

Differential Object Marking:

Further evidence for object movement comes from differential object marking (DOM). Definite objects receive accusative case, while indefinite objects receive nominative (Zaicz 1998). This can be captured in a dependent case framework (Marantz 2000). Baker (2015) argues that in DOM languages, dependent case is calculated on nominals within the CP phase. Thus, only arguments that move out of the vP are in the domain of dependent case assignment. Movement of definite objects outside the vP therefore feeds accusative case assignment, explaining the correlation between definiteness, accusative case, and object preference.

Agreement suffix ordering: I show that any instance of object agreement precedes any instance of subject agreement. If the object is a participant, and thereby controls person agreement, it is always the first of the two agreement suffixes (as shown by 1a), preceding either object/subject number or subject person. If the object is plural, it will precede any other agreement suffix, except for object person. Thus in (1a), number follows object person, but in (1b), when the object is plural, it precedes subject person. These patterns are explained if the closest argument to the high Probe is the object. Any object φ -feature that can control agreement, will control agreement, with subject agreement only appearing when the object is third-person and/or singular. Linear ordering between subject and object agreement is then straightforwardly predicted by the derivational order in which the Goals are found. This explains otherwise unexpected syncretisms in the agreement system. For example, 1sg objects with 2pl/3pl subjects carry the same agreement morphology as 1pl objects with 2sg/3sg/2pl/3pl subjects (*am-iz/1-pl*).

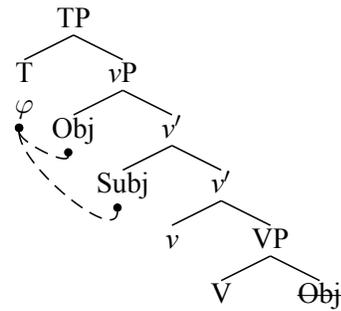
Other languages: I also argue that there is evidence in other object-preferring languages for movement of the object. In inverse-marking languages, there is evidence from variable-binding in Passamaquoddy (Bruening 2001), and word order in Kadiwéu (Sandolo 2010), that agreement-controlling objects have moved. In Quechuan languages such as Cuzco Quechuan, Addressee arguments that control agreement move above Tense, while other arguments appear below Tense.

A further puzzle: One important question is why, given the predicted ubiquity of object movement under the Mapping Hypothesis, object-preference configurations are relatively rare. This is because the object-preference requires several different conditions to be satisfied simultaneously. The language must allow agreement with both subjects and direct objects, already a minority possibility (Bobaljik 2008). The relevant Probe must be specified to agree with a subset of the person feature geometry, such as a participant Probe; otherwise, it will only agree with the highest nominal. And finally, the object must not tuck in under the subject. Only with these three conditions jointly satisfied will object preference emerge.

Previous approaches: Object preference has been argued to support the Cyclic Agree mechanism of Béjar and Rezac (2009). For them, object preference is the result of a low π -Probe in v that can, if unvalued by the object, percolate to v' to be valued by the subject. This low π -Probe is, however, inconsistent with evidence from morpheme ordering and suppletion. Cyclic Agree also has no explanation for the restriction of agreement to definite objects in accusative case. Georgi (2014) argues that this is because indefinites lack person features, however, this is contradicted by the availability of agreement with indefinite subjects. Cyclic Agree also makes the prediction that the ordering of agreement morphemes should follow from whether valuation takes place in T or v/v' (2b). However, as shown above, this is false: what matters instead is whether the controller of agreement is the object or the subject.

Enrichment of the agreement mechanism—as in Cyclic Agree—to allow for these patterns is both unnecessary, and makes incorrect empirical predictions. This provides support for a view in which the agreement mechanism is simple, consisting of Probe-Goal relations governed by minimal search.

(2) a. *High person Probe, with object movement*



b. *Low person Probe, with Cyclic Agree*

