

## Binding is Agree: Evidence from anaphora in Tenyidie

A number of researchers have argued that anaphoric relations such as binding should be modeled using Agree (e.g. Reuland 2001, 2011; Heinat 2006; Hicks 2009; Rooryck and Vanden Wyngaerd 2011). The assimilation of anaphora and Agree has recently been called into question by Preminger (2019), however. In this talk, I provide an argument from the Sino-Tibetan language Tenyidie (also known as Angami) that Agree is the correct theoretical tool for analyzing anaphoric dependencies. Despite lacking regular subject and object agreement, Tenyidie shows  $\varphi$ -covarying marking (i.e. agreement) exclusively with a local reflexive object (1).

- (1) a. á<sub>i</sub> á-thuó<sub>i</sub> \*(á-)tshē bā  
1SG 1SG-SELF \*(1SG-)praise CONT  
'I am praising myself.'
- b. puō<sub>i</sub> puō-thuó<sub>i</sub> \*(puō-)tshē bā  
3SG 3SG-SELF \*(3SG-)praise CONT  
'He is praising himself.'

The central question raised by such data is how we can capture the fact that agreement is seemingly only possible in the context of local reflexivization (in essence, the reverse of Rizzi's (1990) *Anaphor Agreement Effect*). It is argued that what looks like agreement follows from the a syntactic mechanism of binding that is mediated by *v* (Heinat 2006). If reflexive anaphors must obtain their  $\varphi$ -features from their antecedent under Agree mediated by *v*, then this is the only context in which *v* will bear  $\varphi$ -features that can be realized as (what looks like) object agreement. I provide further evidence from ditransitives, DP-internal anaphors and serial-verb constructions that supports this general conclusion.

## References

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