

The Social Dynamics of Pronominal Systems

EDITED BY

Paul Bouissac



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The Social Dynamics of Pronominal Systems. A comparative approach
Edited by Paul Bouissac

The Social Dynamics of Pronominal Systems

A comparative approach

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Introduction

Paul Bouissac

Aim and scope of the book

The purpose of this book is to probe the pragmatic functions of personal pronouns in a representative set of languages and cultures. This project developed from a panel which took place at the 14th Conference of the International Pragmatics Association (Antwerp, July 26–31, 2015). The panel itself included only four papers but it triggered an intense discussion that convinced the participants of the timeliness of the issues which had been raised. This initial panel was equally divided into papers examining the use of personal pronouns in two European languages and papers focusing on Asian languages. The present volume endeavours to maintain such a balance without, of course, attempting to be exhaustive. In addition to providing descriptions of different pronominal systems and the socio-dynamics of their use, it addresses two topics that greatly matter to contemporary societies: the translatability from one system into another and the evolution of norms under the pressure of social transformations.

Pronominal systems can be formally described from a grammatical point of view but their actual use is far more diverse and complex than suggested by the formal linguistic functions traditionally assigned to first-, second-, and third-person, singular or plural. As indexical tools, they receive their full meaning from the context of the communication acts in which they take part or which they report in the direct or indirect modes (Cysouw 2003, Jeppesen, Kragh and Lindschouw 2013, Gardelle and Sorlin 2015). However, personal pronouns are primarily at work in orality, the initial medium in which language emerged a very long time ago, before the relatively recent invention of writing systems led to the creation of explicit, normative spelling and conventional grammatical rules.

It has often been noted that the phonetic characteristics of personal pronouns are fundamentally similar across many languages not only within the same family but also across several families (Swadesh 1952, 1971; Ruhlen 1994; Babaev 2009). As Fortson notes about the personal pronouns in Indo-European languages, “no other set of words contains elements that are as ancient” with some characteristics

that “[hark] back to extremely old layers of the language’s morphology” (2010: 140–141). Most pronouns are monosyllabic and involve plosive consonants with occasional consonantal and vocalic reinforcements. Historical linguist Johanna Nichols notes that “The root consonantism of personal pronouns turns out to have symbolic properties comparable, in both their universality and their basic structural design, to those of ‘mama’ – ‘papa’ vocabulary” (Nichols 1992a). She identifies a universal high frequency of “nasals in their roots, a strong tendency for nasality and labiality to cooccur in the same person form, and a tendency to counterpose this form to one containing a dental” (Nichols 1992b: 261). She points out that the opposition itself is the relevant dimension rather than the personal sphere to which the terms are applied “since the crucial thing in comparing pronouns is not the individual form but the paradigmatic set of roots” (1992b: 267), in other words, the system of phonemic oppositions based on primal acoustic qualities. Contrary to the general assumption that all grammatical morphemes are derived from lexical morphemes (e.g., Bybee 2003: 161), it can be reasonably contended that pronouns and generally demonstratives are rooted in primal, indexical acoustic signals that draw from a repertory of vocal productions (Diessel 2006, 2013).

This suggests that personal pronouns likely originated in vocal signalling and thus form a primitive paradigm of acoustic communication that has been carried forward as articulate languages evolved. Comparison with vocal communication among primates indicates that these kinds of acoustic productions are akin to warning signals addressed to conspecifics or aliens (Hammerschmidt and Fischer 2008).

They are used to stake out territories, personal space, and convey dominance or, conversely, affiliation, cooperation, and submissiveness (Ackermann et al. 2014; Rendall et al. 2005; Gil-da-Costa et al. 2006; Ghazanfar and Rendall 2008). Typically, cultures that promote a high degree of civility tend to avoid the more aggressive forms of egocentric personal pronouns and replace them by indirect periphrases or metaphors. The eventual grammaticalization of these biosemiotic signals reduced them to the role of verbal markers that became agglutinated within the language chain. However, they appear to retain their original value in some instances of spoken languages mainly through intonation or even the addition of redundant phonetic elements and, in some other cases of verbal interactions, they are displaced through strategies of avoidance for the sake of civility. The latter bears witness to their earliest assertive or conflictual significance.

These hypothetical considerations about the signalling origin of personal pronouns are obviously difficult to prove but their mere plausibility, based on comparative evidence, can usefully sensitize us to the fact that the pragmatics of pronominal systems involves more than a simple application of grammatical principles to utterances in verbal communications. As suggested by the Swadesh list, personal

pronouns rank the highest for their universality and show communality of features (Swadesh 1952, 1971; Babaev 2009). Whether the term “pro-noun” is an appropriate linguistic description when it is applied to personal pronouns has been debated and is indeed questionable (e.g., Benveniste 1966; Kirtchuk 1995; Bhat 2004). “I” and “you” in English are deictic but can hardly be considered to stand for nouns when they are not used in their anaphoric function. They are the very act of utterance that positions a subject towards another, thus setting up a marked difference to the point that the first and second persons can be understood as the two sides of the same pronoun. The third person “he”, “she”, or “they” consists of pushing others aside, so to speak, in an active act of exclusion or in recognition of an existing distance with respect to the speaking subject or the interacting dyad. In fact, the distancing implied in “you” can be expanded to the extent that it is even commonly used to produce timeless, universalist statements far removed from any particular situation (Orwell et al. 2017). In some languages, it appears that two degrees of remoteness from the initial dyad are encoded in the morphology: the proximal and distal distinction can give rise to what can even be considered a fourth person as Ulrike Mosel shows in the case of Teop, an Oceanic language spoken in the north-east of the island of Bougainville in Papua New Guinea (Mosel 2010). In English, the opposition *this / these* versus *that / those*, and, in French *celui-ci / celle-ci / ceux-ci / celles-ci* versus *celui-là / celle-là / ceux-là / celles-là* / bear witness that the third person is not an undifferentiated conceptual and pragmatic category but encodes distance parameters often produced in conjunction with hand, gaze, and head gestures.

Language is all too often perceived and conceived through the lens of literacy. Since the invention and institutionalization of writing systems, literate languages are evolving in a state of constant tension between the conservative forces of the standard written models at a given time and the flow of variations and innovations that keeps occurring in the spoken lexicon and grammatical structures as well as in the pragmatic norms of pronominal usage. Phonetic and semantic variations are relentlessly at work from generation to generation. Pragmatics is not merely the study of the ways in which abstract grammatical norms are implemented in discourse but it concerns the observing and documenting of languages in the making. Researching the use of pronominal systems makes it possible to observe the dynamic interface between language and social change both at the dyadic level and in the broader perspective of linguistic development and cultural evolution. Gardelle and Sorlin (2015) provide enlightening evidence of these processes by the research reported in their collection on the pragmatics of personal pronouns from synchronic and developmental perspectives. Research has been conducted on changes of norms over time. Taavitsainen and Jucker (2003) offer in their edited volume insightful probes in the diachronic dimensions of pronominal uses through the examination of address terms in literary works mostly in European languages with

an emphasis on English. This contribution to historical pragmatics sheds an interesting light on the essential variability and fluidity of the dynamics of pronominal systems under the constant societal forces that are at work in the life of languages.

The political sensitivity of pronominal systems

Because pronouns are more than any other parts of speech at the interface of languages and the people who use them, they form a sensitive zone at the seams of the social fabric. A case in point is the contemporary debates in most European languages regarding the relationship between pronouns and gender. In English, some activists consider that the compulsory binary distinction of masculine versus feminine forms in the third-person singular does not do justice to the whole spectrum of gender diversity and sexual identities. On the other hand, distinctions like “he” and “she”, and the corresponding possessive pronouns, cannot be transferred to the plural. The implied dominance of the masculine is resented by feminists who either strive to create gender-specific neologisms such as “yerself” as distinct from “yourself”, or simply do away with such gender-based differences by generalizing inclusive forms such as “ze” or re-defining existing pronouns such as “they” which had become specialized in modern English to express the plural third person. Conservative minds who have little understanding of the fundamentally arbitrary nature and historic lability of language, resist these linguistic innovations which they perceive as attacks on the integrity of the language and the standards with which they identify.

At any given time, the official language of the cultural elite is so central to the social order that any changes either natural or engineered are perceived as corruption or subversion of the very essence of national and cultural identity.

In French, the problem is compounded, on the one hand, by the compulsory gendering of the lexicon and the cascade of grammatical agreements it triggers in the sentence, and, on the other hand, by the fact that traditionally some professions were exclusively denoted in the lexicon in the masculine form (e.g., *auteur* [author], *professeur* [professor]). Over the last few decades, normative spelling has been modified in order to take stock of the fact that no profession now remains the exclusive privilege of men and the mark of the feminine -e has been added to many words in the lexicon (e.g., *auteure*, *professeure*). However, this move did not suffice to resolve the issue of gender equality with respect to gender agreement. The grammatical conflicts resulting from the presence of two subjects of different genders impose a difficult choice when it comes to the agreement of the past participles and adjectives. Until the seventeenth century the rule of proximity was followed but when the regulation of language was entrusted to an official

institution, it was decided that the masculine would always prevail. This has been expectedly denounced as an ideological dictate that generates stress for the whole language including the pronominal system. The development of so-called inclusive French implying profound changes in the spelling and subsequent pronunciation of some nouns and pronouns is spreading but is actively resisted by national authorities such as the French Academy which, in 2017, declared such reforms unacceptable. On November 21, 2017, the French Prime Minister instructed the members of his government to ban “so-called inclusive writing” from all official texts (*Le Monde*, 21/11/2017).

Another politically sensitive area of the pragmatics of pronominal systems is the use of pronouns as social markers. Their capacity to symbolically increase or reduce interpersonal distance can be used to maintain or deny hierarchical differences. Self-reference may be expressed in a variety of ways that indicate a range of affiliations relative to the cultural diversity of the social context. In Bahasa Indonesia, the official Indonesian language, for instance, students have at least three ways of referring to themselves: the first person Arabic ‘*ana* when they interact with their fellow Muslims, the neutral *saya* (originally from *sahaya* meaning slave), and the formally polite *hamba*. Another form *aku* is used toward people of lesser social status and *kami*, the first-person plural can express the first person in some circumstances (Surjaman 1968: 90–98).

The meaning produced by the differential use of personal pronouns is the result of the process of socialization and acculturation. By learning the proper choices in specific contexts, children assimilate an awareness of their place in society with respect to age, gender, cast, and class. Violations of expected uses are repressed and may alienate individuals from the sphere of civility and sanity. Languages offer a scalar variety of pragmatic rules from a restricted number of well-defined options to a great range of subtle differences whose norms can be implemented with more or less degrees of flexibility (e.g., Audring 2009). The non-respect of the pragmatic norms can be construed as errors due to immaturity or lack of proficiency, or, more dramatically, as acts of socio-political rebellion against the established order. In this respect, pronouns operate as “speech acts” (Austin 1962) in as much as in addition to their grammatical roles in locutionary and illocutionary utterances, they actively either enforce or transform social relations. In this respect, they may be considered to implement perlocutionary functions. Such is the power of personal pronouns that the monitoring of their use can provide invaluable information on the state of the body politic. Sociolinguists have paid attention to the differential use of address pronouns in semi-formal and casual interactions. For instance, Golnaz Nanbakhsh (2012a) probed the uses of Persian *to*, the second person indexing the intimate or solidarity form of address, and *šoma*, the second person associated with respect, deference, and social distance. Her research based

on televised interviews and hidden camera recordings shows deviations from the standard norms of address usage. Her work focuses on Persian agreement mismatch constructions in relation with social evolution.

Political revolutions are often inspired by egalitarian ideologies which strive to modify the social fabric of the countries the new leaders control. In cultures in which the pronominal system is a strong index of the former social hierarchy, new norms are imposed. This was the case in the 1789 French revolution. Similarly, the 1968 students' revolt in France had a spontaneous impact on pronominal use, as we will see in Chapter 6. This is a very general phenomenon that has been observed, for example, in the wake of the 1979 Islamic revolution in Iran (Nanbakhsh 2012b) and after the 2008 Maoists' accession to power in Nepal, as it is documented in Chapter 7. Such top-down changes are met with various degrees of success and usually generate ambiguous developments and adaptations. It is symptomatic, however, that attempts to subvert the status quo target the pronominal system as a prime instrument of social change.

From an anthropological point of view, pronominal systems yield indeed reliable information about the kind of societies in which they are observed. Cultural theory (e.g., Douglas 1970) describes social structures along a scalar axis that opposes two models of organization: the "group" and the "grid". The former plays down differences and its extreme forms are found in egalitarian societies; the latter emphasizes differences and is exemplified by cultures that foster strong hierarchical stratifications. The sheer quantity of pronouns and the number of social constraints upon their dissymmetrical uses are indicative of the ranks and statuses that structure both the public and family spheres with a variety of forms to address, and refer to in-laws, first- and second-cousins, and their spouses and children. The use of pronouns plays an important part in the dynamic of social exclusion that is at work, for instance, in racist discourse (e.g., Riggins 1997).

Usually, changes in the morphology and pragmatics of pronominal systems, like all language modifications, occur progressively without being noticed by interacting speakers of the language except perhaps by the conservative fringe. Even in societies which have established institutions designed to monitor and enforce the respect of grammatical and pragmatic rules, older generations commonly complain that the young ones don't speak properly any longer until they die out and are replaced by a generation that holds slightly different norms and laments in turn about the decline of their correct language.

As indicated above, political, social, and cultural revolutions often bring about sudden, drastic changes in the pragmatics of pronominal systems whereby a "grid" structure shifts toward the "group" model (Douglas 1970). The abolition of social distinctions based on the rights of birth, for instance, leads to the imposition of an egalitarian language that cancels pragmatic norms which are perceived as

enforcing the past social dissymmetry which were sustained by the pronominal system of oppositions. The promotion of gender equality impacts languages that emphasize grammatical gender as an overriding constraint. Language contacts can also impact the social dynamics of pronominal systems. Among other cultural and economic factors, the spreading of English on a global scale may have been facilitated by the lesser onus it puts on speakers when deciding which address pronouns to use in social interactions. Compared to the complexity of the first- and second-person paradigms that is found in many other languages, “you” is indeed gender-neutral, both singular and plural, and indifferent to the rank and status of the addressee. It thus requires less effort and less stress on the part of the speakers. Through leaning toward the “group” model, the use of “you” as a universal mode of address may represent a kind of political emancipation from the strict social constraints of “grid-type” societies.

Reformists often attempt to transform the very nature of the social relationships that characterize their culture through engineering pronominal changes. These deliberate innovations may or may not become the new norm. The entangled dynamics of languages and societies are not very well understood, and consensus at times emerges unexpectedly. The drive toward gender neutrality in American English has produced the generalization of the hybrid third-person “he/she” in universal statements that were traditionally expressed in the masculine. Novel forms such as *xe* and *zir* have been proposed, and are sporadically endorsed by those who denounce the imposition of binary constraints implied by the masculine/feminine dichotomy. Some theoretically neutral term such as “baby” are unaccountably claimed to imply maleness and “theyby” has been proposed as a word that would denote an inclusive category befitting the zeitgeist (Poole 2018). Apparently, the fight against the perceived discriminatory power of pronouns is spreading to the whole lexicon, at least in the English-speaking world, and has become a topic of public debates in contemporary media.

While the relevance of the pragmatics of pronominal systems to sociology and anthropology is obvious since indexical tools signify only through their use in social contexts, the study of pronominal use is no less productive in psychological research although it might seem at first counterintuitive. Indeed, content-words are generally considered to be the bearers of cognition and emotion. The choice of words expresses attitudes and feelings. By contrast, pronouns are function-tools devoid of concrete meanings. Their role in messages is merely to connect meaningful elements with each other and with the physical or textual context. However, upon reflection, pronouns are more intimately associated with the speaking subjects both as addressers and addressees, and they are the means by which the interactants structure their environment from their own points of view. This has prompted some psychologists to focus their investigative methods

upon the quantitative uses of pronominal forms both to explore the idiosyncratic characteristic of individuals and to uncover regularities that are pertinent to social psychology. This type of research has been popularized by James Pennebaker (2011) who conducted statistical analysis of differential uses of function-words in order to assess the quantitative data with respect to sex, age, status, and class. Measurements, run by computer algorithms, bear upon the ratio content-words to function-words, comparative frequency of categories of function-words, and symptomatic correlation of the data with characteristic psychological properties of individuals and social groups. Although the object of this collective research is a broad range of indexical materials, pronouns emerged as the most notable feature, thus prompting the author to title his book *The Secret Life of Pronouns: What our Words Say about Us*. In spite of its ethnocentric bias toward American English and an admittedly unsophisticated linguistic background, the study yields interesting results regarding the psychological dimensions of the social dynamics of pronominal systems. For instance, the discussion of the language of power, status, and leadership can provide a basis for further cross-cultural and cross-linguistic inquiries (Pennebaker 2011: 170–177) and suggests an expanded horizon of research.

Contents and prospects

Early research interest in the linguistics of pronouns were stimulated by the seminal remarks of Emile Benveniste (1971 [1956]) and Roman Jakobson (1957). Landmark treatments of the pragmatics of address terms and pronominal systems by Brown and Gilman (1960) and Brown and Levinson (1978) inspired further research pertaining to a larger number of languages and cultures, investigating social modes of interaction that are not limited to the notion of politeness. The present book's ambition is to contribute to this momentum and start exploring more precisely and more comprehensively the social dynamic of pronominal systems in face to face interactions and their representations in literary texts.

The chapters in this volume endeavour to describe and discuss some of the aspects of the pragmatics of personal pronominal systems in a significant sample of languages. Depending on the type of empirical research upon which they are based, some of the chapters deal with the actual use of pronouns in the verbal interactions of everyday life. Some others examine the representation of verbal interactions in written texts since drama and novels purport to offer realistic dialogues and thus provide reliable evidence of the norms that prevailed at the time of their writing and the significance of deliberate transgressions of these norms. This approach may also yield relevant information about the changes that have occurred along the course of history.

Given the limited number of chapters that a single volume can accommodate, compared to the numerous languages that could be discussed from the point of view of the pragmatics of pronominal systems, the languages represented in this book can only constitute a small sample. The set of chapters has been organized along broad geo-cultural areas, from western Europe to eastern Asia, with a concern for representing, in a balanced way, several language families as well as different social structures. It is hoped that this selection and organization will sensitize the readers to a range of issues which have been so far only sparsely studied in a comparative framework, and remain relatively undertheorized.

The first chapter (Manuela Cook) provides a general framework for the analysis of social dynamics in address pronouns. It builds upon the conceptual matrix derived from the Latin that was proposed some six decades ago by Brown and Gilman (1960). This traditional T (familiar) versus V (formal) model is completed by the neutrality posture N which is examined across a range of European languages with particular emphasis on English. The main thrust of this chapter is to discuss the importance of the development of the N dimension in the context of globalization through which other languages are confronted by the unmarked address represented by the English “you”. This chapter establishes the dynamic, global perspective that underlines the socio-political relevance of the volume with respect to cultural and language interactions characterizing today’s world.

The second chapter (Nick Wilson) notes that, in English, the pronominal system “lacks a way of marking for certain aspects of referential meaning”. It explores various pragmatic strategies used to make up for this inadequacy in the context of the interactions taking place in a rugby team, in particular the way in which pronominal choice impacts the social dynamic of leadership discourse. “When we means you” refers to the use of the pseudo-inclusive first person plural that aims at enhancing solidarity and mitigating leadership-focused speech acts.

The third chapter documents the contemporary use of pronouns in Brazilian Portuguese (Monica Rector and Marcello da Silva Amorim). It shows how the traditional pragmatic rules of Portuguese evolved towards new forms to fulfil novel and meaningful demands arising in Brazilian society. This chapter provides a clear example of the versatility and flexibility shown by pronominal systems in response to broader cultural changes and it documents the emergence of new norms.

The fourth chapter (Manuela Cook) builds on the data that were presented in the first three chapters regarding the use of pronouns in English and Portuguese, two polycentric languages with broad global relevance. It addresses the crucial issues encountered in translating these languages one into another. It is a test case which readers may want to keep in mind when perusing the remaining chapters in the book since the challenge of accurate translation is compounded by the psychological and social sensitivity of the pragmatics of personal pronoun use.

The fifth chapter (Romane Werner and Costantino Maeder) addresses the diversity and evolution of the T-V address practice in Italian. The authors analyse a robust corpus of texts that yield information relevant to gender and regional differences from the mid-nineteenth century to today's practices. Although it is focused on the written medium, the statistical conclusions of this research demonstrate the significance of pronominal use with respect to gender, culture, and politics both on the synchronic and diachronic axes. They also show the importance of factoring regional differences (which they label the "diatopic" axis) when assessing the pragmatics of personal pronouns.

The sixth chapter (Paul Bouissac) discusses the forms and functions of French personal pronouns in social interactions and literary texts. It first analyses the semiotic significance of the first person and its modalities. Then, it endeavours to show the complexity and flexibility of the pronominal system based on the meaning-making power of the T-V address strategies. It offers examples of the creative use of this opposition to convey dramatic changes in personal relationships both in fiction and real-life interaction. The examples provided show that pronouns are akin to speech acts through their power to change, often drastically, the nature of the relationship between interactants. Shifting from the T to the V form can be experienced as the effective dissolution of a social or intimate bond while the reverse signals either an egalitarian move or an act of dominance, depending on the context and whether or not it implies symmetry.

The seventh chapter (George van Driem) exemplifies such a pragmatic complexity as it describes the dynamics of Nepali pronominal distinctions in familiar, casual, and formal relationships. The Nepali language distinguishes indeed at least five degrees of deference in verbal interaction. Within each category Nepali speakers have a scalar range of options that denotes various degrees of asymmetry, respect, intimacy, etc., a complexity compounded by the caste system that forms the overarching context of social interactions. The author pays particular attention to the ways in which the kinship structure of the Nepali society with its various degrees of closeness and distance, dominance and avoidance, and direct and indirect filiations, is signified through the proper use of pronouns and address terms. This chapter also brings to the fore the diachronic dimension of pronominal and address systems as it documents their evolution following the recent political changes that transformed the traditional kingdom into a democracy. It observes how the paradigm of royal address is in part recycled to acknowledge the power of the new civil authorities, and in part used jokingly with the values of irony or parody, a phenomenon similar to the case of French in the wake of the 1789 revolution and the 1968 students revolt, as pointed out in Chapter 6.

The eighth chapter (Shaojie Zhang and Bing Xue) focuses on the expression of the first person in Chinese not only as the unmarked deictic reference of the

speaker to himself/herself but also as a process of identity construction in specific social contexts. It shows the complexity of the pragmatics of the language strategies employed to construct self-identity in context-dependent social interactions. Such an analysis opens the way to further probing the interface between pragmatics and social psychology in as much as cultural norms are bound to constrain the private and public representation of the self.

The ninth chapter (Cher Leng Lee) explores the pragmatics of personal pronouns in Chinese historical texts with particular reference to Confucius's *Analects* and the 18th century novel *Dream of the Red Chamber*. The large number of personal pronouns used for address or reference corresponding to the three grammatical categories reflects the complexity of the social web. The dynamics of the constant switching of forms indicates various statuses and attitudes, and the changes occurring in the context of their complex hierarchical social network. In fictions writers are free to play the whole gamut of pronouns in a virtual social world to create exponentially nuanced meanings.

The tenth chapter (Dana Osborne) reviews the expression of the self in Tagalog and English in tweets observed in the Philippines (me, myself, and ako). The hybrid language of Twitter, referred to as Taglish, provides the data which the author analyses to describe codeswitching patterns in the process of constructing the self in a dialogic context. This contribution exploits the rich database provided by social media to investigate the creative resources of the pronominal systems in multicultural, multilingual societies.

The eleventh chapter (Michael Ewing and Dwi Noverini Djenar) uses a rich database of informal conversations to probe the pragmatics of the Indonesian language focusing on the second-person pronouns and other terms of address. In contrast with languages like English, or even the romance languages that possess a restricted paradigm, the speakers of Bahasa Indonesia have a large number of options among an abundant repertory of terms available for addressing and referring, as well as other lexical resources. The social indexicality of the system of address is summarized in view of the previous research conducted in this domain but this study goes further through examining the role played by the Indonesian pronominal system in the structural organization of conversations. On the way, important issues are addressed, such as the interplay between addressing and referring, the construction of symmetry, and the ambiguities of recipient indications. The contexts of the multiparty conversations which are analysed are thoroughly specified.

The twelfth chapter (Nicole Kruspe and Niclas Burenholt) examines the linguistic and cultural expression of affinal avoidance in the Aslian speech communities (Austroasiatic, Malay Peninsula) with particular attention to the role of pronouns. The chapter deals with a family of systems employing bundles of linguistic strategies to represent affinal kin, including exclusive paradigms of in-law pronouns,

specific vocatives, proper name avoidance, and circumlocutory kinship and possessive expressions. The pronominal systems, though, form the foremost linguistic access point to the affinal avoidance ideology of the communities. Significant differences are noted between the pronominal systems of nomadic populations and those of other groups in the sample studied, thus suggesting possible cultural correlations with respect to the asymmetry in pronominal forms used between in-laws. It calls attention to a more general anthropological framework: the divide between hunter-gatherer cultures that are usually characterized by egalitarianism and sedentary cultures that are prone to develop strong social hierarchies. The group versus grid model offers productive theoretical perspectives with respect to the pronominal paradigms and their pragmatics.

In addition to providing valuable information on the morphology and grammatical functions of personal pronouns in a representative range of languages, this collection will complement recent attempts to come to grips with the complexity of the pragmatics of pronouns (e.g., Gardelle and Sorlin 2015; Jeppesen Kragh and Lindschouw 2015) and will play its part in contributing to a better understanding of the way in which pronouns are used to reflect and actively model and mould the complexity of interpersonal relationships and social hierarchies. Whether pronouns indicate conformity to established norms or transformation and subversion of these norms, they are powerful tools of sociality as well as instruments of cultural and political changes. More than any other aspect of language, pronominal systems constitute the dynamic interface between linguistic structures and the social lives of speaking subjects.

Obviously, this collection represents only a very small sample of the world's numerous languages, and each chapter could understandably address only a limited part of the problems that could potentially be raised in addition to the specific topics they chose to consider. These efforts, though, might inspire others to undertake similar research towards a more comprehensive treatment of the morphology, grammatical functions, and pragmatics of pronominal systems in the whole array of the known languages of the world. The three-person framework that subtends the analyses developed in the chapters of this book, with its restricted conceptualization of gender (masculine, feminine, and neutral) and number (singular and plural), should definitely be expanded to include a richer range of categories that would do justice to the variety of natural languages as well as to human gender and cultural diversity. Notoriously absent from the purview of this volume are the dual pronouns which are attested, for example, in ancient Greek, Polish, and Arabic to name only a few. Also missing is the discussion of the quasi universal distinction between proximal and distal third person which has led some linguists to formulate the hypothesis of a fourth person category (e.g., Mosel 2010) as indicated above. Finally, in spite of its limitations, this collection might prime some novel theorizing

on the interface between orality and literacy through probing further the intense fracture zone in which the dynamic of pronominal systems puts constant pressure on the stability of established literate languages and the social fabric they sustain.

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N-V-T, a framework for the analysis of social dynamics in address pronouns

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Address pronouns are often discussed within a T-V model of evaluation, where T symbolizes a familiar or informal approach and V a polite or formal approach. These two postures are originally associated with asymmetric personal and group interaction. N-V-T is an alternative framework of evaluation that considers neutrality, N, as an essential component. English unmarked, single pronoun *you* bypasses the T-V binary and has become a global example of the N posture. This chapter analyses the Anglophone case and how it compares with other languages, in some of which a traditional V or T encoder may be playing a new role in response to the inter-relational shifts which are taking place in today's worldwide evolution of address pronoun social dynamics.

Keywords: address pronouns, forms of address, T-V distinction, neutrality (N), N-V-T distinction, familiar/informal, polite/formal, power and solidarity, English *you*, sociolinguistics

Note

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1. Introduction

The sociolinguistic performance of address pronouns is customarily discussed in terms of a dual system of alternatives. This practice is based on the theoretical model advanced by Brown and Gilman (1960) who, concentrating on European

languages, adopted symbols T and V as designators for respectively a “familiar” and “polite” approach, in a parallel with Latin subject pronouns *tū* and *vōs*, where the former was the familiar pronoun of address directed at one person and the latter was for a polite approach directed at one person, as a sign of reverence, and was also the invariable plural, both familiar and polite.

In support of their theoretical model, Brown and Gilman argue that Latin *tū* and *vōs* are at the root of the European development of two singular pronouns for respectively a T and V approach. In their argument these authors do not provide an explanation for modern English single *you*. This exception points to the need to consider an extra dimension outside the T-V duality. The present chapter will discuss the sociolinguistic significance of English constituent *you* and will adopt a framework of analysis that caters for this case.

Brown and Gilman’s T and V classification concerns second-person pronominal subjects. In a more comprehensive sociolinguistic appraisal, two aspects call for consideration. First, a second-person subject constituent may not necessarily be a pronoun; secondly, T and V nuances may also be conveyed via other means. In order to gain insight into available options, one must discern between structural and semantic provision in the area of second-person subjects and other forms of address. The present chapter attempts to achieve this goal.

As explained by Brown and Gilman, the semantic content of T and V alternatives is governed by factors power and solidarity. Whilst solidarity tends to result in reciprocal T or V, power will determine a non-reciprocal interaction in which the superior says T but may expect to receive V. This will be revisited in the present chapter, where power and solidarity will be considered as variables associated with cultural difference and evolution.

Finally, today, over half a century since Brown and Gilman’s theoretical model was first published, symbols T and V are still being used. The alternatives they represent, however, may have come to stand for a formal/informal dichotomy (V/T), instead of the original “polite” (V) and “familiar” (T) interpretation. The implications of this sharper contrast will also be pondered upon in the current chapter.

The different threads of argument listed above will be considered concurrently in the defence of a tripartite classification of address forms which will include a dimension of neutrality (N). The debate is grounded in naturally-occurring language data and will draw on linguistic theory and research findings as published in previous works.

Bearing in mind the existence of some fluctuation of practice in the use of linguistic terminology, please note that the expression “forms of address” is used in this chapter in the sense of grammatical and semantic language provision that encodes and establishes relations between addresser and addressee, be they of a neutral, polite/formal or familiar/informal orientation. It encompasses second-person

systems as well as other methods, including titles and honorifics, in the polite/formal sphere, and expressions of affection and camaraderie, in the familiar/informal sphere. From a structural angle, morphological and syntactic features will be discussed. From a semantic angle, both pronominal and nominal forms of address will be discussed in their role to encapsulate, define and promote interpersonal and intergroup relations as they are understood and valued.

2. The N dimension

As highlighted by Brown and Gilman, most of us in modern English use only one pronoun of address, which is presented by these authors as an exception to their theoretical model (Brown and Gilman 1960: 253). Indeed, today, English has a neutral single pronoun of address, although, historically, this derives from a binary system. (See Sub-section 4.1. Learning from the past.)

Unlike the non-reciprocal interaction of T-V pronouns, single *you* is used reciprocally between old and young, rich and poor, monarch and citizen, and so on, thus bridging across possible social divides such as age, wealth, birth and others. In truth, with its single second-person pronoun *you*, structurally, the English language recognizes grammatical provision for one second-person paradigm only, which, semantically, in face of its universal application, is void of T-V denotations.

The position occupied by English *you* in relation to the T-V binary is what Cook (1997 and 2000) would classify as N, a neutral form of address in a triad of possible orientations in forms of address, i.e. N-V-T. Cook's debate focuses on the Portuguese language but recommends that the proposed inclusion of a dimension of neutrality – N – be considered more widely: 'This essay seeks to contribute a framework of analysis that centres specifically on the Portuguese language but which can be given a wider application, encompassing other languages [...]' (Cook 1997: 459, translated).

The N-V-T tripartite framework of analysis acknowledges a dimension of neutrality and provides a theoretical basis for its evaluation: 'Another address approach is also identified, a mode of neutrality, N, which coexists with V-T and enables avoiding a commitment to the binary system' (Cook 1997: 462, translated). More recently, findings by Clyne, Norrby and Warren can be deemed to support the addition of a neutral alternative, N, to the customary T and V binary. Commenting on the English single pronoun of address, these authors state that the 'use of U on its own can be considered the default, neutral address form' (Clyne et al. 2009: 39). Moreover, the need to take N into account is being put forward in connection with other languages around the world, e.g., Liu (2011) about Chinese.

With respect to languages which have a pronominal distinction, the N dimension provides a theoretical tool for the assessment of T-V avoidance strategies. These vary from language to language. Discussing means of avoiding a T-V / V-T contrast, Brown and Levinson contribute the following statement: '[...] pluralization, substitution of third person for second person, and other person switches are widespread throughout the world, and common in that order' (1987: 23). In a study on dyadic interaction, Fetzer (2000) analyses the adoption of collective identity markers in German. Discussing Portuguese, Pountain comments as follows: 'Cook [...] argues that the absence of a subject is an intentional neutralization of the Portuguese *você* – *o senhor* opposition' (2003: 158). Clyne et al. also allude to possible alternatives: 'There are [...] grammatical devices such as *on* in French and to a lesser extent *man* in German, which together with the passive (especially in Swedish) are grammatical devices of address pronoun avoidance' (2009: 157).

Not only can a T-V grammatical contrast be avoided but it can also be toned down. Instead of a polarized T and V, there will then be a number of intermediate grades – Braun defends a T and V₁, V₂, V₃ continuum (1988). Along the same line of thinking, Hickey's classification of "scalar" (2003) equally contemplates nuances that cannot be reduced to a simple dichotomic judgement. In fact, the most depolarized of these renderings may qualify as an N approach. For instance in French, *vous* was treated as a neutral background by Barthes (1971); and for many Francophone speakers it continues to be the pronoun of choice in initial encounters between strangers and between people who want to avoid familiarity (Coffen 2002), thus retaining its place as an unmarked or neutral pronoun (Halmøy 1999; Havu 2005).

In addition to several N strategies being at work in languages with a T-V grammatical distinction, in some of them another phenomenon may be occurring – one of the pronouns may be gaining ground to the detriment of the other; and there may be claims that one of the two is becoming, or has become, the default pronoun. Examples include Norwegian T *du* (e.g., Braun 1988), Swedish T *du* (e.g., Clyne et al. 2009), German V *Sie* (e.g., Kretzenbacher 1991 and 2010) and French V *vous* (e.g., Halmøy 1999; Warren 2006). This situation, however, cannot be equivalent to the English case of a neutral single pronoun of address whilst both pronouns remain in circulation and, consequently, a pronominal binary subsists where one option will implicitly evoke the other; and obtaining N will therefore be likely to continue via manipulation of the established T-V grammatical system.

One way or another, structural adjustments are normally involved in the devising of an N encoder out of a grammatical binary. This includes the implementation of one address pronoun in preference to the other. Having an address pronoun as a single performer, as in English, can therefore be viewed as a radical measure of structural adjustment.

We have examined two main scenarios in N provision. In a language which has a T-V grammatical paradigm, the usual route tends to be managing the existing morphosyntactic elements so as to produce N semantics. In a language – typically English – where morphosyntactic recognition is being given to one single pronoun of address, then this form becomes the key player of N semantics in the N-V-T triad.

3. T and V encoders: pronominal or nominal?

In Brown and Gilman's study, T and V approaches are led by a personal pronoun subject as part of a grammatical paradigm. This may be applicable in some cases but not in others, even within the ambit of European languages, the main focus of research in their work.

Address pronouns can be found for instance in French and German (Brown and Gilman 1960: 254 and 261–4). French contributes a convenient example. Its current forms *tu* (T) and *vous* (V) are both morphologically and phonetically recognizable as descendants from Latin *tū* and *vōs*. German also qualifies, with its *du* (T) and *Sie* (V). In these two languages, as in others, there are specific verb endings corresponding to the T and V second-person pronouns. Further references could include, for instance, Russian T-V alternatives (Wade and Gillespie 2010).

However, particularly for V, some of the so-called “pronouns of address” are morphemes that derive from a nominal expression and, as such, from a diachronic point of view, do not belong to a paradigm of genuine personal pronouns. For instance, Italian V form *Lei* and Spanish V form *usted* are phonetically compressed adaptations of, respectively, *La Vostra Signoria* ‘your Lordship’ and *Vuestra Merced* ‘your Grace’. This is originally the result of a vogue in honorific form of address that swept across late medieval Europe and which was also rooted in Latin, where the Roman Emperor used to be addressed as *Uestra Maiestas* ‘Your Majesty’. Brown and Gilman acknowledge the noun-based origin of Italian *Lei* and Spanish *usted* (1960: 264), but in the terminology used – pronouns of address – no allowance is made to cater for the nominal input, perhaps discarded as a superseded phenomenon of by-gone days.

Far from being a matter of mere historical interest, the nominal origin of some “pronouns of address” can still impact in their performance today. The noun element in the source expression attracted the use of third person verb endings applied to second person, a paradigm which can outlive the phonetic erosion of the subject constituent into a pronoun-like morpheme, as is the case with Italian *Lei* and Spanish *usted*. In modern Portuguese, *ocê* ‘you’ equally comes from a nominal expression, *Vossa Mercê* ‘Your Grace’ (Braun 1988; Cook 1997); and the

retained third-as-second-person mechanism encourages the insertion of a noun subject marker (Cook 1997 and 2013). For a V effect, *você* can be replaced with *o senhor / a senhora* ‘the gentleman / lady’ – e.g., *O senhor deseja um café?* ‘Would you like a coffee, sir?’, literally, ‘Would the gentleman like a coffee?’. This “pronoun of address” is actually a noun in its own right.

In truth, nouns are often instrumental contributors to T-V differentiation in other languages, across continents, as for example in Japanese (Tsujiyama, 2013) and Chinese (Sun 2006); and very much so for speech acts in dyadic interaction, as discussed for instance by Liu (2011). Nouns can really be indispensable providers of T and V semantics. This is notably the case in the English language, where nominal T-V alternatives fulfil the role of an absent T-V binary in pronouns of address. In this respect, Clyne, Norrby and Warren comment as follows:

“Contrary to a popular belief among speakers of languages which have a pronominal distinction, the existence of a single address pronoun in English does not make the English address system free from complexity. Indeed, there have been various claims about the ways in which English *makes up for* its lack of a T/V distinction. [...] Nominal address forms in English are a particularly heterogeneous group, with a range of terms whose use varies according to circumstances such as domain, relationship between speaker and addressee, and various speaker characteristics such as age and sex.” (Clyne et al. 2009: 17–19).

Nominal forms abound. In the V sphere, *Sir* and *Madam* (or *Ma’am*) are generally used as a polite form of address for respectively a man and a woman (e.g., Oxford Dictionary of English 2010) as a valued member of society.

There are also forms to classify the addressee by various specific criteria of social status, for instance *Your Highness* (dignitary attribution), *Prime Minister* (political office), *Captain* (military rank) and *Doctor* (academic level), as can be found in dictionary entries (e.g., Oxford Dictionary of English 2010). For the T sphere, Brown and Levinson quote an extensive list which includes *Mac, mate, buddy, pal, guys, fellas, honey, dear, duckie, luv, babe, sweetheart*, and others (1987: 107–8). Familiarizers, such as *mate*, and terms of endearment, such as *darling* and *sweetie*, are also mentioned by other authors (e.g., Leech 1999: 106–9; Formentelli 2007). Appellation by someone’s name operates in V or T (e.g., Gardner-Chloros 2004). Accordingly, choices can be made: *Matthew Jones* may be addressed in V as *Mr Jones* and in T as *Matthew* or, more so, *Matt*; *Amanda Peters* may be addressed in V as *Miss/Mrs/Ms Peters* and in T as *Amanda* or *Mandy*. The addresser would have used the addressee’s surname with a title for V, and for T his/her given name in full or abridged as a diminutive.

Considering the English nominal T-V encoders from a structural point of view, it must be noted that in general they are not embedded in the sentence, or, in Braun’s words, they are “free forms”, as opposed to “bound forms” (1988: 268).

They tend to share the same syntactic arrangement as a vocative, either in isolation – e.g., *Sir!* (V) or *Mate!* (T) –, or in apposition – e.g., *Yes, sir!* (V) or *Yes, mate* (T). Considering English T-V encoders from a semantic point of view, a significant facet to note is that the noun element performs a classifying function, differently from what happens with pronouns of address, where T-V semantic content is achieved through one pronoun, by inference, meaning the opposite to the other. The inherent semantic content of nouns of address makes them a rich tool of T-V sociolinguistic performance with a wide range of identifying and characterizing nuances. This is particularly noticeable in the T sector, e.g., *mate*, *babe*, etc. Obviously, in addition to “bound forms”, “free forms” are equally available in languages which have a T-V pronominal distinction, where they can provide extra T-V shades of meaning. The fundamental dissimilarity in English is the need to rely on T-V nominal encoders as a means of compensating for a single address pronoun.

As discussed above, T-V semantics are not necessarily delivered by pronouns. Trying to reduce T-V encoders to this morphological category results in an incomplete and misleading picture.

4. Vertical axis and horizontal mobility

4.1 Learning from the past

Brown and Gilman’s discussion on “the pronouns of power and solidarity” (1960) opens with a description of English *you* as an example of a second-person single encoder and closes with the following piece of advice: ‘Perhaps Europeans would like to convince themselves that the solidarity ethic once extended will not be withdrawn, that there is security in the mutual T.’ There may be some incompatibility between the article’s beginning and its final words.

As summarized by Brown and Gilman (1960: 253 and 265–6), English *you* was at one time part of a T-V binary. It occupied the V pole as the singular of reverence and polite distance; and was also the invariable plural. With this role, *you* was the object form corresponding to subject form *ye*. The subject pronoun singular for T was *thou*, with *thee* as its corresponding object form. In today’s English, T *thou* and *thee* are no longer in wide use.

Modern English pronoun *you* is, therefore, a V survivor of a former T-V binary. With the removal of the T pole, the T-V construct was undone; and V, not T, has been extended to any addressee, thus serving the “solidarity ethic”. Therefore, the English case may not support the advice given by Brown and Gilman to Europeans with regard to “mutual T” which may suggest the promotion of a T pronoun to a single form.

History may also prove that “mutual T” does not always serve the “solidarity ethic”. The best known illustration from Europe may be the French Revolution, in late eighteenth century, when the Committee of Public Safety condemned the use of V as a feudal remnant and ordered a reciprocal T. In the name of *fraternité*, mutual T – French *tu* – was promoted as an all-embracing form of address. This was double-edged. Revolution leaders would be acting within the equalitarian ideal when implementing T reciprocal address in interaction with members of the traditionally lower classes. However, when imposing T on those of high standing in the previous hierarchy, the equalizing effort would become a revolutionary power-driven violation of the formerly established order. The promotion of *tu* lasted for a while, but eventually the T-V duality was re-established. This historical example is quoted in Brown and Gilman’s article (1960: 264–5), although it may be another piece of evidence unresponsive of their advice to Europeans.

Closer to our days, the anti-authoritarian movements in European universities in the 1960s and early 1970s have impacted on mode of address but so far not decisively. In relation to French, Calvet reports the spread of *tu* (1976) and Coffen the reinstatement of *vous* (2002). However, *vous* hasn’t ceased to go unquestioned as a default option; and there are pressures to use *tu* (Warren 2006). In relation to German, Bayer (1979) describes the emergence of two competing systems, one with the traditional default *Sie*, the other with a default *du*, but there are signs of a return to the former (Kretzenbacher 1991; Clyne 1995), which is particularly noticeable in the academic sector (Amendt 1995), although *Sie* has been receiving renewed challenges (Kretzenbacher and Clyne 2006) but surviving (Kretzenbacher 2010).

The quoted French and German examples have something in common with the English case, that is, the effort to cater for solidarity principles by rethinking a T-V duality. The process is also basically the same, i.e., one of the pronouns of address, V or T, is elected to become a reciprocal form across different sectors of society. A major difference, however, may lie in the elected encoder, V or T. With *you*, the English language has selected V, which, when implemented initially out of a T-V contrast, must have appealed to the large majority of people, who would have felt upgraded out of the previous non-reciprocal system.

English V *you* has been successful and today is used by most Anglophone speakers as a single encoder in replacement for the former T-V pronominal duality. With *tu*, late eighteenth-century French selected T, which would meet with rejection from individuals in traditional posts of high standing; and more recent campaigns have been having mixed results. In twentieth-century German, attempts to promote T *du* have so far led to conflicting T-V dualities. The difficulties encountered by T pronouns in establishing themselves as the default, and eventually single, mode of address are open to more than one interpretation. It could simply

be that more conservative speakers do not wish to part with the traditional T-V system. Other possible explanations will be that former V encoders have come to house a new sociolinguistic content which is better suited to changing requirements; or that T encoders are not delivering the solidarity they proclaim to convey.

4.2 Moving into the future

4.2.1 *N for solidarity*

Over time, changes can be expected to take place in the sociolinguistic content of a T or V encoder. This brings us to the topic of how T and V condition, and are conditioned by, social values and cultural developments. The Latin T-V symbols used by Brown and Gilman (1960) are representative of asymmetry on a vertical axis, between superiors and inferiors. This would be the norm in the language of Rome and also in European languages perhaps at least until the end of the nineteenth century. In the more modern world a new scenario may emerge. As societies become less hierarchical, individuals are likely to move more freely across group boundaries; and social interaction is likely to become more relaxed. The T-V duality may then undergo a shift away from its former stratified structure and convert from a vertical axis to horizontal mobility.

The vertical-versus-horizontal concept is a recurrent feature in the literature on address pronouns and other forms of address. It may apply to distinct but often interrelated facets in this area of study, e.g., Cook's N-V-T alternatives (1997) or Kretzenbacher's gliding scales in T-V positioning (2010) – traditional T-V encoders, pronominal or other, will need to be re-assessed bearing in mind that they may be playing new roles which are somewhat different from their former ones.

Concerning the less stratified society, the T-V duality calls for review. In the Latin prototype, V was associated with power, shared by superiors in mutual recognition, or demanded from an inferior, who would be imposed T in return. In a more open society, V may be heard as an act of explicit solidarity directed at any stranger independently of his/her perceived walk of life or other dividing line. What I would label "social space" is being granted, from which both parties can negotiate whether to stay on reciprocal V or move to reciprocal T. The respect expressed by V is that for one's interlocutor as a fellow human being, not as someone in a position of dominance. In this use of a V encoder, solidarity, not power, is the determining force; and the position taken is one of neutrality (N).

Brown and Levinson consider "social distance", which they define as 'a symmetric social dimension of similarity / difference' (1987: 76). This can foster T or V encoding. It will lead to symmetrical language positioning, either with reciprocal T or V depending on the perceived degree of distance. It may also lead to asymmetrical language positioning, with un-reciprocal T and V where there is a

different degree of distance perception between the collocutors. English *you* – a former pronominal encoder for V – bridges across these parameters, in an unequivocal N dimension of solidarity.

Similarly to what has happened in English, in other languages a former V encoder may also have come to house a new sociolinguistic content although not as a single address pronoun. As discussed in Section 2 of this chapter, French *V vous* has been classed as neutral (Barthes 1971; Halmøy 1999) and both French *V vous* (Warren 2006) and German *V Sie* (Kretzenbacher 1991 and 2010) as default pronouns. Also interesting is the report that Swedish T default *du* may be receiving a challenge from discarded V *ni* in a comeback of this latter form, now having lost its former hierarchy-related and deferential function, which may be observed particularly in the service sector (Mårtensson 1986; Clyne et al. 2009: 110). This may equally be the case of an old V encoder that now houses new semantics which are more in keeping with contemporary sociolinguistic demands.

4.2.2 *T and V ambiguities*

T encoders may not be able to deliver the solidarity they proclaim to convey and this may be a cause for rejection. They seem to be prone to power-driven distortions by which they often diverge to serving power. Their performance can thus be ambiguous; and attention has been drawn to dubiousness in T practice. For instance, Chaika (1989) points out that in many societies one same form of address is used both for friendly closeness and for ascendancy and control; and also that both intimacy and insult imply little personal space.

This author's view may not be short of evidence available to public knowledge. In the English language, there is a widely spread occurrence of T nominal expressions such as *mate, dear, love, honey, sweetheart, pet* or *love* (e.g., Braun 1988: 268–274; Holmes 2001: 271); and the actual sociolinguistic significance of their practice may be open to interpretation in terms of solidarity and power. Some are frequently heard in contexts where there may be no obvious need to decrease social space, as for instance in a first, fleeting contact with a service provider or when receiving road directions from a stranger (Clyne et al. 2009:27–8) – where the T expression will be used towards the recipient of the service or directions. One may wonder whether the addresser is being friendly or assuming a top-down stance towards the addressee.

In some cases, T ambivalence appears to have become an established practice ingrained in the language. For example, Formentelli (2007) points out that the English vocative *mate* can switch from an encoder for camaraderie to a sarcastic use in the role of disarming an interlocutor perceived as aggressive. Other examples can be found. For instance, the word *pet* – the common noun for a domestic or tamed animal kept for pleasure or companionship – in the expression *pet name*,

‘a special name used as an endearment’ (Chambers Dictionary 2011). Under the false pretence of affection, and perhaps humour, the addresser may be seeking a position of control over the addressee when relating to him/her with a pet name or even more so when calling him/her *pet*.

This said, V encoders too may be vulnerable to power-driven distortions, although to a lesser degree than T encoders. As discussed, they can serve a solidarity ethic, with horizontal mobility across societal sectors. However, this performance can be perverted into a power-driven exercise. Such is the case for instance when V is directed at someone who would expect to receive T on the grounds of close friendship. Here V will not be solidarity-driven social space but “social distance” (See 4.2.1) and will spell out power-driven rejection, in a vertical axis often with T-V poles sarcastically reversed. Examples occur in common practice available to public knowledge, E.g., *Would you like a cup of tea, Madam?* or *Would Ma’am like a cup of tea?* (irony probably reinforced with body language for a message of superiority) so as to show that someone no longer qualifies as an accepted friend.

As seen above, nominal encoders are particularly rich tools for ambiguous T and V approaches at the service of asymmetric interaction. Surely it would be naïve to assume that power is a superseded agent and forms of address have become inspired solely by the solidarity ideal. As pointed out by Clegg (1989), power claim will persist, for it is present in any society. Also, power itself is a phenomenon that can only materialize in terms of interaction; and its reification depends on “anchor points” in a web for the assertion of ascendancy and control, which once weakened will lead to a new power network (1989: 57–93). Therefore, where an egalitarian ethic is active enough to impact on a previously established T-V vertical axis, new “anchor points” will be sought in an effort to re-establish the endangered power network. This means that power-driven T-V will not be eradicated but will continue to operate, often through undercover performance. This kind of behaviour may sometimes be termed as “politically correct”, an expression which, as discussed by Cameron (1995) can express a humorous acknowledgement of contradiction between one’s proclaimed principles and actions.

In Section 4 we have focused on factors power and solidarity as they reflect on the semantics of forms of address, pronominal or other. Whilst the T-V dichotomy evokes a vertical axis of asymmetric performance across different strata of society, as in the Latin prototype for hierarchical interaction, in the more egalitarian society, solidarity is the favoured determinant of address mode, which entails a change of direction from the vertical axis to horizontal mobility across social boundaries. An egalitarian ethic results in a more urgent need for N as a dimension in the framework of assessment. N-V-T, however, will not be a static triad. Lively dynamics will be at work where T-V encoders can serve both solidarity and power-driven agency, in the latter case more so T and often covertly.

5. English *you*... and the other languages

5.1 Possible misunderstandings

Brown and Gilman defined as “familiar” and “polite” (1960: 254) the two distinct approaches in pronouns of address they identified and for which they adopted T and V, respectively, as symbolic designators. These two symbols came to acquire great popularity and are still being used, but what they now stand for may not correspond to their originally intended meaning. Today, T and V may often circulate as designators for “informal” – instead of “familiar” – and “formal” – instead of “polite”. The difference may be perceived as no more than a semantic subtlety, but its implications and possible consequences may be worth pondering.

The adjective “formal” can be synonymous with “conventional” and “ceremonious” (e.g., Chambers Thesaurus 2012). Applied to pronouns and other forms of address, it can easily bring to mind non-reciprocal V interaction between superiors and inferiors. As discussed in the previous section, this vertical axis of asymmetric communication, which is identifiable with a highly ranked society, can undergo a change of direction to horizontal mobility across group boundaries as the approved stance in the less stratified society. Where an egalitarian ideology is at work, “formal” may become an undesirable attribute. Pronouns and other forms of address for general use which are believed to fall into this category may be perceived as obsolete, even stigmatic, and therefore better phased out.

Single English *you* is free of any traces of formality; and it is also a pattern to which languages worldwide are exposed as a result of the impact of English as a *lingua franca* at a global scale (e.g., Crystal 2001 and 2003). Since *you* is definitely not “formal”, when interpreted within a T-V contrast, it is likely to be perceived, by inference, as “informal”. This may influence some speakers of languages with a pronominal T-V distinction who, trying to follow the English example, may feel compelled to seek to implement their T encoder as a single pronoun of address, to the detriment of its V counterpart. Paradoxically, this is neither the route taken to achieve today’s *you* nor its sociolinguistic role. As discussed earlier in the current chapter, the English single address pronoun originated in V and came to perform as N, i.e., void of “formal” or “informal” connotations; these being left in the care of nominal encoders.

Today’s understanding of T and V dimensions might have been different if these symbols had remained linked to the adjectives with which they were described originally. V might have been regarded as a positive choice if still closely associated with “polite”. For the vertical axis, politeness would be prompted by reverential distance; but, for horizontal mobility, politeness would mean social space on an equal basis. By the same token, T’s capabilities might have been regarded

in a different light if still closely associated with “familiar”, which can also mean ‘inappropriately intimate or informal’ (Oxford Dictionary of English 2010). This means that “familiar” can be equivalent to “intimate” and “friendly” but also to “impertinent” and “disrespectful” (e.g., Chambers Thesaurus 2012).

Summing up, Brown and Gilman’s symbols T and V may have been given a particular bias of interpretation which may be affecting speakers of languages with a pronominal distinction, leaving them trapped in a T-V conceptual contrast when trying to work out a way forward better suited to new sociolinguistic expectations – an equivalent to English single *you* will need to be thought out as an encoder whose semantics will qualify for a place within the N dimension.

5.2 Delicate compromises

When trying to follow the English example as a means of adjusting to today’s sociolinguistic requirements, speakers of languages with a grammatically structured second-person system may encounter challenges which reflect the issues argued above. This can be easily demonstrated with contents from international websites of multinational companies, some of which are yielding food for thought in the way they relate to their target audience (see, e.g., Norrby and Hajek 2011).

Firstly, encoding choices can be expected to take into account what is considered to be correct and civil by the majority of readers in the target language. Efforts in this direction will need to address the general national conventions and, in some cases, may also consider regional cases. Secondly, branding is also a determining factor in encoding decisions: the commercial image to be projected and the public to be aimed at.

Major British retailer Marks & Spencer, with headquarters in London, provides translation from English into other languages. Potential buyers are addressed in V in French, German and Dutch, but in T in Spanish (Marks & Spencer 2013). For instance, English *Sign up to our email newsletter* (N) is translated into French as *Inscrivez-vous à notre newsletter* (V), into German as *Melden Sie sich für unseren E-Mail-Newsletter an* (V), into Dutch as *Meld u aan voor onze e-mailnieuwsbrief* (V), but into Spanish as *Suscríbete a nuestra newsletter* (T). In these examples, the languages encoding the English source text into V can be seen as opting for polite social space whilst the language encoding into T can be seen as opting for a familiar, matey tone evocative of conviviality.

As a global *lingua franca* (e.g., Crystal 2001 and 2003), English is most likely to be present on international websites; but it will not necessarily be the source language as on the Marks & Spencer’s site. Swedish IKEA, a world’s giant furniture retailer, writes its home page in its national tongue, but the site is multilingual. In its position as the source language, Swedish sets the praxis as to the mode of

address directed at the potential customer – T, a guideline which is followed by a large number of the other languages, but not all. A T approach is adopted, for instance, by Danish, Dutch, German, Italian, Norwegian and Spanish; but French is amongst the exceptions (Ikea 2013).

A comparison between mode of address in the Swedish original and its respective translations can be drawn with quotes from parallel sentences equally present in the source language and the different target languages. This is the case with the invitation to the customer to consult with Anna, IKEA's Automated Online Assistant (Ikea 2013). Several translations follow the Swedish T design. However, not all languages join in and some signal non-adhesion in their introductory words. With *Demandez à Anna*, French opts for the traditional paradigm associated with V. Portuguese evades a T or V commitment by using an infinitive in *Perguntar à Anna*; and it also uses a third-as-second-person combined with zero-subject elsewhere in the text. English *Ask Anna* presupposes *you*, the N pronoun of address. (On the IKEA site, see also Norrby and Hajek 2011.)

Non-conformity with the Swedish T criterion merits some attention. In the samples quoted – French, Portuguese and English – encoding is done grammatically with a V paradigm or a solution is found which in its roots involves a V construction. Accordingly, in French, the original V pronoun *vous* is present but taking updated duties, for social space rather than asymmetric interaction; in Portuguese, third person and null subject are possible thanks to the former nominal V subject-marker *Vossa Mercê*, today phonetically and semantically reduced to pronoun-like *ocê*; and English single *you* originates in former V pronoun *ye/you*. Of all three, the most independent position is taken by English uncommitted, single *you*. For it to acquire a T slant, in an approximation to the Swedish T directive, a nominal apposition would have to be added, e.g., *you guys*, which is not the case. On its own, *you* remains an impartial N.

5.3 Solidarity or power?

Behind the N-V-T mismatches on the Marks & Spencer and IKEA international sites lies the effort to address the customer in what may be felt to be the most desirable manner. This obviously poses problems of equivalence across languages with different sociolinguistic values and encoders. As pointed out by Crystal, each language offers a variety of linguistic means for “the expression of a speaker's personal and social orientation to others through address” (1993: 7).

Policy and practice are open to interpretation. Interestingly, there is considerable variation in encoding preferences. German and Dutch encode in V, when translating from English N on the Marks & Spencer site, but adhere to T, when translating from Swedish T on the IKEA site. French opts for V on both sites.

English remains in N throughout, without any nominal additions that would give single pronoun *you* some T or V colouring. As it can be expected, N-V-T preferences in the source language will certainly reflect social values held and promoted by the respective company, which, in turn, are likely to reflect general current performance in the respective country. N-V-T selection in the target languages will then entail an adjustment to different sociolinguistic national contexts.

There are pitfalls in both T and V selections. On the one hand, addressing the customer in T may be perceived negatively as power-driven agency from a mighty provider towards the consumer society. Notwithstanding, there may be countries where T has been elected by national consensus to become the encoder destined to serve an egalitarian ethic. This, however, will not preclude open or covert deviation of the advised T practice, enforcing new power networks. On the other hand, addressing the customer in V may be perceived negatively as an antiquated subservience towards the buyer. Notwithstanding, there may be national sociolinguistic contexts where V functions as a provider of social space in mutual respect at the service of the equalitarian ideal. This, however, will not guarantee that V will remain exempt from deflection to power-driven vertical asymmetry. In fact, both T and V forms on these websites may be open to speculation – in some cases it may be debatable which factor prevails, solidarity or power. If it's the latter, one may wonder who holds the power, the buyer as the provider of payment or the seller as the provider of goods and services.

In Section 5 we have looked at modern English *you* as a challenge to speakers of other languages. As discussed earlier in this chapter, a T-V classification is inadequate for the appraisal of this single pronoun of address, which is an uncommitted form occupying N, an area of neutrality. This inadequacy is intensified where symbols T and V are not interpreted in their original sense of respectively “familiar” and “polite” but are presented as an “informal-formal” dichotomy. Deprived of a suitable scheme of assessment, some speakers of languages with T-V grammatical paradigms may have difficulty in appreciating the actual sociolinguistic role of English *you* and how it may relate to their own second-person system.

6. Conclusions

Anyone trying to assess address pronouns and other forms of address is likely to be faced with a binary scheme of evaluation, T-V, based on a theoretical model advanced by Brown and Gilman in 1960. The T and V symbols were originally adopted for respectively a familiar and polite approach; but today they may also circulate as designators for an informal-formal dichotomy.

For decades scholarly literature has been drawing attention to limitations in the T-V binary; and in 1997 Cook proposed the addition of N, a dimension of neutrality, for an uncommitted option. Notwithstanding, mainstream discussion continues to be carried out within a T-V contrast. This can be a source of confusion for speakers of English and other languages; a source of problems for language practitioners, such as interpreters and translators; and a source of frustration for observers from an academic standpoint.

Inspired in the Latin second-person pronouns *tū* and *vōs*, the T-V duality is evocative of non-reciprocal interaction between different social groups, in a demarcation of unequal status or authority. This practice is typical of a hierarchical society or otherwise stratified societal context. On the other hand, a different scenario emerges where an egalitarian ethic influences mode of address. Then the politically correct posture will be one of reciprocal interaction across group boundaries, in a statement of parity overcoming traditional social divides.

This shift from a power-driven vertical axis to solidarity-driven horizontal mobility may be taking place around the world today and be best served with N, the dimension of neutrality. Languages with a T-V syntagmatic duality may be able to avoid asymmetric interaction through manipulation of their pronominal forms, or some other strategy within their established second-person system. The English language has taken a different route. It has stepped out of a T-V pronominal duality by promoting syntagmatic recognition for one pronoun of address only, which, unmarked by any sociolinguistic shades of meaning, functions as N.

The N dimension has become increasingly more visible as the English language enjoys a privileged position at a global scale; and its unmarked, single pronoun of address is an example that may be impacting on the second-person system of other languages. Yet, sociolinguistic theory has been slow in accompanying this development. An attempt to evaluate the significance of English *you* within the limitations of a T-V binary of assessment is likely to result in misconceptions. The conclusion may be drawn that this address pronoun cannot be V and, by inference, will have to be T. In fact, English T is encoded not pronominally but by means of a nominal expression, usually as a vocative; and the same applies to V. Furthermore, *you* comes from a V pronoun and today functions neither as V or T but as N. With more helpful theoretical support, like that found in the tripartite N-V-T framework of analysis, misconceptions can be prevented and a more lucid understanding can be achieved not only for the English case but also for pronouns and other forms of address in languages in general in a global world experiencing XXI century sociolinguistic evolution.

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When *we* means *you*

The social meaning of English pseudo-inclusive personal pronouns

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This chapter uses qualitative and quantitative analysis of interactions collected in a New Zealand rugby team to analyse the way in which pronominal choice impacts upon the social dynamics of leadership discourse. In particular, the pseudo-inclusive first person plural pronoun is examined in terms of its solidarity enhancing effect and mitigation of leadership-focused speech acts. Pronominal use is analysed with reference to the sociolinguistic concept of stance alignment and how this can mitigate potential face-threat. The discussion considers that by including themselves with the addressees of an interaction, leaders can attenuate the illocutionary force of speech acts such as directives and criticism, whilst maximising the directness of their expression, and goes on to question the social function of pseudo-inclusive compliments.

Keywords: clusivity, leadership, speech acts, stance, illocutionary force

1. Introduction

In English, the pronominal system lacks a way of marking for certain aspects of referential meaning. One example of this is evident in the lack of plural distinction in the second person pronoun (*you*). To determine the intended reference of *you* in participation frameworks with multiple addressees, the hearers must rely on their framing of the situational context (Goffman 1974). However, often this type of reference can also be recovered through anaphora, as the speaker may have mentioned the intended referent earlier in their discourse. Alternatively, they may employ non-standard plural second person pronouns (*youse*, *y'all*) or supplement *you* with a plural address term, such as in *you guys* (Wales 1996). Thus, speakers of English have devised a range of discourse strategies that achieve the transmission of information not encoded in the pronoun alone, unlike in other languages

in which the form of the second person pronoun indicates number, such as most European languages which distinguish between singular and plural using the T/V pronoun system (Brown and Gilman 1960), and Austronesian languages in which singular, dual, trial, and plural person marking can be encoded (Cysouw 2003). An even more complex situation arises when we look at a different part of the pronominal system: the first person. Unlike the second person, the first person in English is marked for number, giving us a distinction between *I* and *we*. While the first person singular is always exclusive, in that it excludes the hearer(s), the plural can be either exclusive: referring to the speaker plus a third party who is not the addressee, or inclusive: referring to the speaker plus the hearer(s) and possibly a third party as well. This distinction is typically referred to as *clusivity* (Cysouw 2005; Filimonova 2005; Wieczorek 2009). The difficulty lies in that it is often ambiguous whether an utterance is intended as inclusive or exclusive. Many of the world's languages encode this information, with a specific pronoun that marks inclusivity and another for exclusivity, although as Cysouw (2005) notes, there is theoretically a 3 way paradigm with a separate pronoun for speaker and hearer, speaker and other, and speaker, hearer and other, although this three-way distinction is rare, and it is more common to distinguish one of these from the others, or not at all, like English (Cysouw 2003, 83–86). Moreover, as Quirk et al. (1985) describe, there are a number of different ways, in English, in which *we* can be interpreted. This chapter is focused, in particular, on one of these somewhat ambiguous social meanings of *we*: the situation where *we* means *you*. This is often found in utterances by speakers who have the upper hand in a power asymmetry, such as in clinician–patient interactions, (*we haven't been taking our medicine, have we?*), and conveys a somewhat condescending tone (Haverkate 1992; Quirk et al. 1985). It is also frequently found in child-directed speech, particularly in directives (Ervin-Tripp, Guo, and Lampert 1990; Ochs 1993), as well as in classroom discourse (Kitagawa and Lehrer 1990). In this chapter, I focus on the use of *we* to mean *you* in the context of player-directed speech from coaches in a rugby team, and investigate the way in which this particular pronominal discourse strategy is used in control acts, compliments, and criticism. These speech acts are analysed according to the way in which the pronoun signals the stance of the speaker in relation to their addressees and the function of their discourse. This is then discussed in light of the social construction of space and situational context and how this reinforces the stance demonstrated through variation in the use of pronouns.

2. Literature

2.1 Stance

Stance has become a central concept within sociolinguistic research on interaction, acting as a conceptual bridge between interaction and the identity that a speaker constructs in a given situation. At its most basic, stance can be viewed as the position that a speaker takes towards what they are saying, and/or their interlocutor (DuBois 2007). Many scholars view stance in terms of epistemic stance and affective (or interpersonal) stance, with the former focusing on stance taken towards what an individual says (e.g. certainty) and the latter focusing on their relationship with their interlocutor (Kiesling 2009, 172). However, there are a variety of terms used in the existing literature on stance, and this section aims to unpack these and clarify how stance is used in the analysis presented in this paper.

Probably the most widely cited model of stance is DuBois' (2007) notion of the stance triangle, which describes the relative alignment of interlocutors towards what DuBois refers to as the "stance object". This could be a person, a topic or a way of speaking, but it is the respective evaluations of this object and how they compare that forms the basis of DuBois' model of intersubjective stance. Building on DuBois' model, Kiesling sets out his approach in detail in a number of papers (Kiesling 2009, 2011, forthcoming) and neatly summarises and synthesises the competing terms across the literature. Rather than looking at stance in terms of affective and epistemic stance with a resultant dimension of alignment (DuBois 2007), Kiesling suggests that every instance of stance-taking in discourse can be coded along three axes: *AFFECT*, *INVESTMENT*, and *ALIGNMENT*. One problem with this is that *affect* and *alignment* are terms already extant in the stance literature but used in a different way. For instance, *affect* is used by Goodwin (2007) to describe the way in which an individual communicates emotion in verbal and non-verbal communication. *Affect* is also used to describe the stance a person takes towards their interlocutor (DuBois 2007), for instance a compliment is described as positively affective (Holmes 1986). Taking a slightly different approach, Kiesling (forthcoming, 17) defines *Affect* as "the relationship to or evaluation of something represented in the discourse". This "something" could be the interlocutor, it could be a particular topic, it could be another person, or an object. Typically *affect* is described as positive or negative. *Investment* on the other hand is how much the speaker buys into what they say. This can be exemplified by the use of hedging strategies, which signal lower investment, while more direct discourse strategies could be high investment. Kiesling uses the examples of *dude* (2004) and *just* (2011) as examples of low investment. *Alignment* is described in terms of the positioning of the speaker and addressing as a group or as individuals and is often

described in terms of solidarity. Clearly, this is the particular aspect of stance that is constructed by the choice of inclusive or exclusive pronouns.

2.2 Clusivity, stance and the pronominal system

The term *clusivity* has undergone a shift in terms of reference in the time it has been used as linguistic terminology (Wieczorek 2009). Although always referring to the spectrum on which exclusive and inclusive represent opposite extremes, the term has been expanded from its original reference to first person plural pronouns, to encompass the second and third person. This is because whenever we use a personal pronoun in interaction, we construct our audience in terms of an us/them distinction (Cysouw 2005). A traditional view of clusivity is limited to the use of the inclusive version of the first person plural pronoun *we*, meaning “you and I”, or the exclusive version meaning “I and some others but not you”. Included in this is the accusative first person plural pronoun *us*, which follows the same semantic pattern. However, some current views on clusivity suggest that we should include the use of the singular first person pronoun when researching clusivity as it clearly marks exclusivity (Wieczorek 2010).

If we want to examine the English pronominal system further, we have a problem when it comes to the second person pronoun, not only because it takes the same form in singular and plural, nominative and accusative, but that it also functions as a non-specific referent. This is not just in discourse markers like *you know*, but also in utterances in which *you* could be replaced by *one*, such as “it makes you wonder” (Berry 2009). We can resolve this issue when looking purely at clusivity, since *you* can be considered exclusive through separating the speaker and hearer.

Third person pronouns constitute a further type of situation when we come to look at the stance in terms of clusivity, since they refer to a third party and there is no pronominal distinction in English that can indicate whether that third party is co-present or not. In contrast we can see the strategy of “quasi-pronoun” use in Korean, where morphemes that perform distal and proximal marking are used with demonstratives in order to refer to a third party who is either present or non-present (Oh 2010). In English, this information can only be inferred from context.

Returning to the first person plural, we can delineate the clusivity of the pronoun further, following Íñigo-Mora’s (2004: 34–35) interpretation of the categories discussed by Quirk et al. (1985: 350–51) that go beyond the simple inclusive/exclusive distinction of Speaker + Hearer, Speaker + Hearer + Other, or Speaker + Other (Quirk et al. 1985: 340):

- a. **Generic:** it is an “enlarged” inclusive “we” which may include the whole human race.

- b. **Inclusive authorial:** it is used in serious writing and seeks to involve the reader in a joint enterprise.
- c. **Editorial:** it is used by a single individual in scientific writing in order to avoid an egotistical “I”.
- d. **Rhetorical:** it is used in the collective sense of “the nation”, “the party”. It may be viewed as a special type of generic “we”.
- e. **To refer to the hearer (= you):** it is normally used by doctors when talking to a patient and by teachers when giving instructions to students. It is an inclusive “we” used to sound condescending in the case of doctors and non-authoritative in the case of teachers.
- f. **To refer to a third person (= s/he):** For example one secretary might say to another with reference to their boss: “We’re in a bad mood today”.
- g. **Royal:** it is virtually obsolete and is used by a monarch.
- h. **Nonstandard:** plural “us” used for the singular “me”: “lend us a fiver”.

Of these categories, it is category *e*, where *we* is used to refer to the hearer(s) of an utterance that is of most interest here and we could view this usage as a way of making the second person inclusive. This is because it would occur in a position where a second person pronoun would make grammatical and semantic sense, yet to achieve an inclusive stance, and thus achieve the intended pragmatic effect; the first person plural is used. De Cock (2011) describes situations in English and Spanish where the 1PP is just such a way, and which creates a “hearer-dominant reading” of the 1PP. Crucially, however, whether a 1PP is read as hearer-dominant or not is a matter of inference on the part of the hearer.

Haverkate (1992: 519) labels such hearer-dominated readings, along with what Quirk et al. (1985) call the “Royal” *we*, as “pseudo-inclusive” and goes on to say that it “produces mitigating effects by expressing modesty or implying that a solidarity relation holds between him/her and the addressee, as a result of which a direct confrontation between the participants in the speech act is avoided” (Haverkate 1992: 519).

Haverkate’s (1992) equation of the “Royal” *we* with expressing modesty, and its categorisation as pseudo-inclusive may seem at odds with Quirk et al.’s (1985) definition, unless we consider that what is often referred to as the Royal “we” is typically not just uttered by royals, but is a general situation in which the speaker uses *we* to exclusively self-refer. Indeed, De Cock (2016) makes a distinction between Royal *we* (or “*pluralis maiestatis*”) and a self-referential, authorial *we* which suggests modesty (“*pluralis modestiae*”), and describes both as speaker-dominant readings. The determining factor appears to be the context of use and the status of the speaker, and the non-royal self-referring *we* can be found in spoken registers to downplay an individual’s part in some action, thus mitigating the positive

face-threat to self (Brown and Levinson 1987) as in Example (1). Notably, this could be used as a strategy for modifying illocutionary force in a range of speech acts, both face-threatening and otherwise (Holmes 1984).

(1) we may have made a mistake

Nonetheless, a useful distinction is made by De Cock (2016) in describing the pseudo-inclusive English IPP as speaker or hearer dominant. While examples provided later in this chapter focus on hearer-oriented pseudo-inclusive IPP, the speaker-oriented IPP is due further investigation, due to a paucity of documented examples, as noted by De Cock (2016: 373).

This evaluation of self-oriented *we* contrasts with Íñigo-Mora's (2004) study of parliamentary discourse, which focuses on the use of generic *we* as a way of blurring the line between *we the country*, *we the party*, and *we the government*. This can be compared with Quirk et al.'s (1985) "Rhetorical" category. However, the study of parliamentary discourse could be described not just as leadership discourse, but as a public performance. This is one way in which leadership discourse can be investigated. Another approach is shown in the research presented in this chapter, which focuses on what might be considered as micro-leadership; that is the moment by moment interactional construction of leadership through getting followers to comply with the wishes of the leader. Control acts, compliments, and criticism are at the heart of this aspect of leadership, hence the focus on pronoun use within this specific set of utterances.

2.3 Control acts, compliments and criticism

Leadership is a topic that has been studied across a myriad of disciplines, each with their own definition of what leadership is and how it is done (Bass 1990). However, the approach taken here is that leadership identity (i.e. an identity as a leader) can be viewed as a sustained repetition of stances that are interpreted by followers and other leaders in an organisation as leader-like. The problem lies in defining what is meant by leader-like discourse. It is this problem that the study of leadership discourse addresses. Using authentic interaction as a basis, much research has been carried out not only on what constitutes leadership discourse, but on the different discourse strategies that people use in performing effectively as leaders from a socio-pragmatic perspective (e.g. Choi and Schnurr 2014; Holmes 2005; Holmes and Marra 2004). Leadership discourse research essentially sees leadership as a practice, a view that is also espoused in several studies arising from organisational studies (Crevani, Lindgren, and Packendorff 2010; Raelin 2011). This integrates with the widespread adoption of the Communities of Practice (CofP) framework in the analysis of linguistic practices within organisations and from this we can

develop the idea that leadership is a social practice acquired through group participation and the acquisition of normative social expectations. One way to analyse leadership discourse is to examine the linguistic form of the speech acts central to performing leadership. These are: control acts, compliments and criticism.

Control Acts are defined as utterances that perform the illocutionary act of directing or suggesting that the hearer carry out an action specified by the speaker (Ervin-Tripp, Guo, and Lampert 1990; Vine 2004, 2009). Vine (2004) suggests distinguishing these types of control act on the basis of status, right of refusal, and benefit to speaker, as shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Control acts (based on Vine 2004)

Control acts		Speaker higher status	Hearer has right of refusal	Benefit to speaker
Directing	Directive	Yes	No	Yes
	Request	No	Yes	Yes
Suggesting	Advice	Maybe	Yes	No

In this chapter, the analysis does not distinguish between these three types of control acts, for two reasons: the speakers in this data are always higher status than the addressees, and it is unclear whether the speakers have a right of refusal. In other words, it may be that the control acts are all directives, or they may all be advice, or a mix. As it is hard to tell this from the context, even with ethnographic understandings of social structure and norms of interaction, they have been treated as the same in this analysis.

Compliments and criticism, on the other hand, are types of evaluative acts in which the speaker gives their judgement on something. As such we can relate this closely to the *affect* dimension of stance described in Section 2.1. A compliment is positively affective towards the stance object, whereas criticism is negatively affective. As the analysis presented in this chapter shows, the use of inclusive pronominal strategies with these speech acts could either be seen as a way of lowering the investment of the speaker in performing these speech acts, or simply as a way of aligning with the addressee. However, from another point of view, it also softens the face-threat of criticism (and control acts), and thus could be analysed in terms of the effect on illocutionary force (Holmes 1984). This is more problematic with compliments, for as Fraser (1980: 342) points out, “we may mitigate the force of a criticism, but we do not speak of mitigating the force of our praise”.

To complicate matters further, one of the defining properties of a compliment is that credit is attributed to someone other than the speaker (Holmes 1988: 446). Indeed, the stance that is taken in uttering a compliment is one of solidarity (Adachi

2016). When an inclusive pronoun is used, this credit would seem to be extended to the speaker. This is one of the central reasons why, in this research, “we” is often analysed as meaning “you”, since the focus of a compliment may be action in which the speaker did not participate, as is exemplified in this research. Much research on interaction has focused on not just compliments, but on compliment responses (Golato 2003; Herbert and Straight 1989; Holmes 1986, 1988; Wolfson and Manes 1980). However, in the data discussed in this chapter it is found that in frontstage interactions, there is no direct response to the compliments, or to the criticism. The events from which these directives were sourced, the data collection methodology and the process of analysis are discussed in the next section.

3. Methodology

This paper uses data sourced through an approach that has come to be described as Linguistic Ethnography, but may also be seen as a form of Interactional Sociolinguistics (Wilson 2017b, 2018). The data itself is a set of recorded interactions that took place among players and coaches in a club rugby team in New Zealand. Two key individuals are referred to throughout: Tommo, who is the head-coach, and Parky, the assistant coach. Each was recorded on six match days and three training sessions using a digital recording device and a lapel microphone. In addition, a range of interactions involving players were recorded using a handheld recording device. All of these events would have happened regardless of my presence as ethnographer. Although over 30,000 words of interaction were transcribed across a range of ritual situations and spontaneous conversations, this chapter focuses on what may be regarded as the frontstage interactions (Goffman 1959; Richards 2010; Wilson 2013), in which a leadership figure such as a coach or captain addresses the players before, or during or a rugby match. These are referred to as Team Meetings (pre-match) and Half-time Huddles. The Team Meeting is dominated by Tommo, while the Half-time Huddle contains an equal contribution from each coach, as well as responses from players. In the analysis that follows, a selection of examples are discussed that highlight the pragmatic variability of the first person plural pronoun in the coaches’ discourse. This includes not just *we*, but all ways in which the first person plural (1PP) is encoded, such as *us* and *our*.

This also extends to *let’s*, since it is a contraction of *let us*. In the analysis that follows, the use of the 1PP is contrasted with the use of the first person singular (1PS), and the second person (2P), which is invariant in singular and plural in most standard varieties of English. The examples are analysed under the theoretical framework of Interactional Sociolinguistics, where specific linguistic choices are shown to construct social meaning for the participants and analysis is informed

by ethnographically acquired contextual knowledge of the situation, participants and local norms. Following a qualitative analysis of three stretches of interactional discourse, a corpus-based quantitative overview of how the pronominal system patterns in this data with regard to the different speech situations and speakers is presented.

4. Qualitative analysis

In the examples that follow, we see the coaches use control acts, compliments and criticism, and in particular, the focus is on the use of *we* to mean *you*. It is impossible to focus on just one of these speech acts when examining the data in this way, as they all occur in an intermeshing way to achieve the overall goals of the interactions, which are to motivate, give strategic direction, and to provide performance feedback. Indeed, following an Interactional Sociolinguistics framework, social meaning is viewed as being constructed over the course of an interaction, thus the analysis of individual utterances are contextualised within the speech event in which they occur (Gumperz 1999).

As noted above, the team meeting is dominated by Tommo with a supporting role played by Parky. The overall function of the team meeting is to contextualise the match in terms of the training that the team have done and in terms of their performance thus far in the season. It also serves to build team identity and to motivate the players. Example (2) is taken from a team meeting. The meeting normally lasts about fifteen minutes, Example (2) is just a small section which serves both a strategic and motivational function. In terms of stance, we could see Tommo as taking a highly invested, positively affective, aligned stance. We might call this stance *focused solidarity* in comparison with the “cool solidarity” that Kiesling (2004) describes in college fraternity interaction.

(2)

1 Tommo: *want to see unity out there (.)*
 2 *we get unity*
 3 *when our forwards are doing their jobs up front*
 4 *(.) going forward (.)*
 5 *being a menace at breakdowns*
 6 *attacking set pieces*
 7 *and when our backs (.)*
 8 *our backs are using width*
 9 *taking good options and having a crack (.)*
 10 *unity is when we do things together*
 11 *and we're tight like a fist*

Example (2) demonstrates how Tommo sets out team strategy, for instance he directs the forwards to *be a menace at breakdowns* (line 5). This means that when the ball is being contested by both teams in open play, and the ball is on the ground (*breakdowns*), he wants the forwards to get in and try to stop the opposition for securing the ball by any means necessary (*be a menace*). This could result in the Prem's being penalised by the referee, and a different option would be to tell the forwards not to over commit players at breakdowns and to stand in the defensive line ready to tackle the opposition once they have the ball. It is thus a strategic decision and the team meeting is where such decisions are communicated to the players. Note that this is coupled with several other utterances that serve no strategic purpose, such as line 4, where Tommo tells the forwards to *go forward*. As this is the definitive role of a forward, there is no strategic value to this utterance, it simply acts as motivational speech. If we examine the pronouns used here, we can see that *we* (line 2) is being used in its simple inclusive sense, meaning “we as a team”. In this sense, the pronoun sets a stance of solidarity. This could be compared with the rhetorical *we*: “we as a party” (Íñigo-Mora 2004), with the difference being that the whole team is present in this case. However, when politicians use *we* to refer to a party, the party membership encompasses more than just the audience and the audience includes more than just party members, thus for some hearers *we* would be inclusive and for others it would be exclusive. In the intra-team discourse of the rugby team, all hearers are members of the team and club. The only time exclusive *we* occurs is when sub-divisions within the team are referred to, such as the coaches, the forwards, and the backs. This is further evidence that these groupings, which can be seen as communities of practice, have a salient identity for their members (Wilson 2017). The fact that they are also described as *our forwards* (line 3) and *our backs* (lines 7 & 8), constructs these groups as subordinate to the team as a level of organisational structure. It also constructs them as positional groupings that are common to every rugby team: Tommo does not say *the forwards*, but *our forwards*.

For a more specific example of how first person plural pronouns are used with control acts in the team meeting, we can look at Example (3). In this example, we can see the use of inclusive *we* (line 19), but more importantly, it shows several instances of *we* and *us* used within directives with the players as the referents (lines 7, 8, 10, 11, 13, 18 & 20). However, it is clear from this example, that there is something more complex going on than simply using *we* as a way of avoiding saying *you*. Indeed Tommo does say *you* at line 6, but its exclusivity is mitigated by the familiariser *guys* (Kiesling 2004; Wilson 2010). Many of the utterances in which *us* appears in object position, contain *I* at subject position. This juxtaposition of *I* and *us*, the singular with the plural first person, is a clear indicator that in this context *us* does not really include the speaker, and in fact refers to the hearers. It has the

effect of softening the illocutionary force of the directive and communicates that the fulfilment of the directive is in the interests of not just the speaker, but also of the hearer. This strategy of combining singular as the subject and plural as the object of an utterance can be compared with the use of pseudo-inclusive *we* as another pronominal strategy for creating an ambiguity of clusivity and thus balances a stance of solidarity with authority.

(3)

1 *Tommo: it might not happen in the first scrum*
 2 *it might not happen in the-*
 3 *in the scrum in the sixtieth minute*
 4 *but by the end of the game*
 5 *I want to make sure*
 6 *and I want see from you guys*
 7 *that we dominate their tight five*
 8 *I want us to be aggressive entering the collision zone*
 9 *so when we're going int-*
 10 *into breakdowns when we're carrying or going into a tackle*
 11 *I want to see us aggressive up front*
 12 *and I want to see that all day*
 13 *I want it controlled*
 14 *but I want it aggressive*
 15 *out of the aggression it means*
 16 *that we go forward*
 17 *exactly what we talked about Tuesday night*
 18 *what we lacked against [Opposition Name]*

Example (3) also shows *we* being used as a way of putting Tommo in the players' shoes, so to speak, by constructing hypothetical situations, for example *when we're going into breakdowns* (lines 10 -11). Based on my ethnography of the team, I would argue that this is one of the strategies that Tommo uses to construct an identity as a leader that builds on his recent experiences as a player. To use Holmes' (2009) model of male leadership stereotypes, Tommo constructs himself as a "hero leader" by hinting at shared knowledge and experience and thus indexing the team's shared knowledge of his playing career. As a result of this indexicality, and the use of the imperative *I want*, Tommo adopts a stance which balances his role as an individual with power, who can state what he wants (i.e. a leader) with his membership of the team. In other words, he balances his stance alignment between "them" (the coaches) and "us" the team. For the most part, in this and the previous example, Tommo's stance is positively affective since he is looking ahead, but in line 18 we can see an example of negative affect, where Tommo points out

the team's shortcomings. Notably, he uses pseudo-inclusive *we* here, showing that it has a similar function in relation to criticism, where it may serve to soften the illocutionary force.

In Example (4), we can see how Tommo uses a combination of *we* and *you*, along with other pronominal indicators of the first person plural, to construct a balanced stance when talking to the players at half-time. In this example, we can see that one of the functions of *you* is to emphasise a set of control acts, in contrast to a series of compliments and criticism.

(4)

1 Tommo: *getting into our work eh?*
 2 *doing some good stuff (.)*
 3 *there's only a couple of things that I think*
 4 *we're letting ourselves down on fellas (.)*
 5 *and that's just these fifty fifties (.)*
 6 *we're penetrating (.) we're looking (.)*
 7 *and don't get me wrong (.)*
 8 *the times that we've broken through*
 9 *fuck we've done well*
 10 *cos guys are really busting arse to get there*
 11 *which is awesome*
 12 *but if someone's not there (.)*
 13 *you just got to fight to stay up longer*
 14 *we can't afford to go to deck so quickly*
 15 *cos these guys are very good over the ball (.)*
 16 *so just wh- when you're carrying*
 17 *and you're going into contact (.)*
 18 *fight fight fight as hard as you can to stay up*
 19 *until you feel the the maroon wave hit us eh?*

If we go through the act sequence of this example, we see that Tommo begins with a compliment at lines 1–2, in which *our* is used to construct shared ownership of the work that the players have been doing. This is an example not of *we* as *you*, but of *our* as *your*. Effectively it establishes common ground between Tommo and the players. Tommo then moves on to introduce some criticism, which he does using pseudo-inclusive pronouns again, with *we* and *ourselves* at line 3–5. This softens the criticism, along with the provision of three compliments (lines 6–11). At line 13, we see the first use of a second person pronoun, and here it is attached to a control act. He switches back to pseudo-inclusive first person again for a compliment at line 10, then uses the second person for the remaining control acts, which set out what he wants the players to do to address his points of criticism (lines 16–19).

The only exception is in line 19, where Tommo says *until you feel the maroon wave hit us*. The maroon wave refers to the supporting forwards arriving to support the ball carrier (the team wears maroon), and in this hypothetical situation constructed by Tommo, the main actor is an individual (hence *you*). The use of *us* here may be a slip, or it may be because, in the imaginary situation, Tommo has positioned himself with the ball carrying player. The overall pattern however, is that in this example, Tommo tends to use pseudo-inclusive first person pronouns with compliments and criticism, and indirect second person pronouns with control acts. In the section that follows, these patterns are explored across the whole dataset of these types of interaction, to analyse whether this is a strategy that Tommo appears to use in his leadership more generally. This is then contrasted with Parky, as only these two leaders can use the pseudo-inclusive, since all players would (in theory) be inclusive when using *we*.

5. Quantitative analysis

In order to explore how the pseudo-inclusive 1PP relates to the leadership style of each coach, we can look at how it is used in the three most frequent types of speech act that occur in the corpus of rugby leadership discourse: control acts, compliments, and criticism. In order to cover the largest possible number of speech acts in a consistent context, the analysis here focuses on two frontstage communicative situations: the Team Meeting and the Half-time Huddle. Since Tommo is the main contributor to the Team Meeting, we can use the patterns of his pronominal use in these speech acts to analyse how his pronoun use patterns by the speech acts he uses, the contexts in which he uses them, or both. The quantitative analysis presented here is intended purely as an indication of how the strategies exemplified in the qualitative analysis play out across the dataset, and the only statistical approach that has been taken is to normalise the data according to the contribution of each speaker to each situation. No inductive statistical analysis has been undertaken, as this study is intended to exemplify how the ambiguity of clusivity in English can be exploited in social systems, not to make generalisations about its applicability. The quantitative findings show that the phenomenon being discussed is widespread in this data set, but clearly the actual choice of how, or indeed when, to mark clusivity is dependent on a wide range of contextual and interpersonal factors, including the speaker's intent, something that is difficult to empirically analyse.

In carrying out this quantitative analysis, every speech act in the in the interactions was manually identified and coded using Exmaralda. The coded data was then imported into an Excel spreadsheet for further analysis. In Excel, the speech acts were semi-automatically coded for their pronominal content using a regular

expressions search, and then manually coded according to the clusivity of the 1PP. The immediate linguistic context and ethnographic information about the participation framework of each interaction were used to determine the clusivity. In the graphs that follow, pronoun usage has been coded as: Inclusive 1PP, Pseudo-inclusive 1PP, No Personal Pronoun, or 2P. These are shown as percentages of each speech acts, so for instance, Figure 1 shows that Tommo uses Pseudo-inclusive Pronouns in 56% of the compliments he utters overall. Thus it is whether or not an utterance is marked for a particular clusivity that is important here, not how many times a particular pronoun is used.

Figure 1 shows that Tommo appears to favour a strategy of the pseudo-inclusive 1PP in all three types of speech act. If we take the view that the use of inclusive *we* softens the illocutionary force of a speech act whereas the use of a second person pronoun boosts it, we can see that although pseudo-inclusive 1PP is the most frequent pronominal choice in all three, 2P occurs in over 10% of compliments and control acts. Thus, we might infer that overall, Tommo aims to soften his criticism but sometimes has reason to boost compliments and control acts. It is somewhat surprising that Tommo uses pseudo-inclusive 1PP in compliments, but we might suppose that the softening of control acts is a strategy for adopting a stance in which he is aligned with the players. Indeed, this is the effect overall. However, in order to understand more clearly how the situation might affect pronominal use, we can break this pattern down further, as shown in Figures 2 and 3.

Here we see a marked shift in the way in which clusivity is used between the two situations, particularly in compliments. In the Team Meeting, compliments may be paid to the overall team structure, including coaches, since the focus of the compliment can be a whole team achievement (e.g. *we're getting some good results*). In contrast, in the half-time huddle, the action that is complimented is always the actions of the players on the field. Therefore, the coaches cannot be an actual referent of a 1PP in these situations. Nonetheless, the 1PP is used by Tommo in 75% of the compliments he utters in Half-time Huddles. In terms of criticism, we see that in 17% of Tommo's criticisms in Team Meetings, he uses 2PP, thus increasing social distance, and thereby boosting the criticism. Yet in Half-time Huddles, this strategy is avoided, and inclusive 1PP, pseudo-inclusive 1PP or no pronoun are used constructing varying degrees of solidarity, and hence, potentially softening the criticism.

We can contrast Tommo's style in Half-Time Huddles with Parky's, as for this situation, both coaches provide similar amounts of speech. Unfortunately, this is not the case in other speech events, where Tommo is the main speaker, so we can only compare across events with Tommo's data, and across speakers within the Half-time Huddle.

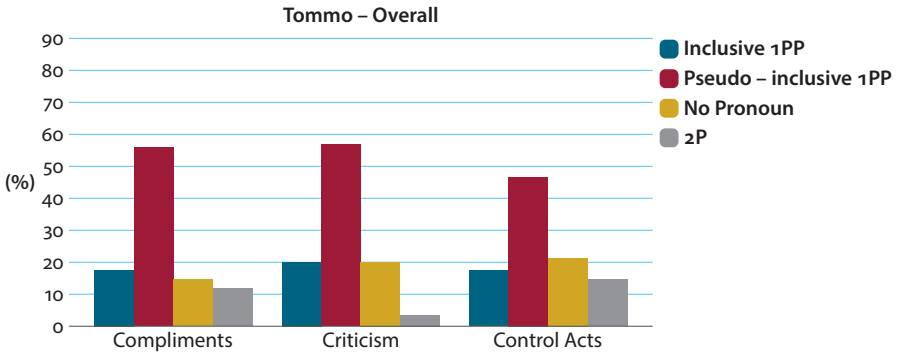


Figure 1. Tommo's pronoun usage across all events

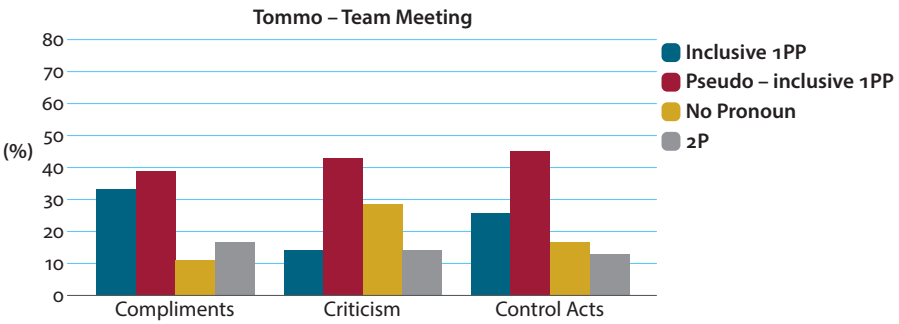


Figure 2. Tommo's pronoun usage in team meetings

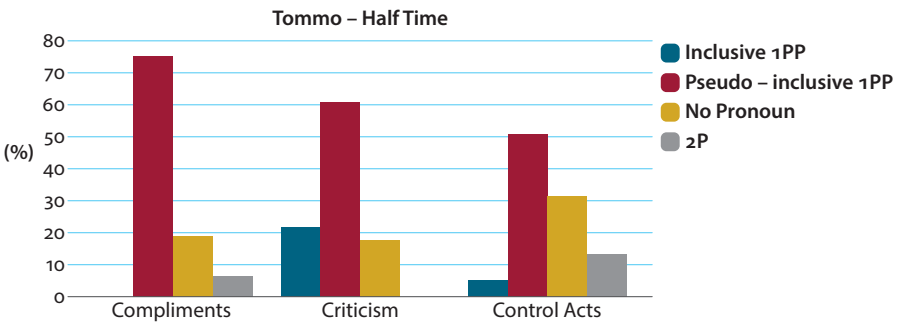


Figure 3. Tommo's pronoun usage in half-time huddles

In Figure 4, we see one difference is that the assistant coach, Parky, prefers much more to use pseudo-inclusive 1PP in criticism, while often opting for no explicit pronoun in compliments (e.g. *good work*), and slightly more direct control acts, although the pseudo-inclusive is still his preferred strategy. In comparing the two speakers, in the same situation, we can say that both adopt similar strategies, in that they appear to use pronominally constructed degrees of solidarity to attenuate the force of compliments and criticism. However, they have slightly

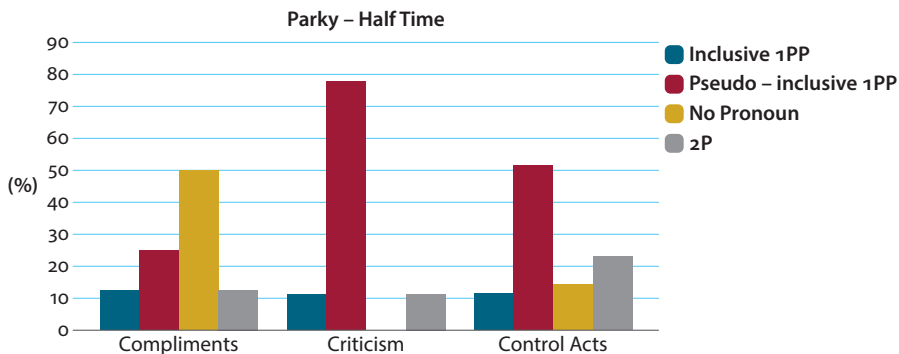


Figure 4. Parky's pronoun usage in half-time huddles

different ways of achieving this. Both leaders adopt a similar strategy of balancing individual pronouns in control acts, although both seem to prefer to use the pseudo-inclusive above the other markers of clusivity as a strategy for taking a stance of solidarity.

6. Discussion

The quantitative analysis of pronominal usage across three different types of speech act suggests that each coach constructs a stance that balances authority with solidarity. To use Kiesling's (2011) stance framework, each of the three speech acts that are analysed here can be viewed as varying in terms of *affect*, with compliments being positively affective, criticisms being negatively affective, and control acts being neutral. The pronoun choice then determines the *alignment* aspect of the coaches' stance, with inclusive and pseudo-inclusive pronouns constructing a stance of solidarity, while second person pronouns construct a stance of authority. The third dimension that Kiesling (2009, 2011) posits is *investment*, but in the case of the rugby coaches, I would argue that within the context of the situations discussed in this paper, this does not vary: they are always highly invested.

The quantitative analysis shows that Parky and Tommo adopt different strategies of pronoun use in the half-time huddle, suggesting that Tommo adopts a more solidarity led stance in giving compliments, which in some cases makes him a part recipient of them. On the other hand, Parky takes a more socially distant stance. In the context of compliments this might be interpreted as boosting the compliments, since Parky addresses them to the players without including himself more often. However, this analysis needs to be treated with caution, as Parky only utters nine compliments across the six half-time huddles, with most of his contributions functioning as control acts (34). Overall, Parky contributes approximately half the

amount of turns in the half-time huddle that Tommo does, thus the comparison between the two coaches is used to exemplify that both coaches use the pseudo-inclusive IPP as a way of constructing an interactional stance that maintains the solidarity of the team during half-time.

The contrast between Tommo's two main situations, the Team Meeting and the Half-time huddle is more useful. Tommo's more balanced use of clusivity across all three speech acts in the Team Meeting can be explained in the overall function of this situation. It is an opportunity for Tommo to address the team and to look back on previous results with a critical eye. In this, the achievements of the team are described in terms of qualities that include the coaches, such as the match results, and this accounts for the increased use of the inclusive IPP. Tommo also sets up the objectives for the day, and this can require him to be specific about who is being addressed. However, perhaps one of the most marked differences between the Team Meeting and the Half-time huddle is in the setting. The Team Meeting takes place in the team room. The players are seated, and Tommo is standing. Parky stands beside but slightly behind Tommo. The players are positioned as addressees yet have no right of reply within the interaction. Parky is allocated a turn by Tommo during the meeting but does not speak otherwise. In addition, the squad managers and the team physio are in another part of the team room preparing equipment for the match, and are overhearers to the interaction, to use Goffman's (1974; 1981) terms that describe the participation framework. The enclosed nature of the team-room prevents any eavesdroppers, or unratified participants. In contrast, the half-time huddle takes place on the pitch, during half-time. The players and coaches stand in a circle, all in close physical contact, and forming a bodily barrier with non-participants in the interaction. There may be overhearers or eavesdroppers due to the public location of the interaction. We can therefore examine each situation not just in terms of the function it is intended to fulfil, but as a multimodal performance of team identity. The distinction between sitting and standing participants in the Team Meeting, along with the strict turn-taking norms reinforces the hierarchy and difference between the coaches and players, and we can see this reflected in a greater use of exclusive pronouns. The close physical distance and the fact that players and coaches all contribute to the huddle construct a solidarity focused space, and in this space the favoured pronoun appears to be *we*. This is so, even if the action that is the focus of criticism or praise was carried out only by the players, or if the action that is being directed can only be carried out by the players. In this situation, the collective identity appears to be more important, thus in situations such as these, there is a greater role for the pseudo-inclusive IPP.

The use of the pseudo-inclusive in the rugby team is therefore not condescending, as Quirk et al. (1985) exemplify, although it may be used to sound

non-authoritative, as De Cock (2011) argues. Moreover, as Haverkate (1992) states, the pseudo-inclusive has a mitigating effect on negatively affective speech acts. In the analysis of speech acts uttered by coaches in a sports context, the fact that the pseudo-inclusive is used in compliments as well as in criticism and control acts, is somewhat of a puzzle, as we might not expect compliments to be mitigated. One solution is that the use of *we*, pseudo-inclusive or otherwise, has become a norm within the context of the huddle, due to its symbolism of solidarity through the embodied construction of space. That the first person plural is by far and away the most frequently used pronoun in the rugby dataset, suggests that the most important identity here is that of the team, not the individual, and while this may be reflective of the patterns of discourse in team sport, it can also be used a model for performing collaborative leadership. By including themselves as a target of criticism, compliments and control acts, a leader does not just mitigate these acts, they construct an aligned stance in which they are part of the team. A further explanation is that compliments in which the speaker includes themselves should not be categorised as compliments, but as a form of self-praise, or indeed as some other category of speech act that falls between the two (Holmes, personal communication). This is a problem that requires further investigation but would unduly lengthen this chapter and is beyond the scope of the social use of pronouns in interaction.

7. Conclusion

In focusing on the first person plural, this chapter has not discussed the other parts of the English pronominal system in as much depth, as it has been the pronominal marking of the addressee that has been analysed, rather than a reference to the speaker as an individual subject or to a third party. The main reason for this is that across the 293 speech acts that form the focus of this analysis, the 1PP is found in 202. Another focus that might have been taken would be the use of the second person, and the strategies used to disambiguate singular from plural references, indeed this is a discussion that Wilson (2010) touches on. Ultimately, however, the main argument put forward in this chapter is that pronominal choice can be analysed in terms of stance, as one way of constructing the alignment between speaker and hearer, and that in performing this social function, potentially face-threatening speech acts, such as criticism and control acts are mitigated. Moreover, the use of the pseudo-inclusive first person is a strategy for a speaker to position themselves with the addressee and thus present direct criticism and directives. In the case of a rugby team, time is short in many communicative situations, and thus clarity of criticism and direction is important, yet it is also important to maintain

team morale and solidarity. In the case of compliments, further work can build on this analysis to determine why inclusive and pseudo-inclusive pronouns might be used, and if this type of speech act would be better analysed in terms of self-praise.

From a wider perspective, English is very limited in terms of the information encoded by personal pronouns, there is no way of clearly marking clusivity, and there is no distinction between second person singular and plural. Moreover, unlike many other languages, there is no formal/informal distinction. This lack of encoding means that much of this information must be inferred by the hearer from context. It also means that speakers can produce ambiguous clusivity and reference in their utterances. This chapter has demonstrated that these ambiguities can be exploited by speakers for a range of socio-pragmatic effects.

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CHAPTER 3

A socio-semiotic approach to the personal pronominal system in Brazilian Portuguese

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In this chapter, we analyse how the personal pronouns in the Portuguese language system have evolved from a basic prescriptive use recommended by the grammar handbooks to a more complex and fluent performance by its more than 250 million Lusophone speakers, adapting to their particular differences and needs. The main focus is on the Brazilian Portuguese and how the non-traditional implementation of a differentiated personal pronoun system in Brazil abides by linguistic, social, and cultural laws, establishing new forms and usages toward fulfilling meaningful demands in Brazilian society.

Keywords: personal pronouns, Brazilian Portuguese system, linguistic innovation

Overview

The Portuguese language is spoken by about 250 million people in several countries around the world: Brazil, Portugal, Mozambique, Angola, Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde and São Tomé and Príncipe, besides some places in Asia, as East Timor, Macau and Goa. In 1989, the CPLP – *Comunidade de Países de Língua Portuguesa* (Community of Portuguese-Speaking Countries) – was created to be in charge of the linguistic and cultural issues related to the above-mentioned countries. Ninety-nine percent (99%) of the population of Portugal and Brazil speak Portuguese, whereas, in the African countries, Portuguese is the official language used in schooling, documents and governmental handling.

Since the 16th century, when Portugal started its colonial undertaking in Brazil, the Brazilian variety of the Portuguese (BP) made its debut in the history of languages and has followed its own course of evolution, alongside the European Portuguese (EP). Although it was scarcely used in the early stages of Brazil's colonization, Portuguese regained its force in the mid-18th century, when Marquis of

Pombal expelled the Jesuits and imposed Portuguese as the official language of the Colony. Nowadays, despite some remarkable phonetic, morphologic and syntactic differences between the varieties, speakers of BP and EP can interact intelligibly, which means that similarities still overcome discrepancies. It is widely accepted that the Brazilian TV networks are responsible for a certain homogenization between BP and EP, considering that many Brazilian programs are transmitted on Portuguese TV (which consequently also reverberates in African countries). Over the centuries, BP has been serving as a means of conveyance for several Brazilian cultural goods and, hence, the variety naturally transpires traits of Brazilian identity, subjectivity and affectivity. This proves to be true at several levels of the language and appears to be especially visible in its Personal Pronoun System (PPS).

One can easily notice that the PPS in BP can be either very conservative and prototypical (as the PPS in EP) or rather liberal and innovative, depending on several factors, such as language formality degree, genre of text and the user's level of education, among other factors. However, while some differences can still be seen as variations, others are to be regarded as changes. Let us see how PPS is generally described in Brazilian Prescriptive Grammar Handbooks (PGH). As one can infer from Table 1, personal pronouns can play syntactic roles (functions) – such as subject, direct object, indirect object, and prepositional complement – in sentences. Thus, depending on the function they have in utterances, their form will change accordingly. Basically the system opposes P1 to P2, who are persons in interaction, while N3 is the subject matter of the utterance and, as such, is considered a non-person in communication (cf. Benveniste 1971: 219). The PPS has been permeated by a linguistic and communicational logic, but altered due to subjective cultural input. Lexical and syntactical alterations have brought complexity to the system, especially when it comes to oral language.

Table 2 shows a great expansion in the PPS of non-conservative BP, especially as regards to P2, P4 and P5, persons of discourse that were more susceptible to innovation in form and usage. Since P2/P5 perform as addressees and P4 can function as an effacement mechanism in interaction, new forms emerged as a way of coding new pragmatic demands in everyday communication.

Comparing Table 1 and Table 2, one can detect that *vós* has completely disappeared from P5, not only in BP, but also in EP, in a process of obsolescence that is also affecting *tu* (P2) and *nós* (P4) nowadays, although these forms are still competitive candidates co-occurring with *você* (P2) and *a gente* (P4)¹ respectively.

The personal pronouns are responsible for the social relationships among the speakers. Besides the syntactical rules that regulate the system, pragmatic norms

1. While a *gente* is considered as P4 from a semantic or discursive perspective, since it can be used as an alternative or substitute for *nós*, its conjugation follows the N3 paradigm.

Table 1. PPS according to PGH*

STRESSED		UNSTRESSED (CLITICS)		STRESSED
NOMINATIVE		OBLIQUE**		
SUBJECT***		DIR. OBJECT (DO)	IND. OBJECT (IO)	PREP. PHRASE (PP)****
P1	<i>Eu</i> (I)	<i>me</i> (me)		<i>mim</i> (me) <i>comigo</i> (with me)
P2	<i>Tu</i> (you)*****	<i>te</i> (you)		<i>ti</i> (you) <i>contigo</i> (with you)
N3	<i>Ele</i> (he) <i>Ela</i> (she)*****	<i>o</i> (him) <i>a</i> (her)	<i>lhe</i> (him/her)	<i>ele</i> (his) <i>ela</i> (her) <i>si</i> (him/her) <i>consigo</i> (with him/her)
P4	<i>Nós</i> (we)	<i>nos</i> (us)		<i>nós</i> (us) <i>conosco</i> (with us)
P5	<i>Vós</i> (you, pl.)	<i>vos</i> (you, plural)		<i>vós</i> (you, pl.) <i>convosco</i> (with you, pl.)
N6	<i>Eles</i> (they, MASC.) <i>Elas</i> (they, FEM.)	<i>os</i> (them, MASC.) <i>as</i> (them, FEM.)	<i>lhes</i> (them, MASC./ FEM.)	<i>eles</i> (them, MASC.) <i>elas</i> (them, FEM.) <i>si</i> (them, MASC./FEM.) <i>consigo</i> (with them, MASC./FEM.)

Source: Adapted from Bechara (1999) and Azeredo (2008)

* From now on, the persons of discourse will be called P1 (*eu*), P2 (*tu*), N3 (*ele/ela*), P4 (*nós*), P5 (*vós*) and N6 (*eles/elas*), as shown in Table 1, where P stands for “person” and N stands for “non-person”.

** Oblique forms are divided into two groups: unstressed (clitics) and stressed. Unstressed forms include direct object and indirect object pronouns, neither of which are introduced by prepositions: (1) *Ela me trouxe uma xícara de chá* (She brought **me** a cup of tea), in which *me* is an indirect object pronoun. On the other hand, stressed forms are introduced by prepositions. Sentence (1) above could then be rewritten into *Ela trouxe uma xícara de chá para mim* (literally, she brought a cup of tea to me), in which the previous unstressed form *me* has now to be changed into the stressed form *mim*, since it is preceded by the preposition *para*. See other examples below (prepositions are underlined and pronouns are in bold type): *Senti saudade de **ti*** (I missed you); *Ele deu o melhor de **si*** (He did his best); *Eles fizeram um discurso contra **vós*** (They delivered a speech against you); *Eles não obedecem a **nós*** (They do not obey us).

*** Subject pronouns replace the subject in a sentence. In *Pedro vai a pé para a escola* (Pedro walks to school), “Pedro” is the subject of the sentence and can be replaced by *ele* (he) (N3): *Ele vai a pé para escola*. (He walks to school).

**** *Comigo*, *contigo*, *consigo*, *conosco* and *convosco* are special forms in which the preposition *cum* (with) is redundantly attached to the forms *mecum* (with me), *tecum* (with you), *secum* (with him/her), *nobis* (with us) and *vobis* (with you, pl.), respectively. Therefore, *comigo* derives from *cum+mecum* (literally, with+me+with); *contigo* derives from *cum+tecum* (literally, with+you+with), and so on.

***** Although *tu* is the P2 form prescribed by PGH, it is increasingly being replaced by *você* almost everywhere in Brazil, as will be explained later on in this chapter.

***** Portuguese language does not have a form similar to *it*. Everything is either masculine (*ele*) or feminine (*ela*) and is inflected accordingly. For instance, in the sentence *A tela do computador está quebrada* (The computer screen is broken), “A tela do computador” can be replaced by *Ela: Ela está quebrada* (Literally, **she** is broken, i.e., **it** is broken).

Table 2. Personal pronouns in effective use in BP

STRESSED		UNSTRESSED			STRESSED		
		OBLIQUE					
NOMINATIVE		ACCUSATIVE		DATIVE			
SUBJECT		DO		IO	NPP	PP	
P1	<i>eu</i>	<i>me</i>				<i>eu</i> (SLV)*	<i>mim/comigo</i>
P2	<i>tu</i>	<i>te</i>				<i>tu</i> (SLV)	<i>ti/contigo</i>
	<i>ocê</i>	<i>te/o/a</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>lhe</i> <i>se</i>	<i>ocê</i>	<i>ocê</i>	
	<i>o senhor</i>	<i>te/o</i>			<i>o senhor</i>	<i>o senhor</i>	
	<i>a senhora</i>	<i>te/a</i>			<i>a senhora</i>	<i>a senhora</i>	
N3	<i>ele</i>	<i>o</i>				<i>ele</i>	<i>ele/si/consigo</i>
	<i>ela</i>	<i>a</i>		<i>ela</i>	<i>ela/si/consigo</i>		
P4	<i>nós</i>	<i>nos</i>				<i>nós</i> (SLV)	<i>nós/conosco</i>
	<i>a gente</i>					<i>a gente</i>	<i>a gente</i>
P5	<i>ocês</i>	<i>os/as</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>lhes</i> <i>se</i>	<i>ocês</i>	<i>Vocês</i>	
	<i>os senhores</i>	<i>os</i>			<i>os senhores</i>	<i>os senhores</i>	
	<i>as senhoras</i>	<i>as</i>			<i>as senhoras</i>	<i>as senhoras</i>	
N6	<i>eles</i>	<i>os</i>			<i>eles</i>	<i>eles/elas/si/consigo</i>	
	<i>elas</i>	<i>as</i>			<i>elas</i>		

* SLV stands for “Stigmatized Linguistic Varieties”.

play an important part here. Space, like closeness or distance; social contact, like dominance or submission; and equality or inequality, especially related to gender, concur for a better understanding or misunderstanding in social interactions between interlocutors. When it comes to N6 (*eles/elas*), the masculine form *eles* encompasses the feminine one. For instance, in *Eles foram ao teatro* (They went to the theatre), *eles* could mean either “the males” or “the males and females”. This means that the masculine is the unmarked form. The language not always allows political correctness. If one uses *eles* to refer to a group of male and female students, for example, nobody will get offended, while *elas* (the feminine of *eles*) would never be an appropriate option in such a case, even if the number of females were overwhelmingly higher than the number of males.²

2. In Brazil, some speakers are currently employing the form *elxs* (which encompasses both genders without explicitly marking the masculine) as an alternative to the generic gender-marked form *eles*: *Elxs estão muito tristes* (They [males and females] are very sad). While using the letter *x* in lieu of *e* seems to be a clever trick that solves gender-related issues in written texts,

Subject or nominative pronouns

The subject or nominative pronouns can be used as subjects or replace nominal subjects in an utterance. Refer to Table 3 for a list of nominative pronouns in use in contemporary BP:

Table 3. Subject or nominative pronouns

Subject– nominative		
P1	<i>Eu</i>	I
P2	<i>Tu</i>	you SING. non-gendered (in competition with <i>você</i>)
	<i>Você</i>	you SING. non-gendered (becoming the prevailing form)
	<i>O senhor</i>	you SING. MASC. (respectful form of address)
	<i>A senhora</i>	you SING. FEM. (respectful form of address)
N3	<i>Ele</i>	he
	<i>Ela</i>	she
P4	<i>Nós</i>	we
	<i>A gente</i>	we (literally, the people, the folk)
P5	<i>Vocês</i>	you plural non-gendered
	<i>Os senhores</i>	you plural MASC. (respectful form of address)
	<i>As senhoras</i>	you plural FEM. (respectful form of address)
N6	<i>Eles</i>	they MASC.
	<i>Elas</i>	they FEM.

Person 1

P1 nominative *eu* was left intact throughout the centuries, since, as in most languages, it is a non-gendered form that represents an individual securely anchored in discourse voicing his/her own self from a subjective and unique perspective. In BP, *eu*, as the other nominative forms, can be left out in utterances, depending on a series of factors. But, differently from EP speakers, BP users will not omit P1 most of the times, although the exclusive number-person morpheme showing in the verb conjugation makes it clear that P1 is the subject of the sentence. Neves (2015) asserts, as for the co-occurrence of P1 nominative form and verbal inflections, that the slot preceding verbs are filled by *eu* in approximately 70% of the cases. Among the non-exclusively linguistic reasons why redundancy is the rule

it definitely does not work in *spoken* language, since it is, by all means, absolutely impossible to pronounce *elxs* as a word in Portuguese language.

in BP,³ she adds that the nominative forms are more likely to appear explicitly in constructions containing verbs that express opinion or judgment: *Eu acho que o teatro...* (I think that the theatre...) and *Eu tenho a impressão de que...* (I got the impression that...). The most obvious function, though, is evidenced when the speaker behind P1 nominative form needs to voice his/her subjectivity either by placing emphasis on good and important deeds – *Eu construí um império do nada* (I constructed an empire from nothing) – or, oppositely, by attempting to minimize something expressed in the predicate – *[ø] Cometi meus erros, mas vou me redimir* (I have made mistakes, but I will redeem myself).

Person 2, person 5 and other forms of addressing

P2 nominative encompasses three (and P5 nominative includes two) different forms; this echoes a broader pragmatic necessity for diversified means to address interlocutors in distinctive manners. What is most noticeable when comparing nominative forms under P2 and P5 is that the system has become asymmetric, since the form *vós*, the plural counterpart of *tu*, has simply and completely vanished from Prestige Urban Varieties (PUV), in BP at least, although it can still be found in specific genres (religious and literary texts, for instance) and extremely formal situations.

One of the most prominent differences in the usage of pronouns among Portuguese-speaking countries is the use of *tu* and *você*. Both forms are employed to express intimacy. *Tu* is used in Portugal and in the South and in a few regions in the North/Northeast of Brazil. In BP, however, *você* is by far the most common form adopted by speakers everywhere. *Tu* is distinguished from the other forms in the P2 slot, because it is conjugated differently from them. As a prototypical ancient form, *tu* keeps the very same shape since classic Latin. When conjugated under *tu*, a verb incorporates the number-person morpheme *-s*; except for the preterite, which takes *-ste*, and the affirmative imperative, which has morpheme *ø*: *tu falas* (you speak); *tu falaste* (you spoke); *fala[ø]* (*tu*)! (speak!). On the other hand, *você* and *o senhor* (and its feminine form *a senhora*) follow the conjugation of N3, i.e., they have number-person morpheme *ø*. The dichotomy in conjugation, however, is solved in non-monitored use (SLV or even PUV) of *tu*, since the final

3. Considering that, in most verb conjugations, there are exclusive morphemes to indicate P1, when the speaker utters *eu*, he/she is being redundant, at least from a purely syntactic point of view. For example, in *Eu vendi meu carro*, the final *-i* in *vendi* is a morpheme that indicates number (singular) and person (P1). Being that morpheme used exclusively for P1 in the preterite, when the speaker says *eu* together with *vendi*, he/she is marking P1 twice.

morpheme *-s* can be left out in utterances, depending on the genre, context, level of literacy, and region of speakers.⁴

Neves (2015: 24) reports that, in the material that she used as a corpus, *você* reached 97% of all occurrences, which is a very high figure as compared to only 3% of occurrences of *tu*. That depends especially on the region in which the investigation has been conducted, on the genre of corpus selected, whether written or oral, but especially on what period of time the data have been taken from. Just to bring a more concrete case, Lopes and Rumeu (2015: 17) present charts comparing *você* and *tu* in letters from Minas Gerais and Rio de Janeiro from 1850 up to 1979. Exponential growth in the usage of *você* begins in the 1940s (92% in Minas and 98% in Rio). It is important to remark, though, that the corpora include letters of friendship and love and among family members of highly literate people, such as poets and writers. Equally important is to note that in the Rio de Janeiro chart, in the 1870s, the amount represented by 31% of occurrences of *você* was due to a certain degree of formality, since that form still conveyed some semantic and pragmatic residue from the older expression *Vossa Mercê*, which used to be a pronoun of treatment and, as such, was still embedded with values related to courtesy; in the 1930s, however, the 41% figure shows a more intense integration and intimacy bond between interlocutors. As one can clearly see, there is a shift from courtesy to intimacy in the decade of 1930, and such a neutralization can be attributed, beyond all, to the modernization, industrialization and an ensuing greater mobility among social strata. Therefore, still following Lopes and Rumeu (2015: 19), the context in the 1930s brings a new social order that facilitated the restructuring of roles in society in general and in the family specifically and that is reflected in the PPS of BP, of course.

Morphologically speaking, number-person morpheme \emptyset for verbs conjugated under *você/o senhor* formally aligns these forms with N3 – the least marked of all persons of discourse, but, at the same time, this is exactly the reason why *você/o senhor* cannot be null (omitted) as subjects most of the times. So this identity in conjugation to N3, which leaves the verb less marked (no morpheme to indicate person), also provides a degree of closeness to the addressee, for the speaker is almost impelled to invoke and incarnate his presence in utterance. And here we have a great divide. By means of *você*, the speaker anticipates his strategy of an overt closeness in interaction, for he is not only explicitly lodging his addressee in his speech, but also bringing him nearer, in the sense that he establishes or evidences parity among them. On the other hand, by means of *o senhor*, the speaker

4. This means that when speakers use *tu* in non-monitored situations, they tend to conjugate the verb as N3. Example: *Tu vai ao cinema?* (Are you going to the movies?), instead of *Tu vais ao cinema?*

claims or recognizes the existence of a level of hierarchy in relation to his addressee, hence allowing some ceremony in their interaction.

Relationships of parity and/or hierarchy are, of course, culturally constructed or previously agreed upon among interlocutors, but there are basic factors that are significant upon making a decision whether to use *você* or *o senhor* as forms of address, such as age, gender, social status and/or class, degree of acquaintance, degree of formality of contexts, and even a conscious intention to preserve distance or promote proximity. While younger people are generally expected to address elders as *o senhor/a senhora*, thus showing them courteous respect, the increasing informality in relations among Brazilians makes them shift that form of addressing to *você* in the middle of the interaction. Sometimes it is the addressee himself that asks the speaker to address him/her as *você*, in a kind of agreement intended not only to allow closeness, but also to dissipate the unfavorable traits that the word *o senhor/a senhora* can convey.⁵

In Portugal, nominal forms preceded by the definite article are commonly used in lieu of the personal pronoun *tu*, when addressing the interlocutor: *O Pedro quer ir jantar?* (Does Pedro want to have dinner?) or *O meu amigo quer ir jantar?* (Does my friend want to have dinner?), instead of *Você quer jantar?* (Do you want to have dinner?). As an illustration on how that might work in real language environments, we reproduce the experience of Brazilian linguists Naro and Scherre (2007: 151, note 23), when they report the difficulties they faced upon interacting with a Portuguese researcher who would not provide them with a favorable response because they used *você* (you singular),⁶ instead of her proper name, in referring to her in conversation. In EP, when familiarity among the speakers is low, it is expected to use ellipsis of the subject pronoun – *Ø Estás bem? Ø Fizeste boa viagem?* – or to use the addressee's proper name: *A Maria está bem? A Maria fez boa viagem?* (Is Maria ok? Did Maria have a good trip?) – which is certainly not the practice in Brazil.

Also in Portugal, *o senhor* is followed by the addressee's professional activity: *o senhor doutor* (Mr. Doctor), *o senhor presidente* (Mr. President). In Brazil, forms of treatment are generally used with people in higher functions or in the nobility: *o senhor presidente Figueiredo* (Mr. President Figueiredo), *a senhora princesa D. Maria* (Princess Ms. Maria). There are other forms of treatment for people of a higher rank. In a governmental position, presidents, governors and senators are treated ceremoniously with *Vossa Excelência* (*V. Ex.a*). Sometimes *Vossa Senhoria*

5. *Senhor* derives from Latin paradigm *senior, seniōres* (older), a comparative form for *senex, senis* (old man). In BP the word is still associated to “of old age”, “middle-aged”, thus being regarded as pejorative by some interactants.

6. *Você está bem? Você fez boa viagem?* (Are you ok? Did you have a good trip?).

(*V. S.a*) is also used, but less and less in Portugal as well as in Brazil. Less solemn forms also replace *Vossa Eminência*, *Vossa Magnificiência* and *Vossa Santidade* (for the Pope). The word *Vossa* composes the treatment expression when the speaker is addressing his interlocutor P2 directly. When he is talking *about* someone, he will say *Sua* instead of *Vossa*: *Sua Excelência*, *Sua Santidade*, and so on. In 21st century Brazil, although there is respect, the distance in hierarchies is not that important or accentuated anymore.

Non-person 3 and non-person 6

Besides the forms *o(s) senhor(es)* and *a(s) senhora(s)*, which derive from old treatment pronouns, N3 and N6 pronouns are the only nominatives in the PPS to indicate gender explicitly. As non-persons of discourse, N3 and N6 can be used for both human and non-human reference (Bagno, 2011: 796–97).

With the increasing occurrence of *você* (conjugated as N3) to replace *tu* in BP, it became necessary to make *ele/ela* more explicit as subject pronouns in order to disambiguate coincidental forms of the verb. According to Tarallo (1996: 84), nominative N3 was retained in 23.3% of cases early in the 18th century, against 79.4% of cases in 1981. As an object, however, N3 is more and more effaced from utterances, showing in 89.2% of cases in 1725, against 18.2% in 1981. Bagno (2011) remarks that these two morphosyntactic features (high retention of nominative N3 and low occurrence of its clitics) make BP even more distinguishable from the other romance languages, including EP. The exception here is French, language in which expressing the subject is mandatory. In BP, as has been shown, this is not compulsory, albeit it surely appears as a significant tendency both in SLV and in PUV.

Person 4

P4 prototypical form *nós* seems to be increasingly losing space to the alternative expression *a gente*, which is conjugated as N3. This means that *a gente*, despite conveying a plural idea, is unmarked as for inflections, such as the singular non-person form *ele*. Although unmarked in a way, *a gente* is marked in another, for it cannot be generally omitted in a nominative position, since it shares its verbal form with *você*, *ele*, *ela*, *o senhor*, and *a senhora* (not to mention subsidiary conju-

gations used in SLV which make P5's and N6's forms of conjugation coincide with N3 and, consequently, with *a gente*).⁷

Thus, for the sake of disambiguation, the nominative slot to the left of the verb will have to be filled whenever *a gente* is to be used. A very common use in SLV is to conjugate the verb after *a gente* as P4. The number-person morpheme *-mos* is exclusively used with *nós* in PUV and in Prescriptive Normative Varieties. This is clearly a case of interference of the P4 paradigm in the way speakers use the conjugation for *a gente*. Therefore, sentences such as *A gente vamos na praia* (We will go to the beach) may still cause some uneasiness among speakers with some level of literacy, who would prefer to use the alternative forms *A gente vai à/na praia* or *Nós vamos à/na praia*.⁸

The form *a gente* (which literally means “the people”, “the folks”), employed by both genders with the verb in the singular, is believed to function, as Azevedo (2005: 230) points out, as a device of self-effacement for modesty or self-protection, but also to show less commitment in discourse. Bagno (2011: 744) shows that *a gente* is the smashingly prevalent form – 79% of occurrences against 20% of *nós* – in the corpus examined by Brazilian linguist Nelize Omena in the 1990's. *A gente* is proved to be the categorical form among younger speakers (7 to 25 years of age), with a figure of 93,5%, against the 65% among people older than 50 years of age.

Neves (2015: 33) suggests that the level of indeterminacy expressed by *a gente* is higher than the one expressed by *nós*. Actually such a level of indeterminacy may even reach a point at which any reference to P4 as a person of discourse becomes blurred, and *a gente* takes the function of representing a plural entity, meaning “people in general”, as in the example brought by Neves: *Depois de assistir à novela a gente (não) vai assistir... programa político* (After watching the soap opera, people will not [be willing to] watch political advertising on TV). Therefore, in PUV there seems to be a continuum of indeterminacy ranging from +indeterminate to –indeterminate (*se* > *a gente* > *nós*), as can be seen in (1):⁹

7. P5 and N6 can be conjugated as N3 in SLV. Examples: *Vocês/Eles vai pra casa agora?*

(Are you/they going home now?), in which *vocês* (P5) or *eles* (N6) would require the verb to be conjugated as *vão* (N6), although SLV speakers can conjugate it as *vai* (as in N3 conjugation).

8. Although *a* and *para* (to) are the prepositions prescribed for use after the verb *ir* (to go), in PUV and SLV, *em* and its contracted forms *no*, *na*, *nos*, and *nas* are largely employed.

9. There is a tendency for the difference of indeterminacy level between *nós* e *a gente* to get more and more subtle and disappear, as *a gente* becomes the prevalent form in the PPS.

- (1) *Se, a gente* and *nós* as indeterminate subjects
- a. *Não se deve mais confiar em políticos hoje em dia*
No SIP¹⁰ should anymore to rely on politicians nowadays
'One should no longer rely on politicians nowadays'
 - b. *A gente não deve mais confiar em políticos hoje em dia*
People no should anymore to rely on politicians nowadays
'People should no longer rely on politicians nowadays'
 - c. *(Nós) não devemos mais confiar em políticos hoje em dia*
(We) no should anymore to rely on politicians nowadays
'We should no longer rely on politicians nowadays'

In 1a, there is a higher level of indeterminacy,¹¹ meaning that politicians are not reliable and people should not believe them. In 1b, the level of indeterminacy is medium, meaning that politicians are not reliable and people, maybe including the speaker, should not believe them. But maybe the speaker includes himself just as a way to express sympathy with his addressee(s). Finally, in 1c, the level of indeterminacy is low, meaning that politicians are not reliable and people, including the speaker, should not believe them.

P4 form *nós* can also express sociolinguistic connotations in formal language. Critics and writers often prefer to use *nós* instead of *eu* when they wish to sound less personal and imposing. This is called the *plural of modesty*, according to Cunha and Cintra (1985: 276). When Hélio Beltrão was Minister of “Desburocratização” during João Figueiredo’s Presidency (1979–1985), he periodically published in the newspaper *O Jornal do Brasil* articles about new actions against bureaucracy using *eu*, if it was an acceptable measure; *nós*, if he was part of it but not his sole opinion; and *eles*, when he had to take a measure without really wanting to participate in it.

But *nós* is also utilized as a *plural of majesty*, since it was also the form used by kings addressing the nation or the Church addressing the community. It used to be employed as modesty or humility. However, such a value became archaic. Still used to some extent in Portugal, on the contrary, it expresses superiority. Similarly, the possessive *nosso(a)* replaces *meu/minha* in the plural of majesty and courtesy, whereas the second person plural *vós* (P5) and the possessive *vosso* are used in ceremonial situations towards an individual or audience (Cunha and Cintra 1985: 277, 316–17).

10. Subject indeterminate pronoun.

11. By “level of indeterminacy” we mean the degree through which the subject shows himself/herself as a participant in the sentence. The higher a level of indeterminacy is, the lesser the subject will seem to take part in the predication.

Direct object or accusative pronouns

Direct object or accusative pronouns replace direct objects in sentences and, as complements, precede or follow the verb. Except for P1 and P2 accusatives (*me* and *te*), such clitics are obsolescent and being replaced by their NPP stressed corresponding forms in BP (refer to Table 2 for a more comprehensive view of these pronouns). NPP are replications from the subject pronoun column and became extremely common in everyday language, in such a way that the accusative pronouns shown in Table 4 are almost exclusively used in written language.

Table 4. Direct object or accusative pronouns

	Subject	Direct object/accusative	
P1	Eu	me	me
P2	Tu	te	you
	Você	o/a/te	you
	O senhor	o/te	you
	A senhora	a/te	you
N3	Ele	o	him
	Ela	a	her
P4	Nós	nos	us
	A gente	nos	us
P5	Vocês	os/as	you, PL.
	Os senhores	os	you, PL.
	As senhoras	as	you, PL.
N6	Eles	os	them, MASC.
	Elas	as	them, FEM.

For instance, P2 form *você* (you) can be used in lieu of the clitics *o*, *a* or *te* in informal situations. In *Eu o entendo*, one can remove *o* from the sentence and use *você* in its place: *Eu entendo você* (I understand you). N3 clitic forms *o* and *a* can be used to replace objects, since there is no such a pronoun as the English “it” (in Portuguese, all the nouns have gender). Likewise, *os* and *as* replace “them” for objects. So, one can say: *Vendi o carro. Eu o vendi* (I sold **the car**. I sold **it**), with *o* replacing *carro*, which is a masculine noun. The alternative construction *Vendi ele* (I sold **it**) would be more common in less monitored spoken language, though.

Placement is one of the main issues with accusative pronouns. In BP, single-verb clauses, the pronoun generally comes before the verb in PUV, as in *Paulo as encontrou cedo* (Paulo met them early). However, if a sentence begins with a verb,

the pronoun is placed hyphenated **after** the verb, as in *Encontrei-as no cinema* (I met them [FEM.] at the movies). In less monitored spoken language, it would be common to say *Paulo encontrou elas* in either case. In two-verb clauses, the pronoun can come hyphenated after the second verb or between the verbs without a hyphen. Ex. *João quer levar-me ao cinema* or *João quer me levar ao cinema* (John wants to take me to the movies), the latter construction being chosen more often in PUV of BP. As we have said, *me* and *te* (and less frequently *nos*) are the only clitics really used in spoken BP.

When the pronouns *o*, *a*, *os*, and *as* have to be placed after the second verb in the infinitive, the final *-r* of the verb is dropped and an *-l* is attached to the front of the pronouns, which become *lo*, *la*, *los*, *las*, as can be seen in the following example: *João quer levar seu filho ao cinema. João quer levá-lo ao cinema* (John wants to take his son to the movies. John wants to take him to the movies). In PUV oral language, the speaker would probably say: *João quer levar ele ao cinema* (João wants to take him to the movies).

When the verb is conjugated in the P4 *nós* form (*-amos*, *-emos*, *-imos* in most tenses and moods), the final *-s* is removed and a hyphen and the letter *l* are added to the pronoun: *Abrimos a porta. Abrimo-la* (We opened the door. We opened it); *Vendemos os carros. Vendemo-los* (We sold the cars. We sold them). When the verb is conjugated in N6, ending in an *-m*, the pronoun is added, hyphenated, receiving an “*n*” in the beginning: *Eles vendem seus produtos. Vendem-nos* (They sell their products. They sell them). These constructions are almost exclusively employed in written language contexts and rarely appear in spoken language.

In the simple future and conditional tenses there can be a mesoclitis, i.e., the verb is split and the pronoun is placed in the middle. The verb *comprar* conjugated in P1 of the simple future is *comprarei*. Then it is split: *comprar + ei*. The first half loses its final *-r*, and the pronoun is placed right after it, preceded by the linking consonant *-l* and a hyphen. Then the second half is added after a second hyphen. Ex.: *Eu o comprarei* or *comprá-lo-ei* (I will buy it [MASC.]) and *Eu a compraria* or *comprá-la-ia* (I would buy it [FEM.]). Those constructions are rare even in written language in BP. Users generally choose other ways to express the future and the conditional, especially the compound forms of verb tenses: *Eu vou comprá-lo* (+monitored) or *eu vou comprar ele* (-monitored) (I am going to buy it).

Indirect object or dative pronouns

The indirect object or dative pronoun replaces indirect objects in the sentence and the indirect object is a complement to the verb introduced by a preposition. P1 *me*, P2 *te* and P4 *nos* are still currently used, while the exclusively dative form *lhe(s)*

is only employed in a few regions in Brazil or in written texts. The prepositional phrase (PP) forms are increasingly replacing all of the dative pronouns, since they have more mobility, as will be seen in the following paragraphs.

Table 5. Indirect object or dative pronouns

	Subject	Indirect object/dative	
P1	Eu	me	me
P2	Tu	te	you
	Você	lhe	you
	O senhor	lhe	you
	A senhora	lhe	you
N3	Ele	lhe	him
	Ela	lhe	her
P4	Nós	nos	us
	A gente	nos	us
P5	Vocês	lhes	you, PL.
	Os senhores	lhes	you, PL.
	As senhoras	lhes	you, PL.
N6	Eles	lhes	them, MASC.
	Elas	lhes	them, FEM.

For instance, let the sentence *Maria deu um livro para José* (Maria gave a book to José) be changed to *Maria lhe deu um livro* (Maria gave him a book). In the alternative and more commonly occurring construction *Maria deu um livro para ele* (Maria gave a book to him), the PP *para ele* can be placed virtually anywhere in the sentence and can even be part of a cleft structure, thus having an effect otherwise impossible to obtain by means of the clitics. We can say *Para ele Maria deu um livro*, stressing that Maria gave the book to **him**, and not to anyone else. The emphasizing structure *foi... que* (it was... that) can also be cleft by a PP, what could not be done by means of the clitics either: *Foi para ele que Maria deu um livro* (It was to him that Maria gave a book).

PGH recommend that object pronouns should not be used in the beginning of sentences, although this rule is disregarded very often in oral language. If the subject is omitted, the object pronoun has to be attached after the verb by means of a hyphen: *Vejo-a no sábado* (I will see her on Saturday); *Telefonou-lhe* (He/she called her/him). But in spoken interaction, sentences such as *Me dá um cigarro* (Give me a cigarette) are very recurrent. In BP, the dative pronoun is placed before the conjugated verb; in EP, it follows the verb: *Ele me deu um presente* (BP) and *Ele*

deu-me um presente (EP) (He gave me a present). In EP, the simultaneous usage of the direct and indirect object pronoun results in a contraction: *me+o = mo*: *Ela deu o livro (o) para mim (me)* (She gave me the book) or *Ela mo deu* (She gave it to me). In BP, though, one may never come across such a construction.

When the indirect object pronoun is used with the future and conditional, the pronoun is placed before the verb or between the stem and the rest of verb conjugation. This latter form is used in very formal discourse: *Falar-lhe-ia sobre o problema se pudesse* (I would talk to you about the problem if I could). A favorite construction in spoken PUV, however, would be: *Eu ia lhe falar...* or *Eu falaria para você...*

Sometimes, in order to emphasize the object, the pronoun is preceded by the preposition *a*: *Ela não tinha nada, tinha-se apenas a si mesma* (She had nothing, she had but herself). Another emphatic use is placing the direct or indirect object in the beginning of the sentence and then repeating it in its pronominal form: *Minha avó, nunca a vi costurando* (*My grandmother, I never saw her sewing*); *Ao policial, sempre lhe diga a verdade* (*To the policeman, always tell him the truth*). The pleonastic use of the clitics has become obsolete in BP. Sentences such as the ones above generally are replaced by *Minha avó, nunca vi ela costurando* and *[A]o policial, sempre diga a verdade para ele*.

Reflexive pronouns

Reflexive pronouns function as a reflection of the subject. They are:

<i>Eu</i>	me	myself
<i>Você/ele/ela</i>	se	yourself/himself/herself
<i>Nós</i>	nos	ourselves
<i>Vocês/eles/elas</i>	se	yourselves/themselves

In most cases, reflexive verbs in Portuguese are not reflexive in English: *Levantar-se* (to get up); *Vestir-se* (to get dressed); *Sentar-se* (to sit down); and so on. In BP, the reflexive pronoun is placed before the verb; in EP, it goes after the verb, with a hyphen, in affirmative sentences: *Eu me levanto cedo/Eu levanto-me cedo* (I get up early). In reflexive constructions, the subject is replicated as an object by means of the reflexive pronoun, i.e., the subject is simultaneously the agent and the patient of the action expressed by the verb. Some of the reflexive verbs can also be used in non-reflexive ways (intransitively): *Levantei cedo* (I got up early); *Sentei na cadeira* (I sat on the chair). Clitics can also be used to convey the idea of reciprocity, i.e.,

an action is performed by an agent on a patient, who, in his/her turn, performs the same action back on the agent. In English, this type of structure is expressed by “each other”: *Maria e eu nos beijamos* (Maria and I kissed each other).

Pronouns with prepositions

There is a contraction when the pronouns are used with *com* (with): *comigo* (BP)/*commigo* (EP) (with me); *contigo* (with you); *consigo* (with you); *conosco* (BP)/*conosco* (EP) (with us); *convosco* (with you plural).

This contraction does not occur with the prepositions *para* and *de*: *Ele deu um presente para mim* (He gave a present to me); *Recebi um presente de ti* (EP) (I received a present from you); *Recebi um presente de você* (BP).

With *ele/ela* and *eles/elas*, there is a contraction when they are used with the preposition *de* (of/from): *Recebi um presente dele* (I received a present from him).

Impersonal subject: *se*

Se is used when the action is more important than the person responsible for it. In English, the passive voice is used (is/are + past participle): *Fala-se inglês nos Estados Unidos* (English is spoken in the United States). When the verb is followed by an adverb, it can be translated as “they”, “you”, “one”, “people”: *Estuda-se muito na universidade* (They study a lot at the university).

Final remarks

The myriad of alternative forms taken by the PPS in BP – especially those under the oblique column (as shown in Table 2) – should not be promptly labeled as right or wrong. A variation results from the interaction among language, culture, and society, which is a phenomenon to be regarded as inherent to human linguistic activity. Although not always socially motivated, variation is certainly rather significant from a social point of view, considering that the coexisting forms create levels of usage of the language. Hence speakers have to deal with variation. The usage of concurrent forms is context-sensitive, which means that they should not be employed at random. As it has been pointed out throughout this chapter, varieties can be stigmatized (SLV) or standardized, with a whole range of registers in between the two ends of this continuum. An ideal speaker should be able to adapt language to context, employing the variety most suitable to a communicative

situation. The average educated Brazilian uses a variety that is closer to a PUV, i.e., a realization of language equally distant from both SLV and the standardized variety prescribed in PGH.

Variation, however, should not be considered an issue to be fought against. Counterwise, it should be conceived as something that adds a great deal to enhance language ability to express social needs. For instance, regardless of the fact that proficient users of BP know how to employ clitics in a canonic or prescribed way, they will surely “choose” to use NPP or PP (stressed oblique forms, refer to Table 2) in spoken language. In doing so, they are simply abiding by tacit diamesic/diaphasic rules,¹² thus adapting to the dynamics of contemporary BP language usage. But “deviations” from prescribed usage is not something recent when it comes to PPS. For example, the N3/N6 nominative forms *ele(s)/ela(s)*, employed as direct objects – *Deixei ela na casa da mãe* (I left her at her mom’s) – are already attested in dialogues in novels authored by Machado de Assis (1839–1908).

As we look back at a relatively recent past, we can see some significant changes in the form of addressing as well. For instance, parents, professors and elders, who used to be respectfully treated as *o senhor e a senhora* up to the middle of the 20th century, now are increasingly being more intimately addressed by the P2 nominative form *você* (in BP) and *tu* (in EP). The case with primary school teachers is even more interesting. In the past as nowadays, children used to call their teacher *tia* (aunt) – a more intimate and familiar vocative – but still used *a senhora* (instead of *você*) as a form of addressing. Now, with the decrease of formality almost everywhere, teachers are also addressed as *você*, like everyone else.

Among several other peculiarities of the language, we can mention the intriguing case of the southern states of Santa Catarina and Rio Grande do Sul, where *tu* is probably more used than *você*. However, especially in less monitored usage, *tu* can be followed by a verb conjugated as N3, instead of the prescribed form in the prototypical 2nd person: *Tu vai voltar cedo hoje?*, instead of *Tu vais voltar cedo hoje?* (Are you going to come back early today?). Mixing pronouns has become a commonplace. A speaker can use *você* (P2 that is conjugated as N3) with *tu*’s (P2) possessive pronoun *teu*: *Você quer o teu livro de volta?* (Do you want your book back?).

Formality is more preserved in written language. In a formal letter, “Dear Sir” can be used to mean *Prezado Senhor*, but there is also the form *Ilustríssimo Senhor*

12. Diamesic variation corresponds to changes made in language across medium of communication (whether written or oral, on the telephone, by e-mail or in person, for example); diaphasic variation is related to changes in language made according to the degree of formality needed in interaction (such as the language used in a business letter as compared to the one used at a meeting with friends).

(illustrious sir, abbreviated *Ilmo. Sr.*) or *Excelentíssimo Senhor* (*Exmo. Sr.*, your very excellent). The chancellor of a university, for example, is still treated formally as *Magnífico Reitor* (Rector Magnificus). With modern times, though, these forms tend to diminish or disappear. A respected person, like a writer, will be called by his/her first name instead of the family name: Affonso Romano de Sant'Anna becomes simply Affonso.

The innovations in the PPS of BP are necessary adjustments made by the Brazilian society with an unintended purpose to absorb new cultural challenges arising in their everyday life. By means of the reinvention of a language received from Portuguese colonizers long ago, BP speakers almost daily forge new ways to deal with their own linguistic needs and successfully have been managing, so far, to imprint their own identity on the countenance of their Brazilian variety of Portuguese.

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Address pronouns and alternatives

Challenges and solutions when translating between two polycentric languages (English and Portuguese)

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Polycentric languages experience variation. Address pronouns and other forms of address constitute an area which is particularly open to national preferences, where the language is influenced by different cultural backgrounds and performs at the service of different social dynamics. In translation work, achieving comparable renderings between the source language and the target language will require a discerning awareness of specific sociological and sociolinguistic characteristics in the relevant places of origin and destination of the text being converted. This chapter examines challenges and proposes solutions for those decoding and encoding between English and Portuguese. It does so using a framework of evaluation deemed to promote insight and using techniques that are transferable to other language pairs, particularly where English is involved.

Keywords: translation and interpreting, source language and target language, polycentric languages, national and regional variation, second-person systems, address pronouns, forms of address, English language, Portuguese language

Introduction

In any language in general, a second-person system is the combined product of specific linguistic tools and social dynamics. The former can be expected to conform to morphological and syntactic norms, and the latter can be expected to both reflect and shape inter-group and inter-personal relationships.

In any long-established language, the available linguistic tools are likely to have a history. Current forms and their performance may be the result of changes undergone over time in an adjustment to evolving interaction patterns. Therefore, when engaging in translation, it is helpful to have a diachronic understanding of both the source and target language second-person forms.

Chronological changes in second-person forms may not take place evenly across the whole of a national territory; and regional preferences may need to be considered. If variation can be found within a country's geographical borders, this phenomenon may be inevitable where the language is spoken in more than one country, as is the case of polycentric languages, with their different cultural backgrounds and social dynamics. Therefore, clear knowledge of synchronic alternatives – and how they may relate to previous temporal phases in the language – can greatly support a successful translation.

Grammar manuals may be expected to provide a record of second-person forms, present and often also past, but deep sociolinguistic probing is outside their remit. They therefore fall short of supplying a degree of awareness that will enable avoiding translation pitfalls. Indeed, when decoding and encoding second-person forms between two languages – and more so if they are polycentric – it may not always be easy both to fully grasp the source meaning and to accurately manage the closest target equivalent. So as to better overcome these difficulties, we will be looking at second-person forms also from the point of view of their sociolinguistic role. Do the second-person forms being used indicate a well-defined relationship between addresser and addressee or do they not? Are addresser and addressee interacting on a reciprocal basis or not so?

The perspectives put forward in this chapter are supported by empirical data consisting of naturally-occurring examples obtained from online material. Their analysis is assisted by N-V-T, a model for the evaluation of second-person systems which seeks to overcome the *inertia* of the customary T-V distinction.¹

Behind today's second-person system – English and Portuguese

A. Previous outer shells and their semantic content

Today's English second-person system derives from earlier forms. (Baugh and Cable 2002)–(see Table 1)

Today's Portuguese second-person system derives from traditional forms. (Cook 2013; Bechara 2015)–(see Table 2)

1. Please refer to Chapter 1 in this volume: “N-V-T, a framework for the analysis of social dynamics in address systems” by Manuela Cook.

Table 1. Morphemes behind today's English second-person system

Second person	Subject (*)	Object (**)	Possessive (***)
Singular	thou	thee	thy <i>or</i> thine
Plural	ye	you	your <i>or</i> yours

(*) The accompanying verb has different singular and plural forms – e.g., Where art thou? (talking to one person) Where are ye? (talking to more than one person), for present-day *Where are you?*

(**) “Thee”/“you” is the object pronoun, both direct and indirect – e.g. Praise thee.

(***) “Thy”/“your” is the possessive adjective while “thine”/“yours” is the possessive pronoun – e.g., thy father; his spirit will take courage from thine. “Thine” is also used adjectively, before a vowel or silent “h” – e.g., thine altar; thine honour.

Table 2. Morphemes behind today's Portuguese second-person system

Second person	Subject (*)	Object (**)	Possessive (***)
Singular	tu	te <i>or</i> ti	teu <i>or</i> o teu
Plural	vós	vos <i>or</i> vós	vosso <i>or</i> o vosso

(*) The accompanying verb has different singular and plural forms – e.g., Onde estás tu? (talking to one person) Onde estais vós? (talking to more than one person), *Where are you?*

(**) “Te”/“vos” is the unstressed form and can be both direct and indirect object – e.g., Não te vi. *I didn't see you;* Não te dei isso. *I didn't give you that.* “Ti”/“vós” is the stressed form (after a preposition) – e.g., Isso é para ti. *That's for you.*

(***) “Teu”/“vosso” is the possessive adjective while “o teu” / “o vosso” is the possessive pronoun. These forms take feminine and plural endings according to the noun with which they are associated – e.g., teu coração, *your heart;* tuas mãos, *your hands.*

B. Changes in semantic content and outer shells

In addition to denoting number – one or more than one –, singular and plural second-person forms came to play another role. Plural would be for when addressing one individual of high standing so as to show deference. This could be from an inferior to a superior or, in some cases, between individuals of the same social upper stratum so as to express mutual recognition. Singular would be for when addressing one individual in other circumstances, ranging from endearing intimacy to raging hostility.

The sociolinguistic implications of second-person singular and plural forms are customarily referred to as T-V distinction, after a paper by Brown and Gilman, where T and V – from Latin address pronouns *tū* and *vós* – symbolize what these authors classify as, respectively, a ‘familiar’ and ‘polite’ approach (Brown and Gilman 1960: 254). Being a Romance language, Portuguese inherited encoders “tu” and “vós” directly from the Latin for a T-V second person system. (Cook 2013) – e.g., Onde estais Vós? (V), *Where are You?* In English, over time, the plural was similarly given a V performance. Significant towards this step is believed to have been the influence of the French nobility in England, in whose Romance language “vous” is for V and “tu” for T.

Another step taken by “you” was to start acting also as a subject encoder. (Crystal 2005) – e.g., *Where are You? (V)*.

Portuguese developed an alternative to “vós” for a V encoder, also coming from Latin. A person of high standing would be addressed by eulogistic reference to his/her most admired attribute; and “Vossa Mercê”, *Your Grace*, became a form of address for the monarch. This use of an honorific had morpho-syntactic repercussions. While the Portuguese original second-person system is led by a pronoun (“tu” / “vós”), now a noun (in this case, “mercê”) is in the lead. Accordingly, while the V pronominal subject takes a second-person plural verb ending, the V nominal subject will attract a third-person verb ending (Cook 2013) – e.g., *Onde está Vossa Mercê? (V)*, *Where are You, Your Grace?* (literally, *Where is Your Grace?*)

C. New semantics – revised outer shells

Gradually “you” developed into an all-purpose second-person player in the English language in general. It came to act both as subject and object, singular and plural, replacing “ye”, “thou” and “thee”; and, as for the possessives, “your” and “yours” replaced “thy” and “thine”. (Baugh and Cable 2002)

In respect of sociolinguistic performance, generic “you” ceased to occupy the V pole; but it did not move to T either. Being unmarked, it bypasses a T-V pronominal binary; it is neutral (N) instead (Cook 2014, 2015, chapter one: this volume). As a result, T and V effect will have to be found some other way, as discussed in section ‘Today’s second-person system in the Anglophone world’. In Portuguese, “Vossa Mercê” underwent several phonological and semantic changes and, after having dropped out of the V pole, came to circulate mainly as “você”, a morphological unit which has considerable syntactic flexibility as compared with some older forms. (Azevedo 2005)

Considering sociolinguistic performance, “você” is a good candidate to the N dimension, if left free to act with an unmarked, neutral function (Cook 2013), a position it may not have fully achieved, as discussed in section ‘Today’s second-person system in the Lusophone world’.

As described above, in English, all-purpose “you” has become the norm in general and, in Portuguese, flexible “você” has been making a visible impression; but they are far from having the monopoly in the second-person system of their respective languages. Consideration must be given to choices in active language tools and to N-V-T dynamics across nowadays synchronic spectrum, be it in the Anglophone or the Lusophone world.²

2. Further diachronic detail, for both English and Portuguese, including chronological data, is available from the quoted works for these languages.

Today's second-person system in the Anglophone world

Today, internationally, personal pronoun “you” has the limelight as N (Cook 2014, 2015, chapter one: this volume) and acts in this capacity as a morpheme that can perform in all the grammatical categories required for the English second-person system. – (see Table 3)

Table 3. Morpheme “you” in today’s English second-person system

“you”	Grammatical category
You are	personal pronoun subject (nominative)
I saw you	personal pronoun direct object (accusative)
I bought you this	personal pronoun indirect object (dative)
This is for you	personal pronoun indirect object (dative after preposition)
Your coat	possessive adjective
The coat is yours	possessive pronoun

It has been commented that with “you” as the only address pronoun, the English language ‘makes up for its lack of a T/V distinction’ by relying on nominal expressions (Clyne et al. 2009: 17–19). These T and V providers are normally applied as a vocative. In other words, they are ‘free forms’, as opposed to ‘bound forms’ (Braun 1988), i.e., not embedded in a sentence or clause but added on as an extra.

In a language with T-V ‘bound forms’ – usually pronominal – ‘free forms’ can contribute additional sociolinguistic nuances, but in English they are essential T and V providers. For V, possibilities will include reference to occupational status, title and surname or simply sir/madam (ma’am) – e.g., Where are you, Professor / Mr Williams / sir? (V). For T, in addition to the use of first name (when known), several widespread epithets have been pointed out, the following being amongst them: babe, buddy, darling, dear, duckie, fellas, guys, honey, luv, Mac, mate, pal, sweetie, sweetheart (Brown and Levinson 1987; Leech 1999; Formentelli 2007) – e.g., Where are you, love (luv) / babe / sweetie / pal / mate? (T).

Other than this general picture centred in universal “you”, there are areas of the Anglophone world where elements from the earlier second-person system have stood their ground. The “thou” paradigm has been retained, albeit with local variations, notably in Scotland and Northern England. Personal pronoun “ye” and variations thereof make their presence felt in Ireland, Northern England and Cornwall in SW England; and can be heard as far as Newfoundland and Labrador. (Kortmann et al. 2008; Bolton and Kachru 2006; Kirkpatrick 2007)

Being outside the “you” mainstream practice, traditional forms are vulnerable not only to local variation but also to national and/or regional divergent

developments. This is the case of novel plural versions which may aim at re-creating a T-V number marker. Amongst these, “yous(s)” asserts its presence in Scotland, Northern England, Ireland, and, further afield, as far as South Africa, the Falkland Islands, Australia and New Zealand. In its extension “you(s) guys”, it also enjoys popularity in the United States of America. Also in the United States of America, particularly in Western Pennsylvania and Appalachia, “yinz” can be found, in this and other spellings, for ‘you ones’. Mainly in southern United States of America and South Africa “y’all” is at work. This is a contraction of “you” and “all” and also circulates in a number of other spellings. (Crystal 2005; Bolton and Kachru 2006; Kortmann e all 2008)

The sociolinguistic performance of these second-person developments can be complex. The most intricate outcome is probably “y’all”, which may enact as a plural, be directed at one individual or function as an indefinite pronoun. As a plural form towards a single addressee, it does not appear to have anything to do with an old hierarchical V orientation. Very much the opposite, it may carry a T matey tone; but will it transmit addresser’s warm empathy or is the addressee’s identity being coldly submerged under an impersonal collective tag?

Summing up, we have two scenarios in the English second-person system: predominant single “you” and singular-plural binaries, traditional or other. In the former case, which is N in itself, T and V meaning tends to be verbalized in nominal additions, mainly vocatives. As for singular-plural binaries, due to their high level of variation, they will require an understanding of their specific national and regional significance and both whether and how they may co-exist with single “you”.

Today’s second-person system in the Lusophone world

In today’s Portuguese second-person system, “você” has become a morpheme that can perform in different grammatical categories (Azevedo 2005). – (see Table 4)

Table 4. Morpheme “você” in today’s Portuguese second-person system

“você”	Grammatical category
Você está (<i>You are</i>)	personal pronoun subject (nominative)
Eu vi você (<i>I saw you</i>)	personal pronoun direct object (accusative)
Eu comprei isto para você (<i>I bought you this</i>) Isto é para você (<i>This is for you</i>)	personal pronoun indirect object (dative, after preposition)
O casaco de você (<i>Your coat</i>)	possessive adjective
O casaco é de você (<i>The coat is yours</i>)	possessive pronoun

Although “*você*” may be seen as a pronoun, its noun-based origin continues to attract third-person verb endings (Cook 2013; Bechara 2015) – e.g., *Onde está você?* *Where are you?* – and also allows direct pluralization – e.g., *Onde estão vocês?* *Where are you?* (more than one). As for its role in N-V-T dynamics, “*você*” needs to be assessed in relation to other address forms, in particular nominal “*o senhor / a senhora*” and pronominal “*tu*”.

The original “*tu*” paradigm – where a distinctive verb ending encourages omission of the subject pronoun – is in full use and first choice for T semantics in Portugal, including the Azores and Madeira, as well as in Portuguese-speaking countries and areas East of the Atlantic in general. This practice enables a tripartite set-up: e.g., *Onde estás (tu)? Onde está o senhor? and Onde está você?* – *Where are you?* For, respectively, T, V and possibly N. In fact, although nowadays it is potentially unmarked, “*você*” has had to fight its way into the N position, as, still a few decades ago, it used to encode a negative T which would be directed at someone rejected for V. In order to signal N, some speakers prefer null subject – e.g., *Onde está? (N)* (Cook 2013)

West of the Atlantic Ocean, some variation is experienced within Brazil; and two significant trends are worth mentioning. Typically in north-eastern states, but also in southern states as well as coastal São Paulo and in parts of Rio de Janeiro, “*tu*” takes a third-person singular verb ending. Notwithstanding its syntagmatic deviation, this practice equally enables a tripartite set-up – e.g., *Onde está tu? (T); Onde está você? (N); Onde está o senhor? (V)* (as T, N and V for *Where are you?*) At a geographically wider scale, covering most of Brazil, another trend consists of achieving T by joint use of “*você*” with object pronouns and possessives from the original “*tu*” paradigm – e.g., *Onde está você? Eu não te vejo. (T)*, *Where are you? I cannot see you. Onde está você? Tenho aqui a tua mala. (T)*, *Where are you? I have got your suitcase here. This leaves “você” with one foot in N and the other in T. (Cook 2013)*

In addition to attracting third-person verb inflection, “*você*”, “*o senhor / a senhora*” (or another nominal subject) also attracts third-person object pronouns, direct and indirect, as well as possessives, pronoun and adjective, which will serve both the N and V approach – e.g., *Onde estava o senhor? Eu não o vi. Tenho aqui a sua mala. Where were you, sir? I didn’t see you. I have got your suitcase here. (V). Onde estava você? Eu não o vi. Tenho aqui a sua mala. Where were you? I didn’t see you. I have got your suitcase here. (N or near N). Nominal encoders for an accusative, dative or possessive function are also heard – e.g., *Eu não vi o senhor. Tenho aqui a mala do senhor. (V). Eu não vi você. Tenho aqui a mala de você. (N or near N).**

Subject pronoun “*vós*” and respective verb inflection have become archaic in most of the Lusophone world. You may hear them for instance in liturgy, although

intimate “tu” may be preferred for private prayer. This said, object forms – “vos” and “vós” (after preposition) – have a relatively modest but persistent presence as a means of removing ambiguity with third person plural – e.g., *Eu vi-vos, I saw you*, instead of *Eu vi-os, I saw you* (more than one, N or V) so as to distinguish from *Eu vi-os, I saw them*. From the “vós” paradigm, the possessives are used to the same effect, that is, as a means of disambiguation – *Essas são as vossas malas, Those are your suitcases* (N or V); *Essas malas são as vossas, Those suitcases are yours* (N or V).

As explained above, both noun-based forms – mainly “você” – and personal pronouns are used; and the latter are often third-as-second person, which also applies to the possessives. (Azevedo 2005; Bechara 2015) These different contributions cater for N-V-T (Cook, 2013, chapter one: this volume), which is more noticeable in verbal – as opposed to written – interaction. There is variation, though, and attention must therefore be given to cultural and social background across the Lusophone world. (Arden et al. 2011; Moita-Lopes 2015; Laguna 2001)

Summing up, in the Portuguese second-person system N-V-T content is achieved via two streams of provision: noun-based encoders and pronominal encoders. Although nominals may have become predominant in some areas, pronouns also play a role. The relative weight of these two providers and how they may combine and work together will require an understanding of national and regional sociolinguistic and grammar preferences.

N-V-T dynamics

V and T semantic content of address terms has been seen as governed by factors power and solidarity (Brown and Gilman 1960). Power would determine non-reciprocal interaction, between superior and inferior; and solidarity would determine reciprocal interaction, on a parity basis. Deriving from this interpretation, credit may have been given to T as a channel for solidarity, leaving V accountable for power. Contrary to this possible belief, both T and V encoders can be vehicle of either a solidarity-driven or power-driven approach. T can express loyalty and affection or be used patronizingly for belittlement. V can express respect and esteem or be used hostilely for rejection. (Cook 2014, chapter one: this volume)

V and T ambivalence in terms of power and solidarity means that one same encoder may carry quite different semantic content. Much is deeply associated with held values, be they national, regional, institutional or personal. In hierarchical asymmetric interaction, ‘top-down’ T can be predicted from the superior and ‘bottom-up’ V from the subordinate. In a socially non-stratified context, T and V can have more freedom of movement. T’s closeness may be intended and/or

perceived as positively supportive or as negatively intrusive. V's distance may be intended and/or perceived as a positive consideration for personal space or as a negative demand for discriminating distance.

Something else to bear in mind is whether or not an initial orientation – N, V or T – will be sustained throughout the entire communication. An unchanging posture is more likely to be found in group delivery, both written and oral, where there is no immediate feedback. If you are dealing with printed material, or even a recorded conference delivery, the individuals involved, subject matter and associated register will help set the scene, which may remain the same to the end. If you are doing live interpreting, you will need to be alert for possible N-V-T posture swings as the conversation unfolds. In addition to the actual speech itself, informative clues can be disclosed by paralanguage – e.g., tone of voice – and non-vocal communication – e.g., gesticulation and other body language.

Finally, you will need to consider N-V-T arrangement, i.e., whether address encoders are embedded in the main clause – pronominal or nominal subject and verb inflection – or implemented as an extra – a nominal expression, chiefly as a vocative. A nominal expression can act in a describing capacity and as such have a more forceful classifying effect than a general pronominal duality. While English may rely on vocatives for T-V effect and shades within, in Portuguese a T or V vocative can either reinforce or tone down an embedded encoder. Moreover, appended T and V providers, being descriptive and/or classifying, are more prone to national and regional variation, both in English and Portuguese.

The above paragraphs highlight multiple and intertwined macro and micro facets that need to be taken into account when engaging in translation work. In the process of decoding and encoding between the two languages – Portuguese into English or English into Portuguese – N-V-T dynamics will need to be considered against polycentric socio-cultural backgrounds and personal style in addition to taking into account the immediate context and associated register. In the specific written or spoken utterance being converted, what is the source addresser's sociolinguistic message? And what is the best target equivalent?

We shall be examining two high incidence situations: face-to-face communication with an individual; and one-way communication directed at a collective audience, including mass media outlets. The analysis will be grounded on naturally-occurring data as encountered in different Lusophone and Anglophone areas.³

3. The examples quoted in sub-sections entitled 'Translating from Portuguese' and 'Translating from English' will document N, V and T sociolinguistic orientations. The key morpheme(s) in this process will be underlined so as to facilitate their identification.

Translating from Portuguese

Preparing for the job

As a working kit of reminders before facing the task, you may wish to consider this summary of points discussed on previous pages.

In the Portuguese language in general, third-as-second person verb inflection is shared by N and V. Some speakers may see in subject encoder “*você*” the way to signal N; but others may think that omitting a subject encoder and relying on verb ending is the best N solution. V can be achieved with a nominal subject encoder, like “*o senhor / a senhora*” (“*o sr. / a sra.*”). As for the other N and V elements in the Portuguese second-person system, there are two main providers: noun-based encoders; and pronominal object encoders plus possessive encoders, both ‘borrowed’ from the third-person.

T has distinctive markers in subject pronoun encoder “*tu*” and/or its respective second-person verb ending as well as distinctive pronominal object and possessive second-person encoders. However, there is variation – at national level and within Brazil also regionally – in the way these different items are called upon for a T effect.

On the job

A. Interactive one-to-one communication

On media websites reporting news and current affairs, interviews tend to be conducted in N; but N-V-T dynamics can also be found.

Filipa Araújo is interviewing António Katchi – Date 10th June 2016. António Katchi is introduced as “*jurista e docente do Instituto Politécnico de Macau*” (*an expert in Law and lecturer at the Macao Polytechnic Institute*) and the topic of the conversation is Katchi’s views on the local Government.

He is addressed in N by the reporter, i.e., with third-as-second person verb ending and subject encoder omitted:

“*Em 2011 afirmou que Macau caminhava para um Sistema anti-democrático. Já atingimos esse ponto?*” (*In 2011 you stated that Macao was heading towards an anti-democratic System. Have we reached that point?*)

<http://hojemacau.com.mo>

Eleutério Guevane is interviewing Arlindo de Carvalho and Constâncio Pinto – Date 21st April 2016 and 22nd April 2016, respectively.

Arlindo de Carvalho is introduced as “*diretor geral do ambiente de São Tomé e Príncipe*” (*director general for the Environment in Sao Tome and Principe*) and Constâncio Pinto as “*ministro do Comércio, Indústria e Ambiente de*

Timor-Leste” (*minister for Commerce, Industry and Environment in East Timor*); and the topic of the conversation is a discussion of issues related to their respective posts. Both are addressed in N by the reporter, i.e., with no subject encoder and third-as-second person forms for both verb and possessive: “[...] Tem alguma ideia de custos que esta operação possa acartar?” (*Do you have any idea of the costs this operation may involve?*)

“[...] Quais seriam esses setores de prioridade para o seu país?” (*Which would be the priority sectors for your country?*)

<http://unmultimedia.org/.../entrevista-sao-tome-e-principe>

<http://www.unmultimedia.org/radio/portuguese/2016/04/entrevista-timor-leste>

Mónica Villela Grayley is interviewing Álvaro Mendonça e Moura – Date 17th April 2014.

Álvaro Mendonça e Moura is introduced as “embaixador representante permanente de Portugal junto das Nações Unidas” (*ambassador and permanent representative of Portugal to the United Nations*) and the main topic of the conversation is Portugal and Guinea-Bissau relations.

Interaction starts with the ambassador being addressed in hierarchical V: “Embaixador, vamos começar falando da Guiné-Bissau.” (*Mr Ambassador, let’s start by talking about Guinea-Bissau.*)

Later in the conversation hierarchical distance is escalated with a double V encoder – “Embaixador, o sr. acredita que” (*Mr. Ambassador, do you, Sir, believe that...?*) – to which the ambassador replies with a top-down T – “Olha, eu acho que, como disse, é muito importante que...” (*Look, dear, I think that, as I have said, it is very important that...*). This sociolinguistic shift is done with a subtle T slant inserted into the conversation – “Olha!” is the T imperative form of verb “olhar” but has also become a set expression for bringing attention to something.

<http://www.onu.missaoportugal.mne.pt/>

- B. Communication directed at a member, or members, of a collective audience
For instance on commercial websites, N tends to be the overall central strategy and is pursued by means of the following devices:

- (1) *Verb forms displaying third-as-second person endings and often with null subject:*

“Já experimentou estes hoje?” (*Have you tried these today?*)

<http://www.theportugalonlineshop.com> – Online shopping site on Portuguese products

“Quer viajar e está procurando informação útil e confiável” (*You want to travel and are looking for useful and reliable information.*)

<http://www.expedia.com.br/Guine-Equatorial> – Holidays-booking site for Equatorial Guinea

“Diga-nos onde gostava de ir.” (*Tell us where you would like to go.*)

<http://logitravel.pt/viagem-ilhas/cabo-verde> – Holidays-booking site for Cape Verde

“Digite o produto [...] que procura” (*Key in the product [...] you want.*)

<http://www.baobabay.com> – Online shopping site in Angola

- (2) *Third-as-second person subjunctive verb endings for invitations, suggestions, incitements and instructions:*

“Surpreenda-se com estes dois arquipélagos...” (*Be amazed by these two archipelagos...*)

http://www.abreu.pt/Acores_e_Madeira – Holidays-booking site for the Azores and Madeira

“Compre já” (*Buy now*)

“Introduza o seu email” (*Insert your email*)

<http://www.jumia.co.mz> – Online shopping site in Mozambique

“Cliente novo? Comece aqui.” (*New customer? Start here.*)

“Conheça-nos” (*Get to know us*)

“Deixe-nos ajudá-lo” (*Let us help you*)

<http://Amazon.com.br> – Online shopping site in Brazil

“Diga-nos onde gostava de ir.” (*Tell us where you would like to go.*)

<http://logitravel.pt/viagem-ilhas/cabo-verde> – Holidays-booking site for Cape Verde

“Digite o produto [...] que procura.” (*Key in the product [...] you want.*)

<http://www.baobabay.com> – Online shopping site in Angola

This is a ‘polite imperative’. These forms are actually from the present subjunctive, where they express a wish or hope, thus establishing a conceptual link that excludes harsh imposition and instead provides an inbuilt element of politeness.

- (3) “*Você*”, often appearing mainly as object:

“Fazemos o trabalho para você: vamos buscar os melhores preços de hotéis em mais de 200 sites.” (*We do the work for you: we get the best hotel prices on more than 200 sites.*)

<http://www.tripadvisor.com.br> – Holidays-booking site for Goa

“Especialmente para você!” (*Specially for you!*)

<http://www.theportugalonlineshop.com> – Online shopping site on Portuguese products

(4) *Third-as-second person personal pronouns and possessives:*

“Deixe-nos ajudá-lo” (*Let us help you.*)

“Sua conta” (*Your account*)

<http://Amazon.com.br> – Online shopping site in Brazil

“Introduza o seu email” (*Key in / Enter your email*)

<http://www.jumia.co.mz> – Online shopping site in Mozambique

“Temos todos os destinos para as suas férias” (*We have all destinations for your holidays*)

<http://logitravel.pt/viagem-ilhas/cabo-verde> – Holidays-booking site for Cape Verde

(5) *Infinitive for directives:*

In Portuguese, instructions aimed at the general public are often given with the verb in the infinitive, i.e., as a piece of information on what must be done. This differs from English, where they are normally given as a command, i.e., what you must do. For instance, the Portuguese notice “Puxar” (*to pull*) on a door informs you that the door can be opened by pulling; while English “Pull” tells you to pull the door if you want it to open. The same applies to prohibitions. We have for instance Portuguese “Não abrir” (*not to open*) and English “Do not open”.

This type of Portuguese delivery uses an unconjugated, non-finite form of the verb – no elements of a second-person paradigm are involved. Although void of an addresser-to-addressee orientation and, on its face value, impersonal, this construction has a neutral sociolinguistic content and, as such, is in harmony with N in the N-V-T triad.

On Lusophone commercial websites, the infinitive abounds in instructions to members of the public.

“Entrar” (*Log in – lit. to enter*)

<http://www.theportugalonlineshop.com> – Online shopping site on Portuguese products

“Buscar” (*Search – lit. to search*)

<http://www.expedia.com.br/Guine-Equatorial> – Holidays-booking site for Equatorial Guinea

“Voltar ao início” (*Back to top – lit. to return to the beginning*)

<http://Amazon.com.br> – Online shopping site in Brazil

“Deixar uma mensagem” (*Leave a message – lit. to leave a message*)

<http://www.baobabay.com> – Online shopping site in Angola

“Ir” (*Go – lit. to go*)

“Como comprar” (*How to buy*)

“Como vender” (*How to sell*)

<http://www.jumia.co.mz> – Online shopping site in Mozambique

C. ‘Personalized’ mass media communication

For instance, on educational or ludic websites for children, you may find a T or N orientation or a combination of both. An N-T approach may be expanded to older age groups when the addresser is portrayed as the dispenser of wise advice and guidance.

Across Lusophone lands, the infinitive provides instructions in N tone.

Comprar (*Buy* – lit. *to buy*)

Escrever (*Write* – lit. *to write*)

www.brasilzinho.com.br – educational / ludic website in Brazil

Ler, ver e ouvir (*Read, see and listen* – lit. *to read, see and listen*)

www.catraios.pt – educational / ludic website in Portugal

Recomendar a um amigo (*Recommend to a friend* – lit. *to recommend to a friend*)

www.junior.TE.pt – educational / ludic website in Portugal

A T atmosphere is often provided by illustrations and an overall register tailored to appeal to the targeted audience. Linguistically, there is variation.

In Portugal, Madeira, Azores and east of the Atlantic in general, a clear-cut T approach can be found. For this the complete traditional T second-person paradigm is used (and thus its respective “tu” imperative form); the same applying to object pronouns and possessives.

Clica aqui e vem brincar! (*Click here and come to play!*)

www.junior.TE.pt – educational / ludic website in Portugal

Enche o mealheiro de moedas e foge dos tijolos. (*Fill the money box with coins and run away from the bricks.*)

Joga mais jogos com o teu animal virtual. (*Play more games with your virtual animal.*)

www.jogoscambique.com – educational / ludic website in Mozambique

Olá! Estava à tua espera... [...]. Despacha-te! Clica no meu chapéu e segue-me. (*Hi! I was waiting for you... [...] Hurry up! Click on my hat and follow me.*)

www.catraios.pt – educational / ludic website in Portugal

On Brazilian websites, prevailing features are third-as-second person verb inflection (including the ‘polite imperative’ rather than the “tu” imperative), frequent presence of “você” and third-as-second person possessives. N is the leading approach and no explicit T encoder appears to be sought; even oblique “tu” paradigm pronouns – “te” etc. – seem to keep a low profile, if present at all.

Veja os filmes do Brasilzinho na Globo (*Watch the Brasilzinho films on Globo*)

Você conhece o hino nacional? (*Do you know the national anthem?*)

Clique aqui (*Click here*)

Qual é a sua opinião? (*What is your opinion?*)

www.brasilzinho.com.br – educational / ludic website in Brazil

Você sabia que todos pagamos imposto? [...] Saiba como acontece. (*Did you know that we all pay income tax? [...] Learn how this works.*)

Biblioteca: Aqui você aprende mais. (*Here you learn more.*)

Escola: Aqui você tem oportunidade de ampliar seus estudos sobre a cidadania [...]. (*Here you have the opportunity to expand your learning in citizenship [...].*)

www.leaozinho.receita.fazenda.gov.br – educational / ludic website in Brazil

V ‘personalized’ mass media communication will be the exception rather than the rule. Also, T or V nominal expressions, embedded or appended, are not normally found; they are more likely to occur in live two-way communication.

Learning from the job

When translating from Portuguese into English, subject pronoun “you” (N) and respective verb form provide a befitting encoder for third-as-second person verb inflection with “você” as subject; and even more so with null subject. Object pronoun “you” is a suitable encoder for object “você” and pronominal alternatives – e.g., “para você” or “para si”. In the Portuguese third-as-second person ‘borrowing’, English possessives “your” and “yours” also apply. This results in an overall straightforward task when translating most mass communication.

Target audience in mass communication can be implicitly defined by subject matter and, for instance on websites, also by visual presentation, including illustrations. In some cases, particularly when addressing children, Portugal and other Lusophone areas will bring in the full “tu” paradigm, but this is not the norm in Brazil. The verbal T coloration can be left out in the English version or the decision may be taken to add the occasional nominal expression for T effect.

Where it comes to invitations, suggestions, incitements and instructions – a common feature in mass communication, typically on commercial sites – there is not a direct English encoder for the Portuguese ‘polite imperative’ or for the Portuguese practice of using the infinitive as a means of address pronoun avoidance in directives and prohibitions. For a closer match in the target language, English modal verbs or “please” may be called upon where appropriate.

“Conheça-nos”: *Get to know us* → *Would you like to get to know us?* “Introduza o seu email”: *Key in your email* → *Please key in your email.* “Buscar”: *Search* → *Please search*

Translating face-to-face interaction can have specific challenges in terms of N-V-T dynamics. In broadcast interviews, the conversation between the reporter and a

person with knowledge about a matter of public interest tends to be preceded by an introduction in which reference is made to his/her post and the capacity in which he/she is providing information, expressing opinions and probably also giving advice. The interviewee may be this way acknowledged at the on-start as the holder of a V status, after which interviewer-interviewee interaction often unfolds on a parity basis, in N. Nevertheless, as we have observed, V and T speech acts may also occur; and then you may decide to interject in your translation, respectively, a V title – e.g., Mr. Ambassador – or a T expression – e.g., dear.

Translating from English

Preparing for the job

A summary of points discussed earlier on in the chapter may be helpful as a working kit of reminders before facing the task.

In the English language in general, “you” is the universal second-person encoder, with an unmarked N performance. As a subject pronoun, its accompanying verb does not take a specific second-person inflection; and, as an object pronoun, it serves both in accusative and dative positions. The related possessive is “yours”, as a pronoun, and “your”, as an adjective. The absent T or V tone can be compensated for with an added nominal expression, normally applied as a vocative.

In several Anglophone areas around the world, there are different second-person forms. Some of these consist of retained elements of the English former pronominal system; others are subsequent developments. In both cases, their performance in terms of N-V-T meaning will need to be gauged in the light of their specific national and/or regional values.

On the job

A. Interactive one-to-one communication

Mike Norman, from Mike Norman Economics, is interviewing Jonathan Macey – Date 28th March 2013

Jonathan Macey is introduced as a Professor at Yale University and the conversation is on a book he has written.

After the introduction, the conversation unfolds in N:

MN: “My guest today is a Sam Harris Professor of Law, Corporate Finance and Securities Law at Yale University. His name is Jonathan R. Macey [...]. Thank you very much for coming on the show.”

JM: “Great to be here. Thanks.”

MN: “My first question is [...]”

www.youtube.com

Suggested translation:

MN: *“O meu convidado de hoje é um professor Sam Harris, Professor de Direito em Financiamento das Empresas e Código dos Valores Mobiliários. Seu nome é Jonathan R. Macey. [...] Muito obrigado por ter vindo ao programa.”*

JM: *“É um prazer estar aqui. Obrigada.”*

MN: *“A minha primeira pergunta é [...]”*

Kamla Bhatt, from Kamla Bhatt Show, is interviewing Nirupama Rao – Date 22nd June 2013

Nirupama Rao is introduced as the Indian Ambassador to the United States and the conversation is on India-US relations. The interviewer introduces herself by first name, thus placing herself at a T-V lower end.

After the introduction, the interviewer addresses the interviewee in N and the interviewee addresses the interviewer in T, by first name; subsequently, interaction unfolds in N:

KB: “I am Kamla. My guest today is the Indian Ambassador to the United States, Ambassador Nirupama Rao [...]”

KB: (addressing NR): “Welcome to the show.”

NR: “Thank you, Kamla. It’s great to be here.”

KB: “So you’re coming back to the US after twenty years [...]”

www.youtube.com

Suggested translation:

KB: *Eu sou a Kamla. A minha convidada de hoje é a Embaixadora da Índia nos Estados Unidos da América, Embaixadora Nirupama Rao [...]”*

KB: (addressing NR): *“Bem-vinda ao programa. ”*

NR: *“Obrigada, Kamla. É um prazer estar aqui.”*

KB: *“Então está de volta nos EUA após vinte anos [...]”*

Robert Preston, from ITV News, is interviewing Theresa May – Date 3rd July 2016

Theresa May is introduced as Home Secretary and the conversation is on her leadership prospects.

The Home Secretary is addressed in hierarchical V:

RP: “I’m absolutely delighted to be joined by the Home Secretary and leadership front runner Theresa May. Very good to see you. Home Secretary, there is a lot of talk this morning that you are streets ahead of the other candidates [...]” www.youtube.com

Suggested translation:

RP: “É com extremo prazer que recebo Theresa May, Ministra do Interior e candidata favorita para a liderança do país. É muito bom tê-la aqui. Senhora Ministra do Interior, esta manhã tem-se falado muito que goza de grande vantagem em relação aos outros candidatos [...]”

Andrew Marr, from Andrew Marr Show, is interviewing Theresa May – Date 6th October 2013.

Theresa May is introduced as Home Secretary and the first topic in the conversation is her views on the National Crime Agency.

Interaction starts with the Home Secretary being addressed in hierarchical V:

AM: “The Home Secretary, Theresa May, is with me and we are going to start by talking about a very important event tomorrow, the launch of the National Crime Agency as a new body. It sounds from the papers today, HomeSecretary, that it’s rather American. That’s why it’s been called the British FPI.”

Theresa May interrupts her initial statement with a T welcome-back to the interviewer.

TM: “Well, it’s an important new body. And can I just say, Andrew, I think it’s the first time I have been on the programme since you have been back. So, it’s very good to see you in your normal spot.”

AM: “That’s very kind.”

TM: “Yes, the new National Crime Agency is designed to be [...]” Then the interviewer drops V address:
“Are you happy that it will be well resourced?” www.youtube.com

Suggested translation:

AM: “Theresa May, Ministra do Interior, está aqui comigo; e vamos começar falando sobre um acontecimento muito importante a ocorrer amanhã, o lançamento de uma nova instituição, a Agência Nacional de Combate ao Crime. Senhora Ministra do Interior, a avaliar pelos jornais desta manhã, é uma coisa bastante americana. É por isso que lhe chamam a FPI britânica.”

TM: “Bem, é uma importante nova organização. Mas antes de começar gostaria de dizer, Andrew, que me parece que é a primeira vez que

venho a este programa desde que você está de volta. E é muito bom vê-lo no seu lugar como antes.”

AM: “Muito gentil.”

TM: “Sim, a Agência Nacional de Combate ao Crime a ser lançada tem por finalidade [...]”

AM: “Está confiante de que esta nova organização será bem provida de recursos?”

- B. Communication directed at a member, or members, of a collective audience
In parallel with what we have seen for Lusophone websites, N tends to be the overall central strategy; and the following are features to notice:

(1) “You”:

Pronoun “you” will provide second-person subject and object encoders, with its related “your” and “yours” as the matching possessives.

We think you’ll like (Suggested translation: *Pensamos que gostará; Nós pensamos que você gostará*) www.asda.com

When you find holidays you like the look of, we take you straight to the travel company you choose, at no cost to you. (Suggested translation:

Quando encontra umas férias de que talvez goste, nós podemos falar diretamente com a agência de viagem de sua escolha sem qualquer custo extra.) www.travelsupermarket.com

Your Amazon.com (*Sua Amazon.com.br* (translation as in amazon.com.br))

www.amazon.com

Your account (*Sua conta* (translation as in amazon.com.br))

www.amazon.com

(2) Impersonal “you”:

The second-person pronoun is often employed for a direct transfer to the addressee of a matter of general consensus, in preference to a more vague wording such as a passive or other – “How do you do this?” instead of e.g. “How is this done?” or “How should this be done?”

How do you write this number using words? (Suggested translation: *Como se escreve este número em palavras?*) www.uk.ixl.com/math/year4

(3) Verb in ‘command’ form:

While an imperative would normally be accompanied with a “please” in a one-to-one interaction, the polite touch is often absent in mass communication.

Shop now (Suggested translation: *Compre já*) www.au.amara.com

Click & Collect (Suggested translation: *Clique e Receba*) www.asda.com

Find the perfect holiday for you (Suggested translation: *Encontre as suas férias perfeitas*) www.travelsupermarket.com

Existing Portuguese translations may...

(a) use the ‘polite imperative’

Hello, Sign in (*Olá. Faça o seu login* (translation as in amazon.com.br))

Find a Wish List (*Ache uma Lista* (translation as in amazon.com.br))

www.amazon.ca

(b) use the infinitive

Create a Wish List (*Criar uma Lista de desejos* (translation as in amazon.com.br))

www.amazon.com

(c) avoid a verb

Shop by Department (*Menu Lojas* (translation as in amazon.com.br))

www.amazon.ca

(4) *Verb “to be” in ‘command’ form:*

Where action is asked from the addressee by means of imperative “be” followed by a past participle, a “se” construction may be the best path to follow.

Be inspired by our easy midweek meal ideas (Suggested translation:

Inspire-se nas nossas ideias para refeições fáceis durante a semana)

www.marksandspencer.com

(5) *Infinitive as ‘command’ alternative:*

Playing on identical appearance – infinitive and a conjugated verb form – an incitement may be advanced in a way that fluctuates between the two.

Why choose us (Suggested translation: *Boas razões para nos escolher*) (to choose / you choose)

www.freedomaustralia.co.uk

Why shop with us (Suggested translation: *Boas razões para comprar os nossos produtos*) (to shop / you shop)

www.marksandspencer.com

(6) *‘Command’ with omitted verb:*

The verb to which an adverb relates may be left to be inferred rather than being explicitly present.

Back to top (*Voltar ao início* (translation as in amazon.com.br))

www.amazon.com

C. ‘Personalized’ mass media communication

On educational or ludic websites for children, a T atmosphere is often imparted not by second-person encoders but by visuals such as illustrations as well as by an overall register tailored to appeal to a young audience. A playful, chatty tone can be found on many websites for adults in addition to those for children.

Adventures in food (Suggested translation: *Aventuras com comida*)

www.marksandspencer.com

Turn your outfit from drab to fab with the addition of a great pair of shoes.

At Target you’ll find a full selection of women’s shoes. [...] (Suggested translation: *Mude a sua roupa de cansada para catita com a ajuda de um belo par de sapatos. Na Target encontrará uma seleção completa de calçado para mulheres*)

www.target.com.au

What kind of ‘dish’ are you? (“Talia in the kitchen”, a children’s site)

(Suggested translation: *Que espécie de “prato” é você?* (Lusophone in general))

Que espécie de “prato” és tu? (Portugal and east of the Atlantic))

www.nick.co.uk/games

V ‘personalized’ mass media communication may be hard to find. Also, T or V nominal expressions – appended, as a vocative – are not normally found. They are more likely to occur in live two-way communication.

Learning from the job

When translating from English into Portuguese – both in mass media communication and face-to-face interaction –, something to watch is not to overdo an encoder for “you”, subject or object, for it may unintendedly come across as over-assertive: “When you find holidays [...] you like [...], we take you [...] you choose [...] to you.” “Quando (você) encontra umas férias de que talvez goste [...]”. As we have seen, Portuguese tends to be more reserved in the use of a second-person encoder and may even adopt null subject for N effect. No expressed subject encoder also applies where the “tu” paradigm is used, mainly in Portugal and east of the Atlantic, T being conveyed by the verb ending: “Quando (tu) encontras umas férias [...]”.

A literal translation of English impersonal “you” would be misleading. Converting the direct second-person approach in “How do you spell that word?” into “Como (você) escreve essa palavra?” might suggest you are asking how the addressee would spell the word in his/her own way, presumably not in the generally accepted spelling, the one viewed as being the correct one. For a suitable Portuguese counterpart, you can use passive pronoun “se” together with a third-person verb ending: “Como se escreve essa palavra?” or, for a plural, “Como se escrevem essas palavras?” The agent (i.e., the doer) is not given explicitly, but is implied.

For the English imperative – e.g., “Shop now” – you have two main routes in Portuguese, the subjunctive – “Compre já” – or the infinitive – “Comprar já”. If you opt for the subjunctive (‘polite imperative’), you are toning down the persuasive forcefulness of a command. In terms of politeness this target language solution will be close to the source language practice of accompanying an imperative with a “please”, which tends to occur mainly in verbal intercommunication. If you opt for an infinitive, you are equally toning down the persuasive assertiveness of a command but this time by presenting the requested action as a piece of information that is being provided.

In face-to-face interaction – as we have seen in broadcast interviews – lively N-V-T dynamics are more likely to emerge than on mass one-direction speech delivery. As a general pattern, the conversation between the reporter and a person with knowledge about a matter of public interest is preceded by an introduction in which the interviewee is often presented as the holder of a V status. Subsequently, interviewer-interviewee interaction tends to unfold on a parity basis, in N. However, we have witnessed that changes may arise in the course of the conversation; and a revised posture may be initiated by the interviewee – “[...] Andrew [...]” (N → T) – or invited by the interviewer – “I am Kamla [...]” (N → T). You will need to make decisions on target language closer equivalents, which in these examples will entail a parallel reference to the addressee’s first name.

Concluding remarks

When translating between English and Portuguese in the area of address pronouns and other forms of address, we are faced with two considerably different second-person systems. Differences are to be found in respect of morphological and syntactic features as well as from the point of view of sociolinguistic production; and both sides are interconnected. This complexity poses decoding and encoding challenges whichever the source and target language, English or Portuguese.

Some subject and object second-person constituents will be pronominal, others nominal; some will be embedded in a sentence, others appended to it. Finite and non-finite verb forms will be a contributing element, and the former may take a variable inflection. All these are morphological and syntactic techniques at the service of a sociolinguistic purpose, which may be one of neutrality, N, or asymmetry, V or T, in the N-V-T range of possible addresser and addressee postures. Particularly in one-way group delivery, the same orientation is likely to be sustained throughout, mainly N, but on face-to-face interaction, V and T fluctuation is not unusual.

Generally accepted linguistic practice tends to prevail in mass media communication, such as commercial websites and broadcast interviews with qualified people on topics of public interest. However, variants may be often experienced by translators and interpreters working for instance in the police and legal sectors. Atypical alternatives will be regional or national. They may reflect adhesion or rejection to generally accepted diachronic changes and be the fruit of cultural background. An uneven synchronic landscape is certainly a phenomenon to be expected in polycentric languages like English and Portuguese in their respectively Anglophone and Lusophone worlds.

The above points need to be taken into consideration when engaging in translation work between English and Portuguese. They will assist in finding the right strategies for the decoding and encoding process, so that the best suited options can be made towards achieving a successful sociolinguistic transfer from the source language into the target language. Some of the suggested translation strategies may be applicable to other language pairs, particularly when decoding from or encoding into English with its unmarked, single address pronoun *you*.

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T-V address practices in Italian

Diachronic, diatopic, and diastratic analyses

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The aim of this research was to examine the Italian pronouns of address by means of (1) diachronic, (2) diatopic, and (3) diastratic analyses. Drawing on corpus linguistics, we compiled a two million-word corpus made up of narrative texts written by both men and women writers from the Italian classic literature. (1) Our outcomes confirm that the most recurrent pronoun is *tu*, whereas *Voi* and *Lei* quantitatively come after. With respect to politeness strategies, the pronoun *Voi* appeared with a higher frequency during the 19th century, whereas *Lei* was more recurrent during the 20th and the 21st centuries. (2) Our data suggest that, unpredictably, both pronouns *tu* and *Lei* would be idiosyncratic to Southerners and *Voi* to Northerners in our diachronic corpus, whereas both *tu* and *Voi* appear to be typical of individuals from the South and *Lei* from the North in our contemporary corpus. This also confirms some tendencies: the current regional use of *Voi* as the V-form in the South as well as the increase in the usage of *tu*. (3) Men writers would tend to be more polite than women authors. Besides, women writers who supported the fascist regime tended to make use of the pronoun *Voi* in order to comport with its politics of pronouns. On the contrary, antifascist women had the tendency to use the pronoun *Lei*. Contrary to the bulk of research, the outcomes of this research emphasise men's politeness rather than women's while adding up crucial data on the temporal evolution of the pronouns.

Keywords: corpus, Italian, authors, literature, gender, diachronic, diatopic, diastratic, sociolinguistics, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

1. Introduction

Since the 1950s, the field of gender studies has continuously been considered as crucial for several disciplines, such as sociology or sociolinguistics. Similarly, a special interest has constantly been expressed towards prestige as well as politeness

research. As a result, various distinguished scholars have investigated the prestigious forms associated with gender, starting with Peter Trudgill (1972), Robin Lakoff (1975), William Labov (1978), John Angle (1981) and lately, Janet Holmes (1995). However, it has to be pointed out that very few studies have been conducted heretofore on the use of polite and prestigious forms with respect to the Italian sociocultural and sociolinguistic patterns of gender preferences, as this type of analysis is related to English-speaking countries in most cases.

In this research, we will investigate whether or not previous studies associated with the extensive usage of prestigious forms by women can be applied in the case of Italy. Because of the complex history of Italy – more precisely, the political unification dates only from 1861, whereas the linguistic unification took much longer – and due to the relative absence of large corpora, we opted for diachronic, diatopic, and diastratic analyses based on literary corpora made up of narrative texts written by illustrious men and women writers from the North and the South of Italy. These corpora cover the period starting from 1840 to 2010 and therefore comprise key events in Italian history, namely the Risorgimento (i.e. the liberation war), the post-Risorgimento, the fascist period, the post-Fascism, and present-day.

The data collected allow to confirm and, partially, to review some assumptions made by previous research on the use of the pronouns of address. The analysed variables consist of the formal and informal second-person singular and plural pronouns, namely *tu*, *Voi* and *Lei*, also called the *pronomi allocutivi* for which the use of the formal ones – *Lei* and *Voi* – is considered as a polite and prestigious behaviour.

The purpose of our research is also to ascertain if the examined linguistic changes do evolve from a pragmatic point of view. We therefore aim to confirm general tendencies regarding the use of the Italian pronouns of address as well as the so-called T-V-address practises and to know how they have evolved in modern literary Italian.

This chapter will be divided into nine different sections: the first one will present a theoretical introduction of the contemporary address practises in Italian, which will be followed by a historical survey. After having contextualised the present research, the caveats, the research questions and hypotheses as well as both corpora and the methodology required in order to conduct this very study will be explained. The last section will concentrate on the presentation of the results as well as on a more pragmatic point of view.

2. Contemporary address practises in Italian

The reciprocal use of the V-form *Lei* when talking to a single male or female addressee is currently the main strategy to signal both respect and distance (e.g. when addressing strangers or people we are less acquainted with), whereas the reciprocal use of the T-form *tu* when communicating with a single male or female addressee (e.g. family, friends, peers) is used in informal settings and indicates both familiarity and power (Formentelli and Hajek 2015: 121–122). It is widely accepted that today, in computer-mediated communication, the T-form dominates (Rebelos and Strambi 2009), as modern society entails a global village, which would conceive the hyper-space as a lieu where vicinity, familiarity, and solidarity are considered the norm.

In commercial or similar contexts (e.g. letters or oral exchanges, addressing a representative of the administration), the V-form is expressed mainly with *Voi* as well as the second-person plural and its corresponding verb forms. The choice of the pronoun *Voi* or *Lei* indicates whether or not the speaker identifies the addressee as a representative of a company, of an institution or as a single individual.

The use of the polite pronoun *Voi* and of its second-person plural appears to be idiosyncratic of speakers coming from Southern Italy. This tendency is considered to be a regional one and is therefore recognised as less appropriate than the usage of the pronoun of address *Lei* and of its corresponding verb forms. However, in the North as well, people could occasionally use *Voi* as the V-form in everyday talk.

In neostandard Italian, there seems to be no morphological differentiation between the T- and the V-forms when they are used in the plural, as these polite strategies will involve the usage of the pronoun *Voi*. In very formal contexts, however, the third-person plural *Loro* and its corresponding verb forms are used as the V-form. In this case, *Loro* is used to mark an extreme and even exaggerated deference. As a case in point, waiters in high-end restaurants could use it. Nowadays, it is quite uncommon to utilise it, and should someone make use of it, their utterance will be viewed as ironic or sarcastic.¹

The reciprocal use of the T- or V-forms is currently the most common strategy in Italy (Formentelli and Hajek 2015; Molinelli 2002: 122; Scaglia 2003). The non-reciprocal use of both T-V-forms, however, is still typical when speakers do not share the same distributions of power (e.g. age, social status, employment, etc.) within specific social interactions (e.g. between students and professors or between under-age children and older people) (Formentelli and Hajek 2015).

It can also be noticed that the T-V-address system is no longer automatic, but results from a process of negotiation between speakers, as noticed in France

1. This is even more the case for the use of *lorsignori* (En. trans. “your lordships”) (“*allocutivi, pronomi*,” 2010; Serianni and Castelvocchi 1989: 265).

and in other countries (Clyne, Norrby, and Warren 2009: 20; Kerbrat-Orecchioni 1998). In these areas (Clyne et al. 2009: 5), as a consequence of the changes in social attitudes and the “spread of a utopian egalitarianism”, a greater use of the common pronoun *tu* was noticed starting from the sixties. Members of the communist party, for example, consistently avoided the use of both *Lei* or *Voi* as the latter would represent linguistic signs of repression and social inequality, leading thus to a greater use of the pronoun *tu*. Today, a shift back to a new reconfiguration of the T-V-system can be observed for which progressives start deploring the over-use of the common pronoun *tu* (Eco 2015; Vasta 2010) considering it as a form of oppression that serves both economy and politics to the detriment of every individual’s freedom, as Vasta (2010) points out in his novelistic essay, yearning and leading thus to a greater use of standard V-forms.

The complaint about the disappearance of V-forms, however, does not take into account that in many vernaculars, the T-form was constantly considered as standard probably due to their Latin roots: Romans consistently used the T-forms, whereas the V-forms were only indicated through honorifics (“*tu, sindaco* [mayor]”). Moreover, the pronoun *vos* was used in very specific contexts only during the imperial times (Niculescu 1974: 12). Some modern local dialects (e.g. from Central and Southern Italy (Molinelli 2015: 288)) therefore favoured the T-form as their sole pronominal variable, as it was also the case in Northern Valleys (Zendralli 1952).

3. A historical survey

It has to be acknowledged that several linguistic systems co-existed and still co-exist within certain regions and social classes in Italy. On the one hand, a new standard – sometimes called neostandard – that informs newspapers, TV but also literature is currently utilized by Italian speakers. On the other hand, many subtle differences and alternatives are also used in the Italian language. This paper argues that these variations are particularly revealing of the various ways with which addressers interact (Danesi 2004: 128–129). Serianni and Castelvechi (1989) distinguish three different systems:

- a. A tripartite system encompassing the pronouns *tu-Voi-Lei*: the V-part is subdivided into *Lei* and *Voi*, whereas *Lei* has a stronger V-value than *Voi*;
- b. A bipartite T-V system with *tu* and *Voi* as the sole V-form. It will be reminded that this system is still prevailing in Southern regions of Italy;
- c. A bipartite T-V system with *tu* and *Lei* as the V-form.

The third system (c) represents the current standard norm that has increasingly been influencing modern dialects as well.² The social, political, and linguistic differences between the South and the North of the country are still extant, as is also the case between rural and metropolitan areas (cf. Felloni (2011) for a specific case or De Mauro (2014) for a more general overview). Divergences in language use at the gender level have also been observed and considered as determining (Berruto 1980). The influence of many minority languages (i.e. French, German, Sardinian and Occitan), of former standard languages like Venetian or Ligurian, of various local italic dialects (sometimes structurally very different from standard Italian) and of the residues of Greek, Albanian, or Catalan dialects cannot be considered as insignificant (Bruni 1992; Cardinaletti and Munaro 2009; Vizmuller-Zocco 1999). Other crucial socio-political and ideological aspects having marked the last 150 years further influence the use of specific linguistic forms, such as Patriotism, Fascism, Communism, inner migration, the rural depopulation, or the formation of new social classes (De Mauro 2014). More significantly than most of the European countries, Italy has thus undergone crucial linguistic changes in a few decennia.³

2. While most of the dialects only used the common pronoun *tu* as the singular pronoun of address or both pronouns *tu* and *Voi*, in many dialects, the *Voi* is replaced by *lee* (*Lei*) and sometimes by *lù* (i.e. the masculine form) that corresponds to ‘*lui*’ (i.e. the third-person pronoun for a male speaker) when addressing a male addressee, and ‘*lee*’ (*Lei*), when addressing a female. In the dialect of Lizzano in Belvedere (Bologna, North Italy), the V- form is still *Voi* (Signorini, July 24, 2017). In Bologna, however, it is no longer the case. Zendralli (1952–1953: 26) deplores the fact that *Vu* (i.e. *Voi*) is being slowly replaced by *Lù* (m.) and *Le* (f.).

3. The political unification of Italy is said to have started at the beginning of the 19th Century in the North of the country. On 17 March 1861, the Kingdom of Italy was proclaimed as a new nation. In some Northern regions, the Italian language was taught at school but only to a certain extent. It was declared as the common language for the whole country only after 1861. According to several studies (Castellani 1982: 3–26, De Mauro 1976: 43, De Mauro 2017, chapter II.4: *L’italiano negli anni dell’Unità*), in 1861, only between 2.5% and 10% of the population were able to write or understand a text written in Italian. However, in most regions, the town-folks could passively understand Italian thanks to the Italian opera. It should be emphasised that these operas were performed even in the smallest towns in the Abruzzi, showing us the importance of the libretti. The rather limited and repetitive vocabulary used in these operas enabled the population to understand basic Italian. The long-lasting popular success of Italian opera thus had a major impact on the linguistic unification of the country. The Tuscan origins of Italian made it the perfect “liaison” between the languages written and spoken in the North and in the South of Italy. The linguistic unification however took much longer and many researchers claim that Italian has developed a common standard only at the end of the 20th Century (cfr. Telmon 1993; Telmon 1994; Tosi 2001: 40–62; Vizmuller-Zocco 1999). The latter is often called neostandard and is characterized by processes of simplification and standardization, which also concern the personal pronouns system, as it is said to have simplified.

The use of the pronouns of address has constantly varied across the whole territory. Originally, at the time of Dante, both singular and plural V-forms were *Voi*. But very early, at the courts in the North, the V-form was replaced by ‘*Ella*’ (i.e. *Lei* in the oblique cases). Today, ‘*Ella*’ has been replaced by *Lei*, the female third-person personal pronoun. ‘*Ella/Lei*’ were used to substitute expressions like ‘*Sua altezza*’ (En. trans. ‘your highness’), ‘*Sua eccellenza*’ (En. trans. ‘your Excellency’) or ‘*Vostra signoria*’ (En. trans. ‘your Lordship’), namely female honorifics. It should be emphasised that for a long time, both systems coexisted.

In rural territories, the population mostly made use of the common pronoun *tu*, while V-forms were indicated with honorifics. Sometimes, the *Voi* as a singular V-form was used when addressing the priest or the teacher but not when talking to any other important person (Urech 1995). This could reflect the Latin substrate that was common to most vernaculars and languages spoken in the peninsula. This system can be found in many libretti written during the 17th and 18th centuries: soldiers and servants made use of the common pronoun *tu* and of its corresponding verb forms when addressing kings, while V-forms were consistently indicated through honorifics, e.g. in *Griselda* by Apostolo Zeno (1701):

- (1) *Eccoti, Sire, innanzi*
l'umile tua serva.
 (En. trans. “Here’s you humble servant, sire”)
- (2) *Griselda: Almeno un solo sguardo Volgimi per pietà.*
Gualtiero: Troppo mi chiedi.
Elpino: Se ti lascia Gualtiero, ti lascio anch’io.
 (En. trans. *Griselda*: “Look at me at least once, please.” *Gualtiero*: “You ask too much of me!” *Elpino*: “If Gualtiero leaves you, I will also leave you.”)

Elpino is a servant, *Gualtiero* is king of Sicily and *Griselda* is *Gualtiero*’s wife. What is striking is that the servant *Elpino* consistently uses the common pronoun *tu* when addressing noblemen. This crucial element can also be observed in *Francesca da Rimini* by Paolo Pola (1829) in which *Ulrico* is an attendant and *Paolo* a nobleman:

- (3) *La Griselda* (I, 4)
From Ulrico to Paolo: Signor, ti calma (En. trans. “Sir, calm down”).
 [...]
Ulrico: Che tenti! Ah pria consiglio
Prendi, o signor, dalla ragion mature.
 (En. trans. “You can try! May you benefit from this wise piece of advice O sir.”)

In brief, a general overview of grammars written during the 19th century published before and shortly after the Unification of Italy (i.e. 1861) indicates that, at the beginning, address practises were not dealt with explicitly by most scholars. Apparently, those grammars mainly examined written language and, as Italian was not a spoken language but mostly a cultural and literary language, address practises were not explicitly analysed due to the fact that there was a general preponderance of the written code but also because the former were probably considered obvious. The following passage from Comba (1875: 40) is revealing: “*Questo pronome [ella] viene talvolta applicato a persone maschili parlando loro o scrivendo in terza persona*” (En. trans. “*Lei is sometimes used when male speakers talk or write in the third person*”). In other words, other solutions were used by speakers, such as the probable use of *tu* alone or *Voi*. Examples regarding the usage of *Voi* as an alternative could not be found in this book.

In most of the grammars written at that time, it is possible to determine which address system was used mostly by looking at the prefaces or in examples from other grammatical topics (e.g. De Negri 1868). In the first half of the 19th century, when grammarians explicitly treated address practises, the pronoun *Voi* was represented as the standard form in grammars written in the North and the South of Italy (e.g. Goudar 1810; Majello 1828), while *Lei* was typical of grammars from the Centre of the country. Other grammars, like the one written by Soave (1810: 148–149), and published in Venice, simply states that in European languages (and therefore in Italy as well), *Voi* or *Lei* can be used to address another person.

The situation drastically shifted at the end of the century, when only the polite pronoun *Lei* is presented as the standard V-form (e.g. De Negri 1868; Mottura and Parato 1872). This tendency, however, contradicts the propensities found in the most popular and most influential art form, namely Italian opera. De facto, no single occurrence of the pronoun *Lei* as a V-form was found in libretti written during the 18th, 19th and early 20th centuries. The *Voi* was the only V-form used when addressing a single individual. As previously mentioned, in some libretti, the common pronoun *tu* alone was used, while V-forms were expressed through honorifics.⁴

4. Serianni (1989) notes that, until recently, the pronoun *Voi* was frequent in translations made from English and French novels or dramas into Italian, where you and *vous* were the standard V-forms. This could have been the case for the libretti as well, as most librettists of the 20th century based their texts on French novels and dramas or on French translations of German, English, and other novels and dramas. However, at that time, the *Voi* was still the standard norm in most vernaculars and in official usages of Italian.

4. Caveats

Both corpora used are made up of literary texts from Italian writers. It should be borne in mind that while the ideal would be to have corpora made up of natural language from real speakers, a certain homogeneity is ensured by the fact that the two corpora comprise novels from Italian writers who, therefore, do have a very similar profile. This similarity should be enough to guarantee the comparability of the data.⁵ It should be borne in mind that the chosen texts, by definition, show how an author imagines and represents how women or men address each other.

The lack of large corpora is still a problem for investigating changes in the Italian language or even for understanding how the standard variety has evolved and/or settled. To rely on literary texts therefore represents one of the best means to understand these very changes. Literary texts do certainly not exactly mirror everyday language, but they are often the only witness of past language practises. In literature, exchanges between interlocutors in different situations and settings are very common. Yet, these utterances are usually invented by the writers and therefore lack of authenticity. The same is nonetheless true for most of the past written testimonies. May they be more scientific or historical, they rarely provide accurate transcripts of direct speech or of real oral exchanges between several interlocutors.⁶

With reservations, we can posit that literature is probably the sole virtual database that gives us hints of language use and language norms of everyday communication having taken place before the advent of radio, TV, and the Internet. Still, we may ask whether or not literature reflects what happens in real life communication. We must bear in mind that the former tends to investigate what is different, unknown (or less known) and exotic, what triggers interest in a reader (Maeder 2018) (e.g. what happens when people from different social status meet and fall in love). Literature tends to focus on the exceptional and thus to exaggerate (Langer 1957).

5. At first, we wanted to opt for the analysis of dramas (e.g. libretti, comedies, tragedies, etc.).

Unfortunately, there are only a few well-known female writers of these genres preventing us from compiling large corpora for the 19th and early 20th centuries.

6. The very fact that this kind of communication is written presupposes a process of mediation, and therefore of alteration. Transcripts of processes of the 18th and 19th Centuries can indeed hint at real linguistic usage but their setting is very specific and does not reflect everyday language practice. As a case in point, an accused person will behave differently in front of a judge, as he is probably not accustomed to this situation. The person who transcribes will thus usually “correct” or “adapt” the utterances, in conformity with the legal language used at that time, etc. Corpora made up of letters could also be sources as well as *libri di famiglia* (En. trans. family books), that is to say a sort of “family diaries” that many families drafted for decennia or even longer (Cicchetti and Mordenti 1985).

Grammar, language, and therefore address practises do not necessarily reflect the linguistic competence of a writer. It should be noticed that many publishers revised the language used by these writers and adapted it according to their own linguistic norms. In Italy, important publishers, such as Einaudi, radically intervened in the editing process (cf. on the editorial mediation in general: Cadioli, Decleva, and Spinazzola [1999]). Many of the outcomes, mostly in texts written during the 20th century, could therefore reflect the editor's linguistic policy.

It should be reminded that the results apply to written and standard Italian, as the situation in everyday oral language exchanges differ.

5. Research questions and hypotheses

The purpose of this research is to analyse the correlation between the *pronomi allocutivi* (i.e. the pronouns of address), and their diachronic, diatopic, diastratic as well as pragmatic usages and developments pertaining to politeness and ideology. For that particular purpose, four research questions were considered.

First and foremost, we aim to analyse the diachronic evolution of the pronouns of address. According to both Italian grammars (Coletti 2015: chapter four, section: I *pronomi allocutivi (confidenza e cortesia)*; Peruzzi 1963: 70–71, Serianni and Castelvechi 1989: 261–266) and previous studies (Brown and Gilman 1972: 59, Stockwell 2002: 23), a diachronic change was noticed from the Unification of Italy to the end of the 20th century passing by the fascist period.⁷ This diachronic period was characterised by a shift from the use of the pronoun *Voi* to the use of the pronoun *Lei* and a restriction of the latter during the fascist period (Lepschy and Lepschy 1988: 29). We will examine whether or not our corpus data confirms these assumptions making thus the hypothesis that there was indeed a change in the use of the pronouns between the different periods. Secondly, we will examine the *pronomi allocutivi* from a diatopic point of view. According to traditional Italian grammars (Niculescu 1974: 16), the pronoun *Voi* would be typical of speakers from the South, whereas the pronoun *Lei* would be idiosyncratic to speakers from the North of Italy. We therefore aim to characterise the diatopic use of the pronouns *tu*, *Voi* and *Lei* in order to know whether or not there is an association between the authors' origin and the use of the *pronomi allocutivi*. We argue that there is an association between each author's origin and the use of the polite pronouns. Thirdly, concerning the diastratic difference, it is widely accepted

7. In 1938, the Fascists launched a campaign to abolish the pronoun *Lei* (considered as a Spanish import) in favour of the *Voi*. After the Second World War, the *Lei* ousted the *Voi* (Lepschy and Lepschy 1988: 29, Serianni and Castelvechi 1989: 265).

(Holmes 1994: 164) (Gordon 1997: 47) that women would tend to be more polite than men. This paper sets out to bring to light if Italian women writers are more polite than Italian men writers and if there is a diachronic consistency concerning politeness between both genders by making the hypothesis that there is an association between the author's gender and the use of the polite pronouns. Finally, and strongly correlated with the previous point, we aim to analyse the pronomi allocutivi from a pragmatic point of view focusing on power and solidarity relations.

6. Corpora

In an attempt to get an overall picture of the diachronic, diatopic and diastratic usage of the pronomi allocutivi, we made use of two compiled corpora in view of the lack of diachronic corpora as regards the Italian language. These two corpora consist of narrative texts written by some of the most famous men and women Italian writers. The first corpus encompasses the period from 1840 to 1970, whereas the second one represents the period between 1990 and 2010.

The first corpus – which we have named the diachronic corpus – amounts to 991,240 words and aims to analyse the three pronouns during the period starting from 1840 until 1970. It has been subdivided into two sub-corpora: one sub-corpus of 502,780 words consisting of 13 literary texts from women writers and a

Table 1. Composition of the women writers' corpus from 1840 to 1970

Period	Writer	Book	Origin	Nb. words
1840–1850	Caterina Percoto	Lis Cidulis	North	15.895
1850–1860	Caterina Percoto	Racconti	North	46.458
1860–1870	Caterina Percoto	Il refrattario	North	6.053
1870–1880	Neera	Vecchie catene	North	28.785
1880–1890	Carolina Invernizio	La trovatella di Milano	North	21.655
1890–1900	Matilde Serao	La ballerina	South	33.887
1900–1910	Sibilla Aleramo	Una donna	North	45.145
1910–1920	Grazia Deledda	Canne al vento	South	60.419
1920–1930	Maria Messina	La casa nel vicolo	South	31.408
1930–1940	Annie Vivanti	Sorella di Messalina	North	21.934
1940–1950	Elsa Morante	Menzogna e sortilegio	South	76.538
1950–1960	Elsa Morante	L'isola di Arturo	South	50.503
1960–1970	Lalla Romano	Le parole tra noi leggere	North	64.100
Total				502.780

second sub-corpus of 488,460 words comprising 13 novels from men writers, as can be seen in Tables 1 and 2. The women writers corpus is made up of the following literary texts: *Lis Cidulis*, *Racconti* and *Il refrattario* from Caterina Percoto (North), *Vecchie catene* from Neera (North), *La trovatella di Milano* from Carolina Invernizio (North), *La ballerina* from Matilde Serao (South), *Una donna* from Sibilla Aleramo (North), *Canne al vento* from Grazia Deledda (South), *La casa nel vicolo* from Maria Messina (South), *Sorella di Messalina* from Annie Vivanti (North), *Menzogna e sortilegio* and *L'isola di Arturo* from Elsa Morante (South) and *Le parole tra noi leggere* from Lalla Romano (North). The men writers corpus comprises the following books: *I promessi sposi* from Alessandro Manzoni (North), *Il conte Pecorajo* from Ippolito Nievo (North), *Una peccatrice* from Giovanni Verga (South), *Giacinta* from Luigi Capuana (South), *I Malavoglia* from Giovanni Verga (South), *La maestrina degli operai* from Edmondo de Amicis (North), *Le tigri di Mompracem* from Emilio Salgari (North), *Con gli occhi chiusi* from Federigo Tozzi (North), *Uno, nessuno and Centomila* from Luigi Pirandello (South), *Sorelle Materassi* from Aldo Palazzeschi (North), *Agostino* from Alberto Moravia (South), *Una vita violenta* from Pier Paolo Pasolini (North) and *La tregua* from Primo Levi (North).

The second corpus – which we have named the contemporary corpus – amounts to 821,094 words and aims to investigate the evolution of the *pronomi-alloctivi* from 1990 to 2010 (see Table 3). A part of this corpus is based on data

Table 2. Composition of the men writers' corpus from 1840 to 1970

Period	Writer	Book	Origin	Nb. words
1840–1850	Alessandro Manzoni	<i>I promessi sposi</i>	North	31.205
1850–1860	Ippolito Nievo	<i>Il conte Pecorajo</i>	North	33.718
1860–1870	Giovanni Verga	<i>Una peccatrice</i>	South	37.276
1870–1880	Luigi Capuana	<i>Giacinta</i>	South	45.537
1880–1890	Giovanni Verga	<i>I Malavoglia</i>	South	74.871
1890–1900	Edmondo de Amicis	<i>La maestrina degli operai</i>	North	27.301
1900–1910	Emilio Salgari	<i>Le tigri di Mompracem</i>	North	31.600
1910–1920	Federigo Tozzi	<i>Con gli occhi chiusi</i>	North	31.891
1920–1930	Luigi Pirandello	<i>Uno, nessuno e centomila</i>	South	46.782
1930–1940	Aldo Palazzeschi	<i>Sorelle Materassi</i>	North	32.644
1940–1950	Alberto Moravia	<i>Agostino</i>	South	36.578
1950–1960	Pier Paolo Pasolini	<i>Una vita violenta</i>	North	29.231
1960–1970	Primo Levi	<i>La tregua</i>	North	29.826
Total				488.460

found in the Perugia Corpus (PEC) (Spina, 2014). It has also been subdivided into two sub-corpora: the first sub-corpus, amounting to 406,991 words, comprises eight novels written between 1990 and 2000. These books include the following: *Va dove ti porta il cuore* from Susanna Tamaro (North), *Mentre la mia bella dorme* from Rossana Campo (North), *Tecniche di seduzione* from Andrea de Carlo (North), *Sostiene Pereira* from Antonio Tabucchi (North), *La parola ebreo* from Rosetta Loy (South), *La morte molesto* from Elena Ferrante (South), *Quella mattina di luglio* from Corrado Augias (South), *Ti prendo e ti porto via* (South). The second sub-corpus, which amounts to 476,278 words, consists of eight books written between 2000 and 2010. It includes the following:

Lequilibrio degli squali from Caterina Bonvicini (North) *Lacustica perfetta* from Daria Bignardi (North), *Io uccido* from Giorgio Faletti (North), *Una piccola storia ignobile* from Alessandro Perissinotto (North), *Venuto al mondo* from Margaret Mazzantini (South), *Accabadora* from Michela Murgia (South), *Tre metri sopra il cielo* from Federico Moccia (South) and *Il ritorno a casa di Enrico Metz* (South) written by Claudio Piersanti.

Table 3. Second diachronic corpus: from 1990 to 2010

Period	Writer	Book	Origin	Nb. words
1990–2000	Susanna Tamaro	<i>Va dove ti porta il cuore</i>	North	49.393
1990–2000	Rossana Campo	<i>Mentre la mia bella dorme</i>	North	34.840
1990–2000	Andrea de Carlo	<i>Tecniche di seduzione</i>	North	62.170
1990–2000	Antonio Tabucchi	<i>Sostiene Pereira</i>	North	50.932
1990–2000	Rosetta Loy	<i>La parola ebreo</i>	South	44.455
1990–2000	Elena Ferrante	<i>La morte molesto</i>	South	41.332
1990–2000	Corrado Augias	<i>Quella mattina di luglio</i>	South	61.254
1990–2000	Niccolò Ammaniti	<i>Ti prendo e ti porto via</i>	South	62.615
2000–now	Caterina Bonvicini	<i>Lequilibrio degli squali</i>	North	67.384
2000–now	Daria Bignardi	<i>Lacustica perfetta</i>	North	53.343
2000–now	Giorgio Faletti	<i>Io uccido</i>	North	59.372
2000–now	A. Perrissinotto	<i>Una piccola storia ignobile</i>	North	62.175
2000–now	M. Mazzantini	<i>Venuto al mondo</i>	South	62.553
2000–now	Michela Murgia	<i>Accabadora</i>	South	44.309
2000–now	Federico Moccia	<i>Tre metri sopra il cielo</i>	South	65.139
2000–now	Claudio Piersanti	<i>Il ritorno a casa di E. Metz</i>	South	62.003
Total				821.094

7. Methodology

In a first stage, we compiled the two needed corpora for which we had to download all the books from the Internet in pdf format and then convert them into txt files to be able to conduct the extraction from search string *x* in the selection extraction software, namely

WordSmith Tools. The second stage was to remove all the noise from the two corpora (e.g. number of pages, editor's name, introduction to the book, etc.). Pronominal patterns corresponding to the three pronouns were then extracted automatically by means of the Concord function of WordSmith Tools. All the hits of the query were then examined one by one to discard sentences that did not contain occurrences of the pronomi allocutivi (e.g. the use of *Voi* as the second person plural). Fourth, the pronomi allocutivi of each sentence were identified and encoded manually in a database along with the speakers' gender and their social class. To ensure a higher scientific insight, we also conducted several statistical tests, such as chi-square tests X^2 with a threshold value of $<.05$ as well as measures of correlation.

Howell (2016: 497) provides us with an explanation of the chi-square test. It refers to a statistical distribution as well as a hypothesis testing procedure aiming to produce a statistic that will be approximately distributed according to the chi-square distribution. More importantly, and as will be shown, not only does this technique make it possible to work with and to analyse qualitative (categorical) data but it also enables us to measure significant differences between them by comparing observed frequencies to expected or predicted ones. Cramer's *V* (Hatcher 2003: 660) was also used as the index of effect size. Values of Cramer's *V* may range from zero to +1.00, with values closer to zero indicating a weaker relationship (i.e. where any value of 0.1 is a small size, of 0.3 is a moderate size, and of 0.5 is a large size) between the predictor variable and the criterion variable.

8. Presentation of the results

8.1. Diachronic analysis

First and foremost, a diachronic analysis of the pronouns was conducted focusing first on data from 1840 to 1900, then on data from 1900 to 1970 and finally from 1990 to 2010 in order to identify which pronoun was used significantly more often at each period of time. This temporal distinction was decided for practical reasons and basically corresponds to the period correlated to the unification of Italy, the rise of Fascism and then the stabilisation of neostandard Italian.

Table 4. Generic evolution of the pronouns during the 19th century

Pronouns	Absolute frequency	Relative frequency (per 100,000 words)	%
<i>Tu</i>	404	100.3	47.9%
<i>Voi</i>	313	77.7	37.2%
<i>Lei</i>	126	31.3	14.9%
Total	843	209.3	100%

Table 4 reveals that the pronoun, which was the most frequent in books written during the 19th century was *tu* (404 occurrences), followed by both pronouns of address *Voi* (313 occurrences) and *Lei* (126 occurrences). These outcomes represent relative frequencies of 100.3, 77.7 and 31.3 per 100,000 words, respectively.

Table 5. Generic evolution of the pronouns from 1900 to 1970

Pronouns	Absolute frequency	Relative frequency (per 100,000 words)	%
<i>Tu</i>	746	126.7	80.5%
<i>Voi</i>	120	20.4	12.9%
<i>Lei</i>	61	10.4	6.6%
Total	927	157.5	100%

As can be observed in Table 5, the pronoun that seems to be the most frequently used during the 20th century is the common pronoun *tu* (746 occurrences), followed by both polite pronouns *Voi* (120 occurrences) and *Lei* (61 occurrences). These results represent relative frequencies of 126.7, 20.4 and 10.4 per 100,000 words, respectively. Putting all these elements together, it can be observed that the pronoun *tu* seems to be used more often during the 20th century, whereas both polite pronouns seem to be more frequent during the 19th century. These results represent a difference that is statistically significant ($X^2 = 18,092$, p -value = 0) and ($X^2 = 55,527$, p -value = 0).

Table 6. Generic evolution of the pronouns from 1990 to 2010

Pronouns	Absolute frequency	Relative frequency (per 100,000 words)	%
<i>Tu</i>	705	162	60.2%
<i>Voi</i>	70	15.7	6%
<i>Lei</i>	396	83.5	33.8%
Total	1171	261.2	100%

Table 6 reveals the frequency with which the pronouns *tu*, *Voi* and *Lei* are used in the period starting from 1990 to 2010. As far as the former pronoun is concerned, its contemporary use seems to be more frequent than previously, as it displays a relative frequency of 162, whereas it was of 126.7 from 1900 to 1970. This result also represents a difference that is statistically significant ($X^2 = 55,722$, $p\text{-value} = 0$). The same holds true for the use of the polite pronoun *Lei* (10.4 vs. 83.5 per 100,000 words), as its usage appears to be more frequent in contemporary society rather than during the 20th century. This outcome also represents a difference that is statistically significant ($X^2 = 35,797$, $p\text{-value} = 0$). By contrast, the pronoun *Voi* seems to be more frequent during the 20th century (20.4 vs. 15.7 per 100,000 words). This result also represents a difference that is statistically significant ($X^2 = 151,712$, $p\text{-value} = 0$). The diachronic analysis we have carried out has therefore brought to light a sharp contrast between the use of the pronouns *tu*, *Voi* and *Lei* in three different periods of time. For this very analysis, the chi-square test X^2 is of 594,231 and Cramer's $V = .297$, which corresponds to a moderate size and therefore to a difference that is slightly significant.

8.2 Diatopic analysis

The second stage of our main analysis consists in examining the differences in the use of the pronomi allocutivi when taking the writers' diatopic area into consideration. Two main diatopic areas have been analysed: the North and the South of Italy.

Table 7. Number of occurrences of the pronouns in the North of Italy

Pronoun	Absolute frequency	Relative frequency (per 100,000 words)	%
<i>Tu</i>	463	185.9	57%
<i>Voi</i>	252	101.3	31%
<i>Lei</i>	96	38.8	12%
Total	811	326	100%

Table 8. Number of occurrences of the pronouns in the South of Italy

Pronoun	Absolute frequency	Relative frequency (per 100,000 words)	%
<i>Tu</i>	687	276.8	70.8%
<i>Voi</i>	187	76.7	19.3%
<i>Lei</i>	96	39.3	9.9%
Total	970	392.8	100%

We will first examine the use of the three pronouns in the diachronic corpus. As can be noticed by means of Tables 7 and 8, the pronoun *tu* occurs 463 times in the North of Italy, whereas it appears 687 times in the South, which represent relative frequencies of 185.9 and 276.8 per 100,000 words, respectively. These results therefore represent a difference that is statistically significant ($X^2 = 45,346$, $p\text{-value} = 0$). If, as Italian grammars (Niculescu 1974: 16) seem to suggest, the polite pronoun *Voi* is typical of speakers coming from the South of Italy and *Lei* of speakers from the North, we would not expect great deviations from this norm. Our corpus data, however, reveals that the pronoun *Voi* occurs 252 times in the North and 187 times in the South, which represent relative frequencies of 101.3 and 76.7 per 100,000 words as well as a difference that is statistically significant ($X^2 = 9,157$, $p\text{-value} = 0.02$). What is striking in the following results is the opposite tendency: the polite pronoun *Lei* appears 96 times in the North as well as 96 times in the South of Italy. These outcomes represent relative frequencies of 38.8 and 39.3 per 100,000 words. In summary, both pronouns *tu* and *Lei* would be typical of speakers from the South and *Voi* of speakers from the North. The X^2 for this analysis is of 39.37 and Cramer's $V = .1487$, which corresponds to a small size effect.

What is striking in the previous results is the complete reversal with respect to the use of both polite pronouns *Voi* and *Lei* in comparison to traditional Italian grammars (Niculescu 1974: 16). As will become clear in what follows, however, it is not the correlation with the writer's diatopic origin but their personal ideology that seems to play a part in this normative discrepancy and, in particular, the adhesion of some writers to the fascist politics (of pronouns). On the one hand, it has to be reminded that Maria Messina, Annie Vivanti and Elsa Morante have all been associated to the fascist movement (Angle 1981: 449–452) (Raffaelli 2009: 9), which wanted to abolish the use of the pronoun *Lei* favouring thus the polite pronoun *Voi* (Iannaccone 1999: 201). On the other hand, Lalla Romano is the only woman writer who took part in the antifascist movement Partito d'Azione (Dogliani 2008: 260). Particularly interesting is their usage of both polite pronouns *Voi* and *Lei*, as the fascist writers tend to use the pronoun *Voi* more often than the antifascists ones (35 vs. 3 times) and vice versa (11 vs. 3 occurrences). The same holds true regarding the use of both polite pronouns *Voi* and *Lei* by men writers. Luigi Pirandello, Aldo Palazzeschi, Alberto Moravia, Pier Paolo Pasolini and Primo Levi were all considered as antifascists (Vincenti 1974: 72) (Kertesz-Vial 2014: 20) (Granati 2014, Tacchi 2000: 89, Bernardini 2007: 11, Pierangeli and Barbaro 1995: 43). Their personal ideology seems to correlate with a higher usage of the pronoun of address *Lei* rather than with the *Voi* (20 vs. 1 times).

We will now turn to the examination of the correlation between the writers' diatopic origin and the use of the pronouns in the contemporary corpus. Tables 9 and 10 reveal that the pronoun *tu* occurs 406 times in the North and 299 times

Table 9. Number of occurrences of the pronouns in the North of Italy

Pronoun	Absolute frequency	Relative frequency (per 100,000 words)	%
<i>Tu</i>	406	92.5	54.9%
<i>Voi</i>	12	2.7	1.6%
<i>Lei</i>	323	73.6	43.5%
Total	740	168.8	100%

Table 10. Number of occurrences of the pronouns in the South of Italy

Pronoun	Absolute frequency	Relative frequency (per 100,000 words)	%
<i>Tu</i>	299	67.4	69.5%
<i>Voi</i>	58	13.1	13.5%
<i>Lei</i>	73	16.4	17%
Total	430	96.9	100%

in the South. These outcomes represent relative frequencies of 92.5 and 67.4 per 100,000 words, respectively. Contrary to the previous analysis and in accordance with Italian grammars (Niculescu 1974: 16), the pronoun *Voi* occurs 12 times in the North and 58 times in the South of Italy. These results represent relative frequencies of 2.7 and 13.1 per 100,000 words, respectively, as well as a difference that is statistically significant ($X^2 = 37.282$, $p\text{-value} = 0$). The polite pronoun *Lei* appears 323 times in the North and 73 times in the South of Italy. These outcomes represent relative frequencies of 73.6 and 16.4, respectively, as well as a difference that is statistically significant ($X^2 = 160.55$, $p\text{-value} = 0$). Putting all these elements together, it seems that both pronouns *tu* and *Lei* would be typical of speakers from the North and the polite pronoun *Voi* of speakers from the South. For this very analysis, the X^2 is of 130,934 and Cramer's $V = .334$, which corresponds to a moderate size effect and therefore to a difference that is statistically significant.

8.3 Diastratic analysis

The results of the diastratic analyses are striking when dealing with gender. The striking differences in the use of the pronoun *tu* and both polite pronouns *Voi* and *Lei* between men and women writers will be discussed. As will be shown, these discrepancies seem to characterise both diachronic and contemporary corpora. Our main area of interest was the differences between both genders, as we wanted to identify how men and women writers make use of all three pronouns as well as

how these tendencies actually evolved through time. We will first concentrate on the diachronic corpus focusing then on the contemporary corpus.

Table 11. Use of the pronouns in the diachronic women writers' corpus

Pronouns	Absolute frequency	Relative frequency (per 100,000 words)	%
<i>Tu</i>	712	141.6	76.8%
<i>Voi</i>	173	34.4	18.7%
<i>Lei</i>	42	8.3	4.5%
Total	927	184.3	100%

Table 11 shows the frequency of the pronoun *tu* and of the *pronomi allocutivi* in the diachronic women writers' corpus. It shows that the pronoun *tu* occurs 712 times, while *Voi* and *Lei* occur 173 and 42 times, respectively. It can also be noticed that the pronoun *tu* is used significantly more often than *Voi* and *Lei* taken together ($X^2 = 265.348$, $p\text{-value} = 0$). Going further than statistics, what is striking in these results is the fact that women writers would tend to be less polite than the literature would suggest (Holmes 1994: 164) (Gordon 1997: 47).

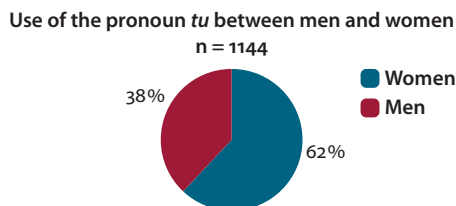
Table 12. Use of the pronouns in the diachronic men writers' corpus

Pronouns	Absolute frequency	Relative frequency (per 100,000 words)	%
<i>Tu</i>	432	88.4	50.9%
<i>Voi</i>	266	54.4	31.4%
<i>Lei</i>	150	30.7	17.7%
Total	848	173.5	100%

Table 12 shows the frequency of the pronouns in the diachronic men writers' corpus. By contrast, it can be observed that men writers would tend to make a similar use of both pronominal categories, namely the common pronoun *tu* and the *pronomi allocutivi* taken together, as they have proportions of 50.9% and 49.1%, respectively. These results correspond to relative frequencies of 88.4 and 85.1, respectively. As a result, it can be observed that men writers would tend to communicate in a more polite way than women authors. The X^2 for the whole analysis is of 145.756 and Cramer's $V = .287$, which corresponds to a moderate size effect and thus to a difference that seems to be statistically different.

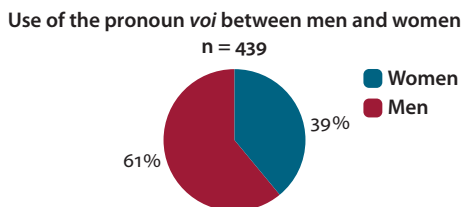
In what follows, we will consider the individual use of the pronoun *tu*, *Voi* and *Lei* by the women and men writers of our diachronic corpus. As can be noticed in Graph 1, there is a tendency from women writers to use the pronoun *tu* more often

than men writers (712 vs. 432 times). These results represent relative frequencies of 141.6 and 88.4 per 100,000 words as well as a difference that is statistically significant ($X^2 = 63.19$, $p\text{-value} = 0$). Women writers' communicative informality should therefore be emphasised.



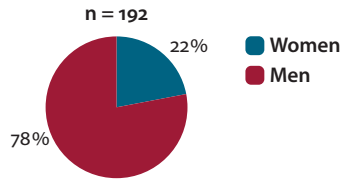
Graph 1. Use of the pronoun *tu* between men and women in the diachronic corpus

Graph 2 enables us to make a comparison between the frequency of use of the pronoun *Voi* between women and men writers. As can be noticed, the pronoun *Voi* would be used significantly less often by women writers than by men writers ($X^2 = 22.693$, $p\text{-value} = 0.00002$). On the contrary of what the literature seems to suggest (Holmes 1994: 164) (Gordon 1997: 47), in our corpus data, men writers would, however, tend to be more polite than women authors.



Graph 2. Use of the pronoun *voi* between men and women in the diachronic corpus

Graph 3 reveals the frequency of use of the pronoun *Lei* between men and women writers. It will be noticed that men writers would tend to use the latter significantly more often than women writers ($X^2 = 63.936$, $p\text{-value} = 0$). Putting all these elements together, this diastatic analysis has brought to light a sharp contrast regarding the use of the pronouns *tu*, *Voi* and *Lei*, as women writers would tend to use the pronoun *tu* significantly more often than men authors, whereas the latter would tend to use both pronouns of address *Voi* and *Lei* significantly more often than women authors. As a result, men writers will be considered as more polite than women authors.

Use of the pronoun *Lei* between men and women**Graph 3.** Use of the pronoun *lei* between men and women in the diachronic corpus

Let us now try to summarise the results conducted on the contemporary corpus. We will analyse how women and men writers make use of the pronoun *tu* and both polite pronouns *Voi* and *Lei* in order to confirm or invalidate the previous tendencies, namely women writers' tendency to be less polite than men authors.

Table 13. Use of the pronouns in the contemporary women writers' corpus

Pronouns	Absolute frequency	Relative frequency (per 100,000 words)	%
<i>Tu</i>	372	93.5	83.2%
<i>Voi</i>	29	7.3	6.5%
<i>Lei</i>	46	11.5	10.3%
Total	447	112.3	100%

Table 13 shows the frequency of use of the pronoun *tu* and the *pronomi allocutivi* in the contemporary women writer's corpus. It shows that the pronoun *tu* appears with a higher frequency with respect to both pronouns *Voi* and *Lei* leading its distinctiveness value to be higher and therefore to point to the previous tendencies ($\chi^2 = 501.785$, $p\text{-value} = 0$). What is also striking is that the polite pronoun *Lei* now seems to be more frequent than its counterpart *Voi*.

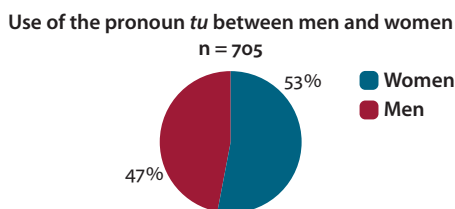
Table 14. Use of the pronouns in the contemporary men writers' corpus

Pronoun	Absolute frequency	Relative frequency (per 100,000 words)	%
<i>Tu</i>	333	68.5	46%
<i>Voi</i>	41	8.4	5.7%
<i>Lei</i>	350	72	48.3%
Total	724	148.9	100%

Table 14 shows the frequency of use of the pronouns *tu*, *Voi* and *Lei* in the contemporary men writers' corpus. It will be noticed that the pronoun *Lei* is used significantly more often than both pronouns *tu* and *Voi*, as they appear with relative frequencies of 72, 68.5 and 8.4, respectively. The pronoun *Lei* is more numerous

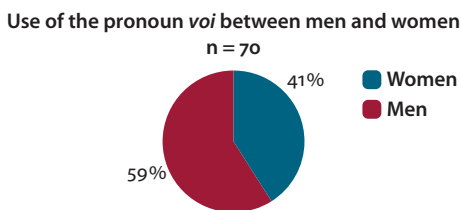
and its distinctiveness value also seems to be higher than those of the pronouns *tu* and *Voi* ($X^2 = 250,171$, $p\text{-value} = 0$). For this whole analysis, the X^2 is of 182.263 and Cramer's $V = .395$, which corresponds to a difference that is statistically significant.

In what follows, we will consider the individual use of the pronoun *tu*, *Voi* and *Lei* by both women and men writers of our contemporary corpus. As was the case for the first corpus and as can be seen in Graph 4, the pronoun *tu* is used significantly more often by women writers rather than by men writers (53% vs. 47%). These results represent relative frequencies of 93.5 and 68.5 per 100,000 words. This enables us to confirm that women writers would tend to be more informal when communicating with the Other than men authors.



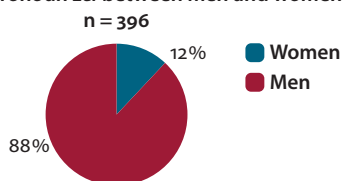
Graph 4. Use of the pronoun *tu* between men and women in the contemporary corpus

Graph 5 enables us to make a comparison between the frequency of the pronoun *Voi* between both men and women writers of our contemporary corpus. It shows that the polite pronoun *Voi* would tend to be used more often by men writers rather than by women writers. As was the case for the diachronic corpus, we ought to lay emphasis on men's politeness rather than women's.



Graph 5. Use of the pronoun *voi* between men and women in the contemporary corpus

By means of Graph 6, we will analyse the frequency of use of the polite pronoun *Lei* between the men and women writers of our contemporary corpus. As was the case for the pronoun *Voi*, *Lei* would be used significantly more often by men writers rather than by women authors (88% vs. 12%). These outcomes also correspond to a difference that is statistically significant ($X^2 = 178.553$, $p\text{-value} = 0$).

Use of the pronoun *Lei* between men and women

Graph 6. Use of the pronoun *lei* between men and women in the contemporary corpus

Putting all these elements together, our diastatic analyses display two major differences. First, women writers would tend to make a higher use of the pronoun *tu* being therefore considered as less polite. Second, and on the contrary to previous studies, men writers would tend to use both polite pronouns *Voi* and *Lei* significantly more often than women authors leading them to be considered as more polite than women writers.

9. Men are politer than women

It is widely accepted that politeness represents a social behaviour common to all cultures even though it varies in its value systems as well as in its level of formality across civilisations and languages. Our results indicate particularly interesting outcomes regarding both men and women's representation of polite behaviours. What is striking in our results is, however, not the fact that women would appear less polite than men but that the latter would use both polite pronouns significantly more often than women when social norms would not especially request it, e.g. (4) and (5). This section therefore aims to provide several hints as to why it might be the case.

- (4) Giovanni, il fratello di Adelina, ad Adelina: “*e non avresti avuto rammarico di avermi lasciato partire da questo mondo senza neanche salutarmi?*” – “*O Dio mio! Voi mi squarciate il cuore...*” (Caterina Percoto – Il refrattario)
(En. trans. Giovanni, Adelina's brother, to Adelina: “Have you never regretted to let me leave this world without even greeting me?” – “O my God! You have torn my heart apart...”)
- (5) Giacinta ad un signore: “*Non posso; sto male. Trova tu qualche scusa*”, – *diceva una di esse. Era Giacinta!* (Luigi Capuana – Giacinta)
(En. trans. Giacinta to a noble man: “I can't; I'm not feeling well. You find an excuse!”, – said one of them. It was Giacinta!)

Firstly and as previously mentioned, one would expect women to be more polite than men, as they appear to be more status-conscious as a consequence of

the awaited higher standards for female behaviour (Wardhaugh 1993: 314). Being polite and cooperative is thus likely to be more effective at promoting positive interactions for those who hold little power by helping them to construct a so-called powerful identity. As a result, the presence of a certain double standard can be acknowledged: women would be afraid of being rude wanting therefore to earn respect or approval along with avoiding conflict, whereas men would be rude and assertive. This behaviour would lead women to be more sensitive to the language they use in order to face the threateningness of their communicative acts and thus to modify their speech accordingly, e.g.

- (6) Massimina al dottore: “*Voi avete salvato la vita a una bella ragazza di questo paese, che io ho poi veduta l’altro giorno assai misera.*”
(Caterina Percoto – *Lis cidulis*)
(En. trans. Massimina to the doctor: “You have saved a beautiful woman’s life. I have then seen her miserable the other day.”)
- (7) Vecchia zingara ad Alessio: “*Ma la donna lo fermò. “Non abbia paura d’una povera sventurata. Lei è il figlio di don Lucio Carmine?”*”
(Maria Messina – *La casa nel vicolo*)
(En. trans. Old gypsy to Alessio: The woman stopped him. “Do not fear a poor unfortunate person. Are you Lucio Carmine’s son?”)
- (8) Padrone Domenico al lavoratore: “*Pesi bene, padrone!*” – “*E tu non appoggiarti con le ginocchia.*” – “*Io?*” “*Guardi: c’è un braccio di distanza.*”
(Federigo Tozzi – *Con gli occhi chiusi*)
(En. trans. Master Domenico to a worker: “Weigh correctly, master” – “And you, do not lean on your knee”. – “Me?” “Look! There is a huge distance.”)
- (9) Da Gojko alla narratrice: “*Io ti pago bene.*” *Mi guarda mentre guida senza più guardare la strada.* “*Tu devi essere una grande puttana!*”
(Margaret Mazzantini – *Venuto al mondo*)
(En. trans. From Gojko to the narrator: “I pay you well.” He looks at me without paying attention to the way. “You must be a great whore!”)

Secondly, it should be emphasised that linguistic politeness is a cultural practice that is acquired through the process of socialisation (Cook and Burdelski 2017: 464). It can, however, be acknowledged that, in patriarchal societies such as Italy, men have “often dominated the public life while women were confined to a disempowering domestic sphere” (Pascale 2013: 150). Women were therefore brought up to use language for very different social purposes than men and have therefore been socialised in different ways from their early childhood (Edwards 2011: 151). Generally speaking, Italian women are usually considered as more traditionalist or conservative than men (Pasquinelli, Cenci, Manganeli, and Guelfi

2005) leading them therefore to be powerful in the domains they are entitled to (Volpato, 2013), namely the affective ones. Following the Christian traditions (Mazzeo 2007: 294), they also tend to make use of the latinised form *tu*. Women's social interactions have consequently been restricted and so seems to be the language they use (Pascale 2013: 150). Their language features appear thus to highlight representation of more genuine behaviours or supportive desires by focusing on personal relationships within a very supportive atmosphere, as their social role is not to be contentious but pleasant (Pascale 2013: 150). Should women want to communicate in a cooperative way, they therefore need to use the common pronoun *tu* over both pronouns of address otherwise they would not respect their interlocutors' faces, e.g.

- (10) *La contadina Maria al Conte Tullo*: “*Allora te lo rammenterò io*” riprese tremolando la Maria. “*Mi hai promesso di sposarmi; ché già dicevi, tu eri abbastanza ricco, io abbastanza educata*”. (Ippolito Nievo – *Il Conte Pecorajo*) (En. trans. *Maria the peasant to the Count Tullo*: “I will thus remind you of it” said Maria shivering. “You have promised to marry me; as, you said, you were rich enough and I educated enough”.)

- (11) *Come don Lucio ripeté la sua oziosa domanda, Antonietta mormorò*: “*Da stamattina. Tu lo sai*”. *Don Lucio cominciò a mangiare*.

(Maria Messina – *La casa nel vicolo*)

(En. trans. As don Lucio repeated his idle question, Antonietta whispered: “From this morning on, you know it.” Don Lucio started eating.)

It should be emphasised, however, that a fundamental ambiguity in the Italian polite codes can be observed for which these very social norms are usually used to express humility and deference as well as power and status (Günthner 1996: 457). It can nonetheless be noticed that Italian politeness codes appear to be usually associated with both public power and control, which are dominated by men (Perrot 2009). The latter therefore would seek to cultivate politeness as a means to express both authority and superior status, as they constantly need to be in contact with powerful individuals they are not always familiar with.

Nonetheless, as put forward by Sara Mills (2012: 69), “communities of practice, rather than individuals, arbitrate over whether speech acts are considered polite or impolite. Individuals within these communities may [therefore] use stereotypes strategically to their own advantage”. It can thus be emphasised that power differences could have led women to use various politeness strategies to get their message across, including thus the use of the common pronoun *tu*. Women writers' enunciation therefore seems to often introduce strong women whose usage of the common pronoun *tu* does represent a form of power. In the following examples from Neera's *Vecchie catene*, it can be observed that the baronessa Cristina, who

holds a personal and intimate power over Luigi, shifts from the use of the polite pronoun *Voi* to the common pronoun *tu* to be more gentle and affective in order to force Luigi to confess his feelings for her:

- (12) *“Deh! soffrite che io passi la mia vita accanto a voi... non chiedo altro bene. Ma non mi abbandonerete”* – esclamò la baronessa cingendo teneramente la testa del giovane.
(En. trans. “You can beg that I will spend all my life with you... I will not ask anything else. But you will not abandon me” – cries out the baronessa encircling the young man’s head).
- (13) *“Alzatevi, signora, voi delirate”. Cristina, accasciata sul suolo, si torceva le mani spasimante d’amore e di disperazione. “Tu mi giudicherai come vuoi... ma io t’amo”.*
(En. trans. “Get up madam, you talk nonsense”. Cristiana, who was collapsing on the floor, twisted her hands because of love and despair. “You will judge me if you want to... but I love you”.)
- (14) *Luigi trovò a suo modo la conclusione: “Risponderanno che voi siete bella e che io vi amo!” Non si sentiva un zittio.*
(En. trans. Luigi found the conclusion: “They will answer that you are beautiful and that I love you!” He could not stop talking.)

In the next example, Patrizia, who is investigating the death of a young girl, makes use of the pronoun *tu* to get closer to a prostitute and therefore to obtain crucial information:

- (15) *“Io sono la cugina di Patrizia, la ragazza che è stata investita in bicicletta nel posto dove stai sempre tu.”*
(Alessandro Perissinotto – Una piccola storia ignobile)
(En. trans. “I’m Patrizia’s cousin, the girl who has been hit by a bicycle where you always stay.”)

Our outcomes also helped us understand that, when individuals are communicating as part of their duties, they always tend to use both pronouns of address with their customers, patients or guests. Interestingly enough, in our corpus data, men are almost always those displayed as workers, e.g.

- (16) *Il servitore Pierre e il signor Yoshida: “Grazie, Pierre. È stato tutto superbo, come al solito. Come noterà, ho aggiunto all’importo dell’assegno una mancia per voi.” “Grazie a lei, signor Yoshida.”* (Giorgio Faletti – *Io uccido*)
(En. trans. Pierre, the servant, to Sir Yoshida: “Thanks, Pierre. Everything was perfect, as usual. You will notice that I have added a tip to the usual amount for you.” “Thanks to you, Sir Yoshida.”)

- (17) *Da Martina ad un agente di polizia: Martina si sporse fuori dal finestrino.*
 “Agente!
 Agente, ha bisogno di una mano? Possiamo fare qualcosa per lei?”
 (Niccolò Ammaniti – *Ti prendo e ti porto via*)
 (En. trans. From Martina to a police officer: Martina stuck out of the window.
 “Officer! Officer, do you need some help? Can we do something for you?”)
- (18) *Dall’agente di polizia a Martina: “Ce l’ho io”, urlò Martina che stava ancora con le mani appoggiate sulla macchina. Max non riusciva a vederla in faccia.*
 “Che cos’ hai tu?” Il poliziotto le si avvicinò.
 (Niccolò Ammaniti – *Ti prendo e ti porto via*)
 (En. trans. From the police officer to Martina: “I have it!” shouted Martina, who was still putting her hands on the car. Max could not see her face.
 “What do you have?”

The police officer was getting close to her. (Niccolò Ammaniti – *Ti prendo e ti porto via*))

- (19) *Dal direttore del giornale a Pereira: “Pereira!”, esclamò il direttore, “tu hai pubblicato un racconto di Alphonse Daudet che parla della guerra con i tedeschi e che finisce con questa frase: viva la Francia”.*
 (Antonio Tabucchi – *Sostiene Pereira*)
 (En. trans. From the newspaper’s CEO to Pereira: “Pereira!”, said the CEO, “you have published an account on Alphonse Daudet which regards the war against Germans and which ends with the following sentence: long live France”.)
- (20) *Da Pereira al direttore del giornale: “Bene”, disse il direttore, “ma ora vorrei farle una semplice domanda, perché non sente mai la necessità di venire a parlare con il suo direttore?” “Perché lei mi ha detto che la cultura non è affar suo, signor direttore”, rispose Pereira.* (Antonio Tabucchi – *Sostiene Pereira*)
 (En. trans. From Pereira to the newspaper’s CEO: “Good”, answered the CEO, “but, now, I would like to ask you something: why do you never come and talk to me?” “Because you have told me that you are not interested in culture”, answered Pereira.)

Another interesting aspect that could explain men’s extensive use of both pronouns of address can be found in the fact that, in our diachronic corpus, as part of their clerical duties, clergymen tend to make use of the common pronoun *tu* with young male (21) (22), of the polite pronoun *Voi* with older men (23) but only of the pronouns of address with women (24) (25). Speakers of both genders, however, always make use of the most formal pronoun of address, namely *Lei*, when

talking to clergymen (26). In our contemporary corpus, the exact same tendencies have been observed for which priests tend to make use of the pronoun *tu* to address young men (27) (28), whereas secular people make use of the less formal pronoun *Voi* to address clergymen (29) and *Lei* to clergywomen (30) enhancing once more a higher level of politeness towards women.

- (21) Da don Abbondio a Renzo: “*Dico a te, il mio Renzo, che tu confidi in Dio, e che Dio non t’abbandonerà*”. “*Benedette le sue parole!*” esclamò il giovane.
(Alessandro Manzoni – *I promessi sposi*)
(En. trans. From Don Abbondio to Renzo: “I can tell you, my dear Renzo, that you confide to God and that God will not abandon you”. “May God bless your words!” answered the young man.)
- (22) Il Parroco a Giovanni: “*Nel darti l’ultimo addio, lascia che ti preghi di una grazia. Io non vo’ sapere come tu sia vissuto questi otto anni*”.
(Caterina Percoto – *Il refrattario*)
(En. trans. From the vicar to Giovanni: “I greet you for the last time and ask you for a last charity. I do not want to know how you have lived for the last eight years.”)
- (23) Il Parroco al Compare Martino: “*Oh, compare Martino!*” – gli disse il buon vecchio porgendo la tabacchiera, – “*voi pure siete qui?*” – “*Che vuole, reverendissimo?*”
(Caterina Percoto – *Il refrattario*)
(En. trans. From the vicar to the Godfather Martino: “Oh, Godfather Martino!” – told him the old man managing the tobacco shop, – “You are also here?” – “What do you want, Reverend?”)
- (24) Don Abbondio a Perpetua: “*Vedete che bei pareri mi sa dar costei! Viene a domandarmi come farò quasi fosse lei nell’impiccio, e toccasse a me di levarcela.*”
(Alessandro Manzoni – *I promessi sposi*)
(En. trans. From Don Abbondio to Perpetua: “Look at the way she appears! She comes and asks me how I will manage as if she was hampered.”)
- (25) Il prete a Maria: “*Sì, quell’anima che ora insieme cogli angeli gode il paradiso, l’avete voi donata al Signore!...*”
(Caterina Percoto – *Racconti*)
(En. trans. From the priest to Maria: “Yes, this soul which now enjoys paradise with the angels, you have offered it to the God!”)
- (26) Compare Martino al Parroco: “*Vi sarà sembrato, compare*”. – “*Eh signore!... E’ stato lei a Venezia?*” – “*Ma sì caro compare, piú volte, e non mi è mai toccato di vedere nessuna disgrazia*”.
(Caterina Percoto – *Il refrattario*)
(En. trans. Godfather Martino to the vicar: “You bet, Godfather!” – “Eh, Sir! Were you the one to go to Venice?” – “Yes, Godfather, and several times. And I have never experienced any disgrace.”)

- (27) Dal sacerdote a Nicola: “È scritto di parlare al momento opportuno e anche a quello non opportuno, quindi parlerò, e quando me ne sarò andato tu avrai tutto il tempo per riflettere sul tuo dolore e sul suo significato”.
(Michela Murgia – *Accabadora*)
(En. trans. From the priest to Nicola: “It is written that you should speak at the appropriate moment but also at the least appropriate one. I will thus speak and when I leave, you will have all the time to think about your pain and its meaning.”)
- (28) Da don Frantziscu a Nicola: “Adesso che sei rimasto solo tu, devi essere di conforto a mamma e babbo...”
(Michela Murgia – *Accabadora*)
(En. trans. From don Frantziscu to Nicola: “Now that you are the only one remaining here, you will have to console both your mother and father...”)
- (29) Da Nicola al prete: “Voi vorreste parlarvi della mia vita? E cosa ne sapete voi, prete?”
(Michela Murgia – *Accabadora*)
(En. trans. From Nicola to the priest: “You really want to talk about my life? And what do you know about it, priest?”)
- (30) Dal narratore a suora Paola: “Le sue parole e la sua ‘professione’ mi hanno colpito. Per lei sarà diverso, immagino... Mi racconta, anzi, mi racconti com’è la sua vita, cosa fa, cosa la rende così serena?”
(Daria Bignardi – *L’acustica perfetta*)
(En. trans. From the narrator to sister Paola: “Your words and your ‘profession’ have moved me. Everything is different for you, I guess... Explain it to me! Explain your life to me: what do you do? What makes you feel so peaceful?”)

After having taken stock of what might be the reasons why men could be more polite than women, it also seems interesting to provide several examples correlated with the binary position in the (non-)Fascist politics of pronouns. As previously mentioned, Maria Messina, Annie Vivanti and Elsa Morante adhered to the aforementioned politics by favouring the use of the pronoun *Voi* over the *Lei*, e.g. (31) (32). On the contrary, Lalla Romano took part in the antifascist movement Partito d’Azione, which favoured the sole use of the pronoun of address *Lei*, e.g. (33).

- (31) Adriano Scotti ad Alberto: *L’altro alzò la fronte lievemente arrossata. – “E forse... forse siete cieco anche voi” – disse al pittore – “cieco più di me, e più di questo!”*
(Annie Vivanti – *Fosca, sorella di Messalina*)
(En. trans. From Adriano Scotti to Alberto: The other man frowned – “Perhaps... you are as blind as I am” – told him the painter – “or even blinder than I am!”)

- (32) Anna alla nonna: *E correndo a lei, febbrilmente le annunciai negli orecchi: “Nonna! voi siete Decrepitezza!”* (Elsa Morante – *Menzogna e sortilegio*)
(En. trans. From Anna to her grandmother: She was running towards her and then whispered in her ears: “Grandmother! You are decrepit!”)
- (33) Signore Segreto a Mina: *«Egr. Sig., colgo anzitutto l’occasione per informarla che il di Lei figliuolo ha dimostrato, durante i due ultimi mesi, passione e costanza nell’apprendere...»* (Lalla Romano – *Le parole tra noi leggere*)
(En. trans. Sir Segreto to Mina: “Dear Madam, I would like to inform you that your son has showed, during the last two months, passion and perseverance when studying...”)

As regards men writers, the exact same tendency could be observed for which Luigi Pirandello, Aldo Palazzeschi, Alberto Moravia, Pier Paolo Pasolini and Primo Levi were all considered as antifascists and favoured the use of the pronoun of address *Lei*, e.g. (34) (35).

- (34) Moscarda ad Anna Rosa: *“Ah, lei voleva soltanto metterla a sedere sul letto? Restai basito. La giustizia doveva già anche trovarsi in possesso d’una prima deposizione di mia moglie.”* (Luigi Pirandello – *Uno, nessuno e centomila*)
(En. trans. From Moscarda to Anna Rosa: “Ah, you just wanted to sit on the bed? I was shocked. My justice forced me to be in possession of a first deposition from my wife.”)
- (35) Tommaso a Irene: *Tommaso era tutto rosso per l’emozione: “Io posso pure aspetta du’ ore”, fece, “che c’entra, basta che lei ce viene...”*
(Pier Paolo Pasolini – *Una vita violenta*)
(En. trans. From Tommaso to Irene: Tommaso was red due to emotions: “I can wait for two hours”, he said, “as long as you come...”)

10. Conclusion

The purpose of this research was to analyse a specific sociolinguistic variable, namely the Italian *pronomi allocutivi*, by means of diachronic, diatopic and diastatic analyses. The first of these investigations concentrated on the period starting from 1840 to 2010. The diatopic analysis was dedicated to examining representations of communicative differences between speakers coming from the North and the South of Italy. The diastatic study addressed the means with which both genders make use of the pronouns of address as well as how their choices are correlated with the speakers’ age or social class. We also aimed to examine the influence of a specific ideology, namely Fascism, on speakers’ lexical choices.

Diachronically speaking, it was put forward that the most frequent pronoun was constantly the *tu*, whereas both polite pronouns *Voi* and *Lei* quantitatively come after. A shift from the use of *Voi* to the usage of *Lei* was, however, observed in our contemporary corpus. Our diatopic results suggest that, in the diachronic corpus, there is a tendency towards the use of both *tu* and *Lei* in the South of Italy and of *Voi* in the North of the country. These results can partially be explained by the fact that antifascist writers made use of the pronoun *Lei*, whereas fascist one favoured the pronoun *Voi*. As Italian grammars do suggest, the results stemming from the contemporary corpus put emphasis on the use of both *tu* and *Voi* in the South of the country and of *Lei* in the North. A certain tendency towards the usage of the polite pronoun *Voi* in rural areas and of *Lei* by higher social classes was also observed. The results of the diatopic analyses have brought to light a sharp contrast between what the literature actually suggests and our corpus data, as our outcomes reveal women writers' tendency to be less polite than men authors.

The last section of this research aimed to provide several hints as to why men would be more polite than women, as our results indicate particularly interesting outcomes regarding both men and women's polite behaviours. Generally speaking, the presence of a certain double standard could be acknowledged for which women would tend to be afraid of being rude leading them to use more polite strategies to earn respect or approval, while men would tend to be rude and assertive. By contrast, we have argued that, in patriarchal societies such as Italy, women were brought up to use language for different social purposes than men leading their language features to highlight more genuine behaviours by focusing on personal relationships, which is characterised by the use of the common pronoun *tu*. By contrast, men needed to cultivate politeness in order to express their authority and superior status, as they are constantly in contact with powerful individuals they are not especially familiar with.

It is to be acknowledged that this research was mainly based on corpora made up of narrative texts. Other corpora could have been compiled involving other texts, writers, literary movements or natural language use, which could have led to divergences regarding the lexical choices of one pronoun over the other. It therefore constitutes but a first step in the clarification of the use of the Italian *pronomi allocutivi* leading to the necessity of replicating these analyses using other corpora.

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Forms and functions of French personal pronouns in social interactions and literary texts

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The morphology and grammatical functions of French personal pronouns are first introduced with reference to their Latin origin in the context of the Indo-European language family. Considering that the forms of personal pronouns are necessarily grounded in the preliterate emergence of language and that the meta-linguistic characterization of their grammatical functions glosses over their signalling values as spatial or territorial markers, this chapter endeavours to probe the ways in which these pronouns not only reflect but also, more importantly create or enforce social structures in learning and acculturation processes. From this point of view, personal pronouns in their contexts of use can be considered as speech acts in as much as they create equality of status, intimacy, bonding, or dominance, and can transform any of these kinds of relations into one another. Evidence is drawn from personal experience in the form of revealing anecdotes and from the use of the social and interpersonal power of pronouns in literary texts that purport to portray face-to-face and epistolary interactions.

Keywords: personal pronouns in French, semiotics and pragmatics of pronouns, speech acts, social monitoring, cultural revolution, literary creativity

1. Introduction

The pronominal system of modern French has been fully described from the synchronic point of view as a matrix of grammatical functions comprising three persons in the singular and plural. Only the third-person pronouns are gendered, distinguishing masculine, feminine, and neutral. This tabular expression of the system includes subject and object cases with tonic and atonic forms for the first- and second-person (e.g., Damourette and Pichon 1940; Gougenheim 1962).

In the advanced descriptive and normative grammars of French, personal pronouns are presented with direct reference to the Latin paradigm from which they originated with a relatively small degree of phonetic changes. The only exception is the case of the first person singular, Latin *ego*, which became *je* in modern French through successive transformations consistent with the principles of general phonetic evolution. First, the palatalization of the voiced plosive consonant *g* between two vowels weakened the stop that eventually disappeared and *ego* was pronounced *eo*, then *io*. Spanish *yo* and Italian *io* bear witness to this phonetic stage. In French, which is the romance language that by and large has changed the most with respect to the original Latin, the articulation of the back vowel *o* moved to the front to be realized as ø (according to the IPA symbols) while the initial phoneme hardened into a voiced consonant. The other forms of the first person pronoun remained close to their Latin source (*me*, *mihi*) as did the forms of the second and third persons (*vos*, *nos*, *ille*). In modern French's foundational treatise, the Port Royal Grammar (Arnauld and Lancelot [1660] 1975), the two pronominal paradigms, Latin and French, are displayed side by side. Their basic consonantal morphologies are consistent with the m/n/t/v/l distinction [e.g., Latin: *me*, *nos*, *tu*, *vos*, *ille* and French: *moi*, *nous*, *toi*, *vous*, *il/elle*] corresponding to the first and second persons in the singular, plural, and third person. The vowels have followed the general phonemic transformations particular to the evolution of the language (Fortson 2010: 140-145). In French, the second person singular *tu* has remained unchanged, at least in its written form. Romance languages have preserved the basic matrix of the phonemic oppositions of their Latin source but there are marked differences in the pragmatics of the personal pronouns. This chapter will review the ways in which the use of pronominal forms in French relates to the nature of personal interactions and ranking, and impacts more broadly the social structures which they both reflect and sustain in everyday interactions. Naturally, the system itself at the individual level is created during the language learning and socializing process of the child. Changes in the pragmatics of pronouns are indicative of cultural evolution. Normative modifications of these rules are symptoms of profound social transformations if not revolutions. The variety of the French pronouns with respect to their form, gender, and pragmatic functions also constitutes a rich resource for literary creativity.

2. Pronouns as tools of sociality

Although the Latin system is the obvious antecedent of the French pronominal morphology, it cannot be construed as an absolute beginning as the quasi post-colonial ideology of French Classicism suggests. Comparative linguistic research from the nineteenth century on has shown how the Latin and Greek pronouns relate to

the previous, much more ancient forms of the Proto-Indo-European language that can be plausibly hypothesized on the basis of the comparative evolution of the various branches of this language family. But, of course, the information regarding their pragmatics can only be inferred from the intrinsic qualities of the sounds their reconstruction can be assumed to represent whether they suggest some agonistic or affiliative qualities from a biosemiotic point of view. Naturally, this hypothesis is purely speculative, albeit plausible since it can be adduced from a comparison with the vocalizations of other primates as it was pointed out in the introduction to this volume. When considering the pronouns through the lens of the categorizations elaborated by the metalinguistic approaches that were contemporaneous with the rise of literacy, it is all too easy to forget that the morphemes which have come to be labelled pronouns in the metalanguage of grammar are necessarily rooted in the vocal interactions which, long before they were codified in the formal written languages, evolved as functional parts of orality. From this vantage point, the distinction into first, second, and third person suggests a symmetry which is a metalinguistic artefact rather than a reflection of the actual functions of the morphemes which are thus organized in tabular forms suggesting a trilateral equidistant system of relations. The process of grammaticalization tends to reduce the fullness of some language signs to mere functional markers (Hopper and Traugott 2003). As Benveniste contended in his seminal article on personal pronouns (1966), this formal order is not substantiated by a close examination of the forms and functions of these vocal productions in actual face-to-face or epistolary interactions.

Indeed, far from representing symmetrical relations, the pronouns derive their meanings from strongly dissymmetrical personal rapports and constitute a very sensitive domain within the fabric of sociality. A direct way to demonstrate this is to compare the ease with which literate natural speakers can rewrite any sentence involving a personal pronoun in the first, second or third person both in the singular and plural forms. This is a common school exercise required from students who are learning the basic grammatical rules of the written French language. This is not problematic as long as one remains on the pedagogical, metalinguistic level. However, performing the same commutations in actual verbal interactions is bound to cause discomfort and encounter resistance or even repression in the form of scolding or laughing because elementary rules of politeness and social conformity are thus virtually broken.

It is obvious that more than mere linguistic constraints are at stake in the use of personal pronouns. This applies to both the system of address and the use of pronouns in their referential and anaphoric functions. As we will see later, the use of the third person in some social contexts can indeed be interpreted as a violation of the norm when the pronouns of address combine with the use of first or family names in specific dissymmetrical interactions.

As was proposed in the introduction to this volume, a deep understanding of the address functions of pronominal systems must bring into focus the biosemiotics of sociality, more precisely the pre-linguistic forms which can be reconstructed from their comparison with the acoustical warning signals that can be observed among primates. The function of this signalling is primarily to ward off encroachments on one's personal space and consequently to establish and preserve dominance and the privacy of proximal territory. These signals are consistently plosives, that is, acoustic productions in which the air is stopped then expelled more or less suddenly with various sound effects due to the particular shape taken by the buccal cavity. Three basic patterns can be identified: the velar stop K (voiceless) and G (voiced); the dental stop T (voiceless) and D (voiced); and the nasal consonants we find in ME and NE. The phonic design of these acoustic productions can be easily identified as the phonetic backbones of the personal pronouns of the first and second persons as well as, significantly, the monosyllabic forms of the negation in Indo-European languages.

Although these monosyllabic vocal productions draw from the most forceful phonetic resources available to human individuals, short of actual fighting, their social importance calls for phonetic reinforcement through additional sounds coming from the same acoustic paradigms or other empty forms that become agglutinated to them. The spoken emphatic first person pronoun in French is *moi-je* which is often further underlined by articulating the two elements as distinct words *moi je*, joining the plosive and nasal consonants like the Latin *egomet* or the Greek *egôn*. Another reinforcement that occurs in French is *moi même je*, notably in argumentative dialogues in which interlocutors underline their opposition. In the same vein, *moi perso* (shortening of *personnellement*) appears in Twitter and other interactions via social media. During the acculturation process, such egocentric emphases are repressed as lacking civility. Such avoidance is meant to defuse conflicts and subversions of the social order. In the teaching of distinction and propriety the excessive use of *je* or *moi* is stigmatized as selfish and arrogant. This attitude has historical roots. Mathematician and theologian Blaise Pascal's (1623–1662) criticism of the self-centered *Essais* by the Renaissance writer Michel de Montaigne (1533–1592) is often mentioned in this respect. Pascal's moral philosophy is encapsulated in a fragment of his *Pensées* (1669): "*le moi est haïssable*" [literally, the "I" is hateful, an assertion that can be paraphrased as "we must hate the emphatic use of the first person and the self-obsession it implies]. Avoidance can go as far as using the phrase "*votre serviteur*" [your servant] instead of *je* in addressing a person of higher status, a form that was compulsory in pre-revolutionary France but is still occasionally used in the parodic or ironical mode.

Similarly, the second person singular can be emphatically expressed as *toitu* or *toi tu* using the brief pause after the tonic pronoun as a way to foreground the

polarity of the discussion. Both so-called first- and second-person phonemes are similarly grounded in the plosive paradigm, a distancing or threatening sound produced by the initial constriction of the palate or the teeth followed by the sudden release of the air.

French slang offers some interesting variants of the pronominal system. Colloquial expressions such as *bibi* or *ma pomme* can stand for *je* or *moi/me*. Three other forms are particularly illustrative: *mézigue*, *tézigue*, and *cézigue* corresponding respectively to first, second, and third persons. *Zigue* denotes a male individual, generally of lesser social status. This word is considered to be of German origin, likely derived from *Zigeuner* (Tzigane, Cygano, Gypsy) with some degree of discriminatory connotation before becoming assimilated to the mainstream language in popular parlance without hint of stigmatization, beyond simply being perceived as non-standard French. A song made popular by Edith Piaf, *La java de cézigue* (third-person singular), and the fact that a Parisian restaurant chose to call itself *Chez Cézigue* (third-person singular) bear witness to the continuing productivity of the oppositional system M-T-C (*moi/me*, *tu/toi/te/* and *celui-ci*, *cela*, *ça*). Self-reference is also often expressed orally by the third-person singular to avoid the stronger, more assertive *mézigue*.

Before pursuing further the investigation of the use of personal pronouns in face-to-face verbal interaction, reflection on the origin of the data that will be exploited is in order. While a corpus of written texts is relatively easy to circumscribe for the purpose of analyzing any aspect of the lexicon or the grammar of a language at a given time, the creation of a database of verbal utterances for the purpose of probing the pragmatics of a language is much more challenging. There are, of course, abundant recordings of radio and televised broadcasts that offer a basis for the study of multimodal interactions. This constitutes a reliable source of evidence although this genre of dialogue in the form of interviews or debates is usually constrained by their institutional context and show a high degree of conventionality dependent on the standards of the written language. This is not a negligible source of information for testing the pragmatic norms but, given the fluidity and creativity of language in actual use, it provides insufficient evidence if the aim is to explore the spontaneous social dynamics of the pronominal system of French pronouns in a comprehensive manner. Literary productions, in as much as they represent or stage naturalistic verbal interactions, are another fertile vein of data although their relevance is limited to the period considered. The French literary schools of Realism and Naturalism, for example, endeavored to mimic as exactly as possible the actual utterances these authors could observe and note down in their actual environments, including idiolects. This chapter will make use of the above sources of information but will also rely on personal anecdotes, some of which report events that were deliberately engineered by the author as a way to

test the extent to which breaking expected rules can disrupt social interactions, a method that was at times used in sociology (e.g., Erving Goffman 1974: 14–15, 1981 *passim*) and ethnomethodology (e.g., Harold Garfinkel 1967). The overreactions that can be triggered at times by such switching of pronominal coding in specified contexts can indeed provide direct access to the sensitivity of communication to unexpected changes in playing the pronominal cards.

3. The third person

As has often been pointed out (e.g., Benveniste 1966, 1971), the term “pro-noun”, that is, a language element which replaces a noun as explained in the *Grammaire de Port-Royal*, is hardly justifiable in the case of the first- and second-person which imply the actual co-presence of the interactants. With the third person we enter the realm of the restricted environment of the context of an utterance. This environment is indeed “restricted” in the sense that only a subset of “objects” are relevant to the communication process at the time it is taking place. This is the domain of the deixis or the indication that determines the “object” to which the interactants refer. In order to offset ambiguity, the deictic tools must provide information that helps determine which one among a set of possible candidates is the actual object to be attended to. Hence comes the functionality of specifying the natural or grammatical gender and the relative position expressed as proximal or distal with respect to the self of the speaking agent. This forms a matrix of oppositional choices:

il elle lui / le elle
ils elles eux elles
celui-ci / celle-ci / ceux-ci / celles-ci / celui-là / celle-là / ceux-là / celles-là
ceci cela

The system of values of these pronouns provides information with respect to a grid that combines both categorical (gender) and spatial (zones proximal or distal).

From a biosemiotic point of view, in actual face-to-face interactions, the third-person domain of pertinence is the relevant outside of the dyad either as object of desire or source of danger with a range of interests between these two extreme poles. The signs which refer to selected parts of the external horizon of the communication acts can be actualized either by gestures (gaze, body orientation, hand movements) or verbally articulated through the use of a deictic (demonstrative or pronominal). With the advent of literacy, these vocal signs become grammaticalized and conventionalized through phonemic oppositions which enable them to perform anaphoric functions with respect to the virtual spatial context represented in the text.

It is noticeable that deictic gestures are ambiguous because indication of the maximally distal zone of reference can also be interpreted as a gesture of exclusion. The same muscular resources are used, albeit more forcefully, to push away an object as to produce a gesture destined to orient the attention of the interactants toward a distal object. These kinds of gestures are readily observed to co-occur in a variety of modalities and intensities with the use of personal pronouns. This is most obvious in cultures that foster expressive gesticulation such as Southern French and more generally Mediterranean cultures but these deictic gestures can be probably observed in more subdued forms in all instances of communication among humans.

This biosemiotic range of behavior very plausibly predates the emergence of articulate languages. It is symptomatic that etymological inquiries into the Proto-Indo European origin of the Latin demonstrative pronouns *Hic, Hoc, Iste, Ille*, which yielded the French pronominal forms of the third person, ultimately reach primal phonemes which are not fully accountable semantically. They are monosyllabic kernels with various proclitic and enclitic reinforcements. As stated in Ernout and Meillet (1967: 309), “*On ne peut donc sans arbitraire analyser ille*” [It is not possible to analyze *ille* with any degree of certainty]. There is, however, a definite distribution between proximal and distal functions with respect to the dyad formed by the first- and second-person pronouns. Initiating and maintaining a dyadic dynamic relationship implies its separation from the surrounding space and the objects and agents it comprises. *Celui, celui-ci, celui-là, ceci, cela* are tools that implement a proxemic system based on the fundamental distal versus proximal opposition. Naturally, spatial distance can metaphorically express emotional distance and thus may encode alienation, estrangement, and hostility.

Like the English “we”, French first-person plural *nous* can be inclusive or exclusive, and generate the “us” versus “them” pattern of social exclusion which has been amply documented in discourse analysis and socio-semiotics (e.g., Riggins 1997). However, the third-person singular is at times used as a substitute for first- or second-person singular. Developmental studies of the pragmatics of pronouns show that the child does refer to herself or himself in the third person, possibly as an echo of sentences uttered by caregivers, or as an objectivation of their needs (e.g., Caët and Morgenstern 2015: 173–193). This kind of phenomenon can also be observed in adult interactions as an avoidance strategy or a parodic gesture. The effect of distancing can also have a symbolic aggressive value as it will be noted in the next section regarding interactions within the family context (Gardelle and Sorlin 2015).

Students of the French language are taught that the forms of the second person singular are *tu, te*, and *toi*, but that the plural form *vous* is also used as the proper way to address a single interlocutor formally. Children learn quickly to discriminate

between the two forms of interactions because their inappropriate generalization of the T form triggers correction or mockery. However, this pattern is not universal. Depending on the social class within which they are born, children are either trained to generalize the T form within the family and with their peers, and use the V form toward outsiders or they are schooled to use the V form when addressing all members of their own family as well. Among the segments of the population who belong or claim to belong to the social elite because of their aristocratic heritage or acquired status, the V form is the norm between spouses, and between children and parents. Whether this holds in private as well as in public can be debated but there is some evidence that in most cases it extends even to the realm of intimate relationships. Here, a telling anecdote is in order: one of my classmates was sharing the same common system of address as the one that was used in my family, namely the T forms. As we remained life-long friends, I was able to observe the moment when he switched to the V forms within his family after he married into an aristocratic clan and started a career at the highest levels of the French civil service. The first time I was invited for dinner at his new home, I was shocked and slightly amused to note that the V forms had been suddenly generalized in his new family in stark contrast to the norm in his own family during his childhood and adolescence. It would have been highly improper on my part to make a remark about this change because it was clear that this was not supposed to be open to comments. I pretended not to notice and considered the new mode of interaction as the norm although it was also expected that, as an old classmate of his, the T form was still appropriate between the two of us. The switching from a pronominal register to another signalled his claim to higher social status according to the pronominal code of the time. It seems obvious that, in his eyes, no other means would have been more publicly effective than this ostentatious move that established him as a full-fledged member of the culturally and economically dominant class.

However, since French is a polycentric language, it should be noted that the system described here applies to observations made in France, more specifically in Paris. In other francophone countries, the *tu / vous* opposition may be used for other social functions such as, for instance in-group *versus* out-group distinction, in which case the use of the V form may constitute an act of exclusion.

In the variety of French that is the focus of this chapter, whether to use the T or V forms outside the boundaries of the family is a tricky decision to be made not only by learners of the language but also by native speakers. In its simplified formulation, the pragmatic rule could be expressed as follows: V pronouns are the default form for neutral interactions but indicate respect or subservience when used in opposition to the T pronouns that indicate dominance or intimacy. Obviously, the latter is rife with ambiguity and even contradictory implications. The unquestionable common denominator, though, is that these two classes of morphemes

imply their opposition to the first person in a mutually exclusive relationship. *Je* is defined as being neither *tu* nor *vous*. *Je* establishes by its very enunciation a reciprocal difference of identity that is marked by a variable but necessary spatial distance as a gesture of exclusion. There is a *tu* or a *vous* only for a *je* to such an extent that Hjelmslev (1937: 58) could claim that the prototypical couple *ego* and *tu* in Latin “are two paradigmatic forms of the same pronoun”, somewhat like the two sides of a single speech act. In dyadic verbal interactions, the mutual distance is continuously at stake in a multimodal game during which it is possible to observe antagonistic or affiliative body postures and hand gestures, even converging or diverging slight movements or displacements in synchrony with the uttering of the pronominal morphemes. Gesture studies, proxemics, spatial orientation research in general are topics relevant to the empirical investigation of the pragmatics of pronominal systems (e.g., Pick and Acredolo 1983).

It is tempting to construe a matrix of logical relations which allows participants in any social interaction in French to make sense of their own position as the flow of communication shifts from one direction to the other. The posited term is *je* (here, the bold font is meant to indicate that the position is considered as an empty place, out of actual context) and the contradictory term is *tu*. The term *nous* is the contrary term of *je* since it negates the above opposition. *Il/elle/ils/elles/eux* occupy the fourth position that is defined by neither *je* nor *tu*. The latter third-person pronouns are gendered in French because the language is characterized by a gendering imperative according to which all elements of the lexicon must be grammatically either feminine or masculine and trigger further gender agreements in other parts of the discourse. Grammatically neutral is identical to masculine. However, such a specification is irrelevant for *je* and *tu* in verbal interaction since this information is redundantly disclosed by the very presence of the persons who communicate in actual contexts. The fourth position in the matrix indicates a rejection of individuals outside the basic dyadic or multipolar communication arcs. The real, virtual, or symbolic absence of the third excluded moves this set under the power of the gendering imperative. The third person always has a connotation of exclusion as mentioned above. The T form was the normal currency for members of my family to address each other but referring to any of them was expected to command the use of the role lexicon (*papa*, *maman*, *grandpère* et *grandmère* and their hypocoristic versions *pépé* and *mémé*). Using the first names was permissible only between siblings and cousins or close friends. In occasional fits of anger or frustration in response to some denying of our requests or limitation to our freedom, we would refer to them in the third person with a hostile intonation. Such a verbal gesture of estrangement was not considered to be acceptable and would trigger scolding in the form of a stern question: “*Lui, qui?*” [He, who?] ou “*Elle, qui?*” [She, who?] as a reminder that we had broken the unwritten rules

that sustained the inner harmony of our family. Similarly, the use of the first names was strictly asymmetrical and using them to address the parents or grandparents was also unthinkable as it would have undermined the familial hierarchy.

In some social contexts, the third person pronouns, mainly when they are used in the presence of those to whom they refer, are experienced as an act of exclusion. During a linguistic conference organized by Indian scholars, I found myself seated at a table with French-speaking colleagues. One of them was Russian, the others were from the local university. To my great embarrassment, the Russian kept addressing me, making remarks during the conversation about the way “they” (ils) were eating and other cultural characteristics as if our Indian colleagues were in a separate space or on a different level in spite of the fact that we all were eating at the same table, a clear case of the us versus them that signals social discrimination.

In French-speaking structured groups such as, for example, a commercial company, a university faculty staff, or an administrative unit, each individual constantly monitors more or less consciously the use of pronouns among the diverse members of the group of which they are a part. This indeed provides crucial information on the influential networks of alliances that may impact the decision-making processes irrespective of the system of administrative functions. A *lapsus linguae* sometimes betrays hidden relationships or changes of interpersonal attitudes. This is somewhat the equivalent in American English-speaking groups of the symmetrical or dissymmetrical use of first names, family names, titles, or function names. Primatologists have consistently observed that, in groups of most primate species, each individual keeps track of who grooms whom as it is a way of understanding and therefore exploiting the fluid network of alliances that governs the social dynamics of the group (e.g., Dunbar 1988; Sapolsky 2002; de Waal 1990).

It seems clear (Benveniste 1966) that the triadic symmetrical structure of the pronominal paradigm that was carried by the classical legacy is a fallacious model that does not fit the actual use and value of French pronouns. Benveniste’s article was significantly titled “The nature of pronouns” as a way of questioning the formalistic, syncretic approach of Hjelmslev’s “The nature of the pronoun” (1937) with the word “pronoun” used in the singular, thus indicating an abstract, theoretical approach to the grammatical notion rather than a concern for its pragmatics. Others have further discussed the problems involved in fully understanding the French pronominal system (e.g., Morel and Danon-Boileau 1992; Kirtchuk 1995).

4. Personal pronouns as speech acts

Speech acts are verbal utterances that impact the state of affairs and cause an irreversible change in the context of the interaction (Austin 1962). In descriptive,

referential discourse, personal pronouns usually fulfil their grammatical functions in locutionary and illocutionary statements. However, since pronominal systems also indicate social structures and personal relations, verbal interactions are governed by a set of expectations regarding the use of the “proper” pronouns. Consequently, any unexpected use, whether accidental or deliberate, carries more than simple linguistic information. Such utterances change the *status quo* and actually modify the social grid or the nature of a personal relation. It is in this respect that such utterances can be considered, in Austin’s terminology, as “perlocutionary”, that is, consequential utterances. This is particularly obvious when the switching of address pronouns from the V to the T form, or the reverse, occurs during an interaction as we will see in the anecdotes below and in the literary examples presented in the next section. The selective use of pronouns can perform an act of bonding, submission, exclusion, dominance, commitment, or breaking of a bond, depending on the social context in which the utterance occurs. Conversely, the absence of change has the effect of confirming and reinforcing the *status quo*.

When interacting with another person a French speaker is confronted with several options: first, the T or V forms but, in case of uncertainty, for instance because of a lapse of time or because there is a new dissymmetry of social status, a few strategies can help maintain a face-saving ambiguity such as the use of the indefinite pronoun *on* or the inclusive *nous*. Thus, rather than saying “*Il y a longtemps que je ne (t’) or (vous) ai pas vu(e)*”, “*Il y a longtemps qu’on ne s’est pas vu*” or “*il y a longtemps que nous ne nous sommes pas vus*” makes it possible to postpone the decision and puts the ball in the other’s camp. As we will see in the anecdotes below, such choices are socially and psychologically very sensitive. These options combine with a range of other possible choices involving titles such as *Madame* and *Monsieur*, or *Docteur*, etc. as well as first name, nickname, or family name. The use of titles commands the V form. The use of first name is compatible with both the T and V forms. The nickname belongs to the realm of the T form. Observations of the address behaviour within a group provide information about the socio-political network that relates individuals to each other. Social proximity is the key factor for the T form either because of close family links, except for families which claim higher status as we saw above, or because these individuals consider themselves as peers if they are or have been classmates. Among socially distant individuals, the reciprocal T form may betray sexual intimacy. The dissymmetrical use of the T form implies dominance or contempt. In the latter case, it may count as an insult. Inappropriate uses of the T form in social encounters can trigger laughter as a mild means of repressing a violation of the norm when it involves toddlers or foreigners. It can also create a verbal or even physical reaction if the implications are considered to cross the line of acceptability when the perpetrator is assumed to be conversant with the social norm and thus can be construed as deliberate.

Some anecdotal examples are now in order to illustrate this aspect of the pragmatics of pronominal uses. An American colleague of mine who was quite proficient in French used to visit Paris from time to time. She enjoyed shopping at a traditional butcher's shop in which the customers interacted directly with the owner and his helpers. As was typical in this neighbourhood, some casual conversation took place during the purchasing process. My colleague often commented about the cheerfulness of the French who were always laughing a lot with her when she was shopping. In fact, as I discovered later, their hilarity was caused by her using the T form to address the butcher. This conveyed an inappropriate image of promiscuity, evocating the solicitation of a prostitute toward a potential client. The butcher scene was construed by the local audience as involuntary humour.

This kind of transgression, though, is not always taken lightly. One of my classmates at the university was slapped by a female student as he had casually used the T form to address her in public. Her angry comment had been: "What? I never slept with you! Did I?" The sexual connotation is not necessarily implied. When I was in secondary school, a student had a big reputation for impertinence. He was credited for having replied to a teacher who had used the T form to scold him: "What? I never herded the pigs with you! Did I?" I did not witness this exchange but the story was popular in the school. Whether actual or invented, this anecdote is revealing in as much as it foregrounds the social implications of the T form: this student had rejected the institutional dominance of the teacher by claiming that she was of a lower social status than he was. In the French system of social classes, if not cast system, farmers mainly because of their husbandry, hence closeness to animals, are looked down upon by city dwellers. The reference to pigs, of course, reinforces the intended negative image. Actually, this exchange was not a spontaneous invention but was tapping a common exchange in the popular language. As I was introducing this example in my argument, I came across a similar dialogue in a Facebook comment: Someone who had been addressed as *Tu* by a stranger instantly replied "*Je n'ai jamais gardé les cochons avec vous!*" [I never herded the pigs with you], to which the other person replied: "*C'est vrai, tu les as gardés tout seul!*" [True, you did herd them by yourself!]. Obviously, the rejoinder has become a part of the standard repertory of potential insults based on the pronominal system.

A few years ago, as I was starting to research the pragmatics of French pronouns (Bouissac 2013), I indulged in some improvised real-life experiments. At the conclusion of a conference in Brussels, the participants gathered in a restaurant for a convivial meal. I was seated by chance next to a male student at a table that included the main organizer and his assistants. I quickly noticed that the T form was the currency of the conversation. This was to be expected among peers of both genders but the T form was also used symmetrically with older individuals who had shared work interests with them for a certain length of time. I was

wondering whether, as an outsider, I could join in the T mode. I tried first to thus address the male student. This move turned out to be markedly disturbing as this individual could not hide how upset he was in spite of his efforts to socially accept the situation. I had obviously broken an unspoken rule by verbally forcing my way into his private space, so to speak.

Revolutions in France have traditionally introduced changes in the social values of the pronominal system. The 1789 revolt against the monarchic regime translated into a repealing of the V form as a way to deny the most obvious linguistic sign of social inequality. In subsequent historical events, the previous norms resurfaced with a vengeance. From 1968 on, the student revolt fed a symbolic movement toward the generalization of the T form. This change in the ways of addressing each other, mostly in academic contexts, was particularly traumatic for the traditional establishment. I experienced the transition as I was entering an academic career and found it difficult to use the T form with my former professors as well as my students. The new generation, though, was elated to be able to break this norm. Many colleagues started to use the T forms with their students and with each other. The conservative resistance, though, maintained the traditional formality. It ensued that, even today, the two modes of address are in competition for the norm all the more since the social media tend to promote the casual, shorter T forms because these media reduce the social as much as the physical distance.

Let us return to anecdotal evidence with an example of this process. Although I now live in an English-speaking context, frequent contacts with my native French culture prompt me to adapt to on-going changes while being keenly aware of the differences. A few years ago, a younger colleague who shares the same research interests with me initiated Internet communication and used the V form to address me. I reciprocated and maintained this distance as I was somewhat reluctant to engage in the kind of collaboration he kept suggesting. I eventually found myself at some point interacting with a group of his students and colleagues among whom the T form was the rule. Sticking to the V form quickly became untenable for me and I smoothly shifted to the T form with this group. From then on, my relationship with this colleague became genuine and productive. The switching itself was a speech act that created an academic bond and signaled my willingness to engage and my trust in the cooperation he wanted to achieve.

For at least five decades, feminists have critically pointed out that the French language has entrenched a bias against women. There are obvious targets such as the grammatical rule of gender agreement which compels people to use the masculine form of the plural when a composite subject involves the two different genders. This is a pervasive problem since all words in French are categorized as either feminine or masculine irrespective of any biological considerations although this distinction also coincides with references to the marked sex of the

persons mentioned. This problem is compounded by the fact that, in most cases, grammatical agreements produce phonetic differences that make the masculine dominance acoustically prominent in verbal exchanges. It is in this context that the French pronouns *je*, *tu*, *vous*, et *nous* are claimed by Luce Irigaray, for instance, to implicitly exclude the female voice: “Only when there is a separate, female ‘I’ will any woman be able to join to another, different ‘you’ to create a plural ‘nous’ ” ([1990] 1993). Of course, this objection holds only with respect to written French since in any actual spoken language the gender of the speakers is made obvious by a range of acoustic and visual information. In a language like French in which masculine and feminine forms are foregrounded in the lexicon and in the grammar, conventional rules are open to being questioned if they appear to embody stereotypical characterizations and gender exclusion. Hence the heated debate that arose in France in 2017 about the issue of teaching children a reformed, inclusive language, a cultural move opposed by national institutions such as the French Academy and the Prime Minister’s office. The implementation of the reform is perceived by conservative authorities as a threat to the integrity of the national language and, as such, equivalent to a subversive political speech act, in other words, a cultural revolution.

However, spoken languages pay little attention to top-down linguistic legislation and the socio-dynamic that is relentlessly at work in human interactions brings about creative changes that fit the current perceived needs of expression and communication. This phenomenon has been perceptively studied for the Germanic languages, in particular for Dutch, for which the complexity of the gendering of the lexicon and subsequent grammatical agreement rules force speakers to find pragmatic solutions and “reinvent” the system of pronouns with respect to gender (Audring 2009, Wagner 2003).

5. The creative use of pronouns in literary texts

Although French, and European languages in general, do not offer a range of options as rich as the paradigms found in some other language families, creative use can be made of the pragmatic values of the available pronouns in epistolary and literary texts. The regular exploitation of this meaning-making resource can be traced back at least to the seventeenth century in the theatre, a genre that involves by definition verbal interactions. One of the most dramatic effects obtained by switching from the T form to the V form is found in Racine’s tragedy *Bajazet* ([1672] 1993). Set in the orientalist world of the Ottoman Empire, the plot involves a conspiracy hatched by the Prime Minister with the complicity of the Sultan’s favourite, Roxane. The aim is to depose the Sultan and to replace him with

his brother, Prince Bajazet, currently held captive under a death sentence. The Sultan is away, conducting some military campaign, but before leaving in a hurry he has ordered Roxane to have Bajazet put to death during his absence. As Roxane has fallen in love with the captive prince, she is prepared to join the conspiracy aimed at deposing the Sultan as long as Bajazet accepts to marry her.

Unfortunately, the prince happens to be in love with another woman and finds it difficult to accept the consequences of agreeing to this conditional offer. In the two scenes that stage a dialogue between the two protagonists, Bajazet consistently uses the V form but Racine makes Roxane dramatically play on the three options available as a way to portray her intense passion and tragic frustration. In the second act of the play, she starts by formally addressing the prince as *vous* but, overwhelmed by her passion, soon moves to the intimate *tu*. Confronted with his indifference, she refers to him in the third person as a gesture of ultimate rejection before resuming her alternate use of the T and V forms. In the last act, the announced return of the Sultan demands an urgent decision. We hear that the executioners are ready to put Bajazet to death but Roxane makes a last, desperate attempt to secure the prince's love. The T form signals her profound desire to spare his life and, again, she offers to save him if he agrees to consort with her. He demurs. Her sudden, brief move to the V form to order him to exit is equivalent to a death sentence.

The meaning effect caused by switching from the V to the T form toward an addressee is also found in other plays including comedies. In Molière's *Dom Juan* ([1682] 2013), for instance, there is a scene in which the immoral womanizer Dom Juan is confronted by his outraged father Dom Louis. The paternal long-winded diatribe is interrupted by the son who, unperturbed, suggests to his father that he should sit down so that he would be more comfortable while talking. So far the dialogue has developed in the V mode, following the norm between aristocrats, using what Brown and Gilman labelled "pronoun of solidarity" which they claim is the norm in French classical theatre for interactions among upper class equals (Brown and Gilman 1960: 278). However, the father does not take his son's insolence lightly and suddenly switches to the T form to threaten him with harsh punishment, thus asserting his authority by using a "pronoun of power" according to Brown and Gilman's terminology. The dramatic effect caused by this change of address indicates that the opposition was deeply rooted in the social structure of the time as a means to transform the nature of even a family relation.

The proximity signalled by the T forms is qualified by the information provided by the context that is constructed by the author. In some cases, it can mean social equality. In some others, it conveys the idea of contempt or asserts domination. As we have seen above, in Racine's tragedies, the use of the T forms by opposition to the V forms means the breakdown of social conventions and the

irrepressible power of a destructive amorous passion. French literature is rife with such examples. In the early nineteenth century, Chateaubriand's novella *René* ([1802] 1962) offers a dramatic use of the T forms in a context that suggests incest. The hero, René, has a close relationship with his sister Amélie, and, as members of the aristocracy, the siblings are assumed to properly address each other in the V form. The reported dialogues are indeed expressed in this manner. When the author makes Amélie express herself in the direct style, we observe the occasional irruptions of the T-form to signify the deep love that the sister experiences toward her brother when the intensity of her feelings overrides her sense of propriety. In the final letter addressed to René to inform him that she has decided to burry herself in a convent to escape the sinful world, she uses the formal V-form, except at a moment when she evokes the possibility that her brother will eventually marry and enjoy a fulfilling life with a lovely wife. This image suddenly breaks down her determination. Her brief shifting to the T-form betrays her more than sisterly love. In the cultural conventions of the time, seeking perpetual refuge in religion as a cloistered nun is an expected escape from her unholy passion for her brother. Such meaning-making uses of the respective values of the second-person V- and T-forms, is untranslatable in a language like English that does not offer the same option to its speakers. In translations of Chateaubriand's novella, the switching from the V- to T-form simply disappears as both are rendered by *you*. The following example shows that translators have no other choice than engaging in some sort of metalinguistic paraphrase if they are to convey the performativity of the speech act at play.

Epistolary communication, whether in literary fictions or in real life, draws upon this powerful opposition. Between lovers, the irruption of the V form signals a breaking up of the relationship, or, at least, an indication that it is in jeopardy. A telling example is found in the correspondence between Napoléon and his first wife, Joséphine de Beauharnais. As the French emperor was displeased for some reason, he had a letter in the V form delivered to her. Her reply was swift and to the point: "*Tu me traites de vous! Vous toi-même!*", a reply that can be paraphrased as: "you insulted me by using the V form! Let me insult you back by doing the same!" (Morel 1994, Fontaine 2005). Suddenly switching from the T-form that indicates intimate closeness to the V-form is indeed an act that breaks an established bond.

These few examples show that the meaning-making power of personal pronouns goes well beyond their grammatical functions. Literary texts in particular reveal how these indexical forms combine with contextual parameters to construe a great variety of meanings. They may be somewhat like frozen iconic representations of pragmatic events under a magnifying lens, if not a microscope. They provide information on the way language acts operate online, so to speak, in the flow of verbal exchanges by which social structures are generated and evolve.

Pronominal systems, as is the case of French, transcend the artificial constraints of grammatical rules. They constitute a flexible tool of sociality through which the reality and symbolicity of interpersonal space is codified, enforced, and subverted. Both in real life interactions and in creative writings that are consubstantial with orality, the speaking subject can actualize itself as *je*, *tu*, *nous*, *vous*, *il*, *elle*, and *on* in ways that are clearly understood by the native speakers of the language.

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The dynamics of Nepali pronominal distinctions in familiar, casual and formal relationships

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Nepali uses various morphological means formally to distinguish at least five levels of deference in verbal interaction. In addition to the three Nepali second person pronouns, for each of which the Nepali verb distinguishes separate conjugated forms, Nepali speakers also make use of the deferentially conjugated verb in combination with the respectful term *hajur* or with kinship terms to give expression to different levels of deference and formality. Moreover, the Nepali verb distinguishes a separate mediopassively conjugated construction used exclusively when the notional subject of the sentence is a member of the former royal family. Speakers can also exploit the device of the ambiguous avoidance term *āphu* 'self' or make oblique reference to the second person through the use of the first person plural when a speaker is uncertain of the register which would be most appropriate.

Unlike the simple two-term system found in many Western languages, such as French *tu* vs. *vous*, the choice of pronoun and conjugation between intimate friends and indeed between higher caste married couples tends to be highly asymmetrical. The semiotics of this asymmetry is commensurate with the degree of intimacy which the two individuals feel towards each other. This phenomenon, strikingly unfamiliar to the contemporary Occidental, illustrates rather vividly how different the sensibilities and semantic underpinnings of the many tiers of deference expressed by pronominal usage and other morphological parameters in Nepali are from those of an intimate interaction whereby the two European individuals might simply be able to *tutoyer* each other. A descriptive account is provided of actual usage, and an analytical exposition of the semiotics of this morphologically diverse system of indexing relationships in Nepali speech is presented.

Keywords: Nepali, pronouns, pronominal agreement, deferential systems, honorifics, pronominal morphology, semiotics, sociolinguistics

The second person in Nepali

There are three pronouns to refer to a singular second person referent in Nepali. These are the familiar second person pronoun तँ *tā*, the intermediate form तिमि *timī* and the deferential form तपाईं *tapāĩ*. In his grammatical notes on Nepali, Clark (1963: 71) introduces the unfortunate terms ‘low grade honorific’, ‘middle grade honorific’ and ‘high grade honorific’ for the pronouns तँ *tā*, तिमि *timī* and तपाईं *tapāĩ* respectively. In fact, these terms are misnomers because none of the three Nepali second person pronouns can aptly be called honorific in terms of their meaning. Clark explains that the form तँ *tā* ‘is used in familiar speech to children and junior servants’, whilst the pronoun तिमि *timī* ‘is used among friends and to more senior servants’, and the form तपाईं *tapāĩ* ‘is the form regularly used in polite conversation’. Although Clark’s simple description comes in handy for users of an introductory coursebook, in fact we shall see that his synopsis represents a gross oversimplification.

Korolëv (1965: 99; 1968: 1259) treats तँ *tā* as a singular second person pronoun, which he translates with Russian ты *ty* ‘you’ (sg.). He treats तिमि *timī* as a plural second person pronoun and translates this form with Russian вы *vy* ‘you’ (PL.). In so doing, Korolëv’s approach is historically informed and diachronically correct, though no longer an entirely adequate way to describe modern Nepali usage. Korolëv (1968: 1260) qualifies the form तपाईं *tapāĩ*, which he renders orthographically in Devanāgarī script as तपाईं *tapāĩ*, as a ‘strong polite form’ of the second person. Indeed, the pronoun तपाईं *tapāĩ* is a ‘strong’ form in that this second person pronoun represents an innovation in the pronominal system. The pronoun तपाईं *tapāĩ* originally represents a compound of the singular second person pronoun तँ *tā* augmented with the element पाईं *pāĩ*, which also occurs in the now rare form मपाईं *mapāĩ* ‘I myself’. For the latter, Tripāthī and Dāhāl (vs 2040: 1050) recorded the spelling मपाईं *mapāĩ*, which parallels the spelling of the second person deferential pronoun तपाईं *tapāĩ*, and they explained that the form is used when talking about oneself in a prideful fashion.

According to Turner (1931: 272, 371, 493; 1966: 502), the element पाईं *pāĩ* or पाईं *pāĩ* ultimately derives from the same etymon that is reflected in Pali as *pāyēna* and in the Prakrit forms *pāēṇa* ~ *pāēṇam*, meaning ‘for the most part’. The Nepali element पाईं *pāĩ* in तपाईं *tapāĩ* and मपाईं *mapāĩ* is therefore cognate with the Kumaunī emphatic particle *pai* and the Marāṭhī form *pāĩ* ~ *paĩ* ‘certainly, generally’. In addition to the orthographic variant तपाईं *tapāĩ*, given by Korolëv, the pronoun तपाईं *tapāĩ* sometimes occurs in modern sources and the electronic media as तपाईं, *tapāĩ* without the *bindu* indicating nasalisation. This variation is due to nothing more than carelessness, but the orthographic variation is worth noting nonetheless.

Others have subsequently corrected the use of the term ‘low grade honorific’. For instance, Verma and Sharma (1979, I: 191) labelled the form तँ *tā* ‘non-honorific’, the form तिमि *timī* ‘honorific’ and the form तपाईं *tapāī* ‘formal’. Aryāl (2010: 19) labels the second person pronouns तँ *tā*, तिमि *timī* and तपाईं *tapāī* as ‘non-honourific’, ‘middle honourific’ and ‘high honourific’ respectively. As I have already hastened to stress, the meanings of none of the three Nepali second person pronominal forms can be accurately qualified as honorific. Schmidt (1976) proposed that the factors underlying the usage of the different Nepali pronouns are ‘social distance’ and ‘solidarity’. She recognised that Nepali has more than three registers, although her account of the morphology of the ‘fourth’ register is inaccurate.

With reference to the work on the three-tiered system of pronominal usage in Hindi by Dhanesh Kumar Jain (1969, 1973), Schmidt makes the astute assertion:

I do not disagree with the position that a single complex dimension (i.e. social distance) may contain diverse aspects such as power and solidarity... The real issue is whether we are justified in making a universalistic distinction of three ranked categories. (Schmidt 1976: 213)

In fact, as numerous individuals who operate in both language communities have experienced for themselves, the Nepali and Hindi systems are quite far from congruent. Despite asymmetries in pronominal usage which both languages share, in practice the two systems diverge wildly. Rather, the meanings encoded by pronominal forms are language-specific and reflect entirely distinct language-specific constellations of cultural values and social sensibilities (cf. Braun 1988).

From an all-encompassing vantage point, the Nepali system of pronominal usage sometimes creates the impression of defying description because multiple systems coexist in the language, depending on a person’s caste and upbringing, but also depending on a person’s individual sensibilities and sophistication. At the same time, pronominal usage in Nepali is in transition and undergoing rapid change. Nonetheless, many generalisations can be stated, and the exceptions can then also be insightfully explained. Detailed examples will be adduced and explained to describe the individual meaning of the three second person pronouns. Whilst I contend that the term ‘honorific’ is semantically a misnomer, the distinction between the three Nepali second person pronouns does have to do with सम्मान *sammān* ‘respect, deference, acknowledgement’ as well as with familiarity vs. distance.

Many Western languages distinguish between two registers, such as the French choice between *tutoyer* and *vouvoyer* or the German distinction between *duzen* and *siezen*. Brown and Gilman (1960) interpreted the pronominal usage between two persons, making up what they called a dyad, in terms of power politics, distance and solidarity. Cases of the asymmetrical use of pronouns were perceived

as ‘social dyads involving semantic conflict’, whereas instances of reciprocal use of pronouns within a dyad were interpreted as cases in which the conflict had been resolved. In reality, many such semantic conflicts are never resolved, as in the traditional albeit now conservative Dutch usage of respectful *U* by a grandchild to his grandmother, and the grandmother’s use of the familiar form *jij*, *je* and *jou* to her grandchild. In fact, such dyads are not even characterised by semantic conflict at all, merely by asymmetry. Instead, perhaps the discomfort expressed by Brown and Gilman is a reflection of an anglophone world view, or the tendency to be ill at ease with acknowledgements of a difference in social hierarchy could, more broadly, be symptomatic of an historical trend in Western social sensibilities, favouring, as it were, something akin to a forced redistribution of wealth, albeit in purely pronominal terms.

Both Dutch and Swedish are moving towards masking inequality of social station through increasing usage of familiar pronouns, i.e. Dutch *jij*, *je* and *jou* and Swedish *du* and *dig*, to persons, whom one would traditionally address with a polite second person pronoun, i.e. Dutch *U* and Swedish *ni* and *er*. The fact that pronominal usage is changing was vividly illustrated on one occasion when an elderly lady on the street in Amsterdam was being addressed by a young boy who had received only a “progressive” egalitarian upbringing and knew no better than to address anyone and everyone with *jij*, *je* and *jou*, even an elderly lady on the street to whom he had not been introduced. The offended lady merely kept looking down at the boy and repeating didactically ‘U! U! U!’. Her insistence created the awkward impression on bystanders that she was addressing the boy with the respectful pronoun, whilst the boy, oblivious to the woman’s intent, kept on babbling, all the while addressing the elderly lady with *jij*.

Historically, both Dutch and English underwent an evolution of sensibilities in the opposite direction. The informal English *thou* and *thee*, from Old English *þū* and *þē*, was crowded out by the polite use of the plural *ye* and *you*, from Old English *gē* and *ēow*. In Dutch, the older second person *du* likewise passed long ago into oblivion, and when the original second person plural pronoun *gi*, later yielding *jij* in Holland and *gij* in Flanders, was not felt to be polite enough, the pronouns *U* and *jullie* were innovated. The polite *U* derives from *Uedele*, formerly abbreviated as ‘U Ed.’ in written Dutch, which represents a contraction of *Uwe Edelheid* ‘Your nobleness’, with the possessive pronoun contained in the expression representing a respectful and historically plural form. Since the historical plural form no longer felt semantically plural, Dutch innovated the form *jullie*, composed etymologically of *je* ‘you’ and *lui* ‘people’. It is interesting to see the Dutch pronominal usage today evolving in the reverse direction, as if to keep in step with post-colonial egalitarian social sensibilities.

Another notion that is becoming – or may already have become – alien to the Occidental mind is that deference does not preclude intimacy. In a usual relationship between a husband and wife, intimacy is naturally great. The asymmetry in pronominal usage in Nepali between marital partners reflects deference on the part of the wife and familiarity on the part of the husband. The husband's use of तँ *tā* is not disrespectful, but familiar. The wife's use of तपाईं *tapāĩ* is not distant in an emotional sense, but deferential. In a happy marriage at least, this pronominal usage reflects the loving acknowledgement of a culturally determined and socially sanctioned hierarchical distinction. Within this very real asymmetry, intimacy may thrive.

A husband refers to his wife respectfully as श्रीमती *śrīmatī*, and a wife refers to her husband respectfully as श्रीमान *śrīmān*.¹ However, these formal terms of reference are not used as terms of address. Instead, husband and wife may commonly address each other as बूढो *būḍho* 'old [man]' and बूढी *būḍhī* 'old [lady]'; and these terms are also used by the spouses as informal terms of reference in collocation with the possessive pronominal forms *mero* 'my' and *merī* 'my' respectively, or by others as terms of reference in collocation with a third person possessive pronoun. A husband may address his wife affectionately as प्रिया *priyā* or प्रियसी *priyasī* 'darling', and a wife might address her husband as मेरो हजुर *mero hajur* 'my sire'.² Spouses also occasionally address each other by name. In terms of pronominal usage and the associated repertoire of conjugated verb forms, the situation contrasts sharply with the West, where pronominal usage within intimate relationships and friendships tends to be more reciprocal.

In Nepal, asymmetries in age and social status are acknowledged in pronominal use. The hierarchy is reinforced and often reframed in terms of fictive kinship. In this respect too, Nepali differs radically from Hindi, where kinship terms are not used in this way. In fact, when terms such as Hindi भाई *bhāī* 'brother' are used socially, they are felt to be condescending, and this condescension is even more pronounced with the form भैया *bhaiyā* or भईया *bhāiyā*. Yet in Hindi this term can also be used in a friendly way by a socially more privileged person to address a person of more modest social station. With regard to the use of terms of kinship, the Nepali situation is utterly distinct from Hindi usage.

In Nepali, a भाइ *bhāī* 'younger brother' shows deference and fealty to the elder brother but can expect to receive support, succour and protection from his दाइ

1. The term पोइ *poi* is a disrespectful way to refer to someone's husband.

2. Whilst a Nepali husband's use of प्रिया *priyā* or प्रियसी *priyasī* as terms of address is somewhat reminiscent of the way in which spouses may address each other in Dutch as *schat* 'treasure', the Nepali system contrasts sharply with the Dutch system by its more pronounced gender asymmetry.

dāi 'older brother' in return.³ The affectionate and friendly connotation of these terms carries over into the use of words such as भाइ *bhāi* and दाइ *dāi* as fictitious kinship terms of address between people who are not biological kin. From a Nepali perspective, one could even be inclined to wonder whether the reciprocal use of pronouns in Dutch, Russian, French or German may mask, overlook or brush aside asymmetries which could actually be quite helpful explicitly to acknowledge within a relationship. Moreover, an asymmetrical use of pronouns in Nepali does not at all preclude a strong sense of what Brown and Gilman called 'solidarity with the dyad'. Rather, such issues may very well belong to altogether different dimensions of social reality.

Finally, the three tiers of pronominal choice in the second person are also reflected in all of the conjugated indicative, optative and imperative verb forms. The imperative form used with a person whom a speaker addresses with the familiar pronoun तँ *tā* consists merely of the bare stem of the verb, whether this is an open or a closed verb stem, e.g. गर *gar* 'do',⁴ बस् *bas* 'sit', दे *de* 'give',⁵ खा *khā* 'eat'. Imperative forms directed towards a person whom a speaker addresses with the intermediate form तिमी *timī* consist of the verb augmented by the imperative ending <-a> in the case of a closed stem verbs, e.g. गर *gara* 'do', बस *basa* 'sit', and the ending <-u> in the case of open stem verbs, e.g. देउ *deu* 'give', खाउ *khāu* 'eat'. Imperatives directed at persons addressed with the deferential pronoun तपाईं *tapāi* consist, etymologically and orthographically, of the infinitive combined with the third person singular optative form of the verb हुनु *hunu* 'to be', i.e. होस् *hos* 'let it be, may it be so', e.g. गर्नुहोस् *garnuhos* [garnos] 'do', बस्नुहोस् *basnuhos* [basnos] 'please sit', दिनुहोस् *dinuhos* [dinos]

3. The spellings दाई *dāi* and भाई *bhāi* are also in use.

4. The विराम *virām* or हलन्त *halant* is usually not written in such forms. In practice, familiar imperative forms are seldom ever written at all. Routine omission of the *virām* in such forms, however, results in identical orthographic representations for the familiar imperative and the intermediate imperative of verbs with closed stems, e.g. familiar गर *gar* 'do', बस *bas* 'sit' and intermediate गर *gara* 'do', बस *basa* 'sit'. In Nepali, the *virām* is most often used (1) after round letters, such as those denoting retroflex sounds, especially in infinitives, (2) to silence a mute final /a/ in certain Sanskrit loanwords, and (3) as an orthographic attribute of certain consonant-final grammatical endings, e.g. singular second person optative, singular third person optative, plural third person optative, plural third person present indicative. However, the *virām* is not generally used to delete a mute final /a/ at the end of an orthographic word. The reader must just know whether the word in question ends in a consonant or in a *hrasva* 'short' /a/ [ə]. Unless placed between phonetic or morpheme brackets, Nepali is transliterated according to the traditional Indological system with minor adaptations, as explained in van Driem (2001: xi-xiii).

5. The morphophonology of verbs with open stems lies beyond the scope of this treatise, but it may be noted that the verb दिनु *dīnu* 'give' exhibits regular alternation between the stems दि <di> and दे <de>.

‘please give’, खानुहोस् *khānuhos* [khānos] ‘please eat’. The ending <-nuhos> [nos] is effectively a conflation of the first infinitival ending and the third person singular optative form of the auxiliary.

The three tiers of pronominal choice reflected by the forms तँ *tā*, तिमि *timī* and तपाईं *tapāĩ* do not encompass the entire gamut of morphologically expressed deferential stances that are available to a speaker of Nepali. There are two additional forms of the imperative that may be used with persons who are addressed with the deferential pronoun तपाईं *tapāĩ*. The use of the plain infinitive in <-nu>, whilst deferential, has an instructional, neutral or expedient connotation, e.g. गर्नु *garnu* ‘do’, बस्नु *basnu* ‘sit’, दिनु *dinu* ‘give’, खानु *khānu* ‘eat’. A second alternative, that is yet more polite than the form ending in <-nuhos> [nos], are the imperatives built from the infinitive in combination with the third person singular form of the possible future tense होला *holā* ‘it may be, perhaps it will be’, गर्नुहोला *garnuholā* ‘kindly please do’, बस्नुहोला *basnuholā* ‘kindly please sit’, दिनुहोला *dinuholā* ‘kindly please give’, खानुहोला *khānuholā* ‘kindly please eat’. The latter forms are more polite because the use of the possible future tense of the auxiliary inherently suggests far less coercion, but rather a gentle suggestion.

The three pronominal tiers are likewise distinguished formally throughout the entire verbal conjugation of the indicative and optative mood as well. Two examples of one verb for each of the three tiers in just the simple present and simple preterite will suffice to illustrate this fundamental distinction permeating the elaborate system of Nepali conjugational morphology as well as to demonstrate that a speaker cannot avoid the deferential grades simply by dropping or avoiding the use of the pronoun, e.g. familiar तँ खान्छस् *tā khānchas* ‘you eat’, तैले खाइस् *tāile khāis* ‘you have eaten’, intermediate तिमि खान्छौ *timī khānchau* ‘you eat’, तिमिले खायो *timīle khāyau* ‘you have eaten’, and deferential तपाईं खानुहुन्छ *tapāĩ khānuhuncha* ‘you eat’, तपाईंले खानुभयो ‘you have eaten’ *tapāĩle khānubhayo*.

Even when not using second person verbal and pronominal forms at all, Nepali grammar compels a speaker to render explicit which pronoun he otherwise uses in addressing someone even when the speaker merely refers to the person in question in the third person. Today, the choice between the third person familiar pronoun उ *u* ‘he, she’ and the third person intermediate pronoun उनी *uni* ‘he, she’ has been somewhat eroded, so that the form उनी *uni* is seldom used, but suggests a referent whom the speaker addresses as तिमि *timī*, and therefore, by implication in most cases, a female referent in the case of a male speaker, as will become clear below. Persons whom the speaker addresses as तपाईं *tapāĩ* are referred to pronominally in the third person as उहाँ *uhā* ‘he, she’. Therefore, even when a proper name is used instead of a pronoun, the speaker’s choice of pronoun when addressing a person is rendered explicit to the listener by the speaker’s choice of third person verb form. For example, बाबुले भन्यो *Bābu-le bhanyo* ‘Bābu said’ suggests that the

speaker might address Bābu with the familiar तँ *tā*, whereas the intermediate बाबुले भने *Bābu-le bhane* ‘Bābu said’ reveals that the speaker addresses Bābu as तिमि *timī*. Finally, बाबुले भन्नुभयो *Bābu-le bhannubhayo* ‘Bābu said’ shows that the speaker addresses Bābu with the pronominal form तपाईं *tapāĩ*. The distinction between the several tiers of third person deference are observed a *fortiori* in written language and elevated diction.

Growing up in a pronominal world

The first place where a speaker becomes acquainted with pronominal usage is in the context of the family. The asymmetrical use of pronouns between husband and wife has already been mentioned. Children growing up will observe that their mother addresses their father with the deferential pronoun तपाईं *tapāĩ*, whereas their father will address their mother with the familiar pronoun तँ *tā*. Other than this asymmetry, the native language learner will quickly grow accustomed to the situation that within the family, pronominal usage directly reflects family hierarchy in terms of generation as well as of age within generation. Offspring will address their parents and their grandparents with the deferential pronoun तपाईं *tapāĩ*, and the same pronoun is used to address the siblings of both parents, the spouses of the siblings of both parents, the siblings of grandparents as well as the spouses of the siblings of grandparents. More generally, the pronoun तपाईं *tapāĩ* is the appropriate deferential pronoun for one’s elders and for older people. The distance is a function of age. Amongst one’s own siblings, a दाइ *dāi* ‘elder brother’ and दिदी *didī* ‘elder sister’ will likewise be addressed with the pronoun तपाईं *tapāĩ*.⁶ By contrast, a speaker addresses his or her भाइ *bhāi* ‘younger brother’ and बहिनी *bahinī* ‘younger sister’ with the familiar pronoun तँ *tā*.

An understanding of the use of Nepali pronouns would be incomplete without an explanation of the system of kinship terms and the Nepali practice of fictive kinship. In this and the next section, the former will be elucidated, whereas the latter practice will be explained in the following section thereafter. A speaker refers to and addresses his or her father’s elder brother as ठूलो बुवा *thūlo buvā* ‘big’ or ‘great father’ and the latter’s wife as ठूली आमा *thūlī amā* ‘big’ or ‘great mother’. A speaker refers to and addresses his or her father’s younger brother as काका *kākā*, कान्छा बुवा *kānchā buvā* or कान्छा बाबु *kānchā bābu* (both of the latter expressions meaning literally ‘youngest-born father’ and therefore something like ‘junior father’), and his wife is addressed as काकी *kāki* or सान्नीमा *sānīmā* ‘small’ or ‘little mother’. A speaker refers to and addresses the sister of one’s father, regardless of whether she is elder

6. The spelling दीदी *didī* is also in use.

or younger than one's father, as फुपू *phupū* 'paternal aunt' and her spouse as फुपाजु *phupāju*, फुपाज्यू *phupājyū* or फुपा *phupā* 'husband of paternal aunt'.

A speaker refers to and addresses his or her mother's elder sister as ठूली आमा *thūlī āmā* 'big' or 'great mother' and the latter's husband as ठूलो बुबा *thūlo buvā* 'big father'. A speaker refers to and addresses his or her mother's younger sister as सानी आमा *sānī āmā* or सानीमा *sānīmā* 'small' or 'little mother' and the latter's husband as सानो बुबा *sāno buvā* 'small father'. A speaker refers to and addresses the brother of one's mother, regardless of whether he is elder or younger than one's mother, as मामा *māmā* 'maternal uncle' and his spouse as माइजु *māiju* or माइज्यू *māijyū* 'wife of maternal uncle'. All of these paternal uncles and aunts and maternal uncles and aunts and their spouses are addressed using the deferential pronoun तपाईं *tapāĩ*. All of their offspring are referred to and addressed just as one's own siblings with the terms दाइ *dāi* 'elder brother', दिदी *dīdī* 'elder sister', भाइ *bhāi* 'younger brother' and बहिनी *bahinī* 'younger sister', depending on the relative age of the person in question with respect to the speaker, and the corresponding second person pronominal forms are used in addressing these cousins, who are, in effect, terminological siblings.

Remaining within one's own generation, peers who are not on an intimate footing may address each other as तिमि *timī*. Indeed, both an adult as well as a younger person can use the form तिमि *timī* to someone of his or her own age or to someone of a younger age, whether of the same gender or of the opposite sex, with whom the speaker is not acquainted or not closely acquainted. However, Nepali pronominal usage is more complex and far more subtle a system than this generalisation would suggest. At school, pupils address older classmates from senior years of the same school with the deferential pronoun तपाईं *tapāĩ*, unless some other kinship or amical relationship obtains between the two persons in question. At school, male pupils address their male classmates or younger male pupils as तैं *tā̃*, and female pupils address their female classmates or younger female pupils as तैं *tā̃*. The familiar pronominal form तैं *tā̃* is used between classmates due to intimacy, familiarity and shared proximity when growing up. However, in the classroom or at play, male pupils address their female classmates or younger female pupils as तिमि *timī*, and female pupils likewise address their male classmates or younger male pupils as तिमि *timī*. Here the use of the intermediate form तिमि *timī* with classmates of the opposite sex reflects biological and social distance between the sexes. Acknowledging this difference through the use of the intermediate pronoun तिमि *timī* reflects distance due to the gender difference and also implies a certain deference.

The situation described above underlies the sexual connotations of the use of the pronoun तिमि *timī* in the refrain of a once popular song.

किन किन तिम्रो तस्वीर मलाई मीठो लाग्छ।

Kina kina timro tasvīr malāi mīṭho lāgcha?

Why, oh why does your picture look so delicious to me?

The use of the intermediate pronominal form तिमी *timī* in the lyrics of this song was the obvious choice, but also implies a difference in gender between the singer and the person being serenaded. This pronominal usage can carry on into marriage under certain specific circumstances.

In a proper traditional marriage, bride and bridegroom may never have met and may not know each other. However, the two families who plan to join into an alliance through the marriage of their offspring or sibling have ideally arranged a partner of suitable caste, character, tastes, interests and socio-economic background in order to safeguard a socially acceptable and sustainable marriage. A marriage candidate of matching caste and adequate rank within caste for one's daughter (छोरी दिन मिल्ने *chorī dina milne*) is categorised as a कुटुम्ब *kuṭumba*. Many people swear by this age-old tradition, and a Westerner might be surprised to hear from a young man who has just said that he is getting married in eighteen months' time that the young man in question has no idea to whom he is getting married. The traditional young man might assert that he does not need to know, but that he has already notified his parents of his preferred timing. Therefore, he can state confidently that he will be married at the appointed time. Arranging the partner and the marriage is, after all, his parents' responsibility.

However, two people may, alternatively, fall in love and abscond to commit what is called a *love marriage*, known in Nepali as प्रेम-विवाह *prem vivāh*. Quite commonly, however, the English term is used in Nepali because an outlandish loanword is perhaps better suited to denote an outlandish custom. Whereas two people in an arranged marriage, who might even be total strangers, simply adopt the asymmetrical usage of pronouns between spouses previously described as soon as the marriage ceremony has been completed, the two members of a love marriage will have started out addressing each other with the intermediate pronoun तिमी *timī*, and this pronominal usage is then likely to carry on into their marriage. Consequently, the suggestion created in the mind of the listener by the persistence of their initial pronominal usage into their married life betrays that their marriage was not a properly arranged traditional connubial union. An erudite and illustrious Nepali journalist of high caste and his equally high-caste and well-bred wife happen to address each other with the intermediate pronominal form तिमी *timī*. The suggestion evoked in the mind of an astute Nepali listener is immediate, although with such an internationally prominent social activist one might be forgiven for speculating whether the pronominal choice might not perhaps be part of some egalitarian social campaign.

Another typical and therefore illustrative case involves a couple who met and fell in love. This phenomenon happens to be quite a bit more commonplace than highly conservative people might be prepared to ponder, but the trick may be

getting this relationship to be accepted by both sets of parents. By virtue of their sound traditional upbringing, the two individuals involved sought to elicit the approval of both of their respective families. The enamoured couple chose to submit themselves to the lengthy procedure of going through the motions to satisfy the traditional needs of both families and uphold the social standing that a proper arranged marriage brings. As a consequence, their union came to be recognised by the community as a traditional marriage. The marriage was duly arranged by both sets of parents and organised as the festive and joyous event that Nepali marriages traditionally tend to be. However, the unconventional way in which their marriage plans got started in the first place has left an enduring mark on their pronominal usage. Whilst before their marriage the two addressed each other as तिमि *timi*, after their marriage the wife adopted the deferential pronoun तपाईं *tapāī*, but the husband still addresses the wife with the intermediate pronominal form तिमि *timi*.

Talking to the in-laws

The many terms for in-laws in Nepali as well as the inherent asymmetries in the terminological system reflect social realities and traditional values. Indo-Aryan society is shaped by a patrilineal, patrilocal and patriarchal culture.⁷ One's daughters and one's sisters are married off to other families and, as such, they are from birth destined to become members of another family. Men merit greater deference than women, and this courtesy is reflected both in the order in which food is served as well as in pronominal usage and other aspects of culture. Women are not traditionally wage earners or land owners, although they contribute incessant daily household labour to the family. Under ideal circumstances, if one has been able to find a worthy and prosperous family, the family of the prospective husband which accepts one's female offspring or female siblings merits deference and is traditionally the recipient of the दाइजो *dāijo* 'dowry', which is contributed by the parents of the bride.

From the reverse perspective, the wives of one's sons and brothers represent acquired family members, and this practice has engendered asymmetry in

7. Although the pitfall of simplistically equating the system of kinship terminology with the kinship system should, of course, be avoided, it is fascinating to observe how the Kiranti distinction between cross cousins and parallel cousins in the light of the preferential choice of cross cousins as prospective marital partners is reflected in the Kiranti systems of kinship terminology and contrasts with the Nepali systems of kinship and kinship terminology (cf. Davids and van Driem, 1985; van Driem 1987, 1993).

the system of kinship terms. Sisters-in-law are addressed and referred to as भाउजु *bhāju* or भाउजू *bhājujū* ‘elder brother’s wife’ and बहारी *buhārī* ‘younger brother’s wife’. Whilst the former is addressed with the deferential pronominal form तपाईं *tapāĩ*, the latter is addressed with the intermediate pronoun तिमि *timī*. On the other hand, brothers-in-law are addressed and referred to as भिनाजू *bhinājū*, भिनाजु *bhināju* or भिना *bhinā* ‘elder sister’s husband’ and जुवाई *juvāĩ* ‘younger sister’s husband’. Both भिनाजू *bhinājū* ‘elder sister’s husband’ and जुवाई *juvāĩ* ‘younger sister’s husband’ are addressed with the deferential pronominal form तपाईं *tapāĩ*.

The relatively straightforward nature of the system of pronominal usage thus far to the mind of a naïve Occidental observer ceases when one arrives at the choice of pronouns for the spouses of younger siblings.⁸ Whereas the brother-in-law through the marriage of one’s younger sister, the जुवाई *juvāĩ* ‘younger sister’s husband’, is addressed with the deferential form तपाईं *tapāĩ*, the sister-in-law through the marriage of one’s younger brother, i.e. बहारी *buhārī* ‘younger brother’s wife’, is addressed with the pronoun तिमि *timī*. This choice might not *prima facie* appear to indicate deference, but one must consider that the term of address for one’s younger brother is the familiar pronoun तँ *tā*. Yet the familiar pronoun तँ *tā* would constitute an inappropriate way to address the wife of one’s younger brother because she is female and she hails from another family, and the choice of the intermediate pronoun तिमि *timī* reflects and respects this distance.

A principal social cause for the different treatment meted out in the choice of second person pronoun between a जुवाई *juvāĩ* ‘brother-in-law’, younger sister’s husband, and a बहारी *buhārī* ‘sister-in-law’, younger brother’s wife, stems not directly from their gender, but from the practical social consequences of patrilocality. The जुवाई *juvāĩ* ‘brother-in-law’ belongs to another family and is quite likely to live in another village altogether, whereas the बहारी *buhārī* ‘sister-in-law’ has moved into the same family, village and household. The choice of the intermediate pronoun stems from proximity (नजीक हुनाले *najik hunāle*). On the other hand, the difference in pronominal usage between addressing a भाउजु *bhāju* ‘elder brother’s wife’, who is addressed with deferential तपाईं *tapāĩ*, and a बहारी *buhārī* ‘younger brother’s wife’ stems naturally from the deference that is shown in light of general age seniority and senior age within generation.

8. Actually, a naïve Occidental observer may very well get baffled long before this time, as attested by Turin (2001), who went to the trouble of documenting his bewilderment and socio-semantic misapprehensions. The survey by Schmidt (1976) and the impressions garnered by Turin neglect to distinguish between the language use of Nepali speakers whose mother tongue is a Tibeto-Burman language such as Newar, Limbu or Thangmi, and Nepali native speakers of Indo-Aryan caste, let alone the distinct usage of Nepali speakers of diverse castes and different geographical regions.

The Nepali lexicon distinguishes terms to refer to the siblings of these sisters-in-law. The elder siblings of one's भाउजु *bhāuju* 'elder brother's wife' and बुहारी *buhārī* 'younger brother's wife' are referred to and occasionally addressed as जेठान *jethān* or जेठान दाइ *jethān dāi* 'brother's wife's elder brother' and जेठानी *jethānī* or जेठानी दिदी *jethānī didī* 'brother's wife's elder sister'. These in-laws are usually addressed simply and more expediently as दाइ *dāi* 'elder brother' and दिदी *didī* 'elder sister', using the deferential pronoun तपाईं *tapāi*. On the other hand, the younger siblings of one's भाउजु *bhāuju* 'elder brother's wife' and बुहारी *buhārī* 'younger brother's wife' are addressed and referred to as सालो *sālo* or साला *sālā* 'brother's wife's younger brother' as साली *sālī* 'brother's wife's younger sister'.

A male speaker traditionally addresses his सालो *sālo* 'brother's wife's younger brother' with the familiar pronoun तैं *tā*, whereas a female speaker is more likely to address her सालो *sālo* 'brother's wife's younger brother' with the intermediate तिमी *timī*. Nowadays, male speakers of the younger generation are more often inclined to address a सालो *sālo* 'brother's wife's younger brother' with the intermediate तिमी *timī* because the familiar pronoun तैं *tā* is increasingly being perceived as overly familiar or less deferential. Both male and female speakers are most likely to address their साली *sālī* 'brother's wife's younger sister' with the intermediate pronoun तिमी *timī*. Depending on the family, the choice of pronoun may vary from the norm described here, contingent upon the nature of the specific relationship and social distance felt between a particular speaker and the particular person addressed.

Whilst the Nepali lexicon distinguishes a number of terms to refer to the siblings of one's sisters-in-law in the sense of the siblings of the wife of one's brother, the lexicon is far less precise when it comes to the siblings of one's brothers-in-law in the sense of the siblings of the husband of one's sister. The brothers-in-law through the elder sister are referred to and addressed as भिनाज्यू *bhinājyū*, भिनाजु *bhināju* or भिना *bhinā* 'elder sister's husband', and the brothers-in-law through the younger sister are referred to and addressed as जुवाइ *juvāi* 'younger sister's husband'. These terms are not as specific in meaning as the explanatory glosses used would seem to indicate.

The terms भिनाज्यू *bhinājyū*, भिनाजु *bhināju* or भिना *bhinā* can be applied to all of the siblings of one's elder sister's husband, whether these siblings are male or female and regardless of whether the sibling in question is older or younger than one's elder sister's husband. Similarly, the term जुवाइ *juvāi* is applied to all of the male siblings of one's younger sister's husband and the term जुवाइनी *juvāi nī* to all of the female siblings of one's younger sister's husband, regardless of whether these siblings are older or younger than one's younger sister's husband. All of these referents are addressed using the deferential pronominal form तपाईं *tapāi*, both in deference to the family accepting one's sister into their family but also in acknowledgement of the social distance which obtains between the speaker and the persons thus addressed.

If the need ever arises to specify which of the siblings of the husband of one's sister is intended, speakers simply make use of the Nepali sibling ordinal terms denoting birth rank within generation.

<i>male</i>		<i>female</i>		
जेठो	<i>jeṭho</i>	जेठी	<i>jeṭhī</i>	'eldest born'
माहिला	<i>māhīlā</i>	माहिली	<i>māhīlī</i>	'second born'
साहिला	<i>sāhīlā</i>	साहिली	<i>sāhīlī</i>	'third born'
काहिला	<i>kāhīlā</i>	काहिली	<i>kāhīlī</i>	'fourth born'
ठाहिला	<i>ṭhāhīlā</i>	ठाहिली	<i>ṭhāhīlī</i>	'fifth born'
अन्तरे	<i>antare</i>	अन्तरी	<i>antarī</i>	'sixth born'
जन्तरे	<i>jantare</i>	जन्तरी	<i>jantarī</i>	'seventh born'
खन्तरे	<i>khantare</i>	खन्तरी	<i>khantarī</i>	'eighth born'
कान्छा	<i>kānchā</i>	कान्छी	<i>kānchī</i>	'youngest born'

The masculine adjectival forms ending in <-ā> also occur as variants with the ending <-o>. Alongside the traditional orthographies माहिला *māhīlā*, साहिला *sāhīlā*, काहिला *kāhīlā* and ठाहिला *ṭhāhīlā*, the alternative spellings माइँला *māilā*, साइँला *sāilā*, काइँला *kāilā* and ठाइँला *ṭhāilā* are also in use, and *mutatis mutandis* for the feminine forms.

These kinship numeratives are used primarily as terms of reference with respect to siblings, and in some families they are used as forms of address as well. Just as a speaker can specify to which of his elder brothers he is referring by saying मेरो जेठो दाइ *mero jeṭho dāi* 'my first-born elder brother', मेरो माहिला दाइ *mero māhīlā dāi* 'my second-born elder brother', मेरो साहिलो दाइ *mero sāhīlā dāi* 'my third-born elder brother', and so forth, a speaker may specify which sibling of the husband of one's sister he has in mind by using kinship numeratives, e.g. जेठी भिनाजु *jeṭhī bhināju* 'first-born sister of elder sister's husband', साहिला भिनाजु *sāhīlā bhināju* 'third-born brother of elder sister's husband', माहिली जुवाईनी *māhīlī juvāī nī* 'second-born sister of younger sister's husband', कान्छा जुवाई *kānchā juvāī* 'youngest born brother of younger sister's husband'. Less specific terms such as ठूलो भिनाजु *ṭhūlo bhināju* 'big brother of elder sister's husband', सानो भिनाजु *sāno bhināju* 'little brother of elder sister's husband', ठूलो जुवाई *ṭhūlo juvāī* 'big brother of younger sister's husband' can also on occasion be heard, especially when the husband of one's sister happens to have few siblings or when it can readily be made clear who is intended.

In Nepali, the facility of using kinship numeratives to specify the individual in question, should the need arise to do so, of course also highlights the fact that in the first place the Nepali lexicon is far more specific with regard to the siblings of the wife of one's brother than with respect to the siblings of the husband of one's sister. This asymmetry is a natural development stemming from the practice of patrilocality. The various भिनाजु *bhināju*, जुवाई *juvāī* and जुवाईनी *juvāī nī* will usually live elsewhere with the daughter or sister who has been married out and who has

consequently become a member of another family, whilst the lexicon is equipped with more differentiated vocabulary to distinguish between and refer to individuals who have married into one's own family and who consequently live in closer proximity to the speaker.

It is germane to observe that the use of the kinship terms भिनाजु *bhināju*, one gloss of which would be 'elder sister's husband', and जुवाई *juvāī*, one gloss of which would be 'younger sister's husband', is expanding. As urban flight and social disruption has overwhelmed Nepali society in recent decades, the traditional mesh of Nepali social fabric at the village level has been disturbed. Kin do not necessarily interact with or even see each other with the regularity that was once characteristic of village life, with its slower pace, more intense local interaction and collective participation in events such as the harvest and the activities of the planting season. Moreover, the increased frequency of intercaste marriage and love marriages has contributed to the erosion of traditional kinship architecture. As a consequence, the terms भिनाजु *bhināju* and जुवाई *juvāī* can be observed in a semantically bleached guise to have begun encroaching upon the conventional domains of reference reserved to some of the other more specifically delineated sibling-in-law terms discussed in this section, particularly in families living in kinship situations in which relationships have suffered a break in the continuity of traditional norms. Along with the concomitant use of the distant pronominal form तपाईं *tapāī*, this development is emblematic for the general disruption of the traditional weft of Nepali social fabric.

The English lexicon is not at all specific in the case of terms for brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law when viewed from the perspective of Nepali grammar, which to some extent terminologically distinguishes the siblings of one's spouse from the spouses of one's siblings. This domain of sibling-in-law terminology is different for a male and a female speaker, not only in terms of the choice of pronoun to use in address a particular member of kin but also in some of the actual vocabulary used to denote particular kin relations. A male speaker refers to and may occasionally address the elder brothers of his wife as जेठान *jethān* or जेठान दाइ *jethān dāi* 'wife's elder brother', whom he generally addresses simply as दाइ *dāi* 'elder brother', whilst using the deferential form तपाईं *tapāī*. A male speaker refers to and may occasionally address the younger brothers of his wife as सालो 'wife's younger brother', whom he traditionally addresses with familiar pronominal for तैं *tā* or – in accordance with the more modern sensibilities that have begun to manifest themselves in the language community in recent times – with the intermediate form तिमि *timī*, depending on the nature of the relationship and the social distance felt between the male speaker and his wife's younger brother.

The Nepali lexicon also affords a male speaker with ways of addressing the wives of his brothers-in-law through his wife. A male speaker refers to and may

occasionally address the wife of his जेठान *jethān* ‘wife’s elder brother’ as जेठानी *jethānī* or जेठानी दिदी *jethānī didī* ‘wife’s elder brother’s wife’, whom the male speaker usually addresses simply as दिदी *didī* ‘elder sister’, whilst using the deferential pronoun तपाईं *tapāĩ*. A male speaker refers to and addresses the wife of his सालो *sālo* ‘wife’s younger brother’ as साली *sālī* ‘wife’s younger brother’s wife’, and addresses her with the intermediate pronominal form तिमि *timī*. Thus far at least, the system of kinship terminology for a male speaker appears more or less to equate the siblings of one’s spouse with the spouses of one’s siblings. However, a male speaker refers to and addresses the elder sister of his wife as जेठी सासु *jethī sāsū* ‘wife’s elder sister’, whom he addresses with the deferential second person form तपाईं *tapāĩ*. A male speaker refers to and addresses the younger sister of his wife and as साली *sālī* ‘wife’s younger sister’, whom he addresses using the intermediate pronominal form तिमि *timī*. A male speaker addresses the husband of his जेठी सासु *jethī sāsū* ‘wife’s elder sister’ as साधु दाइ *sādhū dāi* or साधु दाजु *sādhū dāju*, whom he addresses using the deferential pronoun तपाईं *tapāĩ*. A male speaker addresses the husband of his साली *sālī* ‘wife’s younger sister’ as साधु भाइ *sādhū bhāi*, whom he addresses with either the intermediate pronominal form तिमि *timī* or the deferential pronoun तपाईं *tapāĩ* depending on the nature of the relationship and the social distance felt between the male speaker and the husband of his wife’s younger sister.

The Nepali kinship term सालो *sālo* ‘wife’s younger brother’ has no unfavourable connotation. However, speakers are aware of the semantic and formal similarity to the swearword साला *sālā*, which has an abusive flavour but is also still distinctly felt by Nepali speakers to be a Hindi loanword साला *sālā* ‘wife’s brother’. The rationale behind the fictive usage of this kinship term having become a swearword in the Hindi language community stems from the suggestion that an impropriety has occurred between the speaker and the sister of the person thus addressed, thereby impugning the honour of the sister of the person thus addressed, who is in reality not, of course, the speaker’s brother-in-law. This abusive term was borrowed into Nepali, but this vulgar usage does not constitute part of the system of Nepali kinship terminology and is confined to a particular uncouth speech register.

A female speaker uses quite different vocabulary with respect to her brothers-in-law through her husband. A female speaker refers to and addresses the elder brother of her husband as जेठाजु *jethāju* ‘husband’s elder brother’, whom she addresses using the deferential form तपाईं *tapāĩ*. A female speaker refers to and addresses the younger brother of her husband as देवर *devar* ‘husband’s younger brother’, whom she, traditionally and today probably still in most families, addresses with the deferential form तपाईं *tapāĩ*. In some families today, however, a female speaker may address her देवर *devar* ‘husband’s younger brother’ with the intermediate pronominal form तिमि *timī*, depending on the nature of the relationship and social distance felt between the female speaker and her husband’s younger brother.

The Nepali lexicon also affords a female speaker with ways of addressing the wives of her brothers-in-law through her husband. A female speaker refers to and may occasionally address the wife of her जेठाजु *jethāju* ‘husband’s elder brother’ as जेठानी दिदी *jethānī didī* ‘husband’s elder brother’s wife’, whom she usually addresses simply as दिदी *didī* ‘elder sister’, whilst using the deferential pronoun तपाईं *tapāĩ*. A female speaker refers to and addresses the wife of her देवर *devar* ‘husband’s younger brother’ as देवराणी *devarānī* ‘husband’s younger brother’s wife’, and she addresses her either with the intermediate pronoun तिमि *timī* or with the familiar second person form तँ *tā*, depending on the nature of the relationship and social distance felt between the female speaker and her husband’s younger brother’s wife.

A female speaker likewise disposes of different vocabulary in order to speak about and address her brothers-in-law through her husband. A female speaker refers to and addresses the elder sister of her husband as आमाजु *āmāju* or आमाज्यू *āmājyū* ‘husband’s elder sister’, whom she addresses using the deferential form तपाईं *tapāĩ*. A female speaker refers to and addresses the younger sister of her husband as नन्दा *nanda* ‘husband’s younger sister’, whom she refers to either using the deferential form तपाईं *tapāĩ* or with the intermediate pronominal form तिमि *timī*, depending on the nature of the relationship and social distance felt between the female speaker and her husband’s younger sister.

The Nepali lexicon provides a female speaker with specific terms for the husbands of her sisters-in-law through her husband. A female speaker refers to and may occasionally address the husband of her आमाजु *āmāju* ‘husband’s elder sister’ as आमाजु दाइ *āmāju dāi*, and she will usually address the husband of her husband’s elder sister simply as दाइ *dāi*, using the deferential form तपाईं *tapāĩ*. A female speaker refers to and might occasionally address the husband of her नन्दा *nanda* ‘husband’s younger sister’ as नन्दे भाइ *nande bhāi*, and she will usually address the husband of her husband’s younger sister simply as भाइ *bhāi*, whilst using the deferential pronominal form तपाईं *tapāĩ*.

Regardless of the gender of the speaker, a speaker addresses and refers to one’s father-in-law as ससुरा *sasurā* ‘father of spouse’, and one’s mother-in-law as सासु *sāsu* ‘mother of spouse’, and the speaker addresses both relations with the deferential pronoun तपाईं *tapāĩ*. The male and female siblings of one’s parents-in-law may likewise be referred to and addressed with the terms ससुरा *sasurā* and सासु *sāsu* respectively. When disambiguating which sibling of one’s parent-in-law a speaker has in mind, the ordinal kinship terms may be used as adjectival modifiers, e.g. जेठो ससुरा *jetho sasurā* ‘eldest brother of spouse’s parent’, कान्छी सासु *kānchī sāsu* ‘youngest sister of spouse’s parent’. In keeping with patrilocality, a male speaker refers to the household of his wife’s parents as his ससुराली घर *sasuralī ghar* ‘parents-in-law’s house’ (male speaking), whereas a female speaker refers the parental household which she has left behind as her माइती घर *māitī ghar* ‘parents’ house’ (married female speaking).

The terms for offspring-in law are जुवाई *juvāī* ‘daughter’s husband’ and बुहारी *buhārī* ‘son’s wife’. If the need arises of, for example, explaining kin relationship to outsiders, the disambiguating terms छोरी जुवाई *chorī juvāī* ‘daughter’s husband’ and छोरा बुहारी *chorā buhārī* ‘son’s wife’ may be used to distinguish offspring-in-law from siblings-in-law, i.e. बहिनी जुवाई *bahinī juvāī* ‘younger sister’s husband’ and भाइ बुहारी *bhāi buhārī* ‘younger brother’s wife’. The deferential pronoun तपाईं *tapāī* is used in addressing one’s जुवाई *juvāī* ‘daughter’s husband’, whereas the intermediate pronominal form तिमि *timī* is conventionally used when addressing one’s बुहारी *buhārī* ‘son’s wife’. However, depending on the closeness of the relation felt between the speaker and the person addressed, the familiar form तँ *tā* may in some particular cases be used to address one’s छोरा बुहारी *chorā buhārī* ‘son’s wife’.

The term जुवाई *juvāī* is also applied to the elder and younger male sibling of one’s daughter’s husband, and the term जुवाईनी *juvāīnī* is applied to the elder and younger female siblings of one’s daughter’s husband. The term जुवाई *juvāī* is likewise applied to the male siblings of one’s son’s wife, and the term जुवाईनी *juvāīnī* is applied to the female siblings of one’s son’s wife. These siblings of the spouses of one’s offspring are all addressed with the deferential pronoun तपाईं *tapāī*, although it is permissible and indeed represents traditional usage that a speaker may address the female siblings of the spouses of one’s offspring, who are terminologically one’s जुवाईनी *juvāīnī*, with the intermediate pronoun तिमि *timī*.

The father of one’s daughter-in-law or one’s son-in-law is referred to and addressed as सम्धी *samdhī*, and the mother of one’s daughter-in-law or son-in-law is referred to and addressed as सिम्धनी *samdhinī*, both of whom are addressed using the deferential pronoun तपाईं *tapāī*. The terminology of the Nepali kinship system is rendered schematically in the diagrams included in the Appendix.

Society as one big family

The social and personal factors discussed thus far which determine perceived distance between two individuals and therefore the choice of the pronominal form have included age and seniority, distance vs. familiarity, sameness or difference of gender within the context of a patrilocal and patrilinear society. Another factor is social standing, and in Aryan society on the subcontinent caste has been at least as decisive a factor historically as political clout and economic success. As an adult, it is safe and best to address anyone whom you do not know and who is not a child as तपाईं *tapāī*.

Traditionally, however, speakers of high caste address a low-caste person whom they may or may not know, but whose caste is known to them, with the intermediate form तिमि *timī*. In 1983, a low-caste man in rural eastern Nepal who was

twice my age took the trouble to explain to me that it was grammatically incorrect for me to address him as तपाईं *tapāĩ*. He asserted that only a foreigner could make such a mistake. Nepalis of high caste would, he insisted, never make the error of using the deferential pronoun तपाईं *tapāĩ* to address someone of his low artisanal caste. To the mind of a speaker with such a traditional grammar, the use of तपाईं *tapāĩ* struck him as being just as absurd perhaps as the case described above of the elderly Dutch lady in Amsterdam appearing to onlookers to be addressing a child as *U*.

Today, however, probably most young Brahmins will address an older man or woman as तपाईं *tapāĩ* in deference to their age even if they are of low caste, whereas traditional Brahmins of the older generations in rural Nepal are observed still to address members of low caste simply as तिमि *timī*. As the old adage goes, *tempora mutantur et nos mutamur in illis*. There are cases in which the use of pronouns appears to be merely for the sake of appearances. In one such case, two friends of only slightly different age who grew up together normally address each other with the familiar form तैं *tā*. Rarely, on an occasion when there is an audience of outsiders, however, the younger of the two instead uses the form तपाईं *tapāĩ*, whilst the older of the two continues to address the younger as तैं *tā*. This usage is strictly for the consumption of the outsiders, who are thus indirectly invited to address both of them in a deferential manner, just as they address each other.

Another instance of keeping up appearances can be observed when a husband, who is normally addressed as तपाईं *tapāĩ* by his wife, is suddenly addressed and referred to by his wife with the honorific हजुर *hajur* 'lord, sire' for the benefit of an audience of onlookers, who are thereby indirectly invited to show the same respect to her husband. Substitution of the deferential pronoun तपाईं *tapāĩ* with the honorific form हजुर *hajur* has no impact on the choice of inflected forms in the indicative mood, since both तपाईं *tapāĩ* and हजुर *hajur* take third person periphrastic deferential forms of the verbal conjugation.

In intimate same-sex friendships between friends of disparate age, the same use of pronouns can be observed as between a husband and wife in Nepali. Once when an elder friend in such a relationship addressed his younger friend with the intermediate form तिमि *timī* rather than the usual तैं *tā* in an attempt specifically to accommodate to a particular social context in which the speaker wished to mask the intimacy of their friendship, the sensitive younger friend promptly protested in anguished tones, asking whether the elder friend no longer loved him. The careless use of the intermediate pronominal form suggested distance and thus a denial of familiarity. Under such circumstances, distance can be hurtful.

Once again, a great discrepancy between the use of pronouns of address in no way precludes intimacy, nor does it lead to what Brown and Gilman (1960) described in the Western context as representing 'semantic conflict' crying out for

resolution. Very much to the contrary, the Nepali pronominal system permits the expression and acknowledgement of the actual natural diversity in relationships. No compulsion exists to impose an artificial levelling of pronominal reference so that, in Nepali, the natural diversity of pronominal expression can thrive and flourish unimpeded. Regardless of whether the same-sex friendship in question happens to be characterised by – or be entirely devoid of – erotic content, pronominal usage between males as well as the pronominal usage between females both differ significantly from the pattern of pronominal usage observed when males address females, or vice versa.⁹

Above, in introducing the honorific word हजुर *hajur* ‘lord, sire’, we have entered into an extra dimension which renders the dynamics of the three choices of second person pronoun more complex. The honorific हजुर *hajur* can be used instead of तपाईं *tapāĩ*, essentially effacing the distinction between the perspectives that would treat the person addressed as a second or as a third person grammatical category, particularly because in discourse it is quite possible to mix the use of the two forms, deferential तपाईं *tapāĩ* and honorific हजुर *hajur*, in the same conversation. In polite speech, the word हजुर *hajur* also simply serves as an interjection on its own, conveying a meaning such as ‘yes’ or ‘I hear you’. At the same time, the choice of three distinct imperative forms directed towards a person whom the speaker would address as तपाईं *tapāĩ* likewise demonstrated that the intricacies of Nepali

9. The *Mulukī Ain* promulgated in 1854 under Jaṅg Bahādūr Rāṇā codified the caste system in Nepal, defining caste distinctions in meticulous detail and regulating all forms of intercaste interaction until this elaborate piece of legislation was replaced by new laws under king Mahendra in 1963. Activities between castes that led to the ritual pollution of a person of high caste by a member of a less pure or an untouchable caste were sanctioned, with the size of fines and the measure of corporeal punishment all spelt out in excruciating and fascinating detail, particularly when caste transgression involved the defilement of a female in some way or form. The original manuscript of the *Mulukī Ain* also dealt candidly with same-sex intercaste pollution. When printing presses arrived in Nepal, this chapter was not included in published versions of the law, however, because these passages were not deemed suitable for a large audience. Fézas (1983) transliterated this chapter from the original manuscript of the *Mulukī Ain* and provided a French translation. Although punishments meted out appear draconian to modern Western sensibilities, what is clear in the context of the manuscript in its entirety is that intercaste pollution involving two men was far less severely sanctioned than intercaste pollution between the two sexes. One reason for this pronounced discrepancy was doubtless that the possibility of miscegenation and unwanted issue did not arise in the case of intercaste pollution involving two men. The many strictures against intercaste pollution did not prevent intimate same-sex intercaste friendships from arising and even flourishing. In fact, the fascinating institution of मीत *mīt* or मीत-साथी *mīt sāthī* ‘bond friend’ originated as a means to accommodate such a friendship socially by institutionalising such a bond between two young men in such a way that the conventional ramifications of the formal bond were beneficial to both communities and for the advancement of harmonious relations between these communities (cf. van Driem 2001: 610–612).

pronominal reference defy any oversimplification in terms of three tiers. In daily practice, it can be observed that the dynamics of the Nepali pronominal system give expression to far more interesting and finely honed social sensibilities.

Just as the use of the honorific हजुर *hajur*, the use of kinship terms, either to substitute or to enhance the use of pronouns, is a pivotal feature of Nepali pronominal reference. This brings us to the realm of fictive kinship. Speakers ubiquitously resort to नाता लाग्ने (or लगाए) बोल्ने चलन *nātā lāera (or lagāera) bolne calan* ‘the practice of speaking whilst employing fictive kinship’. This mode of speaking not only embodies a cultural norm of social intercourse, but also renders it possible to address people in an easier and friendlier way. Roles between people become established upon first encounter and during early interaction, after which they tend to become anchored in the relationship and then usually endure. This is why young adults and old adults can sometimes be observed to be using entirely different pronouns than the pronominal forms that one might be inclined to expect from just looking at them.

It is moot whether fictive kinship renders all speakers of Nepali one big happy family, but those who speak Nepali know very well from their own daily personal experience that the use of these forms of address is genial and *feels* quite different from addressing people in other languages. The use of kinship terms and their constant repetition in Nepali may strike speakers of other languages as incessant and repetitive, but this highly cordial aspect of Nepali grammar may in some way be connected to the effusively cheerful nature of Nepali culture.

The most commonly used kinship terms that are used fictively in a widespread fashion with reference to people of one’s own generation are the sibling terms, दाइ *dāi* ‘elder brother’ (and the diversely flavoured stylistic alternatives दाजु *dāju* ‘elder brother’, दाज्यू *dājyū* ‘elder brother’, दादा *dādā* ‘elder brother’), भाइ *bhāi* ‘younger brother’, दिदी *didī* ‘elder sister’ and बहिनी *bahinī* ‘younger sister’. However, pronominal use in terms of the choice of second person pronoun is not just simply congruent with the use of second person pronouns employed in addressing one’s own biological siblings. Here too, Nepali affords many grades and nuances. The pronouns used with people addressed fictively as दाइ *dāi* ‘elder brother’, दाजु *dāju* ‘elder brother’, दाज्यू *dājyū* ‘elder brother’, दादा *dādā* ‘elder brother’ or दिदी *didī* ‘elder sister’ matches pronominal usage with respect to actual biological siblings in that the deferential तपाईं *tapāi* is used.

In addressing people who are referred to fictively as भाइ *bhāi* ‘younger brother’ or बहिनी *bahinī* ‘younger sister’, the choice of second person pronoun is not straightforward. All three second person pronouns can be used, familiar तँ *tā*, intermediate तिमि *timi* or deferential तपाईं *tapāi*. The choice is determined by numerous factors, such as the social status of the person addressed and of that person’s family, the social distance between speaker and the person addressed. Therefore, in an official

or formal setting or in the case of not being acquainted or only recently having made each other's acquaintance, a person addressed as भाइ *bhāi* 'younger brother' or बहिनी *bahinī* 'younger sister' may very well also be addressed with the second person deferential pronoun तपाईं *tapāĩ*.

The use of fictive kinship is ubiquitous and pervasive, and Nepalis speaking English will use the English word *brother*, for example, as a translation for दाइ *dāi* 'elder brother', दाजु *dāju* 'elder brother', दाज्यू *dājyū* 'elder brother', दादा *dādā* 'elder brother' and भाइ *bhāi* 'younger brother', and then introduce people to their foreign friend as their 'brother'. Some Nepalis speaking English have even latched on to the form *bro* as a translation of दाइ *dāi* and भाइ *bhāi* 'younger brother', whilst manifestly remaining blithely unaware of the marked stylistic flavour of the form which they have mistaken for standard English. I once had to console and rectify the impressions in the mind of an unhappy Englishman who was horrified to discover that his Nepali friend had 'lied' to him about his brother. It turned out, the Englishman protested, that the youth in question was not actually his friend's brother at all. I was called upon to reassure the hapless Englishman that his Nepali friend had not been disingenuous. Yet fictive kinship boggled the mind of the Englishman, who could not imagine how this semiotic system could possibly pervade most social interactions and subtly shape the conceptualisation of social relations. The Nepali English terms 'cousin brother' and 'cousin sister' have been coined to disambiguate such usage, but in Nepali there is of course no such term as 'cousin', let alone 'cousin brother' and 'cousin sister'.

When two young men meet each other, they quickly establish their relative age. In addition to the name, a kinship term is used as part of the address, e.g. राजन दाइ *Rājan dāi* 'Rājan elder brother', कृष्ण भाइ *Kṛṣṇa bhāi* 'Kṛṣṇa younger brother'. In the actual case of Rājan and Kṛṣṇa, when they first met, they were both young and close in age, but Rājan assumed the fictive kinship role of elder brother, and Kṛṣṇa has consequently always addressed Rājan as तपाईं *tapāĩ*. However, the younger Kṛṣṇa was already past adolescence when they first met. Moreover, Kṛṣṇa came from faraway, and the close friendship which now exists between Rājan and Kṛṣṇa took a long time to develop. By that time, their pronominal usage had become fixed. Consequently, Rājan still addresses his friend as कृष्ण भाइ *Kṛṣṇa bhāi* using the intermediate pronominal form तिमि *timī*, which, as if frozen in time, still reflects the acknowledgement of the distance that obtained between them during the initial period of their acquaintance.

Any number of cases could be adduced to illustrate the variability and dynamic nature of the pronominal system in practice. Kṛṣṇa addresses सुनिल Sunil and उपेन्द्र Upendra with the familiar form तैं *tā*, because they were both still children when Kṛṣṇa first met them. Both of them address Kṛṣṇa with the deferential तपाईं *tapāĩ*. Now they are all adult, and Sunil and Upendra are taller than Kṛṣṇa. However,

their pronominal usage persists in the form in which it was first established, as if forever echoing the past.

In another case, Śāligrām is an entrepreneur who runs a restaurant. He addresses all of his staff with the familiar तँ *tā* because they were all young adolescents when he first employed them. They all address the slightly older Śāligrām with तपाईं *tapāĩ*, although a high level of familiarity has always existed between the entrepreneur and his staff. Only the relatively new staff member Arjun, even though he is younger than some of the other staff, is addressed by Śāligrām with the intermediate form तिमि *timi* because Arjun joined the team just two years ago as an adolescent. Moreover, although cheerful, Arjun's demeanour has always been a trifle more aloof. Meanwhile, the relationship between Śāligrām and Arjun has grown closer, and Śāligrām addresses Arjun as तिमि *timi* whenever in the company of others, but as तँ *tā* when nobody else is present.

Bābu is a young entrepreneur like Śāligrām. Bābu is older than Śāligrām, and so Śāligrām addresses Bābu as तपाईं *tapāĩ*. However, Bābu also addresses Śāligrām as तपाईं *tapāĩ*. The two young men are close allies in local politics and maintain a cordial relationship. Various factors motivate Bābu to address the younger Śāligrām as तपाईं *tapāĩ*. Śāligrām is of high caste, whereas Bābu is of low caste. When they met each other, the younger Śāligrām already had a thriving business, whereas Bābu had only just begun to establish himself as an entrepreneur. Śāligrām is both eloquent and speaks in a distinctive eastern Nepali fashion, quite distinct from the style of speaking in midwestern Nepal. Some of these factors evoke deference, whilst others accentuate distance. Both sets of social factors are ultimately acknowledged by the choice of the pronominal form तपाईं *tapāĩ*.

Respectful terms for those of elder generations include बुवा *buvā* 'father', आमा *āmā* 'mother', हजुर-बुवा *hajur-buvā* 'grandfather' and हजुर-आमा *hajur-āmā* 'grandmother'. An old word for हजुर-बुवा *hajur-buvā* 'grandfather' is बाजे *bāje* 'grandfather', which, though less deferential in modern Nepali, is still used in some families to address one's grandfather, but the form बाजे *bāje* represents a not at all deferential way of addressing an elderly man who is not kin. In Sikkim, Darjeeling, Kalimpong and in Nepal east of the Arun, in addition to हजुर-आमा *hajur-āmā* 'grandmother', the older term बज्यू *bajyū* or बोजू *boju* 'grandmother' is affectionately and reverentially used. In Nepal west of the Arun, however, the terms बज्यू *bajyū* or बोजू *boju* 'grandmother' are not generally known. Instead, west of the Arun, the kinship term बजै *bajai* or बज्यै *bajyai* 'grandmother' is in use, but this form is not deferential, and so polite speakers use the form हजुर-आमा *hajur-āmā* 'grandmother' instead. The term जिजु-बाजे *jiju-bāje* or जिज्यू-बाजे *jijyū-bāje* means 'great-grandfather' and the term जिजु-बजै *jiju-bajai* or जिज्यू-बज्यै *jijyū-bajyai* denotes 'great-grandmother'. On traditional paperwork, a

Nepali citizen is sometimes required to supply the name of his father, paternal grandfather and paternal great-grandfather.¹⁰

A speaker might not wish to use terms of reference as respectful as बुवा *buvā* ‘father’, आमा *āmā* ‘mother’, हजुर-बुवा *hajur-buvā* ‘grandfather’ and हजुर-आमा *hajur-āmā* ‘grandfather’ to certain members of senior generations. Moreover, these terms may not be chosen by speakers when the person in question is neither as old as one’s parents nor, in terms of age, quite a member of one’s own generation. For this purpose, other kinship terms can be used, with the relatively neutral term of address मामा *māmā* ‘uncle’ (i.e. mother’s brother) being amongst the most popular. The pronoun used with non-kin thus addressed is the deferential तपाईं *tapāĩ*, matching the pronoun used for the factual biological relatives of older generations. Similarly, although the term बाजे *bāje* ‘great-grandfather’ as a fictive kin term is pejorative or condescending, it would still be natural to speak to a person thus addressed using the deferential pronominal form तपाईं *tapāĩ*.

Kinship terms are likewise used for people younger than oneself. Children are addressed with the affectionate term नानी *nānī*, which is not actually a kinship term, although Tripāṭhī and Dāhāl (vs 2040: 719) suggest, rather improbably, that this word derives etymologically from the term नन्द *nanda* ‘husband’s younger sister’. A Nepali speaker, whether male or female, both refers to and addresses his or her own children as छोरा *chorā* ‘son’ and छोरी *chorī* ‘daughter’. Moreover, a female Nepali speaker likewise refers to and addresses the children of her sisters as छोरा *chorā* ‘son’ and छोरी *chorī* ‘daughter’. If the female speaker is older than her sister, then the speaker herself will be addressed by these offspring as ठूली आमा *ṭhūlī āmā* ‘big’ or ‘great mother’, and, if the female speaker is younger than her sister, then the speaker herself will be addressed by these offspring as सानी आमा *sānī āmā* or सानीमा *sānīmā* ‘small’ or ‘little mother’. One’s own offspring as well as one’s sister’s offspring are addressed by a female speaker using the familiar pronoun तैं *tā*.

Through the pervasive system of fictive kinship, one may also address a child that is not kin with the terms छोरा *chorā* ‘son’ or छोरी *chorī* ‘daughter’, but a speaker will not wish to adopt such an affectionate paternalistic or maternalistic stance towards every child. It would be appropriate to address the offspring of a very close friend, a close colleague or a neighbour with whom the speaker has established a fictive kin relationship as छोरा *chorā* ‘son’ or छोरी *chorī* ‘daughter’. Otherwise the general affectionate term of address for children, viz. नानी *nānī*, is available. The

10. On separate occasions, I heard two Nepali lawyers who complete paperwork for foreign investors express their astonishment at the fact that foreigners usually do not know their paternal grandfather’s and paternal great-grandfather’s given names. Both men separately surmised that most people from the West must come from broken families. Fortunately, your humble author on such occasions knew his own genealogy by heart.

most usual choice of pronoun to use with someone whom a speaker would address fictively with the kinship terms छोरा *chorā* ‘son’ or छोरी *chorī* ‘daughter’ is तँ *tā*. This is also the pronoun used towards people whom one would address as नाति *nāti* ‘grandson’ and नातिनी *nātini* ‘granddaughter’, पलाली *palāti* ‘great-grandson’ and पलालिनी *palātini* ‘great-granddaughter’ or as खलाली *khalāti* ‘great-great-grandson’ and खलालिनी *khalātini* ‘great-great-granddaughter’.

In essence, all other kinship terms can, *mutatis mutandis*, likewise be applied to non-kin. However, the more specialised kinship terms with a very narrow range of natural *denotata*, such as the in-law terms जेठी सासु *jeṭhī sāsū* ‘wife’s elder sister’, नन्द *nanda* ‘husband’s younger sister’ or साढु भाइ *sāḍhu bhāi* ‘husband of wife’s younger sister’, are seldom used in fictive kinship, unless of course the term in question is felt in any given situation to be an appropriate and apt choice in light of the particular prevailing circumstances. Moreover, it is a common and ubiquitous practice that any kinship term gets transferred by association. For example, in the case cited above of the close friendship between Rājan and Kṛṣṇa, a female speaker who refers to Rājan as देवर *devar* will also apply this term to Kṛṣṇa, who is forever at Rājan’s side. Similarly, a speaker will be inclined to call any man काका *kākā* who happens to be a close and regular associate of his or her father’s younger brother.

As already noted in connection with the fictive use of the pronouns denoting younger siblings, i.e. भाइ *bhāi* ‘younger brother’ and बहिनी *bahini* ‘younger sister’, any one of the three second person pronouns can be used with fictive kin thus addressed, i.e. familiar तँ *tā*, intermediate तिमि *timi* or deferential तपाईं *tapāi*. The choice in any given case will depend on the many diverse factors that determine the perception of social distance and might prompt the polite expression of deference. Therefore, the chosen second person pronoun will reflect how these factors come into play within the specific relationship which obtains between the speaker and the person in question.

As noted above, a female speaker equates her sister’s offspring terminologically with her own. However, a female speaker refers to her brother’s son, as भदो *bhado* or भदाहा *bhadāhā* ‘brother’s son’ (female speaking), and to her brother’s daughter as भदै *bhadai* ‘brother’s daughter’ (female speaking). The husband of the female speaker in question may also refer to these same nephews-in-law and nieces-in-law using the same terms as those used by his wife. In turn, these nephews and nieces will address the female speaker as फुपू *phupū* and her spouse as फुपाजु *phupāju*, फुपाज्यू *phupājyū* or फुपा *phupā*. The female speaker is likely to use either the familiar pronoun तँ *tā* or the intermediate pronoun तिमि *timi* when addressing these nephews and nieces, the choice once again being contingent upon the perceived social distance between the speaker and the particular individual in question.

A male speaker addresses his sister’s offspring as भान्जा *bhānjā* ‘sister’s son’ (male speaking) and भान्जी *bhānjī* ‘sister’s daughter’ (male speaking). The wife of the male

speaker may also refer to these same nephews-in-law and nieces-in-law using the same terms as those used by her husband. In turn, these nephews and nieces will address the male speaker as *मामा* *māmā* and his spouse as *माइजु* *māiju* or *माइज्यू* *māijyū*. There is a Nepali proverb सात जुवाइँ एक भान्जा *sāt juvāĩ ek bhānjā* ‘seven brothers-in-law [are together worth just] one sister’s son’. This adage underscores the traditional importance of the relationship between a maternal uncle and his nephew (i.e. his sister’s son), which also manifests itself periodically during the rituals performed on religious feast days.

Traditionally, a male speaker addresses his भान्जा *bhānjā* ‘sister’s son’ and भान्जी *bhānji* ‘sister’s daughter’ using the deferential pronoun *तपाईँ* *tapāĩ*, especially in conservative families. In the traditional social order by which men are the breadwinners and women toil arduously in the household, the respectful nature of the relationship between the maternal uncle and his nephew and nieces stems from the practice of patrilocality and therefore from the general deference accorded to the family which has taken in one’s sister. A भान्जा *bhānjā* ‘sister’s son’ and भान्जी *bhānji* ‘sister’s daughter’ might routinely refer to their maternal uncle’s household with the special abbreviated form *मामा घर* *māmā ghar* ‘maternal uncle’s house’ rather than using the full form *मामाको घर* *māmā-ko ghar* ‘house of maternal uncle’.

Sometimes nowadays, however, a male speaker can be observed to address his भान्जा *bhānjā* ‘sister’s son’ and भान्जी *bhānji* ‘sister’s daughter’ with the intermediate pronominal form *तिमी* *timī*, whereas his wife, who is their *माइजु* *māiju*, will nonetheless usually address her husband’s भान्जा *bhānjā* ‘sister’s son’ and भान्जी *bhānji* ‘sister’s daughter’ with the deferential pronoun *तपाईँ* *tapāĩ*. In his capacity as maternal uncle, a male speaker and his nephew or niece are members of different families and of different paternal lineages as a result of the patrilocal and patrilinear nature of the kinship system. Because the male speaker’s sister has been married out to another family, a man’s भान्जा *bhānjā* ‘sister’s son’ and भान्जी *bhānji* ‘sister’s daughter’ are more often than not likely to be distant physically and may very well live in another village or even yet further away. As a consequence, even in less traditional families, wherever only infrequent contact occurs between a male speaker and his भान्जा *bhānjā* ‘sister’s son’ and भान्जी *bhānji* ‘sister’s daughter’, it is likely that a male speaker will use the deferential pronoun *तपाईँ* *tapāĩ*, which reflects this distance.

By contrast, a male speaker addresses his brother’s sons as *भतीज* *bhatij* or *भतीजो* *bhatijo* ‘brother’s son’ (male speaking) and his brother’s daughters as *भतीजी* *bhatiji* ‘brother’s daughter’ (male speaking). A male speaker may also address his brother’s offspring simply as *छोरा* *chorā* ‘son’ and *छोरी* *chorī* ‘daughter’. Once again, the wife of the male speaker may likewise address the same nephews-in-law and nieces-in-law using the same terms as those used by her husband. If the male speaker is older than his brother, then the male speaker will be addressed by these nephews and nieces as *ठूलो बुवा* *thūlo buvā* ‘big’ or ‘great father’, and his wife will be addressed

as ठूली आमा *thūlī āmā* ‘big’ or ‘great mother’. If the male speaker is younger than his brother, he will be addressed by these nephews and nieces as काका *kākā*, कान्छा बुवा *kānchā buvā* or कान्छा बाबु *kānchā bābu* ‘junior father’, and his wife will be addressed as काकी *kākī* or सान्नीमा *sānīmā* ‘small’ or ‘little mother’. The traditional and usual choice of second person pronoun for a male speaker to use in addressing his भतीज *bhatij* or भतीजो *bhatijo* ‘brother’s son’ or भतिजी *bhatiji* ‘brother’s daughter’ is the familiar pronominal form तँ *tā* because these nephews and nieces will live in the same village as a consequence of patrilocality, and they will tend to be members of the close family.

Since a female speaker equates the offspring of her sisters terminologically with her own offspring, it is natural that she refers to and addresses the spouses of these offspring as बुहारी *buhārī* ‘son’s wife’ and जुवाई *juvāī* ‘daughter’s husband’, addressing the former with the intermediate pronoun तिमी *timī* and the latter with the deferential form तपाईं *tapāī*. Similarly, a female speaker refers to the spouses of her brother’s offspring as भदाहा बुहारी *bhadāhā buhārī* ‘wife of brother’s son’ (female speaking) and भदाहा जुवाई *bhadāhā juvāī* ‘husband of brother’s daughter’ (female speaking), addressing the former simply as बुहारी *buhārī* and using the intermediate pronoun तिमी *timī* and addressing the latter simply as जुवाई *juvāī* whilst using the deferential form तपाईं *tapāī*.

A male speaker refers to the spouses of his sister’s offspring as भान्जे बुहारी *bhānje buhārī* ‘wife of sister’s son’ (male speaking) and भान्जे जुवाई *bhānje juvāī* ‘husband of sister’s daughter’ (male speaking), addressing the former simply as बुहारी *buhārī* and the latter simply as जुवाई *juvāī*. Whereas a male speaker usually addresses any kin whom he terms his बुहारी *buhārī* with the intermediate pronoun तिमी *timī*, a male speaker will usually address his भान्जे बुहारी *bhānje buhārī* ‘wife of sister’s son’ (male speaking) with the deferential form तपाईं *tapāī*. As is usual for kin whom a speaker terms as his जुवाई *juvāī*, a भान्जे जुवाई *bhānje juvāī* ‘husband of sister’s daughter’ (male speaking) is likewise addressed using the deferential pronoun तपाईं *tapāī*. By contrast, if called upon to explain the nature of the relationship, a male speaker may refer to the wife of his brother’s son as भतिजी बुहारी *bhatiji buhārī* ‘wife of brother’s son’ (male speaking), but he will address her simply as बुहारी *buhārī* and speak to her using the intermediate pronoun तिमी *timī*. Similarly, a male speaker will refer to and address the husband of his brother’s daughter simply as जुवाई *juvāī* ‘daughter’s husband’ and speak to him using the deferential form तपाईं *tapāī*.

In the context of language communities sharing a history of Hindu civilisation, it is noteworthy that animals are addressed with the familiar pronoun तँ *tā*, whereas gods or goddesses are addressed in prayer using the deferential pronoun तपाईं *tapāī*. In the prayers said out loud by some speakers, an aberrant choice of second person pronoun can be observed to occur, particularly when a person has been influenced by Hindi pronominal usage in prayers, where speakers of Hindi

generally address deities with the familiar Hindi pronoun तू *tū* or sometimes with the form तुम *tum*, but not with the distant form आप *āp*.

Finally, the issue of fictive kinship brings us to a rival subsystem for addressing and referring to a subset of in-laws in use in some Nepali language communities in western Nepal involving the terms सोल्टी *solṭī*, roughly ‘male in-law relation’, and सोल्टिनी *solṭinī*, roughly ‘female in-law relation’. These terms are not original to the Kathmandu valley and are quite unfamiliar to most Nepali speakers from east of the valley. However, these terms are heard used as fictive kinship terms of address in informal registers of speech in certain social *milieux* in the Kathmandu valley, where members of the older generation still recognise the terms to be of distinctly western Nepali provenance.

Turner (1931: 624) recorded the form सोल्टि *solṭi* and reported that the term was in use amongst Gurung and Tamang in the meaning of either male cross cousin or the brother of the spouse of one’s sibling. Yet studies on the Gurung kinship system, although all relatively superficial to date, record no such terms (e.g. Pignède 1966; Doherty 1974; Glover et al. 1977), nor do extant studies on the Tamang kinship system (von Fürer-Haimendorf 1956; Höfer 1969; Hall 1978). Popularly, these kinship terms are associated in the minds of some Nepali speakers with the Magar, but the terms are not recorded in extant studies on the Magar kinship system either (Oppitz 1982; Buḍā Magar 1966; Grunow-Hārsta 2013; Regmi 2013, 2014). Rather, Vinding (1979: 209.211) records the Thakali forms सोल्टी *solṭī*, denoting male cross cousins and brothers of the spouse of one’s sibling, and सोल्टीस्या *solṭīsyā*, denoting female cross cousins and sisters of the spouse of one’s sibling.

In earlier and later editions of their Nepali dictionary, Tripāṭhī and Dāhāl (vs 2040) provide an indigenous etymology for these forms, suggesting that the term सोल्टा *solṭā* derives from the kinship term सालो *sālo* augmented by an otherwise unidentified and unexplained suffix टा *ṭā*. To the contrary, the form सोल्टा *solṭā* looks like what may have been an early attempt at rendering the form morphologically masculine and so to indigenise a borrowed term that to a Nepali speaker felt like a feminine form denoting a male referent. In fact, a सोल्टा *solṭā* is far more commonly referred to as सोल्टी *solṭī*. Furthermore, the Nepali form सोल्टिनी *solṭinī* is manifestly a regular Nepali feminine form derived from सोल्टी *solṭī*. In other words, rather than adopting the Thakali feminine form सोल्टीस्या *solṭīsyā*, denoting female cross cousins and the sisters of the spouse of one’s sibling, Nepali speakers simply derived the form सोल्टिनी *solṭinī* to denote the wife of a सोल्टी *solṭī*.

Tripāṭhī and Dāhāl defined the form सोल्टा *solṭā* as a term by which a female speaker can refer to the younger or older brothers of the wife of her younger or older brother. In other words, the western Nepalese form सोल्टी *solṭī* conflates the separate terms for brothers-in-law of a female speaker’s brother through his wife, traditionally distinguished by the terms जेठान *jeṭhān* and सालो *sālo*. For a male

speaker, this western Nepalese system is reversed in that he refers to the elder and younger sisters of his elder or younger sister's husband as सोल्टिनी *solṭinī* and to their husbands as सोल्टी *solṭī*. The western Nepalese form सोल्टिनी *solṭinī* therefore conflates the sisters-in-law of a male speaker's sister through her husband, traditionally distinguished by the terms भिनाज्यू *bhinājyū* and जुवाईनी *juvāīnī*. In effect, therefore, the terms सोल्टी *solṭī* and सोल्टिनी *solṭinī* refer to siblings of the spouses of siblings, thereby replacing the richer traditional inventory of kinship terms shown in Diagrams 3a, 3b, 4a and 4b.

This system is not observed throughout western Nepal, but in those areas of Nepal where this rival subsystem exists for designating certain types of siblings-in-law, the institution of सोल्टेरो *solṭero* or सोल्ट्यौलो *solṭyaulo* refers to a gift which is given by one सोल्टी *solṭī* to another. The use of the terms सोल्टी *solṭī* and सोल्टिनी *solṭinī* have quite naturally been seized upon for use in fictive kinship. These non-native kinship terms evidently entered the Nepali language at the interface between the *Khas kurā* speaking Aryan communities and the Thakali communities of the Kālī Gaṇḍakī valley, amongst whom cross cousin marriage was the prevalent tradition, as it was amongst the Gurung, Limbu and many other Trans-Himalayan language communities indigenous to Nepal.

The awkward self

Clark (1963: 71) called the use of the reflexive pronoun आफु *āphu* 'self, oneself' with respect to a second person a 'high grade honorific' usage. Korolëv (1968: 1260) called आफु *āphu* 'self' a 'strong polite' pronominal form of the second person. Both writers noted the semantic peculiarity of the usage, whilst Clark ascribed the usage especially to rural speakers outside of the Kathmandu Valley. Neither author described how this form is actually used. The usage is, in fact, infrequent. The use of आफु *āphu* 'self' is not just observed rurally, but more generally in situations in which people are unsure of which pronoun to use. This might even include clumsy situations between people who used to know each other.

For instance, two friends may have been on a certain footing with each other but then not have seen each other subsequently for many years. Perhaps one of the two has gained a very high social status, whereas the other has not. When they meet after many years, both of them are older but life has treated each of them differently, and suddenly a new hierarchical relationship obtains between two persons who had previously been on a more casual or even on a once fleetingly intimate footing. The old pronominal usage may no longer feel appropriate. Yet what would under normal circumstances have represented the obvious choice of second person pronoun somehow no longer feels right, for the distance of time has engendered a

new social distance. One or both of the speakers might under these circumstances resort to the use of आफु *āphu* ‘self’. The use of आफु *āphu* ‘self’ is deferential in two senses, for the form avoids making a choice and therefore defers the need to select between the three second person pronouns तँ *tā*, तिमि *timi* and तपाईं *tapāī*.

The use of आफु *āphu* ‘self’ with respect to the second person remains uncommon because the usage is clumsy. Use of the reflexive form आफु *āphu* with respect to a second person does not represent usual pronominal usage as much as the avoidance of natural pronominal usage in order to avoid having to settle on a register. This device enables the two persons in question to delay deciding on a choice. Such usage is not sustained in natural situations between two individuals over long periods. Today, in the virtual world of electronic media, however, the form आफु *āphu* ‘self’ is attested in various new genres of social intercourse such as group chat or on social media websites, where the appropriate pronoun is uncertain or undecidable because the person addressed might quite often even be entirely unknown to the speaker.

Another pronominal usage which is quite common is the first person plural as a form of address when the speaker either does not wish to or feels no need to define his or her social relationship with regard to the person being addressed. For example, when Nepali construction workers returning to Nepal for home leave find themselves queuing up for the same flight at an airport on the Arabian peninsula, they may express curiosity about the actual provenance of familiar faces from the construction site where they work with whom they otherwise maintain no social relationship. The following conversation fragment is just one out of many such typical exchanges heard at Muscat airport:

हाम्रो कततिर?

hāmro katā-tira?

Whereabouts is our [place of origin/destination]?

गुल्मी। अनि हाम्रो कततिर?

Gulmī, ani hāmro katā-tira?

Gulmī, and so whereabouts is our [place of origin/destination]?

प्युठानतिर।

Pyūṭhān-tira

around Pyūṭhān

The use of the first person plural to address a second person semantically includes the speaker, and this sense of inclusion stemming from the implication of both being in the same boat neither implies nor precludes deference. However, in certain social contexts the usage might be interpreted as patronising or condescending, particularly when the person being addressed in this way feels that some expression of deference is due. Neither the practice of resorting to आफु *āphu* ‘self’ and आफ्नो *āphno* ‘one’s own’ nor the use of the first person plural हामी *hāmī* ‘we’ and हाम्रो *hāmro*

‘our’ typically represent terms of address used in long-term enduring relationships, in which exchanges occur on a routine or daily basis. Rather, these usages represent improvisations that obviate the need of establishing a second person pronominal usage and thereby defer the need of defining the social relationship between the two people in the conversation. The use of the inclusive first person plural may, however, crop up incidentally in interactions of people between whom a particular pronominal usage has already long been established, simply as a stylistic device.

Royal or courtly forms

There is a yet higher register of deference and distance in Nepali grammar than the forms hitherto discussed, and these forms may be labelled either ‘royal’ or ‘courtly’. Clark (1963: 271) says that such forms are ‘used in court and high social circles with reference to senior persons’. Historically, such forms are indeed used at the royal court of the शाह Śāh dynasty king, who bore the title of श्री ५ *śrī pāñc* ‘five times Lord’, and at the courts of the hereditary राणा Rāṇā prime minister, who bore the title of श्री ३ *śrī tīn* ‘thrice Lord’, as well as at the many courts maintained by the extensive and powerful Rāṇā family. In the *Nepālī Br̥hat Śabdakoś*, Vasudev Tripāṭhī and Ballabh Maṇi Dāhāl (1983: 928) specified that the verb बक्सनु *baksanu* ‘bestow, grant, deign’ belongs to the register of विशेष आदरार्थी प्रयोग *viśeṣ ādarārthī prayog* ‘special honorific usage’, and indeed the Nepali royal or courtly forms can aptly be qualified as honorific.

Morphologically, the forms of the royal conjugation consist of the participle in <-i> of a main verb in combination with the mediopassive forms of the auxiliary verb बक्सनु *baksanu* ‘bestow, grant’, i.e. बक्सिनु *baksinu* ‘be granted, be bestowed, be deigned’. The verb बक्सिनु *baksinu* ‘be deigned’ is a member of a larger set of Nepali verbs that govern a verbal complement taking the form of a participle in <-i>. The royal paradigm is rendered impersonal by the use of the mediopassive, which is formed by infixation of the mediopassive morpheme <-i->, so that there can be no person and number agreement with any syntactic constituent, whether overt or implicit, denoting a royal referent.

As a consequence, the paradigm contains only third person singular forms, thereby rendering these forms all the more distant and deferential. The forms of the mediopassive auxiliary verb बक्सिनु *baksinu* ‘be deigned’ therefore show no grammatical agreement either with the royal person or with his highness or majesty, i.e. बक्सियो *baksiyo* ‘it was deigned’, बक्सिन्छ *baksincha* ‘it is deigned’, बक्सिएला *baksiela* ‘it might be deigned’, and so forth. Rather such forms are morphologically third person singular forms showing no agreement with any syntactic constituent other than with the activity denoted by the verb itself.

The royal conjugation exists for all verbs, but Clark provided the royal conjugated forms for the verb हुनु *hunu* ‘to be’, incorporating the participial form होइ *hoi* of the verb हुनु *hunu* ‘to be’.¹¹ To replicate Clark’s eclectic choice of verbal category labels, the affirmative and negative ‘simple indefinite’ forms are होइबक्सिन्छ *hoibaksincha* and होइबक्सिन्छ *hoibaksincha* and होइबक्सिन्छ *hoibaksincha*, which Clark described as being ‘higher in the honorific scale than’ हुनुहुन्छ *hunuhuncha* and हुनुहुन्छ *hunuhunna*. Clark furthermore provided the ‘aorist injunctive’ forms होइबक्सियोस् *hoibaksiyos* and नहोइबक्सियोस् *nahoi-baksiyos*, the ‘aorist perfect’ forms होइबक्सियो *hoibaksiyo* and होइबक्सिएन *hoibaksiena*, the ‘first perfect participle’ होइबक्सिएको *hoibaksieko* and नहोइबक्सिएको *nahoi-baksieko* and the ‘second perfect participle’ होइबक्सिए *hoibaksie* and नहोइबक्सिए *nahoi-baksie*. Clark noted that this courtly paradigm has third person singular forms only, but neglected to clarify why, the reason of course being, as explained above, that the conjugation is entirely mediopassive, without any person and number agreement with any syntactic constituent that might denote a royal referent.

Since the first Nepali grammar by Ayton in 1820, various authors have devised diverse labels to affix to the Nepali verbal categories, such as the tenses, participles, and gerunds. Yet there is no consistency between linguists in the use of such labels. Until such time as an authoritative and comprehensive Nepali grammar with apt labels for grammatical categories has been produced, it strikes me as most precise to refer to the participial form built by suffixation of the ending <-i> to the verb stem simply as the participle in <-i>.¹²

When inviting or requesting a member of the royal family to deign to engage in an activity, the participle in <-i> of the main verb is combined with the optative third person singular form of the mediopassive verb बक्सिनु *baksinu* ‘deign’, i.e. बक्सियोस् *baksiyos* ‘may [subject] deign [to]/may [subject] bestow upon us [that]’. The optative is a Nepali verbal category, which Clark (1963) labelled the ‘aorist injunctive’

11. The verb हुनु *hunu* ‘to be’, which exhibits several distinct verb stem forms, has two participial forms in <-i>, i.e. होइ *hoi* and भइ *bhai*, which are used differently.

12. Recently, I seized an opportunity to recommend Boyd Michailovsky’s (1996) coinage ‘inferential’ for the Nepali tense category that many scholars have ineptly, and sometimes even jocularly, been calling the ‘unknown past’ or the ‘past unknown’ (van Driem 2017), an English rendering of Nepali अज्ञात भूत *ajñāt bhūt*. Clark (1963) called the Nepali inferential the ‘second perfect’ because this tense is built using the form which he chose to call the ‘second perfect participle’, consisting of the verb stem ending in <-e>. Korolëv (1965, 1968) treated the inferential as ‘contracted forms’ of the ‘present perfect’ formed using the participle in <-eko>, a Nepali verbal category which Clark labelled the ‘first perfect’ tense. Korolëv was the first to describe the mirative semantic character of this Nepali verbal category. Clark had, however, described the mirative character of the forms रहेछ *rahecha* ‘it turned out that, it appears that’ and रहेनछ *rahenacha* ‘it did not turn out that, it does not appear that’, which he explained are ‘second perfect tense’ forms of the verb रहनु *rahanu* ‘be, abide [in a state], remain [in a state]’.

and Korolëv (1965, 1968) labelled the желательное наклонение *želatel'noe naklonenie* 'optative mood'. In practice, I have for years improvised by using the functionally explanatory English label 'optative' for the second and third person forms of this Nepali paradigm, and the label 'adhortative' for the first person forms of the same paradigm. The following is a not very eloquent sentence requesting a member of the royal family to be seated.

बसि बक्सियोस्।

basi baksiyos

May [Your Majesty/Your Royal Highness] deign to sit down.

The reason that the above utterance is not particularly eloquent is because it was uttered by someone with little acquaintance with court parlance. The more formal and eloquent expression with reference to a member of the royal family is formed by substituting the verb बस्नु *basnu* 'sit' with the form राजभइ *rājabhai*. Etymologically the form राजभइ *rājabhai* is the participle in <-i> of a verbal expression *rāja hunu* 'be the sovereign', but the term राजभइ *rājabhai*, roughly 'royal presence', represents a fossilised and hitherto apparently lexicographically undocumented form which today has begun to feel semantically partially opaque.

राजभइ बक्सियोस्।

rājabhai baksiyos

May [Your Majesty/Your Royal Highness] deign to be seated. / May the royal presence be bestowed.

Similarly, when inviting a member of the royal family to enjoin in a repast or tiffin, the particular expression जिउनार गर्नु *jiunār garnu* 'partake of food' is used.

जिउनार गरि बक्सियोस्।

jiunār gari baksiyos

May it be deigned [by Your Majesty/Your Royal Highness] to enjoin in the food.

When inviting a member of the royal family to partake of a drink, usually the verb पिउनु *piunu* 'drink' is simply used.

पिइ बक्सियोस्।

pii baksiyos

May it be deigned [by Your Majesty/Your Royal Highness] to partake of the beverage.

When inviting a member of the royal family to go or to come, the verbs जानु *jānu* 'go' and आउनु *āunu* 'come' are substituted with the verb पाल्नु *pālnu* 'proceed'. It has long been noted that an elaborate stylistic system of lexical substitution of a common

term with a more elevated term is the very mainstay of Tibetan honorific language. In other languages, such as Nepali or English, carefully selected word choice also serves to convey deference on the part of the speaker.

पालि बक्सियोस् ।
pāli baksiyos

May it be granted [by Your Majesty/Your Royal Highness] to proceed.

The verb पाल्नु *pālnu* ‘proceed’ can also be used deferentially to commoners, albeit without the use of the auxiliary बक्सिनु *baksinu* ‘deign’. The verb पाल्नु *pālnu* ‘proceed’ must not be confused with the homophonous verb पाल्नु *pālnu* ‘to raise’, e.g. offspring, livestock. Naturally, in the style register employed with royal personages, the use of lexical alternatives of an elevated stylistic register is frequent.

In the old days of the पञ्चायती व्यवस्था *pañcāyatī vyavasthā* ‘pañcāyat system’, the official state newspaper, the गोरखापत्र *Gorkhāpatra* and its English counterpart, the *Rising Nepal*, would be brimming with front-page news regarding the activities undertaken by His Majesty and other royal personages. Several pictorial volumes have attempted to conserve a photographic record of this stratum of Nepali society (Shrestha 1986; Sever 1993; Rāṇā et al. 2002; Sirhandi 2009), most resplendent in the Rāṇā period before the dingy Nārāyaṇhiṭī palace became a regal setting in 1961.

Yet few studies have undertaken to document the use of courtly language. The archives of the गोरखापत्र *Gorkhāpatra* and other documents of the period can be profitably studied in this regard. Since Their Majesties regularly travelled to all parts of the kingdom to visit the people and inaugurate and monitor development projects, His Majesty’s movements and travels were narrated, using the expression सवारी गर्नु *savāri garnu* ‘travel’ or सवारी हुनु *savāri hunu* ‘to grace with one’s presence’, whereby the noun सवारी *savāri* ‘conveyance’ derives from the Persian سفري *safari* ‘travel, travelling’. Since the Persian ultimately derives from the Arabic سفر *safar* ‘travel’, the Nepali word सवारी *savāri* is etymologically remotely connected to the Swahili loanword *safari* in English.

Often, however, in routine interaction, the diction used with members of the royal family was not necessarily very much distinct from normal polite speech other than the conjugation of the verb with the aid of the mediopassively inflected auxiliary verb बक्सिनु *baksinu* ‘be deigned, be bestowed’ in combination with a participle in <-i>.

विस्तारमा बयान गरि बक्सियोस् ।
vistār ma bayān gari baksiyos

May it please [Your Majesty/Your Royal Highness] to describe [the matter] in detail.

आराम गरि बक्सियोस्।

ārām gari baksiyos

May it be deigned [by Your Majesty/Your Royal Highness] to rest / to be at ease.

The mediopassive nature of the बक्सिनु *baksinu* ‘be deigned, be bestowed’ necessitates that His Majesty be marked by a postposition बाट *bāṭa* ‘through, by, via, by means of’ in any context in which it is appropriate that the royal personage be explicitly mentioned as the agent of the activity denoted by the mediopassive verb.

सम्माननीय प्रधानमन्त्री श्री मनमोहन अधिकारीको सिफारिस
Sammānāniya pradhān mantrī śrī Manmohan Adhikārī ko siphāris

बमोजिम श्री ५ महाराजाधिराज वीरेन्द्र वीर विक्रम शाहदेवबाट
bamojim śrī 5 mahārājādhirāj Virendra Vīr Vikram Śāh Dev bāṭa

मौजुदा प्रतिनिधि सभालाई मिति २०५२।२।३० देखि विघटन गरी बक्सी
maujudā pratinidhi sabhā lāi miti 2052 Jeṭh 30 dekhi vighaṭan garī baksī

सम्बत् २०५२ मंसिर ७ गते प्रतिनिधि सभाको लागि निर्वाचन हुने मिति
samvat 2052 Māsīr 7 gate pratinidhi sabhā ko lāgi nirvācan hune miti

तोकी बक्सिएको छ।

tokī baksieko cha.

In accordance with the recommendation of the honourable Prime Minister Mr. Manmohan Adhikārī, it having been deigned by the five times Lord and Great King of Kings Virendra Vīr Vikram Śāh Dev to dissolve the existing House of Representatives from the 30th of Jyeṣṭha 2052 [i.e. 13 June 1995], it was granted to designate the 7th of Mārgaśīrṣa 2052 [i.e. 23 November 1995] as the date for the election of the House of Representatives.¹³

For linguists of Nepali, old issues of the गोर्खापत्र *Gorkhāpatra* furnish a valuable corpus of prose written in this now moribund style register. Since the abolition of the monarchy in 2008, the loss of the style register can now be observed. In a piece written in *Online Khabar* on the 4th of Kartik 2073 (i.e. 20 October 2016), one semiliterate journalist wrote:

हे पूर्व-राजा आँखा धेरै नचम्काइ बक्सियोस्।

he pūrva-rājā, ākhā dherai nacamkai baksiyos

Hey, former king, may it not be deigned that [you] flash [your] eyes too much.

The lack of erudition on the part of the writer is in evidence in his other formulations, which strike educated Nepalis accustomed to proper usage as ungrammatical.

13. In accordance with the particulars of modern Nepali phonology, the name of His Late Majesty was usually romanised in English as ‘Birendra Bir Bikram Shah Dev’.

When he writes that the former king attended a particular public gathering, the journalist writes उपस्थित भए *upasthit bhae* ‘was present’, using the plural ending, as if this were the correct deferential grammatical ending. In such instances, the imperfect usage is not disrespectful as such, but strikes educated Nepalis as grammatically uncouth. One out of a choice of grammatically correct forms which the writer might have used would have been सवारी भइ बक्सियो *savāri bhai baksiyo* ‘deigned to grace [the meeting] with his presence’. This usage on the part of a writer in an online paper reflects the fact that now an entire generation has grown in the country that currently styles itself as the Federal Democratic Republic of Nepal rather than the Kingdom of Nepal.

Grammar and history repeat themselves

After Bhimsen Thāpā, who had been languishing in prison for two years, was cruelly tricked into committing suicide in 1839, a power struggle ensued for nearly a decade amongst the royals and nobles during the reign of the effete king Rājendra. The jockeying for power continued until the Kot Massacre at the army headquarters near Hanumān Dhokā on 14th of September 1846, where 32 ministers and noblemen were slain by the bodyguards of Jaṅg Bahādur Kūvar, who at the age of 29 was appointed prime minister by the junior queen in the the midst of the carnage which he had orchestrated. From that point onward, Jaṅg Bahādur Kūvar became the *de facto* ruler of Nepal. In 1849, he decreed that the Kūvar were as much of high caste as the Rājput, the putative caste of the ruling Śāh dynasty, and he adopted the new surname Rāṅā. Jaṅg Bahādur made his prime ministership a hereditary position and adopted the grandiose title of Śrī 3 Mahārāj ‘the thrice Lord great King’, whereas the figurehead kings of the Śāh dynasty were allowed to sport the largely ceremonial title of Śrī 5 Mahārājadhirāj ‘the five times Lord great King of Kings’.

This clever set-up institutionalised a display of greater deference to the ruling dynasty, whereas real power resided with the Rāṅā family, heralding 104 years of oligarchic rule known as the Rāṅā period, which lasted until the Restoration in 1951. During World War II, there was much anti-Rāṅā agitation, and an independent Nepali press began to flourish in exile. One such anti-Rāṅā group, the *Nepāl Prajā Pariṣad* ‘Nepal People’s Council’, maintained clandestine connections with the democracy advocate, H.M. king Tribhuvan, and this group spread propaganda leaflets for their cause in Kathmandu in 1941.

In retaliation, Juddha Śamśer Rāṅā put to death four of their leading members, and their deaths are still annually commemorated in Kathmandu at *Śahid Smārak* ‘Martyrs’ Memorial’ from the 10th to 16th of Māgh. In the ensuing years,

the king's position became increasingly precarious, and on the 6th of November 1950, H.M. king Tribhuvan Vīr Vikram Śāh and his family fled to the Indian Embassy in Kathmandu. The king's youngest grandson Jñānendra was left behind in the palace as a precaution to ensure perpetuation of the dynasty should anything overcome the king and the rest of the royal family. The Rāṇā government proclaimed Jñānendra king the following day,¹⁴ and after negotiations with the Indian Embassy, king Tribhuvan and the royal family were permitted to be flown by the Indian Air Force from Kathmandu to India.

Pressure by the Indian government and a guerrilla war waged by the troops of the newly established Nepali Congress Party in the Terai and eastern hills forced the Rāṇā regime to capitulate. On the 15th of February 1951, king Tribhuvan returned in triumph and assumed power. The monarch did not persecute his former adversaries, with whose family the royal family shared a complex web of blood ties. Though they lost much, the Rāṇā family consequently continued to play a major role in Nepalese political life. This palace revolution transpired in the year 2007 of the *Vikram Samvat* era used in the Nepali calendar and is accordingly known as *sāt sāl ko krāntī* 'the revolution of the year 7'. Soon thereafter, the caste system as codified in the original *Mulukī Ain* was rendered obsolete on the 30th of Kārttik 2011 (i.e. 15 November 1954) by the new Interim Constitution, which barred discrimination on the basis of religion, caste and sex and guaranteed equal protection under the law to all Nepali citizens, although obviously age-old customs and traditional ways of thinking were not swept away just by the flourish of a pen.

The monarchy would probably not have come to an end notwithstanding the disruptive and antagonistic actions of the Nepalese Maoists. Instead, the monarchy was rendered vulnerable and apparently dealt a mortal blow by the cataclysmic events which unfolded on Friday evening, the 19th of Jeṭh 2058 (i.e. 1 June 2001), commonly known today as the दरबार हत्याकाण्ड *darbār hatyākāṇḍ* 'palace massacre'. Several books and popular accounts were published on the tragic events afterwards. However, historians will have to defer to the informative and noteworthy report of the inquiry conducted by the उच्चस्तरीय समिति *Uccastariya samiti* 'high-level committee' (2058). The text is also fascinating as a linguistic corpus replete with regally conjugated forms and courtly Nepali speech, suffused with an impertinently generous smattering of English. The use of titles in the document is entirely in keeping with the usage of the period in both the spoken and written Nepali of the time.

The use of titles once used to be an integral part of the grammatical competence of an educated Nepali speaker. In the days immediately following the palace tragedy, one of the several measures taken by the government cannot be properly

14. The name Jñānendra is usually romanised in English as 'Gyanendra'.

appraised today by those lacking certain sensitivities in a domain of language usage that was still very much alive at that time, unless it is understood how important the use of titles and deferential speech was to the grammar of the period. In the news black-out that ensued immediately after the events, the rationale behind blocking the Indian news channels was entirely different than the reasoning behind blocking the Anglo-American media. Hindi is a language which many Nepalis understand due to their exposure to Bollywood films and as a consequence of many lexical similarities between the two languages.

The usage of the Hindi television news readers was not disrespectful as such, but nonetheless made a highly uncouth and discourteous impression on Nepali ears because members of the royal family were referred to brusquely as राजा *rājā* 'king', रानी *rānī* 'queen', राजकुमार *rājakumār* 'prince' and so forth, without any use of deferential titles. This casual contemporary Hindi usage struck educated Nepali ears as rude in the extreme, particularly at a time of national tragedy. Those in His Majesty's Government who blocked the Indian television media at this time expressed privately that silencing this coarse and insensitive use of language was their principal motive in blocking the Hindi media.

The loss of grammatical competence in this highly specific domain since the tragic events of June 2001 is by no means ubiquitous and does not affect all strata of society. The erudite have not yet suffered from an erosion of grammatical proficiency. Yet the unprecedented calamitous events which unfolded in 2001 catalysed a process which led to the demise of the monarchy and thereby to the demise of a stratum of Nepali grammar. Even so, this courtly style register has not vanished entirely. New forms have come into existence in recent years that have cropped up spontaneously and supplanted the royal forms, although these new forms are conspicuously derived directly from these very courtly forms. In the new Federal Democratic Republic of Nepal, the new obsequious forms are used whilst addressing powerful government officials or even a locally powerful functionary like a superintendent of police.

The new servile forms of usage represent contractions of the formal royal optative forms, evidently according to the following pattern of derivation.

खाइसियो *khāsiyo* 'please eat' < खाइसियोस् *khāsiyos* < खाइ बक्सियोस् *khāi baksiyos*
बसियो *basiyo* 'please sit' < बसियोस् *basiyos* < बसि बक्सियोस् *basi baksiyos*

A courtly imperative using the mediopassive form of the auxiliary बक्सिनु *baksinū* 'be deigned' is contracted to yield forms that imperfectly resemble mediopassive optative forms of the verb, as it were, without an auxiliary. Finally, and most recently, the *Auslaut* of the third person optative ending <-os> was dropped, thereby creating what might be called a new 'obsequious imperative' for use in addressing officials of the new order. I have witnessed the frank puzzlement of elder Nepali

speakers with long memories upon their first hearing such forms, but these new forms are currently veritably in use amongst some speakers.

Both in grammatical terms as well as in terms of its social ramifications, the rise of this new 'obsequious imperative' appears to be straight from the pages of Orwell's *Animal Farm*. When comrade Napoleon himself became the prime minister, between late 2011 and early 2013, he set the prodigal precedent of appointing a then record-breaking cabinet of no less than 49 spendthrift ministers, all most admirably adept at walking on their hind legs, who received multiple regal allowances and would on a daily basis have all vehicular traffic brought to a halt whenever any of them chose to go careening uselessly about the Kathmandu valley in their exorbitantly purchased vehicles, accompanied by police escorts (Sālokya 2011).

Finally, another domain of retention of the use of royal forms is jocular usage, when jesting amongst peers. Courtly forms are also retained in some artificial styles of speech used in prayers. Sometimes people undertake to use courtly forms to show deference within the family in particular ceremonial contexts, although the effect created by such usage strikes the highly educated as burlesque. Predictably, in speech registers such as jest, prayer or pretentiousness, the forms are quite often used incorrectly because few amongst the young generation have acquired a proper mastery of this traditional register of Nepali grammar.

Languages change inexorably with time, and Nepali constitutes no exception. Aside from the loss of this subdomain of Nepali morphology, the Nepali language has changed in numerous respects since the पञ्चायती काल *pañcāyatī kāl* 'Pañcāyat period'. Today many people of the younger generation have difficulty distinguishing between अ *a* [ə] and आ *ā* [a] when these vowels occur in word-final position, whereas their grandparents' generation never had any doubt about this phonemic distinction. More generally, Nepali, as it is spoken today, sounds different from the way that the language sounded in the Pañcāyat period, at which time it would have been unimaginable to hear newsreaders speaking Nepali in many of the styles of diction and types of pronunciation heard today. Moreover, in the mouths of certain speakers, modern Nepali suffers from a tendency that can also be observed elsewhere in the Indian subcontinent and even beyond, whereby the crisp apical Nepali phoneme /r/ is realised phonetically with a growling Anglo-Saxon rumble.

Some Nepali speakers even cultivate an Anglo-Saxon twang in their speech. Although ostensibly cosmopolitan, Nepali that sounds this way is usually not heard from erudite, highly educated and well-travelled Nepalis, who sometimes speak very good English. Rather, the global English twang is a feature of the Nepali spoken by the social parvenu, who, paradoxically, quite often does not speak much English at all. In particular, Nepali stewardesses and some female Nepali ground staff appear to be professionally afflicted with this condition so much so that the deformation of their pronunciation in some cases severely compromises the

intelligibility of their Nepali. It can be readily observed that the phonetic distortion of the Nepali spoken by stewardesses and female ground staff cannot be attributable to any mastery of English pronunciation, since any command of English is in most cases conspicuously lacking. Instead, each of these highly idiolectal speech styles represent personal phonetic affectations that could not be observed in female Nepali speakers of their profession three decades ago.

In the realm of morphology, it can be observed that some young speakers, even native speakers of high caste, on occasion use a conjugated verb form with the third person singular ending in sentences with a first person singular subject. Since this transgression against conventional verbal concord is not committed consistently by such young speakers, the observed variation is presumably somehow semantically motivated. Nonetheless, this phenomenon may herald a trend towards the type of Nepali often heard in the speech of some Nepali speakers in Darjeeling and Sikkim, but more particularly in southern Bhutan, where the paradigms of verbal agreement have undergone erosion in the speech of many speakers, depending often on their level of education, ethnicity, caste and socio-economic background. At any rate, the royal register in Nepali verbal morphology is today most rapidly being lost because of the murders perpetrated by the deranged crown prince, whose odious crimes sounded the death knell of an era.

A famous and interesting prediction was made by a Nepali court astrologer in the 1950s, which merits repeating in English for historical reasons. Known as ज्ञानेन्द्रको ३ पटक राजा हुने कुण्डली 'the horoscopic prediction that Jñānendra will be king thrice', this astrological forecast made little sense at the time when it was first pronounced, after the abbreviated reign of Jñānendra as a three-year-old monarch, which began on the 7th of November 1950 and lasted only until February 1951. The court astrologer's prediction made in the 1950s was all the more noteworthy and riddlesome at the time, since H.R.H. prince Jñānendra was not first in the line of succession of H.M. king Mahendra.

After the palace massacre in 2001, Jñānendra ruled for a second time, from the 4th of June 2001 until the abolition of the monarchy on the 28th of May 2008. The many astrologers who in recent years have predicted the return of Jñānendra to the throne for yet a third time cannot be credited with any of the originality of the famous court astrologer of the 1950s, whose fascinating and detailed obituary I recall reading in a Nepali newspaper years ago, and who first went out on a limb to make what at the time must have struck everyone as the most implausible of astrological predictions. If Jñānendra were in reality to accede to the throne for yet a third reign, then the now moribund courtly register in Nepali grammar might once again verily begin to flourish anew.

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Appendix. Kinship diagrams

In the kinship diagrams, triangles represent males and circles represent females. The square in Diagrams 7a and 7b represents a speaker whose gender does not affect the kinship terms or choice of pronominal forms used. Each triangle or square is labelled with a kinship term in a caption underneath. Although only a single term is given in each caption, some of the kinship terms in the diagrams have synonyms or variants, which are discussed in the main text. Sometimes the form of address differs from the form used to refer to a particular kin relation. In the diagrams, older generations are depicted above younger generations, and age within generation along the horizontal axis increases from right to left, and decreases from left to right. The speaker – or ‘ego’ in the jargon of anthropologists discussing kinship diagrams – is indicated in blue colour.

The pronominal forms indicated within most triangles and circles are relatively fixed, such as the use of the deferential pronoun तपाईं *tapāĩ* in addressing members of older generations, senior siblings within one’s own generation and one’s husband as well as the use of the familiar second person pronoun तँ *tā* with respect to junior siblings, one’s offspring or one’s wife. However, in some cases, the second person pronoun given within a triangle or circle merely represents the traditional and most usual choice of pronominal form. A more complete discussion of the alternatives and the factors determining the choice of pronominal form is provided in the main text.

For example, a male speaker traditionally addresses his भान्जा *bhānjā* ‘sister’s son’ and भान्जी *bhāñjī* ‘sister’s daughter’ with the deferential pronoun तपाईं *tapāĩ*, but some speakers use the intermediate form तिमि *timī*. The more traditional or the more distant the relationship of the male speaker to these relations is in practice, the more natural the use of the deferential pronoun तपाईं *tapāĩ* becomes for the speaker in addressing this subset of nephews and nieces. Similarly, a female speaker will usually address her भदो *bhado* ‘brother’s son’ and भदै *bhadai* ‘brother’s daughter’ with the familiar pronoun तँ *tā*, but if the perceived social distance between the female speaker and these nephews and nieces is great, then the intermediate form तिमि *timī* may afford a more natural pronominal choice.

In Diagrams 7a and 7b, dotted lines depict alternative lines of descent between generations. Without the dotted lines, each of these diagrams could have been turned into four diagrams. Diagrams 7a and 7b illustrate that cousins are terminologically equated with siblings, whether on father’s side of the family or on mother’s side of the family, and regardless of whether the connecting aunt or connecting uncle is elder or younger than one’s parent.

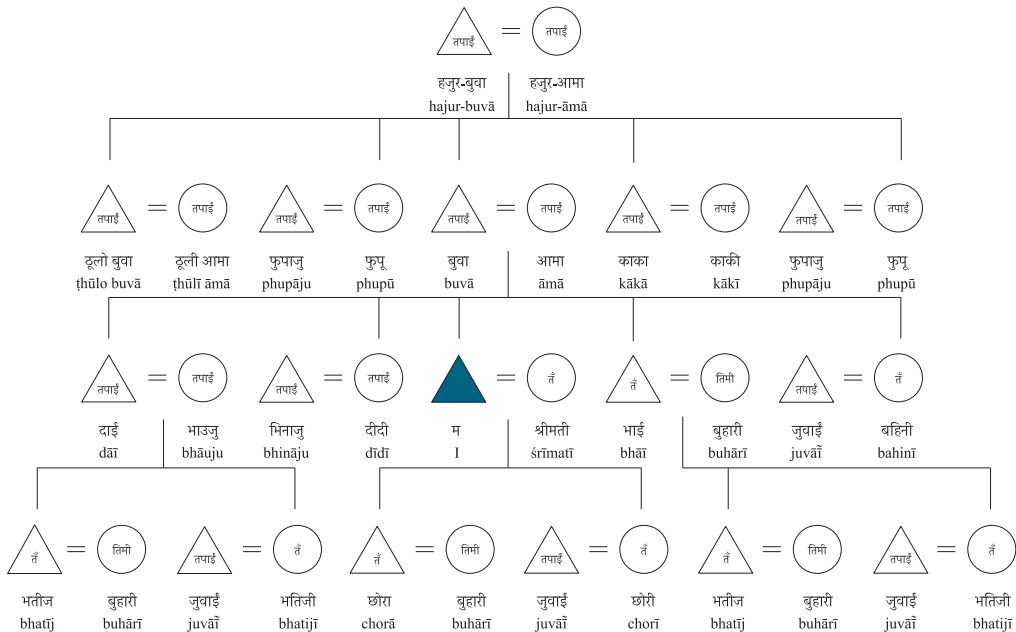
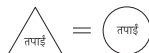


Diagram 1a. Paternal relatives and offspring of male siblings (male speaker)



हजुर-बुवा | हजुर-आमा
hajur-buvā | hajur-āmā

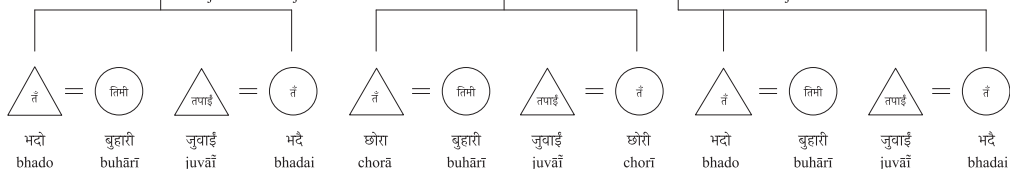
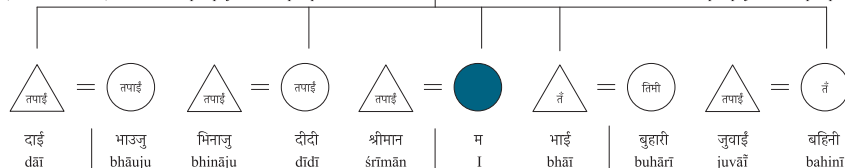
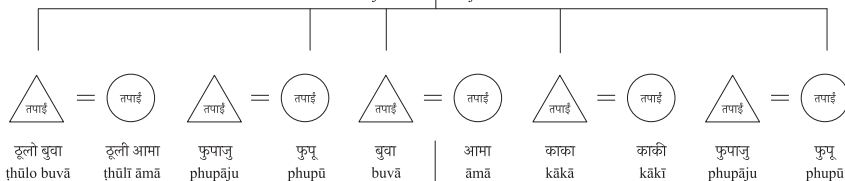


Diagram 1b. Paternal relatives and offspring of male siblings (female speaker)

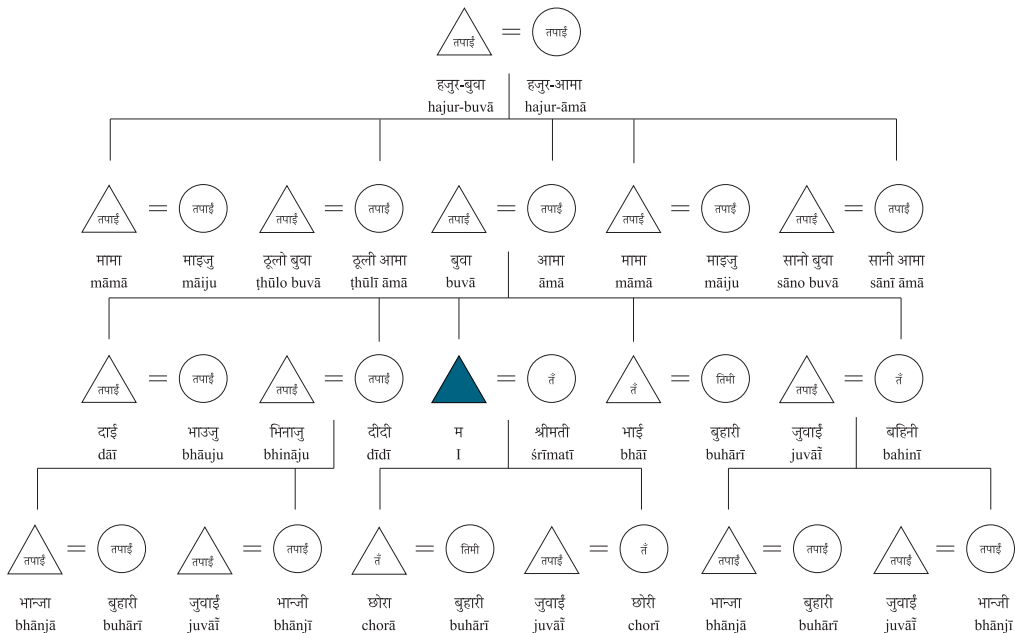


Diagram 2a. Maternal relatives and offspring of female siblings (male speaker)

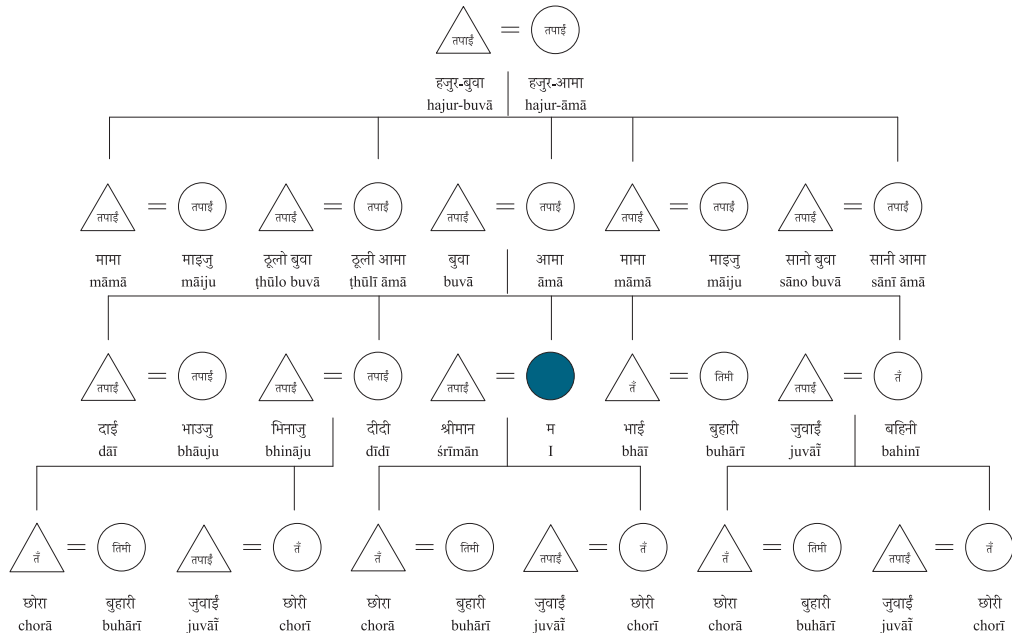


Diagram 2b. Maternal relatives and offspring of female siblings (female speaker)

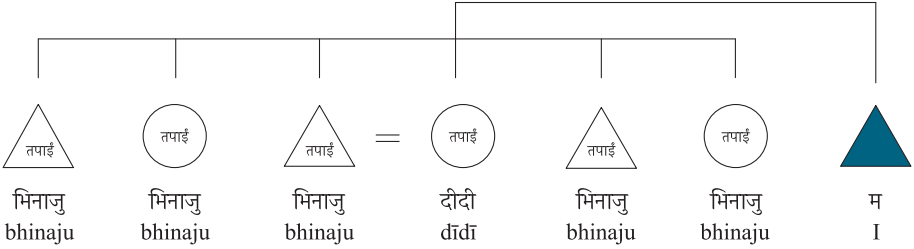
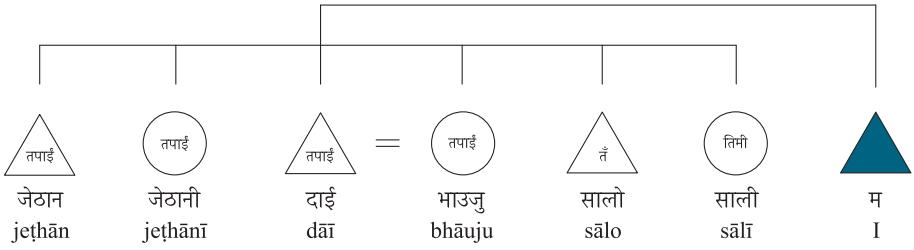


Diagram 3a. Elder sibling's spouse and the siblings of elder sibling's spouse (male speaker)

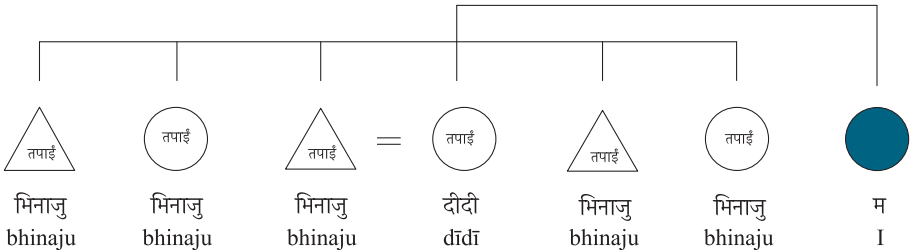
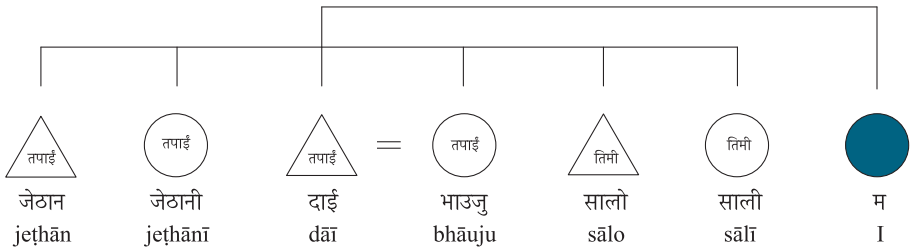


Diagram 3b. Elder sibling's spouse and the siblings of elder sibling's spouse (female speaker)

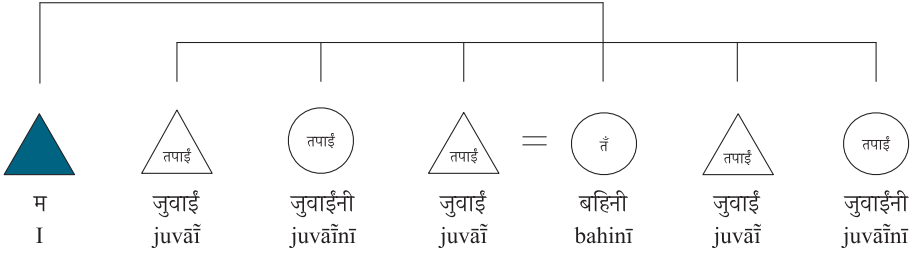
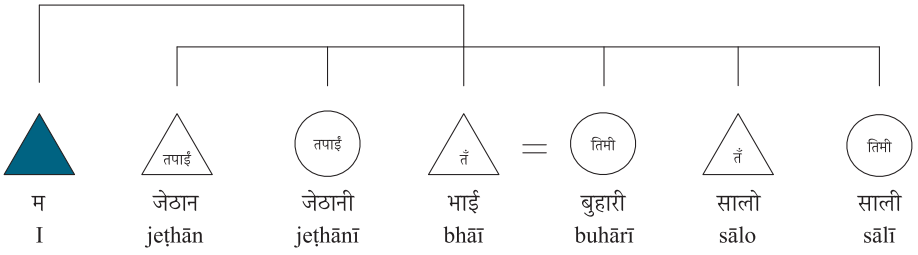


Diagram 4a. Younger sibling's spouse and the siblings of younger sibling's spouse (male speaker)

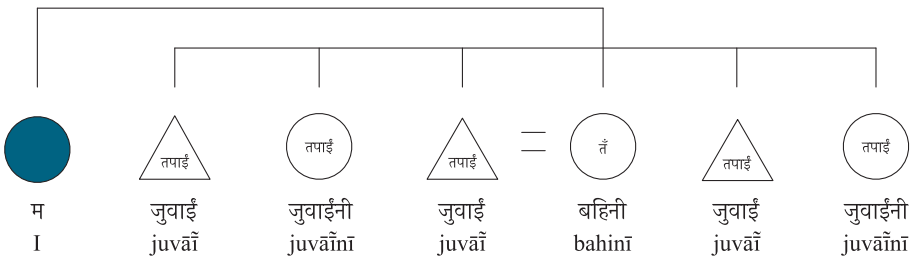
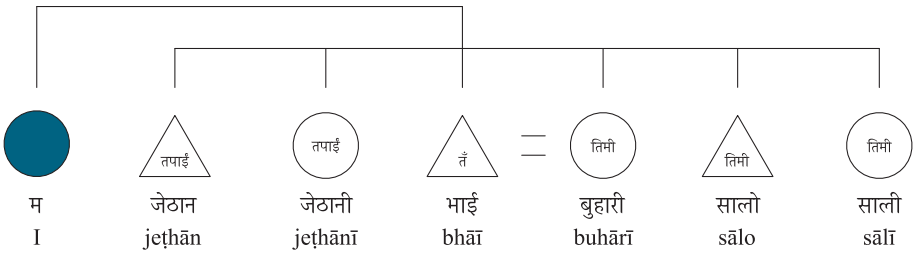


Diagram 4b. Younger sibling's spouse and the siblings of younger sibling's spouse (female speaker)

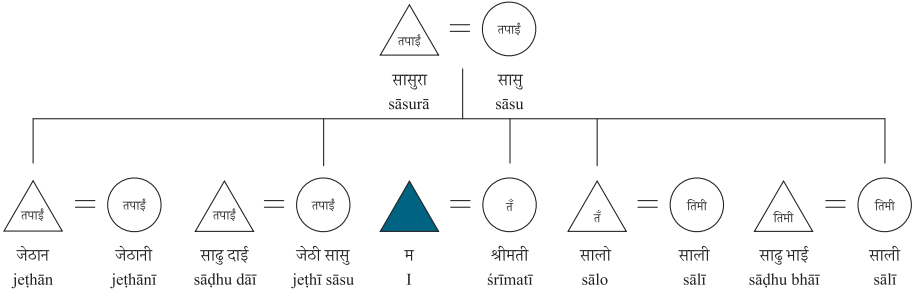


Diagram 5a. The siblings of spouse, the spouses of spouse's siblings and the parents-in-law (male speaker)

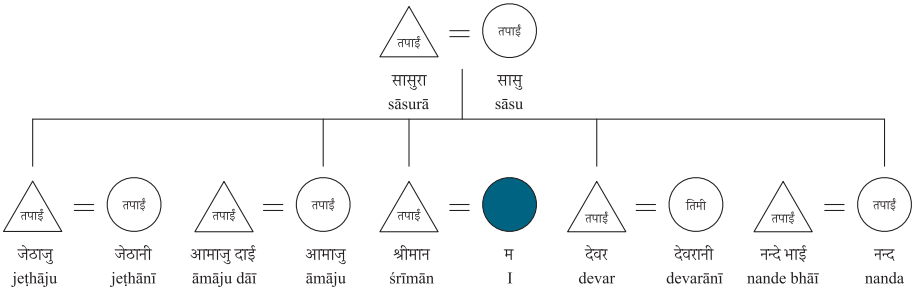


Diagram 5b. The siblings of spouse, the spouses of spouse's siblings and the parents-in-law (female speaker)

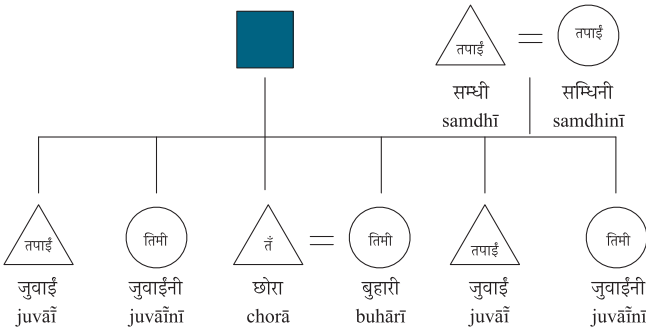


Diagram 6a. The siblings and parents of son’s spouse (male or female speaker)

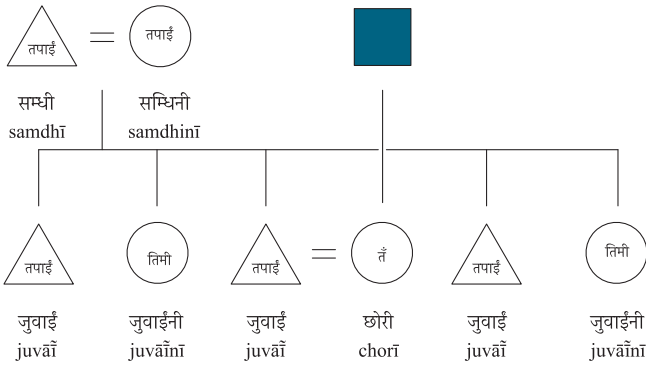


Diagram 6b. The siblings and parents of daughter’s spouse (male or female speaker)

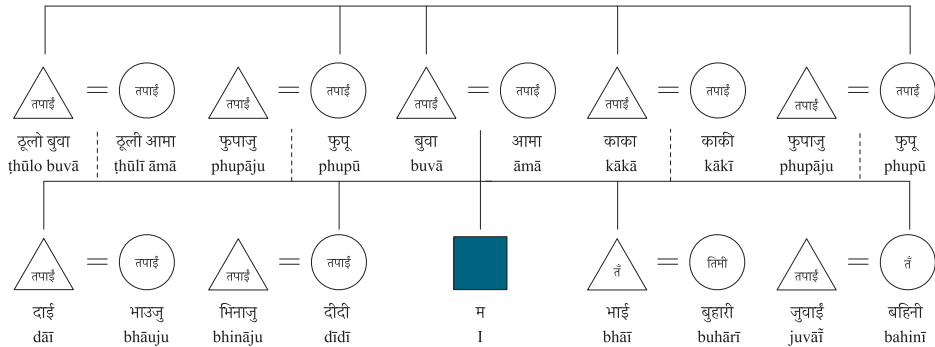


Diagram 7a. paternal cousins (male or female speaker)

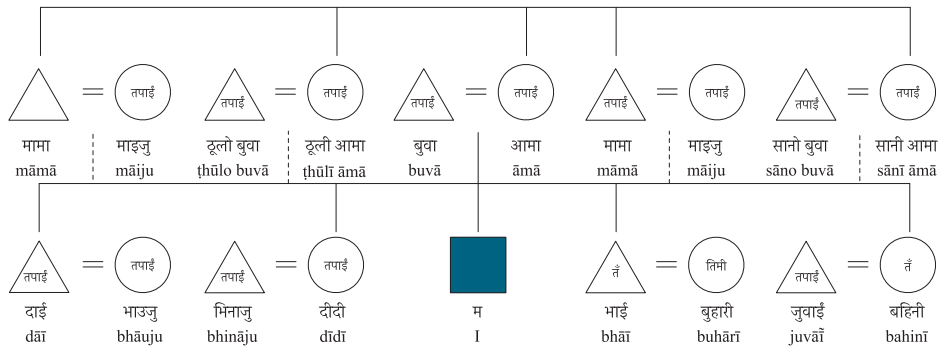


Diagram 7b. maternal cousins (male or female speaker)

The Chinese pronominal system and identity construction via self-reference

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In the Chinese pronominal system, the first-person singular pronoun *wǒ* is the unmarked or grammatical form of the speaker's reference to himself/herself, which is deictic in nature. In daily conversation, however, other deictic expressions such as plural first-person and second-person pronouns, and even non-deictic proper names and descriptive expressions, can be employed to convey self-referential meanings. By analyzing the data collected from an authoritative Chinese corpus, we claim that self-reference is not merely the marking of the speaker's participant role but a process of identity foregrounding or *ad hoc* identity construction exploited by the speaker in communication. This identity construction via self-reference reflects the dynamics and complexity of self-reference in verbal interaction.

Keywords: Chinese pronominal system, self-reference, identity foregrounding, *ad hoc* identity construction, corpus

Introduction

Traditionally, pronouns are defined as words that “stand for nouns”, but most linguists find this definition problematic. This is mainly because “personal pronouns do not stand for any nouns as such” (Bhat 2004: 1). Rather, personal pronouns are used to refer to participant roles in a certain speech event. This is also true for Mandarin Chinese as the standard Modern Chinese. In Chinese, the grammatical category pronoun can be divided into three classes based on the grammatical meanings: “personal, demonstrative and interrogative” (Lin 2001: 108). Among personal pronouns, the first-person pronoun marks the speaker, the second-person pronoun codes the addressee, and the third-person pronoun represents other kinds of participant roles. In daily communication, however, this form-function

mapping claimed by grammarians fails because the canonical self-reference marker, namely, the first-person singular pronoun *wǒ*, does not always refer to the speaker, and instead, many descriptive non-canonical expressions are employed by the speaker to refer to himself or herself. These descriptions normally reflect various personal or social traits of the speaker. In addition, the way that self is presented reflects the speaker's identity because the self is in essence "a communicative identity" (Scollon and Scollon 1995: 36). In other words, self-reference is a dynamic process of identity-reference or construction.

The study of identity is an important topic in sociology and psychology, and there are a good number of approaches to identity. As reviewed by Simon (2004), *Identity Theory* (Stryker 1987) takes a sociological approach by which identity is defined as referring to the social attributes of an individual in society, such as a person's age, gender, background, or their relative position or ranking in social relations. *Social Identity Theory of Intergroup Relations* (Tajfel and Turner 1985) and *Self-categorization Theory* (Turner et al. 1987) both take a psychological approach to identity. As noted by Spencer-Oatey (2007), psychological theories of identity typically distinguish personal (individual) and social (collective) identities. Brewer and Gardner (1996: 84) further divide identity representation into three levels: the individual level, the interpersonal level and the group level. Based on these different approaches, Simon (2004) proposes the *Self-Aspect Model of Identity* as a social psychological model, holding that a person's self-concept comprises beliefs about a person's attributes and self-characteristics. These self-aspects are perceived and evaluated differently and can be construed in terms of individual, relational or collective identities. Nonetheless, they are "both cognitive and social in nature" (Spencer-Oatey 2007: 642). They are cognitive because the cognitive representation of identity is relatively stable, and they are social because people negotiate and construct them in communication.

Different from the stable multi-faceted social identities, "pragmatic identity", initiated by Chen (2013), refers to language users' choice of their own and others' identities both consciously and unconsciously. In this sense, the identity choice-making of language users reflects the dynamics of pragmatic identity construction. Focusing on the usage of Chinese self-reference in interaction, this chapter aims at exhibiting the relationship between dynamic pragmatic identity construction and various ways of self-reference, holding that "pragmatic identity" can be realized by both identity foregrounding and *ad hoc* identity construction.

To that end, this chapter will review the pronominal system as a start, and present the complexity of expressing the self in Chinese. It will be pointed out that self-reference is not merely a way of referring to the speaker, but a way of foregrounding or constructing certain identities such as his or her social role or personal traits in communication.

Given the purpose of this study, the data was retrieved from both corpus and introspection. Regarding the pronoun *wǒ*, the data was collected from the authoritative and easily accessible Beijing Language and Culture University Chinese Corpus (BCC), a Chinese corpus which encompasses both written and spoken, and diachronic and synchronic data (Xun et al. 2016). On the part of non-canonical expressions conveying self-reference, the data was first ascertained by the co-author's daily observation and introspection, and then these examples were re-examined in the corpus in terms of their validity. All the examples are presented in a three-line format: the first line consists of the text in Chinese characters; the second line is a word for word *Pinyin* transcription; and the third line provides a faithful English translation.

1. The Chinese pronominal system

The pronominal system of Chinese differs from that of English and many other Indo-European languages. For instance, differences among “he”, “she” and “it” are not represented in spoken discourse, and there are no inflections in pronouns indicating if they are subjects or objects of the sentence, etc. This section will not give a detailed description of the Chinese pronominal system, rather it will focus on the first-person singular pronoun *wǒ* and its interaction with self-reference in communication.

Wǒ as a personal pronoun is the grammatical marker of self-reference in modern Chinese. Lü (1980) notes that the grammatical meanings of *wǒ* include self-reference, the group that the speaker represents, and the institution to which the speaker belongs, etc. However, as Chinese language has undergone both diachronic and synchronic variation through the ages, there are many other first-person singular pronominal forms besides the grammatical self-marker *wǒ*, as given in the table below:

Table 1. Major first-person singular pronouns in different stages of Chinese*

Old Chinese	吾 <i>wú</i> 、 卬 <i>áng</i> 、 余 (予) <i>yú</i> 、 台 <i>yí</i> 、 朕 <i>zhèn</i> 、 臣 <i>chén</i> , etc.
Middle Chinese	吾 <i>wú</i> 、 余 (予) <i>yú</i> 、 儂 (依) <i>nóng</i> 、 俺 <i>ǎn</i> 、 咱 <i>zán</i> , etc.
Early Modern Chinese	我 <i>wǒ</i> 、 吾 <i>wú</i> 、 余 (予) <i>yú</i> 、 某 <i>mǒu</i> 、 奴 <i>nú</i> 、 儿 <i>ér</i> , etc.
Modern Chinese	我 <i>wǒ</i> 、 (吾) <i>wú</i> 、 (余) <i>yú</i>

Source: based on Wang (2005) and many other Chinese grammar literature

* It should be pointed out that this table is used to demonstrate the complexity of the Chinese pronominal system. Only commonly-used representative pronominal forms are listed here, so this demonstration is by no means exhaustive and many more pronominal forms including those of dialectal origins can be added. Moreover, the pronominal forms in earlier historical stages (e.g. 吾 *wú*、 余 *yú*) might still be used in Modern Chinese, but with various pragmatic implications.

Diachronically, Chinese history can be divided into four stages: Old Chinese, Middle Chinese, Early Modern Chinese and Modern Chinese (Huang and Shi 2016: 3). Modern Chinese starts from the May Fourth Movement¹ (1919), and is still used today.

In spite of the diversity of personal pronominal forms and many other expressions in grammar, it is not appropriate for one to choose any of the pronominal forms of self-reference at will. For instance, between the Emperor and his subjects, 寡人 *guǎ rén* or 朕 *zhèn* are employed by the Emperor himself, and 臣 *chén* (your official) is used by his subjects to self-refer in interaction. It is generally considered impolite to address oneself with basic first-person pronouns (吾 *wú*、我 *wǒ*) when communicating with someone who is older or of a higher social status, because many of these aforementioned self-addressing forms indicate the speaker's relative identities. Choice of a proper form of self-reference is constrained by both the interlocutors' relationship and the specific situation involved. In other words, the grammar encodes certain usage conditions.

Because of diachronic change, many aforementioned forms cannot be found in modern Chinese, but some "conventional historical forms are still used in modern Mandarin Chinese" (Huang and Shi 2016: 3). For example, "余 *yú*", "吾 *wú*", "朕 *zhèn*", though obsolete, are used by Chinese speakers to indicate a jocular attitude and convey various communicative effects while referring to oneself.

Synchronically, the Chinese first-person singular pronoun is marked by dialectal variation, adding to its complexity. Besides Mandarin (primarily based on Northern dialects), 吴 *wú*, 湘 *xiāng*, 赣 *gàn*, 客家 *kèjiā*, 粤 *yuè* and 闽 *mǐn* are the representative major dialects of Chinese. Each dialect possesses its own first-person singular pronouns and some of them are used by ordinary people in daily communication. For instance, 俺 *ǎn* and 偶 *ǒu*, though of dialectal origin, are frequently used in Mandarin conversation, but with additional pragmatic meanings or effects. More and more young people tend to use different types of pronouns (due to dialectal variation or personal preference) to self-refer to accomplish certain pragmatic needs, such as being cool, etc. As a result, various first-person singular pronouns have become buzzwords on the internet which reflects the dynamics of the Chinese pronominal system.

Although diversified pronominal forms are used to self-refer in Old Chinese, what needs to be clarified is that 我 *wǒ* is the sole grammatical marker of

1. The May Fourth Movement was an anti-imperialist, cultural, and political movement growing out of student participation in Beijing on May 4th in 1919, protesting against the Chinese government's weak response to the Treaty of Versailles. After May Fourth Movement, most publications in China started to accept vernacular language (白话文) instead of Classical Chinese (文言文) (see Huang and Shi 2016).

self-reference in modern Mandarin Chinese. This is because it encodes no historical or dialectal information. It is the unmarked or canonical form used for self-reference. This does not mean, however, that the function of *wǒ* is confined to self-marking. It is also used to convey different pragmatic meanings besides self-reference in discourse, such as modifying and delimiting the topic, introducing a topic, intensifying the speaker's ego, highlighting the contrast, representing affiliation (Liu and Xue 2018), etc. In addition, based on the data taken from the corpus, it will be shown that *wǒ* does not necessarily mark self-reference, but instead it indicates various pragmatic strategies of the speaker in interaction. For example:

- (1) 如果我是你，我就不会回答这样的问题。
Rúguǒ wǒ shì nǐ, wǒ jiù búhuì huídá zhèyàng de wèntí.
 'If I were you, I would not have answered such a question.'

Generally speaking, we tend to communicate in an egocentric way and the default deictic center is anchored on the speaker's viewpoint. However, as (1) shows, the deictic center has been shifted to another person's point of view (deictic projection) by the hypothetical conditional clause, and this represents a specific communicative intention by the speaker to give advice. In other words, the deictic center has been altered to *nǐ* (you) in order to give advice. Thus, *wǒ* in the main clause does not refer to the speaker but the hearer, thereby marking a non-self-referential meaning.

There are also some cases that *wǒ* does not refer to a specific person in the speech event. For instance:

- (2) 大家你一言我一语，各抒己见，气氛紧张而且激烈。
Dàjiā nǐ yīyán wǒ yīyǔ, gèshū jǐjiàn, qìfēn jǐnzhāng érqiě rèliè.
 'Every one of us expresses their own opinion freely, and the atmosphere is rather tense and hot.'

In this co-text, *wǒ* does not refer to the speaker either. Rather, along with *nǐ*, it refers to anyone involved in the group. This is a kind of generic use of the first-person pronoun and its specific referent is blurred. The expression as a whole conveys the meaning that there are many, if not all, attendees expressing their opinions. It is the group of people rather than a specific person that is anchored in this case.

The non-self-references of *wǒ* in Chinese, as illustrated above, can be called non-canonical usages, representing the dynamics of self-reference in communication. Moreover, many non-canonical or non-deictic expressions can be used to convey self-referential meaning as well. These expressions indicate various attributes of the speaker, which are related to his or her identity exhibited in interaction. The next section will focus on analyzing the identity issue of Chinese self-reference by non-canonical self-referential expressions.

2. Self-reference and identity construction

As aforementioned, a person's various self-aspects (or various aspects, attributes of the self) are both cognitive and social, or stable and negotiable (Simon 2004). We hereby argue that a person's various identities are thus both stable and negotiable in interaction. The "negotiability" of a person's identity represented in self-reference are realized by two aspects: foregrounding certain identities and constructing *ad hoc* identities. A person's different identities will be foregrounded and constructed in contexts of situation, and these identities include but are not limited to a person's individuated traits and characteristics (individual identity), relationships derived from connections with significant others (relational identity), and his or her membership in a group (collective identity).

2.1 Identity foregrounding

It will be demonstrated in this section that a variety of identity-related terms are used in the process of self-referring and these descriptive expressions of self-reference are not exploited without a reason. It is argued that one of the underlying motivations is to foreground a certain identity of the speaker in discourse. The patterns of identity foregrounding via self-reference include "wǒ+NP, NP+wǒ, nǐ+NP and bare NP, etc.", commonly used to achieve salience. NP in these expressions can be both literal and metaphorical descriptive expressions. It should be noted that this section only provides an illustrative demonstration of identity-foregrounding in self-reference, and the various expressions analyzed here by no means represent an exhaustive classification.

According to grammar, wǒ marks self-reference from the speaker's perspective. In daily communication, however, many speakers' self-references are marked from others' perspectives. Among these ways of self-reference from others' perspectives, one type of expression is the NP+wǒ pattern. The NP in this pattern is normally a kind of speaker's feature which is singled out from his or her social identities. The purpose is to emphasize the importance of this feature in the immediate interaction. For instance:

- (3) 秀儿，你心里苦，杨妈我知道。(from Guo 2007)

Xiù'ér, nǐ xīnlǐ kǔ, yángmā wǒ zhīdào.

'Xiu'er, as your Mother Yang, I know you feel pain in your heart.'

In (3), *yángmā* in the NP is an address term with which the speaker addresses herself from the hearer's perspective, and it represents the speaker's relational identity with the hearer. Obviously, the social identity of the speaker as *yángmā* is known to the hearer, but by foregrounding this relational identity, the speaker intends to

show that as *Xiu'er's* elder and care-giver, she shares the hearer's inner feelings. With this identity foregrounded, the pragmatic modal meaning of empathy or considerateness is expressed. This leads to shortening the psychological distance between the speaker and the hearer.

Similarly, the speaker's identity is highlighted as well in the case that *wǒ*+NP is used, as shown in the example below:

- (4) 没有什么是我陈红解决不了的。
Méiyǒu shénme shì wǒ Chén Hóng jiějué bùliǎo de.
 'There is nothing that I, Chen Hong, cannot handle.'

In (4), the speaker's name is highlighted by mentioning it in conjunction with *wǒ* to convey self-referential meaning. The name is her symbol in society, and by foregrounding her name, or who she is, the speaker wants to show her confidence and resolution in solving any problems.

In addition, identity foregrounding can also be accomplished by modified versions of the *wǒ*+NP pattern, like *wǒ*+*zhège* +NP, or *wǒ*+*zhège* +*dāng*+NP+*de* exemplified in (5) and (6) respectively.

- (5) 你到底怎么想的？我这个丈夫你还管不管了？
Nǐ dàodǐ zěnmē xiǎngde? Wǒ zhège zhàngfu nǐ hái guǎn bù guǎn le?
 'What do you really think? Can't you take care of me as your husband?'
- (6) 人家不把我这个当妈的放在眼里了，想上哪就上哪。
Rénjiā bùbǎ wǒ zhège dāngmā de fàngzài yǎnlǐ le, xiǎng shàng nǎ jiù shàng nǎ.
 'I, as her mother, am not first in her thoughts anymore, and so she goes anywhere she wants to.'

Similar to *wǒ*+NP, the speaker's identity as the third party's mother is further foregrounded by *zhège* (demonstrative "this" in English). In (5), the relational identity as the hearer's husband is brought to prominence. Husband and wife are the two essential members who make up a core family, and it is a legal and moral obligation for them to help each other. This relational identity is foregrounded for the purpose of asking the hearer to take care of the speaker. In (6), by exploiting the pattern of *wǒ*+*zhège* +*dāng*+NP+*de*, the relational identity marker *mā* (mother) is put in salience with an intention to claim the speaker's right to be informed of the child's activity. This is because, in Chinese culture, the mother, as care-giver and guardian of the child, is supposed to be aware of the child's status quo. The child's freedom of action and privacy are relatively less valued in a Chinese family, compared with those in Western society. With this identity foregrounded, the

speaker expresses her dissatisfaction with the child for her not keeping her mother informed of where she goes.

Apart from all the aforementioned ways of identity-foregrounding constructions with *wǒ*, there are commonly used expressions with *nǐ* (*nǐ*+NP) for self-reference in discourse, as seen in the example below:

- (7) 你妈又不是逼你往火坑里跳，大成也不是哪点配不上你。(from Onishi 1994)

Nímā yòu búshì bīnǐ wǎng huǒkēng lǐ tiào, dàchéng yě búshì nǎdiǎn pèibúshàng nǐ.

‘Your mother won’t push you into a fire-pit, and Dacheng is a perfect match for you.’

In (7), the address term *mā* (mother) with *nǐ* (you) put before it highlights the relational identity of the speaker with the hearer. This way of self-reference results in foregrounding an identity, meanwhile expressing the speaker’s intention to justify her advice-giving act. In addition, the speaker emphasizes that she will be on the hearer’s side and will do nothing to harm her daughter.

Moreover, without the pronoun *wǒ* or *nǐ* used in the *wǒ/nǐ*+NP pattern, bare nominals, or descriptive expressions (surname+kinship terms) can be used to self-refer as well, though they are normally chosen by the speaker to address third parties according to grammar.

- (8) 黎叔很生气，后果很严重。

Lí Shū hěn shēngqì, hòuguǒ hěn yánzhòng.

‘Uncle Li is very angry, and the consequences will be very serious.’

This utterance is taken from a famous Chinese movie, *A World without Thieves*. It is spoken by an aged man to two young people. He does not use *wǒ* to self-refer, rather he exploits the term *Lí Shū* (Uncle Li), which is his nickname in their underworld society. As a result, his social identity as a valued, respected person in his community is put in salience, because this term of address (surname+uncle) is normally employed to address someone with a proper social reputation and a high social class within his own social group (among thieves in this case). With this social identity foregrounded via self-reference, the social distance is immediately widened between the speaker and the hearer, as the speaker expresses a stronger attitude.

In a similar fashion, some bare address terms indicating social roles or interpersonal relations can also be used to self-refer in interaction. In such cases, the subjectivity of the speaker is attenuated, and the relevant relational identity is emphasized for certain purposes. As (9) exemplifies, the role as father of the hearer

is highlighted, and while the associative meaning, namely, a father as a wise senior adviser, is conveyed.

- (9) 好吧，爸爸帮你参谋参谋。
Hǎoba, bàba bāngnǐ cānmou cānmou.
 ‘All right, Father will give you some advice.’

Except for these relatively stable address terms for identifying social roles or relations, some more dynamic metaphorical expressions can also be used to convey self-referential meanings. For instance, 书呆子 *shūdāizi* (bookworm), 活字典 *huózidiǎn* (walking dictionary), 学霸 *xuébà* (study tyrant), etc., all indicating some personal features, can be used metaphorically to self-refer, while highlighting a certain aspect of the speaker’s identity.

- (10) a 学霸你每天学这么长时间，身体受得了吗？
 b 学霸身体好着呐！
 a *Xuébà nǐ měitiān xué zhème cháng shíjiān, shēntǐ shòude liǎo ma?*
 b *Xuébà shēntǐ hǎozhe na!*
 a ‘Study Tyrant, you study for such a long time every day. Can you keep up such a pace?’
 b ‘Study Tyrant possesses a pretty good body.’

Xuébà is nowadays a descriptive term for good students. But, as (10) b shows, *xuébà* is also used by the speaker to self-refer in specific situations. With this way of self-reference, the speaker’s identity as a diligent student is foregrounded. Moreover, this non-canonical self-reference term used by the speaker in (10) b indicates his or her pragmatic strategy, in this case presenting an attitude of self-mockery (see Yuan 2012). Reading between the lines, the humorous attitude of the second speaker is not difficult to detect, and the speaker’s acceptance of the other’s evaluation of him/her is also shown explicitly.

2.2 *ad hoc* identity construction

With the discursive or postmodern turn of identity study, there has been a shift of focus in research on identity in the light of social constructionism (Chen 2014). Identity, thus understood, is dynamically-constructed, negotiated, managed or transmitted in discourse. In other words, the identity of an individual is situated in society and varies with social interactions. It should be pointed out that an individual’s multiple identities exhibit a diachronic variation in the way that some identities will become out of date and some others emerge. On the other hand, identity can be constructed in situated discourse, and this is called *ad hoc* identity construction.

What kind of identity is constructed, however, is a dynamic process of pragmatic choice (Chen 2013), according to the speaker's specific communicative intentions. As a matter of fact, the identity choice-making may not be confined to the limited existing social identities of the speaker. In communication, language users might make the best use of various non-canonical expressions to construct an *ad hoc* identity which is not originally possessed by the speaker (Chen 2013). In this sense, *ad hoc* identity construction differs from identity foregrounding, but both of them can be generally regarded as identity construction, and the identity constructed as such is pragmatic identity.

It will be shown in this section that *ad hoc* identity constructed is often facilitated by kinship address terms such as grandma, grandpa, elder brother, elder sister, etc., on various occasions as required. The speaker's dynamic construction of an *ad hoc* identity via self-reference usually goes with certain pragmatic meanings, such as cheating, bragging, teasing, showing off, self-mocking, etc., as exemplified in the following.

- (11) 来，小朋友，奶奶带你买好吃的去！
Lái, xiǎo péngyǒu, nǎinai dài nǐ mǎi hǎochī de qù!
 'Come here, little kid. Grandma will take you to buy something good to eat.'

This is an utterance excerpted recently from a famous Chinese comedy show (*Top Funny Comedian*). The scenario goes like this: a child-trafficking criminal is dressed up as a grandma, waiting outside an elementary school. He pretends to be a fragile and disabled granny in need of help to get over the crossroad. In this case, *nǎinai* (grandma) is used to self-refer by the speaker, while it also constructs an *ad hoc* identity – a fragile grandma who needs help, willing to buy the child something good to eat in return for his help. The underlying motivation is to make the child lose vigilance and kidnap him by using deception.

In other words, this example shows that the speaker can use certain ways of self-reference to construct an on-line non-existent identity with a particular intention. It should be pointed out that this kind of *ad hoc* identity construction is not confined to cases of fraud, but is commonly employed in daily communication. For instance, Li Bing is a migrant worker who has just come to the city and met his county-fellow Zhang Liang, who has been working in the city for several years. Zhang Liang is younger than Li Bing. A conversation between them goes like (12):

- (12) 张亮对李兵说：“在这个城市混，有任何困难就找哥啊”。
Zhāng Liàng duì Lǐ Bīng shuō: zài zhège chéngshì hùn, yǒu rènhé kùnnán jiù zhǎo gē a.
 'Zhang Liang said to Li Bing: "If you come across any difficulty getting by in this city, just call for help from your elder brother."'

Despite the fact that the hearer is older than the speaker, 哥 *gē* (elder brother) is used by the speaker to self-refer in this case, but this is perfectly acceptable in daily communication and understandable among Chinese native speakers. With the self-addressing term being exploited, an *ad hoc* identity for the speaker is constructed in this conversation, which is pragmatically motivated. Although Zhang Liang is physically younger, he identifies himself as being more experienced in living and working in the city and being able to offer help to Li Bing. In Chinese culture, elder brothers are regarded as obliged to help the young, just as the saying goes that “The eldest brother is like a father”. Being a potential help-provider justifies the speaker’s self-reference by constructing an identity that he does not literally hold. As a result, the *ad hoc* identity construction conveys the speaker’s intention to offer help.

In other cases, however, such identity construction via self-reference may express different pragmatic meanings, as in the example below:

- (13) 哥不是和你们吹啊，当年我可是我班学习最好的。
Gē búshì hé nǐmén chuī a, dāngnián wǒ kěshì wǒ bān xuéxí zuìhǎo de.
 ‘Without bragging to you, your elder brother was the best in his class the whole time that he was studying.’

Again, 哥 *gē* is used by the speaker to self-refer as shown in (13). This statement might occur in a situation in which the speaker was bragging with his workmates or friends. There is no way to tell whether the speaker is elder than the others with whom he is talking. Yet, by referring to himself as the elder brother, an *ad hoc* identity is established. This puts the speaker into a situation in which he is immediately looked upon as the head of the group. As a result, this constructed relational identity might enable him to enjoy the respect of his peer group. More often, the speaker might just be showing off by constructing such an *ad hoc* identity.

In addition, such *ad hoc* identity constructions via self-reference may also be exploited as a means of jocular mockery or teasing to show intimacy, which is quite normal between close friends, especially on informal occasions. In other words, proper *ad hoc* identity construction is an effective way for the speaker to take advantage of social encounters in order to enhance interpersonal relationships. Many more examples could show that identity construction via self-reference does indeed reflect the dynamics of social interaction; but due to space considerations, we will not elaborate on this topic in detail here.

Before closing this chapter, it must be pointed out that the *ad hoc* identity constructed may not necessarily survive beyond its specific context. In other words, the *ad hoc* identities constructed by the speakers in Examples (11)–(13) might become invalid in other situations. This indicates that *ad hoc* identity construction is not an end but a means, and that *ad hoc* identity is not constructed merely for

the sake of identity construction. Rather, it is employed as a pragmatic strategy by the speaker to accomplish various communicative needs, such as cheating, bragging, teasing, showing off, self-mocking, etc. From the above analyses, we can see that the dynamic nature of identity construction via self-reference is both reflected in the pragmatic choice of the existing social identities, and the *ad hoc* identity construction. In this process of self-reference, the identity either highlighted or constructed is pragmatic in nature, and therefore, can be called pragmatic identity.

3. Conclusion

As illustrated in this chapter, self-reference reflects the dynamics of the Chinese pronominal system in social interaction. Rather than merely marking the speaker's participant role, the canonical marker of self-reference *wǒ* conveys additional pragmatic meanings. In addition, various non-canonical self-referential terms are used to foreground a specific social identity of the speaker or construct an *ad hoc* identity in order to meet certain communicative needs. This reveals that grammar (not confined to morpho-syntax), as a resource system of language use (Halliday 1994), provides various ways to perform the pragmatic act of self-referring, which, meanwhile, is constrained by the speaker's communicative intention. It is the speaker that makes choices among the various grammatical forms in order to foreground or highlight a certain aspect of their identity (Section 3), or to construct an *ad hoc* identity (Section 2.2). The dynamics of self-reference in Chinese further exemplifies the interaction between grammar and pragmatics as choice and adaptation (Zhang 2010, 2017; Xue 2018).

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Pronouns in an 18th century Chinese novel

What they tell us about social dynamics

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The Chinese language has a five-thousand-year history, and one can track the evolution of pronouns from historical to contemporary texts. Some historical Chinese pronouns constitute complex systems. In Chinese, address systems are a more obvious indicator of politeness (Kádár 2007). However, the subtle use of pronouns in Chinese to show (im)politeness has gone quite unnoticed. In the 18th Century novel *Dream of the Red Chamber*, one needs to understand the social dynamics of the contexts in which the pronouns are used to know why plural pronouns are used to refer to single referents and second-person and third-person singular pronouns are used to refer to more than one referents.

The novel features the complex social hierarchy within an influential family where each person is mindful of his position in the web of social strata. Therefore, it is vital to understand the social hierarchy of the speakers, interlocutors, and referents to understand why such discrepancies occur. These discrepancies between pronouns and referents indicate the attitudes of the speakers towards the people they are speaking or referring to, functioning like a social index showing attitudes in the context of hierarchical social networks.

Keywords: Chinese, pronoun, switched numbers, attitude, distance, power

1. Introduction

The role of pronouns as indications of power and solidarity in social interactions has long been a fascinating topic, especially within the Indo-European languages (Brown and Gilman, 1960; Braun, 1988; Cysouw, 2003; Mühlhäusler and Harré, 1990; De Cock, 2011; Stewart 2001). It is generally believed that choices within the system of pronouns of address are associated with the perceived roles of the speaker and interlocutors as they locate themselves on continuums of status and solidarity (Maitland and Wilson 1987). The phenomenon of politeness distinctions in

personal pronouns has been well-studied in European languages, for example, *tu* and *vous* in French, *du* and *Sie* in German, *ty* and *vy* in Russian etc. There has also been an increasing number of such studies in Chinese, (for example Mao, 1996; Lee-Wong 2000) and Japanese (Okamoto 1999).

Gu (1990) spear-headed the research on Chinese politeness. He showed the importance of forms of address and how the Chinese prize politeness in general. Research on historical Chinese terms of address and honorific forms of address was later carried out by Liang (2002), Kádár (2007), and Chen (2013) among others. Given that Chinese pronominal forms have a 5000-year-long history, they are complex and opaque in how different forms of a pronoun are used at the same time. For example, in the *Analects* written by Confucius and his students in 551–479 BC, there are four distinct manifestations of the first-person singular pronouns: *zhen*, *yu*, *wo* and *wu*. Purely grammatical studies of these first-person pronouns have not been able to explain why there are four first-person pronouns; hence pragmatic considerations must be applied to them (Lee 2012). Similarly, the discrepancies of using plural pronouns to refer to single referents and vice versa cannot be explained by grammar alone, pragmatic theories have to be applied to explain these phenomena.

This chapter also attempts to show how pragmatic considerations need to be applied to explain the anomalies of the pronoun-referent problem in the most famous novel in the history of Chinese literature, the *Dream of the Red Chamber* (referred to as *Dream*) written in the 18th century by Cao Xueqin (1993). This chapter seeks answers to the following questions: Why are first-person plural pronouns used to refer to single referents? Why are second-person and third-person singular pronouns used to refer to plural referents?

This study shows that it is essential to understand the social relationships of the interlocutors before one can solve the mystery of the discrepancies between pronouns and their referents. This involves understanding the position of the speaker in relation to an extensive hierarchical web of family/communal relationships, rather than merely as a conversation between two people. In other words, it is more than “relational”, it involves an entire social hierarchical stratum that exists in a more traditional Chinese context. Even among the maidservants, one needs to be mindful of the status of their masters and mistresses to ascertain the hierarchy among them. Ultimately, the switched numbers point to an underlying common denominator of indicating attitudes of humility or superiority.

1.1 Chinese pronouns and attitudes

Politeness is said to be about interpersonal relations rather than an individual’s “politeness” performance (Culpeper, 2008). It involves some form of “relational

work” (Locher and Watts, 2005), “relational practice” (Holmes and Schnurr, 2005) or “rapport management” (Spencer-Oatey, 2000, 2005). At the same time, the concept of ‘face’ is central to relational work (Goffman, 1967) and “the process of defining relationships in interaction is called face-work or relational work” (Locher 2004: 51). Things are much more complex in a traditional Chinese community in which group identity and group awareness is always placed above that of an individual (Haugh and Hinze, 2003). “The individual first was subordinated to the family, the basic economic, political, and moral institution in Chinese society” (Grasso et al. 2004: 12). The family is a strictly hierarchical community, generally governed by age and patriarchal hierarchy, from grandparents to parents (Pan and Kádár, 2011).

Chinese pronouns have been identified as being used by speakers to demonstrate the status of the addressee indirectly (Hong 1985: 204). An avoidance of addressing people with personal pronouns has been the first principle of politeness in Chinese verbal behaviour since at least the third century B.C. Zhu Ziqing (朱自清), a prominent modern writer, observes that there was a tendency among modern educated people to use *ni* (2SG) and *wo* (1SG) freely irrespective of the degree of their familiarity with each other (Zhu, 1934). He attributes this phenomenon to the influence of translations of foreign works.

Kádár and Haugh (2013) give examples of how attitudes are displayed by some indices in social interaction. For example, when a person does not display any visible sign of interest in an invitation, she is indexing at least a non-polite attitude (p. 114). Another example given is how a Chinese female “indexes sincerity (*chengyi*) through repetition of an apology expression”, thus “orienting to a broader societal set of expectancies in relation to apologies in Chinese” (p. 123). Historical pragmatic research on Chinese data also shows how historical Chinese honorific forms indexed (Silverstein 2003) the rank of both the speaker and the addressee (Kádár, 2007). Other examples involve a change in language: By using another language in a conversation, one may through this linguistic behaviour index himself as ‘alien’ (Kádár and Haugh, 2013: 234). Okamoto (1999) also argues that “in Japanese not only the choice to use honorifics, but also their omission indexes a certain stance” (Kádár and Haugh, 2013: 240). Thus, the switching of numbers in Chinese pronouns is indeed a case of social indexicality.

The second section discusses the first-person pronouns, the third section discusses the second-person pronouns and the fourth section discusses the third-person pronouns in *Dream*. The fifth section summarizes and concludes the chapter as well as suggest future research directions.

1.2 Data and methodology

The data of this study is taken from the first eighty chapters of the vernacular Chinese novel, *Hong Lou Meng* 红楼梦, (*Dream of the Red Chamber* or *The Story of the Stone*). Literature is a well-established source for analysis of terms of address (cf. Kádár, 2007). In his analysis of Russian pronominal usage, Friedrich (1972) shows that literary texts are not only rich in indications of common usage but that they also bear witness to dynamics of use and implicit meanings. Shakespearean drama together with French and Italian literature are also used to show the nuances embedded in the T/V usage and therefore it is said that “in literature, pronoun style has often been used to expose the pretensions of social climbers and the would-be elegant” (cf. Brown and Gilman 1960: 272).

Dream, written in the eighteenth century, is still considered the greatest vernacular Chinese novel in the history of Chinese literature. Although there is dispute regarding the authorship of the novel, the first eighty chapters are attributed to Cao Xueqin, while the next forty to Gao E. For consistency in language; this study examines only the first eighty chapters. There are many editions and this study uses the most popular one published by Renming Wenxue Chubanshe (人民文学出版社). The English translations are taken from David Hawkes' (1977) translation, *The Story of the Stone*. This novel is a classic example that showcases the hierarchy within a rich and influential family during that period. In this family, the highest in hierarchy is the matriarch Grandmother Jia who is well loved and well respected throughout the entire household. She has two sons Jia She and Jia Zheng, and a deceased daughter Jia Min. The central figure of the novel is Jia Bao-yu who is Jia Zheng's second son. Bao-yu has two female cousins Dai-yu and Bao-chai, both equally fond of him, and together they form a love triangle. There is a hierarchy in the traditional family: The first wife in a family and their children are of higher hierarchy compared to the mistresses and their children; maidservants themselves also have an internal structure— those who are closer to the people of higher hierarchy are more powerful than those associated with the lesser ones; nannies who nursed the children of the family are also more highly regarded given their special duties. It is within this complex Chinese social hierarchical web that the social implications of the switched pronouns are observed and analysed.

2. First-person pronouns

First-person plural pronouns are often used to refer to single referents to create distance between the speaker and the interlocutor.

2.1 First-person plural pronouns referring to single referents

Lü (1985: 72) suggests that first-person pronouns are used to refer to first-person single referents to convey possessive meaning. For example, ‘our home’ (*wo-men jia*) can mean ‘my home’, and ‘our husband’ (*wo-men xiansheng*) refers to ‘my husband’, attributing this usage to the traditional Chinese society which values family or communal over the individual. I propose that it indicates difference and distance. Lü (1985: 74) also rightly observes that such usage is often adopted by individuals of lower status to express a sense of humility.

The examples in the text show that first-person plural pronouns are used to refer to single referents to create distance for various reasons.

2.1.1 *Indicating difference*

First-person plural pronouns are used to refer to single referents to show that there is a difference between the speaker and the interlocutor. In the example below, San-jie is speaking to her brother-in-law Jia Lian, hence both are of the same social status.

- (1) *Erren zheng shuo zhijian, zhi jian You Sanjie (dui Jia Lian) zoulai shuodao: “Jiefu, ni zhi fangxin. wo-men (You Sanjie) bushi na xinkouliangyang de ren, shuo shenme shi shenme...”*

二人正说之间，只见尤三姐（对贾琏说）走来说道：“姐夫，你只放心。我们（尤三姐）不是那心口两样的人，说什么是什么...”（第十六回）

‘They were interrupted at this point by San-jie herself, who had evidently been listening to their conversation and chose this moment to come into the room.

‘Set your mind at rest, brother-in-law. I[we] am not one of those people who assay one thing and mean another...’ (Chapter 66)

(note: emphases are added; round bracket in Chinese text are added to indicate who the addressee is and references of the pronoun; square bracket in English text shows the Chinese pronoun used in original text.)

San-jie assures her brother-in-law that she is different from others who are insincere. By using the plural *wo-men* to refer to herself, she is distancing herself from those she disapproves of.

2.1.2 *Indicating lower status*

Example (2) below shows that this strategy is most often used by persons of lower status when speaking to their superiors to show humility. In this example, a maid

Crimson is speaking to Xi-feng, an important member of the influential family. She uses the first-person plural pronoun to refer to herself:

- (2) *Hongyu(dui fengjie)xiaodao: “Yuanyi bu yuanyi, Wo-men (Hongyu) ye bugan shuo. Zhishi genzhe nainai, wo-men(Hongyu)ye xuezhexie meigaoyandi, churushangxia, daxiaodeshi yedejianshijianshi.”*

红玉（对凤姐）笑道：“愿意不愿意，我们（红玉）也不敢说。只是跟着奶奶，我们（红玉）也学些眉眼高低，出入上下，大小的事也得见识见识。”（第二十七回）

‘As to being willing or not, madam, I[we] don’t think it’s my place to say. But I[0] do know this: that if I[0] was to work for you, I[we] should get to know what’s what and all the inside and outside of household management. I’m sure it would be wonderful experience.’ (Chapter 27)

Crimson refers to herself using the first-person plural pronoun ‘we’ instead of the first-person singular pronoun ‘I’ as is translated by Hawkes (1977) in English. Majority of the examples of the phenomenon in which the plural pronoun is used to refer to the single referent in the novel are by persons of lower social status speaking to persons of higher social status. It is as if they are unworthy to stand alone as an individual ‘I’ and need to distance themselves from the more powerful members of the family. They can only be referred to collectively as ‘we’ of lower social status. Such self-referencing shows that one is mindful of one’s group identity within the family/communal hierarchy, rather than one’s position as an individual. In contrast, it has been noted in Western languages that when the plural pronoun is used to refer to an individual, it is typically used to convey the social meaning of greater respect or social distance than does the singular (Head 1978: 151). Brown and Levinson (1987: 200) states that ‘plurality as a marker of respect... pervades the whole pronominal paradigm’ with ‘we’ used to indicate ‘I + powerful’.

2.1.3 *Indicating negative attitude*

First-person plural pronouns are also used for self-referencing with an attitude of displeasure. In Example (3) below, a high-ranking maidservant Skybright orders a lower ranking maidservant Mamma Song to remove another low-ranking maid. Skybright first uses the first-person plural pronoun to assert her authority, before switching to the first-person singular pronoun to show that she can stand on her own identity in ordering Mamma Song to follow her commands.

- (3) *Qingwen(dui Song momo,yige xiaren, bi Qingwen tamen di yideng)dao: “ Bao eryl jin’er qiandingning wanzhufude. Shenme huaguniang caoguniang, wo-men(Qingwen) ziran youdaoli. Ni zhi yi wode hua,kuaijiao tajiade ren lai ling ta chuqu.*

晴雯（对宋嬷嬷，一个下人，比晴雯她们低一等）道：“宝二爷今儿千叮万嘱咐的。什么花姑娘草姑娘，我们（晴雯）自然有道理。你只依我的话，快叫他家的人来领他出去。”（第五十二回）

‘What I am giving you are Master Bao’s own orders,’ said Skybright. ‘He was most particular that she should be dismissed immediately. I don’t see that Miss Aroma – or Miss Sweetscents or Miss Smellypots, for that matter – has got anything to do with it. I[we] know what I’m doing. Just do as I[I] say. Go and get someone from her family to come here immediately and take her away.’ (Chapter 52)

2.1.4 *Indicating avoidance*

When one uses the singular pronoun *wo* to refer to oneself, the deictic centre rests squarely on the speaker. There are cases wherein the speaker wants to avoid this direct reference to oneself to avoid embarrassment or to shift the deictic centre to a group of people. In the example below, Bao-chai is speaking to her cousin Bao-yu who has just been beaten by his father.

- (4) *Baochai (dui Baoyu) jian ta zhengkai yan shuohua, bu xiang xianshi, xinzhong ye kuanwei le haoxie, bian diantou tan dao: “Zao ting ren yijuhua, ye buzhiyu jinri. Bieshuo laotaitai, taitai xinteng, jiushi wo-men(baochai) kanzhe, xinli ye teng.*

宝钗（对宝玉）见他睁开眼说话，不像先时，心中也宽慰了好些，便点头叹道：“早听人一句话，也不至今日。别说老太太，太太心疼，就是我们（宝钗）看着，心里也疼。”（第三十四回）

Bao-chai was relieved to see him with his eyes open and talking again. She shook her head sadly. ‘If you had listened to what one said, this would never have happened. Everyone is so upset now. It isn’t only Grandmother and Lady Wang, you know, Even [we] –’

She checked herself abruptly, regretting that she had allowed her feelings to run away with her, and lowered her head, blushing. (Chapter 34)

Bao-chai is expressing that she feels pain for Bao-yu who has suffered beatings by his father. To avoid sounding overly affectionate, she uses the first-person plural pronoun *wo-men* as if to identify herself with others who feel the same way. Such subtle use of the first-person plural pronoun to refer to herself captures the novelist’s sensitivity in portraying Bao-chai’s inner emotions and how she veils her real emotions for Bao-yu by using the plural pronoun. Hawkes understands this subtlety and therefore ends with ‘Even’ without adding ‘I’, but elaborates in his translation with the last paragraph ‘She checked herself abruptly, regretting that she had allowed her feelings to run away with her...’ The translation cleverly shows the complex emotions that motivate Bao-chai’s desire to hide her feelings for Bao-yu.

This section shows that there are four different situations wherein speakers using the first-person plural pronouns for self-reference: to show that they are different, to show lower status, to show displeasure, and to avoid the direct impact of the first-person singular pronoun. A common feature among them is that they are all about creating distance: social hierarchical distance, or emotional distance, just to show that there is a difference between the speaker and the interlocutor.

3. Second-person pronouns

Second-person plural pronouns are used for single referents and second-person singular pronouns are used for plural referents to show superiority of the speaker. Hong (1985: 204) states that Confucian teachings on verbal propriety have discouraged the use of the second-person pronoun *ni* since the third century B.C. (Wang, 1954). The use of the second-person pronoun is restricted to closer or more intimate relationships, otherwise, one would use address terms or kinship in place of the second-person pronoun. For example, when a student speaks to his teacher, to be polite, he would address the teacher as 'Teacher' (*Laoshi*) or *nin* (the second-person singular pronoun showing respect) rather than using the second-person pronoun *ni*.

3.1. Second-person plural referring to single referents

Many European languages show that second-person plural pronouns are used as a respect form of second-person singular pronouns. For example, in French, the second-person plural pronoun *vous* is conventionally used as a respect form of second-person singular pronoun while keeping its plural function, standing in paradigmatic opposition to *tu* (a second-person singular pronoun used to refer to familiar referents) as an honorific pronoun. The driving force for the development of this usage is politeness, which entails avoiding direct reference to the socially superior addressee. Brown and Levinson (1987) refer to this as being used in face-threatening (FTA) speech acts.

In the current data, second-person plural pronouns are used to refer to single referents to show superiority of the speaker and to create a distance from the addressee in several ways. Unlike in European languages, where second-person plural pronouns are used to show respect when referring to single referents, it is the opposite in Chinese.

Example (5) below shows the speaker's superiority with a neutral attitude:

- (5) *Jiamu(dui Youshi) zhengyan xiaodao*: “*Wo bu kun, bai bibiyan yangshen.*

Ni-men(*Youshi*) *zhiguan shuo, wo tingzhe ne.*”

贾母（对尤氏）睁眼笑道：“我不困，白闭闭眼养神。你们（尤氏）只管说，我听着呢。”（贾母中秋赏月时对尤氏说）（第七十六回）

Grandmother Jia opened her eyes wide and laughed.

‘I’m not sleeping; I was just resting my eyes. Go on with **your** [2PL] story. I’m listening.’ (Chapter 76)

In this example, Grandmother Jia, the matriarch of the Jia family, is speaking to her daughter-in-law, You-shi, who is the mistress of Grandmother Jia’s son, Jia Zhen. During the time of the Autumn festival, You-shi is telling a story. Grandmother Jia tells You-shi that she is tired and will close her eyes to listen. Instead of using the second-person singular pronoun *ni*, Grandmother Jia uses the second-person plural pronoun *ni-men*. By using the second-person plural pronoun to refer to You-shi, Grandmother Jia is differentiating herself from You-shi, treating her as part of a group of younger and more energetic ones enjoying the festival (contrasting to her tiredness).

The next example below shows superiority with a negative attitude in which Grandmother Jia, the matriarch of this family, reprimands her daughter-in-law Lady Wang.

- (6) *Yinjian Wang furen zai pang, (Jiamu) bian xiang Wang furen dao*: “*Ni-men* (*Wang furen*) *yuanlai doushi hongwode! Waitou xiaoshun, andili pansuan wo! You haodongxi ye lai yao, you haoren ye lai yao. Shengle zhege maoyatou, jian wo daita haole, ni-men*(*Wang furen*) *ziran qibuguo, nongkaile ta, hao bainongwo!*”

因见王夫人在旁，（贾母）便向王夫人道：“你们（王夫人）原来都是哄我的！外头孝顺，暗地里盘算我！有好东西也来要，有好人也来要。剩了这个毛丫头，见我待他好了，你们（王夫人）自然气不过，弄开了他，好摆弄我！”（第四十六回）

As she looked at those standing around her, her eye fastened upon Lady Wang.

‘You deceive me, all of you. **You** [2PL] who are outwardly so dutiful: you are secretly plotting against me like all the rest. Whenever I have any good thing you come and ask me for it. All my best people you take away from me. Now I have only this one poor girl left to me; and because you see that I am nice to her, it infuriates **you** [2PL] – you can’t bear it! And now you’ve found this means of getting her away from me, so that you can have me at your mercy.’

(Chapter 46)

In this example, Grandmother Jia is infuriated when speaking to her daughter-in-law Lady Wang. She uses the second-person plural pronoun (to refer to Lady

Wang) both times in showing her displeasure at Lady Wang for removing a maid-servant she loves.

Example (7) below shows superiority in abilities.

- (7) *Xichun (dui Youshi) lengxiao dao: "Wo sui nianqing, zhe hua que bu nianqing. Ni-men bu kanshu bus hi jigezi, suoyi doushixie daizi, kanzhe mingbairan, daoshuo wo nianqing hutu."*

惜春 (对尤氏) 冷笑道：“我虽年轻，这话却不年轻。你们不看书不识几个字，所以都是些呆子，看着明白人，倒说我年轻糊涂。”（第七十四回）

‘I may be “young”, said Xi-chun scornfully, ‘but there is nothing “young” about what I have just been saying. And since none of **you** people can even read or write, how can you have the nerve to call me “foolish”?’

In this example, Xi-chun directs scorn at her sister-in-law You-shi for being poorly-educated while daring to call Xi-chun ‘foolish’. Xi-chun is showing off her reading and writing abilities. She uses the second-person plural pronoun to refer to You-shi to show that she looks down on her.

Between equals, a speaker may use the second-person plural pronoun to show displeasure to the addressee. In Example (8) below, the interlocutors are of the same social status. Ciggy Xiaochan is Tan-shun’s maid while Parfumée (Fangguan) is Bao-yu’s maid. Ciggy is jealous of Parfumée for being better-liked and is also upset that Parfumée is wasting food so, she scolds Parfumée using the second-person plural pronoun to show her displeasure.

- (8) *Xiaochan (dui Fangguan) qide lenglengde, chouzhe lengxiao dao: "Leigong laoye yeyou yanjing, zen buda zhe zuoniede! Ta hai qi wo ne. Wo ke na shenme bi ni-men(Fangguan),you you ren jin'gong,you youren zuo gannucai, liu ni-men(Fangguan) hao shanghaoer,bangchengzhe shuo ju huar."*

小蝉 (对芳官) 气的怔怔的，瞅着冷笑道：“雷公老爷也有眼睛，怎不打这作孽的！他还气我呢。我可拿什么比你们（芳官），又有人进贡，又有人作干奴才，溜你们（芳官）好上好儿，帮衬着说句话儿。”（第六十回）

Ciggy glared at her (Parfumée) in outrage.

‘Old Thunder up there must be blind not to stike you dead,’ she said bitterly. ‘Either that, or he must be angry with me for something. Still, I can’t compete with **you** [2PL], can I! I haven’t got anyone to rush out and give me things, or trot around after me like a self-adopted slave, or chip in with a good word for me when there’s an argument.’ (Chapter 60)

3.2 Second-person singular pronouns referring to plural referents

There are many studies on the impersonal use of a second-person singular pronoun (cf. Laberge and Sankoff, 1979; Kitagawa and Lehrer, 1990; Biq, 1991; Stirling and Manderson, 2011; Myers and Lampropoulou, 2012). There are only two cases in the novel where the second-person singular pronoun are used to refer to plural referents. Both refer to insignificant persons such as maidservants or some hired entertainers.

- (9) *Liang ge nv xian'er(changxi de) yao tan ci shang shou. Zhongren (dui nvxian'er)doushuo: "Women mei ren yao ting naxie yehua. Ni(changxi de) tingshang qu shuogei yitaitai jiemenr quba."*

两个女先儿（唱戏的）要弹词上寿。众人（对女先儿）都说：“我们没人要听那些野话，你（唱戏的）厅上去说给姨太太解闷儿去吧。”（第六十二回）

...where upon the **blind ballad-singers**, who had tagged along with the others, began tuning their instruments for a birthday ode. This time everyone objected.

'None of us like that old stuff. Why don't **you** [2sg] go to the jobs room and entertain Mrs Xue?' (Chapter 62)

In this example, two balladeers are going to sing, but those present tell them they are not interested, asking them to move along and sing to other ladies instead. The two singers are referred to in singular form instead of plural. In this case, they are lumped together as one entity and are deemed insignificant in the eyes of the speakers.

4. Third-person pronouns

Third-person plural pronouns are used to refer to single referents while third-person singular pronouns are used to refer to plural referents to show that these entities are of no importance. In some European languages, a third-person plural pronoun may be used impersonally. For example, an English example is "They are going to implement this policy" with "they" collectively referring to legislators or policymakers. Third-person plural pronouns are also used to refer to third-person single referents of respect in Old Tamil, and second-person single referents of respect in German, Danish and Norwegian (cf. Helmbrecht, 2003, 2005), as well as in Italian. Helmbrecht (2015: 5) notes that the driving force of such usage is politeness (cf. Brown and Gilman, 1960; Brown and Levinson, 1987). However, in Chinese, when the third-person plural pronoun is used to refer to a single referent,

the referent is usually of little significance. This usage is sometimes done with neutral attitude and other times with negative attitude.

4.1 Third-person plural pronouns referring to single referents

In Example (10) below, Nénuphar (Ou-guan) who sings for the family is upset with her god-mother who happens to be Swallow's aunt. She is telling Swallow how greedy her aunt is and that she always trying to squeeze Swallow. Nénuphar uses the third-person plural pronoun when referring to her god-mother whom she despises, showing how insignificant she perceives her god-mother to be.

- (10) *Ouguan xiao (dui Chunyan)dao: "You shenme chouhen. Ta-men (Chunyan yima) bu zhizu, fan yuan women. Zai waitou zhe liangnian, biede dongxi bu suan, zhi suan womede micai, bu zhi zhuanle duoshao jia qu, hejiazi chi bule; Haiyou mei ri maidongmaixi zhuande qian zai wai. Deng women shi ta-men(Chunyan yima)yi shier,jiu yuantianyuandi de. Ni shuoshuo, ke you liangxi!"*

藕官笑（对春燕）道：“有什么仇恨。他们（春燕姨妈）不知足，反怨我们。在外头这两年，别的东西不算，只算我们的米菜，不知赚了多少家去，合家子吃不了；还有每日买东西赚的钱在外。等我们使他们（春燕姨妈）一使儿，就怨天怨地的。你说说，可有良心！”（第五十九回）

Nénuphar (Ou-guan) sniffed.

‘I didn’t do anything. It’s because **she’s** [3PL] so greedy. She can’t squeeze as much out of me as she used to be able to. To mention nothing else, look at all the food she and the others used to take home with them when they were working with us outside. You know they did.’

4.2 Third-person singular pronouns referring to plural referents

In the example below, a third-person singular pronoun is used to refer to plural referents. Tan-chun is telling her mother that she should not be overly upset with the young servant girls. She likens them to pets – dogs and cats, that they are not worth losing her temper over. She uses the third-person singular pronouns to refer to these servant girls.

- (11) *Tanchun (dui Zhao yiniang)bian shuo: "Na xie xiayatouzimen yuan shixie wanyier, xihuan ne, he ta(yahuanmen)shuoshuoxiaoxiao; bu xihuan bian keyi bu li ta(yahuanmen). Bian ta(yahuanmen) bu hao le, ye rutong maergouer zhuayaole yixiazi, keshu jiu shu;bu shu shi, ye zhigai jiaole guanjiaxifumen*

qu shuo gei ta (yahuanmen) qu zifa. Heku ziji bu zunzhong, dayaoxiaohe, shile litong.”

探春（对赵姨娘）便说：“那些小丫头们原是一些顽意儿，喜欢呢，和他（丫鬟们）说说笑笑；不喜欢便可以不理他（丫鬟们）。便他（丫鬟们）不好了，也如同猫儿狗儿抓咬了一下子，可怨就怨；不怨时，也只该叫了管家媳妇们去说给他（丫鬟们）去责罚。何苦自己不尊重，大吆小喝，失了礼统。”（第六十回）

‘These girls are here for our amusement,’ Tan-chun said. ‘They are like pets. You can talk to **them**[3SG] and play with them if you feel like it, or if you don’t, you can simply ignore **them**[3SG]. It’s the same when they are naughty. Just as, when your puppy-dog bites you or your kitten scratches you, you can either ignore it or have it punished, so with these girls. If they do something to offend you, you can either let it pass, or, if you don’t feel able to, you can call in one of the stewardesses and have **them**[3SG] punished. There is absolutely no need to go rushing off in person, shouting and hollering at them. It’s so undignified.’ (Chapter 60)

5. Summary and conclusion

This study examines the phenomenon of the discrepancies between pronoun numbers and the referents in *Dream*. It shows that one needs to understand the usage of these pronouns in the Chinese context in which the interlocutors are aware of the social hierarchy. These discrepancies indicate attitudes of the speakers towards the people they are speaking to or about. In other words, they index the attitude of the speaker. They indicate humility, differences, avoidance, superiority, and negative attitudes among others. The social dynamics of pronouns in this novel demonstrate that in the Chinese context, the concepts of self and interpersonal relationships are all seen in a larger context of family and communal groups rather than just between two persons. Future research of this phenomenon can be carried out in today’s spoken Mandarin which may show similar patterns of social dynamics.

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Me, myself, and *ako*

Locating the self in Taglish tweets

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This analysis explores the complex existential relationship that multilingual speakers in the Philippines forge between sign (language) and object (ego) when referring to themselves in Taglish using both the first-person pronouns, *I* (English) and *ako* (Tagalog) in single tweets. Bringing together complementary analytical approaches on pronouns, codeswitching/mixing, and voice, this analysis explores the ways in which the self can be dynamically constituted in the dialogic interplay of first-person pronouns in English and Tagalog on the social media platform of Twitter. Data explored in this chapter help to investigate the philosophical question of whether *I* and *ako* operate in a one-to-one existential relationship with the ego and to examine the complex ways that languages dynamically interact with one another to construct complex, kaleidoscopic selves.

Keywords: Philippines, Taglish, codeswitching, Twitter, pronouns, voice, semiotics, shifters, dialogicity

Introduction

This chapter finds data in the diverse array of linguistic practices found in the Twittersphere, or the members and postings that together constitute the social media platform of Twitter. In this context, it is possible to observe socially meaningful innovations and creativity among speakers as they use two or more languages in single tweets – this analysis focuses centrally on Taglish, or Tagalog-English codeswitching and mixing among multilingual speakers in the Philippines (Bautista 2004). An examination of linguistic practices in which speakers may use and mix lexical, syntactic, and semantic forms from two or more languages underscores the generative potential of locally situated regimes of meaning-making inherent in codeswitching and mixing practices. Here, speakers may use two or more languages to demonstrate creativity, humor, complexity of thought, and

depth of feeling by assembling and making new spaces for cultural production and interpretation.

This chapter investigates a single variable found within select Taglish tweets: that of the presence of first-person pronouns where users refer to themselves (the speaking subject or ego) in both English and Tagalog within single utterances (tweets). The central philosophical question that this approach interrogates is whether an analysis of different pronominal uses in Taglish tweets can give insight into the nature and meaning of pronouns, most especially as they may suggest directions for understanding the existential relationship that is asserted when a speaker utters *I* (first-person pronoun, English) as it dynamically interacts with *ako* (first-person pronoun, Tagalog) in a single utterance. This formulation is inspired by early observations made by Roman Jakobson who, following Jespersen (1922), argued that personal pronouns across languages can be seen as shifters. In this formulation, the subject of *I* represents its object by conventional rule – Jakobson writes:

I means the person uttering *I*. Thus on one hand the sign *I* cannot represent its object without being associated with the latter “by a conventional rule,” and in different codes the same meaning is assigned to different sequences such as *I*, *ego*, *ich*, and *ja*: consequently *I* is a symbol. On the other hand, the sign *I* cannot represent its object without “being in existential relation” with this object: the word *I* designating the utterer is existentially related to his utterance and hence functions as an index. ([1957] 1984, 43)

In this sense, while the existential relationship of the utterance indexing *ego* within a given language may exemplify this relation, the question that will be investigated in this chapter asks whether referential fidelity is maintained across and between languages in cases where, for example, the ego is indexed as both *I* and *ich* (German), *I* and *yo* (Spanish), or *I* and *ako* (Tagalog) in a single utterance. In what ways does the pronoun, especially if it is rendered in two languages, give rise to new semiotic, social, and existential possibilities for meaning, if any? In the data and analyses that follow, I investigate patterns and differential uses of *I* and *ako* in selected Taglish tweets. Taken together, these observations suggest that there exists an emergent, dialogical tension between the first-person pronouns *I* and *ako* that underscores a distinct and locally situated metasemiotic toolkit available to multilingual speakers. This approach complements and extends the implications of Jakobson’s observation that the existential relation between the ego and the pronominal sign is uniquely forged in each utterance, underscoring its semiotic and shifting nature.

A deeper understanding of the ways that pronouns can operate in this complex relationship with the ego is enabled by interrogating the analytical relevance of the shifter. According to Jakobson, shifters are indexical symbols in that they

combine both the function of the symbol and index whereby "... a symbol (e.g. the English word *red*) is associated with the represented object by a conventional rule, while an index (e.g. the act of pointing) is in existential relation with the object it represents" ([1957] 1984, 43). In this way, pronouns are fruitfully analyzed as indexical symbols in that as a symbol, the pronoun is associated by conventional rule with its object, and as an index, the pronoun is in existential relation with the object. A given token's status as a shifter is defined by the condition in which the meaning and interpretation of a word is predicated on the situation or context through which meaning is derived.

Benveniste's treatment of pronouns as a system of signs is also an instructive approach in the contemporary understanding of pronouns. In this formulation, pronouns are treated as special in that they constitute both a formal and functional class of language present across languages. Pronouns in this way perform the duty of locating the origo of the speaker in time and place, but also give rise to a uniquely social set of personal relations that take shape in discourse:

It is a fact both original and fundamental that these "pronominal" forms do not refer to "reality" or to "objective" positions in space or time but to the utterance, unique each time, that contains them, and thus they reflect their proper use. The importance of their function will be measured by the nature of the problem they serve to solve, which is none other than that of intersubjective communication. Language has solved this problem by creating an ensemble of "empty" signs that are nonreferential with respect to "reality." ([1956] 1971, 219)

In Benveniste's view, the special properties of pronouns as vehicles for "intersubjective communication" set them apart from other elements in language in that they are distinctively contextually-bound. This framing of the operation of pronouns suggests that they form a class of "empty signs," waiting to be imbued with meaning within the space and time of social life, analytically opening the possibility for this class of words to be maximally flexible in taking on potential meaning.

Modern linguistic anthropological analyses locate the significance of pronouns as both carriers and creators of meaning. A key study can be found in Michael Silverstein's 1976 contribution to the field in which shifters are analyzed as being linked to presupposed elements in a speech situation for accurate interpretation. Building on Jakobson's concept of "duplex signs," Silverstein demonstrates that the mechanics of shifters must entail a shared set of presuppositions that are in circulation which enables meaning to be reckoned by way of linking discursive tokens to known contextual facts. Silverstein argues that duplex signs operate as referential indexes which anchor the "semantico-referential mode of signs, those which represent pure propositional capabilities of language, in the actual speech event of reference, by making the propositional reference dependent on the suitable

indexing of the speech situation” (1976, 24). The analysis of referential indexes in Silverstein’s treatment demonstrates a relationship between aspects of the token and context – here, aspects of a speech situation must be presupposed by the sign token; in this way, accurate interpretation of the shifter is predicated on knowledge of the situation (1976, 33). In this way, understanding the many ways in which pronouns can take on meaning in cultural and linguistic contexts highlights the category as a rich site for analysis.

A complimentary treatment that concretely demonstrates the function of pronouns as they rely on complex and social referential operations can be found in Duranti’s 1984 analysis of Italian pronouns. In this compact and data-driven treatment, Duranti approaches pronouns as they are used referentially in conversation and delivers an analysis that takes into consideration not only the context in which a given term is used, but also the social meaning that falls out of these uses in “defining the role of a given character in a story and in suggesting particular attitudes and value judgements that the speaker may be making on such a character” (1984, 278). The focus on the social function of pronouns as they are used in real conversation highlights the value of the analysis of pronouns as forms of speech of speech that have multiple embedded possibilities for making meaning and establishing social relationships in conversation. Duranti’s analysis locates the premise that the social function of language positions speakers as actors and creators in the construction of social realities through language, not simply as unencumbered reporters of the states of affairs in the outside world. Duranti links these observations in part to previous scholarship in linguistic anthropology that demonstrates the mutually constitutive relationship of language and social life (see also: Halliday 1973; Hymes 1974; Romaine 1981; Silverstein 1976).

This analysis builds on these theoretical foundations by taking as its central question the topic of the behavior and meaning of pronouns in cases of codeswitching and mixing in Taglish tweets as they refer to the ego using first-person pronouns in both English and Tagalog. By way of providing a “thing to think with” (Turkle 2008), it is possible to observe the outlines of this practice in the tweet by Twitter user “pj” who posted the following in 2017:

Example 1. Tweet by pj (2017)

magtitiis ako na one of these days you’ll get back to my world, but really you don’t care for me as much as i care for you

‘I will endure [until] one of these days you’ll get back to my world, but really you don’t care for me as much as I care for you.’

In this tweet, pj switches from Tagalog to English and a question arises in light of the theoretical aspects of the foregoing discussion: is pj’s use of *ako* existentially different from his use of *I*?

In the sections that follow, I provide some background on the treatment of pronouns, suggest some ways in which to understand Taglish and codeswitching as a socially important linguistic resource within the Philippines, and to locate pj's and other tweets within a larger set of practices recognizable among speakers both in the Philippines and abroad as socially meaningful. Based on the tweets collected, I argue that these practices follow a discernable pattern in which speakers build complex, kaleidoscopic selves through which inner thoughts, feelings and confessions are communicated in one language as it operates in a complex structural relationship with the other. In the end, this chapter argues that these uses ultimately give rise to kaleidoscopic renderings of the self, made legible through the dialogical emergence of voices enabled by structural effects inherent in codeswitching.

Introducing the data

This chapter utilizes data drawn from the social media platform of Twitter among multilingual speakers in the Philippines gathered over the course of three months in 2017. Tweets were gathered using the user-facing search function on Twitter's homepage in which terms of interest were input – in this case, tweets in which the first-person pronouns, “I, ako” in English and Tagalog were the targeted data type. Posts which contained codeswitching between English and Tagalog, but did not include the target pronouns, those with uninterpretable spellings or meanings, those with false hits (e.g.: cases where terms had different semantic meanings), and those with sensitive information were not included in the dataset. The method of using the user-facing public search function to collect data may have artificially limited tweets tabulated as “hits” as this technique would not have yielded tweets with unpredictable differences in spelling or spacing, such as those using evolving texting conventions and shorthand or other varieties of language such as youth varieties or gay argots. Another limitation to this method is that the data was drawn exclusively from publicly accessible posts, so those tweets with private settings were naturally excluded from the dataset.

A total of 56 tweets were included in the final dataset and only a few representative examples are showcased in this chapter for illustration. Following emerging ethics protocols for the use of data drawn from social media platforms, opt-in/out options were provided to highlighted authors where possible. While all tweets were publicly searchable, tweets highlighted in this chapter were written by everyday speakers and so additional steps to protect their identities were applied (Williams et al. 2017). All metadata including dates, times, geolocation information, demographic information, profile pictures, and username handles, were excluded from the analysis. Following a bricolage-style reconfiguration for anonymized data general conventions and patterns found in both usernames and

tweets including rhyming and prosodic schemes, interlinear and between-letter spacings, capitalization patterns, and emojis have been adapted for this analysis (Markham 2012).

Tweets can be viewed as a form of digital discourse, and Taglish is recognized and recognizable across communities of practice in the Philippines and abroad – in this sense, Filipinos both inside and outside of the Philippines may use Taglish as a mode of communication in both spoken and written form (Thompson 2003). Taglish is understood by scholars of Philippine languages to be “Tagalog-English code switching or Tagalog-English mix-mix, the alternation of Tagalog and English in the same discourse or conversation ...; it is the use of Tagalog words, phrases, clauses and sentences in English discourse, or vice-versa” (Bautista 2004, 226). First-person singular pronouns *I* and *ako* were chosen as the targeted data type due to the fact that there are unique parallels between English and Tagalog forms. This functional parallel presented an easily searchable and diagnosable framework through which to investigate nuances in meaning within and between sentences in Taglish tweets. Indeed, according to Schachter and Otones:

The first-person singular – *ako/ko/akin* – is the only category of Tagalog personal pronouns that corresponds with perfect consistency to a category of English pronouns (the first-person singular: ‘I/me/my/mine’). In other cases, a single Tagalog category corresponds to several English categories and/or several Tagalog categories to a single English category. (1972: 89)

This was an important point that framed the approach to the philosophical question of whether *I* and *ako* can operate in a one-to-one existential relationship with the ego, whether there may be strategic differences, or whether there may be poetic uses at work that could contribute to meaning and possible interpretation of these uses. While first-person pronouns *I* and *ako* demonstrate useful parallels, it should be noted that among other classes of pronouns in Tagalog and English, there are significant differences, such as the existence of a ‘we, not-you’ category found in many Philippine-type languages and non-parallel behavior of some pronouns due to differences in case and argument structure between the languages. For example, in Tagalog, this is the difference between *kami* (‘we, not you’) and *tayo* (‘we, including you’), underscoring a meaningful distinction not found in English pronouns where “we” is the term used to describe both conditions of including and excluding the second person, “you.” In most Tagalog grammars, scholars differentiate between two overarching categories of personal pronouns: the non-plural and plural, with first-, second-, and third-person categories distinguished within these and three corresponding forms: *ang*, *ng*, and *sa* to describe nominative, genitive and dative morphological cases respectively (Kroeger 1993, 13).

Recent scholarship has demonstrated that Twitter is a powerful site for linguistic investigation. For example, Brown et al. (2011) used sophisticated searching and data processing techniques that engaged Twitter's developer-centered API (Application Program Interface) to geolocate and tabulate tweets during the Libyan Revolution. Other studies have used Twitter data as a means to frame large-scale ideologies of language, such as Vessey's (2015) analysis of a moral panic surrounding language use in Quebec, Canada. In the context of the Philippines, scholars have long understood peer-to-peer media as a key source of social and linguistic data with significant scholarship focused on texting (Garvida 2012; Rafael 2003; Shirky 2011; Uy-Tioco 2007). More recently, Twitter has emerged as a complimentary platform for understanding complex cultural and linguistic questions in the Philippines. Recent studies have tapped into big data from Twitter using API scrapers to understand community responses to natural disasters, such as after Typhoon Haiyan, which caused significant destruction in the Visayas, Leyte and Samar in 2013 (Takahashi et al. 2015). Work with other forms of big data from Twitter in the Philippines have even applied quantitative analytics to investigate differences in codeswitching patterns among speakers within ethnolinguistic regions (Abastillas 2018). This chapter hopes to build on the strengths of these studies to execute a linguistic anthropological analysis of a highly specialized linguistic practice of codeswitching and mixing on the Twitter platform among multilinguals from the Philippines with special attention to pronouns.

Locating the I and the ako in Taglish tweets

1. *Codeswitching as social and structural*

Pronominal switching between English and Tagalog in Taglish contexts is not only regular and predictable at given locations within a string of text, but importantly serves specific pragmatic and social functions. Tupas (1999) suggests that codeswitching generally in the Philippines can serve subversive ends with the goal of challenging top-down hegemonic structures that assert English-language dominance among speakers. My own research has demonstrated that while intentional subversion may not be explicitly taken up by everyday speakers, the effects of locally-situated linguistic practices may result in a destabilization of hegemonic hierarchies and the formulation of new locally-legible modes of interaction (Osborne 2018). It should be noted that the existence of other varieties of language, such as Conyo talk (Garvida 2012; Reyes 2017) and gay speech (Manalansan 2003), may also be present in media platforms. Codeswitching patterns in Taglish follow a predictable formula found across codeswitching contexts and Myers-Scotton's definition of this phenomenon is particularly applicable here. Codeswitching is productively seen as occurring within (intrasentential) or between (intersentential)

sentences, where “intersentential CS involves switches from one language to the other between sentences. Intrasentential switches occur within the same sentence, from single-morpheme to clause level” (Myers-Scotton 1993, 4). It is possible to observe codeswitching and mixing of many varieties present in the Taglish tweets that follow, in addition to other relevant data such as emojis, spelling and orthographic innovations, internet shorthand, memes, and special forms of language play which provide additional context through which to understand the dynamics of this powerful everyday linguistic practice.

The following tweet by user “Miss GracieLynne<3” demonstrates both an intrasentential and an intersentential switch that is a common feature of Taglish tweets:

Example 2. Tweet by Miss Gracie Lynne < 3 (2017)

I am so watchful of you. You're like my baby sister. Nasasaktan ako tbh. Pero diba there is still grace in pain.

‘I am so watchful of you. You’re like my baby sister. I’m hurt to be honest. But there’s still grace in pain, right?’

Miss GracieLynne<3’s tweet enables us to observe a regularity of switches between languages, indexing an underlying pattern – in this tweet, we can observe that in a sea of English, there appears a confession or a source of deep insight and emotion presented in Tagalog: “*Nasasaktan ako tbh*” (‘I’m hurt to be honest’); this is also an example of an intersentential or between-sentence switch. Shortly thereafter, a rhetorical question is presented as an intrasentential or within-sentence switch: “*Pero diba there’s still grace in pain*” (‘But there’s still grace in pain, right?’). Some of the most powerful scholarship on linguistic practices in the Philippine context has been produced by scholars of Philippine linguistics, including Maria Lourdes Bautista, who has been at the forefront of theorizing the idiosyncratic specificities of Taglish generally with focus on the dynamic interactions of L1 and L2 at a structural level – Bautista writes:

At the clause and sentence level, English and Tagalog noun clauses and English and Tagalog adverbial clauses show striking similarities. Code switching occurs between L1 adverbial clauses and L2 main clauses, and between L1 and L2 independent clauses. L2 noun clauses and relative clauses can be embedded within L1 sentence constructions. (1991, 22)

In contexts of Taglish codeswitching, such as those presented by Miss GracieLynne<3 and pj above, it is possible to observe clearly that pronouns are a site of codeswitching, and switches can occur predictably at “nominals, coordinating conjunctions, pronouns, and verbals” (Bautista 1991, 23). Not only do pronouns operate as a locus of potential codeswitching, but as Tupas (1999) and

Bautista (2004) point out, codeswitching in the Philippines often serves a social purpose. This observation helps locate the central argument of this analysis which maintains that codeswitching patterns occur predictably and with strategy. In the following section, further data is explored that demonstrate patterns underlying codeswitching, but also the ways in which pronouns are used differentially between languages as they operate to formulate complex, concatenated selves using the analytic of “voice.” Often these voices are used to highlight or “reveal” a glimpse of internal, otherwise hidden emotional states as languages interact with one another in the formulation of complex, linguistically-rendered selves.

2. *The dialogical emergence and signification of I and ako*

This section aims to build on the foregoing foundations and locate the formulation of the self in Taglish tweets as a dialogical process through which an existential relationship between the sign (language) and the object (ego) is asserted. This simple formulation propels us into a domain of meaning: why would a speaker decide to switch between English and Tagalog within or between sentences at all? What does this switch tell us about the kinds of selves speakers take themselves to be as they are realized in language/s in a given string of speech or text? The Taglish tweets explored here contribute to a larger argument that the languages available to speakers are used to dynamic effect through the emergence of a subtle existential positioning of “selves” through voices as they operate in dialogical relation with one another. The instances presented here demonstrate various degrees of internal states, confessions, and parentheticals that are emergent in texts as one language is set against another in a given sentence to communicate complex emotional states and internalized observations.

An excellent example of the productive use of dialogical structuration to create many sorts of speaking voices can be found in the tweet by user “NickNotRob” whose short but powerful tweet constructs an imagined conversation with a presumed interlocutor:

Example 3. Tweet by NickNotRob (2017)

“Okay ka lang?”

I kept silent. I’m not skilled with words enough to make “Pagod na ako” sound like “Okay lang”

“Are you okay?”

I kept silent. I’m not skilled enough with words to make “I am tired” sound like “It’s okay”

NickNotRob deftly navigates the limited space of the tweet (an allotted 140 characters) to recreate a reported or imagined conversation through which he communicates a complicated set of internal feelings and perceptions. This is accomplished

by dialogically playing English and Tagalog upon one another to index different stances and takes on the world. Here, we observe the common question asked in Tagalog by an imagined conversational partner: “*Okay ka lang?*” (‘Are you okay?’). Not unlike “What’s up?” in English, this phrase is typically used at the beginning of a conversation or as a check-in during a conversation but is rarely used to diagnose an actual internal state, as the expected response in this adjacency pair is “*Okay lang*” (‘It’s okay’). NickNotRob’s tweet demonstrates that English and Tagalog operate in dialogical relation to one another whereby the languages paint a linguistically, socially, and psychologically complicated picture of his internal state and his (un)willingness to participate in this phatic social convention of an empty “check in”: “*Okay ka lang?*” (‘Are you okay?’). In this way, NickNotRob considers the possibility of losing face by being blunt and truthful, with the line: “*Pagad na ako*” (‘I am tired’), that might take the place in terms of the more expected, formulaic rendering of: “*Okay lang*” (‘It’s okay’) but decides against it as it could not be delivered with the convincing degree of irony without betraying his actual state, choosing silence instead. This calculation paints a textured picture of the ways in which NickNotRob imagines an internal narrative of what is truthfully transpiring in (English) to what is being delivered in speech (Tagalog) and the ways in which these voices and constructed conversations play against one another in the formulation of a nuanced emotional reality.

The dialogical emergence of multiple “voices” such as those found in NickNotRob’s tweet is a powerful point of entry for this analysis. Scholars such as Hill (1995) have interrogated the ways in which a single speaker can shift and weave morally and ideologically saturated linguistic landscapes by way of strategically invoking in discourse different languages to create a complicated, multifaceted reality through language. Building on Bakhtin and Voloshinov’s work which focused on emergent meaning in the dialogical interaction of textual pieces, Hill writes that “Lexical choice and language choice are clearly important components of “voices,” as is the distribution of these across the large structures of the discourse” (1995, 109). In this way, voices are both centripetal and centrifugal in a Bakhtinian sense, and the voice system relies on intertextual functioning whereby “[voices’] polyphonic play occurs within a dialectic field which includes systems of sequence and plot, and the syntactic organization of individual sentences” (Hill 1995, 118) – for Bakhtin, these constituted the dialogic nature of interaction. This framework provides a useful foundation in which to observe the constitutive function of pronoun varieties as they appear in relation with one another as they take on meaning intertextually through their material appearance in text. In addition, the fact of “voice” can be constituted by way of inter- or intrasentential codeswitching between languages. In this case, we can observe this process in this short but densely meaningful piece of text which locates codeswitching as a powerful source

of meaning-making and epistemological positioning, hinging on the subtle shift in narrative origo brought about by pronominal switches.

Another example of an expert use of voice in the creation of a dynamic linguistic landscape can be found in tweet by user “Lorraine,” who switches between English and Tagalog to underscore the torn nature of her stance on believing in God versus religion/the church:

Example 4. Tweet by Lorraine (2017)

Relihiyoso family namin. Pero ako ewan ko. I believe in God, yes. Pero sa church, sa mga saints, hindi eh. Sorry kakabasa to sa deep web

‘Our family is religious. As for me, I don’t know. I believe in God, yes. But in religion/the church and the saints, not really. Sorry [I] just read it in/on the deep web’

Lorraine’s complex tweet is particularly noteworthy because rather than a constructed conversation with imagined interlocutors as found in NickNotRob’s tweet, Lorraine formulates a monologue that imagines an incredulous or judgmental interlocutor questioning each of her statements as they are presented. This tweet is out of a 100-point list that asks Twitter users to “post 100 things people don’t know about you” and, like NickNotRob’s tweet, we can observe a dialogical play of voices and the taking up of stances between voices as they unfold over the course of the text. Nested in a sea of Tagalog, Lorraine proclaims: “I believe in God, yes,” in English. It is noteworthy that it is this single sentence that appears purely in English, a “factual” and firm statement in the belief in God, while expressions of doubt and contingency, fear and qualifiers all appear in Tagalog, creating a buffer zone of questioning and qualification in this code. Here, Lorraine writes: “*Sorry kakabasa to sa deep web*” (‘Sorry [I] just read it in/on the deep web’), an apology offered because of the possible shame and illicitness connected to engaging with materials in/on the “deep web.” For context, the discourse about the “deep web” may be centered around anonymity, illegality, and the exchange of goods and services on the black market. However, in many contemporary contexts, especially among young people in the Philippines, the concept of the “deep web” or the “dark web” appears to be used to index the imagined origin or locus of any idea or thing that may be considered subversive or non-normative within a given community – here, Lorraine grapples with the dangerous position of questioning the role of religion and the church in a deeply Catholic country.

Why do these statements appear in this way and what can we make of the meaning of these voices as they are set against one another? Important for this analysis is the way in which the ego is rendered in Tagalog in the following line: “*Pero ako ewan ko*” (‘As for me, I don’t know’); here we see that Lorraine’s sense of self-referentiality is presented in the complex rendering of pronouns that creates a

sense of self-awareness and embedded selves that emerge in the tension between languages. A question that we might ask in relation to this tweet focuses on the speaker and how the ego is differentially constructed over the course of the tweet – who is speaking and what is the nature of their character, their beliefs, and their being in the world? Is there a differential existential relationship that Lorraine is attempting to set up between her use of *I* and *ako* that can give us insight into her relationship with the asserted propositions?

Further exploration of the concept of “voice” is instructive and can give vital insight into the ways in which these utterances operate in relation to one another. Keane’s treatment asks the deceptively simple question: “who is speaking?” within the framework of diagnosing and understanding the construction of social personae in discourse (1999, 271). Important to our analysis here, pronouns may be a way in which social and stylistic differences can be indexed in speech, applying Bakhtin’s concept of heteroglossia whereby the virtue of juxtaposition in text operates to establish different personae, particularly as these intersect with the previous one was badly formatted:

Every speaker has available numerous ways of speaking that are associated by virtue of linguistic ideologies with different character types [...] that may be expressed by virtually any linguistic contrast, including lexical or language choice, intonation and (physical) voice quality, variations in fluency, phonology, or syntax, shifts in pronouns, deictics, or evidentials. (Keane 1999, 272)

In similar fashion, we can observe the various ways in which Taglish speakers may choose different pronominal systems to refer to the multiple simultaneous ors of the self – in Lorraine’s case, these languages map on to questioning religion and the church versus believing in God over the course of the text, variously anchored by the indexical sign of first-person pronouns in English and Tagalog.

In many contexts in codeswitching tweets, we can find that the boundaries of the “inside” and “outside” self that are differentially presented through humor and language play, such as in the tweet by user “nadine is wilting” who uses the structure of a popular meme to communicate this tension:

Example 5. Tweet by nadine is wilting (2017)

i protecc
i attacc
but most importantly,
puro exams na this month, ready na ako bumagsacc
‘I protect
I attack
But most importantly
All exams this month, I’m ready to fail’

Twitter user nadine is wilting expertly creates humorous language play that pushes the orthographic and phonetic limits of English and Tagalog to their limits to great comic effect. By the time the final, recognizably codeswitched Taglish line appears: “*Puro exams na this month, ready na ako bumagsacc*” (‘All exams this month, I’m ready to fail’), we can observe that the line-final words, ‘*protecc*’, ‘*attacc*’, ‘*bumagsacc*’ utilize an ad hoc convention that exploits the ‘*ak*’ sound across English and Tagalog terms to create a simple rhyming scheme. Importantly, this tweet makes use of a formulaic meme circulated first in 2016 of a man wielding a lightsaber in two side-by-side photos: “he protec” under the first photo “but he also attac” under the second – later iterations of this meme also included a third component of pictures arranged horizontally with words that fit in the rhyming scheme such as: “he Shaq,” or “gonna need a new backpac,” and the like. In this case, nadine is wilting takes this a creative step further and asserts this third rhyming element in Tagalog, using the established sound scheme to create a word that fits in the larger rhyming and orthographic formula within the boundaries of the meme, while also revealing a set of important facts about herself.

Here, the word ‘*bumagsacc*’ is a play on the word ‘*bumagsak*,’ which typically translates to ‘crash/fail’ in Tagalog. In nadine is wilting’s tweet, language play contributes to the success of the post with the well-established formula of the three-step “reveal,” humorous because this third entry differs from the expected outcome. In this case, we observe how under the pressure of exams all week, nadine is wilting’s warrior-like stance asserted in the first two lines in English transforms into a confession of weakness revealed in Tagalog, providing a glimpse into her actual thoughts and feelings beyond superficial performances. This is accomplished through the complex ways in which voices play off one another in this self-contained string and undergoes a noteworthy epistemological shift – one that reveals an internal state of affairs as it relates to the fear of failure as a confession in the form of a whispered aside to those able to understand the message. In this sense, nadine is wilting presents a hybrid, concatenated self which presents two simultaneous ways of being in the world – to her interlocutors, and especially those which speak the “inside code” of Tagalog, the confession of weakness asserts itself as a powerful formula rendered in the dialogic interplay of Tagalog as it is set against English. Such a scenario underscores the ways in which each code and corresponding pronoun has a different “job” of accessing layers of nadine is wilting’s existential reality, not unlike Goffman’s (1959) concept of front- and backstage performances; here, Tagalog reveals a deeper, messier side of this lived reality, while English remains the code appropriate for that reality that is relatively superficial and cultivated. Similar techniques can be found in enregistered metapragmatic tools used among young people in the Philippines such as the use of the term “nosebleed,” which operates as a device to inoculate the ego from the

full impact of shame of being an “imperfect” speaker of English by way the invocation of a joking framework (Osborne 2018).

It is possible to observe a similar process in the tweet by “Cya” (Example 6), who juxtaposes aspects of herself and confirms her imagined interlocutor as judging her and her affirmation of this assessment followed by an emoji that suggests laughing to the point of tears:

Example 6. Tweet by Cya (2017)

you can avoid talking to me as long as you want and i'd still respond in a second lol galing diba nakakainis ako 😂

‘You can avoid talking to me as long as you want and I’d still respond in a second lol I’m so annoying, right?’ 😂

Similar to the expression of self-consciousness found in nadine is wilting’s tweet, Cya expresses a sense of self-critique in relation to her perception of what an imagined interlocutor may make of her quick response time. While the attendant “laugh until you cry” emoji, (😂), suggests an ability to laugh at herself, Cya plays voices against one another to create a socially meaningful framework for the analysis of this behavior. This point has been fruitfully articulated by Agha (2005) who links the micro practices of invoking voices as they are dialogically operate within discourse to the point that they become socially meaningful and recognizable within the social context by way of enregisterment. In this sense too, we can find that languages in operation constitute a “voicing contrast” by way of their typifiability in a given spoken or written chain, designed in large part by way of an entextualization of structure whereby the fact of dialogicity “juxtaposes images of speaker-actor as contrasting with or appearing to react against each other” (Agha, 2005, 39).

By way of a contextualizing such formulations and the ways that this particular variety of joking has such meaning in the Philippine context, an emic view of the theory of self is instructive. Mercado (1994) offers a nuanced, insider-view of *Sikolohiyang Pilipino* (‘Filipino Psychology’) based on an earlier analysis by Enriquez (1975), which describes a culturally-situated view of the self that extends beyond *loob* ‘inside’ and *labas* ‘outside’ set out in early folk psychological theories in the Philippines. In Mercado’s view, a more accurate description of this imagining of the self is a *tripartite* formulation consisting of: *labas* ‘exterior,’ *loob* ‘interior,’ and *lalim* ‘depth,’ with *sarili* ‘self’ encompassing both the *loob* ‘inside’ and *katawan* ‘body’ (1994: 37). While there are limitations to this formulation and examples of this type are found across many cultural systems, noting these here may provide some explanatory framework for understanding the ways that speakers map different epistemological motivations onto English or Tagalog pronouns in Taglish tweets, which we can see clearly articulated in the tweets outlined in this chapter. In this sense, following Mercado’s formulation, it may perhaps be

logical to argue that sarili ‘self’ arises from the tension inherent in mediated outward performances as they (variously) relate to actual internal states – all of the tweets highlighted in this analysis paint a complex picture of the ways in which speakers use the languages at their disposal to reveal layers of their internal states: Tagalog, when set against English in a single utterance, can give rise to powerful, emotionally-complex, funny, and sometimes tragic constructions of the self. The dialogic interplay between languages, and most especially pronouns as indexical symbols in each of these languages, enables speakers to load the codes with different meanings: inside and outside performances, that which can be said and that which cannot, that which is socially acceptable and that which is not – these ultimately serve to index different existential origos rendered in the structural tension between the languages.

Concluding thoughts

Language is not simply “out there” for the purposes of describing states of affairs in the observable world, but it is itself a way in which the world is created. The examples discussed in this chapter enable us to investigate the epistemological and ontological relationship that language has in constructing the self using the data of first-person pronouns in Taglish tweets. A question that can be posed in this context interrogates the nature of the meanings that arise out of the dialogical interaction of voices enabled by codeswitching and mixing in Taglish tweets. The short answer to this seems to point to the fact that speakers can figure and reconfigure selves in the dynamic space of emergent discourse, and that these contours are further enabled by structural effects inherent in codeswitching. These effects enable speakers to build complex, kaleidoscopic selves through which thoughts, feelings and the subtleties of perception can be articulated in the available languages as they interact with one another in discourse to create new meanings.

In this way, languages as they are mixed among multilingual speakers may serve elaborate metacommunicative functions whereby “the interpersonal significance of type-hybridized speech is negotiated over an extended stretch of multi-party discourse” (Agha 2009: 255). This framing is particularly useful when posing the question of the ways in which categories of language, such as pronouns, can carry n , $n+1$, etc. indexical significance and the complex ways in which semiotic processes, such as dialogical relations, can give rise to new meanings at multiple embedded levels (Silverstein 2003). In considering the implications for complex meaning-making that falls out of these practices, the concept of “indexical order” is useful – here, a language variety that is utilized in a given community with n -level orderings can, through active discourse and circulation, change the $n+1$ order, and in turn give rise to “alternative frameworks” (Morita, 2008: 176). This

suggests a need to explore the permutations and possibilities of new n+1 orderings (such as the structuration of new spaces for meaning in the dialogical interaction of languages in other codeswitching environments) as a site for creative meaning-making, challenging us further to think about the dynamic ways we come understand ourselves in the world through language.

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Address, reference and sequentiality in Indonesian conversation

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Indonesian has an open pronoun system that provides speakers with a range of first and second person terms. Drawing on data from informal conversation, we examine second person expressions used for address and reference in sequence initiating actions in multiparty interaction. Previous work on English has shown that address and reference are bound up in the systematics of turn taking, and that these practices are context-sensitive. We show this is also the case for Indonesian and that: (a) variation in sequential placement of person terms does stancetaking work; (b) speakers can choose between long and short forms of a name, with short names regularly used for strong exhorting, often in a double-address structure spanning two intonation units; (c) the availability of multiple second person terms means that, unlike a language with limited second person terms such as English, second person reference can also achieve explicit addressing; (d) indeterminacy in both the structure and social action of an utterance can arise due to the frequency of allusive reference and the flexibility of word order in Indonesian. Our study contributes to current literature by showing how the dynamics of address and reference play out in a language with a much richer and varied set of person terms than English has.

Keywords: address terms, Indonesian, conversation analysis, personal pronoun, kin term, name, sequentiality, stance

1. Introduction

Indonesian has a rich inventory of person terms available to speakers for both addressing and referring. In addition to a range of personal pronouns, other resources such as names, kin terms and titles, including those from languages other than Indonesian, are commonly used. In this chapter we focus our attention on the use of expressions for addressing and referring to second person in conversational interaction. We also focus our discussion primarily on multiparty rather than

two-party interaction. While the identity of recipient of talk is generally unproblematic in two-party interaction, in multiparty conversation the recipient of talk may not be explicitly identifiable, thus raising interesting empirical and theoretical issues. We also touch on first and third person terms as they relate directly to understanding the discussion of second person terms. Recent literature on address in English has shed light on the role of person terms beyond simply referring, the exploration of the sense of agency displayed by use of address terms (Clayman, 2010, 2013) and issues of addressing and referring in relation to next speaker selection (Lerner, 1996, 2003). While the main insights from these studies also hold for Indonesian, the availability to Indonesian speakers of a wide variety of second person terms calls for an analysis that takes as its starting point this multiplicity of terms and the complexity this creates for analysts attempting to describe a “system of address”. Much previous work on Indonesian person terms has focused on social indexicality (see discussion in Section 2), but to date little work has examined the role played by Indonesian person terms in the structural organisation of conversation. Our study contributes to current literature by showing how the dynamics of address and reference play out in a language with a much richer and varied set of person terms than English has, and by demonstrating how speakers’ use of this dynamic system contributes to the organisation of talk in interaction.

We take as our starting point Lerner’s (1996, 2003) work on second person reference and address in English. Several key concepts used in his work are also important in our analysis, including the distinction between referring and addressing, the sequential ordering of actions in talk, and the use of implicit as well as explicit address for indicating recipient of talk. English *you* is conventionally thought to both address and refer to recipient of talk. Addressing is designating, either explicitly or implicitly, who the recipient of talk – the second person – is. Referring implicates a referent – in this case second person – in what is being said, e.g., as the referent of, say, the subject or object of a clause. But Lerner (1996, 2003) points out that *you* cannot do either of these things alone. He makes the case that “it can, in concert with other aspects of the talk and its circumstances, furnish resources for determining who is being addressed by establishing who is being referred to, and, conversely, it can furnish resources for determining who is being referred to by establishing who is being addressed” (Lerner, 1996, p. 282). The distinction between addressing and referring – and the interesting ways they interact – are important for understanding person term usage. An important point of our study is that, how addressing and referring work in concert with each other and other aspects of talk, can play out differently in different languages, due to the specific affordances of those languages.

Conversational interaction proceeds sequentially through time and this has important consequences for use of person terms. As with Lerner’s studies (1996,

2003), we focus on actions that initiate a sequence in the form of adjacency pairs. In an adjacency pair, the action of a current speaker sets up a preference for a certain kind of response; for example, the preferred response to a question is an answer. Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson (1974) show that in different circumstances a current speaker can select next speaker or next speaker may self-select. When a speaker produces a sequence initiating action, it will often include speaker-selects-next techniques, that is, the speaker indicates, tacitly or explicitly, who is expected to respond to the initiating action. Person terms used for referring and addressing are an important resource for nominating next speaker.

Addressing is a social action that can be performed explicitly through use of address terms and gaze, or tacitly by drawing on resources particular to the context of interaction, content of the utterances and the structure of the sequence-initiating action in which the addressing takes place (Lerner, 2003, p. 179). Tacit addressing can make known, without relying on explicit address terms or gaze, which person is selected as recipient and hence is the person to speak next. Tacit addressing draws on the “thick particulars” of an interaction such that “the specifics of situatedness, identities, and particularities of content and context can shape the allocation of speaking turns in conversation” (Lerner, 2003, p. 190). Like tacit addressing, explicit addressing is also context-sensitive in that its success relies on a number of contextual factors. For example, explicit addressing using gaze relies on the addressed recipient noticing the gaze and responding accordingly, and also on the non-addressed participants seeing whom the gaze is directed at and knowing that the recipient of the gaze is the person being addressed and therefore is also the one selected to speak next. Explicit and tacit types of addressing are therefore intimately linked to the organization of speaking turns.

Data for this study are drawn from audio and video recordings, together with transcripts, of conversations among young adults collected in Bandung and Surabaya, two large cities located in the Indonesian provinces of West Java and East Java respectively. The recordings were made in 2014 (Bandung) and 2015 (Surabaya). Five recordings of approximately one hour each are included in our study. Indonesian is the national language of this archipelagic nation where some seven hundred ethnolocal languages are also spoken (Simons and Fennig, 2018). Among young urban speakers, Indonesian is often the language of choice for casual interaction, despite the existence of a strong local language in use among them. At the same time, this causal style of Indonesian often has a localised inflection, as seen in some of the conversations presented below, where elements of Sundanese and Javanese occur in the data from Bandung and Surabaya respectively. The Bandung data only include audio recordings, while the Surabaya data include video as well. This means that for the Surabaya data we can make reference to gaze and other aspects of the physical environment that are not available for the Bandung data.

2. Overview of person terms in Indonesian

Indonesian has an open pronoun system (Enfield, 2007; Thomason and Everett, 2001), which means that new pronouns are fairly easily introduced into the system and that non-pronominal elements, such as kinship terms and names, can be used in place of personal pronouns. As a result, speakers have a wide range of options for person reference. Thus a discussion of the pronoun system in Indonesian cannot be limited to only a closed and relatively small set of pronouns but must also encompass the full range of person terms. Additionally, the use of names and kinship terms for reference to self and others means that the person reference system overlaps in interesting ways with terms of address. The short overview presented here introduces pronouns associated with standard Indonesian and additional terms used by the speakers in the data we analyse here. A complete survey of pronouns in Indonesian is beyond the scope of the present study due to the wide range of variation found across the archipelago.

Table 1 lists the pronouns commonly associated with standard Indonesian usage. Speakers will also use pronouns from local varieties of Malay or other indigenous languages while speaking Indonesian. Pronouns of this type that are found in our data are listed in Table 2, along with their linguistic provenance. Although not seen in the particular set of data we examine here, second person pronouns taken from international languages are also used by speakers, for example, *you* (English) and *antum* (Arabic). As mentioned above, kin terms, names or a combination of kin term and name can also be used for first and second person reference. Common Indonesian kin terms occurring in our data include *bapak/pak*¹ ‘father’ (used for adult men), *ibu/bu* ‘mother’ (for adult women), *kakak/kak* ‘older sibling’ (used for people considered of a similar generation, but senior to the speaker). Also found in the data are the Sundanese terms *teteh/teh* ‘older sister’ (for a more senior woman), *kang* ‘older brother’ (for a more senior man) and the Javanese equivalents *mbak* ‘older sister’ and *mas* ‘older brother’. From Dutch, *om* ‘uncle’ and *tante* ‘aunt’ are also used for adults. Similarly, Sundanese *mang* ‘uncle’ is used for an adult man, but often from a working class background.

Motivations for choosing one person term over another are complex and can best be understood in terms of social indexicality (Agha, 2007; Kiesling, 2009; Ochs, 1992). All forms carry denotational meaning such as ‘second person singular’ and also index social qualities which speakers can manipulate for enacting stance or accomplishing various social actions. These indexicalities may include relative social

1. Many kin terms have full and short forms. Full forms can be used as titles, vocatives and as pronoun substitutes. For many speakers, short forms are used as titles and vocatives, but are rarely used as pronoun substitutes.

Table 1. Personal pronouns in standard Indonesian

Person	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>saya, aku</i>	<i>kami</i> (exclusive), <i>kita</i> (inclusive)
2 nd	<i>kamu, anda, engkau, kau</i>	<i>kalian</i>
3 rd	<i>dia, ia, beliau</i> (honorific)	<i>mereka</i>

Table 2. Other pronouns occurring in the data

Person	Form	Provenance
1 st	<i>gua, gue, urang, aing</i>	Hokkien via Betawi Malay, Sundanese
2 nd	<i>(e)lu, (e)lo, maneh</i>	Hokkien via Betawi Malay, Sundanese

position of speaker and addressee, ethnic background or other social affiliation. For example, for the young speakers in our data *saya* ‘1SG’ often indexes a mature or public self, while *aku* ‘1SG’ can index a more personal stance or even a romantic relationship. Hokkien terms *gua* ‘1SG’ and *lu* ‘2SG’ have entered Jakartan colloquial Indonesian via Betawi Malay and from there are being taken up by speakers in other parts of the country. When used by speakers from Jakarta they may be not carry any special meaning other than informality, but when used by speakers from elsewhere, they can indicate an assertive, humorous or even arrogant stance. In contrast, when Indonesian speakers use person terms from a local language, this can show a stance of solidarity. A detailed discussion of the complex multiple indexicalities involved in choice of person terms is outside the aims of this chapter. For more discussion of social indexicality and other social aspects of Indonesian person terms see Djenar (2006, 2008, 2015); Djenar, Ewing and Manns (2018, pp. 23-63); Englebreston (2007); Ewing (2005, 2016); Kaswanti Purwo (1984); Kridalaksana (1974); Manns (2011); Sneddon (2006); Sneddon et al. (2010); and Tamtomo (2012).

The excerpt in Example (1) illustrates several of the person term types outlined here. This example is also useful to illustrate the grammatical distinction we are making between constituents and vocatives. In line 1, Rini uses the Sundanese kinship term *Teh* ‘older sister’ as a title with the name *Diyah*. Together these are used for second person reference as a constituent in the construction *Teh Diyah apa?* ‘What are you having?’ and so the person term *Teh Diyah* is best rendered as ‘you’ in the free translation. In line 2, Rini uses the familiar pronoun *aku* ‘1SG’ to refer to herself, while in line 5 Aina uses her own name for self-reference. In line 7, Ratih directs her upcoming question to Hana, using kin term plus name to address her. In this case *Teh Hana* does not have any role as a constituent within a grammatical construction. It sits outside the grammatical structure and is used as a vocative, functioning, like vocatives in other languages, simultaneously to

nominate addressee, reinforce social relationships and indicate a stance towards addressee and utterance (Lambrecht, 1996; Leech, 1999; Noel Aziz Hanna and Sonnenhauser, 2013). As a vocative, the name (rather than pronoun) is appropriately used in the English free translation. Finally in line 8, Ratih chooses to use the socially distancing *saya* ‘1sg’. She does this in conjunction with other more formal elements such as the formal question particle *kah* and standard verb prefix *me-*. Together these elements lend an expository style to what she is saying (Djenar, Ewing and Manns, 2018: 105–149).² Elsewhere Ratih commonly uses familiar *aku* ‘1sg’ and other colloquial features. Her use of a more standard style here seems to be for rhetorical, possibly humorous effect.

(1) Bandung: Chicken Foot Soup

- 1 RINI: ... *Teh* *Diyah apa?*
 older.sister.SUN Diyah what
 ‘What are you³ (having)?’
- 2 DIYAH: *Bento-bento.*
 bento-REDUP
 ‘Bento.’
- 3 RINI: ... (4.9) (H) *Ha=h aku lapa=r.*
 PART 1s hungry
 ‘Oh I am hungry’
- 4 AINA: ... (3.4) *Ih ayam bakar madu mah di sana.*
 PART chicken grill honey PART.SUN at there
 ‘Oh honey grilled chicken is over there.’
- 5 *Da Aina dulu.*
 PART Aina before
 ‘So I (had that) before.’

2. Expository style makes use of standard and elaborated features of grammar and indexes social distance and formality (Djenar, Ewing and Manns 2018: 105–149).

3. When a name is used for second person reference in Indonesian, *you* is used in the free translation in order to provide a natural sounding rendering. A name is not included in the free translation, as this could inappropriately suggest the name was used vocatively in the Indonesian original. However, this means that the explicit addressing that is accomplished by use of name for second person reference in Indonesian is lost in the English translation. A careful reading of the Indonesian original and glossing is important to understand structure and function of the Indonesian original, which cannot necessarily be inferred from the free translation. This point becomes especially important in the discussion in Section 6.

4. The more literal translation ‘Sister Hana’ sounds stilted in contemporary English, but translating *Teh Hana* as simply ‘Hana’ would lose the important nuance provided by use of the kin term. For free translations, we have chosen to include the original kin term when used vocatively as a compromise between these two alternatives.

- 6 DIYAH: *Ini ayam bakar biasa.*
 this chicken grill regular
 ‘This is regular grilled chicken.’
- 7 RATHI: ... *Teh Hana,*
 older.sister.SUN Hana
 ‘*Teh Hana*’,
- 8 *boleh-kah saya me-lihat ini?*
 may.QU 1s ACT-see this
 ‘May I please see this?’

The purpose of this chapter is not to present an exhaustive discussion of person terms in Indonesian, but rather to do a close analysis of address and reference in the service of selecting next speaker in Indonesian conversation. The overview of Indonesian persons terms presented here is intended to provide a basic level of context for the discussion that follows, and therefore has only briefly touched on the complexities and dynamics of person reference in Indonesian.

3. Position of Address relative to sequence-initiating action

Lerner (1996, 2003) explores the use of explicit addressing in English conversation. Personal name and other unique forms of address (for example, terms of endearment, titles or roles) provide a very explicit way to clearly address an utterance to a particular recipient. The nature of English means that explicit address with identifying person terms typically occurs in vocative position rather than constituent position (which would normally take the pronoun *you*). But explicit address is actually not frequently used in the English data Lerner (2003, p. 184) examines, and he suggests that when explicit address terms are used, there is some other action, not just addressing, that is being done. He also shows that the kinds of other actions accomplished by explicit address are related to the sequential position of the address terms within sequence initiating action. In English, address terms that are pre-positioned before the initiating action are generally used to ensure that the intended recipient is available and will recognise the subsequent action as addressed to them, in contexts where availability of recipient is in some way problematic. In contrast, address terms that are post-positioned after the initiating action are generally used when reciprocity is already clear and often function to highlight a relevant stance that the speaker is expressing toward what is being said and toward the recipient. In general, a similar functional distinction also holds between pre-positioned and post-positioned address for the Indonesian data examined here. The discussion in this section highlights the kinds of problems associated with the use of pre-positioned address and provides examples of

the stancetaking that occurs with post-positioned address. We also identify a pattern of usage that recurs in the Indonesian data, where address terms are both pre-positioned and post-positioned to a single sequence initiating action. This double addressing serves to indicate a very strong hortative stance.

In the Indonesian conversational data we examine, one of the most common places where sequence initial explicit address occurs is after there has been a lull in the interaction and a speaker then initiates a new topic with an explicit sequence initial action, such as by posing a question to another participant. Due to both the lull and new topic, there may be little discourse-based context to aid interactants in determining who the recipient of talk is. The content of the sequence initiating action might also not indicate who is being addressed and therefore the action could be interpreted as addressed to any of the other participants. In such situations, explicit addressing will make it clear who the intended recipient is. This is illustrated by the excerpt in (2), from a conversation involving eight women, all university students. They are eating at a food court and have been discussing what they will order. Line 1, in which Aina mentions that *pempek* 'fish cakes' are nice, is the last contribution to this sequence about food. After an 8.5 second lull, Rini initiates a new topic.

(2) Bandung: Cream Soup

- 1 AINA: *Ih pempek enak.*
PART fish.cake delicious
'Hm fish cakes are nice.'
- 2 ... (8.5)
- 3 RINI: *Teh Hana,*
older.sister.SUN Hana
'*Teh Hana,*'
- 4 *Kosong jadwal?*
empty schedule
'Is the schedule open?'
- 5 HANA: ... *Jadwal apa?*
schedule what
'What schedule?'
- 6 RINI: *Ga ada= kegiatan apa-apa lagi?*
NEG EXIST activity anything more
'There aren't any other activities?'
- 7 AINA: *Jumat mah nggak kan Han?*
Friday PART.SUN NEG PART Han
'As for Friday there nothing is there Han?'

- 8 HANA: *Gak ada.*
 NEG EXIST
 'There's nothing.'
- 9 *Free.*
 free.ENG
 '(It's) free.'

Rini introduces the topic of their schedule in line 2. This could be addressed to any or all of the other participants, since they would all be relevantly tied into the various schedules and routines associated with attending university classes. Rini, however, intends Hana as the recipient of her question and so uses pre-positioned explicit address to secure Hana's attention. Notice however that Rini uses the unspecified noun *jadwal* 'schedule', which could be interpreted as asking about Hana's own schedule, that is meaning something like 'Are you free?', or could be heard more generally, for example as the class schedule, so something like 'Do we have any classes?'. Hana recognises that she is the recipient of Rini's question and thus responds as next speaker. However, she is herself unclear about what Rini means and so on taking her turn, rather than answering Rini's question, Hana initiates an insertion sequence, that is, a new sequence of talk which temporally puts the question-answer pair initiated by Rini on hold. Because Hana requests clarification about what Rini has just said, Hana's request is clearly, although tacitly, addressed to Rini. Rini responds, clarifying that by *jadwal* 'schedule' she means *kegiatan* 'activities'. It is at this point that we see an example of a post-positioned address term highlighting a particular stance. In line 7, Aina, who has not been nominated as a next speaker at this point, also contributes a response to Hana's question in line 5. This response is itself an initiating action in that it too is posed as a question. Aina both suggests that Friday's schedule is clear and asks for confirmation that this is the case. This further specifies the topic of Rini's original question and at the same time provides a potential answer to it. As she does this, Aina uses the Indonesian interactional particle *kan*, which confirms that speaker and address share common ground, similar to the tag question in the English free translation (Djenar, Ewing and Manns, 2018, pp. 73-82). That is, Aina is explicitly indicating that she believes there are no activities scheduled for Friday and she believes Hana knows – or should know – this as well. This epistemic stance is achieved by the use of *kan* and highlighted by the use of the explicit term of address (the short name *Han*). Aina is not simply saying this as something that she knows, or that everyone in general might know, but she is indicating a shared epistemic stance with Hana. By addressing Hana she also elicits Hana's recognition that this is the case and at the same time is providing Hana with the opportunity to respond to Rini's original ac-

tion, the question in line 3. This is enough clarification for Hana, and she confirms that there is in fact nothing scheduled for Friday.

Example (3) also uses a post-positioned address term to highlight stance, in this case a mildly jokingly stance. One couple, Rinal and Asmita, is having dinner with another couple, Amru and Wida, at Amru's house. They are almost finished with the meal and Amru and Wida have been encouraging Asmita and Rinal to have some more food. Rinal asks whether the rice is *nasi uduk* 'coconut rice', but Wida and Amru simultaneously say no and Amru adds that it is in fact regular steamed rice.

(3) Bandung: Plush Toys

- 1 RINAL: *Nasi.uduk bukan sih?*
coconut.rice NEG PART
'(Is this) coconute rice or not?'
- 2 WIDA: [*Bukan*]. NEG
'No.'
- 3 AMRU: [*Bukan*].
NEG
'No.'
- 4 *Nasi biasa.*
rice regular
'(It's) regular rice.'
- 5 WIDA: *Abi=s.*
finished
'(Its') finished.'
- 6 *Nasi.uduk-nya.*
coconut.rice-DEF
'The coconut rice.'
- 7 [*Ini leher yah?*]
this neck yeah
'This is the (chicken) neck right?'
- 8 AMRU: [*Mau disuapin*].
want PASS-spoon.feed
'(You) want (me) to spoon feed (you)?'
- 9 RINAL: ... *persediaan-nya dikit gitu yah?*
supply-DEF little like.that yeah
'There's only a little huh?'
- 10 *nasi uduk yah?*
coconut.rice yeah
'the rice right?'

- 11 AMRU: .. *Apanya?*
 what-DEF
 ‘What (are you on about)?’
- 12 ASMITA: *Ngomongnya jangan= .. sambil makan nasi=.*
 speak-DEF PROH while eat rice
 ‘Don’t talk while (you’re) eating rice.’
- 13 AMRU: @@@
- 14 WIDA: *Apa Nal?*
 what Nal
 ‘What Nal?’
- 15 AMRU: @@
- 16 WIDA: *Nasinya sedikit?*
 rice-DEF little
 ‘There’s only a little (rice)?’
- 17 RINAL: *Persediaannya dikit,*
 preparation-DEF little
 ‘There’s only a little,’
- 18 *kalau nasi uduk.*
 if coconut.rice
 ‘as for the coconut rice.’

In lines 11-14, the three friends are teasing Rinal about speaking while his mouth is full. In line 11 Amru uses the form *apa-nya* ‘what-DEF’, which indicates not so much that he has not heard Rinal, but that something about what Rinal has said is not clear (see Djenar, Ewing and Manns, 2018, pp. 127-130 for discussion of *apa-nya*). Although the question is tacitly addressed to Rinal, Rinal does not respond. In line 12 Asmita admonishes Rinal for speaking with his mouth full, implying that this is why they cannot understand him. Again, Rinal does not respond. In line 14 Wida then makes the most direct request for Rinal to repeat himself, asking simply *apa* ‘what’. This indicates Wida did not understand and is requesting a repetition (in contrast to Amru in line 11, who is asking for a clarification of intent). The friends have each directed related questions and comments to Rinal. This series of utterances is produced in a jocular tone as indicated by laughter. Asmita is Rinal’s girlfriend and because of this relationship, her contribution is directed at Rinal’s behaviour. Amru and Wida are hosts and so are potentially put in a position of defending their provision of coconut rice, which Rinal implies is not enough. Wida’s use of a post-positioned address term (the short name *Nal* in line 14), coming at the end of this sequence of three initiating actions, can be seen to further highlight both the intensity and the humour of the barrage of comments directed at Rinal, and it does so at the point where Wida is subtly positioning herself to defend against Rinal’s implied criticism. Rinal still does not respond, while

Amru laughs again. Wida finally provides a simplified reformulation of what Rinal is saying in line 16 and offers it as a request for confirmation that this is what he is saying. Rinal's response is to entirely repeat what he said earlier (in line 9), this time enunciating more clearly. It is thus through the modified physical presentation of his speech that Rinal finally responds to all three of the initiating actions of his friends.

In Indonesian, not only the position of address term, but also the form of address term can be relevant to speakers, and we show in the following that in Indonesian conversation, different name forms can serve different interactional tasks. Many Indonesians use what we call here "full names" and "short names". By full name we mean the full version of a name by which someone is ordinarily called, not a complete version on one's birth certificate, which may include additional names. The short name is usually a shortened version of the full name. For example Rinal is often addressed with *Nal*⁵. While both full name and short name uniquely address the intended recipient in our data, full name is typically employed in environments in which the speaker seeks to obtain a response by means of a question format, whereas short name tends to be deployed for purposes of exhorting, giving instructions and asking permission. In these environments, short name often occurs twice, forming a kind of double address. Note that not everyone uses both full and short names, but that having full and short versions of a name is common and when people do have these, they tend to be differentially deployed as discussed here.

Full name tends to be deployed in environments where the speaker is eliciting information from an addressed recipient through use of a question format. In these contexts full name tends to be utterance initial, consistent with this position's function to secure addressee's attention and thus to secure the recipient's availability first before launching the question, so the speaker can maximise their chance of getting that information. This use of full name is exemplified in (4). Lela is addressing Aina with full name after a 4.3 second pause, asking her what she ate the day before. The pre-positioned name is used to indicate a resumption of talk or a shift to a new topic. Previous Extract (2) similarly exemplifies the use of pre-positioned full name to elicit information.

5. Note that Indonesians often, though not always, shorten names by using the last syllable of the full name.

(4) Bandung: Chicken Foot Soup

- 1 LELA: ... (4.3)
Alfa
 Alfa
 'Alfa what did you eat yesterday?'
- 2 AINA: ... *Ini*.
 this
 'This one.'
- 3 [Paket hemat .. satu].
 package economical one
 'Economical meal package number one'
- 4 RINI: [Counte=r tujuh].
 counter.ENG seven
 '(It's from) Counter seven.'

Use of a post-positioned term, as mentioned above, will not only address but also conveys the speaker's stance toward the addressee in relation to what is said. This is exemplified in (5). Amru exhorts Rinal to help eat the remaining food, but Rinal declines. (We will discuss Amru's use of Rinal's short name below). Seeing Rinal is not eating, Wida – Amru's girlfriend – joins the teasing in line 4 by asking Rinal if he is on a diet too. (Asmita, Rinal's girlfriend, had previously been teased about being on a diet). In line 4, we see Wida using the full name *Rinal* to pose the question and she post-positions the name to indicate this teasing stance.

(5) Bandung: Plush Toys

- 1 AMRU: .. *Nal*.
 Nal
 'Nal.'
- 2 .. *Bantu-in Nal*.
 help-APPL Nal
 'Help us (eat this) Nal.'
- 3 .. *Ya.ampun segini banyak makan-nya*.
 oh.my.God as.much.as.this much food-DEF
 'Oh my God there's so much food.'
- 4 WIDA: .. *Riet juga Rinal?*
 on.a.diet also Rinal
 'On a diet too, Rinal?'
- 5 ASMITA: .. *Kan kita tadi beli rak yah?*
 part 1p before buy shelve part
 'So we bought the shelving, right?'

Unlike full name, short name is regularly used to strongly exhort, often in contexts of instructing. This is shown with Amru's use of Rinal's short name, *Nal*, in lines 1 and 2 of Extract (5). The first instance of *Nal* occurs as a freestanding element, serving as a kind of summons (Schegloff, 1968). The second instance is as a post-positioned element in the line, indexing Amru's playful stance. Unlike Wida who employs the full name to elicit a response, Amru uses the short name *Nal* to "instruct" Rinal to eat. The doubling of *Nal* in two consecutive intonation units forms a composite structure of action – summoning in line 1 and exhorting in line 2 – and thus creating a sense of immediacy and friendly exhortation that constitutes Amru's playful stance.

Excerpt (6) is from the same conversation, showing both Amru and Wida using short name for further exhortation. When Rinal was still not eating despite being urged to do so, Amru once again exhorts Rinal using short name in two consecutive intonation units. Unlike in Extract (5) where Amru first addresses Rinal with a freestanding element, this time he begins with the hortative marker *ayo* 'come on' followed by the short name. This hortative marker creates a strong sense of the "here-space" (Enfield 2003), adding to the sense of immediacy produced by the short name. After this second exhortation, Rinal responds by saying he just wants to have some of the cabbage. Wida and Amru briefly discuss the spiciness of the food before Amru exhorts Rinal to eat for a third time. He uses Rinal's short name in post-position as before (line 7). Wida now joins Amru in exhorting Rinal to eat, employing imperative plus post-positioned short name (line 8). Amru then upgrades his teasing by asking whether he should hand-feed Rinal, using Jakartan first person pronoun *gue* to refer to himself, which in Bandung is indexical of a playful stance. Rinal recognises this stance and responds by saying he is full, followed by laughter (line 12). We can see in this excerpt that the hortative effect is produced not only through the post-positioning of the short name but also importantly, through the doubling of short name. What is interesting in Excerpt (6) is that, this double address can also be jointly constructed, as shown in Amru's and Wida's sequential actions in lines 7 and 8 respectively.

(6) Bandung: Plush Toys

- 1 AMRU: *Ayo Nal.*
 come.on Nal
 'Come on *Nal*.'
- 2 .. *Bantu-in Nal.*
 help-APPL Nal
 'Help (us) out *Nal*.'

- 3 RINAL: [*mau makan kol-nya*].
want eat cabbage-DEF
'(I) want the cabbage.'
- 4 WIDA: [*kok lama-lama pedes*] *yah?*
PART long-REDUP hot PART
'it tastes hotter (the more you eat) doesn't it?'
- 5
sambel-nya semua-nya?
chili.sauce-DEF all-DEF
'(did we mix in) all the chilli sauce?'
- 6 AMRU: *Eh sama ayam-nya sih?*
PART with chicken-DEF PART
'Er (I thought) it's (already mixed in) with the chicken'
- 7
... *Ini Nal,*
this Nal
'Here Nal.'
- 8 WIDA: [*abis-in Nal*].
finish.up-APPL Nal
'finish it up Nal.'
- 9 AMRU: [*apa gue*],
what 1SG
'or do you want me',
- 10
.. *suap-in?*
feed-APPL
'to hand-feed (you)?'
- 11 RINAL: *Kenyang.*
full
'(I'm) full.'
- 12
@@@

The multiple instances of hortative addressing with the doubling of name in Excerpts (5) and (6) show the following pattern in the use of short name within the context of exhorting. First, initial instance of exhorting is generally done with a freestanding short name, functioning like a summons, to establish reciprocity. This is followed by an intonation unit in which the short name is post-positioned and preceding it is specification of what the addressee is exhorted to do (e.g., to eat). If the exhorting action is performed again later in the discourse, either by the same or different participant, the first sequence-initiating action may include other elements such as a hortative marker (e.g., *ayo* 'come on') followed by the name, instead of only the name. In hortative environments, summoning done with a freestanding name can therefore be considered as a "pre-exhortation action", analogous to the notion of "pre-announcement" in turn-taking organization (see Schegloff 2007, pp. 37–41).

A similar pattern of use of name in exhorting is shown in Excerpt (7). Cendra is uttering English *throttle*, a new word he has just learned, and repeats the word with a lengthened vowel in the first syllable. Prior to this, he uttered the same word several times as if to ensure correct pronunciation. English words with interdental fricative <th> are often difficult to pronounce for many Indonesians, so by saying *throttle* multiple times it is as if Cendra wants to show off his skill at mastering its pronunciation. Lanny recognizes the sense of self-importance Cendra seems to derive from this and demonstrates her recognition by drawing Valen's attention to Cendra's actions. Meanwhile, Valen, who was busy copying physics exercises into her workbook, was not looking at her co-participants. Lanny addresses Valen by the short name 'Len' in line 4 to establish Valen's availability. Kamil joins in addressing Valen, also by using her short name before proceeding in the next intonation unit with asking Valen to repeat the word Cendra uttered. Lanny then repeats her addressing and playfully tells Valen that Cendra is teaching her something and exhorting her to pay attention. She uses the discourse particle *lho* (line 8) as a hortative marker in addition to the post-positioned short name. Kamil joins in the exhortation by repeating the syntactic frame used by Lanny but adding the particle *tuh* to add strength and indicate his alignment with Lanny. Like in the previous examples, repetition is a key resource drawn on here to create a sense of keen participation and convergent alignment. Repeating an addresser's words, phrases or syntactic frames, as Du Bois and Kärkkäinen (2012, p. 447) point out, is a form of "alignment", a structural "lining up" of elements from one utterance onto parallel elements in another utterance, iconic of the lining up of different speakers' stances taken toward a shared object of affective orientation (2012, p. 440).

(7) Surabaya: Full Throttle

- 1 CENDRA: *Throttle*
 2 *Thro=ttle.*
 3 KAMIL: [XX].
 4 LANNY: .. *Len,*
 5 KAMIL: *Len,*
 6 *... iku yek.opo Len*
 that how.JAV Len
 'how (do you say) that Len (→ can you say it?)'
 7 LANNY: *... ajar-in lho Len.*
 teach-appl PART Len
 '(look he's) teaching (you something) Len (→ so pay attention)'
 8 KAMIL: *... ajar-in tuh lho Len.*
 teach-appl PART PART Len
 '(look he's) teaching (you something) there Len (→ so pay attention)'

- 9 VALEN: *Ajar-in apa?*
 teach-APPL what
 ‘What is (he) teaching (me)?’
- 10 KAMIL: *Itu lho tadi.*
 that PART before
 ‘That one before.’
- 11 VALEN: *Apa?*
 what
 ‘What?’
- 12 KAMIL: *Kamu ngomong apa tadi?*
 2SG say what before
 ‘What did you say before?’ (turning to Cendra)
- 13 CENDRA: *Throttle.*

4. Explicit use of reference terms

The previous section covered the occurrence and placement of explicit address terms. This section surveys the occurrence and location of referring terms, which as discussed above, primarily occur in constituent positions. Our focus is on second person reference, but first and third persons will be touched on as relevant. We will set aside for the moment the interaction between referring and addressing, an important issue we will discuss in Section 5. Indonesian is a language which makes extensive use of allusive reference⁶ and the majority of predicates in conversational interaction do not have explicit arguments, which are instead often inferable from context (Ewing, in press). This means that choosing to explicitly mention a referent, which might easily be left unexpressed, can be interactionally significant. In this section we identify environments in which pronominal reference tends to regularly occur and discuss the reasons such explicit forms occur in those contexts.

One of the environments in which pronouns regularly occur is at the beginning of a sequence-initiating turn that follows a lull and in which the referring term is pre-positioned to the action being initiated. In this environment, the pronoun serves multiple tasks, such as indicating resumption of talk or a shift to a new topic, checking the addressee’s availability when it is pre-positioned and indexing

6. The term allusive reference means cases where referents are implied but are not explicitly expressed. This includes cases of so-called zero anaphora when a possible argument is not stated. We avoid terms like zero anaphora, which suggest something is missing or dropped. The term “allusive” builds on Goffman (1983), who pointed out that much of language use alludes to common ground shared by interactants and which is un-mentioned yet essential for effective communication.

affective stance when post-positioned. It is also often the case that use of pronouns by one party encourages reciprocal use by others. This reciprocal use of explicit referring terms produces a sequence of multiple explicit person references (which can be first person, second person or both) – that is, when one person makes explicit use of referring terms such as pronouns, others tend to follow suite. We show here that reciprocal use of referring terms is one way to achieve alignment.⁷

An example of reciprocal use of pronouns as reference terms is shown in (8). In the preceding discourse, Valen was recounting her trip to Bandung where she had become sick and was out of action for a few days. She then told her co-participants about a more enjoyable trip to her hometown on the island of Kalimantan, mentioning how much cheaper the cost of living there was. This prompts a discussion about different places the participants would like to live in, such as Bali and Malaysia, before the conversation turned to topics related to school tasks. The participants joked about the different qualities of their handwriting, ending with laughter. This is where the excerpt in (8) begins. Following a 4.5 second lull, Lanny makes a comment about Cendra, which is not taken up by others. After another 2.5 seconds, Cendra resumes the talk about good places to live. He begins his utterance by addressing his friends with *kamu* ‘2sg’, asking whether they would like to live in Sydney.⁸ Lanny and Kamil respond sequentially using the same second person pronoun and a similar syntactic frame Cendra used, resulting in lively, chorus-like sequences. This is akin to what Tannen (2007, p. 73) calls “repetition as participation”, which she describes as repetition emerging from participants’ sense of eagerness to contribute to the interaction, resulting in a lot of talk based on a few words and ideas “linked together and distinguished by repetition” (2007, p. 174).

(8) Surabaya: Full throttle

1 ALL: @@@@
 ... (4.5)

7. Alignment can be either convergent, showing similarity of stances, or divergent, marking differences in stances. That is, alignment of stances is similar to “social affiliation” as used by Stivers (2008), who restricts the term “alignment” to structural lining up of linguistic elements.

8. This conversation was recorded in Surabaya by Djenar. Cendra knows Djenar lives in Sydney, which prompts his curiosity about Sydney as a place to live.

9. The three words marked as Javanese in the gloss line – *koyok opo ae* ‘what (it’s) like’ are clearly Javanese (Surabaya dialect). That last three words of the utterance – *aku gak ngerti* ‘I don’t know’ – can be heard as Javanese, but can also be heard as Indonesian, so it becomes indeterminate at what point this instance of code switching moves from Javanese back to Indonesian. See Errington (1998) for a detailed discussion of this phenomenon.

- 2 LANNY: Ce Ce ... *kasihan*
Ce Ce pity
'Ce Ce .. poor thing' (note: Ce is short name for Cendra)
...(2.5)
- 3 CENDRA: *Kamu pengen ndak tinggal di Sydney?*
2SG want NEG live LOC Sydney
'Do you (think you) want to live in Sydney?'
- 4 LANNY: *Kamu pengen ta?*
2SG want PART
'Do you want to?'
- 5 KAMIL: *Kamu pengen ta?*
2SG want PART
'Do you want to?'
- 6 Cendra: *Sydney koyok opo ae aku gak ngerti.*⁹
Sydney like.JAV what.JAV PART.JAV 1SG NEG understand
'I don't even know what Sydney is like.'

According to Lerner (2003, p. 182), the English pronoun *you* “separates the action of ‘addressing a recipient’ from the designation of just who is being addressed”. Sacks et al. (1974), point out that *you* can be used to address a single participant or a whole party. Cendra’s use of *kamu* in (8) is similarly directed not at a particular participant but rather the whole group, thus leaving it open for any of his co-participants to self-select as next speaker. Lanny takes up the slot by addressing Cendra in return, using the same pre-positioned second person pronoun and syntactic frame. Unlike Cendra’s addressing, Lanny’s use of *kamu* is unambiguously directed at Cendra. We know this from its sequential position, which directly follows Cendra’s and hence orients to it, her use of *kamu*, and repetition of the syntactic frame used by Cendra, an action designed for teasing Cendra by asking him to reveal his own opinion about Sydney. Lanny is making it known through her question that she understands Cendra’s group question as implying that he thinks Sydney might be a good place to live.

Following Lanny’s turn, Kamil self-selects as next speaker and poses the same question as Lanny did, using an identical pronoun and syntactic frame to designate Cendra as recipient. The difference between his and Lanny’s actions is in the use of gaze. We previously noted Lerner’s (1996) argument that in English, gaze as an explicit form of addressing can work with *you* to designate recipient of address, but the two need not be deployed simultaneously. In producing the utterance in line 5, Kamil’s gaze was fixed at Cendra throughout, so in this case, the pronoun *kamu* and gaze work in tandem in designating the addressed recipient. In Lanny’s case, on the other hand, her utterance is produced while she was looking down

and writing something in her notebook, thus the pronoun works independently of gaze but in tandem with next-speaker sequential position to achieve reciprocity.

Reciprocal use of person reference terms such as pronouns is also found in contrastive contexts where participants engage in explicit addressing and self-referring to stake a claim to different epistemic positions. Extract (9) illustrates use of pronouns for contrast between two participants. Febri and Dinda have been idly chatting while downloading songs and apps from the Internet. A 5.7 second lull occurs before Febri resumes the conversation by requesting the name of the app Dinda had downloaded. She addresses Dinda using pre-positioned *kamu* '2SG' to ensure Dinda's availability and reciprocity. Febri then proceeds in the next intonation unit to make an assertion about something she wants, using *aku* '1SG'. Febri likes 'Beautiful Plus'¹⁰, a selfie creator app, and wants it downloaded. She uses *aku* '1SG' in pre-position to assert this. The contrast between her addressing and asserting is brought to light here through the identical pre-positioning of two different pronouns, *kamu* '2SG' and *aku* '1SG', referring to addressee and self respectively. After making her assertion, Febri checks with Dinda whether the app she is looking at now is the one Dinda downloaded previously. Dinda responds in the affirmative, reciprocally using the same pronoun *aku* '1SG' to stake her own claim regarding the downloaded apps Febri was inquiring about. We can see here that person terms can be used to indicate a contrast between one's epistemic position and that of the addressee's and that explicit addressing and self-referring can give rise to reciprocal use of terms.¹¹

(9) Bandung: K-Pop

- 1 FEBRI: *Kamu tadi yang mana?*
2SG before REL which
'Which one did you [get] before?'
- 2 *aku pengen yang ada Beautiful Plus.*
1SG want REL exist Beautiful.Plus.ENG
'I want the one with Beautiful Plus.'
...(3.1)
- 4 *Ini yang tadi bukan?*
this REL before NEG
'Is this the one (we downloaded) before?'

10. The app Febri is referring to is actually called 'Beauty Plus' but here she is incorrectly calling it 'Beautiful Plus'.

11. Djenar, Ewing & Manns (2018: 179–191) point out that one of the environments in which reported speech ("voice presentation" in their term) with explicit mention of the source of voice in the speech frame (e.g., *aku bilang* 'I said') is in contrastive contexts, and argue that explicitly mentioning the source of the voice is a way of indexing different epistemic positions.

- 5 DINDA: *Iya itu aku.*
yes that 1SG
'Yeah I (got) that one.'
- 6 ... *Eh itu aku.*
er that 1SG
'... Er I (got) that one.'
- 7 *Ya aku download itu.*
yes 1sg download.ENG that
'Yes I downloaded that.'
- 8 FEBRI: ... *Bagus gak?*
good NEG
'... Is (it) any good or not?'
- 9 DINDA: ... *Bagus tuh.*
good PART
'... It's good.'

Dinda uses *aku* '1SG' in two consecutive intonation units (lines 5–6) to assert her claim (that she was the one who downloaded the app Febri asked about). In both instances, she places the pronoun in post-position. Here we see a use of pronouns in Indonesian that differs from what English can afford its speakers. While in English subject-predicate word order is relatively fixed, in Indonesian subjects can precede or follow their predicates. Pre-positioning subjects is more common and so post-positioning – as Dinda does here – is the marked option, which provides an opportunity for highlighting stance, similar to the use of post-positioned address terms discussed in Section 3. Here Dinda takes an affective stance of strong assertion, which is also indicated through repetition. It is noteworthy that in lines 5–6 there is no explicit mention of downloading, only an assertion of self. It is only in line 7 where Dinda employs the same pronoun for the third time that she states explicitly what it is she is claiming rights to. She “sums up” her claim and positions *aku* '1SG' after the emphatic discourse particle *ya* 'yes' to give strength to her statement.

Schegloff (2007, p. 129) points out that referring can just do referring and also something beyond this. In this section we have shown how in Indonesian, reference to self and other can do interactional work beyond referring such as showing keen participation and aligning stances in affective convergence or divergence. Reciprocity and repetition, in addition to sequentiality and positioning of person term in a turn unit, are all resources participants can manipulate to achieve these goals.

5. Ambiguity between address and reference

Lerner points out that referring is not the same as addressing and he presents English *you* “not as an explicit form of address, but as a form of reference that furnishes recipients with an additional resource in recognizing that a current-selects-next technique is being employed by the current speaker” (Lerner 2003, p. 182). That is, in multi-party conversation, English *you* alerts participants that someone is being addressed and selected as next speaker, but it does not itself indicate who that person is. Because of this, Lerner calls English *you* a “RECIPIENT INDICATOR, but not a recipient designator” (2003, p. 182, emphasis in original). This is generally also the case with Indonesian, when second person reference is produced with personal pronouns. Excerpt (10) illustrates this. The three participants, Asmita, Bayu and Alma, have been talking about different types of food. Just before the excerpt in (10), Bayu and Alma are talking about a restaurant called Pangsit Si Boy and have had an extended discussion about where it is located. In line 1 Asmita asks whether the restaurant serves *bakso*, a kind of meatball. She uses no explicit address. Both Alma and Bayu have been to the restaurant and have been discussing it, so Asmita’s question could be heard as addressed to either or both of them. However, it was Bayu who first mentioned Pangsit Si Boy, asking whether the others had been there and so he can be seen as having more rights over the topic. This is consistent with the Bayu’s self-selection as next speaker and his self-presentation as the voice of authority in answering Asmita’s question in line 2. Bayu then introduces another *bakso* restaurant in line 3. His question in line 4 uses second person pronoun *lu*. As with English *you*, *lu* indicates a recipient but does not explicitly address a particular participant in multi-party conversation. Alma responds, but as it happens she initiates an insertion sequence, putting the question-answer pair initiated by Bayu on hold. This in fact begins a long and complex series of questions and comments from both Alma and Asmita about the location and nature of Bakso Balong Gede, after which they eventually agree they know which restaurant Bayu is talking about.

(10) Bandung: Cream Soup

- | | | | |
|---|---------|-----------------------------|-----------------|
| 1 | ASMITA: | ... <i>Bakso</i> | <i>itu teh?</i> |
| | | meatball.soup that PART.SUN | |
| | | ‘Are those bakso?’ | |
| 2 | BAYU: | <i>Bakso</i> | <i>semua.</i> |
| | | meatball.soup all | |
| | | ‘(It’s) all <i>bakso</i> .’ | |

- 3 .. *Yang paling enak tuh Balong Gede.*
REL super tasty that Balong Gede
'The tastiest is Balong Gede.'
- 4 ... *Lu udah pernah nyobain belum?*
2SG already ever try not.yet
'Have you ever it tried it or not?'
- 5 ALMA: *Apa?*
what
'What?'
- 6 BAYU: .. *Jadi kalau misalnya kamu ke alun-alun=.*
therefore if example.DEF 2SG to town square
'So if for example you (go) to the town square.'
- 7 ALMA: *Bakso apa?*
meatball.soup what
'What kind of bakso?'
- 8 BAYU: .. *Bakso Balong Gede.*
meatball.soup Balong Gede
'Balong Gede bakso.'

The key point of Excerpt (10) is that in the context of this conversation, *lu* indicates a recipient but does not nominate a specific addressee. But the nature of Indonesian person terms means that this is not always the case. The very general way that *you* works as a recipient indicator in English has to do with the fact that contemporary English by and large only has this one second person pronoun. The multiple forms of second person terms used by Indonesian speakers allow multiple possibilities for recipient indication, depending on specific contexts. Example (11) involves Asmita in a different situation from (10). In (11) she and Fakri have just met for the first time and at the point of this extract have been chatting and getting to know each other for several minutes. As new acquaintances, they use the more public and distancing first person form *saya*, and they avoid using explicit second person reference. During the excerpt in (11), Luki, a friend of Asmita's, has just walked up and begins talking to them. In line 1 Asmita says that she has just met Fakri and after some laughter Luki asks in a joking style whether he can meet Fakri too. In a deadpan response Fakri says that is fine, at which point Luki introduces himself by simply stating his name, a common form of self-introduction in Indonesian interaction. The somewhat unusual way that Luki orchestrated the introduction is highlighted by the ensuing laughter and Asmita's exasperated response in line 10. In line 11 Luki produces a sequence initiating action by asking a question using the second person pronoun *lu*. In Excerpt (10) *lu* was a recipient indicator which did not explicitly address either of the two possible recipients in that interaction. Here in Excerpt (11), the situation is quite different. Although

this is a three-party conversation, *lu* can only be interpreted as specifically addressing Asmita. As pointed out in Section 2, *lu* has entered colloquial Indonesian from Jakartan Indonesian and outside of Jakarta *lu* is often felt to be direct or abrasive. It is completely acceptable among close friends such as Luki and Asmita, who are used to exchanging *lu*. However in the context of (11), a university setting in a city other than Jakarta, it would be completely unacceptable between two people who have just met, especially in the case of some social hierarchical differences. This is the case with Luki and Fakri, where Fakri is a recent graduate and is senior to Luki, who is still an undergraduate. In this context the social indexicality of *lu* and the clear social relationships that hold among all the three speakers mean that *lu* used by Luki can only be interpreted as addressing Asmita and could not possibly address Fakri. This is confirmed for us by the fact that it is Asmita and not Fakri who responds. In Indonesian, the extent to which choice of second person pronoun can affect the specificity of address is highly context dependent. For example, Bayu, who used *lu* in (10), also uses a range of other address terms in that same conversation, but there he is changing terms for affective purposes and not to specify recipient. Such stance-taking outcomes of pronoun choice contrast with the situation in (11) in which the choice of pronoun explicitly aids recipient designation – that is address – in addition to other social indexical work the choice may do.

(11) Bandung: Just met

- 1 ASMITA: ..*Ini baru kenalan nih.*
 this just.now get.to.know this
 ‘(We’ve) just met here.’
- 2 @@@[@@].
- 3 FAKRI: [@@].
- 4 LUKI: <@ *Boleh kenalan juga gak @>?*
 can get.to.know. too NEG
 ‘Can (we) meet too?’
- 5 ASMITA: @@[@@@]
- 6 FAKRI: [*Boleh*].
 can
 ‘Yes.’
- 7 LUKI: *Luki.*
 Luki
 ‘(I’m) Luki.’
- 8 ASMITA: [@@@].
- 9 LUKI: [@@@].

- 10 ASMITA: *Dasar.*
 EXPLETIVE
 ‘Geeze.’
- 11 LUKI: *Lu ngapain di sini?*
 2s do.what at here
 ‘What are you doing here?’
- 12 ASMITA: *.. Hah?*
 huh
 ‘Huh?’
- 13 LUKI: *.. Ngapain?*
 N-do.what
 ‘What are (you) doing?’
- 14 ASMITA: *... Ada kerjaan sih=.*
 EXIST WORK PART
 ‘(I’ve) got some work to do.’

Structural aspects of Indonesian coalesce with the range of person reference forms available to create situations that can be indeterminate with regards to both reference and address. This is the case with Excerpt (12). Hana regularly uses kin term plus name rather than pronoun to refer to Lela when speaking to her, thus combining explicit address with second person reference. But because kin term plus name is also used for third person reference, *Teh Lela* in line 3 of (12) could be interpreted as either second or third person reference. *Teh Lela* could be interpreted as the second person subject of the stative verb *galau* ‘(be) confused’ and would thus also be accomplishing explicit address. But because this is multiparty conversation Hana could also be commenting about Lela to others in the group; that is, after Lela says she is confused, Hana could be laughingly reporting this to the others. The structure of Indonesian allows this alternative interpretation because, in the absence of any explicit evidence that Hana is speaking directly to Lela rather than to the group in general, *Teh Lela* could also be interpreted as the third person subject of *galau* ‘(be) confused’. Finally we can also note that the word order used by Hana can be interpreted as VERB-SUBJECT, but at the same time *Teh Lela* is in the same position within the intonation unit that a vocative would have. Because Indonesian speakers regularly employ allusive reference, another structural interpretation of line 3 is that Hana has left the subject unexpressed, but has chosen to add a vocative.

(12) Bandung: Chicken Foot Soup

- 1 LELA: *Galau.*
 confused
 ‘(I’m) confused.’

- 2 *Anggeur galau.*
 remain confused
 'I'm still confused.'
- 3 HANA: *Galau ... @ Teh Lela*
 confused older.sister.SUN Lilis
 'Teh Lela is / you are confused. (OR: (You're) confused, Teh Lela.)'

In Excerpt (12) part of the indeterminacy of address and reference has to do with the Indonesian practice of using proper names for second person reference in constituent positions. But even among speakers who regularly use personal pronouns for second person reference and restrict use of names to vocative position, structural indeterminacy can still occur. The speakers in Excerpt (13) use both *kamu* and *lu* for second person reference to each other. Names are used as vocatives. Both Amru and Wida are encouraging Rinal to finish off the last bit of the rice at a dinner they are hosting (as we have seen in previous examples) and lines 1 and 2 are examples of using name – in this case the short name *Nal* – as vocative. In line 6, the name *Wida* is structurally ambiguous between being a constituent and a vocative. The verb *ditambahin* 'add more' has P-trigger¹² morphology, which means that if an agent is explicitly expressed, it would normally occur in post-verb position. Such an analysis is possible for the structure of the utterance in line 6. P-trigger forms are also used in commands, in which case the agent would not be explicitly expressed. A command interpretation is also possible for line 6, in which case *Wida* is not the agent constituent of the clause, but is rather a vocative. This structural indeterminacy gives rise to interactional indeterminacy. In line 6 Amru can be heard as directing Weni to go ahead and serve Rinal the rice because he is refusing to take any more on his own. He could also be heard as telling Rinal that Wida is going to serve him the rice despite his refusal, which itself could be heard as an indirect directive to Wida. It is ambiguous who this line actually addressees.

Structural indeterminacy can lead to different interpretations of address, which in turn could lead to different interpretations of next speaker selection. Adding to this interactional complexity is the fact that in multi-party interactions, an utterance that is explicitly addressed to one party is still heard by others and they too may respond despite not being explicitly nominated as next speakers. This point is developed in more detail in section 6. Here we can see that both Wida and Rinal respond and that their responses do not help us disambiguate the structure of Amru's utterance in line 6. Wida will not serve the rice, saying that Rinal

12. In Indonesian (and other Austronesian languages), P-trigger constructions place the P, or most patient-like argument, in a privileged syntactic position (Cumming 1991). These are also sometimes called passive constructions, but we avoid this term because the functions of P-trigger constructions are very different from passives in a language like English.

can take it himself. This would be an appropriate response whether Wida heard line 6 as a direct imperative addressed to her or whether she (over)heard it as a statement to Rinal about what Amru wants her to do. For Rinal's part, he simply laughs, again a response that would be appropriate from him whether he heard Amru's utterance as addressed to him or to Wida.

(13) Bandung: Plush Toys

- 1 AMRU: ... *Ini Nal*,
this Nal
'Here Nal.'
- 2 WIDA: [*Abisin Nal*].
finsih Nal
'Finsih (the rice) Nal'
- 3 AMRU: [*apa gue*] .. *suapin?*
Q 1SG spoon.feed
'(Should) I spoon feed (you)?'
- 4 RINAL: *Kenyang*.
full
'(I'm) full.'
- .
- 5 @@@
- 6 AMRU: *Ini ditambah= Wida nih*.
this PASS-add Weni this
'Wida will give (you) some more (rice). / Give (him) some more (rice)
Wida.'
- 7 WIDA: *Eggak*.
neg
'No.'
- 8 *Dia ngambil sendiri nasinya*.
3SG take self rice-DEF
'He'll serve himself some rice.'
- 9 RINAL: @@@@

As Lerner (2003, p. 183) points out, a recipient designator like English *you* is generally combined with other contextual information, including explicit and implicit address cues, in order for address as well as reference to occur. This section has shown that contextual information is also crucial for both reference and address in Indonesian. Additionally we have shown that the way address and reference play out in these conversations is dependent on the affordances of Indonesian grammar and its system of person reference. This illustrates the language-specific nature of such processes of disambiguation and possibilities for indeterminacy.

6. Address does not always mean expected reciprocity

Work on turn-taking has shown that when a next speaker is selected, the preference is for selected speaker to respond. That is, in the kinds of examples we are examining here, when use of address terms and other explicit or implicit means of recipient designation select next speaker, the preferred outcome is for that selected speaker to respond. The previous sections have shown how this is accomplished in Indonesian, taking into account the relatively wide range of person terms available in the language. Stivers and Robinson (2006) discuss this preference in relation to a second preference in the organisation of conversation, the preference for progressivity. By progressivity, they mean “furthering the progress of the ongoing activity” (Stivers and Robinson 2006, p. 275). They show that when there is some problem with turn transfer such that selected recipient does not respond, it is common for a non-selected recipient to respond in order to allow interaction to progress in an orderly fashion. That is to say, the preference for progressivity wins out over the preference for selected-recipient response when the two preferences come into conflict. There are a range of possible ways that selected recipients may respond to questions, including answering or providing an account for not answering, and selected recipients tend to respond at the transition relevance place where turn transfer can occur unproblematically. In situations where non-selected recipients become next speakers, they almost always only provide answers and they do so not at the transition relevance place, but usually sometime after (Stivers and Robinson 2006, p. 375-376). These differences in how selected and non-selected recipients respond illustrate that “both selected next speakers and non-selected recipients are oriented to the primary rights and obligations of selected next speakers to respond to questions that select them” (Stivers and Robinson 2006, p. 378). Recognising that much of the work on non-selected recipient responses has been focused on English, Stivers and Robinson (2006, pp. 388-389) suggest that work on other languages will help us better understand the extent to which such preferences are universal or are contingent on linguistically and culturally specific concerns of speakers.

The small number of examples of non-selected recipients responding to a sequence initiating action in our Indonesian data suggest preferences similar to that described by Stivers and Robinson (2006)¹³. Excerpt (14) involves university students who aspire to study abroad and so are concerned with their TOEFL (standardised English language test) scores. In lines 1 and 2 Aina asks Hana whether she has passed the TOEFL (that is, received a high enough mark to be eligible for

13. It should be kept in mind that our data are between young adult peers conversing in causal situations. Turn allocation preferences in Indonesian may be affected by different social-cultural contexts, just as they might be in any other language.

international study). As is common practice for Rini, she uses kin title plus name, rather than second person pronoun, for constituent-position reference when speaking to Hana. Thus, as discussed above, this reference term simultaneously and unambiguously addresses her question to Hana.

(14) Chicken Foot Soup

- 1 RINI: *Teh* *Hana mah udah lulus ya?*
 older.sister.SUN Hana PART already pass yes
 ‘You’ve already passed right?’
- 2 *TOEFL-nya?*
 TOEFL-DEF
 ‘The TOEFL?’
- 3 ... (2.1)
- 4 HANA: [*Alhamdulillah ya*].
 thank.God yes
 ‘Thank God yes.’
- 5 AINA: [*Alhamdulillah ya*].
 thank.God yes
 ‘Thank God yes.’
- 6 RINI: *Teh* *Aina juga udah?*
 older.sister.SUN Aina also already
 ‘You’ve also already (passed)?’

The preference in such a situation would be for the selected recipient, Hana, to respond to Rini’s question and to do so at the transition relevance place with little or no pause. In this case, however, Hana does not immediately respond and after the extended pause in which Hana does not answer, the preference for progressivity in conversation takes precedence. At this point Aina responds to Rini’s question, and as it happens, Hana also finally responds and their responses are simultaneous and identical, both saying *Alhamdulillah ya* ‘Thank God yes’. What is interesting about this example is that Aina’s answer actually creates uncertainty. While being attuned to the preference of progressivity in conversation, Aina’s response raises other questions around rights and obligations of participants. Does Aina have privileged knowledge that allows her to speak for Hana, implying something like ‘Yes Hana passed’. Or does she take Hana’s delay in replying as an opportunity to say something about herself, something like ‘Well *I* passed’? Evidence that Rini is thrown off by Aina’s response is seen in line 6 where Rini asks whether Aina has also taken and passed the TOEFL. Rini’s question can be seen as an attempt on her part to resolve the situation by making relevant both the fact that Aina has responded and the content of that response.

In (14) the problem that allowed a non-selected recipient to respond was an extended pause; that is, selected recipient did not respond in a timely fashion. In (15) the problem is an inadequacy of the response by selected recipient, which does not move the conversation forward. Here a group of friends who have a pop-up business selling plush toys are discussing where and when they will next set up their stall. Wida suggests Saturday in line 5. Because Wida and Amru are a couple, Amru's use of the address term *sayang* 'sweetheart' as a vocative in line 7 indicates that his comment is clearly addressed to Wida. His comment provided a reason for why Saturday does not work for him, thus indirectly rejecting Wida's proposal. It would have been possible for Amru to direct this comment to the whole group, since all four participants (Wida, Amru, Asmita and Rinal) are involved in the project and his response is relevant to all of them. But Amru has chosen to explicitly address it to Wida. As discussed in section 3, use of an address term at the end of an utterance usually carries some form of stance-taking as well as indicating a recipient. In this case, it appears to imply that Wida should have already known this. Wida's response acknowledges this epistemic problem, recognising that she in fact did know Amru already has plans on Saturday. However, her response does not address the relevant issue of when they will set up their stall and so does not aid progressivity of the conversation. Despite being a non-selected recipient, Rinal responds at this point by offering Sunday as an alternative day. Rinal's decision to respond is in part due to the inadequacy of Wida's response to progress the conversation, and in part due to his own stake in the decision making process.

(15) Plush Toys

- 1 AMRU: ... *Setiabudhi?*
Setiabudhi (district in Bandung)
'Setiabudhi?'
- 2 .. *gimana?*
How
'How is (that)?'
- 3 ASMITA: ... *Hari?*
day
'(What) day?'
- 4 AMRU: ... *Hm=.*
hm
'Um.'
- 5 WIDA: *Sabtu.*
Saturday
'Saturday?'

- 6 AMRU: ... *Sabtu?*
Saturday
'Saturday?'
- 7 .. *kalau Sabtu ini aku .. survei sayang.*
If Saturday this 1SG conduct.survey love
'This Saturday I'm conducting a survey sweetheart.'
- 8 WIDA: [*Oh iya.*]
oh yes
'Oh yeah.'
- 9 AMRU: [*gak tau*] *gimana.*
NEG know how
'(I) don't know how (it would work).'
- 10 RINAL: *Ya minggu aja ya.*
yes Sunday just yes
'Ok (let's) just do it on Sunday.'

7. Conclusion

We have looked at Indonesian person terms in conversation, focusing primarily on second person expression in multiparty interaction and looking mainly at sequence initiating actions. Following Lerner (1996, 2003), we have shown how the referring and addressing functions of person terms emerge differentially in different contexts. In several places in this chapter, we have noted the similarities and differences between Indonesian and English conversations to highlight this point. Our findings could be fruitfully developed through research into the complexity of addressing and referring in other languages with similarly rich and varied practices of person reference, such as Lao or Vietnamese (see Enfield, 2007, and Sidnell and Shohet, 2013, respectively)).

We have made the following key points. Sequential placement of address terms is functionally important and explicit addressing with post-positioned terms in Indonesian, as in English, can do stancetaking work. We have also shown that for Indonesian, the importance of sequential placement extends to referring terms such as pronouns, with pre-positioning serving a summoning function and post-positioning indicating that some form of stancetaking is happening. In Indonesian, the choice of using long and short forms of a person's name, when the option exists, can also have interactional import, with short names regularly used for exhorting. We also identified a particularly strong strategy for exhorting in which the short name is doubled, usually across two intonation units, first pre-positioned and then post-positioned.

As with English, the use of second person pronouns in Indonesian can indicate a recipient without explicitly addressing one. However, the fact that Indonesian speakers have access to multiple second person terms means that in certain contexts second person reference can also achieve explicit addressing, either due to the use of name and/or kin term for second person reference or due to the particular social circumstances of an interaction, which mean that a certain second person pronoun can only refer to one of a several recipients. Other aspects of Indonesian grammar, such as the frequency of allusive reference and the flexibility of word order can mean that indeterminacy can arise in both the structure of an utterance and the social action an utterance is performing. Several points that have been developed in the literature regarding how person terms interact with processes of referring and addressing in English interaction are also relevant to the analysis of Indonesian conversation. We hope to have also shown that many of these also play out quite differently due to the particular affordances that Indonesian offers its speakers.

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Abbreviations

1	first person	PART	discourse particle
2	second person	LOC	locative marker
3	third person	NEG	negation
SG	singular	PASS	passive
PL	plural	POSS	possessive
APPL	applicative	REL	relative marker
ENG	English	REDUP	reduplication
JAV	Javanese	SUN	Sundanese

Transcription conventions

.	final intonation contour	..	short pause
,	continuing intonation contour	...	long pause
?	appeal intonation contour	...(2.3)	longer timed pause in seconds
@	one pulse of laughter	[ya]	brackets for overlapping speechXunclear
=	prosodic lengthening		

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Pronouns in affinal avoidance registers

Evidence from the Aslian languages (Austroasiatic, Malay Peninsula)

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Affinal avoidance registers are strategies of restrained linguistic conduct in relation to one's in-laws. Current theories are primarily concerned with two types of strategies: (1) taboos on uttering the proper names of affines, and (2) substitution of everyday words with dedicated parallel lexicon in the presence of affines (so-called "mother-in-law languages"). However, the role of pronouns has received limited attention. Here we explore little-known registers in the Aslian languages (Austroasiatic, Malay Peninsula), where dedicated pronoun paradigms take centre stage in communication with and about in-laws. We characterise and compare these closely related but internally diverse systems, situate them in their cultural contexts, and discuss their status in relation to current theories and typologies of avoidance and honorific registers.

Keywords: pronouns, affinal avoidance, Aslian languages, Austroasiatic, honorific and respect registers, "mother-in-law language", dual

Introduction

Affine avoidance in language

Affines are the relatives of one's spouse. The ethnographic literature frequently describes forms of restrained sociality whereby affines, or "in-laws", are associated with various types of avoidance behaviour (see e.g. Murdock 1971). Such avoidance can take the form of taboos against eye contact, body contact, direct transfer of objects, and direct oral communication between individuals in in-law relationships. Affinal avoidance can also have overt linguistic expression, and, in a recent typology, Fleming (2014) proposes a major distinction within such linguistically manifested in-law avoidance between "referentially based" and "interactionally

based” strategies. Referentially based strategies involve taboos on uttering the proper names of certain in-laws and, frequently, words which are phonetically similar to those names. These commonly documented strategies have a geographically and genealogically widespread distribution among the world’s languages (see also Fleming 2011). Interactionally based strategies involve categorical substitution of everyday words with a conventionalised set of avoidance lexicon in contexts where the speaker is in the presence of certain in-laws. Typical examples include the so-called “mother-in-law registers” described for a number of Australian languages (see e.g. Dixon 2010; Haviland 1979; McGregor 1989). Fleming (2014) concludes that, with few exceptions, interactionally based strategies are by and large exceptional to Australian languages.

Affine avoidance registers are sometimes described as a type of honorific system (Agha 1994). Indeed, in both cases, the relation between the speaker and another individual determines the speaker’s choice of linguistic form. However, Fleming (2014: 141, 146) distinguishes the two, establishing first of all that they handle two very different types of societal nexus: honorific registers build on “sociocentrically reckoned hierarchy” whereas avoidance registers are determined by “egocentrically reckoned affinity”. Furthermore, honorific registers are fundamentally *addressee*-focused; that is, their use is determined by the identity of the person addressed by the speaker. Affine avoidance registers can and do apply in such contexts as well, but they are also essentially *bystander*-focused, since their use is frequently conditioned by the identity of a person who is within earshot but not participating in the conversation.

The pivotal role of pronouns in honorific strategies is well-known (Agha 1994; Head 1978; Helmbrecht 2003, 2013). Indeed, they form a primary linguistic conduit for expressing social status among speech participants. As pointed out by Fleming (2014: 122), pragmatic variation in pronominal usage forms an integral part of many affinal avoidance registers as well. For example, Garde (2013: 179) describes how tabooed kin can be referred to indirectly by means of plural pronouns, alongside other strategies such as kinship verbs, circumlocutory descriptors, and dedicated pointing gestures in Bininj Gunwok. In Korowai (Stasch 2009: 86), avoiding pairs of mother-in-law and son-in-law refer to each other by means of plural pronouns as well as plural verb inflections, euphemistic plural expressions, and pluralised teknonyms. Less in evidence are affine avoidance registers in which pronominal substitution is the sole linguistic avoidance strategy, although Fleming (2014: 122) cites two examples which come close: Dhimal (King 2001) and Bear Lake Athabaskan (Rushforth 1981). The primary pattern in Dhimal is a shift in direct address between in-laws from first and second person singular pronouns to distinct forms historically derived from the plural equivalents (King 2001: 167–168). In Bear Lake Athabaskan, it is only the second person

singular which shifts to its plural equivalent in direct conversation between affines (Rushforth 1981: 28). In both cases, the strategies are restricted to direct address, which makes them functionally similar to honorific systems.

Aslian languages and cultures

In this chapter we explore affine avoidance and its linguistic manifestation in the Aslian languages, a branch of the Austroasiatic family spoken in the Malay Peninsula. These 20-odd languages offer an interesting environment for exploring the relationship between linguistic features and culture (Burenhult and Kruspe 2016). The languages are remarkable in that their speech communities, all of which represent minority groups, belong to either of three diverse societal modes and subsistence systems. Thus, according to a framework developed by Benjamin (1985), one group of Aslian languages is spoken by mobile subsistence foragers known as the Semang; another group is spoken by swidden horticulturalists called Senoi; and a third group is spoken by communities who subsist on collection of forest produce for trade called the Malayic cultural tradition. These three societal themes correspond to some degree to three genealogically defined subbranches of the Aslian language family: Northern, Central, and Southern Aslian, respectively.

Furthermore, the Semang, Senoi, and Malayic categories each display a distinct set of societal features and regulations pertaining to descent groups, basic social units of production, cousin marriage, social stratification, and cross-sex avoidance. We will here be concerned with the latter parameter. Distinguishing avoidance, joking, and restraint in relation to opposite-sex parent-in-law/child-in-law, sibling-in-law, and sibling, Benjamin's 1985 typology suggests that ethnolinguistic groups within the Semang sphere display the highest degree of avoidance, with strict rules against cross-sex interaction among all the kin categories in question. Senoi groups observe strict avoidance only for the parent/child-in-law relationship and restraint or joking in relation to the others. The remaining groups, mostly characterised as belonging to the Malayic sphere, do not observe any avoidance rules and display neutral or restraint relationships for all categories (Benjamin 1985: 252).

Most Aslian languages have rather elaborate systems of pronominal distinctions, and categories like duals, inclusive/exclusive opposition, gender, and familiarity are all represented within the group. Crucial to the topic of this chapter, several Aslian languages also have parallel sets of pronouns used for talking to and about in-laws, a category of kin associated with diverse linguistic and cultural expressions across the Aslian communities. Here we investigate the relationship between linguistic and cultural categories in the context of affine avoidance across six Aslian speech communities. As will become clear, the distinct sets of pronouns

form a primary linguistic channel through which affine avoidance is expressed. However, the systems are remarkably diverse in both form and function, and some communities do not partake in the avoidance ideology at all, as is also evident from Benjamin's 1985 typology.

From an areal point of view, the little-known Aslian affine avoidance registers form an island in what is otherwise a sea of well-described honorific systems in Mainland and Island Southeast Asia. For example, elaborate honorific registers have been documented in Standard Malay (McGinn 1991), Javanese (Errington 1988), and Thai (Kummer 1992), typically with prominent associated consequences for pronominal paradigms and usage. Although sharing this pronominal focus, the Aslian affine avoidance registers described here build on small-scale cultural and social frameworks which are distinctly different from those of the highly stratified majority societies. Kinship is the primary organisational framework in these largely egalitarian societies.

Affines and pronouns: evidence from six speech communities

In this section we describe in detail the cultural and linguistic aspects of affinal relations in six Aslian speech communities – Jahai, Ceq Wong, Semaq Beri, Semelai, Mah Meri, and Temiar. Focusing on pronominal systems, we situate each system against its cultural and linguistic backdrop in terms of kinship, behaviour, and ritual, in order to elucidate the underpinnings of pronoun usage and to explain the mechanisms behind the observed diversity in how affine relationships are given expression among the Aslian communities.

Our sample languages are diverse in relation to the societal categories and linguistic subgroups outlined in the previous section: Jahai is a Northern Aslian language spoken by communities of subsistence foragers classified as Semang; Ceq Wong is also a Northern Aslian language but spoken by a community with a mixed economy, sometimes classified culturally as Senoi; Semaq Beri belongs to the Southern Aslian subgroup and is spoken by subsistence foragers who are nevertheless conventionally classified as Mixed and not as Semang; Semelai and Mah Meri are also Southern Aslian languages but spoken by communities with mixed economies based on swidden cultivation and collecting-for-trade, classified as Malayic; Temiar is a Central Aslian language spoken by swidden horticulturalists classified as Senoi.

With the exception of the account of Temiar, which is based on Benjamin 1967, 1999, the descriptions build entirely on first-hand data collected by ourselves in the field over the past 25 years, much of which as recently as 2016–2017. The sample reflects our language expertise and, as noted above, conveniently spans all

three of the societal categories elucidated by Benjamin (1985), as well as the three genealogical subbranches of Aslian. However, in some cases, our analysis of avoidance at the community level contradicts Benjamin's typology, sometimes in rather significant ways, pointing to complexities in the classification (cf. Burenhult, Kruspe, and Dunn 2011). Since the main target of our study is a particular linguistic category and not the role of avoidance regimes in the larger cultural context, we will not elaborate on or attempt to explain these inconsistencies further here.

Before turning our attention to the individual speech communities, we should briefly summarise the relevant main characteristics of the Aslian kinship systems. In all of them, special affinal kin terms are distinguished only for three generations – namely, ego's, and the proximate ascending and descending generations. Across the Aslian languages, the set of affinal kin terms are generally simple, primarily distinguishing generation, and usually with just a single gender-neutral term – parent-in-law, child-in-law and sibling-in-law. The Central Aslian language Temiar, introduces various distinctions in ego's generation resulting in five referential terms for siblings-in-law (Benjamin 1999), while in Jahai, Temiar, Semaq Beri, Semelai, and Mah Meri some additional distinctions borrowed from Malay occur, such as co-parent, co-spouse, and spouses sibling's spouse.

The relatively simple sets of referential kinship terms belie complex categorical distinctions, based on relative sex and age that manifest in systems of affinal avoidance. Avoidance is expressed through proscribed behaviours, which, depending on the individual community, may extend to how one both refers to and addresses affinal kin. The diversity of practices will become apparent in the following descriptions of the six communities.

Jahai

The Jahai are a community of about 1,000 subsistence foragers, traditionally forming mobile bands in the mountain rainforests of the upper parts of the Peninsular Malaysian states of Perak and Kelantan, as well as adjacent areas of Thailand's Yala and Narathiwat provinces. Their language, also referred to as Jahai, belongs to the Northern Aslian subgroup of Aslian. Jahai is the only community in our sample which belongs to the Semang ethnographic category, a cluster of mostly Northern Aslian-speaking populations defined by their nomadism, hunting-gathering-based subsistence, and attendant societal features (Benjamin 1985; see Introduction).

The Jahai kinship system is based primarily on generational distinctions, which express six levels of generations, from great-grandparent to grandchild. Secondary distinctions encode the relative age of siblings in ego's generation and that of ego's parents, and gender in the parental and grand-parental generations as well as, vaguely, in the generation of ego's children. In accordance with the

Hawaiian type of system, the categories systematically include all collaterals: ego refers to cousins as ‘siblings’, to nieces and nephews as ‘children, offspring’ (and to their children as ‘grandchildren’), and to aunts and uncles as ‘mother’ and ‘father’.¹

Similar to the consanguine terms, affine categories encode generational distinctions but not gender or relative age. The following in-law categories exist: *knʔac* ‘parent-in-law’, *mʔsaw* ‘child-in-law’, *lamiy* ‘sibling-in-law’, and *bisen* ‘co-parent-in-law’ (i.e. a parent of ego’s child-in-law; this is an infrequent borrowing of Malay *bisan*, with the same meaning). As a consequence of the extension of terms to all collaterals in the same generation in the consanguine system, affine categories systematically include all such collaterals of the in-law. That is, you refer to your parent-in-law and all of his or her siblings and cousins as *knʔac*, to your child-in-law and all of his or her siblings and cousins as *mʔsaw*, and to your sibling-in-law and all of his or her siblings and cousins as *lamiy*.

The basic Jahai paradigm of personal pronouns distinguishes singular, dual, and plural number. First, second, and third person distinctions are made for singular and dual pronouns, whereas plural pronouns display a first vs. non-first distinction. Inclusion vs. exclusion of the second person is distinguished in first person dual and plural. Three degrees of familiarity/politeness are distinguished in second person singular. This results in a basic paradigm of twelve distinct pronominal forms (see Burenhult 2005: 83).

This basic system of pronominal meanings is employed to refer to and (in the case of second person forms) address consanguines as well as unrelated people. For affines, however, a different mapping of pronominal form to meaning applies (see Table 1). Here, a subset of the regular non-singular forms are used for reference and address. Thus, the second and third person form used for one’s parent-in-law is second/third person plural *gin*; for one’s child-in-law it is the third person dual *wih*; for one’s sibling-in-law the second person dual *jih* is used in second person and the third person dual *wih* in third. In this usage the forms are number-neutral – for example, *gin* is used for reference to one or more parents-in-law, *wih* for one or more children-in-law. The affine-specific pronominal paradigm maps exactly onto the lexical categories and associated referents of the kinship system. That is, usage of the in-law pronouns applies to all individuals covered by the corresponding affinal kinship terms, including the in-law’s collaterals in the same generation (siblings and cousins of parent-in-law, child-in-law, and sibling-in-law, respectively).

1. In the case of parents’ siblings, Jahai referential kinship terms are compounds in which the terms for ‘mother’ and ‘father’ modify the age- and (partly) gender-encoding forms for parent’s siblings, e.g. *beh ʔey* ‘younger.uncle father’, ‘younger uncle in the form of father’. The vocative equivalents only involve the latter forms: *ʔy beh!* ‘Hey, uncle!’.

Table 1. Jahai in-law pronouns

	Parent-in-law		Child-in-law		Sibling-in-law	
	Same-sex	Cross-sex	Same-sex	Cross-sex	Same-sex	Cross-sex
Address	<i>gin</i> '2/3PL'	TABOO	<i>wih</i> '3DU'	TABOO	<i>jih</i> '2DU'	
Reference		<i>gin</i> '2/3PL'		<i>wih</i> '3DU'	<i>wih</i> '3DU'	

Usage of in-law pronouns for the corresponding affinal relations is obligatory; it is taboo to apply the regular pronominal distinctions and doing so results in a much-feared state of ritual danger (see further below).

Among the Jahai, affinal relations are associated with an elaborate set of ritually determined rules of avoidance and restraint. The most prominent aspect of this regulation of behaviour is the far-reaching avoidance observed between a married person and his or her opposite-sex parent-in-law. A man and his mother-in-law, and a woman and her father-in-law, may not touch each other, look each other in the eyes, or give things to each other. Furthermore, they may not talk to each other or in other ways take part in the same conversation, nor point to, mention by name or otherwise make explicit reference to each other if they are within earshot of each other. If both are present under the same roof they withdraw to opposite ends of the building; if their paths are about to cross both make a circumambulating maneuver to avoid contact (lexicalised as a motion verb *liwɔr* 'to move around an obstacle').

In accordance with the kinship terminology, the avoidance rules apply to all same-sex collaterals of the in-law: a man avoids all female *knɔac* (his mother-in-law as well as her sisters and female cousins) and all female *mɔsaw* (his daughter-in-law as well as her sisters and female cousins); a woman avoids all male *knɔac* (her father-in-law as well as his brothers and male cousins) and all male *mɔsaw* (her son-in-law as well as his brothers and male cousins).

Same-sex parent/child-in-law relationships are also characterised by some behavioural restrictions. Communication between them is respectful and discreet, and vocatives and loud address are avoided. The appropriate way of referring to parents-in-law in their presence is in-law pronouns in combination with the terms for grandparents (*taʔ* 'grandfather' for father-in-law and *yaʔ* 'grandmother' for mother-in-law) and, correspondingly, to children-in-law with the term for grandchild (*kaɲcɔʔ*). This reference is appropriate also for opposite-sex in-laws who are present. For example, it is perfectly acceptable for a woman to refer discreetly to (but obviously not address) her father-in-law in his presence with the construction *gin taʔ* '2/3PL grandfather', and for him to refer to her by saying *wih kaɲcɔʔ* '3DU grandchild'. In the affine's absence, however, reference usually involves the in-law

pronouns in combination with the terms for man and woman; for example, a man will typically refer to an absent daughter-in-law as *wih k=babo?* ‘3DU REL=woman’.

The extension of kinship categories to all same-sex collaterals of the in-law also means that such consanguines sometimes enjoy behavioural liberties which do not apply to other community members. For example, while there is a taboo (called *tnla?*) for men against touching or sitting next to a woman if she is menstruating or has recently become pregnant, her husband and his brothers and male cousins (that is, her male *lamiy*) are exempted from this restriction. Consequently, by extension, the taboo also does not apply between these men and her sisters and female cousins, who are all each other’s *lamiy*. Furthermore, Jahai society encourages marriage to the former spouse of a divorced or deceased same-sex sibling.

The principles that regulate behaviour and communication between affines form part of a larger regime of beliefs associated with Karey, an essentially benevolent but much-feared superbeing who tends the Jahai world (Schebesta 1957).² Karey monitors everyday Jahai behaviour from his abode among the clouds, punishing human wrongdoing by sending violent thunderstorms, crippling afflictions, and physical pain. He perceives such wrongdoings with his eyes, ears, or nose, and Jahai principles of spatial, personal, and social behaviour are structured in ways that perceptually prevent attracting his curiosity and anger (Burenhult and Majid 2011). Breaking these principles results in one of a set of states of ritual danger, each of which has a lexical label and associates with a particular domain of offenses. Affine-related wrongdoings fall under a state of ritual danger labeled *tolah* (ultimately from Malay *tulah* ‘calamity’, ‘misfortune’, cf. sections on Ceq Wong and Semaq Beri below), which also applies to incestuous offenses. Punishment is meted out directly by Karey to the perpetrator(s); there is no judicial framework or institution in the human realm with the authority to punish.

According to Jahai belief, Karey’s visual and olfactory access to the community means that he can determine if people in an opposite-sex parent/child-in-law relation are within inappropriate proximity to each other. Similarly, his auditory access allows him to detect if in-laws behave towards each other in ways which are detrimental to their sensitive relationship. He will be enraged and unleash his punitive powers if in-laws’ names are called out, or if in-laws are addressed or referred to with the incorrect, regular pronouns. Interestingly, Jahai consultants assert that the dedicated in-law pronouns leave Karey unaware of, or confused as to, who is addressing or referring to whom. Rather than being polite forms which please Karey’s ears, the pronouns appear to serve as a vocative and referential smokescreen with the purpose of inhibiting Karey’s sensory access and avoiding

2. Although currently under pressure to convert to Islam or, to some extent, Christianity, most Jahai still commit to their traditional animistic belief system.

his attention altogether. This is in accordance with other ritual behaviour associated with Karey, which is all about manipulating the sensory relationship between him and the human realm (Burenhult and Majid 2011). Thus, the in-law pronouns ritually alleviate communication with and about a potentially contentious sector of one's kin, and at the same time they represent constant bolstering of this sector as an exceptional category. In the process, they provide linguistic reinforcement of the kinship system and its rules of behaviour.

The idea that the in-law pronouns disguise the real addressee or referent to Karey may go some way towards explaining why such pronouns are not unique forms but are drawn from the regular pronominal paradigm. Since they are common forms used for uncontentious addressees and referents, their adjusted meaning and reference do not draw unnecessary attention. The partial mismatch in number and person between regular and in-law pronoun usage further inhibits Karey's ability to successfully match his auditory and visual cues, making it harder for him to monitor communicative behaviour between affines. This hypothesised strategy of evasion becomes particularly apparent in the avoidance constructions involving in-law pronoun determiners in combination with kinship terms. For example, reference to a father-in-law as *gin taʔ*, '2/3PL grandfather' ('you/they grandfathers'), and the addressing of a child-in-law as *wih kaŋcɔʔ* '3DU grandchild' ('they.two grandchildren'), obscure the person and number as well as the generation of the intended individual.

Ceq Wong

The Ceq Wong are a small group of around 300 people resident in the forests of the southern slope of Gunung Benom in central Pahang state. The Ceq Wong speak a Northern Aslian language, like the Jahai (above), but unlike them, they are not considered part of the Semang hunter-gatherer cultural group. The Ceq Wong traditionally combined foraging forest products for both subsistence and trade, and low-level swidden cultivation.

Ceq Wong kinship is organised generationally, with a symmetric distinction of three levels each ascending and descending from ego's generation. All elder kin in ego's and the first ascending generation are distinguished for relative age, and in the latter there is an additional distinction for gender. A distinction between lineal and collateral kin is made in the terms for one's parents as opposed to their siblings, and for ego's children, who are distinguished from sibling's children.

Affinal terms are distinguished only in ego's, and in the proximate ascending and descending generations. There are no within-generation distinctions for age or gender – *klək* 'parent-in-law'; *bɛw* 'child-in-law' and *lah* 'sibling-in-law'.

The Ceq Wong pronominal paradigm distinguishes first, second and third person, and singular, dual and plural number (see Kruspe, Burenhult, and Wnuk 2015); there is no 2/3 person syncretism of plural forms present in some other Northern Aslian languages, see Jahai above. An inclusive/exclusive distinction is made in the first person nonsingular forms. A distinction in second person on the basis of familiarity/politeness, as reported for Jahai, has not been noted. In addition to the basic set of pronouns, there is a common second person address term *haʔ* ‘voc’; *haʔ* is never used referentially.

A subset of the regular pronouns are used with affinal kin (see Table 2). Second and third person plural forms replace the regular singular or dual forms, so that *jin* ‘2PL’ is used for a sibling-in-law, and *gən* ‘3PL’ for a parent-in-law, effectively neutralizing any number distinction. In addition, the first person plural exclusive *jaʔ* is used for self-reference in the presence of affines.

Table 2. Ceq wong in-law pronouns

	Ego	Parent-in-law		Child-in-law		Sibling-in-law	
		Same-sex	Cross-sex	Same-sex	Cross-sex	Same-sex	Cross-sex
Address	n.a.	<i>jin</i> ‘2PL’	TABOO	<i>jin</i> ‘2PL’	TABOO	<i>jin</i> ‘2PL’	
Reference	<i>jaʔ</i> ‘1PL. EXCL’	Regular 3SG	<i>gən</i> ‘3PL’	Regular 3SG	<i>gən</i> ‘3PL’	Regular 3SG	

Ceq Wong society is organised by complex sets of prohibitions, articulated through ritual embodied in the practices of daily life: cooking, hunting, interpersonal relations and so forth (Howell 1989). The prohibition, *tolah* is a collective of various proscribed behaviours that includes aspects of accepted social behaviour with one’s affinal kin, amongst other things (Howell 1989: 202–203; cf. Jahai above and Semaq Beri below). *Tolah* calls for reserved behaviour toward affines in general, and therefore applies to all in-laws, including one’s spouse. It strictly disallows any form of contact between cross-sex parents-/children-in-law – for example, sitting or sleeping in close proximity, drawing attention to each other, stepping across a body part, or directly addressing each other.

Restraint is required between cross-sex siblings-in-law, and all same-sex in-laws: they may speak to each other, but should monitor their behaviour. *Tolah* also dictates against the use of the usual terms of reference and address with one’s affinal kin. Personal names, second person pronouns, and the vocative *haʔ* ‘voc’ are either not used, or have restricted use with respect to one’s affines. Instead, one uses either a circumlocution, for example ‘X’s kin’, or an in-law-avoidance pronoun, as appropriate. Note that kin terms are not used as alternative address terms in Ceq Wong.

The strictest prohibition applies between cross-sex parent/child-in-law; but restrictions also hold with same-sex parents in-law, and with siblings-in-law. The pronominal *jin* ‘2PL’ is used to address kin with whom one is allowed a speaking relationship, while the third person plural *gən* ‘3PL’ is used in the presence of kin with whom one is not permitted to have a speaking relationship. Furthermore, acknowledging the reciprocity of one’s position as an affine, the speaker uses the first person plural exclusive *ja?* ‘1PL.EXCL’ in self-reference, instead of the regular first person singular pronoun (*ʔiŋ*) when speaking with, or in the presence of an affine. This is also attested in the neighbouring distantly related Aslian language Jah-Hut (Kruspe, field notes 2002).

In addition, the second person address term *ha?* ‘VOC’ cannot be used with either parent-in-law, but it may be used with same sex siblings-in-law. Restrictions on the usage of *ha?* ‘VOC’ are also attested with consanguineal kin: it is only used to address same sex kin in ego’s and ascending generations, but is used to address either gender in descending generations, for example an uncle addressing a niece.

A period of sustained unequal gender distribution, and a reluctance of people to marry out of the group, has impacted on the kinship system of this “micro” society. Consequently, the Ceq Wong have adopted endogamous marriage – including first cousin marriage. Once viewed as a form of incest (Needham 1956; Kruspe, field notes 2002), the latter is now a common form of union. Even in these circumstances, avoidance behaviour is adhered to – at the expense of alienating close kin to affinal status. This contrasts with prohibitions on address for consanguines which are no longer adhered to, for example the prohibition against uttering one’s parents’ names.

Tolah prohibitions are strictly adhered to; violation is considered a form of incest, especially in the most dangerous cross-sex parent- and child-in-law relations. The punishment for transgressing *tolah* is swelling (*swbh*) in the lower body, although where this originates from is unclear. None of the usual agents of retribution like *taŋko?* (the punisher of incest); the tiger, or the subterranean serpent are attributed as being responsible in the case of transgressions of *tolah*. In contrast, incest involving sexual contact (*taŋko?*) is punishable by the superbeing of the same name, who sends a crippling thunderbolt as a warning, and death to persistent perpetrators.

Semaq Beri

The northern subgroup of Semaq Beri (c. 365 speakers) have long ranged in an area straddling the upper reaches of the Tembeling, Terengan, Terengganu, and Lebir Rivers at the intersection of the states of Pahang, Terengganu and Kelantan. Up until approximately 30 years ago, the people were mobile hunter-gatherers.

Traditionally they maintained an egalitarian, band-based society, groups constantly forming and reforming as they moved about the forest and exploited resources. Such movements took place among their own bands, and neighbouring Aslian ethnic groups – primarily neighbouring groups of Batek – with whom they trace kinship relations. This constant state of flux remains a feature of life even in the resettlement village, and they continue to maintain strong links with the other hunter-gatherers with whom their traditional range intersected. Linguistically the Semaq Beri belong to the Southern Aslian branch (Kruspe 2015), along with Semelai and Mah Meri (see below); however, their subsistence mode and certain cultural traits, exhibited in their cosmology and social organisation are clearly Semang-like, although they have not traditionally been included in the Semang classification.

The Semaq Beri kinship system is organised generationally, with four generations each ascending and descending. Various in-generation distinctions are made with respect to lineality, age, and gender. In ego's generation there is no distinction between one's true siblings and cousins. In the first ascending generation one's parents are distinguished from their collateral kin, and in the first descending generation, ego's offspring is distinguished from a sibling's offspring. In all other generations, terms are extended collaterally. Relative age is distinguished for all elder kin in ego's and the first ascending generation, and all elder kin in ego's, and the first and second ascending generations are also distinguished for gender.

The set of affinal terms applies only to ego's, and the proximate ascending and descending generations, and there are no in generational distinctions – *rnɔp* 'sibling-in-law'; *knedaɹ* 'parent-in-law', and *kmpɔŋ* 'child-in-law', respectively. In all other generations the system reverts to the consanguineal terms.

The term *knedaɹ* 'parent-in-law' includes one's spouse's parents and all their collateral kin, however the descending term *kmpɔŋ* 'child-in-law' is restricted to the child's spouse, and is not applied to their siblings, in contrast to Jahai (above). However, a sibling's child's spouse is considered a child-in-law.

Bonds with affinal kin are considered as stable as consanguineal ones, and once established are never extinguished (see Benjamin 2001: 138 for Temiar). Therefore, a former spouse is still reckoned as kin, even though the union has effectively been dissolved, and there are terms for one's former spouse, and for a spouse's former or subsequent spouse. This inclusivity effectively rules out any of the kinsmen of a former spouse as a prospective spouse. The high incidence of multiple marriages in the community means that one's affinal kin encompasses an ever increasing array of individuals over one's lifetime.

The Semaq Beri pronominal paradigm distinguishes three persons, with an inclusive/exclusive distinction in first person. Number is distinguished for first and third person, but not second person. The presence of a gender distinction (*ja*

‘2SG.F’ and *he?* ‘2SG.M’) in the second person is unusual for an Aslian language. Typically for a Southern Aslian language, there is no dual category (Kruspe 2015).

The usage of personal pronouns as terms of address is highly restricted. Second person pronouns are only used with consanguineal kin in the same, or descending generations; elder consanguines are addressed with kin-based address terms or teknonyms. Among affinal relations, only those in the same generation with whom one is permitted a speaking relationship are addressed with a pronoun, in this case *gi* ‘3PL’. Spouses use a special vocative form *ʔoja?* to address each other, and never the regular pronoun or personal names.³ The pronominal pattern is illustrated in Table 3.

Table 3. Semaq beri in-law pronouns

	Parent-in-law		Child-in-law		Sibling-in-law			
	Same-sex	Cross-sex	Same-sex	Cross-sex	Same-sex		Cross-sex	
					Elder	Younger	Elder	Younger
Address	VOC	TABOO	VOC	TABOO	<i>gi</i> ‘3PL’		TABOO	<i>gi</i> ‘3PL’
Reference	Regular 3SG	POSS AFF	Regular 3SG	POSS AFF	Regular 3SG	POSS AFF	Regular 3SG	Regular 3SG

Prohibitions on interpersonal behaviour pertain to affines across all three generations, in the first ascending and descending generations – one’s parents-in-law and children-in-law – and in ego’s generation, with elder siblings-in-law, that is both one’s spouse’s elder siblings, and one’s elder siblings’ spouses. Avoidance prohibitions are strongest between opposite-sex affines from the ascending and descending generations; between an opposite sex parent and child-in-law. Elder cross-sex affines in ego’s generation are also included in this group. No direct contact should take place between them. They must not address each other directly, nor should they ever be alone together, walk or sit in close proximity, let their shadows fall across each other’s, hand something directly to each other, or have sexual relations. One can only refer to them with a kin term possessed by a third person pronoun or vocative, e.g. *gaʔu?* *ke* ‘his elder sister’, *kmpoŋ ʔi=baŋ* ‘the young male’s spouse’, as illustrated in the example *ʔibe?* *ke swak ga?* *hnān?* (father 3SG go to where) ‘Where is his [=my] father[-in-law] going?’.

With same-sex siblings-in-law and younger cross-sex siblings-in-law the rules of behaviour are relaxed – restraint rather than avoidance is practiced, allowing a speaking relationship. These affines are addressed with either the third person plu-

3. There is some variation, with some people reporting *ʔhe?* ‘male sibling-in-law’ as the term for husband (Kruspe, field notes).

ral pronoun *gi* '3PL', a teknonym, or special affinal vocatives, such as *ʔʔheʔ* or *ʔuy* for male-siblings-in-law, and *naliʔ* (from 'unrelated friend') for female siblings-in-law.

There is also a total ban on using an affine's personal name, which causes some degree of difficulty given that personal names are drawn from toponyms or plants, and the prohibition extends to the entity from which the name is drawn. Numerous examples are cited of how this has led to lexical change in the different Semaq Beri communities.

Consultants cite the fact that affinal relationships override consanguineal ones as the main deterrent to marrying consanguines. To marry a consanguine, one's kinsmen are effectively recategorised as affines, and the relevant prohibitions must be observed (Kuchikura 1987: 21). People are naturally reluctant to have to adopt the avoidance behaviour that this would entail, although instances where people disregard this are not unknown.

Prohibitions relating to address fall into a category called *tolah*, which regulates aspects of interpersonal behaviour (cf. Jahai and Ceq Wong above). The prohibitions operate between children and their elders, and reciprocally across all three generational levels of affinal relations, and include not uttering the personal name of anyone in an ascending generation, or using a second person singular pronoun to address them. Committing such acts has the potential to result in the person whom the act was directed at having an accident, and the transgressor facing a difficult death in the future, *hε ga=k^hbəs, beh jadiʔ* '(When) we are going to die, it won't happen (easily)'. It is not clear how the retribution is triggered, but it is not enacted by the thunder deity Karay.

The transgression of physical affinal prohibitions, like failing to avoid close proximity, arouses Karay's anger, and he sends a thunderbolt causing stones in the perpetrator's knees. These prevent one from being mobile, clearly a serious predicament for someone engaged in a mobile subsistence mode.

Semelai

The Semelai live in the southwestern corner of the state of Pahang and neighbouring Negeri Sembilan, around the Bera, Serting and Teriang River systems. They formerly divided their time between swidden rice growing and collecting forest produce for trade. Most are now engaged in small holding cash-cropping. The language belongs to the Southern branch of Aslian.

The Semelai system has asymmetric generations: five ascending and four descending. Consanguineal kin terms distinguish gender in ego's and the first three ascending generations, but not in descending ones. Relative age is distinguished only in ego's generation. In the first ascending and descending generations, lineal kin are distinguished from collateral kin.

Affinal kin terms only apply to ego's and the two proximate generations. Terms are extended to include the affines of ego's collateral kin, so that one's sibling's child's spouse is also considered a *knyrupuŋ* 'child-in-law'; however, one's true parents-in-law *mntuhv?* (from Malay *mentua*) are distinguished from their siblings (*mntuhv? svj dawon* (parent-in-law tip leaf)) – a distinction which has a behavioural correlation. Relative age of siblings-in-law (*ɔipar* from Malay *ipar*) is distinguished: an elder sibling-in-law is *ɔipar gdo* (sibling-in-law be.old), while a younger sibling is *ɔipar knkɔn* (sibling-in-law child). The distinction has behavioural consequences, discussed below. A sibling-in-law's spouse is one's *biras*, from Malay *biras* 'to be connected by marriage, as two women who have married brothers' (Wilkinson 1932). The infrequent term *besan* child-in-law's parent (from Malay *besan*) only refers to the parents and not their collateral kin. In a marked difference from the Semaq Beri, affinal kin relations are dissolved following the ending of a marriage, whether it is the result of the death of one party or separation, and it is formally acknowledged in a process called *ɔyot taryot* (return CAUS-return).

In Semelai free pronouns are distinguished for person, number, clusivity, and deference, although none of these categories applies across the full paradigm (Kruspe 2004). The first person singular form is *ɔɔŋ* '1SG'. There is an inclusive/exclusive distinction in the non-singular forms: exclusive *yɛ* and inclusive *hɛ* which maximally include two persons, and *yɛ=ɔen* and *hɛ=ɔen* for an augmented number of people. The second person pronouns are: *kv* '2SG', and *ji* and *je=ɔen* '2PL'. In the third person there is a simple number distinction between singular and plural, *kəh* '3SG' and *deh* '3PL'.

First and second person singular forms are also distinguished for deference. Deference is based on the relative age and familiarity of the speaker and addressee and usually operates reciprocally. The regular first person singular forms *ɔɔŋ* '1SG' and *kv* '2SG' are substituted by the non-singular *yɛ* '1EXCL', and second person *ji* '2SG' forms. The familiar terms are used only with consanguineal kin in the same and descending generations. There are derived reciprocal verb forms – *b-kv-kv* 'to address each other in the familiar form', and *b-yɛ-yɛ* 'to use *yɛ* in self-reference with someone'. While elder consultants say that deferential pronouns should be used with anyone in an ascending generation, related or otherwise,⁴ usage differs widely within the community, and they are rapidly falling into disuse.

Semelai lacks the kinds of affinal avoidance and accompanying systematic use of specialised pronominal forms or vocatives for referring to and addressing affinal kin, described for the closely-related Southern Aslian Semaq Beri, and the more distantly related Northern Aslian languages outlined in the preceding sections.

4. The Semelai consider that they are all ultimately related.

In the past, one was not permitted to directly address one's parent-in-law, and instead the third person singular pronoun *kəh* '3SG' was employed when speaking in their company. The third person usage did not extend to a parent-in-law's siblings. The restraint was not reciprocal, so that a parent-in-law could directly address the child-in-law, usually with their birthorder name. However this very mild form of restrained behaviour and use of the third person is no longer practiced, and instead people now use the person's birth order *paŋelan*, or a euphemism like *gdo* 'to be old', but generally avoiding the use of a pronoun. This also holds for the parent-in-law's collateral kin. In addition to parents-in-law, there is a restriction with regards to terms of address of a spouse's elder siblings (*zipar gdo*) and their collaterals. They must not be addressed with the familiar second person pronoun *kv* '2SG', unlike one's own siblings; a *paŋelan* or the deferential *ji* are used. In the presence of all elder affines one uses the first person exclusive form *ye* in self-reference. Younger siblings-in-law, may be addressed with *kv* '2SG', like ego's own siblings. The use of personal pronouns, however, is generally avoided in favour of address terms based on birthorder or nick-names, as appropriate.

Interpersonal behaviour, like other aspects of Semelai society, is articulated through various prohibitions. Uttering one's parents' names is prohibited by the behavioural constraint *ma=tulah*. Addressing someone incorrectly also falls under this prohibition. The retribution for transgressing *ma=tulah* affects the reproductive organs, resulting in *typ burut* 'swollen scrotum' in males, and *ktet* 'to suffer uterine prolapse' in females.

Mah Meri

Mah Meri belongs to the Southern branch of Aslian, like Semaq Beri and Semelai. It is spoken in remnant pockets along the southwestern coast of the state of Selangor. The variety discussed here is spoken in a village of approximately 600 people in the Sepang district. The total population is around 3,000. The Mah Meri were originally animistic swidden horticulturalists and shoreline foragers. Engulfed by urbanisation and mainstream society over the last six decades, they now exist predominantly as small holding cash-croppers, or unskilled laborers in the rural and urban sectors, and have increasingly adopted mainstream religions.

The kinship system is ordered generationally into four ascending and descending generations. Various secondary distinctions are made, although typically none apply uniformly across all generations. Gender is distinguished in the first and second ascending generations, and in ego's generation for elder siblings. Most consanguineal kin terms are extended to include collateral kin, however lineal and collateral kin are distinguished in the proximate generations, again a

variation from the true Hawaiian type. Ego's siblings (including cousins) are also distinguished for age.

The Mah Meri distinguish one's consanguineal kin (*ʔɔpɔh*) from affines. The affinal kin terms are all loanwords from Malay. Notably, the categories are not extended to include the affine's collateral kin. Affinal terms are found in the proximate ascending and descending generations, *məntuwə* 'parent-in-law' from Malay *mentua*; *nantuʔ* 'child in-law' from Malay *menantu*, and in ego's generation, *ʔipa* 'sibling-in-law' from Malay *ipar*. Co-parent-in-law is *besət* from Malay *besan*.

The Mah Meri pronominal paradigm distinguishes three persons. A number distinction is made for first person, but not for second or third. In contrast to other Aslian languages, there is no inclusive/exclusive distinction in first person (see Kruspe 2010). The pronouns are unrestricted in their usage as terms of reference and address, so that notably, unlike the languages described above, there is no specialised usage of pronouns for any affinal kin at all.

The absence of specialised affinal pronouns is matched by an absence of any restrictions on behaviour that set affinal kin apart from one's consanguines: parents in-law are referred to and addressed as *ʔamaʔ* or *bapaʔ*, like one's own parent's, and respectful behaviour towards them is similarly regulated by the general prohibition *tolah* 'respect toward elders', that includes not uttering a parent's name or entering into conflict with them.

Temiar

Spanning more than half a century, the large body of work on the Temiar by anthropologist Geoffrey Benjamin constitutes our most profound source of knowledge about any Aslian-speaking society. Drawing on Benjamin's accounts, we will here only briefly distill the insights of most relevance to the core concerns of this chapter, mainly from Benjamin 1967, 1999. The Temiar are a group of about 25,000 swiddeners belonging to the Senoi cultural regime and inhabiting the mountainous interior of the Malaysian states of Perak and Kelantan. They speak a Central Aslian language, the only such language in our sample.

Like several other Aslian speech communities, the Temiar observe elaborate rules of avoidance and restraint in relation to affinal kin (Benjamin 1967: 10–13). Complete verbal and physical avoidance applies between a person and his or her opposite-sex parent-in-law. They may live in the same house but have to communicate through intermediaries. One is allowed to interact with one's same-sex parent-in-law, but it is an unequal relationship characterised by considerable respect. Parents-in-law are referred to as *bəlɔʔ*, children-in-law as *mensaaw*. The relationship between opposite-sex siblings-in-law, *mənəəy*, is very relaxed, to the point that they have sexual access to each other and are each other's preferred

partners for a second marriage (cf. Jahai), and is characterised by joking. In the case of same-sex siblings-in-law, Temiar displays a pattern which is unattested in the other communities of our sample. With same-sex siblings-in-law who are younger than one's spouse (female *mənəy*, male *mənaay*), a person has a non-joking, cooperative and equal relationship. With those who are older than one's spouse, however, the relationship is similar to that with a same-sex parent-in-law, that is, unequal and respectful. By this category of sibling-in-law one is referred to as *mensaaw*, just as one is by a same-sex parent-in-law. A man refers to such siblings-in-law as *kənooj*; a woman refers to them as *mənɔʔ*.

These relationships and their characteristics of restraint are perfectly echoed in the pronominal distinctions employed to address affines (see Table 4). Thus, same-sex parent-in-law and child-in-law address each other reciprocally with the second person plural pronoun *ɲɔb*, as do a person and his or her same-sex sibling-in-law older than spouse. With same-sex siblings-in-law who are younger than one's spouse one uses reciprocally the second person dual pronoun *kəʔan*. Finally, befitting the relaxed nature of their relationship, opposite-sex siblings-in-law do not address each other with dedicated affine pronouns but use the second person singular of the standard paradigm, *hāāʔ*. In Benjamin's analysis, this gradation between singular, dual and plural pronouns marks a cline of interactional distance between affines (Benjamin 1999: 13).

Table 4. Temiar in-law pronouns

	Parent-in-law		Child-in-law		Sibling-in-law		
	Same-sex	Cross-sex	Same-sex	Cross-sex	Same-sex		Cross-sex
					Elder	Younger	
Address	<i>ɲɔb</i> '2PL'	TABOO	<i>ɲɔb</i> '2PL'	TABOO	<i>ɲɔb</i> '2PL'	<i>kəʔan</i> '2DU'	Regular 2SG
Reference	Regular 3SG	<i>ʔun</i> '3PL'	Regular 3SG	<i>ʔun</i> '3PL'	Regular 3SG		

Benjamin (1999: 13) also briefly describes reference by means of complex third-person expressions to in-laws with whom one is not allowed to speak, especially when such in-laws are within earshot. For example, reference to a bystanding opposite-sex parent-in-law involves the third person plural pronoun in expressions like 'they big ones'.

The Temiar kinship system, like all Aslian systems, is similar to the Hawaiian type and involves classificatory extension of kinship categories to collaterals. As in the case of Jahai above, the avoidance rules and their associated expressions in the Temiar language similarly extend to the avoided individual's siblings and cousins (Benjamin 1999: 10–11).

As far as religious beliefs are concerned, the ritually most significant principle is the complete avoidance of one's opposite-sex parent-in-law. Transgression of this rule is believed to result in "dangerous automatic supernatural sanctions of usually unspecified nature" (Benjamin 1967: 10).

Discussion

Affinal avoidance is a fundamental cultural feature of four of the six Aslian speech communities examined in this chapter. The Jahai, Ceq Wong, Semaq Beri, and Temiar share a regime of principles which regulate and restrict behaviour and interaction in relation to affinal kin, among them a relationship of strict reciprocal avoidance between opposite-sex parents- and children-in-law. These principles are firmly anchored in the respective belief system of each group. Among the remaining two communities, the Semelai exhibit a mild form of asymmetrical restraint applying to interaction with one's parents-in-law (of either sex); the Mah Meri do not display any restrictions that set affines apart from other kin. This distinction between strict avoidance systems and more relaxed ones partly transcends cultural and linguistic boundaries. In the context of the cultural spheres established by Benjamin (1985), avoidance is observed among members of both the Semang and Senoi (Jahai and Temiar, respectively), as well as one of those of the Malayic tradition (to which the majority of the Semaq Beri but not our subgroup conform). Similarly, in relation to the primary subsistence mode of the communities, avoidance is observed among subsistence foragers (Jahai, Semaq Beri) and others (Ceq Wong, Temiar) alike. As far as linguistic subgroupings are concerned, it is noteworthy that the Southern Aslian clade contains speech communities which either observe avoidance (Semaq Beri) or not (Semelai, Mah Meri).

The linguistic manifestation of affine avoidance takes a variety of forms among the Aslian-speaking communities, forming a bundle of strategies. Such strategies include pronominal and vocative substitution, naming taboos, and more or less conventionalised circumlocutory descriptors (such as kin term substitution). Importantly, all such strategies are restricted to reference to or addressing the relevant participants, that is, to the affines themselves. For example, although Aslian languages have rich avoidance lexica, for example terms for plants and animals in the context of foraging (Matisoff 2003: 49–50), the languages examined here do not provide evidence of the kind of lexical substitution which characterises avoidance registers of the Australian type (cf. Fleming 2014). Furthermore, unlike the Australian "mother-in-law registers", Aslian avoidance strategies are not primarily conditioned by the interactional role of the avoided affine as bystander. Instead they apply to any reference, whether directly to an affine addressee or indirectly

to one who is either a bystander or not present. This makes them similar to the widely documented referentially based strategies involving taboos on uttering the proper names of in-laws (Fleming 2011, 2014). Indeed, their employment of pronominal substitution and other conventionalised descriptors may be considered to be an expansion and elaboration of such strategies. However, these particular categories of reference also make the Aslian strategies similar to the Australian avoidance registers in that they, unlike avoidance restricted to a naming taboo, involve a conventionalised substitution of everyday linguistic forms which applies to the speech of any member of the community, given the right interactional circumstances. Thus, to some extent, the Aslian avoidance strategies can be argued to exhibit key characteristics of both “referentially based” and “interactionally based” systems, thereby complicating the fundamental distinction between the two proposed by Fleming (2014).

Affine paradigms: similarities and diversity in categorial strategies

Turning to the specific pronominal in-law paradigms, we observe some interesting similarities as well as differences among our sample. First of all, it is clear that, in all of the languages that employ pronoun substitution for affine reference and address, the systems are not merely an ad hoc or fluid strategy of avoiding the ordinary pronominal forms. The in-law pronouns form dedicated parallel paradigms whose fixed forms are rigidly applied to specific kin relations by all members of the respective community. As such, they constitute a primary linguistic and categorial consolidation and vehicle of the principles of community relationships, on a par with the paradigms of honorific pronouns described for other languages. Another feature that the systems have in common is the employment of existing pronominal forms from other parts of the standard paradigm, typically non-singular and non-first person forms. This is in accordance with a pattern which is well-documented cross-linguistically in both honorific and affine avoidance pronouns (Brown and Levinson 1987: 198; Head 1978: 156–167; Helmbrecht 2003).

However, although the main strategy of drawing on non-singular forms is common to most of the Aslian affine paradigms, the specific categorial solutions employed in each language differ rather markedly. These differences concern the number of forms used, as well as which number and person distinctions are sourced and targeted. Among the paradigms, Semaq Beri has the most minimal system in terms of source forms, employing the third person plural *gi* for address of all affines to whom one is permitted to speak (but recall that second person address involves a set of dedicated non-pronominal vocatives). Ceq Wong similarly draws on the plural paradigm but maintains the second/third person distinction in the form of *jin* ‘2PL’ and *gən* ‘3PL’, respectively, for each category of in-law. In

Jahai things get more complicated. For a parent-in-law, a Jahai speaker uses the non-first person plural pronoun *gin* (recall that second and third person plural are collapsed in the standard paradigm); for child-in-law the third person dual *wih* is sourced for both second and third person; for sibling-in-law the second and third person duals are used and thus the person distinction of the standard paradigm is maintained. Temiar employs the second person plural *ɲɔb* for address between a person and his/her same-sex parent-in-law as well as same-sex elder sibling of spouse, that is, wife's older brother or husband's older sister; the second person dual *kəzan* is used between a man and his wife's younger brother and between a woman and her husband's younger sister. In reference, the third person plural *zun* and dual *wəh* are used among these same relationships.⁵

The use of dual distinctions in Jahai and Temiar is significant, since this is a cross-linguistically unusual phenomenon in both avoidance and honorific paradigms. Occasional reports hint at similar strategies elsewhere: Santali, a distantly related Austroasiatic (Munda) language of India, employs the second person dual for address between a parent-in-law and child-in-law (Ghosh 2008: 33, 86–87, cf. McPhail 1953: 23). Further afield, Wuvulu (Austronesian, Papua New Guinea) is reported to use the second person dual for address between all affines (Hafford 2014: 60). Among honorific pronominal paradigms more generally, duals are put to use in languages like Kharia and Mundari (Peterson 2014: 102–105) as well as Tuvaluan (Besnier 2000: 388–389) (cf. the typology of Head 1978: 157–158).

Among our Aslian sample it is noteworthy that Ceq Wong does not make use of dual distinctions for affines, despite the fact that it has such distinctions in its standard paradigm (unlike Semaq Beri and Semelai) and is the closest relative of Jahai, again pointing to the diversity of solutions in the group.

Two additional, isolated features deserve mentioning. One is the Ceq Wong use of the first person plural exclusive *jaʔ* for self-reference when speaking with or in the presence of an affine. Reported also for the little-known Aslian neighbour Jah Hut, this is an unusual feature in Aslian (Kruspe, field notes).⁶ The second feature is the employment in Semelai of the third person singular form *kəh* for addressing a parent-in-law. These features in Ceq Wong and Semelai are the only examples in our sample of affinal pronouns drawn from first person and singular

5. Employment of plural and dual distinctions akin to that in Jahai and Temiar appears to occur in Kensiw, a close Northern Aslian relative of Jahai, as can be gleaned from a partial description by Bishop (1996: 250). The avoidance ideology and incest taboos appear particularly far-reaching among the Kensiw, where even cross-sex sibling-in-law avoidance is observed, as described in detail by Nagata (2010).

6. Similar use of the first person dual exclusive is reported for distantly related Santali (Ghosh 2008: 33). See King (2001: 168) for an example from unrelated Dhimal.

forms, respectively. They are also functionally rather remarkable, since they represent pronominal reference which unusually does not apply in the absence of the affine referred to. They are therefore more fundamentally conditioned than other Aslian usage by the bystander role of the affine, which makes their interactional properties more similar to those of the avoidance registers described for Australian languages.

Systemic similarities and differences

Beyond the pronominal categories themselves, the languages also diverge in terms of the more systemic properties of the paradigms. Three patterns will be outlined here. The first one is a difference between systems as to whether pronominal forms are symmetrical between affine relations or not. In Ceq Wong, address and reference are symmetrical in the sense that the limited set of affine pronouns is used in the same way by all affines – for example, a parent-in-law addresses a child-in-law of the same sex with the second person plural, and refers to the same with a third person plural, and vice versa. Temiar also displays symmetry, whereby, for example, a man and his wife's elder brother both address each other with the second person plural, as do same-sex parents-in-law and children-in-law. This symmetry suggests that the pronouns primarily invoke the mutuality of the relationship in terms of a specific “distance” (or “bond”, for that matter) between a particular pair of affines (cf. Benjamin 1999: 12–13), and not the categorial identity of the participants as such. This is very different from Jahai, where only siblings-in-law address and refer to each other with the same pronouns (second and third person dual) whereas the parent-in-law/child-in-law relationship is pronominally asymmetrical: a parent-in-law addresses and refers to a child-in-law with the third person dual, but a child-in-law addresses and refers to a parent-in-law with the non-first person plural. Thus the Jahai forms much more clearly encode the categorial identity of the participants and their mutual roles, and not just the mutuality of the relationship in terms of “distance” or “bond” between a pair of affines. A similar type of asymmetry meets us in Semaq Beri. Here third person reference to an in-law is universally expressed with the third person plural pronoun, but second person address obligatorily involves dedicated vocatives which are specific to each affine category. Although a different form class, they are similar to the Jahai pronominal equivalents in that they encode the affinal category of each participant. It is interesting to note that the asymmetrical systems identified here are found in those two languages of our sample which are spoken by subsistence foragers; the significance of this observation remains unclear. It should be noted that a distinct type of non-reciprocity applies to Semelai, where a child-in-law addresses a parent-in-law with

the third person singular pronoun but the parent-in-law uses the standard second person singular back.

The second pattern concerns the extent to which the use of affine paradigms corresponds to kinship terminologies, and specifically whether in-law pronoun use is restricted to descriptive relations or extends to include classificatory relations such as collaterals to whom in-law kinship terminology applies. Jahai stands out as a particularly clear example of systematic mapping of pronominal use (as well as rules of behaviour) onto all of an affine's collaterals to whom the particular kinship term applies. The pronoun employed for addressing and referring to one's spouse's parent also applies to a sibling or cousin of that parent, who is nominally also a *knʔac* 'parent-in-law'; the pronoun employed for addressing and referring to one's child-in-law extends to his or her siblings and cousins, also nominally *mʔisaw* 'child-in-law'; and so on. The Temiar system operates according to the same principles (Benjamin 1999: 5, 12), as does the Semaq Beri one. (Ceq Wong displays a similar classificatory system and extensions of kinship terminology but their relationship with affine pronoun usage remains unexplored). This close categorial shadowing of the classificatory relations and associated extensions of behaviour of avoidance or restraint by the in-law pronouns underscores their role as integral components and expressions of the Aslian ideologies of affinity.

The third pattern concerns those affine relationships which in most of our sample communities are subject to complete avoidance (opposite-sex parent-in-law and child-in-law avoiding each other). The systems vary as to how and under which interactional circumstances such an affine can be referred to, but Semaq Beri is noteworthy in this respect because here avoided affines cannot be referred to pronominally at all. This comes across as an extreme feature in Aslian. Pronoun avoidance in address is a well-known phenomenon, especially in the honorific registers of East and Southeast Asia (Helmbrecht 2003: 197–198, 2013), but pronoun avoidance in reference (even in the absence of the person referred to) may be cross-linguistically unusual.

Ritual aspects

Although there is no room here to thoroughly compare and account for the ritual ecologies of the Aslian in-law pronouns, a few observations are worth mentioning. In all of the affine-avoiding societies of our sample, the in-law pronoun paradigms and their use are deeply engrained in the ritual behaviour impelled by the local belief systems. Transgression of taboos on affine interaction, including the improper use of pronouns, results in much-feared states of ritual danger and a genuine belief in inevitable supernatural punishment. The source and nature of supernatural retribution varies between the communities. Among the Jahai, bodily punishment

in the form of crippling diseases is meted out by the thunder-causing superbe-ing Karey. Among the Ceq Wong, Semaq Beri and Temiar, punishment involves abstract supernatural forces triggered by transgressions and resulting in specific types of bodily harm: the Ceq Wong believe it involves a swelling of the lower body, the Semaq Beri an imminent accident or a difficult death.

Consultants mostly do not justify adherence to the principles of restrained affine sociality in terms of politeness, respectfulness, or discreetness towards the affines as such. Indeed, the restrictions typically apply even if no affine addressee or referent is present. Nor do they rationalise it in terms of communal pressure for appropriate social behaviour, or of risk of embarrassment or loss of face in front of community members. So, superficially at least, Aslian affine avoidance does not give the impression of being an interactional strategy for preventing threats to the face of the human participants. This makes the Aslian in-law pronouns somewhat difficult to reconcile with the proposal by Brown and Levinson (1987: 198) that non-singular marking of single participants in honorific and respect registers is aimed at avoiding threats to the addressee's face. Recall here the explanation by Jahai consultants that pronoun substitution has the purpose of avoiding arousing Karey's suspicion and wrath. The belief systems and their principles ultimately structure behaviour and communication among humans, but it is evident that, in the minds of Aslians, the primary target audience of affinal etiquette are not the community members themselves but ever-present abstract forces or invisible bystanders from the supernatural realm.

Conclusions

This study has examined the linguistic and cultural expression of affine avoidance in the Aslian speech communities, with particular attention to the role of pronouns. Here we summarise our main findings.

The Aslian languages offer features of interest to the general typology of affinal avoidance systems in language. One striking characteristic is the propensity of their strategies to cross-cut distinctions deemed fundamental to previous theorisation of such systems. For example, Aslian strategies cannot be described as being primarily *addressee*-focused, *referent*-focused, or *bystander*-focused (cf. Comrie 1976; Fleming 2014: 120), because their linguistic solutions handle all three types of context and none can be determined to be more dominant or fundamental than the others. They also do not conform straightforwardly to the distinction between *referentially-based* and *interactionally-based* systems (Fleming 2014), again because they exhibit attributes of both types. They also fail to align with Fleming's strict division of the linguistic specialisation of affine avoidance strategies into *proper*

name avoidance and *lexical substitution* of the “mother-in-law register” type, since neither of those strategies forms the core of the Aslian systems. Furthermore, although solely and profoundly conditioned by “egocentrically reckoned affinity” and not “sociocentrically reckoned hierarchy” (Fleming 2014: 141), the Aslian systems blur the distinction between affine and honorific registers in that their strategies of pronominal substitution, with non-singular forms applied to single individuals, seem taken from the honorifics textbook.

What we are dealing with is a family of systems employing bundles of linguistic strategies to represent affinal kin, be they addressees, bystanders, or (in some cases) absentees. These strategies include dedicated paradigms of in-law pronouns, specific vocatives, proper name avoidance, and circumlocutory kinship and possessive expressions. However, the pronominal paradigms are at the heart of the systems and are, in a sense, what defines them as a type. This is because the in-law pronouns form the most pervasive and stable strategy across the languages, and because they are that linguistic category which maps on to the participant roles of both addressee and referent in the most overt and saturated way (unlike name avoidance and vocatives, for example). In other words, they form our foremost linguistic access point to the affinal avoidance ideology of the communities.

At the same time, we have seen that the Aslian systems are internally diverse. The pronominal solution is categorially different in each language, in terms of how many categories are involved and which distinctions are employed. The languages also diverge as to whether pronominal forms are used reciprocally and symmetrically between two affines, or if two different forms are used asymmetrically. The sample further hints that languages can vary as to whether or not the usage of in-law pronouns maps onto kinship categories in the descriptive or classificatory sense. In these respects the Aslian systems form a rich typological microcosm, and they highlight formal and functional parameters along which other systems may be fruitfully explored.

The diversity of affine avoidance registers in Aslian, as well as their absence from some of the languages, reflects the rich cultural diversity observed among the Aslian-speaking communities. However, the cultural correlates are far from obvious. Established societal classifications (Benjamin 1985) do not associate neatly with the categorial patterns observed in the languages, which also do not align with the genealogical classification of the languages into a Northern, Central, and Southern subgroup. Instead, linguistic solutions appear to be largely tailored to the societal and cultural characteristics of each individual ethnolinguistic community in ways which remain largely unexplored.

One cultural distinction inherent to our sample calls for some discussion. The societal and demographic characteristics of hunter-gatherers are sometimes hypothesised to have linguistic correlates, for example in patterns of language change

(Bowern 2010; Burenhult, Kruspe, and Dunn 2011), or in the semantic strategies within specific domains of cultural relevance (Burenhult and Kruspe 2016; Epps et al. 2012; Majid and Kruspe 2018). One might therefore be tempted to assume that the hunter-gatherers of our sample – the Jahai and Semaq Beri – could display patterns in their linguistic avoidance strategies which are somehow distinct from those of the other groups. The only candidate pattern identified here is the asymmetry in pronominal forms used between in-laws, found in some form or other in Jahai and Semaq Beri but not in the other languages. We are unable on the basis of the present data to determine if and how this pattern is significant but hope to pursue this in future research.

Abbreviations and conventions

1	‘first person’;	M	‘masculine’;
2	‘second person’;	PL	‘plural’;
3	‘third person’;	POSS AFF	‘possessed affinal kin term’;
CAUS	‘causative’;	REL	‘relative clause marker’;
DU	‘dual’;	SG	‘singular’;
EXCL	‘exclusive’;	VOC	‘vocative’;
F	‘feminine’;	=	‘clitic boundary’.
INCL	‘inclusive’;		

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Personal pronouns have a special status in languages. As indexical tools they are the means by which languages and persons intimately interface with each other within a particular social structure. Pronouns involve more than mere grammatical functions in live communication acts. They variously signal the gender of speakers as parts of utterances or in their anaphoric roles. They also prominently indicate with a range of degrees the kind of social relationships that hold between speakers from intimacy to indifference, from dominance to submission, and from solidarity to hostility. Languages greatly vary in the number of pronouns and other address terms they offer to their users with a distinct range of social values. Children learn their relative position in their family and in their society through the “correct” use of pronouns. When languages come into contact because of population migrations or through the process of translation, pronouns are the most sensitive zone of tension both psychologically and politically. This volume endeavours to probe the comparative pragmatics of pronominal systems as social processes in a representative set from different language families and cultural areas.

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