"Non-local A-movement" is predicted to exist, and it does

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1. Two pre-existing ingredients, and a welcome prediction

In this article I take two independently motivated parts of syntactic theory, show that when combined they generate a novel prediction, and finally argue that this prediction is empirically borne out. The first ingredient is the notion of **featurally relativized probes**, explored in a vast literature on agreement starting from Béjar (2003) et seq. The core idea here is that an agreement probe might be specified as searching not for φ-features in general, but for some more specific feature, e.g. [PART(ICIPANT)]. An example of this is the following dataset from Chirag Dargwa (1). When the subject is [PART], the agreement suffix on the verb (boxed) agrees with the subject (1a,b). However, when the subject is 3rd person but the object is [PART], the same suffix now agrees with the object (1c).

(1) Potentially non-local agreement for [PART]: (Sumbatova 2011: 135) (Chirag Dargwa)

a. **dicce** {ʕu / it} r-iqqan**-da**
1SG.ERG 2SG.ABS 3SG.ABS F-lead-1
'I lead you/her'

b. **ʕicce** du r-iqqan**-de**
2SG.ERG 1SG.ABS F-lead-2
'You lead me'

c. ite **du** r-iqqan**-da**
3SG.ERG 1SG.ABS F-lead-1
'S/he leads me'

The analysis of this is shown in (2). The probe that gets spelled out as the agreement suffix (notated as head-initial here for typographic convenience) is relativized to [PART]. Therefore, it can skip the subject because it does not have [PART], and agree with the less-local object instead.

(2) [probe$_{[u\text{PART}]}$ … [Subj$_{[3]}$ … [**Obj**$_{[\text{PART}]}$ = (1c)

If we adopt the relatively standard assumption that all syntactic movement is preceded/triggered by a step of Agree (Chomsky 1995, et seq.), then the existence of this kind of agreement patterns predicts that we should in principle expect to find similar patterns in the realm of movement. More concretely: we should find in some language an instance of movement where a lower argument (less local to the landing site) is raised across a higher, more-local one, due to a featural "preference" of the type shown in (2) above. This would be the case if the Dargwa probe in (2) not only drove agreement but also syntactic movement (like e.g. T does in English).

We can now wonder what properties this kind of movement would have. Enter now the second ingredient, the **featural theory of the A/Ā-distinction** (van Urk 2015). Under this approach, canonical instances of "A-movement" have the locality and binding-theoretical properties that they do – only the closest nominal to a given landing site can move, feeding agreement and case relationships, no Condition C reconstruction, no Weak Crossover sensitivity, etc. – because the probe driving said movement searches for φ-features (and viceversa for Ā-movement, though this will not be too relevant here; see van Urk 2015

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for why these particular properties follow from the probing features involved). If we now plug this into our picture, we get the prediction that this hypothesized kind of movement (where a movement-driving probe is specified as searching for e.g. [PART], or [PL], or [ADDR], etc.) should show the categorial and binding-theoretical properties of A-movement, because these are sub-types of φ-features. Nonetheless, we expect it to be not strictly local, unlike classic A-movement (triggered by searching for [φ]): a closer goal might be skipped in favor of a lower, less-local goal if the former doesn't have the relevant features that are being probed for (but the latter does).

I argue that this prediction is empirically met: this kind of movement exists. I will show that in Äiwoo, movement to spec,TP shows exactly this profile. Either the subject or the object may raise to spec,TP, depending on their respective φ-features: if the object has some particular kind of φ-features (to be made specific) that the subject does not have, the object will be moved to spec,TP, leaving the subject in situ. Importantly, we will see that this movement will have the binding-theoretical properties of A-movement (at least for the diagnostics that can be tested).

I descriptively label this "non-local A-movement". On the surface, this has a very similar combination of properties to cases of "mixed A/Ā-movement" (van Urk 2015 et seq.): the categorial and binding-theoretical properties of A-movement, but with a locality profile more similar to Ā-movement. However, there is no clear way in which the type of movement I describe here is "mixed A/Ā", in the sense that Ā-features don't play a role here at all, unlike in the cases analyzed in van Urk et seq. The laxer-than-usual locality profile is purely caused by the more specific φ-features driving the movement.

2. Setting the stage: word order alternations

2.1. Three possible word orders

Äiwoo is an Oceanic (< Austronesian) language spoken in the Reef Islands, Temotu Province, Solomon Islands, with about 9 000 speakers. It features an Austronesian voice system, with a primary binary opposition between Actor Voice and Undergoer Voice (Næss 2015); for the purposes of this article, we will focus on UV clauses. Any Äiwoo clause features three possible "slots" for nominal arguments. The sentence in (3) uses a kind of applicative construction – "Circumstantial Voice" (Næss 2015) – to show all three positions (boxed): to the left of the verb, between the verb and a set of TAM- and polarity-related enclitic particles, and to the right of these particles. In Roversi (2025a) I show that these three linear positions correspond respectively to the structural positions of spec,CP, spec,TP, and the *v*P domain (either in spec,*v*P, for subjects, or in the complement of V, for objects), as indicated by the labelled brackets in (3). There, I also argue that the enclitic TAM particles (=*to*=*waa* =PRF=FUT) are in T, and the verb undergoes long head-movement from *v* to C. Here, for brevity, I will simply assume this analysis without offering evidence; I refer the reader to Roversi (2025a: chapter 3) for the argumentation.

(3) [$_{CP}$ **täpilo enge** ki-ngä [$_{TP}$ **Anna**=to=waa=kä [$_{vP}$ **sii**][1]
bowl this IPFV-eat Anna=PRF=FUT=CV fish
'Anna will have eaten the fish in this bowl'

This paper will focus on (mono-)transitive UV clauses (i.e., with two arguments), where we observe a complex system of word order alternations, controlling which argument fills which position. We see that three word orders are possible (4) (prefiguring the analysis, I already indicate the positions of the arguments' movement traces)[2]. The crucial fact is that these are **not optional alternatives:** for any given transitive clause, only one of the three orders in (4) will be grammatical. This paper will only be concerned with movement to the position between the verb and the TAM particles, identified with spec,TP (boxed in the schema). I will not discuss in this paper how the system determines which argument moves to spec,CP; see Roversi (2025a: chapters 3/6) for a complete analysis.

[1] The abbreviations follow the standard Leipzig glossing rules, with the addition of: 12 'first person inclusive', ADDR 'addressee', ASP 'aspect', AUG 'augmented (number)', CV 'circumstantial voice', DIR 'directional', MIN 'minimal (number)', SPKR 'speaker', UV 'undergoer voice'.

[2] A fourth possible order exists, which will be shown to be a variant of (4c). I temporarily set it aside now for the sake of exposition, and will come back to it in §3.

(4) a. O V **S**=TAM t_S t_O
b. O V **O**=TAM S t_O
c. S V **S**=TAM t_S O

Let us now see concrete examples of these three word orders (5), focusing on what argument fills spec,TP (boxed); parenthesized constituents are optional, and everything else must be realized overtly. In (5a), the whole subject DP 'Mary' is in spec,TP. In (5b), this position is occupied by a suffix indexing the subject (*-mu* 2MIN); the same is true for (5d). However, in (5c), this position is filled by a suffix indexing the **object** instead (*-gu-mu* OBJ-2MIN).

(5) a. John ku-potaa **Mary**=kaa[3] = (4a)
John IPFV-search.UV Mary=FUT
'Mary will look for John'

b. John ku-potaa**-mu**=waa = (4a)
John IPFV-search.UV-2MIN=FUT
'You will look for John'

c. (iumu) ku-potaa**-gu-mu**=waa Mary = (4b)
2MIN IPFV-search.UV-OBJ-2MIN=FUT Mary
'Mary will look for you'

d. (iumu) ku-potaa**-mu**=waa iu = (4c)
2MIN IPFV-search.UV-2MIN=FUT 1MIN
'You will look for me'

2.2. The φ-suffix between V and =TAM is a real argument

Before we proceed, to support our analysis we must first make sure that the φ-suffixes boxed in (5) are not agreement markers (*contra* Roversi 2020; see fn. 10), but rather spell out an argument occupying a specifier position (spec,TP). To be clear, I am claiming that (5a,b) are *structurally* identical, and only (morpho)phonologically different: in both sentences, the subject (respectively 'Mary' and 'you') is in spec,TP and the object is in spec,CP; the only difference is that 'Mary' is spelled out as its own phonological word, whereas the 2MIN pronoun is not, and is instead spelled out as a suffix on the verb.

The first argument for this claim is that the linear position between the verb and the TAM particles must correspond to a structurally defined (specifier) position, which can clearly host a full nominal constituent. This is already shown by 'Mary' being in this position in (5a), but a DP in this position can in fact be arbitrarily large. To wit, (6) is a naturally attested example where the subject DP contains a full relative clause, and is standing between the verb (*ikää* 'know.UV') and the negation enclitic *=gu* (which is part of the TAM particle sequence; Roversi & Næss 2019).

(6) ngaama $\varnothing_{3MIN}$ lâ ba i-kää **[me=[$_{RC}$ ki-tokoli-woli-mä ngä botu]]**=gu=nâ
if DIST NEG ASP-know.UV REL:person=IPFV-sit-down-DIR1 in boat=NEG=DIST
'If the person sitting in the boat doesn't know (it), …'

The second argument is that these φ-suffixes, like *-mu* 2MIN in (5b), are incompatible with an overt DP in this same position. One can have a subject DP, like *mikilitei* 'fishermen' (7a), or the 3AUG pronominal suffix *-i* (7b), but crucially not both (7c).

(7) a. John ku-potaa **mikilitei**=kaa
John IPFV-search.UV fishermen=FUT
'The fishermen will look for John'

b. John ku-potaa**-i**=laa
John IPFV-search.UV-3AUG=FUT
'They will look for John'

[3] The future particle is =C*aa*, with the initial consonant varying depending on what's to the particle's left. Its default exponent is *=kaa*, but it can also surface as *=waa*, *=naa*, *=ngaa*, *=laa*, and *=aa*. See Roversi (2025b: §2.6.3.2).

c.* John ku-potaa**-i** **mikilitei**=kaa
John IPFV-search.UV-3AUG fishermen=FUT

This is *prima facie* similar to the pattern in Irish and other Celtic languages (McCloskey & Hale 1984 et seq.), where agreement suffixes and coreferent argument DPs are in complementary distribution. However, there is an important difference. In Äiwoo, a φ-suffix in this position is not only in complementary distribution with a coreferent argument, as in (7c). Rather, a φ-suffix is incompatible with *any* DP in this position, even if the two reflect different arguments. This is shown in (8a): the presence of the object-indexing suffix *-gu-mu* in this slot forces the subject 'Mary' to remain in a lower position (in spec,*v*P, by hypothesis). Having both in this position is impossible (8b), as it was in (7c).

(8) a. (iumu) ku-potaa**-gu-mu**=waa **Mary**
2MIN IPFV-search.UV-OBJ-2MIN=FUT Mary
'Mary will look for you'

b. * (iumu) ku-potaa**-gu-mu** **Mary**=kaa
2MIN IPFV-search.UV-OBJ-2MIN Mary=FUT

This type of complementarity is different from e.g. what we see in Romance languages, where cliticization of an object does not prevent the subject from raising to spec,TP. Rather, the complementarity is expected if these φ-suffixes are a spell-out of something that occupies a specifier position at some stage in the derivation: if the object is there, the subject cannot be there as well[4].

The third argument comes from the only attested cases of "doubling", that is, instances where we observe both a φ-suffix in this position and a coreferential (overt) argument. Importantly, this only happens when the overt argument is in a different (higher) position than spec,TP. This is shown for subjects and objects respectively in (9a,b), again repeated from above. In both these cases, the full 2MIN pronoun *iumu* in spec,CP is by default null, but can be optionally realized overtly for information-structural effects (contrastive focus/topic, chiefly; Roversi 2025a: 52–54). The suffix *-(gu)-mu*, in contrast, must be overt.

(9) a. (**iumu**) ku-potaa**-mu**=waa iu
2MIN IPFV-search.UV-2MIN=FUT 1MIN
'You will look for me'

b. (**iumu**) ku-potaa**-gu-mu**=waa Mary
2MIN IPFV-search.UV-OBJ-2MIN=FUT Mary
'Mary will look for you'

I argue that in these cases, the suffixes realize a lower copy of movement of the pronoun. The subject pronoun in (9a) and the object pronoun in (9b) move first to spec,TP and then further to spec,CP, and the copy in spec,TP must be realized in this reduced, suffixal form for morphological reasons. In next section I will go through how exactly this happens.

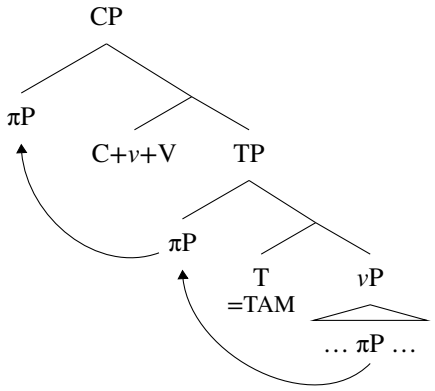
2.3. The syntax and morphology of Äiwoo pronouns

I adopt for the Äiwoo φ-suffixes a version of the analysis proposed in Harizanov (2014) for clitic doubling in Bulgarian. First, a pronominal argument (πP) raises to spec,TP by ordinary phrasal movement (i.e., not as a structurally reduced clitic). In the narrow syntax, this is still just an ordinary pronoun, and may therefore move to a higher position if the syntactic circumstances allow (10a). Later, a post-syntactic step of M(orphological)-Merger (or Local Dislocation, or a similar operation; see Marantz 1988, Embick & Noyer 2001, Matushansky 2006, Harizanov & Gribanova 2019, a.o.) reattaches (the copy of) the pronoun in spec,TP onto the complex head where the verb is, in C (10b)[5]. Note that after this step, this copy of πP is not really in spec,TP anymore in any sense; I notate it as struck-out for exposition.

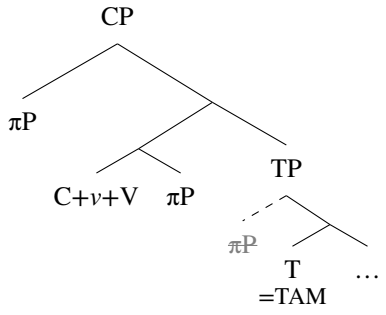
[4] There will be a single well-principled exception to this; see §3.2.

[5] Although the pronoun is a phrasal constituent and not a head (πP; see below), I assume it can nonetheless undergo this morphological operation; see Yuan (2025) for a similar proposal on incorporation in Inuit languages.

(10) a. Step 1: Ordinary phrasal movement in the narrow syntax



b. Step 2: post-syntactic M-merger of the pronoun's copy in spec,TP onto C



When the chain resolution algorithm applies, trying to determine which movement copies to realize, the πP that was formerly in spec,TP and that has been M-merged onto C is effectively not part of a movement chain at all, and must therefore be spelled out overtly no matter what, even if a higher "copy" is available. The only remaining instances of πP that are actually part of a chain are the one in spec,CP and the *in situ* one. The lower copy is unpronounced, as usual; the higher copy may be optionally deleted due to *pro*-drop being available in this specific position, or it may be pronounced overtly for discourse purposes.

Given this underlying structure produced by the narrow-syntactic and (relatively) early post-syntactic components (10b), we can now assess the surface realization of pronouns in Äiwoo. We can see from (9) that pronouns have two forms: a freestanding one (*iumu* 2MIN), and a shorter, suffixal one (*-mu* 2MIN, with or without the object suffix *-gu*). I treat this alternation as contextual allomorphy. Simplifying somewhat for space, the Vocabulary Insertion rules make sure that a pronoun is spelled out in its full form when a word boundary is present on its left (11a), and in its shorter, suffixal form otherwise (11b,c)[6]. For a more thorough treatment of the morphology of Äiwoo pronouns, see Roversi (2025a: 215–225).

(11) a. $\pi P_{[2MIN]} \Leftrightarrow$ *iumu* / #__
b. $\pi P_{[2MIN]} \Leftrightarrow$ *-mu* (elsewhere)
c. $\pi P_{[2MIN,\ ACC]} \Leftrightarrow$ *-gu-mu* (elsewhere)

We can support our analysis of the alternation between full vs. suffixal forms of pronouns as contextual allomorphy by looking at cases where the short forms surface in different contexts than on a verb. Consider (12a) as a baseline example of a PP. If the preposition takes a pronominal complement instead of a lexical DP one, only the suffixal form of the pronoun is possible (12b), and not the full one (12c). In this case, there is no *syntactic* difference between 'John' in (12a) and the 2MIN pronoun in (12b,c); they're both just the complement of P. The only possible difference must be morphological: after M-merger of the 2MIN pronoun onto P, *iumu* will be the wrong exponent for this pronoun.

(12) a. ngâgo Jon
to John
'To/for John'

b. ngâgu**-mu**
to-2MIN
'To/for you'

c. * ngâg{o/u} **iumu**
to 2MIN
Int.: 'To/for you'

3. Analysis: featurally motivated, non-local A-movement

3.1. What moves to spec,TP?

Having established that the φ-suffixes found on Äiwoo verbs are actually pronouns in spec,TP, despite their phonologically reduced realization, we are ready to look at which argument(s) may move to spec,TP.

[6] I use "[2MIN]" here as a shorthand; see §3.2 for a more sophisticated theory of φ-features in Äiwoo.

Going forward, I use the notation φ^{+}P ("phi-plus-P") as a shorthand to identify all and only the nominals with φ-features other than 3MIN (i.e., 1st/2nd person and 3AUG pronouns), and φ^{0}P ("phi-zero-P") for all 3MIN arguments (i.e., 3MIN pronouns and lexical DPs)[7]. Consider again our word order alternation overview, repeated and reordered in (13). We can now see a neat generalization: T raises the closest φ^{+}P to its specifier, regardless of whether that is the subject (13a,b) or the object (13c). Only if there are no φ^{+}Ps around (i.e., both arguments are 3MIN), T raises the closest nominal even though it's a φ^{0}P (13d).

(13) a. John ku-potaa(**-mu**)=waa — $(\varphi^{+}P) > \varphi^{0}P$
John IPFV-search.UV-2MIN=FUT
'You will look for John'

b. (iumu) ku-potaa(**-mu**)=waa iu — $(\varphi^{+}P) > \varphi^{+}P$
2MIN IPFV-search.UV-2MIN=FUT 1MIN
'You will look for me'

c. (iumu) ku-potaa(**-gu-mu**)=waa Mary — $\varphi^{0}P > (\varphi^{+}P)$
2MIN IPFV-search.UV-OBJ-2MIN=FUT Mary
'Mary will look for you'

d. John ku-potaa (**Mary**)=kaa — $(\varphi^{0}P) > \varphi^{0}P$
John IPFV-search.UV Mary=FUT
'Mary will look for John'

There is one additional complication: only when the subject is 1st person and the subject is 2nd person (regardless of number), T exceptionally raises *both* arguments (14). This is the only case in Äiwoo where two arguments are simultaneously realized in spec,TP. I will treat this as a sub-case of (13b), seen as both arguments are φ^{+}Ps (but with specific features), and the word order is otherwise similar.

(14) (iu) ku-potaa(**-nee-mu**)=waa
1MIN IPFV-search.UV-1MIN-2MIN=FUT
'I will look for you'

The crucial case of non-local A-movement in question is (13c): T here raises the object to spec,TP, despite the subject being closer, and the subject thus remains *in situ*. Although a lot of the classic diagnostics for A/Ā-movement (e.g., Condition C reconstruction) cannot be tested due to the moving element in question being a pronoun, we can at least confirm that this step of movement does not trigger a Weak Crossover violation (15). Here, the quantified object pronoun *ijidui* 'all of them' raises to spec,TP crossing the possessor pronoun embedded in the subject (*their* mother); however, a bound reading is available[8].

(15) [A group of girls are coming back from a long trip, and their mothers miss them very much.]
no WCO!
ijidui ki-te-usi-kä-(**gu-i**)=laa isä(**-i**) $t_{\textbf{Obj}}$
3AUG.all IPFV-see.UV-again.UV-DIR3-OBJ-3AUG=FUT mother-3AUG
✓ **Bound reading:** ∀*x*, *x*'s mother will see *x* again
≈ 'Her$_i$ mother will see every one$_i$ of them again'

3.2. Implementation: a hierarchy effect on T

The set of movement we are trying to model are schematically summarized in (16), with the crucial non-local case in (16d). The full distribution of what moves when, broken down by the φ-features of both arguments, is shown in (17). The pattern is now easier to see: (i) if the subject is a φ^{+}P (top four rows),

[7] I will use examples with (singular) lexical DPs to represent the φ^{0}P category for clarity, though 3MIN pronominal arguments would work identically. Plural lexical DPs have a rather complex distribution whose nature is poorly understood, and I exclude these from the discussion. See Roversi (2025a: 293–296) for details.

[8] The same pronoun then raises further to spec,CP, though this is irrelevant here: if there was a WCO violation, it would happen on the first step of movement. See Roversi (2025b) for the syntax of possessive structures in Äiwoo.

T raises the subject (and the object also in the specific 1 > 2 case); (ii) if the subject is a φ^0P but the object is a φ^+P (bottom-left quadrant), T raises the object; (iii) if both arguments are φ^0Ps (bottom-right quadrant), T raises the subject. Setting aside the 1 > 2 case for a moment, this can be restated as our generalization: T raises the closest φ^+P, and only "backtracks" onto raising a φ^0P if no φ^+P is found[9,10].

(16) a. $[_{TP}\ \boldsymbol{\varphi^+P}\ {=}TAM\ \ [_{\nu P}\ t_S\ \varphi^0P$ = (13a)

b. $[_{TP}\ \boldsymbol{\varphi^+P}\ {=}TAM\ \ [_{\nu P}\ t_S\ \varphi^+P$ = (13b)

c. $[_{TP}\ \boldsymbol{\varphi^+P_1}\ \boldsymbol{\varphi^+P_2}{=}TAM\ [_{\nu P}\ t_S\ t_O$ = (14)

d. $[_{TP}\ \boldsymbol{\varphi^+P}\ {=}TAM\ \ [_{\nu P}\ \varphi^0P\ t_O$ = (13c) ✓!

e. $[_{TP}\ \boldsymbol{\varphi^0P}\ {=}TAM\ \ [_{\nu P}\ t_S\ \varphi^0P$ = (13d)

(17) Distribution of what moves to spec,TP:

S↓, O→		**φ⁺P**				**φ⁰P**	
		1	12	2	$3AUG_\pi$	$3MIN_\pi$	DP
φ⁺P	1	—	—	S+O	S	S	S
	12	—	—	—	S	S	S
	2	S	—	—	S	S	S
	$3AUG_\pi$	S	S	S	S	S	S
φ⁰P	$3MIN_\pi$	O	O	O	O	S	S
	DP	O	O	O	O	S	S

My analysis is couched in the interaction/satisfaction model of Agree (Deal 2015, 2024, to appear, a.o.). Before discussing the probes, I present the featural make-up I assume for Äiwoo nominals in (18); see Roversi (2025a: 42–43) for a discussion of the Äiwoo pronominal inventory and its minimal-augmented number system. I assume that at least [±PART] is a binary feature (cf. Noyer 1992, a.m.o.), and that furthermore it is dynamic in the sense of Deal (2024): after the probe agrees with a goal carrying [+PART], this feature will be copied onto the probe's interaction condition, so that only other [+PART] goals will be possible agreement targets – and viceversa for [−PART], though this is effectively never visibly at work in Äiwoo[11]. I stipulate that only 3AUG pronouns carry [−PART], and not 3MIN ones; these are extremely featurally reduced. I notate here [ADDR, SPKR, AUG] as privative features for convenience since Äiwoo grammar only ever refers to their positive value, but they could be treated as binary as well[12].

(18)

1MIN:	[φ, +PART↑]	1AUG:	[φ, +PART↑, AUG]
12MIN:	[φ, +PART↑, ADDR, SPKR]	12AUG:	[φ, +PART↑, ADDR, SPKR, AUG]
2MIN:	[φ, +PART↑, ADDR]	2AUG:	[φ, +PART↑, ADDR, AUG]
$3MIN_\pi$/DP:	[φ] (& [D, N] for DPs)	$3AUG_\pi$:	[φ, −PART(↑), AUG]

[9] "$3AUG_\pi$/$3MIN_\pi$" = respectively 3AUG or 3MIN pronoun; "DP" = specifically lexical DPs. I exclude combinations with referential overlap or identity (e.g. 1 > 12, 'I/We.EXCL see us.INCL', and all reflexive combinations).

[10] This is a slightly different empirical generalization than the one analyzed in Roversi (2020), which was later shown to be faulty due to gaps in the data. The relevant difference is that in Roversi (2020), only 1MIN > 2nd person combinations were thought to trigger movement of both the subject and the object. Instead, this is true of any 1 > 2 combination, including 1AUG > 2. The probe's specification has been amended accordingly to cover for this. Moreover, in that paper this pattern was analyzed as just involving agreement and not movement, which makes an important difference in the model. This paper should be seen as superseding Roversi (2020) to all effects.

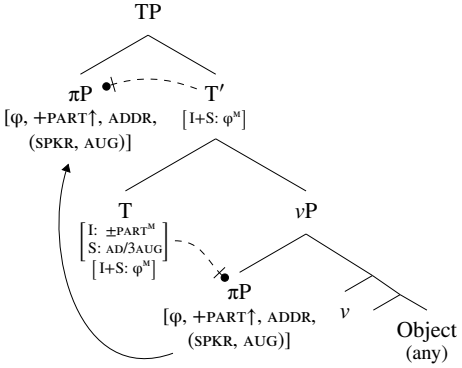
[11] In Roversi (2025a) I use a slightly different implementation of dynamic interaction, departing from Deal (2024) somewhat, to account for a more complex set of facts (including the probes on *v* and C); here, this will be sufficient.

[12] A reimplementation of the system purely in terms of privative features is possible if one follows Nevins (2007) and Grishin (2023), a.o., in assuming that 3rd person is syntactically represented as a feature [3], instead of consisting of a lack of features (*contra* Harley & Ritter 2002, a.m.o.). [3] would then have to be equivalent to [−PART] in this system, being present on 3AUG pronouns but not on 3MIN ones.

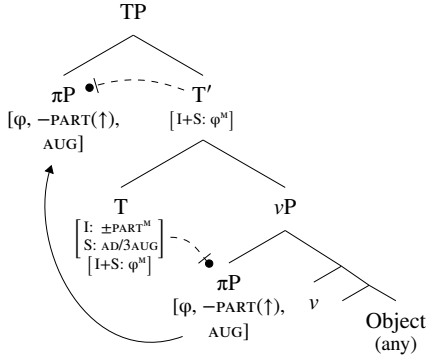
As for the probing mechanism, for concreteness I adopt the implementation of "Multitasking" effects proposed in Scott (2021), based on two ordered probes (though other technical implementations could be possible; see e.g. van Urk & Richards 2015). I propose that Äiwoo T hosts two probes. The primary probe, which effectively runs the hierarchy effect, is specified as [INT: ±PART^{M}; SAT: ADDR or (−PART & AUG)] (where the diacritic ^{M} indicates movement of the agreed-with target; i.e., an EPP effect). The secondary probe has a much more generic specification [INT: φ^{M}; SAT: φ]. Both probe specifications are typographically shortened in the trees below. I use a dashed line ending in a solid circle to indicate successful interaction (X - -● Y), and an empty circle for unsuccessful/lack of interaction (X - -○ Y). Satisfaction is represented separately, by an additional line before the circle (X - -|● Y, X - -|○ Y).

Consider first the set of derivations where the subject is a φ^{+}P (19). In all cases, we want T to move the subject; only in 1>2 configurations, we also want it to move the object in addition. First, if the subject carries either [ADDR] (19a) or [−PART, AUG], shortened as 3AUG (19b), the primary probe interacts with it, and is immediately satisfied[13]. The secondary φ-probe, still unsatisfied, reprojects to the bar level (Cyclic Agree; Béjar & Rezac 2009). From here, the closest node in its c-command domain is the just-moved subject; therefore, the secondary probe will agree with it. In other words, as long as the primary probe moves anything to spec,TP, the secondary probe will always be vacuously satisfied. We will see later why this secondary probe is important to derive the whole set of configurations.

(19) a. 2/12 > …: only the subject moves

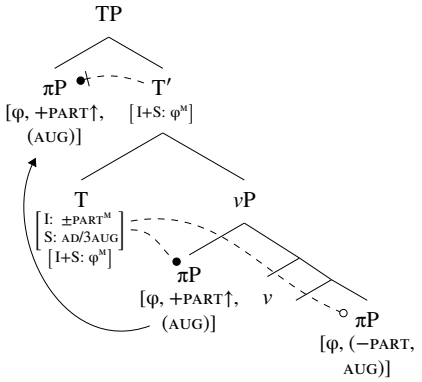


b. 3AUG > …: only the subject moves

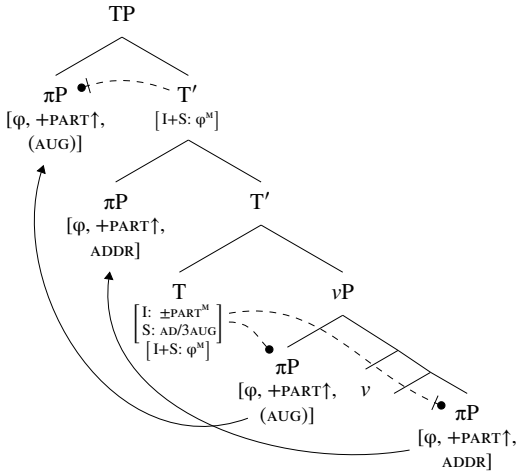


The effect of dynamic interaction becomes visible when we consider goals that carry [+PART↑] but do not satisfy the probe, that is, 1st person subjects. Consider 1>3 vs. 1>2 configurations (20).

(20) a. 1 > 3: only subject moves



b. 1 > 2: both arguments move

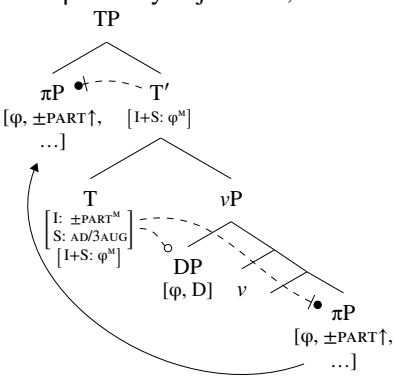


[13]The second disjunct in the satisfaction condition (3AUG) is necessary because without it, we would predict that in a 3AUG > 3AUG clause, the primary probe on T would interact with the subject and move it, not be satisfied, and then proceed to interact with and move the object as well (since it has [−PART]), contrary to fact.

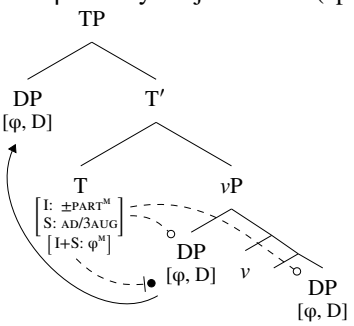
In both cases, first the primary T probe interacts with the [+PART↑] subject and moves it, but it is not satisfied. Due to dynamic interaction, the probe will now only interact with other [+PART] goals. In the 1>3 case (20a), the probe will not interact with and move the 3rd person object (because it either has [−PART] if 3AUG, or no [±PART] at all if 3MIN). In the 1>2 case (20b), instead, the probe will interact with the object and raise it too; I assume this tucks in to an inner spec,TP. Again, in both cases, the secondary probe is reprojected to T′, and is vacuously satisfied by whatever the primary probe just moved.

Now that we have covered every type of configuration where the subject is a φ^{+}P, let us turn to cases where the subject is a φ^{0}P instead, that is, a 3MIN argument (either a 3MIN pronoun or a lexical DP; I use a DP here for exposition), shown in (21). First, consider the φ^{0}P> φ^{+}P case (21a); here, the object is either a 1st/2nd person or a 3AUG pronoun. Here, the primary probe first cannot interact with the subject, because it does not carry [±PART]. Then, it interacts with the object, because it does carry [±PART], and moves it to spec,TP[14]. This is the crucial case where a featural preference gives rise to **non-local A-movement**: it is clearly non-local, but it otherwise shows properties of A-movement (e.g., no sensitivity to WCO, shown above). (Once again, the secondary probe is vacuously satisfied from the T′ level.) Consider instead what happens when both arguments are φ^{0}Ps (21b). First, the primary probe will not be able to interact with and move the subject nor the object, as neither carries [±PART]. This is the only time the secondary, less picky φ-probe will have its time to shine: now it will agree with the closest φ-bearing element, that is the subject, and raise it to spec,TP. This is effectively a "plan B" behavior: if you can't find an argument with particular φ-features anywhere, move the second-best option.

(21) a. φ^{0}P > φ^{+}P: only obj. moves, **non-locally!**



b. φ^{0}P > φ^{0}P: only subject moves ("plan B")



4. Conclusion

I have argued that by conjoining two pre-existing, independently needed theoretical ingredients (featurally relativized probes, and the featural theory of the A/Ā-distinction) we predict the existence of instances of movement that are non-local, despite otherwise only showing A-type properties. Further, I have shown that raising to spec,TP in Äiwoo shows precisely this profile. Notably, the theoretical prediction is independent from its purported empirical attestation: if my analysis of Äiwoo turns out to be wrong, we should in principle still expect to find this pattern in some other language. Proposals in a similar spirit, though differing in implementation and scope, can be found in e.g. Hammerly (to appear) and Hammerly & Mathieu (to appear) under the term "relativized EPP" for Border Lakes Ojibwe (Algonquian), or Brodkin (2025) for a type of movement in Mandar (Sulawesi; Austronesian) that preferentially raises (less local) pronouns rather than (closer) lexical DPs.

In contrast with other similar cases discussed by van Urk (2015) et seq. (see Lohninger 2025 for an overview), Ā-features play no role in the Äiwoo TP-raising case; the particular locality profile is purely derived by the specific φ-features triggering the movement. This supports van Urk's (2015) argument

[14] I represent this step here as including satisfaction, but this is not crucial. If the object is 1st person, the probe will not be satisfied, but since its c-command domain is now exhausted, nothing else will change in the derivation.

that the locality properties of canonical A/Ā-movement are completely epiphenomenal, by showing that even "within A-movement" (that is, without appealing to Ā-features) one can have a non-strictly-local profile if the probing features make it so.

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