

## Anaphora in Tenyidie: Reflexivization as mediated Agree

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**Claim:** We present new data from the understudied language Tenyidie (Angami) showing that a local object reflexive is the only context that triggers  $\varphi$ -covarying agreement on the verb, a typologically surprising situation. Since the language lacks genuine (object) agreement, we view this as a side effect of the mechanism for reflexivization, which is Agree mediated by  $\nu$  (following Heinat 2006). Thus, the  $\varphi$ -features of the object are present on the verb only when it is a reflexive (with unvalued  $\varphi$ -features) by virtue of a feature-sharing dependency (Pesetsky & Torrego 2001, 2007).

**Anaphora:** Tenyidie, a Sino-Tibetan language, generally lacks both subject and object agreement:

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| <p>(1) a. á kēví (*puō-)tshē bá<br/>1SG Kevi (*3SG-)praise CONT<br/>'I am praising Kevi.'</p> | <p>b. á puō (*puō-)tshē bá<br/>1SG 3SG (*3SG-)praise CONT<br/>'I am praising him.'</p> |
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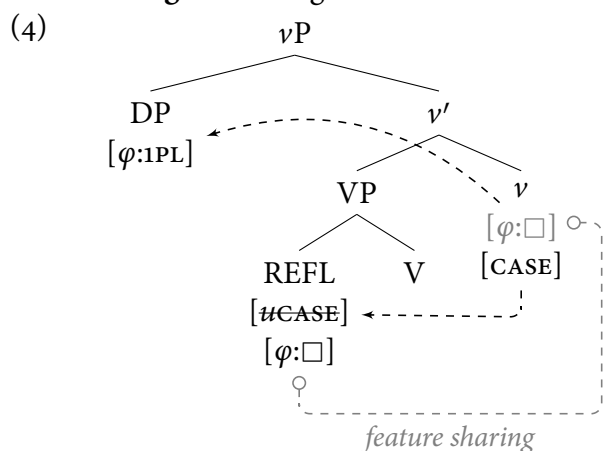
However, when there is a reflexive anaphor in object position the verb shows an obligatory  $\varphi$ -covarying marker (2). This appears to be the only context exhibiting something like agreement.

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| <p>(2) a. á<sub>i</sub> ā-thuó<sub>i</sub> *(ā-)tshē bá<br/>1SG 1SG-SELF *(1SG-)praise CONT<br/>'I am praising myself.'</p> <p>b. puō<sub>i</sub> puō-thuó<sub>i</sub> *(puō-)tshē bá<br/>3SG 3SG-SELF *(3SG-)praise CONT<br/>'He is praising himself.'</p> | <p>c. nó<sub>i</sub> n̄-thuó<sub>i</sub> *(n̄-)tshē bá<br/>2SG 2SG-SELF *(2SG-)praise CONT<br/>'You are praising yourself.'</p> <p>d. úkō<sub>i</sub> úkō-thuó<sub>i</sub> *(úkō-)tshē bá<br/>1PL 1PL-SELF *(1PL-)praise CONT<br/>'We are praising ourselves.'</p> |
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This is surprising given the *Anaphora Agreement Effect* (Rizzi 1990), which states the anaphors do not normally control agreement. While languages with genuine (object) agreement often do not agree in contexts with reflexive objects (Woolford 1999), Tenyidie seems to require agreement in precisely this context. We can be confident that this additional marking belongs to the verb and not the anaphor since the anaphor can be dropped in certain contexts (to the exclusion of the marker) (3a) and because another constituent can separate the anaphor from this agreement marker (3b).

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| <p>(3) a. á<sub>i</sub> ā-tshē bá<br/>1SG 1SG-praise CONT<br/>'I am praising myself.'</p> | <p>b. á<sub>i</sub> ā-thuó<sub>i</sub> [<sub>PP</sub> lēʃǝkí nū ] ā-tshē bá<br/>1SG 1SG-SELF school in 1SG-praise CONT<br/>'I am praising myself at school.'</p> |
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**Mediated Agree:** We argue that what we find in (2) is not genuine object  $\varphi$ -agreement, but instead



a by-product of the mechanism for anaphoric binding. A relatively widely-held view is that reflexive pronouns bear an unvalued ( $\varphi$ -)feature that is valued by the antecedent (e.g. Reuland 2001; Heinat 2006; Hicks 2009; Vanden Wyngaerd & Rooryck 2011). Heinat (2006) argues that this Agree relation is mediated by  $\nu$ . As shown in (4), when  $\nu$  agrees with the direct object to Case-license it, the unvalued  $\varphi$ -feature on the reflexive creates a feature-sharing dependency between  $\nu$  and DO with regard to this feature (Pesetsky & Torrego 2001, 2007). This means that the feature

is now also present on  $\nu$ . When  $\nu$  introduces the external argument, i.e. the antecedent for the reflexive, it values the  $\varphi$ -probe on  $\nu$  and, by virtue of feature-sharing, the reflexive. Assuming V-to- $\nu$  movement, the features on  $\nu$  can be realized as what looks like object agreement. However, the language generally lacks object agreement, and therefore genuine  $\varphi$ -probes on  $\nu$ . The only context in

which  $\varphi$ -features can be transferred to  $\nu$ , and therefore realized there, is when  $\nu$  facilitates reflexive binding. This predicts that this anaphoric ‘agreement’ should be restricted to local reflexivization

- (5) Kēví<sub>i</sub> [<sub>CP</sub> puō-thuó<sub>i</sub> vör bá cǫ ] (\*puō-)pǫ́ fǫ́  
 Kevi 3SG-SELF come CONT that (\*3SG-)say PERF  
 ‘Kevi<sub>i</sub> said that he<sub>i</sub> has arrived.’

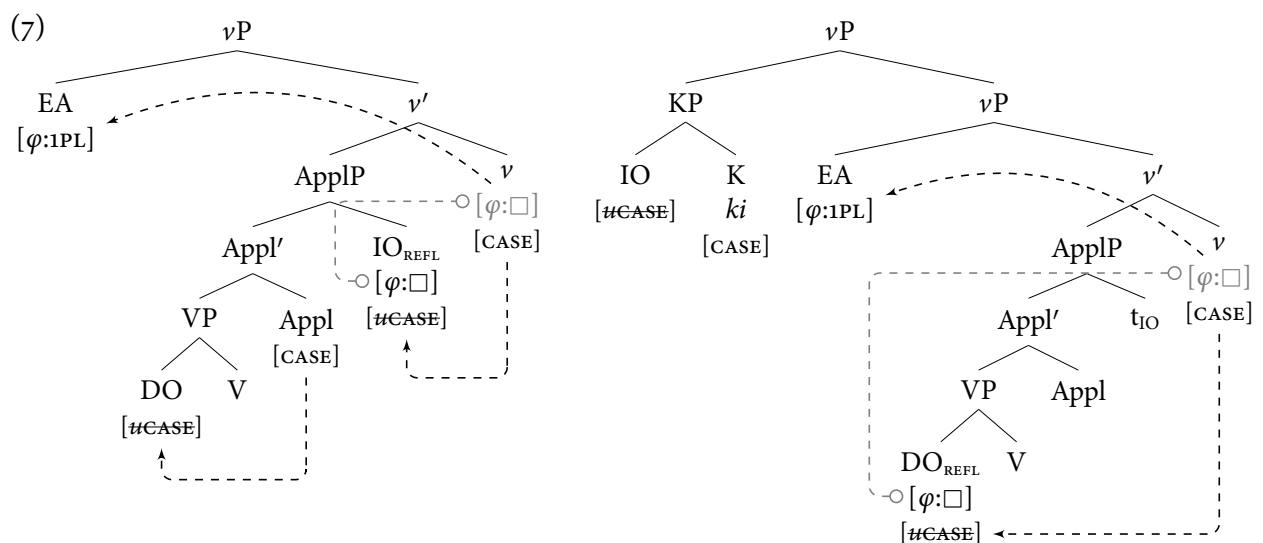
This is supported by the fact that non-local reflexivization does not trigger agreement on the matrix verb, as in (5). Since non-

reflexive objects have valued  $\varphi$ -features, this will not lead to feature sharing, i.e. no  $\varphi$ -feature on  $\nu$ .

**Ditransitives:** Further evidence for the mediated Agree approach comes from ditransitives. (6a) shows that the neutral order is DO > IO. The IO can be replaced with a reflexive pronoun and triggers  $\varphi$ -marking on the verb (6b). Interestingly, however, the the direct object cannot be replaced with a reflexive in this configuration (6c). The grammatical variant involves leftward scrambling of the IO (6d), which results in *ki*-marking that we treat as differential-object marking (López 2012).

- (6) a. á letter-u kēví pekíe fǫ́ c. \*á<sub>i</sub> ā-thuó<sub>i</sub> kēví (ā-)pekíe fǫ́  
 1SG letter-DEF Kevi show PERF 1SG 1SG-SELF Kevi 1SG-show PERF  
 ‘I showed the letter to Kevi.’ ‘I showed myself to Kevi.’  
 b. á<sub>i</sub> letter-u ā-thuó<sub>i</sub> ā-pekíe fǫ́ d. á<sub>i</sub> kēví-ki ā-thuó<sub>i</sub> ā-pekíe fǫ́  
 1SG letter-DEF 1SG-SELF 1SG-show PERF 1SG Kevi-KI 1SG-SELF 1SG-show PERF  
 ‘I showed the letter to myself.’ ‘I showed myself to Kevi.’

This follows if the features on a reflexive must be valued via  $\nu$ . Assuming that the IO is normally Case-licensed by  $\nu$  and the DO by Appl (e.g. McGinnis 1998), then feature-sharing between the IO and  $\nu$  is established and the features transferred to the anaphor. The left tree in (7) shows (6b). However, since  $\nu$  does not agree with the DO, it cannot transfer the  $\varphi$ -values of the EA to the reflexive and the derivation crashes due to its unvalued  $\varphi$ -feature. The alternative strategy is to have  $\nu$  Case-license the DO (the Case probe on Appl is optional). In order to facilitate this, the IO must be licensed otherwise. This is achieved by the K(ase)P shell resulting from short scrambling (i.e. DOM; see Rodríguez-Mondoñedo 2007; Richards 2010; Baker 2014). Now that the IO no longer intervenes,  $\nu$  licenses the DO and, crucially, creates the feature-sharing dependency necessary for transferring the  $\varphi$ -values to the reflexive. The mediated Agree analysis accounts for why the IO must move if the DO is a reflexive, since it receives its  $\varphi$ -values as a side-effect of licensing by  $\nu$ .



**Selected refs.:** Heinat, F. 2006. *Probes, pronouns and binding in the Minimalist Program*. PhD Thesis, Lund University. • Pesetsky, D. & E. Torrego. 2001. ‘T-to-C Movement: Causes and Consequences.’ In: *Ken Hale: A Life in Language*. MIT Press. • Pesetsky, D. & E. Torrego. 2007. ‘The Syntax of Valuation and the Interpretability of Features.’ In: *Phrasal and Clausal Architecture*. Benjamins. • Reuland, E. ‘Primitives of Binding.’ *LI*. • Woolford, E. 1999. ‘More on the AAE.’ *LI*.