The relativized EPP:
Evidence from agreement and word order in Border Lakes Ojibwe

Christopher Hammerly
Department of Linguistics
University of British Columbia

Preprint Draft – July 24, 2024

Abstract This paper explores patterns of agreement and word order in the Central Algonquian language Border Lakes Ojibwe. This variety of Ojibwe shows alternations between VOS and VSO word orders and complex interactions between probes on Voice, Infl, and C. I show that the behavior of lower probes feeds and bleeds the possible agreement and movement relations on each subsequent probe. These complex interactions culminate with the *peripheral agreement* marker on C, which shows a curious pattern that I dub *reverse omnivority*, where the probe agrees with lower ranked arguments over higher ranked arguments regardless of whether it is a logical subject or object. The core theoretical innovation is an extension of the syntactic operation Agree to encode a *relativized EPP*, which captures variation and restrictions on movement and the possibility of movement and feature copying being independent. The account provides a strong case for Ojibwe as a configurational language, and is shown to capture variation in agreement and word order in various corners of Ojibwe and beyond.

Note This paper is a descendent of an unpublished manuscript entitled *A verb raising analysis of the Ojibwe VOS/VSO alternation*, which can be found on Lingbuzz as Hammerly (2021b). The data and facts are exactly the same as presented in that paper, but the analysis has been deeply renovated, and the focus streamlined. For most purposes, this paper can be seen as a replacement of those previous accounts.

1 INTRODUCTION

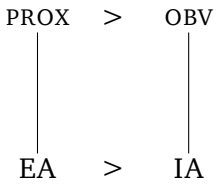
Minimalist syntactic theories have long posited a close link between agreement and movement (e.g. Chomsky, 1995, 2001; Carstens, 2005; Bošković, 2007; Van Urk, 2015). The general shape is for "valuation" relationships between a probe and a goal (i.e. instances of agreement qua feature copying) to be followed or preceded by the application of Merge (i.e. movement). The goal of this paper is to put forward a theory of the nature of the relationship between feature copying and movement through a case study of the patterns of agreement and word order in Border Lakes Ojibwe (Central Algonquian). This variety of Ojibwe shows a previously unexamined alternation between VOS and VSO word orders. These alternations in the linear order of subjects and objects are argued to be a function of complex interactions between probes on Voice, Infl, and C. The analysis informs the general link between agreement and word order and provides strong evidence in favor of a configurational analysis of the Ojibwe clause.

The VOS/VSO alternation in Ojibwe, as well as the patterns of agreement, are most readily described in relation to the alternation in DIRECT/INVERSE syntactic argument alignments. Alignment refers to the descriptive ranking of person categories on a Person-Animacy Hierarchy (PAH) along with a scale that ranks higher syntactic positions such as external argument (EA) over lower ones like internal argument (IA). The portions of the relevant scales are given in (1).

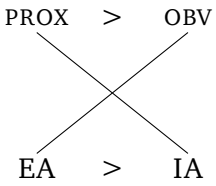
(1) a. (Partial) Person-Animacy Hierarchy: PROX(IMATE) (3) > OBV(IATIVE) (3′)
b. Syntactic Position Hierarchy: Subject (EA) > Object (IA)

In direct syntactic environments, the alignment of the two scales is high-to-high, as shown in (2a). In inverse syntactic environments, alignment is high-to-low and low-to-high, as shown in (2b).

(2) a. DIRECT *(e.g. 3 → 3′)*



b. INVERSE *(e.g. 3′ → 3)*



Turning now to the key word order facts, in DIRECT alignments, where the subject is a "higher ranked" PROXIMATE argument and the object is a "lower ranked" OBVIATIVE argument, VOS occurs preferentially (3a), but VSO is also possible (3b). In INVERSE alignments, where the object is PROXIMATE and the subject OBVIATIVE, only VSO occurs (3c)—VOS is ungrammatical (3d).[1]

[1]The following abbreviations will be used for glosses: ABS = absolutive case, ERG = ergative case, PAST = past tense, PROX = proximate, OBV = obviative, SG = singular, PL = plural, DIR = direct agreement, INV = inverse agreement, DUB = dubitative mode, PRET = preterit mode, h/ = him/her, s/he = she/he. I use the terms "subject" and "object" as synonymous with "external" and "internal" argument, respectively. The name of the language in the example will appear at the right margin of the last line of the example, unless the language is Border Lakes Ojibwe, which will be unmarked. When necessary, the source will also appear at the right margin of the final line of the example, unless unmarked, in

(3) DIRECT *(VOS preferred; VSO possible);* INVERSE *(VSO only)*

a. o-gii-waabam-aa-n ikwe-wan gwiiwizens
3-PAST-see.VTA-DIR-3′ woman-OBV boy.PROX
'The boy (PROX) saw the woman' (OBV)' ✓$V_{DIR}O_{OBV}S_{PROX}$

b. o-gii-waabam-aa-n gwiiwizens ikwe-wan
3-PAST-see.VTA-DIR-3′ boy.PROX woman-OBV
'The boy (PROX) saw the woman (OBV)' ✓$V_{DIR}S_{PROX}O_{OBV}$

c. o-gii-waabam-igoo-n gwiiwizens-an ikwe
3-PAST-see.VTA-INV-3′ boy-OBV woman.PROX
'The boy (OBV) saw the woman' (PROX)' ✓$V_{INV}S_{OBV}O_{PROX}$

d. *o-gii-waabam-igoo-n ikwe gwiiwizens-an
3-PAST-see.VTA-INV-3′ woman.PROX boy-OBV
Intended: 'The boy (OBV) saw the woman (PROX)' *$V_{INV}O_{PROX}S_{OBV}$

As for agreement, there are probes on Voice, Infl, and C, each of which shows a unique pattern of agreement (I give a brief and dense description here, and a more deliberate description in the coming sections). Voice alternates between a direct marker *-aa* in direct alignments (3a,b), which indexes the third person object, and the inverse marker *-igoo* in inverse alignments (3c), which is an impoverished or default form (e.g. Oxford, 2019). Infl (*o-*) shows a canonical *omnivorous* agreement pattern (Nevins, 2011; Preminger, 2014) where the higher ranked proximate argument is targeted regardless of whether it is the subject (3a,b) or the object (3c). Finally, C (*-n*) shows a curious pattern that I dub *reverse omnivority*, where instead the *lower* ranked obviative argument is agreed with regardless of whether it is the subject (3c) or object (3a,b). These patterns are the key data that the current analysis seeks to explain in a unified manner.

Ojibwe has many of the canonical properties of a nonconfigurational language as predicted by the Pronominal Argument Hypothesis (Jelinek, 1984) and the Polysynthesis Parameter (Baker, 1996), including *pro-* and argument-drop, highly rich agreement and head-marking, seemingly free word order, and discontinuous constituents. Despite this, the empirical findings, and the proposed analysis, bring Ojibwe into a growing body of work that argues Algonquian languages are in fact *configurational* (e.g. Brittain, 2001; Bruening, 2001b, 2009; LeSourd, 2006; Hamilton, 2015; Morris, 2018) in the sense that overt arguments of the verb occupy syntactic argument positions within a hierarchical phrase structure, rather than adjunct positions (Junker, 2004) or a position in a flat structure (Grafstein, 1984).

The central question of the paper is therefore *how* the syntax is configured to give rise to the combination of agreement and word order patterns shown above. The crux of the account is to establish the representations and operations that drive the alternations between the SO and OS argument orders. I link movement of the arguments to properties of and interactions between φ-probes on Voice and Infl, and both φ- and δ-probes on C. The major innovations are (i) extending a model of syntactic Agree to include a *relativized EPP*, which allows for the fine-grained regulation

which case it is from original fieldwork conducted by the author in Minnesota over the Summer and Fall of 2017 and the Summer of 2018.

of movement in addition to feature copying, and (ii) the adoption of a microparameterized *Activity Condition* (Chomsky, 2000, 2001; Oxford, 2017a), which leads the probe on Infl to bleed the possible agreement and movement relations on the higher probe on C, capturing reverse omnivority. The proposal is assessed by exploring how indefinite arguments are interpreted with respect to negation. The analysis leads to a critical comparison with previous accounts of agreement and word order in Algonquian and beyond.

2 OJIBWE MORPHOSYNTAX

Ojibwe is a continuum of closely related dialects spoken around the Great Lakes of North America. At present, there are as many as 90,000 speakers across the dialects. While the dialects are largely mutually intelligible, there are significant phonological, morphological, and syntactic differences (see Valentine (2001) and Sullivan (2016b) for reviews). Within linguistics, the eastern dialects have been the most studied. This literature includes significant descriptive work (e.g. the grammar of Valentine, 2001), as well as wide-ranging theoretical work (e.g. Béjar and Rezac, 2009; Lochbihler and Mathieu, 2013, 2016; Mathieu, 2013; Newell and Piggott, 2014; Barrie and Mathieu, 2012, 2016; Mathieu, 2014).

In the present paper, the dialect of interest is Border Lakes Ojibwe. This is generally classified as part of the Southwestern group, spoken in what is now Northern Minnesota, Northwestern Ontario, and Northern Wisconsin (Sullivan, 2016b). While estimates vary, it is likely that there are not more than 5,000 total speakers. The two speakers consulted come from the geographical area around the US-Canadian border — the Border Lakes region — approximately between International Falls, Minnesota and Thunder Bay, Ontario.

In the remainder of this section, I present three morphosyntactic properties of Ojibwe:[2] the obviation system, the verbal morphology, and the range of available word orders. Over the course of the discussion, the central facts relevant to the VOS/VSO alternation come into focus.

2.1 Obviation and direct-inverse voice

Obviation is a discourse sensitive system that organizes third person referents (e.g. Aissen, 1997). In Ojibwe, the system is most clearly active with ANIMATE nouns—it only plays a peripheral role in nouns in the INANIMATE class (for details, see Hammerly, 2023). Within a given domain, one referent is designated PROXIMATE, a morphologically unmarked distinction (4a), and all others are designated OBVIATIVE, a distinction marked with the suffix *-an* in the singular (4b).

(4) a. awe ikwe
DEM.PROX woman.PROX
'That woman (PROX)'

b. iniwe ikwew-an
DEM.OBV woman-OBV
'That woman (OBV)'

[2] I refer to Border Lakes Ojibwe simply as Ojibwe unless the discussion warrants further disambiguation.

How a particular referent is ultimately designated as proximate or obviative remains a largely open question. Obviation is thought to be related to topicality or prominence, but has also been understood as encoding perspective (Russell, 1996; Bliss, 2005; Muehlbauer, 2012; Hammerly and Göbel, 2019). An approximate description is that the perspective center or most topical third person referent is designated proximate, while all other referents are obviative.

Obviative marking is required in constructions where there are multiple animate third persons—most notably possessive constructions and transitive (and ditransitive) verbs. An example of obviative marking with a transitive verb, the focus of the paper, is shown in (5).

(5) o-gii-waabam-aa-n ikwew-an gwiiwizens
3-PAST-see-DIR-3′ woman-OBV boy.PROX
'The boy (PROX) saw the woman (OBV)' $3 \rightarrow 3'$

The sentence in (5) shows a DIRECT alignment: the subject is proximate and the object is obviative. This is most readily understood in contrast to INVERSE alignments (6), where the subject is obviative and the object is proximate.[3]

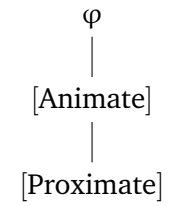
(6) o-gii-waabam-igoo-n gwiiwizens-an ikwe
3-PAST-see-INV-OBV boy-OBV woman.PROX
'the boy (OBV) saw the woman (PROX)' $3' \rightarrow 3$

These examples show that obviation is not necessarily tied to thematic role. Reversing obviative marking does not change the core propositional meaning of the utterance: both (5) and (6) mean 'the boy saw the woman'. Informally, the alternation is reported by speakers to be associated with a shift in perspective. Direct alignments, where the subject is proximate, take the perspective of the subject referent. Inverse alignments, where the object is proximate, take the perspective of the object referent. For this reason, speakers will often translate inverse sentences in passive voice (i.e. (6) would be translated as 'the woman was seen by the boy').

As evidenced by the examples above, obviation affects the form of φ-agreement on the verb. This has lead to a variety of proposals that place obviation within the wider theory of person, number, and noun classification (Bliss and Jesney, 2005; Hammerly, 2018, 2020, 2023; Oxford, 2019). For simplicity, I adopt the view that the relationships between φ-features can be described by appealing to a feature geometry (Harley and Ritter, 2002), as shown in (7). Since this paper focuses on the third persons, I restrict the discussion to that space. For the interested reader, a more detailed analysis of the feature system of Ojibwe, including issues that arise with the feature geometry, can be found in Hammerly (2020, 2021b, 2023).

[3] A note to clarify the adopted terminology: direct and inverse *alignments* refer to the syntactic arrangement of arguments. These alignments result in direct versus inverse *agreement*, which is the morphological marking on Voice. Direct and inverse *contexts* are discourses or situations that lead to the subject or object, in the case of transitive verbs with animate arguments, to be marked proximate or obviative. The primary concern of this paper is therefore direct/inverse alignments and agreement, not contexts.

(7) *Partial feature geometry for Algonquian third persons*



The geometry represents the idea that the presence of more specific features such as [Proximate] entail all less specific features (i.e. [Animate] and φ). This leads to the representation in (8) for each of the three singular third person categories.

(8) *Representation of singular third person categories under the feature geometry*

a. PROXIMATE: {φ, Animate, Proximate}
b. OBVIATIVE: {φ, Animate}
c. INANIMATE: {φ}

This representation is constrained such that only *animate* third persons can alternate in obviation status; furthermore, all local persons are inherently proximate. This follows from the entailment relationships enforced by the geometry. For Ojibwe, this is a desirable result: neither inanimate nor local nouns (overtly) alternate in obviation.[4] Most immediately relevant to note is that the category of obviative is represented by {φ, Animate}, while proximate is represented by {φ, Animate, Proximate}. The fact that the feature sets that define these two categories are in subset-superset relationships is critical to understanding how and when these arguments are targeted by agreement probes. In the next sections, the verbal morphology and patterns of agreement are detailed to set the stage for this account.

2.2 The verbal spine

The verbal morphology of Algonquian is the most intensely studied aspect of the language family (e.g. Nichols, 1980; Oxford, 2014, and references therein). For the present work, the verbal morphology is both something to be explained via agreement, but also a guide for determining the underlying structure and the landing sites for movement. This follows from the Mirror Principle of Baker (1985), where inner morphemes are taken to be heads of lower projections.

The shape of the proposed structure, shown in (9d), follows most closely the syntax proposed by Oxford (2019) for the Algonquin dialect of Ojibwe. Oxford focuses on the relationships between the verbal morphology and agreement probes: the theme sign corresponds to a probe on Voice, the

[4]The adopted feature geometry runs into issues with other Algonquian languages. Innu (Clarke, 1982) and Blackfoot (Bliss, 2005) show obviative markers on inanimate nouns. Blackfoot further shows a contrast between proximate and obviative local persons. This has motived alternative feature geometries (Bliss and Jesney, 2005), as well as proposals to abandon the feature geometry as a syntactic representation altogether (Hammerly, 2020, 2021a, 2023). A full accounting of these issues goes beyond the scope of this paper. The upshot is that, while the geometry adopted here cannot be claimed to be universal due to underprediction of the typology of possible obviation systems, it is sufficient to capture the relationships between features in Ojibwe and can be retained for present purposes.

central agreement and person prefix to a probe on Infl, and the peripheral agreement to a probe on C (here, corresponding more particularly to C_{agr}). For reference, the correspondences between the terminology used within the Algonquianist tradition and heads in the phrase structure are given in (9a,b), and exemplified in (9c).

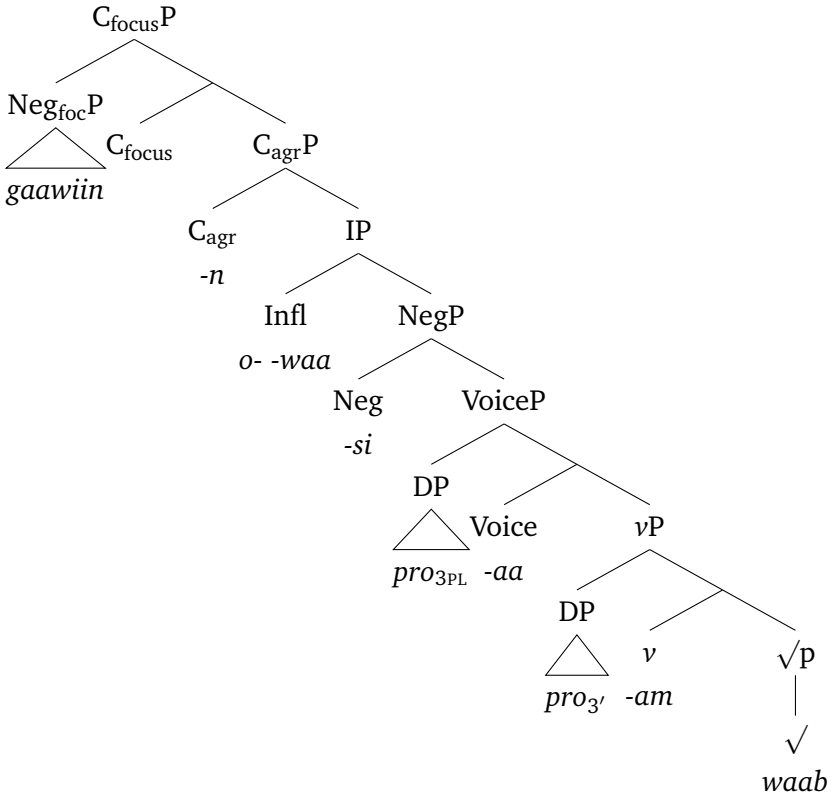
(9) *Ojibwe verbal template (for matrix verbs)*

a. **Person Prefix** + STEM + Final + *Theme Sign* + Negation + **Central** + Peripheral

b. **Infl** + $\sqrt{}$ROOT + *v* + *Voice* + Neg + **Infl** + C

c. gaawiin o- waab -am -aa -si -waa -n
Neg **Pre-** STEM -Final -*Theme* -Neg -**Cent** -Periph
'They (PROX) see h/ (OBV)

d.



I begin by detailing the properties of the heads along the Ojibwe verbal spine. This provides a number of landmarks to tie the complex morphological structure to familiar syntactic structures.

The root is verbalized via the category defining head *v*, which is identifiable as the *final* morpheme from the descriptive literature (Brittain, 2003), and also introduces the internal argument, in this example *pro*. Voice is realized as the morpheme referred to as the *theme sign* in the descriptive literature, and is the location where the external argument, also *pro* in the current example, is merged as a specifier (cf. Bruening, 2001a, 2005, 2009). I further assume that VoiceP defines a phase boundary (Chomsky, 2001; Van Urk, 2015), rendering its complement inaccessible to operations, a fact which comes into play in the analysis of C agreement.

The middle field is associated with negation and further agreement morphology. The first projection dominating VoiceP is NegP (Tilleson, 2019). Note that negation in Ojibwe matrix clauses is bipartite. I follow Tilleson (2019) in placing the semantic force of negation on Neg, with *gaawiin* being analyzed as a focus negator sitting in Spec,C_{focus}P. The role of negation is explored further in the discussion of scope in §4. Following Neg is Infl. I adopt an analysis where Infl does not encode tense, but rather person features (Ritter and Wiltschko, 2014; Zubizarreta and Pancheva, 2017). In matrix clauses, Infl is morphologically realized discontinuously as the person prefix and central agreement. Following Oxford (2019); Hammerly (2020), I assume that this falls in line with wider cross-linguistic patterns of person-number discontinuities accounted for by Harbour (2008).

The left periphery is expanded in Ojibwe to include a variety of topic and focus projections (Sullivan, 2016b) following the split CP hypothesis of Rizzi (1997). I have simplified the left periphery here to include only the central projections at play. The first is C_{agr}P, which shows φ-agreement and is realized as the peripheral agreement marker, but will also be claimed over the course of the paper to house a δ-probe (A′-probe) that drives movement of obviative objects. The second is the focus projection C_{focus}P. As mentioned above, following Tilleson (2019), this projection houses the focus negator *gaawiin* in its specifier.

A final note: the present analysis assumes that the morphemes scattered across the verbal spine are collected into a verbal complex via the cyclic application of head movement (Travis, 1984) or some other post-syntactic "raising" operation (e.g. as proposed by Harizanov and Gribanova, 2018). Verb raising of this sort has broad backing within the Algonquian family (Halle and Marantz, 1993; Richards, 2004; McGinnis, 1995; Lochbihler and Mathieu, 2013), and movement of the verb to the left periphery (i.e. to C_{focus}) derives the fact that main clauses in Ojibwe are strongly verb initial, with arguments generally appearing to the right of the verb, unless the discourse context licenses focus/topic movement to the left of the verb.

2.3 Agreement

To review, there are three probes scattered across the Ojibwe verbal spine: Voice, Infl, and C. In (10), I repeat the relevant portion of the morphological template for matrix clauses to aide in the parsing of the coming examples.

(10) *Inflectional template for projections relevant to agreement in matrix verbs*
Infl- STEM -Voice (-Neg) -Infl -C

I consider the patterns of agreement on Voice, Infl, and C relevant to the present paper in turn.

The basic alternation between the direct and inverse on Voice can be seen with the two examples in (11), with the 3SG → 3′SG alignment leading to the "direct" marker *-aa*, which is recognized here to be a third person agreement marker with the proximate object, and 3′SG → 3SG leading to the inverse marker *-igoo*. The inverse marker is analyzed as a "default" or "impoverished" form of Voice (Oxford, 2019, 2023). To preview the analysis (which follows the proposal of Oxford, 2023), the

inverse marker appears in these cases when Voice takes an ergative flavor, which lacks an agreement probe and therefore does not bear any features (hence the appearance of the default morphology).

(11) a. o- waab -am **-aa** -∅ -n
3- see -ANIM **-3/DIR** -SG -3′SG
'S/he (PROX) sees **h/ (OBV)**' 3SG → 3′SG

b. o- waab -am **-igoo** -∅ -n
3- see -ANIM **-INV** -SG -3′SG
'S/he (OBV) sees h/ (PROX)' 3′SG → 3SG

Infl is realized discontinuously as the person prefix + central agreement. In the previous examples, where both arguments were singular, only the person prefix *o-* appeared in the surface form. Changing only the proximate argument from singular to plural, shown with both direct and inverse alignments in (12), reveals that Infl is agreeing with the proximate argument in both person and number — central agreement is realized in the plural form *-waa* rather than the null singular form.

(12) a. **o-** waab -am -aa **-waa** -n
3- see -ANIM -3 **-PL** -3′SG
'**They (PROX)** see h/ (OBV)' 3PL → 3′SG

b. **o-** waab -am -igo **-waa** -n
3- see -ANIM -INV **-PL** -3′SG
'S/he (OBV) sees **them (PROX)**' 3′SG → 3PL

Considering now the patterns with a plural obviative in (13), with a return to a singular proximate argument, we see instead a change the form of peripheral agreement on C, now realized as a glottal stop -'. The number of the obviative argument does not affect Infl agreement in either direct or inverse alignments.

(13) a. o- waab -am -aa -∅ **-'**
3- see -ANIM -3 -SG **-3′PL**
'S/he (PROX) sees **them (OBV)**' 3SG → 3′PL

b. o- waab -am -igoo -∅ **-'**
3- see -ANIM -INV -SG **-3′PL**
'**They (OBV)** see h/ (PROX)' 3′PL → 3SG

Finally, both the proximate and obviative nouns can be plural, as shown in (14) for both direct and inverse alignments. This results in the expected forms of Infl and C, given what was observed in the examples in (12) and (13): Infl appears as *o- -waa* and C as -'.

(14) a. o- waab -am -aa -waa -'
3- see -ANIM -3 -PL -3′PL
'They (PROX) see them (OBV)' 3PL → 3′PL

b. o- waab -am -igo -waa -'
3- see -ANIM -INV -PL -3′PL

'They (OBV) see them (PROX)' 3′PL → 3PL

To summarize, Infl *omnivorously* agrees in person and number with the higher ranked proximate argument. That is, it agrees with the proximate argument regardless of whether it is the EA or IA. In contrast, C *omnivorously* agrees in person and number with the obviative argument.

The latter pattern on C is particularly striking, given that omnivorous patterns of agreement are generally observed to target "higher ranked" arguments with more marked feature sets such as plurals (Nevins, 2011) or participants (Preminger, 2014). Here, the previously noted set relation between proximate and obviative arguments is relevant—while it is possible to define a probe that specifically targets proximate arguments (i.e. a probe with [uProximate]), there is no feature that uniquely picks out obviative arguments to the exclusion of proximate (cf. Grishin, 2023b,a). This is due to the feature representation advanced in §2.1, where obviative arguments are defined by a subset of those features that define proximate arguments. As a result, any probe that can target obviative arguments should be equally satisfied by a proximate argument. This raises the question: How could a probe be configured to target a less specific argument over a more specific one?

This initially puzzling pattern of *reverse omnivority* receives an explanation based in the Activity Condition (Chomsky, 2000, 2001). To preview the analysis, Infl agrees with and deactivates the proximate argument, leaving only the obviative argument available for agreement on C. In other words, agreement on Infl *bleeds* the possible goals available to C. Since Infl always agrees with the higher ranked argument, agreement on C appears as a "reversal" of the hierarchy.

2.4 Word order alternations

There are six logically possible word orders for a transitive verb with overt arguments: two verb initial (VOS, VSO), two verb medial (SVO, OVS), and two verb final (SOV, OSV). In Ojibwe, only the verb-final word orders are considered ungrammatical in all contexts. Therefore the question arises as to how each of the four remaining word orders is licensed.

Determining the answer to this question is non-trivial—a fact that is due to both linguistic and extralinguistic factors. For example, determining whether elements have undergone movement within the discourse neutral V1 word orders cannot be tested with methods that have been useful in the Germanic literature, such as the relation of arguments to adverbs, as post-verbal adverbs are highly marked in Ojibwe, if not entirely ungrammatical. For this reason, tests of this sort do not appear. Furthermore, given that pronouns in Ojibwe only occur in non-neutral contexts in pre-verbal positions under topic and focus, the movement of all first and second person arguments, and third person pronominal arguments, is difficult to diagnose. For this reason, the paper focuses only on the behavior of overt nominals.

A second set of issues are the extralinguistic factors that influence judgments on word order (for a related discussion around Mayan, see Clemens and Coon, 2018). While there are many fluent speakers of Ojibwe, English has become the default language in many communities, and most L2 Ojibwe learners have English as their L1. The idea that word order is not contentful in Ojibwe is

pervasive among L2 learners, and English word orders are often imported to Ojibwe by default. Many L1 speakers are therefore accommodating of non-grammatical word orders, which can still be understood given the information encoded in obviation and direct/inverse agreement. Therefore speakers report that ungrammatical word orders 'makes sense', but upon further questioning reveal that they find the order to be unnatural. Much care was taken in the present paper to understand how my consultants distinguish between understandable sentences, and those which are grammatically licensed. These judgments were facilitated through discussions about accommodating L2 speech, and operationalizing judgments as being "first speaker speech"[5], "learner speech", or "nonsense". Learner speech was established as a sentence that was understandable, but was in some way unnatural. Furthermore, the two speakers consulted for this study learned English as a second language in adolescence, and grew up speaking only Ojibwe at home.

Beyond the judgments provided in the current paper, a case study on spontaneous speech and word order in Ojibwe by Sullivan (2016a) has established the conditions under which different word orders arise. Sullivan showed a single speaker of Ojibwe a series of pictures depicting transitive actions, and asked the speaker to describe what was going in each of the scenes. Sullivan found that VOS, and to a lesser extent VSO, dominates in naturally elicited speech—a finding consistent with the judgments reported here and the broader findings in the literature, which take VOS to be the 'basic' word order of many of the Ojibwe dialects (e.g. Tomlin and Rhodes, 1992; Valentine, 2001; Meyer, 2013; Dahlstrom, 2017). Furthermore, Sullivan showed that verb-medial word orders are associated with the fronting of topicalized, focused, and new subjects and objects, leading to SVO and OVS, respectively. This finding is consistent with analyses where the left periphery is associated with topic and focus positions (e.g. Rizzi, 1997).

The conditions under which VOS versus VSO arise are initially far less straightforward. Sullivan identifies a number of disparate factors that seem to condition this alternation, with the most robust being the focus of the present paper: VOS occurs preferentially in direct environments, though VSO can also occur; VSO occurs in inverse environments. The primary goal of the paper is to link the alternations between OS and SO with the patterns of agreement.

3 A MODEL OF AGREEMENT AND MOVEMENT

In this section I detail a novel formulation of the syntactic operation AGREE. I show the same basic algorithm can apply to capture both agreement qua feature copying and movement. I cover the basic properties of the system, which sets the stage for the account of agreement and word order in Ojibwe.

3.1 Feature copying

AGREE is not a single operation, but rather the sequence of steps. I propose four components: Search, Match, Copy, and Deactivate. I provide a novel formalization for each step in (15). While

[5] "First speaker" is a common term within the community for those who learned that language from birth.

this particular formulation is original to the present paper, it relies heavily on recent work on Agree. These connections are detailed throughout this section.

(15) *Sub-components of* AGREE

a. *Search*: A probe with a set P_{copy} of active features searches its locality-restricted c-command domain D for the (next) closest goal with a set of features G

b. *Match*: A probe determines Match with a goal via set intersection between P_{copy} and G. Match holds if $P_{copy} \cap G \neq \varnothing$. The set of matching features M between P_{copy} and G is defined as $P_{copy} \cap G = M$.

c. *Copy*: If Match holds, the set G is Copied to the probe

d. *Deactivate*: A feature F, where $F \in P_{copy}$, is deactivated iff $F \in G$ (i.e. F is in the set of matching features M). The probe is halted iff all features $F \in P_{copy}$ are deactivated, or all goals within D have been Searched

Let us unpack a few of the assumptions that underlie the proposed procedure for Agree and the representation over which it operates. I assume a representation where a single set of features (P_{copy}, in the above formulation) governs the behavior of the probe with respect to feature copying. This is, for current purposes, a notational variant of a model that uses so-called "uninterpretable" or "unvalued" features uF to represent the features that a given agreement probe is relativized for (e.g., following Chomsky, 2000, 2001). In the current paper, I refrain from using the uF notation to define probes for two reasons. First, the ultimate proposal will require clearly distinguishing features that trigger feature copying (P_{copy}) versus movement (P_{move}), and the uF notatation does not clearly encode that distinction without modification. Second, and perhaps more importantly, the uF notation has been interpreted in various ways since its introduction in Chomsky (2000, 2001), and I hope to avoid that baggage and ambiguity. In the current paper, there is no role for unvalued or uninterpretable features in the strictest sense of each term, nor any role for the concept of "valuation" in the sense that a goal "values" a probe. I assume following Preminger (2014) that the set of features in P_{copy} (and P_{move}) are not "derivational time bombs" that cause a crash at the interfaces if not deactived, but rather simply "triggers" for the obligatory application of the Agree procedure. If the features that trigger Agree are not deactivated prior to the interfaces, then they are simply ignored.

With these first representational assumptions in hand, we can return to direct consideration of the procedure in (15). The first step, Search, is triggered as soon as a probe with a set of features P_{copy} is merged into the derivation. This automatically derives the downward searching behavior of a probe. Following the *obligatory operations* model of Preminger (2014), Search occurs no matter what — if there is no Matching goal, then no Copying or Deactivation occurs. If, however, the probe and goal *do* Match, then the full set of features from the goal is Copied back to the probe, and the individual features that overlap with the goal are Deactivated and are not used to determine match between a probe and goal on future cycles. It follows, then, that in the case where P_{copy} contains features that are *not* found on G, the non-matching features of P_{copy} remain active for future cycles

of the procedure. That is, the procedure can leave and *active residue* in the sense of Béjar and Rezac (2009). The procedure therefore repeats until either all features of the probe have been successfully deactivated via Match, or all potential goals have been found by Search.

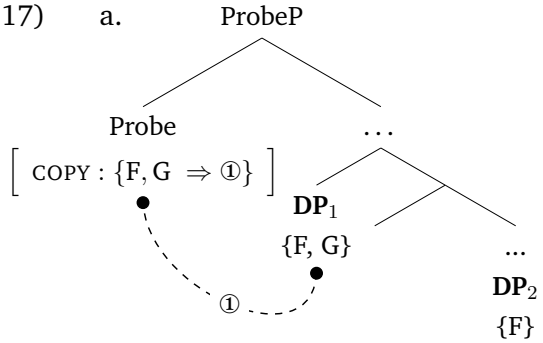
Note, I assume a model of the copying component of the procedure where the full set G of the goal is copied back to the probe when Match holds. In other words, agreement is *featurally coarse* (Preminger, 2014; Coon and Keine, 2021; Royer and Deal, 2023; Hammerly, 2024). The difference from its original formulation is that coarseness is not restricted only to situations of clitic doubling (cf. Preminger, 2014), but rather applies to all instances of φ-agreement (Coon and Keine, 2021; Royer and Deal, 2023; Hammerly, 2024).

Let us see how this system works with two hypothetical syntactic configurations shown in (17). The example utilizes toy features [F] and [G], where it is assumed that the presence of [G] geometrically entails [F]. We can specify a probe for feature copying as in (16), where P_{copy} = {F, G}. On the probe itself, I will just label these sets with COPY: α, where α is a set of features.

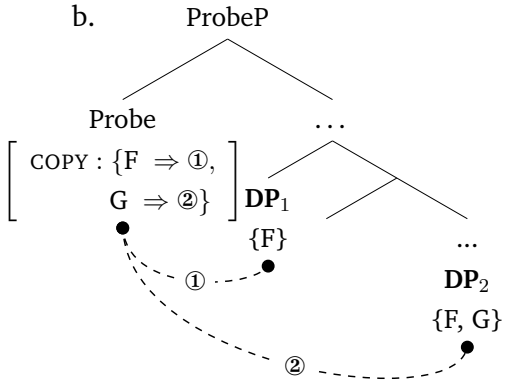
(16) Probe = [COPY: {F, G}]

With this toy probe defined, let us consider first (17a), where the more specified DP_1 with features {F, G} is closer to the probe than the less specified DP_2 with features {F}. Note, "⇒" indicates which particular features of the probe (written on the left side of the arrow) are matched/deactivated on a given cycle of Agree (indicated on the right side of the arrow, where each cycle is indicated by a numbered, dashed line between the probe and goal). Here, both features of the probe match with the goal, and therefore both are deactivated in the first cycle of AGREE. There is thus no motivation to Search DP_2, so only the features of DP_1 are copied back to the probe. This contrasts with the configuration in (17b), where the same probe leads to multiple sequential (i.e. not simultaneous) agreement relationships. In this case, DP_1 only deactivates a single feature of the probe [F], leaving [G] still active to trigger a second cylce of Agree. Subsequent agreement with DP_2 leads to a match with [G], triggering the copying of DP_2's features to the probe, deactivating that feature, and halting further cycles of Agree.

(17) a.



b.



This representation and procedure captures a number of the now well-known properties of Agree. First, that a single probe can (cyclically) trigger multiple instances of feature copying from

different goals within its domain, and this depends on both the particular features of the probe and the syntactic geometry of different arguments (e.g. Béjar, 2003; Béjar and Rezac, 2009; Coon and Keine, 2021). Specifically, a probe will engage in further cycles of Agree if it continues to have active features and the search domain has not been exhausted. Second, the particular "stopping" conditions of a probe will differ, so not all probes will show such behavior. For example, a probe [COPY: {F}] would be halted by the first goal it encounters in both of the cases sketched in (17), as both DPs share the feature F. Such a probe can be referred to as "flat". Finally, a probe can be *relativized* (Rizzi, 1990; Béjar, 2003; Preminger, 2014) such that it will skip what might *a priori* be considered a viable target for copying (i.e. show *omnivorous* behavior). If we replace the probe in (17) with [COPY: {G}], in a configraution like (17a) nothing would change. However, in (17b) the probe would appear to "skip" the more local DP_1, as it would fail to match the features of the probe and therefore fail to trigger copying, and thus only copy the features of DP_2, which is the first goal within its domain that bears G. Further properties of this basic system will be articulated following the immediately forthcoming discussion of movement.

3.2 The relativized EPP

One of the major insights of the analysis is to tie together the patterns of agreement and movement with a unified system. This is accomplished through a model where movement uses the same basic algorithm as the one specified above for feature copying. However, feature copying in the proposed system will not *necessarily* be followed by movement—the two types of probes will be specified independently (cf. Chomsky, 2000, 2001; Carstens, 2005; Bošković, 2007; Van Urk, 2015). Furthermore, the formulation is neutral to the *type* of movement and agreement relationship involved. Following the featural view of movement proposed by Van Urk (2015), I assume the difference between A- and A′-movement stems from the features at play, rather than the particular position to which movement occurs. In this view, A-movement occurs following φ-agreement, while A′-movement occurs following δ-agreement (where δ is a generic term for A′-features related to things like wh-movement, focus, topicalization, etc).

I encode the trigger for movement through independent EPP *conditions* on the probe, which I refer to as the set P_{move} or notate with MOVE: β, where β is a set of features (an analogous notation to what has already been introduced for copy). This amounts to extending the model detailed in the previous section to include conditions for (internal) Merge. The probe representation is given in full in (18).

(18) Probe = [COPY: α, MOVE: β]

The claim is that EPP conditions define which categories can undergo movement to the specifier of the probe and when searching for such a goal stops. Like conditions on copying, EPP conditions can be *relativized* to seek particular sets of features. Relativization of a probe's EPP conditions may be different from the conditions on feature copying. There are no extrinsic restrictions on the

system, so a probe may have more specific features for copying than move, or vice versa. Similarly, a probe may lack triggers for copying or movement, so engage in agreement without movement, or movement without agreement.

Searching, Matching, and Deactivating can all be done within the previously defined sequence of Agree by simply replacing Copy with Move and P_{copy} with P_{move}. The AGREE procedure tuned for the EPP is given in (19). Instead of comparing the set on the goal with the set defining the agreement conditions, the EPP conditions are compared. When Search has found the (next) closet goal to the probe, if the goal Matches the conditions of the probe, then internal Merge (Move) is triggered (cf. Copy being triggered when the agreement conditions are met), bringing the goal to the specifier position of the probe. In turn, the deactivation procedure can check the EPP conditions of the probe.

(19) *Application of* AGREE *for EPP-driven movement*

a. *Search*: A probe with a set P_{move} of active features searches its locality-restricted c-command domain D for the (next) closest goal with a set of features G

b. *Match*: A probe determines Match with a goal via set intersection between P_{move} and G. Match holds if $P_{move} \cap G \neq \varnothing$. The set of matching features M between P_{move} and G is defined as $P_{move} \cap G = M$.

c. *Move*: If Match holds, the goal is Merged with the probe

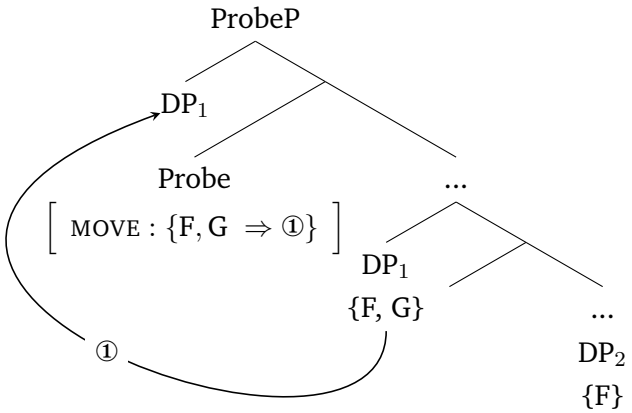
d. *Deactivate*: A feature F, where $F \in P_{move}$, is deactivated iff $F \in G$ (i.e. F is in the set of matching features M). The probe is halted iff all features $F \in P_{move}$ are deactivated, or all goals within D have been Searched

The proposed relativized EPP finds a number of relevant connections and comparisons with previous work. First, with the recent account of direct/inverse agreement systems by Zubizarreta and Pancheva (2017), who advance the *P(erson)-Constraint*, which states that certain projections require a D(P) with a [Participant] feature within their edge (i.e. specifier) position. The authors suggest that for Algonquian languages, this constraint may be formulated such that arguments with a [Proximate] feature (local and proximate third persons) must occupy the edge of certain phrases. Yet other languages require a first or second person—D(P)s with [Author] or [Addressee], respectively—to occupy the edge. In other words, the edge requirement can be relativized to target particular categories. For Zubizarreta and Pancheva, the requirement is formulated as an interface condition—a filter on the derivation following the syntactic component. Setting aside the details, they argue that if a head bears an *interpretable* participant/proximate feature, then the P-Constraint requires that projection to have a participant/proximate-bearing D(P) in its edge position, or else the structure is ill-formed. The current proposal can derive the consequences of such a filter from the EPP conditions, with no need for a new type of constraint on well-formedness at the interfaces: if the EPP condition of a probe is relativized up to [Part] or [Prox] and an argument with the desired feature is within the Search domain of the probe, movement of a local or proximate argument to the edge of that probe will respectively occur.

A second, more critical comparison is with Carstens' (2005) theory of the EPP as a "subfeature" of *u*F features in Bantu languages (for an identical proposal couched within the "interaction/satisfaction" model, see Deal (2022)). This would make the EPP parasitic on the conditions on feature copying, rather than independently specifiable conditions on movement. Deciding whether conditions on EPP satisfaction should be intrinsically linked to the conditions on feature copying is an empirical question, and the current paper bears directly on this question. I show that, contrary to Carstens' (and Deal's) proposal, the patterns of Ojibwe uniquely support the current model, where the conditions on the EPP can be specified independently of those that govern feature copying. This is discussed further in 5.3.

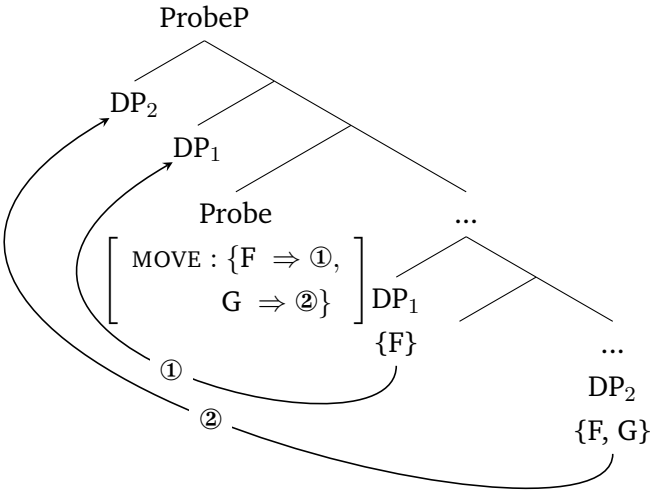
The remainder of this section is dedicated to abstractly detailing the basic aspects of the relativized EPP. I begin by considering the behavior of a probe of the sort in (18a). In the most basic case, which corresponds to a "direct" alignment where the more featurally specified DP is syntactically higher than the less specified DP, is where the EPP conditions of the probe are fully satisfied by the closest DP, which is moved to the probe's specifier. This is shown in (20).

(20) *The basic case: A single goal fully satisfies the probe*



Holding the probe constant, we see that a reverse alignment of arguments (where the less specified DP is now syntactically higher than the more specified DP) adds another layer of complexity, schematized in (21). The initial Agree relation only matches with and deactivates [F] within the conditions on the probe. This triggers movement in ①, where the goal DP_1 is attracted to the first specifier of the probe, but leaves [G] active, resulting in a second cycle of Agree. Given that DP_2 matches the still active feature of the probe, it is attracted to the second specifier of the ProbeP, shown in step ②. This results in a multiple specifier configuration (e.g. McGinnis, 1998; Hiraiwa, 2001; Rackowski and Richards, 2005).

(21) *Sequential application of* AGREE *with multiple DPs results in multiple specifiers*



With the basic properties of both agreement and movement established, let us now turn to detailing how derivations proceed in the case of multiple specifiers.

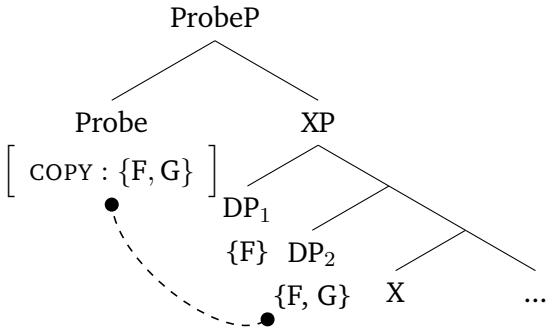
3.3 The Best Match principle in agreement and movement

The knock-on effects for further agreement and movement once two potential goals are in a multiple specifier configuration deserves a careful look. Following Oxford (2019), I adopt the view that multiple specifiers are *equidistant* from higher heads (see also Hornstein, 2009). This opens the question of how agreement and movement are determined in these cases, given that probes target the *closest* goal within their c-command domain. I again follow Oxford (see also Coon and Bale, 2014; Van Urk, 2015) in appealing to a Best Match principle in deciding how agreement and movement relations move forward with equidistant goals. I provide a revised formulation in (22), which extends the principle to both agreement and EPP conditions.

(22) *Best Match (cf. Coon and Bale, 2014; Van Urk, 2015; Oxford, 2019)*
When there are n goals G_1, G_2, ..., G_n that are equidistant from a probe P, P copies features from/moves the goal that matches the most COPY/MOVE conditions of P.

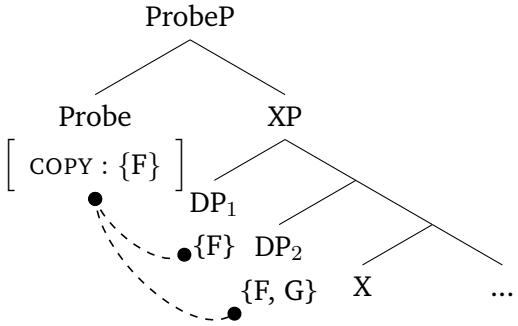
Consider first the consequences for feature copying with the [COPY:{F, G}] probe in (23). Here, the probe Searches and finds both of DP_1 and DP_2 as equidistant goals. In this case, DP_2 provides the Best Match for the probe—DP_1 lacks the feature [G]. Therefore only the features of DP_2 are Copied back to the probe.

(23) *Best Match with agreement can decide between equidistant goals if one wins out*



A contrasting situation arises with the less articulated [COPY:{F}] probe in (24). Again, both DP_1 and DP_2 are found during Search to be equidistant goals. However, neither one has an edge with respect to Best Match: both are specified for [F]. This precipitates *Multiple Agree*, where the features of both DP_1 and DP_2 are Copied back to the probe (Hiraiwa, 2001; Oxford, 2019).

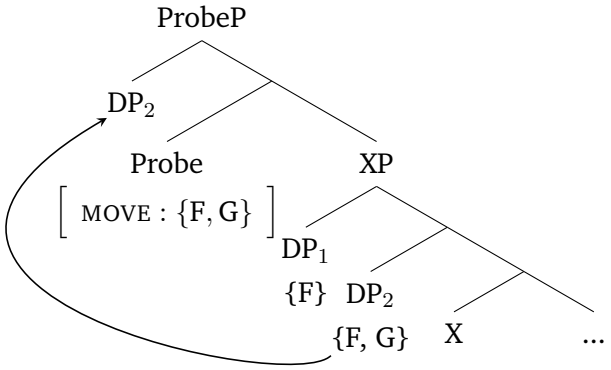
(24) *Best Match with agreement leads to Multiple Agree if equidistant goals match equally*



This requires the operation governing feature copying to have the ability to copy back two sets of features within a single derivational step. As will be argued in a moment, feature copying contrasts with the operation of internal Merge triggered by the EPP, where the corresponding phenomena "Multiple Move" is derivationally ill-formed (cf. Hiraiwa, 2001).

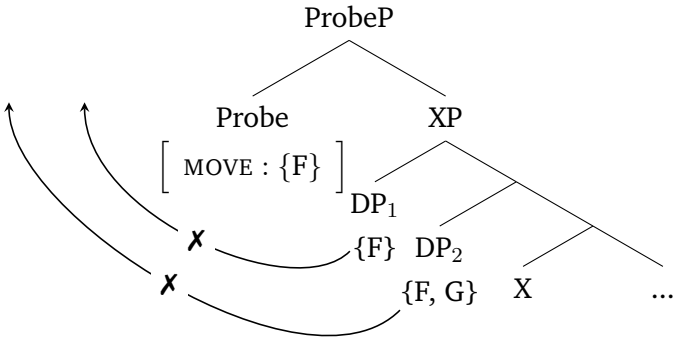
First, consider the case in (25), where the probe is specified for [MOVE:{F, G}]. In this case, DP_2 provides the Best Match for the probe, precipitating Movement to Spec,ProbeP.

(25) *Best Match with EPP moves a single equidistant goal if one wins out*



The final case to consider is in (26), where both DP_1 and DP_2 are equidistant *and* equally Matched with the MOVE conditions of the probe. As was the case with the COPY conditions, Best Match does not allow the probe to decide between these two arguments. In principle this should trigger Multiple Move, where both arguments are moved to the specifier of the probe *at once*. However, following the same logic that Coon and Keine (2021) use to explain the ineffability of clitic doubling in the PCC family of effects, this would require Merge to relate three elements simultaneously (DP_1, DP_2, and ProbeP). Since Merge is a binary operation that can only relate two elements at a time, this rules out the possibility of Multiple Move. As a result, *neither* of the arguments move to the specifier of the probe. This will be shown to explain restrictions on A-movement to Spec,IP in Ojibwe.

(26) *Best Match with EPP cannot move multiple equidistant goals if both match equally*



The above logic rests on the assumption that in configurations like (26) the need to *find* a goal that matches the MOVE conditions of the probe has been satisfied or checked, but the derivation has conspired to make actual movement impossible. So the relevant features *have* been deactivated, despite the failure to actually move the argument(s). More generally, EPP conditions can be left unchecked or "active" (and the specifier can remain unfilled) without causing a crash in the derivation at the interfaces. That is, there is such a thing as "failed movement". This makes them analogous to the conditions that govern feature copying, where so-called "failed agreement" configurations, which leave some or all COPY conditions unchecked, are not lethal to the derivation (Preminger, 2011, 2014; Deal, 2015).

In any case, the claim that a failure to deactivate EPP conditions (or a failure to move the relevant argument to the specifier of probe) does *not* result in a derivational crash may come as a surprise, given that many languages (e.g. English) seem to require the insertion of an expletive argument to "rescue" derivations where movement of a lower argument does not occur. A solution can be found by appealing to the logic of the obligatory operations model: if you *can* meet the conditions of the probe, then you *must* meet them (but if you try and fail, nothing goes wrong). The relevant point of variation is whether a given language makes available an expletive to be *externally* Merged. When a language does have an expletive available, this becomes part of the calculus: Expletives are externally Merged with Spec,ProbeP just in case the EPP conditions have

not been otherwise satisfied. If a language does not have an expletive available, this position is left unfilled and the EPP conditions remain unsatisfied without causing a crash.

4 ACCOUTING FOR OJIBWE

This section provides an account of the patterns of agreement and word order in Ojibwe using the model of Agree developed in the previous section. To review, there are four agreement slots in Ojibwe, summarized in the table in (27).

(27) *Agreement with 3*SG/PL ↔ *3′*SG/PL *configurations*

Infl	$\sqrt{} + v$	Voice	Infl	C
Prefix	Stem + Final	Theme	Central	Peripheral
o-	waab-am	-aa/-igo(o)	-∅/-waa	-n/-’
3-	see	-3/-INV	-SG/-PL	-3′SG/3′PL

From the inside out, Voice alternates between a direct marker that indexes the person/obviation of the object, and the impoverished inverse form; Infl omnivorously agrees in person/number with the proximate argument; finally, C omnivorously agrees in person/number with the obviative argument. These patterns all find a principled explanation with the system outlined in the previous section, and motivate the adoption of the *Activity Condition* (cf. Chomsky, 2000, 2001) on Infl.

As for word order, direct alignments show an alternation between VOS and VSO word orders, with the former being preferred. With inverse alignments, only the VSO word order is grammatical. The preferred word orders (VOS in direct and VSO in inverse) both place the obviative argument to the left of the proximate argument. This generalization, and the alternation with direct alignments, will be tied to the mixed φ/δ properties of the probe on C, which is crucially fed and bled by interactions from the earlier probes on Voice, and Infl.

Throughout, I provide evidence for the proposal by examining how indefinite arguments take scope with respect to negation under different word orders and alignments. Given that negation is specified above Voice and below Infl and C, this provides a test for whether or not the arguments have indeed escaped the VP. The results bolster the view of the extraction of the object drives the VOS/VSO alternation in the direct alignments, supports the predicted restrictions on A-movement due to the impossibility of Multiple Move out of double specifier constructions, and provides evidence that indefinite proximate arguments are positive polarity items (PPIs).

4.1 Defining our three probes

The present account takes as its starting point the recent proposal by Oxford (2023), where Voice can appear in one of two varieties: “plain” or “ergative” (see also Hammerly & Mathieu 2024 for an application of this proposal to conjunct order agreement/movement in Border Lakes Ojibwe, also discussed here in §5.1). Plain voice (28a) has conditions for both agreement and movement such that it will copy features from and be halted by any φ-bearing element that it finds, but will

only move those with a participant feature. Ergative voice is only specified for a "flat" movement probe, which will move any φ-bearing element within its search domain (i.e. it invariably moves the internal argument), but does not copy any features.[6] To preview the coming analysis , this lack of features with ergative Voice ultimately leads to the spell-out of the "elsewhere" form, otherwise known as the inverse marker.

(28) a. Voice = [COPY: {φ}, MOVE: {PART}]
b. $\text{Voice}_{\text{ERG}}$ = [MOVE: {φ}]

Correspondingly, Oxford (2023) shows that these two varieties of Voice have different distributions that are determined by nominal licensing requirements (I refer the reader to that work for details). The upshot is that direct-aligned clauses where proximate acts on obviative only converge when plain Voice is merged into the derivation, while inverse-aligned clauses where obviative acts on proximate only converge when ergative Voice is merged. I make the same assumption here.

The probe on Infl, shown in (29), has conditions for both agreement and movement. For agreement, Infl will copy features from any φ-bearing element, but will only be fully deactivated when it finds a goal with a proximate feature. The EPP conditions are completely generic, so the most local φ-bearing goal will undergo movement to Spec,IP. We will see this come to a head when double specifier configurations arise, leading to an impasse as to which equally-matched argument to move.

(29) Infl = [COPY: {φ, PROX}, MOVE: {φ}]

I further assume that independent order Infl *deactivates* arguments with which it agrees, bleeding its goals to participate in further agreement relations with higher probes such as C. Much recent work on agreement, going back to the Activity Condition of Chomsky (2000, 2001), has recognized that certain probes leave their goals open to additionally satisfy a subsequent probe, while others appear to block their goal(s) from entering into further agreement relationships. The proposal is therefore that Infl (in matrix clauses—the so-called "independent order") in Border Lakes Ojibwe bears such a property. However, it is important to emphasize that the Activity Condition is neither expected to be consistent across languages nor within a single language. This follows straightforwardly if the Activity Condition is a "microparameter", as proposed by Oxford (2017a). Indeed, in Border Lakes Ojibwe, recent work by Hammerly and Mathieu (2024) has shown that Infl in embedded clauses (the "conjunct order") does *not* have a deactivating effect on its goals. As such, we see the microparamerization of the Activity Condition on Infl as a matter of clause type in Border Lakes Ojibwe. As I discuss further in 5.2, this (micro)parametrization may also be leveraged to explain differences across the Algonquian family in patterns of C-agreement (cf. Grishin, 2023b,a).

Finally, C bears two probes, shown in (30). First, a flat φ-probe, which will copy features from and move the first active φ-bearing XP that it encounters. I assume these conditions are additionally

[6] Recall that, on a theory like Carstens (2005) or Deal (2022), such a probe is impossible to specify, as EPP features are conceptualized as parasitic on the features that define agreement/feature copying.

tuned such that feature copying will occur with any φ-bearing element (i.e. not just DPs), while *only* DPs can be moved. Second, C bears a δ-probe, which triggers A′-movement of any DP that bears δ-features (but does not copy those features).

(30) C = [COPY: {φ}, MOVE: {φ}],
[MOVE: {δ}]

With our probes defined, we can turn to accounting for agreement and word order in Ojibwe.

4.2 Direct alignments

To review what needs to be captured, direct alignments are characterized by an obviative argument in the internal argument (IA) position, and a proximate argument in the external argument (EA) position. Voice surfaces as a third person "direct" marker *-aa*, Infl indexes the person and number features of the proximate EA, and C indexes the person and number features of the obviative IA. From here, we observe variation in whether such clauses appear with VOS versus VSO word order.

The key proposal to derive the VOS/VSO alternation in direct-aligned clauses is in whether the obviative IA is or is not specified for a δ-feature. If the obviative IA lacks a δ-feature, then it remains in situ and VSO word order is derived. If the obviative IA is specified for a δ-feature, then it satisfies the conditions of the δ-probe on C, and is moved above the proximate EA to the specifier of CP, deriving VOS word order.

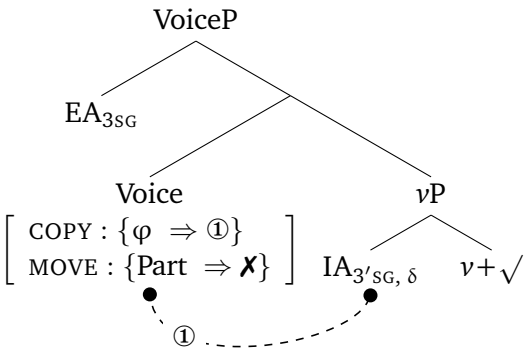
4.2.1 VOS Direct

I begin with the derivation of VOS word order in direct-aligned clauses, shown in (31). The full example is repeated in (31a), while the subsequent sub-examples show the derivation from Voice (31b), to Infl (31c) to C (31d). A detailed walk-through is given in the text below the example.

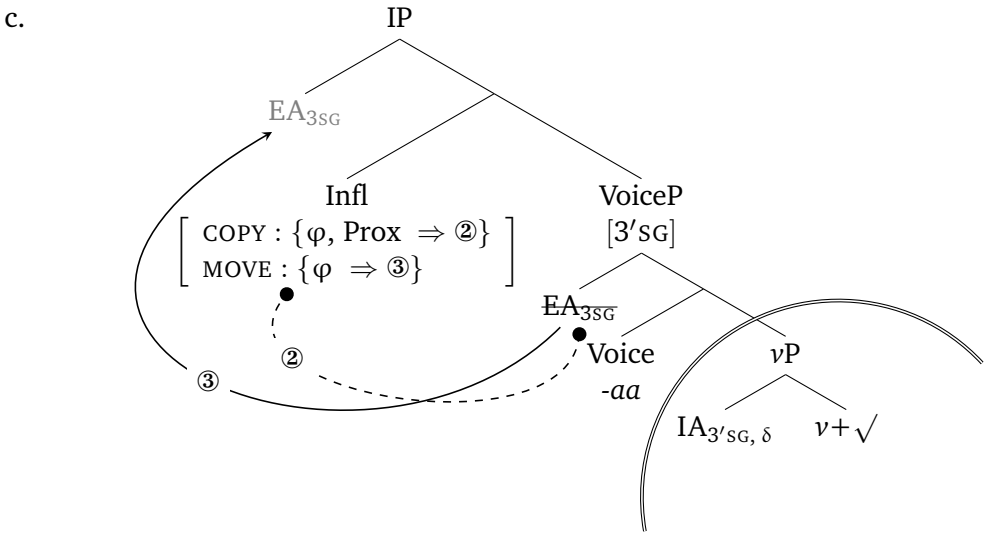
(31) *Derivation of VOS direct (3 → 3′) alignments*

a. o-gii-waabam-aa-n ikwew-an gwiiwizens
3-PAST-see.VTA-DIR-3′ woman-OBV boy.PROX
'The boy (PROX) saw the woman' (OBV)' ✓$V_{DIR}O_{OBV}S_{PROX}$

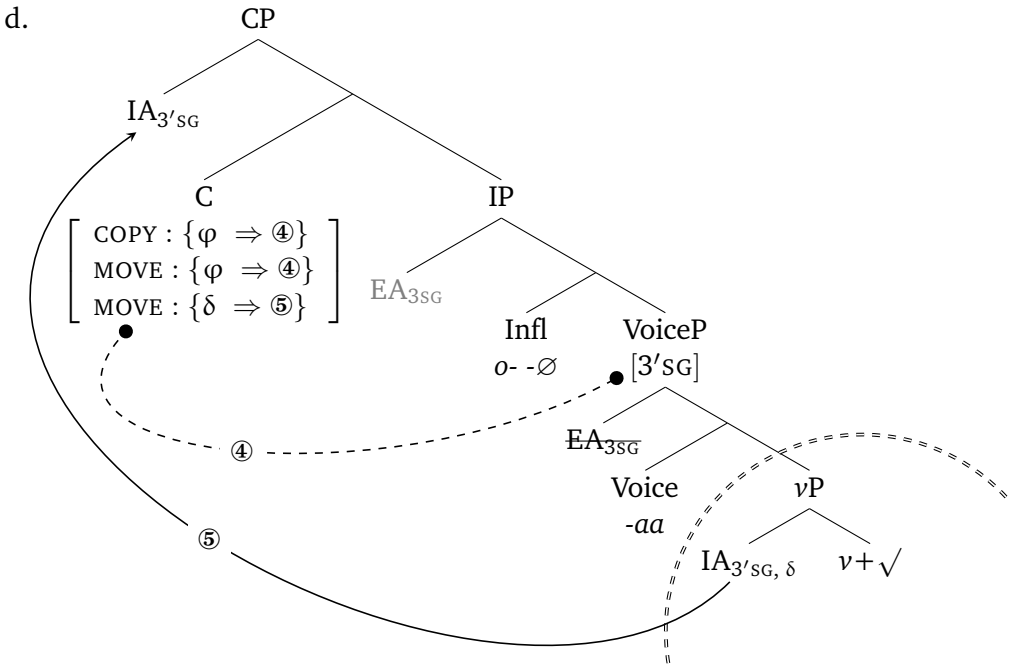
b.



c.



d.



First (step ① in (31b)) plain Voice probes down and finds the obviative IA, which it copies features from, but does not move, as it does not meet the EPP conditions of the probe, which require the specification of [Participant]. Then, Infl probes down (step ② in (31c)) and agrees with the proximate EA. Since the EPP conditions of the probe are met, this triggers movement of the EA to Spec,IP (step ③). Having undergone agreement with independent order Infl, the EA is deactivated and unavailable to subsequent operations (indicated in gray).

C-agreement, shown in in (31d), is more involved. The first step is φ-agreement with VoiceP (step ④). Given that the EA has been deactivated by Infl, and the IA (at this point) is trapped within the complement of the phase defined by Voice, the closest active φ-bearing element is VoiceP, which

previously collected the φ-set of the obviative IA via agreement.[7] This agreement alleviates the Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC; Chomsky, 2000, 2001) on the VoiceP phase via *unlocking* (Rackowski and Richards, 2005; Halpert, 2019; Branan, 2018). This allows the phase complement to be open for subsequent operations, most pertinently A′-extraction of the IA.[8]

Given that the φ-probe on C has [φ] as a MOVE condition (which will be necessary to account for the inverse alignments, discussed below), there is a question of why VoiceP, which is targeted by the probe, does not move. As previewed above, I assume that the MOVE conditions for this probe only drive movement of nominal XPs (i.e. XPs with the relevant nominal-defining features). This is analogous, for example, to what is assumed for Zulu by Halpert (2019), where CPs are not moved (infinitival TPs and nominals are optionally moved) despite agreeing with a probe with an EPP feature (see §5.3 for further discussion). VoiceP, being part of the verbal spine, is not specified for such a feature, and therefore is not moved to this position. However, despite the lack of movement, I assume that the feature [φ] within the MOVE conditions is still checked and deactivated since the goal contains that feature. As a result, further agreement relations are purely driven by the [δ] feature within the MOVE conditions of the probe.

Moving forward, step ⑤ is δ-agreement, which directly targets the obviative IA that bears a δ-feature. This triggers A′-movement to Spec,CP. Given that δ-features are optional on DPs (Van Urk, 2015), these final two steps are, broadly speaking, optional. In derivations where the feature is present on the obviative argument, then the IA is attracted to Spec,CP and undergoes A′-movement above the proximate EA, deriving VOS word order. Furthermore, given that the proximate argument has been deactivated by Infl, even if it were specified for a δ-feature, it could never be targeted by the δ-probe on C.

4.2.2 VSO Direct

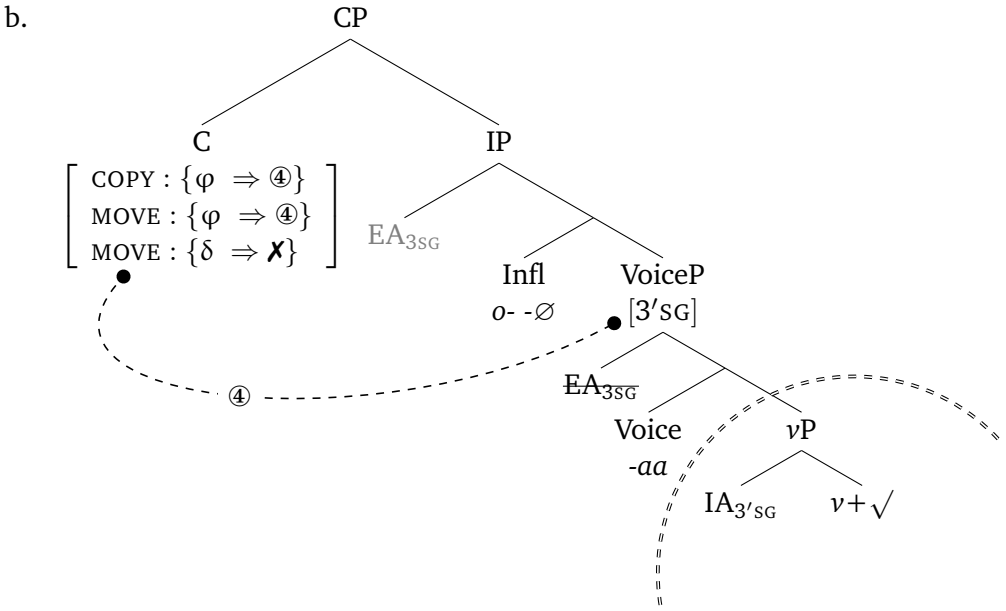
This leads us now to the derivation of the VSO word order in direct alignments, shown in (32). I give a partial derivation of the just the crucial step on C, detailed in text below the example.

(32) *Derivation of VSO direct (3 → 3′) alignments*

a. o-gii-waabam-aa-n gwiiwizens ikwe-wan
3-PAST-see.VTA-DIR-3′ boy.PROX woman-OBV
'The boy (PROX) saw the woman (OBV)' $V_{DIR}S_{PROX}O_{OBV}$

[7] I assume that only the φ-features of the IA have been copied by agreement with Voice, as the probe is a φ-agreement probe. This ensures the δ-features of the IA are not passed up to VoiceP and are unavailable in the first round of probing.

[8] An alternative characterization that eschews an appeal to phases and the PIC would be to consider phi-bearing VoiceP as an intervenor for the probe, creating an A-over-A configuration and blocking access to the IA (Chomsky, 1964; Halpert, 2012, 2015, 2019). This would additionally require that IP, which bears the φ-features of the proximate EA, be deactivated along with the EA itself so that they do *not* intervene.



Agreement and movement with Voice and Infl proceed in an identical fashion to what was described in (31b,c) for VOS clauses, with Voice copying the features of the IA, and Infl copying the features of the EA, triggering movement to Spec,IP, and deactivating the argument. Similarly, as shown in (32b), φ-agreement on C (step ④) targets VoiceP and copies its previously acquired obviative third person features. The difference lies in the fact that the obviative IA does *not* bear a δ-feature, therefore the IA fails to meet the EPP conditions of the δ-probe on C and remains in situ.

To summarize, whether or not A′-movement to Spec,CP occurs (i.e. whether the obviative IA has the optional δ-feature) accounts for the optional VOS/VSO word order alternations in the direct alignments.

4.2.3 Predictions for scope

The proposed movement should be expected to give way to a particular scope relationship between the moved proximate subject and negation, providing a testing ground for the proposal. To reprise the discussion from §2.2, there are two elements associated with negation in matrix clauses. The first, *gaawiin*, is a focus negator following Tilleson (2019). The second element, the morpheme within the verbal complex *-sii*, encodes sentential negation, which is located immediately above VoiceP. As a result, the scope of the arguments with respect to negation in each different case provides a critical test for whether there is or is not movement out of the VP.

First, we should see that proximate EAs, which were proposed to undergo movement above negation to Spec,IP regardless of word order, take wide scope, as schematized in (33) for the VSO cases (but the same holds for the VOS cases).

(33) *Moved proximate subject (VSO shown here),* ∃ » NEG *predicted*
gaawiin ogii-waabamaasiin gwiiwizens$_{\text{SUBJ}}$ [$_{\text{NegP}}$ NEG [$_{\text{VoiceP}}$ <DP$_{\text{SUBJ}}$> ... ikwewan$_{\text{OBJ}}$]]

The judgments in (34) support this prediction, with indefinite subjects in both the VOS and VSO word orders taking wide scope over negation. The unavailability of the narrow scope reading follows from the general finding that A-movement resists reconstruction.

(34) a. gaawiin o-gii-nageshkaw-aa-sii-n Ziibiins-an bezhig gwiiwizens
NEG.FOC 3-PAST-meet-DIR-NEG-OBV Ziibiins-OBV one boy.PROX
'A boy (PROX) didn't meet Ziibiins (OBV)' VOS

(i) *NEG » ∃: There is no boy x such that x met Ziibiins.

(ii) ∃ » NEG: There is a boy x such that x did not meet Ziibiins.

b. gaawiin o-gii-nageshkaw-aa-sii-n bezhig gwiiwizens Ziibiins-an
NEG.FOC 3-PAST-meet-DIR-NEG-OBV one boy.PROX Ziibiins-OBV
'A boy (PROX) didn't meet Ziibiins (OBV)' VSO

(i) *NEG » ∃: There is no boy x such that x met Ziibiins.

(ii) ∃ » NEG: There is a boy x such that x did not meet Ziibiins.

Second, we should see that the different word orders should correspond to different scope relationships between an existential quantifier on the obviative IA and negation. When the object undergoes movement, as proposed in the case of VOS, it should be able to take wide scope, as shown in (35a). In contrast, it should be interpreted with narrow scope when it remains in situ, as in the VSO case schematized in (35b).

(35) *Moved object (VOS),* ∃ » NEG *predicted*
gaawiin ogii-waabamaasiin ikwewan$_{OBJ}$ gwiiwizens$_{SUBJ}$ [$_{NegP}$ NEG [$_{VoiceP}$ ... <DP$_{OBJ}$>]]

(36) *In situ object (VSO),* NEG » ∃ *predicted*
gaawiin ogii-waabamaasiin gwiiwizens$_{SUBJ}$ [$_{NegP}$ NEG [$_{VoiceP}$ ... ikwewan$_{OBJ}$]]

Both of these predictions are borne out. In (37), where the indefinite object is moved such that VOS is derived, the indefinite is necessarily interpreted outside of the scope of negation. On the other hand, in (38), when the indefinite object remains in situ, resulting in VSO word order, the indefinite is necessarily interpreted within the scope of negation.

(37) gaawiin o-gii-nageshkaw-aa-sii-n bezhig gwiiwizens-an Ziibiins
NEG.FOC 3-PAST-meet-DIR-NEG-OBV one boy-OBV Ziibiins.PROX
'Ziibiins (PROX) didn't meet one boy (OBV)'

a. *NEG » ∃: There is no boy x such that Ziibiins met x.

b. ∃ » NEG: There is a boy x such that Ziibiins did not meet x. VOS

(38) gaawiin o-gii-nageshkaw-aa-sii-n Ziibiins bezhig gwiiwizens-an
NEG.FOC 3-PAST-meet-DIR-NEG-OBV Ziibiins.PROX one boy-OBV
'Ziibiins (PROX) didn't meet one boy (OBV)'

a. NEG » ∃: There is no boy x such that Ziibiins met x.

b. *∃ » NEG: There is a boy x such that Ziibiins did not meet x. VSO

Besides supporting the predictions of the analysis, these data provide evidence that the VOS/VSO alternation is not at all random or due to arbitrarily optional movement: the alternation is associated with interpretative effects that are only visible when scope is relevant. When there is no negation and two definite arguments—the cases that have been discussed in the literature—these effects are not clear, and thus the alternation appears random.

However, given that movement is ultimately the result of a δ-feature rather than a φ-feature, one may wonder why it is not possible to reconstruct and get a narrow scope reading in (38)—one of the hallmark properties of A′-movement is reconstruction. I propose that, in principle, the reconstructed interpretation is possible, but access to this interpretation is blocked by the availability of the in situ counterpart, which can *only* have the narrow scope reading. This is analogous to the situation with scalar implicatures, where, for example, the meaning of *some* in a sentence such as *some cats like boxes* results in the implicature that *not all cats like boxes*, because use of *all* provides an unambiguous way of expressing the meaning *all cats like boxes*. In the case of Ojibwe, the VSO word order unambiguously has a narrow scope interpretation, while VOS is associated with both narrow and wide scope readings. Since there is a more specific alternative to indicate narrow scope, the VOS order is only felicitous under the wide scope interpretation, appearing to block reconstruction.

4.3 Inverse alignments

To review, unlike direct-aligned clauses, only the VSO word order is grammatical in inverse-aligned clauses. As for agreement, Voice appears as the so-called "inverse" form, while Infl and C appear in the same form as direct-aligned clauses—respectively indexing the person and number features of the proximate and obviative arguments—however with inverse the proximate argument is now the IA and the obviative argument the EA.

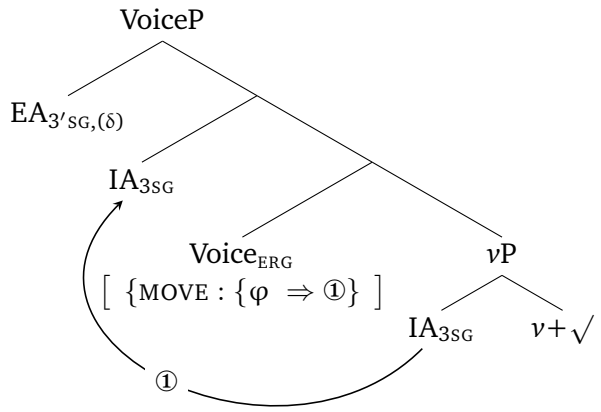
4.3.1 VSO Inverse

The derivation for the VSO inverse cases is shown in (39), with a detailed explanation given in the following text.

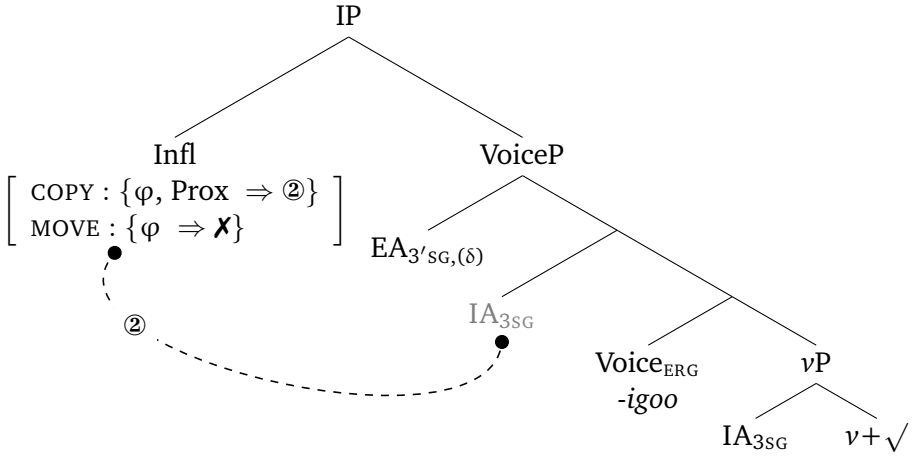
(39) *Derivation of the 3′ → 3 configuration*

a. o-gii-waabam-igoo-n gwiiwizens-an ikwe
3-PAST-see.VTA-INV-3′ boy-OBV woman.PROX
'The boy (OBV) saw the woman' (PROX)' ✓$V_{INV}S_{OBV}O_{PROX}$

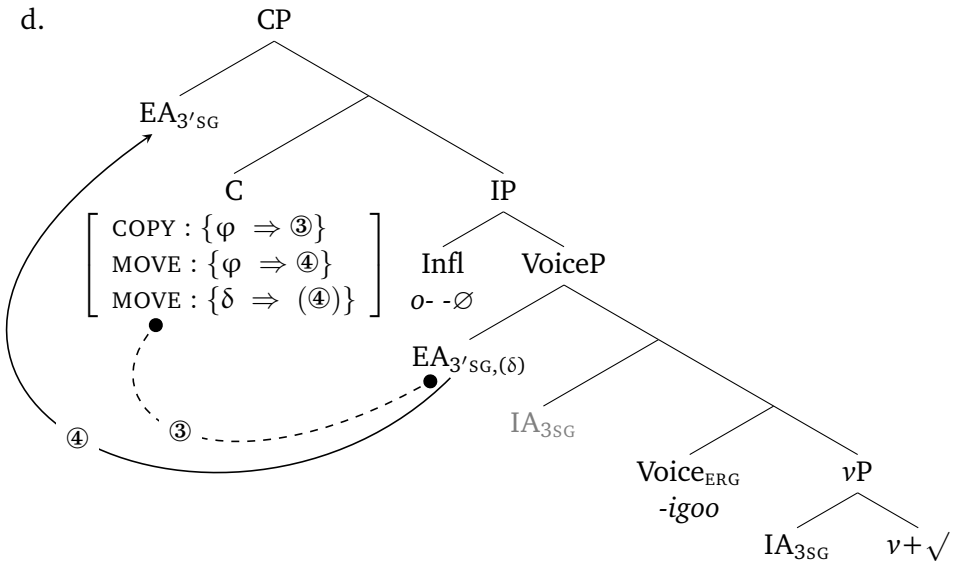
b.



c.



d.



Inverse alignments are marked by the presence of ergative Voice, which lacks an agreement probe, so copies no features. Following Oxford (2023), this lack of features ultimately leads to the spell-out of the inverse qua elsewhere form *-igoo*. However, the generic EPP probe on Voice results

in the promotion of the IA to the specifier of VoiceP (step ①). This leads to a double-specifier configuration, so both the obviative EA and proximate IA are equidistant from Infl. The conditions on Infl are such that Best Match favors agreement with the proximate IA (step ②), deactivating it as a target for further operations, but is unable to adjudicate between the two for the purposes of movement. Following the ill-formedness of Multiple Merge, neither argument is moved to the specifier of IP. C then probes and finds the obviative EA as the closet goal. The features of the obviative EA are copied by C (step ③), and movement is triggered to Spec,CP (step ④) regardless of whether the obviative EA bears a δ-feature. As a result, the obviative EA always moves above the proximate IA, deriving the stable VSO word order characteristic of inverse-aligned clauses.

4.3.2 Predictions for scope

Once again, we can falsify or support the present analysis by examining whether an existential operator on each of the arguments can take scope over negation. First, evidence to support a lack of movement of proximate objects to Spec,IP comes from the judgment in (40), where indefinite proximate objects are ungrammatical under both narrow (40a) and wide (40b) scope readings.

(40) *gaawiin o-gii-nageshkaw-igoo-sii-n Ziibiins-an bezhig gwiiwizens
NEG.FOC 3-PAST-meet-INV-NEG-OBV Ziibiins-OBV one boy.PROX
Intended 'Ziibiins (OBV) didn't meet a boy (PROX)' VSO

a. *NEG » ∃: There is no boy x such that x met Ziibiins.
b. *∃ » NEG: There is a boy x such that x did not meet Ziibiins.

The fact that the wide scope reading in (40b) is unavailable directly supports the hypothesis that proximate IAs remains under the scope of negation, and do not undergo A-movement to Spec,IP, despite the EPP conditions on the probes.[9] However, the unavailability of the narrow scope reading in (40a) must receive another explanation.

Recall that narrow scope readings are also impossible with indefinite proximate EAs (i.e. in direct-aligned clauses). In other words, it seems there is no context in which indefinite proximate arguments can be interpreted within the scope of negation. In essence, this makes indefinite proximate arguments positive polarity items (PPIs).[10] When the proximate argument is an EA, it escapes the scope of negation and takes wide scope by movement to Spec,IP. In contrast, proximate IAs are unable to move above negation, and are therefore trapped within its scope. This results in the ungrammaticality reported in (40a). The precise semantic properties that lead to differences in how indefinite proximate and obviative arguments tolerate being within the scope of negation will not be settled here. However, it is cross-linguistically common for certain types of indefinites to behave as PPIs (e.g. Haspelmath, 1997; Szabolcsi, 2004; Fălăuș, 2018).

[9] This fails to support the proposal of Oxford (2019), who argues that proximate IA are promoted to Spec,IP via successive cyclic movement through Spec,VoiceP. This would predict that proximate IAs can escape the scope of negation.

[10] Thanks to Amy Rose Deal for this insight.

Turning now to the obviative EA, we expect that movement to Spec,CP should result in the availability of a wide scope interpretation. As shown in (41), indefinite subjects indeed take wide scope with respect to negation, as predicted by an analysis where they undergo movement to Spec,CP.

(41) gaawiin o-gii-nageshkaw-igoo-sii-n bezhig gwiiwizens-an Ziibiins
NEG.FOC 3-PAST-meet-INV-NEG-OBV one boy-OBV Ziibiins.PROX
'A boy (OBV) didn't meet Ziibiins (PROX)' VSO

a. ?NEG » ∃: There is no boy x such that x met Ziibiins.

b. ∃ » NEG: There is a boy x such that x did not meet Ziibiins.

In this case, the marginality of the narrow-scope reading again follows from the nature of A-movement, which is widely recognized to resist reconstruction. However, the mixed nature of the probe, which also contains a δ-probe that triggers A′-movement, might be contributing to the "squishiness" of the judgments (the narrow scope reading was not emphatically ruled out). Further research is required to understand the conditions under which the narrow scope reading may become available, but for now the availability of the wide scope reading provides support for the proposal that the obviative EA moves to a position above VoiceP (i.e. Spec,CP).

4.4 Summary

This section linked VOS/VSO alternations in Ojibwe matrix clauses to interacting patterns of agreement and movement triggered by probes on Voice, Infl, and C. To summarize, the scope possibilities under different word orders, proximate/obviative status, and subject versus object indefinites are given in (42), with the proposed final landing site of the relevant argument indicated.

(42) *Summary of final landing site and scope judgments given alignment and word order*

Word Order	Align.	Indef. Arg.	Landing Site	NEG » ∃	∃ » NEG
VSO	DIR	Subject (PROX)	Spec,IP	✗	✓
VOS	DIR	Subject (PROX)	Spec,IP	✗	✓
VSO	DIR	Object (OBV)	in situ	✓	✗
VOS	DIR	Object (OBV)	Spec,CP	✗	✓
VSO	INV	Subject (OBV)	Spec,CP	??	✓
VSO	INV	Object (PROX)	Spec,VoiceP	✗	✗

5 EXTENSIONS AND COMPARISONS

The previous two sections outlined a general theory to capture the relationship between AGREE, feature copying, and movement, and applied it to a small corner of the patterns of agreement and word order in Border Lakes Ojibwe. The theory (i) extends Agree to apply to movement, capturing

relativized EPP effects, and (ii) pinpoints feeding/bleeding of agreement and movement with higher probes to a combination of the behavior of lower probes and the Activity Condition.

In this section I explore how the system can be applied to capture patterns of agreement and word order in other corners of Border Lakes Ojibwe (§5.1), to patterns of C-agreement in the Algonquian family beyond Border Lakes Ojibwe (§5.2), and to form connections to Halpert's (2019) analysis of Zulu, where there is further evidence that conditions on probing for the EPP must be separated from conditions for feature copying (§5.3).

5.1 Extensions within Border Lakes Ojibwe

So far, the present paper has focused on patterns of agreement and word order in matrix clauses, known within the descriptive literature on Algonquian as the "independent order". However, as mentioned in passing earlier in the paper, there are differences in the patterns of agreement and indeed word order in embedded clauses, known as the "conjunct order" to Algonquianists. In this section, I sketch how the present system can account for patterns of agreement and word order in embedded clauses. The presented analysis is based on the recent work of Hammerly and Mathieu (2024), and the reader is referred to that paper for full details.

In the configurations at play in the present paper, which only involve the proximate and obviative third persons, embedded clauses in Ojibwe share significant similarities to matrix clauses: the direct/inverse alternation occurs in the same contexts, and Infl uniformly indexes the person and number of the proximate argument. However, there are two major differences. First, there is a complete lack of C agreement, resulting in a lack of obviative agreement, and thus a lack of contrast (in agreement) with the singular and plural forms of the obviative. The second is Infl is realized only in the central agreement slot—there is no discontinuous realization of person and number with the person prefix. The baseline form, with a singular proximate argument, is shown in (43). As expected, the direct and inverse alternation tracks with the alignment of proximate and obviative arguments (being realized as *-aa* in (43a) and *-igo* in (43b)), and the central agreement slot is realized as proximate singular agreement *-d*.

(43) a. waabam -aa -d
see -3 -3SG
'...if s/he (PROX) sees him/her/them (OBV)' 3SG → 3′SG/PL

b. waabam -igo -d
see -INV -3SG
'if she/he/they (OBV) see h/ (PROX)' 3′SG/PL → 3SG

Embedded clauses differ in word order on two fronts, as seen in (44) and (45). First, the verb takes a medial position rather than an initial position. Second, only SVO is licensed in direct alignments, and only OVS is licensed in inverse alignments. In other words, word order always places the proximate argument before the obviative argument, the opposite of the preferences in matrix clauses.

(44) *Word order is proximate-before-obviative (SVO) in* DIRECT *embedded clauses*

a. in-gii-noondam ikwe gii-nagamotaw-aa-d abinoojiin-yan
1-PAST-hear woman PAST-sing-3-3 child-OBV
'I heard that the woman (PROX) sang to the child (OBV)' V [$S_{PROX}V_{DIR}O_{OBV}$]

b. *ingii-noondam abinoojiinyan gii-nagamotawaad ikwe *V [$O_{OBV}V_{DIR}S_{PROX}$]

(45) *Word order is proximate-before-obviative (OVS) in* INVERSE *embedded clauses*

a. in-gii-noondam abinoojiinh gii-nagamotaw-igo-d ikwe-wan
1-PAST-hear child PAST-sing-INV-3 woman-OBV
'I heard that the woman (OBV) sang to the child (PROX)' V [$O_{PROX}V_{INV}S_{OBV}$]

b. *ingii-noondam ikwewan gii-nagamotawigod abinoojiinh *V [$S_{OBV}V_{INV}O_{PROX}$]

These differences can be straightforwardly accounted for under the present analysis. First, we can assume that verb raising in Ojibwe embedded clauses terminates at Infl rather than C (see also Richards, 2004; Lochbihler and Mathieu, 2013). Second, the probe on Infl in embedded clauses can be further articulated such that the MOVE conditions are specified as {Prox}, rather than {φ}. The COPY conditions of Infl can remain identical to matrix clauses, and Voice also remains the same. This small change has the consequence of resolving the conflict for Best Match within the MOVE conditions in the inverse alignments, where the EA and IA are in a multiple specifier configuration, and therefore equidistant from the probe. With these more particular MOVE conditions, the proximate IA can outcompete the obviative EA. As a result, the proximate argument undergoes movement to Spec,IP in *both* direct and inverse alignments, rather than only in direct alignments, as was observed in matrix clauses. Given that the verb stops at Infl, the proximate argument always appears to the left of the verb. The final piece is that embedded clauses in Ojibwe lack peripheral agreement and the corresponding probe on C. Therefore obviative arguments remain within the VP, in a position to the right of the verb. This captures the patterns of agreement and word order in both direct and inverse alignments.

5.2 Extensions across Algonquian

Ojibwe peripheral agreement (C) showed what was termed here as *reverse omnivority*. However, as Oxford (2017b) discusses (see also Xu, 2020, 2022; Grishin, 2023a), C agreement across Algonquian languages shows variation. There are three basic patterns, summarized in (46) with an example language indicated. Note that C agreement *never* appears when there are only local arguments in the clause (but does appear with "mixed" local/non-local configurations, and always targets the "lower ranked" third person).

(46) *Variation in C agreement with non-local only transitive clauses*

a. Ojibwe: index lowest ranked argument

b. Blackfoot: index highest ranked argument

c. Delaware: index lowest ranked argument if definite, otherwise index higher ranked argument

The goal of this section is to give clear directions on how such variation may be accounted for within the present framework by way of a discussion of recent work by Grishin (2023b,a), which has argued explicitly against an account of the phenomenon based on the Activity Condition. I primarily focus on showing that Grishin's arguments against the Activity Condition are not in fact decisive, and therefore the present account cannot be ruled out on those grounds. Note, I set aside the Delaware-type languages for reasons of space (for discussion of these patterns in terms of object shift and the Activity Condition, see Hammerly, 2021a).

Let us first begin with the Ojibwe-specific arguments against the Activity Condition from Grishin (2023a). The first is related to the phenomenon of long distance agreement (LDA), where agreement probes in the matrix clause targets arguments that originate in the embedded clause. Consider the example in (47), where the proximate embedded subject *mooz* agrees with Infl in the embedded clause (*-d*) and Voice in the matrix clause (*-aa*).

(47) nin-gikenim**-aa** mooz mindido**-d**
1-know.TA**-3** moose big**-3**
'I know that the moose is big' (Hammerly and Mathieu, 2024).

Grishin's argument is as follows: If Infl deactivates arguments, and the embedded subject *mooz* is agreeing with Infl on the embedded verb, then that argument should (contra to fact) not be available for agreement in the matrix clause, since it should have been deactivated. Therefore, Grishin states that an account based in the Activity Condition "overgenerates" deactivation. The response is simple (and indeed raised by Grishin himself): There are many differences in the patterns of agreement in matrix and embedded clauses in Ojibwe (see the previous section), and one of them is simply that Infl in embedded clauses is parameterized such that it does not deactivate arguments. In other words, showing that Infl in the conjunct order (i.e. embedded clauses) does not deactivate arguments has no bearing on whether Infl in the independent order (i.e. matrix clauses) deactivates arguments, as argued for in the present paper. This simply affirms that the Activity Condition is indeed a microparameter.

Grishin's second Ojibwe-specific argument comes from cases where, within the same clause, both Infl and C index the same argument. As seen in the examples in (48), this occurs in independent order intransitive clauses with a grammatically inanimate argument (the so-called VIIs). Grishin shows data from Southwestern Ojibwe in Nichols (1980), which I replace with data confirmed with a speaker from the Border Lakes region in September of 2023 that shows the same pattern. The negative preterit form is chosen, as it most clearly shows the relevant morpheme boundaries and positions.

(48) a. michaa-sin-inii-ban-iin
big-NEG-OBV-PRET-0PL
"They (INAN.OBV.PL) are big"

b. michaa-sin-inii-ban-∅
big-NEG-OBV-PRET-0SG
"It (INAN.OBV.SG) is big"

Infl is appearing as an obviative marker *-inii*, while C is appearing either in the plural form *-iin* or the singular form -∅, depending on whether the sole argument of the verb is plural (48a) or singular (48b). The problem for the present analysis should be clear: Since independent order Infl is agreeing (in obviation only) with the sole argument, this should deactivate the argument and bleed agreement with C. Since C clearly *is* agreeing with the same argument, it cannot be the case that Infl deactivated the argument following agreement. Note, this issue cannot be solved by appealing to microparametrization, as we otherwise need the independent order Infl to be able to deactivate arguments.

The key fact that I leverage to provide an account of this exception is that Infl fails to express *full agreement* in these cases: That is, Infl only expresses the obviation status of the argument, but not the animacy or number. In previous work (Hammerly, 2020, 2021a) I argued in favor of a formulation of the Activity Condition as shown in (49), where the deactivation of arguments is specifically restricted to cases where full agreement obtains:

(49) *The Activity Condition*
An agreement relation with a probe deactivates a goal G iff the probe expresses the full set of φ-features of G

Applied to the examples in (48), we see that, since Infl fails to express the animacy and number of the argument, so the argument is not deactivated and remains available for agreement with C. Conversely, in patterns of Infl agreement seen for the cases at the core of paper, we always saw the expression of both the person and number of the proximate argument (*o- -waa/*∅). Therefore on the formulation in (49) we correctly predict that C will ignore the deactivated proximate argument and agree with the obviative one instead. As discussed in detail by Hammerly (2021a), the pattern of C and Infl agreeing with the same argument when Infl shows less-than-full agreement has multiple examples across the family, further supporting the formulation of the Activity Condition in (49). I refer the reader to that paper for details.

Outside of Ojibwe, Grishin (2023a) argues that the Activity Condition also *undergenerates* cases of deactivation in ditransitive clauses. Here, the logic is more fragile, and (contra Grishin's rhetoric) not at all decisive. The idea is as follows: there are cases where C appears to skip over the goal of a ditransitive and favour agreement with the theme, however the Activity Condition does not predict that the goal should have been deactivated as a target, as it has agreed with Voice, which does not deactivate arguments, but not Infl, which does. Therefore this is a case where an argument (appears to be) deactivated, but it has (apparently) not agreed with Infl. This leaves a mystery of how such an argument is ignored by the probe on C.

The issues with Grishin's reasoning is that it is entirely possible that, for reasons independent of the Activity Condition (e.g. being assigned case) that the goal has become invisible to the probe. It is true that, if the analysis presented is correct, that the Activity Condition alone does not predict the patterns in these instances, and therefore does not account for them. However it does not preclude the fact that there could be other factors at play. In other words, the Activity Condition

does not necessarily uniquely determine whether or not a goal is available to a probe, so the data only fails to provide additional support for the Activity Condition, but does not actually provide evidence *against* the account. In any case, I believe these data require further investigation before they are taken to support or rule out one account or another.

A final (apparent) issue raised by Grishin 2023b, footnote 22 brings us to consider the pattern represented by languages like Blackfoot: As exemplified in (50), in non-local only clauses with a proximate and obviative argument, C always agrees with the proximate argument (*-yi* below), and Infl *also* agrees with the proximate argument in both person and number (*ots- -oaa* below).

(50) ots- ikákomimm -ok -oaa -yi
3- love -INV -PL -3PL
'She/they (OBV) love them (PROX)' (Blackfoot: Frantz, 2017, p. 62)

Again, at first blush, this appears to be highly problematic for the present account: If full agreement with Infl deactivates arguments, we do not predict that C-agreement should be able to target the same argument. However, if we again recall that the Activity Condition is a (micro)parameter, we in fact *predict* that a language like Blackfoot should exist: If Infl is configured such that it does not deactivate arguments, then we expect that there should be a language where both Infl and C show full agreement with the same argument. Therefore we can actually take the pattern as evidence in favor of the predictions of the present account, rather than a problematic case (in the same way the difference between independent and conjunct order Infl in Ojibwe is expected under the microparameterization of the Activity Condition). The same goes for the Meskwaki data discussed by Grishin, where Infl and C both agree with the same obviative argument in clauses where there is more than one obviative argument.

To summarize, I have shown that the arguments against the Activity Condition presented by Grishin (2023a,b) are not yet decisive, so it remains a viable account of pattern of the peripheral agreement marker on C across the Algonquian language family. That said, and despite the time I just devoted to defending the Activity Condition, the issue is indeed orthogonal to the main contribution of this paper: To account for the relationship between agreement and movement in Ojibwe and within theories of Agree more generally. One could readily re-formulate the present analysis without reference to the Activity Condition (e.g. in the mold of Grishin's "Expone Outermost"), and this would not disrupt the core proposal of how probes must be configured and relativized for movement and agreement with separate conditions. In the next section, I consider an extension of this core proposal outside of the Algonquian family.

5.3 Zulu hyper-raising and the relativized EPP

The final extension I consider brings us outside of Algonquian, returning to Halpert's (2019) analysis of hyper-raising in Zulu alluded to in §3.2. Halpert's analysis covers an array of raising patterns in Zulu and beyond. The key case for current purposes is given in (51), where raising (optionally) occurs out of embedded CPs. In the non-raising counterpart (51a), matrix T (in bold) shows class

17 agreement, which is associated with the features of the embedded CP as a whole. When the embedded subject raises (51b), matrix T agreement (again in bold) can alternate with either class 1 (agreement with the raised argument) or class 17.

(51) *Raising in Zulu is optional out of CP complements (Halpert, 2019, p. 142)*

a. **ku-**bonakala [ukuthi uZinhle u-zo-xova ujeqe]
17S-seem that AUG.1Zinhle 1S-FUT-make AUG.1bread
'It seems that Zinhle will make steamed bread.'

b. uZinhle **u-/ku-**bonakala [ukuthi u-xova ujeqe]
AUG.1Zinhle **1s-/17s-**seem that 1S-make AUG.1bread
'Zinhle seems to be making steamed bread now.'

The critical cases are those where raising occurs. Halpert accounts for this in two steps. First, φ-agreement between matrix T and the finite CP clause, which bears class 17 features, but is unable to move to satisfy the EPP. With the EPP left active following this first agreement relation, the probe searches for the next closest goal, in this case the subject of the embedded verb, triggering copying of the class 1 feature and movement to the specifier of matrix TP.

Halpert notes that this analysis raises a critical question: How is it possible for the probe on matrix T able to continue probing and moving the embedded subject after it (presumably) should have been deactivated by φ-agreement with the CP? Halpert's solution is to add an EPP feature into the conditions of the probe. This is an independent feature that can only be checked by locating and moving the right type of XP (in the case of Zulu, infinitival TP or a nominal, but crucially not a CP). So while agreement with CP checks a subset of the probe's features, it leaves the EPP unchecked. This allows the probe to continue its search, finding and moving the embedded subject, in the interest of satisfying the EPP condition.

We can come to a more general understanding of Halpert's proposal through the lens of the current paper. The system proposed here takes things yet another step further by treating the EPP as an independent set of conditions rather than a feature within a more general set of probe conditions. The additional advantage over Halpert's formulation is that this provides a way of formalizing variation in what elements can be moved by the EPP. For Zulu, this provides the means to encode the fact that infinitival TPs and nominals are driven to move, but CPs are not. In turn, the features of CPs can be copied back without precipitating movement to the specifier of the probe. Putting the pieces together in the new system, we can (semi-informally) specify the probe on matrix T that regulates hyper-raising in Zulu as follows:

(52) COPY: If the set of the goal contains φ
MOVE: If the goal is a nominal or infinitival TP

This probe will copy features from any φ-bearing element (e.g. CP, TP, DP, NP, etc), but only move a subset of these types of elements (e.g. TP, DP, NP). This further situates patterns of raising within

the wider theories of agreement and movement, which is the key original insight from Halpert's analysis.

This now brings us to a comparison of the proposal of Carstens (2005), from which Halpert (2019) takes inspiration. To reprise the description from §3.2, Carstens proposes that the EPP can be a sub-feature of *u*F features (i.e. uF_{EPP}, which can be re-written as COPY: F_{EPP}). Again, note that recent work by Deal (2022) makes an identical proposal, just situated in Deal's interaction/satisfaction model. The sub-feature theory crucially makes the prediction that all probing is driven by the need to meet conditions on feature copying; so once these conditions are met (i.e. the proper feature within the conditions that dictate feature copying is checked) this must have the downstream effect of deactivating the EPP sub-feature as well. This links feature copying and movement on a one-way street: The search for a matching XP is driven by the features that dictate copying; if a given feature has an EPP sub-property, then the goal is moved to the specifier of the probe in addition to its features being copied. Once the features have been checked/satisfied, probing stops.

The immediate issue with this formulation is that in languages where the features governing agreement have an EPP sub-property, this predicts that all instances of a certain type of feature copying should lead to movement. This over-generates: in Zulu, the features of CP are copied, but the CP is not moved. At the same time, the same probe agreeing with TP or a nominal element triggers movement as well as feature copying. This relativization of movement separate from feature copying cannot be captured by a sub-feature theory.

There are further issues arising from the Ojibwe facts and analysis presented in the current paper. First, Ojibwe (and indeed Algonquian more generally) requires a probe on $Voice_{ERG}$ that triggers movement, but not feature copying (Oxford, 2023). If all instances of movement are parasitic on feature copying, this decoupling is not predicted. Since the sub-feature theory predicts that all instances of movement should also involve feature copying, such a probe is impossible to formulate.

Finally, in Ojibwe, the plain voice probe is pickier about what it moves compared to what it copies: It will copy features from any φ-bearing DP, but only move a DP with a [Participant] feature (for detailed motivation for this, see Oxford, 2023). Let us unpack why this is problematic for the EPP sub-feature theory like that of Carstens (2005) or Deal (2022). Recall that, in all current models of Agree, such pickiness is captured by *relativizing* the probe to a particular feature. For example, if a probe is searching for a goal to copy from based on the set of features {G}, and there is a closer goal with just {F}, but a further goal with {F, G}, the probe will "skip" copying features from the closer goal and only copy from the further goal. On the Catstens/Deal-type model, a probe can only be picky about what it moves insofar as it is picky about what it copies, since the EPP sub-feature can only be specified for the set of features that dictate copying (or some subset of those features). That is, a probe can only prefer to move a particular element if it also prefers to copy from that same particular element. Movement can therefore be more general than feature copying on the sub-feature theory, but feature copying cannot be more general than movement. On

the other hand, the current analysis, where the two conditions are split, is readily able to capture both types of effects.

6 AGAINST A NON-CONFIGURATIONAL ANALYSIS

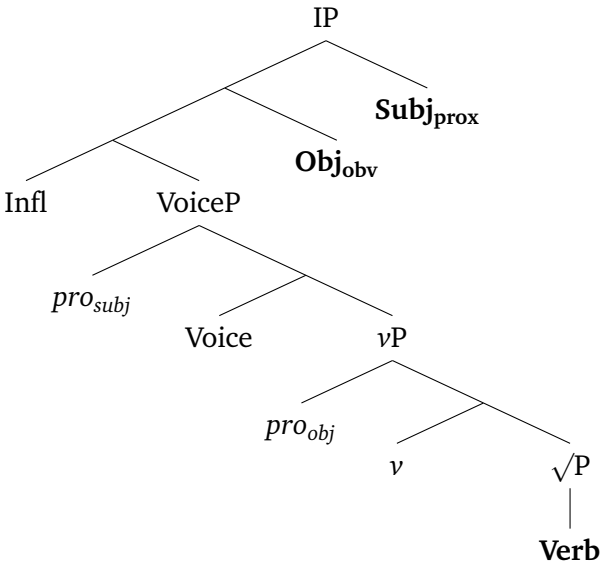
As discussed in the introduction, one of the leading analyses of word order and argument structure across Algonquian languages has been based in non-configurationality. In this section I discuss these proposals and provide evidence against them.

Ojibwe (along with nearly all Algonquian languages) descriptively displays the hallmarks of non-configurationality proposed by Hale (1983): *pro*- and argument-drop, apparently free word order, and discontinuous DPs (Grafstein, 1984). Two major accounts based in non-configurationality have been proposed as a result (terminology adopted from Hamilton, 2015): (i) Pronominal Argument Hypothesis (PAH) accounts, where A-positions are associated with φ-feature indexing affixes sitting in a flat-structure, and (ii) Hybrid accounts, where A-positions are associated with *pro* in a canonical asymmetrical configuration where the subject c-commands the object. In both cases, overt DPs are adjuncts sitting in TP/IP, which are associated with the elements occupying the A-positions via coindexation.

The most directly relevant account is Junker (2004), who gives a Hybrid account of word order in East Cree. Junker shows that East Cree has the same fundamental word order patterns as those presented here for Border Lakes Ojibwe: VOS is preferred in direct environments, while VSO is preferred in inverse. The structure for VOS direct is shown in (53), which is derived via the direct align constraint of Aissen (1997) combined with an obviation-based hierarchy and phrase structure hierarchy. These hierarchies align to ensure that proximate DPs are in a higher position in the phrase structure than obviative DPs. When both DPs are linearized to the right, VOS is derived.[11]

[11]These constraints also derive SVO, OVS, and SOV word orders. These additional word orders result in a focus interpretation of the left-most DP, given that the DP is to the left of the verb. Therefore the VOS word order is derived as neutral, as it is the only word order derived from these constraints that does not lead to a focus interpretation of one of the DPs. To derive VSO, a third constraint based in linear order that prefers higher nodes to precede lower nodes is applied. Obeying this constraint leads to the violation of the phrase structure hierarchy. This violation is tolerated, but not preferred, deriving the preference for VOS over VSO. For the purposes of this paper I set these cases aside to retain focus on the VOS word order.

(53) *Derivation of VOS in direct environments based on Junker (2004)*



Immediate evidence against the analysis in (53) comes from data that has already been extensively discussed: scope of the overt arguments of the verb with respect to negation. The central thrust of the non-configurational analysis is that DPs are generated as adjuncts within IP, and do not undergo syntactic movement to arrive at their position. Instead, they are fed to linearization constraints that have no effect on the c-command/scope relations between the overt arguments of the verb and negation. This is particularly relevant in the contrast between VOS and VSO in direct environments: there is no way beyond stipulation to capture the wide versus narrow scope readings that respectively arise in these two word orders.

A further issue for non-configurational accounts arises upon consideration of ditransitive constructions, for example in (54).

(54) *Only one obviative argument is "licensed" by the verbal morphology in ditransitives:*

o-gii-asham-aa-n	gwiiwizens-an	ikwe	mishiimin-an
3-PAST-feed-DIR-OBV	boy-OBV	woman.PROX	apple-OBV

'The woman (PROX) fed the boy (OBV) an apple (OBV)' V IO S DO

Non-configurational languages are subject to the Morphological Visibility Condition (MVC; Baker, 1996, p. 17), which requires each argument to be licensed by a pronominal element or morpheme in the verb. However, as shown in (54), only one of the obviative arguments is indexed by the verbal morphology (which is identical to the morphology seen with transitive verbs), leaving the other to violate the MVC. The fact that Ojibwe does not obey the MVC is a mark against adopting a non-configurational analysis.

While a non-configurational analysis of Ojibwe is untenable based on the reasoning presented above, it may yet be premature to claim that all Algonquian languages are configurational. Furthermore, even Algonquian languages that are provably configurational, such as Mi'gmaq (Hamilton,

2015) and Ojibwe (the present paper), have the surface appearance of non-configurationality. As Hamilton (2015) suggests, examining the role of discourse-based configurationality (Miyagawa, 2010, 2017) is an important avenue for future research; the current paper has taken an initial step in that direction for Ojibwe by examining the effects of the A′ probe on C.

7 CONCLUSION

This paper set out to establish the basic facts of Ojibwe clausal syntax, and to provide an analysis of these facts. The VOS/VSO alternation, which was described in terms of its relation to direct and inverse argument alignments, was argued to be the function of whether or not movement of obviative arguments to the Spec,CP occurs. In direct alignments, the object can undergo movement deriving VOS word order, or stay in situ deriving VSO. This movement was shown to have semantic effects in the relationship between indefinite objects and negation, and was regulated by the presence or absence of a δ-feature on the DP. Movement of obviative subjects in inverse alignments was shown to be invariant, leading to rigid VSO. In addition to obviative movement, the scope facts supported an analysis where proximate subjects in direct alignments move to Spec,IP, while restrictions on movement out of multiple specifier configurations led proximate objects in inverse alignments to remain within the VP.

There were two main proposals supported over the course of the analysis. First, the *relativized EPP*. This was formalized as a condition on probes in the same vein as the conditions that dictate copying. When a goal matches the MOVE conditions of the probe, this triggers movement of the goal to the specifier of the probe. Like the conditions that govern feature copying, EPP conditions were aregued to be violable and subject to different degrees of articulation, accounting for the intricate relationship between agreement and movement within and across languages. The second claim was that the Activity Condition serves to deactivate arguments rendering certain goal becomes unavailable for further agreement relations. This was used to explain the curious pattern of *reverse omnivority* with Ojibwe C agreement, where a lower-ranked argument is preferred for agreement over a higher-ranked one.

The proposal is a particularly marked shift away from non-configurational accounts, contributing to the growing body of work uncovering the agreement and discourse factors that lead to the appearance of non-configurationality. The surfacing of evidence that word order is derived via syntactic movement of the arguments furthers our knowledge of how the Ojibwe clause is organized. These findings have broad impacts on our understanding of agreement and movement, and find a place in the wider typology of how VOS/VSO alternations can be derived in languages of the world.

Acknowledgments I am most greatly indebted to the speakers who share their knowledge with me and so many others: Nancy Jones and Gordon Jourdain. Special thanks as well to John Nichols, and the staff at OOG at Fond du Lac Tribal College, for support and advice. This work has also benefited from conversations with Brendan Fairbanks, Michael Sullivan, Kyle Johnson, Rajesh Bhatt,

Brian Dillon, Ellen Woolford, John Kingston, Stefan Keine, Nico Baier, Claire Halpert, and Kaden Holladay. Feedback received at the 49th Algonquian Conference, NELS 50, the Syntax Workshop at UMass Amherst, s-lab at UC Santa Cruz, and in a colloquium at UBC was integral to pushing this work forward. This research is supported by NSF GRFP (Grant No. 1451512), a fieldwork grant from the Selkirk Linguistic Outreach Fund, and a SSHRC Insight Grant (AWD-024585). All views and errors are my own.

REFERENCES

Aissen, Judith. 1997. On the syntax of obviation. *Language* 705–750.

Baker, Mark. 1985. The mirror principle and morphosyntactic explanation. *Linguistic Inquiry* 16:373–415.

Baker, Mark C. 1996. *The polysynthesis parameter*. Oxford University Press.

Barrie, Michael, and Éric Mathieu. 2012. Head movement and noun incorporation. *Linguistic Inquiry* 43:133–142.

Barrie, Michael, and Eric Mathieu. 2016. Noun incorporation and phrasal movement. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 34:1–51.

Béjar, Susana. 2003. Phi-syntax: A theory of agreement. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Toronto.

Béjar, Susana, and Milan Rezac. 2009. Cyclic agree. *Linguistic Inquiry* 40:35–73.

Bliss, Heather. 2005. Topic, focus, and point of view in Blackfoot. In *Proceedings of the 24th West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics*, 61–69. Cascadilla Proceedings Project.

Bliss, Heather, and Karen Jesney. 2005. Resolving hierarchy conflict: Local obviation in Blackfoot. *Calgary Papers in Linguistics* 26:92–116.

Bošković, Željko. 2007. On the locality and motivation of move and agree: An even more minimal theory. *Linguistic Inquiry* 38:589–644.

Branan, Kenyon. 2018. Attraction at a Distance: Ā-movement and Case. *Linguistic Inquiry* 49:409–440.

Brittain, Julie. 2001. *The morphosyntax of the Algonquian conjunct verb: A minimalist approach*. Garland Publishing.

Brittain, Julie. 2003. A distributed morphology account of the syntax of the Algonquian verb. In *Proceedings of the 2003 annual conference of the Canadian Linguistic Association*, 26–41.

Bruening, Benjamin. 2001a. Raising to object and proper movement. *ms., University of Delaware* .

Bruening, Benjamin. 2001b. Syntax at the edge: Cross-clausal phenomena and the syntax of Passamaquoddy. Doctoral Dissertation, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Bruening, Benjamin. 2005. The Algonquian inverse is syntactic: Binding in Passamaquoddy. *Manuscript, University of Delaware* .

Bruening, Benjamin. 2009. Algonquian languages have A-movement and A-agreement. *Linguistic Inquiry* 40:427–445.

Carstens, Vicki. 2005. Agree and EPP in Bantu. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 23:219–279.

Chomsky, Noam. 1964. A transformational approach to syntax. In *The structure of language*, ed. Jerry Fodor and Jerry Katz, 211–245. Upper Saddle River: Prentice Hall.

Chomsky, Noam. 1995. *The minimalist program*. Cambridge University Press.

Chomsky, Noam. 2000. Minimalist inquiries: The framework. In *Step by step: Essays on minimalist syntax in honor of Howard Lasnik*, ed. Roger Martin, David Michaels, and Juan Uriagereka, 89–156. MIT Press.

Chomsky, Noam. 2001. Derivation by phase. In *Ken Hale: A life in linguistics*, ed. Michael Kenstowicz, 1–52. MIT Press.

Clarke, Sandra. 1982. *Northwest river (Sheshatshit) Montagnais: A grammatical sketch*. University of Ottawa Press.

Clemens, Lauren, and Jessica Coon. 2018. Deriving verb-initial word order in Mayan. *Language* 94:237–280.

Coon, Jessica, and Alan Bale. 2014. The interaction of person and number in Mi'gmaq. *Nordlyd* 41:85–101.

Coon, Jessica, and Stefan Keine. 2021. Feature gluttony. *Linguistic Inquiry* 52:655–710.

Dahlstrom, Amy. 2017. Seeking consensus on the fundamentals of Algonquian word order. In *Papers of the Forty-fifth Algonquian Conference*.

Deal, Amy Rose. 2015. Interaction and satisfaction in φ-agreement. In *Proceedings of NELS 45*, ed. Thuy Bui and Deniz Ozyildiz. Amherst, MA: GLSA.

Deal, Amy Rose. 2022. Current models of agree. Ms., University of California, Berkeley.

Fălăuș, Anamaria. 2018. Positive polarity indefinites? on how (not) to identify them: An exhaustification-based perspective. *Linguistics* 56:301–331.

Frantz, Donald G. 2017. *Blackfoot grammar*. University of Toronto press.

Grafstein, Ann. 1984. Argument structure and the syntax of a non-configurational language. Doctoral Dissertation, McGill University.

Grishin, Peter. 2023a. How to agree with the lowest DP. Https://ling.auf.net/lingbuzz/007112.

Grishin, Peter. 2023b. Omnivorous third person agreement in algonquian. *Glossa: a journal of general linguistics* 8.

Hale, Ken. 1983. Warlpiri and the grammar of non-configurational languages. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 1:5–47.

Halle, Morris, and Alec Marantz. 1993. Distributed Morphology and the pieces of inflection. In *The view from building 20*, ed. Kenneth Hale and Samuel Jay Keyser, 111–176. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press.

Halpert, Claire. 2012. Argument licensing and agreement in zulu. Doctoral Dissertation, MIT.

Halpert, Claire. 2015. *Argument licensing and agreement*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Halpert, Claire. 2019. Raising, unphased. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 37:123–165.

Hamilton, Michael David. 2015. Phrase structure in Mi'gmaq: A configurational account of a "non-configurational" language. *Lingua* 167:19–40.

Hammerly, Christopher. 2018. What 'other people' mean to 'us'. In *A festschrift for Peggy Speas*, ed. Rodcia Ivan. Graduate Linguistics Student Association, University of Massachusetts.

Hammerly, Christopher. 2020. Person-based prominence in Ojibwe. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Massachusetts Amherst.

Hammerly, Christopher. 2021a. A set-based representation of person features: Consequences for AGREE. In *Proceedings of NELS 51*, ed. Alessa Farinella and Angelica Hill.

Hammerly, Christopher. 2021b. A verb-raising analysis of the Ojibwe VOS/VSO alternation: Lessons for feature copying and movement. Manuscript, University of Minnesota, Twin Cities.

Hammerly, Christopher. 2023. A set-based semantics for person, obviation, and animacy. *Language* 99:38–80.

Hammerly, Christopher. 2024. The interaction/satisfaction distinction is redundant: A reply to Deal (2024) and Oxford (2022). Ms., University of British Columbia.

Hammerly, Christopher, and Alex Göbel. 2019. A new perspective on obviation in Ojibwe from attitude contexts. In *Linguistics Society of America*.

Hammerly, Christopher, and Éric Mathieu. 2024. Interaction and satisfaction in movement: A case study of long distance agreement in Border Lakes Ojibwe. Manuscript.

Harbour, Daniel. 2008. Discontinuous agreement and the syntax-morphology interface. In *Phi theory: Phi-features across modules and interfaces*, 185–220. Oxford University Press.

Harizanov, Boris, and Vera Gribanova. 2018. Whither head movement? *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 1–62.

Harley, Heidi, and Elizabeth Ritter. 2002. Person and number in pronouns: A feature-geometric analysis. *Language* 78:482–526.

Haspelmath, Martin. 1997. *Indefinite pronouns*. Oxford University Press.

Hiraiwa, Ken. 2001. Multiple agree and the defective intervention constraint in Japanese. *MIT working papers in linguistics* 40:67–80.

Hornstein, Norbert. 2009. *A theory of syntax: Minimal operations and universal grammar*. Cambridge University Press.

Jelinek, Eloise. 1984. Empty categories, case, and configurationality. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 2:39–76.

Junker, Marie-Odile. 2004. Focus, obviation, and word order in East Cree. *Lingua* 114:345–365.

LeSourd, Philip S. 2006. Problems for the pronominal argument hypothesis in Maliseet-Passamaquoddy. *Language* 486–514.

Lochbihler, Bethany, and Eric Mathieu. 2013. Wh-agreement in Ojibwe relative clauses: Evidence for CP structure. *The Canadian Journal of Linguistics* 58:293–318.

Lochbihler, Bethany, and Eric Mathieu. 2016. Clause typing and feature inheritance of discourse features. *Syntax* 19:354–391.

Mathieu, Eric. 2013. Denominal verbs in Ojibwe. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 79:97–132.

Mathieu, Eric. 2014. Nominalizations in Ojibwe. In *Cross-linguistic investigations of nominalization patterns*, 3–24. John Benjamins Publishing Company.

McGinnis, Martha. 1995. Word-internal syntax: evidence from Ojibwa. In *Proceedings of the 1995 CLA Annual Conference*, ed. Päivi Koskinen, 337–347.

McGinnis, Martha. 1998. Locality in A-movement. Doctoral Dissertation, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Meyer, Cherry. 2013. Basic word order and information structure in Ojibwe. In *45th Algonquian Conference*.

Miyagawa, Shigeru. 2010. *Why agree? why move?: Unifying agreement-based and discourse-configurational languages*. MIT Press.

Miyagawa, Shigeru. 2017. *Agreement beyond phi*. MIT Press.

Morris, Paul A. 2018. Evidence of a configurational structure in Meskwaki. *Proceedings of the Linguistic Society of America* 3:64–1.

Muehlbauer, Jeffrey. 2012. The relation of switch-reference, animacy, and obviation in Plains Cree. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 78:203–238.

Nevins, Andrew. 2011. Multiple agree with clitics: Person complementarity vs. omnivorous number. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 29:939–971.

Newell, Heather, and Glyne Piggott. 2014. Interactions at the syntax–phonology interface: Evidence from Ojibwe. *Lingua* 150:332–362.

Nichols, John. 1980. Ojibwa morphology. Doctoral Dissertation, Harvard University.

Oxford, Will. 2014. Microparameters of agreement: A diachronic perspective on Algonquian verb inflection. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Toronto.

Oxford, Will. 2017a. The activity condition as a microparameter. *Linguistic Inquiry* 48:711–722.

Oxford, Will. 2017b. Algonquian grammar myths. *Toronto Working Papers in Linguistics* 39.

Oxford, Will. 2019. Inverse marking and multiple agree in Algonquin. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 37:955–996.

Oxford, Will. 2023. A tale of two inverses. *Syntax* .

Preminger, Omer. 2011. Agreement as a fallible operation. Doctoral Dissertation, MIT.

Preminger, Omer. 2014. *Agreement and its failures*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Rackowski, Andrea, and Norvin Richards. 2005. Phase edge and extraction: A Tagalog case study. *Linguistic Inquiry* 565–599.

Richards, Norvin. 2004. The syntax of the conjunct and independent orders in Wampanoag. *International Journal of American linguistics* 70:327–368.

Ritter, Elizabeth, and Martina Wiltschko. 2014. The composition of INFL. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 32:1331–1386.

Rizzi, Luigi. 1990. *Relativized minimality*. The MIT Press.

Rizzi, Luigi. 1997. The fine structure of the left periphery. In *Elements of grammar*, 281–337. Springer.

Royer, Justin, and Amy Rose Deal. 2023. Mayan animacy hierarchy effects and the dynamics of agree. Ms., University of California, Berkeley.

Russell, Kevin. 1996. Does obviation mark point of view. *nikotwâsik iskwâhtêm, pâskihtêpayih* 367–382.

Sullivan, Michael. 2016a. Making statements in Ojibwe: A survey of word order in spontaneous sentences. In *Papers of the Forty-Fourth Algonquian Conference: Actes du Congrès des Algonquinistes*, 329. SUNY Press.

Sullivan, Michael D. 2016b. Relativization in Ojibwe. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Minnesota.

Szabolcsi, Anna. 2004. Positive polarity–negative polarity. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 22:409–452.

Tilleson, Paul. 2019. On bipartite negation. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Minnesota.

Tomlin, Russell S, and Richard Rhodes. 1992. Information distribution in Ojibwa. In *Pragmatics of word order flexibility*, volume 22, 117. John Benjamins Publishing.

Travis, Lisa DeMena. 1984. Parameters and effects of word order variation. Doctoral Dissertation, MIT.

Valentine, Randy. 2001. *Nishnaabemwin reference grammar*. University of Toronto Press.

Van Urk, Coppe. 2015. A uniform syntax for phrasal movement: A case study of Dinka Bor. Doctoral Dissertation, MIT.

Xu, Yadong. 2020. The cline of the peripheral agreement and implication about object types. In *52nd Algonquian Conference, University of Wisconsin-Madison*.

Xu, Yadong. 2022. How far can a probe agree: Microvariation in algonquian peripheral agreement. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Manitoba.

Zubizarreta, Maria Luisa, and Roumyana Pancheva. 2017. A formal characterization of person-based alignment. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 35:1161–1204.