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Master Thesis

**A Puzzle in Binding:
Half Reflexives and Locally Bound Pronouns**
**A Comparative Study of Anaphoric Systems in Indonesian, Javanese,
Palembangnese, City Jambi and Village Jambi**

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List of Abbreviations

ACC	Accusative
ACT	Active
ADJ	Adjective
ARG	Argument
BEN	Benefactive
CBT	Canonical Binding Theory
CLF	Classifier
COMP	Complementizer
DET	Determiner
DAT	Dative
DECL	Declarative mood
DEM	Demonstrative
DJ	Downstream Jambi
DP	Determiner Phrase
DUPL	Duplication
EMPH	Emphasis
FUT	Future
GEN	Genitive
IDI	Inability to Distinguish Indistinguishables
LAT	Lative Case
LD	Long Distance
N	Noun
NOM	Nominative
NP	Noun Phrase
NR	Number
PASS	Passive
PRS	Present Tense
PST	Past Tense
PL	Plural
PRED	Predicate
PRO	Pronoun

Q	Quantifier
REFL	Reflexive
SG	Singular
TOP	Topic
UJ	Upstream Jambi
VP	Verb Phrase

ABSTRACT

The Canonical Binding Theory (Chomsky, 1981) assumes three major classes of expressions, anaphors, pronominals and R-expressions. However, it has been found that many languages have a richer system. In this thesis I investigate the anaphoric systems of a number of closely related languages spoken in Indonesia. The selected languages have a further element that is in some sense in-between anaphors and pronominals. I refer to these as 'half reflexives', since they can be both locally and non-locally bound. The languages under discussion show a further interesting puzzle, in that the pronoun *dio* in Palembangnese and in the variety spoken Village Jambi can have a reflexive interpretation. Contrarily, the pronoun *dio* in City Jambi differs from the Village dialect and is subject to Principle B. In this thesis I argue that the complexity of half reflexives explains why reflexivity in the selected languages is only licensed, but not enforced. I further show that the differences in binding behavior of *dio* in Palembangnese and the Village Jambi variety as compared to the other languages can be explained on the basis of an independent property, namely the absence of a *number* contrast.

Keywords: half reflexive, locally bound pronoun, anaphora, Indonesian, Javanese, Palembangnese, City Jambi, Village Jambi.

1. Introduction

This thesis addresses the anaphoric systems of a number of closely related languages spoken in Indonesia, and the factors underlying their variation, specifically Indonesian, Javanese, Palembangnese and two varieties of Jambi. In doing so, I hope to contribute to an understanding of the principles governing anaphoric systems more generally. As I will show, the facts I found bear on one of the major questions in the theory of anaphora, namely the question of how reflexivity is expressed in natural language.

I will begin this discussion with a brief overview of the binding theory proposed in Chomsky (1981), the ‘Canonical Binding Theory’ (henceforth CBT), since it served as a starting point for much of the subsequent developments. The CBT (1981) assumes three major classes of expressions, anaphors, pronominals and R-expressions, based on two binary features: \pm anaphoric and \pm pronominal. In terms of these two features, anaphors are defined as (+anaphoric, -pronominal), pronouns as (-anaphoric, +pronominal), and R-expressions as (-anaphoric, - pronominal). There is a fourth class consisting of only one element, PRO, defined as (+anaphoric, +pronominal), which I will not discuss here. The elements in these classes are subject to three conditions; Principle A, Principle B and Principle C. Principle A requires an anaphor to be bound in a local domain (technically, its governing category, roughly the domain of its nearest subject) as in (1). Principle B expresses that a pronominal must be free (= not bound) in this domain, as illustrated in (2). And principle C requires R-expressions to be free throughout. The CBT represents anaphoric dependencies by co-indexing, and for convenience sake I will use this notation as well.

1. a. *Juliet_i loves herself_i.*
b. **Juliet_i thinks that Romeo loves herself_i.*
2. a. **Romeo_i hates him_i.*
b. *Romeo_i believes that Juliet hates him_i.*

Since the original formulation of the CBT, it has been found that many languages have a richer system. For instance, Dutch and the Scandinavian languages not only have pronominals, which obey Principle B, and anaphors that behave like English *himself*, but also a class of elements that are in some sense in-between. Elements such as *zich*, *sig*, *seg* are like anaphors in that they must be bound (with some exceptions to be discussed below), but their binder may be outside the local domain of Principle A.

The anaphoric system of Indonesian is also richer than envisaged by the CBT (Cole and Hermon, 2005). It has a full anaphor that is subject to principle A, a pronominal that is subject to principle B, but also a further element that is again in some sense in-

between. The full anaphor in Indonesian can only be bound in its local domain (3). Javanese follows the same pattern (4).

3. a. *Budi_i membenci diri-nya sendiri_i.*
 Budi hate body-3SG.GEN self
 'Budi hates himself.'
- b. **Budi_i mengatakan mereka membenci diri-nya sendiri_i.*
 Budi say they hate body-3SG.GEN self
 'Budi said that they hates himself.'
4. a. *Tono_i sengit awak-e dee dewe_i.*
 Tono hate body-3SG.GEN 3SG self
 'Tono hates himself.'
- b. **Tono_i ngiro nek konco-konco-ne sengit awak-e dee dewe_i.*
 Tono think that friend~DUPL-3SG.GEN hate body-3SG.GEN 3SG self
 'Tono thinks that his friends hate himself.'

Pronouns in these two languages also obey Principle B. Indonesian has a pronoun *dia* that should be free in its governing category. In (5b) *dia* is coindexed and c-commanded by its antecedent in the higher clause, hence Principle B is satisfied. When the antecedent is in the same clause, Principle B is violated (5a). Javanese has the pronoun *dee* which obeys the same condition (6b), the sentence is not acceptable when the pronoun *dee* sits in the same position as the reflexive (6a).

5. a. **Budi_i memukul dia_i.*
 Budi hit 3SG
 'Budi hit him.'
- b. *Budi_i mengatakan teman-nya memukul dia_i.*
 Budi say friend-3SG.GEN hit 3SG
 'Budi said that his friend hit him.'
6. a. **Tono_i ngempleng dee_i.*
 Tono hit 3SG
 'Tono hit him.'
- b. *Tono_i ngomong nek bapak-e ngempleng dee_i.*
 Tono say that father-3SG.GEN hit 3SG
 'Tono said that his father hit him.'

As already noted, there is a further type of anaphoric element in Indonesia, *dirinya*, which behaves differently and does not obey Principle A. Binding *dirinya* can be licensed in the local domain as shown in (7a), however as seen in (7b), *dirinya* does not need a local binder. Hence, if *dirinya* is a pronoun, it also violates Principle B. The same

behaviour can be found for Javanese *awake dee* (8a) and (8b). Meanwhile, English lacks such an element (see 9).

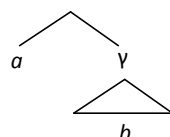
7. a. *Andi*_i memukul *diri-nya*_{i/j}.
 Andi hit body-3SG.GEN
 'Andi hit himself.'
- b. *Andi*_i mengira orang-orang itu memukul *diri-nya*_i.
 Andi think person~DUPL that hit body-3SG.GEN
 'Andi thinks that those people hit him.'
8. a. *Joko*_i nembak *awak-e* *dee*_{i/j}.
 Joko shoot body-3SG.GEN 3SG
 'Joko shot himself.'
- b. *Joko*_i ndugo nek perampok-perampok iku nembak *awak-e* *dee*_i.
 Joko assume that robber~DUPL that shoot body-3SG.GEN 3SG
 'Joko assumed that the robbers shot him.'
9. a. *Bob*_i hates *himsel*_f_i.
 b. **Bob*_i thinks that Susan hates *himsel*_f_i.

A crucial component of the binding theory is the c-command¹ requirement. In order to be grammatical, an anaphor must be c-commanded by its antecedent. However, this is not the case for *dirinya* and *awake dee*. The elements *dirinya* in Indonesian and *awake dee* in Javanese are still acceptable although they are not c-commanded by their antecedents even in the minimal syntactic categories as in (10) for Indonesian and (11) for Javanese. In this they are like pronominals.

10. [*Mertua-nya* *Rita*]_i sangat menyayangi *diri-nya*_{i/j}.
 Mother_in_law-3SG.GEN Rita really love body-3SG.GEN
 'Rita's mother in law really loves herself/her.'
11. [*Yayuk-e* *Tono*]_i ngerumangsani *awak-e* *dee*_{i/j}.
 Sister-3SG.GEN Tono talk body-3SG.GEN 3SG
 'Tono's sister talked about herself/him.'

Thus the behavior of Indonesian *dirinya* and Javanese *awake dee* poses a serious problem for the CBT. Being able to be locally and non-locally bound, *dirinya* in Indonesian and *awake dee* in Javanese are in some sense in-between anaphors and pronominals. They can be locally bound as anaphors but can also be bound by

¹ I adopt the definition of c-command from Reuland (2011: 29):
a c-commands *b* iff *a* is a sister to a category γ containing *b*.
 Schematically: [*a* [γ ... *b*...]], or



antecedents outside their local domain, like pronouns. In view of this behavior I will refer to them as ‘half reflexives’. The nature of these half-reflexives and their implications for the binding theory is one major issue this thesis address. As we will see, the puzzle posed by these half-reflexives is related to a problem for the CBT that was observed relatively soon after its original formulation. Namely even in English there are environments where anaphors can be exempt from the requirement that they can be locally bound. The CBT cannot account for the fact that Principle A in sentence (12) is not violated (see Reinhart and Reuland 1993 for discussion and relevant references).

12. Max_i boasted that the queen invited Lucie and $himself_i$ for a drink.

In (12) anaphoric element *himself* does not sit in the minimal syntactic category with its antecedent *Max*, however the sentence is still acceptable.

As shown in Reinhart and Reuland (1993) the conditions on binding in fact come from different sources. On the one hand from morphosyntactic conditions on the grammatical encoding of dependencies, and on the other from properties of reflexive predicates, where we understand a predicate to be reflexive if one argument of a predicate binds another argument of that predicate. Following Reinhart and Reuland (1993) I take the position that reflexivity is a property of predicates. Reflexivity is licensed if the predicate of a sentence is reflexive-marked. Reflexive marking can take place by a self-anaphor such as English *himself* or Dutch *zichzelf*.

In addition, reflexive-marking can be lexical, as in (13).

13. Romeo washed.

This sentence has a reflexive interpretation although the sentence does not have an internal argument. Lexical reflexive marking is restricted. Some predicates allow it, whereas others do not. In English (13), *Romeo washed* can have a reflexive interpretation as ‘Romeo washed himself’, but not **Romeo admires* ‘Romeo admires himself’. In Dutch, lexical reflexive marking can be found in inherently reflexive verbs such as *wassen* ‘wash’ as in (14). In (14) *Romeo waste zich* can be interpreted as *Romeo washed himself* but not **Romeo hoort zich* ‘Romeo hears himself’. In verbs that are not lexically reflexive, the SELF anaphor *zichzelf* is needed to license reflexivity.

14. $Romeo_i$ waste $zich_i$.

Romeo washed SE

‘Romeo washed himself.’

Another major reason to revise the CBT resides in the existence of locally bound pronominals, which were found to occur in Frisian (Everaert, 1986), as in (15).

15. *Jan_i wasket him_{i/j}.*
'John washes himself.'

The implications of this fact are also discussed in Reinhart and Reuland (1993).

The CBT with its binary features cannot explain why the pronoun *him* in Frisian is allowed to occupy a reflexive position and does not violate Principle B. There might be certain properties that allow the Frisian *him* to sit in this position but in any case this is incompatible with Chomsky's binary features.

The same phenomenon of locally bound pronoun can be found in one of the independent languages in Indonesia as observed by Cole et al. (2007). The Pronoun *dio* in Upstream Jambi (Village Jambi) can allow a reflexive interpretation (16). Conversely, although only separated by a great river *Batang Hari*, the pronoun *dio* in Downstream Jambi (City Jambi) displays a contrast. The pronoun *dio* in this dialect differs from the Village dialect and is subject to Principle B as in (17).

16. *Budi_i nengok dio_{i/j} di kaco.*
Budi see 3SG in mirror
'Budi saw him/himself in the mirror.'

17. **Budi_i meliat dio*_{i/j} di kaco.*
Budi see 3SG in mirror
'Budi saw him/*himself in the mirror.'

In this respect Upstream Jambi is similar to Palembangnese. The Pronoun *dio* in Palembangnese can also be locally bound like *dio* in Upstream Jambi (18). Geographically, Jambi and Palembang are close. So, it might not be coincidental that *dio* in Palembangnese shows the same behavior as *dio* in Upstream Jambi.

18. *Budi_i jingok dio_{i/j} di kaco.*
Budi see 3SG in mirror
'Budi saw him/himself in the mirror.'

These data reflect a very important puzzle, which is further discussed in this thesis. What enables pronouns *dio* in Upstream Jambi and Palembangnese to have reflexive interpretations as in (16) and (18)? What are the differences in the properties of *dio* in the two dialects Upstream Jambi (henceforth UJ) and Downstream Jambi (henceforth DJ) that make the pronouns behave differently? It might be the case that *dio* in these two languages is more like the pronoun *him* in Frisian, but an alternative explanation may also exist. The second issue discussed in thesis is on half reflexives. As mentioned earlier, half reflexives can be found in Indonesian and Javanese, but these kinds of reflexives are also found in other closely related languages in Indonesia. Palembangnese and Jambi (both dialects; UJ and DJ) also have half reflexives like in Indonesian and Javanese. This then triggers further research questions: how do these half reflexives behave with regard to reflexivity and binding theory? What are the

similarities or differences of half reflexives in these selected languages? And how do these half reflexives license reflexivity?

The data from the selected languages has been collected during an internship at UiL OTS. The languages were taken from four main islands in Indonesia. Six languages from Sumatera, two languages from Java, one language from Kalimantan, one language from Sulawesi and the last one is the national language, Indonesian. All participants were native speakers of the selected languages. Some participants were in Indonesia, and other participants were native speakers of the selected languages who were in The Netherlands and England. For participants who were not in The Netherlands, the survey was conducted by sending questionnaires and continued by e-mail exchanges, Facebook, Skype or telephone interviews, while for those who lived in The Netherlands, the survey was done by questionnaires and face-to-face interview. There are eleven closely related languages from Indonesia that have been studied including Acehnese [ace], Batak Toba [bbc], Indonesian [ind], Jambi [jax], Javanese [jav], Lampungnese [abl], Palembangnese [plm], Malay Manado [xmm], Malay Pontianak [zlm], Minangkabau [min], and Sundanese [sun]². The anaphoric elements of these selected languages show considerable similarities. However, after considering the data, only four languages are discussed further in this thesis. These four languages are Indonesian, Javanese, Palembangnese and two varieties of Jambi, UJ and DJ (see appendix for the other languages).

The languages chosen do not have tense marking and auxiliary verbs. However, in other respects they are morphologically rich. They have affixes which can change their interpretation. In the term of affixes, Indonesian has *meN-...-kan*, Javanese has *ng-...-ake*, and Jambi has *ng-...-kan*. In Indonesian, the prefix *meN-* licenses a root to be the head of VP and marks it as a verb, meanwhile the suffix *-kan* marks causative verbs (Nuriah, 2004) see (19) as an example.

19. a. Botol itu pecah.
Bottle that break
'The bottle breaks.'
- b. Tono mem-(p)ecah-kan botol itu.
Tono *meN*-break-*kan* bottle that
'Tono breaks the bottle.'

A brief discussion of these affixes is given along with the analysis of the data. Although, it should be noted that this is not the main issue of this thesis.

The scope of this thesis is limited to the discussion of reflexivity in the languages mentioned.

² The codes are based on ISO language identification codes which are taken from Ethnologue.

The thesis consists of four chapters. The first chapter is a general introduction and explains the research questions, the main purpose of the research and the structure of the thesis.

Chapter 2 elaborates upon the general theoretical background of the thesis. It explores the theories used in the discussion of the anaphoric elements in the selected languages.

Chapter 3 offers solutions to the questions discussed in the thesis. The behavior of half reflexives of the selected languages are explained in detail. The puzzle of how pronouns in Palembangnese and Upstream Jambi can be locally bound is also discussed in this chapter.

Chapter 4 is the last chapter of the thesis and gives the general conclusion to what has been discussed in the previous chapters.

2. Theoretical background

2.1 Reflexivity

In this section, I will briefly outline the approach to binding and reflexivity to be adopted. Reinhart & Reuland (1993) show that reflexivity is a property of a predicate. Properties of predicates play an important role in determining the binding possibilities. Reinhart and Reuland (1993) propose the following conditions on binding.

20. Definitions

- a. A predicate is reflexive iff two of its arguments are coindexed.
- b. A predicate (formed of P) is reflexive-marked iff either P is lexically reflexive or one of P's arguments is a SELF anaphor.

Condition B

A reflexive predicate is reflexive-marked.

Condition A

A reflexive-marked predicate is reflexive.

Reinhart & Reuland (1993) provide the following typology of anaphoric expressions:

21.	SELF	SE	PRONOUN
Reflexivizing function	+	-	-
R(eferential independence)	-	-	+

What we see in the properties in (21) is that only SELF anaphors carry a reflexivizing function, whereas SE anaphors and Pronouns do not have the function to reflexive-mark a predicate. SE anaphors such as *zich* in Dutch cannot mark the predicate as reflexive. Sentence (23) is ruled out since *zich* is not a reflexive marker. Instead of *zich*, the non-inherently reflexive verb *haat* requires the SELF anaphor *zichzelf* to license reflexivity in (23).

22. *Romeo_i loves himself_i.*

23. **Romeo_i haat zich_i.*

Romeo hate SE

'Romeo hates himself.'

Predicates can be reflexive-marked in the lexicon. Whether or not lexical reflexive marking is possible depends on the type of verb. So, grooming verbs such as *wash* and *shave* allow it, but subject experiencer verbs such as *hate* or *admire* do

not. Languages may have different ways of expressing lexical reflexivization. English, for example, allows zero affixation as in (24).

24. Romeo shaved.

25. *Romeo hated.

Romeo shaved is interpreted as *Romeo shaved himself*. The verb *shave* is an inherently reflexive verb that is already reflexive-marked in the lexicon, hence *shave* does not need a SELF anaphor to reflexive-mark the predicate. However, this strategy does not hold with other type of verbs as in (25). *Romeo hated* cannot be interpreted as *Romeo hated himself*. The verb *hate* is a non-inherently reflexive verb, so it needs a SELF anaphor to reflexive-mark the predicate, otherwise it is ruled out. Consider next the case of Dutch, as in (26) and (27).

26. *Juliet_i schaamt zich_i*.

Juliet shames SE

'Juliet shames herself.'

27. *Romeo_i haat *zich/zichself_i*.

Rome hate SE / SELF-anaphor

'Romeo hates himself.'

In Dutch, the verb *schaamt* 'shame' is also lexically reflexive-marked, hence it allows (26). The SE anaphor *zich* does not reflexive-mark the predicate because it does not have this function, but the verb *shame* is already inherently reflexive. However, this does not apply to non-inherently reflexive verbs such as *hate* in (27). Instead of the SE-anaphor *zich*, Dutch requires the complex anaphor *zichself* in order to license reflexivity in (27), which results in *Juliet haat zichself* 'Juliet hates himself'.

2.1.1 Syntactic & Semantic Predicates

As Reinhart & Reuland (1993: 678) show, a proper understanding of binding requires a distinction between syntactic and semantic predicates, as in (28).

28. a. The *syntactic predicate* is formed of (a head) P is P, all its syntactic arguments, and an external argument of P (subject). The syntactic arguments of P are the projections assigned a theta role or Case by P.

b. The *semantic predicate* formed of P is P and all its arguments at the relevant semantic level.

c. A predicate is *reflexive* iff two of its arguments are coindexed.

d. A predicate (formed of P) is *reflexive-marked* iff either P is lexically reflexive or one of P's arguments is SELF anaphor.

Conditions

- (A) A reflexive-marked syntactic predicate is reflexive.
- (B) A reflexive semantic predicate is reflexive-marked.

The reason for this distinction is as follows. The notion of a syntactic predicate is necessary to explain the contrast in (29). It is relevant to express the conditions under which a SELF-anaphor must reflexive-mark a predicate.

- 29. a. Jan_i expected Queen Beatrix to invite Julia and $himself_i$ to the party.
- b. * Jan_i expected Queen Beatrix to invite $himself_i$ to the party.

Sentence (29a) is acceptable although *himself* is not locally bound. This follows from the revised binding condition A. In the sentence such as *John loves himself*, the internal argument *himself* is the direct argument of the predicate *love*. The self-element *himself* can undergo covert head movement and can attach to the predicate *love* and it reflexive-marks the predicate. Meanwhile, in (29a) *himself* is not the direct argument of the verb *invite* but it is a part of the internal argument of *Julia and himself*. The SELF anaphor *himself* cannot undergo movement to the predicate *invite* and cannot attach itself to reflexive-mark the predicate. The predicate *invite* cannot be reflexive-marked by *himself* which makes the reflexivity enforced. Consequently, the SELF anaphor *himself* may have the non-local antecedent *Jan* which explains why sentence (29a) is well-formed. On the other hand, sentence (29b) is not acceptable, since *himself* is the direct argument of the predicate *invite*. It attaches itself and reflexive-marks the predicate. However, the only matching antecedent of *himself* is in the higher clause. Hence, this results in an ill-formed sentence.

In a sense one can say that an element such as *himself* has two roles. It licenses reflexivity and also enforces it, as in (29b). That licensing and enforcing must indeed be distinguished is shown by languages such as Malayalam. Malayalam does not enforce local binding of the element licensing reflexivity (Jayaseelan 1997) (see 30).

- 30. a. $Raaman_i$ $tan-ne_i$ *($tanne$) sneehikunnu.
 Raman SE-ACC SELF loves
 'Raman loves him*(self).
- b. $Raaman_i$ $wicaariccu$ [$penkuttikal$ $tan-ne_i$ $tanne$ sneehikkunnu enn?].
 Raman thought girls SE-ACC SELF love COMP
 'Raman thought that the girls love *himself*.'

English

- c. * $Raman_i$ thought that the girls love $himself_i$.

(Jayaseelan 1997: 191 ff)

Unlike English *himself* which always requires a local binder, anaphoric elements in Malayalam do not need to be locally bound. Apparently, for some reason *tanne* does not obligatorily reflexive-mark the predicate. Here, I will not speculate as to whether there is a deeper reason as to why this would be so. For current purposes it is enough to say that reflexivity in Malayalam is not enforced by *tanne tanne* but it is only licensed.

The following contrast shows why condition B applies to semantic predicates.

31. We_{i+j} elected me_i .

32. ?? We_{i+j} voted for me_i .

Sentence in (31) is acceptable but sentence in (32) is awkward (see Lasnik 1989). In both (31) and (32) *me* is a member of the *we-group*. The contrast can be explained as follows. The action of *elect* is a group action. On the contrary, the action of *vote for* in (32) is an individual action. *Vote for* is distributive, hence, it involves binding. The reflexive instantiation of x *voted for* x cannot be licensed because the verb is not reflexive-marked. Meanwhile, the sentence in (31) is different, since *elect* is not distributive, so it does not express a reflexive relation. Hence, condition B is satisfied because the two co-arguments are not the same.

2.1.2 A-Chains

As already noted in the typology of anaphoric expressions in table (21) pronouns are elements that are fully specified for phi-features. An element which carries a full phi-feature specification is characterized as +R which indicates that this element is capable of independent reference. Pronouns such as *him* in English can be categorized as +R, as they carry a full phi feature specification, *person* (3rd), *gender* (masculine) and *number* (singular). Simplex (SE) anaphors and SELF-anaphors are categorized as –R since they are not fully specified for phi-features. The dependency of anaphors and their antecedents is defined in the formation of an A-Chain below (Reuland, 2011: 116).

33. Condition on A-Chains

A maximal A-chain $(\alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_n)$ contains exactly one link $-\alpha_1-$ which is both +R and marked for structural Case.

The +R property is defined as (34):

34. An NP is +R iff it carries a full specification for phi-features.

According to (33) an A-chain should contain precisely one +R element which carries full phi-features and is marked for the structural case. +R sets apart pronouns from anaphors, either SELF anaphor or SE anaphors. A +R element can form an A-chain with anaphoric elements such as SELF-anaphors and SE anaphors since these are -R and they are referentially dependent.

35. **Romeo_i praised him_i.*

36. *Romeo_i admired himself_i.*

37. **Himself_i loves himself_i.*

(35) is ill-formed because the chain contains two arguments which both are +R expressions. It is not only the referential expression *Romeo* as the head, but also the pronoun *him* as the tail which carries full phi-features of *person* (3rd), *gender* (masculine), *number* (singular) and structural Case, so they cannot form an A-chain. The sentence in (37) also violates the A-chain condition because a chain should not contain less than one link, +R. Only sentence (36) has a well-formed A-chain since the sentence contains exactly one link, +R (*Romeo*), and a referentially dependent element, -R (*himself*). It forms a chain <*Romeo_i, himself_i*> with the head *Romeo* which is fully specified for phi-features and the tail *himself* which is underspecified.

Thus, with regard to the Condition on A-Chains, the sentence in Dutch in (38a) is well-formed, while (38b) is not.

38. a. *Jan_i waste zich_i.*
Jan washed SE

b. **Jan_i waste hem_i.*
Jan washed PRON
'Jan washed'

Sentence in (38b) is ill-formed because of the A-chain <*Jan_i, hem_i*>. The head *Jan* and the tail *hem* are both fully specified for phi-features and occupy positions of structural case. Since both co-arguments are +R, the condition on A-Chains is violated. In contrast, the example in (38a) is well-formed since *zich* as the tail is not fully specified for phi-features (only the *person* feature is specified) and the head *Jan* is fully specified for phi-features. Hence, the A-chain <*Jan_i, zich_i*> satisfies the chain condition. Consider the next case in Frisian.

39. *Jan_i wasket him_i.*

John washes him

'John washes himself.'

acceptable. To remedy the effect of the IDI, Reuland (2008) suggests two solutions. The first is to protect the variable with a marker such as *SELF* as in (42). After the *SELF* marker is added, the predicate can assign a theta role to the two arguments because they are now distinct. The second is to reduce the internal argument as in (43). In a sentence with inherently reflexive verbs such as *wassen* ‘wash’ or *scheren* ‘shave’, the theta role of the internal argument is bundled into the external one (a composite agent-theme role) as in (43). How bundling takes place will be explained in the next section.

43. *Romeo_i scheert zich_i.*

Romeo shave SE

‘Romeo shaves himself.’

44. **Romeo_i admires him_i.*

In (43) the assignment of the theta role is unambiguous. The predicate only sees one argument (the external one) and IDI is not violated. This operation decreases the valency of the verb which then results in reflexivization. Meanwhile, the sentence in (44) clearly violates IDI. The pronoun *him* in English cannot reflexive-mark the predicate and the predicate *admire* is not a lexically reflexive verb, hence reflexive is not licensed and it results in the ungrammatical sentence. From this point it is clear that IDI requires reflexivity to be licensed.

2.3 Theta system

In this section, I will briefly present the relevant theory on theta roles. I will adopt the theta role theory from Reinhart (2002). Reinhart (2002) proposes that the theta system is the system that enables the interface between the system of concept and the computational system (syntax) with the semantic inference system. The theta system accounts for the relation of verb entries and their arguments. It expresses not only the number, but also the type of thematic roles a verb selects, such as agent, cause, experiencer, instrument, patient, and theme, among others.

Reinhart (2002) proposes that the standard theta role can be represented as cluster each consisting of a pair of theta features: \pm causation and \pm mental involvement. They yield the following theta feature configurations:

[+c+m]	Agent
[+c-m]	Instrument
[-c+m]	Experiencer
[-c-m]	Theme / Patient
[+c]	Cause
[+m]	Sentient

[-m]	Subject matter / Locative source
[-c]	Goal / Benefactor
[]	Arbitrary

2.4 Valency Operations

There are three valency operations that can apply to the verbal grid which are presented as follows.

2.4.1 Saturation

This operation reduces the valency of verb. This reduction does not change the valency of the verb semantically, but only syntactically. In saturation, one of the arguments of the verb is closed so that this argument cannot be projected syntactically. This operation is illustrated by passivization in the following example.

48. a. The dog bites Romeo.
 b. Romeo is bitten.
 c. Romeo is bitten (by the dog).

In (48a), both arguments of the verb are represented syntactically. After the saturation (48b) applies, only one of the arguments is visible syntactically, but semantically, the agent is still visible in the interpretation (48c).

2.4.2 Reduction

Reduction can only apply to two place verbs. The reduction can apply either to external or the internal argument. In external reduction, the argument which is reduced is the external one which then results in expletivization. Expletivization eliminates the external argument altogether (including in its semantics). The operation leaves the verb entry with the property of a one place verb with its remaining argument (see 49).

49. Expletivization: Reduction of an external [+c] role (semantically null function).
 a. $V_{acc}(\theta_{1[+c]}, \theta_2) \dashrightarrow R_e(V)(\theta_2)$
 b. $R_e(V)(\theta_2) = V(\theta_2)$

(Reinhart, 2002: 21)

The example of this operation is illustrated in (50). In (50), the external argument *Romeo* is eliminated completely. The remaining argument *the glass* moves from the object position to the subject position. It results a syntactic realization as in (50b). Similar effects can be seen in two place verbs which select [+c] arguments such as *worry* and *open*. The outputs of the operation can be checked in (51) and (52).

50. a. Romeo breaks the glass.
 b. The glass breaks.
51. a. The news worried Romeo.
 b. Romeo worried.
52. a. Romeo opened the door.
 b. The door opened.

In contrast, in internal reduction, the argument which is reduced is the internal one. This operation effects the bundling of the internal role (theme) and external role (agent) into a composite agent role (agent-theme) as in (53).

53. Reflexivization: Reduction of an internal role
- a. $V_{acc}(\theta_1, \theta_2) \rightarrow R_s(V)(\theta_1)$
 b. $R_s(V)(\theta_1) = (\lambda x (V(x, x)))(\theta_1)$

(Reinhart, 2002: 20)

The result of this operation is reflexivization (54).

54. a. *Juliet_i washed herself_i.*
 b. Juliet washed.

This operation can reduce the accusative case either fully or only partially. In English as in (54b), the internal reduction fully reduces the accusative case, but in Dutch it does not (55).

55. *Juliet_i wast zich_i.*
 Juliet wash SE
 'Juliet washes herself.'

In (55), the internal role is bundled with the external role and assigned to the external argument. In Dutch, this operation leaves a residual accusative case. The anaphoric element *zich* is needed to absorb the residual accusative case left by the reduction operation.

2.4.3 Expansion

The last valency operation is expansion. This operation has the effect of adding an argument to the predicate.

56. a. The horse walked.
 b. Romeo walked the horse.

The argument which is added in the expansion is always the agentive one (+c+m) (see 56b). This agent role is added to the theta grid of the predicate, hence this operation results in agentivization.

3. Analysis

In this chapter I will present my analysis in three main parts. First, I will present the analysis of the behavior of half reflexives of the selected languages with regard to reflexivity and binding theory. Then I will present the analysis of the inherently reflexive verbs. Lastly, I will discuss the most interesting puzzle, that is, what enables the pronoun *dio* in Jambi and in Palembangnese to allow reflexive interpretations. That section investigates the differences of the properties of the pronoun *dio* in two varieties of Jambi, UJ and DJ.

3.1 A General Introduction on the Selected Languages

Based on data from <www.ethnologue.com>, there are 719 individual languages in Indonesia. As mentioned in the previous chapter, for the present study I collected data from eleven of them. One of the languages is the national language of Indonesia. The rest of the languages are taken from the four main islands in Indonesia, Sumatra, Java, Kalimantan and Sulawesi. However, due to considerable similarities between these languages, I limit a more detailed discussion to only four of them. Brief descriptions of the selected languages are presented below.

[1] Indonesian

Indonesian is the national language of Indonesia. Its alternative name is *Bahasa Indonesia* (literally "the language of Indonesia"). Indonesian is a standardized register of Classical Malay, the language that has been used as a lingua franca in the Indonesia archipelago for five hundred years. Indonesian and Malaysian have a lexical similarity of around 80% since these languages come from the same basis. Indonesian is one of the most widely spoken languages in the world, spoken by 23 million native speakers and 140 million second language speakers. This language is also found elsewhere such as in the Netherlands, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Singapore, Sint Maarten, and the United States. Indonesian was declared the national language on October 28, 1928 for political purposes. Since then, this language underwent a natural linguistic evolution by incorporating loanwords from other languages such as from Dutch as this was the language of the previous colonizers, and other Indonesian ethnic languages such as Javanese, as this is the biggest ethnic group in Indonesia. Cole et al (2012) found that almost no children learn Indonesian as their first language. Instead, they learn local languages as their mother tongue in their regions, or acquire the colloquial varieties of Indonesian.

Ethnologue code: ind

Classification : Austronesian, Malayo-Polynesian, Malayo-Chamic, Malayic, Malay.

[2] Javanese

Javanese is the second largest individual language in Indonesia after the national language, Indonesian. It is approximately spoken by 84,300,000 people in Indonesia. This language is mainly spoken in the Central Java Province, the East Java Province, the province of Yogyakarta and some parts of the island of Java. Javanese is also widely spoken in other parts of Indonesia such in Sumatra, Kalimantan, Sulawesi and Maluku. This language is spoken in other countries as well such as in Malaysia, The Netherlands, Singapore, and The United States. Javanese descendants in Suriname also speak a Creole descendant of this language. Javanese has three speech levels: Ngoko (low), Kromo (medium), and Inggil (high). The questionnaire whose data presented in this thesis is based on the Ngoko speech level. Javanese has its own writing system but it is not widely used today. People who speak local languages such as Javanese are usually also fluent in Indonesian, the national language. Hence, both languages influence one another. Javanese is considered to be a substantial contributor of loanwords to Indonesian.

Ethnologue code: jav

Classification: Austronesian, Malayo-Polynesian, Javanese.

[3] Palembangnese

Palembangnese can also be referred to as Musi or Sekayu, and is spoken by approximately 1.4 million native speakers in Palembang, the South Sumatra Province and the surrounding areas. This language is based on Malay, which is highly influenced by Javanese because the first speakers of the language came from Demak, Central Java in the 18th century. Hence, Palembangnese and Javanese have a high lexical similarity. Palembangnese has two speech levels. The first of these speech levels is a low level which is used in daily conversation and is spoken among friends or close relatives. The second is called *bebaso*, which literally means a polite language. This language is used to speak with interlocutors who are older than the speaker, or with people who are highly regarded in society such as teachers, parents, father/mother in law, or people who have a high social status. The language used in the questionnaire for this study is based on the first level of speech.

Ethnologue code: plm

Classification: Austronesian, Malayo-Polynesian, Malayic, Malayan, Local Malay.

[4] Jambi

Jambi is one of the Indonesian local languages spoken in the province of Jambi, which is located in southeast Sumatera. This language is also known as Batin or Djambi. Jambi is a Classical Malay spoken in the heartland of Sumatra close to Riau, the region where Classical Malay originated. Hence, the language is also close to

Minangkabau, Musi/Palembang and Riau Malay. Jambi is spoken by approximately one million people; almost a third of the total population of 3,088,618 in the province of Jambi. Jambi has two dialects; downstream Jambi (City Jambi) and Upstream Jambi (Village Jambi). According to the respondents, DJ is influenced by Indonesian because it is spoken in the city of Jambi, which is very multicultural, whereas UJ is spoken in the village area and thus has less contact with Indonesian, but it is more influenced by Javanese. The data from DJ is taken from a respondent who lived in the city of Jambi, and the data of the UJ dialect is taken from respondents who lived in the Mudung Darat area.

Ethnologue code: jax

Classification: Austronesian, Malayo-Polynesian, Malayo-Sumbawan, North and East, Malayic, Malay.

3.2 Binding of the 1st, the 2nd and the 3rd person in the selected languages

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the selected languages in Indonesia have a richer anaphoric system than envisaged by the CBT. All the languages have full reflexives and half reflexives, whereas Palembangnese and UJ have a pronoun *dio* that can be locally bound. In this section I present an overview of the use of half reflexives of the 1st, 2nd and 3rd person of the languages. In section 3.3 I present a more detailed analysis of the 3rd person half reflexives of the languages.

First, I will provide the paradigm of the anaphoric systems of the languages which are presented in the following tables. In the tables, Palembangnese and Jambi (both dialects) have double full reflexives. According to the respondents, there is no difference in use between these two full reflexives, it is only a matter of preference which of the two is used. The glossing of third person in Palembangnese and UJ is marked with 3NR (3 Number). 3NR shows that this form can be used as either a singular or a plural form. Whereas the glossing for 3rd person in Indonesian, Javanese and DJ is written in a more specific way such as 3SG (3 Singular) or 3PL (3 Plural). The complete paradigm for the other languages can be found in the appendix.

INDONESIAN

Singular

Person	Full Reflexives	Half Reflexives	Pronominal
1 st	diri-ku sendiri body-1SG.GEN self diri saya sendiri body 1SG.GEN self	diri-ku body-1SG.GEN diri saya body 1SG.GEN	Aku 1SG Saya 1SG
2 nd	diri-mu sendiri body-2SG/PL.GEN self	diri-mu body-2SG/PL.GEN	Kamu 2SG
3 rd	diri-nya sendiri body-3SG.GEN self	diri-nya body-3SG.GEN	Dia 3SG -nya 3SG

Plural

Person	Full Reflexives	Half Reflexives	Pronominal
1 st	diri kami sendiri body 1PL.GEN self (inclusive) diri kita sendiri body 1PL.GEN self (exclusive)	diri kami (inclusive) body 1PL.GEN diri kita (exclusive) body 1PL.GEN	Kami (inclusive) 1PL Kita (exclusive) 1PL
2 nd	diri-mu sendiri body-2SG/PL.GEN self diri kalian sendiri body 2PL.GEN self	diri-mu body-2SG/PL.GEN diri kalian body 2PL.GEN	Kamu 2SG/PL Kalian 2PL
3 rd	diri mereka sendiri body 3PL.GEN self	diri mereka body 3PL.GEN	Mereka 3PL

JAVANESE

Singular

Person	Full Reflexives	Half Reflexives	Pronominal
1 st	awak-ku dewe body-1SG.GEN self	awak-ku body-1SG.GEN	Aku 1SG
2 nd	awak-mu dewe body-2SG/PL.GEN self	awak-mu body-2SG/PL.GEN	Kowe 2SG/PL
3 rd	awak-e dee dewe body-3SG.GEN 3SG self	awak-e dee body-3SG.GEN 3SG	Dee 3SG

Plural

Person	Full Reflexives	Half Reflexives	Pronominal
1 st	awak-e dewe dewe body-GEN 1PL self	awak-e dewe body-GEN 1PL	Dewe 1PL
2 nd	awak-mu dewe body-2SG/PL.GEN self	awak-mu body-2SG/PL.GEN	Kowe 2SG/PL
3 rd	awak-e dee uwong dewe body-GEN 3 people self	awak-e dee uwong body-GEN 3 people	Dee uwong 3 people

PALEMBANGNESE

Singular

Person	Full Reflexives	Half Reflexives	Pronominal
1 st	diri-ku dewek body-1SG.GEN self	aku dewek 1SG self	Diri-ku body-1SG.GEN
2 nd	diri kau dewek body 2SG/PL.GEN self	kau dewek 2SG/PL self	diri kau body 2SG/PL.GEN
3 rd	diri-nyo dewek body-3NR.GEN self	dio dewek 3SG/PL self	diri-nyo body-3NR.GEN

Plural

Person	Full Reflexives	Half Reflexives	Pronominal
1 st	diri kami dewek body 1PL.GEN self	kami dewek 1PL self	diri kami body 1PL.GEN
2 nd	diri kau dewek body 2SG/PL.GEN self	kau dewek 2SG/PL self	diri kau body 2SG/PL.GEN
3 rd	diri-nyo dewek body-3NR.GEN self	dio dewek 3NR self	diri-nyo body-3NR.GEN

Note: * can be locally bound

**Downstream Jambi
(City Jambi)**

Singular

Person	Full Reflexives				Half Reflexives		Pronominal	
1 st	Diri body	sayo 1SG.GEN	dewek self	Sayo 1SG	dewek self	diri body	sayo 1SG.GEN	Sayo/awak 1SG
2 nd	diri body	kau 2SG/PL.GEN	dewek self	Kau 2SG/PL	dewek self	diri body	kau 2SG/PL.GEN	Kau 2SG/PL
3 rd	diri-nyo body-3SG.GEN		dewek self	Dio 3SG	dewek self	diri-nyo body-3SG.GEN		Nyo 3SG
	diri body	dio 3SG.GEN	dewek self			diri body	dio 3SG.GEN	Dio 3SG

Plural

Person	Full Reflexives				Half Reflexives		Pronominal	
1 st	diri body	kami 1PL.GEN	dewek self	Kami 1PL	dewek self	diri body	kami 1PL.GEN	Kami 1PL
2 nd	diri body	kau 2SG/PL.GEN	dewek self	Kau 2SG/PL	dewek self	diri body	kau 2PL.GEN	Kau 2SG/PL
3 rd	diri body	mereka 3PL.GEN	dewek self	Mereka 3PL	dewek self	diri body	mereka 3PL.GEN	Mereka 3PL

**Upstream Jambi
(Village Jambi)**

Singular

Person	Full Reflexives				Half Reflexives		Pronominal	
1 st	Diri body	sayo 1SG.GEN	dewek self	Sayo 1SG	dewek self	diri body	sayo 1SG.GEN	Sayo/awak * 1SG
2 nd	diri body	kau 2SG/PL.GEN	dewek self	Kau 2SG/PL	dewek self	diri body	kau 2SG/PL.GEN	Kau * 2SG/PL
3 rd	diri-nyo body-3SG/PL.GEN		dewek self			diri-nyo body-3SG/PL.GEN		Nyo * SG/PL
	diri body	dio 3SG/PL.GEN	dewek self	Dio 3SG/PL	dewek self	diri body	dio 3SG/PL.GEN	Dio * 3SG/PL

Plural

Person	Full Reflexives				Half Reflexives		Pronominal	
1 st	diri body	kami 1PL.GEN	dewek self	Kami 1PL	dewek self	diri body	kami 1PL.GEN	Kami 1PL
2 nd	diri body	kau 2SG/PL.GEN	dewek self	Kau 2SG/PL	dewek self	diri body	kau 2PL.GEN	Kau * 2SG/PL
3 rd	diri-nyo body-3NR.GEN		dewek self					
	diri body	dio 3NR.GEN	dewek self	Dio 3NR	dewek self	diri body	dio 3NR.GEN	Dio * 3NR
	diri body	mereka 3PL.GEN	dewek self	Mereka 3PL	dewek self	diri body	mereka 3PL.GEN	Mereka 3PL

Note: * can be locally bound

3.2.1 The Use of Full Reflexives

The use of full reflexives of the first, the second and the third-person in the selected languages is similar to the use of these cases in English. They obey Principle A of the CBT. These anaphoric elements require co-arguments and a c-commanding antecedent in a local domain. Examples from Indonesian (57), Javanese (58), Palembangnese (59), and Jambi (60), illustrate this.

57. a. *Saya_i memukul diri-ku sendiri_{i/*j}.* **Indonesian**
 1SG hit body-1SG.GEN self
 'I hit myself.'
- b. *Kamu_i mencintai diri-mu sendiri_{i/*j}.*
 1SG/PL love body-2SG/PL.GEN self
 'You love yourself/yourselves.'
- c. *Dia_i memuji diri-nya sendiri_{i/*j}.*
 3SG praise body-3SG.GEN self
 'She/he praised herself/himself.'

58. a. *Aku_i ngomong karo awak-ku dewe_{i/*j}.* **Javanese**
 1SG talk to body-1SG.GEN self
 'I talk to myself.'
- b. *Kowe_i nggaruki awak-mu dewe_{i/*j}.*
 2SG/PL scratch body-2SG/PL.GEN self
 'You scratched yourself/yourselves.'
- c. *Dee_i nggagumi awak-e dee dewe_{i/*j}.*
 3SG admire body-3SG.GEN self
 'She/he admires herself/himself.'

59. a. *Aku_i nyingok aku dewek_{i/*j}.*
 I see 1SG self
 'I saw myself.'
- b. *Kau_i nyingok kau dewek_{i/*j}.*
 2SG/PL see 2SG/PL self
 'You see yourself.'
- c. *Endang_i nyingok dio dewek_{i/*j}.*
 Endang see 3NR self
 'Endang saw herself.'

Palembangnese

60. a. *Aku_i nengok sayo dewek_{i/*j}.*
 I see 1SG self
 'I saw myself.'
- b. *Kau_i nengok kau dewek_{i/*j}.*
 2SG/PL see 2SG/PL self
 'You see yourself.'
- c. *Eko_i nengok diri-nyo dewek_{i/*j}.*
 Eko see body-3SG.GEN self
 'Eko saw himself.'

DJ

Non-local binding is not possible for the anaphoric elements in these selected languages. This is illustrated in examples (61) to (64).

61. a. **Kalian_i mengira mereka membicarakan tentang diri kalian sendiri.*
 2PL think they talk about body 3PL.GEN self
 'You think that they talked about yourself.'
- b. **Mereka_i mengatakan bahwa kamu tidak menyukai diri mereka sendiri.*
 They say that you not like body 3PL.GEN self
 'They said that you did not like themselves.'
- c. **Saya_i menduga bahwa Ahmad mencintai diri-ku sendiri.*
 I assume that Ahmad love body-1SG.GEN self
 'I assumed that Ahmad loved myself.'

Indonesian

62. a. **Aku_i ngiro nek Tono tuku klambi kanggo awak-ku dewe_i.*
 I think that Tono buy cloth for body-1SG.GEN self
 'I think that Tono bought the cloth for myself.'
- b. **Konco-konco-ku_i percoyo aku iso nolong awake dee uwong dewe_i.*
 Friend~DUPL-1SG.GEN believe I can help body-3.GEN 3 people self
 'My friends believe that I could help themselves.'
- c. **Kowe_i ngomong nek dee ngagumi awak-mu dewe_i.*
 2SG/PL say that 3SG admire body-2SG/PL.GEN self
 'You say that she admires yourself.'

Javanese

63. a. **Aku_i nyangko Anton nyingok aku dewek_i.*
 I think Anton see 1SG self
 'I thought that Anton saw myself.'
- b. **Kau_i nyangko Anton nyingok kau dewek_i.*
 2SG/PL think Anton see 2SG/PL self

Palembangnese

- 'You thought that Anton saw yourself.'
 c. **Endang_i nyangko Aku nyingok dio dewek_i.*
 Endang think I see 3NR self
 'Endang thought that I saw herself.'

DJ

64. a. **Aku_i kiro Budi nengok sayo dewek_i.*
 I think Budi see 1SG self
 'I thought that Budi saw myself.'
 d. **Kau_i kiro Budi nengok kau dewek_i.*
 2SG/PL think Budi see 2SG/PL self
 'You thought that Budi saw yourself.'
 e. **Eko_i kiro Aku nengok diri-nyo dewek_i.*
 Eko think I see body-3SG.GEN self
 'Eko thought that I saw himself.'

3.2.2 The Use of Half reflexives

This section briefly describes the use of half reflexives in the first, the second and the third persons in the selected languages. Half reflexives in the selected languages are basically composed of the forms the body + a pronoun. The use of half reflexives in the selected languages is partly similar to the use of full reflexives, in that they can be locally bound as in examples (65) to (68). However, these elements can also be bound by non-local antecedents. This is illustrated in (69) for Indonesian, in (70) for Javanese, in (71) for Jambi, and in (72) for Palembangnese.

Local domain

65. *Saya_i melihat diri-ku_i di cermin.* **Indonesian**
 1SG see body-1SG.GEN in mirror
 'I saw myself in the mirror'

66. *Aku_i muji awak-ku_i.* **Javanese**
 1SG praise body-1SG.GEN
 'I praised myself'

67. *Endang_i nyingok diri-nyo_i.* **Palembangnese**
 Endang see body-3NR.GEN
 Endang saw herself.'

68. *Eko_i nengok diri-nyo_i.* **DJ**
 Eko see body-3SG.GEN
 'Eko saw himself.'

Non-local domain

69. *Saya_i mengira Maria menyukai diri-ku_i /*diri-ku sendiri*_i.* **Indonesian**
 1SG think Maria like body-1SG.GEN /*body-1SG.GEN self

'I think Maria likes me.'

Javanese

70. *Aku_i percoyo nek Wati nggawe kue kanggo awak-ku_i /*awak-ku dewe*_i.*
1SG believe that Wati make cake for body-1SG.GEN/* body-1SG.GEN self
'I believe that Wati made the cake for me.'

DJ

71. *Kau_i kiro Budi nengok diri kau_i /*diri kau dewek_i.*
2SG/PL think Budi see body 2SG/PL.GEN body 2SG/PL.GEN self
'You thought that Budi saw you.'

Palembangnese

72. *Endang_i nyangko Aku nyingok diri-nyo_{i/j} /*diri-nyo dewek_i.*
Endang think I see body-3NR.GEN body-3NR.GEN self self
'Endang thought that I saw her.'

Half reflexives in the selected languages show an interesting behavior in other respects as well. In Indonesian, half reflexives can be valued by discourse (73a), have a non-c-commanding antecedent (73b), and can be in the subject position in the embedded (73c), or in the matrix clause (73d). A similar behavior is also shown by half reflexives in Javanese (74a-d), Palembangnese (75a-d), and Jambi (76a-d)

Indonesian

73. a. Context : [Pak Guru dan kami sedang berada di dalam kelas]
The teacher and we are in the classroom.
Pak Guru sedang memarahi *diri kami* /**diri kami sendiri*.
Male teacher is get angry body 1PL.GEN body 1PL.GEN self
'The teacher is getting angry to us'
- b. Mereka [_{CP} yang mengenal-ku] memuja *diri-ku*.
They who know-1SG.ACC adore body-1SG.GEN
'They who know me adore me.'
- c. *Dia* sadar *diri-nya* tidak gila.
3SG realize body-3SG.GEN not crazy.
'He realizes that *he* is not crazy.'
- d. *Diri-ku* tergila-gila pada-mu.
body-1SG.GEN get crazy to-2SG
'I am crazy about you'

Javanese

74. a. Opo Wati seneng karo *awak-ku*?
What Wati like about body-1SG.GEN
'Does Wati like me?'
- b. Pakde-ku [_{CP} sing ngeki duwit *kowe*] kangen *awak-mu*.
Uncle-1SG.GEN who give money you miss body-2SG.GEN
'My uncle who gave you the money miss you'
- c. *Dee uwong* nyotokne nek *awak-e* *dee uwong* arep urip karo aku.

- 3 people say that body-GEN 3 people will live with me
 ‘They said that *they* would live with me.’
- d. *Awak-mu* pancen ayu tenan.
 body-2SG.GEN indeed beautiful really
 ‘You are really beautiful.’

Palembangnese

75. a. Joni nyingok kami. Kami negorke diri-nyo.
 Joni see us 1PL greet body-3SG.GEN
 ‘Johny saw us. We greeted him.’
- b. Segalo uwong [yang tau samo *kau*] pasti kagum samo *diri kau*.
 All people who know with 2SG must admire with body 2SG.GEN
 ‘All people who knows you will admire you.’
- c. Aku nyangko diri-nyo tibo kemaren.
 1SG think body-3NR.GEN arrive yesterday
 ‘I think he arrived yesterday.’
- d. Diri-nyo lah tibo kemaren.
 body-3NR.GEN EMPH arrive yesterday
 ‘He arrived yesterday.’

DJ

76. a. *Kau_i* nyeberang jalan. Aku melihat *diri kau_i*.
 2SG cross street I see body 2SG.GEN
 ‘You crossed the street. I saw you.’
- b. [*Ibu Joko*]_i ngagumi nian *diri-nyo_{i/j}*.
 Mother Joko admire really body-3SG.GEN
 ‘Joko’s mother really admired herself/her.’
- c. *Budi_i* pecayo *diri-nyo_i* ngundang orang galo-galonyo.
 Budi believe body-3SG.GEN invite people all~DUPL
 ‘Budi believes he invites everybody.’
- d. *Diri-nyo* ngundang orang galo-galonyo.
 Body-3SG.GEN invite people all~DUPL
 ‘He invites everybody.’

As illustrated in the above examples, it is not only half reflexives of the third person that are in some sense in-between anaphors and pronominals, but also half reflexives of the first and the second person of the selected languages can behave in this way. In order to explore the similarities or differences of half reflexives in these languages, a more detailed analysis of half reflexives of the third person of these languages is presented in the next section.

3.3 Binding of Half Reflexives for the 3rd Person of the Selected Languages

3.3.1 Half Reflexives are Not Long-Distance Reflexives

The fact that half reflexives can either be locally and non-locally bound triggers the question whether these anaphoric elements are Long Distance (henceforth LD) reflexives in the sense of Cole and Hermon (2005). The analysis of *dirinya* in Malay (Cole and Hermon, 1998, 2005) has shown that *dirinya* is not a LD reflexive. A similar analysis will be applied to see whether *dirinya* in Indonesian and half reflexives of the other selected languages show the same behaviour.

Cole and Hermon (2005) argue for a linguistic typology in which the locality properties of reflexives can be represented by two groups: (1) a variety of languages in which they appear in a local relationship to their antecedents as is the case in English; and (2) those which are less strict in locality requirements. Chinese is an example of a language that falls into the second category. In this language, reflexives can have both a local and non-local antecedent.

77. Zhangsan_i renwei Lisi_j zhidao Wangwu_k xihuan ziji_{i/j/k}.
Zhangsan thinks Lisi knows Wangwu likes self
Zhangsan thinks Lisi knows Wangwu likes him/himself
(Cole & Hermon, 2005: 628)

Sentence (77) shows that unlike English, the locality requirement in Chinese is more flexible. The reflexive *ziji* 'self' can refer to the local antecedent *Wangwu*, and it can also have a long distance relationship with the non-local antecedents, *Lisi* and *Zhangsan*. Sentence (77) in Chinese is an example of what can be referred to as a LD Reflexive. Cole & Hermon (2005: 628) describe the properties of LD Reflexives in (78).

78. a). LD reflexives are monomorphemic.
b). LD reflexives are subject oriented.
c). In languages without subject-verb agreement, LD reflexives manifest the Blocking Effect, the blocking of reflexive-antecedent relation due to the presence of an intervening subject with person features different from those of the local subject.

This is in line with an earlier claim that LD reflexives are typically monomorphemic, whereas local ones tend to consist of more than one morpheme (Pica, 1987). The reflexive *ziji* in Chinese is monomorphemic. This allows it to be a long distance reflexive as it is shown in (77). Other examples can be found in Norwegian as shown in (79) and (80).

79. Jon_i bad oss forsøke å få deg til å snakke pent om seg_i.
Jon ask us (to) try to get you to talk nicely about SE
'Jon asked us to try to get you to talk nicely about him.'
(Hellan, 1991: 30 in Reuland 2011)

80. Han_i elsker seg selv_{i/*j}.
He loves REFL self

'He loves himself.'

(Lodrup, 2006: 2)

Only the monomorphemic reflexive *seg* in Norwegian allows long distance-binding with its antecedent (79), whereas the non-monomorphemic reflexive *seg selv* is always local (80).

Other languages are also seen to have LD reflexives fulfilling all the requirements mentioned in (78) - as monomorphemics in (81), subject oriented in (82) and the blocking effect in (83).

81. Simplex long distance Complex local
 Japanese *zibun* *zibun-zisin*
 Mandarin *ziji* *ta-ziji* (Rudnev, 2011: 3)

82. *Chelswu*₁ –nun *Swunmi*₂ –eykey [*Hakswu*₃ –ka *caki*_{1/*2/3} –lul *cohaha-Ø-nta-ko*]
Chelswu-TOP Swunmi-LAT Hakswu-NOM self-ACC love-PRES-INDIC-COMP
Seltulkhay-ss-ta.
convince-PST-INDIC
'Chelswu₁ convinced Swunmi₂ that Hakswu₃ loves him₁/*her₂/herself₃'
(Korean, Rudniskaya, 2001: 86) in Rudnev, 2011:3)

83. Zhangsan_i renwei wo_j zhidao [*Wangwu*_k xihuan *ziji*_{i/*j/k}].
Zhangsan think I think Wangwu like self
'Zhangsan thinks that I know that Wangwu likes himself'
(Chinese, Cole & Hermon, 2005: 628)

Regarding the first of the LD reflexive requirements in (78a), the half reflexive *dirinya* in Indonesian is composed of the morphemes *diri* 'body' + possessive pronoun – *nya* 'his/her', indicating the third person singular. In Palembangnese and Jambi (both dialects), half reflexives have a similar composition, it is only varied for the possessive pronouns. This is *diri* + the possessive pronouns –*nyo* or *dio* for Jambi and the possessive pronoun –*nyo* for Palembangnese. Javanese *awake dee*, on the other hand, is formed by the morphemes *awak* 'body' plus the clitic –*e* 'his/her' attached to it, which indicates possessive, while the morpheme *dee* 'him/her' indicates the third person singular. Thus, it is clear that *dirinya* in Indonesian, *dirinyo* in Palembangnese, *dirinyo* or *diri dio* in Jambi, and *awake dee* in Javanese are not monomorphemic.

The second requirement of LD reflexives is that these must be subject oriented. In that respect, half reflexives of the languages do not fit in either. This is illustrated for Indonesian in (84), Javanese in (85), Palembangnese in (86) and Jambi in (87).

84. *Joni*_i memberitahu *Wati*_j berita tentang *diri-nya*_{i/j}. **Indonesian**
Joni tell Wati news about body-3SG.GEN
'Johnny informs Wati the news about him/herself.'
85. *Tono*_i ngeki *Budi*_j buku tentang *awak-e* *dee*_{i/j}. **Javanese**

Tono give Budi book about body-3SG.GEN 3SG
 'Tono gives Budi a book about him/himself.'

86. *Bill_i mintak John_j untuk mbanggake diri-nyo_{i/j}.* **Palembangnese**

Bill ask John to praise body-3NR.GEN
 'Bill asked John to praise him.' [i.e., to praise Bill]

87. *Budi_i ngasih tau Eko_j tentang diri-nyo_{i/j}.* **DJ**

Peter give info Eko about body-3SG.GEN
 'Peter told Eko about himself/him.'

Sentence (84) shows that *dirinya* in Indonesian can be bound both by *Joni* and *Wati*. The fact that *dirinya* can be bound by the object of the predicate *Wati* shows that *dirinya* is not subject oriented. Sentences (85) to (87) reveal a similar story since half reflexives of the selected languages are also bound by the objects of the verbs, indicating that these anaphoric elements are different from the subject oriented reflexive *ziji* in Chinese.

Indonesian *dirinya* (88), Javanese *awake dee* (89), Palembangnese *dirinyo* (90) and Jambi *dirinyo* (91) also show that they are not sensitive to the blocking effects mentioned in (78). Blocking forbids the anaphoric element to be bound by an antecedent when a potential antecedent with a different person feature intervenes.

88. *Budi_i mengira saya_j berharap Wati_k memaafkan diri-nya_{i/*j/k}.* **Indonesian**

Budi think I expect Wati forgive body-3SG.GEN
 'Budi thinks that I expect that Wati forgives herself/him'

89. *Tono_i nggiro aku_j masak kanggo awak-e dee_{i/*j}.* **Javanese**

Tono think I cook for body-3SG.GEN 3SG
 'Tono thinks that I cook for him'

90. *Rita_i nyangko aku_j cinto sama diri-nyo_{i/*j}.* **Palembangnese**

Rita think I love with body-3NR.GEN
 'Rita thinks that I love her.'

91. *Maria_i mikir kalo mereka_j meliat diri-nyo_{i/*j}.* **DJ**

Maria think if they see body-3SG.GEN
 'Maria thought that they saw her.'

In (88) *dirinya* allows a local and a non-local relationship with the subjects *Wati* and *Budi*. The subject *saya* 'I' in (88) with a different person feature in the embedded clause does not prevent *dirinya* from being bound by the subject *Budi* which sits in the matrix clause. The subject *aku* 'I' in (89) is also unable to prevent *awake dee* from having a long distance relationship with *Tono*, which is in the matrix clause. Similar

cases are observed in the two other languages, as is shown in (90) for Palembangnese and in (91) for Jambi.

To sum up, these considerations show that half reflexives in the selected languages cannot be considered as LD reflexives in the sense of Cole and Hermon (2005) since they do not fulfil any of the requirements for LD reflexives mentioned in (78).

3.3.2 The Behavior of Half Reflexives of the Selected Languages

The fact that non-local antecedents can bind *dirinya* and *awake dee* leads us to further consider whether these anaphoric elements are actually anaphors, since they exhibit a pronoun-like behavior. Anagnostopoulou and Everaert (to appear) propose some diagnostics to test whether an anaphoric element trully is an anaphor. They make distinctions between anaphoric dependency, reflexivization and reflexive anaphors as presented in (92).

92. a. *Anaphoric dependency*: *a* is anaphorically dependent on *b* if the reference of *a* is dependent on the reference of *b*.
- b. *Reflexivization* is an instantiation of an anaphoric dependency - more specifically, an identity relation between two co-arguments; a binder and a bindee: $\lambda x [P(x,x)]$.
- c. *Reflexive anaphors* express an identity relation between co-arguments.

After conducting a cross-linguistic study of anaphoric elements, Anagnostopoulou and Everaert (to appear) create a list of diagnostic tests for anaphors (93).

93. a. Strict/sloppy identity
- b. Split antecedent
- c. Deictic reference
- d. A command restriction on the anaphoric dependency
- e. Domain sensitivity

I will now use these criteria to diagnose the behaviour of half reflexives in the selected languages, that is, to evaluate whether these anaphoric elements are truly anaphors. However, Anagnostopoulou and Everaert (to appear) have cautioned that none of the diagnostic is straightforward, meaning that there still are debates or exceptions on this issue.

3.3.2.1 Strict/Sloppy Identity

3.3.2.1.1 VP Ellipsis for Half Reflexives of the Selected Languages

In English, VP ellipsis is used to distinguish between pronouns and reflexives. Under VP ellipsis, pronouns can be interpreted with either sloppy or strict readings, while reflexives can only receive a sloppy interpretation.

94. Bill_i believed that Ann_j saw him_i at the bus station and Bob did too.

95. Bill_i hit himself_i and Bob did too.

Sentence (94), which contains the pronoun *him*, can have both a sloppy and a strict reading. Under the sloppy reading, the interpretation can be that *Bill believed that Ann saw Bill at the bus station and Bob believed that Ann saw Bob at the bus station*. Under a strict reading the interpretation is that *Bob believed that Ann saw Bill at the bus station*. However, sentence (95), which contains the reflexive *himself*, only allows a sloppy interpretation. It cannot be interpreted as *Bill hit Bill and Bob hit Bill*. In English only pronouns receive both sloppy and strict interpretations; the strict interpretation cannot be applied to reflexives.

3.3.2.1.2 Half Reflexives of the Selected Languages with VP Ellipsis.

In Indonesian, the true reflexive *dirinya sendiri*, is similar to English in that it can only have a sloppy interpretation, while the pronoun *dia*, or the clitic pronoun *-nya* in Indonesian, can have either a sloppy or a strict reading.

96. Budi_i mengagumi diri-nya sendiri_i dan Wati juga.

Budi admire body-3SG.GEN self and Wati also
'Budi admires himself and Wati does too.'

Sloppy = Budi admires himself and Wati admires herself.

Strict ≠ Budi admires Budi and Wati admires Budi.

97. Budi_i berpikir Wati mengagumi-nya/dia_i dan Joko juga.

Budi think Wati admire-3SG.ACC / 3SG.ACC and Joko also
'Budi thinks that Wati admires him and Joko does too'

Sloppy = Budi thinks Wati admires Budi and Joko thinks Wati admires Joko

Strict = Budi thinks Wati admires Budi and Joko thinks Wati admires Budi

In Javanese, the true reflexive has the form of *awake dee dewe* and the pronoun is *dee*.

98. Joko_i ngamplengi awak-e dee dewe_i lan Surti yo ngono.

Joko hit body-3SG.GEN 3SG self and Surti yes too
'Joko hits himself and Surti does too.'

Sloppy = Joko hits Joko and Surti hits Surti.

Strict ≠ Joko hits Joko and Surti hits Joko.

99. *Joko_i ngiro nek Surti muji dee_i lan Bejo ngiro podo wae.*
 Joko think that Surti praise 3SG.ACC and Bejo think same too
 'Joko thinks that Surti praised herself and Bejo does too'
 Sloppy = Joko thinks Surti praised Joko and Bejo thinks Surti praised Bejo.
 Strict = Joko thinks Surti praised Joko and Bejo thinks Surti praised Joko.

In (98), a true reflexive *awake dee dewe* is similar to *dirinya sendiri* in Indonesian in that it can only be interpreted with a sloppy reading. The pronoun *dee* in Javanese acts in the same manner as *dia* in Indonesian (99) and allows both a sloppy and a strict interpretation.

The same can be observed in Palembangnese (100) and Jambi (102). The true reflexives in these languages are always interpreted with a sloppy reading. Whereas both sloppy and strict readings are found when the anaphoric elements are substituted by pronouns. This is illustrated for Palembangnese in (101) and for Jambi in (103).

Palembangnese

100. *Endang_i nyobit diri-nyo dewek_i samo Dian jugo.*
 Endang pinch body-3NR.GEN self and Dian also
 'Endang pinched herself and so did Dian.'

Sloppy = Endang pinched Endang and Dian pinched Dian.
 Strict ≠ Endang pinched Endang and Dian pinch Endang.

101. *Endang_i nyangko Budi nyobit dio_i samo Dian jugo.*
 Endang think Budi pinch 3SG and Dian also
 'Endang thinks that Budi pinched her and Dian too.'

Sloppy = Endang thinks that Budi pinched Endang and Dian thinks that Budi Pinched Dian.
 Strict = Endang thinks that Budi pinched Endang and Dian thinks that Budi Pinched Endang.

DJ

102. *Rita_i muji diri-nyo dewek_i, Eko jugo.*
 Rita praise body-3SG.GEN self Eko too
 'Rita praised herself, and so did Eko.'

Sloppy = Rita praised Rita and Eko praised Eko.
 Strict ≠ Rita praised Rita and Eko praised Rita.

103. *Rita_i ngiro Eko muji dio_i, samo Budi ngiro macam tu jugo.*
 Rita think Eko praise 3SG and Budi think like that too
 'Rita thinks that Eko praised her, and Budi thinks the same.'

Sloppy = Rita thinks that Eko praised Rita and Budi thinks Eko praised Budi.
 Strict = Rita thinks that Eko praised Rita and Budi thinks Eko praised Rita.

In Palembangnese and in Jambi, the form *dirinyo dewek* in (100) and in (102) respectively can be replaced by another form of the full reflexive *dio dewek*. The result of the interpretation after the replacement would be the same as the interpretation of using *dirinyo dewek*. From this point, it can be concluded that full reflexives and pronouns in the chosen languages behave in the same manner as their counterparts in English in terms of VP ellipsis.

In order to determine the behaviour of half reflexives under VP ellipsis, the same test is applied.

104. Non-local use of *dirinya* in Indonesian with VP ellipsis

Andi_i berharap bahwa Wati_j membasuh diri-nya_{i/j/k} dengan air dan Joko juga.
 Andi hope that Wati brush body-3SG.GEN with water and Joko too
 'Andi hopes that Wati brushes herself/him with water and Joko does too.'

Sloppy = Joko hopes that Wati brushes Joko with water.
 Strict = Joko hopes that Wati brushes Andi with water.

105. Local use of *dirinya* in Indonesian with VP ellipsis

Andi_i membasuh diri-nya_{i/j} dengan air dan Joko juga.
 Andi brush body-3SG.GEN with water and Joko too
 'Andi brushes himself with water and Joko does too.'

Sloppy = Joko brushes Joko with water.
 Strict = Joko brushes Andi with water.

Both (104) and (105) can have a sloppy and a strict reading. *Dirinya* allows a bound variable (sloppy) and a co-reference interpretation (strict). In (104) and (105), the pronoun-like behaviour of *dirinya* is shown when it has a non-local relationship with its antecedents, *Andi*.

The same VP ellipsis test is applied to *awake dee* in Javanese. Under VP ellipsis, *awake dee* shows a similar behaviour as *dirinya* in Indonesian. Sentences in (106) and (107) show non-local and local uses of *awake dee* under VP ellipsis.

106. Non-local use of *awake dee* in Javanese with VP ellipsis

Joko_i ngiro nek Beno_j nggarok awak-e dee_{i/j} lan Tono ngiro podo wae.
 Joko think that Beno scratch body-3SG.GEN 3SG and Tono think same too
 'Joko thinks that Beno scratches himself/him and Tono does too.'

Sloppy = Tono thinks that Beno scratches Tono.
 Strict = Tono thinks that Beno scratches Joko.

107. Local use of *awake dee* in Javanese with VP ellipsis

Beno_i nggarok awak-e dee_{i/j} lan Tono yo iyo.

Beno scratch body-3SG.GEN 3SG and Tono yes too.
'Beno scratches himself and Tono does too'

Sloppy = Tono scratches Tono.

Strict = Tono scratches Beno.

The same applies to half reflexives in Palembangnese and Jambi.

108. Local use of *dirinyo* in Palembangnese

*Endang*_i nyobit *diri-nyo*_i samo Andi jugo.

Endang pinch body-3SG.GEN and Andi also

'Endang pinched herself and so did Andi.'

Sloppy = Andi pinched Andi.

Strict ≠ Andi pinched Endang.

108. Non-local use of *dirinyo* in Palembangnese

*Endang*_i nyangko Andi nyobit *diri-nyo*_{i/j} samo Budi jugo.

Endang think Andi pinch body-3SG.GEN and Budi also

'Endang thinks that Andi pinched himself/her and Budi too.'

Sloppy = Budi thinks that Andi Pinched Budi.

Strict = Budi thinks that Andi Pinched Endang.

109. Local use of *dirinyo* in Jambi (DJ)

*Rita*_i muji *diri-nyo*_i samo Eko jugo.

Rita praise body-3SG.GEN samo Eko too

'Rita praised herself, and so does Eko.'

Sloppy = Eko praised Eko.

Strict ≠ Eko praised Rita.

110. Non-local use of *dirinyo* in Jambi (DJ)

*Rita*_i ngiro *Eko*_j muji *diri-nyo*_{i/j}, samo Budi ngiro macam tu jugo.

Rita think Eko praise body-3SG.GEN and Budi think like that too

'Rita thinks that Eko praised himself/her, and Budi thinks the same.'

Sloppy = Budi thinks Eko praised Budi.

Strict = Budi thinks Eko praised Rita.

VP ellipsis with half reflexives shows that these anaphoric elements can have both a bound interpretation and a co-reference interpretation, indicating a pronoun-like behaviour. Anagnostopoulou and Everaert (to appear) have argued that this diagnostic test is not always straightforward. The complex anaphor *zichzelf* in Dutch for instance, is always locally bound and yet allows both sloppy and strict readings; although not all speakers accept this strict reading interpretation (110).

111. *Marie*_i heeft *zichzelf*_i erger gekwetst dan Peter

Marie hurt herself more seriously than Peter

= Marie hurt Marie more seriously than Peter hurt Peter/Marie.

This sentence shows that there is variation among Dutch speakers in their judgment about (111). However, in the selected languages there is no such variation. All speakers accept half reflexives with both a sloppy and a strict reading.

3.3.2.2 Quantificational Antecedents

In this section I will investigate the referential status of half reflexives. As is well-known since Heim (1982), distributive quantificational expressions such as *everyone* and *no one* do not introduce discourse referents which can value pronominals, as in (112.b), where *she* cannot depend for its interpretation on *every woman*. Yet, pronominals such as *she* can be bound by *every woman* if the latter c-commands it as in (112.c)

112. a. I saw *her* yesterday. *She* was really beautiful.
 b. I saw *every woman* yesterday. **She* was really beautiful.
 c. *Every woman*_i I saw thought *she*_i was really beautiful.

Interestingly, half reflexives differ from pronominals in that they cannot be bound by a quantificational antecedent. This is illustrated in (113) and (114).

113. a. *Agung*_i memukul *diri-nya*_{i/j}. **Indonesian**
 Agung hit body-3SG.GEN
 = Agung hit himself/him/her.

- b. *Setiap koki*_i kagum pada *diri-nya*_{*i/j}.
 Every cook amazed at body-3SG.GEN
 ≠Every cook got amazed at himself.
 =Every cook got amazed at him/her.

114. a. *Jokowi*_i sengit karo *awak-e* *dee*_{i/j}. **Javanese**
 Jokowi hate to body-3SG.GEN 3SG
 = Jokowi hates himself/him/her.

- b. *Tiap guru*_i seneng karo *awak-e* *dee*_{*i/j}.
 Every teacher like to body-3SG.GEN 3SG
 ≠Every teacher likes himself.
 =Every teacher likes him/her.

As seen in (113.a), *dirinya* can be locally bound by its antecedent *Agung*. However, in (113b) where the only possible antecedent is the sentence is quantificational, *dirinya* must refer to an individual in the discourse. *Dirinya* in (113.b) cannot be bound by *every cook*. I assume that the reason of the half reflexive *dirinya* cannot be bound by quantificational antecedent is that *dirinya* needs a specific antecedent. A quantificational antecedent does meet the requirement. The same principle applies to *awake dee* in (114.b).

More examples in Palembangnese and in Jambi are shown in the following sentences.

115. a. **Galo guru_i kagum samo diri-nyo_i.* **Palembangnese**
 Every teacher admire with body-3SG.GEN
 ≠ Every teacher admires himself.’
- b. *Galo guru_i kagum samo diri-nyo dewek_i.*
 Every teacher admire with body-3SG.GEN self
 = Every teacher admires himself.’

116. a. **Galo guru_i marah samo diri-nyo_i.* **UJ**
 Every teacher got_angry with 3SG
 ≠ Every teacher got angry to himself.’
- b. *Galo guru_i marah samo diri-nyo dewek_i.*
 Every teacher got_angry with body-3SG.GEN self
 = Every teacher got angry to himself.’

In Palembangnese (115.b), only a full reflexive can be bound by a quantificational antecedent, the half reflexive *dirinyo* does not allow binding by a quantifier. This also applies to Jambi in (116).

Turkish *kendi* and *kendisi* are similar to *dirinya sendiri* and *dirinya* in Indonesian,. Only *kendisi* can be used under non-local binding such as *dirinya*. *Kendisi*, similar to *dirinya* does not allow quantificational antecedents as seen in (117).

117. Her Bakan kendisine kizdi.
 Every minister.NOM self.3SG.DAT get.angry.PAST
 ‘* Every minister got angry at himself₁/him₂/him₃.’
 ‘^{OK}Every minister got angry at him/her.’

(Rudnev, 2011: 10)

In this respect these half reflexives are similar to the pronominal *kare* in Japanese. This issue is discussed in Hara (2002). It remains to be determined whether Hara's solution for *kare* carries over to the half reflexives we discuss here. I leave this for further research.

3.3.2.3 Split Antecedents

Split antecedents are not permitted for reflexive anaphors, which can be checked in the example below in English (118).

118. a. **Jack_i asked Mandy_j about themselves_{i+j}.*
 b. **Jimmy_i informs Martin_j about themselves_{i+j}.*

Split antecedents are commonly allowed in languages that have LD reflexives, as in Korean. Korean *caki-tul* can take two singular antecedents resulting in a split antecedent reading. In (119), *caki-tul* is formed by two singular pronouns, *John* and *Mary*, and is interpreted as plurality.

119. *John*₄-un *Mary*₅-eykey [*caki-tul*₄₊₅-i iki-lke-la-ko] malha-yess-ta.
 John-TOP Mary-DAT SELF-PL-NOM win-FUT-DECL-COMP say-PAST-DECL
 ‘John told Mary that selves would win.’

(Huang 2000, ex 2.179) in Storoshenko 2011: 2).

The plural form of Indonesian *dirinya*, *diri mereka* and the plural form of Javanese *awake dee*, *awake dee uwong* behave similar to their singular forms in that they can be locally and non-locally bound as in (120) for *diri mereka* and (121) for *awake dee uwong*.

120. *Mereka*_i percaya bahwa guru mereka akan mengajar *diri mereka*_i hari ini.
 They believe that teacher 3PL.GEN will teach body 3PL.GEN day this
 ‘They believe that their teacher will teach them today.’

121. *Bocah-bocah iku*_i yakin nek wong tuo iku arep nyelok *awak-e*
 Kid~DUPL those believe that person old that will call body-3.GEN
*dee uwong*_i.
 3 people
 ‘The children believe that the old man will call them.’

Just as in Korean *caki-tul*, the plural form *diri mereka* allows a split antecedent. In (122) Indonesian *diri mereka* can take two different singular antecedents, *Andi* and *Susi*. In (122) *diri mereka* could take the antecedent that either sits in the same clause or sits in a different clause. The plural form *awake dee uwong* in Javanese also allows split antecedents, namely *Tono* and *Tini* (123).

122. *Andi*_i percaya bahwa *Susi*_j akan melakukan yang terbaik untuk *diri mereka*_{i+j}.
 Andi believe that Susi will do the best for body 3PL.GEN
 ‘Andi believes that Susi will do the best for them.’

123. *Tono*_i ngabari *Tini*_j nek *awak-e* *dee uwong*_{i+j} lulus ujian.
 Tono inform Tini that body-3PL.GEN 3 people pass exam
 ‘Tono informs Tini that they passed the exam.’

Palembangnese also allows split antecedents just like Korean. However, the story in Palembangnese is a bit different. The half reflexive *dirinyo* in Palembangnese does not have a plural form, hence *dirinyo* can be either used as singular or plural. My informants stated that in order to have a split antecedent interpretation as in (124), the half reflexive *dirinyo* should be combined with *beduo* ‘both’. *Beduo* ‘both’ is optional but

respondents stated that this it is better to use this form; without *beduo* the sentence is acceptable but it can be awkward.

124. *Andi_i nyaken ke Susi_j kalau diri-nyo_{i+j} (beduo) bakal lulus ujian.*
 Andi promise to Susi that body-3NR.GEN both will pass exam
 'Andi promised to Susi that they will pass the exam.'

Split antecedents are also permitted in Jambi. The City Jambi dialect (DJ) uses the plural form of *dirinyo*, *diri mereka* to allow split antecedents as seen in (125).

DJ

125. *Andi_i pecayo kalo Susi_j nak ngelakuin yang terbaik untuk diri mereka_{i+j}.*
 Andi believe that Susi will do the best for body 3PL.GEN
 'Andi believes that Susi will do the best for them.'

In contrast, Village Jambi (UJ) has the half reflexive *dirinyo* that can be interpreted as singular and as plural. *Dirinyo* in the UJ dialect can be interpreted with a split antecedent when it has two singular antecedents in the same sentence as in (126). However, it should be noted that the UJ dialect also has the plural form of *dirinyo*, *diri mereka* just as the DJ dialect. The plural form of this half reflexive can also be interpreted with a split antecedent. My respondents implied that the preference is for the plural form *diri mereka*, although the other form, *dirinyo*, is also acceptable.

UJ

126. *Andi_i yakin kalau Susi_j akan melakukan yang tebaik untuk diri-nyo*
 Andi believe that Susi will do the best for body-3SG/PL.GEN
 / *diri mereka_{i+j}*.
 / body 3PL.GEN
 'Andi believes that Susi will do the best for them.'

To sum up this section, half reflexives in all selected languages allow for a split antecedent interpretation just as other languages that have LD reflexives.

3.3.2.4 Deictic Reference

Anaphors do not allow the possibility of deictic reference. Anagnostopoulou and Everaert (to appear) imply that reflexive binding relates to syntactic binding subject to the restriction that an anaphoric element must be c-commanded by its antecedent. As a result, the anaphoric element is unable to receive a contextual value and it cannot be used with deictic reference. The anaphor, *himself*, in English cannot be used for a deictic purpose - only the pronoun *him* is possible (127).

127. Context : [Romeo and Juliet are sitting in the garden]
 Utterance : Romeo looked at ***herself**/**her**

Half reflexives, on the other hand, can be used for deictic purposes. They can refer to a certain individual in the discourse as in (128) for Indonesian, in (129) for Javanese, in (130) for Palembangnese, and in (131) for Jambi.

Indonesian

128. Context : [Apa yang agung pikirkan tentang Tini?]
 'What does agung think about Tini?'
 Utterance : Agung sangat mencintai *diri-nya* /**diri-nya sendiri*.
 Agung very love body-3SG.GEN /*body-3SG.GEN self
 'Agung loves her very much.' [i.e. loves Tini]

Javanese

129. Context : [Didi kambek Sari egek ngadek nang ngisor uwit]
 'Didi and Sari are standing under the tree'
 Utterance : Didi ora iso malingke mripat-e seko *awak-e dee*.
 Didi not can avoid eyes-3SG.GEN from body-3SG.GEN 3SG
 /**awak-e dee dewe*.
 /*body-3SG.GEN 3SG self
 'Didi cannot take his eyes of her.' [i.e. Sari]

Palembangnese

130. *John* nyingok Mary. Dio negorke *diri-nyo*.
 John see Mary 3SG greet body-3NR.GEN
 'John saw Mary. She greeted him.'

DJ

131. *John* nengok Mary. Dio ngasih salam ke *diri-nyo*.
 John see Mary she give greeting to body-3SG.GEN
 'John saw Mary. She greeted him.'

It should be pointed out that only true anaphors require a c-commanding antecedent, and thus they lack referential potential. Only pronominals can be used deictically. The ability of half reflexives of the languages to receive a contextual value indicates that these anaphoric elements, in some sense, show a pronoun-like behaviour.

3.3.2.5 The C- Command Restriction

The CBT expresses that anaphoric elements require antecedents and should be c-commanded by their antecedents. However, half reflexives of the languages do not fit in. Indonesian in (132), Javanese in (133), Palembangnese in (134), and Jambi in (135), respectively, illustrate this.

132. [*Mertua-nya Wati*]_i sangat menyayangi *diri-nya* _{i/j}. **Indonesian**
 Mother_in_law-GEN Wati really take_care body-3SG.GEN

'Wati's mother-in law really takes care of herself/her.'

133. [*Juragan-e Tono*]_i nyikso *awak-e* *dee*_{i/j} tiap dino. **Javanese**
 Boss-GEN Tono torture body-3SG.GEN 3SG every day.
 'Tono's boss tortures himself/him everyday.'

134. [*Emak Andi*]_i kagum samo *diri-nyo*_{i/j}. **Palembangnese**
 Mother Andi admire with body-3NR.GEN
 'Andi's mother admires herself/him.'

135. [*Ibu Joko*]_i ngagumi nian *diri-nyo*_{i/j}. **DJ**
 Mother Joko admire really body-3SG.GEN
 'Joko's mother really admired herself/him.'

The half reflexive *dirinya* in (132) can be bound by its antecedent *Mertuanya Wati* which c-commands it. At the same time, *dirinya* in (132) can also have a non c-commanding antecedent. Even in the local domain, *dirinya* can have *Wati* as its antecedent, which does not c-command *dirinya*. A similar example is shown in (133) for Javanese, where *awake dee* has *Tono* as a non-c-commanding antecedent. In (134) *dirinyo* in Palembangnese has the antecedent *Andi* and in (135) *dirinyo* in Jambi has *Joko* as its antecedent, neither c-commanding *dirinyo*.

Regarding the c-commanding requirement, donkey-anaphora as in (136) can be used for such a test. "Donkey-anaphora is a configuration where a pronoun depends for its interpretation on an indefinite that does not c-command it" (Geach 1962; Evans 1980; Heim 1982 in Rudnev, 2011:11).

136. Every farmer who owns a donkey beats it.

Such a test is also used for Turkish *kendisi*. As (137) shows it allows the donkey interpretation.

137. Unlu bir yazari₂ taniyorsan(iz), onu₂ kendisiyle₁ mutlaka
 Famous one writer.ACC know.PRES.2SG.COND he.ACC self.3SG-WITH necessarily
 tanistirmalisiniz.
 introduce.MOD.2PL
 'If you know a famous writer, you have to introduce him to him'.

(Rudnev, 2011 :12)

Donkey anaphora can also be found in half reflexives of the selected languages. Indonesian *dirinya* in (138), Javanese *awake dee* in (139), Palembangnese *dirinyo* in (140) and Jambi *dirinyo* in (141), respectively, are not in the scope of their antecedents due to lack of c-command, but yet these sentences are well-formed.

Indonesian

138. Para siswa [yang mengenal *guru itu*]_i memuja *diri-nya*_i.
 All students who know teacher that adore body-3SG.GEN

'All students who know the teacher adore him.'

Javanese

139. Kabeh polisi [sing curigo karo wong lanang kuwi_i] ngawasi awak-e dee_i.
All police who suspicious with man male that watch body-3SG.GEN 3SG
'All police who are suspicious with the man watch him.'

Palembangnese

140. Segalo uwong [yang tau samo Rita_i] pasti kagum samo diri-nyo_i.
All people who know with Rita must admire with body-3NR.GEN
'Everybody who knows Rita admires her.'

DJ

141. Guru-guru [yang pernah ngajar Budi_i] ngagumi diri-nyo_i nian.
Teacher~DUPL who have teach Budi admire body-3SG.GEN really
'All teachers who have ever taught Budi really admire him.'

Thus, half reflexives do not require c-commanding antecedents either in local or non-local domains.

3.3.2.6 Domain Sensitivity

The category of locally or non-locally bound anaphoric elements is distinct in some languages. As already mentioned, half reflexives are able to have antecedents either in the same clause or in a higher clause. In the following examples, I want to recapitulate the behaviour of half reflexives regarding to the list of diagnostic test for anaphors.

142. a. Didi_i memuji diri-nya_i.
Didi praise body-3SG.GEN
'Didi praised himself.'
b. Didi_i mengira gadis-gadis itu memuji diri-nya_i.
Didi think girl~DUPL that praise body-3SG.GEN
'Didi thinks that the girls praise him.'
143. a. Tono_i nggebuki awak-e dee_i.
Tono hit body-3SG.GEN 3SG
'Tono hits himself.'
b. Tono_i nyotokne nek konco-konco-ne nggebuki awak-e dee_i.
Tono claim that friend~DUPL-GEN hit body-3SG.GEN 3SG
'Tono claims that his friends hit him.'
144. a. Endang_i mokol diri-nyo_i.
Endang hit body-3SG.GEN
'Endang hit herself.'
b. Endang_i nyangko Andi_j mokol diri-nyo_{i/j}.
Endang think Andi hit body-3SG.GEN
'Endang thinks that Andi hit himself/her.'

145. a. *Rita*_i mukul *diri-nyo*_i.
 Rita hit body-3SG.GEN
 'Rita hit herself.'
- b. *Rita*_i ngiro Eko_j mukul *diri-nyo*_{i/j}.
 Rita think Eko mukul body-3SG.GEN
 'Rita thinks that Eko hit himself/her.'

The conclusion that can be drawn is that half reflexives of the selected languages in Indonesia do not show any of the characteristics of anaphors of the list of diagnostic tests with respect to strict/sloppy identity, split antecedent, deictic reference, the c-command restriction, and domain sensitivity. The analysis indicates that half reflexives exhibit a pronoun-like behaviour, with one exception namely that they can be locally bound just like full reflexives. The question is that what allows them to be locally bound? This question is discussed in section 3.3.4.

3.3.3 Half Reflexives in the Subject Position

3.3.3.1 Status of Indonesian *Dirinya* in the Subject Position

3.3.3.1.1 Honorific

First, I will discuss another property, namely the property that they can appear in subject position. The use of half reflexive *dirinya* in Indonesian in the subject position is subject to certain conditions. The first one is for honorific use. According to Siewierska (2004), the use of anaphoric elements such as *dirinya* in Indonesian is another way of expressing social relations via the person system through the use of special person forms called honorific which are directly associated with status rank or social standing.

In some languages, the use of an anaphoric element in the subject position is considered more respectful and deferential. In Turkish, the inflected form of reflexive *kendi-si* is used for an honorific reason rather than an anaphoric element *kendi* which is the genuine reflexive (146).

146. *Kendi-si* opera-ya git-ti
 Self-3sg opera-DAT go-Past
 'He (respectful) has gone to the opera'

(Kornfilt, 1997: 305)

In Marathi, the use of reflexive *aapaN* in (147) is considered more polite and deferential rather than the second-person plural *tumhii*. Pandharipande in Siewierska (2004) argues that *aapaN* is used for respectfully addressing people such as teachers and priests.

147. Mem-saheb, aap-laa vicaar kaay aahe?
 Madam self thought what is
 'Madam, what do you wish to do?'

In Indonesian, the half reflexive *dirinya* in the subject position is used to address people who have a high social status or high authority. Its use as honorific is much found in social media such as newspapers.

148. Mantan Gubernur Jawa Barat Danny Setiawan mendukung Wali Kota Bandung
Former governor West Java Danny Setiawan support mayor Bandung
Dada Rosada untuk maju dalam Pemilihan Gubernur Jawa Barat.
Dada Rosada to step in election governor West Java
Diri-nya akan mendukung siapa saja yang mempunyai komitmen
body-3SG.GEN will support anyone who have commitment
untuk memajukan Jawa barat.³
to build West Java

‘Former West Java governor Danny Setiawan supported the mayor of Bandung Dada Rosada to step in the governor election of West Java. He would support anyone who has a commitment to build West Java.’

In (148), *dirinya* is used to address a person who has a high social status, *the former West Java governor, Danny Setiawan*. The use of it is considered more polite and honorific than pronoun *dia* or *-nya* in Indonesian. Another example can be found in (149).

149. Menkeu Jepang Shoichi Nakagawa_i bantah kalau *diri-nya*_i
Finance minister Japan Shoichi Nagagawa deny that body-3SG.GEN
mabuk pada pertemuan G7 di Roma. Itu yang membuat pidato-nya
drunk at meeting G7 in Rome. That which make speech-3SG.GEN
di-anggap kacau-balau, tak ada ujung pangkal-nya. Jadilah, pada (17/2),
PASS-consider messy not exist end beginning-the so at
Selasa *diri-nya* mengumumkan mengundurkan diri dari kabinet.⁴
Tuesday body-3SG.GEN announce resign body from cabinet

‘The finance minister of Japan Shoichi Nagagawa denied that he was drunk at the G7 conference in Rome. His speech was unstructured, there was no beginning or ending. As a result, on (17/2) Tuesday he announced to resign from the cabinet.’

In (149) *dirinya* appears in the subject position both in the embedded clause which is bound by its antecedent *Finance Minister of Japan Shoichi Nagagawa* and in the matrix clause. *Dirinya* is considered more polite, more respectful and deferential, hence it is used to address people with high rank, high social status, or high authority such as politicians, mayors, governors, ministers, teachers, religious leaders, or people who have an important role in the society.

³ Cited from *Media Indonesia*, one of the largest newspaper in Indonesia (*Media Indonesia*, Wednesday, 19 September 2012).

⁴ Cited from Kompas, the largest newspaper in Indonesia (Kompas, Selasa, 17 Februari 2009)

The use of *dirinya* is also to indicate the difference in power between superior and subordinate. In (150), the speaker considers that the subject *atasan-ku* (my boss) as the superior, hence as the subordinate, the speaker addresses his boss with *dirinya* instead of pronoun *dia* in order to show his respect.

150. Atasan-ku memerintahkan-ku untuk mengirimkan surat ke kantor Gubernur.
 Boss-1SG.GEN ask-1SG.ACC to deliver letter to office governor
Diri-nya mengatakan bahwa aku harus mengantarkan surat itu secepatnya.
 Body-3SG.GEN say that I must deliver letter the quick
 'My boss asked me to deliver a letter to the governor office. *He* said that I had to send it as quick as possible.'

3.3.3.1.2 Empathy

Another use of the anaphoric element *dirinya* is for empathy. "Empathy is the speaker's identification, which may vary in degree, with a person/thing that participates in the event of state that he describes in a sentence" (Kuno 1987 in Siewierska, 2004: 207). In the broadest sense, empathy refers to reactions of a person to the observed experiences of another (Davis, 1983: 1). Empathy also refers to the capability to recognize feelings that are being experienced by other persons. Davis states that empathy relates to some separate aspects including its relationship with measures of social functioning, self-esteem, emotionality, and sensitivity to other people.

In some languages, the use human forms of pronoun over non-human forms occurs for empathy reason. In English, human forms such as *she*, *he* are often used by pet owners or animal lovers when they talk about their favorite pets. (Siewierska, 2004).

151. All we have is silent *Squid*, *who* somewhat like a blue-point of Siamese, and we can't even ask *her* if *she* had other owners before Clay [the author's son] and *she* met, or how they might have treated *her*. Surely there had to be someone because *Squid* was socialized when Clay discovered *her* in *her* hour of need. But *she* makes a game of it, of *her* relationship with people, and we don't know if that is lingering effect of early mistreatment or whether that is her perverse sense of humor. I suspect the later. I can't believe *she* isn't laughing at us... (Yamamoto, 1999: 11)

In (151) Yamamoto (1999) states that use of the person form *she* is to describe how sophisticated the cat is. Instead of *it*, the form *she* is used the address the cat, *Squid*. This expresses the author has a great deal of empathy toward his pet.

In Indonesian, *dirinya* is also used for empathy reason. It is used to recognize the feelings that are being experienced by the addressee.

152. Salina, gadis 20 tahun asal Selangor, Malaysia hanya bisa meratapi
 Salina girl 20 year from Selangor Malaysia only can express
 Kesedihan-nya di dalam Jeruji Imigrasi Rumah Detensi Imigrasi

sadness-3SG.GEN in inside prison immigration house detention immigration (Rudenim) Pekanbaru, setelah di-nyatakan pihak imigrasi melanggar (Rudenim) Pekanbaru after PASS-state side immigration violate izin tempat tinggal atau *over stay* saat berkunjung ke Payakumbuh lisenca place stay or over stay when visit to Payakumbuh Sumatra Barat beberapa waktu lalu. West Sumatra few time ago *Diri-nya* pun langsung menghampiri pintu tahanan saat petugas body-3SG.GEN also directly approach door prison when officer membukakan pintu tersebut. ⁵ open door the

'Salina, a 20-year-old girl from Selangor, Malaysia could only express her sadness in the jail of Immigration Office in Pekanbaru after being found violating the residence permit or by overstaying when visiting Payakumbuh, West Sumatra some time ago.... *She* directly approached the prison door when the officer opened it.'

The half reflexive *dirinya* in (152) refers to *Salina, the girl from Malaysia* who was put into jail because she violated the residence permit in West Sumatra. The use of *dirinya* in the subject position in (152) is for empathy reason. The writer wants to show the emotions and sensitivity being experienced by the character in the discourse. Another example is shown in (153).

153. Poniah, salah satu korban, menuturkan, kejadian berlangsung saat makan Poniah, among one victim, say accident happen during eat siang. Saat itu, *diri-nya* baru saja hendak kembali memulai noon time that body-3SG.GEN new just will back start pekerjaan-nya mengisi pupuk jenis pospat ke karung berkapasitas 50 kg job-3SG.GEN fill fertilizer type phosphate to sack capacity 50 kg Namun, belum lagi berhasil mengisi sepuluh karung, tumpukan Unfortunately, before again succeed fill ten sack pile pupuk yang berada di belakang tempat ia duduk tiba-tiba roboh. ⁶ fertilizer that exist in behind place 3SG sit suddenly fall

'Poniah, one of the victims, said that the accident happened during the lunch time. At that time, he just wanted to start to do his job to fill 50 kg sacks with phosphate fertilizer. Unfortunately, before *he* succeeded to fill ten sacks, the piles of fertilizer which were right behind him suddenly fell down.'

In (153), the writer tries to show his empathy by showing his sensitivity to the character in the story. The writer is showing his emotionality to one of the victims of the accident, Poniah, by addressing him *dirinya* instead of pronoun *dia* (he).

⁵ Cited from *Kompas*, the largest newspaper in Indonesia (*Kompas*, Tuesday, 4 September 2012)

⁶ Cited from Radar Lampung, one of the local newspapers in Indonesia (Radar Lampung, Saturday, October 20, 2012).

3.3.3.2 The Status of Javanese *Awake Dee* in the Subject Position

3.3.3.2.1 Empathy

The use of *awake dee* in Javanese in the subject positions is less clear compared to *dirinya* in Indonesian. However, it is obvious that *awake dee* is not used for honorific reason. Javanese is a language which has three speech levels, *Ngoko* (low), *Madya* (medium) and *Inggil* (high) (Uhlenbeck, 1970). To express politeness and deference, Javanese has a lot of honorific pronouns in each speech level. Instead of using *awake dee* as honorific, Javanese uses honorific pronouns such as *dewekne* in *Ngoko*, *piyambakne* or *kiyambakne* in *Madya*, and *piyambakipun* or *kiyambakipun* in *Inggil* speech level.

I assume that the anaphoric element *awake dee* rather is used for empathy which relates to four aspects including relationship with measures of social functioning, self-esteem, emotionality, and sensitivity to another as mentioned in Davis (1983).

154. a. *Awak-e dee* kelilit utang karo juragan lemah.
body-3SG.GEN 3SG trap debt with lord land.
'He was trapped with debt by the landlord.'
- b. *Awak-e dee* nangis terus nang njero kamar.
body-3SG.GEN 3SG cry always in inside room
'She always cried in the bedroom'

In (154) *awake dee* in the subject position is used as an empathy marker for the addressee in the discourse. The use of this half reflexive for empathy is more common than the use of the pronoun *dee* in Javanese.

3.3.3.3 Status of Half Reflexive *Dirinyo* in Palembangnese and Jambi in the Subject Position

There is no clear information of the use of half reflexive *dirinyo* in Palembangnese and Jambi in the subject position. My respondents in both languages only said that the use of *dirinyo* is used more in a formal situation. I assume that the use of this half reflexive is just like *dirinya* in Indonesian in that it is used for honorific reason as in the following examples.

DJ

155. Gubernur Jambi, Hasan Basri Agus, nak ngeresmiin gedung sekolah baru.
Governor Jambi, Hasan Basri Agus will inaugurate building school new
Diri-nyo ngundang orang galo-galonyo.
Body-3SG.GEN invite people all~DUPL
'Governor Jambi, Hasan Basri Agus will inaugurate a new school building. *He* invites everybody.'

Palembangnese

156. Dirinya lah tibo kemaren.
body-3NR.GEN EMPH arrive yesterday
'He arrived yesterday.'

The use of half reflexive *dirinyo* in Jambi and Palembangnese for other purpose is unclear. The respondents of both languages are not sure that it could be used to express empathy.

3.3.4 Licensing Reflexivity of Half Reflexives of the Selected Languages

At this point I will address two of the main questions of this thesis. The first is why half reflexives can be locally bound, despite their pronominal properties. The second is why full reflexives must be locally bound.

Answering the first question is straightforward. Recall, that as discussed in section 2, reflexivity must be licensed (Reuland 2011). That is, in order to escape the effect of IDI, a bound variable must be contained in a complex expression, protecting it. This requirement is satisfied by the half reflexives of the selected languages, since, as we saw in section 3.3.1, they are non-monomorphemic. Indonesian *Dirinya* is composed of the form of *diri* 'body' plus the possessive pronoun *-nya* 'his/her', which refers to the third person singular. The same applies to *dirinyo* in Palembangnese and Jambi. Whereas Javanese *awake dee* is composed of the form of *awak* 'body' plus the clitic *-e*, which indicates the possessive pronoun and also *dee* 'him/her', indicating third person singular. Hence, in all these languages the half reflexive licenses reflexivity since the body-part expression protects the variable.

Why then, don't half reflexives need to be locally bound, unlike full reflexives?

The full reflexives all contain an additional reflexive marker, *self*. The half reflexives of the selected languages lack this marker.

Consider, then, how reflexivization with full reflexives takes place. Reuland and Winter (2009) argue that English reflexives mark the verb by (covert) movement of *self* onto the verb (157).

157. a. DP... [V] [DP PRON [SELF]]
b. DP... [SELF V] [DP PRON [e]]

In English, *self* can move covertly and attach to predicate stems. *Self* in English also occupies the head position, and therefore head to head movement is possible as in (158). Movement from coordinations and adjuncts is blocked as in (159). Here, *herself* in (159) is not the direct argument of the predicate but rather only part of the arguments *the mouse and herself*. The *self* element cannot undergo covert movement to the stem of the verb, which means the verb is not reflexivized. This allows *herself* in (159) to be free and to be bound by another antecedent. Hence, *herself* can be bound by

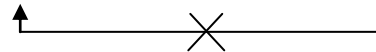
its antecedent in the higher clause, in this case, *Alice*. Thus, this explains why the sentence in (159) is acceptable.

158. a. *Mary_i admires herself_i.*

b. *Mary (self)-admires herself.*



159. *Alice was glad that the Hatter had invited [the mouse and herself]*



(Reuland, 2011: 8)

Thus, enforcing the reflexive interpretation is effected by covert movement of the self-element. This movement is in turn enforced by economy.

I would like to argue this movement is not available to the body-part element in half reflexives since this element is not in the head position. In Javanese, the body part of the expression *awak* of the half reflexive *awake dee* originally occupies the head position. However, if it would have stayed in its base position, one would expect the order '*dee e awak*', with *awak* to be furthest to the right in the most embedded position. The fact that it is in the most leftward position indicates that it (or a constituent containing it) has moved to a specifier position to the left. From this position, *awak* cannot be extracted, due to the left-branch condition on extraction. So, the contrast with Cole and Hermon (2007) is not that *awak* is not the head, but that in what I expect to be the correct analysis, *awak* has moved from the head to a non-head (XP) position. The same analysis also holds for *diri-nya* in Indonesia and *diri-nyo* in Palembangese and Jambi. The body part *diri* has moved from the head position to the specifier position in the leftmost position and it stays there as the final position.

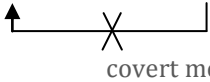
Since the body part nouns of *diri-nya*, *diri-nyo* and *awak-e dee* are not in the head position, covert movement of these expressions to the stem predicate is not possible. Hence, the body part nouns of these complex pronominals cannot reflexivize the predicates. As a result, *awak-e dee* in Javanese, *diri-nya* in Indonesian and *diri-nyo* in Palembangese and in Jambi are free and can be bound by antecedents in the local domain or antecedents in different clauses.

This is illustrated in (160) for Indonesian and (161) for Javanese. In (160b), the body part *diri* of *dirinya* (as also in *dirinyo* in Palembangese and Jambi) cannot move to the stem predicate *mencintai* 'love' since *diri* is not in the head position, and thus, head to head movement is not allowed and *diri* cannot reflexivize the predicate. As a result, *dirinya* is free and can be bound by any antecedent in the higher clause (*Andi & Wati*) that have the same features as *dirinya*. Meanwhile, *mereka* 'they' cannot bind *dirinya* because it has a different feature for number (160.c)

160. a. *Andi_i menduga bahwa Wati_j percaya bahwa mereka mencintai diri-nya_{i/j}.*
 Andi think that Wati believe that they love body-3SG.GEN

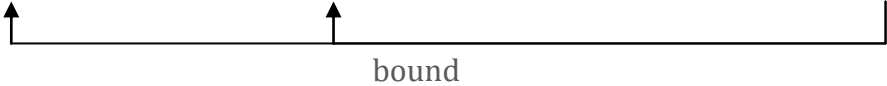
b. *Andi menduga bahwa Wati percaya bahwa mereka (diri)-mencintai diri-nya.*

Andi think that Wati believe that they body-love body-3SG.GEN



covert movement

c. *Andi_i* menduga bahwa *Wati_j* percaya bahwa *mereka_k* mencintai *diri-nya_{i/j/*k}*.
 Andi think that Wati believe that they love body-3SG.GEN

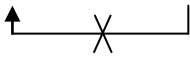


bound

'Andi think Wati believes that they loves him/her.'


161. a. *Joko_i* ndugo nek *Surti_i* ngiro nek dee uwong muji *awak-e* *dee_{i/j}*.
 Joko assume that Surti think that 3 people praise body-3SG.GEN 3SG

b. *Joko* ndugo nek *Surti* ngiro nek dee uwong (awak)-muji *awak-e* *dee*.
 Joko assume that Surti think that 3 people body - praise body-3SG.GEN 3SG



covert movement

c. *Joko_i* ndugo nek *Surti_j* ngiro nek *dee uwong_k* muji *awak-e* *dee_{i/j/*k}*.
 Joko assume that Surti think that 3 people praise body-3SG.GEN 3SG



Bound

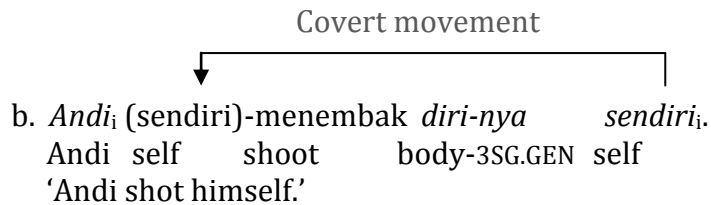
'Joko assumes that Surti thinks that they praise him/her.'

In (161.a), the body part *awak* of *awak-e* *dee* is not in the head position, hence it cannot move covertly to the stem of the predicate and cannot reflexivize it. This makes *awak-e* *dee* free and hence it can also be bound by another antecedent. Since this anaphoric element is free, it can be bound by antecedents in the higher clauses, *awak-e* *dee* then can have a long distance binding relation with *Joko* and *Surti* which have the same features as *awak-e* *dee*. Meanwhile, *awak-e* *dee* cannot be bound by *dee* *uwong* 'they' which is in the same clause because the number feature is different.

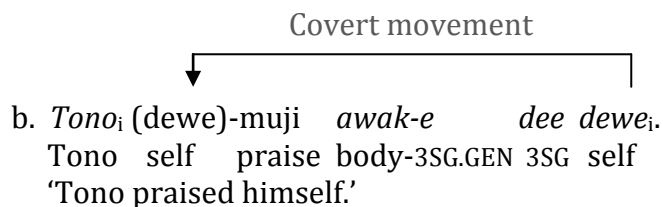
Just as in English *herself*, the full anaphors in the selected languages always require a local binder. Hence, the full reflexives not only license reflexivity, but also enforce it. In Indonesian, the element *sendiri* 'self' of the full reflexive *dirinya sendiri* occupies the head position. Hence, head to head movement is possible. *Sendiri* 'self' has a reflexivizing function and it can reflexive-mark the predicate by moving covertly to the stem of the verb and make the verb reflexive as in (162). The same is true for Javanese. The head position of *awake dee dewe* is in *dewe* 'self' and *dewe* is a reflexive marker. This enables *dewe* 'self' to move covertly to the verb as in (163) and license the reflexivity. The element *dewek* of full reflexive *dirinyo dewek* in Palembangnese and

Jambi has the same construction as in Indonesian and Javanese. Hence, the same explanation applies.

162. a. *Andi*_i menembak *diri-nya* *sendiri*_i.
 Andi shoot body-3SG.GEN self



163. a. *Tono*_i muji *awak-e* *dee dewe*_i.
 Tono praise body-3SG.GEN 3SG self



Hence, it can be concluded that the element *self* of full reflexives in the selected languages is a protection marker which not only licenses reflexivity but also enforces it. Thus, both questions have been answered.

3.4 Lexically Reflexive Verbs in the Selected Languages

As we know, internal reduction results in reflexivization. This operation results in the bundling of two roles (internal and external) into a composite agent role (agent-theme). The description in (53) is repeated here.

164. Internal Reduction/Bundling
 a. $V_{acc}(\theta_1, \theta_2) \rightarrow R_s(V)(\theta_{1,2})$ (where $\theta_{1,2}$ stands for the Bundling of θ_1 and θ_2)
 b. $V[\text{Agent}]_1 [\text{Theme}]_2 \rightarrow V[\text{Agent-Theme}]_1$

This reduction operation also results in the reduction of the accusative case, either fully or partially. If the accusative case is strong, it will be reduced partially, but if it is weak, it will be completely eliminated as in the case of grooming verbs. The case of grooming verbs in the selected languages is discussed in the following section.

3.4.1 Grooming Verbs in the Selected Languages

In English, grooming verbs such as *wash* as in *John washes* can be interpreted as ‘John washes himself’. In this operation, the internal argument on the verbal grid of the predicate in English is eliminated and the internal theta role is bundled with the external role and jointly assigned to the remaining argument, the external one. After the operation, there is no residue of the accusative case that needs to be checked in syntax.

In this respect, the selected languages in Indonesia are similar to English. Grooming verbs of the selected languages also allow this reduction operation. In this operation, the accusative case in these languages is fully reduced. Grooming verbs form a restricted set of predicates. They can appear either in the form of bare verbs, or as verbs with affixes. For example, the verb *wash* in all selected languages appear in the form of a bare verb as in (165) for Indonesian, in (166) for Javanese, in (167) for Palembangnese, and in (168) for Jambi.

- | | | |
|------|---|----------------------|
| 165. | Budi mandi.
‘Budi washes (himself).’ | Indonesian |
| 166. | Tono adus.
‘Tono washes (himself).’ | Javanese |
| 167. | Andi mandi.
‘Andi washes (himself).’ | Palembangnese |
| 168. | Eko mandi.
‘Eko washes (himself).’ | DJ |

As illustrated in (165), the sentence in Indonesian *Budi mandi* ‘Budi washes’ has no internal argument, but has a reflexive interpretation. The internal argument in (165) has been reduced by the bundling operation in (164). After this operation, there is no accusative case left that needs to be checked in syntax. Both Palembangnese (167) and Jambi (168) also use the verb *mandi* ‘wash’ with reflexivization. Whereas, Javanese (166) uses the verb *adus* ‘wash’ for a similar case. Here too, there is no accusative residue after the operation.

There is a difference between grooming verbs in English and in the selected languages. In English, grooming verbs show up with the same form when they are used with or without overt direct object as in (169). Whereas, grooming verbs in the selected languages cannot be used in the same form. The bare verbs of these languages cannot be used with a direct object. If an overt direct object is added, bare verbs need an affix in order to be used as a transitive. In ordinary transitive sentences in Indonesian transitivity is indicated with the affixes *me-...-kan*, or *me-...-i*. Grooming verbs in Indonesian also need these affixes in order to be used transitively. If the form is with an affix, an explicit reflexive is required for a reflexive interpretation as in (170.c). If the bare verb *mandi* ‘wash’ is used as a transitive verb without an affix an ill-formed sentence results, as in (170.b).

169. a. Bob washes.
 b. Bob washes himself.
170. a. Bob mandi.
 Bob wash
- b. *Bob mandi diri-nya /diri-nya sendiri.
 Bob wash body-3SG.GEN /body-3SG.GEN self
- c. Bob me-mandi-kan diri-nya / diri-nya sendiri.
 Bob *me-wash-kan* body-3SG.GEN / body-3SG.GEN self
 'Bob washed himself.'

The same applies to the grooming verb *adus* 'wash' in Javanese. The basic verb entry of this grooming verb is inherently reflexive. Some of grooming verbs in Javanese require affixes *ng-...-i* or *ny-...-i* when they are used as transitive. In (171c), the grooming verb *adus* 'mandi' needs the affixes *ng-...-i* when it has an internal argument *awake dee* or *awake dee dewe*. On the other hand, when the verb *adus* 'wash' is used as a transitive verb without the affixes, the result is ill-formed as in (171.b).

171. a. Bob adus.
 'Bob wash (himself).'
- b. *Bob adus awak-e dee / awak-e dee dewe.
 Bob wash body-3SG.GEN 3SG / body-3SG.GEN 3SG self
- c. Bob ng-adus-i awak-e dee / awak-e dee dewe.
 Bob *ng-wash-i* body-3SG.GEN 3SG / body-3SG.GEN 3SG self
 'Bob washed himself.'

Palembangnese and Jambi also need affixes for the verb *wash* when it is used as a transitive. In Palembangnese, the suffix *-ke* (172)) is needed, whereas in Jambi (DJ) the suffix *-in* (173) is required to mark transitivity for *wash*.

172. a. Andi mandi. **Palembangnese**
 Andi wash (himself).
- b. *Andi mandi diri-nyo /diri-nyo dewek.
 Andi wash body-3SG.GEN /body-3SG.GEN self
- c. Andi mandi-ke diri-nyo / diri-nyo dewek.
 Andi wash-*ke* body-3SG.GEN / body-3SG.GEN self
 'Andi washed himself.'

173. a. Eko mandi. **DJ**
 Eko wash (himself).
- b. *Eko mandi diri-nyo /diri-nyo dewek.
 Eko wash body-3SG.GEN /body-3SG.GEN self
- c. Eko mandi-in diri-nyo / diri-nyo dewek.
 Eko wash-*in* body-3SG.GEN / body-3SG.GEN self
 'Eko washed himself.'

Another example of a grooming verb in the bare form is Javanese (174).

174. Wati dandan.
 Wati primp

'Wati primped [herself].'

Other grooming verbs in the selected languages appear with affixes. In Indonesian, we find this with verbs such as *berpakaian* 'dress' (175), *bercukur* 'shave' (176), and *berdandan* 'primp' (177). In Javanese, we see verbs such as *cukur-an* 'shave' (178). In Jambi, this can be found in verbs such as *be-cukur* 'shave' (179) and *be-dandan* 'dress' (180). In Palembangnese, this is illustrated in the verb *be-cukur* 'shave' (181).

Indonesian

175. Susi ber-pakaian.
Susi *ber*-dress
'Susi dresses (herself).'
176. Budi ber-cukur.
Budi *ber*-shave
'Budi shaves (himself).'
177. Susi ber-dandan.
Susi *ber*-primp
'Susi primp (herself).'

Javanese

178. Tono cukur-an.
Tono shave-*an*
'Tono shaves (himself).'

DJ

179. Eko be-cukur.
Eko *be*-shave
'Eko shaves (himself).'
180. Rita be-dandan.
Rita *be*-dress
'Rita dresses (himself).'

Palembangnese

181. Andi be-cukur.
Andi *be*-shave
'Andi shaves (himself).'

In (175), in (176) and in (177), the prefix *ber-* in Indonesian has the meaning 'doing an action to/about oneself', thus a verb such as *ber-cukur* in (176) can be interpreted as 'the act of shaving oneself'. The affixes *-an* in Javanese (178), and *be-* in Palembangnese (181) and Jambi (179-180), respectively, have the same meaning, in that they can be interpreted in the same way as in Indonesian's *ber-*. All such grooming verbs in these language are formally intransitive, but they have reflexive interpretations.

3.4.2 Lexically Reflexive Verbs + *Diri*

The selected languages also have another way of forming reflexive verbs. This type of verbs is composed of the verb stem with an element *diri* 'self/body'. The simplest assumption is that the element *diri* checks a Case residue left by a reflexive reduction operation. However, if so, this raises the question of why the grooming verbs in the previous section do not need such an element. Note, that Reinhart (2002), and Reinhart and Sioni (2005) assume that languages are uniform as to whether Case is strong or weak. There are independent reasons to assume that grooming verbs are a special class in this respect. In English, for instance only grooming verbs, not other agent theme verbs, allow full reduction. Also in Dutch we see that grooming verbs are special. This shows up the nominal infinitive construction, as in (182).

182. Wassen is gezond.
Washing is healthy
'Washing oneself is healthy.'

In Dutch generally, the SE-anaphor *zich* is needed when reduction with bundling applies. The set of verbs that allows reflexivization with SE-anaphors *zich* is restricted. Example (183) illustrates the contrast between wash-type verbs and hate-type verbs, which require *zichzelf* instead of *zich*.

183. a. *Juliet_i wast zich_i.*
Juliet wash SE
'Juliet washes herself.'
- b. *Juliet_i haat zichzelf_i/*zich_i.*
Juliet hates herself /*SE
'Juliet hates herself.'

However, while grooming verbs generally pattern with other agent-theme verbs, such as *defend*, in that both verb types allow *zich*, this parallelism breaks down in nominal infinitives. In (182) the infinitive *wassen* allows a reflexive interpretation even in the absence of *zich*, a nominal infinitive with *verdedigen* requires the *zich*, as illustrated in (184).

184. a. *Romeo_i verdedigt zich_i.*
Romeo defends SE
'Romeo defends himself.'
- b. **(zich) goed verdedigen is belangrijk*
SE well defend is important
'to defend oneself is important.'
- (note, though, that in a soccer terminology, where *verdedigen* can be used intransitively, this sentence is fine).

The same point can be illustrated with the verb *branden* 'burn'.

185. *(zich) branden is vervelend
SE burn is unpleasant
'to burn oneself is unpleasant'

We may assume then, that in Indonesian full reduction of Acc case is limited to grooming verbs. Other verbs are taken to still have an Acc Case residue after bundling, which is checked by *diri*. In Indonesian, then the function of the element *diri* 'self/body' is similar to the function of SE-anaphor *zich*. The set of verbs allowing reflexivization with *diri* is also restricted. Just like in Dutch, the verb *defend* '*membela*' in Indonesian also allows this strategy. This is illustrated in (186).

Indonesian

186. *Mereka*_i mem-bela *diri*_i.
3PL meN-defend self
'They defend themselves.'

In this respect, Palembangnese and Jambi are similar to Indonesian. These languages also allow reduction operations with the element *diri* 'self/body'. This is illustrated in Palembangnese in (187) and in Jambi in (188). However, Javanese does not allow this operation. I assume that among the selected languages, only languages that have Malay roots allow this operation. An overview of the verbs allowing this operation in the other selected languages can be found in the appendix.

Palembangnese

187. *Mereka*_i mbela *diri*_i.
3PL defend self
'They defend themselves.'

UJ

188. *Eko*_i melo *diri*_i.
Eko defend self
'Eko defends himself.'

The set of verbs which allow reflexivization with the element *diri* is unpredictable. Verbs which are not allowed in Dutch to have reflexivization *zich* such as the verb *know* are allowed to have reflexivization with *diri* in the selected languages. The complete list of reflexive verbs, plus the element *diri*, is here presented for Indonesian, Palembangnese and UJ.

Indonesian

189. a. *Dia*_i bunuh *diri*_i.
3SG kill self
'He killed himself.'
- b. *Dia*_i gantung *diri*_i.

- 3SG hang self
'He hanged/killed himself.'
- c. *Dia_i* lupa *diri_i*.
3SG forget self
'He forget himself.'
- d. *Aku_i* tahu *diri_i*.
1SG know self
'I know myself.'
- e. *Kami_i* meng-hibur *diri_i*.
1PL *meN*-console self
'We console ourselves.'
- f. *Kalian_i* men-yelamatkan *diri_i*.
2PL *meN*-save self
'You save yourselves.'
- g. *Dia_i* meng-undurkan *diri_i*.
3SG *meN*-resign self
'He resign himself.'
- h. *Dia_i* ber-bangga *diri_i*.
3SG *ber*-proud self
'He is proud of himself.'
- i. *Kamu_i* me-nahan *diri_i*.
2SG *meN*-control self
'You control yourself.'
- j. *Kami_i* memper-siap-kan *diri_i*.
1PL *memper*-prepare-kan self
'We prepare ourselves.'
- k. *Mereka_i* mem-bebas-kan *diri_i*.
3PL *mem*-free-kan self
'They free themselves.'

Palembangnese

- 190.a. *Dio_i* bunuh *diri_i*.
3NR kill self
'He killed himself.'
- b. *Dio_i* gantung *diri_i*.
3NR hang self
'He hanged/killed himself.'
- c. *Dio_i* lupu *diri_i*.
3NR forget self
'He forget himself.'
- d. *Aku_i* tau *diri_i*.
1SG know self
'I know myself.'

- e. *Kami*_i ngibur *diri*_i.
1PL console self
'We console ourselves.'
- f. *Kamu*_i nye-lamat-ke *diri*_i.
2PL nye-save self
'You save yourselves.'
- g. *Dia*_i ng-undur-ke *diri*_i.
3NR ng-resign self
'He resign himself.'
- h. *Dio*_i bangga-ke *diri*_i.
3NR proud-ke self
'He is proud of himself.'
- i. *Kamu*_i nahan *diri*_i.
2SG control self
'You control yourself.'
- j. *Kami*_i nyiap-ke *diri*_i.
1PL prepare-ke self
'We prepare ourselves.'
- k. *Dio*_i mbebas-ke *diri*_i.
3NR free-ke self
'They free themselves.'

UJ

- 191.a. *Dio*_i bunuh *diri*_i.
3NR kill self
'He killed himself.'
- b. *Dio*_i gantong *diri*_i.
3NR hang self
'He hanged himself.'
- c. *Dio*_i lupo *diri*_i.
3NR forget self
'He forgets himself.'
- d. *Awak*_i tau *diri*_i.
1SG know self
'I know myself.'
- e. *Kami*_i ngibur *diri*_i.
1PL console self
'We console ourselves.'
- f. *Kamu*_i ny-elamat-kan *diri*_i.
2SG/PL ny-save-kan self
'You save yourselves.'
- g. *Dio*_i ng-undur-kan *diri*_i.

3NR *ng-resign-kan* self
'He resigned himself.'

h. *Kau_i nahan diri_i.*

2SG control self
'You control yourself.'

i. *Kami_i nyiap-kan diri_i.*

1PL prepare self
'We prepare ourselves.'

j. *Dio_i mebas-kan diri_i.*

3NR free -kan self
'He freed himself.'

The possibility to have a reflexive interpretation licensed by *diri* appears to be limited to these verbs. Further research is needed, though, to determine this is indeed the full set of such verbs. In the present analysis, the element *diri* is not considered to be an argument, but only an element checking a residual accusative case left by the reduction operation. The claim that *diri* is a residual accusative case checker can be confirmed by a proxy reading test. There is no availability of proxy readings for *diri* either in Indonesian, Jambi or Palembangnese when the proxy reading test is applied.

192. **Lady Gaga* melihat *diri* di museum.

Lady Gaga see self in museum
'Lady Gaga saw herself in museum.'

Indonesian

193. **Lady Gaga* nyingok *diri* di musium.

Lady Gaga see self in museum
'Lady Gaga saw herself in museum.'

Palembangnese

194. **Lady Gaga* nengok *diri* di museum.

Lady Gaga see self in museum
'Lady Gaga saw herself in museum.'

UJ

The absence of proxy readings indicates that the element *diri* is not an argument, but is indeed only needed to check the residual accusative case.

To sum up, the reduction with bundling in the languages under discussion can eliminate the accusative either fully or partially. Full elimination of accusative case applies to a set of grooming verbs. With other verbs the operation leaves residual accusative case requiring *diri*.

3.5 Locally Bound Pronoun

This section will discuss two main puzzles of the thesis. The first is what enables the pronoun *dio* in Palembangnese and Village Jambi (UJ) to have a reflexive interpretation,

and how does *dio* in these languages differ from *dio* in the variant spoken in City Jambi (DJ), where local binding of *dio* is not possible.

Before answering the main puzzles, I will give the paradigm of pronouns of the first and the second person in the selected languages in section 3.5.1. In section 3.5.2, I will give an overview of locally bound pronoun of the third person in Palembangnese and Village Jambi (UJ).

3.5.1 Locally Bound Pronoun for the 1st and 2nd Person

All the selected languages have ordinary pronouns of the first and the second person that can be bound by non-local antecedents. This is illustrated in Indonesian (195), Javanese (196), Palembangnese (197) and Jambi (198).

195. a. *Saya_i* men-gira Susi mencintai *saya_i*. **Indonesian**
 I *meN*-think Susi *meN*-love-*i* me
 'I think Susi loves me.'
 b. *Kamu_i* tahu bahwa dia mencintai *kamu_i*.
 You know that 3SG *meN*-love-*i* you.
 'You know that she loves you.'
196. a. *Aku_i* ndugo nek dee seneng karo *aku_i*. **Javanese**
 I think that 3SG like with me.
 'I think she likes me.'
 b. *Kowe_i* ngerti nek dee seneng karo *kowe_i*.
 You know that 3SG like with you
 'You know that she likes you.'
197. a. *Aku_i* nyangko Anton nyingok *aku_i*. **Palembangnese**
 I think Anton see 1SG
 'I thought that Anton saw me.'
 b. *Kau_i* nyangko Anton nyingok *kau_i*.
 2SG/PL think Anton see 2SG/PL
 'You thought that Anton saw yourself.'
198. a. *Aku_i* kiro Budi nengok *sayo_i*. **DJ**
 I think Budi see 1SG self
 'I thought that Budi saw myself.'
 b. *Kau_i* kiro Budi nengok *kau_i*.
 2SG/PL think Budi see 2SG/PL self
 'You thought that Budi saw yourself.'

In Palembangnese and Jambi (UJ), the 1st and 2nd person pronoun can also be locally bound. My respondents from both languages said that it is natural for the 1st and 2nd person pronouns in these languages to be locally bound although the full reflexive is still the preferred form in this context. This is illustrated in Palembangnese in (199) and in Jambi in (200).

199. *Aku_i* nyobet *aku_i*. **Palembangnese**

1SG pinch 1SG
'I pinched myself.'

- 200.a. *Sayo_i nyubit sayo_i.* **UJ**
1SG pinch 1SG
'I pinched myself.'
b. *Awak_i nyubit awak_i.*
1SG pinch 1SG
'I pinched myself.'

The 2nd person pronouns in both languages can also be locally bound.

201. *Kau_i muji kau_i.* **Palembangnese**
2SG/PL praise 2SG/PL
'You praised yourself.'

202. *Kau_i mukul kau_i.* **UJ**
2SG/PL hit 2SG/PL
'You hit yourself.'

On the other hand, the 1st and 2nd person pronouns cannot be locally bound in Indonesian (203) and Javanese (204). My respondents from Palembang and Jambi who also speak Indonesian agreed that there is a contrast and for them in Indonesian, 1st and 2nd person pronouns cannot be locally bound.

203. a. **Saya_i me-mukul saya_i.* **Indonesian**
1SG *meN*-hit 1SG
'I hit myself.'
b. **Kau_i men-cubit kau_i.*
2SG/PL *meN*-pinch 2SG/PL
'You pinched yourself.'

204. a. **Aku_i ng-(k)ampleng-i aku_i.* **Javanese**
1SG *ng*-hit-*i* 1SG
'I hit myself.'
b. **Kowe_i ng-(k)ampleng-I kowe_i.*
2SG/PL *ng*-hit-*i* 2SG/PL
'You hit yourself.'

Local binding of 1st and 2nd person pronominals is quite common crosslinguistically, as in the Germanic languages except English and all the Romance languages (Reuland, 2011, as in Dutch in (205)).

205. *Ik_i schaam mij_i.*
I shame me

(Reuland, 2011: 65)

Reuland (2011) argues that in sentence (205), *Ik* and *mij* can form a chain without violating the condition on A-Chain in (33). This is so because the occurrences of these

two pronominals in the numeration are interchangeable. *Mij* cannot be valued as a different individual at different occurrences in one context. Hence, the chain <*ik, mij*> can be formed and no interpretation gets lost. The same explanation applies to the 1st and the 2nd person pronouns in Palembangnese and UJ (199)-(202). The question is then, why local binding is impossible in Indonesian. One possibility is that the transitive frame which is a strong requirement in Indonesian leads to a violation of IDI, unless there is protecting morpheme. This contrast requires further investigation. Here I will focus on 3rd person pronouns which are different.

3.5.2 Locally Bound Pronoun for the 3rd Person In Palembangnese and Jambi

In this section I discuss what properties of *dio* in Palembangnese and Jambi allow them to be locally bound. First of all, it should be noted that *dio* in both languages must be considered an ordinary pronoun similar to other pronouns in the selected languages. The form of the pronoun *dio* in Palembangnese and Jambi is similar to the form of pronouns in other languages in Indonesia. This is *dia* in Indonesian and Malay Manado, *dee* in Javanese, and *die* in Malay Pontianak. They all are like ordinary pronouns in that they can be bound by non-local antecedents. This is illustrated in the following examples.

- | | |
|--|-----------------------------|
| <p>206. <i>Budi_i</i> men-gira saya mem-benci <i>dia_i</i>.
 Budi meN-think I meN-hate 3SG.
 ‘Budi thinks I hate him.’</p> | <p>Indonesian</p> |
| <p>207. <i>Tono_i</i> ndugo aku sengit karo <i>dee_i</i>.
 Tono think I hate with 3SG.
 ‘Tono thinks I hate him.’</p> | <p>Javanese</p> |
| <p>208. <i>Endang_i</i> nyanko aku benci <i>dio_i</i>.
 Endang think I hate 3NR.
 ‘Endang thinks I hate her.’</p> | <p>Palembangnese</p> |
| <p>209. <i>Eko_i</i> nyanko awak benci <i>dio_i</i>.
 Endang think I hate 3NR.
 ‘Endang thinks I hate her.’</p> | <p>UJ</p> |
| <p>210. <i>Andi_i</i> ngiro sayo benci <i>dio_i</i>.
 Endang think I hate 3SG.
 ‘Endang thinks I hate her.’</p> | <p>DJ</p> |

As observed by Yanti (2010), and confirmed by my informants, the pronoun *dio* in Village Jambi (UJ) can have a reflexive interpretation (211). The Village Jambi dialect is spoken more in the rural area located above the great river *Batang Hari*. The language is preserved since it has less contact with other languages outside the area. On the contrary, the pronoun *dio* in City Jambi dialect (DJ) differs from the village dialect. Since the language is spoken in city area, the language has perhaps been more influenced by

other languages such as Indonesian. Just like the pronoun *dia* in Indonesian, *dio* in City Jambi cannot be locally bound (212).

211. *Budi_i nengok dio_{i/j} di kaco.* **UJ**
 Budi see 3NR in mirror
 ‘Budi saw him/himself in the mirror.’

212. **Budi_i meliat dio_{i/j} di kaco.* **DJ**
 Budi see 3SG in mirror
 ‘Budi saw him/*himself in the mirror.’

Regarding to local binding, *dio* ‘him/her’ in Palembangnese is similar to UJ. The pronominal in which the pronoun *dio* in Palembangnese can also have a local antecedent as in (213).

213. *Budi_i jingok dio_{i/j} di kaco.*
 Budi see 3NR in mirror
 ‘Budi saw him/himself in the mirror.’

Although the pronoun *dio* in Palembangnese and UJ can have a local antecedent, the preferred antecedent of *dio* is non-local one. The preferred antecedent is marked in bold (214) and (215).

214. *Andi_i nyobet dio_{i/j}.* **Palembangnese**
 Andi pinch 3NR
 ‘Andi pinched **him**/himself.’

215. *Budi_i nyubit dio_{i/j}.* **UJ**
 Budi pinch 3NR
 ‘Budi pinched **him**/himself.’

The preference of interpretation is changed when the marker *-lah* is present. *-Lah* in Palembangnese and Jambi is purely an emphatic marker and does not carry any independent meaning. When *-lah* appears, the preferred interpretation for the antecedent is the local one. Conversely, when *-lah* is not present, the preferred antecedent is non-local. The role of *-lah* can be best understood as that of a protecting element. That is, even though protection is not an absolute requirement in this frame, its presence favors the local interpretation for reasons of economy. However, further investigation is required for a full picture.

216. a. *Andi_i nyobet dio-lah_{i/j}.* **Palembangnese**
 Andi pinch 3-EMPH
 ‘Andi pinched him/**himself**.’

b. *Rita_i nyanko Andi_j nyobet dio_{i/j}.*
 Rita think Andi pinch 3NR

- ‘Rita thinks that Andi pinched **her**/himself.’
 c. *Rita_i nyanko Andi_j nyobet dio-lah_{i/j}.*
 Rita think Andi pinch 3NR-EMPH
 ‘Rita thinks that Andi pinched her/**himself**.’

- 217.a. *Budi_i nyubit dio-lah_{i/j}.* UJ
 Budi pinch 3-EMPH
 ‘Budi pinched him/**himself**.’
 b. *Susi_i nyanko Budi_j nyubit dio_{i/j}.*
 Susi think Budi pinch 3NR
 ‘Susi thinks that Budi pinched **her**/himself.’
 c. *Susi_i nyanko Budi_j nyubit dio-lah_{i/j}.*
 Susi think Budi pinch 3NR-EMPH
 ‘Susi thinks that Budi pinched her/**himself**.’

A similar effect can be found when morpheme *dewek* is added. *Dewek* also changes the preferred interpretation for the pronoun. The difference with emphatic marker *-lah* is that *dewek* is a *self* marker. It is not only used as protection for the pronoun but also enforces a reflexive interpretation. Hence, it functions like full anaphor *himself* in English. This is illustrated in the following examples.

- 218.a. *Andi_i nyobet dio dewek_{i/*j}.* Palembangnese
 Andi pinch 3NR self
 ‘Andi pinched **himself**/*him.’
 b. *Rita_i nyanko Andi_j nyobet dio dewek_{*i/j}.*
 Rita think Andi pinch 3NR self
 ‘Rita thinks that Andi pinched **himself**/*her.’

- 219.a. *Budi_i nyubit dio dewek_{i/*j}.* UJ
 Budi pinch 3NR self
 ‘Budi pinched **himself**/*him.’
 b. *Susi_i nyanko Budi_j nyubit dio dewek_{*i/j}.*
 Susi think Budi pinch 3NR self
 ‘Susi thinks that Budi pinched **himself**/*her.’

3.5.3 Properties of *Dio* in Palembangnese and Jambi

As we have seen the pronoun *dio* in Palembangnese and Village Jambi (UJ) allows a reflexive interpretation. This then triggers the question, why is it so? What enables the pronoun *dio* in Palembangnese and UJ to be locally bound? What is the difference between the properties of *dio* in UJ and DJ so that the pronoun *dio* in UJ can have a local antecedent but the pronoun *dio* in DJ cannot?

Let's compare this to the case of Frisian where the pronoun *him* can also be locally bound (220).

220. *Jan_i wasket him_i.*
John washes him
'John washes himself.'

Him in Frisian is an ordinary third person pronominal. This pronoun has a possibility to avoid violating the condition on A-chains as stated in (33) which is repeated below.

221. Condition on A-Chains

A maximal A-chain ($\alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_n$) contains exactly one link $-\alpha_1-$ which is both +R and marked for structural Case.

The +R property is defined as :

An NP is +R iff it carries a full specification for phi-features.

In (221), an A-chain should contain exactly one link, +R. A pronoun such as *him* in English is +R since it carries a full specification for phi-features and is marked for structural case. Why then, can the pronoun *him* in Frisian enter the A-Chain without violating the chain condition. As argued in Reinhart and Reuland (1993), it can do so since it carries an inherent case, not structural Case as stated in (221) see Hoekstra (1994). This enables the pronoun *him* in Frisian (220) to form a chain $\langle Jan_i, him_i \rangle$ with the head *Jan* which is fully specified for phi-features without violating the chain condition.

What about the pronoun *dio* in Palembangnese and Jambi? Is the pronoun *dio* more like the pronoun *him* in Frisian, or could there be an alternative explanation?

I would like to argue that the pronoun *him* in Palembangnese and Jambi represents yet a different case. The pronoun *dio* in Jambi and Palembangnese is not fully specified for phi-features. It is specified for *person*, but it is not specified for *gender*, hence it can be used with a feminine or a masculine antecedent as in (222) and in (223).

222. *Edi_i nyobet dio_i.* **Palembangnese**
Edi hate 3NR
'Edi hates **him/her**/himself.'

223. *Edi_i nyubit dio_i.* **UJ**
Edi hate 3NR
'Edi hates **him/her**/himself.'

The crucial property, however, of *dio* in Jambi and Palembangnese is that this pronoun is not specified for the *number* feature, see Reuland (2011) for discussion of the crucial status of *number* as compared to *gender*. The pronoun *dio* in both languages

can be used either as a singular or a plural as in (224) for Palembangnese and in (225) for UJ.

224. *Andi*_i nyaken ke *Susi*_j kalau *dio*_{i+j} beduo bakal lulus ujian. **Palembangnese**
Andi promise to Susi that 3NR both will pass exam
'Andi promised to Susi that they will pass the exam.'

225. *Dio* kagum samo Budi. **UJ**
3NR admire with Budi.
Two interpretations : a. '**She/he** admired Budi.'
b. '**They** admired Budi.'

In contrast, in the City Jambi dialect (DJ) *dio* cannot be used as a plural. The pronoun *dio* in this dialect is always interpreted as a singular.

226. *Dio* nengok Eko di sekolah.
3SG see Eko in school.
= '**She/he** saw Eko at school.'
≠ '**They** saw Eko at school.'

We have seen that the difference in the properties between Village Jambi (UJ) and City Jambi (DJ) is in the feature of *number*. At this point, we could say that the pronoun *dio* in City Jambi (DJ) is fully specified for phi-features. Hence, the pronoun *dio* in DJ can be categorized as +R. Whereas, the pronoun *dio* in Village Jambi (UJ) does not carry a full specification for phi-features. It is only specified for the feature of *person* (3rd), whereas features of *gender* and *number* are underspecified.

In this respect UJ is similar to Palembangnese. The pronoun *dio* in Palembangnese does not carry a full specification for phi-features either the *number* feature is not specified.

Thus, the first puzzle of the difference in properties between City Jambi and Village Jambi (as well as Palembangnese) has been answered. The next puzzle that needs to be answered is that what is the reason of the pronoun *dio* in Palembangnese and UJ can be locally bound?

The answer of this puzzle now follows straightforwardly. As we have seen in (221) a pronoun cannot enter the A-Chain if it carries a full specification for phi-features and is marked for a structural case. A maximal A-chain can be formed with precisely one +R element as the head of the A-chain and one -R element that lacks a full specification for phi-features.

Thus, with regard to the condition on A-chains in (221), the sentence in DJ in (227) is ill-formed.

227. **Eko*_i muji *dio*_i. **DJ**

Eko praise 3SG
'Eko praised himself.'

Sentence (227) in DJ is ill-formed because the chain contains two +R expressions. The first +R expression is the head *Eko* which carries full phi-features of *person* (3rd) and *number* (singular). The second +R expression is the tail *dio* 'him' which is also fully specified for phi-features and structural case. When both arguments enter the A-chain, a chain <*Eko*_i, *dio*_i> cannot be formed because it contains more than one +R.

Consider the contrast in UJ (228) and Palembangnese (229).

228. *Budi*_i mukul *dio*_{i/j}.
Budi hit 3NR
'Budi hit himself/him.'

UJ

229. *Andi*_i mokol *dio*_{i/j}.
Andi hit 3NR
'Andi hit himself/him.'

Palembangnese

Sentence in (228) is a different story. (228) is well-formed because the chain contains precisely one +R element. *Budi* is +R since this expression has fully valued phi-features of *person* (3rd) and *number* (singular). Whereas, the pronoun *him*, as we know, does not carry a full specification for phi-features. The feature for *number* is underspecified. Hence, when the pronoun *dio* in UJ enters the A-chain, it does not violate the chain condition because this pronoun qualifies as a -R element. An A-chain <*Budi*_i, *dio*_i> can be formed with the head *Budi* which is fully specified for phi-features and the tail *dio* which is not fully valued for phi-features. The same applies to sentence in (229) in Palembangnese for similar reasons. The head *Andi* which is +R and the pronoun *dio* which is -R can form a chain <*Andi*_i, *dio*_i> without violating the condition on A-chain.

To conclude, the 3rd person pronoun *dio* in Palembangnese and Jambi can have a reflexive interpretation and can be locally bound due to the phi-features it carries. The pronoun *dio* in Village Jambi (UJ) as well as in Palembangnese is not specified for features of *number*. This is contrast to the City Jambi dialect (DJ) in which the feature of *number* is specified. This difference reflects the crucial ontrast in determining whether the pronoun can be locally bound or not. Thus, the main second puzzle of this thesis has been answered.

4. Conclusion

Half reflexives in Indonesian, Javanese, Palembangnese and Jambi are not LD reflexives. Through the list of diagnostic tests with respect to strict/sloppy identity, split antecedent, deictic reference, the c-command restriction, and domain sensitivity, half reflexives in these languages show a pronoun like behaviour, with one exception that they can be locally bound like full reflexives. These half reflexives consist of a bodypart noun and a pronominal element. Their complexity allows them to license reflexivity by protection. The bodypart noun of these half reflexives is not in the head position, hence covert movement of these expressions to the predicate is not possible. Thus, half reflexives cannot reflexivize the predicate. As a result, half reflexives in these languages are free and can be bound by local or non-local antecedents. Hence, the binding of half reflexives only licenses reflexivity but not enforces it. Unlike the half reflexives, full reflexives in the languages studied in this thesis always require a local binder. Full reflexives of these languages have a *self* element that functions as a protection marker which not only licenses reflexivity but also enforces it.

The languages under discussion apply reflexive reduction which can eliminate the accusative either fully or partially. Full elimination of accusative case applies to a set of grooming verbs. With other verbs the operation leaves residual accusative case requiring the element *diri*. This goes against the assumption of Reinhart (2002), and Reinhart and Sioni (2005) that languages are uniform as to whether Case is strong or weak. I present an independent reason though, to assume that grooming verbs are a special class in this respect. With respect to the last puzzle, the locally bound pronouns, the difference in the properties of the pronoun *dio* between City Jambi (DJ) and Village Jambi (UJ) is in the feature of *number*. The pronoun *dio* in Village Jambi (UJ) as well as Palembangnese is not specified for *number* rather, the same form is used both for singular and for plural. This difference is crucial in determining whether the pronoun can be locally bound or not. The pronoun *dio* in UJ and Palembangnese does not violate the condition on A-chains proposed in Reinhart and Reuland (1993) and subsequent work such as Reuland (2011) when it enters the chain because it is not fully specified for phi-features.

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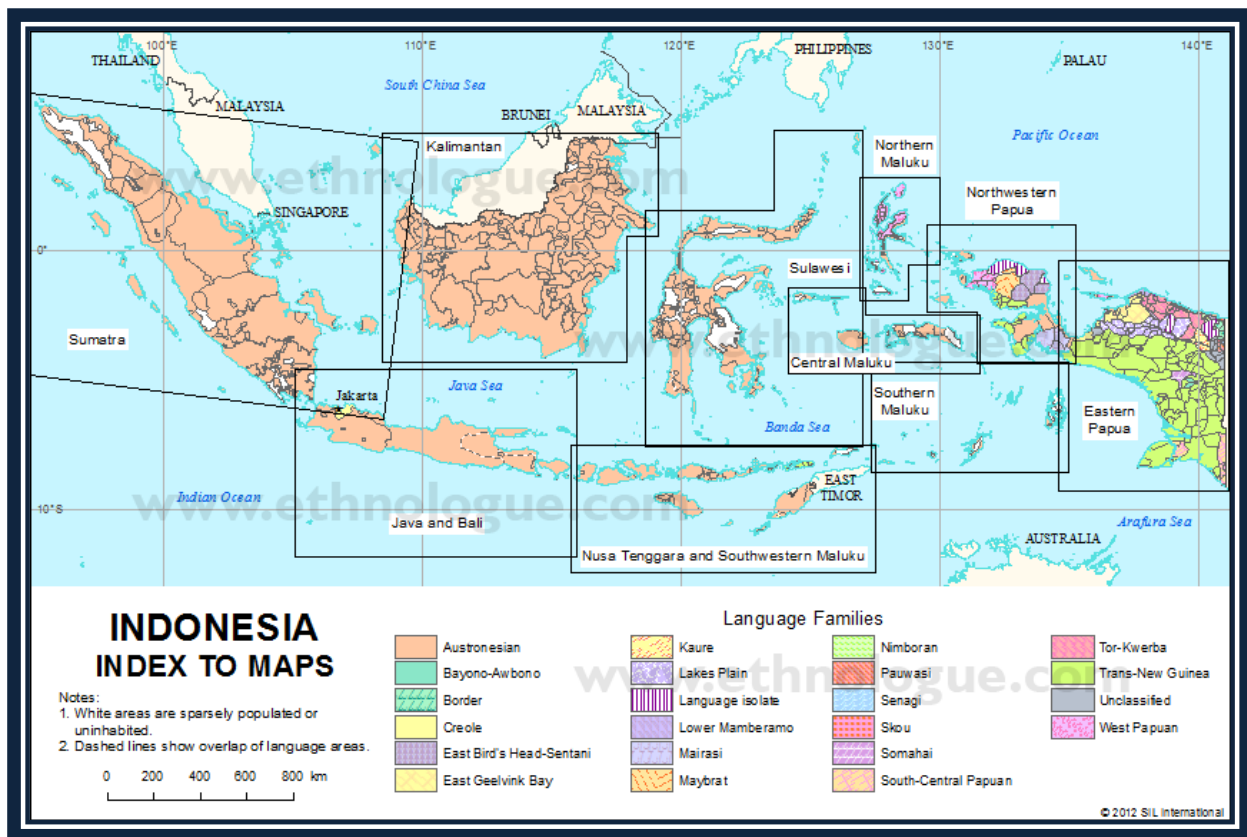
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Appendix 1

Language Maps

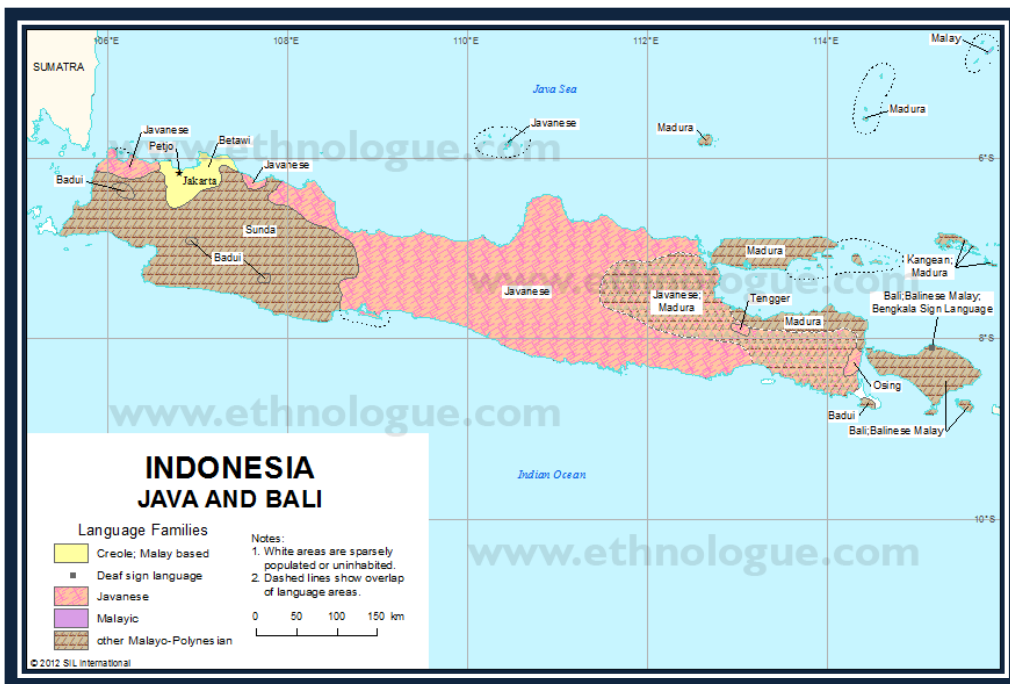


Map 1. Indonesia⁹

⁹ Cited from http://www.ethnologue.com/map/ID_x__



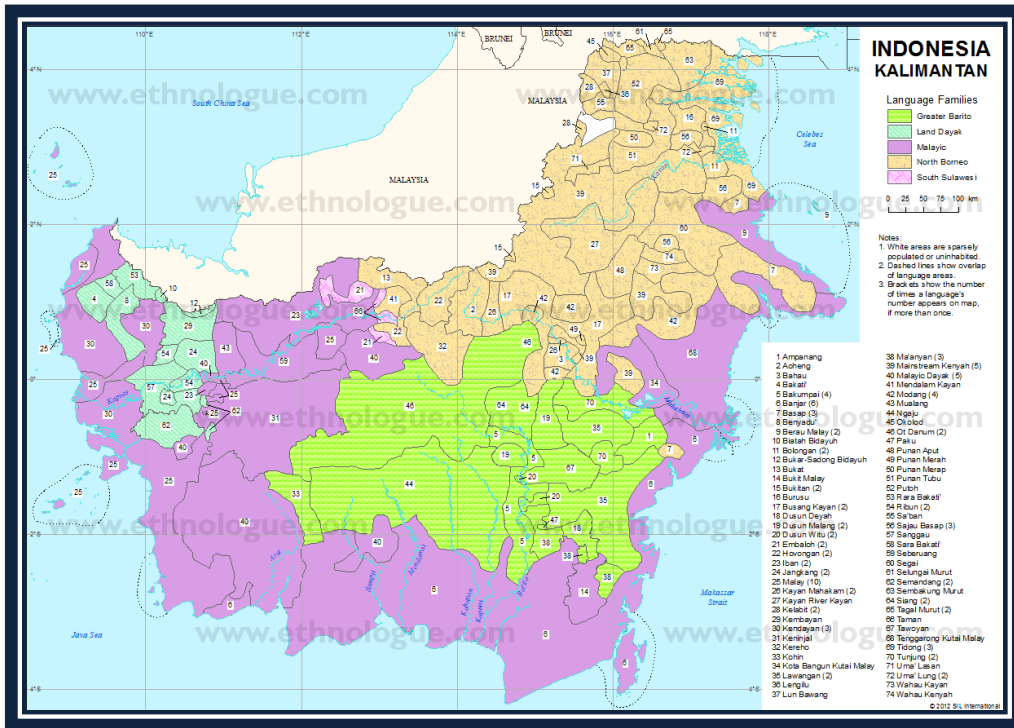
Map 2. Sumatra¹⁰



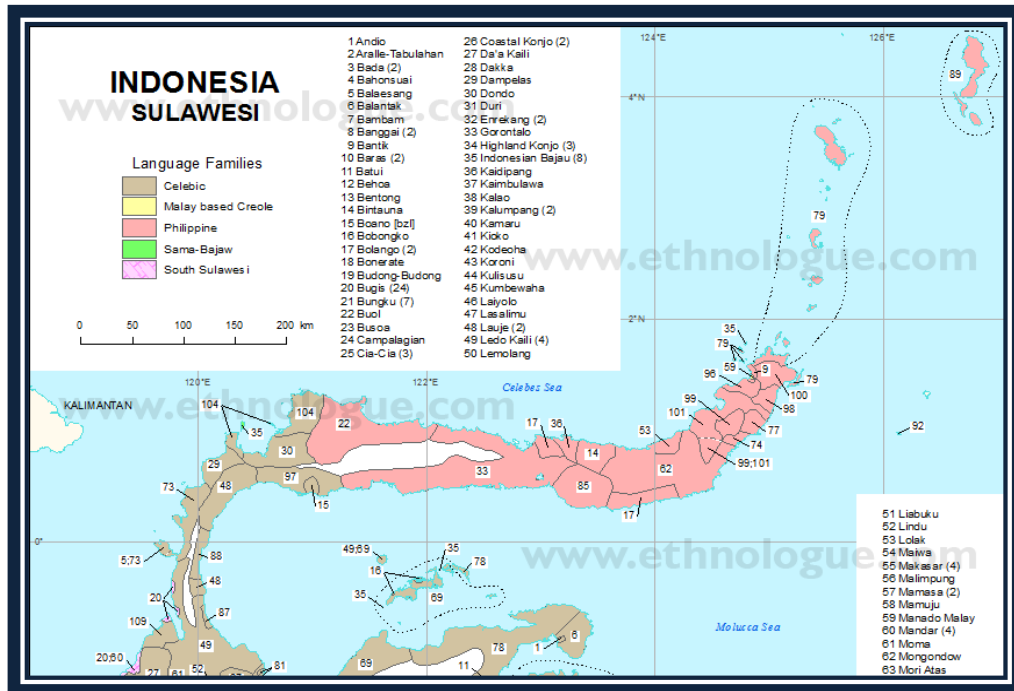
Map 3. Java¹¹

¹⁰ Cited from http://www.ethnologue.com/map/ID_sm_

¹¹ Cited from http://www.ethnologue.com/map/ID_jb_



Map 4. Kalimantan¹²



Map 5. Sulawesi¹³

¹² Cited from http://www.ethnologue.com/map/ID_k_

¹³ Cited from http://www.ethnologue.com/map/ID_sl_

Appendix 2

Table of Reflexive Paradigm from the Language Survey

INDONESIAN

Singular

Person	Full Reflexives	Half Reflexives	Pronominal
1 st	diri-ku sendiri body-1SG.GEN self diri saya sendiri body 1SG.GEN self	diri-ku body-1SG.GEN diri saya body 1SG.GEN	Aku 1SG Saya 1SG
2 nd	diri-mu sendiri body-2SG/PL.GEN self	diri-mu body-2SG/PL.GEN	Kamu 2SG
3 rd	diri-nya sendiri body-3SG.GEN self	diri-nya body-3SG.GEN	Dia 3SG -nya 3SG

Plural

Person	Full Reflexives	Half Reflexives	Pronominal
1 st	diri kami sendiri body 1PL.GEN self (inclusive) diri kita sendiri body 1PL.GEN self (exclusive)	diri kami (inclusive) body 1PL.GEN diri kita (exclusive) body 1PL.GEN	Kami (inclusive) 1PL Kita (exclusive) 1PL
2 nd	diri-mu sendiri body-2SG/PL.GEN self diri kalian sendiri body 2PL.GEN self	diri-mu body-2SG/PL.GEN diri kalian body 2PL.GEN	Kamu 2SG/PL Kalian 2PL
3 rd	diri mereka sendiri body 3PL.GEN self	diri mereka body 3PL.GEN	Mereka 3PL

JAVANESE
Singular

Person	Full Reflexives	Half Reflexives	Pronominal
1 st	awak-ku dewe body-1SG.GEN self	awak-ku body-1SG.GEN	Aku 1SG
2 nd	awak-mu dewe body-2SG/PL.GEN self	awak-mu body-2SG/PL.GEN	Kowe 2SG/PL
3 rd	awak-e dee dewe body-3SG.GEN 3SG self	awak-e dee body-3SG.GEN 3SG	Dee 3SG

Plural

Person	Full Reflexives	Half Reflexives	Pronominal
1 st	awak-e dewe dewe body-GEN 1PL self	awak-e dewe body-GEN 1PL	Dewe 1PL
2 nd	awak-mu dewe body-2SG/PL.GEN self	awak-mu body-2SG/PL.GEN	Kowe 2SG/PL
3 rd	awak-e dee uwong dewe body-GEN 3 people self	awak-e dee uwong body-GEN 3 people	Dee uwong 3 people

PALEMBANGNESE

Singular

Person	Full Reflexives	Half Reflexives	Pronominal
1 st	diri-ku dewek body-1SG.GEN self	aku dewek 1SG self	Aku * 1SG
2 nd	diri kau dewek body 2SG/PL.GEN self	kau dewek 2SG/PL self	Kau * 2SG/PL
3 rd	diri-nyo dewek body-3NR.GEN self	dio dewek 3SG/PL self	dio * 3NR

Plural

Person	Full Reflexives				Half Reflexives	Pronominal
1 st	diri kami body 1PL.GEN	dewek self	kami 1PL	dewek self	diri kami body 1PL.GEN	kami 1PL
2 nd	diri kau body 2SG/PL.GEN	dewek self	kau 2SG/PL	dewek self	diri kau body 2SG/PL.GEN	Kau * 2SG/PL
3 rd	diri-nyo body-3NR.GEN	dewek self	dio 3NR	dewek self	diri-nyo body-3NR.GEN	Dio * 3NR

Note: * can be locally bound

Downstream Jambi (City Jambi)

Singular

Person	Full Reflexives				Half Reflexives	Pronominal
1 st	Diri sayo body 1SG.GEN	dewek self	Sayo 1SG	dewek self	diri sayo body 1SG.GEN	Sayo/awak 1SG
2 nd	diri kau body 2SG/PL.GEN	dewek self	Kau 2SG/PL	dewek self	diri kau body 2SG/PL.GEN	Kau 2SG/PL
3 rd	diri-nyo body-3SG.GEN	dewek self	Dio 3SG	dewek self	diri-nyo body-3SG.GEN	Nyo 3SG
	diri dio body 3SG.GEN	dewek self			diri dio body 3SG.GEN	Dio 3SG

Plural

Person	Full Reflexives				Half Reflexives	Pronominal
1 st	diri kami body 1PL.GEN	dewek self	Kami 1PL	dewek self	diri kami body 1PL.GEN	Kami 1PL
2 nd	diri kau body 2SG/PL.GEN	dewek self	Kau 2SG/PL	dewek self	diri kau body 2PL.GEN	Kau 2SG/PL
3 rd	diri mereka body 3PL.GEN	dewek self	Mereka 3PL	dewek self	diri mereka body 3PL.GEN	Mereka 3PL

**Upstream Jambi
(Village Jambi)**

Singular

Person	Full Reflexives				Half Reflexives		Pronominal	
1 st	Diri body	sayo 1SG.GEN	dewek self	Sayo 1SG	dewek self	diri body	sayo 1SG.GEN	Sayo/awak * 1SG
2 nd	diri body	kau 2SG/PL.GEN	dewek self	Kau 2SG/PL	dewek self	diri body	kau 2SG/PL.GEN	Kau * 2SG/PL
3 rd	diri-nyo body-3SG/PL.GEN		dewek self			diri-nyo body-3SG/PL.GEN		Nyo * SG/PL
	diri body	dio 3SG/PL.GEN	dewek self	Dio 3SG/PL	dewek self	diri body	dio 3SG/PL.GEN	Dio * 3SG/PL

Plural

Person	Full Reflexives				Half Reflexives		Pronominal	
1 st	diri body	kami 1PL.GEN	dewek self	Kami 1PL	dewek self	diri body	kami 1PL.GEN	Kami 1PL
2 nd	diri body	kau 2SG/PL.GEN	dewek self	Kau 2SG/PL	dewek self	diri body	kau 2PL.GEN	Kau * 2SG/PL
3 rd	diri-nyo body-3NR.GEN		dewek self					
	diri body	dio 3NR.GEN	dewek self	Dio 3NR	dewek self	diri body	dio 3NR.GEN	Dio * 3NR
	diri body	mereka 3PL.GEN	dewek self	Mereka 3PL	dewek self	diri body	mereka 3PL.GEN	Mereka 3PL

Note: * can be locally bound

MINANGKABAU / PADANG

Singular

Person	Full Reflexives	Half Reflexives
1 st (myself)	Diri ambo surang body 1SG.GEN self	diri ambo body 1SG.GEN
2 nd (yourself)	diri kau surang body 2SG.GEN self	diri kau body 2SG.GEN
3 rd (himself/herself)	diri-nyo surang body-3SG.GEN self	diri-nyo body-3SG.GEN

Plural

Person	Full Reflexives	Half Reflexives
1 st (ourselves)	diri kami surang body 1PL.GEN self	diri kami body 1PL.GEN
2 nd (yourselves)	diri kalian surang body 2PL.GEN self	diri kalian body 2PL.GEN
3 rd (themselves)	diri mereka surang body 3PL.GEN self	diri mereka body 3PL.GEN

MALAY PONTIANAK

Singular

Person	Full Reflexives	Half Reflexives
1 st (myself)	diri saye seorang body 1SG.GEN self	diri saye body 1SG.GEN
2 nd (yourself)	diri-mu seorang body-2SG.GEN self	diri-mu body-2SG.GEN
3 rd (himself/herself)	diri-nye seorang body-3SG.GEN self diri die seorang body 3SG.GEN self	diri-nye body-3SG.GEN diri die body 3SG.GEN

Plural

Person	Full Reflexives	Half Reflexives
1 st (ourselves)	diri kite seorang body 1PL.GEN self	diri kite body 1PL.GEN
2 nd (yourselves)	diri-mu seorang body-2PL.GEN self	diri-mu body 2PL.GEN
3 rd (themselves)	diri mereke seorang body 3PL.GEN self	diri mereke body 3PL.GEN

BATAK TOBA

Singular

Person	Full Reflexives			Half Reflexives
1 st (myself)	diri-ku body-1SG.GEN	sandiri self	no data	diri-ku body-1SG.GEN
2 nd (yourself)	diri-mu body-2SG.GEN	sandiri self	no data	diri-mu body-2SG.GEN
3 rd (himself/herself)	diri-na body-3SG.GEN	sandiri self	lbana sandiri 3SG self	diri-na body-3SG.GEN

Plural

Person	Full Reflexives			Half Reflexives
1 st (ourselves)	diri-ta body-1PL.GEN	sandiri self	hita sandiri 1PL self	diri-ta body-1PL.GEN
2 nd (yourselves)	diri-muna body-2PL.GEN	sandiri self	no data	diri-muna body-2PL.GEN
3 rd (themselves)	no data		halaki sandiri 3PL self	no data

MALAY MANADO

Singular

Person	Full Reflexives		
1 st (myself)	kami pe 1SG GEN	diri sandiri body self	kita sandiri 1SG self
2 nd (yourself)	ngana pe 2SG GEN	diri sandiri body self	ngana sandiri 2SG self
3 rd (himself/herself)	depe 3SG.GEN	diri sandiri body self	dia sandiri 3SG self

Plural

Person	Full Reflexives					
1 st (ourselves)	torang	pe	diri	sandiri	torang	sandiri
	1PL	GEN	body	self	1PL	self
2 nd (yourselves)	ngoni	pe	diri	sandiri	ngoni	sandiri
	2PL	GEN	body	self	2PL	self
3 rd (themselves)	dorang	pe	diri	sandiri	dorang	sandiri
	3PL	GEN	body	self	3PL	self

LAMPUNG Singular

Person	Full Reflexives		
1 st (myself)	badan	ikam	sayan
	body	1SG.GEN	self
2 nd (yourself)	badan-mu		sayan
	body-2SG.GEN		self
3 rd (himself/herself)	badan-no		sayan
	body-3SG.GEN		self

Plural

Person	Full Reflexives		
1 st (ourselves)	badan	ikamjo	sayan
	body	1PL.GEN	self
2 nd (yourselves)	badan-mu		sayan
	body-2PL.GEN		self
3 rd (themselves)	badan	tiyan	sayan
	body	3SG.GEN	self

SUNDANESE

Singular

Person	Full Reflexives
1 st (myself)	No data
2 nd (yourself)	No data
3 rd (himself/herself)	maneh-na sorangan body-3SG.GEN self

Plural

Person	Full Reflexives
1 st (ourselves)	No data
2 nd (yourselves)	No data
3 rd (themselves)	maraneh-na sorangan body-3PL.GEN self

ACEHNESE

Singular

Person	Full Reflexives	Half Reflexives
1 st (myself)	ata loen keudroe GEN 1SG self	No data
2 nd (yourself)	ata gata keudroe GEN 2SG self	No data
3 rd (himself/herself)	ata jih keudroe GEN 3SG self	keudroe jih. self 3SG droe jih body 3SG.GEN

Plural

Person	Full Reflexives			Half Reflexives		
1 st (ourselves)	ata GEN	kamoe 2SG	keudroe self	No data	No data	
2 nd (yourselves)	ata GEN	gata 2PL	mandum all	keudroe self	No data	No data
3 rd (themselves)	ata GEN	awaknyan 3PL	keudroe self	No data	No data	

Appendix 3 List of Questionnaires from the Language Survey

Anaphora Typology Survey Part 1: Free translation of reflexive sentences

Language : Aceh

Part A

1. Basics of sentence structure

Please translate the following sentences in the most natural way. Provide a **detailed gloss** (for the instructions on glossing please see the attached guide lines and the list of standard abbreviations) of the entire sentence, and a literal translation (if the translation is substantially different from the elicitation sentence).

A01) *Simple transitive and intransitive verbs. If for any reason the verbs “run” and “see” are not good choices, please use different verbs.*

- a. John runs.
John plueng.
John run
- b. John saw Mary.
John kaloen Mary.
John see Mary
- c. I saw Mary.
Loen kaloen Mary.
I see Mary
- d. Mary saw me.
Mary kaloen loen.
Mary see me

A02) *Please translate the following in the most natural way. E.g., in a “pro-drop” language it would not be necessary to include a pronoun in the translation of the second sentence.*

- a. Bill crossed the street. John saw him. [i.e., saw Bill]
Bill koh jalan. John kaloen jih.
Bill cross street John see 3SG

Bill koh jalan. John kaloen-nyan.
Bill cross street John see-3SG
- b. John is very rude. Bill hates him. [i.e., hates John]
John gasa that. Bill han mek kaloen jih.
John rude very Bill not want see 3SG
- c. John saw Mary. She greeted him.
John kaloen Mary. Sinyan disambot-nyan
John see Mary 3SG greet-2SG
- d. Bill is here. Mary saw his car.

Bill disinoe. Mary kalon moto jih.
Bill here Mary see car 3SG.GEN

A03) *If your language can have sentences with a “null” subject or object, please give some examples.*

2. Inventory of reflexive meanings

2.1 Please translate the following sentences **in the most natural way** (even if this means that you do not use a “reflexive”). Provide a gloss and a literal translation, if substantially different from the prompt sentence. If your sentence is ambiguous and could have other meanings as well, please note this.

If there are several natural translations for a sentence (with different verbs or different grammatical constructions), please give them all.

A1) *Reflexives from simple transitive verbs.*

a. John saw himself.

John kaloen ata jih keudroe.
John see GEN 3SG self

John kaloen keudroe jih.
John see self 3SG

John kaloen droe jih_{i/j}.
John see body 3SG.GEN

b. You see yourself.

Gata kaloen ata gata keudroe.
You see GEN you self

c. The students praised themselves.

Aneuk sikula pujo ata awaknyan keudroe.
Kid school praise GEN 3PL self

A2) *Reflexives from verbs of “grooming” and bodily care. If these verbs don’t work for any reason, feel free to use others (comb, etc.)*

a. John shaved [himself].

John meucuko.

b. Paul washed [himself].

Paul manoe

c. I dressed [myself].

Loen soek bajee.
I wear baju

A3) *Reflexives of verbs with any kind of oblique, indirect or prepositional object, or with locative adjuncts. (Including locative case) If any of these verbs do not work, feel free to use other verbs that take an oblique object.*

a. Peter spoke to himself.

Peter peugah haba ata jih keudroe.
Peter say word GEN 3SG self

Peter peugah haba keudroe jih.
Peter say word self 3SG

- b. Peter spoke about himself.
Peter peugah haba keu ata jih keudroe.
Peter speak word about GEN 3SG self
- c. Peter told us about himself.
Peter peugah bak kamoe keu ata jih kedroe.
Peter tell to us about GEN 3SG self
- d. Peter told us about ourselves.
Peter peugah bak kamoe keu ata kamoe kedroe.
Peter tell to us about GEN 1PL self
- e. Maria described Bill to himself.
Maria carita Bill keu ata jih keudro.
Maria describe Bill to GEN 3SG self
- f. John pushed his car to the garage. [i.e., John's car.]
John tulak moto droe lam garasi.
John push car 3SG.GEN to garage
- g. Maria found a book behind her. [i.e., behind Maria]
Maria diteumeung saboh buku dilikot jih.
Maria find a book behind 3SG
- h. John bought the book for himself.
John dibloe buku keu keudroe jih.
John buy book for self 3SG
- i. Peter spoke to Thomas.
Peter peugah haba bak Thomas.
Peter speak word to Thomas

A4) *Reflexives of "experiencer verbs". If these don't work in your language, feel free to use other similar verbs.*

- a. Etta hates herself.
Etta han mek kaloen droe jih_{i/j}.
Etta not want see body 3SG.GEN
- b. Etta scares herself.
Etta teumakot keu droe jih_{i/j}.
Etta scare to body 3SG.GEN
- c. Etta worries/has worries about herself.
Etta teumakot keu droe jih_{i/j}.
Etta worry about body 3SG.GEN

- d. Etta dislikes Maria.
Etta hana harok Maria.
Etta not suka Maria
- A5) *Reflexives with quantified, negative, or wh-question subjects. We prefer expressions in the singular (like “every teacher”). If this is not possible, use plural expressions (“all teachers”)*
- a. Every teacher described himself.
Mandum guru peugah ata jih keudroe.
Every teacher describe GEN 3SG self
- b. Nobody blamed himself.
Hana ureung peusalah keudroe jih.
Not person blame self 3SG
- c. Who hates himself?
Soe han mek kaloen keudroe jih
Who not want see self 3SG
- d. Every teacher described the visitor.
Mandum guru peugah keu ureung tamong.
Every teacher describe about person come
- A6) *Embedded clauses. Use the different kinds of embedding that your language has. For each different way of embedding a clause under another (with appropriate verbs), give an example.*
- a. Mary thought that Bill saw himself.
Mary pike Bill kaloen keudro jih.
Mary think Bill see self 3SG
- b. Bill told Mary to describe herself.
Bill pugah bak Mary keu peugah droe jih_{i/j}.
Bill tell to Mary to describe body 3SG.GEN
- c. John thinks that Bill voted for himself. [i.e., voted for Bill]
John pike Bill pileh keudroe jih.
John think Bill vote_for self 3SG
- d. Bill saw Ellen defending herself.
Bill kaloen Ellen dibila droe jih.
Bill see Ellen defend body 3SG.GEN
- e. Bill told Mary to describe Ellen.
Bill peugah bak Mary keu peugah Ellen.
Bill tell to Mary to describe Ellen

A7) *More embedded clauses, this time about the subject of the main clause.*

- a. John thinks that Mary hates him. [i.e., hates John]
John pike Mary han mek kaloen jih.
John think Mary not want see 3SG
- b. Bill asked John to praise him. [i.e., to praise Bill]
Bill lakee John keu pujo-nyan.
Bill ask John to praise-3SG
- c. John heard Bill praising him [i.e., praising John]
John dingo Bill pujo jih.
John hear Bill praise 3SG
- d. Mary thinks that everyone admires her.
Mary pike mandum ureung haroek keu jih.
Mary think every person admire to 3SG

2.2 Can you think of any other ways of expressing reflexive meaning, using an expression that did not come up in the above examples? If so, please provide some examples.

Part B

3. Person and number forms

Please translate the following sentences; if the translation of the verb “wash” is problematic in some way, use another “grooming” verb such as “shave” or “dress”. If your language makes additional person/number distinctions (e.g., inclusive/exclusive, dual, politeness, etc.), please provide these forms as well.

- B1) a. I washed [myself]
Loen manoe.
- b. You washed [yourself]
Gata manoe.
- c. (Paul washed [himself] = A2-b)
Paul manoe.
- d. We washed [ourselves]
Kamoe manoe.
- e. You (plural) washed [yourselves]
Gata mandum manoe.
You all wash
- f. They washed themselves.
Awaknyan manoe.
They wash
- B2) a. I admire myself.
Loen haroek ata loen keudroe.
I admire GEN 1SG self.
- b. You admire yourself.
Gata haroek ata gata keudroe.
You admire GEN you self
- c. She admires herself.
Jih haroek ata jih keudroe.
3SG admire GEN 3SG self
- d. We admire ourselves.
Kamoe haroek ata kamoe keudroe.
We admire GEN 1PL self
- e. You admire yourselves.
Gata mandum haroek ata gata mandum keudroe.
You all admire GEN you all self
- f. They admire themselves.
Awaknyan haroek ata awaknyan kedroe.
They admire GEN 3PL self
- B3) a. Everyone washed himself.
Mandum ureung seumanoe keudroe jih.
Every person wash self 3SG
- b. Everyone admires himself.
Mandum ureung haroke keu keudroe jih.
Every person admire to self 3SG

4. Background

Part A of the questionnaire is intended as a first elicitation checklist with non-specialist consultants. Its goal is to elicit examples involving the various ways of constructing reflexives in the language. The analyst should interpret and classify the results (see below). Based on what is found, follow-up questions can be asked.

Coverage: Section 2 cover simple transitives, grooming verbs, psych verbs, reflexive possession, subordinate reflexive clauses, a bit of person and number variation, and some quantifiers. Since this is an initial questionnaire, it does not include tests of locality: such examples are difficult to set up and could lead to confusion (especially if the target language does not have long-distance reflexives). Section 3 elicits full paradigms for a reflexive grooming verb and a subject experiencer verb.

5. For the analyst: Identify strategies

Review the responses to part A, and identify the specific grammatical devices/strategies/constructions used to express coreference between two participants. How many “different” grammatical constructions can you identify? Choose a short name (label) for each one, and give a list of the sentences that use it. The names you give should be used to refer to this type of construction from now on, so choose them to be informative and pronounceable.

For example, in English, we might call the construction used in A1) “pronoun-SELF”: The construction involves more than the reflexive pronoun, but the name is a convenient shorthand. Or we might simply name it “himself,” choosing a representative form as the name for the entire paradigm *myself, yourself*, etc.

Use the questionnaire answers to construct conjugation paradigms. If the available information is complete, make a note to ask for it later.

6. Follow-up questions

- 6.1 Can **ordinary pronouns** be used with reflexive meaning, in any of the sentences we have considered so far? E.g., English uses the ordinary pronoun in the sentence *John found a book behind him*. If your language has more than one type of pronouns (e.g., clitic and non-clitic pronouns, tonic or stressable pronouns, etc.), or allows null objects to be used referentially, consider each type separately.
- 6.2 Check that the quantified expressions used in A5) do **not** generate a discourse referent that could be the antecedent of a later pronoun.

Anaphora Typology Survey
Part 1: Free translation of reflexive sentences

Language : Batak Toba (North Sumatera)

Part A

7. Basics of sentence structure

Please translate the following sentences in the most natural way. Provide a **detailed gloss** (for the instructions on glossing please see the attached guide lines and the list of standard abbreviations) of the entire sentence, and a literal translation (if the translation is substantially different from the elicitation sentence).

A01) *Simple transitive and intransitive verbs. If for any reason the verbs “run” and “see” are not good choices, please use different verbs.*

- a. John runs.
John marlojong.
John run
- b. John saw Mary.
John mamereng Mary.
John see Mary
- c. I saw Mary.
Ahu mamereng Mary.
I see Mary
- d. Mary saw me.
Mary mamereng ahu.
Mary see me

A02) *Please translate the following **in the most natural way**. E.g., in a “pro-drop” language it would not be necessary to include a pronoun in the translation of the second sentence.*

- a. Bill crossed the street. John saw him. [i.e., saw Bill]
Bill marlojong. John mamereng ibana.
Bill run John see 3SG
- b. John is very rude. Bill hates him. [i.e., hates John]
John parmuruk. Bill dang lomo rohana tu ibana.
John rude Bill not like heart with 3SG
- c. John saw Mary. She greeted him.
John mamereng Mary. Ibana manjou diri-na.
John see Mary She greet body-3SG.GEN
- d. Bill is here. Mary saw his car.
Bill dison. Mary mamereng motor-na.
Bill here. Mary see car-3SG.GEN

A03) *If your language can have sentences with a “null” subject or object, please give some examples.*

8. Inventory of reflexive meanings

2.1 Please translate the following sentences **in the most natural way** (even if this means that you do not use a “reflexive”). Provide a gloss and a literal translation, if substantially different from the prompt sentence. If your sentence is ambiguous and could have other meanings as well, please note this.

If there are several natural translations for a sentence (with different verbs or different grammatical constructions), please give them all.

A1) *Reflexives from simple transitive verbs.*

- a. John saw himself.
John mamereng ibana sandiri.
John see 3SG self
- John mamereng diri-na sandiri.
John see body-3SG.GEN self
- b. You see yourself.
Ho mamereng ho sandiri.
You see 2SG self
- Ho mamereng diri-mu sandiri.
You see body-2SG.GEN self
- c. The students praised themselves.
Parsikkola mamuji halaki sandiri.
students praise 3PL self

A2) *Reflexives from verbs of “grooming” and bodily care. If these verbs don’t work for any reason, feel free to use others (comb, etc.)*

- d. John shaved [himself].
John mancukur.
John shave
- e. Paul washed [himself].
Paul maridi.
Paul wash
- f. I dressed [myself].
Ahu marpahean
I dress

A3) *Reflexives of verbs with any kind of oblique, indirect or prepositional object, or with locative adjuncts. (Including locative case) If any of these verbs do not work, feel free to use other verbs that take an oblique object.*

- e. Peter spoke to himself.

Peter berhata-hata tu diri-na sandiri.
Peter spoke-DUPL to body-3SG.GEN self

Peter berhata-hata tu diri-na.
Peter spoke-DUPL to body-3SG.GEN

- f. Peter spoke about himself.
Peter berhata-hata tentang ibana sandiri.
Peter spoke-DUPL about 3SG self
- g. Peter told us about himself.
Peter mandok tu hita tentang ibana sandiri.
Peter tell to us about 3SG self
- h. Peter told us about ourselves.
Peter mandok tu hita tentang hita sandiri.
Peter tell to us about 1PL self
- i. Maria described Bill to himself.
Maria mancaritakan Bill tu diri-na sandiri.
Maria describe Bill to body-3SG.GEN self
- j. John pushed his car to the garage. [i.e., John's car.]
John mandorong motor-na tu garasi.
John push car-3SG.GEN to garage
- k. Maria found a book behind her. [i.e., behind Maria]
Maria mandapot buku dipudi-nya.
Maria find book behind-3SG
- l. John bought the book for himself.
John manuhor buku tu diri-na sandiri.
John buy book for body-3SG.GEN self
- m. Peter spoke to Thomas.
Peter manghatai tu Thomas.
Peter speak to Thomas

A4) *Reflexives of "experiencer verbs". If these don't work in your language, feel free to use other similar verbs.*

- a. Etta hates herself.
Eta dang lomo hata-na tu diri-na sandiri.
Eta not like heart-3SG.GEN to body-3SG.GEN self
- b. Etta scares herself.
Etta mabiar tu ibana sandiri.
Etta scare to 3SG self

c. Etta worries/has worries about herself.
Eta mabiar tentang ibana sandiri.
Eta worry about 3SG self

d. Etta dislikes Maria.
Eta dang lomo hata-na tu Maria.
Eta not like heart-3SG.GEN to Maria

A5) *Reflexives with quantified, negative, or wh-question subjects. We prefer expressions in the singular (like "every teacher"). If this is not possible, use plural expressions ("all teachers")*

a. Every teacher described himself.
Nasa guru mancaritahon diri-na sandiri.
Every teacher describe body-3SG.GEN self

b. Nobody blamed himself.
Dang adong jolma namamparsalahkan diri-na sandiri.
Not exist person blame body-3SG.GEN self

c. Who hates himself?
Ise dang lomo hata-na tu diri-na sandiri.
Who not like heart-3SG.GEN to body-3SG.GEN self

d. Every teacher described the visitor.
Nasa guru mancaritahon tamu.
Every teacher describe visitor

A6) *Embedded clauses. Use the different kinds of embedding that your language has. For each different way of embedding a clause under another (with appropriate verbs), give an example.*

a. Mary thought that Bill saw himself.
Mary marpikir molo Bill memereng diri-na sandiri.
Mary think that Bill see body-3SG.GEN self

b. Bill told Mary to describe herself.
Bill mandokkon tu Mary mancaritahon ibana sandiri.
Bill tell to Mary describe 3SG self

c. John thinks that Bill voted for himself. [i.e., voted for Bill]
John marpikir molo Bill mamillit diri-na sandiri.
John think that Bill vote-for body-3SG.GEN self

d. Bill saw Ellen defending herself.
Bill mamereng Ellen mambela diri-na.
Bill see Ellen defend body-3SG.GEN

e. Bill told Mary to describe Ellen.
Bill mamokkon tu Mary asa mancaritahon Ellen.
Bill tell to Mary to describe Ellen

A7) *More embedded clauses, this time about the subject of the main clause.*

a. John thinks that Mary hates him. [i.e., hates John]

John marpikir molo Mary dang lomo hata-na ibana.
John think that Mary not like heart-3SG.GEN 3SG

b. Bill asked John to praise him. [i.e., to praise Bill]

Bill mandokkon John asa mamuji diri-na.
Bill ask John to praise body-3SG.GEN

c. John heard Bill praising him [i.e., praising John]

John mambege Bill Mamuji ibana.
John hear Bill praise 3SG

d. Mary thinks that everyone admires her.

Mary marpikir molo nasa jolma mamuji ibana.
Mary think that every people admire 3SG

2.2 Can you think of any other ways of expressing reflexive meaning, using an expression that did not come up in the above examples? If so, please provide some examples.

Part B

9. Person and number forms

Please translate the following sentences; if the translation of the verb “wash” is problematic in some way, use another “grooming” verb such as “shave” or “dress”. If your language makes additional person/number distinctions (e.g., inclusive/exclusive, dual, politeness, etc.), please provide these forms as well.

- B1) a. I washed [myself]
Ahu maridi.
- b. You washed [yourself]
Ho maridi.
- c. (Paul washed [himself] = A2-b)
Paul maridi.
- d. We washed [ourselves]
Hita maridi.
- e. You (plural) washed [yourselves]
Hamuna maridi.
- f. They washed themselves.
Halaki maridi.
- B2) a. I admire myself.
Ahu mamuji diri-ku sandiri.
I admire body-1SG.GEN self
- b. You admire yourself.
Ho mamuji diri-mu sandiri.
You admire body-2SG.GEN self
- c. She admires herself.
Ibana mamuji diri-na sandiri.
She admire body-3SG.GEN self
- d. We admire ourselves.
Hita mamuji diri-ta sandiri.
We admire body-1PL.GEN self
- e. You admire yourselves.
Hamuna mamuji diri-muna sandiri.
You admire body-2PL.GEN self
- f. They admire themselves.
Halaki mamuji halaki sandiri.
They admire 3PL self
- B3) a. Everyone washed himself.
Nasa jolma maridi.
Every person wash
- c. Everyone admires himself.
Nasa jolma mamuji ibana sandiri.
Every person admire 3SG self

10. Background

Part A of the questionnaire is intended as a first elicitation checklist with non-specialist consultants. Its goal is to elicit examples involving the various ways of constructing reflexives in the language. The analyst should interpret and classify the results (see below). Based on what is found, follow-up questions can be asked.

Coverage: Section 2 cover simple transitives, grooming verbs, psych verbs, reflexive possession, subordinate reflexive clauses, a bit of person and number variation, and some quantifiers. Since this is an initial questionnaire, it does not include tests of locality: such examples are difficult to set up and could lead to confusion (especially if the target language does not have long-distance reflexives). Section 3 elicits full paradigms for a reflexive grooming verb and a subject experiencer verb.

11. For the analyst: Identify strategies

Review the responses to part A, and identify the specific grammatical devices/strategies/constructions used to express coreference between two participants. How many “different” grammatical constructions can you identify? Choose a short name (label) for each one, and give a list of the sentences that use it. The names you give should be used to refer to this type of construction from now on, so choose them to be informative and pronounceable.

For example, in English, we might call the construction used in A1) “pronoun-SELF”: The construction involves more than the reflexive pronoun, but the name is a convenient shorthand. Or we might simply name it “himself,” choosing a representative form as the name for the entire paradigm *myself, yourself*, etc.

Use the questionnaire answers to construct conjugation paradigms. If the available information is complete, make a note to ask for it later.

12. Follow-up questions

- 12.1 Can **ordinary pronouns** be used with reflexive meaning, in any of the sentences we have considered so far? E.g., English uses the ordinary pronoun in the sentence *John found a book behind him*. If your language has more than one type of pronouns (e.g., clitic and non-clitic pronouns, tonic or stressable pronouns, etc.), or allows null objects to be used referentially, consider each type separately.
- 12.2 Check that the quantified expressions used in A5) do **not** generate a discourse referent that could be the antecedent of a later pronoun.

Anaphora Typology Survey

Part 1: Free translation of reflexive sentences

Language : Indonesian

Part A

13. Basics of sentence structure

Please translate the following sentences in the most natural way. Provide a **detailed gloss** (for the instructions on glossing please see the attached guide lines and the list of standard abbreviations) of the entire sentence, and a literal translation (if the translation is substantially different from the elicitation sentence).

A01) *Simple transitive and intransitive verbs. If for any reason the verbs “run” and “see” are not good choices, please use different verbs.*

a. John runs.

John ber-lari

John *ber-run*

b. John saw Mary.

John melihat Mary.

John see Mary

c. I saw Mary.

Saya melihat Mary

I see Mary

Aku melihat Mary

I see Mary

d. Mary saw me.

Mary melihat saya/aku

Mary see me

Mary melihat-ku

Mary see-1SG

Mary melihat diri-ku

Mary see body-1SG.GEN

A02) *Please translate the following **in the most natural way**. E.g., in a “pro-drop” language it would not be necessary to include a pronoun in the translation of the second sentence.*

a. Bill crossed the street. John saw him. [i.e., saw Bill]

Bill melewati jalan itu. John melihat dia

B. cross street that. John see 3SG

Bill melewati jalan itu. John melihat-nya

B. cross street that. John see-3SG

Bill melewati jalan itu. John melihat diri-nya

B. cross street that. John see body-3SG.GEN

- b. John is very rude. Bill hates him. [i.e., hates John]
 John sangat kasar. Bill membenci dia.
 John very rude Bill hate 3SG
- John sangat kasar. Bill membenci-nya
 John very rude Bill hate-3SG
- John sangat kasar. Bill membenci diri-nya.
 John very rude Bill hate body-3SG.GEN
- c. John saw Mary. She greeted him.
 John melihat Mary. Dia menyapa dia.
 John see Mary 3SG greet 3SG
- John melihat Mary. Dia menyapa-nya.
 John see Mary 3SG greet-3SG
- John melihat Mary. Dia menyapa diri-nya.
 John see Mary 3SG greet body-3SG.GEN
- d. Bill is here. Mary saw his car.
 Bill ada disini. Mary melihat mobil-nya
 Bill exist here Mary see car-3SG.GEN

A03) *If your language can have sentences with a “null” subject or object, please give some examples.*

14. Inventory of reflexive meanings

2.1 Please translate the following sentences **in the most natural way** (even if this means that you do not use a “reflexive”). Provide a gloss and a literal translation, if substantially different from the prompt sentence. If your sentence is ambiguous and could have other meanings as well, please note this.

If there are several natural translations for a sentence (with different verbs or different grammatical constructions), please give them all.

A1) *Reflexives from simple transitive verbs.*

- a. John saw himself.
 John melihat diri-nya sendiri
 John see body-3SG.GEN self
- John_i melihat diri-nya_{i/j}
 John see body-3SG.GEN
- b. You see yourself.
 Kamu melihat diri-mu sendiri
 2SG see body-2SG.GEN self
- Kamu melihat diri-mu
 2SG see body-2SG.GEN
- c. The students praised themselves.
 Siswa-siswa itu memuji *diri mereka sendiri*

Student.DUPL the praise body 3PL.GEN self

[Siswa-siswa itu]_i memuji *diri mereka*_{i/j}
Student.DUPL the praise body 3PL.GEN

A2) *Reflexives from verbs of "grooming" and bodily care. If these verbs don't work for any reason, feel free to use others (comb, etc.)*

a. John shaved [himself].

John bercukur

John shave

b. Paul washed [himself].

John mandi

John wash

John me-mandi-kan *diri-nya sendiri*
John *meN-wash-kan* body-3SG.GEN self

John me-mandi-kan *diri-nya*
John *meN-wash-kan* body-3SG.GEN

c. I dressed [myself].

Saya berpakaian

I dress

A3) *Reflexives of verbs with any kind of oblique, indirect or prepositional object, or with locative adjuncts. (Including locative case) If any of these verbs do not work, feel free to use other verbs that take an oblique object.*

a. Peter spoke to himself.

Peter berbicara pada *diri-nya sendiri*

Peter speak to body-3SG.GEN self

Peter berbicara pada *diri-nya*_{i/j}

Peter speak to body-3SG.GEN

b. Peter spoke about himself.

Peter berbicara tentang *diri-nya sendiri*

Peter speak about body-3SG.GEN self

Peter berbicara tentang *diri-nya*_{i/j}

Peter speak about body-3SG.GEN

c. Peter told us about himself.

Peter menceritakan pada kami tentang *diri-nya sendiri*

Peter tell to us about body-3SG.GEN self

Peter menceritakan pada kami tentang *diri-nya*_{i/j}

Peter tell to us about body-3SG.GEN

d. Peter told us about ourselves.

Peter menceritakan pada kami tentang *diri kami sendiri*
Peter tell to us about body 3PL.GEN self

Peter menceritakan pada kami tentang *diri kami*
Peter tell to us about body 3PL.GEN

e. Maria described Bill to himself.

Maria_i mendeskripsikan Bill_j pada *diri-nya sendiri_{i/j}*
Maria describe Bill about body-3SG.GEN self

Note: *dirinya sendiri* can refer to both Maria and Bill. In order to refer to Bill only, the sentence should be:

Maria_i mendeskripsikan Bill_j pada *diri Bill sendiri_{i/j}*

Maria_i mendeskripsikan Bill_j pada *diri-nya_{i/j}*
Maria describe Bill about body-3SG.GEN

f. John pushed his car to the garage. [i.e., John's car.]

John mendorong mobil-nya ke garasi
John push car-3SG.GEN to garage

g. Maria found a book behind her. [i.e., behind Maria]

Maria menemukan sebuah buku dibelakang-nya
Maria find a book behind-3SG

Maria menemukan sebuah buku dibelakang dia
Maria find a book behind 3SG

Maria menemukan sebuah buku dibelakang diri-nya
Maria find a book behind body-3SG.GEN

h. John bought the book for himself.

John membeli buku itu untuk *diri-nya sendiri*
John buy book that for body-3SG.GEN self

John membeli buku itu untuk *diri-nya_{i/j}*
John buy book that for body-3SG.GEN

i. Peter spoke to Thomas.

Peter berbicara pada Thomas
Peter spoke to Thomas

A4) *Reflexives of "experiencer verbs". If these don't work in your language, feel free to use other similar verbs.*

a. Etta hates herself.

Etta membenci diri-nya sendiri.
Etta hate body-3SG.GEN self

b. Etta scares herself.

Etta menakuti diri-nya sendiri.
Etta scare body-3SG.GEN self

c. Etta worries/has worries about herself.

Etta mengkhawatirkan tentang diri-nya sendiri.

Etta worry about body-3SG.GEN self

- d. Etta dislikes Maria.
Etta benci Maria

A5) *Reflexives with quantified, negative, or wh-question subjects. We prefer expressions in the singular (like "every teacher"). If this is not possible, use plural expressions ("all teachers")*

- a. Every teacher described himself.
Setiap guru mendeskripsikan diri-nya sendiri
Every teacher describe body-3SG.GEN self

- b. Nobody blamed himself.
Tak seorangpun menyalahkan diri-nya sendiri
Not anyone blame body-3SG.GEN self

- c. Who hates himself?
Siapa yang membenci diri-nya sendiri?
Who FOC hate body-3SG.GEN self

- d. Every teacher described the visitor.
Setiap guru mendeskripsikan pengunjung tersebut.
Every teacher describe visitor that

A6) *Embedded clauses. Use the different kinds of embedding that your language has. For each different way of embedding a clause under another (with appropriate verbs), give an example.*

- a. Mary thought that Bill saw himself.
Mary mengira bahwa Bill melihat diri-nya sendiri
Mary think that Bill see body-3SG.GEN self

Mary_i mengira bahwa Bill_j melihat diri-nya_{i/j}
Mary think that Bill see body-3SG.GEN

- b. Bill told Mary to describe herself.
Bill mengatakan pada Mary untuk mendeskripsikan diri-nya sendiri
Bill told to Mary to describe body-3SG.GEN self

Bill_i mengatakan pada Mary_j untuk mendeskripsikan diri-nya_{i/j}
Bill told to Mary to describe body-3SG.GEN

- c. John thinks that Bill voted for himself. [i.e., voted for Bill]
John mengira bahwa Bill mencoblos diri-nya sendiri
John think that Bill vote for body-3SG.GEN self

John_i mengira bahwa Bill_j mencoblos diri-nya_{i/j}
John think that Bill vote_for body-3SG.GEN

- d. Bill saw Ellen defending herself.
Bill melihat Ellen membela diri-nya sendiri
Bill see Ellen defend body-3SG.GEN self

Bill_i melihat Ellen_j membela diri-nya_{i/j}
Bill see Ellen defend body-3SG.GEN

- e. Bill told Mary to describe Ellen.
 Bill meminta Mary untuk mendeskripsikan Ellen.
 Bill told Mary to describe Ellen

A7) *More embedded clauses, this time about the subject of the main clause.*

- a. John thinks that Mary hates him. [i.e., hates John]
 John mengira bahwa Mary membenci dia
 John think that Mary hate 3SG

John mengira bahwa Mary membenci-nya
 John think that Mary hate-3SG

John_i mengira bahwa Mary_j membenci diri-nya_{i/j}
 John think that Mary hate body-3SG.GEN

- b. Bill asked John to praise him. [i.e., to praise Bill]
 Bill meminta John untuk memuji dia
 Bill ask John to praise 3SG

Bill meminta John untuk memuji-nya
 Bill ask John to praise-3SG

Bill_i meminta John_j untuk memuji diri-nya_{i/j}
 Bill ask John to praise body-3SG.GEN

- c. John heard Bill praising him [i.e., praising John]
 John mendengar Bill memuji dia
 John hear Bill praise 3SG

John mendengar Bill memuji-nya
 John hear Bill praise-3SG

John_i mendengar Bill_j memuji diri-nya_{i/j}
 John hear Bill praise body-3SG.GEN

- d. Mary thinks that everyone admires her.
 Mary mengira bahwa setiap orang mengagumi dia.
 Mary think that every person admire 3SG

Mary mengira bahwa setiap orang mengagumi-nya.
 Mary think that every person admire-3SG

Mary mengira bahwa setiap orang mengagumi diri-nya.
 Mary think that every person admire body-3SG.GEN

2.2 Can you think of any other ways of expressing reflexive meaning, using an expression that did not come up in the above examples? If so, please provide some examples.

Part B

15. Person and number forms

Please translate the following sentences; if the translation of the verb “wash” is problematic in some way, use another “grooming” verb such as “shave” or “dress”. If your language makes additional person/number distinctions (e.g., inclusive/exclusive, dual, politeness, etc.), please provide these forms as well.

- B1) a. I washed [myself]
 Saya mandi
 I wash
- b. You washed [yourself]
 Kamu mandi
 You wash
- c. (Paul washed [himself] = A2-b)
 Paul mandi
 Paul wash
- d. We washed [ourselves]
 Kami mandi
 We wash
- e. You (plural) washed [yourselves]
 Kalian mandi
 You wash
- f. They washed themselves.
 Mereka mandi
 They wash
- Mereka me-mandi-kan diri mereka sendiri
 They *meN-wash-kan* body 3PL.GEN self

- B2) a. I admire myself.
 Aku mengagumi diri-ku sendiri
 I admire body-1SG.GEN self
- Aku mengagumi diri-ku
 I admire body-1SG.GEN
- b. You admire yourself.
 Kamu mengagumi diri-mu sendiri
 You admire body-2SG.GEN self
- Kamu mengagumi diri-mu
 You admire body-2SG.GEN
- c. She admires herself.
 Dia mengagumi diri-nya sendiri
 3SG admire body-3SG.GEN self
- Dia mengagumi diri-nya_{i/j}
 3SG admire body-3SG.GEN
- d. We admire ourselves.
 Kami mengagumi diri kami sendiri
 1PL admire body 1PL.GEN self
- Kami mengagumi diri kami
 1PL admire body 1PL.GEN

e. You admire yourselves.
Kamu mengagumi diri-mu sendiri
2SG/PL admire body-2SG/PL.GEN self

Kamu mengagumi diri-mu
2SG/PL admire body-2SG/PL.GEN

Kalian mengagumi diri kalian sendiri
2PL admire body 2PL.GEN self

Kamu mengagumi diri kalian
2PL admire body 2PL.GEN

f. They admire themselves.
Mereka mengagumi diri mereka sendiri
They admire body 3PL.GEN self

B3) a. Everyone washed himself.
Setiap orang memandikan diri-nya sendiri
Every person wash body-3SG.GEN self

b. Everyone admires himself.
Setiap orang mengagumi diri-nya sendiri
Every person admire body-3SG.GEN self

16. Background

Part A of the questionnaire is intended as a first elicitation checklist with non-specialist consultants. Its goal is to elicit examples involving the various ways of constructing reflexives in the language. The analyst should interpret and classify the results (see below). Based on what is found, follow-up questions can be asked.

Coverage: Section 2 cover simple transitives, grooming verbs, psych verbs, reflexive possession, subordinate reflexive clauses, a bit of person and number variation, and some quantifiers. Since this is an initial questionnaire, it does not include tests of locality: such examples are difficult to set up and could lead to confusion (especially if the target language does not have long-distance reflexives). Section 3 elicits full paradigms for a reflexive grooming verb and a subject experiencer verb.

17. For the analyst: Identify strategies

Review the responses to part A, and identify the specific grammatical devices/strategies/constructions used to express coreference between two participants. How many “different” grammatical constructions can you identify? Choose a short name (label) for each one, and give a list of the sentences that use it. The names you give should be used to refer to this type of construction from now on, so choose them to be informative and pronounceable.

For example, in English, we might call the construction used in A1) “pronoun-SELF”: The construction involves more than the reflexive pronoun, but the name is a convenient shorthand. Or we might simply name it “himself,” choosing a representative form as the name for the entire paradigm *myself, yourself*, etc.

Use the questionnaire answers to construct conjugation paradigms. If the available information is

complete, make a note to ask for it later.

18. Follow-up questions

- 18.1 Can **ordinary pronouns** be used with reflexive meaning, in any of the sentences we have considered so far? E.g., English uses the ordinary pronoun in the sentence *John found a book behind him*. If your language has more than one type of pronouns (e.g., clitic and non-clitic pronouns, tonic or stressable pronouns, etc.), or allows null objects to be used referentially, consider each type separately.
- 18.2 Check that the quantified expressions used in A5) do **not** generate a discourse referent that could be the antecedent of a later pronoun.

Anaphora Typology Survey
Part 1: Free translation of reflexive sentences

Language : **Jambi (City Jambi Dialect)**

Part A

19. Basics of sentence structure

Please translate the following sentences in the most natural way. Provide a **detailed gloss** (for the instructions on glossing please see the attached guide lines and the list of standard abbreviations) of the entire sentence, and a literal translation (if the translation is substantially different from the elicitation sentence).

A01) *Simple transitive and intransitive verbs. If for any reason the verbs “run” and “see” are not good choices, please use different verbs.*

- a. John runs.
John belari.
John run

- b. John saw Mary.
John nengok Mary.
John see Mary

- c. I saw Mary.
Aku nengok Mary.
I see Mary

Sayo nengok Mary.
I see Mary

- d. Mary saw me.
Mary nengok aku.
Mary see me

Mary nengok sayo.
Mary see me

A02) *Please translate the following **in the most natural way**. E.g., in a “pro-drop” language it would not be necessary to include a pronoun in the translation of the second sentence.*

- a. Bill crossed the street. John saw him. [i.e., saw Bill]
Bill nyeberang jalan. John melihat-nyo
Bill cross street John see-3SG

- b. John is very rude. Bill hates him. [i.e., hates John]
John kasar nian. Bill benci samo dio.
John rude very. Bill hate with 3SG

- c. John saw Mary. She greeted him.
John nengok Mary. Dio ngasih salam ke dio.
John see Mary he give greeting to 3SG

- d. Bill is here. Mary saw his car.
 Bill ado disini. Mary nengok mobil dio.
 Bill exist here. Mary see car 3SG.GEN

A03) *If your language can have sentences with a “null” subject or object, please give some examples.*

20. Inventory of reflexive meanings

2.1 Please translate the following sentences **in the most natural way** (even if this means that you do not use a “reflexive”). Provide a gloss and a literal translation, if substantially different from the prompt sentence. If your sentence is ambiguous and could have other meanings as well, please note this.

If there are several natural translations for a sentence (with different verbs or different grammatical constructions), please give them all.

A1) *Reflexives from simple transitive verbs.*

- a. John saw himself.
 John nengok diri-nyo.
 John see body-3SG.GEN
- b. You see yourself.
 Kau nengok diri kau dewek.
 You see body 2SG.GEN self
- c. The students praised themselves.
 Para pelajar muji diri mereka dewek.
 All student praise body 3PL.GEN self

A2) *Reflexives from verbs of “grooming” and bodily care. If these verbs don’t work for any reason, feel free to use others (comb, etc.)*

- a. John shaved [himself].
 John becukur.
John shave
- b. Paul washed [himself].
 Paul mandi.
Paul wash
- c. I dressed [myself].
 Sayo bedandan
I dress

A3) *Reflexives of verbs with any kind of oblique, indirect or prepositional object, or with locative adjuncts. (Including locative case) If any of these verbs do not work, feel free to use other verbs that take an oblique object.*

- a. Peter spoke to himself.
 Peter ngomong ke diri-nyo dewek.
 Peter spoke to body-3SG.GEN self

- b. Peter spoke about himself.
Peter ngomong tentang diri dio dewek.
Peter speak about body 3SG.GEN self
- c. Peter told us about himself.
Peter ngasih tau kito tentang diri-nyo.
Peter give info us about body-3SG.GEN
- d. Peter told us about ourselves.
Peter ngasih tau kito tentang diri kito.
Peter give info us about body 1PL.GEN
- e. Maria described Bill to himself.
Maria njelasin tentang Bill ke diri-nyo dewek.
Maria describe about Bill to diri-3SG.GEN self
- f. John pushed his car to the garage. [i.e., John's car.]
John dorong mobil-nyo ke garasi.
John push car-3SG.GEN to garage
- g. Maria found a book behind her. [i.e., behind Maria]
Maria nemu buku dibelakang-nyo.
Maria find book behind-3SG
- h. John bought the book for himself.
John beli buku untuk diri dio dewek.
John buy book for body 3SG.GEN self
- i. Peter spoke to Thomas.
Peter ngomong ke Thomas.
Peter speak to Thomas

A4) *Reflexives of "experiencer verbs". If these don't work in your language, feel free to use other similar verbs.*

- a. Etta hates herself.
Eta benci diri dio dewek.
Eta hate body 3SG.GEN self
- b. Etta scares herself.
Eta takut diri dio dewek.
Eta scare body 3SG.GEN self
- c. Etta worries/has worries about herself.
Eta khawatir tentang diri dio
Eta worry about body 3SG.GEN

- d. Etta dislikes Maria.
 Etta dak suko samo Maria
 Etta not like with maria
- A5) *Reflexives with quantified, negative, or wh-question subjects. We prefer expressions in the singular (like “every teacher”). If this is not possible, use plural expressions (“all teachers”)*
- a. Every teacher described himself.
 Tiap guru njelasin tentang diri-nyo dewek.
 Every teacher describe about body-3SG.GEN self
- b. Nobody blamed himself.
 Dak ado yang nyalahin diri-nyo dewek.
 No exist that blame body-3SG.GEN self
- c. Who hates himself?
 Siapo yang benci diri-nyo dewek?
 Who FOC hate body-3SG.GEN self
- d. Every teacher described the visitor.
 Tiap guru nerangin ke pengunjung.
 Every teacher describe to visitor
- A6) *Embedded clauses. Use the different kinds of embedding that your language has. For each different way of embedding a clause under another (with appropriate verbs), give an example.*
- a. Mary thought that Bill saw himself.
 Mary mikir kalo Bill nengok diri dio dewek.
 Mary think if Bill see body 3SG.GEN self
- b. Bill told Mary to describe herself.
 Bill nyuruh Mary buat nerangin diri dio dewek.
 Bill ask Mary to describe body 3SG.GEN self
- c. John thinks that Bill voted for himself. [i.e., voted for Bill]
 John mikir kalo Bill ngasih suaro buat diri dio dewek.
 John think if Bill give vote for body 3SG.GEN self
- d. Bill saw Ellen defending herself.
 Bill nengok Ellen betahan dewek.
 Bill see Ellen defend self
- e. Bill told Mary to describe Ellen.
 Bill nyuruh Mary nerangin tentang Ellen.
 Bill ask Mary describe about Ellen

A7) *More embedded clauses, this time about the subject of the main clause.*

a. John thinks that Mary hates him. [i.e., hates John]

John mikir kalo Mary benci samo dio.

John think if Mary hate with 3SG

b. Bill asked John to praise him. [i.e., to praise Bill]

Bill nyuruh John buat muji dio.

Bill ask John to praise 3SG

c. John heard Bill praising him [i.e., praising John]

John ngedengar Bill muji dio.

John hear Bill praise 3SG

d. Mary thinks that everyone admires her.

Mary kiro kalo tiap orang kagum samo dio.

Mary think if every people admire to 3SG

2.2 Can you think of any other ways of expressing reflexive meaning, using an expression that did not come up in the above examples? If so, please provide some examples.

Part B

21. Person and number forms

Please translate the following sentences; if the translation of the verb “wash” is problematic in some way, use another “grooming” verb such as “shave” or “dress”. If your language makes additional person/number distinctions (e.g., inclusive/exclusive, dual, politeness, etc.), please provide these forms as well.

- B1) a. I washed [myself]
Sayo mandi.
- b. You washed [yourself]
Kau mandi.
- c. (Paul washed [himself] = A2-b)
Paul mandi.
- d. We washed [ourselves]
Kami mandi.
- e. You (plural) washed [yourselves]
Kalian mandi.
- f. They washed themselves.
Mereka mandi.
- B2) a. I admire myself.
Sayo kagum samo diri sayo dewek.
I admire with body 1SG.GEN self
- b. You admire yourself.
Kau kagum samo diri kau dewek.
You admire with body 2SG.GEN self
- c. She admires herself.
Dio kagum samo diri dio dewek.
She admire with body 3SG.GEN self
- d. We admire ourselves.
Kami kagum samo diri kami dewek.
We admire with body 1PL.GEN self
- e. You admire yourselves.
Kau kagum samo diri kau dewek.
You admire with body 2PL.GEN self
- f. They admire themselves.
Mereka kagum samo diri mereka dewek.
They admire with body 3PL.GEN self
- B3) a. Everyone washed himself.
Tiap orang mandi.
Every person wash
- b. Everyone admires himself.
Tiap orang kagum samo diri mereka dewek.
Every people admire with body 3PL.GEN self

22. Background

Part A of the questionnaire is intended as a first elicitation checklist with non-specialist consultants. Its goal is to elicit examples involving the various ways of constructing reflexives in the language. The analyst should interpret and classify the results (see below). Based on what is found, follow-up questions can be asked.

Coverage: Section 2 cover simple transitives, grooming verbs, psych verbs, reflexive possession, subordinate reflexive clauses, a bit of person and number variation, and some quantifiers. Since this is an initial questionnaire, it does not include tests of locality: such examples are difficult to set up and could lead to confusion (especially if the target language does not have long-distance reflexives). Section 3 elicits full paradigms for a reflexive grooming verb and a subject experiencer verb.

23. For the analyst: Identify strategies

Review the responses to part A, and identify the specific grammatical devices/strategies/constructions used to express coreference between two participants. How many “different” grammatical constructions can you identify? Choose a short name (label) for each one, and give a list of the sentences that use it. The names you give should be used to refer to this type of construction from now on, so choose them to be informative and pronounceable.

For example, in English, we might call the construction used in A1) “pronoun-SELF”: The construction involves more than the reflexive pronoun, but the name is a convenient shorthand. Or we might simply name it “himself,” choosing a representative form as the name for the entire paradigm *myself, yourself*, etc.

Use the questionnaire answers to construct conjugation paradigms. If the available information is complete, make a note to ask for it later.

24. Follow-up questions

- 24.1 Can **ordinary pronouns** be used with reflexive meaning, in any of the sentences we have considered so far? E.g., English uses the ordinary pronoun in the sentence *John found a book behind him*. If your language has more than one type of pronouns (e.g., clitic and non-clitic pronouns, tonic or stressable pronouns, etc.), or allows null objects to be used referentially, consider each type separately.
- 24.2 Check that the quantified expressions used in A5) do **not** generate a discourse referent that could be the antecedent of a later pronoun.

Anaphora Typology Survey
Part 1: Free translation of reflexive sentences

Language : Javanese

Part A

25. Basics of sentence structure

Please translate the following sentences in the most natural way. Provide a **detailed gloss** (for the instructions on glossing please see the attached guide lines and the list of standard abbreviations) of the entire sentence, and a literal translation (if the translation is substantially different from the elicitation sentence).

A01) *Simple transitive and intransitive verbs. If for any reason the verbs “run” and “see” are not good choices, please use different verbs.*

a. John runs.

John mlayu.

John lari

b. John saw Mary.

John ndelok Mary.

John see Mary

c. I saw Mary.

Aku ndelok Mary.

I see Mary

d. Mary saw me.

Mary ndelok aku.

Mary see me

Mary ndelok awak-ku

Mary see body-1SG.GEN

A02) *Please translate the following **in the most natural way**. E.g., in a “pro-drop” language it would not be necessary to include a pronoun in the translation of the second sentence.*

a. Bill crossed the street. John saw him. [i.e., saw Bill]

Bill ngelewati dalam iku. John ndelok dee.

Bill cross street that. John see 3SG

Bill ngelewati dalam iku. John ndelok awak-e dee.

Bill cross street that. John see body-3SG.GEN 3SG

b. John is very rude. Bill hates him. [i.e., hates John]

John kasar tenan. Bill sengit karo dee.

John rude very Bill hate with 3SG

John kasar tenan. Bill sengit karo awak-e dee.

John rude very Bill hate with body-3SG.GEN 3SG

c. John saw Mary. She greeted him.

John ndelok Mary. Dee nyopo dee

John see Mary 3SG greet 3SG

John ndelok Mary. Dee nyopo awak-e dee
John see Mary 3SG greet body-3SG.GEN 3SG

- d. Bill is here. Mary saw his car.
Bill eneng nang kene. Mary ndelok mobil-e dee.
Bill exist in here Mary see car-3SG.GEN 3SG

A03) *If your language can have sentences with a “null” subject or object, please give some examples.*

26. Inventory of reflexive meanings

2.1 Please translate the following sentences **in the most natural way** (even if this means that you do not use a “reflexive”). Provide a gloss and a literal translation, if substantially different from the prompt sentence. If your sentence is ambiguous and could have other meanings as well, please note this.

If there are several natural translations for a sentence (with different verbs or different grammatical constructions), please give them all.

A1) *Reflexives from simple transitive verbs.*

- a. John saw himself.
John ndelok awak-e dee dewe.
John see body-3SG.GEN 3SG self

John ndelok awak-e dee.
John see body-3SG.GEN 3SG

- b. You see yourself.
Kowe ndelok awak-mu dewe.
2SG see body-2SG.GEN self

Kowe ndelok awak-mu.
2SG see body-2SG.GEN

- c. The students praised themselves.
Murid-murid iku muji awak-e dee uwong dewe.
Student.DUPL the praise body-3.GEN 3SG people self

Murid-murid iku memuji awak-e dee uwong.
Student.DUPL the praise body-3.GEN 3SG people

A2) *Reflexives from verbs of “grooming” and bodily care. If these verbs don’t work for any reason, feel free to use others (comb, etc.)*

- a. John shaved [himself].
John cukur-an.
John shave-*an*

John nyukur-i awak-e dee dewe.
John shave-*I* body-3SG.GEN 3SG self

- b. Paul washed [himself].

John adus
John wash

John ng-adus-i awak-e dee dewe
John ACT-wash-BEN body-3SG.GEN 3SG self

- c. I dressed [myself].

Aku kelamben-an
I dress-an

A3) *Reflexives of verbs with any kind of oblique, indirect or prepositional object, or with locative adjuncts. (Including locative case) If any of these verbs do not work, feel free to use other verbs that take an oblique object.*

- a. Peter spoke to himself.

Peter ngomong karo awak-e dee dewe.
Peter speak to body-3SG.GEN 3SG self

Peter ngomong karo awak-e dee
Peter speak to body-3SG.GEN 3SG

- b. Peter spoke about himself.

Peter ngomong tentang awak-e dee dewe.
Peter speak about body-3SG.GEN 3SG self

Peter ngomong tentang awak-e dee
Peter speak about body-3SG.GEN 3SG

- c. Peter told us about himself.

Peter nyeritake karo dewe tentang awake dee dewe.
Peter tell to us about body-3SG.GEN 3SG self

Peter nyeritake karo dewe tentang awake dee.
Peter tell to us about body-3SG.GEN 3SG

- d. Peter told us about ourselves.

Peter nyeritake karo dewe tentang awak-e dewe.
Peter tell to us about body-3SG.GEN self

- e. Maria described Bill to himself.

Maria nyeritake Bill karo awak-e dee dewe.
Maria describe Bill to body-3SG.GEN 3SG self

Maria nyeritake Bill karo awak-e dee.
Maria describe Bill to body-3SG.GEN 3SG

- f. John pushed his car to the garage. [i.e., John's car.]

John ndorong mobil-e dee nang garasi.
John push car-3SG.GEN 3SG to garage

- g. Maria found a book behind her. [i.e., behind Maria]

Maria nemu buku nang burine dee.
Maria find book in behind 3SG

- h. John bought the book for himself.
John tuku buku iku kanggo awak-e dee dewe.
John buy book that for body-3SG.GEN 3SG self

John tuku buku iku kanggo awak-e dee.
John buy book that for body-3SG.GEN 3SG

- i. Peter spoke to Thomas.
Peter ngomong karo Thomas
Peter spoke to Thomas

A4) *Reflexives of “experiencer verbs”. If these don’t work in your language, feel free to use other similar verbs.*

- a. Etta hates herself.
Etta sengit karo awak-e dee dewe.
Etta hate with body-3SG.GEN 3SG self

- b. Etta scares herself.
Etta medeni awak-e dee dewe.
Etta scare body-3SG.GEN 3SG self

- c. Etta worries/has worries about herself.
Etta ngawatirke awak-e dee dewe.
Etta worry body-3SG.GEN 3SG self

- d. Etta dislikes Maria.
Etta ora seneng karo Maria.
Etta not like to Maria

A5) *Reflexives with quantified, negative, or wh-question subjects. We prefer expressions in the singular (like “every teacher”). If this is not possible, use plural expressions (“all teachers”)*

- a. Every teacher described himself.
Tiap guru nyeritake awake dee dewe.
Every teacher describe body-3SG.GEN 3SG self

- b. Nobody blamed himself.
Gak eneng uwong nyalahne awak-e dee dewe.
Not exist person blame body-3SG.GEN 3SG self

- c. Who hates himself?
Sopo sing sengit karo awak-e dee dewe.
Who FOC hate to body-3SG.GEN 3SG self

- d. Every teacher described the visitor.
Tiap guru nyeritake tamu iku.
Every teacher describe visitor that

A6) *Embedded clauses. Use the different kinds of embedding that your language has. For each different way of embedding a clause under another (with appropriate verbs), give an example.*

- a. Mary thought that Bill saw himself.
 Mary ngira nek Bill ndelok awak-e dee dewe.
 Mary think that Bill see body-3SG.GEN 3SG self
- Mary ngira nek Bill ndelok awak-e dee.
 Mary think that Bill see body-3SG.GEN 3SG
- b. Bill told Mary to describe herself.
 Bill ngomong karo Mary kudu nyeritake awak-e dee dewe.
 Bill told to Mary to describe body-3SG.GEN 3SG self
- Bill ngomong karo Mary kudu nyeritake awak-e dee.
 Bill told to Mary to describe body-3SG.GEN 3SG
- c. John thinks that Bill voted for himself. [i.e., voted for Bill]
 John ngiro nek Bill nyoblos awak-e dee dewe.
 John think that Bill vote for body-3SG.GEN 3SG self
- John ngiro nek Bill nyoblos awak-e dee.
 John think that Bill vote for body-3SG.GEN 3SG
- d. Bill saw Ellen defending herself.
 Bill ndelok Ellen mbelo awak-e dee dewe.
 Bill see Ellen defend body-3SG.GEN 3SG self
- Bill ndelok Ellen mbelo awak-e dee.
 Bill see Ellen defend body-3SG.GEN 3SG
- e. Bill told Mary to describe Ellen.
 Bill ngomong karo Mary kudu nyeritake Ellen.
 Bill tell to Mary to describe Ellen

A7) *More embedded clauses, this time about the subject of the main clause.*

- a. John thinks that Mary hates him. [i.e., hates John]
 John ngiro nek Mary sengit karo dee.
 John think that Mary hate to 3SG
- John ngiro nek Mary sengit karo awak-e dee.
 John think that Mary hate to body-3SG.GEN 3SG
- b. Bill asked John to praise him. [i.e., to praise Bill]
 Bill ngarepke John kudu muji dee.
 Bill ask John to praise 3SG
- Bill ngarepke John kudu muji awak-e dee.
 Bill ask John to praise body-3SG.GEN 3SG

- c. John heard Bill praising him [i.e., praising John]
John krungu Bill muji dee.
John hear Bill praise 3SG

John krungu Bill muji awak-e dee.
John hear Bill praise body-3SG.GEN 3SG

- d. Mary thinks that everyone admires her.

Mary ngiro nek tiap uwong ngagumi dee.
Mary think that every person admire 3SG

Mary ngiro nek tiap uwong ngagumi awak-e dee .
Mary think that every person admire body-3SG.GEN 3SG

2.2 Can you think of any other ways of expressing reflexive meaning, using an expression that did not come up in the above examples? If so, please provide some examples.

Part B

27. Person and number forms

Please translate the following sentences; if the translation of the verb “wash” is problematic in some way, use another “grooming” verb such as “shave” or “dress”. If your language makes additional person/number distinctions (e.g., inclusive/exclusive, dual, politeness, etc.), please provide these forms as well.

- 1) a. I washed [myself]
Aku adus.
I wash

- b. You washed [yourself]
Kowe adus.
You wash
- c. (Paul washed [himself] = A2-b)
Paul adus.
Paul wash
- d. We washed [ourselves]
Dewe adus.
We wash
- e. You (plural) washed [yourselves]
Kowe adus.
You wash
- f. They washed themselves.
Dee uwong adus.
3SG people wash

B2)

- a. I admire myself.
Aku ngagumi awak-ku dewe.
I admire body-1SG.GEN self
- b. You admire yourself.
Kowe ngagumi awak-mu dewe.
You admire body-2SG.GEN self
- c. She admires herself.
Dee ngagumi awak-e dee dewe.
3SG admire body-3SG.GEN 3SG self
- d. We admire ourselves.
Dewe ngagumi awak-e dewe dewe.
We admire body-GEN 1PL self
- e. You admire yourselves.
Kowe ngagumi awak-mu dewe.
2SG/PL admire body-2SG/PL.GEN self

Kowe ngagumi awak-mu.
2SG/PL admire body-2SG/PL.GEN
- f. They admire themselves.
Dee uwong ngagumi awak-e dee uwong dewe.
They admire body-3.GEN 3SG people self

B3)

- a. Everyone washed himself.
Tiap uwong ng-adus-i awak-e dee dewe.
Every person *ng-wash-i* body-3SG.GEN 3SG self

Tiap uwong adus
Every person wash

- b. Everyone admires himself.

Tiap uwong ngagumi awak-e dee dewe.
Every person admire body-3SG.GEN 3SG self

28. Background

Part A of the questionnaire is intended as a first elicitation checklist with non-specialist consultants. Its goal is to elicit examples involving the various ways of constructing reflexives in the language. The analyst should interpret and classify the results (see below). Based on what is found, follow-up questions can be asked.

Coverage: Section 2 cover simple transitives, grooming verbs, psych verbs, reflexive possession, subordinate reflexive clauses, a bit of person and number variation, and some quantifiers. Since this is an initial questionnaire, it does not include tests of locality: such examples are difficult to set up and could lead to confusion (especially if the target language does not have long-distance reflexives). Section 3 elicits full paradigms for a reflexive grooming verb and a subject experiencer verb.

29. For the analyst: Identify strategies

Review the responses to part A, and identify the specific grammatical devices/strategies/constructions used to express coreference between two participants. How many “different” grammatical constructions can you identify? Choose a short name (label) for each one, and give a list of the sentences that use it. The names you give should be used to refer to this type of construction from now on, so choose them to be informative and pronounceable.

For example, in English, we might call the construction used in A1) “pronoun-SELF”: The construction involves more than the reflexive pronoun, but the name is a convenient shorthand. Or we might simply name it “himself,” choosing a representative form as the name for the entire paradigm *myself, yourself*, etc.

Use the questionnaire answers to construct conjugation paradigms. If the available information is complete, make a note to ask for it later.

30. Follow-up questions

30.1 Can **ordinary pronouns** be used with reflexive meaning, in any of the sentences we have considered so far? E.g., English uses the ordinary pronoun in the sentence *John found a book behind him*. If your language has more than one type of pronouns (e.g., clitic and non-clitic pronouns, tonic or stressable pronouns, etc.), or allows null objects to be used referentially, consider each type separately.

30.2 Check that the quantified expressions used in A5) do **not** generate a discourse referent that could be the antecedent of a later pronoun.

Anaphora Typology Survey
Part 1: Free translation of reflexive sentences

Language : Lampung (Dialect Nyo)

Part A

31. Basics of sentence structure

Please translate the following sentences in the most natural way. Provide a **detailed gloss** (for the instructions on glossing please see the attached guide lines and the list of standard abbreviations) of the entire sentence, and a literal translation (if the translation is substantially different from the elicitation sentence).

A01) *Simple transitive and intransitive verbs. If for any reason the verbs “run” and “see” are not good choices, please use different verbs.*

a. John runs.
John tuyun.
John lari

b. John saw Mary.
John ngenah Mary.
John see Mary

c. I saw Mary.
Ikam ngenah Mary.
I see Mary

d. Mary saw me.
Mary ngenah ikam.
Mary saw me

A02) *Please translate the following in the most natural way. E.g., in a “pro-drop” language it would not be necessary to include a pronoun in the translation of the second sentence.*

a. Bill crossed the street. John saw him. [i.e., saw Bill]
Bill nyebrang ghenglayo ino. John ngenah no.
Bill cross street that. John see 3SG

Bill nyebrang ngenglayo ino. John ngenah yo.
B. cross street that John see 3SG

b. John is very rude. Bill hates him. [i.e., hates John]
John kasar temen. Bill bejei jamo no.
John very rude Bill hate with 3SG

John kasar temen. Bill bejei jamo yo
John very rude Bill hate with 3SG

c. John saw Mary. She greeted him.
John ngenah Mary. Yo nyambat no.
John see Mary 3SG greet 3SG

John ngenah Mary. Yo nyambat yo.

John see Mary 3SG greet 3SG

- d. Bill is here. Mary saw his car.
Bill di jow. Mary ngenah mobil no.
Bill in here Mary see car 3SG.GEN

A03) *If your language can have sentences with a “null” subject or object, please give some examples.*

32. Inventory of reflexive meanings

2.1 Please translate the following sentences **in the most natural way** (even if this means that you do not use a “reflexive”). Provide a gloss and a literal translation, if substantially different from the prompt sentence. If your sentence is ambiguous and could have other meanings as well, please note this.

If there are several natural translations for a sentence (with different verbs or different grammatical constructions), please give them all.

A1) *Reflexives from simple transitive verbs.*

- a. John saw himself.
John ngenah badan no sayan.
John see body 3SG.GEN self
- b. You see yourself.
Niku ngenah badan-mu sayan.
2SG see body-2SG.GEN self
- c. The students praised themselves.
Kaban murid ngebujuk badan tiyan sayan.
All student praise body 3PL.GEN self

A2) *Reflexives from verbs of “grooming” and bodily care. If these verbs don’t work for any reason, feel free to use others (comb, etc.)*

- a. John shaved [himself].
John becukur.
John shave
- b. Paul washed [himself].
John mandey.
John wash
- c. I dressed [myself].
Ikam bekaway.
I dress

A3) *Reflexives of verbs with any kind of oblique, indirect or prepositional object, or with locative adjuncts. (Including locative case) If any of these verbs do not work, feel free to use other verbs that take an oblique object.*

- a. Peter spoke to himself.

- Peter cawow jamo badan no sayan.
Peter speak to body 3SG.GEN self
- b. Peter spoke about himself.
Peter cawow tetang badon no sayan.
Peter speak about body 3SG.GEN self
- c. Peter told us about himself.
Peter ngejukpandai ikam tetang badan no sayan.
Peter tell us about body 3SG.GEN self
- d. Peter told us about ourselves.
Peter ngejukpandai ikam tetang badan ikam.
Peter tell us about body 1PL.GEN
- e. Maria described Bill to himself.
Maria ngejukpandai Bill jamo badan no sayan.
Maria describe Bill to body 3SG.GEN self
- f. John pushed his car to the garage. [i.e., John's car.]
John ngedurung mubil no adek gerasi.
John push car 3SG.GEN to garage
- g. Maria found a book behind her. [i.e., behind Maria]
Maria nembukke bukeu dibelakang no.
Maria find book behind 3SG
- h. John bought the book for himself.
John ngebeli bukeu guway badan no sayan.
John buy book for body 3SG.GEN self
- i. Peter spoke to Thomas.
Peter ngubrul jamo Thomas.
Peter speak with Thomas

A4) *Reflexives of "experiencer verbs". If these don't work in your language, feel free to use other similar verbs.*

- a. Etta hates herself.
Etta ngebejei badan no sayan.
Etta hate body 3SG.GEN self
- b. Etta scares herself.
Etta ngegabayi badan no sayan.
Etta scare body 3SG.GEN self
- c. Etta worries/has worries about herself.
Etta galang tetang badan no sayan.
Etta worry about body 3SG.GEN self
- d. Etta dislikes Maria.
Etta mak puguh jamo Maria.
Etta not like with Maria

A5) *Reflexives with quantified, negative, or wh-question subjects. We prefer expressions in the singular (like “every teacher”). If this is not possible, use plural expressions (“all teachers”)*

a. Every teacher described himself.

Segalo gureu ngejukpandai badan no sayan.
Every teacher describe body 3SG.GEN self

b. Nobody blamed himself.

Mak mako jimo say jimo say nyalahke badan no sayan.
Not exist person foc person that blame body 3SG.GEN self

c. Who hates himself?

Ap say ngebejei badan no sayan?
Who FOC hate body 3SG.GEN self

d. Every teacher described the visitor.

Segalo gureu ngejukpandai temui ino.
Every teacher describe visitor that

A6) *Embedded clauses. Use the different kinds of embedding that your language has. For each different way of embedding a clause under another (with appropriate verbs), give an example.*

a. Mary thought that Bill saw himself.

Mary bepikir bahwa Bill ngenah badan no sayan.
Mary think that Bill see body 3SG.GEN self

b. Bill told Mary to describe herself.

Bill negur Mary mangei ngejukpandai tetang badan no sayan.
Bill told Mary to describe about body 3SG.GEN self

c. John thinks that Bill voted for himself. [i.e., voted for Bill]

John bepikir bahwa Bill milih badan no sayan.
John think that Bill vote-for body 3SG.GEN self

d. Bill saw Ellen defending herself.

Bill ngenah Ellen ngebela badan no sayan.
Bill see Ellen defend body 3SG.GEN self

e. Bill told Mary to describe Ellen.

Bill ngayun Mary ngejukpandai Ellen.
Bill told Mary describe Ellen

A7) *More embedded clauses, this time about the subject of the main clause.*

- a. John thinks that Mary hates him. [i.e., hates John]
John bepikir bahwa Mary ngebeji yo.
John think that Mary hate 3SG
- John bepikir bahwa Mary ngebeji no.
John think that Mary hate 3SG
- b. Bill asked John to praise him. [i.e., to praise Bill]
Bill kilui jamo John mangei mujei yo.
Bill ask to John to praise 3SG
- c. John heard Bill praising him [i.e., praising John]
John ngedengei Bill mujei yo.
John hear Bill praise 3SG
- d. Mary thinks that everyone admires her.
Mary bepikir bahwa segalo jimo ngebuguhei no.
Mary think that every person admire 3SG

2.2 Can you think of any other ways of expressing reflexive meaning, using an expression that did not come up in the above examples? If so, please provide some examples.

Part B

33. Person and number forms

Please translate the following sentences; if the translation of the verb “wash” is problematic in some way, use another “grooming” verb such as “shave” or “dress”. If your language makes additional person/number distinctions (e.g., inclusive/exclusive, dual, politeness, etc.), please provide these forms as well.

- B1) a. I washed [myself]
Ikam mandey.
I wash
- b. You washed [yourself]
Niku mandey.
You wash
- c. (Paul washed [himself] = A2-b)
Paul mandey.
Paul wash
- d. We washed [ourselves]
Ikam-jo mandey.
We wash
- e. You (plural) washed [yourselves]
Niku mandey.
You wash
- f. They washed themselves.
Tiyam mandey.
They wash
- B2) a. I admire myself.
Ikam ngebuguhei badan ikam sayan.
I admire body 1SG.GEN self
- g. You admire yourself.
Niku ngebuguhei badan-mu sayan.
You admire body-2SG.GEN self
- h. She admires herself.
Yo ngebuguhei badan no sayan.
3SG admire body 3SG.GEN self

- i. We admire ourselves.

Ikam-jo ngebuguhei badan ikam-jo sayan.
1PL admire body 1PL.GEN self

- j. You admire yourselves.

Niku ngebuguhei badan-mu sayan.
2SG/PL admire body-2SG/PL.GEN self

- k. They admire themselves.

Tiyan ngebuguhei badan tiyan sayan.
They admire body 3PL.GEN self

- B3) a. Everyone washed himself.

Enggal jimo mandey.
Every person wash

- l. Everyone admires himself.

Enggal jimo ngebuguhei badan no sayan.
Every person admire body 3SG.GEN self

34. Background

Part A of the questionnaire is intended as a first elicitation checklist with non-specialist consultants. Its goal is to elicit examples involving the various ways of constructing reflexives in the language. The analyst should interpret and classify the results (see below). Based on what is found, follow-up questions can be asked.

Coverage: Section 2 cover simple transitives, grooming verbs, psych verbs, reflexive possession, subordinate reflexive clauses, a bit of person and number variation, and some quantifiers. Since this is an initial questionnaire, it does not include tests of locality: such examples are difficult to set up and could lead to confusion (especially if the target language does not have long-distance reflexives). Section 3 elicits full paradigms for a reflexive grooming verb and a subject experiencer verb.

35. For the analyst: Identify strategies

Review the responses to part A, and identify the specific grammatical devices/strategies/constructions used to express coreference between two participants. How many “different” grammatical constructions can you identify? Choose a short name (label) for each one, and give a list of the sentences that use it. The names you give should be used to refer to this type of construction from now on, so choose them to be informative and pronounceable.

For example, in English, we might call the construction used in A1) “pronoun-SELF”: The construction involves more than the reflexive pronoun, but the name is a convenient shorthand. Or we might simply name it “himself,” choosing a representative form as the name for the entire

paradigm *myself, yourself*, etc.

Use the questionnaire answers to construct conjugation paradigms. If the available information is complete, make a note to ask for it later.

36. Follow-up questions

- 36.1 Can **ordinary pronouns** be used with reflexive meaning, in any of the sentences we have considered so far? E.g., English uses the ordinary pronoun in the sentence *John found a book behind him*. If your language has more than one type of pronouns (e.g., clitic and non-clitic pronouns, tonic or stressable pronouns, etc.), or allows null objects to be used referentially, consider each type separately.
- 36.2 Check that the quantified expressions used in A5) do **not** generate a discourse referent that could be the antecedent of a later pronoun.

Anaphora Typology Survey
Part 1: Free translation of reflexive sentences

Language : Malay Manado

Part A

37. Basics of sentence structure

Please translate the following sentences in the most natural way. Provide a **detailed gloss** (for the instructions on glossing please see the attached guide lines and the list of standard abbreviations) of the entire sentence, and a literal translation (if the translation is substantially different from the elicitation sentence).

A01) *Simple transitive and intransitive verbs. If for any reason the verbs “run” and “see” are not good choices, please use different verbs.*

- a. John runs.
John lari.
John run
- b. John saw Mary.
John lia pa Mary.
John saw to Mary
- c. I saw Mary.
Kita lia pa Mary.
I see to Mary
- d. Mary saw me.
Mary lia pa kita.
Mary see to me

A02) *Please translate the following **in the most natural way**. E.g., in a “pro-drop” language it would not be necessary to include a pronoun in the translation of the second sentence.*

- a. Bill crossed the street. John saw him. [i.e., saw Bill]
Bill bapotong jalan. John lia pa dia.
Bill cross street. John see to him
- b. John is very rude. Bill hates him. [i.e., hates John]
John kasar skali. Bill binci pa dia.
John rude very. Bill hate to him
- c. John saw Mary. She greeted him.
John lia pa Mary. Dia menyapa dia.
Jon see to Mary. 3SG greet 3SG
- d. Bill is here. Mary saw his car.
Bill ada disini. Mary lia depe oto.
Bill exist here. Mary see his car

A03) *If your language can have sentences with a “null” subject or object, please give some examples.*

38. Inventory of reflexive meanings

2.1 Please translate the following sentences **in the most natural way** (even if this means that you do not use a “reflexive”). Provide a gloss and a literal translation, if substantially different from the prompt sentence. If your sentence is ambiguous and could have other meanings as well, please note this.

If there are several natural translations for a sentence (with different verbs or different grammatical constructions), please give them all.

A1) *Reflexives from simple transitive verbs.*

a. John saw himself.

John lia pa dia sandiri.

John saw to 3SG himself

John lia pa depe diri sandiri.

John see to 3SG.GEN body self

b. You see yourself.

Ngana lia pa ngana pe diri sandiri.

You see to you GEN body self

c. The students praised themselves.

Anak sekolah itu bapuji dorang pe diri sandiri.

Kid school that praise 3PL GEN body self

A2) *Reflexives from verbs of “grooming” and bodily care. If these verbs don’t work for any reason, feel free to use others (comb, etc.)*

a. John shaved [himself].

John bacukur.

John shaved

b. Paul washed [himself].

Paul mandi.

Paul washed

c. I dressed [myself].

Kita bapake baju.

I wear cloth

A3) *Reflexives of verbs with any kind of oblique, indirect or prepositional object, or with locative adjuncts. (Including locative case) If any of these verbs do not work, feel free to use other verbs that take an oblique object.*

a. Peter spoke to himself.

Peter bicara pa dia sandiri.

Peter spoke to him self

Peter bicara pa depe diri sandiri.

Peter speak to 3SG.GEN body self

- b. Peter spoke about himself.
Peter bicara tentang dia sandiri.
Peter spoke himself
- Peter bicara tentang depe diri sandiri.
Peter speak about 3SG.GEN body self
- c. Peter told us about himself.
Peter bacirita pa torang tentang dia sandiri.
Peter tell to us about 3SG self
- Peter bacarita pa torang tentang depe diri sendiri.
Peter tell to us about 3SG.GEN body self
- d. Peter told us about ourselves.
Peter bicara tentang pa torang tentang torang pe diri sandiri.
Peter tell about to us about us GEN body self
- e. Maria described Bill to himself.
Maria bacirita tentang Bill pa dia sandiri.
Maria describe Bill to himself
- Maria bacarita tentang Bill pa depe diri sandiri.
Maria tell about Bill to 3SG.GEN body self
- f. John pushed his car to the garage. [i.e., John's car.]
John batola depe oto maso garasi.
John push his car to garage
- g. Maria found a book behind her. [i.e., behind Maria]
Maria dapa buku di blakang pa dia.
Maria find book in behind to her
- h. John bought the book for himself.
John bli buku vor dia sandiri.
John buy book for 3SG self
- John bli buku vor depe diri sandiri.
John buy book for 3SG.GEN body self
- i. Peter spoke to Thomas.
Peter bicara pa Thomas
Peter spoke to thomas

A4) *Reflexives of "experiencer verbs". If these don't work in your language, feel free to use other similar verbs.*

- a. Etta hates herself.
Etta binci depe diri sandiri.
Etta binci 3SG.GEN body self

Etta binci pa dia sandiri.
Etta hate to 3SG self

- b. Etta scares herself.
Etta tako depe diri sandiri.
Etta scare 3SG.GEN body self

Etta tako pa dia sandiri.
Etta scare to 3SG self

- c. Etta worries/has worries about herself.
Etta tako depe diri sandiri
Etta tako 3SG.GEN body self

- d. Etta dislikes Maria.
Etta nda suka pa Maria
Etta not like to Maria

A5) *Reflexives with quantified, negative, or wh-question subjects. We prefer expressions in the singular (like "every teacher"). If this is not possible, use plural expressions ("all teachers")*

- e. Every teacher described himself.
Setiap guru bacerita tentang depe diri sandiri.
Every teacher describe about 3SG.GEN body self

Setiap guru bacerita tentang dia sandiri.
Every teacher describe about 3SG self

- f. Nobody blamed himself.
Nda ada kase salah pa dia sandiri.
Not exist give blame to 3SG self

- g. Who hates himself?
Sapa yang binci pa dia sandiri?
Who FOC hate to 3SG self

Sapa yang binci pa depe diri sandiri.
Who FOC hate to 3SG.GEN body self

- h. Every teacher described the visitor.
Setiap guru bacerita tentang tamu.
Every teacher describe about visitor

A6) *Embedded clauses. Use the different kinds of embedding that your language has. For each different way of embedding a clause under another (with appropriate verbs), give an example.*

- a. Mary thought that Bill saw himself.
Mary kira Bill lia pa dia sandiri.
Mary think Bill see to 3SG self

Mary kira Bill lia pa depe diri sandiri.
Mary think Bill see to 3SG.GEN body self

- b. Bill told Mary to describe herself.
Bill bilang pa Mary supaya bacerita tentang depe diri sandiri.
Bill tell to Mary to describe about 3SG.GEN body self
- c. John thinks that Bill voted for himself. [i.e., voted for Bill]
John kira Bill mo pilih pa dia sandiri.
John think Bill want vote to 3SG self
- John kira Bill mo pilih pa depe diri sandiri.
John think Bill want vote to 3SG.GEN body self
- d. Bill saw Ellen defending herself.
Bill lia Ellen babela depe diri sendiri.
Bill see Ellen defend 3SG.GEN body self
- e. Bill told Mary to describe Ellen.
Bill bilang pa Mary supaya bacerita tentang Ellen.
Bill tell to Mary to describe about Ellen

A7) *More embedded clauses, this time about the subject of the main clause.*

- a. John thinks that Mary hates him. [i.e., hates John]
John kira Mary binci pa dia.
John think Mary hate to 3SG
- b. Bill asked John to praise him. [i.e., to praise Bill]
Bill minta pa John supaya puji pa dia.
Bill ask to John to praise to him
- c. John heard Bill praising him [i.e., praising John]
John ada dengar Bill puji pa dia.
John exist heard Bill praise to 3SG
- d. Mary thinks that everyone admires her.
Mary bapikir kalo setiap orang bapuji pa dia.
Mary think that every person admire to 3SG

2.2 Can you think of any other ways of expressing reflexive meaning, using an expression that did not come up in the above examples? If so, please provide some examples.

Part B

39. Person and number forms

Please translate the following sentences; if the translation of the verb “wash” is problematic in some way, use another “grooming” verb such as “shave” or “dress”. If your language makes additional person/number distinctions (e.g., inclusive/exclusive, dual, politeness, etc.), please provide these forms as well.

- B1) a. I washed [myself]
Kita mandi.
- e. You washed [yourself]
Ngana mandi.
- f. (Paul washed [himself] = A2-b)
Paul mandi.
- g. We washed [ourselves]
Torang mandi.
- h. You (plural) washed [yourselves]
Dorang mandi.
You wash
- i. They washed themselves.
Dorang mandi.
They wash
- Dorang kase mandi diri dorang sandiri.
They take bath body 3PL.GEN self
- B2) a. I admire myself.
Kita bapuji diri kita sandiri.
I admire body 1SG.GEN self
- b. You admire yourself.
Ngana bapuji ngana pe diri sendiri.
You admire you GEN body self
- c. She admires herself.
Dia bapuji pa dia sandiri.
3SG admire to 3SG self
- Dia bapuji pa depe diri sandiri.
3SG admire to 3SG.GEN body self
- d. We admire ourselves.
Torang bapuji torang pe diri sandiri.
We admire 2PL GEN body self
- e. You admire yourselves.
Ngoni bapuji ngoni pe diri sendiri.
2PL admire 2PL GEN body self
- f. They admire themselves.
Dorang bapuji dorang pe diri sendiri.
They admire 3PL GEN body self

- B3) a. Everyone washed himself.
Setiap orang mandi.
Every person wash
- g. Everyone admires himself.
Setiap orang bapuji pa dia sandiri.
Every person admire to 3SG self
- Setiap orang bapuji pa depe diri sandiri.
Every person admire to 3SG.GEN body self

40. Background

Part A of the questionnaire is intended as a first elicitation checklist with non-specialist consultants. Its goal is to elicit examples involving the various ways of constructing reflexives in the language. The analyst should interpret and classify the results (see below). Based on what is found, follow-up questions can be asked.

Coverage: Section 2 cover simple transitives, grooming verbs, psych verbs, reflexive possession, subordinate reflexive clauses, a bit of person and number variation, and some quantifiers. Since this is an initial questionnaire, it does not include tests of locality: such examples are difficult to set up and could lead to confusion (especially if the target language does not have long-distance reflexives). Section 3 elicits full paradigms for a reflexive grooming verb and a subject experiencer verb.

41. For the analyst: Identify strategies

Review the responses to part A, and identify the specific grammatical devices/strategies/constructions used to express coreference between two participants. How many “different” grammatical constructions can you identify? Choose a short name (label) for each one, and give a list of the sentences that use it. The names you give should be used to refer to this type of construction from now on, so choose them to be informative and pronounceable.

For example, in English, we might call the construction used in A1) “pronoun-SELF”: The construction involves more than the reflexive pronoun, but the name is a convenient shorthand. Or we might simply name it “himself,” choosing a representative form as the name for the entire paradigm *myself, yourself*, etc.

Use the questionnaire answers to construct conjugation paradigms. If the available information is complete, make a note to ask for it later.

42. Follow-up questions

42.1 Can **ordinary pronouns** be used with reflexive meaning, in any of the sentences we have considered so far? E.g., English uses the ordinary pronoun in the sentence *John found a book behind him*. If your language has more than one type of pronouns (e.g., clitic and non-clitic pronouns, tonic or stressable pronouns, etc.), or allows null objects to be used referentially, consider each type separately.

42.2 Check that the quantified expressions used in A5) do **not** generate a discourse referent that could be the antecedent of a later pronoun.

Anaphora Typology Survey
Part 1: Free translation of reflexive sentences

Language : **Minangkabau (West Sumatera)**

Part A

43. Basics of sentence structure

Please translate the following sentences in the most natural way. Provide a **detailed gloss** (for the instructions on glossing please see the attached guide lines and the list of standard abbreviations) of the entire sentence, and a literal translation (if the translation is substantially different from the elicitation sentence).

A01) *Simple transitive and intransitive verbs. If for any reason the verbs “run” and “see” are not good choices, please use different verbs.*

- a. John runs.
John balari.
John run
- b. John saw Mary.
John mancaliak Mary.
John see Mary
- c. I saw Mary.
Ambo mancaliak Mary
I see Mary
- d. Mary saw me.
Mary mancaliak aden
Mary see me

A02) *Please translate the following **in the most natural way**. E.g., in a “pro-drop” language it would not be necessary to include a pronoun in the translation of the second sentence.*

- a. Bill crossed the street. John saw him. [i.e., saw Bill]
Bill lewat jalan tu. John mancaliak-nyo.
B. cross street that. John see-3SG

Bill lewat jalan tu. John mancaliak inyo
B. cross street that. John see 3SG
- b. John is very rude. Bill hates him. [i.e., hates John]
John kasa bana. Bill banci jo inyo
John rude very. Bill hate with 3SG
- c. John saw Mary. She greeted him.
John mancaliak Mary. Inyo manyapo-nyo.
John see Mary. 3SG greet-3SG

- d. Bill is here. Mary saw his car.
 Bill ado di siko. Mary mancaliak oto-nyo
 Bill exist in here Mary see car-3SG.GEN

A03) *If your language can have sentences with a “null” subject or object, please give some examples.*

44. Inventory of reflexive meanings

2.1 Please translate the following sentences **in the most natural way** (even if this means that you do not use a “reflexive”). Provide a gloss and a literal translation, if substantially different from the prompt sentence. If your sentence is ambiguous and could have other meanings as well, please note this.

If there are several natural translations for a sentence (with different verbs or different grammatical constructions), please give them all.

A1) *Reflexives from simple transitive verbs.*

a. John saw himself.

John	mancaliak	diri-nyo	surang.
John	see	body-3SG.GEN	self

John	manampak	diri-nyo.
John	see	body-3SG.GEN

b. You see yourself.

Kau	manampak	diri	kau	surang.
(Wa)ang	manampak	diri	ang	surang
2SG	see	body	2SG.GEN	self

Kau	manampak	diri	kau.
(Wa)ang	manampak	diri	ang
2SG	see	body	2SG.GEN

c. The students praised themselves.

Murid-murid	tu	mamuji	diri-nyo	surang.
Student.DUPL	the	praise	body-3PL.GEN	self

Murid-murid	tu	mamuji	diri	mereka	surang.
Student.DUPL	the	praise	body	3PL.GEN	self

Murid-murid	tu	mamuji	diri	mereka.
Student.DUPL	the	praise	body	3PL.GEN

A2) *Reflexives from verbs of “grooming” and bodily care. If these verbs don’t work for any reason, feel free to use others (comb, etc.)*

a. John shaved [himself].

John bacukua.
John shave

- b. Paul washed [himself].
Paul mandi.
Paul wash
- c. I dressed [myself].
Ambo bapakaian
I dress

A3) *Reflexives of verbs with any kind of oblique, indirect or prepositional object, or with locative adjuncts. (Including locative case) If any of these verbs do not work, feel free to use other verbs that take an oblique object.*

- a. Peter spoke to himself.
Peter mangecek ka diri-nyo surang.
Peter speak to body-3SG.GEN self
- b. Peter spoke about himself.
Peter mangecek tantangdiri-nyo surang.
Peter speak about body-3SG.GEN self
- c. Peter told us about himself.
Peter mancaritokan ka kami tantang diri-nyo surang.
Peter tell to us about body-3SG.GEN self
- d. Peter told us about ourselves.
Peter mancaritokan ka kami tantang diri kami surang.
Peter tell to us about body 3PL.GEN self
- Peter mancaritokan ka kami tantang diri kami.
Peter tell to us about body 3PL.GEN
- e. Maria described Bill to himself.
Maria manggambarkan Bill ka diri-nyo surang.
Maria describe Bill ke body-3SG.GEN self
- f. John pushed his car to the garage. [i.e., John's car.]
John mandorong oto-nyo ka garasi.
John push car-3SG.GEN to garage
- g. Maria found a book behind her. [i.e., behind Maria]
Maria sobok sabuah buku dibalakang-nyo.
Maria find a book behind-3SG
- h. John bought the book for himself.
John mambali buku tu untuak diri-nyo surang.
John buy book that for body-3SG.GEN self
- i. Peter spoke to Thomas.
Peter mangecek ka Thomas.

Peter speak to Thomas

A4) *Reflexives of “experiencer verbs”. If these don’t work in your language, feel free to use other similar verbs.*

- a. Etta hates herself.
Etta banci diri-nyo surang.
Etta hate body-3SG.GEN self
- b. Etta scares herself.
Etta manakuti diri-nyo surang.
Etta scare body-3SG.GEN self
- c. Etta worries/has worries about herself.
Etta mancamehan tantang diri-nyo surang.
Etta worry about body-3SG.GEN self
- d. Etta dislikes Maria.
Etta banci Maria.
Etta hate Maria

A5) *Reflexives with quantified, negative, or wh-question subjects. We prefer expressions in the singular (like “every teacher”). If this is not possible, use plural expressions (“all teachers”).*

- a. Every teacher described himself.
Tiok guru mancaritokan diri-nyo surang.
Every guru describe body-3SG.GEN self
- b. Nobody blamed himself.
Ndak surang pun yang manyalahkan diri-nyo surang.
Not person also who blame body-3SG.GEN self
- c. Who hates himself?
Sia yang banci diri-nyo surang?
Who FOC hate body-3SG.GEN self
- d. Every teacher described the visitor.
Tiok guru mancaritokan tamu tu.
Every guru describe visitor that

A6) *Embedded clauses. Use the different kinds of embedding that your language has. For each different way of embedding a clause under another (with appropriate verbs), give an example.*

- a. Mary thought that Bill saw himself.
Mary manyangko kalau Bill mancaliak diri-nyo surang.
Mary think that Bill see body-3SG.GEN self
- b. Bill told Mary to describe herself.
Bill mamintak Mary untuak mancaritakon diri-nyo surang.
Bill tell Mary to describe body-3SG.GEN self
- c. John thinks that Bill voted for himself. [i.e., voted for Bill]
John manyangko kalau Bill mancoblos diri-nyo surang.

John think that bill vote for body-3SG.GEN self

- d. Bill saw Ellen defending herself.
Bill mancaliak Ellen mambela diri-nyo surang.
Bill see Ellen defend body-3SG.GEN self
- e. Bill told Mary to describe Ellen.
Bill mamintak Mary untuak mancaritakon Ellen.
Bill tell Mary to describe Ellen

A7) *More embedded clauses, this time about the subject of the main clause.*

- a. John thinks that Mary hates him. [i.e., hates John]
John manyangko kalau Mary mambanci-nyo.
John think that Mary hate-3SG
- b. Bill asked John to praise him. [i.e., to praise Bill]
Bill mamintak John untuak mamuji diri-nyo.
Bill ask John to praise body-3SG.GEN
- c. John heard Bill praising him [i.e., praising John]
John mandanga Bill mamuji-nyo.
John hear Bill praise-3SG
- d. Mary thinks that everyone admires her.
Mary manyangko kalau sado urang mangagumi-nyo.
Mary think that every person admire-3SG

2.2 Can you think of any other ways of expressing reflexive meaning, using an expression that did not come up in the above examples? If so, please provide some examples.

Part B

45. Person and number forms

Please translate the following sentences; if the translation of the verb “wash” is problematic in some way, use another “grooming” verb such as “shave” or “dress”. If your language makes additional person/number distinctions (e.g., inclusive/exclusive, dual, politeness, etc.), please provide these forms as well.

- B1) a. I washed [myself]
Ambo/aden mandi.
- b. You washed [yourself]
(Wa)ang/kau mandi.
- c. (Paul washed [himself] = A2-b)
Paul mandi.
- d. We washed [ourselves]
Kami mandi.
- e. You (plural) washed [yourselves]
Kalian mandi.
- f. They washed themselves.
Mreka mandi.
- B2) a. I admire myself.
Ambo mangagumi diri ambo surang.
I admire body 1SG.GEN self
- b. You admire yourself.
Kau mangagumi diri kau surang.
You admire body 2SG.GEN self
- c. She admires herself.
Inyo mangagumi diri-nyo surang.
3SG admire body-3SG.GEN self
- d. We admire ourselves.
Kami mangagumi diri kami surang.
We admire body 1PL.GEN self
- e. You admire yourselves.
Kalian mangagumi diri kalian surang.
You admire body 2PL.GEN self
- f. They admire themselves.
Mereka mangagumi diri mereka surang.
They admire body 3PL.GEN self
- B3) a. Everyone washed himself.
Tiok urang mandi.
Every person wash
- b. Everyone admires himself.
Tiok urang mangagumi diri-nyo surang.
Every person admire body-3SG.GEN self

46. Background

Part A of the questionnaire is intended as a first elicitation checklist with non-specialist consultants. Its goal is to elicit examples involving the various ways of constructing reflexives in the language. The analyst should interpret and classify the results (see below). Based on what is found, follow-up questions can be asked.

Coverage: Section 2 cover simple transitives, grooming verbs, psych verbs, reflexive possession, subordinate reflexive clauses, a bit of person and number variation, and some quantifiers. Since this is an initial questionnaire, it does not include tests of locality: such examples are difficult to set up and could lead to confusion (especially if the target language does not have long-distance reflexives). Section 3 elicits full paradigms for a reflexive grooming verb and a subject experiencer verb.

47. For the analyst: Identify strategies

Review the responses to part A, and identify the specific grammatical devices/strategies/constructions used to express coreference between two participants. How many “different” grammatical constructions can you identify? Choose a short name (label) for each one, and give a list of the sentences that use it. The names you give should be used to refer to this type of construction from now on, so choose them to be informative and pronounceable.

For example, in English, we might call the construction used in A1) “pronoun-SELF”: The construction involves more than the reflexive pronoun, but the name is a convenient shorthand. Or we might simply name it “himself,” choosing a representative form as the name for the entire paradigm *myself, yourself*, etc.

Use the questionnaire answers to construct conjugation paradigms. If the available information is complete, make a note to ask for it later.

48. Follow-up questions

- 48.1 Can **ordinary pronouns** be used with reflexive meaning, in any of the sentences we have considered so far? E.g., English uses the ordinary pronoun in the sentence *John found a book behind him*. If your language has more than one type of pronouns (e.g., clitic and non-clitic pronouns, tonic or stressable pronouns, etc.), or allows null objects to be used referentially, consider each type separately.
- 48.2 Check that the quantified expressions used in A5) do **not** generate a discourse referent that could be the antecedent of a later pronoun.

Anaphora Typology Survey
Part 1: Free translation of reflexive sentences

Language : **Melayu Pontianak (West Kalimantan)**

Part A

49. Basics of sentence structure

Please translate the following sentences in the most natural way. Provide a **detailed gloss** (for the instructions on glossing please see the attached guide lines and the list of standard abbreviations) of the entire sentence, and a literal translation (if the translation is substantially different from the elicitation sentence).

A01) *Simple transitive and intransitive verbs. If for any reason the verbs “run” and “see” are not good choices, please use different verbs.*

- a. John runs.
Jon belari.
- b. John saw Mary.
Jon ngeliat Mari.
- c. I saw Mary.
Saye meliat Mari
- d. Mary saw me.
Mari meliat saye

A02) *Please translate the following **in the most natural way**. E.g., in a “pro-drop” language it would not be necessary to include a pronoun in the translation of the second sentence.*

- a. Bill crossed the street. John saw him. [i.e., saw Bill]
Bil nyebrang jalan. Jon ngeliat die.
Bill cross street Jon see 3SG
- b. John is very rude. Bill hates him. [i.e., hates John]
Jon tu kasar benar gak. Bil benci same diri-nye.
John rude very Bill hate to body-3SG.GEN
- c. John saw Mary. She greeted him.
Jon ngeliat Mari. Die bere salam ke die.
Jon ngeliat Mary 3SG give greeting to 3SG
- d. Bill is here. Mary saw his car.
Bil ade disine. Mari ade liat motor-nye.
Bill exist here Mary exist see car-3SG.GEN

A03) *If your language can have sentences with a “null” subject or object, please give some examples.*

50. Inventory of reflexive meanings

2.1 Please translate the following sentences **in the most natural way** (even if this means that you do not use a “reflexive”). Provide a gloss and a literal translation, if substantially different from the prompt sentence. If your sentence is ambiguous and could have other meanings as well, please note this.

If there are several natural translations for a sentence (with different verbs or different grammatical constructions), please give them all.

A1) *Reflexives from simple transitive verbs.*

a. John saw himself.

Si Jon ngeliat dirinye sorang.
EMPH Jon see body-3SG.GEN self

Si Jon ngeliat dirinye
EMPH Jon see body-3SG.GEN

b. You see yourself.

Kau liat diri kau sorang.
You see body 2SG self

Kau liat diri kau.
You see body 2SG

c. The students praised themselves.

Mured-mured tu muji-muji diri mereke sorang.
Student-DUPL the praise-DUPL body 3PL.GEN self

A2) *Reflexives from verbs of “grooming” and bodily care. If these verbs don’t work for any reason, feel free to use others (comb, etc.)*

a. John shaved [himself].

Jon becukor

b. Paul washed [himself].

Paul mandi.

c. I dressed [myself].

Saye/aku bebaju.

A3) *Reflexives of verbs with any kind of oblique, indirect or prepositional object, or with locative adjuncts. (Including locative case) If any of these verbs do not work, feel free to use other verbs that take an oblique object.*

a. Peter spoke to himself.

Piter ngomong ke diri die sorang.
Peter speak to body 3SG.GEN self

Piter ngomong ke diri die.

Peter speak to body 3SG.GEN

- b. Peter spoke about himself.
Piter ngomongkan tentang diri-nye sorang.
Peter speak about body-3SG.GEN self
- Piter ngomongkan tentang diri-nye.
Peter speak about body-3SG.GEN
- c. Peter told us about himself.
Piter ngasi tau kite tentang diri-nye sorang.
Peter give knowing us about body-3SG.GEN self
- d. Peter told us about ourselves.
Piter ngasi tau kite tentang diri kami sorang.
Peter give knowing us about body 1PL.GEN self.
- e. Maria described Bill to himself.
Maria nyeritekan Bill hal diri-nye sorang.
Maria describe Bill about body-3SG.GEN self.
- f. John pushed his car to the garage. [i.e., John's car.]
Jon dorong oto-nye ke garasi.
John push car-3SG.GEN to garage
- g. Maria found a book behind her. [i.e., behind Maria]
Maria ketemu buku dibelakang-nye.
Maria find book behind-3SG
- h. John bought the book for himself.
Jon beli buku untok diri die sorang.
John buy book for body 3SG.GEN self
- i. Peter spoke to Thomas.
Piter ngomong dengan Tomas.
Peter speak with Thomas

A4) *Reflexives of "experiencer verbs". If these don't work in your language, feel free to use other similar verbs.*

- a. Etta hates herself.
Eta benci diri-nye sorang.
Etta hate body-3SG.GEN self
- b. Etta scares herself.
Eta takut dengan diri die sorang.
Etta scare to body 3SG.GEN self
- c. Etta worries/has worries about herself.
Eta khawater dengan diri-nye sorang.
Etta worry with body-3SG.GEN self
- d. Etta dislikes Maria.
Eta benci dengan Maria.

Etta hate with Maria

A5) *Reflexives with quantified, negative, or wh-question subjects. We prefer expressions in the singular (like "every teacher"). If this is not possible, use plural expressions ("all teachers")*

- a. Every teacher described himself.
Setiap guru nyeritekan diri-nye sorang.
Every teacher describe body-3SG.GEN self
- b. Nobody blamed himself.
Tak ade manusié ni nyalahkan diri-nye sorang.
Not exist person this blame body-3SG.GEN self
- c. Who hates himself?
Sape yang benci diri-nye sorang?
Who that hate body-3SG.GEN self
- d. Every teacher described the visitor.
Setiap guru nyeritekan pengunjung tu.
Every teacher describe visitor that

A6) *Embedded clauses. Use the different kinds of embedding that your language has. For each different way of embedding a clause under another (with appropriate verbs), give an example.*

- a. Mary thought that Bill saw himself.
Mari kire Bil ngeliat diri-nye.
Mary think Bill see body-3SG.GEN
- b. Bill told Mary to describe herself.
Bil bilangkan ke Mari untok nyeritekan diri-nye'.
Bill told to Mary to describe body-3SG.GEN
- c. John thinks that Bill voted for himself. [i.e., voted for Bill]
Jon kire Bil mileh diri-nye sorang.
John think Bill vote-for body-3SG.GEN self
- d. Bill saw Ellen defending herself.
Bil ngeliat Ellen bele diri die sorang.
Bill see Ellen defend body 3SG.GEN self
- e. Bill told Mary to describe Ellen.
Bil bilangkan ke Mari untok ceritekan Ellen.
Bill tell to Mary to describe Ellen.

A7) *More embedded clauses, this time about the subject of the main clause.*

- a. John thinks that Mary hates him. [i.e., hates John]
Jon kire Mari tu benci same die.
Jon think Mary hate to 3SG
- b. Bill asked John to praise him. [i.e., to praise Bill]
Bil nanya Jon untok muji diri-nye.
Bill ask John to praise body-3SG.GEN

- c. John heard Bill praising him [i.e., praising John]
 Jon dengar Bil tu muji-muji die.
 John hear Bill EMPH praise-DUPL 3SG
- d. Mary thinks that everyone admires her.
 Jon kire semue orang suke same diri die.
 John think every person like with body 3SG.GEN

2.2 Can you think of any other ways of expressing reflexive meaning, using an expression that did not come up in the above examples? If so, please provide some examples.

Part B

51. Person and number forms

Please translate the following sentences; if the translation of the verb “wash” is problematic in some way, use another “grooming” verb such as “shave” or “dress”. If your language makes additional person/number distinctions (e.g., inclusive/exclusive, dual, politeness, etc.), please provide these forms as well.

- B1) a. I washed [myself]
 Saye mandi.
- b. You washed [yourself]
 Kau mandi.
- c. (Paul washed [himself] = A2-b)
 Die mandi.
- d. We washed [ourselves]
 Kite mandi.
- e. You (plural) washed [yourselves]
 Kau mandi.
- f. They washed themselves.
 Mereke mandi.
- B2) a. I admire myself.
 Saye muji diri saye seorang.
 I praise body 1SG.GEN self
- b. You admire yourself.
 Kau muji diri-mu seorang.
 You praise body-2SG.GEN self
- c. She admires herself.
 Die muji diri die seorang.
 She praise body 3SG.GEN self

- d. We admire ourselves.
Kite muji diri kite sorang.
We praise body 1PL.GEN self
- e. You admire yourselves.
Kau muji diri-mu sorang.
You praise body-2PL.GEN self
- f. They admire themselves.
Mereke muji diri mereke sorang.
They praise body 3PL.GEN self
- B3) a. Everyone washed himself.
Semue mandi-kan diri-nye sorang.
Everyone wash-*kan* body-3SG.GEN self
- g. Everyone admires himself.
Semue muji diri-nye sorang.
Everyone praise body-3SG.GEN self

52. Background

Part A of the questionnaire is intended as a first elicitation checklist with non-specialist consultants. Its goal is to elicit examples involving the various ways of constructing reflexives in the language. The analyst should interpret and classify the results (see below). Based on what is found, follow-up questions can be asked.

Coverage: Section 2 cover simple transitives, grooming verbs, psych verbs, reflexive possession, subordinate reflexive clauses, a bit of person and number variation, and some quantifiers. Since this is an initial questionnaire, it does not include tests of locality: such examples are difficult to set up and could lead to confusion (especially if the target language does not have long-distance reflexives). Section 3 elicits full paradigms for a reflexive grooming verb and a subject experiencer verb.

53. For the analyst: Identify strategies

Review the responses to part A, and identify the specific grammatical devices/strategies/constructions used to express coreference between two participants. How many “different” grammatical constructions can you identify? Choose a short name (label) for each one, and give a list of the sentences that use it. The names you give should be used to refer to this type of construction from now on, so choose them to be informative and pronounceable.

For example, in English, we might call the construction used in A1) “pronoun-SELF”: The construction involves more than the reflexive pronoun, but the name is a convenient shorthand. Or we might simply name it “himself,” choosing a representative form as the name for the entire paradigm *myself, yourself*, etc.

Use the questionnaire answers to construct conjugation paradigms. If the available information is complete, make a note to ask for it later.

54. Follow-up questions

- 54.1 Can **ordinary pronouns** be used with reflexive meaning, in any of the sentences we

have considered so far? E.g., English uses the ordinary pronoun in the sentence *John found a book behind him*. If your language has more than one type of pronouns (e.g., clitic and non-clitic pronouns, tonic or stressable pronouns, etc.), or allows null objects to be used referentially, consider each type separately.

54.2 Check that the quantified expressions used in A5) do **not** generate a discourse referent that could be the antecedent of a later pronoun.

Anaphora Typology Survey
Part 1: Free translation of reflexive sentences

Language : Palembangnese (South Sumatera)

Part A

55. Basics of sentence structure

Please translate the following sentences in the most natural way. Provide a **detailed gloss** (for the instructions on glossing please see the attached guide lines and the list of standard abbreviations) of the entire sentence, and a literal translation (if the translation is substantially different from the elicitation sentence).

A01) *Simple transitive and intransitive verbs. If for any reason the verbs “run” and “see” are not good choices, please use different verbs.*

a. John runs.

John belari.

John run

b. John saw Mary.

John nyingok Mary.

John see Mary

c. I saw Mary.

Aku nyingok Mary.

I see Mary

d. Mary saw me.

Mary nyingok aku.

Mary see me

Mary nyingok diri-ku.

Mary see body-1SG.GEN

A02) *Please translate the following **in the most natural way**. E.g., in a “pro-drop” language it would not be necessary to include a pronoun in the translation of the second sentence.*

a. Bill crossed the street. John saw him. [i.e., saw Bill]

Bill lewat jalan itu. John nyingok dio.

B. cross street that. John see 3SG

Bill lewat jalan itu. John nyingok-nyo

B. cross street that. John see-3SG

Bill melewati jalan itu. John melihat diri-nyo

B. cross street that. John see body-3SG.GEN

b. John is very rude. Bill hates him. [i.e., hates John]

John bengis nian. Bill benci dengan dio.

John rude very Bill hate with 3SG

John bengis nian. Bill benci dengan-nyo
John rude very Bill hate with-3SG

John bengis nian. Bill benci dengan diri-nyo.
John rude very Bill hate with body-3SG.GEN

- c. John saw Mary. She greeted him.
John nyingok Mary. Dio negorke dio.
John see Mary 3SG greet 3SG

John nyingok Mary. Dio negorke-nyo.
John see Mary 3SG greet 3SG

John nyingok Mary. Dio negorke diri-nyo.
John see Mary 3SG greet body-3SG.GEN

- d. Bill is here. Mary saw his car.
Bill ado disini. Mary nyingok mobil-nyo
Bill exist here Mary see car-3SG.GEN

A03) *If your language can have sentences with a “null” subject or object, please give some examples.*

56. Inventory of reflexive meanings

2.1 Please translate the following sentences **in the most natural way** (even if this means that you do not use a “reflexive”). Provide a gloss and a literal translation, if substantially different from the prompt sentence. If your sentence is ambiguous and could have other meanings as well, please note this.

If there are several natural translations for a sentence (with different verbs or different grammatical constructions), please give them all.

A1) *Reflexives from simple transitive verbs.*

- a. John saw himself.
John nyingok dio dewek.
John see 3SG self

John nyingok diri-nyo dewek.
John see body-3SG.GEN self

John_i nyingok diri-nyo_{i/j}
John see body-3SG.GEN

- b. You see yourself.
Kau nyingok kau dewek.
2SG see 2SG self

Kau nyingok diri-mu dewek.
2SG see body-2SG.GEN self

Kau nyingok diri-mu.
2SG see body-2SG.GEN

- c. The students praised themselves.
 Murid-murid itu muji dio dewek.
 Student.DUPL the praise 3SG/PL self
- Murid-murid itu muji diri-nyo dewek.
 Student-DUPL the praise body-3SG/PL.GEN self

A2) *Reflexives from verbs of "grooming" and bodily care. If these verbs don't work for any reason, feel free to use others (comb, etc.)*

- d. John shaved [himself].
 John be-cukur.
 John *be-shave*
- John nyu-cukur-i diri-nyo dewek.
 John *nyu-shave-i* body-3SG.GEN self
- John nyu-cukur-i dio dewek.
 John *nyu-shave-i* 3SG self
- John nyu-cukur-i diri-nyo.
 John *nyu-shave-i* body-3SG.GEN

- e. Paul washed [himself].
 Paul mandi
 Paul wash
- Paul mandi-ke diri-nyo dewek.
 Paul wash-*ke* body-3SG.GEN self
- Paul mandi-ke dio dewek.
 Paul wash-*ke* 3SG self
- Paul mandi-ke diri-nyo.
 Paul see-*ke* body-3SG.GEN

- f. I dressed [myself].
 Aku make baju.
 I wear cloth

A3) *Reflexives of verbs with any kind of oblique, indirect or prepositional object, or with locative adjuncts. (Including locative case) If any of these verbs do not work, feel free to use other verbs that take an oblique object.*

- a. Peter spoke to himself.
 Peter ngomongke diri-nyo dewek.
 Peter speak body-3SG.GEN self
- Peter ngomongke dio dewek.
 Peter speak 3SG self
- Peter ngomongke diri-nyo.
 Peter speak body-3SG.GEN

- b. Peter spoke about himself.
 Peter ngomongke tentang diri-nyo dewek.
 Peter speak about body-3SG.GEN self
- Peter ngomongke tentang dio dewek.
 Peter speak about 3SG self
- Peter ngomongke tentang diri-nyo.
 Peter speak about body-3SG.GEN
- c. Peter told us about himself.
 Peter becerito ke kami tentang diri-nyo dewek.
 Peter tell to us about body-3SG.GEN self
- Peter becerito ke kami tentang dio dewek.
 Peter tell to us about 3SG self
- Peter becerito ke kami tentang diri-nyo.
 Peter tell to us about body-3SG.GEN
- d. Peter told us about ourselves.
 Peter becerito ke kami tentang kami dewek
 Peter tell to us about 1PL self
- e. Maria described Bill to himself.
 Maria mendeskripsike Bill ke diri-nyo dewek.
 Maria describe Bill to body-3SG.GEN self
- f. John pushed his car to the garage. [i.e., John's car.]
 John ndorong mobil-nyo ke garasi.
 John push car-3SG.GEN to garage
- g. Maria found a book behind her. [i.e., behind Maria]
 Maria nemuke siko buku di belakang-nyo.
 Maria find a book in behind-3SG
- Maria nemuke siko buku di belakang dio.
 Maria find a book in behind 3SG
- Maria nemuke siko buku di belakang diri-nyo.
 Maria find a book in behind body-3SG.GEN
- h. John bought the book for himself.
 John mbeli buku itu bakal diri-nyo dewek.
 John buy book that for body-3SG.GEN self
- John mbeli buku itu bakal diri-nyo.
 John buy book that for body-3SG.GEN
- John mbeli buku itu bakal dio dewek.
 John buy book that for 3SG self

- i. Peter spoke to Thomas.
Peter ngomong samo Thomas.
Peter spoke to Thomas

A4) *Reflexives of “experiencer verbs”. If these don’t work in your language, feel free to use other similar verbs.*

- a. Etta hates herself.
Etta benci dengan diri-nyo dewek.
Etta hate with body-3SG.GEN self

Etta benci dengan diri-nyo.
Etta hate with body-3SG.GEN

Etta benci dengan dio dewek.
Etta hate with 3SG self

- b. Etta scares herself.
Etta nakuti diri-nyo dewek.
Etta scare body-3SG.GEN self

Etta nakuti diri-nyo.
Etta scare body-3SG.GEN

Etta nakuti dio dewek.
Etta scare 3SG self

- c. Etta worries/has worries about herself.
Etta khawatir samo diri-nyo dewek.
Etta worry with body-3SG.GEN self

Etta khawatir samo diri-nyo.
Etta worry with body-3SG.GEN

Etta khawatir samo dio dewek.
Etta worry with 3SG self

- d. Etta dislikes Maria.
Etta benci Maria

A5) *Reflexives with quantified, negative, or wh-question subjects. We prefer expressions in the singular (like “every teacher”). If this is not possible, use plural expressions (“all teachers”)*

- a. Every teacher described himself.
Galo galo guru nyeritoke diri-nyo dewek.
Every every teacher describe body-3SG.GEN self

- b. Nobody blamed himself.
Dak katek yang nak nyalake diri-nyo dewek.
Not anyone who will blame body-3SG.GEN self

- c. Who hates himself?
Siapo yang benci diri dio dewek?
Who FOC hate body 3SG.GEN self

- d. Every teacher described the visitor.
 Galo galo guru mendeskripsike pengujung itu.
 Every every teacher describe visitor that

A6) *Embedded clauses. Use the different kinds of embedding that your language has. For each different way of embedding a clause under another (with appropriate verbs), give an example.*

- a. Mary thought that Bill saw himself.
 Mary nyangko Bill nyingok diri-nyo dewek.
 Mary think Bill see body-3SG.GEN self

Mary nyangko Bill nyingok diri-nyo.
 Mary think Bill see body-3SG.GEN

Mary nyangko Bill nyingok dio dewek.
 Mary think Bill see 3SG self

- b. Bill told Mary to describe herself.
 Bill mintak ke Mary untuk mendeskripsike diri-nyo dewek.
 Bill told to Mary to describe body-3SG.GEN self

Bill mintak ke Mary untuk mendeskripsike diri-nyo.
 Bill told to Mary to describe body-3SG.GEN

Bill mintak ke Mary untuk mendeskripsike dio dewek.
 Bill told to Mary to describe 3SG self

- c. John thinks that Bill voted for himself. [i.e., voted for Bill]
 John nyanko kalu Bill nyucuk diri-nyo dewek.
 John think that Bill vote for body-3SG.GEN self

John nyanko kalu Bill nyucuk diri-nyo.
 John think that Bill vote for body-3SG.GEN

John nyanko kalu Bill nyucuk dio dewek.
 John think that Bill vote for 3SG self

- d. Bill saw Ellen defending herself.
 Bill nyingok Ellen mbela diri-nyo dewek.
 Bill see Ellen defend body-3SG.GEN self

Bill nyingok Ellen mbela diri-nyo.
 Bill see Ellen defend body-3SG.GEN

Bill nyingok Ellen mbela dio dewek.
 Bill see Ellen defend 3SG self

- e. Bill told Mary to describe Ellen.
 Bill minta Mary untuk mendeskripsike Ellen.
 Bill told Mary to describe Ellen

A7) *More embedded clauses, this time about the subject of the main clause.*

a. John thinks that Mary hates him. [i.e., hates John]

John nyangko kalu Marry benci dio.

John think that Mary hate 3SG

John nyangko kalu Marry benci diri-nyo.

John think that Mary hate body-3SG.GEN

b. Bill asked John to praise him. [i.e., to praise Bill]

Bill mintak John untuk mbanggake dio.

Bill ask John to praise 3SG

Bill mintak John untuk mbanggake-nyo.

Bill ask John to praise-3SG

Bill mintak John untuk mbanggake diri-nyo.

Bill ask John to praise body-3SG.GEN

c. John heard Bill praising him [i.e., praising John]

John ndenger Bill muji dio.

John hear Bill praise 3SG

John ndenger Bill muji-nyo.

John hear Bill praise-3SG

John ndenger Bill muji diri-nyo.

John hear Bill praise body-3SG.GEN

d. Mary thinks that everyone admires her.

Mary ngiro kalu galo wong ngagumi dio.

Mary think that every person admire 3SG

Mary ngiro kalu galo wong ngagumi-dio.

Mary think that every person admire-3SG

Mary ngiro kalu galo wong ngagumi diri-nyo.

Mary think that every person admire body-3SG.GEN

2.2 Can you think of any other ways of expressing reflexive meaning, using an expression that did not come up in the above examples? If so, please provide some examples.

Part B

57. Person and number forms

Please translate the following sentences; if the translation of the verb “wash” is problematic in some way, use another “grooming” verb such as “shave” or “dress”. If your language makes additional person/number distinctions (e.g., inclusive/exclusive, dual, politeness, etc.), please provide these forms as well.

- B1)
- a. I washed [myself]
 Aku mandi.
 I wash
 - b. You washed [yourself]
 Kau mandi.
 You wash
 - c. (Paul washed [himself] = A2-b)
 Paul mandi.
 Paul wash
 - d. We washed [ourselves]
 Kami mandi.
 We wash
 - e. You (plural) washed [yourselves]
 Kamu mandi.
 You wash
 - f. They washed themselves.
 Dio galo mandi.
 3SG all wash
- B2)
- a. I admire myself.
 Aku ngagumi diri-ku dewek.
 I admire body-1SG.GEN self

 Aku ngagumi diri aku.
 I admire body 1SG.GEN
 - g. You admire yourself.
 Kau ngagumi diri kau dewek.
 You admire body 2SG.GEN self

 Kau ngagumi diri kau.
 You admire body 2SG.GEN
 - h. She admires herself.
 Dio ngagumi diri-nyo dewek.
 3SG admire body-3SG.GEN self

 Dio ngagumi diri-nyo.
 3SG admire body-3SG.GEN

 Dio ngagumi dio dewek.
 3SG admire 3SG self
 - i. We admire ourselves.
 Kami ngagumi diri kami dewek.
 1PL admire body 1PL.GEN self

j. You admire yourselves.
Kamu ngagumi diri kau dewek.
2SG/PL admire body 2SG/PL.GEN self

Kamu mengagumi diri kau.
2SG/PL admire body-2SG/PL.GEN

k. They admire themselves.

Dio galo ngagumi dio dewek.
They admire 3SG/PL self

Dio galo ngagumi diri-nyo dewek.
They admire body-3SG/PL.GEN self

B3) a. Everyone washed himself.
Galo wong mandi-ke diri-nyo dewek.
Every person wash-BEN body-3SG.GEN self

l. Everyone admires himself.
Galo wong ngagumi diri-nyo dewek.
Every person admire body-3SG.GEN self

58. Background

Part A of the questionnaire is intended as a first elicitation checklist with non-specialist consultants. Its goal is to elicit examples involving the various ways of constructing reflexives in the language. The analyst should interpret and classify the results (see below). Based on what is found, follow-up questions can be asked.

Coverage: Section 2 cover simple transitives, grooming verbs, psych verbs, reflexive possession, subordinate reflexive clauses, a bit of person and number variation, and some quantifiers. Since this is an initial questionnaire, it does not include tests of locality: such examples are difficult to set up and could lead to confusion (especially if the target language does not have long-distance reflexives). Section 3 elicits full paradigms for a reflexive grooming verb and a subject experiencer verb.

59. For the analyst: Identify strategies

Review the responses to part A, and identify the specific grammatical devices/strategies/constructions used to express coreference between two participants. How many “different” grammatical constructions can you identify? Choose a short name (label) for each one, and give a list of the sentences that use it. The names you give should be used to refer to this type of construction from now on, so choose them to be informative and pronounceable.

For example, in English, we might call the construction used in A1) “pronoun-SELF”: The construction involves more than the reflexive pronoun, but the name is a convenient shorthand. Or we might simply name it “himself,” choosing a representative form as the name for the entire paradigm *myself, yourself*, etc.

Use the questionnaire answers to construct conjugation paradigms. If the available information is complete, make a note to ask for it later.

60. Follow-up questions

- 60.1 Can **ordinary pronouns** be used with reflexive meaning, in any of the sentences we have considered so far? E.g., English uses the ordinary pronoun in the sentence *John found a book behind him*. If your language has more than one type of pronouns (e.g., clitic and non-clitic pronouns, tonic or stressable pronouns, etc.), or allows null objects to be used referentially, consider each type separately.
- 60.2 Check that the quantified expressions used in A5) do **not** generate a discourse referent that could be the antecedent of a later pronoun.

Anaphora Typology Survey
Part 1: Free translation of reflexive sentences

Language : **Sundanese (West Java)**

Part A

61. Basics of sentence structure

Please translate the following sentences in the most natural way. Provide a **detailed gloss** (for the instructions on glossing please see the attached guide lines and the list of standard abbreviations) of the entire sentence, and a literal translation (if the translation is substantially different from the elicitation sentence).

A01) *Simple transitive and intransitive verbs. If for any reason the verbs “run” and “see” are not good choices, please use different verbs.*

- a. John runs.
John lari.
John run
- b. John saw Mary.
John ningali Mary.
John see Mary
- c. I saw Mary.
Abdi/urang ningali Mary.
I see Mary
- d. Mary saw me.
Mary ningali abdi/urang
Mary see me

A02) *Please translate the following **in the most natural way**. E.g., in a “pro-drop” language it would not be necessary to include a pronoun in the translation of the second sentence.*

- a. Bill crossed the street. John saw him. [i.e., saw Bill]
Bill mentas jalan. John ningali maneh-na.
Bill run street John see body-3SG.GEN
- b. John is very rude. Bill hates him. [i.e., hates John]
John kasar pisan. Bill teu suka maneh-na.
John rude very Bill not like body-3SG.GEN
- c. John saw Mary. She greeted him.
John ningali Mary. Mary nyarios ka maneh-na.
John see Mary Mary greet to body-3SG.GEN
- d. Bill is here. Mary saw his car.
Bill tos nepi. Mary ningali mobil-na.
Bill exist here. Mary see car-3SG.GEN

A03) *If your language can have sentences with a “null” subject or object, please give some examples.*

62. Inventory of reflexive meanings

2.1 Please translate the following sentences **in the most natural way** (even if this means that you do not use a “reflexive”). Provide a gloss and a literal translation, if substantially different from the prompt sentence. If your sentence is ambiguous and could have other meanings as well, please note this.

If there are several natural translations for a sentence (with different verbs or different grammatical constructions), please give them all.

A1) *Reflexives from simple transitive verbs.*

- a. John saw himself.
John ningali awak-na sorangan.
John see body-3SG.GEN self

John ningali maneh-na sorangan.
John see body-3SG.GEN self
- b. You see yourself.
Maneh ningali maneh-na sorangan.
You see 2SG-GEN self
- c. The students praised themselves.
Murid-murid muji maranehna sorangan.
Student-DUPL praise 3PL self

A2) *Reflexives from verbs of “grooming” and bodily care. If these verbs don’t work for any reason, feel free to use others (comb, etc.)*

- a. John shaved [himself].
John nyukur awak-na sorangan.
John shave body-3SG.GEN self
- b. Paul washed [himself].
Paul ibak.
Paul wash
- c. I dressed [myself].
Abdi make baju.
I wear cloth

A3) *Reflexives of verbs with any kind of oblique, indirect or prepositional object, or with locative adjuncts. (Including locative case) If any of these verbs do not work, feel free to use other verbs that take an oblique object.*

- a. Peter spoke to himself.

Peter ngomong ka maneh-na sorangan
Peter speak to body-3SG.GEN self

Peter ngomong ka awak-na sorangan.
Peter speak to body-3SG.GEN self

- b. Peter spoke about himself.

Peter ngomong tentang maneh-na sorangan.
Peter speak about body-3SG.GEN self

- c. Peter told us about himself.

Peter nyarios ka urang tentang maneh-na sorangan.
Peter tell to us about body-3SG.GEN self

- d. Peter told us about ourselves.

Peter nyarios ka urang tentang awak-na urang sorangan.
Peter tell to us about body-3SG.GEN people self

- e. Maria described Bill to himself.

Maria nyarioskeun Bill ka maneh-na sorangan.
Maria tell Bill to body-3SG.GEN self

- f. John pushed his car to the garage. [i.e., John's car.]

John ngadorong mobil-na ka garasi.
John push car-3SG.GEN to garage

- g. Maria found a book behind her. [i.e., behind Maria]

Maria nemu buku ditakang maneh-na.
Maria find book behind body-3SG.GEN

- h. John bought the book for himself.

John beli buku keur maneh-na sorangan.
John buy book for body-3SG.GEN self

- i. Peter spoke to Thomas.

Peter ngomong ka Thomas.
Peter speak to Thomas

A4) *Reflexives of "experiencer verbs". If these don't work in your language, feel free to use other similar verbs.*

- a. Etta hates herself.

Etta teu suka maneh-na sorangan.
Etta not like body-3SG.GEN self

- b. Etta scares herself.

Etta nyingsieunan awak-na sorangan.
Etta scare body-3SG.GEN self

- c. Etta worries/has worries about herself.

Etta bogakasiéunan tentang manéh-na sorangan.
Eta worry about body-3SG.GEN self

- d. Etta dislikes Maria.
Eta teu suka Maria.
Eta not like Maria

A5) *Reflexives with quantified, negative, or wh-question subjects. We prefer expressions in the singular (like "every teacher"). If this is not possible, use plural expressions ("all teachers")*

- a. Every teacher described himself.

Tiap guru nyarioskeun manéh-na sorangan.
Every teacher tell body-3SG.GEN self

- b. Nobody blamed himself.

Teu aya jelma nyalahkeun manéh-na sorangan.
Not exist person blame body-3SG.GEN self

- c. Who hates himself?

Saha nu teu suka awak-na sorangan?
Who FOC not like body-3SG.GEN self

- d. Every teacher described the visitor.

Tiap guru nyarioskeun tamu.
Every teacher tell visitor

A6) *Embedded clauses. Use the different kinds of embedding that your language has. For each different way of embedding a clause under another (with appropriate verbs), give an example.*

- a. Mary thought that Bill saw himself.

Mary ngira Bill ningali manéh-na sorangan.
Mary think Bill see body-3SG.GEN self

- b. Bill told Mary to describe herself.

Bill ngomong ka Mary supaya nyarioskeun awak-na sorangan.
Bill tell to Mary to describe diri-3SG.GEN self

- c. John thinks that Bill voted for himself. [i.e., voted for Bill]

John mikir Bil milih manéh-na sorangan.
John think Bill vote-for body-3SG.GEN self

- d. Bill saw Ellen defending herself.

Bill ningali Ellen ngabela awak-na sorangan.
Bill see Ellen defend body-3SG.GEN self

- e. Bill told Mary to describe Ellen.

Bill ngomong ka Mary supaya nyarioskeun Ellen.
Bill tell to Mary to tell Ellen

A7) *More embedded clauses, this time about the subject of the main clause.*

a. John thinks that Mary hates him. [i.e., hates John]

John mikir Mary teu suka maneh-na.

John think Mary not like 3SG.GEN

b. Bill asked John to praise him. [i.e., to praise Bill]

Bill nanya John supaya muji maneh-na.

Bill ask John to praise body-3SG.GEN

c. John heard Bill praising him [i.e., praising John]

John ngadenge Bill muji maneh-na.

John hear Bill praise 3SG

d. Mary thinks that everyone admires her.

Mary mikir kabeh urang ngagumin maneh-na.

Mary think every people admire body-3SG.GEN

2.2 Can you think of any other ways of expressing reflexive meaning, using an expression that did not come up in the above examples? If so, please provide some examples.

Part B

63. Person and number forms

Please translate the following sentences; if the translation of the verb “wash” is problematic in some way, use another “grooming” verb such as “shave” or “dress”. If your language makes additional person/number distinctions (e.g., inclusive/exclusive, dual, politeness, etc.), please provide these forms as well.

B1) a. I washed [myself]

Abdi ibak.

b. You washed [yourself]

Maneh ibak.

c. (Paul washed [himself] = A2-b)

Paul ibak.

d. We washed [ourselves]

Urang ibak.

e. You (plural) washed [yourselves]

Maneh ibak.

f. They washed themselves.

Maranehna ibak.

64. Background

Part A of the questionnaire is intended as a first elicitation checklist with non-specialist consultants. Its goal is to elicit examples involving the various ways of constructing reflexives in the language. The analyst should interpret and classify the results (see below). Based on what is found,

follow-up questions can be asked.

Coverage: Section 2 cover simple transitives, grooming verbs, psych verbs, reflexive possession, subordinate reflexive clauses, a bit of person and number variation, and some quantifiers. Since this is an initial questionnaire, it does not include tests of locality: such examples are difficult to set up and could lead to confusion (especially if the target language does not have long-distance reflexives). Section 3 elicits full paradigms for a reflexive grooming verb and a subject experiencer verb.

65. For the analyst: Identify strategies

Review the responses to part A, and identify the specific grammatical devices/strategies/constructions used to express coreference between two participants. How many “different” grammatical constructions can you identify? Choose a short name (label) for each one, and give a list of the sentences that use it. The names you give should be used to refer to this type of construction from now on, so choose them to be informative and pronounceable.

For example, in English, we might call the construction used in A1) “pronoun-SELF”: The construction involves more than the reflexive pronoun, but the name is a convenient shorthand. Or we might simply name it “himself,” choosing a representative form as the name for the entire paradigm *myself, yourself*, etc.

Use the questionnaire answers to construct conjugation paradigms. If the available information is complete, make a note to ask for it later.

66. Follow-up questions

66.1 Can **ordinary pronouns** be used with reflexive meaning, in any of the sentences we have considered so far? E.g., English uses the ordinary pronoun in the sentence *John found a book behind him*. If your language has more than one type of pronouns (e.g., clitic and non-clitic pronouns, tonic or stressable pronouns, etc.), or allows null objects to be used referentially, consider each type separately.

66.2 Check that the quantified expressions used in A5) do **not** generate a discourse referent that could be the antecedent of a later pronoun.

Appendix 4 Lexically Reflexive Verbs + *Diri*

Indonesian

1. Dia_i bunuh *diri*_i.
3SG kill self
'He killed himself.'
2. Dia_i gantung *diri*_i.
3SG hang self
'He hanged/killed himself.'
3. Dia_i lupa *diri*_i.
3SG forget self
'He forget himself.'
4. Aku_i tahu *diri*_i.
1SG know self
'I know myself.'
5. Kami_i meng-hibur *diri*_i.
1PL *meN*-console self
'We console ourselves.'
6. Kalian_i men-yelamatkan *diri*_i.
2PL *meN*-save self
'You save yourselves.'
7. Dia_i meng-undurkan *diri*_i.
3SG *meN*-resign self
'He resign himself.'
8. Dia_i ber-bangga *diri*_i.
3SG *ber*-proud self
'He is proud of himself.'
9. Kamu_i me-nahan *diri*_i.
2SG *meN*-control self
'You control yourself.'
10. Kami_i memper-siap-kan *diri*_i.
1PL *memper*-prepare-kan self
'We prepare ourselves.'
11. Mereka_i mem-bebas-kan *diri*_i.
3PL *mem*-free-kan self
'They free themselves.'
12. Mereka_i mem-bela *diri*_i.
3PL *meN*-defend self
'They defend themselves.'

Palembangnese

1. Dio_i bunuh *diri_i*.
3NR kill self
'He killed himself.'
2. Dio_i gantung *diri_i*.
3NR hang self
'He hanged/killed himself.'
3. Dio_i lupo *diri_i*.
3NR forget self
'He forget himself.'
4. Aku_i tau *diri_i*.
1SG know self
'I know myself.'
5. Kami_i ngibur *diri_i*.
1PL console self
'We console ourselves.'
6. Kamu_i nye-lamat-ke *diri_i*.
2PL nye-save self
'You save yourselves.'
7. Dia_i ng-undur-ke *diri_i*.
3NR ng-resign self
'He resign himself.'
8. Dio_i bangga-ke *diri_i*.
3NR proud-ke self
'He is proud of himself.'
9. Kamu_i nahan *diri_i*.
2SG control self
'You control yourself.'
10. Kami_i nyiap-ke *diri_i*.
1PL prepare-ke self
'We prepare ourselves.'
11. Dio_i mbebas-ke *diri_i*.
3NR free-ke self
'They free themselves.'
12. Mereka_i mbela *diri_i*.
3PL defend self
'They defend themselves.'

Jambi (UJ)

1. Dio_i bunuh *diri*_i.
3NR kill self
'He killed himself.'
2. Dio_i gantong *diri*_i.
3NR hang self
'He hanged himself.'
3. Dio_i lupo *diri*_i.
3NR forget self
'He forgets himself.'
4. Awak_i tahu *diri*_i.
1SG know self
'I know myself.'
5. Kami_i ngibur *diri*_i.
1PL console self
'We console ourselves.'
6. Kamu_i ny-elamat-kan *diri*_i.
2SG/PL *ny-save-kan* self
'You save yourselves.'
7. Dio_i ng-undur-kan *diri*_i.
3NR *ng-resign-kan* self
'He resigned himself.'
8. Kau_i nahan *diri*_i.
2SG control self
'You control yourself.'
9. Kami_i nyiap-kan *diri*_i.
1PL prepare self
'We prepare ourselves.'
10. Dio_i mebas-kan *diri*_i.
3NR free *-kan* self
'He freed himself.'
11. Eko melo *diri*.
Eko defend self
'Eko defends himself.'

Malay Pontianak

1. Die berbangge diri
3SG proud self
'He is proud of himself.'
2. Die bunoh diri

3SG kill self
'He killed himself.'

3. Die gantong diri
3SG hang self
'He hanged/killed himself.'

4. Die lupa diri
3SG forget self
'He forget himself.'

5. Aku tau diri
1SG know self
'I know myself.'

6. Kamek ngibor diri
1PL console self
'We console ourselves.'

7. Kitak nyelamatkan diri
2PL save self
'You save yourselves.'

8. Die ngundorkan diri
3SG resign self
'He resign himself.'

9. Mereke mbele diri
3PL defend self
'They defend themselves.'

10. Kau nahan diri
2SG control self
'You control yourself.'

11. Kamek persiapan diri
1PL prepare self
'We prepare ourselves.'

12. Mereke bebaskan diri
3PL free self
'They free themselves.'

Minangkabau

1. Inyo babangga diri
3SG proud self
'He is proud of himself.'
2. Inyo bunuah diri
3SG kill self
'He killed himself.'
3. Inyo gantuang diri
3SG hang self
'He hanged/killed himself.'
4. Inyo lupu diri
3SG forget self
'He forget himself.'
5. Inyo tahu diri
3SG know self
'I know myself.'
6. Kami manghibua diri
1PL console self
'We console ourselves.'
7. Kalian manyalamaikan diri
2PL save self
'You save yourselves.'
8. Inyo mangundukan diri
3SG resign self
'He resign himself.'
9. Mereka mambela diri
3PL defend self
'They defend themselves.'
10. Kau manahan diri
2SG control self
'You control yourself.'
11. Kami manyiapkan diri
1PL prepare self
'We prepare ourselves.'
12. Mereka mambebaskan diri
3PL free self
'They free themselves.'

Malay Manado

1. Dia babangga diri
3SG proud self
'He is proud of himself.'
2. Dia babunung diri
3SG kill self
'He killed himself.'
3. Dia bagantong diri
3SG hang self
'He hanged/killed himself.'
4. Dia lupa diri
3SG forget self
'He forget himself.'
5. Kita tau diri
1SG know self
'I know myself.'
6. Torang bahibur diri
1PL console self
'We console ourselves.'
7. Ngoni selamatkan diri
2PL save self
'You save yourselves.'
8. Dia mengundurkan diri
3SG resign self
'He resign himself.'
9. Dorang babelala diri
3PL defend self
'They defend themselves.'
10. Ngana bataan diri
2SG control self
'You control yourself.'
11. Torang basiap diri
1PL prepare self
'We prepare ourselves.'
12. Dorang bebaskan diri
3PL free self
'They free themselves.'

Lampung Nyo

1. Yow ngebanggaken dighei
3SG proud self
'He is proud of himself.'
2. Yow bunuh dighei
3SG kill self
'He killed himself.'
3. Yow gantung dighei
3SG hang self
'He hanged/killed himself.'
4. Yow lopou dighei
3SG forget self
'He forget himself.'
5. Ekam tau dighei
3SG know self
'I know myself.'
6. Ekam_gepok ngehibur dighei
1PL console self
'We console ourselves.'
7. Metei nyelamatkan dighei
2PL save self
'You save yourselves.'
8. Yow ngundurken dighei
3SG resign self
'He resign himself.'
9. Tiyan ngebela dighei
3PL defend self
'They defend themselves.'
10. Sekam nahan dighei
2SG control self
'You control yourself.'
11. Ekam_gepok nyiapken dighei
1PL prepare self
'We prepare ourselves.'
12. Tiyan ngebebaskan dighei
3PL free self

'They free themselves.'

Sundanese

1. Anjeuna gantung diri.
2SG_all hang self
'He hanged/killed himself.'
2. Aranjeun_sadaya nyalametkeun diri.
2PL_all save self
'You save yourselves.'
3. Aranjeun_sadaya ngabebaskan diri.
2PL_all free self
'You free themselves.'

Batak Toba

1. Ibana mangundurhon diri.
3SG resign self
'He resign himself.'

Comparative Verbs in the Selected Languages Used in the Questionnaires

Indonesian

Verbs

berlari
melihat
menyeberangi
membenci
menyapa
memuji
bercukur
mandi
berpakaian
membicarakan
menceritakan
menjelaskan
menerangkan
mendorong
menemukan
membeli
menakuti
mengkhawatirkan
mengira
menyuruh
mengatakan
membela
meminta
mendengarkan
memandikan
membanggakan
menyangka
mencintai
mencubit
menjanjikan
mempercayai
mengagumi
melakukan
mengetahui
memikirkan
memberi
mengajar
memukul
menahan
menyiapkan
melewati
menegur
menceritakan

Translation

run
see
cross
hate
greet
praise
shave
wash
dress
talk
tell
describe
explain
push
find
buy
scare
worry
think
ask
say
defend
ask
listen
wash
praise (proud of)
think
love
pinch
promise
believe
admire
do
know
think
give
teach
hit
arrest
prepare
cross
greet
tell

menyalahkan
memarahi
menghibur
menyelamatkan
mengundurkan
membebaskan

blame
get angry
console
save
resign
free

Javanese

Verbs

mlayu
ndelok
ngelewati
sengit
nyopo
muji
adus
dandan
ngomongke
nyeritake
nerangke
ndorong
nemu
tuku
medeni
ngawatirke
ngiro
ngarepke
mbelo
njaluk
ngagumi
mbanggake
ngiro
tresno
njewet
njanjike
percoyo
ngelakuke
ngerti
ngempleng
nahan
nyiapke
nemuke
mbelo
nyalahke
nesu

Translation

run
see
cross
hate
greet
praise
wash
primp
talk
tell
describe
push
find
buy
scare
worry
think
expect
defend
ask
admire
praise (proud of)
think
love
pinch
promise
believe
do
know
hit
arrest
prepare
find
defend
blame
get angry

Palembangnese

Verbs

belari
nyingok
lewat
benci
negor/negorke
muji
becukur
mandi
ngomongke
nyeritoke
becerito
mendeskripsike
nemuke
mbeli
ndorong
nakuti
khawatir
nyalake
nyucuk
nyangko
mintak
kagum/ngagumi
mbela
bangga/mbanggake
ndenger
ngiro
cinto
mintak
nyangko
nyobet
nyaken
percayo
nggawe
tau
mikir
ngenjok
mokol
nahan
nyiapke
lewat
ngomong
marah
ngibur
ngundurke
mbebaske

Translation

run
see
cross
hate
greet
praise
shave
wash
talk
tell
tell
describe
find
buy
push
scare
worry
blame
vote for
think
ask
admire
defend
praise (proud of)
hear
think
love
ask
think
pinch
promise
believe
do
know
think
give
hit
arrest
prepare
cross
talk
get angry
console
resign
free

City Jambi

Verbs

belari
meliat
nengok
nyeberang
benci
ngasih salam
muji
becukur
mandi
bedandan
ngomong
ngasih tau
njelasin
nerangin
nyalahin
dorong
nemu
beli
takut
khawatir
mikir
nyuruh
betahan
minta
kagum/ngagumi
ngiro
cinto
nyubit
janji/nyanjikan
pecayo
ngelakuin
tau
ngasih
ngajar
mukul
nahan
lewat
negur
khawatir
marah

Translation

run
see
see
cross
hate
greet
praise
shave
wash
dress
talk
tell
describe
describe
blame
push
find
buy
scare
worry
think
ask
defend
ask
admire
think
love
pich
promise
believe
do
know
give
teach
hit
arrest
cross
greet
worry
get angry

Village Jambi

Verbs

nengok
manggakan
minta
nyangko
cinto
nyubit
janji/nyanjikan
pecayo/mecayoi
kagum/ngagumi
muji
tau
benci
mukul
nahan
nyiap-ke
lewat
negur
ngomong
dorong
nemu
nyeritokan
melo
ngawatirkan
nyalahi
marah
lupo
ngibur
nyelamatkan
ngundurkan
nyiapkan
mebaskan

Translation

see
admire (proud of)
ask
think
love
pinch
promise
believe
admire
praise
know
hate
hit
arrest
prepare
cross
greet
talk
push
find
tell
defend
worry
blame
get angry
forget
console
save
resign
prepare
free

