

CHAPTER 3

DATA AND INTERPRETATION OF FINDINGS

III.1. DATA PRESENTATION

In this section the writer would like to present data obtained from questionnaire that is supported by interview and observation. The data pertain to the Javanese second person pronouns used by young people in Surabaya.

The choice of pronouns seems to be influenced by some social factors. Here, I only deal with factors such as, age, gender, degree of intimacy and status position.

The communication process always involves, at least, two participants. Those participants consists of speaker and addressee. In this case, they are young male and female. So, if it is presented in a diagram, we will get the following :

	MALE	FEMALE
MALE (M)	MM	MF
FEMALE (F)	FM	FF

The variants of Javanese pronouns can represent formal and informal style. The formal style is used to show respect to someone, whereas informal style is to address someone of equal standing. Using Brown and Gilman symbols, the formal style is represented by the symbol V showing power, while the informal style uses the symbol T

showing power, while the informal style uses the symbol T expressing intimacy. In this case, *panjenengan* and *sampeyan* which are second person pronouns of *krama* level refer to formal style (V), while *awakmu*, *kowe*, *kon*, and *peno* that are *ngoko* refer to informal style (T). But, *awakmu* is considered as more formal than *kowe*, *kon*, or *peno*.

In the table of data presentation, there are some abbreviation. Here, *S* means speaker while, *H* means hearer (addressee). For the pronouns, *Pnjgn* means *panjenengan*, [panjənəŋan], *smbyn* means *sampeyan* [səmpɛyan] and *awk* means *awakmu* [awaʔmu]. All the number written in the tables are in the form of percentage (%).

1. The Relationship Between Gender with Degree of Intimacy and Age in the Choice of Pronouns

Table 1. The Pronouns used to address male or female addressee, who is of the same age and intimate

	MALE (S)		FEMALE (S)	
	Male (H)	Female (H)	Male (H)	Female (H)
Pnjgn				
Smpyn				
Awk		46,7	20	20
Kowe				
Kon	100	53,3	80	80
Rek	40			

Table 1 apparently shows that men tend to use intimacy form or informal style to address his male friends who are of same age and intimate nature. He uses

kon (100%) to express their familiarity. Here, besides using *kon*, some also express their solidarity by using address terms *rek* (40%). But this term of address is never used by them to address their female friend.

Meanwhile, to their female friends who are also of the same age and intimate, it seems that they also employ informal form *kon* (53.3%). Besides, there are some of them who use the formal form *awakmu* (46.7%), even though it is smaller in number.

The table above also shows that women use the same expression when addressing both male and female friends. They use the informal form, *kon* (80%), and some use *awakmu* (20%).

Table 2. The pronouns used to address male or female addressee who is older and intimate

	MALE (S)		FEMALE (S)	
	Male (H)	Female (H)	Male (H)	Female (H)
Pnjgn				
Smpyn	6.6	86.7	100	100
Awk	66.6	13.3		
Kowe				
Kon	13.3			
Peno	13.3			
Cak	26.7			
Mbak		40		46.7
Mas	13.3		46.7	

The table 2 displays that in addressing their male friends who are older but intimate, they are prone to use the ngoko level. Here, most of them choose *awakmu* (66,6%)

and some use the *kon* (13,3%). Besides, there are also those using the regional dialect term, *peno* (13,3%).

It is interesting that solidarity does not seem to appear when addressing their female friend who is of the same standing as the above. They address to them politely by using *sampeyan* (86,7%).

Here, they also use some indirect pronouns. *Cak* is mostly chosen to address their male friends (26,7%), while other use *mas* (13,3%). But, they tend to use formal form, *mbak* to refer to their female friends (40%).

From the above table, we can also see that women use *sampeyan* (100%) to address their friends who are older, and intimate. It is directed to both female and male friends. Besides, some also use indirect pronouns, *mas* and *mbak* as address terms to their male and female friends (46,7%).

Table 3. The pronouns used to address male or female addressee who is younger and intimate.

	MALE (S)		FEMALE (S)	
	Male (H)	Female (H)	Male (H)	Female (H)
Pnjgn				
Smpyn				
Awk		26.7	20	20
Kowe				
Kon	100	73.3	80	80
Rek	40			
Dik			46.7	46.7

The table above shows that men are prone to use the intimate form *kon* (100%), because the addressees are of

the same sex, younger and intimate. *Kon* is also used if the addressee is female (73,3%), eventhough, there are also those who express formality by the use of *awakmu* (26,7%) to the younger female friends.

What is interesting is the presence of the term *rek* as a solidarity signal directed just to their male friends. While to their female friends, they never use it.

When addressing their friends who are younger but intimate, the women use *kon* to both female and male friends (80%). Some of them also use *awakmu* (20%). There are also those using the kinship term, *dik* (46,7%).

Table 4. The pronouns used to address male or female addressee who is of the same age and not intimate.

	MALE (S)		FEMALE (S)	
	Male (H)	Female (H)	Male (H)	Female (H)
Pnjgn				
Smpyn		6.7	20	46.7
Awk	13.3	66.6	46.7	20
Kowe				
Kon	86.6	26.7	33.3	33.3

The table above shows that in addressing their friends who are not intimate but of the same age and sex, men are prone to use *kon* (86,6%), but when addressing the female, they use *awakmu* (66.6%) because they want to be more polite.

Here, we can see that the women mostly use *awakmu* (46,7%) to address their female friends who are of the same

age but not intimate. There are also those who use *kon*, eventhough in smaller number (33,3%). But, to the female, they are more formal by using *sampeyan* (46.7).

Table 5. The pronouns used to address male or female addressee who is older and not intimate

	MALE (S)		FEMALE (S)	
	Male (H)	Female (H)	Male (H)	Female (H)
Pnjgn				
Smpyn	20	86.7	100	100
Awk	66.7	13.3		
Kowe				
Kon	13.3			
Mas	40		40	
Mbak		40		
Cak	13.3			40

The table above displays that there is difference in the term of address that is used to their addressees. Men are prone to use polite form *sampeyan* to female friends (86,7%), but *awakmu* (66,7%) to the male friends who are older and not intimate.

Besides using *awakmu* and *sampeyan*, some of them also alternate with the use indirect pronouns. *mas* (40%) to the male friend, and *mbak* (40%) to the female.

To address friends who are older and not intimate. the women are prone to use the polite form *sampeyan* (100%). Besides, they also use kinship terms *mas* and *mbak* to show respect to either him or her (40%).

Table 6. The pronouns used to address male or female addressee who is younger and not intimate

	MALE (S)		FEMALE (S)	
	Male (H)	Female (H)	Male (H)	Female (H)
Pnjgn		JJ		
Smpyn		6.6		
Awk	13.3	46.7	53.3	53.3
Kowe				
Kon	86.7	46.7	46.7	46.7
Dik			40	40

In addressing their friends who are younger and not intimate, men are prone to employ the informal forms to their male friends. Here, the term of address is represented by the use of *kon* (86,7%). While, to the female, they employ both the informal form represented by term *kon* (46.7%) and the formal form of term *awakmu* (46,7%).

From the above table, we see that the women are prone to use *awakmu* (53,3%) to show the formality as well as the familiarity to their friends who are younger and not intimate. Some also alternatively address by using the indirect pronoun, *dik* (40%).

2. The Relationship between Gender and Degree of Intimacy, Age and Status

As far as status is concerned, it can be divided into lower and higher status. Person's status is meant his social position or rank in relation to others that might be determined by wealth, by education, or by some other

criterion. Here, a man who can be considered as having high status is one who is well educated, while one who is lowly educated usually has low rank profession such as pedicab driver, household servant, or vegetarian seller.

Table 7. The pronouns used to address male or female addressee who is of same age, intimate and has higher position

	MALE (S)		FEMALE (S)	
	Male (H)	Female (H)	Male (H)	Female (H)
Pnjgn				
Empyn		6.6	20	20
Awk	13.3	60	46.7	46.7
Kowe				
Kon	86.7	33.3	33.3	33.3
Rek	26.7			

Men still seem to use intimate form *kon* for expressing their solidarity to their male addressees (86,7%). But, they are rather formal to their female addressees by the use of *awakmu* (60%). There are also those using *rek* to their male addressees (26,7%).

The table above shows that women are prone to be formal in addressing either their male or female addressees who are of the same age and intimate, but considered as having higher status. Here, they use *awakmu* (46,6%).

In smaller number, there are also those using the more formal style *sampeyan* (20%). While, those using informal form, *kon* is 33,3%.

Table 8. The pronouns used to address male or female addressee who is older, intimate and has higher position

	MALE (S)		FEMALE (S)	
	Male (H)	Female (H)	Male (H)	Female (H)
Pnjgn				
Smpyn	20	86.7	100	100
Awk	86.7	13.3		
Kowe				
Kon				
Mas	20		46.7	
Cak	26.6			
Mbak		40		46.7

The table above shows that men are still prone to express their intimacy to their male addressees. It is shown by use of *awakmu* (80%) expressing both intimacy and formality. Whereas, to their female addressees, they use the more formal form, i.e. *sampeyan* (86,7%).

There is also alternatively the informal indirect pronoun, *cak*, used to refer to their male addressees (26,7%). Some other also use the formal form, *mas*, (13,3%). Whereas, to the female addressees, they use the formal form, *mbak* (40%).

The female speaker use more formal form, *sampeyan* (100 %) as a address term to their addressees who are older, and intimate but have higher position.

They also alternatively use kinship term of addresses, *mas* and *mbak*, each of which is 46,7%.

Table 9 The pronouns used to address male or female addressee who is younger, intimate and has higher position

	MALE (S)		FEMALE (S)	
	Male (H)	Female (H)	Male (H)	Female (H)
Pnjgn				-
Smpyn		6.6	20	20
Awk	20	40	40	40
Kowe				
Kon	80	80	46.7	46.7
Dik			40	40
Rek	26.7			

Here, we can see that men mostly are prone to use the intimate form, *kon*, to addressing their addressees either male (80%) or female (53,3%), since their addressee are younger and intimate. Besides, some of them also use *awakmu* (40%) to the female and indirect pronoun, *rek* (26,7%) just to the male addressees.

It seems that women use *kon* as an intimate form, to address their addressees who are younger, intimate but have higher status than them (46,7%). Some also use indirect pronoun, *dik*.

Table 10. The pronouns used to address male or female addressee who is of same age, not intimate and has higher position

	MALE (S)		FEMALE (S)	
	Male (H)	Female (H)	Male (H)	Female (H)
Pnjgn				
Smpyn		13.3	20	20
Awk	33.3	66.7	46.7	46.7
Kowe				
Kon	66.7	20	33.3	33.3

The table above shows that men are still prone to use familiar form *kon* (66.7%) to their male addressees who are of the same age, eventhough they are higher in position and not intimate. While, the number who use *awakmu* are smaller (33,3%).

Meanwhile, to their female addressees, they change the term of address to the use of *awakmu* (66,7%) indicating their formality. While, the number of male speaker who use of *kon* are smaller (20%)

The table above displays that women tend to be formal to their addressee who is not intimate and has higher position, but same age. Here, this expression is shown by employing *awakmu* (46,6%) to both male and female addressees.

Table 11. The pronouns used to address male or female addressee who is older, not intimate and has higher position.

	MALE (S)		FEMALE (S)	
	Male (H)	Female (H)	Male (H)	Female (H)
Pnjgn				
Smpyn	66.7	66.7	100	100
Awk	33.3	33.3		
Kowe				
Kon				
Mas	40	40	46.7	
Mbak				46.7

To address their male and female addressees who is older, not intimate, and considered to have higher position, they use the same form, i.e *sampeyan* (66,7%)

showing their respect. And some use *awakmu* (33.3%) to both male and female addressees.

The kinship term of address, *mas* and *mbak* are also alternatively used to refer to their male and female addressees.

The table 11 also shows that because their addressee who is older and having higher position and not intimate, so they politely address to them by using *sampeyan* (100%). Some also alternate with *mas* and *mbak* (46,7%).

Table 12. The pronouns used to address male or female addressee who is younger, not intimate and has higher position.

	MALE (S)		FEMALE (S)	
	Male (H)	Female (H)	Male (H)	Female (H)
Pnjgn				
Smpyn				
Awk	33.3	86.7	53.3	53.3
Kowe				
Kon	66.7	20	46.7	46.7
Dik				40

From the table 12 above, we can see that men tend to use the familiar form *kon* (66,6%) to address their male addressees who are younger, not intimate and have higher position. Whereas, to women, they are more formal by employing *awakmu* (80%)

From the above table, we can also see that the women are prone to use the formal form, *awakmu*, to address either male or female addressees who are younger, not

intimate but has higher position. Some of them also use *kon* (46,6%).

Besides, there are also those using the indirect pronouns, *dik*, to address their young male and female addressees.

Table 13. The pronouns used to address male or female addressee who is of same age, intimate and has lower position.

	MALE (S)		FEMALE (S)	
	Male (H)	Female (H)	Male (H)	Female (H)
Enjgn Smpyn Awk Kowe Kon Rek	13.3	53.3	53.3	53.3
	86.7	46.7	46.7	46.7
	40			

To address their addressees who are of the same age and have close relation but lower in status, men use different forms. Here, they address to their male friend intimately by the use of *kon* (86,7%). However, they are more formal to the female addressee by using *awakmu* (53,3%). Here, they also use the term *rek* (33,3%) which is merely directed to the male.

The table above shows that eventhough the addressees are of the same age, intimate but have lower status, the women are likely to use the formal form, *awakmu* (53,3%). While, those choosing the informal form, *kon*, is 46,7%.

Table 14. The pronouns used to address male or female addressee who is older, intimate and has lower position. (%)

	MALE (S)		FEMALE (S)	
	Male (H)	Female (H)	Male (H)	Female (H)
Pnjgn				
Smpyn	33.3	6.7	100	100
Awk	66.7	13.3		
Kowe				
Kon				
Cak	33.3	40		
Yu				20
Mas	6.6		46.7	
Mbak				26.7

The table 14 above displays that men use different terms to their male and female addressees. To male, they still show their intimacy by employing the term *awakmu* (66,7%) while to the women, they tend to be more formal by using *sampeyan* (86,7%).

Besides, they also employ the indirect pronouns, *cak* (33,3%) to refer to the male, and *yu* (40%) to female. In small number, there are some using the formal form, *mas* (6,6%).

Here, it is also shown that the women are prone to use the polite form *sampeyan* (100%) to either male or female addressees who are older, intimate but have lower status.

Besides, they also use some indirect pronouns that are more formal, *mbak* (26,7%) and *mas* (46,7%) and the informal form, *yu* (20%) as other alternation.

Table 15. The pronouns used to address male or female addressee who is younger, intimate and has lower position. (%)

	MALE (S)		FEMALE (S)	
	Male (H)	Female (H)	Male (H)	Female (H)
Pnjgn				
Smpyn		6.6		
Awk		33.3	26.7	26.7
Kowe				
Kon	100	60	73.3	73.3
Rek	40			
Dik			40	40

The table above shows that men mostly use *kon* (100%) to address their male addressees who are younger, intimate but have lower status. But, they are smaller that use same terms to addressing the female (60%). Because, there are some of them who use *awakmu* (33,3%) and *sampeyan* (6,6%). Some of them also use the term *rek* to their close male friend (40%).

Eventhough, the addressee is younger and also has lower position, but since they are intimate, the women are prone to use the informal form, *kon*, to express their intimacy. And there are also those using *dik*.

Table 16. The pronouns used to address male or female addressee who is of the same age and has lower position. (%)

	MALE (S)		FEMALE (S)	
	Male (H)	Female (H)	Male (H)	Female (H)
Pnjgn				
Smpyn				
Awk	13.3	60	13.3	60
Kowe				
Kon	86.7	40	86.7	40

Here, we can see that men use informal term *kon* (86,7%) to address their addressees who is of the same age, eventhough they have lower position and not intimate. Nevertheless, to women they are prone to use *awakmu* (60%). While those addressing to the female by using *kon* are smaller (40%).

In this case, women are prone to be more formal in addressing their addressees who are of the same age but have lower status and not intimate. They use *awakmu* (60%) for expressing their formality.

Table 17. The pronouns used to address male or female addressee who is older, not intimate and has lower position. (%)

	MALE (S)		FEMALE (S)	
	Male (H)	Female (H)	Male (H)	Female (H)
Pnjgn				
Smpyn	53.3	86.7	66.7	100
Awk	46.7	13.3	33.3	
Kowe				
Kon				
Mas	26.7	26.7	46.7	
Mbak				26.7
Cak	13.3	13.3		
Yu				20

The table 17 displays that men use the same forms, i.e. *sampeyan*, to their male and female addressees. But, here the number of men who use it to male is smaller than those who use to female. They are 53,3% to male and 86,6% to female.

Here, they also use *mas* and *mbak* (26,7%) to show respect to their older addressees. *Cak* and *yu* are also

used, eventhough those using it are smaller (13,3%).

To the addressee who is older and has lower status, women are prone to use formal form, *sampeyan*. But, those using it to the male addressee are smaller (66,7%) than to the female (100%). Since there are some who use *awakmu* (33,3%) to the male. *Mas* and *mbak* are also used as alternative.

Table 18. The pronouns used to address male or female addressee who is younger, not intimate and has lower position,

	MALE (S)		FEMALE (S)	
	Male (H)	Female (H)	Male (H)	Female (H)
Pnjgn Smpyn Awk Kowe Kon Dik	100	53.3 46.7	60 40 46.7	66.7 33.3 46.7

From the table above, we can see that men (100%) use *kon* when addressing their male addressees who are younger, not intimate and have lower status. While, when addressing the female addressees, they are prone to employ *awakmu* (53,3%) which shows more formal than *kon*.

Here, women are likely to employ the formal expression for either their male and female addressees, i.e *awakmu*. But those who use it to the female addressee is larger ^{more} than to the male. There is also those employing the indirect pronoun, *dik*.

III.2. DATA ANALYSIS

1. The Relationship between Gender with Degree of Intimacy and Age in the choice of the Pronouns

The degree of intimacy seems to be salient factor in determining the pronouns. Two persons can become intimate because they may share the same values that can be in the form of sameness of age or sameness of sex. Nevertheless, if they have been intimate, they tend not to address nonreciprocally anymore, although there may be some differences between them.

1.A. The pronoun used by male speaker

Surabaya young men apparently have great solidarity to their closest friends, particularly if the latter are of same sex with them. This great solidarity enables them to explore alternatively a great number of intimate forms.

Among those intimate forms, the Javanese intimate term that is usually used is *kon*. *Kon* is included in *ngoko* level that is appropriate to address the equals or the younger. Here, this fact can be shown by table A.1 and A.3. These tables also display that because of their intimacy, most of men do not differentiate the pronouns for their male and female friends.

In addition to *kon*, the men also alternatively use another intimate terms that can function as vocative. This term is *rek*. *Rek* is a special term of address that is usually used by the young men in Surabaya. *Rek* is an abbreviation of *arek*. It is interesting that, in fact, the

term *rek* is prone to be directed to their male close friends. By using it, they may feel more familiar with one another.

Meanwhile, to their intimate friends who are older, men remain to show their intimacy, but here, it is represented by term *awakmu*. As *kon*, *awakmu* is also categorized as the *ngoko* form, but it is more formal than *kon*. This term is prone to be used to address their male friends. Whereas, to the female, men are apparently more respectful by employing *sampeyan*. This fact show that at the intimate situation for older male and female friends, men are more respectful to their female friends rather than to the male. To the male, they can still express their solidarity (table A.2).

Another fact that can be taken from this kind of relationship is the use of some alternative forms, *cak* and *mbak*. *Cak* is a vernacular address term that is similar to *mas*. As kinship term of address, this term is usually used to address elder male sibling, but in out of family group, it can refer to a common older men. Comparing to *mas*, it is more informal. The use of *cak* here can increase the solidarity between the participants.

However, to the female friends, men apparently do not use the vernacular form as to the male. Here, they use *mbak*. *Mbak* counts as relatively more formal and polite. Once again, it marks that men are prone to treat the female with deference.

On the other hand, to those with whom they are not intimate, apparently men attempt to be familiar with male addressee. Here, we can see that most of them still use the intimate style of *kon*. Nevertheless, to female, they are prone to be rather formal by using *awakmu*. This shows that they may keep at a distance to the female.

While, if the addressees are older than them, men will respect them by choosing the more formal forms. *sampeyan*, *mas*, and *mbak*. These are directed to either male or female friends.

These facts prove that man actually are inconsistent in the use of pronouns. Here, they are prone to use informal forms when addressing their male fellows, but they change into the formal forms when addressing the female. According to Trudgill, such men's tendency to use informal forms with their male friends is a form of masculine covert prestige and a solidarity signal.

1.B. The pronouns used by female speaker

Comparing to the men, women are not expressive enough in displaying their intimacy. Besides, they also do not seem to distinguish between their male and female friends. This can be seen from the pronouns chosen. In most intimate situations to their equals and younger of both sexes, they appropriately employ the informal form of *kon*. While to older friends, they are prone to be more respectful by using the formal form of *sampeyan*. It seems

that the feeling of solidarity is not so great as the men's.

To those who are not intimate, the reverse happens with the female speakers, in the sense that they are inclined to address formally to either male and female friends. Although their addressees are equal and younger, they still respect them by not using *kon*, but *awakmu*.

Whereas, as the men's, to those who are older, women display respect for their addressee by using the more formal form. *sampeyan*.

These facts can prove that in fact, young women in Surabaya are always status conscious. Therefore, to acquire the prestige, they are consistently prone to use the formal forms.

2. The Relationship between Gender with Degree of intimacy, Age and Status

In a complex relationship that often involve many social factors, the speaker frequently confronts problem of how he should express their social relationship. On the one hand, he, perhaps, wants to express something about the degree of the personal intimacy he feels for other person, on the other hand, he wants to show something about his relative status. Such kind of problem is commonly experienced by people in choosing forms of pronouns as well as term of address.

The choice of pronouns and term of address is usually based on 2 different dimensions, i.e horizontal and vertical. The horizontal can range between formal and informal continuum, while the vertical is placed between respect and disrespect continuum. Here, both factors will be combined. The horizontal dimension expresses intimacy, while the vertical expresses both distance and deference.

Commonly someone uses more intimate form when addressing people of lower status or with whom they are intimate, whereas the formal forms are used not only for those of high status, but also to the equals with whom they are not intimate.

2. A. The pronouns used by male speaker

From the data collected, it shows that generally men consider someone's status in society is not influential enough. It means that they will employ the same pronouns for a pedicab driver, for example, and for a doctor. For them, the choice of pronouns is more influenced by other factors, such as intimacy, age, etc. If they have been previously intimate, they are inclined to show such intimacy rather than their social status. This fact can be proved by table A.7 - A.18.

In this case, age seems to be an important factor for Javanese people. Since it can be used as measure for degree of deference. Sometimes, we also found someone courteous to a beggar just because of his old age. To

either their equals or the younger addressee, men can usually address intimately represented by the term *kon*. Whereas, for the older, they can be more polite with the term *awakmu* or *sampeyan*. Some indirect pronouns of kinship terms also appear. There are *mas* and *mbak* for the older of high status, and *yu* and *cak* to those of the low status.

Here, the degree of intimacy remains to play an important role in determining pronouns. There are differences in the use of pronouns for those who are intimate and not intimate. The factor of age and sex can be used to measure the degree of intimacy. The intimacy may increase, particularly in addressing those who are either equals or younger of the same sex. But, men also attempt to be familiar to those who are not intimate, particularly of the equals and younger. *Kon* is properly used for expressing familiarity.

The factor of gender seems to be significant, for it can be signal of degree of personal intimacy. Men are prone to have great solidarity with whom they are same sex. This can be proved by the use of some intimate terms, such as *kon*, and the use of some regional dialect, *peno*, *cak*, *yu*.

On the other hand, they are prone to be more formal and polite to the female. It is because they feel reluctant to the other ones who are considered more gentle whether in the way of language use or in the behaviour.

And the women rated to have such kind attribute.

Therefore, the men address them politely by using the formal form, such as *awakmu*, *sampeyan* and *mbak*.

2.B. The Pronouns used by female speaker

As the men, here, young women also do not distinguish between those who has high and low status. To whomever, they always use the formal forms. As those employed to older addressee of high or low status, the women treat them with deference. Here, they use *sampeyan* and some kinships terms, *mas* and *mbak* rather *cak*. But, there are some addressing the older female addressee of low status with *yu*. The use of *yu* marks a younger addressee's stereotypically rural, and uneducated and it is more informal than *mbak*.

Viewing from their choice of pronouns, it seems that women show less intimacy than men's. They rarely use the regional dialect forms. Here, they are inclined to choose the formal form, such as *mas* rather than *cak*. The pronouns that are used to those who are not intimate and to those who are intimate are same, here, they always choose the formal forms.

Age of addressee is also main determination. To the older addressee, they politely address them. But to the young and the equals, they are prone to express their familiarity and their respect as well.

The last consideration taken in choosing pronoun is the gender of the addressee. Here, the women do not distinguish pronouns used to the male and to the female. Different to the men, this factor is not significant enough.

