

The Anaphor Agreement Effect: further evidence against binding-as-agreement

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The Anaphor Agreement Effect (AAE; Rizzi 1990, Woolford 1999, *a.o.*) refers to a cross-linguistic ban on phi-feature agreement with anaphors. At first glance, the AAE seems to suggest a rather tight interaction between syntactic phi-feature agreement on the one hand, and binding on the other. This has led some (e.g. Reuland 2011) to take the AAE as evidence in support of a reduction of binding to phi-agreement.

I show that, upon closer inspection, the AAE provides fairly strong evidence against the reduction of binding to syntactic phi-feature agreement. That is because a reductionist view of the AAE requires, somewhat paradoxically, assumptions about phi-agreement, and about the structure of anaphoric expressions, which break their compatibility with the very mechanism of binding-as-phi-agreement.

I instead propose that the AAE arises due to what I call *encapsulation*: the binding index associated with anaphoric binding resides on a separate, higher projection than where valued phi-features reside. In addition to accounting for the AAE, the encapsulation hypothesis enjoys broad cross-linguistic morphological support (Middleton 2018).

I also offer a proposal on the nature of phi-feature matching between anaphors and their binders, given that syntactic phi-feature agreement cannot be what is responsible. I point out that even in the absence of any syntactic relation between binder and bindee (e.g. in cases of Donkey Anaphora), phi-feature matching is manifested between the two. This is not restricted to semantically interpreted features, either; the same applies to, e.g., grammatical gender on inanimates. Crucially, whatever non-syntactic mechanism underlies these cases is then sufficient to ensure phi-matching between an anaphor and its binder, as well, with no involvement of syntactic phi-feature agreement.