

A Bound-Variable Analysis of the Korean Anaphor *caki*: Evidence from Corpus^{*}

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Abstract

We consider the binding-theoretic status of the Korean long-distance anaphor *caki*. After examining competing analyses, including the cyclic head movement account for long-distance anaphors (Cole et al., 1990) and the treatment of *caki* as a pronoun, we argue that *caki* is a bound variable. We show how this bound variable account can unify local, long-distance, and discourse-bound instances of *caki*. Furthermore, we present the results of a corpus study, the findings of which are twofold. Firstly, we find support for our analysis in that the majority of instances of *caki* fit the bound variable account. Secondly, by broadening our analysis to find alternative means of binding *caki*, we are able to capture purported counterexamples within our bound variable analysis.

Keywords: Korean, long-distance anaphor, binding, topic, bound variable.

1. Introduction

It has been argued that the binding of long-distance anaphors can be reduced to a series of local dependencies by cyclic head movement of the anaphor to a matrix Infl position at LF (Chomsky, 1986; Cole et al., 1990; Cole and Sung, 1994). As a consequence, these anaphors are predicted to be subject-oriented. In Korean, however, the long-distance anaphor *caki* is not strictly subject oriented, and it is able to be bound by local and non-subject arguments, as in (1).

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- (1) John_i-i Mary_j-eykey [Tom_k-i caki_{i,j,k}-lul coaha-n-ta-ko]
 John-NOM Mary-DAT Ton-NOM self-ACC like-PRES-DECL-COMP
 malha-yess-ta.
 say-PAST-DECL
 ‘John told Mary that Tom likes self.’ (Sohng 2003, ex 11a)

Given that *caki* can be bound locally, as well as at a distance, the need for postulating LF movement is called into question. If *caki* can be bound locally, then an LF movement would violate economy constraints, in that such a movement would not be absolutely necessary to prevent the crashing of the sentence. In this paper, we present a bound variable analysis of *caki* which provides a single account for local and long-distance cases, be they subject-oriented or not.

This paper is organized as follows: in section 2, we show that the current literature suggests two different analyses for *caki*, either an anaphor binding treatment in line with the generative account for long-distance anaphors, or a treatment in which *caki* is considered to be a pronominal, falling under coreference rather than binding. Section 3 will comprise the argument for the treatment of *caki* as a bound variable, based upon a treatment of nominals as generalized quantifiers, and exploiting quantifier raising (QR) as a means of creating the necessary operator-variable structure. In section 4, we turn to corpus data, demonstrating that despite some initially challenging examples, the bound variable analysis does indeed capture all the observed facts. Finally, section 5 summarizes the arguments presented in this paper.

2. Anaphora vs. Coreference

2.1. Generative Account of Anaphora

In Cole et al. (1990), and further refined in Cole and Sung (1994), it is argued that long-distance anaphors are most adequately analyzed as undergoing movement to a local Infl head, and then undergoing cyclic head movement to the matrix Infl position. There, the anaphor is bound by the matrix subject, the only available c-commanding antecedent. This analysis thus predicts strict subject orientation, even though it is founded upon an otherwise unmotivated initial movement of the anaphor to Infl. Interestingly though, in their discussion of *caki*, Cole et al. conclude that *caki*

is not a long-distance anaphor, but rather a pronominal.

This issue is taken up again in Sohng (2003), where it is argued that *caki* can be made compatible with the cyclic head movement account, bringing it in line with the account of other long-distance anaphors in neighbouring languages, such as Chinese and Japanese. Sohng first provides a modified version of this head-movement analysis, adding the possibility that the long-distance reflexive can be chain bound by any NP which binds one of the links in the movement chain up to the matrix Infl. Furthermore, there is an added parameter which states a preference for direct matrix subject binding over chain-binding by lower antecedents. Combined, these are argued to account for local and non-subject binding of *caki*, as in (1), within the cyclic head-movement analysis.

2.2. Evidence for Coreferentiality

Even though *caki* can be brought in line with the generative account for long-distance anaphors, there are still arguments which lead to the conclusion that *caki* is in fact a pronominal. As already discussed, *caki* can be bound locally, or long-distance. In fact, *caki* is even more versatile, not even requiring a c-commanding antecedent within the same sentence.

- (2) Na-nun Suni_i-eykey chayk-ul pilye cwu-ess-ta.
 I-TOP Suni-DAT book-ACC lend give-PAST-DECL.
 Kulendey sasil ku chayk-un caki_i oppa-ka
 and yet in fact that book-TOP self elder brother-NOM
 ceney nay-key pilye cwun kes ita.
 before me-DAT lend give thing be
 ‘I lent a book to Suni. But the fact is that self’s brother had lent it to me before.’ (Kim 2000, ex 2b)

In (2), *caki* is bound by *Suni* from the previous sentence. Assuming that c-command is a sentential relation, *caki* is not c-commanded by *Suni*, and no LF movement is available to resolve this problem. That *caki* can be bound in this manner has led to claims that it is discourse-bound.

Furthermore, *caki* can be bound by a non-c-commanding antecedent within the same sentence. For instance, in (3), although *caki* is not c-commanded by a genitive embedded in a DP, it is read as being coreferential with that genitive.

- (3) Suni_i-uy sinpal-un caki_i-uy pal-pota hwelssin kuta.
 Suni-GEN shoes-TOP self-GEN foot-than a lot big
 ‘Suni’s shoes are a lot bigger than self’s feet.’

Because *caki* can have antecedents which do not c-command it within the same clause, this is seen to be an argument for treating it as a pronominal, rather than an anaphor.

Finally, there are exceptional cases where *caki* does not appear to require an antecedent at all, as in (4).

- (4) Caki-ka chakhay.
 you-NOM good
 ‘You all are good.’ (Sohng 2003, ex 16a)

Sohng (2003) refers to this as inherent reference, wherein a *caki* without an antecedent is inherently 2nd person. This can also be used deictically, and two antecedentless instances of *caki* can be used to refer to different people given enough explicit pointing, as in (5).

- (5) Caki_i-ka caki_{i/j}-lul coaha-n-ta.
 self-NOM self-ACC like-PRES-DECL
 ‘You like yourself.’
 ‘You like you.’ (Different addressees)

The sentence in (5) is actually ambiguous, with one reading being that the object *caki* is bound by the inherently-referential subject *caki*. The second reading indicated is the deictic usage, with each *caki* indicating a different 2nd person addressee. Without an antecedent, *caki* is also used as a term of intimate address. As these uses of *caki* are substantially different from the other cases, antecedentless 2nd person *caki* will not be analyzed further in this paper. However, the fact that such readings do obtain makes for a useful test. Because of this inherent 2nd person reference, no sentence containing a *caki* is judged as being technically ungrammatical; there is always a possible “last resort” meaning. While we are not concerned with the underlying nature of this meaning, it can be employed as a test for the presence of an antecedent. Given that a *caki* without an antecedent is interpreted as 2nd person, we can conclude that any *caki* which is not interpreted as 2nd person must at some level have an antecedent, either through coreference or binding, which obviates the inherent

reading.

To summarize the facts presented so far, the example of *caki* being bound from a genitive, and from a prior sentence calls into question the requirement for a c-command relation between *caki* and its antecedent. Yet, in the face of this apparent contradictory data, *caki* is generally considered to be an anaphor, bound, and not a pronominal. In the next section, we provide support for a binding analysis, and advance a proposal which can account for all the counterexamples.

3. The Case for Binding

The data presented in the previous section appear to make a strong case for abandoning a treatment of *caki* as a bound form. However, some of that evidence can be discounted, and there is equally compelling evidence that *caki* must be bound. In this section, the facts supporting a bound variable analysis will be presented, leading into an implementation of such an analysis. The first argument in favour of a bound variable analysis comes from VP-ellipsis, as discussed in Cho (1996), and exemplified in (6).

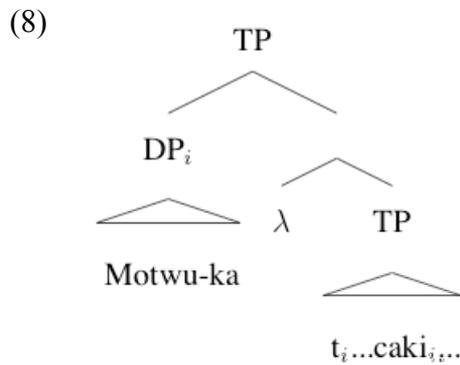
- (6) John-_i caki-lul kwasinhay-ss-ko, Mary-to kule-ha-yess-ta.
John-NOM self-ACC overtrust-PAST-and Mary-also so-do-PAST-DECL
'John overtrusted himself, and Mary did too.' (Cho 1996, ex 19a)
=Mary overtrusted Mary. (✓ Sloppy)
=Mary overtrusted John. (* Strict)

In this VP ellipsis construction, there is just one possible reading for the elided conjunct. Only the sloppy reading where Mary overtrusted Mary is possible, indicating that the elided *caki* is still locally bound within its conjunct. If *caki* really were coreferential, then the strict reading where Mary also overtrusted John should be available.

Perhaps the strongest argument against treating *caki* as coreferential comes from cases involving quantifiers, as in (7).

- (7) Motwu_i-ka caki_i-lul salang-ha-n-ta.
everyone-NOM self-ACC love-do-PRES-DECL
'Everyone loves self.'

Here, *caki* is bound by the quantifier *motwu* (everyone); the result is unquestionably a bound variable reading. At LF, the underlying structure for (7) will be (8), the result of an application of QR and lambda-abstraction. This LF structure maps onto the semantic form in (9).



- (9) Every $\lambda x[x \text{ loves } x]$
 $= \lambda P. \forall y[\text{person}(y)][P(y)](\lambda x[x \text{ loves } x])$
 $= \forall y[\text{person}(y)][y \text{ loves } y]$

This bound variable analysis for quantifier cases applies equally well for local and for long-distance cases, as illustrated in (10).

- (10) a. Motwu_i-ka [John_i-i caki_i-lul salang-ha-n-tako]
 everyone-NOM John-NOM self-ACC love-do-PRES-COMP
 sayngkak-ha-n-ta.
 think-do-PRES-DECL
 ‘Everyone thinks John loves self.’ (Moon 1995, ex 3:93)
- b. Every $\lambda x[x \text{ thinks } [\text{John loves } x]]$
 $= \lambda P. \forall y[\text{person}(y)][P(y)](\lambda x[x \text{ thinks } [\text{John loves } x]])$
 $= \forall y[\text{person}(y)][y \text{ thinks } [\text{John loves } y]]$

In discussion of this example, Moon (1995) is quite clear on the point that this can have a bound variable reading where *motwu* (everyone) binds *caki*. As QR and variable binding can account for this long-distance relationship without requiring any LF movement of *caki*, we propose that this bound variable analysis can be extended to all instances of *caki*.

If other nominals, such as proper nouns, are treated as generalized quantifiers, it then becomes possible to treat all cases of *caki* as bound variables. As generalized quantifiers, proper nouns would also undergo QR, yielding exactly the same operator-variable structure as in (10). In so doing, local and long-distance binding of

caki can be unified under one analysis, as opposed to the long-distance case requiring a special mechanism to raise *caki* at LF. On the surface, it may seem that this analysis is no less costly at LF, in that all antecedents now undergo LF movement, but this movement is independently motivated, and is not taking place solely for the benefit of *caki*. Regardless of *caki*, QR is a well-motivated phenomenon, making the current proposal more economical at LF.

The bound variable analysis also allows for an account of the genitive case from (3), where *caki*'s antecedent was embedded within a possessive DP. As shown in (11), this can also happen with quantifiers binding *caki*.

- (11) Motwu_i-uy sinpal-un caki_i-uy pal-pota hwelssin kuta.
 everyone-GEN shoes-TOP self-GEN foot-than a lot big
 'Everyone's shoes are a lot bigger than self's feet.'

The most reasonable conclusion to draw from this example is that QR allows the quantifier to escape the DP, and bind its variable. Thus, the generalized quantifier analysis provides an explanation for the genitive problem: the same instance of QR which accounts for (11) will also account for (3).

At this point, it is worth noting that while QR can, to some extent, allow *caki* to be bound by elements which do not c-command it on the surface, there are restrictions on the power of QR. One prediction is that *caki* should not be bound by a nominal that is within a subject clause island, a domain typically opaque to QR. As shown in (12), the prediction is borne out, as neither *Tom* nor *Mary* may bind *caki*. Instead, the inherent reference of antecedentless *caki* emerges.

- (12) [Tom_i-i Mary_j-lul salang-ha-n-ta-nun] sasil-i caki_k-lul
 Tom-NOM Mary-ACC love-do-PRES-DECL-ADNOM fact-NOM you-ACC
 nollaykh-yess-ta.
 surprise-PAST-DECL.
 'The fact that Tom loves Mary surprised you.'

The sentence in (12) is ungrammatical under the reading where *caki* and *Mary* are coindexed or where *caki* and *Tom* are coindexed. At best, this sentence could be grammatical if *caki* took the inherent reference reading, but this would not be a case of binding. So while the QR analysis solves some problems through the postulation of LF movement, that movement is constrained enough to avoid overgenerating instances of binding.

To account for discourse binding of *caki*, Gil (1998) proposes that *caki* is not necessarily subject oriented, but rather topic oriented. Gil argues that this approach also captures cases where *caki* is discourse-bound, with no antecedent within the sentence. To do this, she posits an empty topic operator which may serve as an antecedent for *caki*. This operator would itself be coreferential, getting its reference from prior discourse, but it would sit in an A' position similar to that occupied by a quantifier after QR. From this position, the operator would bind *caki*. This is illustrated in (13).

- (13) Ani, [Op_i]_{Top} caki_r-ka kasse.
no self-NOM went.
'No, self went.' (Where 'self' is from prior context.)

In (13), the empty operator (Op), coreferential with something from prior discourse, binds *caki* within the sentence. By adopting this analysis, discourse binding cases can be reduced to sentence-local binding by a covert operator.

Gil further speculates that all instances of *caki* can be unified under the rubric of topic binding, a proposal which is not incompatible with the notion of treating *caki* as a bound variable; topicalization can simply be seen as a form of A' movement (possibly even covert), similar to QR. Under this analysis, the observed subject orientation becomes an epiphenomenal effect, merely the result of a general tendency for discourse topics to emerge as sentential subjects. As an A' phenomenon, topicalization creates the necessary operator-variable structure.

To summarize the proposal so far: *caki* is to be treated as a bound variable, and semantic operator can be posited to account for the discourse binding examples. With this proposal in place, local and long-distance binding of *caki* have been unified under one analysis, and all the data which appeared to support a coreferential analysis have been addressed. We now turn to our corpus study and provide further empirical support for the bound variable analysis of *caki*.

4. Corpus Study

We automatically extracted 675 sentences containing *caki* from 550,000 word Sejong Colloquial Corpus, published by the National Korean Language Institute and the Department of Tourism and Culture in Korea (www.sejong.or.kr). The corpus is a collection of transcribed recordings of radio/TV interviews, plays, soap operas,

news and talk shows. Out of 675 tokens, 655 were analyzed: 623 contained 3rd person *caki*, 23 contained 2nd person *caki* and 9 contained 1st person *caki*. 20 were unanalyzable as they were incomplete, garbled, or contained speech errors to the extent that they were incomprehensible. As stated above, instances of 3rd person *caki* are of particular interest, as they should only obtain when there this a 3rd person antecedent binding *caki*. For this reason, we only consider the 3rd person cases here.

Type	Number	Percent
C-commanding Antecedent	497	80%
Non-c-commanding Antecedent	26	4%
No Antecedent	100	16%

Table 1: Distribution of 3rd Person *caki* by Type of Antecedent

Breaking these down by the type of antecedent gives the distribution shown in Table 1. First, we discuss those cases where there was a c-commanding antecedent, then turn to the cases with a non-c-commanding antecedent, then turning finally to those with no antecedent.

4.1. *Caki* with C-commanding Antecedent

The majority of tokens containing 3rd person *caki* had a c-commanding antecedent for *caki* (497 out of 623 tokens). The antecedent was in the form of a full referential noun phrase, null pronoun, or trace. The distribution is summarized in Table 2.

Type	Number	Percent
Full Noun Phrase	347	70%
Null Pronoun	129	26%
Trace	21	4%

Table 2: Distribution of C-commanding Antecedents

Examples from the corpus of *caki* with c-commanding antecedents are given in (14)-(16). In (14), the matrix subject *yengkam-tul-un* (old man-PL-TOP) c-commands and antecedes the embedded subject *caki-ka* (self-NOM). In (15), a null pronoun subject can be postulated that in turn c-commands and antecedes *caki* in the same clause, and in (16) a trace of an empty relative pronoun operator can be postulated in the subject

gap position of a relative clause, which in turn c-commands and antecedes *caki*.¹

- (14) Yengkam-tul_i-un selo [caki_i-ka wonnim-uy apeci-lako]
old man-PL-TOP each self-NOM chief-GEN father-COMP
wukyetay-taka
insist-then
'The old men_i each insisted that self_i is the chief's father, and then'
[2;;001.txt]
- (15) *pro*_i Nul caki_i maum-taylo-ya.
pro always self mind-according to-DECL
'(He)_i always acts as he_i wants.' [6;;006.txt]
- (16) [_t_i Caki_i ipcang-man yaykiha-nun] anay_i-ka ttaylo-nun
t self view-only tell-ADNOM wife-NOM sometimes-TOP
yasokha-si-cyo?
heartless-HONOR-INT
'Do you sometimes think the wife who_i only tells self's_i view is heartless?'
[221;;090.txt]

All these examples containing *caki* with a c-commanding antecedent are consistent with bound variable analysis of *caki*. In all these cases, QR of the antecedent and subsequent binding of *caki* can be postulated.

4.2. *Caki* with a Non-c-commanding Antecedent

In 26 tokens containing 3rd person *caki*, the antecedent of *caki* did not c-command it. This constitutes a direct challenge to our binding analysis, as an antecedent generally needs to c-command the element which it binds. In 22 of these examples, the antecedent of *caki* was a clear topic of the sentence, in 2 tokens, the antecedent of *caki* occurred in a genitive phrase, and in 2 tokens, the phrase containing *caki* has been displaced, undergoing movement over the antecedent. The distribution is summarized in Table 3.

¹ Each example from the corpus is annotated with a token id and the file it is from. For instance, (14) is annotated with [2;;001.txt]. 2 is the token id and 001.txt refers to the file name.

Type	Number	Percent
Topic Antecedent	22	84%
Genitive Antecedent	2	8%
Displaced <i>caki</i>	2	8%

Table 3: Distribution of Non-c-commanding Antecedents

Examples of *caki* whose antecedent is topical, but does not c-command it are given in (17) and (18). In (17), the antecedent was a subject with a topic marker in a clause conjoined to the clause containing *caki*, and the antecedent occurred in a topic introducing phrase such as *according to Yoshida* in (18).

- (17) Kyengsam_i-un mayil pap-ul cie talak-ey nehe cwuko-n
 Kyengsam-TOP everyday meal-ACC make attic-at put give-and
 caki_i-nun cwung-ul capule tany-ess-ta.
 self-TOP monk-ACC catch go-PAST-DECL
 ‘Kyengsam_i made a meal and put it in the attic every day and self_i went
 around to catch the monk.’ [19;;008.txt]

- (18) Yoshida_i yayki-incuk, caki_i-ka ilcey ttay
 Yoshida tell-according to self-NOM Japanese occupation time
 Cwungkwuk pongchen-uy chongyengsa-lo iss-ess-nuntey
 China Pongchen-GEN consulate general-as exist-PAST-and
 ‘According to Yoshida_i, during the Japanese occupation self_i was the
 consulate general of Pongchen in China and’ [23;;013.txt]

Despite their apparent status as counterexamples to the binding analysis, with closer inspection, it can be argued that all these examples can map onto an operator-variable structure and so are consistent with the bound variable analysis of *caki*. First, we saw in section 3 that *caki* can be bound by a discourse topic. Thus, the instances where the antecedent of *caki* is a topic of the sentence should be able to map onto a topic-operator-variable structure that binds *caki* in a similar way in which instances with a discourse topic map on to a topic-operator-variable structure that binds *caki*.

Sentence (19) contains an example of *caki* whose antecedent is marked with genitive case.

- (19) Ku_i-uy chilyopep-un kuce caki_i-ka sangkakna-nun
 he-GEN treatment-TOP always self-NOM think-ADNOM
 tay-lo chilyoha-nun saylo-wun pangpep-i-ci.
 in accordance to treat-ADNOM new-ADNOM method-COP-DECL
 ‘His_i treatment method is a new method where self_i always treats in
 accordance to his thoughts.’ [18;;008.txt]

As was discussed in section 3, these structures are comparable to cases where *caki* is bound by a quantifier from a similar position, forming an operator-variable construction.

Finally, a case where *caki* has undergone movement is shown in (20).

- (20) [Caki_i nalumtaylo nonlicekulo]_j yay_i-nun t_j ihay-lul
 self in one’s own way logically kid-TOP t_j understanding-ACC
 hakwu iss-eyo.
 do be-DECL
 ‘The kid_i understands logically in self’s_i own way. [547;;182.txt]

If the moved phrase undergoes reconstruction and is interpreted in the source position, a c-commanding relation between the antecedent and *caki* obtains. This reconstructed structure can then straightforwardly map onto an operator-variable structure where *caki* is bound by its antecedent.

4.3. *Caki with no Antecedent*

We found 100 tokens with no overt antecedent for 3rd person *caki* in the same sentence. The absence of an antecedent also provides a challenge for our analysis, as bound forms generally require an antecedent. Recalling the cases of antecedentless *caki* in section 2.2, those emerged as 2nd person. That these examples are in the 3rd person suggests the presence of a covert antecedent, obviating the inherent 2nd person reading. Upon further investigation of these instances of antecedentless *caki*, we classified them into 5 categories, the distribution of which is summarized in Table 5.

Type	Number	Percent
Discourse Topic	34	34%
Generic	25	25%
Sentence Fragment	21	21%
Reportative Particle	13	13%
Compound Noun	7	7%

Table 3: Distribution of Non-c-commanding Antecedents

The first (and most numerous) type of antecedentless *caki* was that where the antecedent was discourse salient, as shown in (21).

- (21) A: Park Tongsil sensayng <Yelsaka>-nun nwuka ...?
 Park Tongsil teacher Yelsaka-Top who ...
 ‘Who (composed) Yelsaka that teacher Park Tongsil (sang)?’
 B: Caki-ka mantul-ess-ciyo.
 self-NOM make-PAST-DECL
 ‘Self made it.’ [348;;118.txt]

In (21), *caki* refers to *Park Tongsil sensayng* (Park Tongsil teacher) mentioned in the previous discourse. While it may at first glance appear counterintuitive to be using a *wh*-question as a diagnostic for topicality, the “new” information, the identity of the composer, is already contained within the question. As *Park Tongsil sensayng* (Park Tongsil teacher) is salient in the discourse, it can function as the discourse topic binding *caki*. Gil (1998) herself uses similar question-answer sequences to motivate her treatment of *caki* as topic-bound.

An example of a generic sentences containing an antecedentless *caki* is given in (22). In this case, a generic operator can be postulated that binds *caki*, producing a generic reading in the familiar operator-variable configuration.

- (22) Caki swukcey-nun caki-ka ha-nun ke-ya.
 self homework-TOP self-NOM do-ADNOM Fut-DECL
 ‘In general, self should do self ’s homework.’ [111;;053.txt]

Example (23) contains a case where *caki* occurred in a sentence fragment with an elided matrix clause that is part of a narrative. In (23), the speaker is describing the content of a letter he received from a student.

- (23) Context: The speaker is talking about a letter he received from a student.
 Caki-nun yeksa sikan-i cham silh-ess-ta.
 self-TOP history time-NOM very dislike-PAST-DECL
 ‘(The student said) self disliked history very much.’ [210;;088.txt]

The sentence fragment in (23) is embedded in a quote context. If the quote context is spelled out (*the student said*), then it would be in the form of a matrix clause. With the recovered matrix clause, *caki* now has an antecedent that binds it: *the student*.

An example of *caki* occurring in a sentence with a reportative particle on the predicate is given in (24). The reportative particle such as *tay* or *lay* contributes the meaning component that contains the reporter of the proposition, the exact reference of which is determined by the discourse context, and a predicate of saying the proposition. In other words, the reportative particle can be seen as introducing an implicit argument that refers to the reporter (Bhatt and Pancheva, 2006). This implicit argument can then bind *caki*.

- (24) Enceyna caki-ka mac-tay.
 always self-NOM correct-REPORT
 ‘(Steve said) self is always correct.’ [8;;007.txt]

According to the discourse contexts, the reporter in (24) is *Steve*. Once recovered from context, this reporter binds *caki*.

Lastly, there are cases where *caki* appears in a compound noun, as exemplified in (25).

- (25) Kuken caki pyenmyeng-i-ko wiysen-i-ya.
 that-TOP self excuse-COP-and hypocrisy-COP-DECL
 ‘That is self-excuse and hypocrisy.’ [78;;044.txt]

We conclude that these should be treated as fixed expressions, similarly to *self-control* or *self-esteem* in English, and therefore should be exempt from having a binder.

5. Conclusion

In this paper, we have argued that the Korean long-distance anaphor *caki* is best

analyzed as a bound variable. Its antecedents bind *caki* from an A' position either via QR, or through topicalization. To account for discourse-bound *caki*, we have exploited a previously proposed empty topic operator. In sum, we are thus able to treat local and long-distance cases of *caki* under a single analysis without postulating any otherwise-unmotivated LF movement. This analysis allows us to account for apparent counter-examples to the generative anaphor-binding account, as well as data which is incompatible with a coreferential analysis of *caki*.

The results of our corpus study support the bound variable analysis as well. While new potential counter-examples, such as the data involving generics and reportative particles, were raised, we have shown how these too are compatible with our analysis.

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