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 co-variance 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 *co-varying* 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 co-varying ϕ-agreement with anaphors (e.g. Woolford 1999; Haegeman 2004; Tucker 2011; Patel-Grosz 2014; Sundaresan 2014, 2016; Murugesan 2019; Preminger 2019).

(1)   a.   *A loro interess-**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 interess-a̅   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

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strategies cross-linguistically. The empirical focus of this paper is an AAE strategy found in Inuktitut (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 (1996a) on related Inuit varieties), with the head of this projection realized as oblique ("modalis") case morphology. This AAE strategy is previously unattested: while other languages have been shown to exceptionally permit anaphors in structural positions associated with oblique case assignment (e.g. Woolford 1999), the case morphology on Inuktitut anaphors is obligatorily present, *regardless* of syntactic context. 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**
         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)

(3)
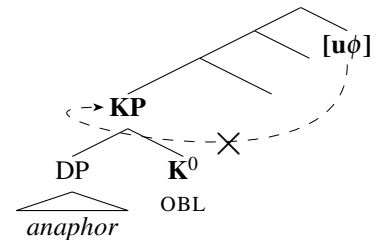
While this exact pattern is novel in the typology of AAE patterns, its existence is simultaneously unsurprising, given what is already known about this phenomenon. This paper focuses on two previous observations by Woolford (1999). In addition to the previous observation that anaphors that typically may not appear in ϕ-agreeing positions may exceptionally do so if assigned quirky case, anaphors are commonly lexically specified as enclosed in larger structural constituents (e.g. possessive DPs). Although these have been previously cast as distinct, non-overlapping strategies, I propose that the Inuktitut AAE is simply the intersection of these two effects: Inuktitut anaphors are lexically specified as enclosed within a larger case-bearing structure.

Crucially, this analysis of Inuktitut also departs from the received view that the Inuk-

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titut 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. §4 illustrates how this structure interacts with ϕ-agreement, and argues against previous detransitivization-based approaches to reflexivity in the language.

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.

Like Italian, ϕ-agreement in Icelandic typically targets only 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 (cf. 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) ku-jañjang-i   **kaleng-ku**   (6)
     1SG.ERG-see-⎡3.ABS⎤ self-1SG
     'I saw myself.' (Woolford 1999:(50a))   (Sela-
     yarese)
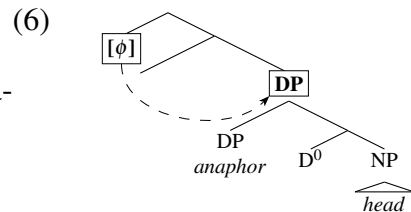
We have now seen two manifestations of the AAE. First, anaphors may exceptionally surface in certain ϕ-inaccessible case positions; second, anaphors may be lexically-specified as enclosed within a larger DP constituent. While these have been characterized as distinct strategies that individual languages may employ, I now propose that these strategies are able to be connected, arising in a third kind of AAE pattern that combines the core ingredients of these strategies—and show that this is borne out in Inuktitut.

## 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 *-mik* 'modalis' in the antipassive example in (7b)) may not be indexed by agreement morphology.

(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.'

In addition to ERG and ABS, Inuktitut has a number of oblique cases. An exhaustive list of oblique cases is 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 AUTHOR 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.

(9)

KP
├── DP
│   └── *anaphor*
└── K⁰
    MOD
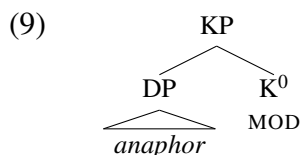
This proposed structure of Inuktitut is thus at the intersection of the two AAE strategies

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outlined in §2. At the same time, this exact effect is unattested in the broader typology of the AAE. While the interaction between case and the AAE in Inuktitut is seemingly reminiscent of the Icelandic quirky case pattern shown above, the crucial difference is that oblique case on Inuktitut anaphors is *insensitive to the syntactic context*, i.e. not assigned according to the idiosyncratic requirements of a verb. Moreover, this KP-structure 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 DP.

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$_{AP}$').[5] Despite their morphological identity, these instances of MOD case are argued to have distinct structural sources.

The first argument that anaphors are lexically-specified as bearing MOD case comes from the novel observation that MOD 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.[6] Both nominals bear the case that is assigned to the complex DP as a whole, which I treat as the result of a case concord process (cf. Norris 2014). This is first shown in (10a-b), with a non-anaphor.

(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.'

      b. Kiuru   nani-si-qqau-juq   [$_{DP}$ ajjinnguar-tuqar-**mik**
          Carol.ABS find-AP-REC.PST-3SG.S   picture-old-MOD$_{AP}$

Taiviti-nnguar-**mik**]
David-fake-MOD$_{AP}$
'Carol found an old picture of David.'

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 morphology does not surface due to a regular phonological rule (Dorais 1986).

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

        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$_i$ found an old picture of herself$_i$.'

        c.   sivuliuqti   [$_{DP}$ ajjinnguar-mut immi-**ni**-**mut**   ]
                premier.ABS   picture-ALLAT self-MOD-ALLAT
                qimirua-giaqtu-qqau-juq
                look.at-go.to-REC.PST-3SG.S
                'The Premier (of Nunavut) went to go look at a portrait of himself.'

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").[7] 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$_{\text{ANAPH}}$.ABS
          Intended: 'picture of (one)self' *(*ABS *obj.)*

     b. *ajjinnguar-mik Taiviti-**mi**-**nnguaq**
         picture-MOD$_{\text{AP}}$ David-MOD$_{\text{AP}}$-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   b. Taiviti-tuar-**mik**
          David-MOD$_{\text{AP}}$-only   David-only-MOD$_{\text{AP}}$
          '(picture of) only David'

(14) a. immi-**ni**-tuaq   b. *immi-tuar-**mik/nik**
          self-MOD$_{\text{ANAPH}}$-only   self-only-MOD$_{\text{ANAPH}}$
          '(picture of) only (one)self'

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 elements to intervene between the two.

3.2   Haplology of adjacent obliques

At this point, an alternative analysis is available: one under which the sequence *imminik* is monomorphemic, such that *-nik* does not encode MOD case at all. However, supporting evidence for the present analysis comes from systematic interactions with other oblique cases in the language. First, (15) shows that the sequence *-nik* is *absent* when the anaphor

is found in other oblique contexts. This is unexpected if *imminik* is monomorphemic.

(15)   a.   immi-**nut** uqa-qati-qaq-tunga
            self-ALLAT speak-partner-have-1SG.S
            'I$_i$ am talking to myself$_i$.'

       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 *postsyntactic haplology rule* operating on structurally adjacent case morphemes (K^{0}s), such that the internal case morpheme (MOD$_{ANAPH}$) is not pronounced, 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$^0_2$ ⇔ [∅].

b.

```
            KP
           /  \
         KP    K⁰
        /  \   case
      DP    K⁰
        case → ∅
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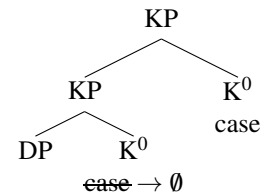
MOD$_{ANAPH}$ thus surfaces whenever the environment triggering the haplology rule is not met. This is further evidenced below. Recall from (14) that the adjectival suffix *-tuaq* 'only' may optionally attach higher or lower than a (non-MOD$_{ANAPH}$) case layer. Crucially, this affects whether MOD$_{ANAPH}$ surfaces on the anaphor. If the adjective is Merged above the outer K^0, the rule in (15) applies and MOD$_{ANAPH}$ does not surface, (17a); if it intervenes between the two K^{0}s, then (15) does not apply and case stacking results, (17b).

(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—in particular, the case stacking in (11c)

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despite the absence of an intervening adjective. I suggest that haplology does not apply in that context because the outer case morpheme on the anaphor surfaces as the result of a concord process—that is, the relevant case feature value originates in the highest head of the extended projection of the complex DP and is copied downward via a morphological rule (Pesetsky 2007, 2013; Norris 2014). As such, the outer KP-layer does not directly dominate the inner KP-layer, and so the environment triggering haplology is not met.

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).[8]

(18)   a.   (***pro***)   uvanga-u-quuji-jutit
           (2SG.ABS) 1SG.PRON-be-seem-2SG.S
           'You look like me.'

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

(19)
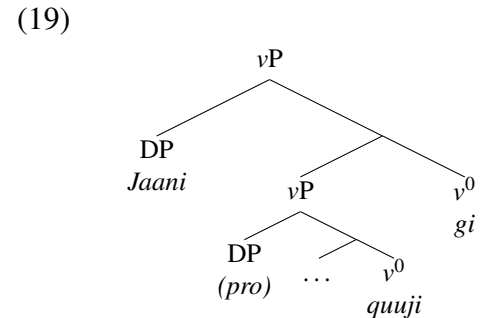
Crucially, *gi*-transitivized verbs may not be antipassivized—meaning that an ABS-MOD case frame is normally not ever possible, as shown by the ill-formedness of (20a).[9] How-

ever, (20b) demonstrates that the otherwise impossible ABS-MOD case pattern *exceptionally surfaces* when the object is an anaphor (see also (2b) above). Note also that the loss of ERG case on the subject is suggestive of a *dependent* treatment, in that the presence of MOD$_{\text{ANAPH}}$ on the anaphor removes the case competitor for dependent case assignment to the subject (Marantz 1991; Baker 2015) (for independent evidence that ERG across Inuit and other related languages is a dependent case, or assigned configurationally, see Bittner and Hale 1996a,b, Baker and Bobaljik 2017, and AUTHOR 2018).

(20) a. *Jaani   **ilin-nik**   uvanga-u-quuji-gi-juq
          Jaani.ABS 2SG-MOD 1SG-be-seem-TR-3SG.S
          Intended: 'Jaani thinks that you look like me.'
          (Lit.: Jaani has you as seeming to be me.')

      b. Jaani   **immi-nik**   uvanga-u-quuji-gi-juq
          Jaani.ABS self-MOD$_{\text{ANAPH}}$ 1SG-be-seem-TR-3SG.S
          'Jaani$_i$ thinks that he$_i$ looks like me.'
          (Lit.: 'Jaani has himself as seeming to be me.')

The pattern in (20b) is unsurprising given our proposed structure of anaphors. MOD case morphology on the anaphor arises from its lexically-specified KP-layer, not antipassivization. Moreover, since such KPs are syntactically opaque, the ϕ-probe will inevitably fail to be valued—resulting in the absence of object ϕ-morphology. Finally, the very fact that this pattern is, again, specific to anaphoric objects converges with our previous characterization of MOD$_{\text{ANAPH}}$ from §3.1-3.2, thus providing further evidence for the exact AAE strategy proposed in this paper.

4   Discussion: On detransitivization and variation across Inuit

The analysis of Inuktitut anaphors presented here departs from the more received view that such constructions involve *detransitivization*, (Marantz 1984; Bok-Bennema 1991; Woolford 1999), in line with arity-reducing (i.e. detransitivizing) approaches to reflex-

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ivization (e.g. Reinhart and Siloni 2005). Under this view, the intransitive predicate by itself is sufficient to yield a reflexivized reading, with the anaphor realized with oblique case morphology due to its status as an adjunct (this also accounts for the loss of ERG case on the subject). However, the data above have already suggested that this approach is insufficient—for instance, it does not explain the distribution of MOD case on anaphors in complex DPs (§3.1), nor its interaction with other oblique cases (§3.2).

There is, however, an additional, more crucial piece of evidence against such an approach: anaphors *cannot be omitted* in Inuktitut, a fact not expected of adjuncts. As first observed by Michael and Spreng (2014), omitting the anaphor either eliminates the reflexive reading or renders the sentence ungrammatical altogether, demonstrated in (21).[10] Michael and Spreng additionally show that this is a point of variation across Inuit; the anaphor does seem to be optional in other varieties such as Kalaallisut and Iñupiaq, (22).

(21)   a.   ?*(*pro*)   kapi-junga   b. *Kiuru   nagli-gi-juq
            1SG.ABS stab-1SG.S   Carol.ABS love-TR-3SG.S
            Intended: 'I stabbed myself.'[11]   Intended: 'Carol_i loves herself_i.'
            (Michael and Spreng 2014:(6a))

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

Thus, a detransitivization 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 two particular patterns discussed by 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.

Notes

[1]The Inuit languages are a continuum of dialects 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 the North Baffin varieties. The empirical generalizations presented in this paper do not necessarily extend to other Inuit varieties.

[2]'SIG' is meant to denote the hypothetical form that the anaphor would take in NOM case.

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

[4]Alternatively, 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.

[5]It 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, AUTHOR 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.

[6]As discussed by Compton (2012), such constructions may be analyzed as involving two DP nominals in apposition. Note also that the modifying nominal in this context may take a suffixal adjective *-nnguaq* 'fake,' which seems to encode proxy reference in the sense of Jackendoff (1992).

[7]See 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).

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

[9]Inuktitut, like other Inuit languages, 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.

[10]Michael and Spreng's (2014) data represent the South Baffin variety of Inuktitut, (21a). As shown in (21b), the same facts hold for the closely related North Baffin varieties discussed in this paper.

[12]Regarding (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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