

# Address Terms in Malay World: A Preliminary Study

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# Aims of this study

- To investigate varieties of address terms within Malay-speaking communities
  - The formal terms or terms used toward a stranger are nationally shared, not many varieties are found within the country
  - In Indonesia, *Pak/Ibu*
  - In Malaysia, *Tuan/Puan*
  - Less formal terms have wider variety
- To investigate principles behind the selection of address terms
- To categorize usages according to public/private distinction, formality, and intimacy

# Method

- Based on interviews
  - What address terms a speaker uses
  - Choice of address terms according to the situation
  - Choice of address terms according to the addressee
- Interviews were taken place from 2017 to 2019
  - Lampung (Lestari 2018)
  - Manado Malay (Ibaraki Prefecture, Japan)
  - Kota Kinabalu
  - Indonesian in Bali (at TUFs)
- Articles (Djenar 2018, Manns 2015)

# Introduction

- Address terms are important elements in communication in the Malay-speaking world
  - Crucial linguistic mediators of social relations (cf. Errington 1998)
- Formal forms do not vary within a country: pre-determined
- Less formal forms have wider regional variety: much study is needed
- Private usages also varies widely, according to the region, the social classes, small intimate groups, ethnicities, etc.

# Introduction

- Indonesia is a multi-lingual society with more than 700 languages
  - Each language has its own set of address terms
- Malaysia is also a multi-lingual society with two main groups of immigrant communities (Chinese origin and Indian origin), many Malayic indigenous languages, and also non-Malayic languages
  - Each ethnic group has its own set of address terms
- In multi-ethnic/multi-lingual society, the choice of address terms becomes more complex
- They can be used to maintain the distance between the speaker and the hearer (negative politeness), or to approach one another

- Three types of multi-lingual situation
  - Indigenous Malay(s), Indonesian, and several intermediate varieties
  - Small ethnic languages with colloquial variety of Indonesian as a common language, and Indonesian
  - Dominant ethnic language and colloquial and formal Indonesian
- Formal, standard Indonesian/Malaysian does not have much variety
- Colloquial varieties, which is used in everyday life can vary to a much greater extent
- Aims of this paper is to show the variety of address terms which are used in everyday speech, especially in informal situations

# Middle Indonesian

- Middle Indonesian
  - Joseph Errington 2012
  - “Everywhere you go *people* believe that [the language we know as Bahasa Indonesia is] self-evidently and legitimately the language of Indonesia and that everyone should speak it.”
  - BUT
  - “No native-speaking models of Indonesian” which means that “when linguists want to characterize ‘colloquial Indonesian’ they must describe the language of a place.”

# Address Terms

- Address Terms are important elements in everyday interaction between speakers
- Dealing with an **adjunct** (i.e. not assigned a semantic role by the predicate, Musgrave 2001) that refers to the addressee
- In European languages, “solidarity” and “equal or not” are main factors for the selection of address terms
- In British English, age, generation, gender, setting, kinship, closeness, social rank, dispensation, profession, and marital status should be taken into consideration (Laver 1981)
- In Indonesian, all of the above factors are important. In addition, social norms for showing respect in formal situation and toward elders are important
- Ethnicity is also regarded as one of the factors to show SAMENESS/INTIMACY
- Address terms are mostly derived from KINSHIP TERMS
- Occupational titles are also used in public domains

# Address terms in Malay world

- Mainly kinship terms
  - Selected according to the addressee's age/generation
  - Sometimes generation difference between the speaker and the addressee is relevant
  - Gender is relevant: in most cases, there is a pair of terms for the same age group, same formality
- Job titles, Religious titles
  - Gender is irrelevant in many cases (exception: *haj/haja*)
  - Age group is also irrelevant
- Personal names, titles + personal names
- Regional terms, sporadic, vogue terms, joking style
- Choices of 1<sup>st</sup> person and 2<sup>nd</sup> person pronouns should also be taken into consideration: for future study

# Factors for selecting address terms

- Four main factors
  - Social Status, including **occupation**
  - Generation/Age
  - Ethnicity
  - Gender
- Also important
  - Closeness/intimacy
  - Register

# Social Status

- Occupation

- Occupation: White-collar workers (municipal offices, banks, office work in big companies) or not
- Doctors have special status and are called *dok*
- Teachers at any level can be called by occupational title: *guru, mner, prof*
- Religious status: *Haji/Haja*

# Gender and address terms

- Gender matters in most cases
- In most cases, a title for a male and that for a female make a pair which are used basically in the same situation, towards people of similar status/age
- In the following description, a term on the left is for a male and that on the right is for a female
- Exception: Two groups of address terms are genderless
  - Terms for young(er) people
    - *De* (from *adik* “younger sibling”), used towards teenagers
    - *Nak* (from *anak* “child”), used towards very young children
  - Professional terms
    - *Cikgu* (*Encik/Cik* + *Guru*, Malaysia)
    - *Prof* (Professor)
    - *Dok* (Doctor, Docter)

# Age groups

- With respect to the selection of address terms, two age groups among adults are relevant in Malay-speaking world
- In addition, very young children can be categorized into another group
- Aside from job titles, address terms should be selected according to the addressee's age
  - A responsible adult: Typically married, over 35 (26-40)
  - A young adult: Typically unmarried, under 35 (26-40), teenagers are sometimes included in this category
  - Children and teenagers may form the third age group

# Politeness (Brown and Levinson 1987)

- Face Threatening Act (FTA) may threaten the speaker's face or the hearer's face
- FACE: negative face or positive face
- Negative Face: a person's right for not being disturbed, a desire to proceed without being impeded upon
- Negative Politeness: Avoidance-based, makes request or comments less intruding so as not to threaten negative face
- Positive Face: a person's wish that his/her wish is favorable to some people, a desire for approval and acceptance by others
- Positive Politeness: Approach-based, seeks to establish a positive relationship between the speaker and the hearer

# Frames (Coupland 2007)

- Socio-cultural framing (macro-level social frames): “crucially involved in determining how particular identities are made relevant or *salient* in discourse”
- Genre framing (meso-level social frames): “generic frames set meaning parameters around talk in relation to what countextual type or genre of talk ... is understood by participants to be currently on-going and relevant (e.g. business talk, informal chat)”
- Interpersonal framing (micro-level social frames): “how participants dynamically structure the very local business of their talk and position themselves relative to each other in their relational histories, short- and long-term”

# Factors for selection of address terms

- In British English, age, generation, gender, setting, kinship, closeness, social rank, dispensation, profession, and marital status should be taken into consideration (Laver 1981)
- How does each factor determine the selection of an address term in Malay speaking world?
- “Setting” is important: the same two person will address differently in a ceremony and in a *warung*
- Status is also important: a government officer will be addressed *Pak* even if he is in twenties, but a guy in twenties in *warung* will be called *Mas*
- Also, a speaker can choose from several possible terms: choosing a term from the addressee’s ethnic language will show friendliness

# Language use in areas with many small ethnic languages

Standard variety: offices, schools, ceremonies

Colloquial Malay: everyday interaction

Local common language: everyday interaction

Ethnic language A

Ethnic language E

Ethnic language B

Ethnic language D

Ethnic language C

# Address Terms

Standard Malay Variety <FORMAL>

Regional Malay  
<INTERMEDIATE>

Local common language  
<INTERMEDIATE>

Ethnic language A  
<INFORMAL>

Ethnic language  
B <INFORMAL>

Ethnic language C  
<INFORMAL>

Ethnic language E  
<INFORMAL>

Ethnic language D  
<INFORMAL>

# Three main domains

## +/-Public, +/-Formal, +/-Intimate

- +Public, +Formal, -Intimate
  - Deference (*Wakimae*) plays a main role
  - Negative Face: Not much negotiation for closeness, choice of address terms is consistent
  - Little intimacy involved, or showing intimacy is not expected
  - Governmental/Municipal offices, banks, offices of international/large companies
- +Public, -Formal, +/-Intimate
  - Not entirely personal (public), but not very formal
  - **Negative Face/ Positive Face: Negotiation for closeness may occur**
  - Expression of intimacy is favored in some cases
  - Markets, shops, restaurants, public transportations, etc.
- -Public, -Formal, -Intimate
  - Personal space
  - Showing intimacy is the norm: not much negotiation for closeness occurs
  - Close friends, neighbors whose name are mutually known, family/relatives

## <FORMAL>

Most formal situation  
Least variety

- +Public, +Formal, -Intimate
  - **Deference** (*Wakimae*, Cultural Norm) plays a main role in the selection of address terms
  - Negative Face: **Not much negotiation** for closeness, choice of address terms is consistent
  - Little intimacy involved, or showing intimacy is not expected
  - Homogeneous within a country, not much regional variety is observed
  - 2<sup>nd</sup> person pronouns are avoided
- Used in: Governmental/Municipal offices, banks, offices of international/large companies
- Pak/Ibu
- Tuan/Puan, Encik/Cik

# <INTERMEDIATE>

Less formal situation

Less homogeneous

- +Public, -Formal, +/-Intimate
  - Not entirely personal, but not very formal
  - **Negative Face/ Positive Face: Negotiation for closeness may occur**
  - **Choosing an address term may determine the relationship between the parties**
  - Expression of intimacy is favored in some cases
  - Regional variations are found
  - 2<sup>nd</sup> person pronouns can be used
  - **Borrowed terms from ethnic languages** can be used, in accordance with the addressee's ethnicity
- Used in: public transportation, markets and shops, *kampong*
- When a communication goes on for a while, or relationship goes on for a longer period of time, speakers select address terms to meet their strategies: getting close, keeping distance, showing the bond, etc.
- Om/Tanta, Mas/Mbak

## <INFORMAL>

### Informal situation

### Most variety, sporadic

- -Public, -Formal, +Intimate
  - Entirely personal space
  - Most regional variations are found
  - Not much negotiation for Intimacy
  - Ethnic kinship terms are frequently used
  - In this situation, personal names are most often used as address terms especially towards people of the same age or younger
  - Sometimes joking expressions and sporadic expressions are used: *gondola* 'champion', *gendeng* 'crazy' (Manns 2015)
  - 2<sup>nd</sup> person pronouns are frequently used
- Used among close friends, neighbors whose name are mutually known, family/relatives
- Choices of address terms are mostly pre-determined and rarely changes within a family or a small community
- Strategic selection of address terms may occur between friends: showing closeness, asking for secret information/ tricky request, etc.

# Selection of address terms

- First encounter
  - <FORMAL>: ceremonies, offices, broadcasting, etc.
  - <INTERMEDIATE>: markets, shops, public transportation, etc
- After several exchanges, a speaker may switch to more appropriate address terms to show closeness or respect
  - <FORMAL> to <INTERMEDIATE>
  - <INTERMEDIATE> to <INFORMAL>
- Known for a while
  - <INTERMEDIATE>
- Known for a long time
  - <INFORMAL>

# Borrowed terms from ethnic languages

- Kinship terms from ethnic language are commonly used in <INTERMEDIATE> and <INFORMAL> situations
- They are used according to the addressee's ethnic background
- Using them shows “**solidarity**” towards the addressee if s/he is from the same ethnic group as the speaker
- Using them shows “**friendliness/closeness**” towards the addressee when the speaker is from a different ethnic group
- Choosing address terms from ethnic languages commonly occurs in the areas where many ethnic languages are spoken (e.g. North Sulawesi, Sumatera, Kota Kinabalu)

	<FORMAL> +Public      Negative P +Formal -Intimate	<INTERMEDIATE> +Public      Negative -Formal      & +/-Intimate   Positive P	<INFORMAL> -Public      Positive P -Formal +Intimate
Married, Over 35 (26-45)	Show Respect Intimacy is not expected Status <b>MOST HOMOGENEOUS DEFERENCE</b>	Show Respect Intimacy can be expressed  <b>REGIONAL VARIETY DEFERENCE, INTIMACY</b>	KINSHIP TERMS: From ethnic languages <b>MUCH REGIONAL VARIATIONS +INTIMACY</b>
Unmarried Under 35 (26-45)	Show Respect Intimacy is not expected Status  <b>MOST HOMOGENEOUS DEFERENCE</b>	Show Respect Intimacy can be expressed  <b>REGIONAL VARIETY DEFERENCE, INTIMACY</b>	KINSHIP TERMS: From ethnic languages PERSONAL NAMES <b>MOST VARIATIONS SPORADIC ++INTIMACY</b>
Young children			KINSHIP TERMS PERSONAL NAMES <b>MUCH REGIONAL VARIATIONS ++INTIMACY</b>

<b>MALANG</b>	<FORMAL> +Public Negative Face +Formal -Intimate	<INTERMEDIATE> +Public Negative -Formal & +/-Intimate Positive Face	<INFORMAL> -Public Positive Face -Formal +Intimate
Married, Over 35	KINSHIP TERMS: Pak/Ibu JOB TITLES: Guru, Prof (RELIGIOUS TITLES: Haji/Haja)	KINSHIP TERMS: Pak/Ibu JOB TITLES: Guru, Prof RELIGIOUS TITLES: Haji/Haja	KINSHIP TERMS: Ethnic terms are preferred
Unmarried Under 35	KINSHIP TERMS: Pak/Ibu JOB TITLES: Guru	KINSHIP TERMS: Mas/Mbak JOB TITLES: Guru, Prof (RELIGIOUS TITLES: Haji/Haja)	KINSHIP TERMS: Adik (Dik) Sayang/Say PERSONAL NAMES IN-GROUP TERMS: <i>gondola</i> 'champion', <i>gendeng</i> 'crazy'
Young children			KINSHIP TERMS: Adik (Dik) PERSONAL NAMES

<b>MANADO</b>	<FORMAL> +Public Negative Face +Formal -Intimate	<INTERMEDIATE> +Public Negative -Formal & +/-Intimate Positive Face	<INFORMAL> -Public Positive Face -Formal +Intimate
Married, Over 35	KINSHIP TERMS: Pak/Ibu JOB TITLES: Guru, Prof (RELIGIOUS TITLES: Haji/Haja)	KINSHIP TERMS: Om/ Tanta, Nyong/Nona  JOB TITLES: Mner, Prof Bos RELIGIOUS TITLES: Bapak/Ibu Pendeta (Papen, Bupen)	KINSHIP TERMS: Opa/Oma Om/Mam(s)  Borrowing from Foreign and Ethnic terms: Bos (Sebe/Ajus, Pace/Mace: third party)
Unmarried Under 35	KINSHIP TERMS: Pak/Ibu JOB TITLES: Guru	KINSHIP TERMS: Mas/Mbak JOB TITLES: Guru, Prof (RELIGIOUS TITLES)	KINSHIP TERMS: Ade(Dik) Borrowing: Bro, Fren  PERSONAL NAMES IN-GROUP TERMS: <i>anjing</i> , <i>babi</i>
Young children			KINSHIP TERMS: Ade, (Dek) PERSONAL NAMES

<b>Kota Kinabalu</b>	<b>&lt;FORMAL&gt; +Public      Negative Face +Formal -Intimate</b>	<b>&lt;INTERMEDIATE&gt; +Public      Negative -Formal      &amp; +/-Intimate   Positive Face</b>	<b>&lt;INFORMAL&gt; -Public      Positive Face -Formal +Intimate</b>
Married, Over 35	Tuan/Puan, Mis JOB TITLES: Guru, Maha guru, Prof, Cikgu, Guru agama, dok (at school), Dok + personal name (medical doctor) RELIGIOUS TITLES: Ustaz/Ustaza, Haji/Haja	KINSHIP TERMS:Pakcik/Makcik  JOB TITLES + First Name RELIGIOUS TITLES: Haji/Haja	KINSHIP TERMS: Atuk,Datuk (Tuk)/Nenek (Nek) (+60)
Unmarried Under 35	Encik/Cik JOB TITLES: Guru, Cikgu	KINSHIP TERMS: Abang(bang)/Kakak(kak) JOB TITLES + First Name	KINSHIP TERMS: <i>Utu' /Inda'</i> Borrowing: Bro/Sis  PERSONAL NAMES
Young children		Adik, Adek-adek	KINSHIP TERMS: PERSONAL NAMES

<Formal>

Indonesia: *Bapak (Pak) / Ibu (Bu)*

Malaysia: *Tuan/Puan, Encik/Cik*

- The most frequently used address terms
  - They can be used towards people in their thirties and above
- Used in formal settings
  - Banks, governmental offices, schools, and broadcasting
  - Strong tendency to be reciprocal
- Also used in markets, to taxi/bus drivers
  - Age of the addressee tends to be higher than in formal settings above
- Used in every part of Indonesia: only minor variation is found
  - Age: in some areas over 35-40, in others over 27~28

# Pak/Ibu in Lampung (Lestari 2018)

## <FORMAL>

1. There is a tendency not to use “Pak” to an addressee below 30 except in bank or governmental office.
2. In bank or governmental office, some informants pointed out that “*semua usia*” (all age) have to be addressed by “Pak” instead of “Mas” (even the addressee looks young) “*Semua pegawai perlu kita panggil ‘Bapak’ ya, kan kalo di kantor.*”; “*Kalo kantoran biasanya ‘Pak’ untuk semua umur*”; “*Karena agak resmi gitu lho, kalo mau dipanggil ‘Om’, dipanggil ‘Bang’ kayaknya terlalu sok akrab.*”  
“*In offices, all staffs need to be addressed by ‘Bapak’, right?*”; “*In offices we usually use ‘Pak’ for all ages*”; “*It’s just an official situation, if we use ‘om’ or ‘bang’, it sounds that I a have an intimacy/familiarity with him*”
3. Waiters and waitresses in *warung* are mostly young and called *mas/mbak*, but if they are over 50, *pak/ibu* may be used
4. Generation difference might well be considered: a speaker use *pak/ibu* if the addressee is much older (20 years?) than him/her.

# *Mas/Mbak* in Lampung (Lestari 2018)

- <INTERMEDIATE>
- Terms used towards young people, typically unmarried, with respect
- Toward waiter/waitresses in *Warungs* and restaurants, even in their forties.
- Rarely used in <FORMAL> situations, but if s/he is in twenties, s/he might be called *mas/mbak* in a governmental office or a bank.

# *Abang / Bang* in Lampung

- <INFORMAL>
- Used towards someone the speaker knows very well
- Used towards people who seem to have Sumatran ethnic background
- Used towards street vendors
- Not used in a governmental office or a bank
  
- *Mang* is also used to address becak driver
- *Koh / Cik* are used to address Tionghoa

# Terms from ethnic languages

- In Sumatra
- *Uda* and *uni*

These terms mean “old brother” and “old sister” respectively, and are used in Bandar Lampung to address people of Minangkabau ethnic (major ethnic group in Padang, West Sumatra) background. The appearance and accent/dialect of an addressee give clue to his/her ethnic background. 4 informants from different generations gave this answer.

*“Nanti kan setelah dia jawab, kita tahu, oh bahasanya ini kan, logatnya seperti orang ini, berarti kita alihkan ke panggilan yg lain, gitu. Cuma untuk pertama kali manggilnya ya saya manggil Mbak apa Mas, nah ternyata dia jawabnya dengan logat bahasa Padang, saya perlu panggil Uda atau Uni After he answered, then we know from the language or dialect what ethnic he belongs, so we have to shift to another address term. But at first we have to address him/her using mbak or mas, and if he/she answered in Padangnese dialect, I need to call him/her by uda or uni “ (Nur, 50)*

# Address terms from the Lampung language (Lestari 2018)

- Lampungic terms
- *kiai, puan, daing batin, adin*: “older sibling”
- 4 of 14 informants are native Lampung. Only 2 of them give explanation about Lampungic address terms.
- These Lampungic terms are only used in one’s family to address one’s older brother/sister

# North Sulawesi

<FORMAL>

*Pak / Bu*

<INTERMEDIATE>

*Opa / Oma* (over 60)

*Om / Tanta* (over 35, married)

*Nyong / Nona, Cowok / Cewek* (under 35, unmarried, the latter pair more common)

<INFORMAL>

Borrowed terms from ethnic languages

Used according to the addressee's ethnicity

# Occupational/Religious titles in SULUT

- *Mner/Ibu dosen* professor
- *Mner* can also be used towards a teacher or a woman
- *Bapak guru/Ibu guru* school teacher, over 35
- Engku(M)/Encik(F) school teacher, under 35, guru sekolah minggu
- *Guru jemaat, Bapak/Ibu Pendeta* pastor

# Towards older people

- When the speaker knows the addressee, other address forms are preferred
- In Java, Javanese words of *Dhe/Lik* or the combination *Pak dhe/Bu lik* are used
- In Sulawesi, Dutch derived words *Om/Tanta* are used
- In Kalimantan, *Jang/Cil* are used
- In Lampung, *Abang* (or *Bang* ) is used towards vendors of stall, driver of motorbike taxi, etc.

# *Om/Tanta*

- *Om/Tanta* are originally Dutch words meaning “uncle/aunt”
- In many areas, *Om/Tanta* are used as kinship terms, towards relatives (uncle/aunt)
- In Java, *Om/Tanta* can only be used towards foreigners, possibly Chinese descendants
- In Sulawesi, *Om/Tanta* can be used exactly as *Pak/Bu* in wider registers (not common in at school or governmental offices, but can be used towards people whom the speaker does not know)
- In some areas, such as in North Kalimantan, they can be used towards someone a generation older than a speaker

# Towards young people

- Terms that are used when addressing younger people in shops and restaurants varies from place to place
- Javanese words *Mas/Mbak* (meaning “brother/sister”) are used not only in Java but also in Bali and some parts of Sumatra
- In North Sulawesi and Makassar *Cowok/Cewek* (meaning “boy/girl”)
- In North Sulawesi, *Nyong/Nona* are also used towards people whom a speaker know
- In Makassar, *Daeng* (Makassarese meaning older sibling) is used towards manual laborer, whereas *Mas* or *Cowok* is used in restaurants and shops
- In North Kalimantan, *Ko (or Koko)/Nya* are used

# Towards children and teenagers

- *Dik* (from *adik* “younger sibling”) is widely used towards teenagers
- *Nak* (from *anak* “child”) is also widely used towards small children
- In Bali, *Dik* is mostly used towards teenagers, and *Nak* (from *anak* “child”) is used towards small children
- In North Sulawesi, *De* (also from *adik*) is used towards small children and low teens. A small children can be addressed by *Kak* (derived from *Kakak*, “older sibling”) if s/he has a younger sibling

# Ethnicity

- In many places in Indonesia, people prefer to use address terms derived from local ethnic languages when they know the addressee's ethnicity
- *Mas/Mbak* towards Javanese
- In Lampung, *Bang* is used towards Sumatranese male, *Uda* towards Minangkabau male, *Uni* towards Minangkabau female, *Aak* towards Sundanese male

	MINAHASA SULUT	MINAHASA Mainly 3 <sup>rd</sup> person	Sangir	Talaud	Gorontalo
INTERMEDIATE Older	Om/Tanta			Bu (male)/Susi	
INTERMEDIATE Younger	Nyong/Nona Cowok/Cewek <u>Bos</u>				
INFORMAL Older	Opa/Oma (+60)  Mam,Mams	Ajus/Sebe  Pace/Mace (disgrading)	Bu (male)/Usi	Timmade (+60)  Utu/Ji	Uti/No'u
INFORMAL Similar age or Younger	<u>Bro</u> <u>Fren</u> (friend) Ente (male) Karapi (Tontemboan) Tolek (Tondano) Sob (sahabat) Anjing, Babi, Kambing, bots (botak), gocap (gondrong cakap)		Opo/Wawu Ungke/Momo (similar age)	Tole(male) Hawe/Wola (similar age)	Uti/No'u

# Conclusion

- There are many address terms that are used according to three styles, <FORMAL>, <INTERMEDIATE>, <INFORMAL>
- Age/generation difference and gender are strongly relevant in many cases
- Intrafamilial terms are mainly from ethnic languages
- <INFORMAL> close friends may use borrowed terms from English, ethnic languages, as well as in-group sporadic vogue terms
- Showing respect <FORMAL>
  - Generation: some titles are used towards people who are a generation older
  - Marital status: *Pak/Bu* are for married people and there are other titles for unmarried people
  - Setting in which the conversation occurs
- Showing solidarity or closeness <INFORMAL>
  - Use a title in the addressee's ethnic language
  - Towards young people and children

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