Reframing the core-peripheral distinction of *zìjǐ* via binding-as-agreement

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Outset

In brief, we'll be pursuing two objectives in this talk:

- ▶ Evaluating Agree in mediating Mandarin binding relations, in light of recent similar work on other languages (e.g., Ershova 2019, 2023; Diercks et al. 2020; Paparounas & Akkuş 2024).

- ▶ Investigating how an Interaction/Satisfaction model *of* Agree (Deal 2015, 2024) can serve as the basis for this approach.

⤳ Reconsidering existing approaches (namely, Giblin 2016; Wong 2021) in the process.

Binding and blocking

Chinese linguistics is very familiar with long-distance phenomena:

(1)   a.   Zhangsan$_i$ shuo [Lisi$_j$ bu renshi ta-ziji$_{*i/j}$].
           Zhangsan say   Lisi not know 3SG-self
           'Zhangsan$_i$ said that Lisi$_j$ didn't know himself$_{*i/j}$.'

        b.   Yuehuan$_i$ shuo [Bier$_j$ bangia-le   ziji$_{i/j}$].
           John   say   Bill kidnap-ASP self
           'John$_i$ said that Bill$_j$ kidnapped self$_{i/j}$.'

(Pan 1998:792; Lyu & Kaiser 2023:2)

Binding and blocking

LD binding is classically unpredicted given Binding Conditions:

(2) antecedent$_i$ [. . . reflexive$_i$]   contra BC-A

(3) Zhangsan$_i$ juede [{Lisi,*wo}$_j$ dui   ziji$_i$ mei xinxin].
     Zhangsan think Lisi/1SG   have self no   confidence
     'Zhangsan$_i$ thinks that {Lisi,*I}$_j$ have no confidence in
     self$_i$.'

As is blocking in (3), adapted from Miyagawa (2017:64).

Counterevidence to Binding Conditions

- SE anaphor usage (Reinhart & Reuland 1993; Reuland 2001).
- ABS object $>$ ERG subject can still preserve binding relation (West Circassian: Ershova 2019, 2023; Inuktitut: Yuan 2024).
- Locality violations; blocking effects (already seen with Mandarin LD binding).

Reducing *GBT*

A growing line of research in contemporary minimalism (Chomsky, 1995, 2000, 2001, et seq.) has explored the reducibility of the canonical Conditions A–C:

- ▶ **Binding as movement**: Antecedents are merged with anaphors, then later raise (Zwart 2002; Hornstein 2007; a.o.).

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- ▶ **Binding as movement $+$ agreement**: Agree between antecedents and anaphors is fed by movement (Rooryck & Vanden Wyngaerd 2011; Diercks et al. 2020).

Mandarin in binding-as-agreement

An approach using movement alone may be insufficient (Giblin 2016; Miyagawa 2017), e.g., LF-raising of *ziji* (Cole et al. 1990, 2006; Huang & Liu 2001):

(4) Zhangsan$_i$ bu xihuan [[neixie piping   ziji$_i$ de] ren].
     Zhangsan not like   those   criticize self DE person
     'Zhangsan$_i$ does not like those people who criticized self$_i$.'

(Miyagawa 2017:67)

Mandarin in binding-as-agreement

Rooryck & Wyngaerd (2011) argue that downward Agree occurs between anaphors and antecedents based on Dutch.

*Rooryck & Vanden Wyngaerd (2011; R&VW)*

- ▶ Reflexives (e.g., *taziji*) enter with unvalued φ-features.
- ▶ These features are valued under Agree by their antecedents.
- ▶ Agree causes feature-sharing, and LD anaphors are pre-valued.

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Diercks et al. (2020) label anaphors c-commanding antecedents to Agree (based on Lubukusu complementizers) as the Principle for Anaphoric Properties of Agreement (PAPA).
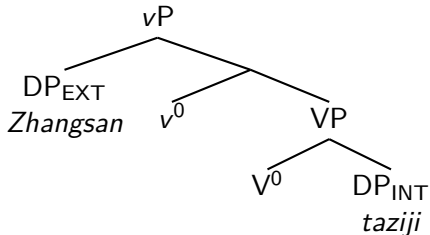
(5)   *Local binding*

⤳ c-command for downward Agree: ✗

(6) *Local binding*
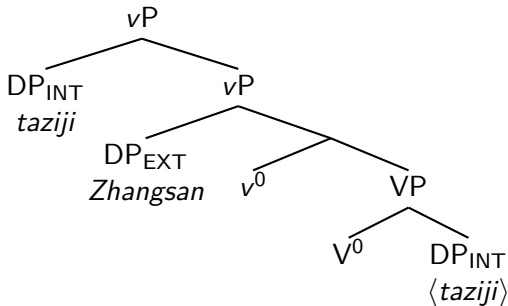
$\rightsquigarrow$ c-command for downward Agree: ✓

LD binding-as-agreement

LD binding over island boundaries should be constrained or prevented under a movement approach:

- ▶ Does not account for blocking nor availability of binding across islands shown previously.

- ▶ If LD anaphors are merged pre-valued for φ, what is motivating/stopping adjunction to [Spec,vP] for reflexives?

- ▶ *Taziji* may become the closest candidate for subject A-movement with T^0 (i.e., causing OVS word-order).
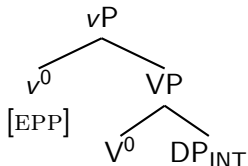
Layered VP still fails downward Agree
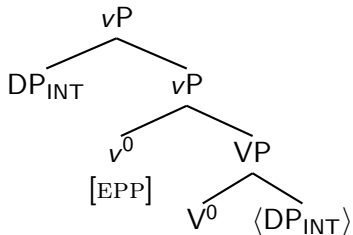
(7) $\mathcal{SO}_1 = \{V^0, DP_{INT}\}$
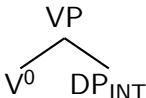
Layered VP still fails downward Agree

(8) $\mathcal{SO}_2 = \{v^0, \{V^0, DP_{INT}\}\}$
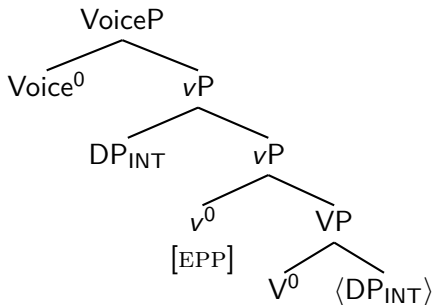
vP
v^0 VP
[EPP]
V^0 DP_{INT}

Layered VP still fails downward Agree

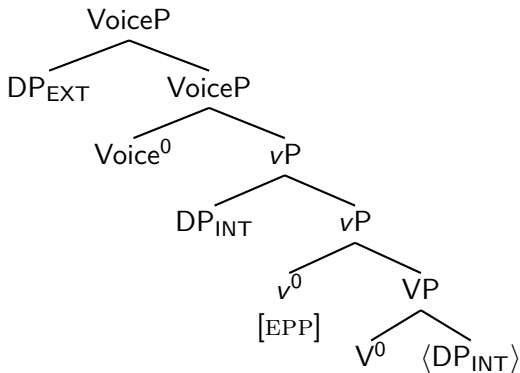(9) $\mathcal{SO}_3 = \{DP_{INT}, \{v^0, \{V^0, DP_{INT}\}\}\}$

Layered VP still fails downward Agree

(10) $\mathcal{SO}_4 = \{\text{Voice}^0, \{\text{DP}_\text{INT}, \{v^0, \{V^0, \text{DP}_\text{INT}\}\}\}\}$

Layered VP still fails downward Agree

(11) $\mathcal{SO}_5 = \{DP_{EXT}, \{Voice^0, \{DP_{INT}, \{v^0, \{V^0, DP_{INT}\}\}\}\}\}$

LD binding-as-agreement

With the approach of direct DP-DP agreement (PAPA):

▶ Features on anaphors stipulated as interpretable.

▶ Anaphors must be capable of being non-functional probes.

▶ Adjunction to [Spec,vP] landing-site must be motivated.

Multiple Agree for LD binding

Giblin (2016) and Wong (2021) outline chain formation to reduce LD binding into local Agree without movement.

- ▶ Giblin (2016): Instances of T^0 inherit [PART] features from matrix C^0 after valuation by subject, and embedded T^0 transmits to *ziji*.

(Multiple Agree: Hiraiwa 2001, 2005)

Multiple Agree for LD binding

(12) a. $P > G_1 > \ldots > G_n$
      b. $C^0 > Zhangsan_i > \ldots T^0 \ldots > ziji_i$

Intervener can thus block LD binding depending on featural values.

Intensifiers and reflexives

▶ This theory does not unify intensifers and reflexives as R&VW attempted (i.e., [Spec,vP] position).

▶ However, a non-movement approach can still relate the two:

(13) **Anti-causal vs. anti-comitative** (Tsai 2015:5-7)

    a.   Akiu $\boxed{\text{ziji}}$ hui chuli zhe-jian shi.
         Akiu self will handle this-CL matter

       'Akiu will handle this matter on his own initiative.'

    b.   Akiu hui $\boxed{\text{ziji}}$ chuli zhe-jian shi.
         Akiu will self handle this-CL matter

       'Akiu will handle this matter alone/in person.'

Positioning of intensifiers

The locale of the intensifier with respect to T^0 (i.e., the modal) depends on whether or not the subject strands it at [Spec,vP].

(14) a. *ziji* > modal: DP_{EXT} *ziji hui* ... [⟨DP_{EXT} *ziji*⟩] ...
      b. modal > *ziji*: DP_{EXT} *hui* ... [⟨DP_{EXT}⟩ *ziji*] ...

Binding with object anaphor

Movement does not need stipulation if the probe can cyclically Agree (e.g., Béjar & Rezac 2009), given the object does not satisfy probing (in the sense of Deal 2015, 2024).

(15) $[Zhangsan_\varphi \text{ Voice}^0_{\text{REFL}} [\text{ V}^0 \text{ (ta-)ziji}]]$

- ▶ Reflexive Voice^0 mediates agreement (Ahn 2015 et seq; Paparounas & Akkuş 2024)
- ▶ Unvalued anaphor fails to license Agree on Voice^0, and the head searches its specifier for the external argument.

Binding with object anaphor

For LD binding, Voice^0 may probe into its c-command domain to enter into Agree with *ziji*.

- ▶ If Agree fails (anaphor: uPART), the probe would still be able to search its specifier.
- ▶ It can interact with, but not be satisfied by, the uninterpretable/unvalued anaphor.

(16) [*Zhangsan*$_\varphi$ Voice$^0_{\text{REFL}}$ [. . . *ziji*]]

Recap

An Agree analysis to binding that relies on movement must overcome ① apparent island violations, ② invervening blocking effects, and ③ motivating Agree directionality.

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Recap

An Agree analysis to binding that relies on movement must overcome ① apparent island violations, ② invervening blocking effects, and ③ motivating Agree directionality.

- ▶ Extending a $Voice^0$-mediated approach (Ershova 2021; Paparounas & Akkuş 2024) to Mandarin means downward probing is not dependent on movement.
- ▶ Anaphor's failure to value the probe means that subsequent specifier agreement with the subject will value each.
- ▶ Int./Sat. relativizing allows syntax to restrict *both* what $Voice^0$ can interact with and what can satisfy it (PCC; blocking).

Acknowledgements

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Thank you!

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