Long-Distance Agreement in Muira Dargwa

Cyclicity and Implications for Local Agreement

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Setting the stage: LDA cross-linguistically

- In mainstream minimalist approaches, agreement results from the application of the syntactic operation AGREE (Chomsky, 2000; 2001)

(1) AGREE(f): Given an unvalued feature f on a head H^0, look for an XP bearing a valued instance of f and assign that value to H^0 (Preminger, 2014: 96)

- Crucially, the PROBE and the GOAL must be within the same LOCALITY DOMAIN
- In (2), α is a phase boundary, so an AGREE-relation between H^0 and XP cannot be established

(2) *[... H^0 ... [α ... XP ...]]

- If a probe encounters no suitable goal, AGREE fails gracefully, i.e., when shipped to the interfaces, an unvalued probe does not crash the derivation (Preminger, 2014)

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- This pastoral picture is apparently marred by the existence of LONG-DISTANCE AGREEMENT (LDA) – a phenomenon whereby an argument of a subordinate predicate determines ϕ-features on the predicate in the superordinate clause

(3) HINDI (Mahajan, 1990)
raam-ne [roṭii khaa-nii] caah-ii
PN-ERG bread.F eat-INF.F.SG want-PERF.F.SG
'Ram wanted to eat bread.'

- LDA is attested in a variety of typologically unrelated languages and is widespread in the Nakh-Daghestanian languages, in which the phenomenon has enjoyed great attention (Haspelmath, 1999; Polinsky & Potsdam, 2001; Polinsky, 2003; Koopman, 2006; Bošković, 2007; Chandra, 2007; Serdobolskaya, 2010; Börjesson & Müller, 2019; Mursell, 2021; Chumakina & Lyutikova, 2023; Lyutikova, 2026, a.o.)

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Setting the stage: LDA cross-linguistically

Universal properties of LDA, as per Bhatt & Keine (2017):

- LDA applies to the same features that local agreement targets
- LDA entails local agreement within the embedded clause
- LDA is optional, i.e., it freely alternates with default agreement (though slight semantic/pragmatic differences are observed between these two options)
- LDA is asymmetric, i.e., a verb may agree with a DP in a lower clause but not with one in a higher clause
- LDA into subject clauses is impossible

Setting the stage: LDA cross-linguistically

- Virtually all existing approaches to LDA on the market aim to reduce the apparent inter-clausal syntactic dependency to well-established local agreement, thus circumventing the locality problem (but see Bošković, 2007)
- LDA is not a uniform phenomenon: superficially similar LDA-like structures display varying properties, so there seem to exist many ways for the matrix verb to establish an AGREE-relation with the embedded argument
- Thus, one needs to compare different approaches and assess their predictions for a particular language (or even a particular construction within a language, see, e.g., Preminger, 2009 for a discussion of two LDA constructions in Basque)

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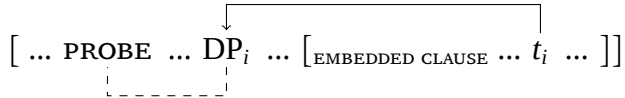
(4) **Long movement**



- In (4), LDA is allowed only if the goal undergoes (possibly, covert) movement into the matrix clause; with this, LDA is reduced to local agreement that is preceded by movement of the goal

(5) Tsez (Chandra, 2007)

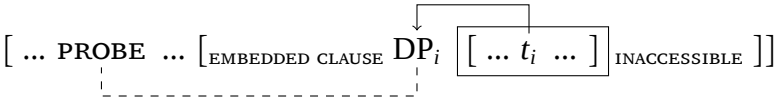
eni-r t_i [už-ā magalu$_i$ b-āc'-ru-łi] b-iy-xo

mother-DAT boy-ERG bread(III).ABS III-eat-PST.PRT-NMLZ III-know-PRS

'The mother knows that the boy ate the bread.'

Setting the stage: LDA cross-linguistically

(6) **Edge movement**



- In (6), the goal moves to the edge of the embedded clause, from where it becomes visible to operations outside the phase (Chomsky, 2000; 2001)
- This movement step is considered to have some information structure effect (and is arguably necessary in the previous approach)

(7) Tsez (Polinsky & Potsdam, 2001)

eni-r	[t_i	už-ā	magalu$_i$	b-āc'-ru-łi]	b-iy-xo
mother-DAT		boy-ERG	bread(III).ABS	III-eat-PST.PRT-NMLZ	III-know-PRS

'The mother knows that the boy ate the bread.'

Setting the stage: LDA cross-linguistically

(8) **Restructuring (clause union)**



- The two verbs in (8) form a complex predicate with one common set of arguments (Butt, 1995), i.e., the construction is mono-clausal, and agreement is local

(9) GODOBERI (Haspelmath, 1999)

ilu-di	waša	[w-oz-ã	w-uƛ-i]
mother-ERG	boy.ABS	M-wash-CONV.PST	M-finish-AOR

'Mother finished washing the boy.'

Setting the stage: LDA cross-linguistically

(10) **Restructuring (pruned clause)**

[... PROBE ... [$_{\text{PRUNED CLAUSE}}$ ... DP_{GOAL} ...]]

- (10) instantiates a less radical version of restructuring (Wurmbrand, 2001): it involves the embedding of a deficient clause, which lacks the functional projections that would otherwise make the goal inaccessible to the probe

(11) BASQUE (Boeckx, 2009)

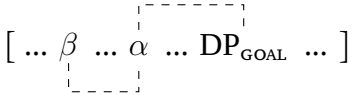
[[nobela erromantiko-ak] irakur-tze-a] gustatzen zai-zki-o

novel romantic-ART_{PL}.ABS read-NMLZ-ART.ABS like.HAB be-PL.ABS-3SG.DAT

'He or she likes to read romantic novels.'

Setting the stage: LDA cross-linguistically

(12) **Cyclic Agree**



- In (12), LDA arises as a result of a sequence of local AGREE steps: an embedded probe agrees with the goal and then acts as a goal for a further AGREE-relation

(13) KASHMIRI (Legate, 2005)

Raam-an	che	hameeSI	yatshImut	[panInis	necivis	khAAirI
PN-ERG	AUX.PRS.F	always	wanted.FPL	self.DAT	son.DAT	for
koori	vuchini]					
girls	see.INF.FPL					

'Ram has always wanted to see girls for his son.'

Setting the stage: LDA cross-linguistically

(14) **Proxy agreement**

[... PROBE ... pro_i ... [... DP_i ...]]

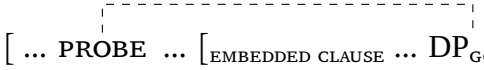
- In (14), the actual agreement goal is the covert pronoun co-indexed with the embedded DP, and hence sharing its ϕ-features

(15) PASSAMAQUODDY (LeSourd, 2018)

Súsehp wolamsotuw-à pro_i [eli—koti—kséhl-a-t
PN (3)-believe-DIR-(OBV.PL) thus—going.to—hurt-DIR-3AN
nicàn$_i$ Máli]
(3)-child-(OBV.PL) PN
'Joseph believes that Mary is going to hurt his children.'

Setting the stage: LDA cross-linguistically

(16) **Genuine LDA**



- In (16), AGREE is directly between the matrix probe and the embedded DP, which does not move to the edge of the clause
- In Hunzib, where number agreement is optional, the matrix verb can agree with the embedded absolutive DP without mediation of the embedded verb

(17) HUNZIB (Lyutikova, 2024)

diʔi	b-i<jα>q'e	[iju-l	kid-ba	b-ok'o-r-łi]
I.DAT	HPL-<PL>know.PRS	mother-ERG	girl-PL.ABS	HPL-call-PP-ABSTR

'I know that the mother called the girls.'

This talk

LDA in Muira Dargwa can be reduced to local agreement if it is modeled with a slightly modified version of Legate's (2005) Cyclic Agree approach

The approach allows us to explain the majority of universal and language-specific properties of LDA in Muira Dargwa

Moreover, the proposed analysis offers interesting insights into the general workings of agreement in Dargwa

Roadmap

1. Background
2. Profile of LDA in Muira Dargwa
3. Towards an analysis
4. LDA and local agreement
5. Conclusion

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Dargwa languages

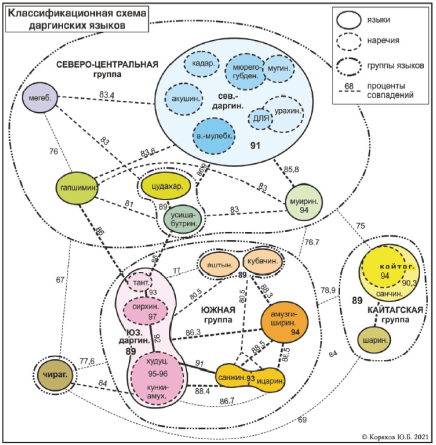
Genealogical / sociolinguistic characteristics:

- Nakh-Daghestanian (Northeast Caucasian) language family
- Spoken primarily in the central part of the Republic of Dagestan, Russia
- Traditionally considered to be dialects of a single Dargwa language

Linguistic characteristics:

- Morphologically ergative, syntactically accusative
- Left branching, free word order with unmarked SOV
- Agglutination, rich nominal and verbal morphology
- Gender and person agreement
- Extensive *pro*-drop

Dargwa languages



Classification of Dargwa languages (Koryakov, 2021)

- North Dargwa (133,000)
- Tsudaqar (33,000)
- Usisha-Butri (8,000)
- Gapshima (2,300)
- **Muira (35,000)**
- Mehweb (1,300)
- Southwestern Dargwa (14,000)
- Sanzhi-Itsari (2,000)
- Sanakari-Chakhrizhi (900)
- Amuzgi-Shiri (2,000)
- Kubachi (6,000)
- Ashti (600)
- Chirag (2,400)
- Kaytag (24,000)
- Shari (1,200)

Basics of gender agreement in Muira Dargwa

- Lexical and light verbs enter into an obligatory AGREE-relation with ABS DPs (not all verbs show agreement for phonotactic and historical reasons)

(18) rasul-li pat'imat *w-/r-uc-ib
PN(M)-ERG PN(F).ABS M-/F-catch.PFV-AOR
'Rasul caught Patimat.'

- Auxiliaries agree with DPs in either ERG or ABS

(19) rasul-li pat'imat r-urc-u-li {saj / sa<r>i}
PN(M)-ERG PN(F).ABS F-catch.IPFV-PROG-CVB COP.M <F>COP
'Rasul is catching Patimat.'

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Basic properties of LDA in Muira Dargwa

- LDA is (surprisingly) attested in constructions with all types of complement clauses: infinitives, converbs, nominalizations (masdars), and even finite clauses
- The subject of a matrix predicate may bear ABS, ERG or DAT; LDA is available only in the last two cases
- Similarly to local agreement, only ABS DPs are suitable goals
- LDA is possible only if the clause that contains the agreement goal is itself in an internal argument position
- Given this, the general schema is as follows:

(20) $[_{\text{MATRIX CLAUSE}} \ldots \text{DP}_{\text{ERG/DAT}} \ldots \text{V} \ldots [_{\text{EMBEDDED CLAUSE}} \ldots \text{DP}_{\text{ABS}} \ldots]]$

- LDA is, in most cases, optional, and default agreement (expressed with the neuter singular prefix *b*-) is usually the preferred option

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Negation

- Mono-clausal structures are traditionally considered to constitute a single negation domain, cf. Haspelmath's (2016) "single negatability test"
- As (21) demonstrates, it is possible for negation to scope over only the embedded predicate, irrespective of agreement on the matrix verb

(21) pat'imat-li murad-li-c:i$_i$ [Δ_i urq'lah-i hark
PN-ERG PN-OBL-INTER window-PL(ABS) open
ħa-d-arq'-iq-ara] tiledi b-/d-arq'-ib
NEG-NPL-make.PFV-CAUS-INF request N-/NPL-make.PFV-AOR
'Patimat asked Murad not to open the windows.'

Negation

- Moreover, each verb can have its own negative prefix attached to it, cf. (22); crucially, each negation is semantically interpreted

(22) pat'imat-li murad-li-c:i$_i$ [Δ_i urq'lah-i hark
PN-ERG PN-OBL-INTER window-PL(ABS) open
ħa-d-arq'-iq-ara] tiledi {ħa-b-arq'-ib /
NEG-NPL-make.PFV-CAUS-INF request NEG-N-make.PFV-AOR
ħa-d-arq'-ib}
NEG-NPL-make.PFV-AOR
'Patimat didn't ask Murad not to open the windows.'

⇒ The construction is **bi-clausal**

Temporal localization

- It is also possible to have two adverbials of the same type: one modifying the embedded event and one modifying the matrix event, see (23)

(23)

s:a	pat'imat-li	murad-li-c:i$_i$	[Δ_i	išħali	unc:a	hark
yesterday	PN-ERG	PN-OBL-INTER		today	door.ABS	open

d-arq'-iq-ara] b- /d-urh-ib-ir=ri
NPL-make.PFV-CAUS-INF N-/NPL-tell.PFV-AOR-ATR=PST
'Yesterday Patimat asked Murad to open the doors today.'

⇒ The construction is **bi-clausal**

Complex reflexives

- Complex reflexives consist of two occurrences of the simplex reflexive *saj*:
  - the first component matches the case of the antecedent
  - the second component bears the case of the reflexivized argument

(24) tuχtur-li$_i$ [sun-ni saj]$_{i\,/\,*j}$ ʡaˤħ w-arq'-ib
doctor-ERG SELF.OBL-ERG SELF.ABS good M-make.PFV-AOR
'The doctor cured himself.'

- Complex reflexives are local, i.e., they must be bound within the clause (Ganenkov & Bogomolova, 2021; Kalyakin, 2023)

Complex reflexives

- In (25), the complex reflexive cannot be bound by the subject of the matrix predicate ‘to ask’; the only available antecedent is the null pronoun which is an argument of the embedded predicate ‘to cure’

(25) rasul-li$_i$ tuχtur-li-c:i$_j$ [Δ_j [sun-ni saj]$_{j\,/\,*i}$ ʔaˤħ
PN-ERG doctor-OBL-INTER SELF.OBL-ERG SELF.M.ABS good
w-arq’-iq-ara] tiledi b-/w-arq’-ib
M-make.PFV-CAUS-INF request N-/M-make.PFV-AOR
‘Rasul$_i$ asked the doctor$_j$ to cure himself$_{j\,/\,*i}$.’

⇒ The construction is **bi-clausal**

Scope

- In Muira Dargwa, clauses with two operators are generally ambiguous: both surface and inverse scope readings are available
- However, in an LDA construction, an embedded operator cannot have scope over matrix clause material, as (26) shows

(26) ca darħa-li pat'imat-li-či$_i$ [Δ_i hani čut:u wana
one child-ERG PN-OBL-SUPER every chudu.ABS warm
d-arq'-iq-ara] qar b-/d-arq'-ib
NPL-make.PFV-CAUS-INF assignment N-/NPL-make.PFV-AOR
'A boy asked Patimat to warm up every chudu.' ($\exists \gg \forall$; $^{*}\forall \gg \exists$)

$\Rightarrow$ The construction is **bi-clausal**, and there is **no cross-clausal covert movement** of the goal to the matrix clause

Information structure effects

- The agreed-with DP receives a special information-structural interpretation – an effect that has been observed in some other Dargwa lects as well, see (Serdobolskaya, 2010) for Khuduts and Qunqi, and (Forker, 2019) for Sanzhi
- Both embedded topics and embedded foci can be targeted for LDA
- When the goal is overtly marked with an information-structural particle, e.g., a focus particle =*gina* (27), LDA becomes a much more preferable option

(27) musa-li rasul-li-c:i$_i$ [Δ_i pat'imat=gina gap r-arq'-iq-ara]
PN-ERG PN-OBL-INTER PN.ABS=FOC praise F-make.PFV-CAUS-INF
tiledi ??b-/r-arq'-ib
request N-/F-make.PFV-AOR
'Musa asked Rasul to praise only Patimat.'

Information structure effects

- Unlike, e.g., Tsez (Polinsky & Potsdam, 2001), adverbial topics and other focal or topical constituents do not block LDA with the embedded absolutive DP, cf. (28)

(28) pat'imat-li musa-c:i$_i$ [išħali Δ_i unc:a hark d-arq'-iq-ara]
PN-ERG PN-INTER today door.ABS open NPL-make.PFV-CAUS-INF
d-urh-ib-ir=ri
NPL-tell.PFV-AOR-ATR=PST
'Patimat asked Musa to open the doors today.'

⇒ There is **no edge movement** of the goal to the periphery of the embedded clause

Iterability

- LDA is possible for auxiliary verbs as well
- Interestingly, as the paradigm (29) shows, the choice between default and long-distance agreement here depends on lexical/light verb agreement (note that agreement with the local external argument is still an option)

(29) a. pat'imat-li musa-c:i$_i$ [Δ_i urq'lah-i hark d-arq'-iq-ara]
PN-ERG PN-INTER window-PL(ABS) open NPL-make.PFV-CAUS-INF
tiledi d-irq'-u-li sa<d>i
request NPL-make.IPFV-PROG-CVB <NPL>COP
'Patimat asked Musa to open the windows.'

b. <...> b-irq'-u-li sa<b>i

c. *<...> b-irq'-u-li sa<d>i

d. *<...> d-irq'-u-li sa<b>i

Iterability

- LDA, however, cannot proceed further: elements in higher clauses prohibit agreement with an ABS DP located in a most deeply embedded clause, cf. (30)

(30) aba-s ??d-/b-ik:-u-li sa<r>i [rasul-li musa-či$_i$
mother-DAT NPL-/N-want.IPFV-PROG-CVB <F>COP PN-ERG PN-SUPER
qar d-arq'-ib-li [Δ_i urcul hark-li
assignment NPL-make.PFV-AOR-CVB firewood.ABS quick-ADV
sa-d-uq:-iq-ara]]
HITHER-NPL-carry.PFV-CAUS-INF
'Mom wants Rasul to tell Musa to quickly bring firewood.'

Obligatoriness

- LDA is optional and default agreement is usually the preferred option
- However, LDA becomes obligatory once the goal is moved to the matrix clause, e.g., in long-distance scrambling (31) or relativization constructions (32)

(31) **Long-distance scrambling**

ʔaˤli-s [šwal čut:u]$_i$ *b-/d-ik:-u-li saj [pat'imat-li
PN-DAT five chudu.ABS N-/NPL-want.IPFV-PROG-CVB COP.M PN-ERG
t_i d-arq'-ib-li]
NPL-make.PFV-AOR-CVB
'Ali wants Patimat to make five chudushkas.'

⇒ There is **no cross-clausal movement** of the goal to the matrix clause

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(32) **Long-distance relativization**

urcul$_j$	[RELATIVE CLAUSE	t_j	aba-li	murad-li-c:i$_i$	[Δ_i
firewood.ABS			mother-ERG	PN-OBL-INTER	

qa-ʔi	t_j	sa-d-uq:-iq-ara]	qar
room.OBL-IN		HITHER-NPL-carry.PFV-CAUS-INF	assignment

*b-/d-arq'-ib-ti]
N-/NPL-make.PFV-AOR-PL

'the firewood that Murad's mother told him to bring home'

⇒ There is **no cross-clausal movement** of the goal to the matrix clause

Interim conclusion

- LDA constructions are bi-clausal, displaying no evidence of deficiency
  - ⇒ Restructuring approaches are untenable
- The goal need not evacuate the embedded clause, nor move to its edge
  - ⇒ Movement approaches are untenable
- Principle C is active in Dargwa languages
  - ⇒ The proxy agreement approach is untenable
    (note that there are other arguments against it)
- The genuine LDA approach is conceptually unattractive, so one should only appeal to it as a last resort option
- The Cyclic Agree approach apparently faces no (grave) problems with the data

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Roadmap

1. Background
2. Profile of LDA in Muira Dargwa
3. Towards an analysis
4. LDA and local agreement
5. Conclusion

Analysis

Main Idea

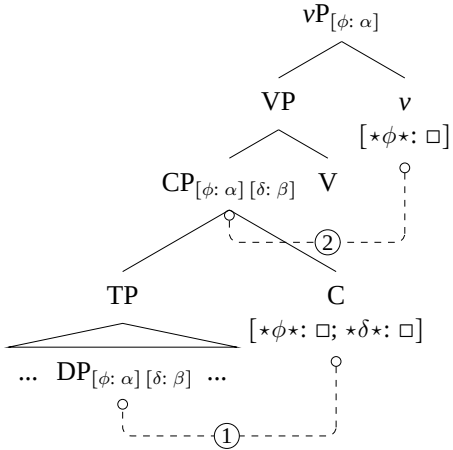
Former probes can serve as goals for further AGREE-relations (Collins, 2003; Legate, 2005). In Muira Dargwa LDA, there is a head that mediates the apparent long-distance ϕ-dependency between a matrix predicate and an embedded goal

This is quite similar to some other analyses of LDA (Legate, 2005; Koopman, 2006; Ozarkar, 2020; Mursell, 2021) in that there is no direct cross-clausal agreement

Analysis

Components (embedded clause):

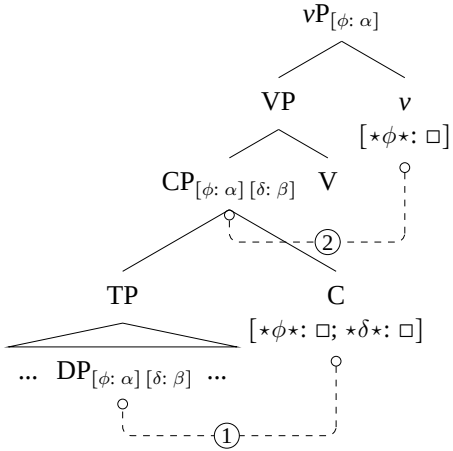
- Embedded clauses are CPs
- On C, there is a COMPOSITE PROBE that bundles ϕ-features with a generalized information-structural feature δ
- The probe is a CASE-DISCRIMINATING one, i.e., it interacts with ABS goals only
- Due to MULTITASKING, C probes for a goal that satisfies both features at once (van Urk, 2015; Scott, 2021)
- Once C has valued its ϕ-features, its projection can serve as a goal for AGREE



Analysis

Components (main clause):

- On *v*, there is a ϕ-probe that is realized as a gender-number prefix after Spell-Out (Polinsky, 2016; Ganenkov, 2021)
- Once merged, *v* searches for a goal, encounters CP and enters into an AGREE-relation with it – this allows the ϕ-features of the embedded DP to end up on the predicate in the matrix clause
- Further in the derivation, *v*P can similarly serve as an agreement goal



Some consequences

- Given MULTITASKING (van Urk, 2015; van Urk & Richards, 2015), it is expected that, e.g., adverbial topics should not block LDA, as they possess no ϕ-features, cf. ADJUNCT$_{[\delta:\ \beta]}$ in (33)
- In turn, case discrimination obviates A-minimality effects, cf. SUBJ$_{[\phi:\ \alpha]}$ in (33)
- Finally, Multitasking prohibits INDEPENDENT PROBING (van Urk, 2015), i.e., the C head cannot get the ϕ-features from OBJ$_{[\phi:\ \gamma]}$ and δ-features from ADJUNCT$_{[\delta:\ \beta]}$

(33) ... C$_{[\star\phi\star:\ \square;\ \star\delta\star:\ \square]}$ ... SUBJ$_{[\phi:\ \alpha]}$ ... ADJUNCT$_{[\delta:\ \beta]}$ ... OBJ$_{[\phi:\ \gamma;\ \delta:\ \epsilon]}$ ...

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Auxiliary agreement

- Recall that (gender-number) agreement on auxiliaries is parasitic on the matrix predicate agreement: LDA on the latter implies LDA on the former (34a), and the same goes for default agreement (34b); note that I abstract away from agreement with the external argument

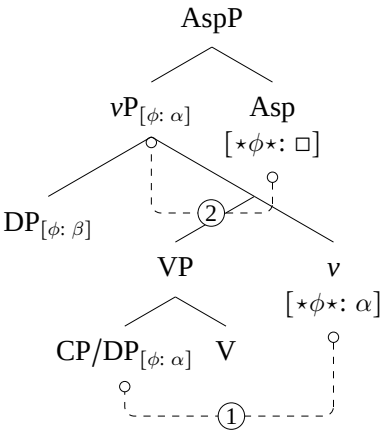
(34) a. pat'imat-li musa-c:i$_i$ [Δ_i urq'lah-i hark d-arq'-iq-ara]
PN-ERG PN-INTER window.ABS-PL open NPL-make.PFV-CAUS-INF
qar d-irq'-u-li *sa<b>i / sa<d>i
assignment NPL-make.IPFV-PROG-CVB <N>COP <NPL>COP

b. <...> qar b-irq'-u-li sa<b>i / *sa<d>i
assignment N-make.IPFV-PROG-CVB <N>COP <NPL>COP

(a=b) 'Patimat asks Musa to open the windows.'

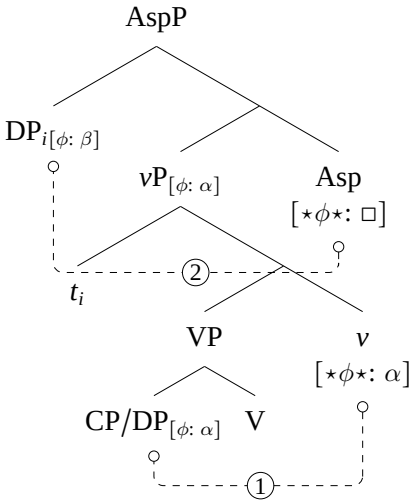
Auxiliary agreement

- I suggest that auxiliary agreement with the internal argument is also cyclic, being mediated by *v*
- This is in accord with Ganenkov's (2018) conclusion that information-structural properties of the internal argument play no role in determining the goal of auxiliary agreement
- If the analysis is on the right track, an AGREE-relation with an ERG DP may be established only if the DP is *ex-situ* (Fritzsche, 2023)
- However, this is not due to anti-locality of AGREE, as Fritzsche (2023) suggests, but rather to MINIMALITY: *v*P is a closer goal than ERG DP



Auxiliary agreement

- Movement of the ERG DP must be information structure-driven – this assumption is also in accord with (Ganenkov, 2018)
- Probes, then, have a bias to agree with their specifier; complements can be probed only after that, see (Baker, 2015)
- Now, we can expect that AspP should also be able to serve as a goal in a further AGREE-relation



Person agreement

- It is commonly assumed that in Dargwa languages, there is a person(-number) probe on the finite T head (Sumbatova, 2011; Ganenkov, 2021)
- The probe is relativized to ERG/DAT and ABS goals with the [PARTICIPANT] feature

(35) a. nu-ni pat'imat r-urc-u-r=ra
I-ERG PN.ABS F-catch.IPFV-PROG-CVB=1
'I am catching Patimat.'

b. pat'imat-li nu urc-u-r=ra
PN-ERG I.ABS (M)catch.IPFV-PROG-CVB=1
'Patimat is catching me.'

- When both potential goals are participants, the agreement is with the ABS argument

Person agreement

- It turns out that LDA in person is also possible, cf. (36)
- Crucially, the availability of LDA in person is parasitic on auxiliary agreement (which, in turn, is parasitic on lexical/light verb agreement)

(36) a. pat'imat-li-s [ʔaˤlibejg-li nu gap w-arq'-ib-li]
PN-OBL-DAT PN-ERG I.ABS praise M-make.PFV-AOR-CVB

*b- /w-ik:-u-li saj=ra
N-/M-want.IPFV-PROG-CVB COP.M=1

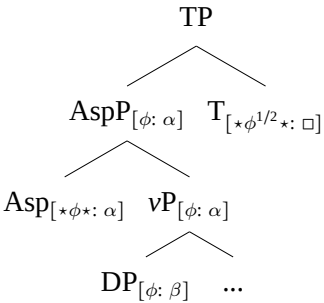
b. <...> w-ik:-u-li {*sa-r=ra / saj=ra}
M-want.IPFV-PROG-CVB COP-F=1 / COP.M=1

(a=b) 'Patimat wants Alibek to praise me.'

- The existence of LDA in person is a strong argument for Cyclic Agree: given that the probe is on T, locality considerations preclude direct agreement with the DP

Person agreement

- The analysis of person agreement, I believe, can be along similar lines: T agrees either with AspP, or with the external argument
- The internal argument is now not the furthest argument from the probe, but the closest one: this may explain the fact that ABS is higher on the person agreement hierarchy than ERG
- This may explain why only external arguments in the specifier of the outermost *v*P and internal arguments may serve as goals (Ganenkov, 2021)



Putting a limit

- Now, recall that elements in higher clauses prohibit agreement with an ABS DP located in a most deeply embedded clause, i.e., LDA is limited to the immediately superordinate clause, cf. (37)

(37) aba-s ??d- /b-ik:-u-li sa<r>i [rasul-li musa-či$_i$
mother-DAT NPL-/N-want.IPFV-PROG-CVB <F>COP PN-ERG PN-SUPER
qar d-arq'-ib-li [Δ_i urcul hark-li
assignment NPL-make.PFV-AOR-CVB firewood.ABS quick-ADV
sa-d-uq:-iq-ara]]
HITHER-NPL-carry.PFV-CAUS-INF
'Mom wants Rasul to tell Musa to quickly bring firewood.'

Putting a limit

- The analysis readily explains this without additional stipulations
- Consider (38):
  - Due to MULTITASKING, C_1 cannot receive ϕ-features from T/Asp/v
  - In turn, an AGREE-relation with the embedded C head cannot be established due to a LOCALITY violation: if C and v are phase heads, as commonly assumed (Chomsky, 2000; 2001), C_1 and C_2 are in different phases, and any syntactic dependencies between them are prohibited

(38) ... $C_{1[\phi: \square; \delta: \square]}$ ... $T_{[\phi: \alpha]}$ ... $Asp_{[\phi: \alpha]}$ ... $v_{[\phi: \alpha]}$ ... $C_{2[\phi: \alpha; \delta: \beta]}$ ... $DP_{[\phi: \alpha; \delta: \beta]}$ ...

- With this, an interesting prediction emerges: long-distance scrambling should feed LDA on C_1 – I am going to verify whether this is the case in the future

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Conclusion

- Agreement, similarly to movement, proceeds cyclically, and phase heads play a crucial role in mediating apparent long-distance dependencies
- Though the discussion has been focused on infinitival and converb clauses, the analysis can be extended to nominalizations (masdars); the main difference there would be that the mediating head is not C, but D/*n* (Berkovich, 2025), cf. (Preminger, 2009)
- Moreover, the analysis may be extended to some other languages, either straightforwardly (e.g., Hinuq) or with additional fine-tuning and adjustments
- Cyclicity is also observed in local agreement: in accord with the assumptions of Bare Phrase Structure, projections of probes can serve as goals for an AGREE-relation
- I confess that throughout, the clause structure has been simplified and many important details have been abstracted away, see (Kalyakin, 2026) for some qualifications

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Barkalla!

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Appendix: Default agreement

Open question: how does default agreement arise?

Option 1. It results from (pseudo-)incorporation followed by agreement failure (Butt, 1995; Massam, 2001)

Option 2. There is additional structure that blocks an AGREE-relation between either *v* and C or C and DP followed by agreement failure (Chumakina & Lyutikova, 2023; Lyutikova, 2026)

Option 3. There is additional "flavour" of the C head with lexically valued ϕ-features followed by local agreement (Polinsky & Potsdam, 2001; Ozarkar, 2020)

Option 1 is a no-goer, because an embedded predicate still establishes an AGREE-relation with the DP; thus, it remains to differentiate between **Option 2** and **Option 3**

Appendix: Dependent case theories

- Under the CASE ASSIGNMENT VIA AGREE THEORY, all case reflects an established AGREE-dependency between a DP and a particular (typically, functional) head (Chomsky, 2000; 2001)

(39) $[X^0 \ \ldots \ [\ \ldots \ DP_{\ [\text{CASE: } \alpha]} \ \ldots \ Y^0 \ \ldots \ [\ \ldots \ DP_{\ [\text{CASE: } \beta]} \ \ldots] \ \ldots] \ \ldots]$

- As it stands, this theory is unable to model DEPENDENT CASE – a notion that is necessary to account for various cross-linguistically attested case patterns (Marantz, 1991; Baker & Vinokurova, 2010; Baker, 2015; Baker & Bobalijk, 2017)

Appendix: Dependent case theories

- The second theory is Marantz's (1991) DEPENDENT-CASE THEORY (DCT), which follows the algorithm in (40)

(40) a. **Lexical case assignment**

$[_{PP/VP/XP}\ P^0/V^0/X^0 \quad DP\ [_{CASE:\ LEX}]]$

b. **Dependent case assignment**

$[DP_{[CASE:\ \square]} \dots [\ \dots DP_{[CASE:\ \square]} \dots\ ]\ ]$ → $[DP_{[CASE:\ DEP]} \dots [\ \dots DP_{[CASE:\ \square]} \dots\ ]\ ]$ or $[DP_{[CASE:\ \square]} \dots [\ \dots DP_{[CASE:\ DEP]} \dots\ ]\ ]$

c. **Unmarked case assignment**

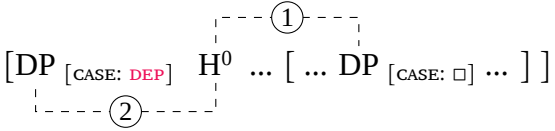
$[CASE:\ \square] \leftrightarrow$ UNMARKED CASE

- Given the presence of the notion of dependent case, Preminger (2024) contends that the expressive power of the previous model is a proper subset of DCT

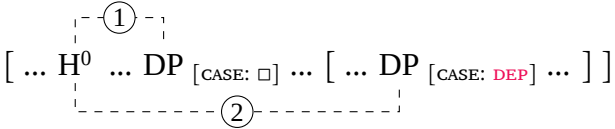
Appendix: Dependent case theories

- Poole (2024) develops a modified version of the AGREE-based theory that incorporates the notion of dependent case, see (Clem & Deal, 2024) for a similar proposal

(41) a. **High dependent case assignment via AGREE**



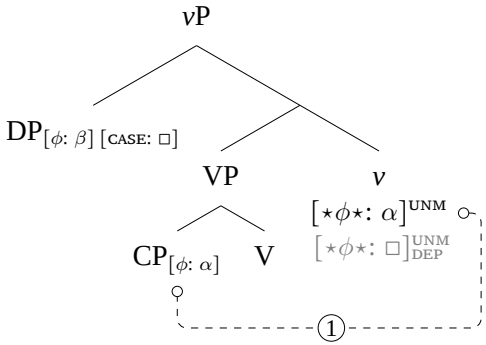
b. **Low dependent case assignment via AGREE**



- Here, dependent case results from a single head with two (case-discriminating) ϕ-probes establishing an AGREE-relation with two DPs

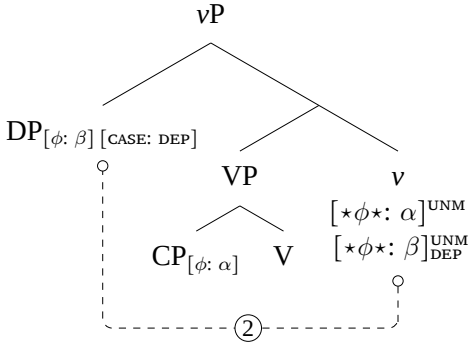
Appendix: LDA and dependent case

- I suggest that Poole's (2024) AGREE-based model can easily deal with Muira Dargwa LDA data, while configurational DCT faces problems with it
- Recall that only those predicates show LDA whose DP argument is in ERG or DAT, but, crucially, not ABS
- For Poole's (2024) model, this fact follows naturally: C can host ϕ-features of an embedded argument and participate in an AGREE-relation with $[\star\phi\star\colon \square]^{\text{UNM}}$ on v



Appendix: LDA and dependent case

- Valuation of the probe $[\star\phi\star\colon \square]^{\text{UNM}}$ unlocks the ability to assign dependent case with the next probe $[\star\phi\star\colon \square]^{\text{UNM}}_{\text{DEP}}$
- Thus, CP acts as a case competitor as long as there is an AGREE-relation between CP and *v*
- When there are no ϕ-features on C, CP does not serve as an agreement goal and, consequently, as a case competitor
- For DCT, as Ganenkov (2021) points out, it is totally accidental that some CPs are case competitors while others are not



Appendix: LDA and dependent case

- Even more problematic for DCT are sentences like (42) – here, the embedded direct object ‘milk’ is scrambled to the matrix clause and is obligatorily targeted for agreement by the matrix predicate
- Under the common assumption that movement feeds case competition (Baker & Vinokurova, 2010; Baker, 2014; Deal, 2019), it turns out that there are three competitors in the same domain: an external argument of the matrix predicate, an internal argument of an embedded predicate, and a complement CP

(42) ʔaˤli-s [šwal čut:u]$_i$ *b-/d-ik:-u-li saj [pat’imat-li
PN-DAT five chudu.ABS N-/NPL-want.IPFV-PROG-CVB COP.M PN-ERG
t_i d-arq’-ib-li]
NPL-make.PFV-AOR-CVB
‘Ali wants Patimat to cook five chudushkas.’

Appendix: LDA and dependent case

- The AGREE-based theory of dependent case, however, is totally fine here: an embedded DP moves to [Spec, VP] and becomes a closer goal for $[\star\phi\star\colon \square]^{\text{UNM}}$ on v
- So, there is nothing inherently competitive in CPs, but ϕ-features and proximity to v
- From this discussion, I conclude that **Option 3** is the right one – we need flavours of C (whether you like it or not)
- Though, it seems that **Option 1** is also needed, see the discussion of (38)

