Agreement or Binding: Who blinks first?
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Rizzi (1990) proposed a generalization called Anaphor Agreement effect (henceforth AAE) which states that anaphors cannot control the φ covarying verbal agreement. In this paper, I argue that AAE generalization is too strong and holds only for those languages that has the order of syntactic operation Agree > Binding. If the opposite order Binding > Agree holds, then it would lead to the violation of AAE.

To begin with, let me illustrate the AAE facts in Shona, a Bantu language spoken in Zimbabwe. Shona has both subject and object markers prefixed to the verb. These subject and object markers correspond to the noun classes of the subject and the object.

(1)   pro **ndì**-nó-**mù**-gèz-bvùnz-à   pro
       1SG **SM**-PST-**OM**-question-FV 3SG

       'I question him'   (Dechaine & Wiltschko 2012: 17 (37a))

Following Storoshenko's (2016) analysis, I take the subject and object markers to be real instance of subject and object agreement markers. And whenever the object is a reflexive pronoun of any person, number and gender, an invariable *-zvi* morpheme shows up as an object marker.

(2)   Shona reflexive:

	SM	Pres	**OM**	wash	
1SG	ndì-	nó-	**zvì**-	gèz-á	'I wash myself'
1PL	tì-	nó-	**zvì**-	gèz-á	'We wash ourself'
2SG	ù-	nó-	**zvì**-	gèz-á	'You wash yourself'
2PL	mù-	nó-	**zvì**-	gèz-á	'You(PL) wash yourself'
3SG	à-	nó-	**zvì**-	gèz-á	'She washes herself'
3PL	và-	nó-	**zvì**-	gèz-á	'They wash themselves' (Dechaine & Wiltschko 2012: 17 (35))

Storoshenko illustrates that, elsewhere in Shona grammar, this *-zvi* morpheme occurs as an exponent of default agreement marker as a result of failed agreement with the corresponding goal. In (3), the *-zvi* morpheme occurs when the target of agreement is a conjunct phrase made of conjuncts from different noun classes. Similarly in (4), when the target of agreement is a clause, *-zvi* morpheme again shows up in the object agreement slot.

(3)   Nda-∅-**zvi**-tor-a   [sadza   no-mu-riwo]
       Sub.1.SG-PST-**OM**-take-FV Sadza.5 and-3-relish

       'I took them (sadza and relish)

(4)   [Ku-tsav-ir-a   mu-mba   ma-zuva e-se]   **zva**-ka-kosh-a
       [INF-sweep-APPL-FV 18-house.9 6-day   6-every] **Sub.8**-RPST-important-FV

       'Sweeping the house every day was important'   (Storoshenko 2016: 170 (22))

Given that *-zvi* morpheme is a default agreement marker, then its occurrences in (2) can be explained straightforwardly if one assumes along with Kratzer (2009) that anaphors are born without φ features. Therefore, the anaphors that lack φ features cannot control the φ covarying agreement on the verb. This fact stands testimony to Rizzi's AAE.

However, on an approach that explains anaphoric binding as an instance of φ agreement (Reuland, 2001, 2011; Heinat, 2008;), at some point in the derivation, anaphors acquire φ features from their antecedents. If this is true, then it predicts that if Agree happens after Binding, then it would have the required φ features to control the agreement. Gujarati, an Indo-Aryan language, illustrates this fact. In Gujarati, the ergative argument never controls the agreement but the differential object marked argument can control the agreement on the verb.

(5) Raaje   sudhaane   uṭhaad**i**
    Raj(**M**)-ERG Sudha(**F**)-DOM awakened-**FSG**

    'Raj awakened Sudha'   (Mistry 2000: 344 (18c))

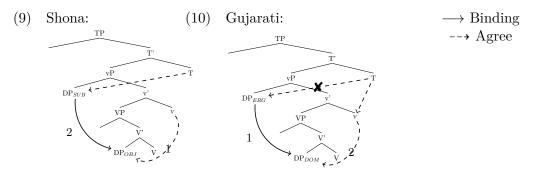Further, the differential object marked reflexive seem to control the agreement on the verb.

(6) raaje   potaa-ne sanḍov-**yo**   (7) Sudhaae   potaa-ne sanḍo-**vi**
    Raj(M)-ERG self-DOM involved-**MSG**   Sudha(F)-ERG self-DOM involved-**FSG**

    'Raj involved self'   'Sudha involved self' (Mistry 2000: 344 (19))

The fact that ergative argument cannot control the agreement in the above examples can be further attested in (8), where the verb with ergative subject and the clausal complement is marked with default neuter.

(8) Raaje$_i$ jaṇaav-**yũ** ke Sita jarur   aavše
    Raj-ERG informed-**N** that Sita definitely come(FUT)-3

    'Raj informed that Sita will definitely come'   (Kinjal Joshi p.c.)

This fact clearly suggest that it is the reflexive object not the ergative subject that controls the agreement on the verb in (6) and (7). These facts in Gujarati goes against the predictions of Rizzi's AAE. Now to explain the difference between Shona and Gujarati, I propose that in Shona, v agrees with the reflexive object and in Gujarati T agrees with the reflexive object. If v is a probe (as in (9)), then Agree > Binding because when v probes down to agree with the DP object, the subject would not have merged in the structure for the binding to happen. On the other hand, if T is a probe (as in (10)), then Binding > Agree because when T probes down to agree with the DP object, the subject would have already merged in the structure for the binding to happen.

(9) Shona: (10) Gujarati: $\longrightarrow$ Binding
                                                          $\dashrightarrow$ Agree

In (10) T cannot agree with the ergative subject so it probes down to agree with the DP object. The evidence for T being the agreement probe in Gujarati comes from the following progressive aspect in Gujarati where the auxiliary shows up overtly. For a similar structure like (11) in Hindi, Bhatt (2005) proposes that there is just one probe on T that establishes agree with the DP object through v. Therefore when the object DP values the φ features of T, v also get its φ features covalued (though v by itself is not a probe).

(11) mene khasi   av.t-**i**   ha-t**i**
     I-ERG cough(**F**) come.PROG.-**F.SG** was.PROG.**F.SG**

     'I have had a cough'   Gujarati (Suthar 2005 :58 (279))

To sum up, the analysis proposed above predicts that only those languages that would fit in the C cell would violate AAE but not those languages that fit in A or D cells.

	Agree from T	Agree from v
Subject	A = Shona, English, Tamil, Italian..	B = ?
Object	C = Gujarati, Ingush..	D = Lak, Shona, Karitiana..