The verb *tiːxɘ* in Barguzin Buryat – a case of overt surface anaphora

**Introduction** This paper focuses on the verb *tiːxɘ* ‘do.so’ in Barguzin Buryat. I am going to provide a thorough description of its syntactic properties. Furthermore, I will show that despite being phonetically overt, this kind of anaphora is in fact a type of ellipsis, or, in Hankamer, Sag 1976 terminology, a controversial case of the overt surface anaphora. (Previously it has been studied only in Germanic languages (see Houser, Mikkelsen, Toosarvandani 2006 among others)). I will then use this fact to account for some of unique properties of *tiːxɘ*, demonstrated in the paper.

**Data** *Tiːxɘ* anaphora is an anaphoric process, in which *tiːxɘ* refers back to an antecedent constituent. Usually only one remnant is left along with the verb, as showed in (1) (at most cases speakers judge the sentence with several remnants as ungrammatical).

(1) sɘsɘg [VP xurxir-aː ], badma baha [VP tiː-gɘː ].
Seseg snore-PRT1, Badma also do.so-PRT1
*Seseg snored, Badma also did so [=snored].

This kind of anaphora exhibits puzzling behavior. In this abstract I am going to present only two issues. Firstly, non-subject remnants are also attested (compare (2)-(3) with English *do so* and *do it* anaphora in (4)-(5)).

(2) dugar tort  ɘd-ɘjɘ piroʒno baha tiː-gɘː.
Dugar cake.ACC eat-PRT1 brownie.ACC also do.so-PRT1
*Dugar ate a cake, and a brownie too.

(3) ʉglөөgʉr badma ʃʉd-өө sɘbɘrlɘ-nɘ, ʉdɘʃɘ baha tiː-nɘ.
morning Badma tooth-REFL clean-PRS evening also do.so-PRS
*Badma brushes his teeth in the morning, and in the evening too.

(4) *John ate the cake and the ice cream did so / did it.
(5) *John exercised today and yesterday did it too / did so too.

Moreover, *tiːxɘ* can substitute not just verbs, but constituents of various sizes - from VP, as it was demonstrated in (1), up to a CP, as in (6).

(6) badma [CP [TP sajan-iːjɘ bul-jaː ] gɘʒɘ] han-a:
Badma Sajana-ACC win-PRT1 COMP think-PRT1

Ojuna [CP baha tiː-ʒɘ ] han-a:. Ojuna also do.so-CONV think-PRT1
*Badma thought that Sajana won, and Ojuna thought so [=that Saiana won] too.

**Analysis** Hankamer, Sag 1976 shows that there are two kinds of anaphoric processes: deep anaphora and surface anaphora. While former is syntactically atomic, the latter has internal structure, that undergoes syntactic deletion later in the derivation. With regard to the case of Buryat, the diagnostics from the aforementioned paper have showed that *tiːxɘ* has some internal structure. It requires syntactic parallelism between the antecedent and target clauses and allows some types of extractions out of the ellipsis site (A-movements, X0-movements and focus movement). This entails, that *tiːxɘ* can be considered a case of the overt surface anaphora.

In the talk I am going to give a detailed description of the *tiːxɘ* anaphora, provide the evidence for its syntactic structure and demonstrate my solution for the puzzles presented above.

**Bibliography**

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¹ The cases where several remnants are considered grammatical are not important for this abstract and we are not going to elaborate on it due to limitation of space.