

A SOCIOLINGUISTICS FEATURE OF ADDRESS FORMS IN MALAY BENGKULU

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Abstract

This paper explored various forms of address in Bengkulu which may help in understanding the culture of the people and also in knowing the reason why the people behave the way they do in an encounter with others in different situations. The address terms examined in this paper are limited to names only. Pronouns and other forms were not included. The study entails an approach namely collection of data by means of questionnaire and introspection by native speakers from within their own circle of friends and relations in both nuclear and extended family. Twenty participants assisted in collecting the various forms of Bengkulu address terms from their friends and relations by means of audio-recording and notes of people's address behavior. The findings showed that the titles vary from those derived from kinship terms, chieftaincy, age, and social as well as distance of the people. Address forms such as last name is rarely used. Indeed, first names are often used when addressing a person who is junior or to show intimacy among them. At last, this study also found that the address term teknonym appears to be a infrequently feature of address in Malay Bengkulu.

Keywords: *Address forms, culture, titles, first name, last name.*

Introduction

In daily conversation, people never speak in the same way all the time, including the use of address form. They always vary their forms in different situation and different addressee even though the person being addressed remains the same. Moreover, according to Roger Brown and Marguerite Ford, the linguistic choice of address form is based on the properties of both the speakers. In other words, something that the speakers have like status and intimacy between them affect the choice of address forms (Brown and Ford, 1964, p. 234). Terms of address are important linguistic mechanisms by which a speaker's attitude toward, and interpretation of his or her relationship with, a speaker is reflected. Inappropriate choice of the address hinders good communication between the speaker and the hearer.

The importance of address forms cannot be overestimated in the use of language in any human society. They serve as an indicator of the social relationship between a speaker and a listener in terms of status and social distance. They are a kind of emotional capital, which may be invested in putting others at ease, and a means of saving one's 'face' (Brown/Levinson, 1978: 126).

Address and reference terms are part of such a practice. They are informed by rules of conduct and are an integral aspect of everyday interaction and

conversational events that serve as a prelude to the establishment of social relations. Although address terms do not contribute to the content of discourse, they help mark different openings of boundaries of interactions. It is in the light of the significance of this aspect of sociolinguistic etiquette that Linguists and Sociologists give attention to the study of address forms in various cultures.

Bengkulu forms of address literature still limited except for their uses in literary genres. Nevertheless, an exploration of various forms of address in Bengkulu may help in understanding the culture of the people and also in knowing the reason why the people behave the way they do in an encounter with others in different situations. The address terms examined in this paper are limited to names only. Pronouns and other forms were not included. It would constitute another subject for future research.

Conceptual Theory

Several research works have been carried out on address terms particularly in American English and in some European languages. All Studies on address forms indicate that they are really a part of complete semantic systems having to do with social relationships (Salami 2004). Many other devices are used for the expression of social relationships apart from addressing by name and second person pronouns. These include kin terms such as father, mother, brother, sister, uncle, niece, and cousin. The person with the higher occupational status also has the privilege of being addressed with title plus last name (TLN) while addressing the other person with first name (FN). However, Brown/Ford (1961: 460) argues that it is not always the case that older people have higher occupational status than younger ones. For instance, if there is a conflict between a young executive and an older janitor, it will be occupational status that takes precedence; that is, the janitor will be called by FN and he will address the executive by TLN (Brown/ Ford 1961: 458).

It seems necessary at this point to explain the concept of TKM, Teknonym because of its constant use in this study. Teknonym can be described as a special category of names of the construct characterized by the combination of father or mother plus the personal name (F/MPN) of a child. It may also have such variations as Baba Ibadan (Ibadan father) which suggests an elderly male person who hails from Ibadan or who lived in the city of Ibadan for a long period of time. Others are named or addressed after the place they lived in by someone or where one carries out one's daily business activities, as in Mama Eko (Mom who lives in Lagos), Mama Gbagi (Mummy who trades at Gbagi), Burodalkoyi (Senior brother who lives or works in Ikoyi Lagos). Teknonyms may also involve the addition of the names of the profession of one's child e.g. Baba doctor – Doctor's father, and the like (Akindele 1993: 89–90). Typically, teknonym is used in informal contexts by spouses who prefer it to FN as an address term if they have children (Salami 2004). Married couples prefer addressing each other with teknonyms rather than FN.

Leeds-Hurwitz (1980) study highlights the use of MN. She reports how a woman who had just been promoted to a somewhat ambiguous position in a business concern used non-reciprocal MN to help her carve out her place in the institutional hierarchy. For instance, sometimes I address my close friends as *Merry* (FN), *DekMer* (T + NM) and at times *Rullyanti* (LN). Additionally, Ervin-

Tripp (1972) in her research on address terms based on American academic community located in the West observes that speakers who are on reasonably close terms with the addressee use some form of TLN. This is usually given because of one's character or as a short form of the actual name. It is said to be a non-reciprocal form of address. Such an address form is found in Bengkulu use of address, for instance; *Lina*(Meylina). The only situation where the use of nickname is non-reciprocal in Bengkulu is when one of the parties to the interaction has none.

Other investigation has done in American English by Fasold (1990: 78) related to the use of Last Name (LN) alone is in general rare and that it is common only in certain occupation groups and normally among people of the same sex. He adds that FN + LN is seldom or never used except by angry parents in giving orders to children. This seems to be the case among the Bengkulu use of address forms of this type. For instance, a mother could call her child to order by merely shouting e.g. *JeyTahiro*. On the other hand, an intimate friend could address the other one with FN + LN on certain occasions, say, for instance, meeting one another after several months or years, e.g. *AdiKurmiadi, WismaYunita*.

Some of the studies on Yoruba address forms are Soyoye (1984) and Akindele (1991, 1992).Soyoye (1984) concluded a study of the nominal terms of address in Standard Yoruba and Standard French. He observes that it is not normal to address someone with TLN in Standard Yoruba. He also observes that members of the Yoruba family, their friends and neighbours older than the speaker receive dad or mum. Those that are not old enough are normally addressed as brother, sister, aunt. He points out that wives address their brother/sister-in-law (whether older or younger), brother, uncle, sister, aunt e.g. brother Femi, Sister Peju, Uncle Dele, Aunt Toyin. This practice is very current. Traditionally, wives are normally addressed by nicknames which were derived from physical attributes of the persons concerned e.g. *agbaowu* – plumpy/fat girl/woman; *akuruyejo* – short beautiful lady; *adumaradan* – dark beautiful lady; *ibadiaran* – a lady with prominent buttocks.

Definition of terms: Bengkulu

Perhaps it may be necessary to define the terms *Bengkulu* as used in this study before proceeding to discuss the methodology employed. Bengkulu is a province of Indonesia. It is on the southwest coast of the island of Sumatra, and borders the provinces of West Sumatra, Jambi, South Sumatra and Lampung. The capital and largest city of the province is Bengkulu city. It was formerly the site of a British garrison, which they called Bencoolen. The province has a population of 1,405,060 (2000 census). The province also includes Enggano Island. Bengkulu lies near the Sunda Fault and is prone to earthquakes and tsunamis. In June 2000 a quake caused damage and the death of at least 100 people. A recent report predicts that Bengkulu is "at risk of inundation over the next few decades from undersea earthquakes predicted along the coast of Sumatra".

Methodology

In the area of address terms, researcher has employed various methods of collecting data. Some have used native speaker introspection and others have used personal observations cross-checked to a greater extent by native-speakers

(Akindele 1991). The present study entails another approach namely collection of data by means of questionnaire and introspection by native speakers from within their own circle of friends and relations in both nuclear and extended family, includes in their daily life. Twenty participants assisted in collecting the various forms of Bengkulu address terms from their friends and relations by means of audio-recording and notes of people's address behaviour. These involved adults, male/female of differing ages in various places: shopping centres, offices, on the streets, village gatherings, families, and funerals. The audio-recorded address forms were jointly transcribed by the researcher and her collaborator. The transcriptions were then cross-checked with other Bengkulu speakers who some of them were academic colleagues in the university. The advantage of this method is that data passes through two stages of introspection by native speakers i.e. the informants and the collaborator.

The questionnaire which was administered by some of Bengkuluese includes forms of address used in interactions such as: Friend/friend, close relations, subordinates/boss, boss/subordinates, boss/boss, co-workers, schoolmate/teachers, schools mates/school mates, among others.

Also, factors determining the choice of address terms were asked. Some of these factors are dictated by the context of the situation. These factors were obtained from the responses to some of the questionnaires administered. The average age of the subjects was 23 to 40 years. The participants were literate and semi literate male and female. In the population studied, 10 were male and 10 female. In the group, some were married while others were single.

Analysis of Malay Bengkulu address forms

1. Findings

After looking at the data, an analysis of the data collected with the aid of questionnaire is undertaken. What are most address forms used by the respondents in their nuclear and extended family is Title (T), among friends and work partners commonly shown the use of First Name (FN) and Nick Name (NN), meanwhile toward their couple, the men used First Name (FN) or Nick Name (NN) and the women respected their couple by using Title and First Name or Nick Name (T + FN/NN). These data will be shown in the following table:

I. Nuclear and Extended Family

No	Addressee	FN	%	LN	%	NN	%	T	%	TFN	%	TNN	%	TKM	%
1	Father							20	100						
2	Mother							20	100						
3	Older Brother	2	10	1	5	2	10	7	35	8	40				
4	Older Sister					1	5	6	30	10	50				
5	Brother of Father/Mother							18	90	1	5	1	5		
6	Sister of Father/Mother							18	90	1	5	1	5		
7	Grand-Father							19	95					1	5
8	Grand-Mother							19	95					1	5

The findings in table I shown that mostly people in Malay Bengkulu use Title to address their nuclear and extended family. Father and Mother 100% are called by Title, to address older brother, 40% use TFN, 35% use Title, 10% employ NN, 10% use FN and only 5% address their older brother with Last Name LN. The table further suggests that brother and sister of Father/Mother 90% employ Title, and each 5% the use of TFN and TNN. Grand-Mother and Grand-Father will be addressed with Title 95%, and 5% only with Teknonym (TKM).

II. Friends

No	Addressee	FN	%	LN	%	NN	%	T	%	TFN	%	TNN	%
1	Older male							4	20	7	35	9	45
2	Same age male	8	40			12	60						
3	Younger male	10	50			8	40	1	5	1	5		
4	Older female									12	60	8	40
5	Same age female	10	50			10	50						
6	Younger female	10	50			8	40			2	10		

Table 2 contains the findings on the use of address forms among friends. The table indicates that 45% subjects claimed that they use TNN to address older male friends; out of these, 35% were TFN and 20% were Title only. 60% of those responded also said they use NN to call the same age male friends while others 40% use FN. Younger male friends are called by FN 50%, NN 40%, TFN 5%, and Title 5%. Only 40% of the subjects use TNN to address older female friends and the rest 60% employ TFN. The same age female has equal percentage 50% by using FN or NN, and the last line, to address younger female friends, includes 50% use FN, 40% use NN, and only 10% employ TFN.

III. Work Partners

No	Addressee	FN	%	LN	%	NN	%	T	%	TFN	%	TLN	%	TNN	%
1	Older male									9	45	4	20	7	35
2	Same age male	11	55			9	45								
3	Younger male	9	45			9	45	1	5	1	5				
4	Older female									10	50	1	5	9	45
5	Same age female	10	50			10	50								
6	Younger female	8	40			12	60								

Table 3 summarizes the findings on how respondents address partners in workplace interaction. The table indicates that 20% of the subjects employ TLN, 45% use TFN, and the rest 35% prefer TNN to address older male

partner at work. The same age male partners are 55% use FN and 45% use NN. Further table indicates Only 5% use Title and TFN to call younger male partners, and the other 45% use NN, and 45% employ FN. A half of respondents use TFN, 45% use TNN, and just 5% use TLN to address older female partners. The same age female are called by using FN and NN in balanced. Meanwhile, 60% use NN and 40% use FN to address younger female partners in work. None of the respondent uses TKM.

IV. Couple

No	Addressee	FN	%	LN	%	NN	%	T	%	TFN	%	TLN	%	TNN	%
1	Older male									16	80	1	5	3	15
2	Same age male	13	65			5	25			1	5			1	5
3	Younger male	9	45	1	5	8	40			1	5			1	5
4	Older female	12	60			3	15	3	15	1	5			1	5
5	Same age female	5	25			14	70	1	5						
6	Younger female	11	55			7	35			2	10				

Table 4 reflects the results of how the subjects address their couple in face-to-face interactions. The results show that 80% of the subjects use TFN, 15% use TNN and the rest 5% employ TLN to call older male couple. At the same age, 65% prefer FN, 25% use NN, 5% apply TFN and 5% employ TNN. 45% of those who have responded chosen FN, 40% use NN and each 5% employ TFN and TNN to address younger male spouse. Older female are called by FN at amount of 60%, each 15% NN and Title, and 5% use TFN and other 5% apply TNN. Further findings show 70% of subjects apply NN, 25% use FN and the rest 5% use Title to name the same age female couple. And the younger female are called by FN at amount of 55%, 35% use NN, and other 10% employ TFN. None of them uses TKM.

2. Discussion

Malay bengkulu address forms uses are determined by such factors as location, status, age and sex. Of all these, *age* seemed to be an overriding factor in the use of address terms among the Bengkuluess. The observations made by the researcher who collected the data for the study reveals that the Bengkuluess use the following forms of address:

1.	Title (T) only: <i>ayah, pak, bak, papa</i> (father), <i>pak</i> (Mr), <i>ibu, mak, mama</i> (mother), <i>buk</i> (Mrs/madam), <i>, kak, dang, bang, cik, nga, uda</i> (older brother), <i>ayuk, wo</i> (older sister), <i>adek</i> (younger brother/sister) <i>tante, bibik, ibong, makunying</i> (maternal aunt), <i>mak dang</i> (paternal aunt) <i>om, mamang</i> (maternal/paternal uncle), <i>nenek, nenektino</i> (Grand-mother), <i>kakek, datuk, nenek, neneklanang</i> (Grand-father).
2.	Title with first name (TFN): Dang Ika, Ayuk Sarah, KakRoni, WoJaurah, Om Dedi, Pak joni, Bu Sinta, CikAni.
3.	Title with last name (TLN): Bang Santoso, AyukKuswani.

4.	First names: Jenny, Adi, Wisma, Merry, Lerry, Nova, Putra.
5.	Nicknames: Irul for Khairul, Riri for Merry, Iwis for Wisma, Ancah for Alamsyah, Oza for Ghazali, Echi for Sintia, Ninuk for Neni
6.	Multiple names: ShintaMeiviLianchi, Muhammad khairiIkhsan
7.	Teknonyms: Nekno (Female < <i>tino</i> > Grand-mother), Neknang (Male < <i>lanang</i> > Grand-father), Mamase (mother of Ice), Makkajui' (mother who sells Kajui' cake), ItaDomcel (a girl named Ita who like a colorful sheep < <i>DombaCelup</i> >).

In Malay Bengkulu, title is the dominant address forms to call nuclear and extended family. Address terms derived from titles are of different kinds. There are those that are derived from age and sex e.g. *ayuk* (older sister), *kak* (older brother), *makuning* (maternal aunt), *mak dang* (paternal aunt). Others are derived from kinship terms e.g. *ayah*, *pak*, *bak*, *papa* (father), *pak* (Mr), *ibu*, *mak*, *mama* (mother), *buk* (Mrs/madam), *kak*, *dang*, *cik*, *nga*, *uda* (older brother), *ayuk*, *wo* (older sister), *ibong*, (single maternal aunt), *tante*, *bibik*, (married maternal aunt), *om*, *mamang* (maternal/paternal uncle).

Among friends, most of respondents use First Name (FN) and Nick Name (NN). To show the closeness of relationship and intimacy, they use Nick Name (NN), but for a friend who do not really close, they just called by First Name (FN). Toward the older friends majority prefer to use Title and Nick Name (T + NN). These are: *Dang Ari*, *Bang Jo*, *Udazal*, *ayukEchi*, *Uni Emi*, etc. but some others use Title and First Name (T + FN). For example: *Kak Budi*, *Kak Putra*, *AyukDewi*, etc.

In workplace interaction, generally, respondents show their honors by using formal Title followed by First Name (FN) or Nick Name (NN). For instance: *BukTini*, *Pak Marcel*, *Buk Ida*. Quietly rare founded the use of Last Name (LN). But some respondents are used informal Title to show intimacy among them. Such as: *Om Joni*, *KakMafral*, *Bang Pajok*, and *AyukMelia*.

Commonly, between couple, women prefer use Title and First Name or Nick Name (T + FN/NN) to show respect to their couple though sometimes the women is older that the man, e.g: *bang Adi*, *Nga Ben*, *UdaUdin*, *Mas Hen*. Meanwhile, men be willing consider themselves older than the women and use First Name (FN) or Nick Name (NN), For instance: *Venti*, *Lidia*, *Finaor* even Title (T) only to call their ladies such as *adek* as term of endearment.

As indicated above, teknonymy (TKM) is a form of address derived from a combination of the name of the child and its father or mother (F/M + PN = TKM). These are: *Mamase* (mother of Ice), *Makkajui'* (mother who sells kajui' cake). In malay Bengkulu, teknonyms was rarely used. Because Bengkuluess are used to use Title (T) only, or Title and First Name (T + FN). Address terms are used as a marker of social status among the Bengkuluess. For instance, a special title other than *Pak* (Mr) or *Buk* (Mrs/Miss), can be used to distinguish gender.

Brown/Ford (1961) observes that in American English, if people are very angry with someone they usually address with FN, they might withdraw to TLN to symbolize the disruption of the relationship. When the issue that

caused trouble is resolved, they return to FN, for example: *How are you, James (FN)?; I'm well, Mr Carter (TLN)*. This is not so with the Bengkuluess. It was observed by my informants that when a speaker has begun using FN in Bengkulu address, he/she might use TLN again with the same addressee even when there is no quarrel between them. There were instances when intimate friends who used to address each other with FN used TLN or teknonym as a mark of deference in a given social context. For instance, at the workers meeting which involved the junior workers complaining about the conditions of their work place. Ervin-Tripp (1969: 230) remarks that a priest, physician, dentist, or judge may be addressed by title alone, but a plain citizen may not. In these cases, if the name is unknown, the only option of address form that is available is *pak* and *buk*. The following serves to illustrate the point. Note that the parentheses refer to optional elements, the bracketed elements are social selection categories.

[Cardinal]:	Your excellency
[President]:	Mr President
[Priest]:	Father (+ LN)
[Nun]:	Sister (+ religious name)
[Physician]:	Doctor (+ FN)
[Ph.D., Ed.D.] etc.:	Doctor (+ FN)
[Professor]:	Professor (+ FN)
[Adult] etc.:	(Mister + LN), (Mrs + LN), (Miss + LN)

Similar address forms are found in Malay Bengkulu address and are used in similar ways, though there could be variations, depending on the context of situation, as indicated above.

With respect to social class differences in the use of address terms, Ervin-Tripp (1969) remarks that members of lower-status occupational groups often use titles such as *Doctor* without last name as address forms. Similar use of address is found in Sesotho address form but also TFN is used quite often, as in *Dokter Dian*.

Another form of address rules has to do with the way Americans address strangers in public situations. Where male or female's name is unknown, it is common to use the respect form *bukor pak* respectively. Terms of politeness such as *mbakor non* are used quite frequently to address women and *bang* to address men.

Conclusion

The paper is an attempt to examine the use of address forms in Malay Bengkulu. It has been discovered that the forms of address commonly used by the Bengkuluess are titles and title + first name only, meanwhile title + last name and teknonymy are rarely to use. The titles vary from those derived from kinship

terms, chieftaincy, age and social as well as distance of the people. Address forms such as last name is rarely used. Indeed, first names are often used when addressing a person who is junior or to show intimacy among them. One other finding of this study is that the address term teknonymy appears to be an infrequently feature of address in malay Bengkulu. Finally, although this study has unveiled some aspects of malay Bengkulu culture more studies need to be conducted to determine the variations that may exist from one district of the country to the other. Nevertheless, the study could be used as a starting point.

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