

NOTES ON PERSONAL PRONOUNS IN PRESENT-DAY ENGLISH

By

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0. This paper shows one of the serial attempts to study the present-day English usage from the pedagogical grammar with a desire to improve the short-sighted interpretation of English observed in the teaching of English as a foreign language in Japan. ¹

Pronouns replace nouns, or rather whole noun phrases. Thus, they cannot occur with determiners as the definite article or premodification: **the they* (but, *the man*), **tall they* (but, *tall men*) (Quirk *et al.* 1972: 203-4). Strictly, however, 1st person and 2nd person are not replacive: *I am thirsty*/**John am thirsty*; *You are thirsty*/**Paul are thirsty*.

Pronouns are like nouns in syntactical function in their capacity to follow prepositions, but they differ in their other collocations, in morphology, and in being a closed system. ²

- (i) They have a three-term instead of a two-term case system.
- (ii) They have a two-term number system, but morphologically unrelated number forms (Cf. *boy-boys*).
- (iii) Gender is in them to some extent an overt system.
- (iv) They are subdivided according to a grammatical category, that of person, not relevant to nouns.

(Cf. Strang 1968: 115-6)

1. Personal pronouns are traditionally so termed from the relevance to them of the category of person. ³ The following table <Table 1> shows traditional analyses of personal, reflexive, and possessive pronouns. ⁴ But, I find it necessary to add comments on each of the items.

2. We

We should be analysed so that the relation-

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ship between *I* and *we* as well as the dual function of *we* may be clearly brought out. We may avoid the anomalies of the traditional view if the person-system is re-stated in terms of binary choices. ⁶ See <Table 2>.

Jespersen (1924: 192, 1927: 84) classifies *we* under the category of 'plural of approximation' (*we*=*I*+one or more *not-Is*). It is rare for there to be several speakers, except in chorus as, for instance, a crowd at a football match crying *We want another* or an impatient group singing in *Where are we waiting?* *We* usually refers not to a plurality of speakers ('*I* and *I* and...') but to speaker and hearer ('*I* and *you*'), speaker and non-participant ('*I* and *you* and *he/she*'), plus any further combination involving more than one speaker, hearer or non-participant (Palmer 1976: 126).

2.1 *We* is essentially vague and gives no indication whom the speaker wants to include himself. ⁹

we [Inclusive 'we' = *I* + *you*
Exclusive 'we' = *I* + *he/she/they*

- (1) "When do *we* get our cheeks?" the clarinet asks the piano player. — "The Talk of the Town", NY, April 29, 1974, p. 30. ¹⁰ [*we*=clarinet+piano player][Inclusive]
- (2) "Shall *we* have an ice cream?" "I'll go and get two." She went to a newsagent's for a couple of choc bars on sticks and then stood in the street to watch over Tom, the ice cream meeting in the warmth of the evening. — Penelope Gilliatt, "Fleeced", NY, May 2, 1977, p. 46. [Inclusive]
- (3) *We've* enjoyed meeting you. (said by Mr and Mrs Robertson to their guests) [Exclusive] [Leech and Svartvik]

For most sociolinguistic analyses the important features of participants will be sociolog-

		PERSONAL PRONOUNS		REFLEXIVE PRONOUNS	POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS	
		subjective case	objective case		determiner function	nominal function
1st person	singular	<i>I</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>myself</i>	<i>my</i>	<i>mine</i>
	plural	<i>we</i>	<i>us</i>	<i>ourselves</i>	<i>our</i>	<i>ours</i>
2nd person	singular	<i>you</i>		<i>yourself</i>	<i>your</i>	<i>yours</i>
	plural			<i>yourselves</i>		
3rd person	singular	masculine	<i>he</i>	<i>him</i>	<i>himself</i>	<i>his</i>
		feminine	<i>she</i>	<i>her</i>	<i>herself</i>	<i>her</i> / <i>hers</i>
		neutral	<i>it</i>		<i>itself</i>	<i>its</i>
	plural	<i>they</i>	<i>them</i>	<i>themselves</i>	<i>their</i>	<i>theirs</i>

<Table 1> PERSONAL, REFLEXIVE, POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS

Quirk *et al.* (1972 : 209)⁵

			ego-centric	non-ego-centric	vocative (involvement of addressee)	
1st person	singular	<i>I</i>	+	-		
2nd person	singular/plural	<i>you</i>	-	+	+	<i>you</i> (singular) <i>you + he/she/they</i>
3rd person	singular/plural	<i>he, she, it, they</i>	-	+	-	
'4th' person	plural	<i>we</i>	+	+	±	<i>I + you</i> (8) <i>I + he/she</i> <i>I + they</i> <i>I + you + they</i> <i>I + you + he/she</i>

<Table 2>⁷

ical attributes. These include the participants' status in the society, in terms such as sex, age, and occupation; their roles relative to one another, such as an employer and his employee, a husband and his wife; and roles specific to the social situation, such as hostess-guest, teacher-pupil, and customer-salesgirl (Ervin-Tripp 1964, Hymes 1962). Here, when speaker is inferior in status compared to hearer, he is supposed not to use inclusive *we*, because it may probably imply impoliteness.

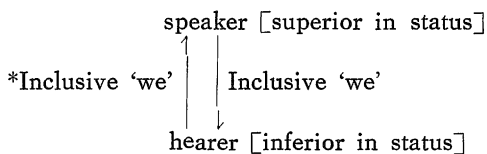


Fig 1

One of the reasons is that because *we* in normal usage has always the [+speaker] feature, hearer can be interpreted as being

subordinate to speaker.¹¹

2.1.1 Writers of books often use inclusive *we*. See 2.1.3.

(4) *We* noticed earlier, on page 200, that...

(5) *Let us* now turn to another topic...

[Leech and Svartvik]

You instead of *we* is felt to be too authoritative. *We* seeks to identify the writer and the reader as involved in a joint enterprise. *Let us* type of expression is common.

(6) *We* will now take a look at some practical considerations regarding the use of *A Dictionary of American Idioms*. —Preface to *A Dictionary of American Idioms*, p. vii.

(7) *Let us* now consider transformational rules in terms of the notions of extrinsic and intrinsic ordering. —R. Huddleston, *An Introduction to English Transformational Syntax*, p. 180.

2.1.2 We observe a very interesting cooccurrence restrictions peculiar to 2nd person in

the *Let's* expression. See Cole (1974).

(8) Tommy! *Let's* finish that oatmeal,

$\left. \begin{array}{l} \{will\ you\ ? \\ \{why\ don't\ you\ ?\} \end{array} \right\}$ It's already after 8 : 30.

(9) *Let's* $\left. \begin{array}{l} \{you\ and\ me\} \\ \{us\} \end{array} \right\}$ go to the show

tonight.

Here, 's (=us) implies inclusive *we*, but it seems to have lost its original function, only leaving a morphological trace. But, if we make the original function overt by adding *you and me*, or *us*, then a cooccurrence restriction rejects the expression.

(10) **Let's* $\left. \begin{array}{l} \{you\ and\ me\} \\ \{us\} \end{array} \right\}$ get that work out

before we lose the client, $\left. \begin{array}{l} \{will\ you\ ? \\ \{why\ don't\ you\ ?\} \end{array} \right\}$

2.1.3 Editorial 'we' ¹²

In editorials and other featured columns of newspapers and magazines the writer often refers to himself as *we*, thus suggesting that he speaks also for his newspaper or editorial staff (though he may be speaking for himself alone).

Editorial 'we' $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{—writer himself} \\ \text{—writer + editorial staff} \end{array} \right.$

(11) In today's issue of the *New York Times* *we* begin the second and final series from excerpts from the memories of Harry S. Truman. —*The New York Times* [Kanaguchi]

(12) *We* have taken the position that there are speakers who have four contrasts but who still have difficulty in hearing all the distinctions they make. —A. A. Hill *Introduction to Linguistic Structure*, p.18.

This editorial *we* is now formal and somewhat old-fashioned, but sometimes used in familiar and informal writing, especially of a light tone. This use of *we* seems to be on the peculiar grounds that it is more modest than *I*.

The avoidance of *we* has become conspicuous in academic papers. A young scholar prefers *I* to *we*, making it clear that the research is of his own responsibility. *We* is better avoided by a student when he writes his term paper, because the use of *we* there may be interpreted by his teacher that his student is asking to be treated not as a student but a scholar, or for his paper to be valued as a dissertation.

(13) The third explanation differs from the second in its analytical emphasis. *I* have termed it the structural approach. —A.D. Shupe, Jr., "Toward a Structural Perspective of Modern Religious Movements", *Sociological Focus*, Vol. 6, No.3 [Second runner-up in Student Paper Competition]

If a student uses *we* when he reads his paper at a linguistics conference, for instance, he will be frowned disgust for being affected.¹³

2.1.4 Paternal 'we' ¹⁴

We is used in place of 2nd person.

'We' as a term of address presupposes a certain relationship between speaker and addressee. If that relationship exists, it is accepted, or at least tolerated, as a convention; if it does not, the usage has different consequences, which are reflected in the situation. It is accepted from persons in authority, persons in certain professions, whose duty it is to ask such personal questions, or issue such personal orders, or give such personal advice as convention would not normally allow. It is accepted from doctors, nurses, and teachers, but not from any official behind any counter, or from social equals or inferiors. What is true of 'we' is also true of 'us' and 'our', whose grammatical relationship with 'we' will not be gone into.

- 1) [Nurse to old lady:] *We* are rather foolish not to putting on *our* spectacles when *we* go out, aren't *we*.
- 2) [Infants' teacher to child with snively nose:] Haven't *we* a handkerchief? ¹⁵
- 3) [Infants' teacher to class:] Now *we'll* go upstairs and wash *our* hands.
- 4) [Teacher to dull boy:] Haven't *we* got into *our* head yet?

(Olsson 1962)

- (14) Aha! said the doctor. So *we* rise early in the morning, do *we*? —R. L. Stevenson, *The Merry Men* [Jespersen]¹⁶
- (15) Now let's all think before *we* raise *our* hands. [Cole]

Paternal 'we' $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{—you [singular]} \\ \text{—you [plural]} \end{array} \right.$

The following three examples by Olsson are worth studying in terms of cooccurrence restrictions :

- (16) [Doctor to patient:] 'Come along now let's hop into bed and wait a couple of days till *we* get the result of *your* X-ray.'
- (17) [Infants' teacher to class:] 'When *we* get to school, don't forget to give Teacher *your* money.'
- (18) [Infants' teacher to class:] 'When *we* come home to Mummy, *you*'ll tell her what *you*'ve done at school today.'

Here, as Olsson observes, we find status difference between speaker and hearer, the former acting as a protector, the latter as a protected person.

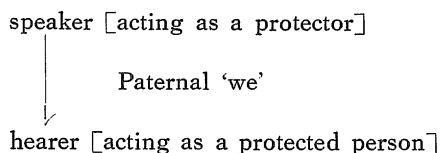


Fig 2

It can be used ironically in the context in which it is clear that the utterance is not true with the speaker.

- (19) Aren't *we* getting just a trifling insolent, Carruthers? [Roberts]
- (20) How touchy *we* are! [Curme]
- (21) 'Oh, ain't *we* select since *we* went to that hen college!' —Sinclair Lewis, *Babbitt*, Ch. II, II [retort of a boy to his sister, who has graduated from Bryn Mawr, and on the occasion in question has spoken to him sarcastically] [Curme]

2.1.5 Lindbergh's 'we'/Modest 'we'¹⁷

Like Editorial 'we', *we* is used to avoid *I*, which is felt to be a little egotistic.

- (22) With the tip of his finger he touched a spot in the teacher's rigid back.

Sharply, Miss Dove drew in her breath.

"That's all," Thomas said. "Was it bad?"

"Yes," said Miss Dove.

"I was afraid it would be," Thomas said. "And your leg? There's a complete absence of sensation?"

"My limb has gone to sleep," Miss Dove said. "As soon as I move about—"

"But that's what *we* can't allow," said Thomas.

"Can't — what?" Miss Dove inquired. It had been a long time since anyone had proposed to impose

his will upon her.

"Can't allow you to move about," said Thomas.

"And pray who are *we*?" Miss Dove asked with acidity.

She glanced at Alexander Burnham. Her glance was a challenge.

Alexander fiddled with his clerical collar. "This isn't my province," he said. "Tommy's the doctor."

"Lindbergh's 'we'," said Thomas.

"Me. I—that is." —F. G. Patton, *Good Morning, Miss Dove*

Particularly since the spread of radio-television interview and "talk" shows, there is also the *we* that can only mean "I", as in a singer's:

- (23) *We* always draw well in Las Vegas. [Perrin 1972 : 745]

3. You

For a long time *thou/thee* continued to be used for communication with inferiors and intimates.¹⁸

- (24) She had never been "thee'd" and "thou'd" before. —D. H. Lawrence, *Sons and Lovers*

The situation was then much like that in Modern French. The Frenchman uses *tu* when speaking to his wife, his child, his dog, his crony, but *vous* when speaking to those he knows less well.¹⁹ English, however, eventually extended the polite form to all situations. The old singular has all but disappeared, and the former plural now serves both numbers. The other change was the elimination of *ye*,²⁰ the objective *you* taking over both nominative and objective functions.

singular	<i>thou</i>	<i>thee</i>	<i>thyself</i>	<i>thy</i>	<i>thine</i>
plural	<i>ye/ji/ you</i>	<i>you (ye)</i>	<i>yourselves</i>	<i>your</i>	<i>yours</i>

<Table 3> 2nd person in restricted (religious) language

(Quirk *et al.* 1972 : 208)

In a normal context, *Title + Last name* instead of *you* is rarely used. We generally find no honorific system in English personal pronouns.²¹ "How are *you*?", for instance, may be used to hearer of any age or of any status. But, in an extremely restricted context, for instance, during a debate in Congress in

the United States, a 3rd person type of expression like “the gentleman from X (X = State)” is used instead of *you*.

(25) “Would the gentleman from Illinois care to clarify this point?”²²

Also, see the next example :

(26) “Your excellency’s present visit here, and also to the other countries of ASEAN—Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand and the Philippines—and the dialogues between your excellency and the heads of government of ASEAN in Kuala Lumpur recently, have clearly shown your goodwill towards this region,” Suharto said. — (AP), *Asahi Evening News*, August 13, 1977

3.1 You-all²³

The historical merger of singular and plural in the second person has induced the development of several new plural forms : *you-all* (chiefly Southern), *youse* (associated with metropolitan proletarians), *you-uns* (South Midland), *mongst-ye* (eastern shore of Chesapeake Bay), *oona* (Gullah) (McDavid 1972).²⁴

(27) “I’ll tell you what I think. . . Why don’t you-all figure out a good time and let me know. How’s your little sister, Rick?”—NY, January 1, 1972

(28) He wrote that *you all* drove into the city to see “Psycho” and that Nancy go so scared she kicked the person in the seat in front of her! — Henry Bromell, “Mime”, NY, July 9, 1973, p. 32

3.2 You guys²⁵

Wentworth and Flexner (1975) say that a ‘guy’ is ‘a person of either sex’.

(29) “[Said to a man and a woman:] Where are you guys going?” Ford, *Phila. Murder*, 129 [Wentworth and Flexner]

But, generally, we find only a definition like ‘a casual term for any male person’ (Morris and Morris 1975).

(30) I (i. e. 32-year-old woman) am laughing my head off over Mrs. X’s letter. . . You didn’t print the name of the city her letter came from, but I live in Houston, Texas, and I’d love to meet the guy. — “Ann Landers”, *Asahi Evening News*, April 7, 1976 [the guy = Mrs. X]

(31) “What are you, wise guys?” he said. — Evan Hunter, *Last Summer* [Male to male]

We observe that ‘guy’ refers to

(i) (*guys*) mixed people [male + female]

(ii) male person or persons only

(iii) female person or persons only

and it is used by a person of either sex. Thus, nowadays, especially among young people, it is used by a female when she addresses persons of the same sex. As an address term, it is used in a plural form : *guys*.

N. B. 1) As nearly as I can observe, the use of *guys* to address a mixed group is a practice confined to young people, possibly through college age,²⁶ but unlikely, I would say, beyond that point. I should add that in these circumstances *guys* may be used by either sex in addressing a group of boys, girls, or a mixed group. This usage is colloquial, if not slangy. Of course this is true also of the older usage, between males, or addressed to males. [Roy H. Copperud, Professor at the University of Southern California]²⁷

N. B. 2) As a reference term, in the singular, it is male. In the plural, it can refer to either men or women either in reference or address. It is quite common to hear people say to a group of girls : “Come on, guys, get going.” In the family, it can be used collectively for a group. I can imagine using it to my husband and children as a group if I were hurrying them up in an informal setting. It is slangy. Never singular. I might use it to one of the children about one of the children’s male friends, or male sibling, as a term of 3rd person reference.

I cannot imagine using it when older friends are present in a formal situation, as an address term. Even as a term of reference it is slangy.

I have noticed a great increase in the use of this term in the past ten years as an address term. It seems to fill a void in distinguishing singular and plural 2nd person, e. g. “Can you guys come for dinner?” when it might be ambiguous whether only a singular addressee is included, if only “you” were spoken. [S. M. Ervin-Tripp, Professor at the University of California, Berkeley]²⁸

N. B. 3) I have found, however, *guy* as an

address term in the singular in Carterette and Jones (1974) : *Guy*, you know Paula. /*Guy*, you know this girl named Janice.

4. I/Me

4.1. It's me ²⁹

The rough trace of the evolvement of the expression is :

- (i) Ic hit eom. (=I it am) 1300-
- (ii) (H) it eom ic. (= (H) it am I) 1300-1400
- (iii) (H) it is I. 1400-
- (iv) It is me. 1500-

Shakespeare prefers the older type (*That's I*, *It was I*), and Visser (1963 : 239) points out that Shakespeare used *It's me*, *That's him* in the speech of people of all ranks and did not consider it uneducated. He may, however, have considered it "conversational" (Traugott 1972 : 126).

The case-shift in present-day English is roughly as follows : ³⁰

⟨Formal⟩	⟨Informal⟩
<i>It is I</i>	<i>It's me</i>
<i>That is he</i>	<i>That's him</i>
<i>These are they</i>	<i>These're them</i>
<i>You and I</i>	<i>Me and you</i>
<i>He and she</i>	<i>Him and her</i>
<i>They and we</i>	<i>Them and us</i>

Detailed discussions will be found in Evans and Evans (1957), Mittins *et al.* (1970 : 90-93), Bryant (1962 : 120-1), and also Hall (1960), Halliday (1964), Pyles (1969).³¹

- (32) Therefore suppose Rubin was Arkin and Arkin Rubin—Suppose *it was me* in his hat. —B. Malamud, *Rembrandt's Hat*
- (33) "Khanom Jun, *it's me*," this stranger said, but she went on searching his face with cloudy eyes. —Anne Tyler, "Your Place Is Empty", *NY*, November 22, 1976, p. 45
- (34) "I heard a hellacious racket over on the other side of the mountain a while ago," I said. "*That was him*," the Sheriff muttered. —J. Stuart, "Clothes Make the Men"
- (35) "My name is Julio Hoblitzelle."
"What!" exclaimed Geraldine in startled tones. "Not Hoblitzelle the Great, Hoblitzelle the world-renowned, Hoblitzelle the master hypnotist,..." "Enough already," the young man broke in. "Yes, *I am he*." —"The Talk of the Town", *NY*, January 21, 1974, p. 28

- (36) She still didn't recognize him, even though *it had been she* who was Ginny's friend—the link between the couples. —James Munves, "The Late-comer", *NY*, November 22, 1976, p. 43

4.2 Between you and I ³²

This apparently results from an excessive zeal for correctness. The student is scolded for using *me* instead of *I* in subject and subjective complement functions, and he assumes that *I* must be the correct form in all doubtful circumstances [Hypercorrection]. Another reason is that *you and I* is felt to be a unit, which can remain unchanged, particularly with the distance between the preposition and *I* (Quirk *et al.* 1972 : 210). *AHD's* Usage Panel shows the following data :

	Writing	Speech
<i>between you and I</i>	Yes : 2% No : 98%	Yes : 3% No : 97%

⟨Table 4⟩

John Kieran, for instance, comments : "If the position of the pronoun is reversed, the crime is glaringly exposed : *between I and you*. Who could say that in cold blood?" See the example No. 39.

- (37) "Confidentially, Andy," my father is saying, "just *between you and I* and the ghost poles, I never had much use for your grandmother. I had very little use for her at all." —Robert Hemingway, "Family Traces", *NY*, November 29, 1976, p. 42
- (38) "Just *between you and I* and the goal-posts, your grandmother never had any use for me or my family. I wasn't good enough to marry Doctor Merriman's daughter." —*Ibid.*
- (39) I never say, "I'm sorry, too," when I see as the smile leaves her face that I have frightened her, and that there can be little remembrance *between me and Pete* at all. —*Ibid.*

4.3 Better than I ³³

After *but*, *except*, *than*, and *as*, there is vacillation in the case forms used. The reason is that *than* and *as* can be analysed either as prepositions, which require the objective case forms, or as conjunctions with ellipted predicates, which require the subjective case forms (Quirk *et al.* 1972 : 210).

(40) Nobody $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{but} \\ \text{except} \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{him} \\ \text{?he} \end{array} \right\}$ can solve our problems

(41) He is $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{more intelligent than} \\ \text{as intelligent as} \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{she} \\ \text{her} \end{array} \right\}$
 [Quirk *et al.*]

(42) The girl was two years *younger than him*, the same age as his kid sister.
 —James Jones, *The Valentine*

(43) I said I could do no boyish things here because I was trapped in this house with her and these two girl cousins *younger than I*. —H. L. Mountzoures, "Milkman's Boy", *NY*, April 29, 1974, p. 39

(44) Trash, *older than me* by two or three years, was a real friend as well as a first cousin, and he was excessively cheerful for a Bashmanian. —W. Saroyan, "The Dual", *NY*, June 14, 1976, p. 34

(45) "Much the same, except that she has a job as well." "So've you."
 "But she's younger, so she hasn't got as much time *as me*. People haven't got as much time when they're young."
 —Penelope Gilliott, "Fleeced", *NY*, May 2, 1977, p. 45

4.4 Me

The objective case form is preferred in familiar style in verbless sentences.

(46) "Who's going to drive?" "*Me*." [Leech and Svartvik]

(47) 'I was just trying to remember' he said, 'what time you got here.' '*I*' — C. Webb, *The Marriage of a Young Stockbroker*.

In an exclamatory sentences we even find the objective case in position that can only be described as a subject position.

(48) What! *Me* do a thing like that! Not *me*! [Christophersen and Sandved]

(49) "My God, I'm doing it (i. e. making love) with Madame Bovary!" Kugel-mass whispered to himself. "*Me*, who failed freshman English." — Woody Allen, "The Kugelmass Episode", *NY*, May 2, 1977, p. 36

Me is often found in a compound subject, especially in American English (Konishi 1975).

(50) "*Me and you* is going to get married, Dude. Don't you know that?" —E. Caldwell, *Tobacco Road* [Konishi]

(51) "I don't know why that is, because I

always give the good Lord His due. *Him and me* has always been fair and square with each other."—*Ibid.* [Konishi]
 'But one never hears "Me was late" or "Her was late" or "Us was late" or "Him was late" or "Them was late."³⁴ Again, one hears "Us girls was there" but never "Us was there." Yet again, one hears "Her and John was married" but never "Her was married" (Mencken 1936 : 456).

(52) *Us* Tareyton smokers would rather fight than switch. [Advertising copy]

(53) "*Us* Lesters sure like to stir the earth and make plants grow in it. I can't move off to the cotton mills like the rest of them do."—E. Caldwell, *op. cit.* [Konishi]

4.5 He/She

(54) Mr. Thomas : Mrs. Johnson, this is David Smith.

Mrs. Johnson : How do you do, Mr. Smith ?

Mr. Smith : How do you do, Mrs. Johnson ?

Mr. Thomas : $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Mr. Smith} \\ \text{*He} \end{array} \right\}$ teaches at Belmont High School.

Mrs. Johnson : Does $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Mr. Smith} \\ \text{?? he} \end{array} \right\}$ teach your children ?

As to the discussion about the appropriate use of *he* and *she* in a socio-economic context, see Kuno (1975).³⁵

As to the discussion of the use of *he* and *she* with relation to the recent de-sexing phenomenon in the English language, see Miller (1972), Meyers (1973 : 114-5), and Quirk (1974 : 142). A suggested 3rd person personal pronouns are as follows :

	Singular		Plural
	Distinctive gender	Common gender	
Nominative	<i>he, she</i>	<i>tey</i>	<i>they</i>
Possessive	<i>his, her(s)</i>	<i>ter(s)</i>	<i>their(s)</i>
Objective	<i>him, her</i>	<i>tem</i>	<i>them</i>

<Table 5> (Cf. Meyers 1973)

5. Word order

Person	Word order
2+1	<i>you and I, you and we</i>
3+1	<i>he and I, they and we</i>
2+3	<i>you and he, you and they</i>
2+3+1	<i>you, he and I; you, they and we</i>

<Table 6>

Here, the rule is that the most important item should be placed at the top on the list in question. Thus, hearer is normally placed at the top, speaker at the end :

- *I and you
- ??your mother and you
- ??John and you
- *I and John
- ??I and my mother

Especially, the position of 1st person pronoun seems to be fixed ; that is, it should be placed at the end on the list. Kuno (1977) says that if we hear the utterance "*I and you are good friends*", we may conclude that the speaker has never acquired the rule, and that he will most probably be the person who has no distinction between *I* and *me*. His idiolect will be : "*Me and John are good friends.*"

(55) We are not close, *my father and I*. — Robert Hemingway, "Family Traces", NY, November 29, 1976, p. 42

(56) "*Pat and I*, we went on one of those African camera safaris."—James Munves, "The Latecomer", NY, November 22, 1976, p. 44

(57) *My husband I* are both puzzled. — "Ann Landers", *Asahi Evening News*, March 26, 1974

But, if 1st person is considered to be the most important item on the list, or a focused item, then we may have the following word order.

(58) Unfortunately, *I and a few of the youth movement leaders* had fallen for the old jargon and joined them. —B. Behan, *With Breast Expanded*

(59) *I and a number of my colleagues* quite often have lunch at a pub five minutes' walk away from university. —R. Fowler, *Understanding Language*, p. 241

6. Added comments

6.1 I'm the soup ³⁶

Lack of context may conceal the extensibility of the semantic range of a word. The sentence *I'm the soup* would probably be put down as semantically anomalous ; yet spoken in context at the cashier's counter in a restaurant it is normal :

(60) You've got us confused : you're charging me for the noon special ; the man in front of me was the noon

special ; *I'm the soup*.

Included in the semantic range of *I* is whatever the speaker finds it practical to associate with himself (Bolinger 1968).

6.2 We are sold out

The semantic range of the pronouns can be whatever the speaker finds it practical to associate with himself (Bolinger 1968, Konishi 1974).

(61) As compared with the United States, Russia, and China, *we* are a very small country indeed. — W. I. Inge, *England* [Konishi]

(62) "M...May I speak to the doctor? This is Elmo Overhill..." "Who? Doctor is very busy! Can he give you an appointment in three weeks? Shall I put *you* down?" — "They Will Do It Every Time", *Asahi Evening News*, September 5, 1974

(63) I got there just as it was closing. On the other side of the glass door a man was turning a key in the lock. 'Sir?' I said.

He pointed at some letters on the door that said the store closed at five-thirty, then turned and started walking away.

'*We're* closed,' he said.

'I thought *you* were open till six.'

—C. Webb, *Love, Roger*

(64) During the day we rent out our garage to an architect. If I have taken the car and come back home, my wife will often ask me where I've parked. Once when I came in, and we were standing two feet from each other in the center of the living room, my wife asked me, "Are *you* in the garage?" Our four-year-old daughter, Tachel, said immediately, "Mummy! That's silly! Daddy is right there!" (Bolinger 1975 : 301).

(65) At the counter of a market a father, his son, and some purchases were being checked through. The clerk was not sure who went with what. The father made a sweeping gesture and said *We're all here*. If *we* had been merely personal, it would have had to be *We're both here* ; *We're all* included the groceries (Bolinger 1975 : 201).

NOTES

1. See Yamada (1976 b).
2. Nouns form an **open class**. As to the difficulty of formulating a definition of pronoun, see the concise description by Roberts (1954 : 53-55).
3. Cf. Quirk *et al.* (1972 : 206-7, esp. Fig. 4 : 12).
4. These three pronouns are referred to as 'central' by Quirk *et al.* (1972 : 207).
5. Also, Potter (1969 : 148-51). In some community dialects in the United States, the subject and object forms of the personal pronouns are the reverse of the standard dialect (Gefvert *et al.* 1975 : 228).

	Community dialect	Standard dialect
Subj.	<i>me, us, him, her, them</i>	<i>I, we, he, she, they</i>
Obj.	<i>I, we, he, she, they</i>	<i>me, us, him, her, them</i>

〈Table 7〉

Also, see Barber (1976 : 203-213).

6. Cf. Thorne (1966). (+) expresses the presence, and (-) the absence of the feature. Also, Palmer (1976 : 126).
7. Cf. Strang (1968 : 116). Egocentric (i. e. involving the speaker), non-egocentric (i. e. involving someone or something other than the speaker ; it is not, therefore, merely the negative of the first choice, and presence of both features in combination is feasible). As to the '4th' person category, see Hymes (1974).
8. 'There is in fact a simple rule with the plural : the pronoun is determined by the "highest" ranking person included. If *I* is included, use *we* ; if it is not but *you* is, use *you* ; otherwise use *they*' (Palmer 1976 : 127).
9. Up to the thirteenth century English had a dual : *wit* 'we two'. A different scheme of personal pronouns in Weri, a language of New Guinea, is interesting. See Boxwell (1967). Also, Jespersen (1924 : 192).

The example of Palaung pronouns is interesting. Palaung is a language spoken by a small tribe in the northern Shan States of Burma, and like other languages it has a small set of terms that act as personal pronouns. The set is more complex, however, than the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd person singular and plural to which we are accustomed. See below :

1. 'I'
2. 'thou' (i. e. 'you' singular, without the archaic/ecclesiastical connotations of English 'thou')
3. 'he, she' (i. e. 3rd person singular with no distinction for sex)
4. 'he or she, and I' (i. e. one other person and I)
5. 'thou and I'
6. 'they and I'
7. 'thou, I, and he, she, or they' (i. e. the person spoken to, the speaker and one more additional person)
8. 'he or she, and thou'
9. 'they and thou'
10. 'they two' (i. e. 3rd person dual)
11. 'they, thou or more'

Thus, whereas in English we have three plural pronouns, Palaung has eight, and in English numbers 4, 5, 6 and 7 would all have to be translated as 'we'. One way of showing how the meaning and range of application of each of these terms differ from each other is to extract dimensions of meaning along which the pronouns can be ordered. In common with our own pronouns one such dimension would be number, but whereas our pronouns can be distinguished on a simple singular/plural dichotomy, the Palaung pronouns clearly require a triadic distinction of singulars (numbers 1, 2 and 3), duals (4, 5, 8 and 10) and plurals (6, 7, 9 and 11). But this ordering into sets still leaves certain pronouns semantically undifferentiated (e. g. 1, 2 and 3), so we can go on to distinguish two further dimensions of meaning which can be used for the purpose of ordering. First, certain terms include the speaker (1, 4, 5, 6 and 7), while others do not (all the rest). Second, certain terms include the person being spoken to, the hearer (2, 5, 7, 8, and 9), while others do not (all the rest). See Burling (1970).

	<i>Speaker Included</i>	<i>Speaker Not Included</i>
		2(singular)
<i>Hearer Included</i>	5(dual) 7(plural) 1(singular)	8(dual) 9(plural) 3(singular)
<i>Hearer Not Included</i>	4(dual) 6(plural)	10(dual) 11(plural)

〈Table 8〉Palaung Pronouns (Burling 1970)

10. *NY* stands for *The New Yorker*.
11. But we have to study further examples before this theory is proved to be a truth. Cf. Kuno (1977).
12. See Sweet (1899 : 71), Perrin (1950 : 812), Whitford and Foster (1955 : 160), Perrin (1972 : 267). Also, Yasui (1974 : 148-52). See the next example :
- Since the book is the result of reading and thought extending over more than fifteen years, *the author* cannot now recall the source of each idea expressed. —E. H. Sturtevant, *Linguistic Change*, p. xiii
13. Cf. Kuno (1974).
14. Yoshida (1977) studies a number of examples from Charles Dickens.
15. Perrin (1972 : 745) calls this type of *we* 'kindergarten *we*'.
16. Perrin (1972 : 745) calls this type of *we* 'hospital *we*'.
17. In order to avoid the use of the pronoun *I* some people say *one*, which can be regarded as a feature of class dialect. It is most often used by members of the upper classes with intellectual interests, and to other people it is liable to seem an affectation. Historians who wish to make special claims grounded on their historical knowledge are liable to say 'A historian thinks...' rather than 'I think...'... Ernest Bramah's Kai Lung says *this person* for *I*, but this is a mannerism used to create a foreign atmosphere and not intended to be taken seriously (Brook 1973 : 69).
18. For a general survey, see T. Finkenstaedt (1963), "*You*" and "*Thou*", *Studien zur Anrede in Englischen*, Berlin. I do not have enough space to comment on valuable analyses of Shakespeare's use of *thou* and *you*. One of them is: Raymond Adlam (1964), "*Thou*' and '*You*': *Some Pronominal Shifts in Shakespeare*". Unpublished dissertation written for the Diploma in Applied Linguistics, University of Edinburgh.
19. '*tu* (usual form of address to relations, close friends, children and animals) *you*' [*Harper's New Standard French and English Dictionary*, s. v. *tu*] Cf. *tutoyer*, *vouvoyer*. See Kurata (1975). Detailed sociolinguistic discussions are found in Brown and Gilbert (1960), Ervin-Tripp (1964). Hindi has the following set of pronouns.

	Sg.	Pl.
1st person	<i>m?</i>	<i>ham</i>
2nd person	<i>tu</i>	<i>tum</i>
3rd person	<i>vo</i>	<i>ve</i>
Honorific		<i>aap</i>

Table 9

- 'Honorific' pronoun agrees with a verb form with a polite imperative plural suffix. The second person and 'honorific' pronouns can be arranged on a scale of social distance : *tu* : *tum* : *aap* ; *tu* is used when the addressee is inferior ; it is used among children ; elsewhere, its public use is stigmatized though it can be used to indicate intimacy. The selection of these three pronouns is determined by the social identity of the speaker, presence or absence of other members of the speech community, whether the addressee is known or unknown, male or female, young or old, etc. Further discussion is found in Pandit (1975). Also, Trudgill (1974 : 105-109), Kocher (1967).
20. *How dy* < *How d' ye* < *How-do-ye*
21. As to a tentative analysis of Japanese pronouns, see Ashworth (1975).
22. Cf. Kuno (1977).
23. See Nakajima (1956), Bryant (1962), Cooperud (1970).
24. '*Southeastern U. S. You*. Used in addressing two or more persons or referring to two or more persons, one of whom is addressed.' [*AHD*, s. v. *you-all*] Also, see the following instances :
- (1) I received a handful of letters similar to yours, but unfortunately *you folks* were badly over-numbered. —"Ann Landers", *Asahi Evening News*, April 30, 1977
- (2) "How are *you two* getting along?" he says. "When's the wedding?" —Robert Hemingway, "Family Traces", *NY*, November 29, 1976, p. 41
25. See Yamada (1976 a). Kuno's observation coincides with mine (Cf. Kuno 1977 : 330).
26. "What is the dividing line between adult and child? In my own system, it seems to be school-leaving age, at around age 18. An employed 16-year-old might be classified as an adult." (Ervin-Tripp 1969).
27. Personal communication.
28. Personal communication.
29. Cf. Palmer (1971 : 13-26).

30. Potter (1969), Murata (1972), Leech and Svartvik (1975). "The often debated 'It's me' is often justified by the need for an emphatic pronoun in English as in French ('*c'est moi*'), but its survival may also relate to its use in friendly and relaxed situations." (Turner 1973 : 186-7)
31. We may employ the terms 'Pattern Pressure' (K. L. Pike) and 'Pressure of Position' (C. C. Fries) to explain a cause of the case-shift.
32. See Robat (1975 : 136-7), Miyata (1977 : 96-101).
33. As to the discussion on the case-shift after *rather than*, see Wood (1962).
34. "Good preachers don't preach about God and heaven, and things like that. They always preach against something, like hell and the devil. *Them* is things to be against. It wouldn't do a preacher no good to preach for God." —E. Caldwell, *Tobacco Road* [Konishi]
35. We say *John and his wife*, but not **John's wife and he*, **his wife and John*. See Kuno (1975), Kuno and Kaburaki (1975).
36. The similar expressions occur in Japanese also. See Ookubo (1977), in which he shows ten examples from Japanese novels. He tentatively calls the type 'unagi-bun' ('*I'm-the-eel-sentence*').

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