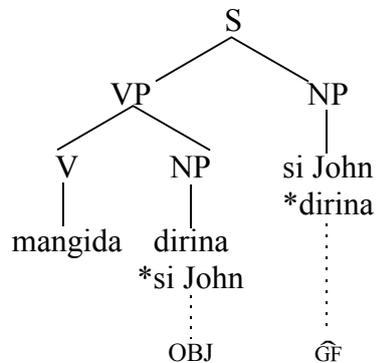


Anaphora, p. 1

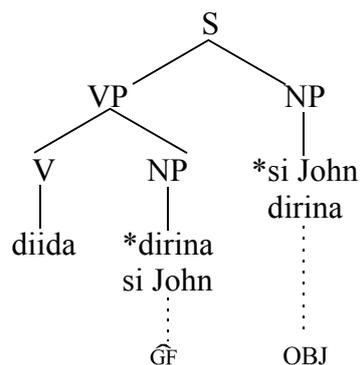
An Initial Example

Toba Batak (Austronesian>Malayo-Polynesian>Western; Toba Lake, n. Sumatra Indonesia)

- (1) a. [VP Mang- ida diri- na] si John.
 AGT- see self- his PROPER John
 ‘John saw himself.’
- b. *[VP Mang- ida si John] diri- na.
 AGT- see PROPER John self- his
 ‘Himself saw John.’



- c. *[VP Di- ida diri- na] si John.
 DO- see self- his PROPER John
 ‘Himself saw John.’
- d. [VP Di- ida si John] diri- na.
 DO- see PROPER John self- his
 ‘John saw himself.’



Note: ① Antecedent is GF regardless of “voice” morphology on verb.
 ② C-command is not the relevant relation.

Anaphora, p. 2

Constructions

Causative (complex predicate)

$\langle \text{Agent}_{\text{CAUS}}, \text{Patient}_{\text{CAUS}} i \langle \text{Agent}_{\text{base-verb}} i, \text{Patient}_{\text{base-verb}} \rangle \rangle$

$\langle \text{Agent}_{\text{CAUS}}, \text{Patient}_{\text{CAUS}} i \langle \text{Agent}_{\text{base-verb}}, \text{Patient}_{\text{base-verb}} i \rangle \rangle$

There are two $\hat{\theta}$ s, one of which ($\text{Agent}_{\text{CAUS}}$) is also $\hat{\sigma}$.

Passive

Since $\hat{\theta}$ is “suppressed” (not mapped to the syntax), the $\hat{\theta}$ and $\hat{\sigma}$ are two separate elements.

Inversion

The $\hat{\theta}$ is mapped to a lower argument than $\hat{\sigma}$.

Languages

Japanese (possibly Altaic; Japan)

antecedent is \hat{X}

(2) *Causative*

John ga Mary ni zibun no uti de hon o yom- ase- ta.
 John NOM Mary DAT self GEN house in book ACC read- CAUS- PST

$\hat{\sigma}$

$\hat{\theta}$ $\hat{\theta}$

‘John made Mary read the book in his/her own house.’

Chimwiini (Niger-Congo>Benue-Congo>Bantoid>Bantu; Somalia)

antecedent is most local $\hat{\theta}$

(3) *Causative*

a. Mi m- phik- ish- ize ru:hu-y-a cha:kuja.

I 1SG- cook- CAUS- ASP myself food

$\hat{\theta}$

$\hat{\theta}$

‘I made myself cook food.’

b. Mi ni- m- big- ish- ize mwa:na ru:hu-y-e.

I 1SG- OM- hit- CAUS- ASP child himself

$\hat{\theta}$

$\hat{\theta}$

‘I made the child hit himself.’

c. *Mi ni- m- big- ish- ize Ali ru:hu-y-a.

I 1SG- OM- hit- CAUS- ASP Ali myself

$\hat{\theta}$

$\hat{\theta}$

‘I made Ali hit myself.’

Anaphora, p. 3

Russian (Indo-European>Slavic; Russia and surrounding areas)

antecedent is \hat{X}

(4) *Passive*

- a. Rebenok_i byl otpravlen k svoim_i roditeljam.
child.NOM was sent to REFL.GEN parents

$\hat{G}\hat{F}$

‘The child was sent to his (self’s) parents.’

- b. Èta kniga byla kuplena Borisom_i dlja sebja._i
this book.NOM was bought Boris.INSTR for REFL

$\hat{G}\hat{F}$

$\hat{\theta}$

‘This book was bought by Boris for himself.’

(5) *Inversion*

- Borisu žal sebja i svoju sem’ju.
Boris.DAT sorry self and self’s family

$\hat{G}\hat{F}$

$\hat{\theta}$

‘Boris_i feels sorry for himself_i and his_i family.’

Sanskrit (Indo-European>Indo-Iranian>Indic; extinct: India)

antecedent is \hat{X} .

(6) *Passive*

- a. Sarpas tenātmanā svālayaṃ nītaḥ.
snake.NOM himself.INSTR self.house.ACC brought.PASS.PART.NOM

$\hat{G}\hat{F}$

$\hat{\theta}$

‘The snake was brought by him_i himself to self_i’s house.’

- b. Anṛtaṃ tu vadan daṇḍyaḥ svavittasyāṃśam.
untruth.NOM but telling.NOM fine.GER.NOM self.property.GEN.part.ACC

$\hat{G}\hat{F}$

‘But a perjurer_i is to be fined one eighth (lit. part) of self_i’s property.’

Greenlandic Inuit (Eskimo-Aleut>Eskimo; Greenland)

antecedent is \hat{X} .

(7) *Passive*

- Naja Tobiasi- mit uqaluttuun- niqar- p- u- q taa- ssu- ma
Naja Tobias- ABL tell- PASS- INDIC- INTR- 3SG DEM- SG- ERG

$\hat{G}\hat{F}$

$\hat{\theta}$

itigartis- sima- ga- a- ni.
turn.down- PERF- PRT.TR- 3sgERG- REFL.ABS

‘Naja_i was told by Tobias_j that he had turned self_{ij} down.’

Anaphora, p. 4

Malayalam (Dravidian; Kerala state, India)

antecedent is \hat{GF}

(8) a. *Causative*

Amma kuṭṭiyekoṇṭə aanaye swaṇṭam wiṭṭil weccə
mother.NOM child.INSTR elephant.ACC self's house at

\hat{GF}

$\hat{\theta}$ $\hat{\theta}$

ṇullliccu.

pinch.CAUS.PST

‘Mother_i made the child_j pinch the elephant_k at self’s_{i/*j/*k} house.’

b. *Passive*

Jooniyaal meeṛi swaṇṭam wiṭṭil weccə ṇullappettu.
John.INSTR Mary.NOM self's house.LOC at pinch.PASS.PST

\hat{GF}

$\hat{\theta}$

‘Mary_i was pinched by John_j in self_{i/*j}’s house.’

Marathi (Indo-European>Indo-Iranian>Indic; Maharashtra state, India)

antecedent is $\hat{\theta}$

(9) *Passive*

John laa Bill kaḍuun aaplyaa gharii maarle gele.
John ACC Bill by self.GEN house.LOC hit PASS

\hat{GF}

$\hat{\theta}$

‘John_i was hit by Bill_j at self’s_{j/*i} house.’