**Argument 3: Focused objects**

A-bar movement of the object bleeds ACC assignment:

(3) **nw-Kuku (+)-ki; n-vng-bwng-at $h$
   soc-Kuku (+)-ACC REL-OP COMP = soc-l-loc-like-PPV
   'It's Kuku that I like.'

**Argument 4: Bare nominal complements**

'Accusative' case markers surface on inalienable possessors in the absence of possessor agreement:

(4a) *+ lang Kuku-g
   mom Kuku-ACC
   'Mom of Kuku'

(4b) *+ lang-en g-Kuku g
   mom-3 SnoC clg-Ass-ROKu
   'Kuku's mom'

- **Kuku-ŋ** must be the the complement of NP in (4a), meaning c-command by D can license ACC.
- In (4b), the possessor raises to [Spec, lوردa-ñ-]

**Human objects always precede non-human ones:**

(6) a. *éga-nac-á kója-ŋ dia
   1sg-loc-ron Kója-ACC cow
   'I gave the cow to Kója to the cow.'

b. * éga-nac-á dia kója-ŋ

- Binding data suggest this asymmetry is structural:

(7) *+ i-ga-tu-á cúmmia lanámmi é-negá dagan
   1sg-cum-LAPVS-PRPV boys each loc-homes 3PL-poss
   'I saw each boy at his house.'

**Multiple [PERSON] object shift**

Only names and kinship terms receive ACC in Moro:

(8) a. * éga-nac-á kója-ŋ ñer-à(ŋ)
   1sg-loc-ron Kója-ACC girl(ACC)
   'I gave a girl to Kója to a girl.' (both exc.)

b. * éga-nac-á ñer-à(ŋ) kója-ŋ

- Associative plural suffixes are restricted to the same class of nouns:

(9) *-lólda-ñ-anda b. Koja-ñanda
   brothers 1sg-poss-ASSOC-PL
   Koja-ASSOC-PL
   'My brothers' 'Koja's family/friends'

- 3p object clitics are only overt when these nouns serve as their antecedents:

(10) a. *gwar-ɔ ngaló na náŋ-ŋulla-bug-i
   3sg.r-loc-INSUL-PPV Nalo and 3sg.l-loc-INSUL-PPV
   'He yelled at Ngaló, then punched him.'

b. *kuku gwar-ɔ ñer-à na náŋ-ŋulla-bug-i
   Kuku-ACC gwar-loc-INSUL-PPV child 3sg.l-loc-INSUL-PPV
   'Kuku yelled at the child, then punched him.'

- We propose that these nouns have a common [PROPER] feature (Matushansky, 2006).

**Analysis: Accusative case allomorphy**

- [PERSON]-valued objects in [Spec, vP] are accessible for dependent case assignment in the CP phase.

- [ACC]+–[-ŋ] / [PROPER]__

- [ACC]+–[-ð] / elsewhere

**Analysis: Dependent case in coordination**

- The distribution of accusative case in Moro support an analysis based on dependent case (Marantz, 1991; Baker, 2015).
- The Case facts exist alongside syntactic and morphological asymmetries that feed case assignment.
- The distribution of overt accusative case is crucially dependent on the morphological component.
- While DP's may still need to be licensed by verbal heads in Moro (voice morphology suggests this is the case), there is no evidence that nonhuman objects receive case in the syntax.

**Acknowledgements**

We are grateful to our Moro consultants Elyasir Julima and Angelo Naser.

**References**


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