Disentangling *aba'* pronouns and reflexives in Madurese:
Logophors and ambiguities in form

Helen Jeoung
University of Pennsylvania
jeoungh@sas.upenn.edu

Personal pronouns and reflexives[1,2,3,4,5]

(familiar-Bangkalan dialect)

Pronouns			Reflexives		
1SG	engko'	**aba'** 'body'	1SG	engko' dhibi'	**aba' dhibi'** 'body SELF'
2SG	hedah kakeh ba'en		2SG	ba'en dhibi'	
3SG		**aba'eng** 'body-DEF'	3SG		**aba'eng dhibi'** 'body-DEF SELF'

- Forms invariant for case (except 1SG GEN)
- Impoverished paradigm: no PL forms, and it has also been claimed that Madurese has no 3 pronouns
- Disagreement in the grammars and dictionaries about whether *aba'* forms are considered pronouns and reflexives

Initial puzzles: why *aba'* forms are unusual

➤ *Aba'* retains its lexical meaning, 'body'
(1) Malam riyah tang **aba'**/ bhadan sake' kabbhi.
    night this 1SG.GEN body body sick all
    'Last night my body hurt all over.'

➤ Distribution of 1SG *aba', aba' dhibi'*
- 1SG *aba'* is more restricted than 1SG *engko'* (2).
- *Aba'* can occur as grammatical subject (3) or prepositional object, but never in postverbal object position (4).
- *Aba'* and *aba' dhibi'* not strictly in complementary distribution (3)
- Reflexive appears to be licit in subject position (3)
(2) ***Aba'**/ engko' macah buku.
    body 1SG read book
    'I'm reading a book.'
(3) Amina areh riyah keng tedung teros seddheng **aba'**/ **aba' dhibi'**/ engko'
    Amina day this only sleep continue while body body self 1SG
    molaeh lagghuh sampe' malam lo' bu-ambu alakoh.
    start morning until night NEG RED-stop work
    'Amina only slept all day, while I didn't stop working from morning until night.'
(4) Tony mokol Siti, tapeh lo' mokol engko'/ ***aba'**/ ***aba dhibi'**.
    Tony hit Siti but NEG hit 1SG body body self
    'Tony hit Siti, but didn't hit me.'

➤ Distribution of 3SG *aba'eng, aba'eng dhibi'*
- Unlike 1SG *aba'*, 3SG *aba'eng* may occur in both subject (6) and object (5) positions
- Reflexive in subject position (6); unexplained contrast (3) vs. (6)
(5) Siti taoh jha' Rika mokol **aba'eng**.
    Siti know that Rika hit body-def
    'Siti knows that Rika hit her.'
(6) Baktona Ali nyetir motorra, ***aba'eng/ aba'eng dhibi'** senneng.
    time Ali steer car.DEF body-DEF body-DEF SELF happy
    'When Ali drives his car, he is happy.' (modified from Davies 2010[1])

- *aba'eng* is rare in natural discourse, and speakers do not name *aba'eng* among the pronouns.
- Other 3 person strategies: *pro* (7) or descriptive noun phrases (8)
(7) Baktona Ali nyetir motorra, **pro** senneng.
    time Ali steer car.DEF pro happy
    'When Ali drives his car, he is happy.'
(8) Rika mokol **[se tinggi jiyah]/oreng jiyah**.
    Rika hit that tall that person that
    'Rika hit the one that is tall/that person.'

---

	pronoun
aba'	1sg logophoric pronoun • Free or (non-locally) bound • Subject or prepositional object only • Must be licensed by EMOTION or SELF
aba'eng	3sg pronoun • Free or (non-locally) bound • All argument positions • *pro* or R-expression strongly preferred over *aba'eng*

aba' = 1SG logophor

➤ Binding by a quantifier (cf. Kratzer 1998[8])
(9) Keng engko' to' se ngera jha' **aba'** se mennang.   ✓ Bound (sloppy) reading
    only 1SG only who think that 1SG.LOG who win   ✓ Indexical reading
    'Only I think that it is I who won.'
- Bound variable reading: I think that I won a competition, while Sue thinks that Sue won and David thinks that David won. (Apart from me, no x thought that x won.)
- Indexical reading: All the participants think some other person won, but I'm the only one who thinks that I won.

➤ Logophoric licensing by mental or psychological shift
- Sells 1987: logophoric centers SOURCE, SELF or PIVOT[6]
- Charnavel and Zlogar 2015: logophoric licensing by ATTITUDE HOLDER, EMPATHY LOCUS or DEICTIC CENTER[7]

➤ *aba'* requires strong EMOTION or emphasis on SELF
- Strong EMOTION of "protest" licenses *aba'* in (3). The contrast between (10-11) is also licensing by EMOTION.
- Emphasis on SELF can also license *aba'* (9), (12)
- *Aba'* is not licit in (2) without logophoric conditions; contrastive environment alone does not license *aba'* in (4)
(10) ***Aba'**/ engko' tedung.   (11) **Aba'**/ engko' tedung!
     1SG.LOG 1SG sleep   1SG.LOG 1SG sleep
     'I'm sleeping.'   'I was sleeping!' *(on being rudely awakened)*
(12) Me' ce' amanna **aba'**.
     Emph very safe.DEF body
     'I have a feeling of well-being.' *Lit.* 'So very safe, am I.' (modified from Davies 2010[1])

➤ 1 vs. 3 person logophors
- For 1SG logophor, speaker = logophoric center → reported discourse not necessary
- Generalization: speaker's own mental or psychological shift

aba'eng = 3SG pronoun

➤ Binding by a quantifier
(13) Sabbhan mored ngera jha' **aba'eng** se mennang.   ✓ Bound reading
     every student think that 3SG who win
     'Every student thinks that she won.'
- *aba'eng* must covary with *sabbhan mored* 'every student'

➤ Logophoric licensing by EMOTION or SELF? (5), (6), (13)
- No competition with other 3 forms

➤ Proposed hierarchy for arguments in Madurese

> *pro* > R-expression > 1,2,3   NB. no R-expressions (Imposters) for 1,2 person

- This accounts for the low frequency, and restricted distribution (6) of *aba'eng*: Madurese avoids use of overt pronouns in general: *pro* (7) and descriptive NPs (8) preferred

---

	reflexive	**pronoun + intensifier *dhibi'***
aba' dhibi'	'myself'	'I myself' 'me myself'
aba'eng dhibi'	'himself,' 'herself'	'he himself,' 'she herself' 'him himself,' 'her herself' 'his own self,' 'her own self'

dhibi' = intensifier

➤ Adnominal intensifier (14) or adverbial-exclusive intensifier
(14) Pangeran Wilaran dhari ahlina Keyae Pratanu dibi' ya.
     Pangeran Wilaran from relative.def Keyae Pratanu self yes
     'Pangeran Wilaran was descended from Keyae Pratanu himself.' (from Davies 2010[1])
- An intensifier "relates a center X (referent of the focus) to a periphery of alternative values"[9]
- *Dhibi'* can modify any animate nominal, including pronouns

Ambiguities in form

➤ *aba' dhibi'* and *aba'eng dhibi'* can have the distribution and binding properties of pronouns
- In (3) and (6), the forms are pronoun + intensifier, which accounts for their ability to occur in subject position and have non-local antecedents
- Additionally, in (6) *aba'eng dhibi'* can be used for emphatic reference to another participant in the discourse: 'he (Ali's father, who purchased the car) himself is happy'
- Intensification can overrule avoidance of 3 pronoun (6)

➤ *aba' dhibi'* and *aba'eng dhibi'* can also have the distribution and binding properties of reflexives
(15) Engko' ajhelling **aba' dhibi'** neng kacah, Ali da'iyah kiyah.
     1sg see body-def self at glass Ali so too   ✓ Sloppy reading
     'I looked at myself in the mirror, Ali did too.'
(16) Jimmy ajhelling **aba'eng dhibi'** neng kacah, Ali da'iyah kiyah.
     Jimmy look body-def self at glass Ali so too   ✓ Sloppy reading
     'Jimmy looked at himself in the mirror, Ali did too.'
- Local binding possible; sloppy readings available under ellipsis

Extensions

➤ Transparent morphology of forms ≠ syntactic behavior in this language
➤ These *aba'* forms are cognate with other "binding-exempt" anaphors and "half-reflexives" in related Indonesian languages.[10,11,12] *Aba'* forms suggest these should be examined for logophoric licensing and/or interaction with intensification.

References [1] Davies, William D. 2010. A Grammar of Madurese. Walter de Gruyter. [2] Stevens, Alan. 1968. Madurese Phonology and Morphology. New Haven, Connecticut: American Oriental Society. [3] Safioedin, Asis, ed. 1977. Kamus Bahasa Madura-Indonesia. Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa, Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan. [4] Kiliaan, H. N. 1897. *Madoereesche Spraakkunst*. Batavia: Landsdrukkerij. [5] Pawitra, Adrian. 2008. Kamus Lengkap Bahasa Madura-Indonesia. Jakarta: Dian Rakyat. [6] Sells, Peter. 1987. Aspects of Logophoricity, *Linguistic Inquiry* 18:3, 445-479. [7] Charnavel, Isabelle and Chrissy Zlogar. 2015. English Reflexive Logophors. Proceedings of the 51st annual meeting of the CLS. [8] Kratzer, Angelika. 1998. More Structural Analogies Between Pronouns and Tenses. In Proceedings from SALT VIII, 92-110. [9] König, Ekkehard. 2001. Intensifiers and reflexives. Language Typology and Language Universals – An International Handbook of Contemporary Research, 747-760. New York: Mouton. [10] Cole, Peter, Gabriella Hermon, Yassir Tjung, Chang-Yong Sim and Chonghyuck Kim. 2008. A binding theory exempt anaphor. Trends in Linguistics, 577-590. [11] Cole, Peter, Gabriella Hermon and Yanti. 2015. Grammar of binding in the languages of the world: Innate or learned? Cognition 141, 138-160. [12] Kartono, Bambang. 2013. A puzzle in binding: Half reflexives and locally bound pronouns. Ms., Utrecht University.