

BACKGROUND: Wechsler (1999) argues that Balinese poses a problem for GB/Minimalist binding theories.

> **Simple sentences:** Promotion to subject **does not** create new antecedents for binding (Spec,TP = A'-position)

Actor Voice (AV)	Object Voice (OV)
(1) Ayu nyimpit awak-ne. Ayu AV.pinch self-POSS3s 'Ayu pinched herself.'	(3) Awak-ne jimpit Ayu. self-POSS3s pinch Ayu 'Ayu pinched herself'
(2) *Awak-ne nyimpit Ayu. self-POSS3s AV.pinch Ayu	(4) *Ayu jimpit awak-ne. Ayu pinch self-POSS3s

> **Raising sentences:** Promotion to subject **does** seem to create new antecedents for binding (Spec,TP = A-position)

- (5) Ayu ngenah sig awak-ne jelek sajan.
Ayu seem to self-POSS3s bad very
'Ayu seemed to herself to be very ugly'

PUZZLE: How to account for Balinese reflexive binding without stipulating variable status for Spec,TP?

MISSING PIECE: Udayana (2013) shows that Balinese complex reflexives can be used **logophorically** to refer to a person whose speech/thoughts/feelings are being reported.

- (6) Udayana (2013: 217(55))
Ento ngae I Sari kendel awakne suba makurenan
that AV.make ART Sari happy self-POSS3s PERF MV.spouse
'That made I Sari happy that she was already married.'

PROPOSAL: Reflexives in raising sentences like (5) are logophoric, not bound by the raised subject!

Tests for binding by an attitude holder (Charnavel 2019):
(i) obligatory *de se* (ii) double-orientation test (iii) epithet test

- ✓ (i) **Obligatory *de se* interpretation**
(7) **Context:** Ayu is very drunk at a weekend party at her friend's house. She sees a portrait of herself that her friend has hanging up and calls the woman in the portrait ugly, though she does not realize that she is the woman in the photo.
Ayu ngenah sig awak-ne jelek sajan.
Ayu seem to self-POSS3s bad very
'Ayu seemed to herself to be very ugly'

- ✓ (ii) **Possible evaluation by antecedent**
(8) **Context:** Ayu thinks some person is well-behaved, but you think that same person is not well-behaved. Ayu is upset because that person doesn't like her appearance. **Question:** Why is Ayu upset?
Ayu ngenah sig anak sane masolah becik jelek sajan
Ayu seem to person REL behave good bad very
(nanging tiang ngerasa anak-e ento tusing masolah becik).
(but 1s feel person-DEF DEM NEG behave good)
'Ayu seems to a well-behaved person to be very ugly (but I think that person is not well-behaved).'

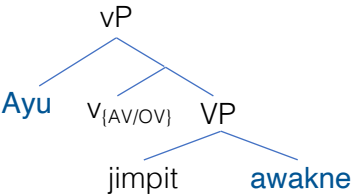
- ⚠ (iii) **No coreferring epithets** (BUT no coreferring pronouns, either...)
(9) * Ayu ngenah sig {ia / idiot-e ento} jelek sajan.
Ayu seem to {3s / idiot-DEF DEM} bad very
Intended: 'Ayu seemed to her/the idiot (=Ayu) to be very ugly'

CORRECT PREDICTION: NO RAISING NEEDED FOR REFLEXIVE EXPERIENCER

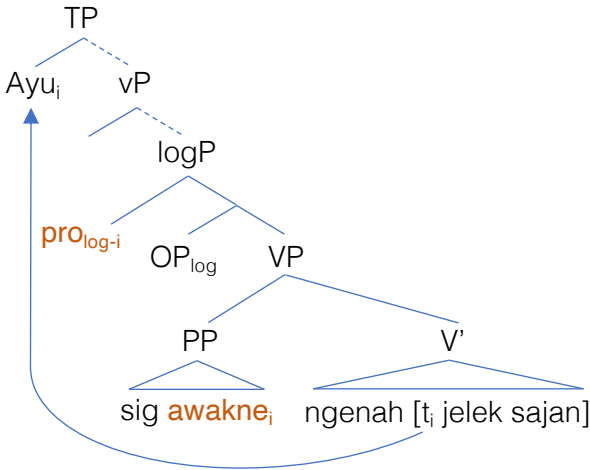
- (10) **Context:** Arta took a photo of Ayu and Nyoman. Ayu doesn't like the way she looks in the photo, so she hid the photo in the closet.
Question: Why did Ayu hide the photo?
Ngenah sig awak-ne ia jelek sajan
seem to self-POSS3s 3s bad very
'It seems to herself that she is very ugly'

SYNTACTIC ANALYSIS

> **Simple sentences:** reflexive is locally bound in vP before subject promotion



> **Raising sentences:** reflexive is locally bound in vP by a **null logophoric pronoun**, covertly satisfying Condition A (cf. Charnavel 2019)



ALT - Levin (2014): *awakne* adjoins (covertly) to vP and probes for/agrees with its antecedent.

- ✓ Correctly predicts acceptability of (1), (3) and (5)
⚠ Leaves open questions about (2), (4) and (10)
✗ Doesn't predict properties in (7) – (9)

Charnavel 2019. *Locality and Logophoricity: A Theory of Exempt Anaphora*. Levin 2014. *Untangling the Balinese Bind: Binding and Voice in Austronesian*. In *Proc. WCCFL31*, 295-304. Udayana 2013. *Voice and reflexives in Balinese*. (Doctoral Diss. UT Austin). Wechsler 1999. *HPSG, GB, and the Balinese Bind*. In *Lexical and Constructional Aspects of Linguistic Explanation*, 179-195. CSLI.

Data collected through in-person/virtual elicitation and email.
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