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Choice of address terms in conversational setting

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Abstract

A choice of an address term signals the relationship between language and society and how a person imagines his/her relationship with the addressee within this society. Address terms, therefore, provides sociolinguistic information about the interlocutors as well as pragmatic aspect of the situation. Previous research have focused on the effect of power and solidarity in the choice of address terms. This study, on the other hand, focuses on the address terms used during spontaneous conversation taking place in a no-power situation. The primary concern of the study is to identify the potential effects of a bilingual situation and a different culture. This study investigated the address terms school children use in a reciprocal situation, which are further analyzed regarding the potential effect of age, gender and being monolingual or bilingual in this issue. For this purpose, the group conversations of 56 monolingual Turkish speaking and 48 monolingual Turkish-Danish speaking children were analyzed. The address terms are coded and classified as emerged from the data. The results have shown that monolingual children use a great variety of address terms while bilingual children dwell on first names more frequently. Choice of address forms are governed by politeness, and positive and negative face. The results will lead to awareness-raising on pragmatic aspects of conversations and social relationship and will have implications on educational context especially in bilingual settings.

Keywords: addressing; address terms; kinship terms; first names; positive terms; negative terms

1. Introduction

Address terms are used when a speaker already has the listener's attention in interactive, face to face situations through which the behavior, norms and practices of a society can be identified (Afful 2006; Fasold 1990; Dickey 1997; Oyetade 1995). How people address each other is important from semantic and pragmatic aspects since address terms reflect both setting and social relationships. Formality or informality of the situation, the politeness or the deference the speaker wants to express can all be reflected with a term of address. For example, the diminutive suffix in Turkish signals personal involvement and is only appropriate in familiar and informal settings (Zeyrek 2001: 51). If such a form is uttered in a formal situation, social and pragmatic principles become violated. On the other hand, a term containing a negative meaning such as *salak* 'idiot', *bödük* 'a rude person', *deli* 'crazy' expresses that the speaker defers the addressee and gives the addressee a choice either to act in a similar manner and use an equally deferring expression to save face or to act in a different manner. Address forms, therefore, are determined by interpersonal relations and social characteristics of the speaker as well as the cultural values. These characteristics of address forms indicate that they are socially driven and have communicative value. Speakers' choice of address

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terms reveals information about the social background of the speaker as well as about the relationship between the speaker and the addressee.

There is a variety of factors which governs our choices of address terms. The fact that address forms have been studied in a number of languages proves that there are culture-specific motives which govern the choice of address forms. Although culture specific motives play an important role, other factors such as age, social status, gender, group membership, reciprocity and nonreciprocity of the participants have an impact on the address form chosen (Gisle & Aijmer 2011). Among these factors, social rank and power, occupational hierarchy has attracted considerable attention. Early studies focused on how power and solidarity is reflected through pronominal use, in other words, t-v distinction (Brown and Gilman 1960). It has been demonstrated that power and solidarity makes a change in the choice of address terms. But on the other hand, not all differences between people are connected with power. There is also an issue of power equals. When the speakers are from the same social and power status, address is expected to be reciprocal. When all the other conditions are the same in a group, there are different sources which create variations in the choice of address terms such as changing roles, temporary moods and feelings. In some situations address is expected to be reciprocal. Every time a form of address is used, it helps create change or reaffirm a social relationship in addition to indexing a set of conventional expectations. A choice of an address term, whether it is the expected choice or not, is a potential signal of how a person imagines his/her relationship with the addressee. When people's roles change in relation to one another, this can be indexed in how they address each other. Besides power, address terms show considerable variation across languages and national boundaries, across social groups, across individuals and across instances (Fasold 1990: 4) location and gender makes a difference in the use of address terms. It has been reported that non reciprocal patterns are used in rural areas while reciprocal patterns are used in urban areas. Location makes difference for girls in the younger age group and boys in the older age group (Lambert and Tucker 1976).

2. Purpose

In this study, the aim is to describe;

- the address terms school children use in a reciprocal situation;
- when and why particular address terms are used;
- whether different genders have an effect on address terms;
- whether age has an effect on address terms;
- whether being a monolingual or a bilingual has an effect on the use of address terms.

3. Method

3.1 The place and time of the study

The monolingual data comes from monolingual Turkish-speaking children living in Eskişehir, Turkey. Since the data was collected longitudinally, the data collection started in 1997 when the children started the first grade and ended in 2004 when they reached the 8th grade. The bilingual data comes from bilingual Turkish-Danish-speaking children living in Køge, Denmark. The bilingual data was collected between 1989 and 1998 longitudinally following the participants.

3.2 Population and sample selection

The study compares data from two longitudinal studies of the linguistic development of Turkish-speaking grade school students in Eskişehir and Køge. Monolingual Turkish data comes from the Anadolu Project, which comprises spoken data from Turkish-speaking grade school students who were born in Turkey and who had parents who migrated to Turkey earlier. The students attended a working class district school which was situated in a lower socio-economic district of a provincial town in Turkey. The bilingual data comes from the conversations of Turkish-Danish speaking grade school children who were born and raised in a working class district of Køge, in Denmark. There are 14 monolingual and 12 bilingual groups of participants in this

study. In each grade, there are 3 subgroups. One type of subgroup consists of 4 girls, another type of subgroup consists of 4 boys, and the third type consists of 2 boys and 2 girls. For this study we focus on longitudinal data from grades 1, 3, 5, 7 and 8. All the subgroups of each grade were included in the analysis in order to reveal any possible differences due to different group compositions in the data. Therefore, there are 56 monolingual and 48 bilingual participants in total.

3.3 Type of study

This is a descriptive study based on the naturalistic language data collected spontaneously in a conversational setting.

3.4 Variables

The independent variables are age and gender and the language of the participants. We analyzed the data in order to see whether gender and age of the participants have made a difference on the results or not. In addition to the age and gender, being a monolingual or a bilingual was expected to display differences in practice; we, therefore, have both monolingual and bilingual groups participated in the study. Dependent variable is the language, specifically address terms, used in the conversations.

3.5 Data collection

3.5.1 Data collection method

We collected language samples from the participants during problem-solving tasks which we planned for them. Grade 1 and 3 students were asked to furnish a house while a 5., 7., and 8. grade students were asked to prepare a collage on either a topic they chose, or to illustrate a day spent together in town. In both situations, we gave them a stack of furniture catalogues, a pile of picture postcards and told them that they were free to plan anything, to write or to draw on the poster. While furnishing the house and preparing the collage, they had to decide together and negotiate on the suggestions each of them made.

3.5.2 Data collection tools

Since our raw material is language, which is recorded in a natural, conversational setting, no specific tool or instrument was used. To stimulate the conversations, a task was given to the participants (see 3.5.1). During this stage, some visuals such as furniture catalogues, postcards were used.

3.5.3 Data collection time

The study comprises longitudinal data, which was collected continuously in successive years with specific intervals. The monolingual data with Turkish-speaking children was collected in seven years between 1997 and 2004. The bilingual data with Turkish-Danish-speaking children was collected in 9 years between 1989 and 1998.

3.6 Evaluation of data

Data were analyzed both qualitatively and quantitatively.

All the address terms were listed first and coded to draw a general profile. The categories are *first names, kinship terms, pronouns, positive terms, negative terms, and neutral terms*

We, then, calculated the percentage to see the frequencies of each category and the profile across the age groups, genders and languages (monolingual or bilingual).

Then, we defined the function of the address terms to reveal when and why particular address terms are used.

4. Results

4.1 An overview

A general look at the address terms participants used shows that 4 categories of address terms constitute the linguistic choice of the participants.

Table 1: *Profile of Address Terms Monolinguals Used*

Total	First Name	Kinship	Pronouns	Other
1836	938 (51%)	77 (4%)	-	806 (44%)

All the monolingual participants use 1836 address terms during the task they were engaged in. Among the 1836 address terms, 938 (51%) are *first names*. 77 *kinship terms* comprise 4% of the whole data. *Pronoun use* is also quite infrequent, which is 13 (%1). The remaining 806 (44%) address terms are the other address terms, which are further categorized as *neutral*, *positive* and *negative*.

Table 2: *Profile of Address Terms Bilinguals Used*

Total	First Name	Kinship	Pronouns	Other
997	699 (70%)	20 (2%)	-	277 (28%)

Bilingual participants use 997 address terms. As monolingual participants, bilinguals' choice of terms is *first names* 70% of the time. *Kinship terms* are 2%. *Pronouns* are the least used type of address terms as it is in the monolingual group. There are 277 other address terms, 21% of which has *neutral* meaning, 6% of which has *positive* and 1% of which has *negative* meaning.

Table 3: *Distribution of Address Terms Monolinguals Used*

Total	First Name	Fn Dim.	Kinship	K. Dimin	Pronouns	Neutral	Positive	Negative
1836	907 (49%)	31 (2%)	74 (4%)	3	13 (1%)	573 (31%)	161 (9%)	72 (4%)

The kinship terms used by the monolingual participants are generally the terms which are used in the immediate family such as *oğlum* 'my son', *ağabey* 'brother', *ağabeyciğim* 'dear brother', *kızım* 'my daughter', *yavrucum* 'my son/daughter-no gender diminutive form' *annem babam* 'my mother my father', *bacı* 'sister', *kardeş* 'sister/brother-no gender'. They make use of other terms related to extended family such as *dayının oğlu* 'my uncle's son'.

Table 4: *Distribution of Address Terms Bilinguals Used*

Total	First Name	Fn Dim.	Kinship	K. Dimin	Pronouns	Neutral	Positive	Negative
997	698 (70%)	1	16 (2%)	4 (1%)	4 (1%)	214 (21%)	6 (1%)	57 (6%)

Bilinguals, on the other hand, do not use variety of kinship terms as monolinguals do. They restrict their terms to *ağabey* 'brother' and to *oğlum* 'my son'. Bilinguals insert these terms in Danish sentences as well whenever they switch to their second language, Danish.

- (1) MEH:*det gider jeg ikke oğlum xxx n'eyecek den der skal jeg have*
 It bother I doesn't my son *to the bowl I need.
 'it doesn't bother me, my son, xxx to the bowl I need.'

Pronouns are rarely used in the data both by bilinguals and monolinguals; but then again, it is difficult to decide whether a pronoun is used as an address term or as an overt pronominal to emphasize the referent.

- (2) RAS: *ne yaz -yor -sun ora -ya sen* (monolingual)
 What write PROG 2SG there DAT you
 ‘What are you writing over there?’
- (3) ERA: *siz ne yap -acak -sınız o -nlar -ı* (bilingual)
 You what do FUT 2PL it PLU ACC
 ‘What are you going to do with those?’

In (2) and (3), pronouns are used to address the other participants in the group.

Neutral terms used by both monolinguals and bilinguals are exactly the same;

Len (with variations “*lan*”, “*ulan*”, and “*le*”) ‘man’ *kız* ‘girl’, *kızlar* ‘girls’, *len kızlar* ‘man girls’,

Apart from the neutral terms, a variety of positive terms, in other words, address terms which have inherited positive meanings, are used by monolinguals:

Çocuklar ‘children’, *canım* ‘dear’, *canımın içi* ‘dearest’, *gözüm* ‘my eye’, *bacım, bacı* ‘hadji, my hadji’, *bocam* ‘teacher’, *ortak* ‘partner’, *doktor* ‘doctor’, *efendim* ‘sir’, *beyler, baylar* ‘gentlemen’ *bayanlar* ‘ladies’, *birtanem* ‘my only one’, *güzelim* ‘my beautiful one’, *arkadaşlar* ‘friends’, *canım arkadaşlar* ‘my dear friends’, *canım arkadaşım* ‘my dear friend’, *sevgili yavrucum* ‘my dear child-diminutive’, *kuzum* ‘my lamb-sign of affection’.

Positive terms used by bilinguals are; *dostlar* ‘(close) friends’, *güzelim* ‘my beauty’, *efendim* ‘sir/madam’, *sevgilim* ‘my darling’, *akıllım* ‘my clever one’.

Both monolingual and bilingual participants use a number of negative terms in their groups (4% and 6% respectively).

Negative terms used by monolinguals are; *salak* ‘idiot’, *bödiük* ‘a rude person’, *deli* ‘crazy’, *ayı* ‘bear’, *domuz* ‘pig’, *maymun* ‘monkey’, *eşek* ‘donkey’, *manyak* ‘maniac’, *gıcık* ‘jerk’, *moruk* ‘old git’, *inek* ‘cow’.

Bilinguals use the following terms as negative address terms:

Moruk ‘old git’, *morukmen* ‘the old git man’, *gıcık* ‘jerk’, *salak* ‘idiot’, *deli* ‘crazy’, *dumkompf* ‘idiot’, *terbiyesiz* ‘ignorant’, *manyak* ‘maniac’, *deli* ‘crazy’.

Some of the negative terms such as ever-valid *salak* ‘idiot’, *manyak* ‘maniac’, *deli* ‘crazy’ and *moruk* ‘old git’ are common to both monolinguals and bilinguals.

This brief overview tells us that monolingual participants use a much wider variety of address terms than their bilingual peers.

4.2 Age differences

We, then, looked at the distribution of address terms across age groups.

Table 5: *Distribution of Address Terms across Age Groups (Monolingual)*

age	First Name		kinship		Pronouns		Other	
	First name	Fn dim.	Kinshi p	k. dimin	Prono un	Neutra l	Positiv e	negativ e
	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
1 st gr	149	1	7			159	19	44
3 rd gr	200	2	46	1	3	289	29	28
5 th gr	139	16	2			22	11	
7 th gr	139	3	3	2	1	42	15	
8 th gr	164	1	16		6	37	48	
Total	791	23	74	3	10	549	122	72

All the age groups use first names more than the other terms. Diminutive form of first names increases during the 5th grade. 14 of these diminutive forms are used by only girls group. Girls address each other using first name diminutives. Boys do not prefer diminutives for each other. First name diminutives are also used in the mixed group in a reciprocal situation. When one

of the participants, a girl, uses a diminutive for one of the boys and the boy responds in the same way.

Kinship terms are extensively used by 3rd graders only boys group. They use *oğlum* 'my son' to address each other extensively, especially when one of the participants starts it, the others follow on with the same term. In only girls group, the kinship term used is *kızım* 'my daughter'. In the mixed group, participants use the kinship terms *kızım* 'my daughter' and *oğlum* 'my son' according to the gender of the addressee. 8th graders also use kinship terms to address each other. Especially in mixed group, different varieties such as *bacı* 'sister', *annem babam* 'my mother and father', *kardeş* 'sister/brother' are used. When *bacı* 'sister' is used, we know that the participant addresses to one of the girls in the group but with *kardeş* 'sister/brother (no gender)', we are not sure whether the addressee is a boy or a girl. 8th grade only-boy group uses two other kinship terms *ağabey* 'brother' and *kardeşim* 'my sister/brother (no gender)'. Since this is an only boys group, we interpret *kardeşim* as 'brother'.

Pronouns are used by 3rd, 7th and 8th graders. As mentioned before, they were used scarcely. 8th graders use them more than their younger peers. Among the pronominal forms, T-forms are used as the conversational setting requires. Overt pronouns are used in order to emphasize the addressee either as a person or as a group. There is also an instance where a pronoun is used with the first name in order to distinguish the addressee from the others and put him in the center of attention.

Terms we classify as neutral terms are used by 1st graders and 3rd graders sparingly. 3rd grade all boys group hits the record with 198 use of the ever-popular term *len* and its variations such as *ulan*, *lan* all meaning 'man, boy'. Neutral address term used in all girls group is *kız* 'girl'. 3rd grade girls use this address term very frequently. *Kız* 'girl, girlie' and *len* 'man, boy' are gender specific terms. *Kız* 'girl, girlie' is only used for girls and *len* 'man, boy' is extensively used for boys with a few exceptions. In an all girls group, one of the girls use *len* 'man, boy' to address; this may be because she focuses on what she wants and does not address to a specific person. There is also an instance in which one of the girls combines another girl's first name with *len* 'man, boy', which is perfectly acceptable in colloquial use of this term.

Address terms which have positive connotations are used by all of the groups. The frequency of the positive terms is the highest in the 8th grade. All three gender groups use positive terms such as *bacım* 'my hadji', *kuşum* 'my lamb' (literally meaning 'my lamb' but used to express affection). Extensively used by all age and gender groups positive term is *arkadaşlar* 'friends'. All boys group a wide variety of positive terms such as *canım* 'dear', *doktor* 'doctor', *birtanem* 'my one and only one', *canım arkadaşım* 'my dearest friend', *baylar* gentlemen, *bayanlar* ladies). The term *doktor* 'doctor' is only used in some families to address a family member who is a medical doctor. It is not a term which is commonly used by anybody at any circumstance. The context does not provide more explanatory clues why this participant uses doctor to address to his peer; but since it is a prestigious profession, it may be used as an honorific.

Address terms with negative connotations are used by lower grade participants. 1st graders and 3rd graders use negative address terms. 3rd grade boys use negative address terms more than the other groups. Older participants do not use them at all. It may be because the older they get, the more they are aware of being recorded and they avoid negative terms.

Table 6: *Distribution of Address Terms across Age Groups (Bilingual)*

age	First Name		kinship		Pronouns		Other	
	First name	Fn dim.	Kinshi p	K.dim.	Pronou n	Neutra l	Positiv e	negativ e
	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
1 st gr	221	1			4	25	3	15
3 rd gr	109		8			88		3
5 th gr	145					10	2	12
7 th gr	123		7	4		49	1	22
8 th gr	101		1			16		5

Bilingual participants use first names more than the other terms as well. The number of the first names decreases with the increasing age and other terms are used as well. Diminutives are not preferred by the participants either; there is only one instance of diminutive use in which the participant uses this term for himself.

Kinship terms are relatively frequent in the 3rd and 7th graders. 3rd grade boys use kinship term *oğlum* ‘my son’ only by one of the participants only. 7th graders use both *oğlum* ‘my son’ and *ağabey* ‘brother’.

Pronouns are rarely used by bilingual speaking participants as monolingual speakers do. These terms are used by 1st graders only.

Neutral terms are quite common with the bilinguals as well. Popular neutral terms are *ulen*, *len*, *le* ‘man/boy’ and *kız* ‘girl/girlie’. All age groups and genders use these terms; only the rate differs. These terms are used by 3rd grade boys more than the other graders.

Bilinguals also treat these neutral terms as gender specific with a couple of exceptions. Girls use *kız* ‘girl/girlie’ with an occasional use of *len* ‘man/boy’ by the girls in one of the all girls group.

There is a use of another neutral term, “adam” (man), which no other participant has used. This is used to address to the moderator, who was there to record the group conversations.

- (4) EDA: ama benim mikrofonum çıkmış hey adam benim
but my mike POSS come outPASToi man my

mikrofonum çıktı.
mikePOSS come outPAST
(But my mike has come out. Oi, man, my mike has come out.)

Address terms with positive connotations are rarely used by bilingual participants. 1st graders use *güzelim* ‘my beautiful one’, *sevgilim* ‘darling’ and an honorific *efendim* ‘sir/madam’, *akıllım* ‘my clever one’.

Bilingual participants use address terms with negative connotations as well. Unlike monolinguals, bilinguals’ use of negative terms does not show a decrease with the increasing age.

1st grade girls do not use negative terms. Boys group uses *moruk* ‘old git’, *morukmen* ‘the old git man’, *gıcık* ‘jerk’ and *manyak* ‘maniac’. *Morukmen* ‘the old git man’ does not belong to the Turkish language and it is coined by the bilinguals combining the term *moruk* ‘old git’ with ‘men’. *Manyak* ‘maniac’ seems to be popular by both monolinguals and bilinguals.

Mixed group behave more creatively and come up with a variety of negative terms. They make up different terms such as *boklular* ‘people with shit’, *terbiyesizler* ‘ignorant in the sense that they lack good behaviours’, *pis* ‘dirty boy/girl’, *eşek* ‘donkey’, *domates* ‘tomato’, *domat* ‘short for tomato’, *inek* ‘cow’. *Domates* ‘tomato’ is not normally used to humiliate a person but in daily life, it is used to insult a person who is overweight. This might have inspired the girl to use the term

negatively. *domat* ‘short for tomato’ is used for tomato in certain regions. And here it is used as a reply to *domates* ‘tomato’. (6)

One of the boys starts it and then it continues.

(5)SAM: ben nereye yapıştırayım be boklular .
I where glue 1SG EXC shitwithPLU
(Where shall I glue (it) you with shit?)

EMI: terbiyesizler .
ignorantPLU
(You ignorant ones.)

BIH: pis eşek domates .
dirty donkey tomato
(You dirty donkey, tomato)

BIH: domates SAM ne istiyorsun bak ...
tomato what want2SING look
(tomato SAM what do you want?)

SAM: domat BIH
tomato
(tomato BIH.)

5th graders and 7th graders add more term to the repertoire, *dumkopf* ‘idiot’ and use *salak* ‘idiot’ also.

(6) EYL: şu bir şey yapar insan salak ...
That a thing doAOR human idiot
(one should do sth. idiot)

(7) ERC: sana demedim manyak .
youDAT doNEGPAST1SG maniac
(I didn’t say anything to you, maniac)

(8) ERC: o zaman git len dumkopf .
Then go man idiot
(then, go dumkompf)

A 7th grader goes even further, albeit once, and uses the term *pezo* ‘pimp’ (shortened form), which is used quite frequently in Turkish to insult people.

(9) YUS: yapma be pezo .
doNEG EXC pimp
(Come on don’t do (it) pimp)

The data shows that *terbiyesiz* ‘ignorant’ is common with the bilinguals whereas monolinguals do not use it at all. This term may seem to the monolinguals not insulting enough.

4.3 Functions of the address terms

Let’s take a closer look on the functions the participants express through first names and first name diminutives.

4.3.1 First Names

The main reason that first names are chosen is the solidarity. All the participants in the groups are equal in terms of status. Besides, there is the familiarity factor. All the participants are familiar to one another from school and/or from the same neighborhood. They are students in the same school, they are from a similar background and they are at the same age.

First names are used for different functions.

1. Addressing a specific person

Since the participants are in a group, when they want to single out a specific person in the group, they use the first name.

(10) 1st grade Bilingual

BIH: S.... terbiyesiz konuşma orda mikrofon var biliyor musun .
name ignorant speakNEG there mike exist knowPROG QUES 2SG
(S. don't talk like that. There is a mike do you know that?)

2. For attention getting

Although we have classified the terms as address, referential and summonses at the beginning, and restrict the analysis to address terms only, we have included the function of "attention getting" since the speaker is trying to attract the attention of one of participants in the group.

(11) FAT: hey Halit # Halit . (3rd g. Monolingual)
(Hey Halit Halit)

(12) EDA: Hatice . (1st gr Bilingual)

3. To name one of the participants in the group

(13) (3rd grade monolingual)

CEM: kayboldu galiba sen mi aldın len
LosePAST3SG presumably youQUES takePAST2SG man

UFU: gördün mü
seePAST2SGQUES
(It is lost presumably. Did you take it man? UFU, did you see (it)?)

(14) UFU: konuş YIL .
Speak
(Speak YIL)

4. To address the group leader

Although all the participants are equal in terms of social status and rank in the groups, in some groups, there is a group leader unspoken but readily accepted. In some of the groups, there is no specific group leader but popular ones in the group. First name is used for these leaders and/or popular participants. Bilinguals do not have this function.

(15) (5th grade monolingual)

ESR: bak şu mutfak çok güzel olabilir
Look that kitchen very nice bePOSSI3SG
ILK bak <şu mutfak> [>1] güzel olabilir
look that kitchen nice bePOSSI3SG

(Look this kitchen may be suitable. İLK look this kitchen may be suitable.)

5. To instruct

When group members instruct each other to do something, they prefer first name.

(16) (1st grade monolingual)

GAM: koş koş NEŞ koş abla benim makasım yok de koş koş koş koş.

Run run run sister my scissorsPOSS no say run run run run

(run run N... run and tell the sister that you haven't got scissors. Run run run)

(17) (5th grade bilingual)

YUS: H. Ungarn'ı bul çabuk .

Hungary ACC find quick

(H. find Hungary. Quick!)

6. Warning

While warning each other, participants prefer first names.

(18) (1st grade monolingual)

GAM: güzel kes bak İLK.

Good cut look

(Cut it properly İLK)

7. Request

First names are used when the group members request things from each other.

(19) (7th grade monolingual)

MER: makas HÜ. makasını verir misin . ?

Scissors scissorsPOSS2SGACC give 2SGQUES

(scissors . HÜ. Can you give (me) your scissors?)

4.3.2 Diminutives

Diminutive forms, either a kinship diminutive or first name diminutive, are used to show extra affection. Once started, a diminutive term follows in the reply too as in example (23).

(20) (5th grade monolingual)

ELI: Evet evet evet Koraycık yap onu

Yes yes yes do itACC

(Yes yes yes Koray+diminutive; do it)

KOR: rica ederim Elif'im.

Welcome1SG Elif 1SGPOSS

(you're welcome, Elif+possessive)

In one of the groups, in an all girl group, both in the 3rd grade and 5th grade, the diminutive forms are reserved for the most popular girls in the group but they never get a diminutive form in return as illustrated in example (21).

(21) (5th grade monolingual)

İLK: Aylacığım sen gülleri buraya mı koymuştun?

AylaDim you rosePLUACC hereACC QUES putPAST2SG

(Ayla+diminutive, did you put the roses here?)

Bilinguals use first name+diminutive only once and in this instance, it is the boy himself who asks for a diminutive for himself and is refused. (22)

- (22) (1st grade bilingual)
 BIH: bilerekten koymamıştır Sami.
 know putNEG PAST3SG Sami
 (Sami might have not put it on purpose)
 SAM: Samicik.
 (Sami+diminutive)
 BIH: ben sana Samicik demem çünkü sen Samicik değil +/.
 I youDAT Sami+dim sayNEG1SG because you Sami+dim not
 (I wouldn't call you Samicik because you are not a Samicik)

4.3.3 Positive address terms

Monolinguals use a variety of address terms which we categorize as positive terms. *Canım* 'dear', *canımınici* 'my dearest', *gözüm* 'my eye', *güzelim* 'my beauty', *birtanem* 'my only one', *kuzum* 'chuck/sweetie' (literal translation is 'my lamb') are terms of intimacy, which are used by close friends or family members. The participants are school mates and they live in the same neighborhood; however, there is no clue that they are close enough friends. The data shows that these terms are used to confirm a good behaviour.

- (23) ARZ: sessiz kesiyorum.
 Soundwithout cut PROG1SG
 (I'm cutting (it) quietly.)
 HİL: iyi yapıyorsun gözüm
 Good doPROG2SG eye1SGGEN
 (well done, gözüm, well done)

Hacı, hacım

hacı, *hacım* "hadji, my hadji" are specific terms used in specific situations. A person, who visits Mecca at the certain time of the year and who does all the requirements of pilgrimage, becomes *hacı* and then the society calls this person *hacı* or *hacım*. Members of the immediate family and extended family and other people use *hacım* "my hadji" while a very close person especially the wife uses *hacı*. Whatever is the case and the term, this is an honorific and a deferential term. The following examples (29), (30) are uttered by the 3rd grade monolingual boys and are chosen randomly among the many others.

- (24) (3rd g. monolingual)
 CEM: çıktı hacım elime yapıştı .
 comeoffPAST3SG hadji1GEN hand1GENstickPAST3SG
 (It's come off my hadji. It got stuck on my hand)
 (25) HAL: hacım ben şunu keseyim bari
 Hadji1GEN I thisACC cut1SG
 (I'll cut this my hadji)
 (26) FAT: bir masa bul hacım be # masa gibi bir şey bulun len bana .
 a table find hadji1GEN man table like a thing find2PL man I DAT

(Find a table for me my hadji; find a table for me man)

- (27) FAT: hacım eline mi çizdik .
Hadji1GEN hand2GENDAT QUES drawPAST3SH
(Did we draw on your hand hadjim?)

In this group, 3 of the four participants use *hacım* as an address term. In (29), the speaker informs one of the other participants. In (30) it is a kind of getting permission. In (31) the participant asks for help, it is a kind of plea and this plea is directed to a particular person in the group; that's why he uses a positive term an honorific. Then again, he directs his ask for help to the other members and uses another term *len*. In (32), the participant asks the question rather apologetic since he harmed another participant accidentally.

In the following exchange, I personally would say that *hacı* is not used as a deferential term which is used inappropriately and which, consequently, results in an impolite utterance. The participant FER tries to show understanding and respect to the addressee.

- (28) RAS: hey sexy lady I like you for xxx.
.....
FER: RAS canın istediyse al hacım.
heart2GEN wantCOND3SG take hadji1GEN
(RAS if you really want (it), take hadji)

In (29), the speaker is not happy with the situation and expresses his being displeased with the situation but using an honorific “hacım”, he tries to soften the expression.

- (29) FER: Hacım sen de durup durup onu anlatıp duruyorsun.
hadji1GEN you too stopPARTICLE itACC sayPART stopPROG2SG
(my hadji, you keep talking about it)

On the other hand, in (30), as suggested by the thread, the speaker expresses some sort of surprise since he cannot get the gist of what is said.

- (30) SEV: burada bir sürü şeyler var gençlik yapalım
hereDAT a lot of thingPLU there youth make1PLU
(There are a lot of.. things.. let's make youth)
- FER: hacı bunlar ne yapıyor.
Hadji thisPLU what doPROG3SG
(Hadji, what are they doing?)

This is a mixed group and *hacı* and *hacım* are used by the same person and reserved for the male participant. This term was not very common in the early 2000s when this conversation was recorded. However, a brief survey has shown that these days, *hacı* is so common in the youth jargon among both males and females that people use it unconsciously and without charging any specific meaning to it. It is claimed that it was originated from Eskişehir, where this study was conducted, and became very popular among the university students. Since university students are mobile, it was carried to students' hometowns and was spread throughout Turkey.²

² (www.dilforum.com; www.eksisozluk.com/)

Efendim³

Efendim is an honorific used in formal situations. In our data, it appears only twice; once in monolingual conversation and once in the bilingual conversation.

- (31) (3rd grade monolingual)
 UFU: işte bu pozisyon ne diyorsunuz efendim
 There this position what sayPROG2PLU sir/ma'm
 (what do you say for this position, sir?)
- (32) HAV: susun efendim çok burası çok kalabalık Allah Allah Allah .
 Be quiet sir/ma'm very here3POSS very crowded
 (be quiet madam/sir. It is too crowded here Allah Allah)

In (31), the participant mocks a particular sports commentary program; so uses an appropriate term for this situation. In (32), the participant addresses to her peers in the group and is being authoritative.

Hocam⁴

Hocam 'my teacher' is a term introduced by the '68 generation. This generation addressed everybody a taxi driver, a waiter, bus driver as *hocam* claiming that every person has something to teach others. It was very popular at some universities in the 70s and 80s and the reason was political.

- (33) UFU: (3rd year monolingual)
 işte bu pozisyon ne diyorsunuz efendim
 There this position what sayPROG2PLU sir/ma'm
 (what do you say for this position, sir?)
- HAL: buyrun hocam size bir mikrofon hediyemiz vardı
 Here2PLU teacherGEN youACC a mike present1PLU existPAST3SG
 (Here you are hocam. We have a present for you, it's a mike)

In this example, the participant only imitates the commentator in a commentary program and *hocam* is the term the speaker uses to address the retired football referee.

Akıllım⁵

We categorized *akıllım* 'my clever one' as a positive address term but it has rather a negative connotation in the deep meaning. It indirectly implies that we find a particular idea or behavior wrong. (<http://nedirnedemek.net/akillim.html>)

- (34) (5th grade bilingual)
 ERC: Ümit Spanien'i buluver Tyskland.
 SpainACC find
 (Ümit find Spanien)
- UMI: nerden buluyum akıllım ben.
 whereDAT find1SG my clever one I
 (How can I find it, my clever one?)

³ The literal translation is 'Sir' or 'Madam' depending on the gender of the addressee.

⁴ The literal translation is 'my teacher'.

⁵ The literal translation is 'the clever one' with rather a cynical meaning.

The participant implies that it is impossible to carry on with the action mentioned in (39). Among the positive address terms, *arkadaşlar* ‘friends’, *beyler*, *baylar* ‘gentlemen’, *bayanlar* ‘ladies’, *çocuklar* ‘children’ are used either to attract the attention of the group members or to announce something to the group by the monolingual participants. Bilingual participants do not use such terms.

- (35) (7th grade monolingual)
 HUS: aa bak evet bu var arkadaşlar
 Look yes this exist friendPLU
 (aa Look there is this one, friends)
- (36) (5th grade monolingual)
 SEV: evet birazcık sesli konuşalım lütfen arkadaşlar.
 Yes a little louder speak1PLU please friendPLU
 (let’s speak a bit louder please, friends)

4.3.4 Negative address terms

Salak ‘idiot’, *manyak* ‘maniac’, *gıcık* ‘jerk’, *deli* ‘crazy’ are popular among both monolinguals and bilinguals and are used to criticize the behaviors, actions and words.

- (37) (3rd grade monolingual)
 YAV: Salak bunlardan bekliyorlar.
 Idiot thisPLUDAT expectPROG3PLU
 (they are expecting from these, you idiot)
- (38) (1st grade monolingual)
 ZAF: Salak biz evin içini yapacağız.
 Idiot we houseGEN insidePOSS doFUT1PLU
 (Idiot, we are going to design the interior)
- (39) (5th grade bilingual)
 ERA: dur len ne yapıyorsun manyak
 Stop man what doPROG2SG maniac
 (stop man what are you doing maniac)

Negative terms are like chain responses. Once one of the participants uses a negative term, the others follow with any negative term they can come up with. They pay particular attention to make the terms more hurtful and worse than the previous one (40) (41).

- (40) (3rd grade monolingual)
 YAV: deli.
 crazy, insane
- MER: maymun.
 monkey
- HİL: maymun maymun.
 monkey monkey
- MER: boka benzedi.
 shitDAT lookPAST3SG

(It looks like shit)

- (41) (1st grade bilingual)
 BIH: ne bağıyorsun len inek.
 What screamPROG2SG man cow
 (why are you shouting, you cow?)
 ...
 SAM: sensin inek.
 You2SG cow
 (you are a cow, too)

4.3.5 Neutral terms

We take a detailed look into two popular terms; *lan* ‘man’ and *kız* ‘girl’. In order for these terms to make sense, we first have a look at the meaning.

Ulan: (slang) an exclamation meaning *oi, hey, look here, man*. It changes form in some regions as “ula, len, lan, ülen, le, üle”.⁶

Although it originally is considered as an exclamation, it was loaded meaning in the meantime.

*it means *sir* in slang.

*it shows affection. We use it for the ones we love.

*its meaning is like the value of x in maths. Its meaning changes according to the context it is uttered.

While the original form is *ulan*, it has different variations, allophones, each of which expresses a different meaning in discourse.

Table 7: Variations of the Term Ulan and Its Meanings

Term	Meaning
Ulan!	showing anger, and surprise
Ulan?	expresses surprise, a mixture of anger and surprise
Hadi lan	expresses that it is unbelievable.
Ulan ulan ulan	expressing frustration and desperation.
lan	expressing emphasis
Lan	getting angry
Len	expressing humiliation

Besides, as a result of a brief survey I conducted with linguistically naive adult informants, I have concluded that while chatting or joking *len*; while expressing anger *lan*; and on becoming extremely angry *ulan* is used. Although considered as an exclamation, *ulan* with the other allophones *lan, len, ülen, le*, is loaded with several meanings and the context determines its meaning.

⁶ F. Develioğlu Türk Argosu Sözlüğü (Dictionary of Turkish Slang)

TDK Türkçe Sözlük (TDK Turkish Dictionary)

Temel Türkçe Sözlük (Basic Turkish Dictionary)

Participants' using different terms may show that speakers associate different meanings with different terms.

- (42) SER: **ulan** bana bir tane verin gazete
I DAT one give2PL newspaper
(give me a newspaper, man)
SER: he **le** denizin ora
Yeah seaGEN there
(yes man; it is near the sea)

One of the participants expresses his anger with the following utterance:

- (43) (5th grade bilingual)
UMI: **len** deme Erçin kızıyorum **lan**.
sayNEG angryPROG1SG
(don't call me len Erçin I get angry man)

Let's have a look at the meanings *ulan*, *len*, *lan*, *ülen* expresses in our data.

1. Expression of unbelief

- (44) (1st grade monolingual)
UFU: hadi **lan** burada yok ki.
Come on hereDAT no
(come on man; there is no x here)

- (45) (3rd grade bilingual)
ERD: ne bitmez kitapmış **len** bu da
Never ending bookPAST this too
(this is a never ending book man)

2. Attention getting

- (46) (1st grade monolingual)
TAY: hişt **len** şunu yapalım.
Oi thisACC do1PLU
(oi man let's do that)

3. Expressing demand

- (47) (1st grade monolingual)
ZAF: **len** bana da versene makasını
IDAT too give2SG scissors1SGGEN
(give me your scissors, too, man)

4. Expressing surprise

- (48) (5th gr monolingual)
CEM: ... aha İngilizceymiş **lan** bunlar
EnglishPAST thisPLU
(aha these are in English man)

- (49) (3rd grade bilingual)

ERD: daha yeni mi anladın **ülen** ...
just new QUES understandPAST2SG
(Have you just understand (it), man?)

5. Expressing anger

(50) (1st grade monolingual)
TAY: **lan** getir be getir
Bring3SG man bring3SG
(bring it, man)

6. Expressing agreement

(51) (1st grade monolingual)
YAV: valla **len** ...
Right (I swear)
(right, man)

7. Expressing disagreement

(52) (1st grade monolingual)
HİL: yapışır mı **len** bu? ağzına yapıştıracaksın şimdi
StickAORQUES this mouthDAT stickFUT2SG now
(will it stick on it, man? you'll stick it on his mouth...)

(53) (1st gr. Bilingual)
ERD: yok **len** güzel
No beautiful
No man (it's beautiful)

8. Complaining

(54) (1st grade bilingual)
HAS: **ülen** bir yatak bulamadık aha yatak
a bed findABILNEG1PLU there bed
(we couldn't find a bed man: here is a bed)

9. Persuading

(55) (7th grade bilingual)
HAS: yapılır **len**
doPASS
(it can be done, man)

10. Expressing impatience,

(56) (3rd grade bilingual)
SER: **ulan** bana bir tane verin gazete
IDAT one give2PLU newspaper
(give me a newspaper man)

Kız: *Kız* 'girl/girlie' is the female counterpart of *lan*. *Kız* 'girl/girlie' is used while women expressing exciting things to create suspense, or while complaining about something.

In our data, *kız* is not as frequently used as *lan*. *Kız* 'girl/girlie' is used for the following functions.

1. Attention getting

(57) (3rd grade monolinguals)
 ESR: şuna bak **kız**
 That DAT look
 (look at that, girl)

(58) (1st grade monolingual)
 AYL: aa **kız** şuna bak çok harika
 thatDAT look very wonderful
 (look at that girl, it is wonderful)

2. To instruct

(59) (3rd grade monolinguals)
 AYL: **kız** bunu şuraya koy koy sen
 thisACC thereDAT put put you
 (put this there, girl)

(60) (1st grade bilinguals)
 EYL: dur iste **kız** çok kötü şarkı söylüyoruz.
 Stop very bad song singPROG1PLU
 (stop there girl we sing really bad)

3. To emphasize

(61) (3rd grade monolinguals)
 AYL: aa İLK bu çok güzel olmuş **kız**.
 This very good bePAST3SG
 (aa İLK, this is very beautiful, girl)

4. Expressing feelings

(62) (3rd grade monolinguals)
 AYL: ay **kız** çok güzel var mı ondan?
 very beautiful exist itDAT
 (really girl, this is very beautiful...)

(63) (3rd grade bilingual)
 PEM: çıktı benimki **kız** valla çıktı
 comeoutPAST mine really comeoutPAST3SG
 (mine has just come out really, girl)

5. Expressing demand

(64) (1st grade bilingual)
 HAV: bu lim de nasılmış **kız**.
 This glue too howPAST3SG
 (how is that glue girl)

(65) (1st grade bilingual)
 EYL: ver **kız** şunu
 Give thatACC

(give that to me girl)

6. Complaining

- (66) (1st grade bilingual)
 PEM: nasıl geziyim **kız** ...
 How go around1SG
 (how shall I go around like that girl)

As we have mentioned before, use of *lan* and *kız* are both gender specific. Girls use *kız* to address girls and *lan* to address boys. Boys use *lan* and the variations to address boys and *kız* to address girls. However, in example (71), a girl is addressed with *ulan* showing the speaker's anger.

- (67) (1st grade bilingual)
 MER: **ulan** ARZ orayı ne yaptın be
 thereACC what doPAST2SG
 (ARZ, man, what did you do?)

Bilinguals use *mand* 'man' to address a girl in Danish as in example (72).

- (68) HAV: ad **mand** HAC. Şuna bak bir.
 Man thatDAT look one
 (HAC, man, look at this).

As illustrated with the examples, *kız* is not as extensive as *lan* and *lan* is used to express a wider variety of situation than *kız*.

5. Discussion

Speakers have to consider the nature of the speaking environment, the social status of the participants and the interpersonal relations between themselves and the other speakers in order to choose appropriate address terms. The conversations which form the database for this study take place in a reciprocal setting where all the participants are equal in terms of social status, age and power. Considering the reciprocal nature of the setting, one would expect that first names are extensively used and this extensive use of first names is spared to name each other in the group. In each group, there is always a participant, even two participants in some groups, who holds power in the group and acts as a group leader. First names are frequently reserved for the leader indicating that solidarity still plays a role and the speaker and the addressee are solidary with each other even if one of the participants is an acting leader of the group. First names may be considered as identity markers in such situations marking the participant who holds unspoken power in a particular group.

6. Conclusion and recommendations

Some of our results can be explained by accommodation theory in the sense that an addressee accommodates his/her choice to the address form received as suggested by Dickey (1997). Use of honorifics, diminutives and negative terms reflect principles of accommodation theory as the participants adopt their choices to the previous choice of address form. Use of honorifics reflects convergence in the sense that participants respond with the same honorific or with an equally polite one when one of the group members use an honorific. Speakers, therefore, converge their speech to the addressee's level by means of a corresponding honorific. Diminutives are also chosen by the participant who is addressed through a diminutive. Another area

convergence operates on is the use of negative terms. When one of the group members is addressed by a negative term, the addressee tries hard to find an equally negative term to accommodate his/her choice of address form uttered by the other participant. In such cases, speakers really display creativity and create some new terms. Speakers' efforts to come up with such terms imply that participants do not imitate each other's terms, but accept these choices as 'normal' in this case and converge towards these terms.

Psychological factors such as the mood and the feeling of the speakers have an effect on the address terms as well. This is indicated in our data with the use of the positive address terms and with the kinship terms. When one of the participants chooses a term, the other participants adapt their address terms to their addressees.

The switching between the terms is motivated by the expressiveness of the speaker. The speakers sometimes express different things than the literal meaning of the term expresses; that is, speaker apply their own personal meaning to the terms they have chosen.

The results also reveal that bilingual participants have a lot in common with the monolingual peers and although they were born and are brought up in a bilingual setting. The use of their native language at home among the family members definitely provides native language input and opportunity to use the language in a communicative setting. Bilingual children differ in the use of address forms such as 'hocam' and 'hacim', which are popular in the mainland. The lack of such terms, which were specific to a particular group and served as identity marker of the group when they first emerged, indicates the existence of culture-specific nature of the address terms. Although these terms have become popular and common to a wider community in time, they are still confined to the Turkish community. The limited exposure to first language impedes the development of such terms among the bilinguals.

Although the research aimed to present a descriptive profile of address terms used in a conversational setting and reached its aims in this particular study, there are some unavoidable limitations. First of all, this study comprises data collected from 56 monolingual children living in a lower socio-economic district of the provincial town Eskişehir. Although the students are open to all communication channels such as internet and television at the time of data collection, the results can be generalized to children growing up in such a social environment. Some of the terms used such as *hacim*, *hacı* 'hadji, my hadji' are used by young generation at all ages without showing any socio-economic differences, nor educational differences. However, the findings may not conform to the language used by children growing in upper middle class. Secondly, address terms uttered by each speaker has been analyzed but we didn't look at the impact it evokes on the addressee. A detailed analysis of adjacency pairs might shed a light on the pragmatics of address terms. However, such a detailed analysis would be difficult to handle within the limits of this study. Besides, more detailed quantitative analysis including statistical analysis would display whether there is a statistically significant difference among the age groups and the subgroups. However, due to practical reasons, the quantitative analysis is limited to the percentages of the data.

This preliminary analysis of the address terms calls for qualitative studies in which address forms are analyzed in terms of different aspects of communicative situations such as conversational turns, initiating moves and emphasizing role relationships.

6.1 Usability of Study Results

The study has shed light on how school children as participants in a conversational setting shape pragmatic rules using address term. The choice of address terms reveals how school children express familiarity, intimacy, and alienation or establish solidarity with their peers in a setting where there is no power relations. Different gender and age groups also draws on the issue whether gender and age leads to a different tendency. Analysis on bilingual data has shed light on how acquiring another language and living within another culture affects the use of address terms, which is affected by culture distinctively.

6.1.1 Pedagogical Implications

Sociolinguistic behaviors, as part of pragmatic aspect of language, are acquired in an interactional context within the society and reflect the culture in which the individual grows. Among many other social behaviors, choosing an appropriate address term is a socially and communicatively motivated behavior. Thus, awareness in pragmatic conventions and socially accepted behaviors will develop better communication skills in mother tongue as well. Consciousness-raising social activities and explicit teaching of language choice in the first language might prevent troubles caused by inappropriate choice of address terms and will facilitate an establishment of social codes.

In a bilingual setting, cultural differences might lead to cross cultural misunderstanding. A particular address term, which is perfectly appropriate in one culture, may be considered as highly inappropriate in another culture. Therefore, teaching social conventions and differences between cultures should be a part of the curriculum especially for children growing up in another culture. Schooling and having formal education in such areas will guide the speakers of another language choose appropriate forms under given situations and develop language behaviors acceptable in another culture.

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