

evidence against detransitivization-based accounts of anaphoric constructions, showing that they have the *same argument structure* as their non-anaphoric counterparts.

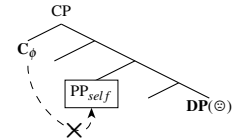
- (4) a. Jaani igvi-u-quuji-juq
Jaani.ABS 2S-be-seem-3S.S
'Jaani looks like you.'
- b. J-up Piita igvi-u-quuji-gi-janga
J-ERG P.ABS 2S-be-seem-TR-3S.S/3S.O
'Jaani thinks that Piita looks like you.'
(Lit.: 'Jaani has Piita as looking like you.')
- (5) a. Jaani **ingmi-nik** igvi-u-quuji-gi-juq
J.ABS self-MOD 2S-be-seem-TR-3S.S
'Jaani_i thinks that he_i looks like you.'
- b. *Jaani Piita-mik igvi-u-quuji-gi-juq
J.ABS P-MOD 2S-be-seem-TR-3S.S
Intended: 'J. thinks that P. looks like you.'

Finally, note that anaphors may also appear without MOD case in other oblique contexts, (6a). I assume that the lexical PP-layer is present, but *deleted* as a haplology effect when structurally adjacent to another case morpheme, (6b). In (3) the intervening modifier prevents haplology from applying.

- (6) a. ingmi-**nut** uqalimaa-suuq
self-DAT speak-HAB.3S.S
'She talks to herself.'
- b. *Haplology rule:*
self-MOD-DAT → self-DAT

4. Case-discrimination and failed Agree. These data reveal two interrelated properties of ϕ -Agree processes in Inuktitut. First, Inuktitut ϕ -probes are *case-discriminating*, in that they may target ERG/ABS arguments, but cannot target MOD-marked arguments (i.e. PPs) (Bobaljik 2008). Second, and more specifically, the inaccessibility of such arguments for ϕ -agreement results in the *failure of Agree* (Preminger 2011, 2014). In the examples above, this is reflected by the absence of object agreement morphology—which, in turn, satisfies the AAE. Besides triggering the loss of ϕ -morphology, lexical case-marked arguments also block a higher ϕ -probe from targeting a lower argument, (7a). This is characteristic of *defective intervention* (DI) (e.g. Chomsky 2001): PPs are both inaccessible to ϕ -Agree and interveners for such processes. These DI effects are a corollary of Preminger's failed Agree approach: when a ϕ -probe encounters an inaccessible argument, the Agree operation is forced to abort. On this basis, I suggest that the ungrammaticality of (7a) is due to the inability for the lower argument to be licensed by ϕ -Agree. Indeed, antipassivizing the lower argument (i.e. by assigning syncretic non-lexical MOD case) rescues the derivation, (7b).

- (7) a. *Miali-up ingmi-nik niuvi-ruti-lauq-**tanga** / *-tuq **piruqsiat**
M-ERG self-MOD buy-APPL-PST-3S.S/3S.O / *-3S.S flowers.ABS
Intended: 'Miali bought herself the flowers.'
- b. Miali ingmi-nik niuvi-(\emptyset)-ruti-lauq-tuq **piruqsiar-nik**
M.ABS self-MOD buy-AP-APPL-PST-3S.S flowers-MOD
'Miali bought herself the flowers.'



5. Further implications. I. Reflexivization across Inuit: Previous treatments of anaphoric constructions have mainly been based on West Greenlandic (WG), which has a different profile. The detransitivization-based analyses were motivated by the fact that the case-marked anaphor in WG is *optional*, (8a). In contrast, the anaphor in Inuktitut cannot ever be omitted (Michael & Spreng 2014), (8b) (cf. (5a)). I suggest that this reflects different reflexivization strategies across Inuit: whereas WG reflexives are derived by true detransitivization (e.g. via θ -bundling; Reinhart & Siloni 2005), in Inuktitut reflexives are formed via *syntactic binding of an anaphor* in argument position.

- (8) a. piniartuq tuqup-puq
hunter.ABS kill-3S.S
'The hunter killed himself. (WG; Marantz 1984)
- b. *Jaani igvi-u-quuji-gi-juq
J.ABS 2S-be-seem-TR-3S.S
Intended: 'Jaani_i thinks that he_i looks like you.' (Inuktitut)

II. The source of ERG case. The loss of ERG case in transitivized contexts, e.g. (5a) above, demonstrates that the distribution of ERG case is not tied to argument structure or transitivity. Instead, the AAE motivates a *dependent* treatment of ERG (e.g. Marantz 1991; Baker 2015), assigned to a nominal in the presence of another case-requiring nominal (its 'case competitor'). In (5a), lexical case on the anaphor removes it from the case competition, thereby bleeding dependent ERG case assignment.