

Address terms as pronoun substitutes for speech act participants in Japanese and Javanese families¹

Yoshimi MIYAKE
Akita University

1. Introduction

Kinship terms are categorized into two types, that is, address terms and reference terms. This paper will investigate the current situation of address terms for parents and children in Japanese and Javanese. Some researchers have used various alternative terms for ‘address terms’ such as vocatives, pronoun substitutes, address terms, and call expressions (Connors & Brugman 2020, Ewing 2013). In East and Southeast Asian languages, there is a strong tendency for address terms to substitute for personal pronouns (Nomoto 2020, Nomoto et al. 2020), compared to English of which pronouns have significant functions. The alternation between nouns and pronouns for 3rd person referents is a well-known phenomenon, but alternation for 1st and 2nd person referents has not well been studied. In both cases, it should be noted that English, a globalized language, shows little dynamic alternation between them.

First, this paper will identify address terms which children and parents use within the family, based on paper and online surveys given to Japanese university students and Javanese speakers living in Java. The scope of this study is confined to family address terms between parents and child and between mother and father, as well as self-reference terms both parents and child use.

2. Data

In order to investigate how current university students address their mothers and fathers, I conducted a survey of Akita University undergraduate students. 63 male students and 43 female students responded to the survey conducted in December 2021. A same questionnaire in Indonesian was electronically sent to about thirty Javanese people in February 2022. Furthermore, I also transcribed dialogues in Javanese language films called *Calon Lurah* ‘village head candidate’, *Lamun Sumelang* ‘Worry and fear’, and *Singsot* ‘Wistling’. All three of the films were produced and uploaded to YouTube between 2019 and 2021.

Javanese is an Indonesian language spoken by the largest ethnic group, Javanese, who live in the central and eastern part of Javanese island. Javanese is also known for its distinctive

¹ I thank the research project members on pronoun substitutes and address terms led by Nomoto and Sunisa for their support. I also thank Nanda Ajeng Nurwantari and Asanuma Haruka for their help on the surveys. Finally, I thank the reviewer for this paper as well as Prof. John Myhill for his comments and advice on analyzing survey result.

sociolect, which consists of three paradigms, that is Krama ‘lit. order’, Madya ‘lit.middle’, and Ngoko.

Krama and Ngoko paradigms including nouns, personal nouns, auxiliary verbs, numerals, regular verbs, definite particles, are all different from each other. Furthermore, Javanese are careful of not making mistakes in managing the use of paradigm. Krama, the highest Javanese, can also be classified into three levels, that is, *krama inggil* ‘High krama’, *Krama madya* ‘Middle Krama’, and *Krama Andhap* ‘Low krama’, The middle level Javanese, *Madya*, is heard in markets or street. Ritual speeches are in *Krama*. *Ngoko*, on the other hand, is equivalent of *futsutai*, the plain form in Japanese. When talking among friends, or speaking to themselves as monologues, they speak in *ngoko*.

3. In-family address terms

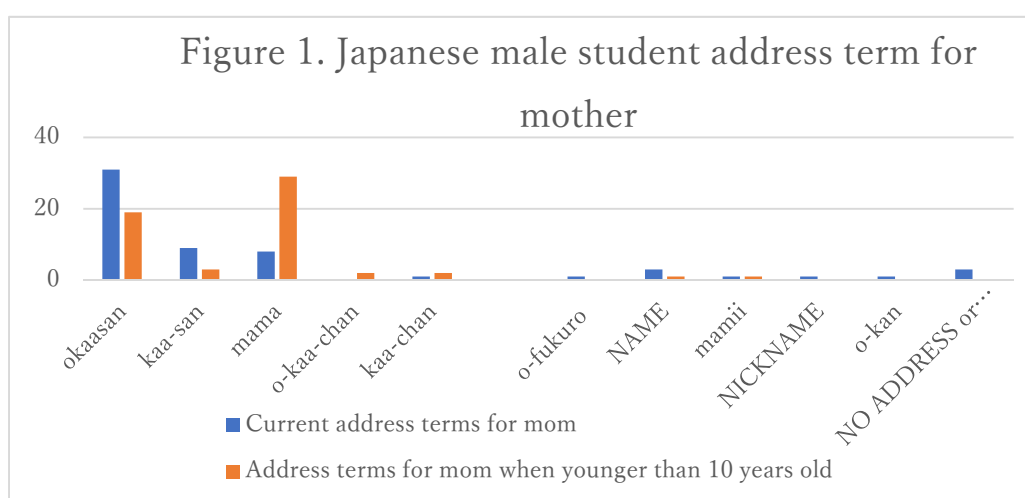
In 3.1., I will discuss terms for parents. In 3.2.1. I will discuss terms for children. In 3.3.1. I will discuss teknonymy.

3.1. Address terms for parents

3.1.1 Address terms for parents in Japanese

Address terms for mother and father each are reflected in gender difference and age difference. Male students reported twelve different addressing forms for mother and nine different addressing terms for father. The male students also reported eight different address terms when they were younger than nine years old, while female students reported six different address terms for their father when they were younger than ten years old.

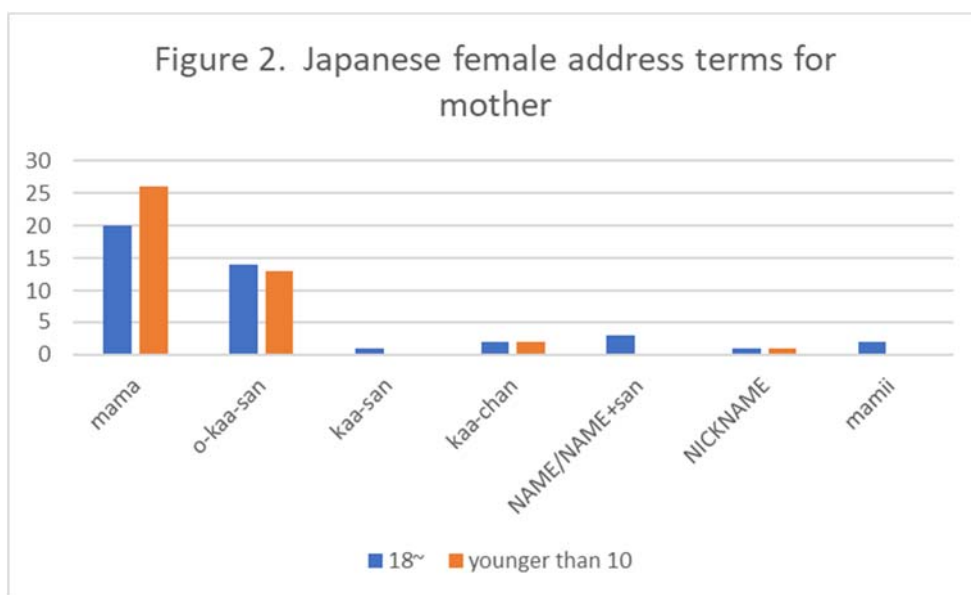
As we will see, there is a general pattern of children addressing their parents more with foreign words and then switching to Japanese words as they grow up, but this pattern shows a great deal of variation based upon the gender of the speaker, whether the mother or father is being addressed, and individual differences.



Both male and female student address term for mother shows an age grading, with male students being more drastic. Figure 1 shows the terms used by male students to address their mothers today and when they were less than 10 years old:

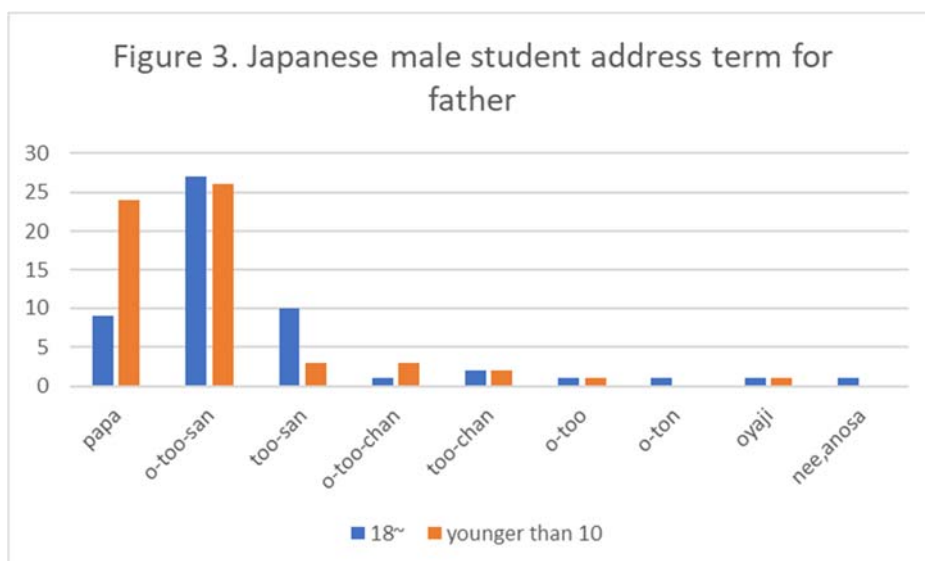
29 boys younger than 10 years old used to address their mothers 'mama' (50%) but only 8 of them (14%) keep addressing their mother with 'mama'. On the other hand, the number calling their mothers *o-kaa-san* (DEF-mother-HONOR.SUFFIX) or *kaa-san* (mother-HONOR.SUFFIX) increases from 38% (33+5) to 69% (53+16).

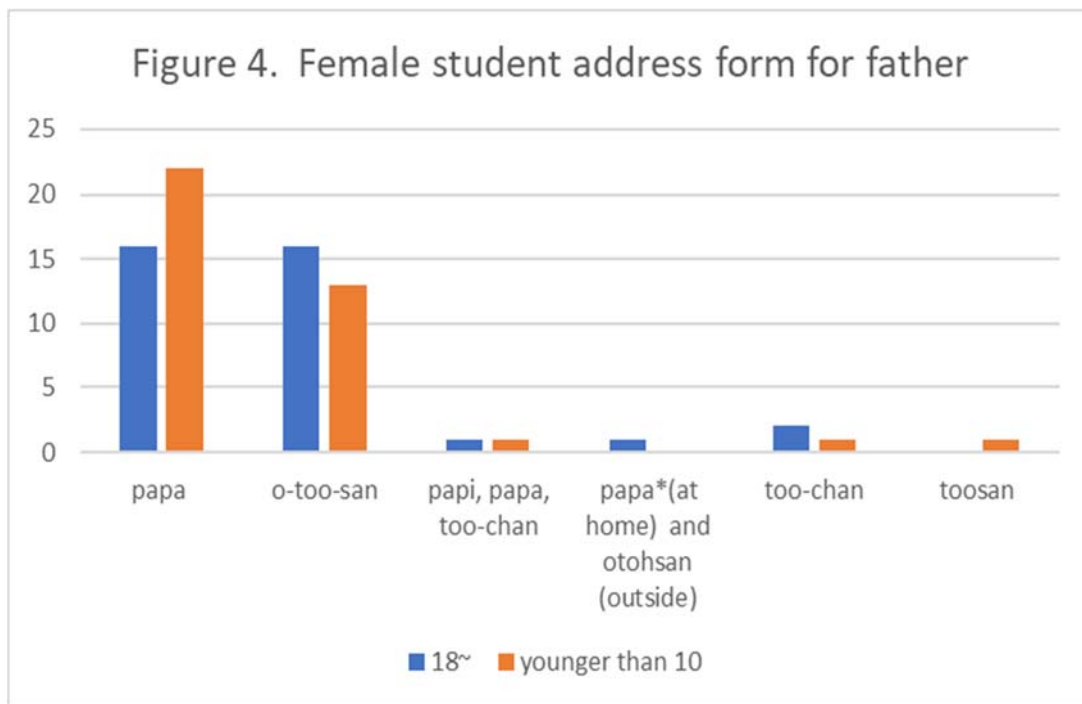
Figure 2 shows that data for females addressing their mothers is very different:



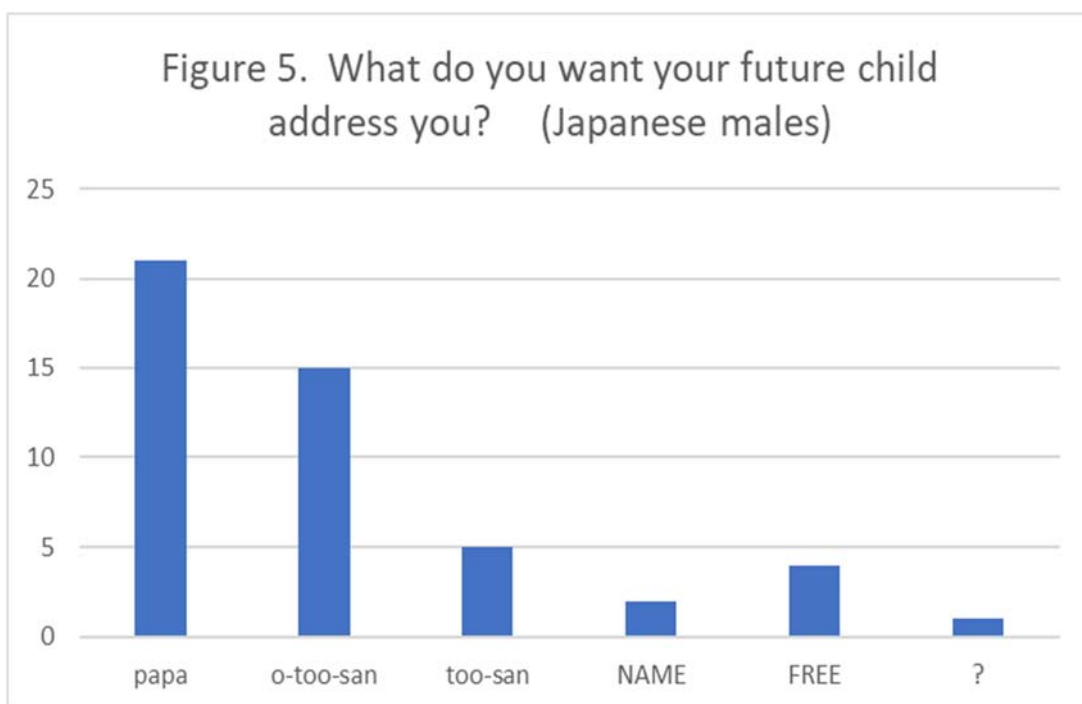
We see here that relatively few female students change their address form for their mother—the difference is only 15% (62-47), as opposed to 36% (50-14) for males. It seems that 'mama' is not so embarrassing for female students as male students.

Figures 3 and 4 show male and female address forms for their fathers:

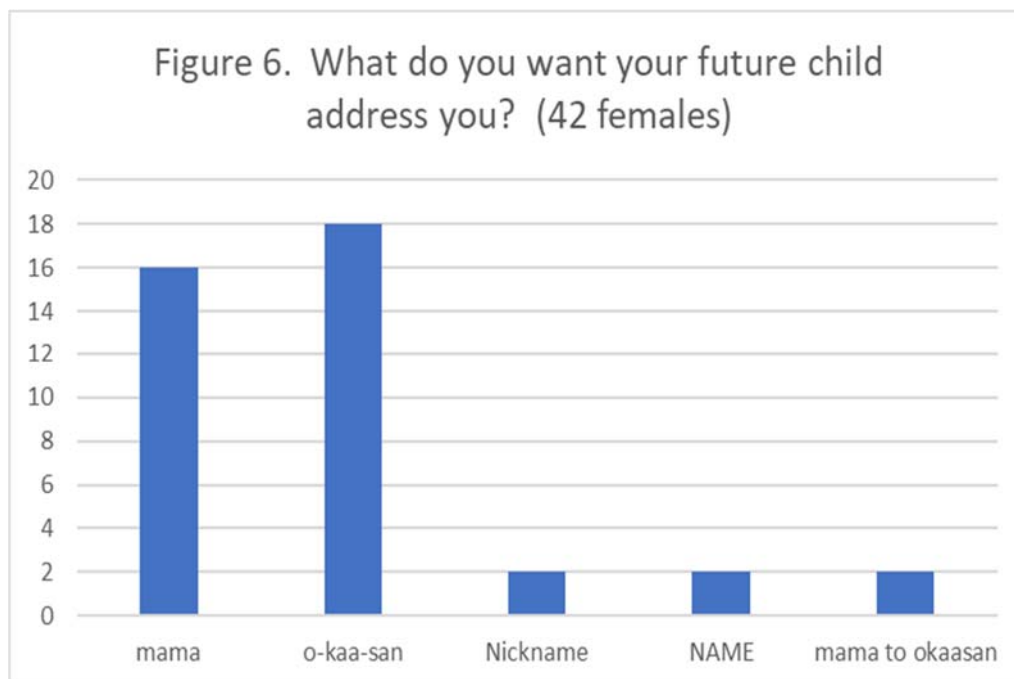




Males think that addressing their parents with ‘western’ terminology *mama & papa* is childish and embarrassing so they change their addressing to more like that of ‘grown-up’s. This dilemma at adolescence period is reflected in their answer to the question ‘How do you want your future child address you?’ in a rather complex way, below.



Female student responses are shown in Figure 6.



Differently from their childhood address terms for their parents, the address term female students want their children to address them with *o-kaasan* (43 percent), which is 5 percent more than *mama*. Sixty two percent of female students used to address their mother *mama* when they were small, but only thirty eight percent of female students want their first child address them with *mama*.

Many male students changed their childhood address term *papa* (24%) to *o-too-san*, *too-chan*, *too-san*, *oyaji*, etc. but being asked what they want their future child address them, 43% of the respondents want their child address themselves with *papa*, saying that *papa* sounds cute.

Male students have more various address terms for mother and father, compared to female students, connoting that they wonder what they should address their parents. Two students said, 'I have no address terms for them. When I need to call her, I would just say, 'Chotto 'lit. a little'hey' or Anoo 'lit. 'that''.

Two of three respondents who said that they address their parents by their last name, or last name plus a suffix *-san* for mother explained reasons why they became to address their parents with their name as follows--they missed a right opportunity to shift their address terms from 'childish' *papa* and *mama*.

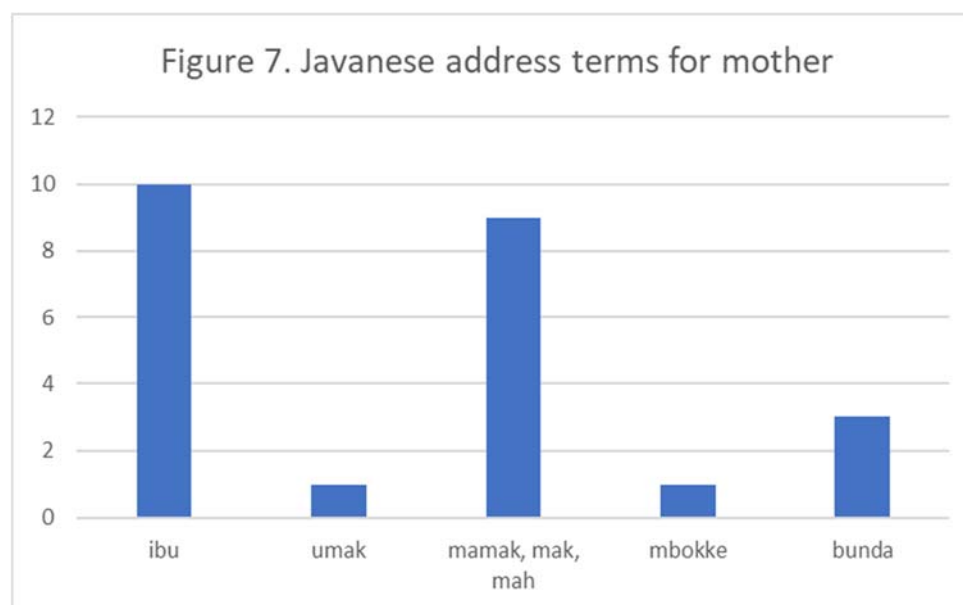
3.1.2. Address terms for parents in Javanese

The prescriptive addressing terms for mother and father are shown as shown in Table 1:

	mother	father
Krama (High Javanese)	<i>ibu</i>	<i>bapak</i> , <i>rama</i> (Krama Inggil)
Madya (Mid Javanese)	<i>ibu</i>	<i>bapak</i>
Ngoko (Low Javanese)	<i>mbok</i> , <i>umak</i>	<i>bapak/pak</i>
Cf. Bahasa Indonesia	<i>ibu</i>	<i>ayah</i>

Table 1. Addressing terms for father and mother in Javanese

In the survey data, *rama*, father in super high Javanese, was not used at all and a Ngoko *mbok* was only used in the form *mbokke*. For ‘mother’, aside from *ibu* and *mbokke*, the Western forms *mamak*, *mak*, and *mah*, and a literary *bunda* ‘mother’ and probably a deviated Arabic loan word for mother, *umak*², were observed³. For ‘father’, *bapak*, its derivative abbreviation form *pak/pakke*, and the Western words *papa* and *papah* were used. The data for ‘father’ and ‘mother’ respectively are shown in Figures 7 and 8 (there was no significant difference between male and female respondents and there were only 30 responses, so these are grouped together):

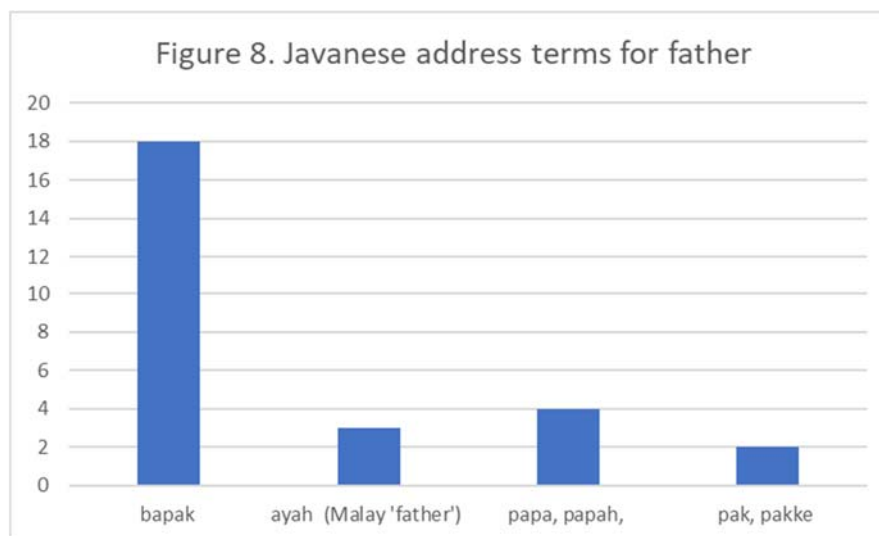


I see here that *bapak* is used by more than 60 percent of the Javanese respondents, while the Javanese term for mother, *ibu*, which originates from middle to high Javanese and is a

² Umak, originally *umma* in Arabic, could denote ‘his mother’. Robson’s Javanese English Dictionary lists *umi*, ‘my mother’ in Arabic, as a Javanese term for ‘mother’, but not *umak*.

³ *Mamak* and *mak* can be a result of glottalization of the final vowel /a/, which is not uncommon to Javanese, while *mah* may be the second syllable of *mama* with a voiceless glottal fricative of the final vowel /a/ of *mama*, as seen in *papah*.

cognate of Bahasa Indonesia *ibu*, has become the most common address form for adult women. The Western forms *mamak*, *mak*, and *mah* for ‘mother’ are considerably more common (38%) than the Western forms *papa* and *papah* for ‘father’ (19%).



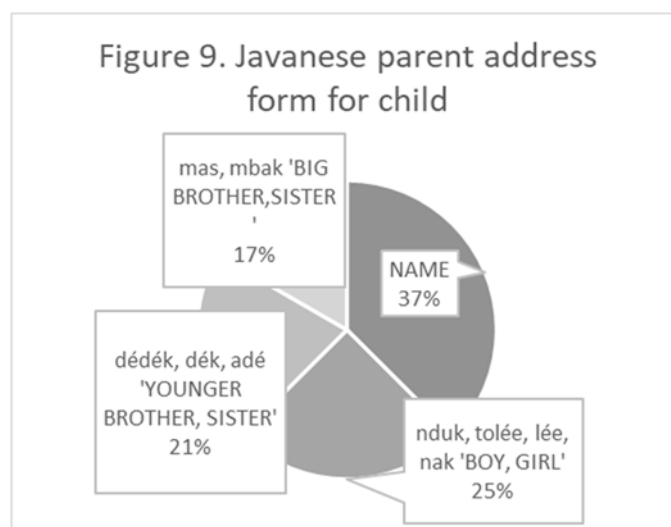
It also should be noted that Indonesian (Malay) *ayah* ‘father’ is used by 11% of the Javanese respondents. This may be a trend in the future. Ms. P, a Javanese mother of two little children, says that she wants her children to speak Bahasa Indonesia in the family. Her children acquired Javanese while playing with neighbors, but when children start going to school, Bahasa Indonesia is the language of teaching. In Java, Javanese language and literature is taught only up to the sixth grade of the elementary school. The more education-oriented a family is, the less Javanese they use in the family—this tendency seems to continue in the future.

According to the survey results, none of the Javanese respondents changed their address terms for father and mother when they got older.

3.2. Parents’ address terms for children

Javanese has a large number of address terms for children. According to Javanese, rather than addressing their children with their name, using family terms sounds more intimate. See the data in Figure 9 (both fathers and mothers gave similar answers for terms for their children, so these are not distinguished here):

Only 38% of the respondents are addressed by name by their parents. Even though the respondents are all more than 20 years old, 25% are addressed by their parents with terms associated with children, such as *nduk* ‘daughter’, *tolé* ‘son’, or *nak* (a short form of *anak* (‘child’) in Indonesian). There are also only two respondents whose parents changed their address forms when they became older than nine years old, that is, one changed from *tole* to his name, while the other one did the other way round, from NAME (Inten) + diminutive to *tek Inten* ‘little girl’ Inten. The remaining 38% are addressed with terms reflecting their place in the



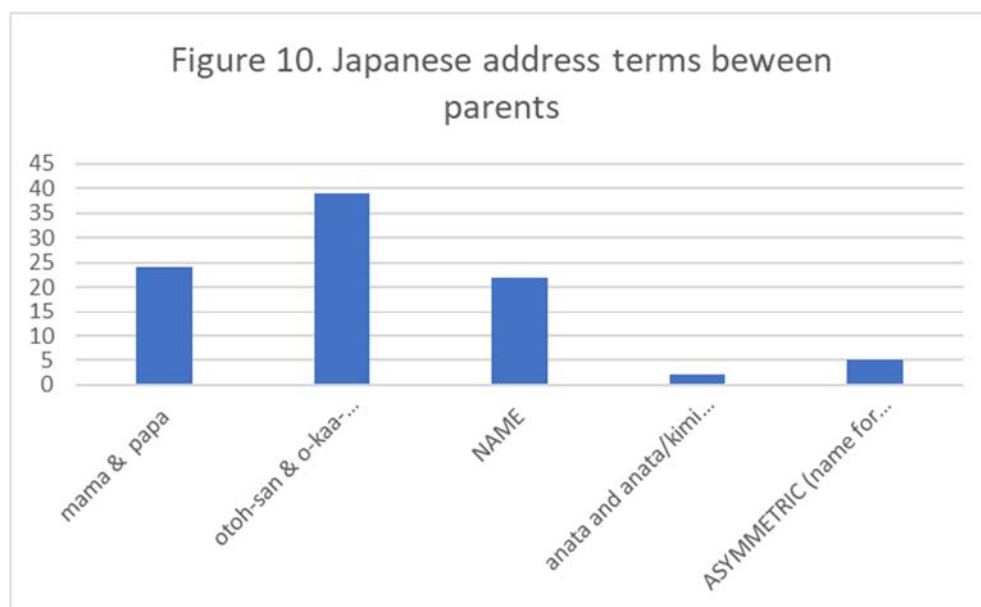
order of siblings. It is significant that Javanese feel that addressing children with address forms rather than names sounds more intimate to them, so that these forms still reflect intimacy even towards grown-up children.

I did not ask Japanese students about how their parents address them because the Japanese family terms which are used for reference parallel to the Javanese words mentioned in Figure 9 are never used as address terms. Only names are used for address.

3.3. Teknonymy

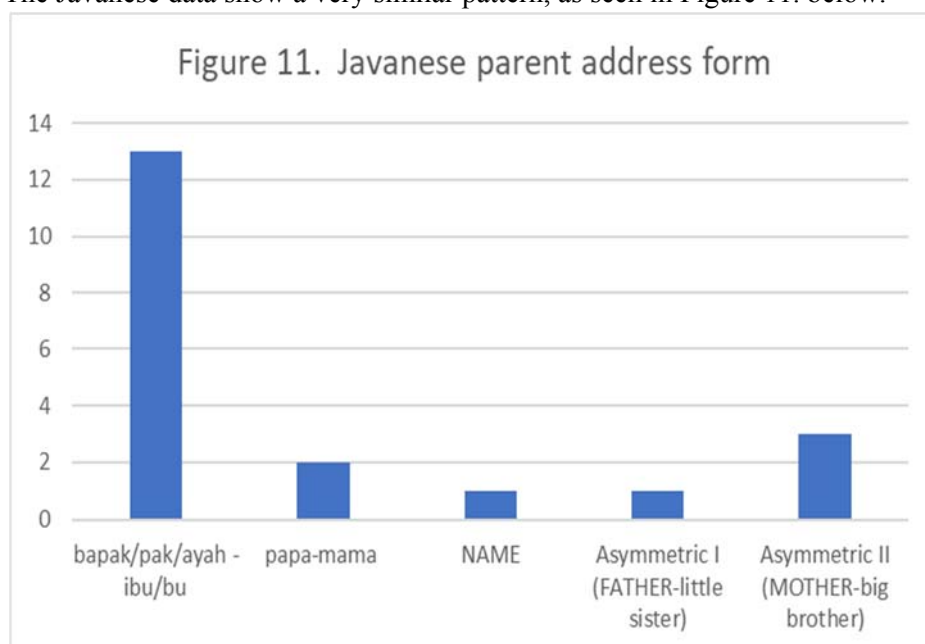
Teknonymy is an addressing system within kins, where the kin member is addressed from the youngest member's point of view, so that for example someone can be referred to or addressed as something meaning 'older brother/sister, father/mother, grandfather/grandmother, etc. even by people who do not have this relationship to the person (Geertz, C. 1960). So, for example, when a second child is born, his/her older sibling is addressed as something meaning 'big brother/big sister' by the family members, and parents may be referred to or addressed as 'father/mother' by each other, dare care teachers, etc. Almost all natural languages have teknonymy to varying degrees, and Asian languages especially show this tendency strongly (Nomoto et al. 2020). The teknonymy system of Japanese and Javanese is equally important. I will detail here the teknonymic address terms used between parents in Japanese and Javanese based on the survey results.

Addressing terms between parents show strong teknonymy in both Japanese and Javanese. Look at in Figure 10:



Address forms meaning ‘father/mother’ in Japanese are *o-too-san/o-kaa-san*, *papa/mama*, or less common forms such as *o-too/o-kaa*, *papa/o-kaa-san*, *papa-san/kaa-san*. Cases categorized as ‘asymmetric’ include situations in which one parent is addressed with NAME + suffix for intimacy *-chan* or a politeness suffix *-san*, while the other parent is addressed teknonymically such as *mama*. Parents who address each other with individual name or pronoun are 26 percent of the respondents. In this case, a second-person pronoun *anata* or *kimi* is mutually used as an address term between the parents. Two percent of the respondents answer that their parents address each other in this way. It also should be noted that 6 percent of the respondents report that mother addresses her husband with FATHER paradigm while father addresses his wife with her given name. A reversal pattern is not found.

The Javanese data show a very similar pattern, as seen in Figure 11. below.



Interestingly the ratio of Javanese respondents whose parents address with each other with terms of FATHER & MOTHER, that is, *pak & bu*, ‘shortened form from *bapak* ‘father’ and a shortened form from *ibu* ‘mother’, *bapa* ‘dad’, *ayah* ‘father, INDON’ & *ibuk* ‘mommy’ and ratio of Japanese respondents whose parents address each other with FATHER-MOTHER paradigm are similar, that is, 78 percent and 75 percent each. To the category of Asymmetry, belongs a pair of addressing forms *ayah & dek* ‘father & little sister’, and another pair *mas & bu* ‘big brother’ & mommy’.

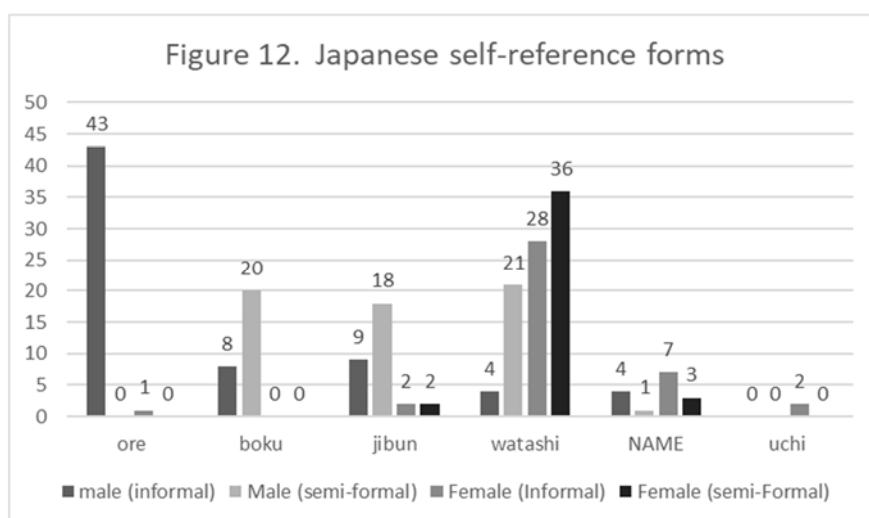
The majority of Javanese couples address each other with *kangmas* or its short form *mas & dhek* ‘big brother and little sister’(Miyake 2021), and when they have a child, they shift these address terms to *bapak & ibu* ‘father and mother’ or its short form *pak & bu*. This survey result shows that the majority of the respondents’ parents address with each with FATHER-MOTHER paradigm, connoting that the respondents’ parents have moved from BIG BROTHER-LITTLE SISTER paradigm to FATHER-MOTHER paradigm.

4. Self-reference

The teknonymy tendency in family address forms is also reflected in self-reference form, where the speaker refers to himself/herself with a form other than a pronoun. Japanese self-reference terms reflect gender, formality, and politeness. On the other hand, Javanese self-reference terms do not reflect gender, but they do reflect formality and politeness based on seniority, social class, and the speaker’s attitude toward Bahasa Indonesia and Javanese. Japanese and Javanese self-reference forms will be discussed in 4.1 and 4.2 respectively.

4.1. Japanese self-reference terms

Japanese self-reference terms are clearly different between males and females. The terms *ore* and *watashi* in particular index gender differences. Look at Figure 12:



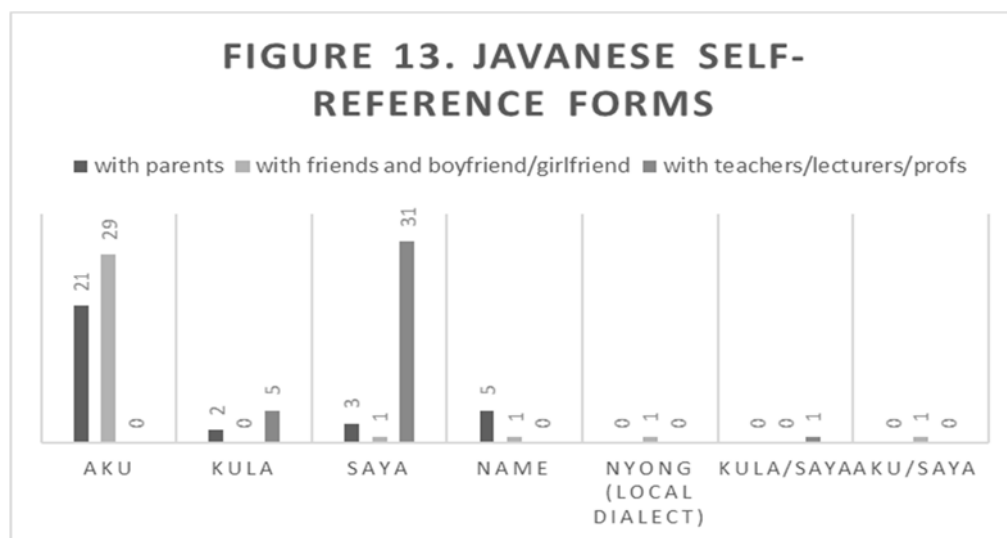
As you can see, 63% of the male respondents refer to themselves with *ore* at home as

well as in front of their peers and girlfriends. On the other hand, 70% of the female respondents refer to themselves with *watashi* as was expected. It should be noted, however, that 17% of the female respondents (about $\frac{1}{6}$) refer to themselves with their given names. The situation is different when talking to lecturers or professors. In talking with their lecturers or professors, male students avoid *ore*, switching their self-reference terms to either *boku*, *watashi*, and *jibun*. On the other hand, female students do not show a distinctive change—they refer to themselves with *watashi* when talking with their family members or friends, and also with lecturers or professors. They do, however, decrease their use of their name from 17% to only 7%.

So self-address terms in front of teachers/lectures are different between males and females. We assume that talking to the teachers/lecturers is formal, so on the axis of formality, male use three different self-reference terms equally, that is, *boku*, *jibun*, and *watashi*. On the other hand, female students whose default informal self-reference form is *watashi* can keep that *watashi* in front of teachers/lecturers as well.

4.2. Javanese self-reference terms

Like Japanese, Javanese has various pronouns according to its deferential and politeness practice. It should be noted that there is no gender difference in Javanese self-reference terms. Look at the data in Figure 13:



The most used indigenous self-address terms, 1st person *aku* in Ngoko and *kula* in Krama, are class-contrastive, while *saya* is the first person pronoun which has been borrowed from Bahasa Indonesia. Figure 20 shows that *aku* is the dominant form when talking to parents and friends. 6% of the respondents refer to themselves with *kula* but when talking with teachers or lecturers, they do not use this Krama form—instead, 88% use only the Bahasa Indonesia form *saya*. This is related to the fact that, with few exceptions, Javanese students shift to Bahasa Indonesia at universities, showing that Javanese codeswitch from Javanese to Bahasa Indonesia in the context of higher education.

4.3. Self-reference with names

The survey results shows that 16% of the Javanese respondents said that they address themselves with their names when talking to their parents. We have already seen that this is also common among female Japanese when talking to people in their family. Referring to oneself with one's own name in Japanese context has been considered childish, as a phenomenon which indicates that the child cannot distinguish between reference to him/herself and the address term for the child which her/his parents or older siblings use when addressing him/her (Chino 1989). However, our current study shows that 17% of the Akita University female students address themselves with their given name. This survey result suggests that use of given name as the first person pronoun can be an indicator of intimacy between interlocutors, instead of childishness. One female student answered that her self-address term within her family and close friends is her given name, and that when talking with her lecturers/ professors, she uses *watashi* or her given name as her self-address term, depending on *nakayoshi-do* 'a level of rapport' with the lecturer/professor. A Javanese male whom I interviewed states that using his/her own name as the first person pronoun is a self-centered act. This linguistic behavior is observed more among urban young speakers. Using one's given name as a self-address term in English is not so common, and thus it is likely to be considered a childish act, with a few exceptions.

5. Imposter

Imposter is a situation in which the personal pronoun and the actual subject (speaker) are not identical (Collins & Postal 2012, Nomoto 2020). Using his/her own name as the first person pronoun is also one of the imposter forms.

The concept of imposter has been discussed in the context of use of address term instead of the first person pronoun as seen in (1)- (5) in Japanese and Javanese:

To his/her/their child (ren) :

Japanese (speaking to one's child)

(1) Kaa-san ga yatte ageru.
 Mommy SUB do BENEf
 'I (Mommy) is doing (this for you).'

(2) Mama to papa ima iku kara ne.
 Mommy and daddy now go CON DP
 'We (Mommy and Daddy) are coming (there) now.'

(3) Kaa-san no iu koto kiite.
 Mommy GEN say thing listen
 'Listen to me (Mommy).'

In Javanese, too, similar sentences can be observed.

Javanese (speaking to her grown-up children)

(4) Ibu tak gawe kopi.
mom proclitic make coffee

‘I (Mommy) is going to make coffee.’

(A small girl named Ningsih talking to her father in a Javanese village, *Lanum Sumelang*)

(5) Ningsih kepingin sega, pak.

NAME want rice daddy

‘I (Ningsih) want rice, daddy.’

5.1. Tak of propositive construction

A proclitic of propositive construction *tak* is unique to Javanese sentence of which the agent is 1st person singular (Connors and Burgman 2020, Miyake 2021). In the imposter usage, the proclitic *tak* follows the agent. For example, in (6), taken from the film *Calon Lurah* ‘Village head candidate’ 2021, the male protagonist named Hapid refers to himself with Mas Hapid (‘Big brother Hapid’) when talking to his girlfriend, Lestari, and this is followed by the proclitic *tak* (it also should be noted that Hapid addresses his girlfriend, Lestari, with *dhek* (little sister))

(Talking to his girlfriend:)

(6) Mas Hapid **tak** pamit dhisik, dhek.

Big Bro. NAME 1st P. CLITIC excuse now little sister

‘I (Big brother Hapid) am leaving now, little sister.’

In the film *Singsot* ‘whistling’, too, address term plus the *tak* plus a verb *omong* ‘to say’ is observed as shown in (7).

(to the speaker’s grandchild, from *Singsot*)

(7) Simbah **tak** omong.

grandma 1pp say

‘I (Grandma) am telling (you).’

In languages with pronoun-verb agreements, when imposter occurs, the surface subject influences the subject-verb agreement as seen in English sentence (8) .

(8) Mommy **is** (***am**) taking care of that.

Modern Hebrew, which is sensitive to grammatical gender and number, also follows this rule. In (9), although the speaker is the subject, the subject *ima* ‘mother’ is 3rd person

singular feminine, so the verb *amra* ‘(she) said’, 3rd person singular subject agreement, instead of *amarti* ‘(I) said’ follows:

- (9) Ima **amra (*amarti)** lax.
 mom said, PAST.3p.FEM. SING. to you 2p.FEM.SING.
 ‘I (Mommy) said to you (a little girl).’

In both Japanese and Javanese, the imposter usage of words meaning ‘father/mother’ is associated with the idea that the subject feels protective towards the addressee. Not only parents, but older siblings as well as boyfriends also can exhibit this characteristic. For example, sentence (7) above shows that Mas Hapid, Lestari’s boyfriend, is also a protective figure for his girlfriend Lestari, as he constantly refers to himself as *Mas Hapid*, in front of her.

I argue that this imposter situation of family dialogues, in which protective characters in family refer to themselves with words meaning ‘father’, ‘mother’, or ‘older sibling’ is used to reconfirm the relations, functions, and emotions of each of the family members. English speakers consider this act as a process of child raising. Therefore, this action should be terminated when the child grows up.

It also should be added that the imposter situation can easily occur in Japanese and Javanese because these languages are not bound to subject-verb agreement like English and Hebrew, so that the 1st person pronoun ‘I’ can easily be replaced by the address term which the addressee usually uses to address the speaker. In Javanese case, the proclitic *tak* can also be added to the place of the 1st person pronoun.

6. Conclusion

The alternation between nouns and pronouns for 3rd person referents is a well-known phenomenon, but this alternation for 1st and 2nd person referents has not been well studied. This paper has addressed this issue. First, I discussed our surveys on address terms conducted to about 100 Japanese and 35 Javanese students in December 2021 and January 2022. The result shows that Japanese male students start being concerned about ‘getting grown-up’ so they start avoiding *mama* and *papa*, because they consider that they are markers of dependency on their parents. Girls, on the other hand, are less concerned with the appearance of childishness or dependency. Javanese do not show age grading or gender difference in this respect.

Both Japanese and Javanese have various terms for self-reference. The self-reference terms they use among family and the self-address terms which they use when talking with their peers and boyfriends/girlfriends are not very different, except a few Javanese who apparently speak to the parents with a High Javanese first person pronoun, *Kula*. Both Japanese and Javanese students shift their self-reference terms when talking with teachers/lecturers/professors. Japanese female students keep their default term *watashi* in the formal situation, while male students code-switch from an informal *ore* to three different formal ones, which include *watashi*. Javanese, on the other hand, switch from plain Javanese 1st person pronoun *aku* to Bahasa

Indonesian 1st person pronoun *saya*, showing that in the educational space and a relatively formal situation, Bahasa Indonesia becomes dominant.

A rather high frequency of self-reference with one's own name is found among Japanese (particularly females) as well as Javanese students. Both languages are of strong teknonymy-type. Teknonymy has an especially strong effect in Javanese regardless of age and gender differences of the interlocutors. In both languages, the majority of the parents address with each other with 'father/mother' paradigm, which might lead to the imposter usage, that is, parents refer themselves with the family address terms in front of their children, based on the teknonymy rules.

Studying address forms can lead to linguistic studies of referencing and pronoun substituting, as well as sociolinguistic and politeness studies (Brown and Levinson 1987). Studies on the axes of social class, gender, and educational level will be able to show the more dynamic situation of the address terms. This study was confined within in-family address terms, and it should be extended to include non-family address terms, which will lead to the second stage, i.e. address terms being used as pronoun substitutes, titles, tags, hedges, fillers, and other phenomena.

Abbreviations:

BENEF: benefactive	SING: singular
CON: connective	SUB: subject
DEF: deferential	2P: second person
DP: discourse particle	3P: third person
FEM: feminine	

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