Open and Closed Systems of Self-Reference and Addressee-Reference in Indonesian and English: A Broad Typological Distinction

Greg Flannery
Macquarie University
greg.flannery@ling.mq.edu.au

Abstract. The Indonesian language, in all its many varieties, utilises a complex array of resources for self-reference and addressee-reference, drawing on a multi-term pronominal system as well as allowing for the use of common and proper nouns. This is very different to the English system of self- and addressee-reference which commonly draws on a limited set of pronouns. The difference is configured in this paper as a typological distinction between open and closed systems of self- and addressee-reference and is further suggested to be applicable in describing a fundamental difference between Western European languages and Southeast Asian languages. The distinction is developed in this paper in regard to the standardised varieties of Australian English and Indonesian, and the Indonesian data are drawn primarily from forty years of Kompas newspaper (1965 to 2005), a mainstream Jakartan daily, and other official media channels, such as the government sanctioned news station TVRI (Television Republik Indonesia). The focus provided by these data is on the formal Indonesian language as promoted and developed by the Indonesian language authorities.

Keywords: pronoun, self-reference, addressee-reference, Standard Indonesian, Standard Australian English

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1. Introduction

This paper draws on a comparative study of person reference in the English language and the Indonesian language and develops a typological distinction between open and closed systems of self-reference and addressee-reference. The distinction is made by Thomason & Everett (2005:307), in reference to comments by Court (1998),[1] and is developed independently in this paper on the basis of the aforementioned comparative study. Thomason & Everett (2005:307) suggest a distinction

> […] between "closed" pronoun systems like those in European languages, where the general pattern is just one pronoun for a given person/number combination, and "open" pronoun systems like those in Southeast Asian languages, where there may be (for instance) dozens of ways to say "I" and "you".

The distinction, as developed herein, is predicated on two criteria: closed systems operate with minimal options for self-reference and addressee-reference (as per Thomason & Everett's formulation) and limited borrowings from other languages, and open systems utilise multiple options with numerous borrowings.[2] The differences between the single-term English system and the multi-term Indonesian system exemplify polar extremes of a continuum, or perhaps better, given the two criteria, a spectrum between open and closed systems of person reference.

The difference is readily apparent to anyone familiar with both languages. English speaking second language learners of Indonesian often are initially taught to use the pronouns *saya* and *anda* for self-reference and addressee-reference respectively but soon realise that there are many terms readily and necessarily available for contex-

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[1] Court develops the distinction based on his work with the Thai language. The original SEALTEACH posting in which Court's comments are contained is no longer available.

[2] The first criterion is the most salient. It is accepted that some languages with multiple options have not borrowed from other languages. In the case of Indonesian, however, many of the options are borrowed.

tually appropriate use of the Indonesian language.[3] Conversely, Indonesian learners of English, and other speakers of Southeast Asian languages, as Goddard (2005:54) points out, can be somewhat taken aback by "the pronouns of modern-day English [which] are particularly insensitive to social distinctions".

Other scholars have touched on the open/closed distinction without being explicit in its formulation. Braun (1988:18) asserts that

> [a] system of address is closed when there is a well-known and limited set of variants – forms of address – and homogeneous when all speakers select and use these variants in roughly the same way.

However, Braun (1988:18) goes on to claim that any such concept of a linguistic system, or *systemlinguistik* in Braun's usage, is limited and, from "a truly sociolinguistic" perspective, "language varies". This is true of English, where a range of options for marking person are also available but the distinction is developed here in relation to the default choice of 'I' and 'you' in the "general pattern", as Thomason & Everett call it, of English first and second person singular reference. The arguments presented here focus on English and Indonesian but some examples are taken from other languages and the broader comparison, as with Thomason & Everett's formulation, is made more generally in relation to Western European languages (hereafter WE languages) and Southeast Asian languages (hereafter SEA languages).

2. "Bound" vs. "free" forms

Both the English and Indonesian languages contain many terms of address, from the quite specific application of titles, (e.g. in English: *baron*, *earl*, *duke*; in Indonesian: *sri*, *datuk*, *gubenor*) to the creative use of terms of endearment or abuse (e.g. in English: *pumpkin*, *sweetie*, *knucklehead*; in Indonesian: *bunga* (flower), *permata*

[3] The current study focuses on the formal Indonesian language, Bahasa Baku (Official Language) as used in the mainstream written media (data are drawn primarily from Kompas newspaper and the official television news channel – TVRI) but the broad distinction readily applies to the many varieties of informal Indonesian, Bahasa Gaul, also.

(jewel), *anjing* (dog)). However, in English, the distinction must be made between syntactically bound and syntactically free use of these forms, where "syntactically bound" indicates use in subject or object syntactic position, and "syntactically free" refers to forms used outside the clause structure (i.e. vocatives). Pronouns are generally used in English for syntactically bound reference and their use in syntactically free position is usually construed as marked for impoliteness. For example, the summons *Hey, you!* in English is considered abrupt and generally frowned upon. Conversely, the use of nominal forms in syntactically bound positions in English is usually construed as being marked for very formal politeness (e.g. *Would sir like a drink?*, as used by a waiter to a patron in a restaurant). Thus the distinction is pragmatically marked for overt status differentiation in English.

These are examples of Braun's (1988:18) point about the variation that problematises claims about the *systemlinguistik* but their very markedness means that they are used in contradistinction to the *systemlinguistik*, or general unmarked pattern of use in the language. There are other examples of the use of nominal forms in English but all are marked in some way by the extremes of distance between interlocutors within the context of their use. Other examples of such pragmatically marked use are: mother to child (e.g. *Would **Tommy** like a glass of water?*), lawyer to judge in a court of law (e.g. *Would **Your Honour** like a glass of water?*), or a subject to the Queen of England (e.g. *Would **Your Majesty** like a glass of water?*). These examples of non-pronominal syntactically bound reference all occur in social contexts where interlocutors are obliged by the specific social setting to recognise status distance, except for the first between mother and child, where the nominal reference is the use of a proper noun and is marked for intimacy. Even so, the mother/child example also occurs between interlocutors of markedly different status, predicated on age and authority.

In Indonesian the distinction between syntactically bound and syntactically free forms does not have the same pragmatic force and the use of nouns and proper nouns for self-reference and addressee-reference is not marked to the extremes of formality and politeness in the same way as it is in English. Thus the importance of the distinction in English is not apposite in Indonesian. Braun's (1988:303) claim that "[i]n the process of classifying the inventory of forms of address in a language,

the first and foremost differentiation to be made is that of bound forms vs. free forms, which yields subsets within the system," is simply not true of Indonesian (or SEA languages more generally) as it is of English (or WE languages more generally).[4]

One further point about bound and free forms needs to be clarified. The distinction can be applied also at the morphological level of analysis. The second-person pronoun, *anda*, adapted for use as an all purpose addressee-reference term in Indonesian in 1957 (see Flannery 2007), is a morphologically free form but in its original sense, taken from the old Javanese literary language Kawi, is an honorific bound form (e.g. *Ibu* + *Anda,* (mother + honoured), realised as *Ibunda*). This point must be noted as *anda* in its original sense is extant in the modern Indonesian language and examples are found in the data taken from Kompas newspaper of the use of *Ibunda*. The focus of this paper, however, is on syntactically bound forms of person reference and the morphological distinction is noted here merely for the purpose of terminological clarity.

3. Pronoun substitutes

In the literature, non-pronominal resources used as first or second person markers in the Indonesian language are often referred to as "pronoun substitutes" (e.g. McGinn 1991:201). Siewierska (2004:244), in commenting on Acehnese addressing practices refers to certain nominal terms as "pronominal substitutes". Purwo (1984:62), in describing the overall pronoun system in Indonesian, tells us that

> [c]ertain sets of nouns are **pronominally used** to fill in the empty slots where "common" personal pronouns are found unsuitable to express various delicate differences of reverence in terms of age and social status. (emphasis mine)

[4] The choice of term in Indonesian does mark pragmatic differences in terms of formality and politeness – the difference is in the **degree** to which they mark these differences and the much greater frequency of non-pronominal use for self- and addressee-reference.

This kind of terminological reductionism is particularly Eurocentric and only makes sense from the perspective of languages like English, and WE languages more generally, where pronouns assume the default, or unmarked position for person reference within the language (cf. Enfield & Stivers 2007:98).

Alves (1997:2) argues against this Eurocentric perspective by pointing out that

> Southeast Asian "pronouns" are often derived etymologically from other nouns, especially family terms. Though these terms of address [i.e. fictive kin term use] are recognized by Western scholars, the notion of "pronoun" still persists in descriptions of Southeast Asian languages.

Alves (1997:3) asks, "[w]hy should [kinship terms and other nouns] be considered to be 'used as pronouns'?" adding that "[i]f the tables were turned, it could be said that English uses pronouns to substitute for terms of address". Luong (1990:13), in detailing Vietnamese usage, also argues that

> [s]ince logically, common and proper nouns can be used not only for third-party but also for addressor and addressee reference, there exist no bases whatsoever for considering common and proper nouns as intrinsically third-person referring forms and for considering their address and self-referring usages as derivative in nature.

In this paper, the arguments for not reducing all syntactically bound person reference to the class of pronoun (or *faux* pronoun) are fundamentally important for the purposes of analytical clarity but it is accepted that for pedagogic purposes, the concept of "pronoun-substitutes" or "nouns that are used pronominally" can be useful for second language learners whose first language privileges pronominal self- and addressee-reference. From both perspectives, however, we must heed Whorf's (1972:127) observation that "[w]e tend to think in our own language in order to examine the exotic language", and overcome our biases accordingly.

4. Three sub-classes

The following section outlines an overall system of categorisation for the array of terms commonly utilised for self-reference and addressee-reference in Indonesian (and other SEALs) and considers some of the pragmatic information encoded in choices from each category (Section 4). It then gives some examples of terms from each of the three categories posited and further discussion of their use (Sections 4.1, 4.2 and 4.3).

Luong (1990), in his work on the Vietnamese language, claims that pronouns are not always the first choice for self- and addressee-reference in the Vietnamese language.

> In Vietnamese person reference, not only personal pronouns but also common and proper nouns [...] play a prominent role. In fact, *common and proper nouns are used with considerably greater frequency than personal pronouns*, not only for third-party references, but also pervasively for address and self-references in the Vietnamese system (Luong 1990:4).

These claims apply as readily to the Indonesian language as they do to Vietnamese.[5] Luong's (1990:16) categorisation of terms into three sub-classes, i.e. pronoun, common noun, and proper noun, is used as a basis for the categorisation of terms in this paper. In Indonesian, as in Vietnamese and other SEA languages, "the three sub-classes [...] form a single system which is used to structure interactional situations" (Luong 1990:16). This categorial system runs counter to that suggested by Braun (1988:303), who says that

> [a] classification into nouns, pronouns, etc. – though more common – is not equally useful since it disregards the fact that the same term has a different status (1) as a bound form, (2) as a free form of address.

[5] See Luong (1990) for examples of Vietnamese usage.

Arguments against Braun's claims regarding the use of bound and free forms from a non-European (i.e. SEA) perspective have already been given above. Her relegation of "[t]he distinction of word classes [to] a classification of secondary importance" (Braun 1988:303) leads her to a hyponymic mismatch in categorising pronouns in distinction to titles, kin terms and other forms of nominal address and does not readily allow for a clear analysis of the different semantic and pragmatic potentialities of the categories.

Enfield (2006), in describing aspects of the multi-pronoun system of the Lao language, develops arguments concerning the informational logic of a multi-term system. He suggests that this system "cannot be understood from a purely semantic or purely pragmatic standpoint, nor can cognition be bracketed out," (Enfield 2006:3) further developing his argument around a distinction "between semantics (encoded, entailed) and pragmatics (implied, inferred)" (Enfield 2006:5), with a cognitive aspect pertaining to the actual choices people make in drawing on this informational logic. Thus code, context, and cognition all play a role in the choice of person reference term and, through these choices, social roles between interlocutors are instantiated (i.e. exploited, maintained and developed). Each of the three sub-classes (pronouns, common nouns, and proper nouns) express semantic and pragmatic aspects of this informational logic to varying degrees and each are examined in more detail below.

Another important concept that develops from the interplay of semantic and pragmatic information and the patterned utilisation of these resources is indexicality. Indexicality is understood here as the manner in which terms point to aspects outside their referential meaning that accrue through their patterned use over time, often derived from aspects of their etymological history. For instance, the choice of a Hokkien kin term (e.g. *engkong* 'grandfather', *engkim* 'aunt', *engko* 'elder brother') may index affiliation with Chinese Indonesian ethnicity. However, the choice of the pronouns *gua* or *gue* (1st person singular) and *elu, lu,* or *elo* (2nd person singular), although these also are borrowed from Hokkien, may index modern Jakartan (i.e. "big city") attitudes in their use in colloquial Jakartan Indonesian (see Sneddon

2006:59-67), not Chinese Indonesian heritage.[6] In other areas and varieties, however, they may still index Chinese Indonesian heritage. Many aspects of identity can be indexed through our language choices. Ochs (1990:293) suggests that "the following *kinds of sociocultural information* may be so indexed through linguistic signs: social status, roles, relationships, settings, actions, activities, genres, topics, affective and epistemological stances of participants, among others".

It is worth noting here that terms can and do change from one word class to another. In particular, some common nouns are pronominalized or grammaticalized, though these processes occur very slowly and thus can be hard to identify other than over extended periods of time. Head (1962:185) adopts the term "pronominalized noun" for forms that have undergone this process "[i]n order to emphasize both synchronic and diachronic differences between such forms and personal pronouns". A common example is the second person marker, *usted*, in the Spanish language, which developed from a metonymic nominal reference; *vuestra merced* 'your honour' → *usted* 'you (formal)' (Brinton & Traugott 2005:50) through a process of phonetic contraction. An example from Indonesian is the common first person pronoun, *saya*, which developed in much the same way from the Sanskrit word *sahaya* 'slave'. This process has been completed in Indonesian and *saya* must be classified as a pronoun, as must *usted* in Spanish.[7]

A more interesting example, perhaps, is *saudara* 'brother, sibling', from Sanskrit *sodara* 'brother, born from the same womb' (Jones 1984:8), which is commonly used by modern television presenters on the official Indonesian TVRI (Television Republik Indonesia) news as a general address to the audience, where each new item of reportage is introduced with its use. To support the argument for this shift

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[6] This is an interesting example of the need to adopt what Mühlhäusler & Harré (1990:13) call "a developmental approach to linguistics". They suggest that such an approach is "one that subscribes to the general principle that endpoints can be explained by consideration of previous developments, whilst the reverse is not the case".

[7] Howe (1996:73) makes an interesting observation about movement in the opposite direction (i.e. from pronoun to noun) by suggesting that in English, "[f]orms such as *thou* etc. and *ye* can be said to have been lexicalized – i.e. although they retain the pronoun form, these pronouns resemble more lexical words than function words".

of *saudara* from kin term to pronoun is the fact that it has shed its gender specificity, with the feminine form *saudari* 'sister' (see Quinn 2001:1053) being uncommon.[8] Purwo (1984:55-56) does not include *saudara* in his table of pronouns but lists it immediately below (i.e. outside) his table of pronouns, claiming that "[i]n the 70s [*anda*'s] use has increased greatly, along with *saudara*". Gupta (2009) glosses the terms *saudara* and *saudari* in modern Malay as 'friend' and suggests they are commonly used for both self- and addressee-reference in that (closely related) language.[9]

4.1. Pronouns

English is an atypical example of a WE language that only uses one form of second person pronoun. Andersson (1998:52) states that Swedish also only uses one form, the informal *du*, but other scholars such as Romaine (1994:153) counter this with the claim that "[j]ust at the time when *du* seemed to have won the day, [the formal form] *ni* is apparently returning" (see also Norrby 2006). Counter to this, the Romance languages, (e.g. Italian, Spanish, French) all utilise more than one second person pronoun. The seminal work on two part second person pronoun systems is Brown & Gilman's (1960) study of French, German and Italian which provides the standard framework for analysis of these systems: the T/V distinction (from Latin *tu* and *vos*). This distinction enables an understanding of the patterned use of these forms centred around the basic social dimensions of power and solidarity. The usefulness of this distinction for multi-term systems like Indonesian is apparent in its application by McGinn (1991) in analysing the situated use of pronouns and kin terms in the family situation.[10] McGinn shows that, in the multi-term system of Indonesian, the distinction can be usefully applied beyond the purely pronominal system by introducing the added familial dimension to account for the use of kin terms in addressee-reference within the family situation.

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[8] No tokens of *saudari* have been found in the data collected by the current author.

[9] Siewierska (2004:244) refers to a study by Durie (1985:121) indicating the use of both *saudara* 'male sibling' and *saudari* 'female sibling' by Acehnese speakers.

[10] It should be pointed out that McGinn's data, taken from comic books, are somewhat contrived but do represent common usage of these terms.

Other important advances in the application of the T/V distinction have been made in the fifty year period since Brown and Gilman's original publication and must be taken into account. Most importantly, other scholars have added more dimensions than the dual aspects of power and solidarity as the only criteria necessary for describing choice of term. Mühlhäusler & Harré (1990:132) overcome the limits of these two relational social categories by proposing additional dimensions necessary for accounting for choice of T or V form. They state that

> […] at least the following are required: rank, status, office, generation, formality, informality, public discourse, private discourse, intimacy, social distance, high degree of emotional excitement and there may be others that will be needed from case to case.

A focus on the dimensions of power and solidarity, whilst very important for describing major aspects of the application of social deixis, does not allow for contextual features outside of the interpersonal relations of the collocutors. For instance, the choice of the aforementioned T forms, *gua* and *elu* as used by Jakartan youth, because of their associations with the modern cultural capital, appear to be more highly acceptable to a younger generation of urban (and urbane) Indonesian speakers. In an informal discussion, a Jakartanese woman commented that her elderly father, a Javanese man, physically cringes when he hears these forms used on radio or television. However, as Sneddon (2006:64) and Djenar (2006) point out, these terms appear to be gaining currency , in alternation with the Malay derived T forms, *aku* and *kamu,* in the developing informal standard[11] of the colloquial Jakartan variety of Indonesian.[12]

Many Indonesian pronouns have been discussed thus far and now may be a good time to take stock of some of the more common pronouns in use. To facilitate further discussion of the differences in the first and second person pronominal para-

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[11] Sneddon (2003b:11) discusses problems with the word "standard" in this context as it is usually reserved for the formal/official language variety, Bahasa Baku. He points out the need to distinguish between "standard" and "formal" varieties in response to the rise of "informal standards".

[12] Djenar (2006) is a relevant and enlightening study of the use of *kamu* and *elu* in two television dramas made for teenagers in Jakarta.

digms of the two focus languages, Indonesian and English, the following (limited)[13] table is presented:

		Indonesian		
	English	**Non-formal**	**Neutral**	**Formal**
First person	I/me/my	aku (?)	saya	saya
Singular		gua/gue		
Plural	we/us/our (inclusive)	kita	kita	kita
	we/us/our (exclusive)	kami (?)	kami	kami
Second person	you	kamu		saudara (?)
Singular		elu/elo	anda	anda
		sampeyan		
		engkau/kau		
Plural	you	kalian	kalian	kalian (?)

Table 1. Personal pronoun paradigms of English and Indonesian[14]

This table is developed from those presented by Purwo (1984:57) and Robson (2004:63). The non-formal/neutral/formal distinction is taken from Robson. The necessity of the neutral category is illustrated by the first person singular form, *saya*. In a focus group of half a dozen Indonesian speakers from Jakarta, it was suggested that the use of *saya* was common in nearly all contexts where they choose a first person pronoun, with *aku* having overtly intimate (i.e. "romantic" or "poetic") overtones.[15] For instance, the morphologically bound form *-ku* is commonly col-

[13] The pronouns included are those that appear in the data collected for this study from the mainstream media. Thus, the Indonesian paradigm presented here is not exhaustive. For example, Cooper (1989:152-3) makes mention of the use of English *you* in certain speech communities of urban educated Indonesians.

[14] Question marks indicate forms about which there is some doubt over their placement in this schema. Problems with their placement are discussed below.

[15] This tripartite distinction is not universally accepted, being something of a descriptive convenience. Other scholars have made more detailed analyses of choice of first-person pronoun and developed more sophisticated interpretations of the underlying motivations (e.g. Djenar 2007, 2008 and Englebretson 2007).

located with *hati* 'heart' when using terms of endearment (see above, e.g. *bunga hatiku* 'flower [of] my heart'). Thus *saya* is appropriate (i.e. pragmatically unmarked) in both non-formal and formal usage, making its use somewhat neutral in any situation.

In attempting to force the multi-term Indonesian system into a limited set of boxes, certain conflations are inescapable. The categories non-formal and formal are one such conflation but nonetheless useful in accounting for the system and further align with the overall diglossic state of the Indonesian language situation (see Sneddon 2003a, 2003b). Another example of these limitations is that the use of the first person plural (exclusive) form, *kami*, appears to be on the wane in some informal varieties of the language (see Purwo 1984:57, Sneddon 2006:62) and could, perhaps, on this basis, be removed from the non-formal first person plural category as it applies in many speech communities.

The inclusion of the second person singular *saudara* runs counter to Purwo's table but is included here, as it is in Robson's table, because of its use in the official television news broadcasts, parliament, and other formal contexts (see Quinn 2001:1052). It could, and should, be included also in a table of (fictive) kin terms. The non-specific nature of the addressee in the context of a news broadcast problematises its categorisation as a singular form but plurality does not have the same obligatory grammatical application in Indonesian as it does in English. Whilst reduplication can indicate plurality (though it is not limited to this grammatical function), singular nominal forms are often used for plural function where the plurality is otherwise disambiguated. The singular/plural distinction is not overtly encoded in most instances.

The introduced plural second person form *kalian* is widely used in Kompas newspaper but the data collected by the current author show it to be commonly used only in addressing children and its status as a formal form is carried over from Robson's table but is harder to justify on the basis of these data. The forms borrowed from Hokkien *gua/gue* and *elu/lu/elo* are not included in Purwo's or Robson's tables. Purwo includes *gua/gue* in his broader discussion but makes no mention of its second person counterpart, *elu/lu/elo*. Sneddon's (2006) work on the developing colloquial standard Jakartan variety, and its dissemination throughout the archipelago

through the channels of the mass media, makes the inclusion of both forms essential in the early 21st century. But in 1984, when Purwo was doing his work, the status of *elu/lu/elo* was probably considered too localised to Jakarta to be included.[16] This, however, does not account for his inclusion of the first person form in his discussion. The second person form *engkau*, often shortened to *kau*, is used predominantly, though not exclusively, in two domains: literature and religion. It is "used to address God" (Quinn 2001:729), and is the default form in non-realist literature. Quinn (2001:729) describes it as "a literary and liturgical word".[17]

There are grammatical constraints on the use of morphologically bound pronoun forms (e.g. *ku-, -ku, kau-, -mu, -nya*) (see Purwo 1984:62, Sneddon 1996:165). However, there is no morphological agreement between pronominal subject or object and verb form to signal first, second, or third person in Indonesian as there is in English. If we use a nominal form of addressee-reference in English the anaphoric reference that follows is that of third person form (e.g. *Would Your Honour like **his** coffee now?*). This is not the case in Indonesian and the perspective taken in this paper follows on from the declaration of Mühlhäusler & Harré (1990:11) that

> [i]n models of syntax that regard choice of pronoun as predictable from general principles of anaphoric syntax, paradigmatic choice plays no part in their analysis. We have grounds to believe that such a view is fundamentally mistaken.

The description of any common or proper noun used in self- or addressee-reference as "third person reference" makes no sense from an Indonesian perspective and, as with the use of the term "pronoun substitutes", is deemed to be an overly Eurocentric perspective and not productive in analysing the differences apparent in the Indonesian (and other SEA) systems. The English forms given in Table 1 retain case distinctions that were dropped from the nominal and verbal paradigms of Eng-

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[16] Purwo (1984:57) says of *gua/gua* that it is "commonly used by speakers of Indonesian with a Jakarta dialect background".

[17] Purwo (1984:57) suggests that *engkau* or *kau*, rather than *kamu*, are commonly used by Batak speakers as T forms when speaking Indonesian, "for the Batak cognate *hamu* is used to address someone of higher status" (i.e. as the V form).

lish in the Middle period (see Howe 1996:67) but are not part of the modern Indonesian grammatical system and have no ongoing relevance to the parameters of social distinction as explored in this paper.

The semantic information encoded in first and second person pronouns is limited to person and number. For this reason the use of pronominal reference in Indonesian (and other SEA languages) is often deemed pragmatically inappropriate where the choice of a common noun (especially a kin term) or proper noun (i.e. name) instantiates greater, and necessary, social distinction. Luong (1990:4), in reference to Vietnamese practices, states that "common and proper nouns are used with considerably greater frequency than personal pronouns" in that language and Errington (1998:9), in reference to Javanese speakers of Indonesian, comments on the "unobvious but interactionally salient patterns of non-use of Indonesian pronominal resources".

Thus there is an apparent avoidance of pronominal reference in many SEA languages which can be ascribed to the socio-cultural necessity to recognise the social status of interlocutors. Enfield (2006:11) describes certain pronouns in Lao as "bare forms" in that they do not encode these necessary levels of social information. He states that "[w]hile bare form pronouns can be pragmatically 'bad' (i.e. rude), they are not intrinsically bad words (i.e. they are not curses or swear words)". They are simply inadequate. These comments do not mean that the English language does not encode social information relevant to collocutors but that this information is not commonly instantiated in the choice of first or second person marker (i.e. personal pronoun) in syntactically bound reference.

4.2. Common nouns

Alisjahbana (1961:68) suggests "a number of traditional cultural reflexes will exert an indirect inhibiting influence" over the replacement of "the multiplicity of words used to address the second person in traditional village and feudal aristocracy" with the pronoun *anda*. It can be argued that prior to the introduction/adaptation of *anda* as a second person pronoun into the Indonesian language in 1957, the Indonesian language contained no V pronouns, with the "multiplicity of words" being largely nominal. This argument is contingent on the acceptance of the classification of

saudara as a kin term rather than a pronoun, or a "pronominalized noun", despite arguments given above for its contemporary shift of word class.

The use of *anda* is still largely confined to impersonal contexts, with its primary domain of usage remaining the formal written media (see Flannery 2007). This suggests that the use of pronouns in the Indonesian language remains largely confined to informal, intimate social contexts and relationships, leaving common and proper nouns to function as V forms. However, it must again be emphasised that there is enormous variation in the distribution of any forms of person reference and it is accepted that *anda* is used by some Indonesians in spoken language. In an interview with an Indonesian language teacher conducted for this study in Jakarta in 2006, she stated that she would use *anda* infrequently, and then perhaps in speaking to a service provider if she was not happy with the service she was receiving! This suggests a negative pragmatic weight that lends support to Enfield's assertions about "bare" pronoun forms in the Lao language.

Some European languages use nominal forms for unmarked syntactically bound second person reference. Polish is an example of a European language that retains nominal forms in its V repertoire, using *pan* 'master' and *pani* 'mistress' for male and female second person reference respectively (see Jucker & Taavitsainen 2003:3). Norrby (2006:18.2) suggests that the use of nouns in Swedish up to the end of the 19th century was common practice, especially titles derived from occupation. Thus Swedish at this stage was similarly devoid of V pronouns. Norrby (2006:18.2) describes "a situation where Swedish – at least in Sweden – lacked a neutral, polite form of address",

Historically, the situation in Sweden has striking similarities with the Indonesian situation, in its attempts to overcome the use of nouns for syntactically bound second person reference. Paulston (1976:364) states that in Sweden, despite attempts to adopt the T/V distinction based on the French model,

> [t]he lower classes, especially the peasant class (Sweden remained a primarily rural society much longer than continental Europe) did not adopt this usage but maintained *du* as the mutual form of address to both known and unknown of their equals. To their superiors they used titles which proliferated *ad absurdum*.

In the latter part of the 1800s there was a movement "referred to as *ni-reformen* [which] advocated the use of *ni* instead of titles in third person. It failed" (Paulston 1976:365) (cf. Norrby 2006).

This attempt at social engineering through language reform is redolent of the Indonesian experience, both in terms of intention and outcome. The qualified failure of both attempts says much about the importance of systems of address in maintaining socio-cultural reflexes to recognise status. Interestingly, in the 20th century, under the influence of the prevailing political party, the Social Democrats, there was a "Swedish campaign for using the 'tu'-pronoun *du* rather than polite circumlocutions" (Rabin 1971:278). This campaign was altogether more successful, though not conclusively so. Romaine (1994:150) makes reference

> […] to this phenomenon as an index of social change in line with the fact that the Social Democratic Party, which dominated the Swedish political scene for nearly six decades of the 20th century, stressed egalitarian relations in its program for social, educational, and economic reform.

The use of nouns for syntactically bound person reference draws on far greater semantic and pragmatic resources than pronominal reference, with its limited semantic range, in both reflecting and maintaining, or even exploiting and undermining, the exchange of social information relevant to interactional stances and relationships, as per Enfield's (2006:11) comments about "bare pronouns" in Lao. Enfield (2006:6) refers to

> […] paradigmatic sets with clear informational contrast, comprising tools for social coordination against a cultural backdrop of knowledge and expectations about the position of the person in social structure.

Of particular relevance to the Indonesian system are various sets of kin terms, many of Malay origin, but also others introduced into the language as sets which often index ethnic affiliations (e.g. Hokkien kin terms; see Kong 1987, Wallace 1983). A few tokens of Dutch origin kin terms such as *Om* 'uncle' and *Tante* 'auntie' are found in the mid 20th century data collected from Kompas newspaper for this study,

remnants of 400 years of Dutch colonial administration of the archipelago. Javanese kin terms also figure prominently in the Indonesian repertoire of address terms. Javanese is the first language of more Indonesians than any other language and the Javanese and Malay languages have a long history of reciprocal influence (see Poedjosoedarmo 1982). The Javanese second-person pronoun, *sampeyan*, is included in Table 1, above, and the titles *mas* and *mbak* are also found in the Kompas data. Other borrowings also figure prominently and are discussed in more detail below.

Some of the terms derived from Malay sources are *bapak* 'father', *ibu* 'mother', *kakak*, often shortened to *kak* 'older sibling', and *adik*, often shortened to *dik* 'younger sibling'. It is noteworthy that basic sibling terms in English define gender (*brother* and *sister*) but in Indonesian define relative age. Purwo's (1984:62) claim that "[c]ertain sets of nouns are pronominally used to fill in the empty slots where 'common' personal pronouns are found unsuitable to express various delicate differences of reverence in terms of age and social status" highlights age as of primary concern, along with social status, in the choice of appropriate term.

Kullanda (2002) makes a detailed analysis the development of kin terms in the Indo-European languages, and develops the argument that many Proto-Indo-European kin terms may have initially been used as non-kinship terms, defining social, rather than familial, relations in their original conception. These arguments are contentious and ultimately the reconstruction of Proto-Indo-European semantics must remain conjectural and beyond the scope of the current study. The basic point, however, does bear relation to the fact that in Indonesian, a term such as *bapak* can be applied outside of the familial context and its primary translation of *father* is generally somewhat misleading. The word *ayah* can be used to refer to one's biological father and is not open to the polysemous range of meaning that can be applied to *bapak*.

Kullanda's arguments are too complex to analyse fully in this paper but the idea that kin terms primarily define actual sanguinal relationships is not productive in a language like Indonesian where their more common use is found in defining social relationships more generally. Lujan (2002:102), in his published response to Kullanda's paper, offers a useful perspective on these ideas, stating:

> I think that the semantic analysis of kinship terms would produce more insight if we stopped using the vague notions of "connotation" and "secondary meaning" and reconsidered them from the point of view of prototype semantics. Maybe the problem is that what we assume to be the basic meaning of a term like *father* – begetter of a child – is not its central, prototypical meaning.

It can be argued that the prototypical meaning of *bapak* has more to do with authority than fatherhood. It is noteworthy that much of Kullanda"s other linguistic work has centred on Austronesian languages and his previous work seems to be a major influence on the development of his ideas.

4.3. Proper nouns

> [D]oes a proper name have a sense? If this asks whether or not proper names are used to describe or specify characteristics of objects, the answer is "no". But if it asks whether or not proper names are logically connected with characteristics of the object to which they refer, the answer is "yes, in a loose sort of way". (This shows in part the poverty of a rigid sense-reference, denotation-connotation approach to problems in the theory of meaning.) (Searle 1963:161)

As Searle points out, proper names are not used to "describe or specify characteristics of objects". They differ from pronouns in that their referents are fixed, whereas pronouns are "shifters" (see Jakobson 1971, Silverstein 1976), and from common nouns, which do encode specific semantic information, thereby both describing and specifying characteristics of objects (people).

However, proper nouns can index certain properties of their referents and their use, in English is pragmatically marked. In Australian English, the use of one's name for self-reference is pragmatically marked as pretentious, or self-important. Peter Fitzsimons, a sportswriter for the Sydney Morning Herald (SMH), regularly berates sportspeople for the use of third person in self-reference. He awards the "Michael Clarke Trophy" to anyone who refers to themselves in this way. Michael Clarke is the Australian Cricket vice-captain and often refers to himself as *Michael Clarke*

(e.g. *Michael Clarke will be fine*; see SMH, November 28-29, 2009:16). A reader of Fitzsimons' weekly sports column, which is called *The Fitzfiles* (TFF), berates Fitzsimons for being both pedantic and hypocritical, on the basis of Fitzsimons writing "TFF has the honour ... " (see Letters, SMH, Weekend Sport, Sept 12-13, 2009:13), so attitudes to the use of proper name for self-reference vary. However, in contrast to these comments, the use of proper name for either self- or addressee-reference in Indonesian is not stigmatized and is commonly used in many contexts, both non-formal and formal. As with the use of common nouns, proper nouns function as per the general openness of the Indonesian system of person reference.

Proper nouns can index, among other things, ethnic heritage, religious affiliations, and, historically in English, family names often derived from occupation.[18] Wallace (1983:578) states that the

> [p]ersonal names of Jakartans [...] are mostly of Arabic, Sanskrit, Chinese, or European origin, and reflect the individual's adherence to either Islam, the courtly Javanese and Sundanese tradition based on South Asian models, the ways of southern China, or of the culture of the Christian West.

This runs parallel to the use of varying sets of kinship terms borrowed from other languages which, "even though a family has given up the native language of its place of origin and speaks Jakarta Malay", are employed "instead of the corresponding Malay terms" (Wallace 1983:578).

The indexical potential of proper nouns has been used for scurrilous political ends in a couple of recent presidential campaigns. In the USA, attempts were made to portray Barack Obama as a secret Muslim on the basis of his middle name, Hussein. In the last presidential election campaign in Indonesia, the incumbent president Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's wife was portrayed as a non-Muslim (i.e. a closet Christian) on the basis of her name, Kristiani, which was said to index her Christian faith. The smear campaign did not work in either example, with Obama obtaining

[18] It should also be stated that proper nouns don't necessarily index anything but often merely specify the referent bearing that particular name.

office in the US, and Yudhoyono winning 88% of the vote. But it was enough for his wife to stop calling herself *Ibu Kristi*, now preferring to be called *Ibu Ani* (see Hartcher 2009).

One final point needs to be made about self-reference and addressee-reference in Indonesian. Ellipsis of first or second person reference is perfectly acceptable and thus, as with the choice of common noun or proper noun, pragmatically unmarked.

5. Borrowing

> Perhaps the most commonly mentioned hard-to-borrow lexical feature is the category of personal pronouns. The reasoning, usually implicit, seems to be roughly this: personal pronouns comprise a closed set of forms situated between lexicon and grammar; they form a tightly structured whole and are so deeply embedded within a linguistic system that borrowing a new personal pronoun, and in particular a new pronominal paradigm, would disrupt the workings of the system. (Thomason & Everett 2005:301)

The second, though less important, criterion for determining a language's status on the open/closed spectrum is the extent of borrowing in its self- and addressee-reference paradigms. The bound/free distinction is important to highlight here with a language like English with next to no borrowing in its personal pronouns but extensive borrowing of terms of address,[19] most notably from French (e.g. *Duke/Duchess*, *Marquis/Marquess*). Indonesian also has borrowed a large set of terms encoding highly structured levels of social status or rank, many from Sanskrit, but these terms are used with more degrees of polysemous extension (e.g. *Putera/Puteri* 'Prince/Princess') used in Indonesian to mean 'son/daughter', both literally and fictively) and are used for syntactically bound self- and addressee-reference. Polyse-

[19] The exception is the third person plural paradigm *they, them, their*, borrowed from the closely related Norse language in the latter part of the Old English period (see Smith 1999:120). These forms are disregarded here – as Benveniste (1971:217) asserts, "the ordinary definition of the personal pronouns as containing three terms, I, you, and he, simply destroys the notion of 'person'. 'Person' belongs only to I/you and is lacking in he".

mous extension of English address terms also abounds but only in syntactically free positions.

From the perspective of WE languages, we can readily understand why the category of personal pronouns is often used in historical linguistics as evidence for or against claims of genetic affiliation. The evidential validity of this category in these languages is well predicated on the argument that personal pronouns, and especially personal pronoun paradigms, are rarely borrowed from one language into another (cf. Haugen 1950). This claim seems largely sustainable in the case of WE languages, particularly as the primary focus of inquiry in 19th and early-to-mid 20th century historical linguistics. However, more recent work on SEA languages, and other non-Indo-European languages, (cf. Wallace 1983, Foley 1986, Thomason & Everett 2005, Goddard 2005) has shown that many languages, representing many different SEA language families (e.g. Austronesian, Papuan, Mon-Khmer), have readily borrowed personal pronouns, and even partial paradigms, along with other terms commonly used for first and second person reference, throughout their long histories of contact with other languages.[20]

Indonesian has freely borrowed many terms from a number of source languages. Many examples are given above but these examples are not exhaustive and a key element of the openness of the Indonesian person reference system is that the compilation of definitive lists of terms used for person reference is not practical. The main sources of borrowing, however, can be usefully specified, and grouped into five major waves of influence on the Indonesian language (cf. Sneddon 2003b). The first group is other local (i.e. Austronesian) languages, (e.g. Batak, Sundanese, Javanese, and Balinese). These languages have especially influenced the development of Betawi Malay around the modern capital, Jakarta (cf. Wallace 1983). The second major group is comprised of languages from India, which have been a major influence on Indonesian language and culture from early in the first millennium, (e.g.

[20] It is, however, important not to dismiss the relevance of personal pronouns of Malay derivation to historical reconstruction. Valuable work regarding genetic affiliations in Austronesian languages has been done with reference to elements of the personal pronominal paradigm that are not borrowed (see Blust 1977).

Sanskrit, Prakrit, Hindi, and Tamil). The third group is the Middle Eastern languages, predominantly Arabic (and to a lesser extent and from an earlier period, Persian), which, since the adoption of the religion of Islam around 1400, has been a major source of borrowing, linguistically and culturally. The fourth group is the Chinese languages, predominantly the Southern Chinese language Hokkien. The fifth group is the European languages, (predominantly Portuguese, Dutch and English) the last of which arrived slightly later, and was more influential in the English colonies of Singapore and Malaysia, but has become more influential in recent years in Indonesia.

Another aspect of borrowing concerns a kind of modelling of linguistic resources on the semantics of another (high status) language. In the case of WE languages, the French T/V model has been widely adopted by many WE languages (e.g. Russian *ty/vy*, Swedish *du/ni*, and English *thee*/*ye* in an earlier period) (see Leith 1997:106). Indonesian language planners have attempted to introduce a single second person pronoun system, modelled on English *you*, into their language with the addition of *anda* in 1957 (see Alisjahbana 1961:68). The attempt to change the Indonesian system has been largely unsuccessful, with *anda* not supplanting the diversity of terms used but instead merely adding to them.

6. Summary

The arguments for a distinction between open and closed systems of reference for self-reference and addressee-reference have been developed in this paper in relation to the standardised varieties of Indonesian and English. Both languages exhibit much dialect variation and this variation somewhat undermines the distinction as defined herein. For instance, it is simply not true of all English dialects to say that *thee/thou/thy* is no longer used in the language. The broad distinction, however, can be usefully applied to the standardised varieties of these languages and remains a useful point of differentiation in discussion of the linguistic practices of English speakers and Indonesian speakers, in general.

Figure 1 plots the positions of the various languages cited in this paper on the open/closed spectrum, showing a cline of openness based on the multiplicity of

forms commonly available for self- and addressee-reference in the example languages.

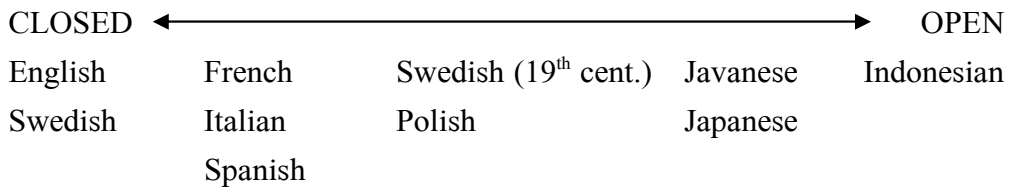

Figure 1. Cline of openness

English, and Swedish with some qualifications, commonly use a single term system for both first and second person reference in syntactically bound positions (see Section 4.2). French, Italian, and Spanish have two or three second person pronominal forms in common use (see Brown & Gilman 1960). Old Swedish (up to the 19th century), and Polish to the present, use/d nominal forms in their repertoire (see Paulston 1976, Norrby 2006). Javanese and Balinese have multiple terms available for both first and second person reference and some borrowing, mostly from Sanskrit (see Errington 1986, Poedjosoedarmo 1982:146). The further up the cline, the less limited is the choice of term to pronominal resources.

Indonesian exemplifies the open end of the spectrum in both multiplicity of terms commonly available for use and in the additional criterion of the extent of its borrowings. English, of course, has many resources for recognition of social distinctions but these resources do not include their system of self-reference and addressee-reference as commonly instantiated in daily linguistic practice. The distinction is not only relevant to issues of linguistic typology but also tells us more about the ways in which social relations in different cultures and societies use language to instantiate, negotiate, reflect, promote, maintain, and sometimes even subvert, our socialised selves and our relations with other socialised selves.

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