

LANGUAGE SOCIALIZATION IN FAMILY ENVIRONMENTS THROUGH TERMS OF ADDRESS TO CHILDREN

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Abstract

As a linguistic resource, the term address in language socialization can become a means to make children competent in language and in society. The present article is aimed at describing the practice of language socialization that is reflected from terms of addresses used by parents with children in the family environment. The study takes place in Sleman Regency, Yogyakarta Special Province, Indonesia. The data are obtained through questionnaires and observations. The questionnaires are distributed to parents through six schools (Play Groups, Day Care Centers, and Kindergartens) in the city center of Sleman Regency (N=145). Meanwhile, observations are made on five families living in urban Sleman. The data are analyzed by the qualitative method consisting classifying the forms of addresses and finding out the motivation and socialization values contained in these forms of the addresses. The results show that, as a linguistic resource, several forms of addresses with various motivations are found. The forms and motivations for the preferred addresses toward children indicate that, in urban family environments, parents tend to rely on child-centered communication during the language socialization process. In this case, parents adapt their language usage to meet their children's developmental levels. This is evident from the use of addresses in the form of proper names and kinship terms (which can be followed by proper names) that are utilized to avoid the use of second person pronouns. In addition, there is an emphasis on affection conveyed through addresses in the form of adjectival nominalization, nominal forms, terms of endearment, and various forms of appositives. The values reflected in the selection of such addresses are courtesy, affection, hope, cultural and religious identity, and position of society between locality and nationality.

Keywords: language socialization; address to children; family environment

SOSIALISASI BAHASA DI LINGKUNGAN KELUARGA MELALUI KATA SAPAAN PADA ANAK-ANAK

Abstrak

Sebagai salah satu sumber kebahasaan, pemakaian sapaan dalam sosialisasi bahasa dapat menjadi sarana untuk menyosialisasikan anak agar memiliki kecakapan dalam berbahasa dan bermasyarakat. Artikel ini bertujuan mendeskripsikan sosialisasi bahasa yang tecermin dari pemakaian kata sapaan oleh orang tua kepada anak di lingkungan

keluarga. Penelitian berlangsung di Kabupaten Sleman, Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta, Indonesia. Data diperoleh melalui kuesioner dan observasi. Kuesioner dibagikan kepada orang tua melalui enam sekolah (Kelompok Bermain, Tempat Penitipan Anak, dan Taman Kanak-Kanak) di Kabupaten Sleman (N = 145), sedangkan observasi dilakukan terhadap lima keluarga yang tinggal di lingkungan urban Sleman. Analisis data dilakukan dengan metode kualitatif yang diawali dengan melakukan klasifikasi bentuk-bentuk sapaan untuk kemudian mengetahui motivasi dan nilai sosialisasi yang terkandung dari bentuk-bentuk sapaan tersebut. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa sebagai sumber kebahasaan dalam sosialisasi, ditemukan beberapa bentuk sapaan dan berbagai motivasi pemakaiannya. Bentuk dan motivasi sapaan untuk anak-anak menunjukkan bahwa orang tua cenderung menggunakan komunikasi yang berpusat pada anak. Orang tua menyesuaikan penggunaan bahasa mereka untuk memenuhi tingkat perkembangan anak mereka. Hal ini terlihat dari penggunaan sapaan berupa nama diri dan istilah kekerabatan (yang dapat diikuti dengan nama diri) yang digunakan untuk menghindari penggunaan kata ganti orang kedua. Selain itu, ada penekanan pada aspek afeksi melalui sapaan berupa nominalisasi kata sifat, bentuk nominal, bentuk ungkapan kasih, dan berbagai bentuk apositif. Pemilihan jenis-jenis sapaan tersebut mengandung nilai-nilai yang secara implisit diajarkan kepada anak, yaitu kesopanan, kasih sayang, harapan, identitas budaya dan agama, serta identitas masyarakat di antara lokalitas dan nasionalitas.

Kata kunci: sosialisasi bahasa, sapaan pada anak, lingkungan keluarga

INTRODUCTION

Language plays an important role in a child's life and facilitates the child's growth into a capable family and community member (Ochs & Schieffelin, 2012). In this case, Sapir (Ochs & Schieffelin, 2012) even argues that language is the greatest force in socialization. Children live in a sociocultural environment that requires language competence as a medium in order to grow and integrate into a family and community. Therefore, children will socialize and be socialized through the use of and exposure to language. In other words, language not only becomes a tool to achieve the objectives of a socialization, but also is the end of the objectives of a socialization at the same time.

According to Aledo (2018), learning a language, as a language socialization, is experienced through influences of different external factors. One of the examples of a form of language socialization in verbal interactions in the family environment is the term of address used by parents to children. Parents can use various terms of address to children depending on situational contexts. Farese (2018) suggests that term of address can be oral and written interactions whose variation depends on factors of (i) the choice and preference of each speaker; (ii) the context of interaction; (iii) the relationship between the speaker and receiver; (iv) the list of words available in the language as a way of interacting with people; and (v) the cultural values and assumptions that

guide a discourse. Because terms of address are used to call people, Farese (2018) also states that they belong to a class of words that indicate or describe people, namely people's pronouns, nouns, and nominalized adjectives.

Muhlhausler and Harre (in Hua, 2010) argue that terms of address play an important role in creating and maintaining social relations. Therefore, through the use of terms of address, parents can impart language along with its social and cultural values to their children.

Term of address, according to Kridalaksana (1982), is a system that links a set of words or expressions that is used to address and call the actors in a speech event. This is in line with Farese (2018) who defined term of address as a linguistic practice that uses certain words to call or identify someone and indicate that the person is the receiver of the intended message. Based on its characteristics, Dunkling (2007) defines term of address as a marker based on number and politeness that (a) functions as a particle for the pronoun "you" that can form the paradigmatic phrase "you"; (b) consists of name, word, or a combination of both; and (c) is used for the benefit of speaker, receiver, or listener (third party) for both optional and other grammatical, practical, social, emotional, ceremonial, or external reasons.

Forms of address can be divided into two categories (Quirk et al., 1992), namely pronouns of address and vocatives. Pronouns of address are second-person pronouns used to address someone during face-to-face communication. Vocatives are words or expressions (generally nouns) which are optionally added to

clauses or sentences to address one or more people (Quirk et al., 1992).

Terms of address were investigated by Sulistyowati (2008) who found that most terms of address in Yogyakarta, rely on a rule of alternation relating to the choice of terms of address in Javanese at the Yogyakarta Palace, which are characterized by people who are addressed; relationships between speech participants; and positionality based on age, status, seniority, or context. Wibowo & Retnaningsih (2015) found that the dynamics of the terms of address in Indonesian show the sequence of age, birth, gender, education level, proximity of relation, location, profession, religion, position, trends, strata of society, and inheritance in kinship relations of the addresser. Through these dynamics, terms of address show that Indonesian people have a dialectic between locality and nationality.

Through Japanese TV drama, Yonezawa (2019) examined the practice of using terms of address among family members in Japan. This study qualitatively analyzed not only the normative use of terms of address, but also their deviations, including the use of unusual terms in Japanese communication. This study highlighted the dynamic aspects of Japanese where the speaker creates meaning and establishes a smooth relationship with interlocutors through the terms of address. Left Lee and Young-mee Yu Cho (Yonezawa, 2019) examined terms of address in Korean and Japanese and found that "intimacy" was an important reason for utilizing terms of address in both languages. This study then proposed improvements to Brown and Gilman's (Yonezawa, 2019) "Power and "Solidari-

ty” theory. According to them, “power and solidarity” are socially determined ideas, while “intimacy” is personally defined. The reason for subjectivity is crucial and often influences the way Korean/Japanese speakers choose the appropriate terms of address.

Meanwhile, Hua (2010) conducted a study on terms of address based on language socialization. Studying terms of address used by Chinese diaspora families from through the lens of language socialization and intercultural conditions, Hua (2010) found that people’s strategies in using terms of address are significant in marking their social and cultural roles and identities. Terms of address serve as a direct means in language socialization for younger generations who are still developing their socio-cultural role. In addition, thanks to language socialization, younger generations learn about appropriate social and cultural behavior in a diasporic context, resulting in potentially substantial differences in social and cultural values between the wider local community and the diasporic community. Hua (2010) argues that language socialization is not only about passing on social and cultural values from one generation to the next, but also about how it influences social and cultural values. Through language socialization, the younger generation within a diasporic community not only internalize social, cultural, and linguistic norms of their community, but also play an active role in building and creating their own social and cultural identity and making changes to existing communities and norms within the family unit.

The use of terms of address by parents to children investigated from the point of view of language socialization has distinctive features that makes it different from the aforementioned studies. The use of terms of address is closely related to the practice of language socialization to children because parents are the persons closest to the children who are in the first language acquisition stage. Ferguson (1964) states that terms of address is one of the terms that are often used by parents in their communication with children. In addition, aspects of affection and communication orientation also serve as the basis for parents in socializing language through the use of terms of address to children.

Examining cross-cultural language socialization, Ochs & Schieffelin (2008) argue that there are two groups of communication orientation that can be found in the process of language socialization in children. The first is child-centered orientation, while the second is situation-centered orientation. When children become the center of communication orientation, caregivers consider the children’s perspective when speaking with them so that the topic focuses on the children. Therefore, children are often involved as speech partners and the parents meet the children at their developmental level. However, the situation-centered communication orientation expects children to accommodate activities and people in the situations they encounter. In this situation-centered communication, children are faced with conditions and forced to adjust to the activities and people around them.

Child-centered communication is in line with the motherese hypothesis that child-directed speech primarily composed of affection and simplification (Cartmill et al., 2013) a major factor influencing subsequent school and workplace success. This variability is partially explained by the differential quantity of parental speech to preschoolers. However, the contexts in which young learners hear new words are also likely to vary in referential transparency; that is, in how clearly word meaning can be inferred from the immediate extralinguistic context, an aspect of input quality. To examine this aspect, we asked 218 adult participants to guess 50 parents' words from (muted. Grammatically, nouns are more frequently used than pronouns, while lexically, there are 25 to 60 references relating to topics close to the world of children, ranging from kinship terms, nicknames, body parts and functions, basic qualities, names of animals, to parenting (Ferguson, 1964). Such characteristics lead to the fine-tuning hypothesis, a hypothesis that the way people speak to children is based on adaptation to the children's developmental abilities (Rowe et al., 2004, 1975). As children grow, this simplified form of speech reduces. The basis of this principle is that child-directed speech adjusts to the needs and skill level of the child.

The aforementioned research raises three questions in this article. (1) What terms of address are used by parents to children in language interactions in the family environment in Sleman Regency, Yogyakarta Special Region, Indonesia? (2) What are the things underlying

these terms of address? (3) Based on the results of these two questions, what is the center of communication orientation and what are the values of language socialization perpetuated through these terms of address?

METHOD

In order to examine the terms of address used by parents to children, the scope of this article is limited to the urban family environment in Sleman Regency, Yogyakarta Special Region, Indonesia. This study involved 145 participants. A questionnaire was one of the tools used to collect data detailing familial terms of address. The questionnaire was distributed to parents (a father and mother) who had children aged 2—6 years at the time of study, and was distributed through six schools (Child Care Centers, Play Groups, and Kindergartens) in urban areas in Sleman Regency, Yogyakarta Special Region. The questionnaires for this study were distributed with the schools' permission and respondents' consent. The questionnaire asked about (1) the demographic background of respondents, and (2) the discourse completion test (DCT) instrument. In order to determine variations in the use of address to children, there were ten situations relating to speech that were generally spoken by parents to children in the daily interactions (command, prohibition, invitation, request, offering thanks, complimenting, explanation, questioning, permitting, and declining).

In addition to using the questionnaire, observations were also made

about the use of terms of address in natural language interactions between parents and children. Such observations were made in five families living in an urban area in Sleman, Yogyakarta. These five families are a questionnaire participants who consented to being observed in their daily lives. Researchers observed the communication between parents and children in the family during several activities for two weeks, such as playing together, bathing the children, reading books, and watching television. Field notes were taken during that time. Researchers also asked participants to help record some of their conversations with their children in several possible situations. The results of this method were used to supplement the data obtained from the questionnaire. Furthermore, the data were analyzed by qualitative methods. The analysis begins by classifying the forms of address to then find out the implicit motivations and values contained in these forms of address.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Results

By analyzing terms of address as a linguistic resource in language socialization used by parents with children in the family environment, several forms of address with various motivations were found. Then, we can find out the values of language socialization which are implicitly reflected in the various terms of address and the centered of communication during the language socialization process.

Before going on to the forms of address and the parents motivation using

these forms of address, it is important to know the linguistic background of participants. Within 145 participants, 122 participants or 84% participants are Javanese, 12% participants are from outside Java, and 4% are from outside Indonesia. Furthermore, this background affects the choice of language, and subsequently the use of address in children. When interacting with children, the following diagram describes the percentage of participants' choice of language.

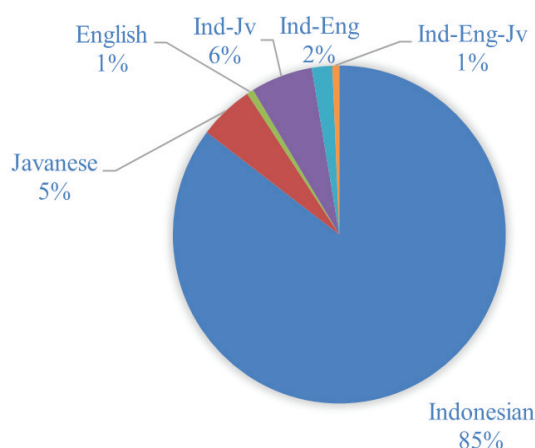


Diagram 1. Language Choice

Based on the data obtained, urban parents in Sleman, Yogyakarta used various forms of address when interacting with their children. Some of these forms were pronouns, the children's proper names, kinship terms, adjectival nominalization, nouns, terms of endearment, a combination of some of those forms, appositives, and slang, which classified in pronouns of address and vocative category as illustrated in Table 1.

Table 1. Forms of Address

No	Forms of address	Examples
1	Pronouns of address a) pronouns b) proper names	<i>kamu</i> 'you' <i>Zizi, Gita, Nayla</i>
2	Vocative a) nicknames b) kinship terms c) adjectival nominalization d) nouns (noun with adjective attributed) e) terms of endearment f) a combination of some of (a)—(e) forms g) appositives h) slang	1) complete nicknames 2) short forms of children's nicknames 3) diminutive forms 1) Javanese terms 2) Indonesian terms 3) other regional language terms <i>ganteng</i> 'handsome' <i>pinter</i> 'smart' <i>sayangku</i> 'my dear' <i>anak ganteng</i> 'handsome boy' <i>anaknya mama yang pinter</i> 'mama's boy who is smart' sayang 'dear', honey 1) a kinship term + a child's proper name 2) a proper name + adjectives 3) a kinship term + a proper name + a term of endearment <i>Mas Dzaky</i> 'Bro Dzaky' <i>Yaya sayang</i> 'my dear Yaya' <i>dek Abi sayang</i> 'my dear bro Abi' <i>Ka Ea cantik</i> 'my beautiful Sis Ea' <i>mas Al, anak sholeh ibu</i> , 'bro Al, mommy's good boy' <i>Cuy</i> 'Pal', <i>Bos</i> 'Boss'

Parents used the various forms of address detailed in Table 1 based on various

motivations. Table 2 shows several motivations of using various forms of address.

Table 2. Motivations of Using Forms of Address

No	Motivation	Examples
1	Politeness	<i>Mas, Mbak, (A)Bang, (Ka)Kak, or (A)Dik</i>
2	Identity a) Ethnic identity b) Moslem identity	<i>Mbak, Mas, (A)bang, (Tho)le, (Ge)ndhuk</i> <i>(anak) Sholih or solehah</i> 'good boy/girl'

No	Motivation	Examples
3	Expressions of parents' affection	<i>Sayang</i> 'dear', <i>honey</i> , <i>cinta</i> 'love'
4	Emotional expressions	a) Positive emotion (giving praise or encouragement for an achievement) b) Negative emotion
		<i>Sholihahnya ummi</i> 'mommy's good girl' <i>Alindra... Adek Alindra... Adek Alin...</i> 'Alindra... Bro Alindra... Bro Alin...'
5	Parental expectations for their children	<i>anak sholih, pinter, hafidz quran</i> , 'my good, smart, hafidz boy'
6	Intimacy or closeness of the parents and children	<i>Cuy</i> 'Pal', <i>Bos</i> 'Boss'
7	To draw attention to a request or statement	terms of address as <i>alerter</i>

Discussion

Forms of Address

According to Quirk et al. (1992), there are two overarching categories within the forms of address. In the following examples (1) and (2), the second-person pronoun *kamu* (and *you* in example [2]) are used as *pronouns of address* by parents to children.

- (1) *Kamu sedang sakit. Makan es krimnya lain kali ya.*
'You get sick now. You can eat ice cream next time.'
- (2) *Hey, are you oke? Kamu mau cerita sesuatu sama mimi?*
'Hey, are you okay? Do you want to tell something to Mimi?'

This pronoun in child-directed speech theory is avoided by parents (Clark and Clark, 1977). However, this also depends on the child's age. In the fine-tuning hypothesis, as the children grow up, various pronouns are then used by parents as the children mature developmentally. Because this research used a relatively broad scope, namely terms of address used for

children 2–6 years old, some examples of the use of second-person pronouns *you* were found, especially because children were more than 4 years old and those who already had socialized outside the family, namely in preschools.

In addition to the second person pronouns *kamu* or *you*, proper names *Zizi* in the following example (3) also contains pronouns of address.

- (3) *Zizi harus mandi supaya lebih segar badannya!*
Zizi has to take a bath so that your body will be fresher!

The child's proper name used as an address falls within the vocative category. In the vocative, nicknames can be complete nicknames, such as *Gita*, *Sofia*, *Timothy*; short forms of children's nicknames, such as *Ce* from *Cece*, *Sa* from *Tesa*, *Za* from *Izza*, *Kin* from *Kinara*; and can also be in their diminutive forms, such as *Cece*, *Caca*, *Yaya*. They can be used at the beginning or at the end of the speech.

Kinship terms are also used as a form of address for children. Because the respondents within Sleman were originally from various regions throughout Indonesia, the kinship reference used by parents when addressing children was not only Javanese kinship terms, but also Indonesian, and other regional language terms. The Javanese address *Le* is clipped from *Thole* is used to address a boy (Widada, 2019) and *Gendhuk* or commonly clipped to *Ndhuk* which in Indonesian is absorbed as *Genduk* is used to “address to a girl” (KBBI V), and can be seen in the following examples.

- (4) *Le, yuk bangun, mandi. Kita buat balon.*
My little boy, come wake up, take a bath and make a balloon.
- (5) *Genduk suka? Oke kita beli alat masaknyanya ya.*
Does my little girl like it? OK, we will buy the cooking utensils.

Both of the gender-specific terms, detailed above are equal to *Nak*, a clipped form of (*anak*) which is not a common form of address. The address *Nak* is gender-neutral and generally applicable to boys and girls, unlike *Le* and *Nduk*. An example of its use can be seen below.

In addition to these three forms of address, the kinship terms used by parents with their children can also take the form of other words. Based on the data collected, the most widely used Javanese kinship terms were *Mas* and *Mbak*. *Mas* is defined as “1. An address for older brother considered older; 2. A respectful terms of address for man, regardless of age; 3. A term of endearment by the wife to the husband” (KBBI V). While *Mbak* is de-

defined as, “1. A term of address for those older in Java; 2. A term of address for young woman” (KBBI V). The lemma *Mas* in *Bausastra Jawa* (Widada, 2019) also relates to the *kakang* “older male relatives” and the phrase sublemma, *kakang mas: kakang lanang* meaning “older brother.” Meanwhile, *Mbak* was not found in *Bausastra Jawa*, but within the sublemma *kakang embok: embok ayu* had a similar meaning. In the course of time, the term has changed, *embok ayu* → *mbakyu* → *mbak*.

- (6) *Pakpung dulu yuk, Mas.*
 Let’s take a bath, *Bro*.
- (7) *Mbak, nyuwun tulung pintune ditutup nggih.*
Sis, could you close the door, please.

The address *Mas* and *Mbak* are generally used by parents to address their oldest child, whether the child already has a brother/sister or not, for the purpose of politeness. Meanwhile, the address *Adik* (and its variations, *Dedek*, *Dek*, which also exist in Javanese and Indonesian) are defined as a “term of address to younger man or woman” (KBBI V). The terms *Kakak*, *Kak* which means a “term of address to person (male and female) considered older” (KBBI V) are also used by parents to address their children. Terms of address based on birth order other than *Kakak* and *Adik* are *Abang/Bang*. *Abang* or *Bang* meaning an “address for older brother” (KBBI V) in the data were used by parents from outside Java, namely Medan, North Sumatra. Meanwhile, the address *Dek* and its variations can be used for a child with or without siblings. For those without an older sibling, this

address will later change if the child has a younger sibling.

- (8) *Bang*, tolong ditutup pintunya ya.
Bro, please close the door.
- (9) *Lainnya saja ya, Kak...*
Some other time, okay, *Bro*
- (10) *Adik, makanannya dihabiskan, eman-eman...*
My little bro, eat up your food, it's a pity....

When addressing children, parents also use a number of nominalized adjectives. For example, *cantik* (beautiful), *ganteng* (handsome), *pinter* (smart). Kridalaksana (2001:146) defines nominalization as "1. [The] process or result of forming nouns from other word classes using certain affixes; 2. [The] process or result of forming units of nouns from words, phrases, clauses or sentences of other classes." The following are examples of nominalized adjectives.

- (11) *Nggih, matur nuwun cantik.*
Okay, thank you, *beautiful*.
- (12) *Makasih ya ganteng...*
Thanks, *handsome...*

In addition, terms of address were also found in other nominal forms created from endocentric noun phrases whose central element was a noun with adjective attributed, for example *sayangku* (my dear), *anakku* (my child), *anak hebat* (great child), *anak ganteng* (handsome boy), *anak pinter* (smart boy), *cah ayu* (beautiful girl), *anak baik* (good child), *bayi kecil* (little child). However, there was also forms of address where both elements were nouns such as *baby ummi* (mama's baby). In addition, within these phrases there

were also clauses, for example *anaknya mama yang pinter* (mama's boy who is smart).

- (13) *Makasih, sayangku.*
Thanks, *my dear*.
- (14) *Sayang anakku, sekarang sudah jam setengah tujuh.*
My dear daughter, it is already half past seven.
- (15) *Terima kasih ya, anak ganteng.*
Thank you, *handsome boy*.
- (16) *Sini peluk dulu, anak pinter, makasih ya.*
Come and hug me first, *smart girl*, thank you.
- (17) *Assalamualaikum, Baby Ummy, bangun yuk nak...*
Assalamualaikum, *Mommy's Baby*, wake up...
- (18) *Terima kasih, anaknya mama yang pinter.*
Thank you, *mama's boy who is smart*.

This form of affection can also be used as an address to children. Examples are *sayang* 'dear', or *honey* as in the following example.

- (19) *Terima kasih, sayang*
Thank you, *dear*
- (20) *Thank you, honey. Good boy.*

There are also forms of address which are combinations of the previously discussed forms of address. The combination may consist of two forms of address such as a kinship term + a child's proper name, a proper name + adjectives, or three forms of address such as a kinship term + a proper name + a term of endearment, or a kinship term + a proper name + an adjective.

- (21) *Makasih ya, Mas Dzaky.*
Thanks, **Bro Dzaky**.
- (22) *Terima kasih dek Abi sayang*
Thank you, **my dear bro Abi**
- (23) *Makasih ya Ka Ea cantik!*
Thank you, **my beautiful Sis Ea!**

Moreover, terms of address were also given appositive forms, adding information on the address, which were formed from a combination of several forms of address as emotional indicators.

- (24) *Terima kasih mas AI (mencium pipi/keningnya), anak sholeh ibu.*
Thanks, **bro AI** (kissing their cheek/forehead), **mommy's good boy**.
- (25) *Terima kasih dek, anak hebat kesayangan mama.*
Thanks **bro, mama's great beloved child**.

Furthermore, based on observations of language interaction in several families, terms of address were also found in the form of slang. Wijana (2012) argues that Indonesian adolescent slang is a subset of adolescent languages that symbolizes intimacy between young people. The terms of address in the form of slang were used in a family environment with a democratic parenting or intimacy style and was typically used to foster levity or break tension. Generally used to address peers, **Bos** or **Cuy**.

- (26) *Itu, ke situ lho, Cuy....*
There, just go there, **Pal....**
- (27) *Siap, Bos.*
Ready, **Boss**.

Motivation for Choosing Forms of Address

Parents used the various forms of address detailed in section 1 based on vari-

ous motivations. Using the kinship terms based on birth order (and gender) was generally rooted in **politeness**. Parents used *Mas*, *Mbak*, *(A)Bang*, *(Ka)Kak*, or *(A)Dik* and their variations to adhere to cultural and social norms around politeness. These words can also be used to address speech partners, both relatives and non-relatives (familiar and unfamiliar) as a sign that the speaker respects the person he/she is addressing. This is in line with Karenisa (2019) findings that in the academic realm, the terms of *Mas* and *Mbak* which are very broad in Indonesia are also used for the purpose of politeness. The words that are usually put in front of the child's proper name or adjectives function to show that the parents respect the children.

In addition to motivations around politeness, the address *Mas*, *Mbak*, *(A)bang*, *Le* and *Nduk* were also used based on motivation around **identity**. Parents from Java used the address of *Mas*, *Mbak*, *Le*, and *Nduk* to signal their Javanese identity, while parents from Medan used the address *(A)bang* to signal their Malay identity. However, it is important to note that the use of the address *Mbak*, *Mas*, *(A)bang* in Indonesia have shifted in meanings from their original connotations, as *Mbak* as often used in soap operas, films, or TV film to address a housemaid or herbal medicine seller; *Mas* is used to address a driver, office boy, or cleaning serviceman; while *Bang* is used to address motorcycle taxi driver. In addition, religious identities can also be demonstrated through terms of address. The religious identity adopted by parents and passed down to their children can be seen from the use of the address (**anak**) *Sholih*

or *solehah* (good boy/girl) that originate from Arabic. Their use symbolizes Muslim identity, in the following examples.

(28) *Sholih, bunda minta tolong tutupin pintu yaa Le...*

My good boy, could you close the door for mama please ...

(29) *Nasya... boleh bantu mama? Tolong tutup pintunya yah, anak solehah.*

Nasya... can you help mama? Please close the door, *my good girl*.

Expressions of parents' affection can also be the basis for selection certain forms of address with children. *Sayang* (dear), *honey*, or *cinta* (love) are some examples of address used by parents to express their affection for their children. These forms are used in various situations, for example (30) when waking a child up and (31) when refusing a child's request to buy him ice cream.

(30) *Selamat pagi sayang. Bangun, Nak waktunya siap-siap berangkat ke sekolah.*

Good morning **dear**. Wake up, kid, time to get ready to go to school.

(31) *Jangan dulu sayang. Nanti kalau sudah sembuh.*

Not now, **dear**. Later after you get well.

In example (32), at first the parents (mother) used the word *adek* as an address, but then use *sayang*. The child looked sad, so the mother intended to provide comfort and denote safety by using the address *sayang* with her child.

(32) *Adek tadi di sekolah ada cerita apa? Adek kenapa cemberut? Sini sayang cerita sama mama.*

Sis, did something happen at school? Why so sad, *Sis*? Come on, *dear*, tell mama.

In addition to politeness, identity, and expression of affection, parents also used address for **emotional expressions**. Clayman (2010) states that terms of address can be one of the resources to regulate certain expression. *Ganteng, pinter, hebat, saleh/salehah* and so forth are usually used when giving praise or encouragement for an achievement. This form of address conveys emotional expression and is (usually) hyperbolic. In child-oriented communication, the use of something hyperbolic is one of the characteristics of child-directed speech (Kurniawati, 2019). Although such child's development and success are small and simple, like in the following example where a child successfully helped close the door, hyperbolic address can be regarded as a form of emotional expression.

(33) *Terima kasih mas ganteng.*

Thank you, **Mr. Handsome**.

(34) *Makasih, ya sholihahnya ummi.*

Thank you, **mommy's good girl**.

(35) *Terima kasih anak pintar. Ummi senang Yaya udah bantu ummi.*

Thank you, **my clever boy**. Mommy's happy Yaya helped mommy.

(36) *Terima kasih dek, anak hebat kesayangan mama.*

Thank you **Dek, m'ma's dearest, great boy**.

Expression of emotions is not always positive as in the examples above. Based on the observations, when the child does not pay attention to requests or instruc-

tions from parents, the address for him/her were repeated with variations to show increased emotion as in the following examples.

(37) Bentuk apa ini *mas? Raffii...*

What is this shape, **Bro? Raffii...**

(38) Eh, **Alindra** belum minum susu lho. Ayok minum, yuk. **Alindra...**
Adek Alindra... Adek Alin... Minum susu, ya? He'em?

Hey, **Alindra** hasn't drunk milk, you know? Come on, lets drink.

Alindra... Bro Alindra... Bro Alin... Drinking milk, huh? Hu'um?

In addition to motivation as a means of expressing emotions, examples (39) can also be seen from another perspective, which is **parental expectations for their children**. As it is Islamic believed that a name is a prayer, words are also regarded as a prayer by the community so that the use of address *anak sholih, pinter, rajin, hafidz Quran* is also a form of prayer for their children. In parenting, good/positive words that can increase children's motivation are highly recommended. Therefore, positive addresses that express parental expectations and goals for the child are also commonly used. In addition to the examples in the previous discussion, the followings are example of use of such address.

(39) *Terima kasih anak sholih, pinter, hafidz quran, bunda sudah dibantu tutup pintu.*

Thank you *my good, smart, hafidz boy* for helping mommy close the door.

Motivation for using forms of address can also be used to convey the intimacy or closeness of the parents and children. This closeness can be seen from the use of second-person pronoun *kamu* (you). In addition, the motivation for closeness with children can also be seen from the use of address that are not commonly used to children, namely slang: *cuy, bos, bambang*. This slang is usually used among teenagers and peers. Parents then adopt this language to make a joke with their children or break tension.

Finally, the use of address to children can also be used by parents to **draw attention** to a request or statement. In addition to exclamation, greetings, and so on, Blum-kulka & Olshtain (1984) also classifies terms of address as one of the types of *alerter*, a linguistic device used to get the attention of speech partners. Terms of address are often used at the beginning of the utterance because it can be an introduction to speech so that the speech partner instinctively pays attention to what the speaker says. In the following examples, to draw the child's attention and indicate that the utterance is directed at them, parents use the address at the beginning of the utterance. In example (40), an address is used before the parent makes a request to help close the door, while in example (41), the address is used before the parent declines to buy the toy the child wants. Parents use the address first as an introduction so that the children pay attention to the conversation.

(40) *Yaya sayang, boleh tolong ummi tutup pintunya?*

My dear Yaya, can you help mommy close the door?

- (41) *Dik... mendingan beli alat tulis aja ya. Biar bisa untuk belajar.*
Sis ... it's better to buy stationery.
 So you can learn.

Term of Address as Form of Language Socialization in Children

Based on inherent differences in knowledge and power between agents, there is always an asymmetrical relationship in language socialization (Ochs & Schieffelin, 2012). Parents are considered stronger and better understand the world so that, in the asymmetrical position, parents are generally considered to have a higher social standing than the child. Therefore, the use of address by parents to children becomes a linguistic resource for children so that children are able to socialize with proper terms of address and use learn the terms of address appropriate when communicating with the community.

In children's language acquisition, the strategy of clarity of reference becomes crucial for children in mastering the meaning of words (Dardjowidjojo, 2008). Therefore, in order to avoid the child's confusion around unspecified addresses through the pronoun him/her, i.e. *kamu* (you) which is not fix, parents then avoid to use it until the child is considered capable of understanding it. This shows that parents try to adapt to children's capability (Clark and Clark, 1977). Accordingly, parents adopt the perspective of the child in order to avoid using the second-person pronoun by using other forms of address.

Therefore, based on the communication orientation, the use of proper names and kinship terms (which are also com-

monly put in front of the child's proper name) are used to avoid using second-person pronouns, *kamu* (you), as a form of child-centered communication. This can be seen in the examples (42)–(46). In example (42) proper name *Felis*, example (43) kinship terms *Kakak*, example (44) *Adik*, and example (45) kinship terms and proper name *Mbak Zizi*, and example (46) *Mas Al* are used to replace the pronoun *kamu* (you).

- (42) *Program Felis di sekolah tadi apa? Menyenangkan?*
 What was the **Felis'** program at the school? Was it Fun?
- (43) *Terima kasih ya Kak sudah bantu mama. Kakak cantik deh.*
 Thank you, *Sis*, for helping mama. What a pretty *sister*.
- (44) *Terimakasih Nak... Adik pinter*
 Thanks, *kid* ... my smart *little sister*
- (45) *Terima kasih ya Mbak, Mbak Zizi itu pinter bisa bantu mama*
 Thanks *Sis*, *Sis* Zizi is clever for helping mama
- (46) *Mandi itu wajib no Mas... biar badan Mas Al bersih dan harum....*
 Taking a bath is obligatory *Bro* ... so that *Bro Al's* body will be clean and smell good....

However, the use of address with the pronoun *kamu* (you) and the use of several terms in slang found in the data indicates that some parent communication is centered on the context. This is because children need to think harder to understand address referents. In addition, this form of address also indicates that the child is considered mature enough to understand the meaning. The use of referents can show intimacy so that children

are expected to feel close to parents and eventually understand that this form of referent is used by the wider community.

(47) *Nak, bangun, sekarang sudah siang nanti kamu terlambat berangkat sekolah.*

Kid, wake up, now the sun has risen, *you*'ll be late to go to school.

(48) *Mandi dulu biar bersih, kalau gak mandi bau, gak ada yang mau main sama kamu.*

Go take a bath, clean yourself, if you don't, you'll smell bad, nobody will want to play with *you*.

In addition to the avoidance and use of the pronoun *kamu* (you), in the data (49), **proper name** and *kamu* (you) seem to be used inconsistently because parents also use both as the pronoun of address directed at children (even in a speech situation). This indicates that parents are in the stage of adaptation to realize that children need to be prepared for language use in society at large. Children also communicate with relatives, friends and teachers at school, or friends and neighbors in the neighborhood so that parents then adapt the language used around the children. The Father Bridge Hypothesis (Gleason in Steinberg, 2001) believes that fathers become bridges of communication between children and families as well as children and the community. The use *kamu* (you), which is not consistent and being introduced, is then becoming a kind of bridge for the use of address with the outside world.

(49) *Sofia mau mainan ini? Nanti bisa kamu pakai untuk...*

Sofia wants this toy? Later on *you* can use it to ...

Meanwhile, nominalization of adjectives, such as *cantik* (beautiful), *ganteng* (handsome), *pinter* (smart); term of endearment like *sayang* (dear), *honey*, *cinta* (love); nominal forms like *sayangku* (my dear), *anak pinter* (smart kid), *baby ummi* (mom's baby), show that the aspect of affection, which is characteristic of child-directed speech (Ferguson, 1964), are chosen as a form of address to children. Therefore, children are expected to be able to understand the contents of the intended use that they are persons who are overwhelmed with love. In the communication orientation, children's self-centeredness, which is the basis of parental adjustment, indicate that parents adjust to the traits inherent in the child so that the child becomes the center of communication.

Meanwhile, in terms of the "values" that are instilled, the use of kinship vocabulary can show the cultural identity of the community. Birth order like *Adik*, *Kakak* as well as gender markers, such as *Mas*, *Mbak*, dan (*A*)*bang* show that the urban community in Sleman, Yogyakarta considers the culture of politeness important. Additionally, the use of *saleh(ah)* shows the culture of Islamic religiosity. The use of address is an input for children so that it can be a model of the use of address in the community. Furthermore, children are able to understand, grasp the value contained within these addresses and then apply it in their social lives: that when addressing other people who are older or younger, he/she can use the kinship terms with birth order marker (and or gender). In addition, parents' expectations implied by the use of *saleh*, *salihah* and forms of address in the form of

nominalization of adjectives, such as *ganteng* (handsome), *cantik* (beautiful), *pinter* (smart), *rajin* (diligent) convey the parental expectations and goals to the children.

Finally, Lee & Bucholtz (2015) state that language socialization recognizes norms and practices of community culture as a dynamic and fluid matter, with its potential to be reproduced or changed by its users. This change due to language and cultural contact can be seen in the address of *Nak* and *(Ka)kak* used by parents from Java; instead of the original Javanese address, *Mas* or *Mbak*. Although only 40% of parents' first language is Indonesian, 85.5% of fathers/mothers use Indonesian when communicating with their children. This is related to the preferences of parents in socializing the first language for their children. Based on the questionnaire distributed, the reasons parents kept using the regional language (Javanese) in communication with children (represented by the choice of terms of address) are that Javanese perpetuates values of politeness, Javanese is a symbol of ethnic identity, and they hoped to expose their children to this regional language. The reasons for primarily relying on Indonesian are that it is the national language; it is used in schools and in the surrounding environment (community); the children are often more accustomed to this language, because it is easier to use to learn and communicate with than Javanese; it is more comfortable/polite/neutral; and parents have different ethnicities and local languages. This shows that the dynamics of the urban community of Sleman lies between

local and national identities. This is consistent with the findings of Wibowo & Retnaningsih (2015) who state that in their dynamics, terms of address in Indonesian represent that the Indonesian people are in a dialectic between locality and nationality.

CONCLUSION

As a linguistic resource, term of address in language socialization can become a means to make children competent in language and in society. The findings in this article show that there are various common forms of address utilized by parents in Sleman, Yogyakarta. These forms are second-person singular pronouns; proper names; kinship terms; nominalization of adjectives; nominal forms; terms of endearment; a combination of kinship terms, their children's name, nominalization of adjectives, nominal forms, or terms of endearment; appositive forms; as well as slang. Meanwhile, parents' motivation for choosing forms of address is based on politeness, identity markers, expressions of affection, emotional expressions, parental expectations for children, and intimacy or closeness with children.

There are various motivations behind the selection of forms of address which indicate that in general, parents rely on a child-centered communication style when interacting with their children. For instance, when using a proper name or kinship term (followed by a proper name), to avoid the use of second-person pronouns, parents adapt to the child's ability by positioning themselves from the child's perspective. Emphasis on the aspect of affection in the

use of address in the form of nominalization of adjectives and the use of terms of endearment shows that conveying affection is considered important in this type of communication style. However, after the child is considered to have understood enough and has entered society through the community and school, the use of second-person pronoun and slang can become a bridge connecting the child with the outside world so that the communication is centered on the situation and context. The use of addresses in the form of birth order and gender markers becomes a marker of cultural “values” signifying that the urban community of Sleman respects politeness and religious identities. Meanwhile, the use of address with positive nuance contains connotations of hope around the parents’ goals for the children. At last, the use of address can also indicate that the urban community of Sleman lies in a dialectic between locality and nationality.

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