

What can agreeing anaphors tell us about the Anaphor Agreement Effect?

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Introduction The Anaphor Agreement Effect (AAE) is a generalization to the effect that anaphors do not trigger verbal agreement unless that agreement is specific to them. Since a version of this was first proposed in Rizzi (1990), much crosslinguistic research has suggested it to be a broadly correct generalization (Woolford 1999; Haegman 2004; Deal 2010; Sundaresan 2016 a.o.). As a counterpoint to this, I argue that the anaphor *uviki-* in Koryak, a highly-endangered Chukotko-Kamchatkan language of the Russian Far East, is an exception to this generalization, as it triggers covarying number agreement on the verb in object position. I propose a revised version of the AAE which bars anaphors from triggering covarying person agreement on verbs, but allows (at least) for number agreement. I capture the difference between languages where anaphors trigger covarying number agreement and languages where anaphors trigger default agreement using a variant of Preminger (2018)'s proposal that anaphors include an AnaphP projection that is impenetrable to *Agree*, but deviate from it by proposing that the head hosting the anaphor's number features may be either below it or above it. Finally, I argue that adopting Sudo (2012)'s proposal that pronominal indices host person features accounts for the revised AAE by treating structures in which anaphors could trigger person agreement agree as binding condition B violations Chomsky (1981).

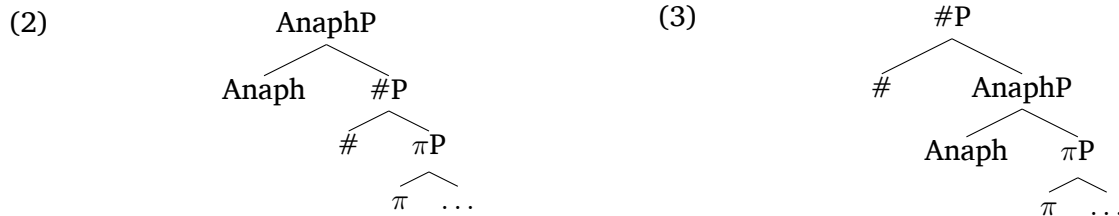
Data Koryak is an ergative case-marking language where finite verbs display obligatory agreement in person and number with their subjects and objects (1a). As (1b) shows, this agreement is identical regardless of whether or not the object is the reflexive/reciprocal anaphor *uviki-* (homophonous with 'body'), which must have the same number specification as its binder (1c-1d). While the verb shows agreement with the anaphor in number, agreement reflecting the person features of the anaphor's binder is ungrammatical (1e). Despite being homophonous, the *uviki-* that means 'body' and the one that is an anaphor are different syntactic objects, as the latter must be bound within the smallest CP containing it (1f), whereas no such restriction exists on the former (1d,1f).

- (1) a. $\widehat{\text{mot}}\text{c}\gamma\text{-}\text{ə-nan}$ $\{*(\mathbf{m\grave{a}t})\text{-l}\acute{e}\text{?u-}*(\mathbf{net})\text{ k}\acute{a}\text{m}\text{i}\eta\text{-t}$ / $*(\mathbf{m\grave{a}t})\text{-l}\acute{e}\text{?u-}*(\mathbf{t\acute{a}k})\text{ tuji}\}$
1NSG-EP-ERG 1NSG.S/A-see-3DU.O child-ABS.DU / 1NSG.S/A-see-2NSG.S/O 2DU.ABS
'We two saw two children / you two.'
- b. $\widehat{\text{mot}}\text{c}\gamma\text{-}\text{ə-nan}$ $\text{m\acute{a}t-l}\acute{e}\text{?u-}\mathbf{net}$ uviki-t
1NSG-EP-ERG 1NSG.S/A-see-3DU.O self-ABS.DU
'We two saw ourselves/each other.'
- c. $\gamma\text{əm-nan}$ $\text{t-}\acute{e}\text{-l}\acute{e}\text{?u-}\mathbf{n}$ uvik
1SG-ERG 1SG.S/A-EP-see-3SG.O self.ABS.SG
'I saw myself.'
- d. $\#\widehat{\text{mot}}\text{c}\gamma\text{-}\text{ə-nan}$ $\text{m\acute{a}t-l}\acute{e}\text{?u-}\mathbf{n}$ uvik
1NSG-EP-ERG 1NSG.S/A-see-3SG.O self.ABS.SG
intended: 'We two saw ourselves/each other.' (ok as: 'We two saw a body.')
- e. $*\widehat{\text{mot}}\text{c}\gamma\text{-}\text{ə-nan}$ $\text{m\acute{a}t-l}\acute{e}\text{?u-}\mathbf{m\acute{a}k}$ uviki-t
1NSG-EP-ERG 1NSG.S/A-see-1NSG.S/O self-ABS.DU
intended: 'We two saw ourselves/each other.'
- f. $\#\gamma\text{əm}\text{mo}$ $\text{t-}\acute{e}\text{-ko-}\gamma\text{ajmat-}\acute{e}\text{-}\eta$ tit uvik $\text{enalvat-}\acute{e}\text{-k ?ije-k}$
1SG.ABS 1SG.S/A-EP-PRS-want-EP-PRS so.that self.ABS.SG win-EP-INF race-LOC
intended: 'I want to win the race.' (ok as: 'I want my body to win the race.')

The Koryak facts show that anaphors can trigger covarying agreement, contrary to previous formulations of the AAE, though that agreement cannot be in person. I therefore propose the following revised version of the AAE based on Sundaresan (2016): Anaphors cannot directly trigger covarying person agreement which results in covarying person morphology.

Analysis Following Preminger (2018), I take anaphors to differ from other DPs in that they contain a functional head Anaph that bears an anaphoric index and is a barrier to agreement. The structure

in (2) is based on the original proposal (though with person and number represented separately). I take this to derive non-agreement, default agreement, and special anaphoric agreement, depending on the composition of the probe that targets the anaphor. Such patterns are seen in Inuit, Albanian, and Swahili, respectively (Woolford 1999). I propose that the structure for Koryak anaphor is as in (3), where Anaph is merged between person and number. This derives the fact that number on anaphors is accessible to agreement, but person is not.



If the revised AAE proposed above is correct, it is necessary to find a way to prevent Anaph from merging below the person features (4), as this would make the anaphor's person features accessible to agreement. This can be accomplished by applying Sudo (2012)'s proposal that unites referential indices and person features in the syntax, and a restatement of condition B of Chomsky (1981) that bans identical indices in a local configuration. First, assume a representation for person as in (4), where i is a referential index. Assume also that the referential index can percolate up the structure, but not past the barrier introduced by Anaph. An anaphor that would trigger person agreement on the verb would therefore have the structure shown in (5).



If we redefine condition B such that it bans a referential index from being c-commanded by an identical index within its binding domain (where the boundary the Anaph introduces is taken to delineate a binding domain), the revised AAE falls out directly. Consider the sentence *I saw myself* in a language with anaphors constructed following the model in (5). The same index would have to be borne by both the subject and the object, as Anaph is not sufficiently high to block it from percolating up on the object. This structure, which should trigger object agreement in person and number with the anaphor, results in a violation of condition B, therefore ruling it out on independent grounds.

Conclusion I have shown that anaphors in Koryak trigger covarying number agreement when they are in object position, in violation of previous versions of the AAE. I have proposed a revised version of the AAE barring anaphors only from triggering person agreement, which I account for by adopting Preminger (2018)'s Anaph head and allowing its position with respect to the number head to vary across languages. Finally, based on Sudo (2012)'s proposal that pronominal indices bear person features, I have proposed that a reformulation of Chomsky (1981)'s condition B of the Binding Theory accounts for the fact that Anaph cannot merge lower than person features do, thus deriving the revised version of the AAE.

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