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To my parents,
İkbal and Erdal

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Abstract

This study aims to compare the address forms used in the family between Turks and Americans and to come up with some possible explanations for why these differences occur.

A thorough examination of the issue will definitely help English as a Second/ Foreign language teachers to enable their students whose native language is Turkish to become competent communicators in the target culture. Moreover, a detailed examination of the issue will help anybody who tries to become a competent communicator in any of these cultures to achieve his / her goals.

This thesis has two major parts each of which has a number of sections. In Part I, I will present the theoretical background for my empirical study. In Section 2, I will discuss the address forms in detail. I will review the basic terms of address theory, three word classes of forms of address, bound forms of address versus free forms of address, the system of address and address inversion. In Section 3, I will outline a number of politeness theories and address theories, including the most well-known ones in detail. This section will be followed by a discussion of the English address system (Section 4). The history of pronominal usage and nominal usage in the English address system will be mentioned, and then I will analyze the contemporary American address system. In Section 5, I will review the contemporary Turkish address system in terms of its verbal, pronominal and nominal usage.

In Part II, I will present my empirical study. In Section 6, I will describe my methodology and questionnaire in detail, and report on the results of the questionnaire. I will then compare the results of the Turkish and American data. I will then go on to analyze the results in Section 7. This will be followed by a discussion in Section 8, which will suggest a number of possible reasons for the findings of the study. The final section will present a Conclusion.

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1.Introduction:

Address forms are of tremendous importance whenever we communicate with other people, since they can show what our stance is towards the parties with whom we communicate. We can show our attitude towards our addressees by our choice of address terms and address pronouns when available.

A number of languages such as English do not have different address pronouns, whereas some others, such as Turkish, have different address pronouns available at their disposal. Turkish offers two address pronouns to its speakers. Moreover, some languages, including Turkish, enable speakers to choose between different verbal address forms. Turkish offers its speakers two different verbal address forms. Some other languages such as English have only one verbal address form.

The choice of one of the address pronouns or verbal forms of address over another signals the attitudes of the addresser towards the addressee, and shows the addresser's degree of politeness. Since English has only one address pronoun, and does not have different verbal address forms, English speakers have only one available address form to show their attitudes towards their addressee.

Differences in the forms available in different languages reveal cultural norms and values. Also, these differences bring up in our minds how different languages can communicate the same meaning with different forms available at their disposal.

In this study, my aim is to compare the address forms used in the family between Turks and Americans, to identify the similarities and differences between these address forms, if any, and to come up with some possible explanations for why these differences occur.

A thorough examination of the issue will definitely help English as a Second/ Foreign language teachers to enable their students whose native language is Turkish to become competent communicators in the target culture. Hall's (1978: 132) concept of

“situational dialects” which are used in specific situational frames should be mastered by the second/ foreign language learners in order to be able to communicate effectively in the target culture. Address forms are definitely one of these situational dialects. Moreover, a detailed examination of the issue will help anybody who tries to become a competent communicator in any of these cultures to achieve his / her goals.

This thesis has two major parts each of which has a number of sections. In Part I, I will present the theoretical background for my empirical study. In Section 2, I will discuss the address forms in detail. I will review the basic terms of address theory, three word classes of forms of address, bound forms of address versus free forms of address, the system of address and address inversion. In Section 3, I will outline a number of politeness theories and address theories, including the most well-known ones in detail. This section will be followed by a discussion of the English address system (Section 4). The history of pronominal usage and nominal usage in the English address system will be mentioned, and then I will analyze the contemporary American address system. In Section 5, I will review the contemporary Turkish address system in terms of its verbal, pronominal and nominal usage.

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Part I:

2. Address forms

2.1. The basic terms of address theory

According to Braun (1988: 13), address behavior is the manner in which people decide which type of language to use when addressing someone. From a sociolinguistic perspective this is relevant in contexts where the addresser has a range of grammatically correct options to choose from. Use of language will in these instances be selected based upon, for example, the linguistic and social background of the addresser, and the comparative social status of the person being addressed.

The term “address” refers to the way in which one person speaks to another, specifically in terms of his/her choice of language. This definition of *address* does not include forms of greeting. Words and phrases used for addressing are known simply as *forms of address*. Since they refer to the addressee, they "contain a strong element of deixis" (Braun 1988: 7). Dunkling (1990: 2) argues that personal pronouns, names, titles and names and titles together can be regarded as *forms of address*, and thus they can be called *vocatives*.

2.2. Three Word Classes of Forms of Address

According to Braun (1988: 7) forms of address consist of three word classes in most languages:

1. Pronoun
2. Verb

3. Noun

2.2.1 Pronouns of Address

2.2.1.1 T/ V Distinction

Pronouns of address are pronouns that are used to refer to the collocutor (Braun 1988: 7). This form of address is often called the *pronominal form*. Bowe and Martin (2007: 96) point out that in most languages the pronoun form of address has at least two second-person pronouns, such as *thou* and *ye* in early English. Examples in contemporary languages include:

1. Italian *tu* and *voi*

French *tu* and *vous*

Spanish *tu* and *vos* (later *usted*)

German *du* and *ihr* and then also *sie* (the third-person plural as a 'polite' form of 'you')

In Turkish, the pronoun form of address has two second-person pronouns:

2. Turkish *sen* and *siz*

According to Brown and Gilman (1960:255), the use of pronouns of address is determined by the relationship between speaker and listener, and it is possible to interpret this relationship in terms of two semantic dimensions- power (or 'status') and solidarity (or 'intimacy'). Brown and Gilman (1960:254) use the letters *T* and *V* (Latin *tu* and *vos*) to draw the distinction between 'familiar' (*T*, *tu*) and 'polite' (*V*, *vos*) second-person pronouns. *T* and *V* are nowadays used generically to distinguish between familiar and polite pronouns in any language.

2.2.1.2. Reciprocal or Nonreciprocal

Reciprocal address is when two speakers address one another using the same form of address; for example when two German speakers refer to one another as *du* (T) [...]. Similarly, non-reciprocal address is when the form of address differs according to who is speaking; for example a German speaker may address his mother somewhat formally as *Mutter* ‘mother’, whilst the mother responds in an informal way in calling him by his first name (Braun 1988: 13).

2.2.1.3. Symmetrical or Asymmetrical

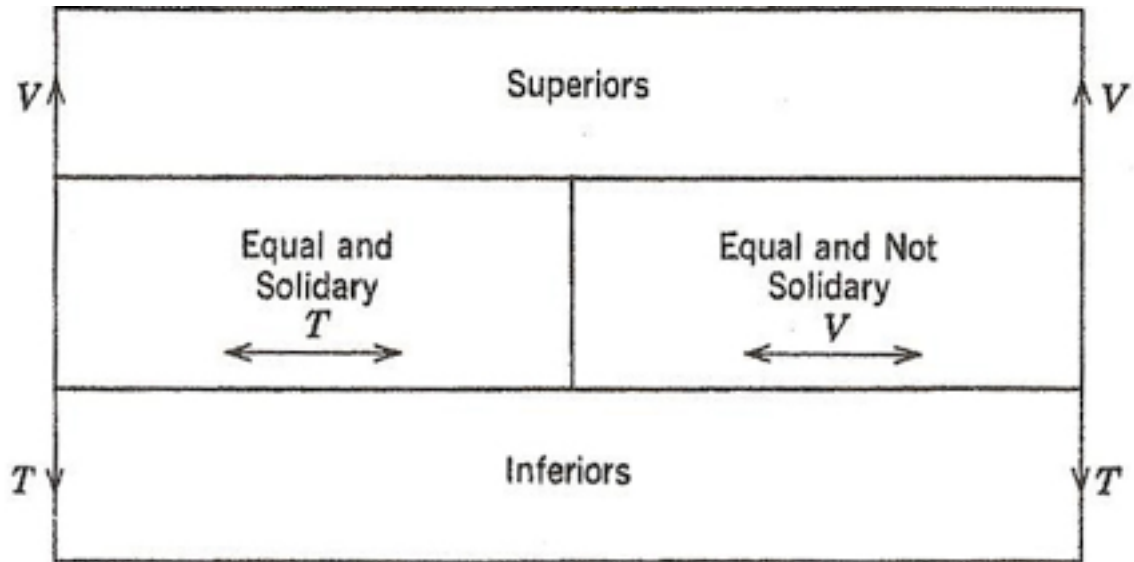
According to Braun (1988: 13), address relationships are symmetrical in interactions where only reciprocal forms of address occur. They are asymmetrical in instances where the forms of address are non-reciprocal, and if *some* of the forms are reciprocal but some are not, the address relationship is partly symmetrical.

In languages with variable address behavior and with several variants, it is difficult to classify address relationship as either symmetrical or asymmetrical. Similarly, it is difficult to predict the outcome of the selection process (1988: 38).

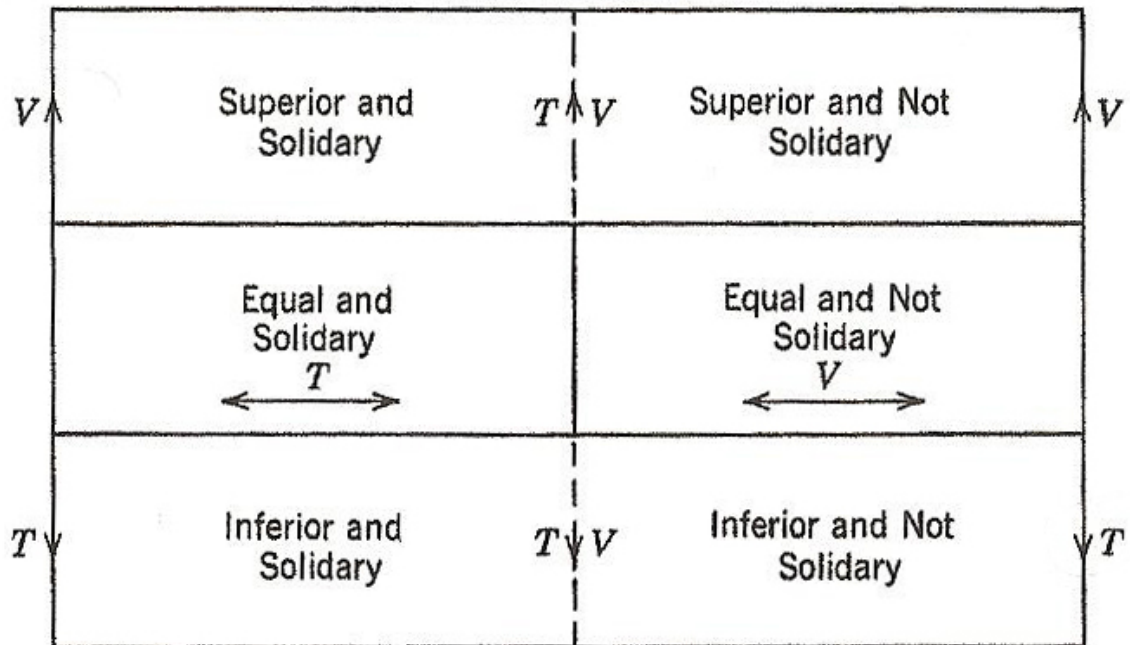
2.2.1.4. Brown and Gilman's Schemas

To explain the power and solidarity dimensions, Brown and Gilman (1960: 259) provide the schemas shown in Figure 1.

Figure 1: The two-dimensional semantic (a) in equilibrium and (b) under tension.



(a)



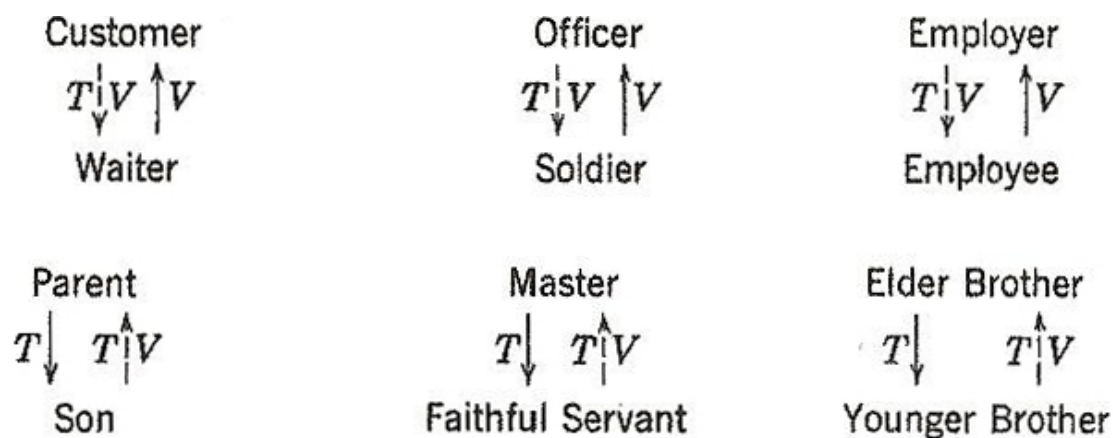
(b)

Bowe and Martin (2007: 97) argue that in these schemas, Brown and Gilman make a distinction between three levels of power- superior, equal and inferior. The solidarity dimension is shown as only relevant between equals in schema (a), while in schema (b) solidarity is shown as relevant at each of the three levels of power, which creates six categories of relationships:

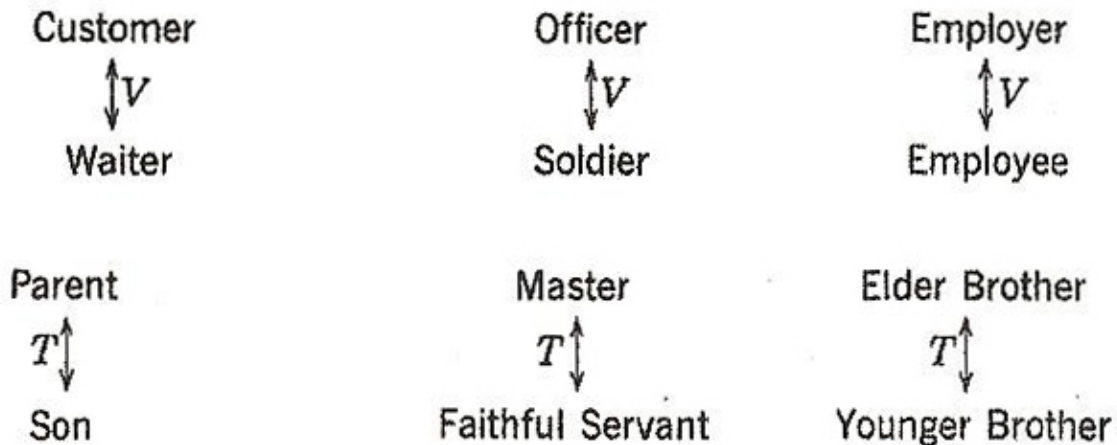
1. a. Superior and with solidarity: T (e.g. parent to child)
 b. Superior and without solidarity: T/V (e.g. employer to employee)
2. a. Equal and with solidarity: T
 b. Equal and without solidarity: V
3. a. Inferior and with solidarity: T/V (e.g. child to parent)
 b. Inferior and without solidarity: V (e.g. employee to employee).

Brown and Gilman (1960: 258) say that rules of address are in conflict for persons in the upper left and lower right boxes in Figure 1b. Power indicates *V* and solidarity *T* in the upper left whereas power signifies *T* and solidarity *V* in the lower right. In Figure 2a this abstract conflict is illustrated (Brown & Gilman 1960: 260).

Figure 2: Social dyads involving (a) semantic conflict and (b) their resolution.



(a)



(b)

According to Brown and Gilman (1960: 258), there is conflict in the first three dyads in Figure 2a regarding address to inferiors without solidarity (the lower right category of Figure 1b). In the second three dyads in Figure 2b, there is conflict in address to superiors with solidarity (the upper left category in Figure 1b).

2.2.2. Verbs of Address

Braun (1988: 8) suggests that "verb forms of address are verbs in which reference to the collocutor is expressed, e.g. by means of inflectional suffixes."

These verb forms can be redundant in cases where they are followed by a pronoun of address. In some languages though, subject pronouns do not necessarily have to be used, and in these cases the verb is the only part of the sentence which contains reference to the collocutor, as shown in the following Finnish sentence:

3. Mihin menet? [Where do you go?]

The verb *mene-t* above represents a form of address, simply because the inflectional suffix ‘-t’ (second person singular) added to stem ‘*mene*’ is the only element illustrating the reference to the collocutor.

In some other languages, such as French and German, the pronoun can be left out with imperatives.

4. Komm! [Come!] (Second person singular)

5. Kommt! [Come!] (Second person plural)

6. Kommen Sie! [Come!] (V form)

In the German imperatives in examples 4 and 5, the pronouns are left out and it is the verb which refers to the collocutor. On the other hand, in example 6, the pronoun *Sie*, which indicates V form, is present in the sentence (Braun 1988: 9).

Similarly, in Turkish the pronoun can be left out with imperatives, as shown in examples 7-9. In contrast to German, there are two second person plural forms in Turkish, both of which can be used as V forms (Gencan 2001: 75-76).

7. Gel! [Come!] (Second person singular)
8. Gelin! [Come!] (Second person plural and V form)
9. Geliniz! [Come!] (Second person plural and V form)

2.2.3. Nouns of Address

This form of address is called the *nominal form*. According to Braun (1988: 9), nouns of address are adjectives and substantives that refer to collocutors. Braun (1988: 9-10) classifies noun forms of address into nine categories which are mentioned below:

1. Names

Every culture has its own naming system, but names are a common part of forms of address across all languages. Some cultures limit the use of personal names as forms of address.

2. Kinship Terms

These include common examples such as *Mother*, *Father* and *Uncle*, and are used to address blood relatives or relatives by marriage. The use of kinship terms is fictive when used to address someone not related to the speaker. Fictive use also applies when relatives address one another in terms which imply a relationship different from the

biological one. “In address, there are sometimes special kinship terms which may or may not occur in reference, e.g., endearing short forms, such as *babe*, and derivations, or honorific forms” (1988: 9).

3. Corresponding Forms of the English *Mr. / Mrs.* and the German *Herr / Frau*

Many languages use these forms of address in the same way as English and German, but also more generally. In some languages, including English the equivalent of Mr./ Mrs. can stand alone. Another example of its use is as a prefix to a term of occupation; e.g., *Mr. President*.

4. Title Terms

Although there is no set definition of what constitutes a 'title', Braun (1988: 10) states that "frequently, especially in English, the term 'title' is used without distinction for all nominal variants except names". Usually, a title is earned along with an appointment, such as *Major* or *Doctor*; or inherited, such as *Count* or *Duke*. It can therefore be difficult to distinguish a title from a term of occupation or an abstract noun.

5. Abstract Nouns

These forms of address allude to an abstract quality of the addressee, such as *(Your) Excellency*, *(Your) Grace*, *(Your) Honor*.

6. Occupational Terms

These can be combined with nominal variants in some languages and used as a form of address; for example in some languages it may be possible to address a taxi driver as *Mr. Driver*.

7. Words for certain types of relationship

Examples of this category of address include the Turkish *arkadas* 'friend' and the German *Kollege* 'colleague'. These terms do not necessarily have to describe a relationship accurately, but may also be used by strangers addressing one another.

8. Terms Used to Avoid Using the Addressee's Personal Name

Sometimes, family members will address one another in a form which avoids using their names. Examples of this are:

- 10. Arabic: Abu A:li [father of Ali]
- 11. Arabic: Bint Ahmed [daughter of Ahmed]
- 12. Pashto: d Mohammed lur [daughter of Mohammed]
- 13. Dari: pesaere Abdulla [son of Abdullah]

9. Terms of Endearment

These terms are wide-ranging, and could be any noun depending on the context and the imagination of the addresser in addressing someone he/she feels close to.

Bowe and Martin (2007: 103) also assert that these names can change, for example on marriage or with a change of job. Context can determine the manner in which a person is addressed, for example the name used may differ depending on whether the interaction is in public or whether the addresser is a colleague, relative or spouse. Last names vary in some languages based on the gender of the addressee, for example a Russian man may be *Petrov* whereas his wife would be *Petrova*.

And like Braun, Dunkling (1990:2-12) divides the noun forms of address into names, including mock names (e.g. *Buttisky*) and transferred names (e.g. *Einstein*), family terms, terms of endearment and friendship, polite terms of address, neutral terms of address (e.g. *everyone*, *both of you*), unfriendly and insulting terms of address (e.g. *you bloody fool*, *bitch*) and zero vocatives (deliberate avoidance of vocatives). Dunkling's work lacks the breadth of Braun and Ervin-Tripp because it is purely based on the

English forms of address and their semantic meanings. Braun and Ervin-Tripp have both made the effort to include other languages in their research of nouns of address.

Also, Leech (1999: 110-111) divides nominal forms of address into the following categories: endearments, e.g. *darling, sweetie*; family terms, e.g. *mummy, pop*; familiarizers, e.g. *mate*; familiarized first names (shortened and/or with the pet suffix -y/-ie), e.g. *Jackie, Tom*; first names in full, e.g. *Jennifer, Thomas*; title and surname, e.g. *Mrs. Graham*; honorifics, e.g. *sir, madam*; others (including nicknames and kinship terms+ FN), e.g. *boy, red dog, Uncle Joe*.

2.3. Bound Forms of Address versus Free Forms of Address

Braun (1988: 12) explains that pronouns, verb forms of address and nominal forms may occur as either *syntactically bound forms* or *syntactically free forms*. She notes that in general, German and English pronouns of address will be bound syntactically into a sentence, such as in example (14). Nouns of address, however, are more likely to be used in such a way that they are free from the necessary syntax of the sentence (see examples 15a, 15b and 15c). Examples (16) and (17) show, however, that the reverse is also possible.

14. Kommst **du** mit ins Kino?
15. a. **Herr Meier**, kann ich Sie einen Moment sprechen?
b. Kann ich Sie, **Herr Meier**, einen Moment sprechen?
c. Kann ich Sie einen Moment sprechen, **Herr Meier**?
16. **Du**, kann ich mal dein Fahrrad leihen?
17. Hat **die Dame** noch einen Wunsch? (waiter to customer)

According to Watt (1992: 59), names, titles, kinship or family terms and terms of endearment are all examples of free forms of address.

2.4. The System of Address

The system of address refers to all the forms which are available in a given language, but it should be noted that this differs according to the language. English, for example, has just one pronoun of address for individual addressees, whilst German has two, Rumanian has three, and Sinhalese has many. The non-reciprocal usage of address forms is naturally more common in languages with more variants, and this can tell us more about the age, sex or social status of the addressee in comparison with the addresser. Address systems also give us an insight into cultural norms and values. If kinship terms expressing juniority and seniority even within one generation are used in an addressing system, it may be possible to reach a conclusion revealing the importance of age in that culture. If sex and status are expressed in the form of address, the importance of sex and status in that culture can also be understood. Similarly, if a few nominal variants are used to refer to religious perspectives, they give a clear picture of what religion stands for within that culture. From this perspective, systems of address can be of interest in the context of sociolinguistics (Braun 1988: 12).

Within the same system, sub-groups of forms and the relationships between them constitute address varieties; for example, regional, social, or individual varieties. Speakers never have complete command of an entire system; rather, they participate in more than one variety. As they age, speakers change their linguistic behavior, including address. Apparently in all languages, children have special varieties of address which they give up in the later stages of their linguistic development. One can participate in

several address varieties and use several sets of rules successively as well as simultaneously. To illustrate, a student from the countryside may use one address variety when speaking his/her native dialect with the people in his/her hometown on school breaks and use another variety when adapting to the standard at his/her university in the capital city. Therefore, while a speaker's address competence masters only part of the system, it may switch between a number of varieties (Braun 1988:31- 32).

2.5. Address inversion

Address inversion is mostly a kinship term used to express the role of the speaker instead of that of the addressee in the interaction; for example, a mother addressing her child *Mama*. Even though the address inversion with kinship terms occurs most frequently, address inversion is not limited to kinship terms. Address inversion occurs in any interaction when a form of address has semantic features related to the speaker and not addressee (Braun 1988: 12). To illustrate, a female Turkish taxi passenger may address the male taxi driver as *ablasi*, his 'elder sister.' Apparently, it is the female customer who can be the sister of someone, not the male driver. This form of address has semantic features related to the speaker rather than the addressee.

3. Research in Politeness and Address Theory

3.1. Theories of Politeness

In this section, I will have a close look at a number of publications which were probably the most influential ones in the field of politeness. My aim in doing so is to provide a background for the following chapters on address research.

Watts, Ide and Ehlich (1992: 3) point out the importance of making a distinction between first-order and second-order politeness. First-order politeness covers commonsense notions of politeness; it includes the various ways in which members of the society perceive and talk about polite behavior. On the other hand, second-order politeness “is a theoretical construct, a term within a theory of social behaviour and language usage” (1992:3).

The influential paper “Logic and conversation” by Paul Grice (1975 [1989]) triggered the interests of researchers such as Lakoff (1979), Leech (1983), Fraser and Nolan (1981) in the study of linguistic politeness within the framework of Anglo-American pragmatics, and provided the impetus for following attempts to develop second-order politeness concepts (Watts, Ide & Ehlich 1992: 3). Grice’s theory supposes that people are naturally cooperative, and want to transfer maximally efficient information in communication (Eelen 2001: 2). These suppositions are reflected by Grice’s Cooperative Principle and its maxims: Quantity, Quality, Relation and Manner (Grice 1975 [1989]: 28). These maxims function as rules of linguistic behavior, which govern linguistic production and interpretation. On following them, one reaches maximally informative communication or clarity (Eelen 2001: 2). On the other hand, they can be flouted, and in such a case, one needs to apply special interpretive processes, so that the utterances can come to mean more than what they literally mean and be understood as such. The Cooperative Principle and its maxims purport to explain “how it is that people can understand each other beyond the literal words that are spoken” (Eelen 2001: 2).

Eelen (2001: 2) suggests that Grice’s Cooperative Principle and its maxims are almost never strictly followed in normal informal conversation. Robin Lakoff (1979: 64) suggests that there are two rules of pragmatic competence: “Be clear” and “Be polite.” In a former paper, Lakoff (1973: 296) argues that “if the speaker’s principle aim is to

navigate somehow or other among the respective statuses of the participants in the discourse indicating where each stands in the speaker's estimate" (Lakoff 1973: 296), this person will be trying to avoid giving offense and to express politeness, rather than express clarity. Lakoff (1973: 297) discusses that clarity is occasionally in accord with politeness, but when clarity discords with politeness, in most cases politeness replaces clarity since it is regarded as more important to avoid giving offense than to show clarity. Lakoff brings some clarification to the rules of politeness by introducing three rules of politeness: "Don't impose", "Give options" and "Make A feel good - be friendly" ('A' being 'Alter') (1973: 298). However, some critics argued that Lakoff never explains clearly what politeness is, and how these three rules of politeness are supposed to be interpreted (Watts, Ide & Ehlich 1992: 5).

Brown and Levinson (1978 [1987])'s theory is considered to be the most influential politeness theory. Their names are always associated with the word politeness (Eelen 2001: 3) and, moreover, there is no way to mention the politeness theory without mentioning Brown and Levinson's theory (Kerbrat-Orecchioni 1997:11). Brown and Levinson consider politeness in relation to avoiding conflict; however, the central themes of their theory are quite different from Lakoff's (Eelen 2001: 3). The central themes of their theory are rationality and face. Rationality refers to reasoning or logic, whereas face consists of two wants which are in conflict with each other: negative face- the desire that one's actions be free from all impositions, and positive face- the desire that one's wants be desirable to others (Eelen 2001: 3-4). Brown and Levinson derived the notion of face from the English folk term which relates face to losing face and the notions of being embarrassed or humiliated (Brown & Levinson (1978 [1987]: 61). Brown and Levinson's theory suggests that most of the speech acts create a threat to the face-wants of either the speaker or hearer (Eelen 2001: 3-4). These acts which might

threaten the face-wants of either the speaker or hearer are called face-threatening acts (FTAs). Brown and Levinson (1978 [1987]: 1) claim that “[...] politeness [...] presupposes that potential for aggression as it seeks to disarm it, and makes possible communication between potentially aggressive parties,” and according to their theory, “[...] politeness could indeed be used as the velvet glove to soften the blow” (Watts 1992: 47). In order to soften those face-threats, three main strategies to perform the speech acts were suggested: positive politeness, negative politeness and off-record politeness (Eelen 2001: 4).

The first strategy to perform the speech act is positive politeness, which is the expression of solidarity, and oriented toward the positive face of the hearer. It requires treating the hearer as a friend, a person whose wants are liked (Brown & Levinson 1978 [1987]: 70). In languages which have T/V systems in their address repertory, the use of a T (singular, familiar) to a non-familiar person can signal solidarity. Moreover, the following generic names and terms of address indicate in-group membership: “Mac, mate, buddy, pal, honey, dear, duckie, luv, babe, Mom, blondie, brother, sister, cutie, sweetheart, guys, fellas” (Brown & Levinson 1978 [1987]: 107-108). The second strategy is negative politeness. This is the expression of restraint and oriented toward the hearer’s negative face. Negative politeness mainly tries to avoid violating the self-territory of the hearer. Negative politeness strategies consist of the actions which assure that the speaker recognizes and respects the hearer’s negative face wants, and will try not to restrain the addressee’s freedom of action (Brown & Levinson 1978 [1987]: 70). This is the strategy within which the use of the V (plural, polite) takes place. Brown and Levinson mention two possible reasons for the use of the plural pronoun to one addressee: One reason is not to “single out” the addressee literally, and give the addressee the option of interpreting it as if the speaker is addressing the hearer not any

differently than the speaker's friends. The other reason is to "treat persons as representatives of a group rather than as relatively powerless individuals" by referring "to individuals' social standing and the backing that individuals derive from their group" (1978 [1987]: 199). The last but not the least strategy is off-record politeness. This is the avoidance of unequivocal impositions such as not addressing a hearer, but giving hints (Brown & Levinson 1978 [1987]: 2).

Even though Brown and Levinson claim that their theory is universally valid, Watts, Ide and Ehlich dispute their claim by saying that it is not possible to make a clear-cut distinction between the polite utterances and FTAs by any set of rules for language usage since the distinction is "not only culture-dependent but also context-dependent" (1992: 8).

Geoffrey Leech's (1983) politeness principle was affected by Grice's Cooperative Principle. Leech suggests that when a maxim is flouted, e.g. the maxim of Quantity, this may create an additional interpretive process in the hearer. The hearer might think that this maxim has been flouted in order to maintain politeness. In that sense, Leech's politeness principle reminds us of Lakoff's theory. However, Leech's politeness principle differs from Lakoff's, in that Leech's politeness principle aims to minimize the expression of impolite beliefs and to maximize the expression of polite beliefs, since impolite beliefs are the ones that are unfavorable to the hearer while polite beliefs are the ones that are favorable to the hearer (Eelen 2001: 8-9). In order to achieve this aim, Leech mentions six politeness maxims, which are Tact, Generosity, Approbation, Modesty, Agreement and Sympathy (1983: 107-139). Leech claims that different kinds and degrees of politeness are used in different situations (1983: 104) and pragmatic scales (1983: 123). Leech mentions five different pragmatic scales: cost-benefit, optionality, indirectness (1983:123), authority and social distance (1983: 126). Leech

(1983: 126) underlines that the last two pragmatic scales determine the choice between familiar and respectful pronouns of address in the languages which have a T/V distinction in their repertory in Brown and Gilman's well-known account (1960). The interaction of the maxims and pragmatic scales triggers politeness, aiming at the maximum benefit for the speaker and hearer with minimum cost, which has the ultimate goal of the establishment and maintenance of comity (Watts, Ide & Ehlich 1992: 6). Leech (1983:104) mentions four types of politeness relating to the aim of comity, which are Competitive Politeness, Convivial Politeness, Collaborative Politeness and Conflictive Politeness. However, Watts, Ide and Ehlich (1992: 6-7) criticize that Leech (1983) gave no information with regard to how speakers choose between the kinds of language according to the type and degree of politeness selected.

Watts (1992: 45-47) compares the definition of the term politeness described in the eighteenth century with its contemporary definition offered in the pragmalinguistic/sociolinguistic literature, and states that the modern definition of politeness does not differ from its eighteenth century definition in the sense that they both consider politeness as "a mask to conceal the ego's true frame of mind." However, there is a crucial difference between them in the way in which this mask functions. For modern scholars, the mask functions to pursue communication in a conflict-free atmosphere and to soften any potential aggression, whereas in the eighteenth century, the mask served to protect social status within a certain group and to give hints of their belonging to an upper social class (1992: 47).

Watts (1992:49-50) underlines that it is not possible to be sure that a contemporary English native speaker sees politeness in the way which a German or French native speaker does. To illustrate, he gives an example with the terms of address which is included in the covert forms of linguistic politeness. The terms of address can be

regarded as linguistic forms which are not used to conceal ego's real intentions. Free forms of address, i.e. T (title) and TLN (title + last name) might be compulsory in some languages in order to signal the social distance and dominance among the participants. There is a significant amount of variation in that, even among the Western European cultures. For example, it is mandatory for a patient to address a medical doctor on consulting her as "Frau/ Herr Doktor" in Swiss German speech communities. It is not possible to address the doctor with any other forms of address, such as "Frau/ Herr Doktor X." The doctor addresses the patient as "Frau/ Herr X" or T (i.e. "Herr Professor"), which is a socially adequate behavior. On the other hand, in British culture, while addressing a doctor, a patient can choose between different variants, such as T ("doctor"), TLN ("Doctor X"), the weaker form of TLN ("Ms/ Mr X") or none at all. Considering that all four variants are socially adequate, the choice of the weaker form T or the stronger form of TLN can indicate a deliberate show of respect by the patient. In British culture, the choice of address term is revealing from a social point of view. By giving this example, Watts underlines that politeness cannot be understood as the same thing in different cultures, so that the terminology of politeness needs to be reviewed and a more comprehensive notion from which politeness might be derived should be introduced. He introduces a new concept which is politic behavior.

Watts (1989:5) defines politic behavior as "socio-culturally determined behaviour directed towards the goal of establishing and/or maintaining in a state of equilibrium the personal relationships between the individuals of a social group, whether open or closed, during the ongoing process of interaction." Watts (1992: 51) describes non-politic behavior as a behavior leading to communicative breakdowns; and polite behavior as a behavior leading to "enhancement of ego's standing with respect to alter, i.e., making other people have a better opinion of oneself." The adequate behavior is

called politic behavior. Polite behavior requires performing the behavior more than the adequate one, which is politic behavior. Therefore, the features of the interaction which are socio-culturally considered by the given speech community as being more than politic affect the decision of polite behavior.

In a situation in which form A is replaced by a higher form B when form A would be adequate politic behavior, we may well be justified in considering form B a polite form, since the strategy of “volition” has taken precedence over that of discernment (Watts 1992: 52).

Wherever volition takes the place of discernment in the choice of specific linguistic forms such as terms of address, honorifics, etc, what linguists deal with is politeness phenomena (Watts 1992: 52).

Fraser and Nolen (1981) bring an approach to the study of politeness which is called conversational-contract view. According to this view, each speaker brings a perception of some set of rights and obligations which will draw the limits of the interaction when entering into a given conversation (Fraser & Nolen 1981: 93-94). This set of terms may be a conventional set, i.e. when two people are introduced in a formal setting, or previous conversations and an awareness of the particulars of the situation may determine the set. It is always possible to renegotiate the conversational contract in the course of the time, or due to a change in the context of the interaction. This kind of a change in the conversational relationship can be exemplified by two people who start a relationship under the circumstances of a formal introduction and who eventually marry. Also shifting from one setting to another may cause a change in the relationship; for example, moving from a formal meeting to a football game (Fraser & Nolen 1981: 94). Understanding of politeness for Fraser is very similar to the politic behavior of Watts (1992). Fraser (1990: 233) suggests that rational participants of a conversation know that they are supposed to act within the negotiated constraints. When they do not act

according to these constraints, they are considered as being impolite or rude. “Politeness is a state that one expects to exist in every conversation; participants note not that someone is being polite- this is the norm- but rather that the speaker is violating the conversational contract ” (Fraser 1990: 233). Therefore, politeness is unmarked whereas impoliteness is marked.

The main advantage of the conversational-contract view of politeness is that it can bring an exposition of reasons for the changing nature of the concept. It also tries to find an account for why all cultures do not have a term which is completely equivalent to the English politeness even though the members of the other cultures would definitely regard their social actions as such in English (Watts, Ide & Ehlich 1992: 12).

Janney and Arndt (1985a and 1985b quoted in Janney & Arndt 1992: 21) state that when communication takes place in an atmosphere of empathy and respect, the participants of the communication are able to consider misunderstandings as temporary breakdowns in communication instead of viewing them as threats to face. Therefore, it is important to be tactful in order to maintain the sense of cooperation and supportiveness necessary for successful interaction in every culture. In intercultural situations sometimes it is difficult to regulate even relatively simple misunderstandings because the participants of the communication do not fully share the techniques and strategies of tact for resolving these misunderstandings (Janney & Arndt 1992: 21).

Janney and Arndt make a distinction between social politeness and tact, and suggest that (1992: 23):

[t]he function of social politeness is mainly to provide a framework of standardized strategies for getting gracefully into, and back out of, recurring social situations such as: initiating conversation (e.g. greeting p e o p l e , introducing oneself and others, responding to greetings and introductions, introducing topics), maintaining conversation (e.g. interrupting, holding the floor, changing topics, requesting repetition or

clarification, giving or taking conversational turns, checking for or signaling attention/ comprehension), terminating conversation (e.g. ending topics, ending conversations, bidding farewell), and so on.

On the other hand, being tactful is related to behaving in an interpersonally supportive way, empathizing with others, and not saying or doing what threatens them, harm their feelings or cause an offense onto them (Janney & Arndt 1992: 23). The difference between social politeness and tact is that the function of social politeness is to harmonize social interaction, whereas the function of tact is to maintain face and regulate interpersonal relationships (Janney & Arndt 1992: 24). “[...] social politeness is somewhat like a system of social traffic rules, while tact is more a matter of interpersonal driving styles and strategies” (Janney & Arndt 1992: 24). It is probably tact that enables people to avoid most of the interpersonal conflicts met everyday, not social politeness (Janney & Arndt 1992: 24).

In addition to the linguists which have been mentioned so far, there are a number of other linguists who are not as influential in the modern discussion about politeness as the previously mentioned linguists, and whose theories are based on politeness in a non-Western cultural setting. I would like to mention their work briefly.

Blum-Kulka (1992: 255-280) investigated how Israelis assess polite behavior. Blum-Kulka illustrates how metapragmatic conceptions of the things which constitute politeness in fact differ in Israeli society. Certain types of behavior would be classified as polite in a number of particular types of social setting, whereas politeness is considered negatively in some other types of social setting. Her contribution underlines the necessity to differentiate between lay commonsense perceptions of politeness (first-order politeness) and a second-order politeness (Watts, Ide & Ehlich 1992: 15).

Ide et. al. (1992: 281-297) show that the corresponding terms polite and ‘teineina’ are conceptually different from each other by examining the concept of first-order politeness in their empirical study carried out on Japanese and American subjects. Their study is significant since it warns us not to assume that the term ‘polite’ has equivalences in any languages (Watts, Ide & Ehlich 1992: 16).

3.2. Theories of address:

A good example of politeness is *forms of address*, since the system of address appears to be elaborated in all languages (Braun 1988: 46). Scholars who worked on address terms mostly based their theories on empirical studies. In this section, I will only give a brief analysis of the main points of a number of works written on forms of address, since I will explain some further details in the following section where I review the English address system.

3.2.1. Roger Brown and Albert Gilman

In their quite influential paper based on an empirical study, Brown and Gilman (1960: 253) discuss the semantics of the pronouns of address, by which they mean “covariation between the pronoun used and the objective relationship existing between speaker and addressee”, and expressive style, by which they “mean covariation between the pronoun used and characteristics of the person speaking”.

Brown and Gilman argue that in the sense that the superior says T and receives V, power semantics is non-reciprocal; similar to power which is a relationship between at least two people and is nonreciprocal, since those people cannot have power in the same area of behavior. Power is based on a number of factors such as physical strength, wealth,

age, sex, institutionalized role in the church, the state, the army, or within the family (1960: 255).

Brown and Gilman also state that solidarity semantics suggests the reciprocal usage of address pronouns in the form of T in case of intimacy, and in the form of V in the case of formality. When the corresponding norms of address are reciprocal with V, solidarity declines, whereas solidarity T reaches a peak of probability when people address somebody who is similar to them, such as their twin brothers (1960: 257-258). The similarities, which are used in determining whether two people are solidary enough to use the mutual T, seem to be those that make for like-mindedness or similar behavior dispositions. Political membership, family, religion, profession, sex and birth place are among such things. The T of solidarity can be produced by frequency of contact- if the contact results in the discovery or creation of the like-mindedness which appears to be the core of the solidarity semantics (Brown & Gilman 1960: 258). When the suggestions which urge solidarity to be recognized come from the elder rather than from the younger, from the richer rather than from the poorer, from the employer rather than from the employee, from the noble rather than from the commoner, from the female rather than from the male, it appears to be more graceful (Brown & Gilman 1960: 260).

The non-reciprocal power semantics is considered to be associated with the feudal and manorial systems in which power is gained by birth. On the other hand, the reciprocal solidarity semantic has grown stronger with social mobility and the idea which suggests that every human being is equal to each other (1960: 264).

Today the practice is to reinterpret all the power semantics attributes so as to turn them into reciprocal solidarity semantics attributes, with the mutual exchange of T. It has been observed that there has been a shift from power to solidarity as the ruling semantic principle lately (Brown & Gilman 1960: 260-261); and “in general, the mutual T is

advancing among fellow students, fellow workers, members of the same political group, persons who share a hobby or take a trip together” (Brown & Gilman 1960: 261). Brown and Gilman (1960: 261) underline that this seems to be the direction of current change since it describes what the informants in their study tell them “about the pronoun usage of the young people as opposed to that of older people.” In their study, Brown and Gilman come to the conclusion that there is an abstract rule which governs T and V, which is the same for French, German and Italian and for many other languages which they have studied. “The rule is that usage is reciprocal, T becoming increasingly probable and V less probable as the number of solidarity-producing attributes shared by two people increases” (1960: 264).

While analyzing basically the French, German and Italian address behavior, Brown and Gilman found that the solidarity coded by the T is ascribed by family membership in German; the French T tends to develop according to some sort of shared fate while the Italian T appears most likely in family relations and camaraderie (1960: 263-264).

3.2.2. Roger Brown and Marguerite Ford

Brown and Ford (1964: 234-244) examined the semantic rules governing address in American English by collecting and analyzing a varied body of data, including usage in American plays, actual usage in a Boston business firm, reported usage of business executives from various American companies, and usage recorded in a midwestern American town. Based on their findings, Brown and Ford (1964: 243-244) claim that the first name (FN) and the title plus last name (TLN) are the most common address forms. These forms function in three different sorts of dyadic patterns: the mutual TLN, the mutual FN, and the nonreciprocal use of TLN and FN. The intimacy dimension is

greatest with mutual FN. A distinction is made in the nonreciprocal pattern in terms of status; the person who has the higher status says FN and the one who has the lower status says TLN. Using the intimate form to a subordinate and the distant form to a superior is appropriate in many languages. In the progression towards intimacy between unequal parties, the superior sets the tone by making moves in a particular direction. This is indeed the case since it can be taken for granted that the person of lower status is always willing to enter into association with the person of higher status without risk that the superior will be rebuffed, whereas the risk is greater when the inferior starts the act which leads to association.

3.2.3. Susan Ervin-Trip

By expanding Brown and Ford's (1964) analysis of the semantic rules governing address in American English, Susan Ervin-Trip (1972) formulates her own rules on American address forms which will be shown in the diagram in Figure 7 in Section 4.2.2. Ervin-Trip states that this diagram represents the knowledge of address of a competent adult member of a western American academic community (1972: 226-227).

Ervin-Trip does not claim universality of her rules within the American community and underlines that these rules are based on the academic circle she knows. The diagram is not designed as a model of a process of the actual decision sequence reflecting the way a speaker chooses a form of address and a listener interprets one; the two structures might be quite different. The study of people's knowledge of what forms of address are possible and appropriate is apparently quite different from the study of how people choose among the forms available to them. The methods and criteria of these kinds of study are different just as individuals who have the same grammar rules might not share

the same performance rules. Two individuals might have the same logical structure to their behavior even though they might have different decision or interpretation procedures for sociolinguistic alternatives (Ervin-Trip 1972: 226-227).

Ervin-Trip claims that by formulating rules as she does her own rules of address, one linguistic system can systematically be contrasted with another (1972: 230). She contrasts British, Korean, Yiddish, 19th-century Russian, and Puerto Rican address systems to the American one (1972: 230-236).

3.2.4. Friederike Braun

In her influential work on address (1988), Friederike Braun gathers information on patterns and system of address in many languages by collecting publications on forms of address, compiling these studies into a bibliography, and interviewing informants on address behavior in their native languages (1988: 1). The languages profiled are Arabic, Chinese, Dari, (Irish) English, Finnish, Georgian, German, Greek, Hausa, Hebrew, Hungarian, Icelandic, Italian, Kazakh, Korean, Mingrelian, Norwegian, Pashto, Persian, Polish, Portuguese, Romanian, Russian, Serbo-Croatian, Spanish, Swedish, Tigrinya, Turkish, and Twi (1988: 2).

Braun (1988: 18-19) criticizes the works of Brown and Gilman, Brown and Ford, and Ervin-Tripp since there is a tendency towards *Systemlinguistik* in their work, even though they all acknowledge the existence of language variation in one way or another. *Systemlinguistik* means a theory proceeding from a closed and homogeneous system; in this discussion, it refers to a system of address. When there is a well-known and limited set of variants of forms of address a system of address is closed, and when all speakers choose and use these variants in almost the same way, it is homogeneous. An alternative

view suggests that language varies according to the age, sex, class, education, religion, and ideology of speakers. This sociolinguistic view comes closer to reality since speakers of the same language differ in the number of variants making up their address repertory and in the rules according to which they select forms from their repertory.

Ervin-Tripp's use of flow charts to present rules is a method of standardizing and of reducing address behavior to a single set of rules (Braun 1988: 19- 20). Similarly, Brown and Gilman and Brown and Ford give the reader an impression that "address behavior is governed by an assemblage of uncontradictory and simple rules" (Braun 1988: 19- 20).

Based on the observations in her study, Braun (1988: 23) declares that:

[i]t should be emphasized that variation in address is not an exception but rather the rule. [...] Of all the address systems we dealt with, there was hardly one with sufficient homogeneity as to be satisfactorily described in terms of [Brown & Gilman, Brown & Ford, and Ervin- Tripp]. Since speakers do not, and cannot, confine communication to their own social group, there will be heterogeneity of address behavior in everyday situations and dyads. The greater the social diversity in a given community, the more pronounced can be the variation in address behavior.

Braun claims that when variation in address behavior is strong, the usage of a certain form may reveal more information about the speaker than about the addressee or the relationship between the speaker and addressee. An address variety is part of a speaker's self-presentation (Braun 1988: 24). When formulating rules or generalizing about address behavior, one must take into consideration the speaker's characteristics and biography (Braun 1988: 24- 25):

Interpreting instances of address solely in terms of addressee characteristics and speaker-addressee relationship, more often than not is insufficient. For many speaker characteristics affecting the choice of address variants are not relational, i.e., not derivable from the speaker-addressee relationship.

Speaker's ideology, absolute age, regional dialect, absolute social position, group membership, sex, and demonstration of own status/education are among such characteristics. To what degree speaker biography influences the selection of forms of address depends on the respective community (Braun 1988: 25).

Braun (1988: 31) claims that "what enables speakers to accept behavior different from their own and to interpret it in terms of speaker characteristics rather than evaluating it according to their own standards" can be explained as part of their *address competence*. Address competence includes not only a repertory of forms of address for active use and a set of application rules but also knowledge of address variation within the community. Thus, speakers also have a repertory of forms they know but do not use, called *passive repertory*, and a passive knowledge of the rules other speakers apply. This enables speakers to relate address behavior to the collocutor's social or regional background. "Address competence, with its passive component being more comprehensive than the active one, accounts for a good deal of openness and flexibility in the interaction between different groups of society" (Braun 1988: 31).

Braun (1988: 38) challenges the idea of Brown and Gilman (1960) and Brown and Ford (1964), which suggests that variants of address can all be arranged on scales of status and of distance/intimacy (or power and solidarity). On the contrary, after dealing with a number of address systems, Braun claims that "the underlying forces of address behavior [...] cannot always be summarized into the dimension of status and distance" (Braun 1988: 42).

Braun reports that certain forms of address are called polite. However, the use of contrasting non-polite variants is claimed to be polite as well. For example, when Turkish informants are valuing address variants in Turkish, they often consider a certain variant as polite since it is used for superior, e.g. a variant *beyefendi*, 'Mr.' However,

they often regard a form used for inferiors as polite as well, e.g. a fictive kinship term *amca*, ‘uncle,’ by giving the rationale that the collocutor is treated as if he is the own uncle of the speaker (Braun 1988: 49). There are also cases in which the polite variants lose their connotation of politeness, e.g. when a mother is addressed with *Sie* (the polite V form in German) in the family. She would consider this a joke rather than a polite compliment (Braun 1988: 48).

Braun states that forms of address are regarded as polite when they are adequate for the situation (Braun 1988: 49, 63). Therefore, the appropriate form of address which indicates the relationship between speaker and addressee and satisfies the rules of the community will always be regarded as adequately polite (Braun 1988: 49). A given variant cannot be regarded as polite in any situation. Very polite address forms may also contain an offensive address. German indirect address, which is an extreme of politeness, can imply an expression of anger between speaker and addressee who are very close (Braun 1988: 50-51), e.g. the wife and husband, as shown in the following example (Braun 1988: 51):

18. Der Herr Doktor haben wohl wieder keine Zeit zum Abwaschen?

[The doctor apparently doesn’t have time to do the dishes again?]

In the example above, the use of indirect polite address *der Herr Doktor* express the speaker’s anger towards the addressee, who is a male holder of either a PhD or MD degree and who do not willingly do the dishes. Even though the speaker would normally address the addressee by T form *du* directly since this is the form which would be used between the couples in German, in this example the speaker chooses an indirect form as an expression of the anger since the addressee repeatedly excuse himself from doing the

dishes. On seeing him not willing to do the dishes again, the wife reacts with her choice of address term and shows her anger with her choice.

Braun (1988: 61- 62) suggests a number of possible explanations for the question of which language is most polite:

All languages are equally polite, since all have forms of address which are adequate in different situations according to their internal application rules.

A language with four polite pronouns of address divides the polite scale of language into smaller sections whereas a language with only one pronoun of address covers the whole scale with only one form. However, both languages are equally polite since they both have forms which cover the polite scale.

The tendency to provide extra forms for high-status positions rather than adding them into a domain of general politeness “or even refraining from differentiation (English you)” might be considered as polite. “The tendency to make status gradation explicit by using special forms for special statuses, and to treat superiors different from inferiors or peers could be called politeness.” Taking this view into account, there would be *polite* and *less polite* languages.

Braun (1988: 62-63) also claims that it is possible to come to a conclusion from interlingual differences in systems of address or in polite forms:

One might assume that a language community lacking a certain variant which is found in another language, also lacks the degree of respect that goes with it. Not only the division of the respect scales might differ, but also the scales themselves, so that the respect scale of a language with four or five polite pronouns would reach higher than the respect scale of a language with only one pronoun. The different shapes of address systems would then correspond to different ways of experiencing interpersonal relationships. There would not only be differences in linguistic politeness, but differences in the very feeling of respect.

3.2.5. Richard Watts

Watts (1992: 61) challenges Braun’s (1988) idea that polite behavior is socially appropriate behavior and suggests that socially appropriate behavior is politic behavior and terms of address are realizations of politic behavior. Watts (1992: 61- 69) illustrates

that one can easily realize the effect of an address term which is more familiar or more respectful than necessary whenever it appears in a speech. It can be easily realized as a special effort of the speaker to be too formal by using forms like *sir* or *madam* when exchanging first names would be appropriate, or to be too friendly by using endearment terms in speech occasions where the exchange of formal forms of address is appropriate. Even though what is said does not cause any breakdowns in communication, which is politic, by using these forms the speaker shows that s/he is willingly giving the addressee more importance than expected.

Watts (1992: 61-69) uses excerpts from the opening parts of five different dialogs from a radio call-in program in northern England in order to strengthen his argument. In these dialogs, the program's moderator greets the caller with an address term and the caller greets the moderator and the expert in the studio with address terms in return. Watts underlines that if the address terms are not symmetrical, one of the terms tend to be a politic form and the other tends to be a polite form. In one of the extracts, the moderator addresses the caller with the first name *M*, which is a politic behavior, and receives the endearment term *me dear* from the caller. Even though using the politic form (in this case, the first name) is, in this conversation, enough to carry on the communication without any breakdown, the caller chooses to use the polite form, which is an endearment term. This is the first time a caller has addressed the moderator with an endearment term. The moderator refers to the term by exclaiming, 'How very nice of you to say that!', which is preceded by laughter. This exclamation shows that the moderator is acknowledging the polite form, and by preceding it with laughter, he tries to "forestall any interpretation of the utterance as self-enhancement or alter-enhancement" (Watts 1992: 65). Then, after making use of laughter as the moderator

previously did, the expert addresses the caller by the first name, which is a return to the politic form.

A number of further studies of address could have been mentioned in this section. However, my aim was not to provide an exhaustive survey of works on forms of address, but rather to introduce a number of studies which exert a particular influence on address research.

4. The English address system

Clyne et al. (2009: 3-4) claim that contemporary English offers the opportunity to examine how one can use mainly nominal forms to make similar distinctions to those one can make in other languages using both pronominal and nominal forms. Below is an outline of typically used address forms in English (Clyne et al. 2009: 4):

[1] Standard English has only one pronoun of address, *you*. This means that, in contrast to a language such as French or German, an English speaker does not have to make a conscious decision before speaking about which pronoun and corresponding verb form to use.

[2] Given the generic nature of *you* in English, it is relatively straightforward to avoid any direct expression of closeness or distance towards one's interlocutor.

[3] English has other ways of expressing personal and social orientation to others through address. For example, when English speakers are being very formal, they can use honorifics such as *sir* or *madam*, and when they wish to express informality or intimacy they can use terms of endearment such as *mate* or first names and nicknames.

[4] The pronoun *thou* is restricted to some British English dialects (Wales 2003: 175-8) or particular religious communities (Birch 1995).

[5] Non-standard plural forms such as *youse* in British English and Irish English varieties are a means of introducing a number distinction that is absent in standard English pronominal address.

4.1. The history of pronominal usage and nominal usage

4.1.1 The history of pronominal usage

Old English had three different nominative pronouns for the second person: the singular (*þū* 'thou'), the plural (*gē* 'ye') and the dual (*git* 'you both'). The dual category was used to refer to two people. Its usage was not obligatory even in Old English and was eventually lost in Present Day English (Millward 1996: 99-100).

In Old English, singular forms are always singular and plural forms are always plural, without any exception (Hogg 2002: 20). The difference, then, between *thou* and *ye* was the actual number of addressees (Baugh & Cable 1993: 240). Only in the Middle English period did the use of the plural in singular contexts start (Hogg 2002: 20). In the thirteenth century, the singular forms *thou* (subject), *thy* (possessive), and *thee* (object) were used to address children or persons of inferior rank whereas the plural forms *ye* (subj.), *your* (poss.), and *you* (obj.) started to be used to address a superior as a sign of respect. Apparently, this usage might have been suggested by such usage in French court circles (Baugh & Cable 1993: 240). It probably appeared more often in writing than in speech and was witnessed more often among the upper classes than the lower classes (Millward 1996: 169). This usage was widely employed as a general way to indicate respect until the plural forms *ye*, *your*, and *you* began to be used as the common pronouns of direct address, regardless of intimacy or respect. The singular forms *thou*, *thy*, and *thee* disappeared by the sixteenth century (Baugh & Cable 1993: 240).

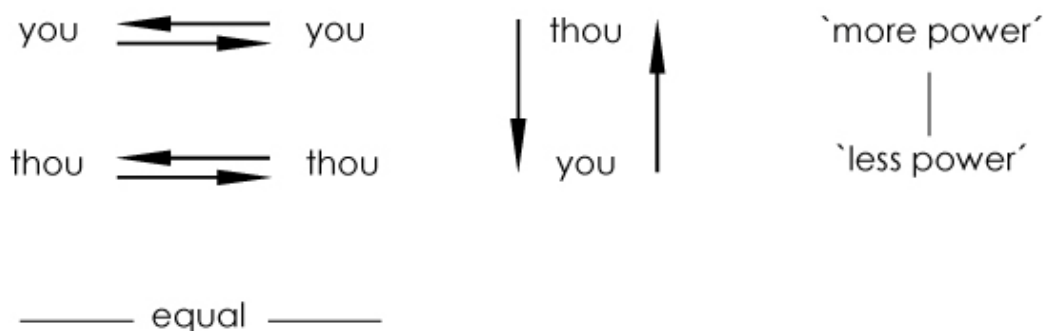
Based on Mazzon's (2000: 144) analysis of the *Canterbury Tales*, V forms in the fourteenth century were regarded as forms of deference and of respect and were used whenever addressing superiors, mostly with strangers. On the other hand, its analysis also shows another phenomenon: when social distance was very great (e.g. addressing a

king), T form use appeared from the addressee to the king, “i.e. the king is treated like God” (Mazzon 2000: 144).

Similarly, despite a clear distinction between the nominative *ye* and the objective *you*, the objective *you* began to be used as a nominative in the fourteenth century and the nominative *ye* started to be used as an objective case in the fifteenth century. From then on, these two forms were almost used interchangeably until the nominative *ye* disappeared in the seventeenth century, replaced by the nominative and objective *you* (Baugh & Cable 1993: 240-241; Pyles 1964: 123).

Leith (1983 [1997]: 105) represents the system of pronominal address in a diagram, shown in Figure 3.

Figure 3 System of pronominal address



Leith (1983 [1997]: 106) states that the most powerful social groups led the change in the use of the plural pronoun *you* as a respectful marker. Brown and Gilman (1960: 255) claim that as a form of address to one person, the Latin plural *vos* was first directed to the Roman emperor in the fourth century. Although at that time there were two emperors, in Constantinople and Rome, administratively the imperial office was unified.

Therefore, addressing one ruler required addressing the other. Thus, this choice of address may have occurred as a response to the implicit plurality of one ruler. Furthermore, an emperor may be considered as plural since he spoke on behalf of his people. Eventually, the use of the plural pronoun *you* to address one person was extended from the emperor to other figures of power.

One can find pronominal usage in drama of the sixteenth century, acknowledged as “a mirror of contemporary spoken usage” of language (Hope 1994:142). Because Shakespeare “wrote in the spirit of his age [and] in the language and the literary methods of his time” (Warner 1897: 17), a number of scholars such as Byrne (1936), Busse (2002), Bruti (2000) have analyzed Shakespearean works. Byrne (1936: 144) looked at the pronominal usage of *thou* and *you* in Shakespeare’s sixteenth century works and states that:

Universally in Shakespeare *thou* is the pronoun which betrays all emotional responses, except where it is so customarily used that a change of feeling or an excess of feeling can be conveyed only by a reversion to the less familiar *you* as is the case in the French usage, in which if *tu* is impolite where *vous* is becoming, so *vous* where *tu* is ‘de rigueur.’ *Thou* as the pronoun of feeling is used between lovers under the influence of their emotion. It reveals companionship, love, familiar tenderness, joy, delight, pathos, earnest appeal, defiance, scorn, threatening, excitement, anger, contempt. Employed by equals of the lower classes, it is also used to a servant by a master who favors and approves him, as also by a father to his son. It serves for a contemptuous aside, and as a frequent form of reference to one absent. As a rhetorical pronoun, it is used euphonically, or in the poetic style, in a spirit of reverence, and in solemn prayer. *You*, in the singular, is regarded as the ordinary conversational pronoun, used in the unimpassioned speech of the educated. It is employed in calm discussion between equals of the upper classes. Moreover, it is the pronoun of compliment and courtesy, and as such, used by a servant to his lord, by a son to his father, and with the appellative ‘sir.’ Finally, *thou* is generally reserved for fluctuations of attitude and feeling, *you* for quite courtesy; *thou* is intimate and responsive, warm, and indicative of fancy and feeling, *you* is expressive of fact and form.

Bruti (2000: 35) underscores that it is important to take into consideration not only the addresser's social standing but also the distance between his/her social place and that of the addressee. As shown in Figure 4, *you* is generally used to address to the upper classes and *thou* to address the lower classes.

Figure 4 The axis of social distance

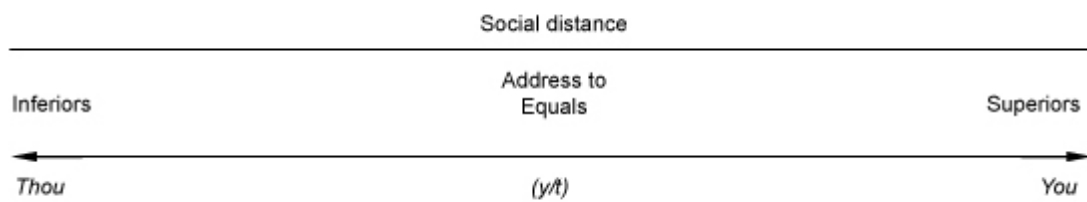
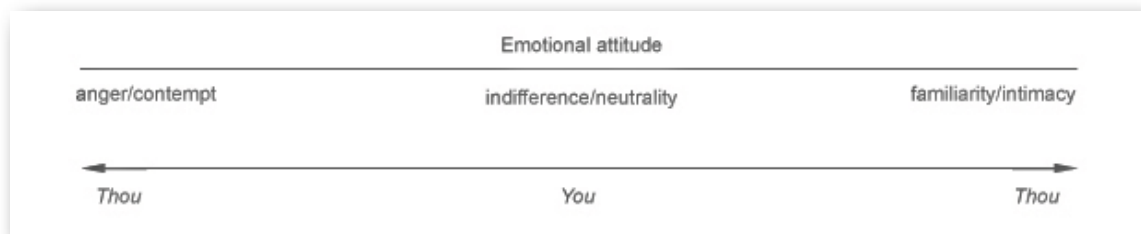


Figure 5 The axis of emotional attitude



In Figure 5, the addresser's affective disposition towards his/her addressee is shown in the axis of emotional attitude (Bruti 2000: 35- 36).

Hope (1994: 148) states that there were writers who did not employ this more widely-used form in drama in the 1590s. However, court records from 1560 show *you* as a widely-used neutral form and *thou* as a form used only when there is an obvious motivation.

4.1.2. The nominal usage

Howe (1996: 173) states that no traces of the T/V distinction in the pronoun *you* does not mean that “English no longer expresses social status and/or politeness/familiarity linguistically- on the contrary a major feature of British English is its social differentiation - however it does mean that a T-V distinction is no longer expressed through separate personal pronouns.” Michael Clyne et al. (2009: 59) state that in English it is the nominal form of address which reflects concerns about situating oneself in relation to one’s addressee. The choice here is between address forms such as TLN, e.g. Mrs Jones or FN, e.g. Irene, rather than between V and T.

In their comparison of Swedish, German, French, and British English, Clyne et al. (2009: 87-88) determine that communication between parents and children is generally non-reciprocal since parents are usually addressed by kinship terms and children by FNs. This might be the full form, e.g. father, mother, Christopher, or the diminutive form, e.g. dad, mum, Chris. In some cases, children called their parents by their first names, sometimes to irritate them. Some children observed their friends addressing their parents by their first names as a sign of lack of respect. Also, children are usually addressed by the diminutive form of their names. The usage of full name might indicate a marked situation, such as punishment. Clyne et al. (2009: 88) report that their London informants remark that as people get older, they stop calling their uncles and aunts by the kinship term and begin to use FNs. Similarly, a differentiation was observed among Newcastle informants that a blood relative is addressed by kinship term + FN whereas a relative by marriage is called only by FN.

Mazzon (2000) analyzes some scenes from a Shakespearean play to reveal information on forms of address in the fourteenth century. In her study, terms of address are mentioned for their correlation with pronoun use. Mazzon (2000: 141) reported that

when the kinship terms are used non-literally, their correlation with specific pronoun forms may change. Two examples of family relationship mentioned in her study are *f(a)der* and *mo(o)der*, tending to occur with the V form with the exception of cases concerning non-literal uses or addresses in which the tone is emotional. Another family term *cosyn* is accompanied by T and V forms depending on the situation, and uses of V form are twice as many as uses of T form (Mazzon 2000: 143).

The term *sire* is commonly used to address all strangers as a term of respect. The highest term is *lord*, used to address kings and gods with the T form and as a term of respect for superiors in combination with a possessive, e.g. my lord. In the latter case, it is accompanied with the V form in 40 cases, as opposed to 8 cases with T form and 4 cases with no pronoun (Mazzon 2000: 149). Generally, women receive more politeness in address; *lady* is a term of high respect for women, and it is accompanied with V form in 22 cases and with T in 7 cases. Another address term mentioned in Mazzon's study is *dame*, with V in 21 cases out of 22 whereas *madame* occurs in 15 cases, always with V form (2000: 150).

T forms predominate with terms of address such as *Cook*, *Squier*, *Somonour*, *Messenger*, *Juge*, and *Preest*. It should be kept in mind that these address terms are used in a context of insult or invocation, where one might expect a prevalence of T (Mazzon 2000: 150).

Mazzon (2000: 151) also mentions that women address their husbands with V form whereas they are addressed with T in return, underscoring an asymmetry of relationship. One can infer from this the dual status of women, referred to as *ladies* in courtly love but inferior in marriage.

Berman (1998: 35-36) states that the modern feminist awareness of how address conventions signal inequality is changing the English language. The address form *Mr.* is

the only form to address for a man, whereas women were forced to reveal their marital status by choosing between the address terms *Miss* or *Mrs.* The appearance of a third address term *Ms.* gives women the freedom of deciding whether to reveal this status.

4.2. The contemporary American address system

4.2.1. Pronominal Usage

As discussed in Section 4.1.1, the distinction between T and V forms in English was lost. Therefore, in some dialects of Present Day English, a new singular/plural distinction for the second person has emerged. One version is the singular *you* and the plural *youse* (Millward 1996: 316). In the form *yous*, *youse* the regular noun plural allomorph [z] has been extended to the personal pronoun *you*:

18. you+ [z] > yous(e) [ju:z]

This form is widely used in Northern American English, in a number of areas in Britain such as Dublin, Liverpool and Glasgow, in Australia, and in northern Hiberno- English (Howe 1996: 174; Wales 2006: 73).

Another version is the singular *you* versus the plural *you all/y'all*, created by the addition of the pluralizing element *all* to *you* (Howe 1996: 174). This form is widely used in the southern United States (Millward 1996: 316; Wales 2006: 73) and functions similarly to *youse* (Bryant 1962: 237). According to Millward, this suggests that a separate second-person plural pronoun might appear in standard language in the future (Millward 1996: 316).

In parts of the United States, one can also find another innovative second person plural form: *you-uns*. In this form, *ones* has been added to the second person pronoun (Howe

1996: 174). This form, which is the distinctive Midland form, can be found in the folk speech of Pennsylvania, west of the Susquehanna, in the westernmost parts of Virginia and North Carolina, and in large parts of West Virginia (Bryant 1962: 238).

Furthermore, the plural *you ... together*, as in *Are you coming together*, appears in some traditional dialects in the Eastern Counties of England (Howe 1996: 174).

It is also important to note that *you* + NP, as in *you guys*, or *you boys*, is quite popular in North American and standard British English (Bryant 1962: 238).

In written English most of these plural variants are acknowledged only in colloquial or informal registers. The fact that standard English does not make a distinction between singular and plural forms can sometimes be an advantage; for example, in job advertisements *you* hints at the whole field of potential applicants and also singles out the desired candidate (Wales 2006: 74):

19. The following words may have one factor in common- YOU - (*Midweek*, 15 September 1994).

4.2.2. Nominal Usage

As mentioned before, Brown and Ford (1964: 236) suggest that there are three logically possible dyadic patterns in American English considering only FN and TLN, since they are the most common address forms: the mutual TLN, the mutual FN, and the nonreciprocal use of TLN and FN. When we classify instances of address into the three classes, FN are considered to include full first names (e.g. *Robert*), familiar abbreviations (e.g. *Bob*), and diminutive forms (e.g. *Bobbie*). Male first names in American English very rarely occur in full form (e.g. *Robert*, *James*, or *Gerald*), but are

almost always either abbreviated (e.g. *Bob* or *Jim*), diminutized (e.g. *Jerry*) or both (e.g. *Bobbie* or *Jimmy*). On the other hand, female first names frequently remain unchanged.

When the actual name is not known, generic first names are likely to occur. These generic first names include *Mack* and *Jack* among taxi drivers (Brown & Ford 1964: 236). Mutual exchange of TLN is most commonly found between newly-introduced adults. The distinction between the mutual exchange of FN and TLN is that the degree of acquaintance required for the mutual FN is less for younger people than for older people, and is less on occasions where the participants of a dyad are of the same sex. “It seems likely that the two reciprocal patterns are on a dimension that ranges from acquaintance to intimacy” (Brown & Ford 1964: 236). However, the distance between the two points is quite small in contemporary American English since the mutual FN generally shows only a small increase of intimacy over the mutual TLN; this increase can be as small as five minutes of conversation. On the other hand, the reciprocal FN between adults clearly implies a much longer and closer acquaintance in the time span between the early 19th century to 20th centuries than it does in modern usage. Intimacy is the horizontal line between participants of a dyad. The main factors causing intimacy are frequent contact and shared values, such as the values derived from kinship, identity of occupation, sex, nationality, or common fate (Brown & Ford 1964: 236).

There are two kinds of relations which can lead to the nonreciprocal usage of FN and TLN in American English. The first one is a difference of age, e.g. when children say TLN to adults and receive FN or when an elder by approximately 15 or more years receives TLN and gives FN to his junior. The second one is a difference of occupational status, e.g. the relationship between master and servant, employer and employee, or officer and enlisted man. Also, it is quite common that members of ascending generations are addressed with kinship titles, e.g. mother, father, grandmother,

grandfather, uncle, or aunt, whereas they respond by addressing their children, grandchildren, nephews, and nieces by FN (Brown & Ford 1964: 236).

In their study, Brown and Ford find that in dyads where the elder has a humbler occupation, e.g. adolescent girl and her family's middle-aged cook, a young navy ensign and a middle-aged enlisted man, or a young executive and an elderly janitor, address is in accordance with occupational status in American English (Brown & Ford 1964: 237).

Commonly used titles in American English other than FN and TLN are title without name, last name alone, and multiple names. In the title without name form, *sir*, *madam*, *ma'am*, and *Miss* are among commonly used titles (T). These forms are generally used like TLN, either reciprocally between new acquaintances or non-reciprocally by a person of lower status to someone of higher status. The address form T appears to be a degree less intimate and a degree more deferential than TLN. For example, it might be used reciprocally for slight acquaintances when last names are not known. Non-reciprocally, T may be used to address remote colonels, generals, commanders, and admirals even though the names of these superiors are known whereas TLN may be used for immediate superiors. The form *ma'dam* is most commonly used by young men to mature women (Brown & Ford 1964: 237). Furthermore, titles alone are likely to be used to address someone with whom contact and concern are minimal and distance is greatest. To address someone as *Miss* or *Sir* is to address the person on a categorical level; this does not establish the individual identity of the addressee (Brown & Ford 1964: 238). As an address form, the last name alone represents a greater degree of intimacy than TLN but a lesser degree than FN. Elderly and distinguished professors sometimes begin letters to junior colleagues whom they know fairly well with, *Dear LN*. The same form is not reciprocated in this situation. Enlisted men receive LN from

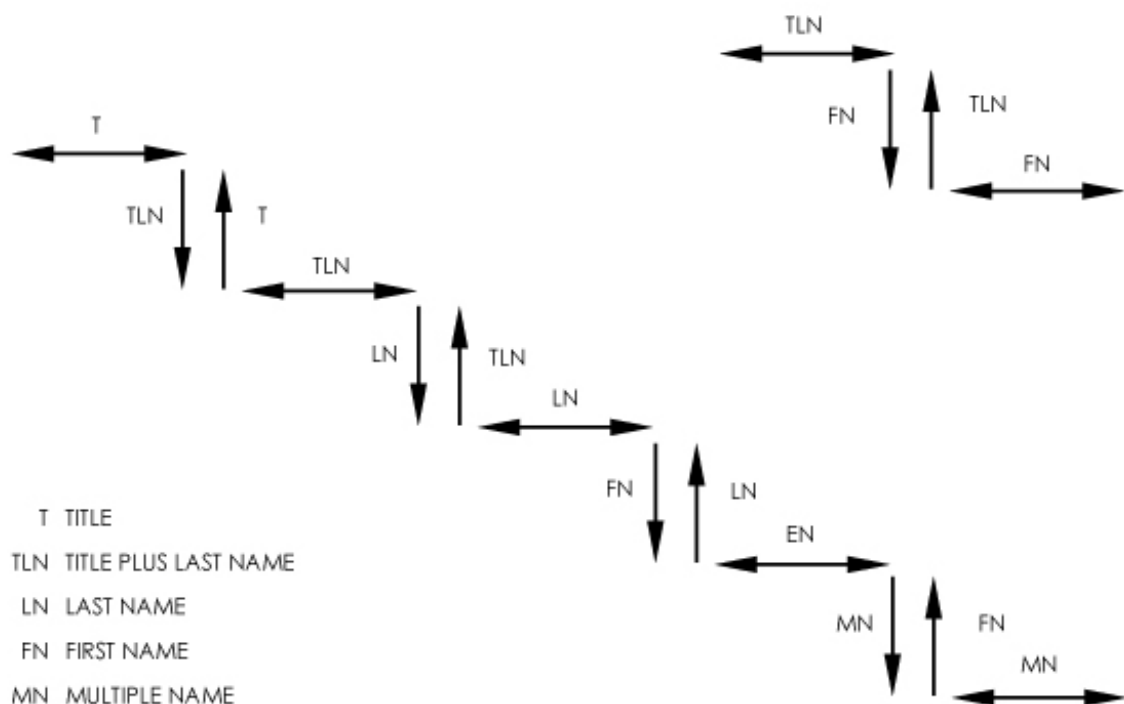
officers at the beginning of their acquaintance in military usage; increased familiarity leads to FN downward, but not upward (Brown & Ford 1964: 237).

The use of multiple names occurs when a speaker uses more than one form of the proper name for the same addressee, sometimes saying TLN, sometimes a nickname, LN, or FN, sometimes creating phonetic variants of either FN or the nickname. “The case of multiple names is the case in which two or more versions of the proper name are used in free variation with one another” (Brown & Ford 1964: 238). In Brown and Ford’s study (1964), many informants reported that they sometimes playfully address a very good friend by TLN. One of the informants addressed his closest friend whose name is Robert Williams as Robert, Bob, or Williams (Brown & Ford 1964:238). As one can understand from this example, in American English one can address his/her close friends by multiple names, which sounds playful and reflects intimacy.

Generally, the norms of English address create a pattern. With time, a dyad must either increase its total amount of contact or dissolve. If a mutual TLN is to occur in a given dyad, it must appear at an earlier time than the mutual FN since the mutual TLN represents less contact than the mutual FN. The place of the nonreciprocal pattern is between the mutual TLN and the mutual FN, which might be interpreted as a move from the mutual TLN towards the direction of mutual FN. This pattern reflects inequality of status, since it is the superior who addresses the inferior as FN and is addressed as TLN in return (Brown & Ford 1964: 240). For example, when a prospective student arrives at a university to meet a department chairman, these two will probably exchange TLN. Shortly after the student enrolls, the chairman will begin to call the student by FN. While the chairman extends the hand of friendship by shifting towards the FN, the student knows that s/he is not entitled to grasp it too quickly. The student will go on with the TLN for several years. If the chairman is not too elderly or

too august, the student will eventually start to use the FN so that the dyad will advance to mutual FN (Brown & Ford 1964: 240-41). The three patterns, illustrated in the upper portion of Figure 6 may be described as a “progression in time” (Brown & Ford 1964: 241). The lower part of the Figure 6 shows several other important qualifications.

Figure 6 Graphic models of the progression of address in time (from left to right). The upper portion of the figure represents the major progression; the lower portion represents the full progression (Brown & Ford 1964: 241).

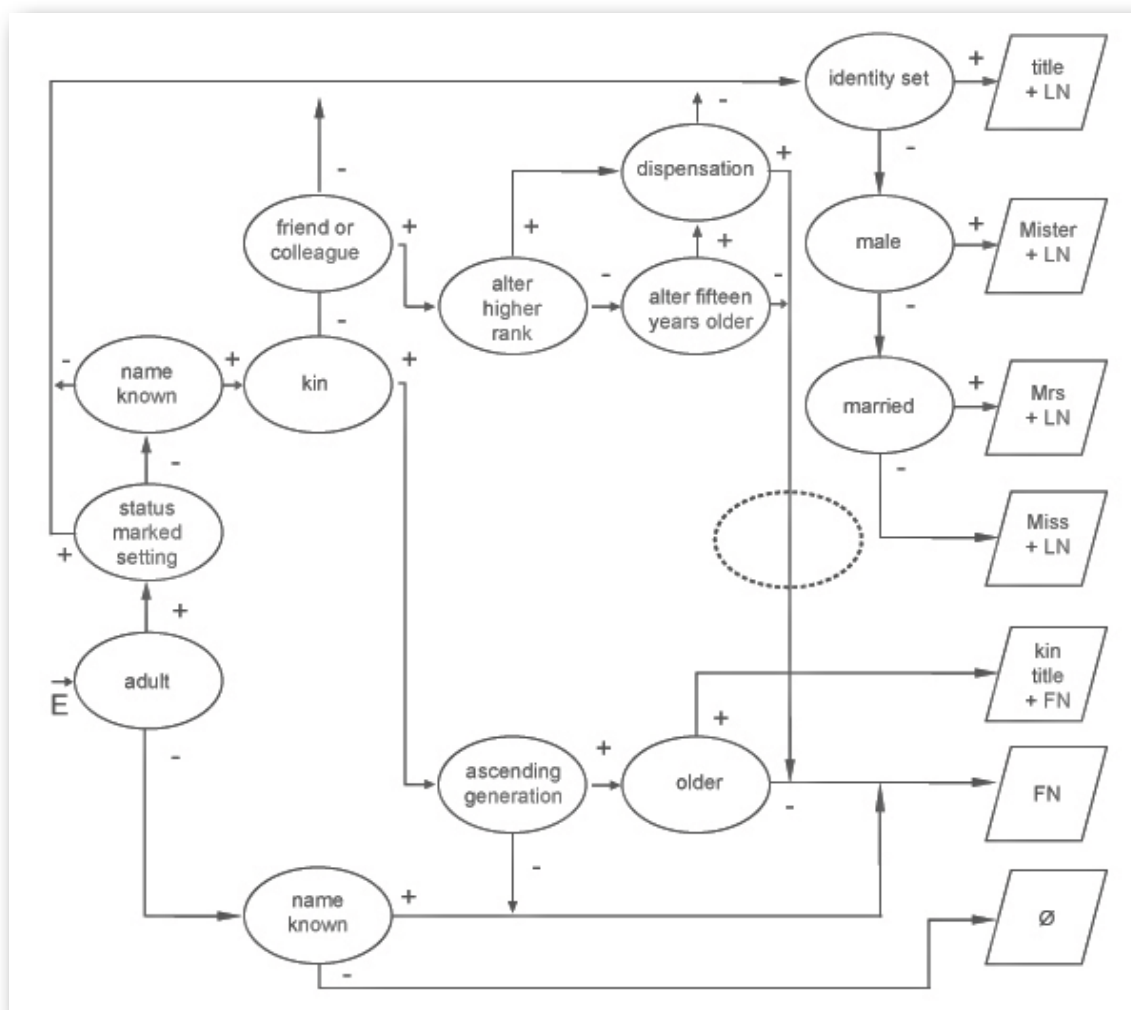


One must keep in mind that not every dyad passes through all three steps. Adults of equal status begin with mutual TLN, master and servant with non-reciprocity, and young people with mutual FN.

Generally, “if an address pattern changes in time it will change in the direction of Mutual TLN -----> nonreciprocal TLN and FN -----> Mutual FN, though a step may be skipped” (Brown& Ford 1964: 241). Also, one must be aware that there are special

circumstances in which the direction of movement of address can be reversed. For example, if an inferior appears to move too fast to the reciprocation of the FN, a superior may step back to TLN from his use of FN.

Figure 7 An American address system (Ervin-Trip 1972: 266)



As mentioned in Section 3.2.3., Ervin-Trip (1972: 266) formulates her own rules on American address forms expressed in the form of a diagram in Figure 7 by expanding the analysis of Brown and Ford (1964). This diagram, representing the knowledge of address of a competent adult member of a western American academic community, should be read like a computer flow chart.

The entrance point to the diagram in Figure 7 is on the left, with a series of selectors from the left to the right. Each path through the diagram leads to a possible outcome. Each outcome is one of the possible alternative forms of address. To illustrate, the alternative realization of first names might be nicknames. The first selector is whether the addressee is an adult or not; Ervin-Trip declares that an addressee can be considered as an adult in her system if s/he is at around age 18 or if s/he is an employed 16 year old. Another selector is whether the dyad is taking place in a status-marked setting where the form of address of each person is derived from his/her own identity (e.g. Your Honor, Mr. Chairman). These settings include courtrooms, large faculty meetings, and Congress. The next selector is whether the name of the addressee is known. If the name is not known, no-naming occurs, which is represented with the linguistic symbol for zero [$\emptyset$] (Ervin-Trip 1972: 226-227).

From Figure 7, one can infer a number of rules about American address forms. Among non-kin, if the addressee is a colleague or social acquaintance with the same age and rank, one must address the addressee by first name. Even when one introduces social acquaintances or new work colleagues, one must use first names so that the new acquaintances or work colleagues can address each other as such. In this case, solidarity, not familiarity, is the deciding factor on the usage of first names as forms of address in American English. It would be quite odd for an American assistant professor to address a new colleague of the same age and rank by TLN (e.g. Professor Watkins or Mr. Watkins), at least on the West Coast. In the American system, there is no distinction between equals or subordinates since both receive FN (Ervin-Trip 1972: 227).

Similar to the findings of Brown and Ford (1964), Ervin-Trip state that age difference is not significant until it is almost a generation, suggesting its origin in the family (1972: 228). Within kin terms as form of title, only ascending generations receive titles; for

example, a first cousin would be called FN, not cousin, whereas an aunt of the same age would receive a kin title, as would a parent's cousin. If there is more than one member of the kin category, a first name may also be used (e.g. Aunt Louise) (Ervin-Trip 1972: 229).

Occupational titles or courtesy titles are shown in the Figure 1 as identity titles, including *Judge*, *Doctor*, and *Professor*. A priest, physician, dentist, or judge can be addressed by title alone while a plain or academic person may not. In cases where last name (LN) is unknown, no naming occurs as follows: Father + Ø ---> Father, Professor + Ø ---> Ø, Mister + Ø ---> Ø, and so on. An older male addressee may be addressed by *Sir* if there is an intention for deference (Ervin-Trip 1972: 228-229).

All adult strangers are treated with deference in the United States. In the American system for non-kin, added age, like higher rank, increases distance between speakers and addressees or even delays familiar address (1972: 231).

A scene on a public street in contemporary US:

‘What’s your name, boy?’ the policeman asked...

‘Dr. Poussaint. I’m a physician...’

‘What’s your first name, boy?...’

‘Alvin’ (Poussaint 1967:53).

Ervin-Trip (1972: 225) gives the above example between a policeman and an African-American citizen in the United States. This exchange reflects how employing a certain address form can cause humiliation and public insult when both participants of the dyad normally share the same system of address. According to Ervin-Trip (1972: 229-230), the policeman insults Dr. Poussaint three times. Firstly, he uses a social selector for race by addressing him as *boy*. This neutralizes identity set, rank, and even adult status. For a white person, *boy* would be only used to address a child, youth or menial laborer. Dr.

Poussaint's reply is in the form of TLN, which shows that he wants the policeman to suppress the race selector and follow the rules of address shown in Figure 7. This reply does not have FN, which the policeman requires. The officer treats TLN as a failure to answer what he had asked for, and again asked for FN. Thirdly, he repeats the term *boy*. According to Figure 7, a stranger should not address a physician by FN under any circumstances. Therefore, the policeman's message is quite clear: "Blacks are wrong to claim adult status or occupational rank. You are children" (Ervin-Trip 1972: 230). The policeman tries to strip Dr. Poussaint of deference due someone of his age and rank. He tries to actualize his intention by violating following the rules represented in Figure 7.

5. The contemporary Turkish address system

The contemporary Turkish address forms consist of three classes: verbal, pronominal and nominal.

5.1. Verbal Usage

Bayyurt (1992: 50) points out that since it is an agglutinative language, Turkish is a language where the person, time, and case endings are attached to the verb to form a sentence. Therefore, in Turkish, a T/V distinction is encoded in the verb as a personal pronoun ending. Underhill (1976:32) states that personal endings indicating the second person singular suffixes are as follows:

*-sIn*¹: the corresponding personal ending for *sen* (T form)

*-sInIz*²: the corresponding personal ending for *siz* (V form)

Kral (1964: 45) states that these second person endings are governed by the *sen* and *siz* underlying the utterance. Table 1 illustrates selected verbal endings of the second person; the verb *gitmek* ‘to go’ is used for illustration.

Table 1 Selected verbal endings of the second person, Kral (1964: 45).

Tense	Forms of the Second Person	
	Singular	Plural
present progressive	gidiyorsun	gidiyorsunuz
present	gidersin [sic]	gidersiniz [sic]
past	gittin	gittiniz
past progressive	gidiyordun	gidiyordunuz
future	gideceksin	gideceksiniz
present/past participle	gittiğin	gittiğiniz
future participle	gideceğin	gideceğiniz

¹The capital *I* in *-sIn* stands for variants of possible vowels according to the Turkish vowel harmony rules.

Turkish has eight vowels, which are: *a, e, ı, i, o, ö, u, ü*. According to the Turkish vowel harmony rules, any one of the eight Turkish vowels might appear in the first syllable of a word. But each following vowel is conditioned by the vowel immediately preceding it according to the following rules:

A. The following vowel assimilates to the preceding vowel in frontness; that is, front vowels (*e, i, ö, ü*) must be followed by front vowels, and back vowels (*a, ı, o, u*) must be followed by back vowels.

B. A following high vowel (*i, ı, u, ü*) assimilates to the preceding vowel in rounding; that is, high vowels are rounded after a rounded vowel (*o, ö, u, ü*), unrounded after an unrounded vowel (*a, e, ı, i*).

C. A following low vowel (*e, a, o, ö*) must be unrounded; that is *o* and *ö* may not appear in any syllable except the first in a Turkish word (Underhill 1976: 24-25).

On the other hand, it is important to be aware of the fact that there are many Turkish words which do not obey the Turkish vowel harmony rules, e.g. borrowed words. Also, there are nonharmonic suffixes, of which vowel does not alternate; i.e. *-Iyor, -ken, -ki, -leyin* (Underhill 1976: 27; Gencan 2001: 19).

² The capital *I* in *-sInIz* stands for variants of possible vowels according to the Turkish vowel harmony rules. See footnote 1 for the details of the Turkish vowel harmony rules.

Similarly, imperatives used in address sentences reflect the T/V dichotomy; there are three forms of the imperative: [+ imperative], [+ imperative + (y) in] and [+imperative + (y) in + iz]. As I have already shown in Example 7, *Gel! [Come!]* (*Second person singular*), the first one is the second person singular form, which is used as the T form. The second and third forms are both second person plural and they can be used as the V form (Gencan 2001: 75-76). The second and third forms have been successively shown in Examples 8- 9: *Gelin! [Come!]* (*Second person plural and V form*), and *Geliniz! [Come!]* (*Second person plural and V form*). However, the third form would express higher deference.

5.2. Pronominal Usage

Turkish makes a T/V distinction with the second person pronoun *sen* (T)/*siz* (V). Kral (1964: 44) states that with the sole exception of hortative statements, *sen* and *siz* can either occur within every sentence spoken in direct reference to one's addressee, or they can be found in the deep structure of every sentence. Representation of the *sen* and *siz* which were present in the deep structure of a sentence is already apparent. Pronominal forms, which are the derivations of *sen* and *siz*, occurring in a sentence as genitives, accusatives, datives, or ablatives give a clear denotation of the status of a relationship in a dyad, as the explicit use of an address pronominal would have given.

Table 2 shows the syntactic forms of the second person pronominal. Each of these forms is potentially used in indicating whether the polite or familiar form of the pronominal is exchanged with a given addressee.

Table 2 Syntactic forms of the second person pronominal (Kral 1964: 45)

Grammatical Case	Pronominal Form	
	Singular	Plural
Nominative	sen	siz
Genitive	senin	sizin
Dative	sana	size
Accusative	seni	sizi
Ablative	sende	sizde
	senden	sizden

In her study, König examined the usage of *sen* (T) and *siz* (V) in terms of sociolinguistics. König (1990: 182) argues that the usage of *sen/siz* pronouns is a characteristic of standard Turkish. It is related to the communicative competence which is gained through schooling. Pre-school children usually use *sen* (T) while they are addressing others, and then when they start to go to school, they slowly start to learn to use *siz* (V), firstly to their teachers and then to others on appropriate occasions. It has also been observed that the children of parents who completed higher education learn the usage of *siz* (V) before they start attending schools. People who get educated or who live in societies where standard Turkish is used have the *sen/siz* distinction in their language repertoire. The *sen/siz* distinction has not been observed among people who did not go to school (König 1990: 177).

The choice of the *sen/siz* pronouns requires a multi-dimensional decision. This decision is made according to biological, sociological and psychological variables, depending on the distance between the addresser and the addressee (König 1990: 182).

Sen/siz secimini belirleyen degiskenler etkinlik acisinden degerlendirildiginde su genellemelere gidebiliriz.

a. Resmi olmayan durumlarda yasin; resmi durumlarda ise toplumsal statünün daha etkin degiskeler oldugu gözlenmektedir. Ancak, ayni kusak icinde göreceli olarak yasin çok önemli olmadığı, kusak farkinin ise bu secimde daha etkin olduğu görülmektedir.

b. Toplumsal katman toplumsal statü ve yas (ya da kusak) farki acik oldugunda ve taraflarca benimsendiginde bireyler birbirlerine farklı adillar kullanmaktadirlar.

c. Cinsiyet genelde sen/siz seciminde çok etkin bir degiske olarak gözlenmemistir. Ancak, ayni cinsten kisiler birbirlerine *sen* kullandiklari durumlarda karsi cinsten birine *siz* diye hitap etmeye (sic) daha yatkın görünmektedirler.

d. Yakınlık, resmiyet, mesafe, dayanisma olarak adlandırılan degiskelerin sen/ siz kullanimina etkileri son derece karmaşık olabilmektedir. Mesafe, resmiyet, ve saygi pek çok durumda birbirlerinden ayrilmasi güç kavramlar olarak karsimiza çıkmaktadır. Genelde yakınlık ve dayanisma karsilikli *sen*; resmiyet ise *siz* kullanimina yol acmaktadır. Mesafe ise yas, toplumsal katman ve toplumsal statü degiskelerine bagli olarak karsilikli degisik adillarin kullanimini gerektirmektedir.

[When examining the variables which determine the choice of *sen (T)/siz (V)* in terms of influence, we can make the following generalizations.

a. It has been observed that age is the most influential variable in informal situations, while social status is much more dominant in formal situations. However, it has been noticed that age is relatively not very important within the same generation, whereas the generation gap is more influential in the choice of *sen (T)/siz (V)*.

b. If the social class, social status and age (or generation) gap in a group is wide and this fact is adopted by the parties, individuals address themselves by different nominal address forms.

c. It has been observed that sex is not an influential variable in the choice of *sen/siz*. However, it has been established that people tend to address the members of the opposite sex by *siz (V)* when they tend to address the members of their own sex by *sen (T)* even in the same situation.

d. The effects of the variables such as closeness, formality, distance and solidarity in the choice of *sen (T)/ siz (V)* can be quite complicated. On quite a number of occasions, distance, formality and respect appear as concepts which are difficult to separate from each other. Generally closeness and solidarity lead to the reciprocal usage of *sen (T)*, and formality leads to the usage of *siz (V)*. On the other hand, distance necessitates the usage of the non-reciprocal pronouns, depending on age, social layer and social status.]

In a recent study, Bayyurt and Bayraktaroğlu (2001: 209-240) examine how the sexes behave in the consumer world in Turkey regarding the use of pronouns and terms of address.

They find characteristics of the “Masculinity” culture in the way females favor using the “V” pronoun even in familiar contexts, while male customers prefer making a direct contact with the sellers, utilizing the “T” pronoun, regardless of the fact that it may be a first-time encounter. The authors additionally discover the signs of a materialistic attitude in the society, a feature of Masculinity, whereby customers, regardless of their gender, become more formal and indirect in economically strong environments. They tend, however to relax and address the other with familiar terms in modest circumstances. On this point, it is also noted that in affluent circumstances, the variability of pronoun use (T/V) disappears altogether, and the “V” form becomes the norm. In comparison, non-egalitarian attitudes surface when fueled by prejudices. The importance of reliance on the family and familiarity is underlined once more; the customers use kinship terms (uncle, sister, brother, etc.) in circumstances where they feel “at home”, and become voluble in shops they use frequently (Bayraktaroğlu and Sifianou 2001:10).

Martı (2000: 223) states that “[t]he use of pronouns is optional since the verb ending is inflected according to person.” Underhill (1976: 32) states that in colloquial Turkish, a pro-drop language, personal pronouns would be omitted in the sentences where the personal ending adequately indicates the person and number of the subject, whereas they might exist in the sentence in order to emphasize a contrast between two subjects.

In a recent study, Hatipoğlu (2008: 28) identifies the groups of interlocutors addressed with the familiar second person pronoun *sen* by university students, and tries to uncover the social meanings most frequently associated with *sen* in Turkish.

The findings of Hatipoğlu’s study reveal that *sen* has a double function in Turkish. On the one hand, *sen* is used to address the addressees in order to maintain the close relationships between addressers and those addressees whom the addressers consider to be in their inner circle. On the other hand, it is used to keep some addressees at bay (2008: 28). The first group of addressees are the people who are close to the addressers,

and whom the addressers have positive feelings about. Therefore, Hatipoğlu (2008: 20) called this first *sen* ‘*sympathy sen*’ (henceforth, *s-sen*). The second *sen* is called ‘*antagonism sen*’, (henceforth, *a-sen*) since the informants said that they would use it to address people whom they do not like, or are angry at, and/or whom they would like to keep at bay.

The results of the study (Hatipoğlu 2008: 21) reveal that *s-sen* was used to address the addressees who are close to the addressers genealogically. More than half of the people whom the informants of the study reported to be addressed by *s-sen* were members of their nuclear or extended families (nuclear family members 43,2% and extended family members 10,1%, in total 53,3%). The second group of people who were most frequently mentioned as deserving to be addressed with *s-sen* was *friends* (29%). The addressees who are emotionally/ romantically associated to the addressers; i.e. girlfriend, boyfriend, fiancée, spouse, were reported to be addressed with *s-sen* (6,7%). The other groups of addressees who were reported as triggering the use of *s-sen* were *people much older than the addressee/children* (6,1%), *neighbours* (0,9%), *acquaintances* (0,2%), *God* (0,1%) and *pets* (0,1%). *A-sen* was reported to be used relatively less in this study (3,3%). According to the list of the informants, the addressees who were addressed by *a-sen* can be divided into two groups (Hatipoğlu 2008: 21). The first group consists of the people whom the addressers “had unpleasant encounters or had negative personal feelings towards” (Hatipoğlu 2008: 21). The second group includes the people with whom the addressers did not have any personal experiences but would like to keep at bay; i.e. “people I do not like to be close to” (Hatipoğlu 2008: 21).

The collected corpus showed that the most popular six meanings of the solidarity *sen* in Turkish are *distance*, *closeness*, *blood relations*, *age*, *frequency and length of contact*, and *conversableness* (Hatipoğlu 2008: 28).

The findings of the study indicated that Brown and Gilman's (1960) model of 'power and solidarity' can be used to classify and explain the more general social meanings of the pronoun SEN in Turkish, but it fails to accommodate some of the more specific meanings of this pronoun used by native speakers of Turkish. Therefore, a more refined, a more detailed model being able to represent all of the speakers' communicative choices. is needed (Hatipoğlu 2008: 28).

Kral (1964) examined the variability present in the address system of Turkish as it is spoken by native inhabitants of a western town of Turkey, Çeşme. Kral (1964: 218) shows that the variables of *intimacy, high occupational rank, age, and family membership* were the main factors in determining whether *sen (T)* or *siz (V)* would be used in addressing the addressee for pronominal choice.

5.3. Nominal usage

In a recent study, Hayasi (1998: 117-126) examined a transcription of the performance of one episode of a Turkish television family drama series. Hayasi finds out that there is a difference between the female and male speeches. The female speech includes more terms of address and interjections than the male speech whereas the male speech includes the emphatic first person singular pronoun; i.e. *ben* 'I', and religious expressions more frequently than the female speech.

Spencer (1960: 43) states that the Turkish kinship system not only relates to Asiatic nomadism fitted precisely into Muslim family law but also continues to have a place in the purely modern setting. "As to the kinship system itself, the Anatolian nomads, the rural agriculturalist, the semi-urban and urban shopkeeper make use of it, all essentially in the same way and all comprehending the same general structure" (Spencer 1960: 43). On examining the kinship terms of modern Turkish, Spencer (1958: 644-645) finds that there are some indications of complexity largely due to the linguistic acculturation

which Anatolian Turkish has undergone. Arabic and Persian were literary models through the centuries so that many foreign elements remain in Turkish speech. Moreover the kinship terms are not free of Persian and Arab synonyms (Spencer 1960: 43).

Busch (1972: 131) suggests that as it is for English, there are three basic types of kinsmen for Turkish: consanguineals, pseudo-consanguineals (step kins) and affines. Affinal kin come into two types: *in-laws* (spouse's kin) and *those to whom ego is an in-law* (kinsmen's spouses) (Busch 1972: 130).

The Turkish kinship terms which were investigated by Spencer (1960: 44) are shown in Table 3. "Of the terms which follow, those which are primary, i.e. unmodified Turkish, reflecting neither metaphor, circumlocution, nor borrowing, either directly or in loan translation, are designated with an asterisk (*)" (Spencer 1960: 43-44). Also the following abbreviations are employed for convenience: F- Father; M- Mother; B- Brother; Ss- Sister; Sb- Sibling; S- Son; D- Daughter; Ch- Child; H- Husband; W- Wife; o- Older; y- Younger; A- Arabic; P- Persian (Spencer 1960: 44).

Table 3 Turkish Kinship Terms

F	*baba, *ata, peder (P), eb (u) (A)
M	*anne, *ana, *valide (A)
FF, MF	*dede, ağababa, büyük baba
FM, MM	*nine, cicianne, haminne, büyük ana (FM baba-anne MM anne-anne)
FFF, FMF, MFF, MMF	*dede, büyük dede, descriptive, dedemin babası (GrandFF)
FFM, FMM, MFM, MMM	*nine, büyük nine, etc.
FFFF	ced (ancestor), cedat
FB, FFB, MFB	*amca, emmi (A)
MB, FMB, MMB	*dayı
FSs, FFSs, MFSs	*hala
MSs, FMSs, MMSs	*teyze
oB	*ağa (archaic), *ağabey >abi
oSs	abla, bacı
ySb	*kardeş
S	*oğul
D	*kız
SS, DS, SD, DD	*torun, hafit (A)
SSS, etc.	torunun çocuğu, torunoğlu
SbCh	*yeğen

The affinal kinship terminology investigated by Spencer (1960: 46) is illustrated in Table 4:

Table 4 Turkish Affinal Kinship Terms

H	*koca, zevce (A), eş
W	*karı, refika (A), eş
FBW, MBW, BW relative)	*yenge (i.e., any woman married to a close
WF, HF	kayınbaba, kaynata, kayınpeder
WM, HM	*kayınanne, kaynana, kayınvalide
WB, HB than Ego,	*kayın, kayınbirader, kayıncı (if younger çelebi)
WSs	*baldız
HSs	*görümce
WSsH	*bacanak (reciprocal with Ego)
HBW	*elti (reciprocal with Ego)
SW, BSW, SsSW	*gelin
DH, BDH, SsDH	*damat, güvey
SWF	*dünür (reciprocal with Ego)
SWM	*dünüşi (reciprocal with Ego, a female)

Some of the terminology shown in Table 3 and 4, e.g. *haminne*, *dünüşi*, *zevc*, are not used often any more in standard modern Turkish.

Busch (1972:131) represents the components of nonconsanguineal kin in Turkish, as illustrated in Table 5:

Table 5 Basic Components of Nonconsanguineal Kin in Turkish (features of sex and generation apply later to maintain the integrity of cover terms) (Busch 1972:131)

<i>Nonaffinity</i>		
	<i>üvey baba</i>	step father
	<i>üvey anne</i>	step mother
	<i>üvey çocuk</i>	step child
	<i>üvey kardeş</i>	step sibling
<i>Affinity</i>		
<i>Spouse's Kin</i>		<i>Kinsman's Spouse</i>
<i>kayınlar</i>	"in-laws"	
<i>Men and wives</i>		<i>Women</i>
<i>kayın baba</i>	"father-in-law"	<i>yenge</i> a "wife," BW, FBW, MBW
<i>kaynana</i>	"mother-in-law"	<i>gelin</i> a "bride," sW
<i>kayın</i>	"brother-in-law" (HB, WB)	
<i>Women</i>		<i>Men</i>
<i>görümce</i>	(woman's) "sister-in-law" (HS)	<i>damat</i> "groom," FSH, MSH, SH, dH
<i>baldız</i>	(man's) "sister-in-law" (WS)	

The primary component distinguishing two types of nonconsanguineals are *affines* and *nonaffines*. The second component distinguishes *in-laws* from *those to whom ego is an in-law*. "The third component, treated informally in the table, can be conceptualized as *residential or in-group vs. out-group* distinctions" (Busch 1972: 130). Step kin are nonconsanguineal and nonaffinal; they are called *pseudo-consanguineals*.

Horasan (1987:9-10) suggests a relatively new lexicon of the kinship address terms in Turkish³ based on conventional usage, as shown in Table 6:

³ See Appendix 1 for Horasan's full lexicon of the common address and kinship terms in Turkish.

Table 6 Horasan's Turkish Kinship Terms (Horasan 1987:9-10)

To relatives	To Non- Relatives
Anne (Mother)	Amca (Paternal Uncle)
Baba (Father)	Teyze (Maternal Aunt)
Abla (Elder Sister)	Agabey (Elder Brother)
Agabey (Elder Brother)	Abla (Elder Sister)
Anneanne (Maternal Grandmother)	Kardes (Brother/ Sister)
Babaanne (Paternal Grandmother)	Yenge (Sister-in-Law)
Dede (Grandfather)	The choice of kin terms to non-kins are decided according to the age of the addressee.
Büyükanne (Grandmother)	
Büyükbaba (Grandfather)	
Amca (Paternal Uncle)	
Dayi (Maternal Uncle)	
Hala (Paternal Uncle)	
Teyze (Maternal Aunt)	
Yegen (Niece/ Nephew)	

Bayyurt (1992: 49) adds the following kinship terms⁴ to Horasan's lexicon of kinship address terms in Turkish, as illustrated in Table 7.

⁴ See Appendix 1 for Bayyurt's full list of additions to Horasan's lexicon of the common address and kinship terms in Turkish.

Table 7 Bayyurt's additions to Horasan's Turkish Kinship Terms

Beydede (Grandfather)
Nine (Grandmother)
Ebe (Grandmother)
Hacianne (Grandmother)
Valide Hanim (Grandmother/ Mother-in-law)
Bibi (Aunt)
Kocateyze (Aunt)
Emmi (Uncle)
Cicianne (Maternal uncle's wife)
Eniste (Aunt's/ elder sister's husband)
Hanimanne (Mother-in-law)
Efendi Baba (Father-in-law)

It is important to be aware of the fact that almost all of the kinship terms illustrated in Table 3- 7 are also used as kinship address terms in modern standard Turkish. As one can clearly see from this picture, kinship address terms in modern standard Turkish outnumber their counterparts in American English.

Kral (1964: 218) states that in determining the nominal form, the variables of *high occupational rank* and *age* were the central factors. whereas the variants of *family*

membership, intimacy, and knowledge of the addressee's name were of lesser importance.

In her study where she examines the effect of the social variables of age, sex, education, place of residence and place of birth on the choice of Turkish address forms and pronouns, Horasan shows that “the social variables, age, sex, education, place of residence and place of birth, played an effective role in the choice of address terms and pronouns” (1987: 44). Horasan also underlines that there are a number of new developments in the use of address terms and pronouns in Turkey, which are: “the avoidance of V in the nuclear family relations, the avoidance of T to strangers of subordinate class, the avoidance of honorifics to strangers whose social class cannot be easily determined, and the avoidance of kin term to non-kin, as the analysis of the data has implied” (1987: 44).

Horasan (1987: 32) states that according to the findings obtained from the analysis of the Turkish data in her study, honorific plus FN (not last name) reveals both distance and deference, whereas FN and kin terms (to non kin) express both intimacy and condescension. The T form follows the same pattern as FN, while the V form follows the pattern of honorific plus FN or honorific alone. Therefore, a Turkish person would use FN and T form when addressing an intimate friend, and an honorific with and without FN together with the V form when addressing a superior or a stranger. Also, a Turkish person would use kin terms with the V form to subordinate strangers or kin terms with either T or V to intimates of older age.

It is important to keep in mind that advanced age, i.e. over 60, brings superior status to people regardless of the addressee's social class. The speaker first decides on the degree of intimacy with the addressee, and then the personal attributes, e.g. age, education,

occupation which convey superiority or power are taken into consideration (Horasan 1987: 32).

When it comes to the Turkish family setting, the inferior- superior dimension only exists in the area of age. Older relatives such as parents, grandparents, uncles, aunts; younger relatives such as little brothers, sisters, nieces, nephews; relatives of the same age such as cousins, receive different address terms. All the kin terms which are used for older relatives are non- reciprocal, since the addressee receives a kin term but uses a FN in return. All the older relatives are addressed by kin terms, regardless of their degree of familiarity; the degree of intimacy is only important while choosing the pronouns. The T form is used to address nuclear family members, however when addressing extended kin, the speaker has to keep in mind all the factors that are also effective in the interpersonal relationships with non-kin (Horasan 1987: 32- 33).

On addressing close friends of parents, kin terms such as uncle, aunt, elder brother or elder sister, are used to indicate the closeness of the relationship. Moreover, when addressing unfamiliar inferiors, one has to use the same address terms, since it is appropriate to use the Turkish honorifics only for social superiors. It is the intimacy factor which affects the use of the T and V forms to non-kin. Regardless of the class of the addressee, speakers prefer the V form to strangers and the T form to intimates (Horasan 1987: 33).

In her study, Bayyurt (1992: 40) aimed to discover whether any kind of relationship existed between the pronoun choices of Turkish people with regard to certain address terms in three different settings: family, shopping and job settings. She found that while some close relatives such as the grandfather or any other older family member were addressed by the natural kinship terms, they were sometimes addressed by the V form *siz*, rather than the T form *sen*, which is considered to be the natural address pronoun

within the family setting. Regardless of these family members' being very close, solidary and in some cases intimate, some of the informants addressed these close family members by the V form *siz*. These informants justified their choice by saying that:

it was a family tradition, or they felt the need to show how much they respected the relative status of the older family members within the family by using the pronoun 'siz', which is the sign of respect in some communities in Turkish society. In this way, they could show the degree of their respect to the older family members. So the societal rules seemed to affect the choice of pronouns even together with the kinship terms. In sum, it can be said that societal rules, the relative status of the parties within the specific settings they are questioned, and the setting in which (sic) the discourse takes place seemed to play a major role in the determination of which pronoun is to be used with the specific address term" (Bayyurt 1992: 40).

In her study, Bayyurt (1992: 42) agrees with Horasan in the claim that "the social variables, age, sex, education, place of residence and place of birth, played an effective role in the choice of address terms and pronouns" (Horasan 1987: 44). However Bayyurt adds that "it is also important to take into account other factors such as the years of experience affecting a higher status person's pronoun choice towards a more deferent and polite one (that is 'V')" (1992: 42). Then Bayyurt (1992: 42) gives the example of a young research assistant who took her survey. This research assistant, who was new at the department and younger than the cleaning man in the department, preferred to address him with the FN+ Honorific address term accompanied by the V form *siz*. Therefore the research assistant acted in a cautious way, and she kept a distance between the cleaning man and herself and showed respect to the addressee's age and years of experience in the workplace. According to Bayyurt (1992: 45):

[t]he variables that affected the choice of subjects ranged from demographic features such as age (sic), status, sex, and educational background of the addressees to abstract features such as the perceived distance, the amount of experience s/he has in the specific area (e.g. years of work experience, seniority within the family,...), the degree of familiarity, and the like.

Another important finding which Bayyurt (1992: 42) reported is that there are two types of attention getters in Turkish. One of them is a more deferential and polite one, while the other one is rather of an impolite and non- deferential nature. People participating in her study preferred to use attention getters to start the conversation with the addressees rather than using an address term, especially in the case of service encounters, and these people tended to use relatively polite and deferential attention getters such as *afedersiniz*,... ‘excuse me...’ or *bir bakar misiniz?* ‘could you please look here?’ Bayyurt states that by non-deferential and impolite attention getters, she meant the ones which are performed through body language or sounds, i.e. coughing or snapping fingers, or which are performed through the use of *imperative+ T form* construction in languages which have a T/ V distinction. A T/ V distinction is possible in Turkish, so that when a person wants to construct an impolite attention getter, one simply uses *imperative+ T form sen* construction. To illustrate, an addresser may say to a shop assistant *bir bakar misin?* ‘will you look here+ T form?’ rather than *bir bakar misiniz?* ‘will you look here+ V form?’⁵

The last point which Bayyurt (1992: 43) found out in her research is that “there is always the possibility of not performing the given speech act.” Bonikowska (1988: 170) suggests the term *opting out* to account for a speaker’s choice of not performing the given speech act. Bonikowska (1988: 170) says:

[i]n real life speech situations, (sic) the speaker (S) always has a choice of *not* performing the act, i.e. opting out. Clearly, this strategic choice is more likely to be made if S is faced with a situation calling for the performance of a highly face-threatening act (FTA) (Brown and Levinson 1978) such as, for example, criticizing or complaining, than a less threatening one, such as, for example, inviting or offering.

⁵ See Appendix 1 for a number of attention getters in Turkish.

Bonikowska (1988: 169) also states:

The opting out choice is as much a pragmatic choice as any strategic choice employed in speech-act performance, made through activating the same components of pragmatic knowledge. Analysing reasons for opting out reported by speakers can help validate claims about conditions for speech acts and factors influencing speech-act performance.

Bayyurt (1992: 43) reported in her study that some informants who chose not to perform some of the speech act situations in her survey opted out since these speech acts were too face-threatening for them to perform.

Brown and Levinson (1978 [1987]: 108) claim that “[d]iminutives and endearments have a similar function of claiming in- group solidarity.” Similarly, Bayyurt (1992: 50) also underlines that in Turkish the endearment suffixes *-ciğim*, *-cığım*, *-cuğum*, *-cüğüm* are examples of typical endings attached to nouns in order to indicate an intimate and sympathetic relationship between the addresser and addressee. These suffixes can also be attached to a number of address terms, e.g. kinship terms, honorific titles, occupational titles.

20. Arzu+ cuğum (My dear Arzu)

FN + the endearment suffix with the 1st person
singular possessive suffix

21. Baba+ cığım (Daddy)

Kinship term+ the endearment suffix with the 1st person
singular possessive suffix

22. Doktor+ cuğum (My dear doctor)

Occupational + the endearment suffix with the 1st person
title singular possessive suffix

Part II:

6. A Comparison of the Address Forms Used in the Family Between Turks and Americans

6.1. Method:

In this section of my MA thesis, I will talk about the methodology which I have adopted in my empirical study aiming to compare the address forms used in the family between Turks and Americans. Among various research instruments, I have employed an online questionnaire.

I have used the online questionnaire to gather information from two different groups of informants: Americans, and Turks. The questionnaire used for American informants is in English, whereas the one for Turkish informants is in Turkish. The original questionnaire was prepared in English, and then the Turkish-language questionnaire was translated from the English-language questionnaire. Both of these questionnaires are almost identical, except that the questionnaire in English has two sections, while the questionnaire in Turkish has an additional section. Some of the questions in Section II of the English-language questionnaire are slightly modified in the Turkish-language questions; this will be discussed in the following section in detail.

The questionnaire was translated from English into Turkish by three translators, including myself. Then it was revised firstly by a Turkish-language and literature professor, and secondly by an expert on questionnaire adaptations who is both fluent in Turkish and English.

6.1.1. Questionnaire:

I have uploaded my online questionnaire⁶ onto *SurveyMonkey*, a website enabling users to create their own web-survey. The questionnaire, being online, enabled the informants to fill it out more conveniently, and enabled me to analyze the data more quickly and easily than with a paper questionnaire. In order to fill out the questionnaire, respondents needed to click on the URL link given, which directed them into the questionnaire. On answering the questions in each section, they could easily go to the following section by clicking on *next*. Their answers were saved on the webpage so that they could be analyzed later. To illustrate, this filter option can find the informants who answered the questions on the personal information section of questionnaires in a certain way, so that researchers can easily take into consideration the data only from these informants. Moreover, applying an online questionnaire saves a lot of time compared to a paper-based questionnaire, which might entail some time lost in the post in returning the questionnaires and cause some potential unwillingness in respondents to participate in the survey as they might be required to post the questionnaire back to the researcher and lose some more of their time by posting it if not their money as well. Last but not least, online questionnaires enable researchers to create an effective layout. As Dörnyei (2003: 19) states, in surveys employing self-completed questionnaires, the central interface between informants and researchers is what the questionnaire looks like. “[T]he format and graphic layout carry a special significance and have an important impact on the responses. [...] [P]roducing an attractive and professional design is half the battle in eliciting reliable and valid data [...]” (Dörnyei 2003:19). It is easier to have a very attractive and professional design in an online questionnaire.

6.1.1.1. Sections of the questionnaire

⁶ Please see Appendix 2 for the Turkish-language and English-language questionnaire

The opening section of the questionnaire included the title of my study which is “a comparison of the address forms used in the family between Turks and Americans”, and the general instructions. The general instructions mentioned what the study was about, which university was responsible for conducting the study and that there were no right or wrong answers. Furthermore, the general instructions requested honest answers, promised confidentiality, provided my name and my contact email address with some explicit encouragement to get in touch if there were any questions, and gave thanks to the potential respondents.

Since the respondents needed to take the questionnaire online by themselves without having a representative or me as a researcher who was present while they were taking the questionnaire, and without having a direct chance of asking any questions which arose while taking the questionnaire, the respondents were given specific instructions introducing each new task at the beginning of each section.

The personal information section followed the general instruction section. My aim in this section was to make sure to get a unified group of respondents in each group as much as possible. Therefore, my questions in this section were quite detailed. The first question after the specific instructions introducing the task of this section was about the nationality of the respondents. While analyzing the American and Turkish data, I used data for my analysis only from the respondents who answered this question as *American* or *Turkish* respectively. The next question asked whether the respondents identified with any other ethnic group in addition to their nationality. In my analysis, I themselves with any other ethnic group in addition to their nationality, in order to get a unified group of respondents in both groups. The third question asked for the respondents’ native language. I excluded the data from any bilinguals from my data analysis; rather, I analyzed the data from Americans and Turks whose answer to this question was *English*

and *Turkish* respectively. The fourth question I asked in this section was for the language the respondents normally use. For my analysis, I only used the data gathered from respondents who normally use English and Turkish, for American and Turkish groups respectively. In order to eliminate the possibility of getting an odd address form to a relative from another country as an answer to the questions in the following sections, e.g., to a sister-in-law from Austria, I asked the respondents if they had any relatives from another country. If they answered *yes* to this question, these respondents became ineligible for my data analysis.

The following five questions were ones asked in order to investigate if the place of birth, the place where one lives, age, sex and education play a role in the choice of address forms. I considered the respondents born in the USA and living in the USA to be eligible for my data analysis of the American group. However, I also considered a number of respondents who were born in the USA, but has been living in Europe as expats or studying as international students in the UK to be eligible for this analysis since it was quite difficult for me to find respondents who could be considered to be eligible for my study. I needed to spend two and a half months to get a unified group of respondents as much as possible. The respondents who were born in Turkey and living in Turkey were considered to be eligible for the data analysis of the Turkish group. Also, the questions about the age, sex and education of respondents helped me to assess how similar the American and Turkish respondent groups were.

Except the one question which asked for the highest level of school the respondents completed, after every other question in this section, I provided comment/ essay boxes which let the respondents write their answers without any space limitations. The question concerning the education of the respondents was a multiple choice question with multiple answers. The answers given for the American respondents were: *middle*

school, high school, University undergraduate, University graduate whereas the answers given for the Turkish respondents were: *primary school, secondary school, lycee, University undergraduate, University graduate* since these are the only possible responses for both of these groups.

What follows is Section I aiming to investigate what the address terms used in the family by Turks and Americans are; and requested the respondents to indicate which address term(s) they would use to address the person stated in each question. Example 23 below is from the Turkish-language questionnaire with some possible answers, and Example 24 is from the English-language questionnaire with some potential answers.

23. Kızınıza nasıl hitap edersiniz? [How would you address your daughter?]

A possible answer from Turkish respondents: *Kızım* 'my daughter', FN, or FN+ the endearment suffix+ possessive adjective.

24. How would you address your mother?

A possible answer from American respondents: *Mom* or *mama*.

In Section I, the respondents were asked how they would address some 35 members of their family. Even though Americans could be likely to address most of these family members by their first names (since English does not offer any specific address terms which can be used to address these family members), Turks could use specific address terms other than FNs since Turkish offers specific address terms for addressing these family members. For example, an American respondent might address his/ her elder sister by a FN whereas a Turkish respondent might address her by *abla* 'elder sister' since Turkish offers this address term for elder sisters. Therefore, I asked both Turkish and American groups how they would address all these family members. Thinking that asking about how they would address all these family members might confuse American

respondents, in the specific instructions for this section, I wrote the American respondents a note telling them that some of the questions may sound strange to them, but that they should answer these questions nevertheless. However, when I piloted the questionnaire, I still got some comments from the American respondents saying that this note confused them. Therefore, I did not include this note in the final version of the questionnaire.

Another important issue I would like to mention about Section I is that the questionnaire conducted for the Turkish respondents in Turkish was modified slightly from the one conducted for the American respondents in English. The modification was in all the English-language questions asking about *one's spouse or partner* and *one's spouse or partner's relatives*. After piloting the questionnaire, I turned them into questions asking about *one's spouse* and *one's spouse's relatives* after I was informed that Turks could address their spouses and their spouses' relatives differently than their partner and partners' relatives. I did not include the questions about one's partner into the Turkish-language questionnaire, since I thought that more than 35 questions might bore the potential respondents and cause an unwillingness to reply to the questions in the following sections. Example 25 is taken from the English-language questionnaire, which asked about the address term employed to address *spouse's or partner's father* whereas Example 26, the corresponding question to Example 25 in the Turkish-language questionnaire, asked about the address term used to address only *spouse's father*.

25. How would you address your **spouse's or partner's** father?

26. Eşinizin babasına nasıl hitap edersiniz? [How would you address your **spouse's** father?]

Except for this difference between the Turkish-language and the English-language questionnaires, the rest of Section I was the same in both questionnaires.

Section II gave the respondents six prompts and asked them to write their most likely response for each situation. Section II was intended to trace if the respondents used specific kinship family address terms or left them out while directly addressing the given family member in their most likely responses for the each prompt. Moreover, it aimed, in the Turkish-language questionnaire, to explore the implications of *sen*(T) /*siz* (V) distinction in the form of pronominal address form as nominatives in direct reference to one's addressee or in the deep structure of every sentence occurring as genitives, accusatives, datives, or ablatives; or in the form of verbal address form in Turkish.

In Section II, the respondents were given six situations, which were constructed by me with the help of an expert who is competent in both cultures. We tried to create situations which were likely to occur in both Turkish and American cultures. For the situations, we chose six different speech acts: refusal, request, suggestion, congratulation, apology and compliment.

In deciding on the family members whom the respondents are asked to address in these situations, I firstly choose three male and three female members; i.e., *grandfather*, *father*, *sister's husband*, and *mother*, *niece*, *spouse's/ partner's aunt* in the English-language questionnaire, and *spouse's aunt* in the Turkish-language questionnaire. Secondly I chose four blood relatives; i.e., *grandfather*, *father*, *mother*, *niece*, and two relatives through marriage; i.e., *spouse's (/partner's) aunt*, and *sister's husband*. Thirdly, I chose four older family members; i.e., *grandfather*, *mother*, *father*, *spouse's (/partner's) aunt*, one possible peer relative; i.e. *sister's husband*, and one younger relative; i.e., *niece*. While choosing these relatives, I gave importance to two points.

First, having an equal number of female and male relatives; having also both blood relatives and relatives through marriage (including equal number of spouse's kin and those to whom ego is an in-law, in other words kinsman's spouse); having older, peer and younger relatives. Second, among the relatives fitting into the criteria mentioned above, choosing the relatives who could fit into the given situation the best, based on with whom one could most likely be in the given situation in each question, for both Turkish and American cultures. To illustrate, I thought, in question 2 of Section II, the possibility of one asking to borrow his/ her father's car for a couple of hours is more likely than asking one's uncle, even though both of these relatives fit into the profile of a male older blood relative. Therefore I chose *father*, not uncle, in this particular question. Example 27 and Example 28 are two of the situations given in Section II of the questionnaire. Example 27 asked the respondents to make a request to a male, older, blood relative, namely to their father. Similarly, Example 28 required the respondents to compliment a female, younger, blood relative.

27. Your car breaks down and you need to borrow your father's car. Ask him if you can borrow his car for a couple of hours.

28. Your niece got a new haircut and you think it looks great. Compliment her.

In the Turkish-language questionnaire there was an extra session not present on the English-language questionnaire: Section III. In this Section, the respondents were asked which family members they address by *sen* (T) and which ones by *siz* (V) and to explain why. This section aimed to investigate the reasons behind the address pronoun choice in Turkish since Turkish has a T/V distinction. As English does not have this distinction, this section would be irrelevant for the American respondents, therefore this was not included in the English-language questionnaire.

Both the Turkish-language and English-language questionnaires ended with a note thanking the respondents for their participation.

6.1.1.2. Limitations of the Questionnaire:

It was quite useful to use the website for web-survey creation, *SurveyMonkey*, to prepare my questionnaire online. The online questionnaire offered easy access to the respondents, who then willingly provided me with reliable and valid data. Moreover, I was able to get the results in the form of an Excel worksheet, which made analysis easier.

Since the respondents were supposed to take the questionnaire online by themselves without me, and without having the opportunity to directly ask any questions which arose while taking the questionnaire, I made sure to give the respondents an overview of my study at the beginning of the questionnaire, as well as specific instructions introducing each new task at the beginning of each section.

In order to get Turkish and American respondent groups which were as unified as possible, I prepared detailed questions in the personal information section, and selected the respondents who are similar to the target population the questionnaire was designed for.

In the questionnaire, I provided comment/ essay boxes which let the respondents write their answers without any space limitations. Only one question was a multiple choice question. This gave the respondents the opportunity to write down anything into these boxes. Dörnyei (2003: 121) states that “[...] open-ended items in the questionnaire might play a useful role in providing quotations that can help to retain or restore the real

perspective”. These items provided quotations showing the real perspective in my study as well.

Piloting, which is administering the questionnaire to a group of respondents who are similar to the target population before its final version is put together, gives researchers the chance to check whether the selected respondents will reply to the items in the manner intended by researchers while designing the questionnaire (Dörnyei 2003: 67). In my study, after piloting the questionnaire with five Turkish and five American respondents, I put together its final version. Even though this piloting helped me to improve my questionnaire tremendously, one item which failed to get answered in the manner intended by me remained unnoticed due to the small number of the selected respondents in piloting. This item is the question asking where the respondents were born. What I had in mind while preparing this question was a determination of the state in the USA where the respondents were born. Apparently, I had failed to word this properly in the question. During piloting, a small number of the selected respondents responded to this question by stating the state where they were born. Therefore, I thought that this question was clear. However, when I applied the final version of the questionnaire to the real respondents, I realized that a number of the respondents only stated that they were born in the USA and did not say in which state they were born. If I had had the opportunity to administer the questionnaire to a larger group of selected respondents in the piloting phase, perhaps I would have been able to detect this problem and fix it. However, due to the time limitation and the availability of the respondents at the time of piloting, I had to limit myself to five Turkish and five American respondents.

6.2. Results of the Questionnaire:

In this section of my thesis, I will discuss the major findings of my study.

Before I move on to the findings of each section, I will give an overall picture of the Turkish and American respondents of the Turkish-language and English-language questionnaires.⁷

The total number of the Turkish respondents who participated in my study was 20, consisting of 13 females and seven males. They were all Turkish citizens. Their native tongue was Turkish and they normally used Turkish. They did not identify with any other ethnic group in addition to their nationality, and did not have any relatives who were from another country.

Most of the Turkish respondents were between the ages 26-33 (14 respondents). Between the ages 18 and 24, there were four respondents. There were two people who were 60 and 73.

All the respondents were born in Turkey and live in Turkey. Most of the respondents lived in big cities, such as Istanbul and Ankara (95%). 13 respondents (65%) lived in Istanbul and 6 of them lived in Ankara (30%). Only one respondent (5%) lived in a relatively small city, namely Kırıkkale. On the other hand, the respondents were born in different parts of Turkey. Only three of the respondents (15%) were born in big cities, the rest of them were born in relatively small cities.

All of the Turkish respondents had a background in higher education. 14 of these respondents (70%) were either undergraduate students or holding an undergraduate degree. Similarly, six of the respondents (30%) were either doing graduate studies or had completed a graduate program.

⁷ Please see Appendix 3 for the exact figures of the demographic features of the respondents.

With regard to the questionnaire responses from the Americans, the total number of the American respondents who participated in my study was 20, consisting of 14 females and six males. They were all American citizens. Their native tongue was English and they normally used English. They did not identify with any other ethnic group in addition to their nationality, and did not have any relatives who were from another country.

There were seven respondents between the ages 20-29. Between the ages 31- 36, there were six respondents. There were two people who were 40 and 43. One respondent was 50, and four respondents were between 60 and 70.

All the respondents were born in different parts of the USA. Five respondents (25%) were born in New York State. Most of the respondents lived in the USA. 16 respondents (80%) lived in the USA while four respondents (20%) lived as international students or expats in Europe, namely in Austria and in the UK.

Most of the American respondents also had a background in higher education 11 respondents (55%) completed graduate studies, and six respondents (30%) completed undergraduate study. Three respondents (15%) completed only high school.

6.2.1. Results of Section I

In this section of the questionnaire, I looked at the use of kinship address terms in the family⁸. I asked the respondents how they would address family members ranging from the oldest to youngest, and from nuclear family members to extended family members, including consanguineals and affines; i.e., *in-laws* (spouse's kin) and *those to whom ego is an in-law* (kinsmen's spouses).

⁸ Please see Appendix 3 for the illustration of the results of the questionnaire.

6.2.1.1. Results of Section I in the Turkish- language questionnaire

Most of the Turkish respondents indicated that they would use the kinship terms⁹ available in their language repertoire in addressing the various family members. It is important to note that Turkish offers different kinship address terms to address paternal and maternal grandparents, paternal and maternal uncles, and paternal and maternal aunts, even though English does not have these distinctions in address terms. To illustrate, in Turkish, a father's brother is addressed as *amca* 'paternal uncle' whereas a mother's brother is addressed as *dayı* 'maternal uncle'. Moreover, Turkish has specific address terms to address an older brother/ sister, one's spouse's parents, one's spouse's brother/ sister, one's brother's wife, one's sister's husband, one's uncle's wife, one's aunt's husband; i.e., *enişte* 'aunt's husband', even though English does not have these specific kinship address terms.

Within the consanguineals, almost all the Turkish respondents addressed the older ones by the specific kinship address terms assigned to address these family members. In most of the cases, these terms were followed by endearment suffixes. Conversely only a small percentage of the Turkish respondents addressed the younger family members by the assigned kinship address terms to address these members. It was also observed that most of the Turkish respondents addressed these younger consanguineals by FNs and FNs with the endearment suffixes.

It was worth noting that a great majority of the Turkish female respondents addressed their spouses by an endearment term, while a smaller percentage of Turkish female respondents addressed their spouses by the kinship terms available to address one's spouse or by FNs. One of the kinship address terms to address one's husband was

⁹ Please see Table 3, Table 4, Table 5, Table 6 and Table 7 for various kinship terms, and Appendix 1 for various kinship address terms in Turkish

kocacığım ‘my dear husband’, which is always followed by the endearment suffix with the 1st person singular possessive suffix. Similarly, another kinship term which was used by the Turkish respondents to address their spouses, *eşim* ‘my spouse’, is always followed by the 1st person singular possessive suffix.

When it comes to the *in-laws* (spouse’s kin), it was observed that a big majority of the Turkish respondents addressed their spouses’ fathers and mothers by the same address terms by which they addressed their own fathers and mothers, even though there are a number of specific kinship address terms to address one’s spouse’s father/ mother in Turkish. Only a small percentage of the Turkish female respondents (6.25%) used the specific kinship address term, which was *kayınpeder* ‘spouse’s father’, to address their spouse’s father while none of the Turkish male respondents addressed their spouse’s father in this way. Similarly, only a small percentage of the Turkish female respondents (7.14%) used the specific kinship address term to address their spouse’s mother, which was *kayınvalide* ‘spouse’s mother’. On the other hand, none of the Turkish male respondents addressed their spouse’s mother in this way.

A great majority of the Turkish respondents also addressed their spouses’ brothers and sisters who were older than the respondents by the same specific kinship address terms by which they addressed their own elder brothers and elder sisters, even though there are specific kinship address terms to address one’s spouse’s brother/ sister in Turkish. Only a small number of the respondents used these specific kinship address terms available to address one’s spouse’s brothers/ sisters, such as *kayınbirader* for spouse’s brother, and *görümce* and *baldız* for spouse’s sister. The same results were found for some of *those to whom ego is an in-law*, namely brother’s/ sister’s spouses who are older than the respondents.

Similarly, a big majority of the Turkish respondents addressed their spouses' brothers and sisters who were younger than the respondents by FNs, even though there are specific kinship address terms to address one's spouse's brother/ sister in Turkish. Only a small number of the respondents used the specific kinship address terms to address one's spouse's brother/ sister in Turkish. The same results were found for some of *those to whom ego is an in-law*, namely brother's/ sister's spouses who are younger than the respondents. Even though this might bring to the mind language change, the data gathered in this study is not sufficient to come to a conclusion on this issue. A further study concentrated on it might be useful in finding out more information on this issue.

When it comes to addressing others among *those to whom ego is an in-law*, namely one's father's/ mother's brother's/sister's wife/ husband, it was observed that most of the respondents used the specific kinship address terms available to be used to address these kinsmen's spouses. Only in addressing one's father's/ mother's sister's husband, a small number of the respondents addressed them by the specific kinship address term which is for addressing one's own uncle. However, one's father's/ mother's brother's wife did not get this treatment by the respondents.

Except the fact that in most of the cases the female respondents used various endearment terms and suffixes to address the given family members more often than the male respondents, the percentages of use of the specific kinship address terms were more or less the same between the male and female respondents. Another thing to be noted is that two respondents used traditional and regional variations of the specific kinship terms, such as *emmi* 'uncle' and *hacianne* 'paternal grandmother', rather than using the preferred variants of these terms in standard modern Turkish which are *amca* 'uncle' and *babaanne* 'paternal grandmother'. This showed us that these respondents came from a traditional family and a different region of Turkey. One of these

respondents was born in Kayseri, a central Anatolian city, and the other one was born in Ordu, a city in the Black Sea Region of Turkey.

Interestingly enough, it was observed that address inversion took place in addressing the specific family members who are younger than the addressers. To illustrate, *Halacım* ‘my aunt’ was used as an address term to address a niece even though one would expect to see the specific address term which is to address a niece, or an FN or an endearment term in normal situations. Similarly, *abici* ‘my older brother’ was used to address a younger brother even though Turkish offers another address term which is to be used to address a younger brother. Another example of an address inversion was the case where a respondent addressed her son by *annem* ‘my mother’. Apparently, this form of address has semantic features related to the addresser rather than the addressee. One of three respondents who made address inversion was male, and the two of them were females. The respondents’ intimacy and love for their addressees is the probable cause for the address inversion.

It was observed that the kinship address terms in Turkish were quite often used with FNs. When the kinship address terms were used with FNs, FNs precede the kinship address terms. For example, it is used as *Nükhet Hala* ‘FN+ Aunt’.

Last but not least, the usage of the Turkish kinship address terms is nonreciprocal; the younger one tends to receive FN or an endearment term as an address term, whereas the older one always receives a kinship address term.

6.2.1.2. Results of Section I in the English- language questionnaire

Among the consanguineals, almost all the American respondents addressed those who are two generations older by the specific kinship address terms, mostly with some

endearment suffixes, such as -y. Similarly, almost all the American respondents addressed those one generation older in their nuclear family by the specific kinship address terms. A great majority of them addressed consanguineals one generation older by the specific kinship address terms, but it was observed that a number of the American respondents used FNs instead. When the generation gap is not as big as one generation, almost all of the American respondents used FNs, familiarized FNs and nicknames, as was the case in addressing younger relatives. Only a very small number of the respondents used the specific kinship terms. i.e; *bro*, *sis*, *cousin*, *cuz*, to address slightly older and younger consanguineals.

All of the American respondents addressed their spouses by their first names, shortened first names, nicknames, and endearment terms.

Concerning the *in-laws* (spouse's kin), it was observed that a large majority of the American respondents addressed their spouse's father/ mother by FN. On the other hand, a small number of the respondents used *sir* and *Mr./ Mrs.* + *LN* and the specific kinship address

Regardless of whether one's spouse's brothers and sisters are younger or older than them, a great majority of the American respondents addressed their spouse's brothers and sisters by FN. However, it is observed that a small number of the respondents addressed them by the specific kinship address terms used to address one's own brother/ sister, which are *bro* and *sis*. The same results were found for some of *those to whom ego is an in-law*, namely brother's/ sister's spouses regardless of their relative age to the addressers.

When it comes to addressing others among *those to whom ego is an in-law*, namely one's father's/ mother's brother's/sister's husband/ wife, the respondents behaved in the

same way as addressing their parents' brothers/ sisters. A great majority of them addressed these kinsmen's spouses who are one generation older by specific kinship address terms which are the same as the ones used to address their own uncles/aunts. However, it was observed that a number of the American respondents used FNs to address them.

The male and female respondents behaved almost in the same way in their choice of specific kinship address terms. However, more female respondents addressed their family members by various endearing kinship address terms than the male respondents.

The kinship address terms in English were quite often used with FNs. When the American respondents used the kinship address terms with FNs, the kinship address terms were followed by FNs; e.g., *Uncle George*. On the other hand, it is important to note that one of the American respondents addressed her mother's father by *Grandpa+ LN*, and her father's father by *Grandpa+ LN*, and *father's mother* by *Grandma+ LN*.

One important point to be reported is that one of the American respondents indicated that he used no address term to address his father. The respondent stated that he would visually get his attention, and then begin his comments without using an address term. The respondent stated that they did not have a close relationship and added that he thought that his father was a good man. Therefore, being not close to a family member could result in using no address term at all.

6.2.2. Results of Section II

In this section I gave the respondents six prompts and asked them to write their most likely response for each situation. The respondents were supposed to actualize different speech acts and say their words to the given relative in each question. In order to have a

variety of family members, relatives in the situations given were chosen equally among the males/females; consanguineals and affines; and older, younger and peer relatives. The family members who were supposed to be addressed by the respondents are: *grandfather, father, sister's husband, mother, niece, spouse's/ (partner's) aunt*.

6.2.2.1. Results of Section II in the Turkish- language questionnaire

In this section, my aim was to find out if the Turkish respondents would use the specific kinship address terms to address the given family members in each prompt. Moreover, I aimed to explore the implications of *sen* (T) /*siz* (V) distinction in the form of pronominal address form as nominatives in direct reference to one's addressee, or in the deep structure of every sentence occurring as genitives, accusatives, datives, or ablatives; or in the verbal address form in Turkish. Therefore, it was quite useful to ask the respondents to perform different types of speech acts while directing their responses to the given family members.

When the addressee is younger than the respondent, i.e., one's niece, almost all the Turkish respondents addressed them by *sen* (T form). None of the respondents were observed to address them by *siz* (V form). Most of the respondents addressed the other family members by *sen* (T form). However, a small percentage of the male Turkish respondents addressed all the older consanguineals and the peer affine; i.e., one's sister's husband, by *siz* (V form). On addressing affine one generation older; i.e., one's spouse's aunt, a bigger percentage (28.57%) of the respondents used *siz* (V form). Likewise a small percentage of the female Turkish respondents addressed their peer affine; i.e., one's sister's husband, by *siz* (V form); and a relatively bigger percentage of them addressed one of the older consanguineals; i.e., one's father, by *siz* (V form).

When the female Turkish respondents addressed affine one generation older; i.e., one's spouse's aunt, a big percentage (38.46%) of the respondents used *siz* (V form). Also, it was observed that most of the male respondents did not directly address the affines, rather they found a way to formulate their words in a way without addressing the affines with *sen* (T form) or *siz* (V form).

A majority of the respondents used the specific kinship address terms to address older family members regardless of their being consanguineals or affines. Most of them added the endearment suffix *-ciğim* to the kinship address terms. However, a majority of the respondents addressed the peer affine; i.e., one's sister's husband, by no address term. Similarly, most of the respondents addressed the younger consanguineals; i.e., one's niece, by no address term.

6.2.2.2. Results of Section II in the English- language questionnaire

In Section II I intended to trace if the American respondents to the questionnaire used specific kinship address terms while directly addressing given family members in their most likely responses for each prompt. Since there is only one address pronoun in English now, this section did not intend to see which address pronoun the Americans would employ in their utterances.

A majority of the American respondents addressed the older consanguineals by the specific kinship address terms. None of them addressed the older consanguineals with FNs. A significant percentage of both male and female respondents reported the peer affine and older affine receiving FN and familiarized FN. Similarly, peer and older affines mostly received *no address term* from female respondents. Half of the male

respondents also addressed the older affine by the specific kinship term+ FN, but only a small percentage of the female respondents addressed older affines in this way.

Most of the American respondents addressed younger consanguineals by FN and familiarized FN. Quite frequently, the younger consanguineals received *no address* terms. Another important finding is that consanguineals who are two generations older, namely the grandfather, was addressed by the very formal address term, *sir*, by one of the respondents. It could be because of a family tradition, or the relationship between that respondent and the respondent's grandfather.

A majority of the female American respondents used no address terms in addressing a consanguineal one generation older; i.e., mother, or a peer affine; i.e., sister's husband. Similarly, a majority of the male American respondents addressed their younger consanguineals; i.e., niece, by no address term.

6.2.3. Results of Section III

Section III only appeared in the Turkish-language questionnaire. This Section aimed to investigate which family members were addressed by which address pronoun in Turkish, and the reasons behind the address pronoun choice in the Turkish family setting, since Turkish has a T/V distinction. As English does not have this distinction, this section would be irrelevant for the American respondents. Therefore I did not include this section in the English-language questionnaire.

In this Section, the respondents were asked which family members they addressed by *sen* (T) and which ones by *siz* (V) and to explain why.

It was observed that the Turkish respondents used both *sen* (T form) and *siz* (V form) to address their family members. The examination of the data related to *sen* (T form) produced the following results.

Seventeen respondents mentioned certain family members being addressed by *sen* (T form). These family members mentioned can be divided into five different groups.

The first group of family members who were most frequently mentioned as deserving to be addressed with *sen* (T form) was *all family members* which accounted for 4 out of 17 respondents. This category included two sub-groups. The first and the biggest sub-group was *all family members* which accounted for 3 out of 4 of the data in this subgroup. The other one was *all family members whom one knows well* which accounted for 1 out of 4 of the data in this subgroup. There was another group which was mentioned as frequently as *all family members*. This group was *all consanguineals* (4 out of 17). This category also includes two groups: *consanguineals* (3 out of 4) and *all consanguineals with whom one often meets* (1 out of 4).

The second group of family members which was most frequently mentioned as deserving to be addressed by *sen* (T form) was *younger family members* (3 out of 17). The other group which was mentioned as frequently as *younger family members* was *close family members* (3 out of 17). This category includes *close family members* (2 out of 3) and *very close family members: mother, father, siblings and cousins* (1 out of 3).

There were three groups in the third-most frequently mentioned group of family members which were indicated as deserving to be addressed with *sen* (T form): *the ones with whom one often meets*, *intimate in-laws (spouse's kin)* and *intimate family members*. They were mentioned once each.

The Turkish respondents reported that they used *sen (T form)* to address their family members since it reflected *love, intimacy, affection, closeness, solidarity, familiarity, and frequency of contact*.

According to the data collected from the Turkish respondents, twenty reported certain family members being addressed by *siz (V form)*. These family members can be divided into seven groups. The first group which was indicated most frequently as receiving *siz (V form)* was *in-laws*, which accounted for 7 out of 20 respondents. This is a broad category which has a variety of *in-laws*. It consisted of two subgroups which were mentioned with equal frequency: *in-laws (spouse's kin)* (2 out of 7) and *parents of one's spouse at the beginning of acquaintance* (2 out of 7). Other sub-groups which were mentioned as receiving *siz (V form)* were: *in-laws (spouse's kin) at the beginning of the acquaintance*, *in-laws (spouse's kin) except the younger ones*, and *in-laws (spouse's kin) whom one does not closely know*.

The second and third groups of family members receiving *siz (V form)* were mentioned equally often, accounting for 4 out of 20 respondents each. These groups were *distant family members* and *older family members*. The older family members were divided into two categories, which were *older family members* (3 out of 4) and *older family members with whom one has a formal relationship* (1 out of 4). Here a formal relationship connotes a non-casual relationship. In a formal relationship one usually meets with his/her relatives in a formal context; i.e., the relationship with the one's uncle's wife, who has not much time to socialize with her spouse's family since she is a busy surgeon. Still, the cousin of her spouse can see her at the hospital which is a formal context whenever there is a need for a medical consultancy. The formal context at the hospital and lack of time they spent together at another context make their relationships

a formal one. The cousin of her spouse can then address her by *siz* (V form) by giving the reason that they have a formal relationship.

The fourth group which was indicated most frequently as addressed by *siz* (V form) was *those to whom ego is an in-law (kinsmen's spouse)*, which accounted for 2 out of 20. The fifth, sixth and seventh groups were all mentioned the same number of times as receiving *siz* (T form) (1 out of 20 each). They were: *the ones with whom one does not often meet, family members with whom one has a formal relationship, and younger family members with higher status*. *Siz* (V form) was mentioned as used to address these family members, since it indicates distance, formality, respect, politeness and habit.

6.3. Comparison of the Results of the Turkish and American Data

Regarding the usage of the kinship address terms, the results showed that in Turkish, the addressee being at least more than a few years older than the addresser is the only condition to be satisfied in order for the addressee to receive a specific kinship address term reflecting the addressee's relative situation to the addresser. The Turkish respondents did not use FNs to address any of the older family members.

On the other hand, if the addressee is a family member in the addresser's nuclear family or a consanguineal two generations older, all the American respondents addressed them by a specific kinship address term related to the addressee's relative situation to the addresser. If the addressee was a consanguineal one generation older, a majority of the American respondents addressed them by a specific kinship address term, but a number of the American respondents addressed them by FNs and nicknames.

For addressees younger than the addresser, the norm in both Turkish and English is to be addressed by FNs and FN with endearment suffixes or familiarized FNs. However, in

both Turkish and English, a small number of the younger addressees were addressed by the specific kinship address terms available to be used to address them. .

It is important to note that the majority of the Turkish respondents treated their older *in-laws* and brother's/ sister's spouses as if they had been their consanguineals by addressing them by the specific kinship address terms which were used to address one's father/ mother and older brothers/ sisters. Only a small number of the older in-laws received the specific kinship address term available to address one's older in-laws in Turkish. Conversely, most of the American respondents addressed their older *in-laws* and brother's/ sister's spouses by FN. Only a small percentage of Mr./ Mrs.+LN was registered to address one's spouse's father/ mother. Also a small number of these addressees were addressed by the specific kinship terms used for one's mother, father, brother and sister.

It is important to underline that American English does not offer any specific address terms to be used to address one's in-laws, whereas Turkish does. This might be because of the fact that in Turkish society, it is usual to have close relations with all family members, including in-laws and kinsmen's spouses. Whereas a majority of the American respondents chose to address these in-laws by using FNs, it was observed that a majority of the Turkish respondents chose to address them by the same address terms which were used to address one's own father/ mother, brother/ sister. In the Turkish cultural context, this is a way to honor and show respect to the in-laws.

A big majority of the Turkish respondents addressed their spouses' brothers and sisters who were younger than the respondents by FN, even though there are specific kinship address terms to address one's spouse's brother/ sister in Turkish. This indicates that in Turkish, the age of the addressee is the determining factor in choosing the address term. To address the younger in-laws, the Turkish respondents chose FN, but for older in-

laws, most of the Turkish respondents used the same kinship address term which was used to address the corresponding consanguineals. The American respondents did not show any difference in their choice of address to address their spouses' brothers and sisters who were younger than them or who were older than them.

The fact that most of the Turkish respondents used the specific kinship address terms available at their disposal to address one's father's/ mother's brother's/sister's wife/ husband showed that Turkish speakers prefer to signal not only their relations to the addressee by their address term choices but also their respect for them. None of the Turkish respondents addressed them by FN. On the other hand, in American English, there are no specific kinship address terms available to address addressed these kinsmen's spouses one generation older by the same specific kinship address terms used to address their own parents' brothers/sisters. It was also observed that a number of the American respondents used FNs to address them.

It is quite interesting that a majority of the American respondents used the kinship address terms to address kinsmen's spouses one generation older rather than using any FNs, but they used FNs to address their in-laws one generation older and a few years older; e.g., spouse's father/ mother and brother's wife.

On addressing the given family members in Section II of the questionnaire, a majority of the Turkish respondents used the specific kinship address terms to address the older consanguineals and affines. Most of them addressed the younger ones and peer affines by *no address terms*. Also some endearment terms were used frequently to address the younger consanguineals. A majority of the American respondents addressed the older consanguineals by the specific kinship address terms. A significant percentage of both male and female respondents reported the peer affine and older affine receiving FN and familiarized FN. Similarly, peer and older affines mostly received *no address term* from

female respondents. Half of the male respondents also addressed the older affine by the specific kinship term+ FN, but only a small percentage of the female respondents addressed older affines in this way. Most of the American respondents addressed younger consanguineals by FN and familiarized FN. Quite frequently, the younger consanguineals received *no address* terms.

To receive a kinship address term within an utterance, being at least a few years older than the addresser is the dominant factor for Turkish respondents, while being a consanguineal who is at least one generation older than the addresser is the influential factor for American respondents.

In Section II of the questionnaire, the Turkish respondents chose between the address pronouns *sen* (T form) and *siz* (V form) in the form of pronominal address form as nominatives in direct reference to one's addressee or in the deep structure of every sentence occurring as genitives, accusatives, datives, or ablatives; or in the form of verbal address forms in Turkish. Some of the one generation older consanguineals and affines received *siz* (V form). Inversely, the American respondents only used one address pronoun, *you*, since this is the only available pronoun element at their disposal.

In Section III, the Turkish respondents stated that they used *sen* (T form) to address the *younger family members, all family members, the family members with whom one often meets, the close family members, all consanguineals, very close family members (mother, father, siblings and cousins), all family members whom one knows well, intimate in-laws (spouse's kins), and all family members*. They stated that they chose *sen* (T form) to address the mentioned family members because *sen* (T form) expressed their love, intimacy, affection, closeness, solidarity, familiarity, and the frequency of contact towards the mentioned family members.

The Turkish respondents stated that they used *siz* (V form) to address: older family members, older family members with whom one has a formal relationship, the ones with whom one does not often meet, in-laws (spouse's kin), in-laws (spouse's kin) at the beginning of the acquaintance, in-laws (spouse's kin) except the younger ones, in-laws (spouse's kin) whom one does not closely know, distant family members, and younger family members with higher status, those to whom ego is an in-law (kinsmen's spouse), and family members with whom one has a formal relationship. They indicated that they used *siz* (V form) to address the above-mentioned family members because it reflects distance, formality, respect, politeness and it is a habit.

7. Analysis of the Results:

As apparent from the above discussion, the Turkish respondents used more varied address terms than the American respondents to address their family members, especially ones who were at least a few years older than them. Two important reasons were observed for this situation:

First, American English does not offer its users as many specific kinship address terms as Turkish does. As indicated before, Turkish speakers have different kinship address terms to address paternal and maternal grandparents; paternal and maternal uncles; paternal and maternal aunts, though English does not offer these distinctions in address terms to its users. For example, in Turkish, father's sister is addressed by *hala* 'paternal aunt' whereas mother's sister is addressed by *teyze* 'maternal aunt'. Moreover Turkish has specific address terms to address an older brother/ sister, one's spouse's parents, one's spouse's brother/ sister, one's brother's wife, one's sister's husband, one's uncle's

wife, one's spouse's sister; i.e., *görümce* 'spouse's sister', whereas English does not have these specific kinship address terms.

Second, American respondents did not much favor using the specific kinship address terms to address their family members (except their consanguineals one generation older in their nuclear family, and consanguineals two generation older) even in the cases where specific kinship address terms were available to address these family members. For example, some of the American respondents chose to address their father's sister by *FN* rather than by *aunt*. Also it was observed that the Americans did not favor addressing *in-laws* by the kinship address terms. Unlike the Turkish respondents, no specific address terms were available to the American respondents to be used to address their *in-laws*. However, they could still have addressed their *in-laws* more often by some other kinship address terms, similar to the address terms they use, for instance, to address their kinsmen's spouses one generation older or their own consanguineals. As a result, only a very small percentage of the kinship address terms used to address the *in-laws* was observed in the data of the American respondents.

Third, Turkish respondents apparently use specific address terms more often to avoid giving offense. A number of the American respondents addressed family members one generation older by FNs, which was not observed in the Turkish data, since this would be a very face-threatening act in the Turkish culture. This kind of address term choice, i.e. using FNs, by a Turkish respondent would cause some crucial negative effects and serious breakdowns in communications with the addressees. To illustrate, addressing one's spouse's mother by FN could cause serious offense within the Turkish culture, which could even make the addresser infamous for being an offender and disrespectful person. Such Inappropriate address behavior could have even some negative effects on relations between the addresser and the spouse of the addresser. A desire to avoid giving

offense is most probably one of the most influential reasons for the Turkish respondents to choose to use a specific kinship address term available at their disposal to address every specific older family member rather than using FNs as an address term.

Fourth, addressing older family members by the appropriate kinship address terms is a custom/ habit which has been continued over centuries in the Turkish culture.

The Turkish kinship system relates to Asiatic nomadism fitted precisely into Muslim family law, and it continues to have a place in the purely modern setting regardless of the demographic features of the speakers (Spencer 1960: 43). These terms in the Turkish kinship system can all be used as kinship address terms. As our data shows, almost all the Turkish respondents used the specific kinship address terms to address their older family members regardless of their sex, age, place of birth and place of residence, since family interdependence and a family culture of relatedness remain paramount in Turkish society (Kağıtçıbaşı 1996: 45).

The Turkish kinship system, and accordingly the Turkish kinship address terms, are therefore more complex than American English. As we have seen earlier, Turkish has a T/V distinction, and the T form *sen* and the V form *siz* are actively used while addressing family members. The examination of T/V distinction in Turkish in Section II showed results which are parallel to the findings of Bayyurt's (1992) study, in the sense that *sen* (*T form*) is the most frequently used address pronoun within the family. However, it was observed that *siz* (*V form*) was used as an address pronoun quite frequently as well, especially when addressing older affines. In Section II of the Questionnaire, *siz* (*V form*) was reported frequently on addressing almost any family members except the younger consanguineal. Section III on the Turkish-language questionnaire revealed more about the address pronoun choice in the family. *Love, intimacy, affection, closeness, solidarity, familiarity, and frequency of contact* were the

reasons which the Turkish respondents stated as an explanation of why they used *sen* (*T form*) to address their family members. *Distance, formality, respect, politeness* and *habit* were given as the reasons of their *siz* (*V form*) choice. Usage of *siz* (*V form*) in the family reflects distance, formality, respect, a habit and politeness accorded to family members in some Turkish communities. Therefore, societal rules seemed to be quite influential in the choice of address pronoun used to address the family members, and thereby add to the complexity of the address terms.

8. Discussion:

As discussed earlier in the section on analysis of the results, varied kinship address terms are used by Turkish speakers in order to show their attitudes, including respect, to their addressees. This is not an issue for American- English speakers who do not mind addressing family members by FN. As a result, kinship address terms in Turkish outnumber the kinship address terms in American English. Also, Turkish speakers signal their attitudes towards their addressees by choosing between the pronominal forms: the T form *sen* and the V form *siz* available at their disposal. American- English speakers do not have this T/ V distinction to use. Given this situation, how then do American- English speakers express their attitudes towards their addressees? Or do the American- English speakers express their attitudes towards their addressees at all?

On this point, it is quite useful to have a close look at the concept of *high-context* and *low-context* cultures introduced by Hall (1976), and the relationship between meaning and context. I will also elaborate on the structure of American families and Turkish families vis-a-vis three different family models by Kağıtçıbaşı (2010).

Hall (1976: 90) states that:

[...] meaning and context are inextricably bound up with each other. While a linguistic code can be analyzed on some levels independent of context [...], *in real life, the code, the context, and the meaning can only be seen as different aspects of a single event.* What is unfeasible is to measure one side of the equation and not the others.

Hall (1976: 91) states that there are *high context (HC)* and *low context (LC)* messages which are placed at different ends of a continuum. American culture is toward the lower end of the scale (Hall 1976: 91). Apparently, Turkish culture is toward the higher end of the scale. Hall (1976: 91) said that in a high context communication or message, most of the information is either in the physical context or internalized in the person, while very little information is in the coded, explicit, transmitted part of the message. Inversely, in a low-context communication, the biggest part of the communication is vested in the explicit code (Hall 1976: 91,) in order to make up for the missing elements in the context (Hall 1976: 101).

Hall (1972: 92) says that “[t]he level of the context determines everything about the nature of the communication and is the foundation on which all subsequent behavior rests.” Hall (1972: 92) underlines studies in sociolinguistics demonstrating how context-dependent the language code really is; especially the work of Bernstein. Bernstein (1964 55-69) identifies what he terms *restricted (HC)* and *elaborated (LC)* codes. Vocabulary, syntax, and sounds are altered in these codes. To illustrate, words and sentences collapse and are shortened in the restricted code of the intimacy in the home. Even the individual sounds begin to merge. On the other hand, in the elaborated code of the classroom, law, or diplomacy, more exact distinctions are made on all levels.

Hall (1976: 100) states that “[...] a universal feature of information systems is that meaning (what the receiver is expected to do) is made up of: the communication, the background and preprogrammed responses of the recipient, and the situation.”

Therefore, in understanding the nature of context, what the receiver actually perceives is important (Hall 1976: 100). What an organism perceives is influenced in five ways: by status, activity, setting, experience and culture (Hall 1976: 101). Therefore, a culture's being in which side of the scale is quite important. HC communication, differently than LC, is economical, fast, efficient, and satisfying; time needs to be devoted to programming, though. Without this programming, the communication is incomplete. "HC communications are frequently used as art forms. They act as a unifying, cohesive force, are long-lived, and are slow to change. LC communications do not unify; however, they can be changed easily and rapidly (Hall 1976: 101)."

In high context cultures, such as in Japan, it is quite seldom that someone will correct you or explain things to you. You are supposed to know, and if not, it will upset them (Hall 1976: 112).

"High- context cultures make greater distinctions between insiders and outsiders than low- context cultures do. People raised in high-context systems expect more of others than do the participants in low-context systems" (Hall 1976: 113). When a high-context individual talks about something that they have on their minds, s/he expects his/ her interlocutor to know it so there is no need to be specific about it (Hall 1976: 113).

In high-context cultures loyalty is never questioned when a relationship is formed. Moreover, one has no real identity if one does not belong (Hall 1976: 113).

Hall's statements are quite important in the explanation of the differences between the Turkish and American address forms used in the family. As a high-context culture, Turkish culture has a complex address system and complex kinship address terms, which have been developed and transmitted through the centuries. It is obvious that it must have taken some time for the programming of the address system and the kinship

address terms. However, the Turkish people now save lots of time in their communications by using them. They can and do indicate their respect, love, distance, formality, intimacy, affection, closeness, frequency of contact, solidarity and familiarity to their addressees by their choice of address form, without having to separately express these attitudes to their addressees in their communications. On the other hand, Americans, who belong to a lower- context culture, do have to express these attitudes separately in their messaging.

Also, Turkish speakers prefer to use the kinship address terms in addressing their family members since as Hall (1976: 113) states, one has no real identity in high-context cultures if one does not belong. Therefore, they favor indicating their in-group identity by using the specific kinship address terms. It is also important to underline that the choice of the kinship address terms in Turkish has nothing to do with the personality of the addressee, rather it has to do with the position of the addressee in relation to the addresser.

Kağıtçıbaşı (2010: 177) indicates that there are three different family models: *reciprocal dependency*, *independency* and *reciprocal emotional/ psychological dependency models*. While the independency model describes American middle class families rather well, rural and urban Turkish families reflect the reciprocal dependency and reciprocal emotional/ psychological dependency models.

In the independency model, the generations are decomposed from each other, and the investment of the financial and emotional resources are saved and spent for one's children, not for one's parents. The nuclear family is the family unit in this model. This model is seen in industrialized, highly technological welfare states where individualism reigns. The children do not have any economic importance to the parents, rather they are of psychological importance to the parents. The children do not expect to take care of

the parents when the parents get old, since the parents have their own economic resources to survive. The children are given autonomy. The socializing values and family interaction create a self-development which is independent, decomposed, and with sharp borders. The interactions between the self and the family members occur between people who are different from each other and who do not overlap with each other (Kağıtçıbaşı 2010: 180-181).

Examples of the reciprocal dependency model are seen in traditional rural societies where close relations between the people and family members are seen, and which have patriarchal families (Kağıtçıbaşı 2010: 177). These families are mostly large families. They help each other in agricultural production, producing food at home, watching the children at home, etc. This is only possible with close relationships between the family members, which connects the different generations to each other very firmly. When they grow up, the children take care of their parents financially and emotionally. The financial resources are spent for the parents (Kağıtçıbaşı 2010: 178). The dependency between the generations changes its direction over time in the reciprocal dependency model. At the beginning, the children are dependent on their parents, then the aged parents become dependent on their grown-up children. The dependency of the children on their parents is enabled by raising the children in an authoritarian way, and by socializing them with the rules of obedience. This kind of mother- father- children interaction and socializing is quite functional in the survival of the family. Loyalty to the family, parental control emphasizing the obedience of the children, and the socializing of the children enable the children to be integrated into the family. Only this kind of a dependent child can take care of the parents when they get old and become needy, while an independent child can easily neglect the needs of the parents. Therefore, raising independent children is not rational in this model (Kağıtçıbaşı 2010: 179). In this model,

the children have a financial and emotional value for the parents (Kağıtçıbaşı 2010: 179-180).

The reciprocal emotional/ psychological dependency model is seen in societies where dependency culture was present. The socioeconomical advancements in the societies where dependency culture was formerly present lead to this change in the family models. There is the reciprocal emotional dependency between the family members in the reciprocal emotional/ psychological dependency model while there is an independency in the level of not only the individuals but also the families (Kağıtçıbaşı 2010: 185). This model is quite often seen in urban families. The young adults spend their emotional and psychological resources on both their parents and children, but they spend financial resources only for their children. There is no need to help their parents financially, since the parents have enough financial resources to survive. Large families are the basic units in this model as well (Kağıtçıbaşı 2010: 186). Since the children have no economic value for the parents in this model, their psychological value gains importance. Since the emotional/ psychological dependency between the generations continues, the dependency to the family is emphasized within the values of socializing (Kağıtçıbaşı 2010: 187).

Since American families and Turkish families belong to different family models, the importance of the family members differs. While American families tend to attach to their nuclear family members and have close relations only with them, Turkish families tend to attach both to their nuclear and extended family members, and have close emotional relationships, if not financial relations as well, with them. This must be the reason why Turkish kinship address terms used in the family outnumber their American counterparts, and why Americans can choose to address an aunt one generation older by FN, rather than using a specific kinship address term available at their disposal.

9. Conclusion:

The aim of this study was to compare the address forms used in the family by Turks and Americans, to identify the similarities and differences between these address forms, if any, and to come up with some explanations for why these differences might occur. The findings of the study show that the Turkish respondents used more varied address terms to address their family members than the American respondents, especially in the case of older family members who were at least a few years or more older than them, and that the Turkish language has a T/V distinction which is used actively in addressing family members. Moreover, the Americans can choose a FN to address a family member, regardless of the addressee being older than the addresser, and even when there is a specific kinship address term for this specific family member at their disposal. Conversely, the Turks hardly ever use a FN to address an older family member. On the other hand, both the Turks and Americans can use FNs to address younger family members. The findings of the study also show that the Turks often use address inversion to address their family members and address inversion always takes place when the older family members address the younger ones. For example, an address inversion was the case where a respondent addressed her son by *annem* ‘my mother’. This form of address has semantic features related to the addresser rather than the addressee. The respondents’ intimacy and love for their addressees can be the cause for the address inversion. On the other hand, Americans do not use any address inversion.

The analysis of the study results shows that the Turkish language offers more kinship address terms than American- English does. Moreover, varied kinship address terms are used by Turkish speakers in order to show their attitudes, including respect, to their addressees. This is not an issue for American- English speakers who do not mind

addressing family members by FN. Thus, kinship address terms in Turkish outnumber those in American English. Also, Turkish speakers signal their attitudes towards their addressees by choosing between the pronominal forms of address: the T form *sen* and the V form *siz* are at their disposal. American- English speakers do not have this T/ V distinction at their disposal.

Hall's (1976) terms of high-context culture and low-context culture can be used to explain these differences in usage of the Turkish and American address forms used in the family. As a high-context culture, Turkish culture has a complex address system and complex kinship address terms which have been transmitted through the centuries. It is obvious that it must have taken some time for the programming of this address system and kinship address terms. However, the Turkish people now save lots of time in their communications by using them. They can and do indicate their respect, love, distance, formality, intimacy, affection, closeness, frequency of contact, solidarity and familiarity to the addressee by their choice of address form, without separately expressing these attitudes to their addressee in their messaging. On the other hand, the Americans, who belong to a lower- context culture, have to express these attitudes separately in their language, since they cannot indicate their attitudes by their choice of address forms.

Turkish speakers prefer to use the kinship address terms in addressing their family members rather than using FNs to address them as Americans do since, as Hall (1976: 113) states, one has no real identity if one does not belong in high-context cultures. Therefore, Turks favor indicating their in-group identity by using the specific kinship address terms.

Kağıtçıbaşı's (2010: 177) three different family models can also be used to explain the differences in usage of the Turkish and American address forms used in the family. According to Kağıtçıbaşı (2010: 177), there are three different family models:

reciprocal dependency, independency and reciprocal emotional/ psychological dependency models. American middle class families appear to reflect the independency model, whereas rural and urban Turkish families reflect the reciprocal dependency and reciprocal emotional/ psychological dependency models respectively.

In the independency model, the generations are decomposed from each other. The socializing values and family interaction create a self-development which is independent, decomposed, and with sharp borders. The interactions between the self and the family members occur between people who are different from each other and who do not overlap with each other (Kağıtçıbaşı 2010: 180-181).

Examples of the reciprocal dependency model are seen in traditional rural societies where close relations between family members are seen, and there are patriarchal families (Kağıtçıbaşı 2010: 177). These families are mostly large families.

Since the emotional/ psychological dependency between the generations continues, the dependency on the family is emphasized within the values of socializing (Kağıtçıbaşı 2010: 187).

Since the American families and Turkish families belong to different family models, the importance of the family members differs. American families tend to attach to, and have close relations only with their nuclear family members, while Turkish families tend to attach to both their nuclear and extended family members, and have close emotional relationships, if not financial relations as well, with them. This can be seen as one of the reasons why the Turkish kinship system and kinship address terms used in the family outnumber their American counterparts, and why Americans can choose to address an aunt one generation older by FN, rather than using the specific kinship address term available at their disposal.

When it comes to the pedagogical implications of the study, in order to successfully teach English as a Second/ Foreign Language, it is important to be aware of the differences in address forms used in the family between Turks and Americans, and how these address forms differ from each other, not only in terms of language forms and functions but also social norms and values. Only by being aware of these kinds of differences in language forms and functions, as well as social norms and values, can we ensure that English as a Second/ Foreign Language learners are competent communicators who are able to communicate within the target culture. In order to be a successful communicator, people need to master hundreds of (in Hall's (1976: 132) concept) "situational dialects", which are used in specific situational frames -- none of these tend to be taught in the classroom. Address forms used in the family represent one of these *situational dialects* which can be found in a living language. Therefore, some activities should be included in ESL/EFL classes in order to teach these situational dialects to students.

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11. APPENDICES

11.1. APPENDIX 1: General Review of Turkish Address Terms

Horasan (1987: 6-10) presents the lexicon of the common address and kinship terms in Turkish which can be found below (1-8). The information regarding the topic is based on conventional usage.

1. Personal Pronouns

Sen (T, second person singular) (Informal)

Siz (V, second person plural) (Formal, second person singular)

2. Attention Getters

Bakar mısın? (T) All these terms are roughly equivalent to the English

Bakar mısınız? (V) attention getter ‘excuse me.’

Baksana? (T)

Baksanıza (V)

Afedersiniz (V)

Afedersin (T)

(As Turkish is an agglutinative language, the pronouns are attached to the verb.)

3. Last Names (LN)

In 1934- 1935 Mustafa Kemal Atatürk enforced a law which required every citizen of Turkey to register a family name. The surnames selected by the Turkish families fall into six categories:

Occupational names, place names, heroic and tribal eponyms, names of objects, nick names, and finally, a general category which might be viewed as names considered as attractive or euphonic (Spencer 1961: 213).

4. First Names (FN)

Arabic and Persian influence can be traced in Pre- Republic names, but the post- Republic ones either show a tendency towards adopting Turkish names stemming from Central Asiatic heritage, e.g. *Alpertunga* or names which have their correspondence in the Western cultures, e.g. *Suzan*. There is also traditional pressure to name children after their grandparents.

5. Honorific Titles

5.1. For Women

Hanim - (Lady- Wife, Ms.)

This is a title which is added to the first name, e.g. *Suzan Hanim*, or the occupational title, e.g. *Doktor Hanim*. Husbands also use it as an address or reference term, e.g. *Bizim Hanim* ‘Our Wife,’ *Hanim* ‘Wife as an address term.’

Hanımefendi- (Madam)

It is either used on its own or with the FN, e.g. *Suzan Hanımefendi* to middle aged women. It does not indicate the marital status.

Bayan - (Ms.)

An address term which is mainly used in correspondence. Sometimes it is used to address a young woman, but this usage is stigmatized. On envelopes it is used together

with FN and LN, e.g. Bayan Suzan Renda, but only with FN in letters, e.g. Bayan Suzan.

5.2. For Men

Bey- (Gentleman- Husband, Mr.)

Formerly was a title inferior to General and Superior to Ağa (Master, Lord), now used with FN, e.g. Ali Bey, occupational title, e.g. Doktor Bey, or as an address term or reference term meaning ‘husband’, e.g. *Bizim Bey* ‘Our Husband’ or just *Bey* (Husband as an address term).

Beyefendi- (Sir)

Like its corresponding *Hanımefendi*, it is either used on its own or with FN, e.g. *Ali Beyefendi*.

Bay- (Mr.)

An address term which is mainly used in correspondence.

Efendi- (Mr., Gentleman)

Before the surname law was passed, it was used after FN, e.g. *Ali Efendi*, now it is used after FN to address men with humble profession, e.g. when addressing a porter.

Efendim- (Sir, Madam)

The only honorific title which does not indicate sex, can be used to replace either *hanımefendi* or *beyefendi*. It is used without first name or last name.

6. Occupational Titles

6.1. With Honorifics

Doktor Hanım/ Bey (Lady/ Gentleman Doctor)

Avukat Hanım/ Bey (Lady/ Gentleman Lawyer)

Garson Bey (Gentleman Waiter)

Hoca Efendi (The religious ‘Hodja’ is always addressed with the honorific ‘Efendi’)

6.2. Humble Occupations with no Honorifics

Postacı (Postman)

Sütçü (Milkman)

Muslukcu (Plumber)

6.3. Prestigious Occupations with no Honorifics

Bakan (Minister)

Hakim (Judge)

Profösör (Professor)

Başkan (President)

Senatör (Senator)

All these occupational titles are mainly used after the adjective ‘Sayın’ (respectful, esteemed), e.g. ‘Sayın Başkan’ (esteemed President).

6.4. Military Ranks

Teğmenim (My Lieutenant)

Albayım (My Colonel)

Generalim/ Paşam (My General)

Komutanım (My Commander)

When addressing to a superior officer the pronoun ‘my’ is always added to the rank (As it is in French).

7. Kinship Terms

7.1. To relatives

Anne (Mother)

Baba (Father)

Abla (Elder Sister)

Ağabey (Elder Brother)

Anneanne (Maternal Grandmother)

Babaanne (Paternal Grandmother)

Dede (Grandfather)

Büyükanne (Grandmother)

Büyükbaba (Grandfather)

Amca (Paternal Uncle)

Dayı (Maternal Uncle)

Hala (Paternal Uncle)

Teyze (Maternal Aunt)

Yeğen (Niece/ Nephew)

7.2. To Non- Relatives

Amca (Paternal Uncle)

Teyze (Maternal Aunt)

Ağabey (Elder Brother)

Abla (Elder Sister)

Kardeş (Brother/ Sister)

Yenge (Sister-in-Law)

The choice of kin terms to non-kins are decided according to the age of the addressee.

8. Endearment Terms

Canım (My Dearest)

Şekerim (My sweet)

Birtanem (My one and only)

9. Other Address Terms

Bayyurt (1992: 49) adds the following list of address terms to the Horasan's list.

9.1. Kinship Terms

Beydede (Grandfather)

Nine (Grandmother)

Ebe (Grandmother)

Hacıanne (Grandmother)

Valide Hanım (Grandmother/ Mother-in-law)

Bibi (Aunt)

Kocateyze (Aunt)

Emmi (Uncle)

Cicianne (Maternal uncle's wife)

Enişte (Aunt's/ elder sister's husband)

Hanımanne (Mother-in-law)

Efendi Baba (Father-in-law)

9.2. Service Encounters

Hanımfendi/ Beyefendi (Madam/ Sir to the shop assistant in a department store)

Amca ('Paternal uncle' to the green grocer, grocer...)

Arkadaşım (My friend)

Usta (Expert)

Dayı (Maternal uncle)

Kardeş (Brother/ Sister)

9.3. Academic Address Terms

Hocam (My teacher)

Efendim (Sir/ Madam)

FN+ Hanım/ Bey (FN+ Honorific: Sir/ Madam)

11.2. APPENDIX 2:

The Turkish-language Questionnaire

Hitabet Sekilleri

Türkler ve Amerikalılar tarafından aile içinde kullanılan hitabet şekilleri...

İngilizce ve Amerikan Çalışmaları Bölümü, Viyana Üniversitesi

Türkler ve Amerikalılar tarafından aile içinde kullanılan hitaplarla ilgili aşağıdaki soruları cevaplandırmanızı rica ediyoruz. Bu araştırma, Türkler ve Amerikalılar tarafından aile içinde kullanılan hitabet şekilleri arasındaki farkları daha iyi anlamak için Viyana Üniversitesi İngilizce ve Amerikan Çalışmaları Bölümü tarafından yapılmaktadır.

Bütün kişisel bilgileriniz büyük bir dikkatle gizli tutulacaktır. Verilerin değerlendirilmesi ve sunumu katılımcıların kimliğinin belli olmayacağı şekilde yapılacaktır.

Bu bir test değildir, bu sebepten dolayı soruların 'doğru' ya da 'yanlış' cevapları yoktur. Önemli olan sizin kişisel görüşlerinizdir. Lütfen cevaplarınızı samimi bir şekilde veriniz. Bu samimiyet, araştırmanın başarılı olmasını sağlayacaktır.

Lütfen aşağıdaki soruları yazarak cevaplayınız. Eğer ankete ilgili sormak istediğiniz sorularınız olursa, Berat Başer'e berat_baser@yahoo.com email adresinden ulaşabilirsiniz.

Bu ankete katıldığınız ve anketi cevaplamaya vakit ayırdığınız için çok teşekkür ederiz.

Kişisel Bilgiler

Bu bölümde, araştırmamız için çok önemli olan kişisel bilgi sorularını lütfen cevaplayınız. Kimliğinizin gizli tutulacağını lütfen aklınızdan çıkarmayınız.

*1. Uyrduğunuz

*2. Uyrduğunuzdan başka kendinizi herhangi bir etnik gruba ait hissediyor musunuz?

*3. Anadiliniz nedir?

*4. Genel olarak hangi dili konuşmaktasınız?

*5. Başka bir milletten ailenize katılmış olan bir akrabanız var mı?

Hitabet Sekilleri

*6. Doğum yeriniz

*7. Yaşadığınız şehir

*8. Kaç yaşındasınız?

*9. Cinsiyetiniz nedir?

*10. Devam ettiğiniz veya en son bitirdiğiniz okul

- ☐ a. İlkokul ☐ c. Lise ☐ e. Yüksek lisans ve üstü
☐ b. Ortaokul ☐ d. Lisans

1. Bölüm

Anketin bu bölümünde, belirtilen aile üyelerine nasıl hitap ettiğinizi lütfen yazınız.

Örnek: Kızınıza nasıl hitap edersiniz?

'Kızım', 'ismiyle (Arzu)' veya 'Arzucuğum' diye hitap ederim.

Babanızın erkek kardeşine nasıl hitap edersiniz?

'Amca' veya 'amcacığım' diye hitap ederim. Ama birden çok amcam varsa, ve bu amcalar o anda aynı mekandaysalar, kime hitap ettiğimi kesin olarak belirtmek için 'isim+amca' veya 'isim+amcacığım' diye hitap ederim.

11. Annenize nasıl hitap edersiniz?

12. Babanıza nasıl hitap edersiniz?

Hitabet Sekilleri

13. Sizden küçük kız kardeşinize nasıl hitap edersiniz?

14. Sizden büyük kız kardeşinize nasıl hitap edersiniz?

15. Sizden küçük erkek kardeşinize nasıl hitap edersiniz?

16. Sizden büyük erkek kardeşinize nasıl hitap edersiniz?

17. Eşinize nasıl hitap edersiniz?

18. Kızınıza nasıl hitap edersiniz?

19. Oğlunuza nasıl hitap edersiniz?

20. Annenizin annesine nasıl hitap edersiniz?

21. Annenizin babasına nasıl hitap edersiniz?

22. Babanızın annesine nasıl hitap edersiniz?

Hitabet Sekilleri

23. Babanızın babasına nasıl hitap edersiniz?

24. Annenizin kız kardeşine nasıl hitap edersiniz?

25. Annenizin erkek kardeşine nasıl hitap edersiniz?

26. Babanızın kız kardeşine nasıl hitap edersiniz?

27. Babanızın erkek kardeşine nasıl hitap edersiniz?

28. Kız kardeşinizin sizden küçük eşine nasıl hitap edersiniz?

29. Kız kardeşinizin sizden büyük eşine nasıl hitap edersiniz?

30. Erkek kardeşinizin sizden küçük eşine nasıl hitap edersiniz?

31. Erkek kardeşinizin sizden büyük eşine nasıl hitap edersiniz?

32. Eşinizin annesine nasıl hitap edersiniz?

Hitabet Sekilleri

33. Eşinizin babasına nasıl hitap edersiniz?

34. Eşinizin sizden küçük kız kardeşine nasıl hitap edersiniz?

35. Eşinizin sizden büyük kız kardeşine nasıl hitap edersiniz?

36. Eşinizin sizden küçük erkek kardeşine nasıl hitap edersiniz?

37. Eşinizin sizden büyük erkek kardeşine nasıl hitap edersiniz?

38. Sizden küçük kuzeninize nasıl hitap edersiniz?

39. Sizden büyük kuzeninize nasıl hitap edersiniz?

40. Kız yeğeninize nasıl hitap edersiniz?

41. Erkek yeğeninize nasıl hitap edersiniz?

42. Annenizin erkek kardeşinin eşine nasıl hitap edersiniz?

Hitabet Sekilleri

43. Annenizin kız kardeşinin eşine nasıl hitap edersiniz?

44. Babanızın kız kardeşinin eşine nasıl hitap edersiniz?

45. Babanızın erkek kardeşinin eşine nasıl hitap edersiniz?

2. Bölüm

Anketin bu bölümünde aşağıda verilen olası durumlara sizce en uygun cevabı veriniz.

46. Dedeniz, sizden gelecek Salı günü saat 10'da kendisini doktor randevusuna götürmenizi rica etti. Ama aynı gün aynı saatte sizin de dişçi randevunuz var. Dedenize dişçi randevunuz olduğu için, onu doktora götüremeyeceğinizi söylemeniz gerekiyor. Bu durumu dedenize nasıl söylersiniz?

47. Arabanız bozulur ve babanızın arabasını ödünç almaya ihtiyacınız var. Babanıza, birkaç saatliğine arabasını ödünç alıp alamayacağınızı nasıl sorarsınız?

48. Anneniz bu Pazar günü sizinle vakit geçirmek istiyor ve size ne yapmak istediğinizi soruyor. Onun en çok sevdiği restoranta akşam yemeğine gitmeyi önereceksiniz. Bunu ona nasıl söylersiniz?

49. Kız kardeşinizin eşi iş yerinde terfi etti. Bu terfiden dolayı onu nasıl kutlarsınız?

Hitabet Sekilleri

50. Eşinizin halası sizi kendi evine mangala davet etti. Ona geleceğinizi söylemenize rağmen, gitmeyi unuttunuz. Bu davranışınız için, ondan özür dileyiniz.

51. Kız yeğeniniz saçını yeni bir model kestirmiş ve bu modelin ona çok yakıştığını düşünüyorsunuz. Bu düşüncenizi kendisine nasıl söylersiniz?

Lütfen aşağıdaki soruya olabildiğince detaylı cevap vermeye çalışınız.

52. Hangi aile üyelerine sen, hangilerine siz diye hitap edersiniz? Lütfen sebebini açıklayınız.

Katılımınız için çok teşekkürler!

The Translation of the Turkish-language Questionnaire

Address Forms

A comparison of the address forms used in the family between Turks & Am...

English and American Studies Department, University of Vienna

We would like to ask you to help us by answering the following questions concerning address forms used in the family by Turks and Americans. This survey is conducted by the English and American Studies Department at the University of Vienna, in order to better understand the differences in the address forms used in the family by Turks and Americans.

All your personal information will be strictly kept confidential. We will carry out and organize the evaluation and presentation in such a way that any conclusion concerning the identity of the informant will not be possible.

This is not a test so there are no 'right' or 'wrong' answers. We are interested in your personal opinion. Please give your answers sincerely, as only this will assure the success of the investigation.

Please write your answers to the following questions. Please contact Ms. Berat Baser at berat_baser@yahoo.com if any questions arise.

Thank you very much for your help and time!

Personal Information

In this section, please answer the personal information questions which are of great importance for our study. Please keep in mind that your identity will not be revealed.

***1. What is your nationality?**

***2. Do you identify with any other ethnic group in addition to your nationality?**

***3. What is your native language?**

***4. Which language do you normally use?**

Address Forms

***5. Do you have any relatives who are from another country?**

***6. Place of birth**

***7. City where you live**

***8. How old are you?**

***9. What is your sex?**

***10. Which school you are currently studying in or what is the highest level of school you completed?**

- ☐ a. Primary school ☐ c. High School ☐ University (ii) Graduate
☐ b. Secondary school ☐ d. University (i) Undergraduate

Section I

In this section of the questionnaire, please indicate how you would address given family members.

Example: How would you address your daughter?

I would address him as my daughter or FN (Arzu) or Arzucugum.

How would you address your father's brother?

I would address him as uncle or my dear uncle. However if I have more than one uncle and they are in the same place at the time of my speech, I would address him as FN+ uncle or FN+ my dear uncle.

11. How would you address your mother?

Address Forms

12. How would you address your father?

13. How would you address your younger sister?

14. How would you address your older sister?

15. How would you address your younger brother?

16. How would you address your older brother?

17. How would you address your spouse?

18. How would you address your daughter?

19. How would you address your son?

20. How would you address your mother's mother?

21. How would you address your mother's father?

Address Forms

22. How would you address your father's mother?

23. How would you address your father's father?

24. How would you address your mother's sister?

25. How would you address your mother's brother?

26. How would you address your father's sister?

27. How would you address your father's brother?

28. How would you address your sister's spouse who is younger than you?

29. How would you address your sister's spouse who is older than you?

30. How would you address your brother's spouse who is younger than you?

31. How would you address your brother's spouse who is older than you?

Address Forms

32. How would you address your spouse's mother?

33. How would you address your spouse's father?

34. How would you address your spouse's sister who is younger than you?

35. How would you address your spouse's sister who is older than you?

36. How would you address your spouse's brother who is younger than you?

37. How would you address your spouse's brother who is older than you?

38. How would you address your cousin who is younger than you?

39. How would you address your cousin who is older than you?

40. How would you address your niece?

41. How would you address your nephew?

Address Forms

42. How would you address your mother's brother's wife?

43. How would you address your mother's sister's husband?

44. How would you address your father's sister's husband?

45. How would you address your father's brother's wife?

Section II

In this section of the questionnaire, please read the prompts and write your most likely response for each situation.

46. Your grandfather asks you to take him to his doctor's appointment at 10 am next Tuesday. However, you have a dentist's appointment at the same time. You have to tell him that you will not be able to take him since you have a dentist's appointment. How would you tell him this?

47. Your car breaks down and you need to borrow your father's car. How would you ask him whether you can borrow his car for a couple of hours?

48. Your mother wants to spend some time with you this coming Sunday and asks you what you want to do. You are going to suggest her that you go to dinner together at her favorite restaurant. How would you say it to her?

Address Forms

49. Your sister's husband got promoted at work. How would you congratulate him for this promotion?

50. Your spouse's aunt invited you to come over to her house for a barbeque. Even though you said you would attend, you forgot to go. Apologize for your behavior.

51. Your niece got a new haircut and you think it looks great. How would you say this to her?

Section III

Please respond the following question as detailed as possible.

52. Which family members do you address by sen (T form) and which family members do you address by siz (V form)? Please explain why?

Thank you very much for your participation!

The English-language Questionnaire

Address Forms

A comparison of the address forms used in the family between Turks and Amer...

English and American Studies Department, University of Vienna

We would like to ask you to help us by answering the following questions concerning address forms used in the family by Turks and Americans. An address form used in the family is how you address family members. This survey is conducted by the English and American Studies Department at the University of Vienna, in order to better understand the differences in the address forms used in the family by Turks and Americans.

All your personal information will be strictly kept confidential. We will carry out and organize the evaluation and presentation in such a way that any conclusion concerning the identity of the informant will not be possible.

This is not a test so there are no 'right' or 'wrong' answers. We are interested in your personal opinion. Please give your answers sincerely, as only this will assure the success of the investigation.

Please write your answers to the following questions. Please contact Ms. Berat Baser at berat_baser@yahoo.com if any questions arise.

Thank you very much for your help and time!

Personal Information

In this section, please answer the personal information questions which are of great importance for our study while keeping in mind that your identity will not be revealed.

***1. What is your nationality?**

***2. Do you identify with any other ethnic group in addition to your nationality?**

***3. What is your native language?**

***4. Which language do you normally use?**

***5. Do you have any relatives who are from another country?**

Address Forms

***6. Where were you born?**

***7. Where do you live?**

***8. How old are you?**

***9. Are you female or male?**

***10. What is the highest level of school you completed?**

☐ a. Middle school

☐ c. University (i) Undergraduate

☐ b. High school

☐ d. University (ii) Graduate

Section I

In this section of the questionnaire, please indicate how you would address given family members.

Example: How would you address your father's brother?

If he is much older than me, I would address him as Uncle George.

11. How would you address your mother?

12. How would you address your father?

13. How would you address your younger sister?

Address Forms

14. How would you address your older sister?

15. How would you address your younger brother?

16. How would you address your older brother?

17. How would you address your spouse or partner?

18. How would you address your daughter?

19. How would you address your son?

20. How would you address your mother's mother?

21. How would you address your mother's father?

22. How would you address your father's mother?

23. How would you address your father's father?

Address Forms

24. How would you address your mother's sister?

25. How would you address your mother's brother?

26. How would you address your father's sister?

27. How would you address your father's brother?

28. How would you address your sister's spouse who is younger than you?

29. How would you address your sister's spouse who is older than you?

30. How would you address your brother's spouse who is younger than you?

31. How would you address your brother's spouse who is older than you?

32. How would you address your spouse's or partner's mother?

33. How would you address your spouse's or partner's father?

Address Forms

34. How would you address your spouse's or partner's sister who is younger than you?

35. How would you address your spouse's or partner's sister who is older than you?

36. How would you address your spouse's or partner's brother who is younger than you?

37. How would you address your spouse's or partner's brother who is older than you?

38. How would you address your cousin who is younger than you?

39. How would you address your cousin who is older than you?

40. How would you address your niece?

41. How would you address your nephew?

42. How would you address your mother's brother's wife?

43. How would you address your mother's sister's husband?

Address Forms

44. How would you address your father's sister's husband?

45. How would you address your father's brother's wife?

Section II

In this section of the questionnaire, please read the prompts and write your most likely response for each situation.

46. Your grandfather asks you to take him to his doctor's appointment at 10 am next Tuesday. However, you have a dentist's appointment at the same time. Tell him that you will not be able to take him since you have a dentist's appointment.

47. Your car breaks down and you need to borrow your father's car. Ask him if you can borrow his car for a couple of hours.

48. Your mother wants to spend some time with you this coming Sunday and asks you what you want to do. Suggest that you go to dinner together at her favorite restaurant.

49. Your sister's husband got promoted at work. Congratulate him.

50. Your spouse's/ partner's aunt invited you to come over to her house for a barbeque. Even though you said you would attend, you forgot to go. Apologize for your behavior.

51. Your niece got a new haircut and you think it looks great. Compliment her.

Address Forms

Thank you very much for your participation!

11.3. APPENDIX 3

The Results of the Turkish-language Questionnaire

Nationality:

Turkish	20
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Belonging to any other ethnic group:

No	20
----	----

Native language:

Turkish	20
---------	----

The language normally used:

Turkish	20
---------	----

Relatives from another country:

No	20
----	----

Sex:

Male	7
------	---

Female	13
--------	----

Age:

18	1
----	---

19	1
----	---

21	1
24	1
26	1
27	3
28	6
29	1
30	2
33	1
60	1
73	1

Educational Background:

University Undergraduate	14
University Graduate	6

Birth Place of the Respondents:

Yozgat	4
Ordu	1
Kırıkkale	3
Adana	2
Düzce	1
Bursa	1
Istanbul	1
Kayseri	1
Ordu	1
Ankara	2
Konya	1
Inegöl	1
No city has been identified, but written: Turkey	1

Residence of the Respondents:

Ankara	6
Istanbul	13
Kırıkkale	1

Section I

The raw numbers, and the percentage scored in the questionnaire, for the use of address terms by both men and women, are shown below. The respondents did not respond to some of the questions, and they responded with N/A to some others. N/A has been indicated as the response for both these cases. After the raw numbers and the percentages, the meanings/ explanations of the address terms are provided.

In this section of the questionnaire, please indicate how you would address given family members:

1. Your mother

	Male		Female	
Anne	5	62.5%	11	45.83%
Anneciğim	2	25%	3	12.5%
Annecim	-		3	12.5%
Annik	-		1	4.16%
Annişko	-	2	8.33%	
Annişkocuğum	-		1	4.16%
Bebeğim	-		1	4.16%
Bebitom	-		1	4.16%
Canikom	-	1	4.16%	
Aşkım	1	12.5%	-	-

Anne ‘Mother’

<i>Anneciğim</i>	Mother+ endearment suffix with the 1st person singular possessive suffix
<i>Annecim</i>	Mother+ endearment suffix in spoken Turkish with the 1st person singular possessive suffix'
<i>Annik</i>	Endearment term for mother
<i>Anniško</i>	Endearment term for mother
<i>Annişkocuğum</i>	Endearment term for mother + endearment suffix with the 1st person singular possessive suffix'
<i>Bebeğim</i>	Endearment term
<i>Bebitom</i>	Endearment term
<i>Canikom</i>	Endearment term
<i>Aşkım</i>	Endearment term

2. Your father

	Male		Female	
Baba	7	63.64%	11	57.9%
Babacığım	2	18.18%	4	21.05%
Babacım	1	9.09%	1	5.26%
Babiško	-	-	2	10.52%
Babam	1	9.09%	-	-
N/A	-	-	1	5.26%

<i>Baba</i>	'Father'
<i>Babacığım</i>	Father+ endearment suffix with the 1st person singular possessive suffix'
<i>Babacım</i>	Father+ endearment suffix in spoken Turkish with the 1st person singular possessive suffix'
<i>Babiško</i>	Endearment term for father
<i>Babam</i>	'My Father'

3. Your younger sister

	Male		Female	
FN	3	75%	9	64.29 %

Kız kardeş	-	-	1	7.14%
FN+ciğim	-		1	7.14%
Bacım	1	25%	-	
Canım	-		1	7.14%
Familiarized FN	-		2	14.29

<i>Kız kardeş</i>	'Sister'			
<i>FN+ciğim</i>	FN+ endearment suffix with the 1st person singular possessive suffix'			
Bacım	'My sister'			
Canım	Endearment term			

4. Your older sister

	Male		Female	
Abla	3	42.86%	6	46.15%
Ablacığım	-		1	7.69%
Ablacım	-		1	7.69%
Ablişko	-		1	7.69%
Canımcım	-		1	7.69%
FN	1	14.28%	1	7.69%
N/A	3	42.85%	2	15.38 %

<i>Abla</i>	'Older sister'			
<i>Ablacığım</i>	Older sister+ endearment suffix with the 1st person singular possessive suffix			
<i>Ablacım</i>	Older sister+ endearment suffix in spoken Turkish with the 1st person singular possessive suffix			
<i>Ablişko</i>	Endearment term for older sister			
<i>Canımcım</i>	Endearment term			

5. Your younger brother

	Male		Female	
Erkek kardeş	1	11.11%	-	

FN	3	33.33%	6	60%
Hacı	1	11.11%	-	
FN+ciğim	-		1	10%
Abicim	1	11.11%	-	
Aslanım	1	11.11%	-	
N/A	2	22.22%	3	30%

<i>Erkek kardeş</i>	‘Brother’
<i>FN+ciğim</i>	FN+ endearment suffix with the 1st person singular possessive suffix’
<i>Abicim</i>	Older brother+ endearment suffix in spoken Turkish with the 1st person singular possessive suffix
<i>Aslanım</i>	Endearment term

6. Your older brother

	Male		Female	
Abi	2	28.57%	4	30.76%
Ağbi	-		1	7.69%
Ağabey	1	14.28%	1	7.69%
Abicim	-		1	7.69%
Abiş	-		1	7.69%
Pokemon	-		1	7.69%
N/A	4	57.14%	4	30.77%

<i>Abi</i>	‘Older brother’
<i>Agbi</i>	‘Older brother’
<i>Ağabey</i>	‘Older brother’
<i>Abicim</i>	Older brother+ endearment suffix in spoken Turkish with the 1st person singular possessive suffix
<i>Abiş</i>	Endearment term for older brother
<i>Pokemon</i>	Nickname

7. Your spouse

	Male		Female	
Bey	-	-	1	5%
Kocacığım	-	-	1	5%
Hanım	2	33.33%	-	-
FN	1	16.66%	3	15%
Eşim	-	-	1	5%
Birtanem	-	-	3	15%
Tatlım	-	-	1	5%
Bebeğim	-	-	1	5%
Aşkım	-	-	4	20%
Hayatım	-	-	2	10%
Sevgilim	-	-	1	5%
Kuşum	-	-	1	5%
N/A	4	66.66%	1	5%

<i>Bey</i>	‘Sir’ (An address term used to address one’s husband)
<i>Kocacığım</i>	Husband+ endearment suffix with the 1st person singular possessive suffix
<i>Hanım</i>	‘Lady’ (An address term used to address one’s wife)
<i>Eşim</i>	‘My spouse’
<i>Birtanem</i>	Endearment term

8. Your daughter

	Male		Female	
Kızım	1	11.11%	3	30%
FN	1	11.11%	2	20%
FN+ ciğim	1	-	2	20%
Birtanem	-	-	1	10%
Bebeğim	-	-	1	10%
Fıstık	1	11.11%	-	-
N/A	5	55.55%	1	10%

<i>Kızım</i>	‘My daughter’
<i>FN+ ciğim</i>	FN+ endearment suffix with the 1st person singular possessive suffix
<i>Birtanem</i>	Endearment term
<i>Bebeğim</i>	Endearment term
<i>Fıstık</i>	Endearment term

9. Your son

	Male		Female	
Oğlum	2	22%	3	15%
Oğluşum	-	-	2	10%
FN	1	11%	3	15%
FN+ ciğim	1	11%	2	10%
Annem	-	-	1	5%
Birtanem/ Bitanem	-	-	2	10%
Bebeğim	-	-	1	5%
Koç	1	11%	-	-
Aşkım	-	-	1	5%
N/A	4	44.44%	5	25%

<i>Oğlum</i>	‘My son’
<i>Oğluşum</i>	Endearment term for my son
<i>FN+ ciğim</i>	FN+ endearment suffix with the 1st person singular possessive suffix
<i>Annem</i>	‘My daughter’
<i>Birtanem/ Bitanem</i>	Endearment term
<i>Bebeğim</i>	Endearment term
<i>Koç</i>	Endearment term
<i>Aşkım</i>	Endearment term

10. Your mother’s mother

	Male		Female	
Anneanne	4	80%	7	50%

Annanne	-	-	1	7.14%
Anneanneciğim	1	20%	1	7.14%
Annane	-	-	1	7.14%
Anane	-	-	1	7.14%
Ananecim	-	-	1	7.14%
Anneannik	-	-	1	7.14%
N/A	-	-	1	7.14%

Anneanne	‘Maternal grandmother’
Annanne	‘Maternal grandmother’
Anneanneciğim	‘Maternal grandmother’
Annane	‘Maternal grandmother’
Anane	‘Maternal grandmother’
Ananecim	Maternal grandmother+ endearment suffix in spoken Turkish with the 1st person singular possessive suffix
Anneannik	Endearment term for maternal grandmother

11. Your mother’s father

	Male		Female	
Dede	6	75%	8	61.53%
Dedeciğim	1	12.5%	1	7.69%
Büyükbaba	1	12.5%	3	23.07%
N/A	-	-	1	7.69%

<i>Dede</i>	‘Maternal grandfather’
<i>Dedeciğim</i>	Maternal grandfather+ endearment suffix with the 1st person singular possessive suffix
<i>Büyükbaba</i>	‘Paternal grandfather’

12. Your father’s mother

	Male		Female	
Babaanne	5	62.5%	6	42.86%

Babanne	2	25%	4	28.57%
Babane	-	-	1	7.14%
Babaanneciğim	1	12.5%	1	7.14%
Babannik	-	-	1	7.14%
Hacıanne	-	-	1	7.14%

<i>Babaanne</i>	‘Paternal grandmother’
<i>Babanne</i>	‘Paternal grandmother’
<i>Babane</i>	‘Paternal grandmother’
<i>Babaanneciğim</i>	‘Paternal grandmother+ endearment suffix with the 1st person singular possessive suffix
<i>Babannik</i>	Endearment term for paternal grandmother
<i>Hacıanne</i>	‘Paternal grandmother’ (old fashioned address term)

13. Your father’s father

	Male		Female	
Büyükbaba	3	42.85%	3	23.08%
Dede	1	14.28%	8	61.54%
FN+ Dede	1	14.28%	-	-
Dedeciğim	-	-	1	7.69%
Büyükbabacığim	1	14.28%	-	-
N/A	1	14.28%	1	7.69%

<i>Büyükbaba</i>	‘Paternal grandfather’
<i>Dede</i>	‘Maternal grandfather’
<i>FN+ Dede</i>	FN+ Maternal grandfather
<i>Dedeciğim</i>	Maternal grandfather+ endearment suffix with the 1st person singular possessive suffix
<i>Büyükbabacığim</i>	Paternal grandfather+ endearment suffix with the 1st person singular possessive suffix

14. Your mother's sister

	Male		Female	
Teyze	7	87.5%	11	64.70%
Teyzeciğim	1	12.5%	1	5.88%
Teyzecim	-	-	1	5.88%
Teyziško	-	-	1	5.88%
Teyzoş	-	-	2	11.76%
N/A	-	-	1	5.88%

<i>Teyze</i>	‘Maternal aunt’			
<i>Teyzeciğim</i>	Maternal aunt+ endearment suffix with the 1st person singular possessive suffix			
<i>Teyzecim</i>	Maternal aunt+ endearment suffix in spoken Turkish with the 1st person singular possessive suffix			
<i>Teyziško</i>	Endearment term of maternal aunt			
<i>Teyzoş</i>	Endearment term of maternal aunt			

15. Your mother's brother

	Male		Female	
Dayı	5	62.5%	10	66.66%
Dayıcığım	1	12.5%	1	6.66%
Dayıcım	-	-	3	20
N/A	2	25%	1	6.66%

<i>Dayı</i>	‘Maternal uncle’			
<i>Dayıcığım</i>	Maternal uncle+ endearment suffix with the 1st person singular possessive suffix			
<i>Dayıcım</i>	Maternal uncle+ endearment suffix in spoken Turkish with the 1st person singular possessive suffix			

16. Your father's sister

Male	Female
------	--------

Hala	5	62.5%	11	68.75%
Halacığım	1	12.5%	2	12.5%
Halacım	-	-	2	12.5%
Haloş	-	-	1	6.25%
N/A	2	25%	-	-

<i>Hala</i>	‘Paternal aunt’
<i>Halacığım</i>	Paternal aunt+ endearment suffix with the 1st person singular possessive suffix
<i>Halacım</i>	Paternal aunt+ endearment suffix in spoken Turkish with the 1st person singular possessive suffix
<i>Haloş</i>	Endearment term for paternal aunt

17. Your father’s brother

	Male		Female	
Amca	7	70%	12	92.30%
Emmi	2	20%	-	-
Amcacığım	1	10%	1	7.69%

<i>Amca</i>	‘Paternal uncle’
<i>Emmi</i>	‘Paternal uncle’
<i>Amcacığım</i>	Paternal uncle+ endearment suffix with the 1st person singular possessive suffix

18. Your sister’s spouse who is younger than you

	Male		Female	
FN	2	28.5%	9	69%
Damat	-	-	1	7.69%
Enişte	1	14%	-	-
N/A	4	57%	3	23%

<i>Damat</i>	‘Son-in-law’
<i>Enişte</i>	‘Sister’s or aunt’s husband’

19. Your sister's spouse who is older than you

	Male		Female	
Enişte	2	25%	3	21.42%
FN+ Enişte	1	12.5%	-	-
Abi	1	12.5%	2	14%
FN+ Abi	-	-	3	21.42%
FN+ Abiciğim	-	-	1	7.14%
N/A	4	50%	5	35.71%

<i>Enişte</i>	‘Sister’s or aunt’s husband’
FN+ Enişte	FN+ sister’s or aunt’s husband
Abi	Older brother
FN+ Abi	FN+ Older brother
FN+ Abiciğim	FN+ Older brother+ endearment suffix with the 1st person singular possessive suffix

20. Your brother's spouse who is younger than you

	Male		Female	
FN	3	42.85%	7	53.84%
Gelin	-	-	1	7.69%
N/A	4	57.14%	5	38.46%

<i>Gelin</i>	‘Daughter-in-law’ used for the wife of a son or brother.
--------------	--

21. Your brother's spouse who is older than you

	Male		Female	
Yenge	2	33.33%	3	21.42%
FN+ abla	-	-	3	21.42%
FN+ ablacığım	-	-	1	7.14%
Ablacığım	-	-	1	7.14%
Abla	-	-	4	28.57%

N/A	4	66.66%	2	14.28%
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Yenge	‘Sister-in-Law‘ used for the wife of a relative
FN+ abla	FN+ older sister
FN+ ablacığım	FN+ older sister+ endearment suffix with the 1st person singular possessive suffix
Ablacığım	Older sister+ endearment suffix with the 1st person singular possessive suffix
Abla	‘Older sister’

22. Your spouse’s mother

	Male		Female	
Anne	3	37.5%	10	71.42%
Kayınvalide	-	-	1	7.14%
FN+Anne	1	12.5%	1	7.14%
Anneciğim	-	0	2	14.28%
N/A	4	50%	-	

<i>Anne</i>	‘Mother’
<i>Kayınvalide</i>	‘Mother-in-law’
<i>FN+Anne</i>	FN+ mother
<i>Anneciğim</i>	Mother+ endearment suffix with the 1st person singular possessive suffix

23. Your spouse’s father

	Male		Female	
Kayınpeder	-	-	1	6.25%
Baba	3	37.5%	11	68.75%
FN+ Baba	1	12.5%	1	6.25%
Babacığım	-	-	3	18.75%
N/A	4	50%	-	-

<i>Kayınpeder</i>	‘Father-in-law’
<i>Baba</i>	Father
<i>FN+ Baba</i>	FN+ father
<i>Babacığım</i>	Father+ endearment suffix with the 1st person singular possessive suffix

24. Your spouse’s sister who is younger than you

	Male		Female	
Görümce	-	-	1	6.66%
Baldız	2	22.22%	-	-
FN	3	33.33%	9	60%
Canım	-	-	1	6.66%
Tatlım	-	-	1	6.66%
N/A	4	44.44%	3	20%

<i>Görümce</i>	‘Sister-in-law’ used for the sister of the husband’
<i>Baldız</i>	‘Sister-in-law’ used for the wife’s sister who is younger than the addresser
<i>Canım</i>	Endearment term
<i>Tatlım</i>	Endearment term

25. Your spouse’s sister who is older than you

	Male		Female	
Görümce	-	-	1	7.14%
Abla	3	33.33%	7	50%
FN+ Abla	1	11.11%	5	35.71%
FN+ Ablacığım	-	-	1	7.14%
Baldız	1	11.11%	-	-
N/A	4	44.44%	-	-

<i>Görümce</i>	‘Sister-in-law’ used for the sister of the husband’
----------------	---

<i>Abla</i>	‘Older sister’
<i>FN+ Abla</i>	FN+ older sister
<i>FN+ Ablacığım</i>	FN+ older sister + endearment suffix with the 1st person singular possessive suffix
<i>Baldız</i>	‘Sister-in-law’ used for the wife’s sister who is younger than the addresser

26. Your spouse’s brother who is younger than you

	Male		Female	
Kayınço	1	10%	-	-
Kayınbirader	1	10%	1	7.69%
Birader	1	10%	-	-
FN	3	30%	8	61.53%
N/A	4	40%	4	30.76%

<i>Kayınço</i>	Endearment term for the spouse’s brother
<i>Kayınbirader</i>	‘Brother-in-law’ used for the spouse’s brother
<i>Birader</i>	Brother

27. Your spouse’s brother who is older than you

	Male		Female	
Kayınbirader	-	-	1	7.69%
Kayınço	1	12.5%	-	-
Ağabey	1	12.5%	1	7.69%
Ağbi	2	25%	4	30.76%
FN+ Abi	-	-	3	23.07%
FN+ Abiciğim	-	-	1	7.69%
N/A	4	50%	3	23.07%

<i>Kayınço</i>	Endearment term for the spouse’s brother
<i>Kayınbirader</i>	‘Brother-in-law’ used for the spouse’s brother

<i>Ağabey</i>	Older brother
<i>Ağbi</i>	Older brother
<i>FN+ Abi</i>	FN+ older brother
<i>FN+ Abiciğim</i>	FN+ older brother + endearment suffix with the 1st person singular possessive suffix

28. Your cousin who is younger than you

	Male		Female	
Kuzen	-	-	1	7.14%
Emmoğlu	1	11.11%	-	-
Amcaoğlu	1	11.11%	-	-
Emmi kızı	1	11.11%	-	-
FN	5	55.55%	11	78.57%
FN+ ciğim	1	11.11%	1	7.14%
Canım	-	-	1	7.14%

<i>Kuzen</i>	‘Cousin’
<i>Emmoğlu</i>	‘Son of the uncle’
<i>Amcaoğlu</i>	‘Son of the uncle’
<i>Emmi kızı</i>	‘Daughter of the uncle’
<i>FN+ ciğim</i>	FN+ endearment suffix with the 1st person singular possessive suffix
<i>Canım</i>	Endearment term

29. Your cousin who is older than you

	Male		Female	
Kuzen	-	-	1	9.09%
FN+ Abla/ Ağabey	1	16.66%	-	-
Abla/ Ağbi	3	50%	3	27.27%
FN+ Abla/ Ağbi	-	-	7	63.63%
N/A	2	33.33%	-	-

<i>Kuzen</i>	‘Cousin’
<i>FN+ Abla/ Ağabey</i>	FN+ older sister/ older brother
<i>Abila/ Ağbi</i>	Older sister/ older brother
<i>FN+ Abila/ Ağbi</i>	FN+ older sister/ older brother

30. Your niece

	Male		Female	
Yeğen	-	-	1	6.66%
FN	4	50%	7	46.66%
FN+oş	-	-	1	6.66%
FN+ ciğim	1	12.5%	1	6.66%
Halacım	-	-	1	6.66%
Endearment terms	-	-	3	20%
N/A	3	37.5%	1	6.66%

<i>Yeğen</i>	Nephew/ Niece
<i>FN+oş</i>	Familiarized FN
<i>FN+ ciğim</i>	FN+ endearment suffix with the 1st person singular possessive suffix
<i>Halacım</i>	Aunt+ endearment suffix in spoken Turkish with the 1st person singular possessive suffix

31. Your nephew

	Male		Female	
Yeğen	1	12.5%	1	6.25%
FN	3	37.5%	7	43.75%
FN+ ciğim	1	12.5%	1	6.25%
Endearment terms	-	-	3	18.75%
N/A	3	37.5%	4	25%

<i>Yeğen</i>	Nephew/ Niece
<i>FN+ ciğim</i>	FN+ endearment suffix with the 1st person singular possessive suffix

32. Your mother's brother's wife

	Male		Female	
Yenge	3	37.5%	10	66.66%
Yengeciğim	-	-	1	6.66%
FN+ Yenge	3	37.5%	1	6.66%
FN+ Yengeciğim	-	-	1	6.66%
N/A	2	25%	2	13.33%

<i>Yenge</i>	‘Sister-in-Law’ used for the wife of a relative
<i>Yengeciğim</i>	‘Sister-in-Law’ used for the wife of a relative+ endearment suffix with the 1st person singular possessive suffix
<i>FN+ Yenge</i>	FN+ ‘Sister-in-Law’ used for the wife of a relative
<i>FN+ Yengeciğim</i>	FN+ ‘Sister-in-Law’ used for the wife of a relative + endearment suffix with the 1st person singular possessive suffix

33. Your mother's sister's husband

	Male		Female	
Enişte	5	71.42%	9	60%
FN+ Enişte	1	14.28%	3	20%
FN+ Amca	-	-	2	13.33%
N/A	1	14.28%	1	6.66%

<i>Enişte</i>	‘Sister’s or aunt’s husband’
<i>FN+ Enişte</i>	FN+ sister’s or aunt’s husband
<i>FN+ Amca</i>	FN+ Uncle

34. Your father's sister's husband

Male	Female
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Enişte	5	62.5%	10	76.92%
FN+ Enişte	1	12.5%	1	7.69%
FN+ Amca	-	-	2	15.38%
N/A	2	25%	-	-

<i>Enişte</i>	‘Sister’s or aunt’s husband’
<i>FN+ Enişte</i>	FN+ sister’s or aunt’s husband
<i>FN+ Amca</i>	FN+ Uncle

35. Your father’s brother’s wife

	Male		Female	
Yenge	7	100%	12	70.58%
Yengeciğim	-	-	1	5.88%
FN+ Yenge	-	-	1	5.88%
FN+ Anne	-	-	1	5.88%
Yengem	-	-	1	5.88%
Endearment term	-	-	1	5.88%

<i>Yenge</i>	‘Sister-in-Law’ used for the wife of a relative
<i>Yengeciğim</i>	‘Sister-in-Law’ used for the wife of a relative+ endearment suffix with the 1st person singular possessive suffix
<i>FN+ Yenge</i>	FN+ ‘Sister-in-Law’ used for the wife of a relative
<i>FN+ Anne</i>	FN+ Mother
Yengem	‘Sister-in-Law’ used for the wife of a relative+ the 1st person singular possessive suffix

Section II

In this section of the questionnaire, there are two parts in the data analysis for each question. The first part shows the raw numbers and the percentage scored for how men and women used pronouns of address.

The second part illustrates the raw numbers and the percentage scored for how men and women used address terms.

After each section, the meanings/ explanations of the address pronouns and the address terms are provided.

The respondents did not respond to some of the questions, and they responded as ‘N/A’ for some others. These cases were indicated as *N/A*. The cases in which the responses were given without any indication of an address pronoun are coded as *Indirect*. The cases in which the respondents reported that they would not perform the desired speech acts for one reason or another are indicated as *Opt out*. In some of the cases, no address terms were used; these cases are coded as *No address term*.

Please read the prompts and write most likely response for each situation.

1. Your grandfather asks you to take him to his doctor’s appointment at 10 am next Tuesday. However, you have a dentist’s appointment at the same time. Tell him that you will not be able to take him since you have a dentist’s appointment.

Frequency of occurrence of a pronoun of address while directing the question to the addressee.

	Male		Female	
Sen	-	-	8	61.53%
Siz	1	14.28%	-	-
Indirect	1	14.28%	-	-
Opt out	5	71.42%	1	7.69%
N/A	-	-	4	30.76%

Sen ‘you’ (T form)

Siz ‘you’ (V form)

Frequency of occurrence of a specific address term while directing the question to the addressee.

	Male		Female	
Dede	-	-	4	30.76%
Dedeciğim	1	14.28%	2	15.38%

Dedecim	-	-	2	15.38%
No address term	1	14.28%	-	-
Opt out	5	71.42%	1	7.69%
N/A	-	-	4	30.76%

<i>Dede</i>	‘Maternal grandfather’
<i>Dedeciğim</i>	Maternal grandfather+ endearment suffix with the 1st person singular possessive suffix
<i>Dedecim</i>	Maternal grandfather+ endearment suffix in spoken Turkish with the 1st person singular possessive suffix’

2. Your car breaks down and you need to borrow your father’s car. Ask him if you can borrow his car for a couple of hours.

Frequency of occurrence of a pronoun of address while directing the question to the addressee.

	Male		Female	
Sen	4	57.14%	8	61.53%
Siz	1	14.28%	2	15.38%
Indirect	-	-	-	-
Opt out	2	28.57%	-	-
N/A	-	-	3	23.07%

<i>Sen</i>	‘you’ (T form)
<i>Siz</i>	‘you’ (V form)

Frequency of occurrence of a specific address term while directing the question to the addressee.

	Male		Female	
Baba	2	28.57%	3	23.07%
Babacığim	1	14.28%	4	30.76%
Babacım	-	-	2	15.38%

Babişko	-	-	1	7.69%
No address term	2	28.57%	-	-
Opt out	2	28.57%	-	-
N/A	-	-	3	23.07%

Baba 'Father'

Babacığım Father+ endearment suffix with the 1st person singular possessive suffix'

Babacım Father+ endearment suffix in spoken Turkish with the 1st person singular possessive suffix'

3. Your mother wants to spend some time with you this coming Sunday and asks you what you want to do. Suggest that you go to dinner together at her favorite restaurant.

Frequency of occurrence of a pronoun of address while directing the question to the addressee.

	Male		Female	
Sen	3	42.85%	8	61.53%
Siz	1	14.28%	-	-
Indirect	2	28.57%	2	15.38%
Opt out	1	14.28%	-	-
N/A	-	-	3	23.07%

Sen 'you' (T form)

Siz 'you' (V form)

Frequency of occurrence of a specific address term while directing the question to the addressee.

	Male		Female	
Anne	-	-	2	15.38%
Anneciğim	1	14.28%	3	23.07%
Annem	-	-	1	7.69%
Canım benim	1	14.28%	-	-

No address term	4	57.14%	4	30.76%
Opt out	1	14.28%	-	-
N/A	-	-	3	23.07%

<i>Anne</i>	‘Mother’
<i>Anneciğim</i>	Mother+ endearment suffix with the 1st person singular possessive suffix
<i>Annem</i>	Mother+ 1st person singular possessive suffix’
Canım benim	Endearment term

4. Your sister’s husband got promoted at work. Congratulate him.

Frequency of occurrence of a pronoun of address while directing the question to the addressee.

	Male		Female	
Sen	-	-	6	46.13%
Siz	1	14.28%	1	7.69%
Indirect	3	42.85%	3	23.07%
Opt out	1	14.28%	-	-
N/A	2	28.57%	3	23.07%

<i>Sen</i>	‘you’ (T form)
<i>Siz</i>	‘you’ (V form)

Frequency of occurrence of a specific address term while directing the question to the addressee.

	Male		Female	
Enişteciğim	-	-	-	-
Abiciğim	-	-	1	7.69%
FN+ ciğim	-	-	2	15.38%
No address term	4	57.14%	7	53.4%
Opt out	1	14.28%	-	-

N/A	2	28.57%	3	23.07%
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<i>Enişteciğim</i>	‘Sister’s or aunt’s husband’ + endearment suffix with the 1st person singular possessive suffix
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<i>Abiciğim</i>	Older brother+ endearment suffix with the 1st person singular possessive suffix
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<i>FN+ ciğim</i>	FN+ endearment suffix with the 1st person singular possessive suffix
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5. Your spouse’s aunt invited you to come over to her house for a barbeque. Even though you said you would attend, you forgot to go. Apologize for your behavior.

Frequency of occurrence of a pronoun of address while directing the question to the addressee.

	Male		Female	
Sen	-	-	5	38.46%
Siz	2	28.57%	5	38.46%
Indirect	3	42.85%	1	7.69%
Opt out	-	-	-	-
N/A	2	28.57%	2	15.38%

<i>Sen</i>	‘you’ (T form)
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<i>Siz</i>	‘you’ (V form)
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Frequency of occurrence of a specific address term while directing the question to the addressee.

	Male		Female	
Halacığım	3	42.85%	4	30.76%
Hala	-	-	3	23.07%
No address term	2	28.57%	4	30.76%
Opt out	-	-	-	-
N/A	2	28.57%	2	15.38%

<i>Halacığım</i>	Paternal aunt+ endearment suffix with the 1st person singular possessive suffix
<i>Hala</i>	‘Paternal aunt’

6. Your niece got a new haircut and you think it looks great. Compliment her.

Frequency of occurrence of a pronoun of address while directing the question to the addressee.

	Male		Female	
Sen	3	42.85%	10	76.92%
Siz	-	-	-	-
Indirect	1	14.28%	-	-
Opt out	1	14.28%	-	-
N/A	2	28.57%	3	23.07%

<i>Sen</i>	‘you’ (T form)
<i>Siz</i>	‘you’ (V form)

Frequency of occurrence of a specific address term while directing the question to the addressee.

	Male		Female	
Endearment term	-	-	4	30.76%
Kız	-	-	2	15.38%
Sevgili yeğenim	1	14.28%	-	-
No address term	3	42.85%	4	30.76%
Opt out	1	14.28%	-	-
N/A	2	28.57%	3	23.07%

<i>Kız</i>	‘Girl’
<i>Sevgili yeğenim</i>	‘My dear nephew/niece’

Section III

Which family members do you address by *sen*; which family members do you address by *siz*? Please explain.

The raw numbers scored in the questionnaire are shown below.

Sen	Male	Number	Female	Number
	All family members	2	Younger	2
	Younger	1	All consanguineals	2
	The ones with whom one often meets	1	Very close members (mother, father, siblings and cousins)	1
	Close family members	1	All consanguineals with whom one often meets	1
	All consanguineals	1	Intimate family members	1
			All family members whom one knows well	1
			Intimate in-laws (spouse's kin)	1
			Close family members	1
			All family members	1
Siz	Older family members	1	Distant family members	3
	Older family members with whom one has a formal relationship	1	Older family members	2
	The ones with whom one does not often meet	1	Parents of one's spouse at the beginning of acquaintance	2
	In- laws (spouse's kins)	1	Those to whom ego is in-law (kinsmen's spouse)	2
	Distant family members	1	In-laws (spouse's kin) at the beginning of the acquaintance	1
	Younger family members with higher status	1	In-laws (spouse's kin)	1
		1	In-laws (spouse's kin) except the younger ones	1
			In- laws (spouse's kin) whom one does not closely know	1
			Family members with whom one has a formal relationship	1

REASONS:

	Male	Female
Sen	Love Intimacy	Love Intimacy Affection Closeness Solidarity Familiarity Frequency of contact
Siz	Distance Formality Respect Habit	Distance Formality Respect Habit Politeness

The Results of the English-language Questionnaire

Nationality:

American 20

Belonging to any other ethnic group:

No 20

Native language:

English	20
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The language normally used:

English	20
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Relatives from another country:

No	20
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Sex:

Male	6
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Female	14
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Age:

20	1
21	1
22	1
24	1
25	1
29	2
31	1
33	1
34	1
35	2
36	1
40	1
43	1
50	1

60	1
62	1
Between 45 and 65	1
70	1

Educational Background:

High School	3
University Undergraduate	6
University Graduate	11

Birth Place of the Respondents:

No city/state has been identified, but written: USA	6
Elmira, New York	1
Florida	1
Hartsville, South Carolina	1
Illinois	1
Maryland	1
New York	4
Ohio	1
Olney, Illinois	1
Salt Lake City, Utah	1
San Diego, California	1
Stillwater, MN	1

Residence of the Respondents:

Coventry, Connecticut	1
Cambridge, MA	1
Georgia	1

London	1
Myrtle Beach, South Carolina	2
New York	1
North Carolina	1
South Carolina	2
Tyrone, Georgia	1
UK	1
Vienna, Austria	2
Pennsylvania	1
No city/state has been identified, but written: USA	2

Section I

The raw numbers, and the percentage scored in the questionnaire for how men and women used address terms are shown below. The respondents did not respond to some of the questions, and in some they responded as N/A. Both these cases are indicated as N/A. In some of the cases, no address terms were used; these cases are coded as *No address term*.

In this section of the questionnaire, please indicate how you would indicate given family members:

1. Your mother

	Male		Female	
Mom	5	83.33%	14	77.77%
Mother	1	16.66%	2	11.11%
Mama	-	-	1	5.55%
Ma	-	-	1	5.55%

2. Your father

	Male		Female	
Dad	5	83.33%	12	85.71%
No address term	1	16.66%	-	-

Papa	-	-	1	7.14%
N/A	-	-	1	7.14%

3. Younger sister

	Male		Female	
FN	6	75%	8	53.33%
Nick name	1	25%	1	6.66%
Sis	1	25%	2	13.3%
N/A	-	-	4	26.66%

4. Older sister

	Male		Female	
FN	6	85.71%	8	50%
Sis	-	-	2	12.5%
Nickname	1	14.28%	1	6.25%
N/A	-	-	5	31.25%

5. Younger brother

	Male		Female	
FN	4	57.14%	6	42.85%
Nickname	1	14.28%	2	14.28%
Shortened FN	1	14.28%	-	-
FN with the pet suffix -y	1	14.28%	-	-
N/A	-	-	6	42.85%

6. Older brother

	Male		Female	
FN	6	85.71%	7	43.75%
Nickname	1	14.25%	1	6.25%
Bro	-	-	1	6.25%
Shortened FN	-	-	1	6.25%

N/A	-	-	6	37.5%
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7. Spouse or partner

	Male		Female	
FN	5	55.55%	7	38.88%
Nickname	1	11.11%	1	5.55%
Endearment term	2	22.22%	5	27.77%
Shortened FN	1	11.11%	-	-
N/A	-	-	5	27.77%

8. Your daughter

	Male		Female	
FN	6	75%	5	31.25%
Endearment term	1	12.5%	1	6.25%
Nickname	1	12.5%	1	6.25%
N/A	-	-	9	56.25%

9. Your son

	Male		Female	
FN	6	75%	5	31.25%
Nickname	2	25%	2	12.5%
Endearment term	-	-	1	6.25%
N/A	-	-	8	50%

10. Your mother's mother

	Male		Female	
Granny	-	-	2	18.18%
Grandma	4	66.66%	1	9.09%
Grandma+ LN	-	-	2	18.18%
Gramma	-	-	1	9.09%

Gram	-	-	1	9.09%
Grandmother	1	16.66%	-	-
FN	1	16.66%	-	-
Mom-Mom	-	-	1	9.09%
Nana	-	-	1	9.09%
Mimi	-	-	1	9.09%
Mee-Mama	-	-	1	9.09%

11. Your mother's father

	Male		Female	
Grandpa	2	40%	7	46.66%
Grandpa+LN	-	-	1	6.66%
Papa	1	20%	-	-
Poppa	-	-	1	6.66%
Grandy	-	-	1	6.66%
Pop-pop	-	-	1	6.66%
Poppa	-	-	1	6.66%
Dee-Daddy	-	-	1	6.66%
Old Man	-	-	1	6.66%
Granddad	1	20%	-	-
N/A	1	20%	1	6.66%

12. Your father's mother

	Male		Female	
Grandma	4	80%	8	50%
Grandmother	-	-	1	6.25%
Mom-mom	-	-	1	6.25%
Familiarized FN-	-	-	1	6.25%
Grammie	-	-	1	6.25%
Grandma+ FN	1	20%	-	-
Grandma+ LN	-	-	1	6.25%
Gram	-	-	1	6.25%

N/A	-	-	2	12.5
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13. Your father's father

	Male		Female	
Granddad	1	16.66%	1	7.14%
Grandpa	3	60%	7	50%
Grandpa+ FN	1	16.66%	-	-
Grandfather	1	16.66%	-	-
Pop-pop	-	-	1	7.14%
Granddaddy	-	-	1	7.14%
Granddaddy+ FN-	-	1	7.14%	
Grandpa+ LN	-	-	1	7.14%
N/A	-	-	2	14.28%

14. Your mother's sister

	Male		Female	
Aunt	1	16.66%	4	26.66%
Auntie	-	-	1	6.66%
Aunt+ FN	2	33.33%	9	60%
FN	2	33.33%	-	-
N/A	1	16.66%	1	6.66%

15. Your mother's brother

	Male		Female	
Uncle	2	33.33%	3	20%
Unc	-	-	1	6.66%
Uncle+ FN	2	33.33%	9	60%
FN	2	33.33%	-	-
N/A	-	-	1	6.66%

16. Your father's sister

	Male		Female	
Aunt	1	14.28%	4	21.05%

Auntie	-	-	1	5.26%
Aunt+ FN	4	57.14%	5	26.31%
FN	1	14.28%	5	26.31%
N/A	1	14.28%	4	21.05%

17. Your father's brother

	Male		Female	
Uncle	1	16.66%	4	28.57%
Unc	-	-	1	7.14%
Uncle+ FN	4	66.66%	7	50%
FN	1	16.66%	-	-
N/A	-	-	2	14.28%

18. Your sister's spouse who is younger than you

	Male		Female	
FN	5	71.42%	9	64.28%
Nickname	1	14.28%	-	-
Familiarized FN1	14.28%	-	-	-
N/A	-	-	5	35.71%

19. Your sister's spouse who is older than you

	Male		Female	
FN	5	71.42%	9	60%
Nickname	1	14.28%	-	-
Bro	-	-	1	6.66%
N/A	1	14.28%	5	33.33%

20. Your brother's spouse who is younger than you

	Male		Female	
FN	4	66.66%	9	60%
Sis	-	-	1	6.66%
Nickname	1	16.66%	-	-
Familiarized FN1	16.66%	-	-	-

N/A	-	-	5	33.33%
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21. Your brother's spouse who is older than you

	Male		Female	
FN	4	57.14%	9	60%
Sis	-	-	1	6.66%
Nickname	1	14.28%	-	-
Familiarized FN1	14.28%	-	-	
N/A	1	14.28%	5	33.33%

22. Your spouse's or partner's mother

	Male		Female	
FN	4	66.66%	8	53.33%
Nana	1	16.66%	-	-
Mom	1	16.66%	3	20%
Mrs. LN	-	-	1	6.66%
N/A	-	-	3	20%

23. Your spouse's or partner's father

	Male		Female	
Dad	1	16.66%	1	8.33%
Papa	1	16.66%	-	-
FN	4	66.66%	9	75%
Sir	-	-	1	8.33%
Mr+ LN	-	-	1	8.33%

24. Your spouse's or partner's sister who is younger than you

	Male		Female	
FN	5	83.33%	9	60%
Nickname	1	16.66%	-	-
Sis	-	-	1	6.66%
N/A	-	-	5	33.33%

25. You address your spouse's or partner's sister who is older than you

	Male		Female	
FN	6	85.71%	9	60%
Nickname	1	14.28%	-	-
Sis	-	-	1	6.66%
N/A	-	-	5	33.33%

26. Your spouse's or partner's brother who is younger than you

	Male		Female	
FN	6	85.71%	11	73.33%
Bro	-	-	1	6.66%
Nickname	1	14.28%	-	-
N/A	-	-	3	20

27. Your spouse's or partner's brother who is older than you

	Male		Female	
FN	6	85.71%	10	66.66%
Bro	-	-	1	6.66%
Nickname	1	14.28%	-	-
N/A	-	-	4	26.66%

28. Your cousin who is younger than you

	Male		Female	
FN	6	85.71%	11	73.33%
Nickname	1	14.28%	1	6.66%
Cousin	-	-	1	6.66%
Cuz	-	-	2	13.33%

29. Your cousin who is older than you

	Male		Female	
FN	5	55.55%	11	73.33%
Familiarized FN2	22.22%	-	-	-

Nickname	1	11.11%	1	6.66%
Cousin	-	-	1	6.66%
Cousin+ FN	1	11.11%	-	-
Cuz	-	-	2	13.33%

30. Your niece

	Male		Female	
FN	6	75%	9	60%
Nickname	1	12.5%	1	6.66%
Familiarized FN	1	12.5%	-	-
N/A	-	-	5	33.33%

31. Your nephew

	Male		Female	
FN	6	85.71%	9	64.28%
Nickname	1	14.28%	-	-
N/A	-	-	5	35.71%

32. Your mother's brother's wife

	Male		Female	
Aunt	-	-	3	21.42%
Aunt+ FN	3	42.85%	7	50%
FN	2	28.57%	2	14.28%
N/A	2	28.57%	2	14.28%

33. Your mother's sister's husband

	Male		Female	
Uncle	-	-	4	36.36%
Uncle+ FN	2	40%	3	27.27%
FN	2	40%	-	-
N/A	1	20%	4	36.36%

34. Your father's sister's husband

	Male		Female	
Uncle	-	-	4	28.57%
Uncle+ FN	3	50%	5	35.71%
FN	2	33.33%	1	7.14%
N/A	1	16.66%	4	28.57%

35. Your father's brother's wife

	Male		Female	
Aunt	-	-	4	33.33%
Aunt+ FN	3	50%	3	25%
FN	2	33.33%	2	16.66%
N/A	1	16.66%	3	25%

Section II

The raw numbers, and the percentage scored in the questionnaire, for how men and women used address terms are shown below.

The respondents did not respond to some of the questions, and in some they responded as 'N/A'. Both these cases were indicated as *N/A*. The cases in which the respondents reported that they would not perform the desired speech acts for one reason or another are indicated as *Opt out*. In some of the cases no address terms were used; these cases are coded as *No address term*.

Please read the prompts and write most likely response for each situation.

1. Your grandfather asks you to take him to his doctor's appointment at 10 am next Tuesday. However, you have a dentist's appointment at the same time. Tell him that you will not be able to take him since you have a dentist's appointment.

Frequency of occurrence of a specific address term while directing the question to the addressee.

Male	Female
-------------	---------------

Grandad	1	16.66%	1	7.14%
Grandpa	3	50%	5	35.71%
Papa	1	16.66%	-	-
Sir	1	16.66%	-	-
Grampa	-	-	2	14.28%
Pop-pop	-	-	1	7.14%
Grandy	-	-	1	7.14%
Gramps	-	-	1	7.14%
Poppa	-	-	1	7.14%
No address term	-	-	2	14.28%

2. Your car breaks down and you need to borrow your father's car. Ask him if you can borrow his car for a couple of hours.

Frequency of occurrence of a specific address term while directing the question to the addressee.

	Male		Female	
Dad	5	83.33%	13	92.85%
Father	1	16.66%	-	-
Papa	-	-	1	7.14%

3. Your mother wants to spend some time with you this coming Sunday and asks you what you want to do. Suggest that you go to dinner together at her favorite restaurant.

Frequency of occurrence of a specific address term while directing the question to the addressee.

	Male		Female	
Mom	4	66.66%	6	42.85%
Mother	1	16.66%	-	-
No address term	1	16.66%	8	57.14%

4. Your sister's husband got promoted at work. Congratulate him.

Frequency of occurrence of a specific address term while directing the question to the addressee.

	Male		Female	
FN	3	50%	5	35.71%
Familiarized FN with the pet suffix -y	-	-	1	7.14%
Uncle+ FN	-	-	1	7.14%
No address term	2	33.33%	7	50%
Shortened FN	1	16.66%	-	-

5. Your spouse's aunt invited you to come over to her house for a barbeque. Even though you said you would attend, you forgot to go. Apologize for your behavior.

Frequency of occurrence of a specific address term while directing the question to the addressee.

	Male		Female	
Aunt+ FN	3	50%	1	7.14%
Aunty	-	-	1	7.14%
FN	2	33.33%	3	21.42%
No address term	1	16.66%	6	42.85%
Opt out	-	-	2	14.28%
N/A	-	-	1	7.14%

6. Your niece got a new haircut and you think it looks great. Compliment her.

Frequency of occurrence of a specific address term while directing the question to the addressee.

	Male		Female	
FN	2	33.33%	7	50%
Familiarized FN with the pet suffix -y	1	16.66%	2	14.28%

No address term	3	50%	4	28.57%
N/A	-	-	1	7.14%

11.4. Appendix 4: German Summary (Deutsche Zusammenfassung)

Diese Arbeit stellt einen Vergleich Formen der Anrede in türkischen und amerikanischen Familien dar. Darüber hinaus wird versucht Erklärungen zu finden, warum und wodurch Unterschiede auftreten. Jedes Mal, wenn wir miteinander kommunizieren, sind die Formen der Anrede von hoher Wichtigkeit. Sie zeigen an, wie wir zu unseren Gesprächspartnern stehen. Wir können durch die Wahl der Anredeform und des Fürworts der Anrede (falls vorhanden) unsere Einstellung dem Empfänger gegenüber demonstrieren. Die umfassende Untersuchung dieses Themas wird Lehrenden für Englisch als Zweit- bzw. Muttersprache helfen, Schülern, deren Muttersprache Türkisch ist, zu ermöglichen, erfolgreich in der Zielkultur zu kommunizieren. Die detaillierte Untersuchung dieses Themas wird jeden unterstützen, der sich das Ziel gesetzt hat, erfolgreich in jeder dieser Kulturen zu kommunizieren.

Diese Diplomarbeit setzt sich aus zwei Hauptteilen, die jeweils aus einer Reihe von Abschnitten bestehen, zusammen. In Teil 1 wird der theoretische Hintergrund meiner empirischen Studie präsentiert. In Abschnitt 2 werde ich die Formen der Anrede im Detail erörtern.

Weiters werde ich in diesem Abschnitt die grundlegenden Begriffe der Theorie der Anrede, drei Wortarten der Formen der Anrede, gebundene und freie Formen der Anrede sowie das System der Anrede und der umgekehrten Anrede besprechen.

In Abschnitt 3 werde ich eine Reihe von Theorien der Höflichkeit und der Anrede erläutern. Die bekanntesten Theorien werden im Detail besprochen. Diesem Abschnitt folgt eine Behandlung des Englischen Anredesystems (Abschnitt 4).

Unter anderem wird auch die Geschichte der fürwörtlichen und der nominalen Verwendung des englischen Anredesystems erwähnt. Danach werde ich das heutige amerikanische Anredesystem analysieren. In Abschnitt 5 werde ich wiederum das

derzeitige türkische System der Anrede in Bezug auf seine sprachliche, fürwörtliche und nominale Verwendung präsentieren. Dieser schließt Teil 1 ab.

In Teil 2 präsentiere ich meine empirische Studie. In Abschnitt 6 beschreibe ich eine Methode und den Fragebogen inklusive der Ergebnisse im Detail. Dann werden die Ergebnisse der türkischen und amerikanischen Daten verglichen. Danach werde ich die Ergebnisse in Abschnitt 7 analysieren. In Abschnitt 8 folgt eine Diskussion, die auch eine Reihe von für die Ergebnisse möglichen Gründen enthält. Der letzte Abschnitt enthält die Schlussfolgerung.

11.5. Appendix 5: Resume (Lebenslauf)

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EDUCATION

Oct. 2007- March 2012	(MA) Vienna University, Department of English, Applied Linguistics, Vienna, Austria
March 2007-June2007	Vienna University, German Semester Course
2002-2006	(BA) Bogazici University, Foreign Language Education Department, Istanbul, Turkey (major)
2002-2006	(BA) Bogazici University, Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences, American Studies, Istanbul, Turkey (minor)
June 2005-July 2005	State University of New York at Binghamton, English Department, Binghamton, NY, USA
Jan. 2005-June2005	State University of New York at Binghamton, American Studies Department, Binghamton, NY, USA

EXPERIENCE

Sep. 2008- March 2011	Media Analyst/Researcher, American Embassy, Vienna, Austria
Aug. 2007- Aug.2008	Leader of English Team at an international kindergarten, United Children, Vienna, Austria
Oct. 2006-July 2007	Teaching English as an English Language Assistant of the European Union Socrates Comenius Program at a high school, HTL Donaustadt, Vienna, Austria
Oct. 2006-July 2007	Teaching Turkish and Turkish Culture to the colleagues, HTL Donaustadt, Vienna, Austria
July 2006-Sep.2006	Teaching English to high school students and adults at a private institution, GOKDIL, Istanbul, Turkey
June 2006- Aug. 2006	English Instructor, Bilkent University School of English Language, Ankara, Turkey
March 2006-Sep.2006	Teaching English to high school students and adults at a private institution Ihlas Language School, Bakirkoy, Istanbul, Turkey

Jan.2006-June2006	Turkish tutoring to an English adult
Oct.2005-June 2006	Teacher Trainee at Kultur Primary School, Istanbul, Turkey
Oct.2005-June 2006	Teacher Trainee at Etiler High School, Istanbul, Turkey
Oct 2005- Dec 2005	Volunteer tutoring to a six-year old child in Improving the Education of Bogazici University Staffs' Children Project by Education and Research Club
Sep. 2005- June 2006	Working as a Conference Interpreter at conferences on different subjects such as European Union, intercultural relations, finance and cinema, Bogazici University, Istanbul, Turkey
May 2005- July 2005	City Clerk's Office at Binghamton City Hall, New York, USA
March 2005-May 2005	Cooking Turkish Food, State University of New York at Binghamton, Co-up Food Court, Binghamton, NY, USA
Dec 2003- May 2004	Volunteer tutoring to an eight-year old child in 'Improving the Education of Bogazici University Staffs' Children Project' by Education and Research Club
2003-2004	Volunteer part-time English Teacher, Bogazici University Early Childhood Education Center
2002-2005	English tutoring to both adult and young learners
June 2002	Member of a research team: "The Value of Children" conducted by Çiğdem Kağıtçıbaşı

CERTIFICATES & AWARDS

July 2006	Individual Training Grant by European Union which enables me to teach English as a Comenius Language Assistant at a college-like high school, HTL Donaustadt, Vienna, Austria
June 2006	American Studies Certificate which is equivalent of a minor degree from Bogazici University
Dec.2005 tutoring	Certificate of Appreciation for volunteer English to the children of Bogazici University's staff, Education and Research Club, Bogazici University
May 2005	Certificate of Achievement, International Students and Scholar Services, State University of New York, Binghamton, NY
Dec.2004	Exchange Student Scholarship which enables me to study at State University of New York at Binghamton for eight months
May 2004	Certificate of Appreciation for volunteer English tutoring to the children of Bogazici University's staff, Education and Research Club, Bogazici University
May 2004	Total Quality Management in Education Certificate, Quality Schools, Istanbul

October 2002	Certificate of Research: "The Value of Children" conducted by Çiğdem Kağıtçıbaşı.
March 2002	Model Plane Certificate, Bogazici University Aviation Club
June 2001	Honor of being No.60 in Turkey in University Entrance Exam
May 1997	Honor of being No.2 in Turkey in a poem competition on 'Southeast Anatolia Project'

ACTIVITIES

2002-2005	Bogazici University, American Studies Certificate Program
2002-2005	Bogazici University Education and Research Club, Coordinator, Istanbul, Turkey
2001-2005	Bogazici University Aviation Club, Active Member, Istanbul, Turkey
2002-2005	Bogazici University Foreign Language Education Department Drama Team, Active Member, Istanbul, Turkey

LANGUAGES

Turkish	Native
English	Fluent
German	Fluent
Latin	Working-knowledge

COMPUTER SKILLS

MS Office (Word, Excel, Power Point, Access), HTML, Macromedia MX, Dream Weaver, Publisher.

PERSONAL INTERESTS

Intercultural communication, bilingual schools, film adaptations, gastronomy, pilates, jogging, traveling.

Vienna, 6 February 2012