

**Antecedentless binding construction: Yalálag Zapotec vs. the world
(A phonetician's account of binding)**

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Yalálag Zapotec presents a typologically rare construction which involves a transitive verb with a (semantic) agentive or experiencer subject and an object possessed by that subject. In this construction the verb appears without its subject; the only occurrence of the subject referent in the clause is as the possessor of the object. The empirical data from YZ represents a challenge for standard formal theories of binding, which require an antecedent for the anaphor. But in YZ there is no antecedent. This construction is compositionally interpreted but it remains a genuine type of binding not countenanced by any current formal theory.