

Interestingly, *zə-* does not only occur in relative clauses, but also in comparatives, as in (4), and raising constructions, as in (5).

- (4) Tesfay kab-ti ʔane zə-ħasəbɛxu-wo yəʕabi
 Tesfay.ms PREP-DEM.ms 1s zə-think.PERF.1s-3ms 'be tall'.IMPF.3ms
 'Tesfay is taller than I thought.' (Lit.: 'Tesfay than what I thought is taller.')
- (5) Kidane ʔiti mətʃaf zɛ-nbeb-o zɛ-llo jəməsl
 Kidane.ms DEM.ms book.ms zə-read.PERF.1s-3ms zə-AUX.PRES.3ms seem.IMPF.3ms
 'Kidane seems to be reading the book.'

These examples support the analysis of *zə-* as a reflex of successive-cyclic movement in which the prefix attracts the moved constituent. The phenomenon also implies that the *wh*-movement in comparatives (Chomsky 1977) and the A-movement of the NP in raising constructions take place in very local steps. Notice that in control constructions in Tigrinya, the prefix *kə-* appears on the verb instead of *zə-*:

- (5) Daniel Ruth kə-təħegəz-o jətsbə
 Daniel.ms Ruth.fs kə-help.IMPF.3fs-3ms expect.IMPF.3ms
 'Daniel expects Ruth to help him.'

This suggests that the distinction between raising and control constructions must be maintained, despite attempts to reconceptualize control and unify the two phenomena (Hornstein 1999, Manzini & Roussou 2000).

The phenomenon presented suggests, first, that *wh*, A and A-bar movements must be more local than what has been proposed in standard Phase Theory (Chomsky 2000) and, second, that the notion of cyclicity and the nature of phases must be further developed.

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