

overt subject of the first clause is the unexpressed object of the second, as in example (28):

- (28) *aniqdu-ê hit-naaêi-ku-ê hiti-chêi-na-êula-q*
 child-ABS go.out-try-IND-3SG go.out-let-PART-NEG-1SG
 ‘The child tried to go out but I didn’t let it go out’ (Atkan; Bergsland 1997: 254)
 (one would have expected *aniqduê hitnaaêikuê, hitichêiqangulax*)

At the same time, anaphoric marking on a verb may be used in reference to the non-overt subject of the previous clause. In example (29), the subject of the first clause is overt, and there is no anaphoric marking on either verb. In example (30), however, the first clause’s subject is not expressed independently (it is reflected in the verbal inflection) — and the verb of the second clause receives anaphoric marking. Once again, anaphoric marking does not show the expected pattern:

- (29) *hla-s tunum-kada-ku-z-iin ting saêani-na-q*
 boy-PL talk-CESS-IND-PL-ENCL 1SG go.to.sleep-PART-1SG
 ‘When the boys stopped talking, I went to sleep’ (Atkan)

- (30) *tunum-kada-ku-z-iin ting saêani-qa-ning*
 talk-CESS-IND-PL-ENCL 1SG go.to.sleep-PART.AN-1SG/3PL.AN
 ‘When they stopped talking, I went to sleep’ (Atkan; Bergsland 1997: 248) (one would have expected *tunumkadakuziin, ting saêaninaq*)

From these examples, it is also obvious that anaphoric marking is not directly related to transitivity.⁶ Anaphoric marking is not limited to transitive verbs, and transitive verbs with unexpressed objects do not always indicate the objects in any way.

The interplay between anaphora and zero-anaphora seems to involve some recursivity in the application of rules of anaphoric marking, as in example (23), repeated here as example (31), and examples (32) through (34). In examples (31) and (32), the oblique object in the second clause is unexpressed, which should trigger the use of anaphora in that clause. When the subject of the second clause is overt, as is example (31), there is anaphoric marking, and when the subject is not overt, as in example (32), there is zero-anaphora:

- (31) *Piitra-ê qa-ku-ê*
 Peter-ABS eat-IND-3SG
 ‘While Peter_i was eating,’