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# Borrowing of address forms for dimensions of social relation in a contact-induced multilingual community

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**Abstract:** Address forms have been studied in various contexts, and it has been assumed that the determining dimensions are solidarity, including closeness and equality, and power, including distance and hierarchy. Solidarity is indexed with singular forms while power is represented with plural forms. Using ethnography of communication framework, this study enriches this discussion by examining the use of address forms by Bima people in a multilingual community in Bima, Indonesia, where Bima, Indonesian and other languages in contact have been used for centuries. Address forms including speaker reference forms were identified and classified in 1,250 h of data collected through observation, interviews, elicitation, and recordings of conversation. The study shows that address forms from languages in contact with Bima have been borrowed to represent dimensions within the solidarity-power continuum including intimacy, closeness, equality, hierarchy and respect. The Bima forms are used to exercise traditional solidarity-power relations, but the borrowed forms of Arab, Bugis, Chinese, English, and Makassarese origins are used to negotiate more intimate, close, equal and respectful relations within the social hierarchy. Using the native and the borrowed forms according to referent's age, gender, status, and contexts, speakers construct different social spaces of intimacy, closeness, equality, hierarchy, respect, and power.

**Keywords:** address form; Bima; power; social dimension; solidarity

## 1 Introduction

This article examines whether power and solidarity (Brown and Gilman 1960; Brown and Ford 1961; Brown and Levinson 1987) are the only dimensions essential

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within the choice of address forms (AFs) (including speaker reference forms) in multilingual communities. It also extends Tannen's (1993) depiction of solidarity to cover closeness and equality, and of power to include distance and hierarchy, by providing linguistic evidence of the discrete nature of the dimensions. We focus on the choice of what Dickey (1997) describes as nominal, pronominal and referential AFs used by speakers of Bima, an Austronesian language spoken by more than 800,000 speakers in the Bima and Dompu regions of Sumbawa Island (see Figure 1) in the Nusa Tenggara region of Indonesia. Specifically, we are interested in understanding what social dimensions the multilingual speakers need to address and how they use their language repertoires in the construction and negotiation of social relations. We examine pronouns, names, nicknames, and kinship terms and explicate how they are used as indices of solidarity, intimacy, closeness, equality, distance, hierarchy, respect and power rather than solidarity or power alone.

Studies on the indexical functions of language and on the use of AFs as indices of social relations are not at all new. Hanks (1999), Lucy (1993), Silverstein (1979), Silverstein (2003), and Tannen (1993) have shown that many, if not all, languages contain indexical forms that change their meanings and values depending on the event of speaking. Lucy (1993) showed that the denotational meaning of the pronoun "I" in English depends on knowing the identity of the person uttering the instance of "I" in the speech event and the meaning of "I" in the particular event. To Hanks (1999), the speaker's identity is reflected in accents, honorifics, pronouns, demonstratives, temporal devices or adverbs of time. He argues that these indexical systems share properties, but identifying them requires a relatively deep analysis of the speech's contextual features. Because speech is context dependent, the use of indexical forms is culturally specific, and the meaning of indexical forms is culturally structured. Researchers are challenged here: given that speech is culturally specific, how variable are the indexical forms across human languages?

Lucy (1993) proposed that indexical forms are identified with denotational meanings, but the connotations that the forms carry in addition to the denotational functions also need careful scrutiny. To Hanks (1999), the denotational meanings can be exophorical when referring to physical and social objects in the speech context, or anaphorical when referring to objects in previous discourse. He argues for the need to look at indexical forms across languages as they are "universal feature[s] of human languages", share "a number of specific properties" and deep understanding of indexical relations can generally lead to correct "contextual inference, reflexivity, and semantic interpretation" (Hanks 1999:125). This cannot be done unless researchers engage in "relatively deep analysis of the social and

cultural contexts of speech” (Hanks 1999: 125). In Silverstein’s (2003) “indexical orders”, this analysis can be carried out in three layers of analysis. In the first order, the linguistic pattern is identified. In the second order, the social connotation and meanings of the pattern are interpreted. In the third order, the cultural meta-pragmatics of the form-meaning connection is explicated. These orders can be identified if ethnographers are exposed to the community over a long period of time, and are able to tease out minute culturally-specific relationships between language forms and social dimensions.

Studies on the indexical functions of pronouns (e.g., Brown and Ford 1961; Brown and Gilman 1960) and other AFs in English (e.g., Ervin-Tripp 1972 [1969]; Tannen 1993) and other language contexts (e.g., Bogoch 1994; Çiftçi and Vasquez 2020; Delisle 1986; Mousavi 2020) have shown that AFs are closely linked to solidarity and power which are indexed respectively in singular and plural forms. Tannen (1993) has questioned this association because the pragmatic interpretation of linguistic forms and linguistic strategies is problematic: solidarity-making strategies in one semiotic context might be interpreted as power exercises in another. Tannen (1993) has also mentioned dimensions other than solidarity and power, such as closeness, equality, distance, and hierarchy although she still classified the first two as solidarity and the last two as power. To date, there has been no sufficient evidence, if any, in the literature arguing against these assumptions. In this article, we intend to provide this evidence arguing for the need to present linguistic forms from the language under study and the varied social dimensions that they can index within the solidarity-power continuum. With the study of AFs as reference forms in the Bima language, we will be able to explicate AFs for each of the social dimensions above but we will also be able to add intimacy and respect as new dimensions distinct from others within the traditional spectrum of solidarity and power.

In this article, the focus is on the indexical orders of AFs in the Bima language. Bima speakers have long histories of contact with speakers of other languages, and have borrowed AFs from these languages throughout history. Before discussing how the languages index social relations, we look at theoretical concepts developed in previous studies on AFs and how they relate to the concepts of solidarity and power. Then, we examine whether these concepts work well in multi-ethnic and multilingual non-European contexts. After surveying various AFs used in these communities, and the social identities of their referents, we can establish the indexical functions of AFs as the means of representing, constructing, and negotiating the intended “stance” (Çiftçi and Vasquez 2020) or orders (Silverstein 2003) in social relations.

## 2 Address forms and social dimensions

Brown and Gilman (1960) initiated the analysis of AFs in European languages in connection with power and solidarity. Power is an asymmetrical relationship (Foley 1997; Siefkes 2010; Tannen 1993) represented in non-reciprocal use of V (*Vous*, plural) AFs. Solidarity is a symmetrical relationship (Mousavi 2020; Tannen 1993) represented in reciprocal use of T (*Tu*, singular) AFs. Power can decrease to form solidarity through frequent contacts where like-mindedness is co-constructed and this is represented in the changing use of AFs (Brown and Gilman 1960: 258).

Kramer (1975), Tannen (1993), and Wales (1983) have been critical of the deterministic association. They argued that AFs change throughout contacts when a relationship shifts from being asymmetrical to symmetrical. Bogoch (1994) and Delisle (1986) have shown that in egalitarian communities, symmetrical AFs (for example, first name (FN)) are used among strangers. Besides, contemporary social relationships have also become more complicated (Agha 1994; Tannen 1993). Power and solidarity can be shared (as in a parent-children relationship), power can be exercised without solidarity (as between a queen and her subjects), solidarity can be shared without power (among friends), or, as among strangers, there is no power and no solidarity. Besides, as Tannen (1993) has rightly argued, power exercised in one context (e.g., suit wearing in worker-boss meetings) can be differently interpreted in another context (e.g., suit wearing in business meetings). Thus, following Tannen (1993), the true meanings of the indexical forms should be re-interpreted using the participants' interpretation which might be different from those made by researchers alone. This divides social phenomena along the power-solidarity dimensions. However, in this article, we will show that the numerous forms of title (T), FN and title last name (TLN) used by Bima speakers resist simplification to power (such as V/TLN-power association) and solidarity (such as T/FN-solidarity), and we will examine the highlighting of other dimensions.

The works of Brown and colleagues (e.g., Brown and Ford 1961; Brown and Gilman 1960) have inspired similar studies in other contexts and languages (e.g., America, Ervin-Tripp 1972 [1969], Friedrich 1972), German (Delisle 1986), Italian (Parkinson and Hajek 2004), Hindi (Pathak and Jain 1996), Greek, Chinese and Korean (Kroger and Wood 1992). These studies showed that selection of AFs is similar to other choices of language forms dependent upon speech repertoires in the community. These include macro-sociological variables (e.g., age, generation, sex, kinship status, group membership, and relative authority), speech event variables (e.g., topic, content, and social affection), and the nature of communicative networks. Some have supported the universal applicability of the T-V and

solidarity-power connection (Kroger and Wood 1992, Parkinson and Hajek 2004; Pathak and Jain 1996) while others (e.g., Delisle 1986; Dickey 1997; Foley 1997) questioned its universal applicability. Not all societies are divided along the solidarity-power dimensions; others might be more democratic and egalitarian, so that power differences are reduced (Dickey 1997). Others might associate AFs with membership and non-membership of a group (Delisle 1986) as in Javanese where *V* forms were used as nobility markers (Geertz 1960).

Brown and Ford (1961) introduced social status and intimacy as alternatives to power and solidarity. Allerton (1996) and Çiftçi and Vasquez (2020) looked at AFs as relation-shaping means rather than being shaped by participant relations. Dittrich et al. (2011) and Moreno (2002) showed how certain AFs were used due to participants' stances in discourse practices. Kulbayeva (2020) elaborated on these opposing stances in terms of hierarchy versus equality and closeness versus distance. Mousavi (2020) and Keshavarz (1988) explored how loaned English kinship terms (e.g., *xohær* 'sister' and *bæradær* 'brother') as well as other AFs have been used among the Lori people of western Iran as a means of showing respect and politeness. These forms are essentially solidary, but they index more polite and powerful stances.

Tannen (1993) has also extended the association between AFs and other forms of language and social practices with solidarity-power related dimensions. As solidarity is indexed with reciprocal use of symmetrical AFs, solidary participants address each other by *tu* or by *vous* or, in the case of English by mutual use of first name or title-last name. Thus, solidarity governing symmetrical relationships is also characterized by social similarity, intimacy, closeness, and equality. However, as Tannen (1993) has warned us, connecting solidarity to power alone is paradoxical and associating it with intimacy, similarity, closeness, and equality as other social dimensions could be even more challenging. As later shown in the study, these so-called solidarity dimensions are represented in different AFs with certain entailed limitations in "self-freedom and independence" (Tannen 1993: 167) and, thus, attributing them to solidarity alone is also problematic.

Describing power as asymmetrical relationship indexed in non-reciprocal use of AFs, Tannen (1993) also described it in other dimensions such as contextual formality, hierarchy, respect, and social distance. Contextual formality in the Bima culture requires close friends to speak formally and address each other using polite AFs for social equality although in less formal contexts they usually interact with each other using AFs for intimacy. Different hierarchies in social and professional life require different methods of exercising power where older participants have to pay respect to superiors of a younger age. In the

Indonesian situation, the Indonesian *Bapak* ‘father’ or *Pak* ‘father’ or *Ibu* ‘mother’ or *Bu* ‘mother’ plus nickname of the addressee will show the speaker’s respect to the addressee. In the Bima situation, however, those forms fail to serve both respect and closeness which are required in the Bima professional life. Thus, *Muma* ‘father’ or *Da’e* ‘father/mother’ or *Aba* ‘big brother’ or *Mbak* ‘big sister’ followed by respect nicknames is preferred depending on the social hierarchy and gender of the addressee in the society. Social distance due to an age difference, in the Bima culture, requires a different patterning of AFs when addressing older male or female referents. Although using power as the unifying term, Tannen (1993) has argued for the need to expand the dimensions, and this article, as shown below, will provide linguistic and discourse evidence for contrasting the power-related dimensions.

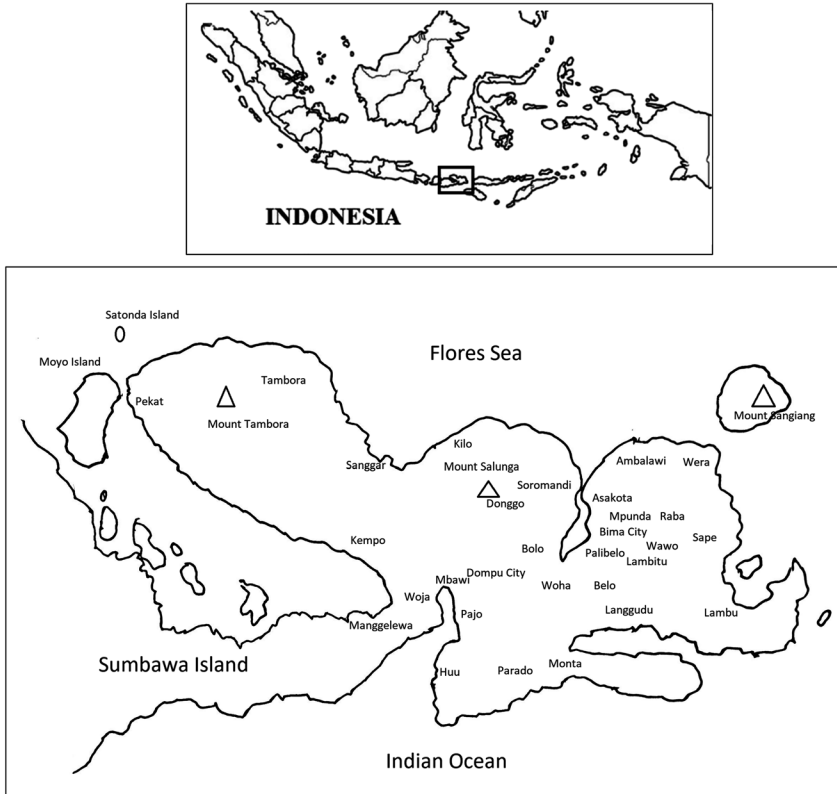
Thus, although *tu* and *vous* forms of AFs and their connection with solidarity and power dimensions have been claimed to be universal, a critical examination is necessary, particularly from non-European languages and cultures wherein the hierarchy of social relations is more intricate and has been shaped and reshaped by the history of contacts with and political influences of other cultures.

### 3 Methods

The methodology used in the study is ethnography of communication (Gumperz 1992; Hymes 2005) where documents, interviews, elicitation, observation, and recordings of interaction were used as instruments for data collection in the research context.

#### 3.1 Research context

According to the Indonesian-translated historical records of the Bima Sultanate (Chambert-Loir and Salahuddin 1999), Bima speakers have historically lived in eastern Sumbawa in the Bima, Dompu, and Bima City regions, although Bima speaking communities can also be found outside of Sumbawa Island (see Figure 1). Since the fourteenth century, Bima communities have had long-term contact with speakers of Malay, Bugis, Makassar, Arabic and Hokkien-Chinese languages, interacting initially in *Melayu Pasar* ‘market Malay’ and then in the Bima language. Since the seventeenth century, Islam was introduced and Arabic influence in Sumbawa increased. Today most people are Moslems, except the Chinese who are mostly Christians.



**Figure 1:** The Bima language area.

The people of Malay, Bugis, and Makassar backgrounds set up their own ethnic villages in the vicinities of the Bima communities (e.g., *Kampung Melayu* ‘village of Malays’ in Kore, Dompu and Bima City, *Kampung Bugis* ‘village of Bugis people’ in Bolo, Sape, Kore, Kempo and Dompu, and *Kampung Makassa* ‘village of the Makassar people’ in Bolo, Kilo, Kore, Ambalawi, Wera and Sape and in other coastal areas of the island. The Arab and the Chinese people settled around markets. None of them speak their ancestral languages anymore. They speak the Bima language as L1 and the Indonesian language (*Bahasa Indonesia*) learned at school as L2. However, AFs from the ethnic languages have been borrowed into the Bima language for bridging the gap between social classes.

Under the influence of the Dutch colonial rules, the Sultanate of Bima (Chambert-Loir and Salahuddin 1999) divided the society into seven categories in descending order: European, Chinese, Arabic, Malays, Bugis, Makassarese, and

Bimanes. The Bimanes themselves were and still are hierarchically divided into five groups called *londo* ‘line of descent’: the *Pa’duka*<sup>1</sup> ‘the kings’, the *Ruma* ‘the kings’ offspring’, the *Rato* ‘the nobles’, the *Dari* ‘the king’s subjects’, and the *Ela* ‘the commoners’. The *Pa’duka* and the *Ruma* are the high-noble, the *Rato* is noble, and the *Dari* and the *Ela* are non-noble. Due to their military and political roles, the Bugis and the Makassarese have mostly become classified as the *Rato* and some of them, with a high nobility background, intermarry with Bima high nobles, and become members of the *Pa’duka* and the *Ruma* groups.

The dominant religious role of the Malays has meant that they are mostly classified as *Rato*. They are addressed by AFs which connote their ethnicity (*encik* [2SG: male] and *encim* [2SG: female]), and these are considered as equal to the AFs used to address the Bimanes *Rato* class. The Arabs and the Chinese have mostly worked as merchants. They are addressed by AFs which connote their ethnicity (*abah* [2SG: Arab] and *babah* [2SG: Chinese]). These are viewed as respected AFs. The Bimanes *Dari* and *Ela* people have borrowed these forms as preferred AFs, enabling them to form a new sense of nobility within the groups. This information can be summarized in Table 1.

People inherit their group status from their father. All families are still classified in this way. This classification has been used in marriage consideration: high-noble or noble men could marry non-noble women, while non-noble men could not marry noble or high-noble women. Marriage does not change social status. Only recently has the prohibition against non-noble men marrying noble women been relaxed. In families of these mixed social groups, new AFs for the family are used, borrowed from other languages (dominantly from the Indonesian language *bapak* or *ayah* ‘father’ and *ibu* or *mama* ‘mother’).

**Table 1:** Ethnicity and nobility in Bima communities.

Ethnicity	High-noble (Pa’duka)	High-noble (Ruma)	noble (Rato)	subjects (Dari)	commoner (Ela)
Bima	X	X	X	X	X
Bugis	(X)	(X)	X		
Makassar	(X)	(X)	X		
Malay			X		
Arab			(X)		
Chinese			(X)		

X: Original status; (X): Attained Status.

<sup>1</sup> /‘d/ is used throughout the article to symbolize voiceless implosive alveolar sound.



The *Dari* and *Ela* groups were not granted equal cultural and political rights with the nobles until the 1998 reformation of Indonesia which opened political access to both the local nobles (i.e., the King, the *Ruma* and the *Rato*) and the non-nobles (i.e., the *Dari* and the *Ela*). Before the reformation, all political leaders were non-Bimanese appointed by the national government, but after the reformation, local nobles (i.e., the King, *Ruma* and *Rato*) were democratically elected to local leadership (i.e., *Da'e Fery* 'Big Brother Ferry' in Bima, *Da'e Bamba* 'Big Brother Bambang' in Dompu, and *Aba Quraish* 'Big Brother Quraish' in Bima City). Ten years after the reformation, the *Dari* and the *Ela* people have democratically risen to the top of local leadership, winning all democratically-elected local government positions (i.e., *Baba Lutfi* 'Big Brother Lutfi' in Bima City, *Baba Le'o* 'Big Brother Dahlan' in Bima, and *Aba Kade* 'Big Brother Kadir' in Dompu).

### 3.2 Respondents

The respondents were recruited from 32 major centres of Bima language speakers in Bima City, Bima, and Dompu. Villages were selected with relatively complete ethnic composition and with complete social stratification. Six respondents were recruited from each village: 2 of each gender in the following age categories, 10–20 years, 25–55 years, and older than 60 years old. Around 400 respondents were involved in the study, which took place in 2018, 2019 and 2020.

### 3.3 Data collection

Data were collected from 450 h of naturally recorded casual conversations, more than 400 h of elicited interviews where forms and patterns in the Bima AFs were identified, and around 400 h of informal interviews with 372 respondents. Thirty-two focused group discussions involving panels of 388 speakers of different age, gender, and class backgrounds were used to validate information obtained from the data analysis. Implementation of the techniques was facilitated by the corresponding author's status as an L1 user of the language.

### 3.4 Data analysis

Data were analyzed by identifying, classifying, describing and explaining the AFs. Transcribed and coded in Microsoft Excel, the forms were identified following Lucy's (1993) denotational meanings and Dickey's (1997) nominal, pronominal

and referential of AFs which were then categorized and explained according to Silverstein's (2003) analysis of indexical forms based on linguistic patterns, social meanings, and cultural meta-pragmatic meanings in relation to the social dimensions within the solidarity-power continuum. These dimensions were then defined and exemplified before explaining them with similar cases and findings from studies in other contexts.

## 4 Findings and discussion

In general, AFs in the Bima language come in these forms: pronouns, demonstratives, names, nicknames, and kinship terms. Due to space limitations, only pronouns, names, nicknames and kinship terms are discussed as the units of analyses.

### 4.1 Pronouns as address forms

From our data, we found a large number of pronominal AFs for speaker, addressee and referent pronouns. Table 2 presents these AFs and illustrates the nature of the relationship between the speaker (S), the addressee (A) and the person being talked about (R). These forms are singular or plural (PL) and colloquial or honorific. The choice of pronoun represents symmetric and asymmetric relations of power (Foley 1997; Siefkes 2010) mainly due to differences in age, social status and formality of contexts.

Let us see how these forms are used in conversation. Extract 1 shows how difference in age affects power relations and the choice of AFs for speakers and addressees. The conversation was transcribed from a recorded telephone call involving Edo and his sister Haja talking about a souvenir (i.e., milkfish) that the latter had to send from home.

**Extract 1: nahu versus mada; nggomi versus ita (TK 31 Line 44–49).**

*Edo (55, Male) is calling his younger sister Haja (48, Female) for milkfish that he expects her to send from home. They also mentioned their brother Darwis (50, Male).*

- (1) Edo : *Haja, nggadu Ja pu nahu uta Londe*  
 PN Send PART PART 1SG Fish PN  
 'Haja, please send me some milkfish'
- (2) Haja : *Iyo =ta pila tembe Nee =ta*  
 Yes 2SG2CL how many tail Want 2SG2CL  
 'Alright, how many milkfishes do you want?'

Table 2: Use of pronouns in the Bima language.

	S attributes higher status to A and shows respect	S attributes lower status to A	S and A are of equal age and status, are not youthful, still implies power differential	S and A are of equal age and status, are not youthful, and show respect to each other	S and A are of equal age and status, are youth- ful, and claim in- timacy with each other, still implies power differential	S and A are of equal age and status, are youth- ful, and claim in- timacy with each other
Turns/ Person	[asymmetric]	[asymmetric]	[reciprocal use]	[reciprocal use]	[reciprocal use]	[reciprocal use]
1	<i>Mada mada kaso=ta</i>	<i>nahu nami PL</i>	<i>nahu nami PL</i>	<i>nda<sup>y</sup>i=ku<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>Ahu</i>	<i>ana, ana-ana</i>
2	<i>Ita ita kaso=ta</i>	<i>nggomi (‘doho)</i>	<i>nggomi (‘doho)</i>	<i>nda<sup>y</sup>i=mu</i>	<i>omi, nomi</i>	<i>ente, ente-ente</i>
3	<i>s<sup>y</sup>a kaso=na nda<sup>y</sup>i kaso=na</i>	<i>s<sup>y</sup>a (‘doho)</i>	<i>s<sup>y</sup>a (‘doho)</i>	<i>nda<sup>y</sup>i=na</i>		<i>ges PL</i>
3 female						<i>(ha)rem rem-rem PL</i>
3 male (same age)						<i>(sa)hib hib-hib PL</i>
3 male (younger)						<i>(ja)ger ger-ger PL</i>

<sup>a</sup>/y/ is used to represent palatal glide.

- (3) Edo : ‘bee Ja mpa Ra Raka ‘ba **Nggomi** ni  
Where PART PART PRE get P 2SG PART  
‘It depends on how many you can catch.’
- (4) Haja : **Mada** Ma Ka ncewi Ku ru?u Da<sup>y</sup>e We<sup>y</sup>o ra<sup>w</sup>u ni  
1SG REL PRE more PART share brother PN also PART  
‘Should I send more including for Big Brother Darwis as well?’
- (5) Edo : Wati ca?u =na uta Londe s<sup>y</sup>a Ka Ni  
NEG Want 3SG fish PN 3SG LOC:distal PART  
‘He does not like milkfish (so do not send extra for him)’
- (6) Haja : Nggahi co<sup>w</sup>u si. Wancu Ku Hobi =na uta Londe  
say Who PART extra PART hobby 3SG fish PN  
**nda<sup>y</sup>i=na**  
3SG3CL

- (7) *ka*  
 LOC: distal  
 ‘Says who? He is really fond of milkfish.’

In the extract, Edo being the oldest son of the family addressed himself using the power pronoun *nahu* [1SG] and his sister younger than him by the diminutive nickname *Haja* (from Siti Hajar or Hagar) in line (1) and using speaker-power pronoun *nggomi* [2SG] (line 3). Being younger, the sister addressed herself using the self-humbling pronoun *mada* [1SG] (line 4) and addressed her older brother using the addressee-respect pronoun *ita* [2SG] or its clitic =*ta* [2SG] (line 2). When referring to a brother called *Da'e We'o* (line 4), the sister used the kinship term *Da'e* ‘big brother’ and referent-honorific pronoun *nda'i=na* [3SG] (line 6) whom Edo, showing his age superiority, referred to using a referent-diminutive pronoun *si'a* [3SG] in line 5.

In the Bima language, when the speaker wants to show respect and to attribute power to the addressee, they use the honorific pronoun (i.e., *ita* [2SG-hon] or *ita kaso* [2SG-hon]) to the addressee and they refer to themselves with the self-humbling pronoun (i.e., *mada* [1SG-hon] or *mada kaso* [1SG-hon]). This is illustrated in line (2) of the extract where the speaker is much younger than the addressee. When speakers want to claim that they have higher status (power) than the addressee or the referent, they refer to themselves with the speaker-power pronoun (i.e., *nahu* [1SG]), they address the addressee with the addressee-humbling pronoun *nggomi* (2SG) and the referent in referent-humbling pronoun *si'a* (3SG). This can be illustrated in the extract above where the speaker is addressing his younger sister (line 1 and 3) and referring to his younger brother (line 5). An older or a higher-ranking addressee is shown respect by the younger or lower ranking speakers by using the self-humiliating pronoun 1SG-hon (*mada* [I]) and its variations, selected depending on the degree of respect, nobility, and formality within the context. This is widespread; as Keshavarz (1988) has shown, self-lowering rather than self-raising is a common strategy for self-reference. Thus, the addressee receives an honorific form 2SG-hon *ita* ‘you’ and its variations while the addressors receive in return 2SG (*nggomi* ‘you’) or 2PL (*nggomi doho* ‘you all’). In both cases, however, when referring to third persons, the neutral referent pronoun i.e., *si'a* (3SG) is used, except for highly respected referents, to whom 3PL *si'a doho* ‘s/he all’, 3PL-hon *si'a kaso=na* ‘s/he’, *si'a doho kaso=na* ‘s/he all’, 3SG *nda'i=na* ‘we-s/he’, 3PL *nda'i doho=na* ‘we-they’, or *nda'i doho kaso=na* ‘we-they-hon’ are used.

In the Bima language, when solidarity is shared and when power difference is absent, the speakers can refer to themselves as 1SG (*nahu* ‘I’) or 1PL-ex (*nami* ‘we’ or *nami doho* ‘we all’), receive 2SG (*nggomi* ‘you’) or 2PL (*nggomi doho* ‘you all’), and

refer to others as 3SG (*siʷa*) or 3PL (*siʷa* ‘*doho*). Reciprocal use of these forms indicates the existence of speaker (S) – hearer (H) solidarity. Note that, unlike Brown and Gilman’s (1960) work showing that S-solidarity is expressed with singular or T-forms whereas H-power is indexed with plural or V-forms, in the Bima language, the use of singular and plural pronouns has no connection with solidarity or power (with one exception discussed below).

Recently, millennial speakers of Bima have innovatively reduced the S-H power gap by using *ahu* (1SG) (from *nahu*) and *omi* (2SG) or *nomi* (2SG) (from *nggomi*) reciprocally. Shortening the forms through reduction of the initial sounds above is enough of a difference for the forms to be used between participants of the same age thus indexing a respectful relation between equals. Such shortening was also found in respect kinship terms where the first syllable is dropped for endearment: for example, *baba* and *ba* ‘big brother’, *umi* and *mi* ‘mother’ and *abu* and *bu* ‘father’ and many others. One case of such use is exemplified in Extract 2 below.

**Extract 2: Ahu versus Omi (BB 21 Line 93–94).**

*Hasnah (27, Female) is talking to her neighbour Rita (25, Female) about the upcoming general election of Bima Regents.*

(1) Hasnah : **Ahu** Wati Ipi paduli =ku. **Omi** ‘doho Ede Mpa  
1SG NEG fast care 1SG1CL 2SG PL DET PART

(2) =mu paʷbu<sup>w</sup>a<sup>2</sup> ngolu  
2SG2CL Force win

‘I do not really care. Only you guys have to win (the election)’

(3) Rita : **nomi** ku ma timses re. **Ahu** ra<sup>w</sup>u Si ma penti  
2SG PART REL PN DET 1SG also PART REL important

(4) Re ngupa do<sup>w</sup>u  
DET find person

‘You are the member of the campaign team. As for me, what is important is finding votes’

Hasnah and Rita have been friends from childhood and, being noble, they were trained to speak politely. Thus, the use of *nahu* (1SG) and *nggomi* (2SG) would ruin the nobility reputation, so they employ pronoun innovation. In line 1, Hasnah addressed herself in *ahu* (1SG) and her addressee as *omi* (2SG). In line 3, Rita used *nomi* (2SG) a variant of *omi* (2SG) to address Hasnah and *ahu* (1SG) when referring to herself. Such pronouns have been widely used among millennials in social media interactions.

2 /b/ is used to represent voiceless implosive bilabial, while /w/ is used to represent labio-velar glide.

Apart from this new use by younger people, symmetric power relations can be expressed between speakers, addressees and referents. In this case, showing respect and not solidarity is expressed with the honorific pronoun *nda<sup>y</sup>i* ‘we’ and its variations. In a traditional sense, these forms represent the existence of both power and solidarity in the context, but in the local cultural sense, they highlight mutual equality, respect and politeness among adult persons of good social standing. This is illustrated in Extract 3.

**Extract 3: nda<sup>y</sup>i versus nami (BB 11 Line 171–174).**

*Usra (75, Male, a Rato, a Hajj) is telling his long-time friend Nudi (78, Male, a Rato) that Hadi or Muma Tu<sup>w</sup>a (83, Male, a Rato, a Hajj) was looking for him. They also mentioned Baka (68, Male, a Rato, a Hajj).*

- (1) Usra : *Ngena ‘ba Muma Tu<sup>w</sup>a nda<sup>y</sup>i=mu aka Nde na*  
 wait P KT old 2SG2CL DET DET PART  
 ‘Your grandfather waited for you just now.’
- (2) Nudi : *Iyo de nda<sup>y</sup>i=ku taha Wali ‘ba Haji Baka*  
 yes PART 1SG1CL stop Again P Hajj PN
- (3) *nde*  
 LOC: time  
 ‘Yes, but I was stopped by Haji Baka just now (so I was late)’
- (4) Usra : *De na ‘bune wali*  
 PART 3SG how again  
 ‘Alright, what happened?’
- (5) Nudi : *nda<sup>y</sup>i=na Ka na ne?e Keka Ompu =na*  
 3SG3CL LOC: distal 3SG3CL want Name Grandson POSS:3CL  
 ‘He wanted to hold name-giving ceremony to his grandson.’

In Extract 3, two village elders (Usra and Nudi) were talking about the village leader called *Muma Tu<sup>w</sup>a* ‘Old Lord’ (line 1) who was walking around the village looking for Nudi, but he could not find him as he was held up by *Haji Baka* ‘Hajj Abubakar’ to talk about the latter’s up-coming naming ceremony for his grandson (line 4). In line 1, by referring to the addressee with *nda<sup>y</sup>i=mu* (2SG2CL), Usra (75 y.o), a local mosque prayer leader or ‘imam’, showed respect to his addressee Nudi (78 y.o), a close friend and also a village clerk. Similarly, Nudi showed respect to himself, Usra and others (e.g., Haji Baka, line 2) by referring to himself with *nda<sup>y</sup>i=ku* (1SG1CL Line 2) and to a non-present referent with *nda<sup>y</sup>i=na* (3SG3CL, line 5).

When power is mutually shared among speaker, addressee and referent, *respect* is in play and respect pronominal AFs are used. The plural pronoun *nda<sup>y</sup>i* (1PL ‘we’) is used but it is singularized with singular pronominal clitics (CL) when

referring to singular participants as shown in the extract above. On its own, the pronoun *nda<sup>y</sup>i* is plural inclusive ‘we’ (1PL-inc) (Bull and Fetzer 2006). However, with different endings or clitics *nda<sup>y</sup>i* can express singular pronouns: *nda<sup>y</sup>i=ku* (1SG), *nda<sup>y</sup>i=mu* (2SG), *nda<sup>y</sup>i=na* (3SG), or non-singular pronouns, some of which are honorific: *nda<sup>y</sup>i ‘doho=ku* (1PL), *nda<sup>y</sup>i ‘doho=mu* (2PL), *nda<sup>y</sup>i ‘doho kaso=mu* (2PL-hon), *nda<sup>y</sup>i ‘doho=na* (3PL), and *nda<sup>y</sup>i ‘doho kaso=na* (3PL-hon). Its counterpart, *nami* ‘we’ (1PL-Exc) has no elaborate variation except for a regional variant *nami ‘doho* ‘we all’ used in Sape and its surroundings in place of *nami* (1PL-exc) in other areas.

The use of *nda<sup>y</sup>i* ‘we’ indicates equal but respectful relationships among the participants. In Extract 3, the participants are long term friends and they use *nda<sup>y</sup>i* between themselves. They act out expected adult roles without necessarily trying to be polite to each other (cf Nickerson and Bargiela-Chiappini 1996). In the Bima culture, the use of *nda<sup>y</sup>i* ‘we’ symbolizes a combination of closeness and distance, showing both intimacy (togetherness) and formality (respect) in the relationship. Millie (2009) described the situation as mutual respect (i.e., self-respect, addressee-respect and other-respect), and participants in such contexts are mutually treated respectfully. Neither has more power than the other; they have the solidarity that comes from being of similar age and having similar social roles. For this reason, equality and respect are more relevant in determining the choice of pronouns. This is in line with Mousavi’s (2020) and Keshavarz’s (1988) suggestion, that solidary forms can index more polite and respectful situations as in the case of the Iranian Lori.

## 4.2 Borrowed pronouns as address forms

Solidarity as a total absence of power difference cannot be established with the traditional pronouns listed above, and this leaves a gap for young people who want to express solidary relationships with each other. Male youngsters express close intimate connections among themselves by borrowing Arab pronouns (i.e., *ana* [1SG] and *ente* [2SG]) and English coined kinship terms (i.e., *bro* ‘brother’, and *ges* ‘guys’). These male forms can be seen in Extract 4 and only recently have female youngsters and adults begun to show group intimacy using male counterpart terms.

### Extract 4: **ana versus ente (AU 24 Line 43–45).**

*Arsi (18, Male) is telling his buddy Hama (19, Male) about his role in the campaign.*

- (1) Arsi : **Ana** Ke tu?u mbo?o Rawi ka ngolu Safa?a Ke  
 1SG DET Rise fall work PRE win PN LOC: proximal  
 ‘I fell up and down making Safaad win here.’

- (2) Hama : *De iyo romo. Wati Si wara ente de mbaru mbura*  
 PART yes Right NEG if exist 2SG PART RED break
- (3) *Su<sup>w</sup>ara ni*  
 sound LOC: proximal  
 ‘That’s exactly true. If it is not because of you, the votes will scatter everywhere’
- (4) Arsi : *Santu<sup>w</sup>i aza Bro Tugas harus dijalankan<sup>3</sup>*  
 relax only PN Job must PRE-DO-AFF  
 ‘Easy brother, the job must be done.’

Arsi and Hama in the extract were members of the same political party, *Safaad* (Syafruddin-Adi Mahyudi) (line 1) campaigning for the election of a new regent and vice-regent of the area. They have shared membership of local social networks prior to the political network and as buddies they have always addressed each other in *ana* (1SG) and *ente* (2SG). In line 1, Arsi constructed intimate solidary relationship with one of his political team (Hama) when he referred to himself as *ana* (1SG), rather than using the speaker-power pronoun *nahu* (1SG), when reminding him and others present in the context what he had done for the team. In line 2, Hama, his teammate, strengthened Arsi’s statement and his intimate friendship by addressing him using the addressee-solidary pronoun *ente* (2SG), rather than the speaker-power pronoun *nggomi* (2SG) or the speaker-addressee equality pronouns *nomi* (2SG) or *omi* (2SG). In line 4, Arsi switched to the Indonesian language using its contemporary millennial colloquial style *santu<sup>w</sup>i* rather than *santai* ‘relax’ and addressing his teammate in English *bro* ‘brother’. The mutual use of *ana* (1SG), *ente* (2SG) and *bro* ‘brother’ highlights the sense of closely intimate co-membership of the group, a social dimension that other pronouns above fail to index.

If solidarity is defined as social closeness, absence of power difference, and sharing of common interests (Foley 1997: 314) age and background (Brown and Levinson 1987), it cannot be expressed using traditional pronouns because they always imply some sort of difference. For example, when pronouns of equality (*nda<sup>i</sup>* ‘we’ and its variations) are used, they are interpreted as indexing equality in social positions between participants, but there is still a gap between them requiring them to respect each other. The same is true when T pronouns above (i.e., *nahu* [1SG], *nggomi* [2SG], and *si<sup>w</sup>a* [3SG]) are used reciprocally, they still imply power being positioned at the speaker. Thus, young speakers feel the need for pronouns representing intimate in-group closeness and they borrow them from the Arabic and the English languages.

<sup>3</sup> The speaker switched to the Indonesian language.



These pronouns, as well as other borrowed address forms, reflect *intimacy*. Intimacy in numerous studies has been seen as closeness, solidarity, and the absence of power in the context (Delisle 1986; Kullavanijaya 2000). In the Bima youth group culture, the traditional solidarity pronouns discussed above still represent power difference as they are also used by superiors to people below them, and thus they fail to construe the intimate in-group solidarity that young people want to highlight. The reciprocal use of 1SG (*nahu*) and 2SG (*nggomi*), for example, implies the sense of superiority to the speaker and humiliation of the addressee even when the initial nasals have been dropped, as *ahu* and *omi*. As markers of truly close and intimate relationships, intimacy pronouns should be used. Thus, when interacting with close friends, young male Bima speakers refer to themselves as *ana* (1SG) or *ana-ana* (1PL) and receive *ente* (2SG) or *ente-ente* (2PL) or *bro* ‘brother’. To refer to third person females, they will use *rem* or *harem* (3SG-F) or *rem-rem* (3PL-F) and, to refer to third person males, they will use *sahib* or *hib* (3SG-M, equal age), *jager* or *ger* (3SG-M, younger) or *ger-ger* (3PL-M). To both, *ges* ‘guys’ is used. Both Arabic and English in origin, these pronouns are similar to Alrabaa’s (1985) *inta/inti* and Keshavarz’s (1988) *brædær* ‘brother’ and *xæhær* ‘sister’ forms and used as in-group or comrade markers of youth group identities. The Arabic forms have probably arrived since the seventeenth century with the introduction of Islam, as well as Arabic people, language, and culture. The English forms have been used widely after the political reformation in 1998 and intensively since the turn of the 21st century with increasing use of smartphones and Facebook in Bima. In the Lori community of Iran (Mousavi 2020; Keshavarz 1988), borrowed AFs like these are treated as V-forms indexing respect and social distance. In the Bima society, on the contrary, they represent a close and intimate relation among participants without a power differential, and for this reason the borrowed forms are treated as T-forms representing intimacy.

With respect to the social divisions, a Noble uses *mada* (1SG-hon) or *mada kaso* (1SG-hon) to refer to himself and *ita* (2SG-hon) or *ita kaso* (2SG-hon) to a High-Noble or to an older Noble, but a High-Noble uses *nahu* (1SG) for himself, and *nggomi* (2SG) to equal or older Nobles and Commoners. A Commoner uses *mada* or *mada kaso* for himself and *ita* or *ita kaso* to both older Nobles and High-Nobles. A Commoner only uses *mada* for himself and *ita* to older Commoners when there is a child-parent type of age gap. Otherwise, a Commoner uses *nahu* for himself and *nggomi* to other commoners. Female speakers have the same practices. Table 2 above summarizes the forms and uses of Bima pronouns. From the table, it can be seen that, while power differentials are indexed, there is not a single solidarity dimension; rather relations of equality, respect, and intimacy are indexed.

### 4.3 Names as address forms

Names in the Bima culture are divisible into categories following individuals' biological, social and religious development: *Birth Names* (assigned to babies based on gender, i.e., [La] *Mone* 'male' or [La] *Siwe* 'female'), *Baby Names* (for different social status: offspring of kings *Ka'u*, noble families *Ko'o*, and commoners *Ke'u*), *Bima Names* (using names of plants, animals, utensils, activities, physical features, kinship status and nature), *Moslem Names* (Arabic names), *Nicknames* (NNs) (informal names coined following certain linguistic patterns), '*Pajale*' *Names* (NNs shared among married adults where NNs of the first born are used as parents' names), and *Hajj Names* (NNs given to individuals after performing a pilgrimage to Mecca),

Birth names are usually assigned when parents have not prepared names for the babies. Commoner parents and their neighbours will just call commoner babies *La Mone* 'male' or *La Siwe* 'female' according to the gender. When gender is not yet known to the neighbours, they will just refer to them as *ke'u*<sup>4</sup> 'baby'. Noble and kingly families will call the newborn respectively *La Ko'o* 'baby' and *La Ka'u* 'baby'. Failure to use the right referential forms will create an insult to the family and oftentimes result in arguments.

The Bima and Moslem names are proclaimed in a name-giving ceremony called *cafi sari* 'floor cleansing ceremony' and *keka* 'name giving ceremony'. The former is performed at the back section of the house by married women led by a female traditional midwife supervising the delivery called *sando nggana* 'birth witch doctor'. In this ceremony, baby clothes are bathed with flowered coconut water before the baby clothes *kanefe* and the cotton baby bracelet *jima kafa* can be cut off and replaced with proper child's clothes. In the case of a female baby, the cotton and turmeric earrings will be replaced with proper ones. When these processes are complete, the baby could be passed on to the father who will take it to the name-giving ceremony. Here, the father will announce the Moslem name (e.g., *Kamaludin*) and this name will be used in the baby's formal documents in life. The father might add a Bima name by selecting the name of an animal (e.g., *La Bana* 'swan'), a tree (e.g., *La Mangge* 'tamarind'), a tool (e.g., *La Wonca* 'basket') or an activity (e.g., *La Landa* 'sell') and this name or the Moslem name becomes the nickname of the baby. If he is a first born, he will give his parents new *pajale* names: for example, *Ama La Kama* 'the father of Kama' or *Muma La Bana* 'the father of Bana' or *Ina La Kama* 'the mother of Kama' or *Ina La Bana* 'the mother of Bana'. Sometimes, the grandparents are also addressed as the grandfather *Ompu*

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<sup>4</sup> The symbol '(apostrophe) in text, or /?/ in extract as in footnote 3, is used to mark voiceless glottal stop separating vowels.

and the grandmother *Wa'i* of the baby. Thus, creation of the *pajale* nicknames requires speaker's knowledge of the nicknames of the first born children of the referents in addition to knowing their social status (i.e., noble or non-noble) and the kin-relationship between the speaker and the referents. However, not only for *pajale* nicknames of parents or grandparents, the childhood nicknames like *La Kama*, *La Bana* and others above, will also be the bases for the formation of other nicknames to come in the social lives of the individual children.

#### 4.4 Nicknames (NNS) as address forms

In the Bima culture, names can be multi-syllabic, but NNs usually contain a maximum of two syllables. NNs are categorized according to functions: NNs for equality (E-NN), respect (R-NN), and intimacy (I-NN).

*Nicknames for equality (E-NN)*: NNs representing age-based equality among the referents are derived from full names (*Ngara* 'name') into short names (*Ngara O<sup>w</sup>uka<sup>i</sup>*) [NN]. Used in equal age interaction, they are called 'NNs for equality'. These forms are similar to Brown and Gilman's (1960) depiction of FN in American culture (e.g., *Bill* for William) or Afful's (2006: 280) blandishment NNs in Akan community (e.g., *Kuukuu* for *Kweku*). Let us see in Table 3 some examples of names and how they change to equality NNs as well as respect NNs discussed later.

From the samples in Table 3, we can see that equality nicknames are taken from the two most prominent syllables of the names as in (i). But when there is a non-syllabic sound in the name as in (ii), the syllables after the sound are taken as nicknames.

**Table 3:** Names, gender and nicknames of equality and respect in the Bima language.

No	Name	Gender	Equality NN (E-NN)	Respect NN (R-NN)
1	Syafaruddin	M	Safa	Sefo
2	Srise	M	Rise	Reso
3	Kaharuddin	M	Kaha	Keho
4	Karmawan	M	Mawa	Mewo
5	Syarifah	F	Sari	Saru
6	Saimah	F	Ima	Amu
7	Nurti	F	Ti	Ta <sup>w</sup> u
8	Hadneh	F	Ne	Na <sup>w</sup> u
9	Hadijah	F	Dida	Dadu

- (i) [C1V1#C2V2#C3V3C4]<sub>Full name</sub> → [C1V1#C2V2]<sub>NN</sub>  
 (ii) [C1V1C2#C3V2C4V3]<sub>Full name</sub> → [C3V2#C4V3]<sub>NN</sub>

Thus, a male person named *Baharuddin* and a female person named *Naimah* will be addressed as *Baha* and *Ima*. *Darmawan* or *Nurjanah* will respectively be nicknamed as *Mawa* and *Jana*. These NNs are used to show intimacy, equality, and speaker-power, and they are also the basis for forming respect NNs.

*Nicknames for respect (R-NN)*: In North American society (Brown and Levinson 1987), respect is shown with title + last name. In the Bima culture, respect is shown with *Ngara Liʼakaʼi* or *Liʼa* (respect NNs). Rules (i) and (ii) above are used as the bases, but, as exemplified in Table 3 above, the R-NNs are linguistically patterned according to the referent gender as in (iii) and (iv). For males, the vowels in the name generally have the /e-o/ pattern, but for females, the pattern is generally /a-u/.<sup>5</sup>

- (iii) [C1V1#C2V2]<sub>NN</sub> → [C1e#C2o]<sub>Respect</sub> | Older Male  
 (iv) [C1V1#C2V2]<sub>NN</sub> → [C1a#C2u]<sub>Respect</sub> | Older Female

Thus, male persons named *Baha* and *Mawa* above will be addressed with respect as *Beho* and *Mewo*, while *Ima* and *Jana* will be addressed with respect as *Amu* and *Janu*.

An example of conversation involving E-NNs and R-NNs as in Extract 5 will help contrast their use.

**Extract 5: Consolidation (TR LN 68–76).**

*Endang (43, Male) is consolidating with his political team: Rahman (54, Male), Halimah (23, Female), Taufan (44, Male), and Hadijah (55, Female).*

- (1) Endang : *Wati lo<sup>w</sup>a=mu nefa La Hami ro La Hama*  
 NEG able=2SG forget PN OR PN  
 ‘*daa Re Lima*  
 north DET PN  
 ‘Lima, do not forget Abdul Hamid or Siti Hawa (whose houses) are to the north of us’
- (2) Halimah : *Iyo =ta Endo*  
 Yes 2SGCL PN  
 ‘No, I won’t, big brother Endang.’
- (3) Endang : *Nggomi=ku ma lo<sup>w</sup>a nuntu La’bo si<sup>y</sup>a ‘doho ka*  
 2SG2CL REL able talk and 3PL LOC:distal

<sup>5</sup> As with the equality nicknames and thus, respect nicknames, some geographic and phonological variants exist but they cannot be elaborated on here due to space limitations.

- (4) Ita Ba Mo<sup>wa</sup>?  
 2SG KT PN  
 ‘Only you who can talk to them. (What about) you Big Brother Rahman?’
- (5) Rahman : *De Beres do<sup>wu</sup> Taki Nahu Ama Sedo*  
 DET Finish people task 1SG KT PN  
 ‘As for the people under my task, it is done. Father Syamsuddin and his family have been taken care of.’
- (6) *sa kalu<sup>warga</sup> ka wa?u Ra*  
 PRE Family DET already PAST  
 ‘As for the people under my task, it is done. Father Syamsuddin and his family have been taken care of.’
- (7) Endang : *pala a<sup>ina</sup> nefa Wali Ni sa?e e*  
 but NEG forget again PART brother PART  
 ‘But, do not forget to renew it.’
- (8) Halimah : *mada la’bo kaka Dadu Ma sa ‘bae Ede*  
 1sg And sister PN REL one Pair LOC: distal  
 ‘Big Sister Hadjah and I will take care of the east side (of the village). (They are) the family of Big Brother Taufan.’
- (9) *Kaluarga Dae Fe<sup>wo</sup> Ka*  
 Family brother PN LOC: distal  
 ‘Big Sister Hadjah and I will take care of the east side (of the village). (They are) the family of Big Brother Taufan.’
- (10) Hadijah : *iyu Nggomi ku ma ka=ruku na Tafa E*  
 Yes 2SG PART REL PRE=move 3SG PN PART  
 ‘Yes, it you Taufan who can move them (to support us)’
- (11) Taufan : *Wa?u ra ra Ka=ulu si<sup>a</sup> ‘doho De*  
 Already PAST PAST PRE=early 3PL DET  
 ‘It is already done. They have been taken care of early.’

In the extract, there are instances of E-NN and R-NN being used and these reflect age differences between the speaker and the addressee or the referents. In line 1, Endang, the leader of the team, reminded Halimah using Lima (E-NN) for her to contact third persons whom he referred to in E-NNs *La Hami* and *La Hawa*, indicating his superiority or, at least, equality in age with the referents. If his age is younger, he should have addressed *La Hami* using male R-NN *Hemo* and *La Hawa* using female R-NN *Hawu*. In line 2, Halimah heard him and being younger she addressed Endang using male R-NN *Endo*. In line 3, Endang talked to an older person Rahman and he was addressed using male R-NN *Mo<sup>wa</sup>* created from his E-NN *Ma*. In line 5, Rahman talked about Syamsuddin, a person of his father’s generation, and he paid respect to him not only using male R-NN *Sedo* but also attaching the kinship term *Ama* ‘father’ indicating the referent’s status as a com-moner. In line 8, Halimah addressed an older woman Hadijah using female R-NN

*Dadu* (from her E-NN *Dida*) and an older man Taufan using male R-NN *Fe<sup>w</sup>o* (from E-NN *Fa*). Kinship terms *Kaka* ‘big sister’ and *Da<sup>y</sup>e* ‘big brother’ were added to the R-NNs indicating respectively non-nobility and nobility statuses of the referents. More about kinship terms will be discussed later. In line 10, an older non-noble person Hadijah addressed a younger noble person Taufan using E-NN *Tafa*. Thus, nobility status does not affect the choice of AFs.

*Borrowed nicknames for respect (R-NN)*: Among the *Pa’duka* (kings) and the *Ruma* (high-noble) group, different patterns of R-NN are used. A man named *Hasan* or *Hasa* (E-NN) should be respectfully nicknamed *Heso* as in (iii), but if he is of the *Pa’duka* group he will be called *Ama Kau Hasa*, borrowing the Dutch system where E-NNs are used (e.g., *King Henry*, *Queen Wilhelmina*). If he is a religious leader, he is respectfully nicknamed *Ato Hasu* ‘Grandpa Hasan’, borrowing a female respect NN pattern as in (iv). Referring to high noble (*Ruma*) and noble (*Da<sup>y</sup>e*) male referents, Bima speakers borrow the Bugis noble kinship term (*da<sup>y</sup>e*) and the Dutch system of NNs, while for female referents, the male respect NNs as in (ii) are used.

*Borrowed nicknames for intimacy (I-NN)*: Bima youngsters make up NNs for themselves using names of celebrities. These names are called *Ngara Cepeka<sup>y</sup>i* ‘alias NNs’. The favourites for boys are names of soccer stars and, for girls, TV characters. Original names are nicknamed to sound like the stars’ names. The pattern is the Anglicized version of local names plus an apostrophe (e.g., *Beck’s* for *Abubakar* after David Beckham, an England soccer player, or *Bae’s* for *Baeti* after *Bae Suzy*, a Korean actress).<sup>6</sup> Used in in-group interactions, written in social media statuses, or painted on gathering spots, these NNs are youth group identity markers.

## 4.5 Kinship terms as address forms

Kinship terms (KTs) are used in the Bima culture where family membership is rather open. Family ties can be claimed as far as five generations before parents (i.e., great great grandparents or *suri*), although other studies (e.g., Ja’far 2007) have only reported three generations. KT beyond the five generations (e.g., *babende*, *babu<sup>w</sup>a*, *mananta*, *mana<sup>w</sup>u*, *tu?u*, and *mbo?o*) are used, but the referents beyond living memories have never been found. Oral records of genealogy are

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<sup>6</sup> The use of apostrophe ‘s’ after nicknames has been affected by the youngsters’ knowledge of English possession learned at school, and such names have been painted on walls as graffiti marking their ownership of particular areas of the neighborhood. The use of ‘s’ in some English nicknames, e.g. *Jules* for *Julia* or *Mags* for *Maggie* is not yet known to them.

transmitted intergenerationally, but only high-noble groups maintain written records. Below are the contemporary KT's in use in the Bima language.

*Traditional Kinship Terms in the Bima Language:* As is common around the world, kinship terms in Bima are based on a nuclear family consisting of parents, spouses, children and siblings. In our elicitation interview data, we found that the Bima family becomes extended through marriage creating a linking relative in the family tree:

- (a) *Ama* 'father', *ina* 'mother',
- (b) *Du<sup>w</sup>a* 'father's or mother's older sister',
- (c) *Ama-n-to?i* 'father's younger brother', *ori* 'mother's younger brother', *manca* 'father's younger sister', *ina-n-to?i* 'mother's younger sister',
- (d) *Amani<sup>w</sup>a* 'brother (to a sister)', *sa?e (mone)* 'older brother', *ari (mone)* 'younger brother', *amancawa* 'sister (to a brother)', *sa?e (siwe)* 'older sister', *ari (siwe)* 'younger sister',
- (e) *Cina* 'son or daughter of uncle/aunt',
- (f) *Ompu* 'male grandparents/grandchildren', *wa?i* 'female grandparents/grandchildren', *Da<sup>y</sup>e/Ama/Muma/Abu Tu<sup>w</sup>a* 'male', *Nene/Umi* 'female paternal grandparents',
- (g) *Da<sup>y</sup>e/Ama/Muma/Abu Tu<sup>w</sup>a* 'male' *Wa?i* 'female maternal grandparents',
- (h) *Waro* 'male', *Wa<sup>w</sup>o* 'female great grandparents/grandchildren' and
- (i) *Suri* 'great great grandparents/grandchildren'.

Note that in the Bima culture older persons must be addressed using the correct KT's and that failure to do so insults the addressee. However, when speaking to strangers of an older sibling generation, the *Ela* 'Commoner' KT's (i.e., *ama* and *ina*) are avoided and the *Dari* forms (i.e., *baba* 'father') or higher have become more commonly used. When addressing a male stranger of one's father's generation, comparing his age relative to that of one's father is essential; when older, *du<sup>w</sup>a* 'older paternal uncle' is used, treating him as an older brother of his father. Otherwise *ori* 'younger maternal uncle' is used, treating him as a younger brother of his mother. Note that *Ama-n-toi* 'small father' is used only to referents with real blood relations. With a female stranger, the same comparison should be made and, when older than one's mother, she should be addressed as *du<sup>w</sup>a* 'older maternal aunt', an older sister of the mother. But when younger, *manca* 'younger paternal aunt' is preferable as *ina-n-toi* 'small mother' is similar to *ama-n-toi* 'small father' is for blood relations. Treating strangers as if they are respected family members like this is used as a "flattery move" (Oyetade 1995) to induce solidarity from them.

In our recorded conversation data, we found that family members in the Bima society are addressed as second persons in kinship terms alone and as third persons in kinship terms + E-NNs or R-NNs. In our interviews, the respondents

**Table 4:** Kinship terms and traditional AFs in the Bima language.

KT	Address Forms				
	<i>Pa'duka</i> 'king'	<i>Ruma</i> 'lord'	<i>Rato</i> 'noble'	<i>Dari</i> 'knight'	<i>Ela</i> 'commoner'
Father	<i>Ama ka?u</i> + E-NN	<i>Ruma</i> + E-NN	<i>Rato</i> + R-NN	<i>Uba</i> + R-NN	<i>Ama</i> + R-NN
Mother	<i>Ina ka?u</i> + E-NN	<i>Ruma</i> + E-NN	<i>Rato</i> + R-NN	<i>Ina</i> + R-NN	<i>Ina</i> + R-NN
Older Brother	<i>Ama ka?u</i> + E-NN	R-NN	R-NN	R-NN	R-NN
Older Sister	<i>Ina ka?u</i> + E-NN				
Younger Sibling	E-NN	E-NN	E-NN	E-NN	E-NN
Baby	<i>Ka?u</i>	<i>Ko?o</i>		<i>Ke?u</i>	

E, equality; R, respect; NN, nicknames.

reported the need to do so, based on the referent's social strata. Table 4 summarizes the information we obtained for the recorded conversation and interviews on the KT rules for father, mother, and siblings.

*Borrowed Kinship Terms:* In the recorded conversations, there are various forms of KTs being used. Our interviews with key informants indicate that such terms were introduced through migrations of other ethnic groups to the Bima region and the socio-political changes that they brought. From 1626 to 1628, the migration of the Malays (from Sumatra), the Bugis and the Makassarese (from Celebes) assisted in the political conversion of the kingdoms of Bima and Dompu into sultanates, AFs from these languages have been borrowed into the Bima language. The migration of the Sasak and the Samawa through marriage or asylum

**Table 5:** Kinship terms and native and borrowed address forms in the Bima language.

KT	Address forms				
	<i>Pa'duka</i> 'king'	<i>Ruma</i> 'lord'	<i>Rato</i> 'noble'	<i>Dari</i> 'knight'	<i>Ela</i> 'commoner'
Father	<i>Ama ka?u</i> + E-NN	<i>Ruma</i> + E-NN	<i>Da<sup>y</sup>e<sup>1</sup></i> + R-NN	<i>Uba</i> + R-NN	<i>Ama</i> + R-NN
		<i>Muma</i> + R-NN	<i>Lalu<sup>4</sup></i> + R-NN	<i>Baba<sup>3</sup></i> + R-NN	<i>Baba<sup>3</sup></i> + R-NN
		<i>Teta<sup>6</sup></i> + R-NN		<i>Ince<sup>2</sup></i> + R-NN	<i>Ince<sup>2</sup></i> + R-NN
				<i>Aba<sup>5</sup></i> + R-NN	<i>Aba<sup>5</sup></i> + R-NN
				<i>Pu<sup>w</sup>a<sup>6</sup></i> + R-NN	<i>Pu<sup>w</sup>a<sup>6</sup></i> + R-NN
Mother	<i>Ina ka?u</i> + E-NN	<i>Da<sup>y</sup>e<sup>1</sup></i> + R-NN	<i>Da<sup>y</sup>e<sup>1</sup></i> + R-NN	<i>Ma<sup>2</sup></i> + R-NN	<i>Ina</i> + R-NN
			<i>Lala<sup>4</sup></i> + R-NN		<i>Ma<sup>2</sup></i> + R-NN
Older Sibling	<i>Da<sup>y</sup>e<sup>1</sup></i> + E-NN	<i>Da<sup>y</sup>e<sup>1</sup></i> + R-NN	<i>Da<sup>y</sup>e<sup>1</sup></i> + R-NN	KT + R-NN	KT + R-NN
Younger	E-NN	E-NN	E-NN	E-NN	E-NN
Sibling					

KT, kinship term; <sup>1</sup>Bugis, <sup>2</sup>Malay, <sup>3</sup>Chinese, <sup>4</sup>Sasak, <sup>5</sup>Arabic, <sup>6</sup>Makassar.



seeking in 1775 as well as the Arab and the Chinese as merchants in the 1800s also brought their address forms. These forms have been used by lower social classes to move up the social ladder. These borrowed forms are presented in Table 5.

AFs have been innovatively borrowed by Bima people from languages and ethnic groups in contact with them. For example, descendants of a High-noble Makassar father and a Bima mother inherit High-noble status and can be addressed with the Makassar KT *teta* ‘father’. But this form is also borrowed for the entire High-noble Ruma group even if they do not have Makassar ancestry. Descendants of a Bugis father and a Bima mother could be addressed with the Bugis noble KT *da<sup>y</sup>eng*. But this form is borrowed as *da<sup>y</sup>e* and is used to address the noble *Rato* group, older High-noble *Ruma* women, and unmarried adult women in the *Pa'duka* group. Contacts with the Sasak and the Samawa resulted in the Bima noble *Rato* people being addressed as *lalu* ‘male’ and *lala* ‘female’, used among noble Sasak people in Lombok island and noble Samawa people in central Sumbawa.

The borrowed forms have also been used by youngsters in the *Dari* and the *Ela* group to climb up the social structure. In the Bima society, married adult persons of these groups can receive two KTs (i.e., *uba* [*Dari*] and *ama* [*Ela*]) and other address forms, but young people in these groups can only receive R-NN without any KTs. To fill this gap, they have borrowed *baba* (or shortened *ba*) from the Chinese form *babah* ‘father/big brother’,<sup>7</sup> *ince* from the Malay *encik* ‘father’ or ‘big brother’ when referring to older males, *ma* from Malay *emak* ‘mother’ when referring to older, married females, and *kaka* from Malay *kakak* ‘unmarried big sister’ when referring to older unmarried females. They have also borrowed other forms such as *aba* and *abu* from the Arabic *abah* and *abbun* ‘father/big brother’<sup>8</sup> and *pu<sup>w</sup>a* or *u<sup>w</sup>a* from the Makassar *pu<sup>w</sup>ang* ‘father’. Traditionally addressed in R-NNs only, the *Dari* and the *Ela* groups, when addressed in these borrowed KTs and R-NNs, are treated like the noble groups whom are always addressed in their KTs and R-NNs. Extract 6 exemplifies these borrowed forms and the social status of the referents and from which language the forms have been borrowed. Lines (1) and (2) show one person (Ardi) talking about five different people, using five different KTs all roughly glossable as ‘big brother’. Other names are added by others.

<sup>7</sup> In origin it was used to refer to local Chinese merchants but was then borrowed by local merchants and then by non-merchant youngsters.

<sup>8</sup> This is used locally to refer to the *Dari* and the *Ama* people who have performed pilgrimage to Mecca.

**Extract 6: Invitation (BB 2 Line 57–63).**

*Situation: Ardi (21) is assigned to invite neighbours for a communal prayer at Budi's (50) home. They sorted out who would be invited to the dinner prayer: **Ba** Mo<sup>w</sup>a (Usman, 60, Male, Ela), **Abu De<sup>w</sup>o** Drahi (Abdurrahim, 70, Male, Dari, a Hajj), **Da<sup>y</sup>e** Ne<sup>w</sup>o (Noor, 63, Male, Rato), **Ince** Beko (Abubakar 58, Male, Dari), **U<sup>w</sup>a** Eco (Acon, 63, Male, Makassar), **La** Mo<sup>w</sup>a U<sup>w</sup>a La Ali (Usman, 62, Male, Ela), **Aba** Ma (Lukman, 47, Male, Ela, a merchant), **Pu<sup>w</sup>a** Le<sup>w</sup>o (Rusli, 56, Male, Makassar), **Baba** Ngoo (Ngo, 70, Chinese, merchant).*

- (1) Ardi : *Wa?u Ra unda 'ba mada Ba Mo<sup>w</sup>a Abu De<sup>w</sup>o Drahi*  
 already PAST invite P 1SG KT PN KT PN PN
- (2) *Da<sup>y</sup>e Ne<sup>w</sup>o Ince Beko U<sup>w</sup>a Eco ra<sup>w</sup>u*  
 KT PN KT PN KT PN also  
 'I have already invited Big Brother Usman, Haji  
 Abdurrahim, Big Brother Nur, Big Brother Abubakar, and  
 Big Brother Acon'
- (3) Budi : *La Mo<sup>w</sup>a U<sup>w</sup>a La Ali ra<sup>w</sup>u*  
 3SG PN KT 3SG PN as well  
 '(You should also invite) Mr. Usman the son of the father of  
 Ali.'
- (4) Hana : *Aba Ma =mu ari De re*  
 KT PN POSS: 2SG out DET DET  
 '(You should also invite) Your Big Brother Erman (whose  
 house is) across the street.'
- (5) Ramla : *Pu<sup>w</sup>a Le<sup>w</sup>o 'doo re Re*  
 KT PN south DET DET  
 '(You should also invite) Big Brother Ruslin whose house is  
 to the south (of our house).'
- (6) Ardi : *ede iyo romo re Baba Ngoo ra<sup>w</sup>u*  
 EXC yes Right DET KT PN also
- (7) *La<sup>w</sup>o wali wa?u =ku*  
 go again already 1SG1CL  
 'Yes, you are exactly right. (I also forgot to invite) Big  
 Brother Ngoo. I will go and fetch them.'

In line 1, Baba or shortened as Ba 'father' (also in line 6) is a Chinese word *babah* 'father/big brother'. Originally, it was used to refer to local Chinese merchants but borrowed by local merchants and then by non-merchant youngsters. *Abu* 'father', as well as *Aba* (line 4), is Arabic in origin but it is used locally to refer to the *Dari* and the *Ama* people who have performed pilgrimage to Mecca. *Da<sup>y</sup>e* is originally from a Bugis word *daeng* /da<sup>y</sup>en/ 'father', while *ince* is borrowed from the Malay word

*encik* ‘father’. In line 2 and 3, *u<sup>w</sup>a* is a short form of *pu<sup>w</sup>a* (line 5) which is from Makassar word *puang* /*pu<sup>w</sup>an*/ ‘father’. These forms were used to address people and their descendants according to ethnic origin. But nowadays Bimanese without inheritance to these ethnic groups borrow them as their respect nicknames.

Local use of these forms provides a sense of nobility to the name holder and enables the *Dari* and the *Ela* to rise symbolically to the social level equal to the noble groups. In the political campaigns mentioned earlier, the nobility status of contenders was oftentimes challenged, and non-noble candidates attracted more support from non-noble voters. Thus, the *Dari* or *Ela* identity of the candidate was promoted.

*Borrowed kinship terms + nicknames for respect:* KT and NNs are also used as the means of constructing nobility status among noble and religious groups. Among the king *Pa'duka* group, the KT is uniquely followed by equality NNs. This is unusual as historical records show that pre-Islam Bimanese kings were named post-mortem according to their place of dwelling, burial or political achievement: for example, *Manuru Daha* ‘The One who Lived in Daha’, *Ma Bata Ncandi* ‘The One whose Stoned Grave is in Ncandi’, *Manggampo Jawa* ‘The One who Ruled Java’ and *Makapiri Solor* ‘The One who Conquered Flores Island’. The latter was also named during his life time as *Ama Sai La Dima* ‘Dima the Father of Said’. These names continued during the sultanate period and the sultans were identified according to their dwellings or political achievements: *Manta<sup>w</sup>u Asi Saninu* ‘The One who Owned Mirror Palace’ and *Makaki'di Agama* ‘The One who Upheld Religious Laws’. But during the Dutch period, Dutch naming practices using titles were, and still are, borrowed for the kings, the queens, the princes and the princesses. They are addressed with *Pa'duka* kinship terms plus equality NNs: *Ama ka?u Kahi* ‘Prince Kahir’, *Ina Ka?u Marry* ‘Princess Mariam’, *Ruma Uwi* ‘Lord Uwi’, *Ruma Emmy* ‘Madam Emy’, *Ruma Lo* ‘Prince Lo’ and *Ruma Dewi* ‘Princess Dewi’. Since respect NNs are usually the norms when referring to older people (see Table 3), the use of FNs or equality NNs (E-NN) (see Table 4) as here cannot be attributed to the Bima cultures. This can only be attributed to the influence of the Dutch and other European cultures in contact during colonial times which addressed feudal authorities in equality NNs. Note, however, that this address system has to a great extent nowadays been adopted by the *Ruma* and the *Rato* classes.

*Borrowed kinship terms for equality:* Another way of moving up the social strata is through religious practice. Performing *Haji* (pilgrimage to Mecca) entitles people to respectful forms borrowed ultimately from Arabic. In Indonesian, men will be given the title *Haji* and women *Hajah* or *Umi*. In the Bima language, all female and male pilgrims will be respectively addressed as *Hajah* and *Haji* + E-NNs by older or equal speakers. By younger speakers, they will be addressed according to social status. *Pa'duka* male pilgrims take the *Ruma Haji* title, for example, *Ruma Haji Dole*

**Table 6:** Pilgrimage and change of AFS.

Gender	Social Strata	AFS	Post-Hajj AFS
Male	<i>Pa'duka</i>	<i>ama ka?u/Ruma</i> + E-NN	<i>Ruma Haji</i> + E-NN
	<i>Ruma</i>	<i>Muma</i> + R-NN	<i>Muma</i> + R-NN
	<i>Rato</i>	<i>Da'e</i> + R-NN	
	<i>Ela</i>	KT + R-NN	<i>Abu</i> + R-NN
	<i>Dari</i>	KT + R-NN	
Female	<i>Pa'duka</i>	<i>Ina ka?u/Ruma</i> + E-NN	<i>Umi</i> + E-NN
	<i>Ruma</i>	<i>Da'e</i> + R-NN	<i>Umi</i> + R-NN
	<i>Rato</i>	<i>Da'e</i> + R-NN	
	<i>Ela</i>	KT + R-NN	
	<i>Dari</i>	KT + R-NN	

(Haji Abdullah). Noble *Rato* males are treated as High-noble *Ruma*, and, like them, are addressed with the High-noble term for 'father' *Muma* + respect NNs: for example, *Muma Edo* (Haji Udin). The *Dari* and the *Ela* males will be addressed with the Arabic term for 'father' *Abu* + respect NNs (R-NNs). All female pilgrims take *umi* + R-NNs except those from the *Pa'duka* group who take *umi* + E-NNs. This is laid out in Table 6.

Additionally, the males can also have a change in the *Pajale* names: for example, Noble (*Rato*) *Da'e La Ane* 'the Father of Anesh' merges with High-noble (*Ruma*) to become *Muma La Ane* 'the Father of Anesh'; *Dari* and *Ela* *Baba La Hama* 'the Father of Ahmad' becomes *Abu La Hama* 'The Father of Ahmad' and *Ela Ama La Dija* 'the Father of Hadijah' becomes *Abu La Dija* 'the Father of Hadijah'. Thus, these borrowed address forms have enabled the marginal classes to move up the social scale and achieve nobility.

The *Pajale* NNs, however, are restrictedly used among adults of equal ages. They share group membership and solidarity and yet, at the same time, pay respect to each other. They do this by using borrowed KTs + NNs of the addressee's first-born child. These AFS express age-based equality (rather than solidarity) and mutual respect (rather than power). Thus, the relationship therein is equal but non-solidary and *Pajale* NNs can be categorized as V-forms. In the work of Ja'far (2007), these forms are categorized as respect form (V1-form), but our study shows a more complex order in these AFS.

## 5 Conclusion

The article has explicated various AFS in the Bima language. Some of these forms were originally from Bima but others were borrowed from languages in contact

with Bima. Singular and plural pronominal and nominal AFs have been identified and contextual dimensions of use have also been elucidated. Intimacy, equality, and respect have been found to be essential social dimensions in the use of AFs in addition to the well-known dimensions of power and solidarity. Respect and other dimensions are also dominant, rather than just solidarity or power, within the solidarity-power continuum, and this study indicates the need for a deeper re-examination of AFs, power, solidarity, and other social dimensions in other cultural contexts. The study also shows that singular and plural forms cannot serve power or solidarity alone and a wider range of communities needs to be investigated before universals of AFs can be established. In some communities, choices of AFs are determined by claims of power and solidarity, while in others, like the Bima communities, choices of AFs are motivated by the need to show respect, recognize equality, and practice intimacy in interactions.

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