

Case as an Anaphor Agreement Effect: Evidence from Inuktitut*

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1 Introduction

Since Rizzi (1990), it has been observed that anaphors across languages resist covariance with ϕ -agreement, a phenomenon now known as the Anaphor Agreement Effect (AAE). In Italian, for instance, verbal ϕ -agreement cross-references nominative (NOM) arguments, which, while typically associated with subjects, may also surface on objects. While ϕ -agreement with a NOM object is normally licit, this becomes impossible if the object is an anaphor, (1a). That this ungrammaticality arises from *covarying* ϕ -agreement with the anaphor is further evidenced by (1b), as default (3SG) ϕ -agreement may ameliorate the sentence. Subsequent cross-linguistic work has shown that languages make use of a wide range of strategies, all conspiring to avoid covarying ϕ -agreement with anaphors (e.g. Woolford 1999; Haegeman 2004; Tucker 2011; Patel-Grosz 2014; Sundaresan 2014, 2016; Murugesan 2019; Preminger 2019; Rudnev 2020).

- (1) a. *A loro interest-**ano** solo **se-stessi**
to them interest-3PL only themselves.NOM
Intended: ‘They are interested only in themselves.’ (Italian; Rizzi 1990:(15b))
- b. ?A loro interest-**a** solo **se-stessi**
to them interest-3SG only themselves.NOM
‘They are interested only in themselves.’ (Italian; Sundaresan 2016:(3))

In this short paper, I identify and confirm a prediction arising from two particular observations by Woolford (1999), thus also expanding our understanding of possible AAE strategies cross-linguistically. The empirical focus of this paper is an AAE strategy found in Inuktitut (Eastern Canadian Inuit).¹ Based on original fieldwork, I demonstrate that anaphors in Inuktitut are lexically-specified as projecting additional syntactic structure (a K(ase)P, following Bittner and Hale

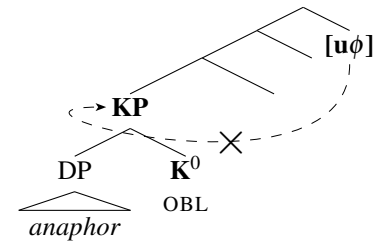
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¹The Inuit language is a continuum of dialects within the Inuit-Yupik-Unangan language family spanning the North American Arctic and Greenland. This paper primarily focuses on Inuktitut, the dialect group spoken in Eastern Canada. The majority of the uncited data in this paper were elicited between 2017–2019, and represent varieties spoken in various Baffin Island communities. The empirical generalizations presented in this paper do not necessarily extend to other Inuit varieties.

(1996a) on related Inuit varieties), with the head of this projection realized as oblique (“modalis”, henceforth MOD) case morphology. Furthermore, I argue that this case layer on Inuktitut anaphors is obligatorily present in all syntactic contexts (regardless of whether it is morphologically realized). Because only ERG and ABS arguments may be targeted by ϕ -agreement in Inuktitut, a ϕ -probe will *fail to Agree* (in the sense of Preminger 2011, 2014) whenever it encounters an oblique-marked anaphor. The basic case pattern and proposed structure are given below in (2)-(3).

(2) a. Taiviti-up Kiuru nagli-gi-**janga** (3)
 David-ERG Carol.ABS love-TR-3SG.S/3SG.O
 ‘David loves Carol.’

b. Taiviti immi-**nik** nagli-gi-**juq**
 David.ABS self-MOD love-TR-3SG.S
 ‘David loves himself.’ (Inuktitut)



This exact AAE strategy is unique to Inuktitut and is previously unattested. However, its existence is simultaneously *expected*, given what we otherwise know about the broader typology of AAE strategies. As discussed by Woolford (1999), anaphors that may not appear in ϕ -agreeing positions may exceptionally do so if assigned quirky case; moreover, anaphors are commonly lexically specified as enclosed in larger structural constituents (e.g. possessive DPs). Although these have been previously treated as distinct, non-overlapping strategies, I propose that the Inuktitut AAE is simply the intersection of these two patterns: Inuktitut anaphors are lexically specified as enclosed within a larger case-bearing structure. That the novel AAE strategy in Inuktitut directly arises from combining otherwise cross-linguistically familiar syntactic ingredients is a welcome finding, in line with standard generative tenets casting linguistic variation as shaped by common building blocks.

Finally, this analysis of Inuktitut departs from the received view that the Inuktitut AAE strategy involves *detransitivization* and that the oblique case on an anaphor in object position actually reflects its status as an adjunct (Marantz 1984; Bok-Bennema 1991; Woolford 1999). This view will be shown to be untenable: anaphoric objects in Inuktitut are true arguments of the verb, on par with their non-anaphoric counterparts.

This paper is organized as follows. §2 provides an overview of the AAE, focusing on the aforementioned observations by Woolford (1999). §3 provides several pieces of evidence that anaphors in Inuktitut are obligatorily and immediately dominated by a KP, whose head is exponed as oblique case morphology, and that this structural layer serves as an intervener for ϕ -Agree. Finally, §4 argues against a detransitivization-based approach to reflexivity in Inuktitut, building on previous work by Michael and Spreng (2014).

2 Two previous observations about the AAE

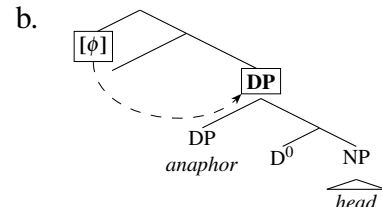
Besides the use of default agreement, shown above in (1), this section highlights two other AAE strategies discussed by Woolford (1999): (i) the exceptional ability for anaphors to surface as quirky (lexical case-marked) subjects in languages like Icelandic, and (ii) the cross-linguistic containment of anaphors within complex DP structures, exemplified here by Selayarese. As I will show, the AAE strategy found in Inuktitut combines these strategies in a novel way.

Like Italian, ϕ -agreement in Icelandic typically only targets NOM arguments. Encountering a non-NOM DP thus results in failed Agree in the sense of Preminger (2011, 2014), in that the probe is simply left unvalued (and exponed as default 3SG agreement). This logic of case/agreement interactions also underlies the nature of the AAE in Icelandic, in that anaphors may not be NOM. This is illustrated below with the anaphor SIG, which may be bound long-distance as a subject across a subjunctive clause boundary. Crucially, while this is not possible if an anaphoric subject should bear NOM case, (4a), binding of SIG in subject position becomes available when it receives quirky (e.g. DAT) case, (4b) (Maling 1984).² As discussed by Rizzi (1990) and Woolford (1999), the contrast below cannot be attributed to a morphological gap in the anaphor’s paradigm, but is rather due to the AAE.

- (4) a. *Jón segir [að SIG elski Maria]
 Jon says that (REFL.NOM) love.3SG.SUBJ Maria
 Intended: ‘Jon_i says that he_i loves Maria.’ (Rizzi 1990:(15b))
- b. Hún sagði [að sér þaetti vaent um mig]
 she said that REFL.DAT was.SUBJ fond of me
 ‘She_i said that she_i was fond of me.’ (Maling 1984:(8b)) (Icelandic)

The second relevant AAE property highlighted by Woolford (1999) pertains to the cross-linguistic tendency for anaphors to be enclosed in possessive and body-part DPs (Faltz 1977; Schladt 2000). This is illustrated with Selayarese in (5). At first glance, Selayarese displays ϕ -agreement with anaphoric objects. However, this ϕ -morphology is invariably 3SG, regardless of the featural specifications of the anaphor.³ Woolford proposes that this is in fact agreement with the *complex DP*, not the anaphor within the DP. This additional structure serves as an intervener for ϕ -Agree, preventing the ϕ -probe from accessing the anaphor internal to this structural material.⁴

- (5) a. ku-jañjang-i kaleng-ku
 1SG.ERG-see-3.ABS self-1SG
 ‘I saw myself.’ (Woolford 1999:(50a))
 (Selayarese)



We have now seen two manifestations of the AAE, wherein anaphors may be enclosed within agreement-repelling syntactic structure. These strategies seem descriptively similar, aside from the category of the relevant structural layer (KP vs. DP). However, they are in fact fundamentally distinct in a deeper way. In the Icelandic-type pattern, this structural layer is *not* inherent to the anaphor; when it is present, it is due to independent syntactic factors relating to argument structure or idiosyncratic case-assignment properties of certain verbs. In contrast, the structural layer in the Selayarese-type pattern *is* part of the lexical specification of the anaphor itself, in that all anaphors

²‘SIG’ is meant to denote the hypothetical form that the anaphor would take in NOM case.

³See also Iatridou (1988), Haegeman (2004), and Preminger (2019) for similar data from Greek, West Flemish, and Georgian, respectively.

⁴Alternatively, Preminger (2019) proposes that anaphors are composed of an outer layer, termed AnaphP, which dominates an inner pronominal core, and that this structural material may be morphologically realized in certain languages. I will briefly revisit this line of analysis in the conclusion of this paper.

in the language are enclosed within a larger DP constituent, regardless of other aspects of the sentence-level syntax.

Turning now to Inuktitut, I demonstrate that Inuktitut displays a third kind of AAE pattern that combines the core ingredients of these strategies: in Inuktitut, anaphors are lexically specified to be contained within a KP layer, realized as oblique case morphology. While the interaction between case and the AAE in Inuktitut is seemingly reminiscent of the Icelandic quirky case pattern, the crucial difference is that the oblique case in Inuktitut is insensitive to syntactic context, since it is a core property of the anaphor itself. As we will see in §3, the case layer is obligatorily present on anaphors in a variety of syntactic positions, even when the anaphor is not an argument of the verb. This suggests an analysis of Inuktitut parallel to that of Selayarese—only the additional structure in Inuktitut is an oblique KP rather than a possessive DP. The commonalities and differences between the Icelandic, Selayarese, and Inuktitut patterns are thus summarized in (6).

(6)	Icelandic	Selayarese	Inuktitut
Category of XP dominating anaphor	KP	DP	KP
Lexical property of anaphor?	No	Yes	Yes

3 Inuktitut anaphors are lexically-specified to project an oblique KP

In Inuktitut, ϕ -agreement may target ABS and ERG-marked nominals (Bobaljik 2008), while nominals bearing other cases (e.g. oblique cases such as MOD *-mik* in the antipassive example in (7b)) may not be indexed by agreement morphology.⁵

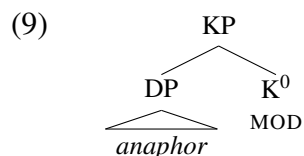
- (7) a. **Taiviti-up** surak-**tanga** **iqalaaq**
 David-ERG break-3SG.S/3SG.O window.ABS
 ‘David broke the window.’
- b. **Taiviti** surak-si-**juq** igalaar-mik
 David.ABS break-AP-3SG.S window-MOD
 ‘David broke the window.’

Inuktitut has several oblique cases, given in (8). Most of these cases display contextual allomorphy, with the choice of morph determined by the grammatical properties of the stem to which it attaches (see Yuan (2015) for details). For our purposes, the anaphor *immi* surfaces with the variant on the right.

(8)	modalis (MOD)	locative (LOC)	ablative (ABL)	allative (ALLAT)	vialis (VIA)	similaris (SIM)
	-mik~nik	-mi~ni	-mit~nit	-mut~nut	-kkut~-gut	-(ti)tut

We have already seen in (2b) that anaphors in Inuktitut may surface with MOD case. I now argue that this is a *lexical property of the anaphor*, due to the AAE: anaphors in Inuktitut are lexically-specified as immediately dominated by a K(ase)P-layer, whose head is realized as MOD case morphology, (9). Because only ERG and ABS nominals are able to be targeted by ϕ -Agree, anaphors may never be cross-referenced by ϕ -agreement.

⁵Note that, while Inuit predominantly displays SOV word order, other word orders are also frequently attested due to various pragmatic or narrative considerations.



3.1 Case stacking and morpheme order

The analysis of Inuktitut anaphors is largely informed by comparing the distribution of MOD case on anaphors (henceforth ‘MOD_{ANAPH}’) to that of the other oblique cases, including MOD case marking antipassive objects (henceforth ‘MOD_{AP}’).⁶ Despite their morphological identity, I show that these instances of MOD case have distinct structural sources.

The first piece of evidence that anaphors are lexically-specified as bearing MOD case comes from the novel observation that MOD case surfaces even in contexts in which *case otherwise cannot be assigned* to non-anaphoric nominals. One such context is within ‘picture of’ complex DPs, which may be expressed in Inuktitut with the nominal *ajjinnguaq* ‘picture’ modified by another DP-internal nominal.⁷ Both nominals bear the case that is assigned to the complex DP as a whole, which I assume is the result of a case concord process. This is first shown in (10a-b), with non-anaphoric objects.

- (10) a. Kiuru-up taku-qqau-janga [DP **ajjinnguaq ivvi-nnguaq**]
 Carol-ERG see-REC.PST-3SG.S/3SG.O picture.ABS 2SG-fake.ABS
 ‘Carol saw a picture of you.’ (ABS object)
- b. Kiuru nani-si-qqau-juq [DP **ajjinnguar-tuqar-mik** Taiviti-nnguar-**mik**]
 Carol.ABS find-AP-REC.PST-3SG.S picture-old-MOD_{AP} David-fake-MOD_{AP}
 ‘Carol found an old picture of David.’ (MOD_{AP} object)

Crucially, when the modifier of *ajjinnguaq* is an anaphor, it is obligatorily marked MOD_{ANAPH} case morphology, (11); in (11b-c) we additionally see *case stacking*, as the anaphor surfaces with both MOD_{ANAPH} and the case assigned to the entire DP. Finally, (11c) demonstrates that case stacking persists even in the absence of an intervening modifier. Note that, in these examples, the final /k/ of the MOD case form *-mik* does not surface due to a regular morphophonological rule (Dorais 1986).

- (11) a. Kiuru-up taku-qqau-janga [DP **ajjinnguaq immi-ni-nnguaq**]
 Carol-ERG see-REC.PST-3SG.S/3SG.O picture.ABS self-MOD_{ANAPH}-fake.ABS
 ‘Carol saw a picture of herself.’ (ABS object)

⁶It has been proposed that MOD_{AP} is a structural Case akin to ACC, i.e. assigned by a vP-level head via Agree (Spreng 2006, 2012; Yuan 2018, cf. Bok-Bennema 1991), or, alternatively, that MOD_{AP} is realized on an object that fails to be assigned structural Case (Bittner and Hale 1996b; Levin 2015). Both analyses are compatible with the data shown here; what is important is that MOD_{AP} and MOD_{ANAPH} have different sources.

⁷The modifying nominal in this context may optionally take a suffixal adjective *-nnguaq* ‘fake,’ which seems to encode proxy reference in the sense of Jackendoff (1992).

- b. Kiuru nani-si-qqau-juq [DP ajjinnguar-tuqar-mik
 Carol.ABS find-AP-REC.PST-3SG.S picture-old-MOD_{AP}
 immi-**ni**-nnguar-**mik**]
 self-MOD_{ANAPH}-fake-MOD_{AP}
 ‘Carol found an old picture of herself.’ (MOD_{AP} object)
- c. sivuliuqti [DP ajjinnguar-mut immi-**ni**-**mut**]
 premier.ABS picture-ALLAT self-MOD_{ANAPH}-ALLAT
 qimirua-giaqtu-qqau-juq
 look.at-go.to-REC.PST-3SG.S
 ‘The Premier (of Nunavut) went to look at a portrait of himself.’ (ALLAT object)

Throughout (11), the morpheme order is ANAPHOR-MOD_{ANAPH}-ADJ-CASE2. Assuming that morpheme order reflects syntactic hierarchy (Baker 1985), this means that the anaphor is immediately dominated by the MOD_{ANAPH} KP, which may then be dominated by an AdjP if one is present; this complex, in turn, bears the case assigned to the entire DP (“CASE2”).⁸ The MOD_{ANAPH} > ADJ order on anaphors is inviolable, as shown in (12a), although CASE > ADJ orderings are otherwise generally impossible on non-anaphors, (12b).

- (12) a. *ajjinnguaq immi-**nnguar-mik**
 picture.ABS self-fake-MOD_{ANAPH}.ABS
 Intended: ‘picture of (one)self’ (ABS obj.)
- b. *ajjinnguar-mik Taiviti-**mi-nnguaq**
 picture-MOD_{AP} David-MOD_{AP}-fake
 Intended: ‘picture of David’ (antipassive obj.)

An apparent exception to the above comes from high adjectival suffixes such as *-tuaq* ‘only’ (*c-modifiers* in the terminology of Cardinaletti and Starke 1999), which participate in both CASE > ADJ and ADJ > CASE morpheme orders when attached to non-anaphors, with no apparent difference in meaning, (13). Nonetheless, in accordance to our previous empirical generalization, the morpheme order is still rigidly CASE > ADJ on anaphors, (14):

- (13) a. Taiviti-**mi-tuaq**
 David-MOD_{AP}-only
 ‘(picture of) only David’
- b. Taiviti-tuar-**mik**
 David-only-MOD_{AP}
- (14) a. immi-**ni-tuaq**
 self-MOD_{ANAPH}-only
 ‘(picture of) only (one)self’
- b. *immi-tuar-**mik/nik**
 self-only-MOD_{ANAPH}

To sum up, the idea that Inuktitut anaphors are lexically-specified as oblique translates syntactically into anaphors being *obligatorily* and *immediately* dominated by a KP-layer, as in (9). This accounts for the syntactic contexts in which *only* anaphors (and not other DPs) may bear case, as well as the inability for any other syntactic elements to intervene between the two.

⁸See Compton (2012, 2017) for arguments that adjectival and adverbial suffixes in Inuit are not adjuncts, but rather head projections that are Merged along the nominal spine, per Cinque (1994, 1999).

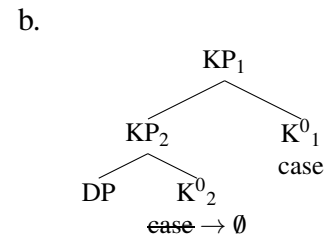
3.2 Haplology of adjacent obliques

At this point, alternative analyses are still available: perhaps the sequence *imminik* is monomorphemic, or perhaps *-nik* is homophonous with MOD case but is a distinct morpheme. However, evidence that *-nik* on anaphors is indeed case morphology comes from systematic interactions with other oblique cases in the language. As shown in (15), the sequence *-nik* is *absent* when the anaphor is found in other oblique contexts. This is unexpected under the aforementioned alternative analyses.

- (15) a. **immi-nut** uqa-qati-qaq-tunga
 self-ALLAT speak-partner-have-1SG.S
 ‘I am talking to myself.’
- b. Ragili-up Kiuru immi-**titut** inngi-qatta-qu-janga
 Ragilee-ERG Carol.ABS self-SIM sing-GEN-want-3SG.S/3SG.O
 ‘Ragilee_i wants Carol_j to sing like her_i.’

I propose that this pattern is due to a *haplology rule* operating on structurally adjacent case morphemes (K^0 s), resulting in the deletion of the internal case morpheme ($\text{MOD}_{\text{ANAPH}}$), as stated and represented throughout (16).

- (16) a. **Haplology rule on adjacent K^0 s:**
 Given two KPs, if KP_1 dominates KP_2 , and there is no other XP such that XP is dominated by KP_1 and XP dominates KP_2 : $K^0_2 \Leftrightarrow [\emptyset]$.



That this rule is resolved by deleting the inner case in particular, rather than the outer one, is unsurprising, given their grammatical functions. The (outer) oblique cases (K^0_1) in Inuktitut contribute semantic information, often encoding prepositional (e.g. spatial or relational) information; this information would be lost if the haplology rule applied to K^0_1 . In contrast, if the present analysis is correct, the (inner) $\text{MOD}_{\text{ANAPH}}$ case (K^0_2) on anaphors serves only to circumvent the AAE but is otherwise semantically vacuous, so may be a better (more expendable) candidate for deletion. This contrast is in line with a broader tendency in case stacking languages to prioritize realizing semantically-contentful cases over nonsemantic (e.g. structural) ones, as discussed by Richards (2013) on the basis of Lardil.⁹

$\text{MOD}_{\text{ANAPH}}$ thus surfaces whenever the environment triggering the haplology rule is not met. This is further evidenced below. Recall from (14) that the adjectival suffix *-tuaq* ‘only’ may optionally attach higher or lower than a (non- $\text{MOD}_{\text{ANAPH}}$) case layer. Crucially, this affects whether $\text{MOD}_{\text{ANAPH}}$ surfaces on the anaphor. If the adjective is Merged above the outer K^0 (such that the two K^0 s are structurally adjacent), the rule in (15) applies and $\text{MOD}_{\text{ANAPH}}$ does not surface, (17a); if it intervenes between the two K^0 s, then (15) does not apply and case stacking results, (17b).

⁹See also Béjar and Massam (1999) and Merchant (2006), among others, on instances of multiple case assignment to a single DP in which only the highest case assigned is morphologically exponed.

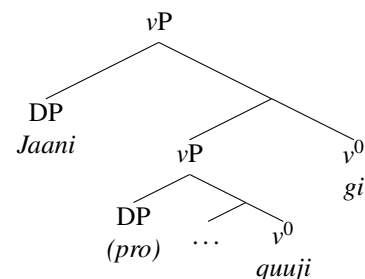
- (17) a. immi-**nu**-tuaq niqi-taaq-tuq
 self-ALLAT-only food-get-3SG.S
 ‘She got food only for herself.’
- b. immi-**ni**-tuar-**mut** niqi-taaq-tuq
 self-MOD_{ANAPH}-only-ALLAT food-get-3SG.S
 ‘She got food only for herself.’

Finally, I return to the pattern discussed in §3.1—that is, the appearance of case stacking in examples like (11c) despite the absence of an intervening adjective. I suggest that the crucial distinction between case haplology vs. case stacking boils down to whether or not the multiple case layers are associated with the *same DP constituent*. In examples such as (15), the K^0 s are structurally contiguous and both associated with the anaphor; in this context, haplology applies, deleting the internal case morpheme. However, in case stacking examples such as (11c), the outer oblique case is assigned to the *complex DP properly containing the anaphor*, rather than the anaphor itself, but is morphologically realized on the anaphor due to nominal concord.¹⁰ Here, the two K^0 s are not structurally adjacent, and thus the haplology rule in (16) does not apply.

3.3 Case circumvents the AAE

I now illustrate how the proposed oblique KP-layer interacts with ϕ -Agree in order to circumvent the AAE, without affecting the broader argument structure. As already seen in (2), anaphoric objects of transitive verbs trigger an ABS-MOD case frame, with ϕ -agreement indexing only the subject. That this is the result of *failed Agree* is most straightforwardly demonstrated with predicates bearing the transitivizer *-gi*. This morpheme introduces an external argument and embeds otherwise intransitive predicates such as psych-predicates (as in (2)) and certain noun-incorporating constructions, (18). I analyze this morpheme as a v^0 and the argument as its specifier; its complement in (18b) is the noun-incorporating verb phrase predicate, suggesting a structure as in (19).¹¹

- (18) a. (*pro*) uvanga-u-quuji-jutit (19)
 (2SG.ABS) 1SG.PRON-be-seem-2SG.S
 ‘You look like me.’
- b. Jaani-up (*pro*) uvanga-u-quuji-**gi**-jaatit
 Jaani-ERG (2SG.ABS) 1SG-be-seem-TR-3SG.S/2SG.O
 ‘Jaani thinks that you look like me.’
 (Lit.: ‘Jaani has you as seeming to be me.’)



Crucially, *gi*-transitivized verbs may not be antipassivized—meaning that an ABS-MOD case frame is normally not ever possible, as shown by the ill-formedness of (20a).¹² However, (20b) demonstrates that the otherwise impossible ABS-MOD case pattern *exceptionally surfaces* when the object

¹⁰Following Pesetsky (2007, 2013) and Norris (2014), I take concord to be the result of morphological copying.

¹¹In (19), the incorporating verb is labelled as v^0 , following Johns (2007, 2009).

¹²Inuktitut, like other Inuit varieties, possesses several antipassive morphemes, including a null variant (see Spreng 2012:15-16 for discussion). None of these are possible on a *-gi*-transitivized verb.

- | | | | | | | |
|------|----|--|----|---|---------------|-----------|
| (22) | a. | piniartoq toqup-poq
hunter.ABS kill-3SG.S
'The hunter killed himself.'
(Sadock 1980:(12)) | b. | agnaq tuqut-tuq
woman.ABS kill-3SG.S
'The woman killed herself.'
(Nagai 2006:(198b)) | (Kalaallisut) | (Iñupiaq) |
|------|----|--|----|---|---------------|-----------|

Thus, a detransitivization-based analysis of reflexive constructions is untenable for Inuktitut, even though it may be correct for other Inuit varieties; the MOD-marked anaphoric objects of transitive verbs in Inuktitut are true arguments.

5 Conclusion

In this paper, I have demonstrated that anaphors in Inuktitut are lexically-specified as enclosed within a KP, such that they obligatorily bear oblique case morphology. This is an Anaphor Agreement Effect: because obliques cannot be targeted by ϕ -Agree processes, a ϕ -probe that encounters an anaphor will inevitably fail to be valued. Though previously unattested, this pattern is a welcome addition to the existing typology of AAE strategies, given its structural parallels with previously-observed patterns (Woolford 1999).

Although it is beyond the scope of this paper to explain *why* the AAE holds (in Inuktitut and in general), the Inuktitut pattern offers a novel explanandum for existing theories. For instance, it is incompatible with a recent account advanced by Preminger (2019), which takes anaphors to be universally composed of a ϕ -bearing core contained within a structural layer (“AnaphP”) that both contributes the nominal’s anaphoricity and prevents ϕ -Agree by a higher probe. While this seems analogous to the structural approach of this paper, the relevant opaque structure in Inuktitut is clearly a case layer (see §3.2) and is thus *external* to the anaphor, regardless of the anaphor’s internal composition. At the same time, the Inuktitut data present a conceptual challenge for approaches that connect the AAE to the idea that anaphors lack ϕ -features altogether and therefore cannot value a ϕ -probe (e.g. Shiraki 2004; Murugesan 2019). If the Inuktitut pattern involves failed Agree, and ϕ -probes may simply be left unvalued, such approaches fail to explain why an intervening structural layer above the anaphor is needed at all.

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¹⁴Regarding (21a), Michael and Spreng (2014) note that this sentence, to the extent that it is well-formed, evokes a reading of, “falling on a knife.”

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