TERMS OF ADDRESS IN BATAK KARO LANGUAGE

Jon Piter Situmorang¹, Novalina Sembiring², Bonar Gurning³
[1,2,3]Universitas Katolik Santo Thomas Medan
Email: [1]jonpsitumorang61@gmail.com, [2]novalina15@yahoo.com, [3]bonargurning02@gmail.com

ABSTRAK

Bentuk-bentuk sapaan berkaitan dengan hubungan interpersonal yang ada antara penutur dan lawan bicaranya. Dalam masyarakat Batak Karo, penggunaan kata sapaan yang tepat merupakan salah satu kunci sukses dalam memulai percakapan. Penelitian ini dimaksudkan untuk menemukan jenis-jenis variasi kata sapaan dan kaitannya dalam penggunaannya untuk menemukan pola pembentukan kata sapaan dalam masyarakat Batak Karo. Penelitian ini berkaitan dengan fenomena sosial, oleh karena itu metode penelitian qualitative diterapkan untuk menemukan variasi kata sapaan dalam Batak Karo, factor-faktor sosial yang mempengaruhinya, fungsi dari kata sapaan tersebut dan aturan maupun pola yang dipakai dalam kata sapaan. Data dikumpulkan melalui wawancara. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa hubungan kekerabatan dalam Batak Karo berdasarkan 6 tingkatan *ertutur* yaitu *Marga/ Beru*, *Bere-bere*, *Binuang*, *Kempu (perkempun)*, *Kampah* and *Soler*. Oleh karena itu, kata sapaan yang dipakai ditentukan setelah melalui proses *ertutur*.

Kata kunci: Kata sapaan, Batak Karo

ABSTRACT

Forms of address have to do with interpersonal relationships existing between the speakers and his addressee. In Batak Karo society, the use of correct terms of address is one of the successful keys in initiating a conversation. This research was intended to find out the variations of terms of address and the relation to their uses in order to discover patterns of terms of address in the Batak Karo society. Since this research dealt with social phenomena, qualitative method was applied to reveal the varieties of terms of address in Batak Karo society, the social factors affect the choice of terms of address, the functions of terms of address and the rules and patterns of address. The data were collected through in-depth interviews. The result showed that the kinship status among Batak Karo people were based on the six levels of *ertutur* namely: *Marga/ Beru*, *Bere-bere*, *Binuang*, *Kempu (perkempun)*, *Kampah* and *Soler.* Therefore, the terms of address would appear after the process of *ertutur*.

Keywords: Terms of address, Batak Karo

INTRODUCTION

It is not surprising that address forms become the subject of some disciplines given that they offer a useful means of understanding the values, norms, and practices of different societies (Dakubu, 1981; Fang and Heng, 1983; Fitch, 1991). According to Murphy (1988), the way one addresses an individual often reflects the nature of his/her relationship with that individual. Benjamin (2007) claims that address forms represent very useful means of forging human interaction, thus performing an interpersonal role (p. 179). Morrand (1996) says that forms of

address are keys to defining ensuring role orientation (p.423). Address forms signal and demarcate what types of emotional and interpersonal access two actors are enjoying toward one another.

Forms of address have to do with interpersonal relationships existing between two persons concerned, the speaker and his addressee. Forms of address always follow rules that are understood by the entire society. According to Brown (1965), address forms are always governed by the same two underlying dimensions: solidarity and status. He further claimed that similarity generates liking and interaction which in turn produce more similarities. On the other hand, differential status confers to power and privilege (p. 52).

In Karo Batak society, the use of terms of address is one of the successful keys in initiating a conversation. Children, since their early childhood, are taught how to use address forms properly. They are often reprimanded when they make wrong choice of address forms. A Karo Batak person will be called as someone as having no 'adat' (customary law or traditional custom) whenever he or she does not use proper terms of address. In addition, when someone meets a stranger, the first thing he or she has to do is to make sure how he or she should address the stranger.

It can be noted obviously that the Karo Batak people still base their social organization on kinship wherever they are. This is in contrary to Brown's (1965) opinion that in civilized communities, the importance of kinship is reduced and therefore the use of kinship terminology is correspondingly curtailed. Bruner (1973) says that the Batak have retained their family and kinship system (p.221). He experienced that he was to address the head police

tulang (mother's brother) because his wife and the head police officer have the same clan name.

Brown and Gilman (1960) see that there is covariation between the terms of address used and the objective relationship existing between speaker and addressee (p. 253). They assume that the connection between action and ideology is stable and invariant that language choice is exhaustively determined by social structural consideration. To them, the relation is determinate. Consequently, violations of rules are instances of non-conformity.

The variations of terms of address are not free variations. A son may address his mother using the address terms such as "mother" or "mom", "ma", "mama", and "mommy". Although *mother* and *mom* have the same referent, they are not completely synonymous. In other words, they are not always interchangeable. It is the task, then, of this research to discuss the variations of terms of address in relation to their uses in order to discover patterns of terms of address in the Karo Batak society.

This research also relates terms of address with politeness. It has been noted that wrong choice of terms of address can insult or cause embarrassment or humiliation to some people. Hence, the use of address terms can also be explained in terms of politeness.

LITERATURE
2.1 Concepts of Terms of Address

Brown (1987) and Fasold (2002) define address forms as words or phrases used for addressing or referring to his or her collocutor. In a similar way, Oyteda (2006) says that a term of address is an expression used in a face-to-face situation to designate an

addressee (p. 180). Meanwhile, Murdock in Luong (1984) distinguishes between a term of address and a term of reference. A term of address is one used in speaking to a relative; it is part of linguistic behavior characteristic of the particular interpersonal relationship. A term of reference is one used to designate a relative in speaking about him to a third person: it is thus not part of the relationship itself but a word denoting a person who occupies a particular kinship status.

The definition given by Brown, Fasold and Oyteda points out that terms of address include nouns, pronouns as well as second–person verb endings in inflected languages. But it must be noted that terms of address vary from language to language. For example, for those who speak German, pronominal addresses are very crucial whereas for those who speak English, it is not that crucial.

Murdock's definition adds other nuances to terms of address: linguistic behavior and interpersonal relationship. It is these two issues that make terms of address important to study. Someone will be judged based on his linguistic behavior as to whether he or she is polite, for example. As a term expressing interpersonal relationship, someone must be very careful in selecting the terms of address he or she is going to use. Forms of address are very sensitive to social context of communication. Terms of address reflect the relative position of interactants vis-a-vis one another in society as a whole. The speaker's choice of a particular form of address locates the address in social space and defines, or constructs, the social actors' mutual relationship. Friedrich(1972) says "Just two short words, operating in all speech events that involve two interlocutors, signaled the relative position of each pole in hundreds of dyadic relationships" (p. 270).

2.2 Forms of Address

There are some ways to classify forms of address. The study of pronominal usage by Brown and Gilman was inspired by the co-variation between the pronoun used and the objective relation existing between speaker and addressee. They observed that T is used by a person of superior power to his inferior and on the other hand, the inferior addresses his superior using V bearing in mind that the superior is singular. They also observed that persons of roughly equivalent power address each other using mutual T or V. Difference of power results in one direction of address (nonreciprocal); differences not concerned with power result in both directions (reciprocal) (Brown and Gilman, 1972) which is solidarity dimension.

Another classification is based on their syntactic function in utterances. Based on this classification, there are free and bound forms (Brawn 1988; Kielkiewicz-Janowiak 1992). They are called free forms when they function as complete utterances on their own. When terms of address function as syntactic parts of utterances, they are called bound forms of address (Jaworsky, 2000). This can be illustrated in the following examples:
(1) "You, get out of here!"
(2) "Sir, would you like to come here please?"
(3) "Tell me when you are ready".
(4) "I believe that your majesty will forgive me"
In utterances (1) and (2), you and Sir lie outside the grammatical structure of the utterances whereas *you* and *your majesty* in utterances (3) and (4) function as an integral part of the

utterances. You and sir in (1) and (2) function as vocative address whereas you and your majesty in (3) and (4) function as non-vocative. It is worth mentioning here that *you* as free form or vocative and *you* as bound form have different meanings. The bound form has very little meaning while the free form has a significant social meaning, that is to suggest a lack of respect for the addressee.

In Dutch and French, Martiny (1996) mentions that there are eight syntactically free forms of address such as nicknames, generic proper names, occupational titles, honorific titles, kin-title, endearment term, offensive terms and generic common noun and there are six bound forms of terms of address: the first person-plural pronoun, the indefinite pronoun, the third person singular pronoun, the third person-nominal expressions, opaque verb forms and impersonal verb forms such as pseudo-reflexives and agentless passive.

Finally, terms of address can also be classified based on their lexical meanings such as names, titles, kinship, or description of something. Fitch (1998) claims that there are five categories of address terms; they are second- person pronouns, proper names, kinship terms, titles and nicknames and adjectival terms.

The fact is that forms of address vary from culture to culture. However, it can not be said that all terms of address which are found in English must also be present in other languages. Moreover, the use of terms of address is culturally determined.

2.3 Kinship Terms

Kinship terms form one of the most important categories of address terms in many languages. In Batak Toba, for example, people prefer to use kinship terms rather than names as terms of address (Kipp 1978). According to Luong (1984), in Vietnamese, kinship terms constitute the most important subset in the system of person reference (p. 290).

Kinship terms used as address terms are especially interesting for sociolinguistic studies or socio-pragmatics. Firstly, terms of address have some variations which may be explained from the point of view of social factors. Hagsrom and Hadden (1965) claim that in English speaking communities, a son may address his father using the terms father, daddy, dad, pa, nickname or first name (p.325). These terms of address are not interchangeable all the time. Different kinship terms of address have different social meanings. This can be justified since the choices among these terms of address can be explained using social factors.

Secondly, aside from designating relationships between speaker and addressee, some kinship terms can be used metaphorically, that is not to designate a relationship between the speaker and addressee. According to Brown (1988), for example, in Jordanian Arabic, a father may address his child as 'baba' (father) (p. 265). In Batak Karo, a boy friend may call his girlfriend 'nande' (mother). The use of 'baba' or 'nande" can not be interpreted literally. They must be interpreted metaphorically.

Thirdly, to some extent, kinship term usage can picture the social structure. In Toba Batak society, terms of address usage reflect the status of the speaker towards his or her addressee within the society.

Brown (1965) claims that the importance of kinship terminology is reduced in civilized and industrial societies (p.52). Yet, the researcher

agues that this does not not happen to the Batak Karo society. It is, therefore, the objective of this research to find out how important kinship terms are for daily conversations.

2.4 Social Relationship Variables

The relationship between interlocutors ranges from intimate to distant relations. Martiny (1996) identifies five elements that are likely to have a major influence on the relative positions of the speaker and addressee on the axes of power and solidarity. They are age, sex, occupation, the existence of family ties and the degree of emotional solidarity characterizing their relationship (p. 786). Some other literatures cite more factors such as gender, kinship status, political affiliation, religion, conviction, social background, generation, and relative authority.

The differences as well as similarities may lead to the degrees of solidarity, deference and intimacy. Brown and Gilman (1960), for example, state that solidarity can be produced by frequency of contact in which it results in "like- mindedness' as well as by objective similarities of class, political membership,

family, religion, profession, sex or birth place. When there is a similarity, there is a tendency for the symmetric relationship to evolve but when there is a difference, then a symmetric relationship may arise (p. 258).

It must be acknowledged that the extent to which these factors affect the language choice varies from culture to culture. The age factor, for example, has different significant roles in different cultures. According to Ervin-Tripp (1969), for Koreans, age factor will be considered if the age difference is at least two years whereas for American English, age difference will be considered when the difference is 15 years. In some other cultures, however, it can be as little as one day.

Social factors which are found to be significant in one speech community may not be so in others. In Vietnam, for example, kinship factor is very important. They use around 22 kinship terms in their daily communication (Luong, 1984) while American English speaking communities use few kinship terms as terms of address. Hence, it can be drawn that kinship status is more sensitive in Vietnamese culture than in American culture.

In American culture, first name and title plus last name are two very important terms of address. The main social factors that determine the choice of these terms of address are age and social status (Brown and Ford 1961;1964). On the other hand, the use of name is avoided in TobaBatak (Kipp 1986). The number of social factors that restrict the choice of one address form also varies from one address form to the other. In other words, one should not consider all those social factors any time she or he wants to use a certain term of address.

In this study, the researchers also examine the nature of social relationship within each dyad (cf. Brown and Ford, 1961). By examining the nature of each relationship within each dyad, it is expected that social norms will be revealed. These rules must also regulate how each person should address one another within a dyad. Aside from the social factors mentioned above, the characteristics of an individual such as 'married', 'having a child' and 'having a grandchild' are considered as social factors that influence the choice of

terms of address in the Karo Batak society.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY
3.1 Research Design
Cresswell (2007:162) states that the focus of qualitative research is on participant's perception and experiences, and the way they make sense of their lives. Since this research deals with social phenomena, to find the answer of this research, qualitative method is applied to reveal the varieties of terms of address in Karo Batak society, the social factors affect the choice of terms of address, the functions of terms of address and the rules and patterns of addtess.

Phenomenological study describes the meaning of the lived experiences for several individuals about a concept or the phenomenon (Cresswell, 2007). It focuses not only on the life of an individual but rather on a concept or phenomenon and emphasizes the meaning of an experience for a number of individuals. While in other varieties of qualitative research the focus is mainly on an object or process and the researchers seek to understand these objects and processes in the context of participants, in phenomenological studies the research is focused on understanding the meaning to the participant themselves of these objects and processes (Maykut and Morehouse, 1994).

3.2 The Instrument of Collecting Data
In phenomenological study, the data is collected directly from the 'field'. In this research, the data are collected by the researcher through in-depth interviews. Interview provides access to the context of people's behavior and thereby provides a way for researchers to understand the meaning of that behavior. Shekedi (2005:61) says that in-depth interview are conversations in which both the researcher and interviewee develop meaning together. Meanwhile, according to Boghdan & Biklen (1992:2), in depth interviewing and participant observation are common way in qualitative researcher. It is as a series of friendly conversations into which the researchers slowly introduces new elements to assist interviewees to respond as informant. The purpose of in-depth interviewing is neither simply to get answers to questions, nor to test hypothesis. At the root of in-depth interviewing is an interest in understanding the experience of other people and the meaning they make of their experience. So, in-depth interview is conducted by the researcher to get the objectives of the study regarding the uses of Karo Batak society in the use of terms of address.

3.3 The Technique of Analyzing Data
Data analysis involves working with data, organizing data, breaking the data into manageable units, synthesizing the data, searching for patterns, discovering what is important, and deciding what the researcher will tell others.

In this research, the data were analyzed in as in following steps:
- Transcribing the data. In this step, the researchers transcribed the responses gained through in-depth interview and library research into statements,
- The statements are then transformed into cluster of meanings and are tied together to make a general description about the varieties of terms of address as well as the rules in Karo Batak society,
- Synthesize the data to get the explanation about the social factors that affect the choice of terms of address as well as the meaning they convey, the

functions of terms of address in relation to politeness in Karo Batak society and the explanation about the rules and patterns of address.

RESEARCH RESULT
A. Status in kinship
Karo Batak Language in antropology literature is included in the six groups of Batak (Karo, Simalungun, Pakpak, Toba, Angkola and Mandailing) and known as the strongest patrilineal system in Indonesia (Tarigan, 2008:6). Therefore in the kinship system there is a typically relationship between groom side and bride side.

The relationship among Karo Batak people is based on unwritten rule which regulates their interaction which is called as culture (Tarigan, 2008:15). Singarimbun (1989) in Tarigan (2008) mentioned that Merga is one of the four identities of Batak Karo society. Merga is a unique indentity of a Karonese. Every Karonese has *merga*. Merga for Karonese is a principle thing in his identity. When meeting a new people or introducing self, *merga* will be the first question that will be asked. It comes from the word *meherga* means valuable which for Karonese also means important. After knowing one's merga, then the next question is *bere bere* (his mother's surname). *Merga* is asked to the man, while *beru* is asked to the woman. For example:

Interviewer : *Merga kai kam?* (what is your *merga* or surname?)
Man : *Aku merga Ginting.* (My surname is Ginting)
Interviewer : *Kam beru kai?* (what about you?)
Woman : *Aku beru Tarigan.* (My surname is Tarigan)

In the example above, the interviewer use *beru* instead of *merga* because he knows that the person he talks to is a woman.

The kinship status among Batak Karo people are based on the six levels of ertutur in Karo Batak society, namely:

1. *Marga/ Beru* is a family name or surname which is given to the sons. For girls, his father's surname is called as *beru* which is not given later on to her kids.
2. *Bere-bere* is a family name given from his mother's beru. If ones's mother is beru Karo, so his bere-bere is Karo.
3. *Binuang* is a family name given from his father's bere-bere.
4. *Kempu (perkempun)* is a family name given from one's mother bere-bere.
5. *Kampah* is a family name given from beru of his father's grandmother.
6. *Soler* is a family name given from beru of his father's grandmother.

Usually, *ertutur* process in Karo is only used until the second level (Bere-bere). The third until the sixth level are only used in the traditional party. In a case where two people have just met each other and there is no relationship or a suitable terms of address from their *marga* or *beru*, then they will ask each other the third until the sixth level. Therefore, if someone meets Karonese or live together with Karo Batak society, or come from different tribes and married the Karonese, a *beru* or *marga* will be given to that person to build a kinship.

The questions that are generally be asked during proses *ertutur* are:
a. *Kai kin mergandu / beru kai kin kam?* What is your surname
b. *Bebere kai kam (= beru kai nandenta)?* What is your mother's surname?
c. *Kempu kai kam (= bebere kai nandenta)?* What is your mother's

mother surname?

d. *Kai binuangndu (= bebere kai bapanta)?* What is your father's mother surname?

e. *Kai kampahndu (=bebere kai nini bulang si mupus bapanta)?* What is your father grandmother's surname?

f. *Kai solerndu (= kempu nandeta)?* What is your mother grandmother's surname?

After *ertutur* is carried out, the kinship among the speakers will appear, whether *ersenina*, *erkalimbubu* or *eranak beru which are elaborated in the next subchapter*. Not rarely is a status of kinship as *ersenina* or *erturang* used if someone hasn't know the *tutur* yet. *Ersenina* is used among the same gender while *erturang* is used among different gender.

B. Distribution of terms of address

The data of this research were firstly analyzed based on some theories of pronouns both in English and Batak Karo society. The personal pronoun is a pronoun that refers to a person and is divided into three forms, they are first person pronouns, second person pronouns, and third person pronouns. The first person singular of English personal pronoun is *I* as a subject while in Karo Batak Language is *aku*, the same as Indonesian language. The pronoun of *aku* is used both in formal and in informal situation, which is different from Indonesian language. Indonesian use *saya* in the formal situation only. This happens because Karo Batak language really respects relationships and intimacy between the speaker and the listener.

The first person plural of English personal pronoun is *We* as subject, which in Indonesian is *kami, kita*. The Karo Batak language uses the same terms of address as in Indonesian for the the first person plural, *kami*. For

the second person plural of English personal pronoun is *You* as subject and object, which in Indonesian is *kamu* both as subject and as an object. In Karo Batak language, the second plural person is *kam* both as subject and as the object.

For example, - *Kam ateku ngena* (You are my sweetheart).

- Ngena ateku *kam* (I like you)

The interesting one for this is the use of possessive adjective of personal pronoun in Karo Batak Language, *-ndu*. It functions the same as *your* in English and *–mu* in Indonesian. For example,

A : Ndigan kam reh kurumah ku? (when will you come to my house?)

B : Pagi aku reh ku *rumahndu* (Tomorrow, I will come to your house).

The third person singular and plural of Karo Batak Language is the same as in Indonesian. *Kami* for the singular one and *kita* for the plural. In English, we use pronoun *we* for both the third singular and plural person.

Besides analyzing the data based on the pronouns both in English and Batak Karo language, the researchers also discussed the data and analyzed them according to the three categories in Batak Karo society, namely *Merga Silima which means five surnames, Tutur Siwaluh* which means eight relationship and *Rakut Sitelu or Daliken si telu which functions as the basic family relationship*. Tutur Siwaluh and Rakut sitelu have been explained previously. In fact, the pronouns or distribution of terms of address for each person in Karo Batak society can not be separated from the three categories.

Merga Silima or known as five surnames means that there are five main surnames in Batak Karo society, *namely Karo Karo, Ginting, Tarigan, Sembiring* and *Perangin-angin.* These five main surnames have branches,

usually from the area where he comes from.

The social factors that affect the choice of terms of address in Batak Karo society depends on the *ertutur* itself which in turn will determine the kinship among them. As long as the process of *ertutur* is not running yet, then the choice of terms of address will only use pronouns of *kam* in general. Here below are the distribution terms of address based on the surname. Sometimes, the same surnames with different region affect the terms of address.

Surname		Man	Woman
Karo-karo	Sinuraya	Riong, Logos, Tabong	Kicong, Corah, Lebeng
	Sinulingga	Suang, Mangkok	Rebo, Corah
	Kacaribu	Mondul, Mitut, Atang	Ngerbo
	Surbakti	Suang, Guntar, Gajah, Ndokum, Megoh, Getah	Rebo, Corah
	Purba	Lagat, Tongkal	Nuhar
	Ketaren	Kolam	Cirum
	Kaban	Cinor, Tambor, Suang	Topan, Kacat, Incon, Rebo
	Sitepu	Ganding, Makoi, Cekurak	Goda, Kertok
	Barus	Mitut	Corah
	Bukit	Bule	-
Sembiring	Kembaren	Kerangen, Baok	Raya, Loko, Rambah
	Sinulaki	Ropo	Lencang
	Keloko	Ndaram	Loko
	Pandia	Gobang	-
	Gurukinayan	Kawar, Naya,	Rogot, Mahar

Surname		Man	Woman
		Pagoh, Bugan	
	Brahmana	Kuliki	Tawan, Kumu
	Meliala	Jemput, Jambe, Sukat	Tekang, Nicar, Gadong, Lencang
	Depari	Gawah, Pola, Tojong, Ratah, Pulubalang	Talah, Tajak, Tayam
	Pelawi	Tajak, Talahgedang, Turah-turah	Tajak, Talah, Lawi
	Maha	Pasir, Jogah, Rambah, Manit	Daling
Perangin-angin	Sukatendel	Gantang, Ngudong	Gomok
	Sebayang	Rabun, Kurung, Balandua/ Ndua, Ngupkup	Jengok, Lencang
	Singarimbun	Kerangen	Rimbun, Rambah
	Kacinambun	Njorang	Ngemban
	Bangun	Teger, Ratah	Girik
	Pinem	Jaren, Batok, Mbuko, Canggah, Sagu, Mitut, Ramban	Lompoh
	Kutabuluh	Tuluk, Gantang	Gomok
	Jinabun	Gantang, Morah, Tanggam, Guni	Picet, Sayan, Mbergang
Ginting	Suka	Suka, Mbayak, Pisang	Unjuk
	Babo	Dokan, Gajut	Merih
	Sugihen	Gurah, Tampak,	Sungam, Apang,

Surname	Man	Woman
		Ciak, Nangkul	Corah, Ganjang
	Ajartambun	Lambok	Kapor
	Jadibata	Canggah, Pajawi	Nongkah, Amenjandi
	Munte	Mburak, Gajut	Unjok
	Manik	Mengat	Tadi
	Tumangger	Lajor	Tega
	Rumah Berneh	Raga	Nggore, Nurih
Tarigan	Sibero	Batu, Kawas, Tarik	Pagit, Dombat
	Tua	Batu	Pagit
	Gersang	Bolon, Tarok, Mondan, Bosar, Gombang, Turah	Ombar, Kolu

CONCLUSIONS

After conducting the research, some conclusions are drawn as follows:

1. The kinship status among Batak Karo people are based on the six levels of ertutur in Karo Batak society, namely: *Marga/ Beru*, *Bere-bere*, *Binuang*, *Kempu (perkempun)*, *Kampah*, *Soler.*
2. *Levels of kinship depend on tutur si waluh and rakut sitelu.*
3. *Different marga/ beru will affect the terms of address.*
4. The social factors that affect the choice of terms of address in Batak Karo society depends on the *ertutur.*

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