kansas working papers in linguistics

EDITED BY
BETH ABU-ALI
JULIE BRUCH

Partial funding for this journal is provided by the Graduate Student Council from the Student Activity Fee.

volume 13

1988

c Linguistics Graduate Student Association
University of Kansas, 1988
Kansas Working Papers in Linguistics is a regular publication of the Linguistics Graduate Student Association, Department of Linguistics, University of Kansas, Lawrence, KS 66045.

Aim: Kansas Working Papers in Linguistics (KWPL) is intended as a forum for the presentation, in print, of the latest original research by the faculty and students of the Department of Linguistics and other related departments at the University of Kansas. Papers contributed by persons not associated with the University of Kansas are also welcome. The papers published in KWPL may not be reproduced without written permission from the Linguistics Graduate Student Association.

Send all manuscripts and inquiries to:

Editors, KWPL
Department of Linguistics
University of Kansas
Lawrence, KS 66045 USA

Requests for individual volumes should be addressed to the Linguistics Graduate Student Association at the above address. Institutions producing a similar publication may request a reciprocal agreement.

The cost per issue for Volumes 1 through 6 and Volume 8, Number 1, is US $4.50 postpaid. The cost for Volume 7, Volume 8, Number 2, Volume 10, Number 1 and Volume 11 is US $7.50 postpaid. The cost for Volume 9, Volume 10, Number 2, and Volume 12 is US $10.00 postpaid. Reprints of individual articles may be requested for US $1.50 postpaid. For orders outside the United States and Canada, please add US $1.50 per volume to help defray the costs of postage. A cumulative index to Volumes 1-12 will be sent upon request.

We would like to express our appreciation to the faculty of the Linguistics Department for their continuing encouragement and support. Also, we thank the Graduate Student Council for their contribution to this publication.
A KINESIC APPROACH TO UNDERSTANDING COMMUNICATION AND CONTEXT IN JAPANESE
Julio Bruch ....................................................... 1

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN THE THREE LEVEL TONES AND VOWEL DURATIONS IN STANDARD THAI
Sujaritlak Deepadung ........................................... 17

ON PREDICTING THE GLOTTAL STOP IN EWA LAPAI
Antonia Polarín ................................................. 32

PREFIX onf. IN YORUBA
Antonia Polarín ................................................. 44

THE STUDY OF MINORITY LANGUAGES IN CHINA
Zili He .................................................................. 54

LEXICAL, FUNCTIONAL GRAMMAR ANALYSIS OF KOREAN COMPLEX PREDICATES
Hee- Seob Kim ...................................................... 65

IN THE SOCIAL REGISTER: PRONOUN CHOICE IN NORWEGIAN AND ENGLISH
Carl Mills .............................................................. 82

DIPHTHONGIZATION, SYLLABLE STRUCTURE AND THE FEATURE [HIGH] IN HMU
Carl Mills and David Strecker ................................. 95

A TRANSITIONAL ORTHOGRAPHY FOR NORTHERN CANADIAN NATIVE LANGUAGES
Paul Proulx .......................................................... 105

A RELIC OF PROTO-SIQUAN *rp/*p 'ONE'
IN MISSISSIPPI VALLEY SIQUAN
Robert L. Rankin .................................................. 122

MAKING GRUMP IN ESL: A SET OF THREE RHETORICAL STRUCTURES
Robert Bruce Scott ............................................... 127
SOCIAL DEIXIS IN SINHALESE:
The Pronoun System

Sunanda Tilakaratne

Abstract: Some aspects of language show a close relationship between social structure and language structure. The pronoun system in spoken Sinhalese, which encodes social relationships among the speech act participants, thus provides a fine example of social deixis. This paper shows how this pronoun system encodes proximity and social distance among the speech act participants and its agreement with the verb system in spoken Sinhalese.

Language can be studied either as a logical system or as a form of social behavior. Language structure has evolved within the social context of the speech community (Labov 1972:183). One aspect of language which depicts close social structure is its set of deictic expressions. Social deixis is especially concerned with certain aspects of "the social situation in which the speech act occurs" Fillmore (1975:76). Social deixis includes the social identities and relations among the participants involved in the speech act.

The present study deals with the pronoun system in spoken Sinhalese, which encodes social structure. Since I did not find any written source on the deictic expressions in Sinhalese, I relied on my intuition and consulted other native speakers of Sinhalese in getting this data.

Sinhalese is spoken on the island of Sri Lanka. It belongs to the Indic branch of the Indo-European language family. At present there are about 15 million people who speak this language. The grammar of spoken Sinhalese differs from that of the written language to a great extent. For example, even though the verbs of the written language have case endings, in the spoken language these endings are not used. Similarly, the written and spoken languages have two entirely different pronoun systems. I will concentrate on the pronominal forms of the spoken language in this paper, and compare them with the formal written forms when necessary for clarification.

The formal grammar of written Sinhalese as it is presently taught in schools, universities or any other educational institutions in Sri Lanka shows a three way distinction in the pronoun system similar to that of English. The following table illustrates these forms.

Table 1. The Pronoun System of the Written Formal Grammar of Sinhalese

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Person Subject</td>
<td>mama</td>
<td>api</td>
<td>mama</td>
<td>api</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Person Object</td>
<td>ma</td>
<td>apa</td>
<td>ma</td>
<td>apa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Person Subject</td>
<td>oba</td>
<td>obala</td>
<td>oba</td>
<td>obala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Person Object</td>
<td>oba</td>
<td>obala</td>
<td>oba</td>
<td>obala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Person Subject</td>
<td>chu</td>
<td>owuhu</td>
<td>cha</td>
<td>owuhu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Person Object</td>
<td>he</td>
<td>owun</td>
<td>a:</td>
<td>owun</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1 shows the formal written Sinhalese pronouns. When we further examine the system, we find that Sinhalese, unlike well known languages such as English, French or German, shows a three-way distinction in the third person pronouns based on proximity between the speaker and the referent (see Table 2). The first division of the third person pronouns has the meaning 'this person' (category a in Table 2). The proximity between the speaker and the referent is similar to that of the English demonstrative pronoun 'this'.

sēya liyuma liyay
This person letter will write.

The second type, which has the meaning 'that person' (category b in Table 2), is used when the referent is a bystander (i.e., close to the speaker and his/her) and the proximity between the speaker and the referent is similar to the English demonstrative pronoun 'that'.

araya liyuma liyay
That person letter will write
That person will write the letter.
Table 2. Formal Written Pronouns and Their Spoken Equivalents Used among Socially Equivalent People

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Formal written Sinhalese</th>
<th>Spoken Sinhalese</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>First person</strong> (male/female)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subject</td>
<td>mama</td>
<td>api</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Object</td>
<td>ma</td>
<td>api</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Second person</strong> (male/female)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subject</td>
<td>oba</td>
<td>obala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Object</td>
<td>oba</td>
<td>oya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Third (a) Person</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subject</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>mohu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>female</td>
<td>ma ya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Object</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>mohu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>female</td>
<td>ma:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Third (b) Person</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subject</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>ohu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>female</td>
<td>a ja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Object</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>ohu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>female</td>
<td>a:ja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Third (c) Person</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subject</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>ohu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>female</td>
<td>a:ya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Object</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>ohu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>female</td>
<td>a:ja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The third is used when the referent is in the vicinity (over there) of the speaker and the hearer or at another locale (similar in usage to the English third pronoun 'he') (category g in Table 2).

eyya liyuma liyay
that person letter will write
That person (he) will write the letter.

Table two presents the forms that are used in formal written Sinhalese and also the spoken forms that are used by educated people.

This pronominal system is complicated by variations based on the social relationship between the speaker and the addressee. It is difficult to distinguish one social class from another. Trudgill (1978) states:

Social classes are not clearly defined or labelled entities but simply aggregates of people with similar social and economic characteristics; and social mobility—movement up or down the social hierarchy—is perfectly possible.

As Trudgill states, the three social classes (upper, middle and lower) are distinguished in this paper. Education, social status and economic status play a major role in identifying social classes in Sri Lanka, although it is not possible to indicate clear boundaries between classes. In general, this paper refers to upper, middle and lower classes in the following manner. The upper class usually consists of national political leaders and other politically and/or socially recognized people of the country. The lower class usually consists of socially inferior, poor people with minimum education (at most primary school education). The people belonging in between these two categories are considered as the middle class. The pronominal system in Sinhalese shows that there is a close inter-relationship between this social stratification and the language structure.

The pronominal system in Sinhalese can be considered as speaker-centered, since the 1st person pronouns mama 'I' and api 'we', do not vary according to social variables such as speaker-addressee relationship, situation or age. For example, the following utterances
could be used by any speaker irrespective of the social variables, situation, or age.

mama liyuma liyanam
I letter will write
I will write the letter.

api liyuma liyanam
we letters will write
We will write the letters.

The second and the third person pronouns, on the other hand, vary according to the social status and the social relationship between the speaker-addressee and the speaker-hearer, as I will exemplify later in this paper.

The Second Person Pronoun:

The second person pronoun oya is used when the addressee is of equal status with the speaker.

oya liyuma liyanawada?
you letter write?
Would you write the letter?

Also, when the speaker and addressee both belong to the high or middle social classes this term may be used. Its plural counterpart is oyaal. Although this pronoun does not show the gender distinction, it is used more by females than by males. This pronoun is used more in informal situations. In formal situations such as job interviews or meetings with government officers, the name of the addressee may be used instead.

When the addressee belongs to the low social class or when both the speaker and addressee belong to the low social class, the pronoun umba will be used. The plural counterpart is umbala.

umba liyuma liyapan
you letter write
You write the letter.

The middle social class or the upper social class may not use this pronoun among themselves. Also in formal situations such as interviews this pronoun is not used. When people climb up the social ladder from low to middle class, they usually cease to use this pronoun.
This pronoun is not affected by variation in age or
gender distinction.

The pronoun tho has the same speech act
participants as the pronoun umba: the difference is that
tho is used when the speaker is in an angry mood or not
well disposed towards the addressee. The feminine form
of the pronoun is thli. Both masculine and feminine
pronouns have the same plural counterpart thopi.

tho gedara giya
you home went
You went home.

thopi gedara giya
you (plural) home went
You went home.

Table 3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing.</td>
<td>Flu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>formal written</td>
<td>oba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>socially equal</td>
<td>oya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>socially inferior</td>
<td>umba/ umbala/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>socially upper</td>
<td>obatuma</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. This line indicates the spoken forms used among
the middle class and higher class people when talking to
each other.
3. This line indicates the spoken forms used among
the lower social class and used by middle class or
upper class people when addressing the socially lower
class.
4. This line indicates the spoken forms used by
socially lower class people when addressing socially
upper class people.
The second person singular pronoun obatuna is used when the addressee belongs to the upper social class, while the speaker is of the lower class. This term may be heard when the addressee is a political leader or a high government official. obatumanla is the masculine plural form of this pronoun. Regardless of the formality of the situation, this pronoun may be used. The feminine forms are obatumi (singular), and obatumila (plural).

obatuma gedara giyada?
you home went?
Did you go home?
obatumanla gedara giyada?
you (plural) home went?
Did you go home?

The Third Person Pronoun:

a) The Referent is Close to the Speaker

Table 4 shows the relationships between the social variables of the third person pronouns. The forms of this category vary according to the social status of the speech act participants. When both the speaker and the referent belong to the middle class or upper class, the pronoun meya is used. Other social variables such as age, or gender may not affect this pronoun, but the formality of the situation is a variable. This form is used in very informal situations. In formal situations the name of the referent (full name or the first name depending on the degree of formality of the situation) is used instead of the pronoun.

meya mata liyuma dunna
this person letter gave
This person gave me the letter.

The forms mui or meika (these two forms are in free variation) are used when the referent belongs to a social class lower than the speaker, or when both the speaker and the referent belong to the socially lower class. Unlike the pronouns that are used by the middle class or the upper class, this pronoun shows a gender distinction. The pronoun meiki is used when the referent is a female. The plural form of both masculines and feminine pronouns is mun. These pronouns may not be used
in formal situations, and variation in age does not affect their use.

mu: mata liyuma dunna
this person me letter gave
This person gave me the letter.

mun mata liyum dunna
these persons me letters gave
These persons gave me letters.

Table 4. The Third Person Pronoun and the Social Variables When the Referent is Close to the Speaker

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. formal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>written</td>
<td>mohu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. socially</td>
<td>equal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inferior</td>
<td>me:ka/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. socially</td>
<td>upper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adults</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. This line indicates the spoken forms used among the middle class and upper class people when talking to each other referring to the same class of individuals.

3. This line indicates the spoken forms used among the lower social groups and used by middle class or upper class people when referring to the socially lower class.

4. This line indicates the spoken forms used by socially lower class people when referring to the socially upper class people.
If the referent is a male member of an upper social class the term metuma is used. The feminine form of this pronoun is metumia and the plural forms are metumiai and metumiai, (masculine) and metumiai (feminine). The formality of the situation may not affect the usage of these pronouns but these forms are used mainly among adults.

metuma        liyuma liyay  
this person letter write     
(masculine)  
This person will write the letter.

metumia       liyuma liyay  
this person letter write     
(feminine)   
This person will write the letter.

b) The Referent is a Bystander

When the referent is a bystander and when both the referent and the speaker belong to the same (upper or middle) social class, the pronoun araya is used. Age and gender do not act as variables for this pronoun. But this pronoun is more likely to be used in informal situations than in formal situations.

araya         liyuma liyay  
that person letter write     
That person will write the letter.

When the referent is a bystander and both the referent and the speaker belong to the lower social class or when the referent alone belongs to a lower social class the pronouns araka (singular, masculine), or araki (singular, feminine), are used. The plural form of both masculine and feminine is arun.

arakap        liyuma liyay  
that person letter write     
(masculine)   
That person will write the letter.

arakiki       liyuma liyay  
that person letter write     
(feminine)    
That person will write the letter.
### Table 5.

The Third Person Pronoun and the Social Variables

When the Referent is a Bystander

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th></th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sing.</td>
<td>Flu.</td>
<td>Sing.</td>
<td>Flu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. formal</td>
<td>chu</td>
<td>owuhu</td>
<td>aëya</td>
<td>owuhu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>written</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. socially</td>
<td>araya</td>
<td>arayala</td>
<td>araya</td>
<td>arayala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>equal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. socially</td>
<td>araka/</td>
<td>arakala/</td>
<td>araki</td>
<td>arakila/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inferior</td>
<td>aru:</td>
<td>arun</td>
<td>aru:</td>
<td>arun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. socially</td>
<td>etuma</td>
<td>etumania</td>
<td>etumiya</td>
<td>etumianla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>superior</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. This line indicates the spoken forms used among the middle class and upper class people when talking to each other, referring to the same class individual.

3. This line indicates the spoken forms used among the lower social groups, and used by middle class or upper class people when referring to the socially lower class.

4. This line indicates the spoken forms used by socially lower class people when referring to the socially upper class people.

The forms *etuma* (masculine, singular) or *etumiya* (feminine, singular) are used when the referent belongs to the upper class. The formality of the situation does not affect these pronouns. Generally the pronoun *etuma* has the meaning 'that respectable person'. These two pronouns are also used in the same way as the English third person pronoun 'he' or 'she' when the referent is not necessarily present in the speech act situation.

- *etuma*  liyuma liyay
  that person letter write
  (masculine)
  That person will write the letter.

- *etumiya*  liyuma liyay
  that person letter write
  (feminine)
  That person will write the letter.
c) The Referent is in the Vicinity or Elsewhere:

When the referent is in the vicinity of the speech act setting or in another locale and when both the referent and the speaker belong to the same social class (either upper or middle social class) the pronoun eya is used. Age and gender do not act as variables of this pronoun and it is likely to be used in more informal situations.

eya liyuma liyay
he letter write
He will write the letter.

Table 6.
The Third Person Pronoun and the Social Variables when the Referent is in the Vicinity or Elsewhere

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. formal written</td>
<td>ohu</td>
<td>owuhu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. socially equal spoken</td>
<td>eya</td>
<td>eyala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. socially inferior spoken</td>
<td>e:ka/</td>
<td>e:kala/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>u:</td>
<td>un</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. socially upper spoken</td>
<td>etuma</td>
<td>etumanla</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. This line indicates the spoken forms used among the middle class and upper class people when talking to each other and referring to the individuals of the same class.
3. This line indicates the spoken forms used among the lower social groups and used by middle class or upper class people when referring to the socially lower class.
4. This line indicates the spoken forms used by socially lower class people when referring to the socially upper class people.
When the referent alone or both the referent and the speaker belong to the lower social class, the pronoun e:ka (plural e:kala) or u: (plural un) is used. Although these two pronouns seem to be in free variation, the forms u: and un are more frequently used than e:ka and e:kala. The feminine forms are e:ki (singular) and e:kila or un (plural). As in the case of the masculine, un is more frequent than e:kila. These pronouns do not differ according to the age of the speaker.

e:ka liyuma liyay
he letter write
He will write the letter.

e:ki liyuma liyay
she letter write
She will write the letter.

The pronouns etuma and etumii, which are used when the referent is a bystander, are also used when the addressee belongs to the upper class.

etuma liyuma liyay
he letter write
He will write the letter.
etumii liyuma liyay
she letter write
She will write the letter.

The pronoun system and the verb system

The verb forms also vary according to the above mentioned variations of the pronouns: each pronoun can be used only with its distinctive verb form. With the pronouns that would be used in addressing the upper and middle social class people, the same verb forms are usually used.

When addressing the upper class:
obetuma enda
you come
You come.
obatuma  enawada?
you   come?
Could you come?

Table 7  The Verb System

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>come</th>
<th>go</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. socially equal</td>
<td>enda/enna</td>
<td>yanda/yanna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. polite forms for socially equal people</td>
<td>sawanam</td>
<td>(giyanam)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>endako</td>
<td>yandako</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>enawada?</td>
<td>yanawada?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. socially inferior</td>
<td>waren</td>
<td>palayan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. upper</td>
<td>enawada?</td>
<td>yanawada?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Lines 1 and 2 indicate the verb forms used among the middle class and upper class people when talking to each other.

2. This line indicates the spoken forms used among the lower social groups, and used by middle class or upper class people when addressing the socially lower class.

3. This line indicates the verb forms used by middle class or lower class people when addressing the socially upper class people.

Verb forms among the upper and middle classes:

oya  enda
you  come
You come.

oya  enawada?
you  come.
Could you come?

Both verbs have the meaning 'come', but the second question form of the verb enawada is commonly used, since it is the more polite form.
If the verb form *waren is used with the pronouns *obatuma, or *oya, that utterance would be *socially unacceptable since the verb form does not *socially fit the pronouns. Also, with the pronoun *umba only the verb forms *waren 'come' or *palavan 'go' can be used. Therefore, the following utterances can be regarded as *socially unacceptable, but could be made socially acceptable in one of the ways following each example.

1. *obatuma *waren
   you come
   a. *obatuma *enawada?
      you come
   b. *umba *waren
      you come

2. *obatuma *genen
   you bring
   a. *obatuma *genen
      you bring
   b. *umba *genen
      you bring

Similarly,

3. *oya *waren
   you come
   a. *oya *enna
      you come
   b. *umba *waren
      you come

4. *umba *enda
   you come
   a. *umba *enda
      you come
   b. *oya *enda
      *obatuma *enda
      you come
5. *umba gen:nda
    you bring
    a. umba genen
        you bring
    b. oya ge:nda
        you bring

There are many other verb forms that a speaker and an addressee may use in face-to-face interaction that have the similar two-way distinction: (1) a. those used among middle or upper class people, b. those used by middle or lower class people to address the upper social class c. those used by upper or lower class people to address the middle class people (Table 8 line 1), (2) the verb forms used by upper or middle class people when addressing lower class people or among the people belonging to the lower social class (Table 8 line 2). One important fact that should be mentioned here is that the second category of verbs are presently used more among the lower social class rather than between two different social classes. Some of the verbs are illustrated in table 8.

Table 8

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(1)</th>
<th>(2)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>eat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kanna</td>
<td>ka:pan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(eat)</td>
<td>(eat)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kannawada?</td>
<td>bi:pan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(could you eat?)</td>
<td>(drink)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bonawada?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(could you drink?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drink</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bonne</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(drink)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gannawa?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(could you take?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>take</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ganna</td>
<td>ganin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(take)</td>
<td>(take)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gannawada?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(could you take?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bring</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ge:nnaa</td>
<td>genen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(bring)</td>
<td>(bring)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ge:nnawada?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(could you bring?)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
write liyanna
  (write)
liyanawada?
  (could you write?)

read kiyawanna
  (read)
kiyawanawada?
  (could you read?)

sleep nidadanna
  (sleep)
nidadannawada?
  (could you sleep?)

think hittanna
  (think)
hitanawada?
  (could you think?)

**Summary**

The first person pronouns in Sinhalese do not differ according to social usage or any other variable. The second person pronouns differ according to social class differences. The singular and masculine forms of these can be illustrated as follows.

1. oya - Used by middle class and upper class people in addressing each other.
2. umba - a. Used by lower class people in addressing each other.
   b. Used by upper and middle class people in addressing lower class people.
3. obatuma- Used by middle class and lower class people in addressing upper class people.

Third person pronouns may vary according to the proximity between the speaker and the referent. The variations of the masculine, singular forms could be summarized as follows.
proximal       distal       remote
1.  meya         araya         eya
2.  mu:          aru:          u:
3.  metuma       etuma         etuma

1. Forms used by middle class and upper-class people when referring to the individuals of the same social class.
2. Forms used by upper and middle class people when referring to lower class people.
3. Forms used by middle class and lower class people when referring to upper class people.

A similar distinction can also be seen in the use of verbs. For example, upper and middle class people when addressing each other would use the forms xanna/xanawada? (go/can you go?). Same forms are used by those of lower class when addressing those of a class above them. However, people of upper or middle classes when addressing those of the lower class would use the forms waren (come) or palayan (go). Also, these forms are used often among the lower class people.

The pronoun system as well as verbs in spoken Sinhalese shows a close relationship between the social structure and the language structure.

REFERENCES