THE USE OF INDONESIAN FIRST-SINGULAR-PRONOUNS BY STUDENTS INTERACTING WITH TEACHERS: *SAYA* OR *AKU*?

Elisabet Titik Murtisari, Dea Devina Fabrian, Rosyana Diva Lolyta, Desy Rizki Lukitasari, Venny Christayani Rahardjono, Venny Christayani Rahardjono Faculty of Language and Arts, Universitas Kristen Satya Wacana elisabet.murtisari@uksw.edu

Abstract

This paper discusses students' selection of the Indonesian pronouns saya and aku '1sg' when speaking with their teachers. Saya is traditionally prescribed to be the standard form to show politeness and respect. However, it has been observed recently that some students have started to use the more informal version, which is aku. This mainly observed in schools located in the national capital of Jakarta. The overall aim of this study is to describe the use of the pronouns and reasons why high school students in a small city in Central Java select a particular personal pronoun. This study is important because we need to understand student-teacher relationships in the modern Indonesian society. By involving 247 students from a public school and a Christian private school in the city of Salatiga, the research finds a move towards the use of the more informal self-reference aku towards teachers. In addition, the degree varies depending on the school. The study also suggests that there is a possible shift from "negative/independence" to "positive/solidarity" politeness among senior high school students in their interaction with their teachers.

Keywords: lsg, politeness, student-teacher communication

Abstrak

Penelitian ini mengkaji pemilihan kata ganti orang pertama tunggal 'saya' dan 'aku' oleh siswa ketika berbicara dengan guru. Menurut kaidah tradisional, kata 'saya' merupakan bentuk yang baku untuk menunjukkan kesantunan dan rasa hormat dalam Bahasa Indonesia. Namun, akhir-akhir ini telah diamati bahwa siswa di Jakarta mulai memakai bentuk 'aku' yang lebih informal. Karena itu studi ini bertujuan untuk mendeskripsikan penggunaan kata ganti "aku" dan "saya" beserta alasan-alasannya oleh para siswa sekolah di kota kecil di Jawa Tengah. Studi ini sangat penting untuk memahami hubungan antara siswa dan guru dalam masyarakat modern Indonesia. Dengan melibatkan 247 siswa dari sekolah menengah atas negeri dan sekolah Kristen swasta di Salatiga, studi ini mengindikasikan telah adanya perubahan ke arah pemakaian kata ganti yang lebih informal antara sejumlah siswa saat berkomunikasi dengan guru meskipun presentasenya berbeda antar sekolah. Hasil penelitian juga menunjukkan kemungkinan adanya perubahan dari kesopanan negatif/independen ke positif/solidaritas dalam pemakaian kata ganti oleh para siswa terhadap guru.

Kata kunci: Aku, saya, kata ganti orang pertama, kesopanan, komunikasi antar siswa dan guru

1. Introduction

Personal pronouns are one of the most common forms to address terms. Their use often represents significant sociolinguistic factors, such as in the case of the Indonesian first personal singular pronouns *aku* and *saya* '1sg'. These two pronouns are used in different

contexts depending on factors, such as the degree of formality, setting of the communication, age and social distance between the speaker and the addressee. *Aku* is generally used in informal contexts with people close to the speaker. *Saya*, on the other hand, tends to be used in formal settings or in contexts in which the addressee is distant or more superior than the speaker. *Saya* is believed to be more polite than *aku* because the pronoun *saya* evokes the sense of respect and non-presumptiveness in front of the interlocutor. Therefore, it is also considered to be the neutral form (see Djenar, 2007; Flannery, 2010). The pronoun is traditionally prescribed as the appropriate form to use by a student when communicating with teachers as they are seen as patrons, equal in position to parents.

In recent years, it has been observed that some students have started to use the more informal version, which is aku (Dewi & Vicky, 2008). Further studies are necessary to discover how the pronouns are used by the younger generation. Part of a larger project on the use of *saya* and *aku* describes the practice of students of two high schools which demonstrates a higher use of *aku* and the following reasons for the code selection. This research is significant to better understand how today's Indonesian youth interact with their teacher.

lsg pronouns have been categorized as terms of address in research (Kurokowa, 1972). This is very logical because when using first person pronouns like *aku* and *saya*, the speakers need to evaluate their addressees to select which form to use. In other words, in addressing one self with either *aku* or *saya*, the speaker is indirectly addressing the people they talk to by communicating how they view their addressee.

The use of pronouns indicates essential social information, such as the nature of the relationship between the interlocutors, age, and social status. According to Brown and Gilman (1960), the uses of pronouns are governed by two principal axes: power and solidarity, which are represented by two approaches, in which they termed V and T Latin $v\bar{o}s$ and $t\bar{u}$). The consideration of power includes factors such as the addressee's age, family relation (e.g., parents), wealth, and social status. The solidarity vector, on the one hand, includes factors such as shared membership of a group and familiarity when the people are like-minded. The evaluation of power and solidarity will result in either asymmetrical or symmetrical use of V and T terms of address. A more dominant interlocutor will use T and be addressed as V. On the other hand, in equal situation. People use reciprocal V for non-solidary interactions and reciprocal T for solidary ones, which have gradually evolved to "V of formality" and "T of intimacy" (p.257). Brown and Gilman (ibid, p.261) believe that there has been "a shift from power to solidarity as the governing semantic principle" in which societies become less stratified.

Brown and Gilman's V-T framework has been resourceful for the description of V-T second person pronouns in European languages. In spite of this argument, Cook (2013) points out that the rules cannot explain the neutral stance in modern societies as a show of power may be seen inappropriate. Therefore, she proposes a revised typology using N-V-T in which N stands for neutrality to represent a *status quo* among the interlocutors. This model seems to reflect the uses of the first person pronouns *saya* and *aku*, which are respectively similar with $v\bar{o}s$ and $t\bar{u}$. However, it does not specifically facilitate the analysis of the more specific factors contributing to the selection of one of the pronouns and how the considerations of the factors reflect the speaker's concept of politeness.

Politeness is frequently associated with the use of address pronouns because in selecting one a speaker needs to consider whether the reference is appropriate to the context of communication. The concept of politeness is defined by Holmes and Wilson (2017) as the consideration of social factors (social distance in terms of solidarity or formality), social status, social values of a communicy in communication processes. Consequently,

being linguistically polite is often a matter of selecting linguistic forms which express the appropriate degree of social distance or which recognize relevant status of power differences." (ibid, p.293). According to Brown and Levinson (1987), politeness derives from the need to maintain harmony and protect the addressee's "face" from damage by "face-threatening acts" or FTAs, such as complaints, criticisms, or pressures to accept an offer.

Based on this concept, Brown and Levinson (1987) propose two major types of politeness: negative and positive politeness. In negative politeness, a speaker attends to the addressee's freedom of action and letting them to have their space. Positive politeness, on the other hand, refers to strategies with which a speaker attends to the addressee's need for approval. To avoid the negative evaluation of Brown and Levinson's terms, Schollon and Schollon (1995) propose the terms "independence" and "involvement/solidarity" politeness to refer to negative and positive politeness. Involvement strategies may be realized in numerous ways, for instance by claiming in-group membership with the addressee, using first or nicknames and use the addressee's dialect or language (ibid, p. 40). Based on this model, the use of the more informal pronouns of address may be considered to be a form of positive/involvement politeness.

According to Mills (2003), such concepts of politeness are not always viewed as polite acts across cultures. In Indonesia, for instance, the use of the T first pronoun (*aku*) with teachers is traditionally considered to be rude. Based on the researchers' informal communication, teachers, especially older generation ones, may be even offended by students' use of *aku* when speaking with them. However, contemporary students' concepts of politeness may differ as they presumably do not intend to be impolite to teachers in their general communication with them. With this in mind, Brown and Lenvinson's (1987) and Schollon and Schollon's (1995) concepts are still applicable as relative categories in the present research.

Furthermore, Brown and Levinson (1987) suggest three factors contributing to people's choice of politeness strategies, i.e., social distance, relative power and the degree of the imposition the speech act entails. Believing that there are more specific factors contributing to the choice of strategies, Blum-Kulka et al. (1985) also apply other variables such as sex, age, and the communication's goal, setting, and medium to investigate Hebrew requests. They discover that the request's purpose, the age of the addressee and power of the speaker are the most critical factors affecting people's requesting strategies.

There have been numerous studies investigating the use of address pronouns following Brown and Gilman's study (1960). However, there is still relatively limited reported research on the use of Indonesian standard first pronouns. Based on a focus group discussion with six people from Jakarta, Flannery (2010) found that "the use of *saya* was common in nearly all contexts where they choose a first-person pronoun, with *aku* having overtly intimate (i.e., "romantic" or "poetic") overtones" (p.12). He concluded that "*saya* is appropriate (i.e., pragmatically unmarked) in both non-formal and formal usage, making its use somewhat neutral in any situation" (2010, p.13).

Investigating a relatively recent shift of the use of pronouns in public domains among Indonesian celebrities, Djenar (2007, 2008) found that the choice of these forms may vary between speakers and even by the same speaker within the same communicative context. In the light of this, she suggests that the first Indonesian pronouns may not only be used to response to different speech factors but also as a means of expressing self-categorization where they can assert identities. A "personal self-categorization" is when "a person perceives her/himself as being different from other people in a group, however the group is defined" and may be reflected by the pronoun *aku* as opposed to *saya* (p.27). A "social self-categorization", on the other hand, is used to express "perceived similarities with fellow group members" (p. 27). Djenar states that celebrities use aku to express individuality and closeness in a non-traditional sense. While it is commonly expected that aku is used with someone known well, they have a different purpose, that is:

[...] to create an impression of familiarity, of closeness with the audience, for when a celebrity speaks in public they also have in mind the viewing audience whose presence is always assumed. (Djenar, 2007, p.30)

Djenar (2008) further notes that such use is "strategic" as by employing the term aku as such they can develop an image of a public figure who is friendly and self-oriented at the same time (p.51). Djenar (2008) believes the frequent exposure of celebrities' speech on Indonesian visual media would affect the norms of using aku and saya in the wider community.

In line with Djenar's findings, Mann (2012) wrote that "pronouns are shown to be selected to enact stances related to, among other things, solidarity, epistemic authority, playfulness and the mitigation of face-threatening acts" (p.435). Through interviewing with conversation participants (25 university students in Malang (East Java); 13 females and 12 males), Manns (2012) suggested that selecting variation of first-person pronouns is the way young Indonesian speakers adjust to multiple communities to express their heterogeneous sense of self and *gaul*.

Investigating the use of *aku* and *saya* in an upper-market private university in Jakarta, Dewi and Vicky (2008) found that most students and teachers who participated believed that the choice between *aku* and *saya* was no longer relevant in today's time. While 74% of the students indicated they knew the difference between the pronouns, many did not put their knowledge in practice when talking to older people outside their family. They also did not believe their choice of pronoun would affect the reaction of people such as superiors and lecturers they were talking to. These findings demonstrate a radical change regarding the use of *aku* and *saya* among the middle class students and teachers in Jakarta. Researches in different contexts such as smaller cities is necessary in order to understand the changing use of the pronouns in Indonesia.

2. Research Method

2.1 Context of the study

This descriptive qualitative study was part of an umbrella study on the use of the standard Indonesian first-person pronouns which was integrated with undergraduate thesis projects. It aimed to find out how students use first personal pronouns *saya* and *aku* when interacting with their teachers. Drawing on students' self-reported information, this exploratory study attempted to answer two research questions:

- (1) What personal pronouns do students use to refer to themselves when communicating with their teachers?"
- (2) What factors influence senior high school students' uses of first-person references when communicating with their teachers?

2.2 Participants

The participants of the study were 247 second grade students of two high schools (127 from a state school and 120 from a Christian private school) in Salatiga, Central Java. Both are based in the city and enjoy a reputation of being top schools in the area. The city was selected because being a small city, it offers a different context from those in the aforementioned

previous studies. The reason to select second-grade students was they were considered to have adapted to the school's environment and established rapports with different teachers. The participants from the state school (S) were mostly Javanese, while the those from the private school (P) consisted of students with more diverse ethnic backgrounds, including Chinese and Eastern Indonesians.

2.3 Method and Research Instrument

This study employed questionnaires to collect data. The questionnaire was developed by the research team and consisted of close and open-ended questions presented in four parts. Composed of one close-ended question, Part A, was aimed to find out the first pronoun(s) the participants used when communicating with their teachers. Students' responses to this part determined which part they should go to. Those who reported to use "saya" or "aku" exclusively were required to go to PART B or PART C respectively. The rest of the students, who chose either "saya" or "aku" depending on the situation, were instructed to fill out PART C. The questionnaire was piloted and revised before it was administered to collect data for the research. The questionnaire was formulated in Indonesian to ensure that the participants fully understood the questions.

2.4 Data Collection and analysis

The data were collected after permission was obtained from relevant authorities by using cluster sampling within three weeks. The participants were recruited in classes assigned by the schools as the research team requested. After all the data from each school was obtained, the responses to closed questions were coded, logged, and calculated in percentages in Excel Microsoft Program. The verbal data gained from open-ended questions were also logged in and categorized into themes. The data classification and theme analysis were conducted as a team to make sure that the same categorization was implemented for each body of data. Following this, the data were quantified for further analysis.

3. Findings and Discussion

This section will present results in line with the study's two research questions.

1.1 What first pronoun(s) do students use to refer to themselves when communicating with their teachers?

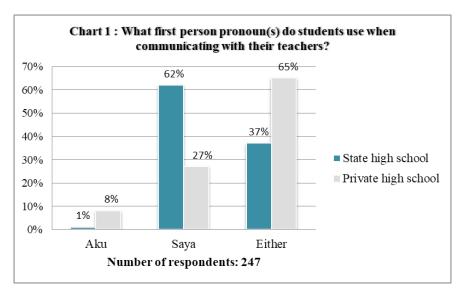


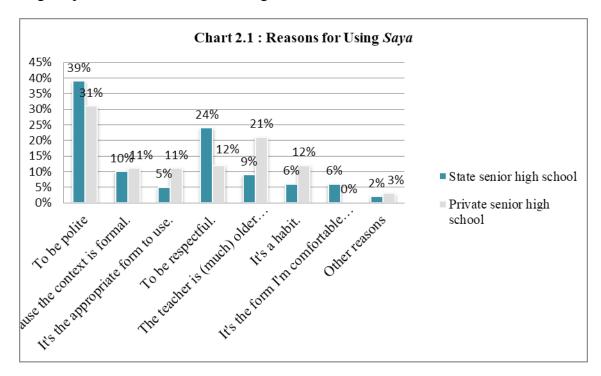
Chart 1 shows that instead of using only *saya* to their teachers as it is prescribed traditionally, many students reported to use either *aku* or *saya* depending on the situation. Although the majority of the state school's participants (62%) indicated to follow the traditional norm, 37% of them reported to use the two pronouns alternately. Students who indicated to use either pronoun with their teachers even made up the majority of the participants of the private school (65%), and only 27% of them use *saya* exclusively. This high use of *aku* echoes Dewi and Vicky's (2008) finding of a private university in Jakarta. Furthermore, there were even participants of the present study who reported to consistently use *aku*, with 1% of the state school and 8% of the private school. It is interesting that although the more formal form *saya* may also be used in neutral contexts, many students reportedly had chosen to employ *aku* over *saya* with all or some teachers.

The stronger trend of the use of *aku* or its alternate use with *saya* among the Christian private school students might have been due to various factors, such as the friendly student-teacher relationships in the school. A private school with higher tuitions, it might have more pressure to offer better service to their students and might give students more relative power in their relationships with teachers. Students' cultural and religious backgrounds may have also affected the code selection. Mostly Javanese and Moslem, who traditionally tend to honor teachers, the state school participants might have been more inclined to choose *saya*.

1.2 What factors influence senior high school students' uses of first-person references when communicating with their teachers?

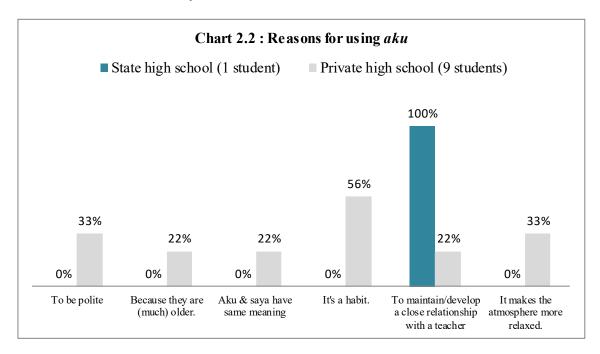
1.2.1 Students who used only saya

The majority of the state school's participants (62%) reported to use *saya* exclusively whereas only 27% of the private school indicated to use the same reference when interacting with their teachers. In general, this finding seems to suggest that student-teacher relationships in the state school tended to be more formal than in the private school. To get further explanation on this finding, students were asked to provide their reasons for continually using the pronoun when communicating with their teachers.



As shown in Chart 2.1, most respondents referred to traditional variables for using *saya*, such as politeness, respect, age gap, and formality, with politeness being the most popular reason in both schools. The next common reason among the state and private school participants was respectively to be respectful (24%) and age gap (12%), both of which also relate to politeness in traditional interaction with teachers. The students from both schools appeared to consider teachers' power as essential in their selection of pronouns.

Some students (respectively 5% and 11%) also mentioned linguistic correctness as one reason for using *saya*, which indicates their linguistic awareness of the prescribed use of self-reference in Indonesian. Also, students' habit of using the pronoun and/or their comfortability with it was also shown to be a variable that leads to selecting *saya*. These are valid reasons as one's linguistic inclination also develop from use.



1.2.2 Students who used only aku

There were only few students who reported to always use *aku* when communicating with their teachers. There were 1% participants from the public high school and 8% participants from the private school. The most common reason for using *aku* was merely a habit. Other reasons were quite contradictory with the traditional norms, such as to be polite and because they are older. However, all the students who mentioned these turned out to come from Biak, Papua. Although they said it was normal to use *aku* when communicating with teachers in their region, the interview did not indicate that they were not aware of the prescribed formal rules of using *aku* and *saya*.

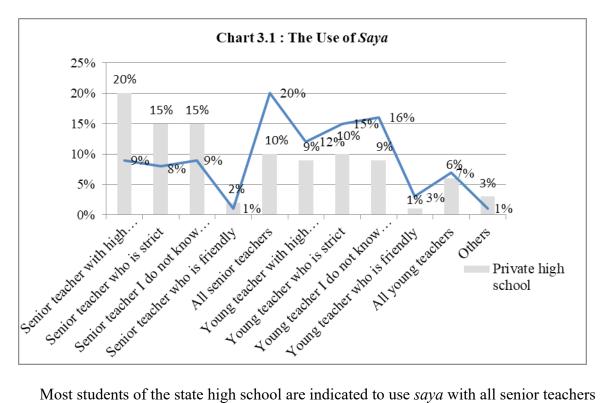
Furthermore, three students also stated to use the informal version as a means to maintain or develop close relationships with their teachers. A state school participant said using *aku* was the way she kept a good relationship with her teachers, while two private school students they used it with teachers to create a sense of closeness. This is against the traditional usage in which *aku* is used for communication among people who already have close relationships and may be considered rude by an interlocutor (s) who is older or with a higher status. This non-normative use seems to echo Djenar's (2007, 2008) finding among celebrities where individual's desire for solidarity wins over social and linguistic expectations.

1.2.3 Students who use both saya and aku

This section discusses the responses of students who reported to use both *saya* and *aku* when interacting with their teachers. The discussion will address three questionnaire items designed to identify factors students consider in their first pronoun selection. They are: (1) how students use *saya* and *aku* with different types of teachers, (2) formal/informal settings, (3) scales of various factors relevant to their code selection to confirm results of the other two questions. The data suggest that students from both schools were shifting from negative/ independence politeness to positive/solidarity politeness.

1.2.3.1 How do students use aku and saya with different types of teachers?

Chart 3.1 below reported students' multiple answers to the question 'What kinds of teachers do you usually use "*saya*" with?'. The types of teachers represent the factors of age, power, familiarity, and approachability. The category "others" was added to accommodate students' responses who did not fit into the other available types of teachers.

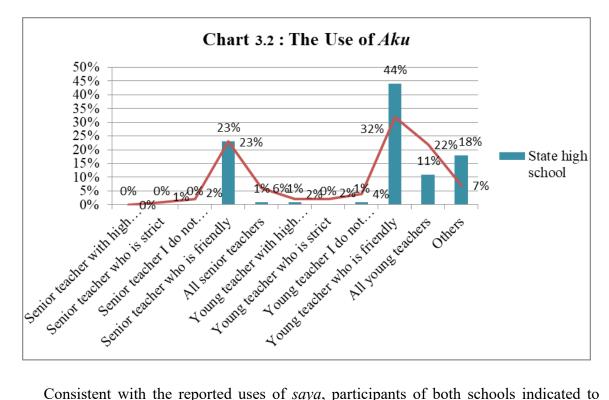


Most students of the state high school are indicated to use *saya* with all senior teachers (20%), young teachers they do not know very well (16%), and/or young teachers who have a strict personality (15%). This suggests that although they used either *aku* or *saya* to their teachers, they still regarded wider age gap, familiarity, and approachability as essential aspects in selecting *saya*. The private school students, on the other hand, were shown to have more laid-back interactions with their teachers. Far fewer of them reported to use *saya* to all senior teachers, and they gave more weight of the wider age gap only in combination with much higher power, strictness, and unfamiliarity (when they do know the teachers well). This was evident from their inclination to use *saya* with senior teachers with high positions (20%), who are strict (15%), and/or who they do not know well (15%).

Despite the differences, the combined data show a more relaxed application of the "age" rule and the crucial roles of teachers' personality (approachability) and familiarity in students' selection of *saya* with their teachers. Approachability was consistently shown to be very crucial among students of both schools as they tended to use *saya* the least when interacting

with friendly teachers regardless of their ages (S=1%, P=2% with senior teachers, S=3%, P=1% with young teachers). It is clear that solidarity was decisive in students' pronoun selection.

To examine students' use of *aku* with different teachers, a similar question was asked: 'What kinds of teachers do you usually use *"aku"* to?' (see Chart 3.2).

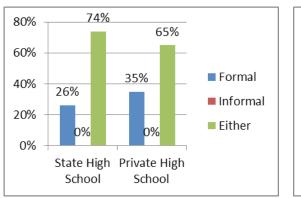


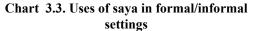
Consistent with the reported uses of *saya*, participants of both schools indicated to employ *aku* the most with friendly teachers no matter their ages are and all young teachers. As the chart shows, respectively 44% and 32% of the state and private school students chose friendly young teachers to use *aku* with, while 23% others of each school selected senior teachers with the same trait of personality. Very high status, unapproachability (strictness), and unfamiliarity were shown to deter students from using *aku*, especially when they are combined with wider age gap (seniority). This confirms the high relevance of solidarity in students' selection of self-reference. Unfortunately, the question did not include teachers "who they know well" so the extent to which familiarity (relationship) affected their use of *aku* cannot be more clearly described.

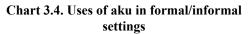
In addition, 11% and 22% respectively of the state and private school students revealed to use the informal form *aku* to all young teachers. Consistent with findings on the use of *saya*, the age gap rule seems to have been much relaxed. While traditionally all school teachers are seen older enough for students to use *saya* with, the participants, especially those of the private school, enjoyed more informal relationships with younger ones.

1.2.3.2 Setting (formal or informal)

In order to probe further into students' selection of the first pronouns, a question was asked of the settings (formal or informal) of their uses.







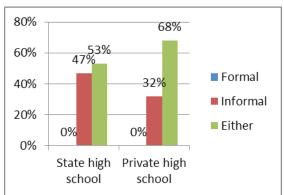


Chart 3.3 and 3.4 demonstrate that no participant from either school reported to use *saya* only in informal settings (0%) or *aku* only in formal settings (0%), which is in line with the basic rules of using the first pronouns. Furthermore, some students (S=26%, P=35%) reportedly employed *saya* only in formal setting, and more (S=47%, P=37%) used *aku* only in informal settings. This seems to suggest that they switched between *aku* or *saya* when communicating with the same teachers. For instance, one may have used the formal form *saya* during a lesson in class but utilized *aku* outside class. This switch may be a way to mitigate face threatening acts towards the same interlocutors while seeking more solidarity with them, or may be the students' way of expressing self-categorisations as Djenar's research has suggested (2007; 2008). However, it is worth noting that more students from the state high school (47%) seemed to be more conservative by limiting their uses of *aku* to informal contexts.

Many more students from both schools indicated to use both *aku* and *saya* regardless of the setting's degree of informality. The use of *saya* in mixed settings received significantly more votes than *aku* among the state school students (74% for *saya* and 53% for *aku*). In contrast, students of the private school appeared to be more confident in using *aku* in both formal and informal contexts as they used it more either in formal and informal contexts (P=68%, S=53%). This indicates that they tend to have less social distance with their teachers compared to the participants from the state school. Regardless, the responses of students of both schools suggest there were essential aspects of their pronoun selection other than the settings of their interaction.

3.2.3.3 Scales of Factors Influencing Pronoun Selection

Based on students' ratings of various variables of pronoun selection (Table 3.2), they seemed to regard teachers' personality and their relationships with them (familiarity) as the most important factors in choosing either *aku* or *saya*. This is consistent with the aforementioned findings where students tended to use the informal version *aku* with approachable teachers and avoid using it with senior and young teachers they did not know well. This seems to echo norms in more egalitarian communities where "degree of solidarity (or social distance) is what counts most" (Holmes & Wilson, 2017, p. 308).

As shown in Table 3.2, personality and relationship obtained the highest means (S=4,04 and 4,09; P=3,79 and 4,08). While students from both schools tended to give medium ratings to other factors, students of the state school gave higher values (2,89/4) than their counterparts (2,54/4) on how teachers may feel about their pronoun selection (addressee's

comfortability). This seems to show that the state school students were more empathetic with their teachers, while the private school ones, borrowing Djenar's (2008) words, more "self-oriented." Supporting Dewi and Vicky's (2008) findings, this may be because students of the private school are mostly from the city, where people usually are more individualistic and may assume a more egalitarian view in regards with student teacher relationship. Further research is necessary to find out if this is the case.

Factors	Never (0)		Rarely (1)		Sometimes (2)		Often (3)		Always (4)		Means (out of 4)	
	S	р	S	р	S	Р	S	р	S	р	S	Р
Age	4.26%	8.97%	12.77%	10.26%	21.28%	24.36%	36.17%	39.74%	25.53%	16.67%	2,66	24,5
Personality	4.26%	0.00%	2.13%	8.97%	10.64%	26.92%	44.68%	30.77%	38.30%	33.33%	3,11	2,88
Relationship	4.26%	1.28%	2.13%	2.56%	10.64%	23.08%	40.43%	29.49%	42.55%	43.59%	3,15	3,12
Social Status	4.26%	6.41%	12.77%	7.69%	23.40%	29.49%	31.91%	34.62%	27.66%	21.79%	2,66	2,58
Setting (time & place)	8.51%	5.13%	4.26%	2.56%	27.66%	29.49%	38.30%	39.74%	21.28%	23.08%	2,60	2,73
Addressee's comfortability	2.13%	6.41%	8.51%	10.26%	14.89%	29.49%	46.81%	30.77%	27.66%	23.08%	2,89	2,54
Purpose	8.51%	3.85%	10.64%	8.97%	23.40%	32.05%	29.79%	38.46%	27.66%	16.67%	2,57	2,55

Table 3.2. Scales of Factors Influencing Pronoun Selection

S=state high school, P=private high school

4. Conclusion

This research examines high school students' use of the standard Indonesian first-person singular pronouns of *aku* and *saya* and the factors they consider in their code selection. Overall the questionnaire data show a tendency among a significant number of students to shift towards the informal. This was shown by their use of either *aku* or *saya*, or exclusive use of *aku* when speaking to their teachers. A very strong shift was demonstrated among students of the Christian private school students, where those who reported to use either pronoun far outnumbered those complying with the traditional usage. The majority of the participants of the public high school, on the other hand, still seemed to recognize more of their teachers' dominance by using *saya*. The difference might be due to the schools' values and students' demographic factors, such as gender, religion, and cultural and economic backgrounds. However, further research is necessary to verify this.

The present study found social distance as the most influential factor among students who used both pronouns with their teachers in their code selection. Approachability and familiarity as aspects of solidarity appeared to play a decisive role in choosing *saya* or *aku*. This reflects the general trend Holmes and Wilson's (2017) have observed in many 21-century Western communities where "solidarity dimensions have tended to be given greater weight" (2017, p.308).

This study is not generalizable with the limited number of schools it examined. Relying on students' reports, neither does it portray their real uses of the first-person pronouns. Research with wider scopes and different instruments are necessary to confirm the findings of the present study. In spite of this, the study is significant by identifying the general trend of students' use of the standard Indonesian first-person pronouns in their communication with their teachers. Students in Indonesia, including in a small city like Salatiga, appear to be gaining more opportunities to use a self-referring terms of their own choice rather than complying with the social norms governing the use of the first personal pronouns. Studentteacher relationships in the country are evidently changing.

5. References

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