

## Characterizing Madurese Reflexives

A topic of interest in Malay/Indonesian and closely related languages is the appropriate characterization of the meanings expressed by reflexive anaphors in other languages. Dedicated reflexive anaphors have been identified for standard varieties and dialects of Malay/Indonesian (e.g., Cole & Hermon 2005; Cole, Hermon, Kotani, Madigen, Sim & Yanti 2005; Gil 2001). In this paper, I examine the behavior of the most promising candidate for a reflexive anaphor in Madurese, cataloguing its properties and comparing them to accounts of Malay/Indonesian.

Standard cases of reflexive anaphors in other languages are generally rendered in Madurese as *aba'na dibi'* (or *aba'eng dibi'* in Bangkalan (western) Madurese), as in (1) and (2).

(1) Ali acareta'agi aba'na dibi' dha' dhokter. 'Ali talked about himself to the doctor.'

(2) Ita melle buku kaanggu' aba'eng dibi'. 'Ita bought a book for herself.'

The form is cognate to Javanese *awake dhewe*, but may also be taken to be cognate to Javanese *dheke dhewe*, as *aba'na/aba'eng* also serves as the second and third person pronoun. (As will be described in the paper, the Madurese pronominal system for the low speech level is exceedingly impoverished. Pronouns at higher levels are borrowed from Javanese)

However, additionally, the Madurese form may take (i) antecedents from higher clauses (3), (ii) non-c-commanding antecedents (4), and (iii) discourse antecedents (5). In fact, provided there is appropriate context, the form *aba'na dibi'* may always take a discourse antecedent.

(3) Bambang abalai Ita ja' aba'na dibi' ce' penterra.

'Bambang<sub>i</sub> told Ita<sub>j</sub> that he<sub>i</sub>/she<sub>j</sub> is very smart.'

(4) Baktona Ali nyoper motor, aba'eng dibi' senneng.

'When Ali<sub>i</sub> drives the car, he<sub>i</sub> is happy.'

(5) Aba'eng dibi' eokom bi' Siti.

'He/she was punished by Siti.'

Given this constellation of facts, clearly *aba'na dibi'* cannot be considered a pure reflexive anaphor. There are a number of options available, including:

(i) *aba'na dibi'* being ambiguous between [+anaphor] or [+pronominal], as entertained (and rejected) by Cole & Hermon (2005) for the Malay form *dirinya* (*diri* + pronoun);

(ii) *aba'na dibi'* is systematically ambiguous between use as a reflexive anaphor and a pronoun plus emphatic/exclusive meaning (*dibi'*, which means 'alone/only/sole' can be used with nouns to denote this);

(iii) *aba'na dibi'* is an anaphor unspecified for the features [anaphor] and [pronominal], as proposed by Cole & Hermon 2005 for Standard Malay;

(iv) *dibi'* is a conjunctive operator, as Gil (2001) has proposed for Riau Indonesian *sendiri*, and reflexivity is simply one of the possible interpretations open to the construction.

Data from ellipsis, the emphatic use of *dibi'* and various use of *dibi'* in other contexts will be brought to bear on the discussion, highlighting the similarities and differences with form in Malay/Indonesian, Javanese, Balinese, and Sundanese.