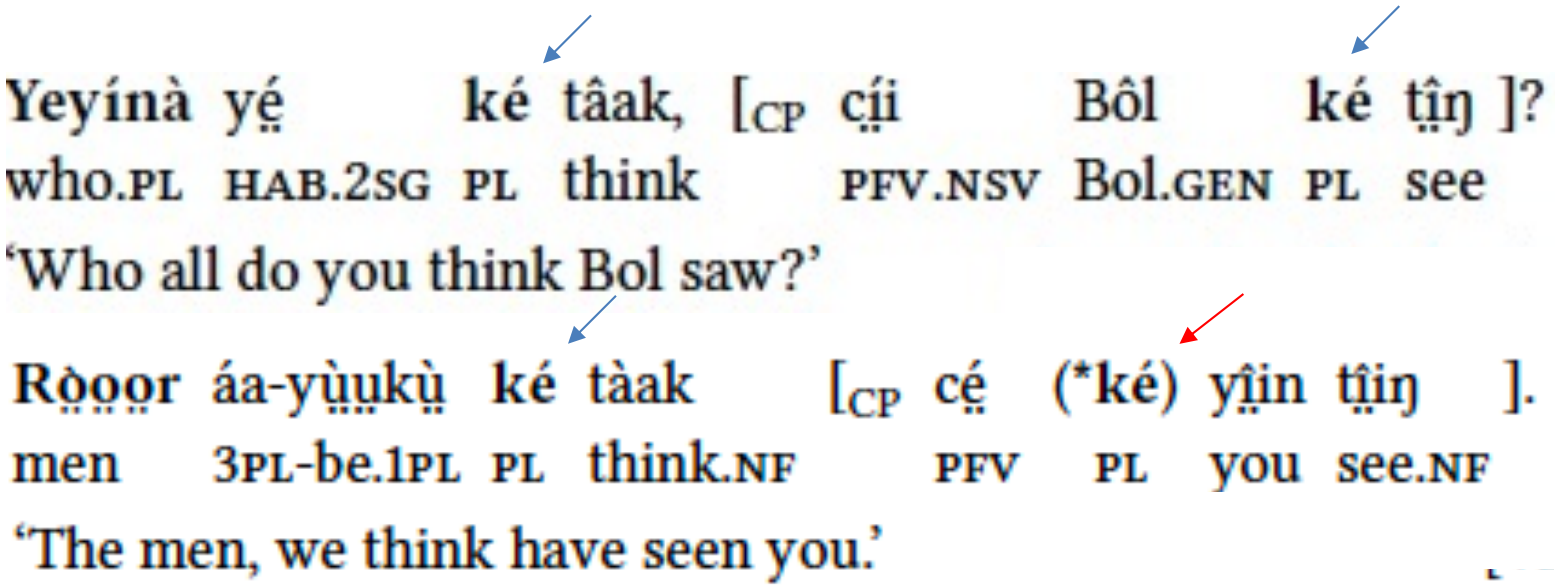
- Cross-clausal arguments:



III. Dinka extraction morphology

- Van Urk (2015), Van Urk and Richards (2015), Van Urk (2018): Whenever a plural DP is moved out of *v*P in Dinka, except for local subjects, the element *ké* (or *kêek*) must appear next to every verb that is crossed by the movement. This element is homophonous with the 3rd person plural personal pronoun.

- Adjuncts:

Yè **thɛ̀ɛk-kò** [$_{CP}$ bi̱i pɛ̀ɛl **ké** dhuôoŋ]?
be times-which FUT.OV knives PL break.NF
'At which times will the knifes break?'

Yè **tǫ̱ǫny kê** **díi** [$_{CP}$ ci̱i Bôl **ké** cuŋ̱in tháal]?
be pots QUANT.PL how PFV.OV Bol.GEN PL food cook.NF
'How many pots has Bol cooked food with?'

A *v*P phasality account

IV. A *v*P phasality account

- Van Urk (2015, 2018) and Van Urk and Richards (2015) propose that the result of *v*P-phasality.

- Due to *v*P's phasehood, an element that is to be moved out of the *v*P must first move to this Spec,*v*P, from where it can then continue to move to Spec,CP.

- If it is plural, this intermediate copy in Spec,*v*P is then realized as *ké*. Because of *v*P's phasehood, movement through Spec,*v*P—and hence *ké*—is required in every clause crossed by movement.

IV. A *v*P phasality account

- At the same time, the analysis faces several complications. The first complication is that A-bar extraction of a local external argument does not lead to *ké*.

- All else being equal, this is surprising given that external arguments are typically taken to be base-generated in Spec,*v*P. As a consequence, they too should leave a copy in Spec,*v*P, which we would then expect to be realized as *ké*, contrary to fact.

IV. A *v*P phasality account

- A second complication concerns the status of unaccusative *v*P. In Dinka, A-bar-extraction of an internal argument of an unaccusative verb does not lead to *ké*:

Yè [$_{CP}$ **pɛ̈ɛɛl-kó** bɛ̈ [$_{vP}$ (***ké**) **dhuôoŋ**]]?
be knives-which FUT PL break.NF
'Which knives will break?'

- This cannot be due to the alleged non-phasality of unaccustive *v*Ps, as A-bar-extraction of a PP adjunct out of such *v*Ps does lead to *ké*:

Yè [$_{CP}$ **thèɛk-kó** bɛ̈ɛ̈i pèɛl [$_{vP}$ **ké** **dhuôoŋ**]]?
be times-which FUT.OV knives PL break.NF
'At which times will the knives break?'

IV. A *v*P phasality account

- A third challenge for this account is that *ké* only realizes intermediate copies in Spec,*v*P, not intermediate copies in Spec,CP.

- All else being equal, if both CP and *v*P are phases and intermediate landing sites are created in their respective specifiers, then additional assumptions are again required to prevent the two domains from patterning analogously.

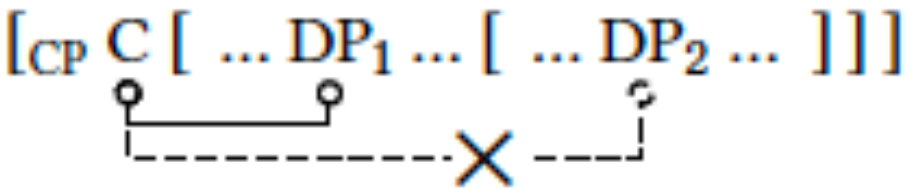
- Van Urk (2018) here appeals to impoverishment in CP, but it raises the question why there seem to be no languages that realize lower copies in both CP and *v*P. If *v*P is a phase in the same way that CP is, we might expect this to be the default pattern, and yet it appears to be unattested.

An intervention account

V. An intervention account

- Following Aldridge (2004, 2008) for A-bar-extraction restriction in certain ergative languages, and Erlewine (2018), Branan and Erlewine (2020) and Coon et al. (2020) for many other languages, Keine & Zeijlstra (2022) propose:

- Dinka C may only attract the closest DP

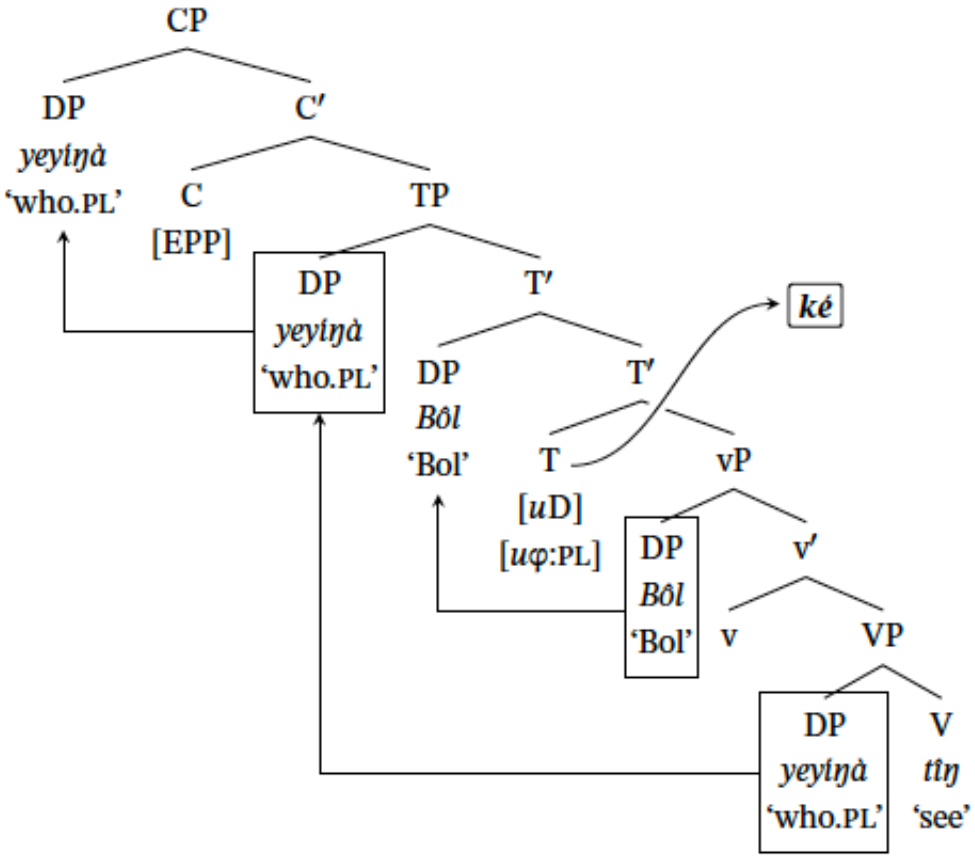


V. An intervention account

- Proposal: *Leapfrogging* must move a DP across the external argument in [Spec,TP].
- T, next to a subject triggering [uD] feature, optionally bears a ϕ-Agree feature [uϕ].
- [uϕ] agrees with the closest ϕ-bearing element c-commanded by T and attracts this element to an outer Spec,TP, a position above the surface position of the external argument
- *ké* only appears if the moving element is plural, which we take it to be the realization of plural agreement with [uϕ].

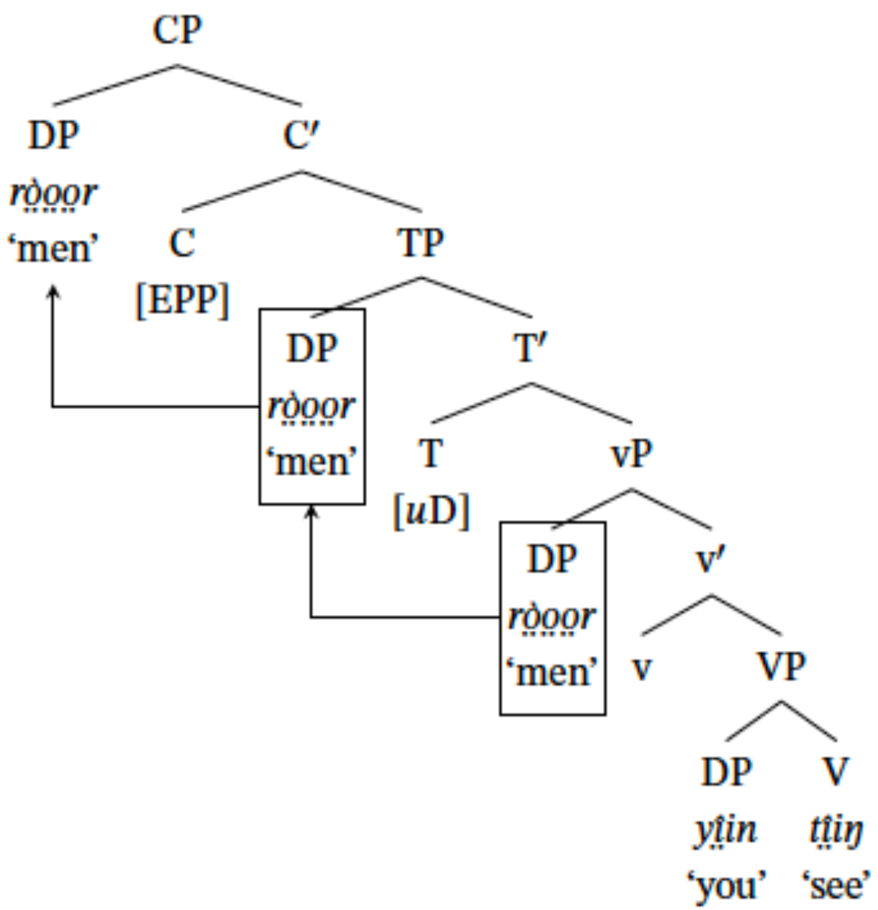
V. An intervention account

Yeyíŋà cɟi Bôl ké tɟŋ?
who.PL PFV.NSV Bol.GEN PL see
'Who all did Bol see?'



V. An intervention account

Rọ̀ọọr áa-cẹ́ (***ké**) yi̤i̤n ti̤i̤ŋ.
men 3P-PFV (*PL) you see.NF
'The men have seen you.'



V. An intervention account

- If T bears [$u\phi$], leapfrogging will take place and a DP other than the external argument will move to Spec,CP.
- By contrast, if T does not bear [$u\phi$], no leapfrogging takes place and the external argument moves to Spec,CP.
- No look ahead: the choice of whether to equip T with [$u\phi$] is free, with different consequences for what DP will move to Spec,CP.
- In this way, the analysis derives the basic split between local subject DPs and other DPs from intervention instead of *v*P phases.

V. An intervention account

- Evidence for phasality comes from obligatory successive cyclic movement.
- *S*uccessive cyclic movement does not provide evidence for *v*P phasality, at least in Dinka.
- See Keine & Zeijlstra (2022) for a similar treatment of similar cases of *s*uccessive cyclic movement in Spec,*v*P in Indonesian and Defaka (distinguishing local subjects from other DPs).
- *v*P-based locality is better explained in terms of intervention / relativized minimality effects.

CP Phasality

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Proposal

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VI. Proposal

- Evidence for phasality comes from obligatory successive cyclic movement.
- However, obligatory successive cyclic movement to Spec,vP does not necessarily require a *v*P phasality account.
- What does this tell us about CP phasality?

VI. Proposal

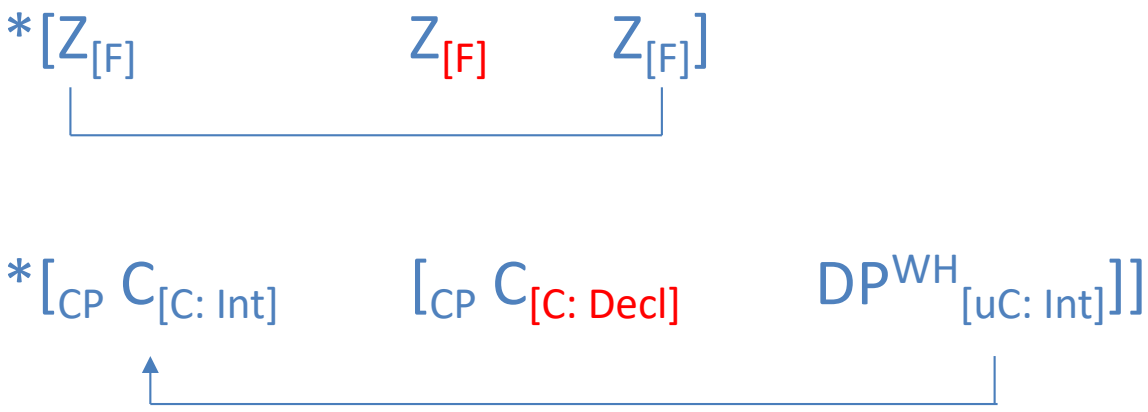
- Let‘s assume there is no *v*P phasality, i.e. that CP is the only (potential) clausal phase.
- Every (clausal) phase head is categorially identical.
- The only interveners for movement to matrix Spec,CP are embedded CPs, i.e. the target for movement and the intervener are categorically identical.

*$[_{CP}$ XP_i C … $[_{CP}$ C … XP_i …]]

$[_{CP}$ XP_i C … $[_{CP}$ XP_i C … XP_i …]]

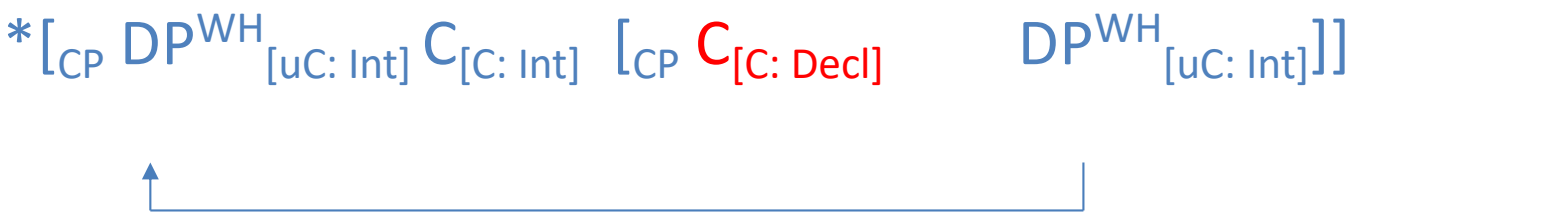
VI. Proposal

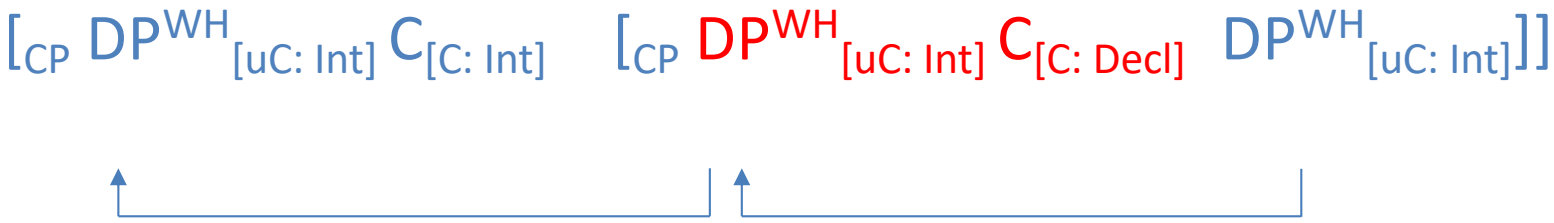
- The highest C and the XP must share some feature (otherwise C couldn't attract XP).
- Lower C and the higher C share this feature (or a superfeature thereof) as well.
- A Relativized Minimality effect arises: the lower CP is an intervener for XP-movement (Abels 2003):



VI. Proposal

- Movement into embedded Spec,CP circumvents the relativized minimality effect: the intermediate DP^{WH} is no longer c-commanded by the embedded CP (nor the other way round):





VI. Proposal

- Is C in any way special in triggering this effect?

- Abels (2003): C-features are. Phase heads like C are special because of certain (clause-type-related) properties of the features that they bear, which cause them to behave as general interveners.

- Proposal: C is not way special. These effects should play a role for every head.

Predictions

VII. Predictions

- If the proposal is correct, the following prediction should hold for every head H:

- Prediction 1:

*$[_{HP}\ XP_i\ H \ldots [_{HP}\ H \ldots XP_i \ldots]]$

$[_{HP}\ XP_i\ H \ldots [_{HP}\ XP_i\ H \ldots XP_i \ldots]]$

VII. Predictions

- This appears to be the case for H=T.

- Baltin (1995) has shown that subjects in infinitival clauses do not move into embedded Spec,TP unless they raise into matrix Spec,TP (take floating quantifiers to diagnose the position of (copies of) embedded subjects):

The students hoped {*all} to {all} win the race

The students seemed {all} to {all} win the race

- Given that embedded non-finite T does not require subject movement into Spec,TP (otherwise higher *all* should be fine in the first sentence), higher *all* in the second sentence must reflect an instance of successive cyclic movement.

VII. Predictions

- If the proposal is correct, the following prediction should also hold for every head H (≠C):

- Prediction 2:

$[_{HP}\ XP_i\ H\ \ldots\ [_{CP}\ (YP)\ C\ [_{HP}\ XP_i\ H\ \ldots\ XP_i\ \ldots]]$

VII. Predictions

- This prediction appears to be born out as well.
- As Kobayashi (2020) shows, in Brazilian Portuguese CPs don't block A-movement, resulting in a phenomenon known as hyperraising.
- Strikingly, filled CP does not bleed *Wh*-movement.

$[_{CP}$ [Quais livros]$_1$ $[_{TP}$ elas$_2$ parec-em $[_{CP}$ t_1 que $[_{TP}$ t_2 ler-am t_1]]]]?
Which books they seem-pl that read-pl
'Which books do they seem to have read?'

Clausal competition

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VIII. Clausal competition

- Naturally, the theoretical move proposed here renders hyperraising no longer incompatible with the ban on improper movement and would require alternative explanations for the ban on hyperraising in many other languages.

- As starting point, we follow Carstens & Diercks (2013) and Halpert (2019) who argue that hyperraising can be understood in terms of a CP's (in)ability to act as a possible raiser as well.

VIII. Clausal competition

- Halpert (2019) shows that in Zulu, infinitivals can be hosted in a preverbal subject position but finite clauses cannot

uku-xova ujeqe ku-mnandi
AUG.15-make AUG.1steamed.bread15S-nice
'Making steamed bread is nice.'

*[ukuthi w-a-thatha umhlala phansi] ku-ya-ngi-mangazathat
1S-PST-take AUG.1sit down 17S-ya-1SG.O-surprise
Intended: 'That he retired surprises me.'

VIII. Clausal competition

- Strikingly, subject-to-subject raising out of an infinite TP-clause is not allowed in Zulu, but subject-to-subject raising out of a finite CP-clause is fine.

- Only if the intervening CP/TP is not a potential raiser to subject position itself, is subject-to-subject raising allowed.

*uZinhle$_i$ u-bonakala [$_{TP}$ t$_i$ uku-(zo)-xova ujeqe]
AUG.1Zinhle$_i$ 1S-seem t$_i$ INF-(FUT)-make AUG.1bread
Intended: 'Zinhle seems to make steamed bread'

uZinhle$_i$ u-bonakala[$_{CP}$ ukuthi t$_i$ u-zo-xova ujeqe]
AUG.1Zinhle$_i$ 1S-seem that t$_i$ 1S-FUT-make AUG.1bread
'It seems that Zinhle will make steamed bread.'

A typology of hyperraising

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IX. A typology of hyperraising

- The presence or absence of hyperraising should be the result of the presence or absence of a (proper) intervener in between matrix and embedded TP:

  [$_{TP}$ [$_{XP}$ [$_{TP}$]]]

- Now, what determines of if XP is an intervener?

IX. A typology of hyperraising

- We follow Van Urk (2015) in taking ϕ-features to be the trigger for A-dependencies (see also Sheehan and van der Wal, 2018; Halpert, 2019; Fong, 2019).

- Now, assume that languages can vary with respect to whether CPs are carrier of ϕ-features.

- Then, the following typology is predicted:

IX. A typology of hyperraising

- CP is not a ϕ-intervener: hyperraising available
  (*Greek, Brazilian Portuguese*)

- CP is a ϕ-intervener:
  - No mitigation: no hyperraising
    (*English, Makhuwa*)
  - Successive-Cyclic Movement: hyperraising available
    (*Mongolian, Japanese*)
  - Persistent probing: hyperraising available
    (*Zulu, Luyia, Cantonese, Vietnamese*)

IX. A typology of hyperraising

- English CPs are ϕ-active:

  That Susan married Tom and that she took up scuba diving … bother me equally / independently convince me that she has lost her mind.
  (Iatridou & Embick 1997)

  A: John is always late.
  B: I know . . . and it convinced his father to get him a car

IX. A typology of hyperraising

- Note that the fact that clausal CPs control (3rd singular) agreement is not an instance of default agreement. After all, many phrases appear to trigger default agreement, as shown below:

[Under the bed] is a good place to hide.

[In August] is too late to have the party.

[Cheat on my wife] is something I would never do.

[Strong] is how I like my coffee.

[Afraid of spiders] is what you are!

IX. A typology of hyperraising

- But cases of PPs/VPs/APs controlling agreement are very restricted and PPs/VPs/Aps can only control agreement on copula like *be;* they are highly degraded with other verbs. In line with Postal (2003), Kim (2006), Bruening (2011), these examples are best analysed as involving pro and not as involving default agreement

  ??[Under the bed] frightens me.

  * [In August] reminds me of summer camp.

  * [Cheat on my wife] would horrify me.

  *[Learn to swim] is fairly easy.

  *[Afraid of spiders] is common / girlish.

IX. A typology of hyperraising

- This strengthens the case that CPs carry ϕ-features.
- Now, if matrix T probes for a ϕ-goal, and embedded CP carries ϕ-features itself, no ϕ-goal inside this CP can be attracted.
- This rules out hyperraising in English:

[$T_{[u\phi]}$ [$_{CP[\phi]}$ [$_{TP[\phi]}$]]]

*Mary seems that is ill

IX. A typology of hyperraising

- Greek CPs are not ϕ-active (cf. Iatridou & Embick):

A: 0 Kostas ine panda aryoporimenos
the Kostas is always delayed

B: Pramatika. *ke pro epise ton patera tu na tu a)'orasi aftokinito
Indeed and pro convinced the father his MOD him buy car

IX. A typology of hyperraising

- Greek CPs are not ϕ-active (cf. Iatridou & Embick). Consequently, they cannot act as interveners, and hyperraising is correctly predicted to be possible.

  Ta pedhia dhen tis fenonte na meletun
  The children.NOM not cl-GEN seem.3PL SBJV study.3PL
  'The children don't seem to her to study.'
  (Anagnostopoulou, 2003, (50b))

IX. A typology of hyperraising

- Note that it is still possible to circumvent ϕ-active CPs to act as an intervener, for instance by having a DP goal first land inside embedded Spec,CP.

- There are in fact a number of analyses of raising-to object/ ECM across a wide variety of languages that take exactly this approach, arguing that the finite CP-crossing A-dependency takes place via movement to Spec,CP (e.g. Zyman, 2017; Fong, 2019; Wurmbrand, 2019)

IX. A typology of hyperraising

In Mongolian, for example, Fong (2019) shows that hyperraising to object, which correlates with the presence of accusative case on the thematic subject of the embedded clause, proceeds via the edge of Spec,CP; when A-movement out of CP occurs (indicated by the landing side to the left of the adverb), accusative becomes obligatory.

Bat chang-aar nokhoi(-g) gaikhal-tai gej khel-sen
Bat loud-INSTR dog(-ACC) wonder-with COMP say-PST

Bat nokhoi*(-g) chang-aar gaikhal-tai gej khel-sen
Bat dog(-ACC) loud-INSTR wonder-with COMP say-PST

'Bat said loudly that dogs are wonderful.' (Fong, 2019, (5))

IX. A typology of hyperraising

- ***Side note***: while cases of raising-to-object/ECM via the CP edge are well attested, we are not aware of languages in which hyperraising-to-subject is generally available that clearly instantiate this strategy.

- English, however, may be a language that permits this type of movement, Danckaert and Haegeman (2017) describe cases of wh-raising that are grammatical for some speakers of English, where it appears that an embedded wh-subject can undergo movement into the matrix clause and control agreement in both clauses:

Any quotes which$_i$ were felt t_i were relevant to the process (Danckaert and Haegeman 2017)

IX. A typology of hyperraising

- And, finally, even though in certain languages, like Zulu, finite embedded CPs can control ϕ-agreement, such embedded clauses cannot satisfy T's EPP property.

- T must thus be equipped with another feature, arguably some [D]-feature, that probes down and for which the ϕ-active DP is not an intervener.

- Non-finite clauses must be equipped with this feature, which predicts that regular raising is not allowed in Zulu.

IX. A typology of hyperraising

- Feature-driven movement and regular intervention effects can explain the cross-linguistic variation attest with respect to (non-)(hyper-)raising.

- Hence, successive cyclic movement into matrix Spec,TP can be said to have the same footprint as successive cyclic movement into matrix Spec,CP.

- No special status needs to be assigned to C with respect to locality.

Next step: Long-Distance Agreement

IX. Long-Distance Agreement

- So far, we have shown that phasality/PIC effects concerning both A and A-bar movement can be captured purely in terms of Relativized Minimality (or Attract Closest).

- However, the PIC has not only been postulated to capture obligatory successive cyclic movement, but also to block any other syntactic dependency that crosses a phase head.

- Here, we focus on Long-Distance Agreement (LDA).

IX. Long-Distance Agreement

- Various languages in the literature have been reported to exhibit agreement where a goal in a lower (finite) clause agrees with a probe in a higher (finite) clause.

- Tsez:

  Enir [už¯a magalu b-¯ac'-ru-łi] r-iyxo.
  Mother boy bread.III.ABS III-eat-PSTPRT-NMLZ] IV-know
  'The mother knows that the boy ate the bread.'

  Enir [už¯a magalu b-¯ac'-ru-łi] b-iyxo.
  Mother boy bread.III.ABS III-eat-PSTPRT-NMLZ] III-know
  'The mother knows that the bread, the boy ate.' (Polinsky and Potsdam, 2001, (56))

IX. Long-Distance Agreement

- Various languages in the literature have been reported to exhibit agreement where a goal in a lower (finite) clause agrees with a probe in a higher (finite) clause.

- Innu-aimûn:

  Ni-tshissenit-en [Pûn kâ-mûpisht-âshk].
  1-know-TI [Paul PRT-visited-2/INV]
  'I know that Paul visited you.'

  Ni-tshissenit-âu [Pûn kâ-mûpisht-âshk].
  1-know-3 [Paul PRT-visited-2/INV]
  'I know that Paul visited you.' (Branigan and Mackenzie 2002, (5))

IX. Long-Distance Agreement

- In both cases, the matrix verb optionally agrees with an embedded argument. In Tsez, this is always with an embedded absolutive topic. In Innu-aimûn it can be a topic or a *Wh*-phrase. When LDA does not occur, default agreement appears on the matrix probe.

- Such examples prima facie form a problem for the PIC, but Polinsky and Potsdam (2001) and Branigan and Mackenzie (2002) argue that these cases involve (often covert) movement of the goal from its base position to the edge of the CP.

- In that case, they no longer pose a problem for the PIC as then the goal is a phase edge and thus local enough.

IX. Long-Distance Agreement

- Alternatively, it has been proposed that in these cases the controller of agreement is able to transfer its features to the head of the embedded clause (Butt 1995; Bjorkman and Zeijlstra 2019).

- On this approach, the dependency is broken into two pieces: the embedded arguments themselves do not directly value the probe, but they value some clausal head that, in turn, values the matrix probe:

Option 1: $[_{CP}$ ... v[uPhi: III]] $[_{CP}$ DP[Phi: III]$_i$ C ... t_i]]

Option 2: $[_{CP}$ ... v[uPhi: III]] $[_{CP}$ C/Top[Phi: III] ... DP[Phi: III]]]

IX. Long-Distance Agreement

- Reasons to go for Option II is that generally covert movement does not feed agreement.

a. Elle a aimé/*aimée Marie
Se has loved/loved.FSG Marie
'She has loved Marie.'

b. Marie, elle a aimée/*aimé
Marie she has loved.FSG /loved
'Marie, she has loved.'

c. Combien de femmes a-t-elle aimée/*aimé
How.many women has-t-she loved.FSG/loved
'How many women has he loved?'

d. Elle a aimé/*aimée toutes les femmes
She has loved/loved.FSG all the women
'She has loved all the women.'

IX. Long-Distance Agreement

- Neither family of solutions adjudicates between a phase-based approach and our minimality-based proposal.
- Either, the goal can only control LDA if it is a phase-edge, or if the C-head controls agreement itself.
- A crucial ingredient for our approach is that C(P) is an intervener for agreement.

IX. Long-Distance Agreement

- This, again, is clearly visible in the case of Tsez where a (nominalized) embedded clause triggers noun class IV agreement in absence of a relevant topic. If CPs can control agreement themselves, they should indeed act as interveners.

- But what about a language in which CPs cannot control phi-agreement in any way and thus do not participate in any phi-dependency relation?

- In that case, minimality-based locality, unlike Phase Theory, predicts that CP should not count as an intervener and LDA should be possible without the goal having any active dependency with the clausal edge.

IX. Long-Distance Agreement

- Such languages indeed exist

- Khwarshi have been provided by Khalilova (2007, 2009), as reported in Pyatigorskaya (2019). Here, LDA clearly applies across clause boundaries (pace Lyutikova 2026), given the presence of a complementizer or embedded Wh-term:

dilj b-iyoq' [iso lj-ullo kec'I b-ez-nu bani-ma]
1SG.LAT III-know.GNT that.GEN1 IV-strong III-song III-take-MASD shower-IN
'I know about his singing in the shower.' (Pyatigorskaya, 2019, (13a), citing Khalilova 2009, p. 367)

Uza-l l/b-iq'-se [ëu-foc zihe b-iti-xx-u]
boy.OBL-LAT III-know-PRS who.ERG cow(III) III-divide-CAUS-PST.PTCP
'The boy knows who has stolen the cow.' (Pyatigorskaya, 2019, (14), citing Khalilova 2007)

IX. Long-Distance Agreement

- Other languages with a similar footprint are Passamaquoddy (Bruening 2001) and Tsakhur (Börjesson and Müller 2020).

- Finally, as we saw in the previous section, the minimality-based approach we advocate for here should apply equally to any phrase that has the relevant features, not just CPs.

- For A-movement, we found evidence for more generalized minimality in languages like Zulu or Uyghur, where TP- and DP-sized embedded clauses act as barriers for movement.

IX. Long-Distance Agreement

- Bešlin (2022) demonstrates that optional LDA is possible in Serbian only at the edge of an embedded finite TP (headed by *da*):

Ne bi treba-o [$_{TP}$ i-ko da to uradi].
NEG AUX.AOR.3SG need-PTCP.MASC.SG
i-who DA that do
'No one should do that.'

Ne bi treba-lo/*o [$_{TP}$ da i-ko to uradi].
NEG AUX.AOR.3SG need-PTCP.NEUT.SG/PTCP.MASC.SG
DA i-who that do
'No one should do that.'

IX. Long-Distance Agreement

- Bešlin (2022) notes, this pattern is unexpected under standard phase-based locality.

- As we have seen in other cases, minimality-based locality predicts that the T head here acts as an intervener for LDA if it carries phi-active features itself.

- Also, LDA shows edge effects outside CP/vP.

Summing up

Summing up

- Different instances of alleged phasehood reduce to relativized minimality.
  - ➢ Obligatory successive cyclic movement into Spec,*v*P
  - ➢ Obligatory successive cyclic movement into Spec,CP
  - ➢ Clausal intervention effect on Long-Distance Agreement
- No need for phasality to understand locality, at least not for cases of obligatory successive cyclic movement and agreement.
- Obligatory successive cyclic movement applies to both A and A-bar movement. The landscape of (non-)hyper-raising languages and of LDA is fully compatible with that.

Thanks!

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