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In this talk, I investigate the properties of LDA in the understudied Nakh-Daghestanian language Muira Dargwa. In this language, there are four types of clausal complements: infinitives, converbs, nominalizations (masdars), and finite clauses. Unlike some other varieties of Dargwa, in Muira Dargwa LDA is not limited to a few phasal and modal predicates taking converbial or infinitival complements; rather, it is generally allowed with a vast number of predicates and all four types of complement clauses. In what follows, I will (i) show that LDA constructions are biclausal and, consequently, that restructuring analyses are untenable; (ii) provide evidence that neither the agreement goal leaves the embedded clause nor there is a base-generated proxy in the matrix clause; (iii) suggest an analysis that captures all the indicated properties of LDA in Muira Dargwa and discuss some of its consequences.

(1) ʔa^sli-s [pat'imat-li šwal čut:u ha-d-arq'-ib-li]
PN-DAT PN-ERG five chudu.ABS NEG-NPL-make.PFV-AOR-CVB

ha-d-ik:-u-li sa<d>i
NEG-NPL-want.IPFV-PROG-CVB <NPL>COP
'Ali doesn't want Patimat not to cook five chudu.'

- Goal in the matrix clause.** Alternative approaches claim that, despite the biclausal status of the construction, agreement is nevertheless local by virtue of either (possibly, covert) movement of the goal to

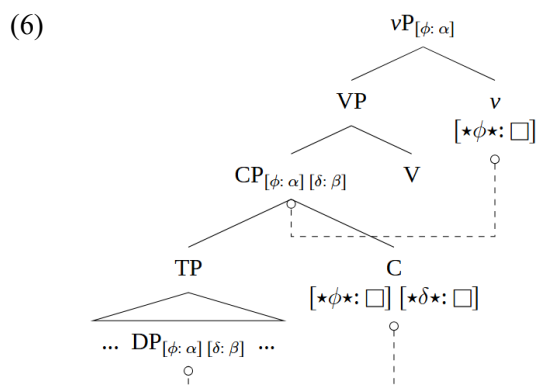
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the matrix clause or presence of a covert pronoun coindexed with the goal and hence sharing its φ -features. An analysis that assumes raising has been suggested by Serdobolskaya (2010) for two Dargwa lects: Khuduts and Qunqi. Once again, this cannot be right for Muira Dargwa. Evidence that the agreement goal does not evacuate embedded clause comes, for example, from the absence of wide scope readings of QPs (3) and the impossibility of matrix subject to bind complex reflexive (4).

- (3) har učitel'-li-s [rasul-li č'wal žuz-i d-elč'-uj]
 each teacher-OBL-DAT PN-ERG two book.ABS-PL NPL-read.PFV-AOR.CVB
 d-ik:-u-li saj
 NPL-want.IPFV-PROG-CVB COP.M
 'Every teacher wants Rasul to read two books.' (V >> 2; *2 >> V)
- (4) rasul-li tuxtur-li-c:ij [[sun-ni saj]j / *i ʔa'h
 PN-ERG doctor-OBL-INTER SELF.OBL-ERG SELF.ABS good
 w-arq'-iq-ara] tiledi w-arq'-ib
 M-make.PFV-CAUS-INF request M-make.PFV-AOR
 'Rasul asked the doctor to cure himself / *him.'

Analysis. I suggest that a modified version of the cyclic agreement analysis (Legate 2005) is best suited for Muira Dargwa LDA. One reason to depart from the analysis of Polinsky and Potsdam (2001) that relies on edge movement is that the goal need not be interpreted as topic – it can also be non-referential (3) or focal (5). It should be noted, however, that LDA does correlate with information-structure status of the goal. Besides that, there seems to be no evidence for movement to that position. Finally, example (5), where the goal is an ergative *wh*-phrase, is also crucial in that it demonstrates that LDA configurations are not limited to absolutive goals, casting additional doubt on the idea that agreement is directly between the v head and a DP.

- (5) rasul-li č'i<r>a-b [č'i-li musa gap w-arq'-ib=al]
 PN-ERG <F>see. PFV-AOR who.OBL-ERG PN.ABS praise M-make.PFV-AOR=IQ
 'Rasul saw who (a woman) praised Musa.'



Concretely, I propose that φ -features can be bundled with the generalized information-structural feature δ on the left peripheral head, C in (6). This head searches for a goal in its c-command domain that satisfies both features at once, cf. Multitasking (van Urk 2015) that additionally prohibits independent probing. When C has valued its features and v is merged, the latter agrees with the former, as it is the closest potential goal bearing φ -features. With this, both instances of agreement proceed without violating any locality constraints, e.g. Phase Impenetrability Condition (Chomsky 2001). Moreover, such an analysis predicts that agreement can proceed

even further – this prediction is borne out, see (1) with LDA on copula. Moreover, LDA in Muira Dargwa is possible across several clauses, but, crucially, highest verb cannot show LDA when intermediate verb displays default agreement – a fact that is expected under the current analysis. Some other consequences and possible applicability of the analysis to some other Nakh-Daghestanian languages will be discussed in the talk.

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18 августа 2025 г. в 16:20

Dear Ivan,

We are delighted to inform you that your abstract has been **accepted** for a talk at the workshop on Cross-clausal Dependencies (CCD), taking place at Bielefeld University (Germany) between 29--31 October 2025.

The reviewers' comments are provided below.

To help us organise the programme, we kindly ask you to confirm your attendance by replying to this email **no later than August 25, 2025**. Please note that without confirmations, the corresponding presentation will be excluded from the programme.

Regular talks are 30 minutes plus 10 minutes for discussion.

There is no conference fee. Additional information about the conference will follow soon.

A general guideline about travelling to Bielefeld can be found here: <https://www.uni-bielefeld.de/uni/anreise-kontakt/anreise/>.

Regarding accommodation, we recommend staying at one of the following options:

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We look forward to your reply and to welcoming you at the University of Bielefeld soon!

Best wishes,
CCD Organizing Committee
<https://www.uni-bielefeld.de/sfb/sfb1646/projekte/a01/CrossClausalDependencies/>

PS If applicable, please forward this email to your co-author(s).

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Reviewer Comments

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