

## ADDRESS IN AMERICAN ENGLISH

-A Sociolinguistic Approach-

By

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0. Since the 1930s the importance of the context of situation in the study of language has come to be more pronounced. Extralinguistic phenomena have come to be taken into consideration in the analysis of language complexity by anthropologists, among whom we find Sapir (1929), Malinowski (1936), Whorf (1936), Herzog (1949) and Firth (1950). We read the following description in Giglioli (1972, 7-8):

Some linguists have become concerned with socially conditioned linguistic phenomena, and some social scientists have become more aware of the social nature of language. The term sociolinguistics refers to this mutual convergence. Its most significant feature is its stress on *parole*, on the speech act in all its social dimensions. In contrast to Saussure's views, sociolinguistics has shown that speech is not the haphazard result of mere individual choices, the manifestation of a person's psychological states, but that it is remarkably patterned. And, while attempts to establish direct relationships between grammatical rules and social structures have generally failed, systematic variations of speech behaviour have been shown to reflect the underlying constraints of a system of social relations. This is often evident at first view: no one uses the same speech

style at home and at public ceremonies, in talking to a boyhood friend or to a high religious dignitary. However, to find an order in subtle phonological variations in the same speech community or in bilingual shifting from one language to another in the context of the same conversation is much more difficult; in these cases, regular patterns of concomitant variations at the social and linguistic levels are brought to light only through a painstaking analysis of speech and of the social situation in which speech unfolds.<sup>1</sup>

In what follows, we find a series of attempts to explicate the relation between the extralinguistic or real world and language, and to formulate some kind of model of "context" which Firth calls "complete locution in the context of situation or the typical context of situation." The attempts have been carried on by three anthropologists, Voegelin, C. F. and Voegelin, F. M. (Indiana University) and Yamamoto, Akira (The University of Kansas).<sup>2</sup> They have noticed (Voegelin and Voegelin, 1972, 535):

Grammar, or the grammaticalness of sentences in a particular language, can be stated independently of extralinguistic considerations. This has been and is being so stated in the three salient models reflecting the linguist's image of language in this century—namely, in the Boasian model of anthropological linguistics, in the subsequent and on-going structural or combinatorial or taxonomic linguistics, and in the transformational-generative framework of linguistics.

In the study of the address system in English, I found that such an investigation goes beyond the autonomy of linguistics.

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I wish to thank three persons for their cooperation and inspiring suggestions shown to me throughout this research: Mr. Anson D. Shupe, Jr. (Sociology, Indiana University); Mrs. Janet A. Shupe (Education); Dr. Akira Yamamoto (Anthropology, The University of Kansas).

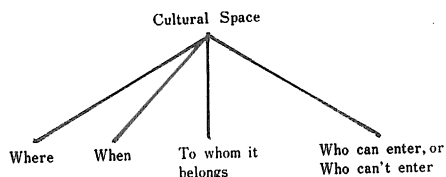
Part of this paper was read at the 26th General Meeting of the English Literary Society of Japan (Chugoku-Shikoku Branch Meeting), Oct. 13, 1973.

The following story illustrates my point :

This happened in England in 1973. An old lady in Yorkshire used "darling" while talking with a detective in the act of picking up tips on a crime which took place in the neighborhood. After thinking over something for a while, the detective declared, "You shall be under arrest immediately," to her astonishment.

The year before there were a series of jewel robberies in the country and they were almost wrapped in mystery, leaving the only solution that the robber used the word "darling" as an address without any exception. The officer did not fail to take the chance, who explained later that the countrymen in Yorkshire do not use "darling" but "love" or "dear" as an address and that he thought she must have got into the habit of using "darling" while living in London.<sup>3</sup>

The above story points out that what we call "cultural space" must be taken into consideration if we want an accurate interpretation of any language use in question. Note that the rules which add complexity rather than simplicity (in the child's recreation of the grammar of his native language) are not only language-particular, but arise in a particular cultural space. Thereafter such additional rules, though arising in one cultural space, may spread to others; such rules may be added to the grammar of one's native language not only in childhood but throughout the life cycle. The subcategorization of "cultural space" is roughly as following :



In the following paper I will try to have as accurate an interpretation as possible by taking into the notion of "cultural space". The samples used in this paper were selected out of the corpus which consists of 62 kinds of American movie scripts. Two Americans, male and female, helped me in pursuing this research as informants, who as such proved themselves an able sociologist and an able

educator respectively.

### 1. First Name

Brown and Ford (1961) show that first name address is likely to be preferred in proportion to the increase in familiarity between a professor and students. Americans are often said to prefer first name address, which is called "first name psychosis".<sup>4</sup> In most cases first names can be interpreted as showing familiarity.

#### (1) Int. Kitchen eating area—Day.

Caroline : (to her feet) That's Bernie.

Terry : Doesn't he have a last name ?

Caroline : We haven't gotten around to that yet.

Terry : M'm.

Caroline : We're still *on a first-name basis*. I'll be back for lunch.

Peter : So will Bernie, I bet.

(The War Between Men and Women)

Professor Katsuaki Horiuchi interprets : "They used to call each other by first name after their relations gained in intimacy enough. Nowadays the reverse is the truth."<sup>5</sup> On the contrary our interpretation is as following :

While it is true that Americans do tend to use the first name with another person of equal status (or of a superior if they constantly work together) more quickly than do, say, the Japanese, they do not ordinarily use the first name as casually as the annotator infers. The meaning of the dialogue is that Caroline and Bernie have struck up an extremely casual sexual relationship for which first names are superfluous or deliberately withheld to prevent future complicating embarrassment. Caroline is simply saying she hardly knows anything about Bernie. By "first-name basis" she means that all she knows about Bernie is the name he gave her to use in referring to him.

This is not uncommon among persons thrown together for various reasons when they do not expect their relationship to be enduring. At such times (in a dialogue, for example, when you meet a girl to dance with for the evening and do not expect to ever see her again), only a first name might be used. The standard meaning of "first-name basis" is to be intimate with someone else, i. e. one knows someone else well enough to call him by first name. In this example, Caroline makes a sort of joke,

based on the usual meaning of the phrase "first-name basis," since she never knew Bernie formally first and then intimately later. It depends on the expected permanency of the relationship.

## 2. *Addresses in Kinship System* <sup>6</sup>

Schneider and Homans (1955) state that :

Perhaps the fundamental characteristic of the American system of terms for kinsmen is the presence of a wide variety of the alternate terms. Mother may be called "mother," "mom," "ma," "mummy," "mama," by her first name, nickname, diminutive, "old woman," and a variety of other less commonly used designations.

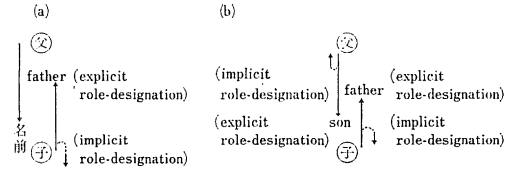
Father may be called "father," "pop," "pa," "dad," "daddy," by his first name, nickname, diminutive, "old man," "boss," and a variety of less commonly used designations.

The terminological system may roughly be as following :

- 1) Kinship terms
- 2) Variants on given names : (a) First name, (b) Diminutive, (c) Nickname, (d) Others
- 3) Terms of endearment :
  - (a) Saccharine terms : *honey, sugar, sweet, cookie, etc.*
  - (b) Affection terms : *love, beloved, love, etc.*
  - (c) Animal and vegetable terms : *kitten, bear-cat, pumpkin, etc.*
  - (d) Miscellaneous and idiosyncratic terms, some of them nonsense syllables : *baby, pookums, etc.*

### 2. 1 *Father/Son*

According to Suzuki, T. (1970) there are two typical address systems : (a) Father calls his son by first name, while the son calls his father by "Father", (b) Father calls his son by "Son", while the son calls his father by "Father". Suzuki's explanation is as follows : "Father calls his son by 'Son', classifying the addressee as his son. In return Father expects his son to play the role of being his son, which is explicitly shown in this address system. On the other hand, by calling his son by 'Son' Father confirms implicitly that he must play the role of being his father. This address system helps them to realize verbally the kinship relation between them."<sup>7</sup>



(Suzuki 1970, 172)

Our interpretation is as follows :

Perhaps in Japan there might be some significant role-expectation differences implied by the father's address to the son, but according to what we know of socialization in America, whether my father called me by first name or "son" or by any other term, it would not change my own interpretation of our immediate relationship, our intimacy, or how I should change my address to him. The *tone* of the voice would have more influence. Looking at this from Yamamoto's frame of reference (Yamamoto, 1970) I can show this point clearly.

A definition of the term "son" may read : "Used as a term of affectionate address to a man or boy by an older person or by one in a superior (esp. ecclesiastical) relation" (*OED*). Our definition in this case :

Addressor must be :  $\left( \begin{array}{l} + \text{older} \\ + \text{male}^* \\ + \text{showing friendliness} \\ + \text{acting protective} \end{array} \right)$

### 2. 2 *Uncle/Aunt*

(2) Lee : Well, you sure haven't changed much, Joby.

Joe Ben : All right, come on now. Just who in the hell are you ?

Lee : (Takes off dark glasses) I'm Lee, Joby, Leland.

Joe Ben : Why, sure, boy. Get in, we're off and sailin', boy. Hey, Hank. *Uncle Henry*, I got Lee. I got Leland Stamper. I got Lee.

(3) Henry : Well, take a good look, you sonofabitch. Like a bird, like a god-damn bird. Dumb thing just fell off last night.

Joe Ben : Come on, *Henry*. He's been bangin' on that thing all night long, with a ballpeen hammer.

(Never Give A Inch)

In (2) when Joe Ben (*Henry's* nephew)

\* When the addressor is <-male>, she will use "young man" (cf. 5. 3).

recognized Henry's son Lee, the physio-temporal space passed into the hands of Henry and Lee, that is, "Father + Son" situation, while Joe Ben hanging on the verge as a person having some relation to them. In (3) the physio-temporal space now belongs to Henry and Joe Ben, not as "Uncle + Nephew", but Henry as head of the family and Joe Ben as an old member of the family.

(2) (3)

Full participants : Henry (Father) + Lee (Son)  
 Full participants : Henry (Head of the family) + Joe Ben (Old member of the family)

Observer : Joe Ben (as Nephew to Henry)



Schneider and Homans (1955) observe that :

- 1) First, there was a tendency for more first-name alone designations to be applied to aunts and uncles on the mother's side than on the father's.
- 2) Second, there was a slight tendency for male speakers to use the first name alone more often than female speakers.
- 3) Third, some informants reported that they dropped aunt and uncle terms and used first names alone after they started going to college. Here, far more surely, the use of the first name implies a role of equality with uncle and aunt.

### 2.3 Dad

Schneider and Homans (1955) describe : "The principal term most frequently reported was 'dad' by males, 'daddy' by females. The most frequent variant term reported by males was 'father' ; by females, 'dad'." <sup>8</sup>

(4) Int. Apartment—Night.

William : *Dad*, this is Jane.

Popper : How do you do ?

Jane : How do you do ?

(The Pursuit of Happiness)

(5) Int. Miami nightclub.

Kelly : I was just coming. *Daddy*, this is Mr. Cantrow.

Lenny : Cantrow. Hello, sir. A real pleasure. I'm sorry I detained your daughter. Certainly I hope I didn't

interrupt your dinner.

(The Heartbreak Kid)

### 3. Man

Major (1970) defines : "Brought into popular use by black males to counteract the degrading effects of being addressed by whites as 'boy' : black male addresses each other as one man to another." Those who use this address freely (blacks, hippies, etc.) are characteristic in that they do not seem to recognize any cultural space difference. In other words, they carry their own presuppositional cultural space which may or may not coincide with the other people's knowledge of the physio-temporal space. In (7) both speakers are black ; Quincy being teacher, Johnson a student. The student, a black, does not recognize the physio-temporal space as belonging to him as well as teacher, but yet the teacher is the decision-maker.

(6) Ext. Ghetto Street—Day.

Black Youth : Watcha doin' around here, *man* ?

Gus : Just buying some cigarettes.

Black Youth : You know ain't got no right comin' on around here and buy no cigarettes, huh ?

(Medium Cool)

(7) Int. Classroom—Day.

Quincy : All I'm asking you to do, is try. And you can't try until you know how to read.

Johnson : I'm making it.

Quincy : Like hell.

Johnson : Hey, *man*, give me some slack.

Quincy : Whitey he reads.

Johnson : Oh, *man*, not that damn baby book again.

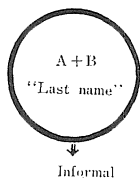
(Halls of Anger)

### 4. Learned Circles

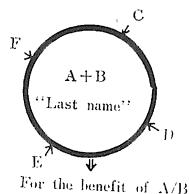
#### 4.1 Professor, etc.

When we find "Title + Last name" address, we may interpret as follows : "Very formal. The situation is likely to belong to more than two persons. Role-status is both consciously and verbally explicit." In (8), last name only sounds a little unusual, and we may select two types of physio-temporal space in which last name only is used.

(a)  
The physio-temporal  
space belongs to  
both A and B.  
Nobody else in  
attendance.



(b)  
The physio-temporal  
space belongs to all  
in attendance.



(8) Int. Dean Higgins's Office—Day.

Higgins: *Professor Quigley*, I'm sure that we all appreciate your interest in progress, but a computer... Well, that is a luxury that we just cannot afford.

Quigley: *Dean Higgins*, today a computer can hardly be considered a luxury.

Higgins: *Quigley*, you talk about ten thousand dollar as though it were ten cents.

(The Computer Wore Tennis Shoes)

#### 4. 2 Professor-Student<sup>9</sup>

Anthropologist Dr. Yamamoto observed that the school of education in many universities in the United States has a traditional, a little of exclusive atmosphere. The faculty almost always address each other by "Title+ Last name" in more cultural spaces than in other schools. One of the informants describes the situation in Sociology and Psychology Departments of Indiana University, U. S. A.:

*Undergraduates*: Because of diverse pre-university backgrounds, they seem to cluster around the use of *Mr.*, though many will use *Dr.* when directly addressing me. On any papers at tests, I always receive the titles "Professor Shupe", "Mr. Shupe," or "Anson Shupe, Instructor". If I encourage students to call me "Andy", a few bolder students will comply but most feel uncomfortable calling me "Andy".

*Graduates*: In both Sociology and Psychology Departments, the norm seems to be for younger, 1st year graduate students to "Mr." everybody on the faculty and to use "Dr." when being extra-polite. Especially for the older full-professors, it's always

"Dr. So-and-so". In the 2nd year this is modified as a student finds his own interests and comes to work more closely with certain faculty members, either as colleagues or as in advisor-apprentice relationships. Some faculty members may solicit familiarity. In the 3rd year (when a student is near to finishing, any familiarity that will exists begins to surface. Students may have published articles and are usually specializing, hence they are treated more like colleagues. Also, American graduate departments have high attrition rates. So we begin to be familiar faces, sometimes remaining longer than some faculty. But in public we tend to use "Mr." or "Dr." or "Professor".

#### 5. Secondary Education Circles

##### 5. 1 Teach-Pupe

In (9), the physio-temporal space belongs both to the teacher and the student. In other words, the teacher is breaking the rule that nobody shall go up the down staircase. She comes down to the same status relation with the student.

*Teach*: Males probably more likely to use this in middle-class school. Insulting to teacher unless he or she is used to worse abuse. In class, it would be an overt flouting of authority, perhaps a challenge. If in public, then is a status-gaining technique among students to insult the teacher with impunity.

*Pupe*: Not a common word. Perhaps to impress upon the student his lack of propriety, perhaps as a joke.

(9) Int. Corridor—Signs read: UP.. DOWN  
—Sylvia moves up the down staircase—  
Boy: Hi, yuh, *Teach*.

Sylvia: Hi, *Pupe*.

(Up the Down Staircase)

##### 5. 2 Baby

Major (1970) describes the term as follows: "A black slang, term of address for one's lover or spouse but also a word used in general, irrespective of the sexual identity or personal relationship". The speaker seems to consider the cultural space belonging to him exclusively, having the connotation <+pejorative> to all the others who are present in it.

(10) Ext. School grounds—students milling about as Sylvia tries to open school door—  
Student A: Try the other door, *Teach*.

Sylvia : All right, all right, how do we get in ?

Student A : Can't get in till somebody comes out.

Student B : Yeah, like a toilet, *baby*.  
(Up the Down Staircase)

5. 3 *Young man*

Lexical interpretation is unsatisfactory or inaccurate. Older female teachers use this with male students as partly an intimidating device.

(11) Classroom. Tony's Nephew comes into classroom.

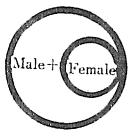
Sylvia : You, *young man*, why are you late?

Tony's Nephew : I'm not even here. I'm with Mr. Loomis. My uncle's in this room and he forgot his lunch.  
(Up the Down Staircase)

6. *Miss*

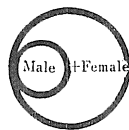
*The Concise Oxford Dictionary* (1964<sup>5</sup>) defines : "(Vocative, in servant's or trade use) young lady", which definition is usually adopted by most English-Japanese dictionaries. *American Heritage Dictionary* widens the situation in which the term is used, defining : "A title used in speaking to or of an unmarried woman or girl, used without her name." Again, lexical interpretation is not satisfactory. This may be used by a man older than her, while if he were near her age or younger, he would use "Ma'am". Again we must take two types of physio-temporal space into consideration : (a) one is when it belongs to a woman or a girl ; (b) the other is when it belongs to a man.

(a)



MISS [+formal]  
[+polite]  
[etc.]

(b)



MISS [+formal]  
[+authority]  
[+superior]  
[etc.]

Sometimes the term *Miss* in (b) may be interpreted as a "prostitute". This is one of the examples the meaning of which are controlled by the physio-temporal space. <sup>10</sup>

(12) Int. Regency pub.

George : Well, I walk you home.

Rosamund : Don't be ridiculous. I live just around the corner.

George : Now, then—now, then, there's no need to take offence. I know you're quite capable of finding your own way home. All I meant was, please let me walk with you. Please, *Miss*, let me walk with you.

(Touch of Love)

NOTES

All of the informants' interpretations were collected and classified under four categories like the following sample :

SAMPLE

son <sup>1)</sup>	Interpretation (A) (Male)	Interpretation (B) (Female)
I. <i>Who speaks to whom : age, sex, status, etc.</i>	Speaker is older, probably Male. Older person would be in superior role.	Agree
II. <i>What is intended by speaker : formality, pejorative, etc.</i>	"Son" is a friendly, gentle term used for any boy, sort of like "young fellow." Only more warm—almost protective.	Agree
III. <i>Where/When</i>	Speaker need not be the boy's father. Could be used any place where the young and the old are allowed to enter.	Agree
IV. <i>To whom the situation belongs : to a particular individual, a group of individuals, to anyone, etc.</i>	The family + Captain are involved. Captain entered the physio-temporal space as a decision-maker while the family has entered as "guests."	Agree

1. Also, cf. Hymes (1967, 9-10).

Trager states that :

Language is always accompanied by other communication systems, that all culture is an interacting set of communications and that communication as such results from and is a composite of all the specified communication systems as they occur in the total cultural complex.

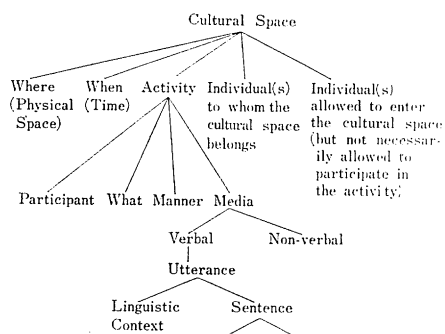
When language is used it takes place in the setting of an act of *speech*. Speech ("talking") results from activities which create a background of voice set. This

background involves the idiosyncratic, including the specific physiology of the speakers and the total physical setting... Firth (1964, 66) states that :

The central concept of the whole of semantics... is the context of situation. In that context are the human participant or participants, what they say, and what is going on... Every man carries his culture and much of his social reality about with him wherever he goes. He further states (*Ibid.*, 70) that :

Meaning... we use for the whole complex of functions which a linguistic form may have. The principal components of this whole meaning are phonetic function, which I call "minor" functions—lexical, morphological, and syntactical—the province of a reformed system of grammar ; and the function of a complete locution in the context of situation or the typical context of situation, the province of semantics.

2. Traditional linguists have been devoting their research to the linguistic context with an assumption that there exists an autonomous linguistics, while the so-called hyphenated linguists have been attempting to describe the verbal behavior emphasizing a part of non-linguistic context. It is not only important but also essential to take both kinds of context under consideration in studying language. Yamamoto(1973) presents the relationship between language and its context roughly as following :



3. "News from Abroad" in *The Asahi*, Aug. 11, 1973.  
 4. Ashley Montague, *The American Way of Life*, p. 279.

Usually first name can be interpreted as showing familiarity :

- (1) Everyone seemed to be *on a first-name*

*basis* with Sal and Kate, and there was much conversation (in a variety of Yiddish, Ukrainian, Irish, and Italian accents) about the weather and the health (good and bad) of friends. — *The New Yorker*, July 16, 1973.

- (2) Several minutes later, another man comes in, and greets the two men already at the bar *by their first names* before sliding onto a red vinyl backless stool a distance away from each of them. — *The New Yorker*, May 26, 1973.  
 5. *The Study of Current English*. Tokyo : Kenkyusha. April 1973, p. 38.  
 6. Ervin-Tripp (1969) provides a chart like a computer flow chart.  
 7. Suzuki (1970) never indicates clearly, but this is originally observed and stated by Schneider and Homans (1955), who states that :

The distinction we found most useful in dealing with this efflorescence of terminology is one we believe to be universal for kinship terms. Each term has two aspects of functions : first, an *ordering* or *classifying* aspect and, second, a *role* or *relationship*-designating aspect. By "ordering" aspect we mean the class to which the various genealogically distinct categories of kinsmen are assigned. By "role-designating" aspect we mean the pattern of behavior relationship that the term symbolizes. A term like "father" thus does two things : it defines a class of kinsmen—in this case there is but a single genealogical category to the class—and it symbolizes the role which the person so classed is expected to play—in this case a relatively formal and authoritarian one.

8. As to the term of address to one's father we can find another observation directed in Southeast Texas by Norman (1971) :

Terms of address to one's father show a marked distinction between the use of *papa* by the elderly and middle-aged informants, and *dad* or *daddy* (words known to informants in all age levels, but almost the exclusive term of the younger informants).

Mr. K. Kato chooses the comment on the usage of "daddy" which he has found in *Some Problem Spots in Current English Text-books* published by English Teaching Institute, School of Education, Ehime University in 1959. The description in question is :

Don't open my bookcase, *Daddy!* (N. B. *Daddy* is a word used by children. A junior high student is too old to call his father "Daddy".

The author, Mr. Kato continues, must have been ignorant of the situation in which the word is usually used in the southern states in the United States. He further quotes a passage from *Children of Crisis* (Delta Books, 1967, 302) by Robert Coles, which is: "Daddy (Southern fathers can be 'daddy' to their children forever without embarrassment) had a bad temper, and I took it all myself. "(*The Rising Generation*, Vol. CXIX, No. 10 (1974), 621).

9. Brown and Ford (1961) states that:

A prospective graduate student arrives at a university to meet some of the faculty of the psychology department and is interviewed by the chairman. Probably the two will initially exchange TLN. In the course of the day or, if not, shortly after the student enrolls, the chairman will begin to call him by FN. He extends the hand of friendship, but the student knows that it behooves him not to grasp it too quickly. The student will continue with the TLN for several years (four is probably the mode) and in this

period the non-reciprocity of speech will express the inequality of status. If the chairman is neither very elderly nor very august the student will eventually feel able to reciprocate the FN and the dyad will have advanced to Mutual FN. The three patterns may be described as a progression in time if we add several important qualifications.

10. A situation controls the interpretation of a sentence again. Another instance is provided by Lakoff, R. (1972), with regard to certain uses of the modal *must*. She picks up three sentences and tells roughly as follows:

- (a) You must have some of this cake.
- (b) You should have some of this cake.
- (c) You may have some of this cake.

While in theory it would seem that these sentences are ranked in an order of descending politeness (that is (c) is the most polite form), the interpretation can be reverse in a special social situation. Let us assume a party, at which the hostess is offering the guests a cake that she baked herself or at least selected herself, and for which she therefore takes responsibility. In such a social context, (a) is the most polite of these expressions.

#### INTERPRETATIONS OF SOME KINSHIP ADDRESS TERMS

FATHER		MOTHER	
<i>Father</i>	(A) Formal. Used when addressing father if it is a traditional family or speaking of father. (B) Never used in my family. (C) $\left( \begin{array}{l} + \text{ formality} \\ + \text{ authority} \\ + \text{ attendant variety of respect} \end{array} \right)$	<i>Mother</i>	Formal. Used in traditional families when addressing mother; also common when speaking <i>about</i> her to others.
<i>Pop</i>	Was more common in early part of the 20th century. Never heard anyone I know call their father that except my father calls my grandfather. My mother calls him "Pop Shupe."	<i>Mom</i>	Very common, both in addressing her and in talking about her to others.
<i>Pa</i>	(A) Used in my mother's family (which is traditional). My father called my mother's father "Pa Joslin", but it is an old term for father out of fashion. (C) <i>Pop/Pa</i> <+ informality/familiarity>	<i>Ma</i>	Old fashioned. Both my parents refer to their respective mothers as "ma".



<i>Daddy</i>	(A) Most small children use. Boys stop and switch to "dad" at adolescence. Girls may continue to use it all their lives. Sounds babyish. (B) I don't think girls do. (C) <table border="1" style="display: inline-table; vertical-align: middle;"> <tr> <td><i>father</i></td> <td><i>dad</i></td> <td><i>pa/pop</i></td> </tr> <tr> <td>&lt;formal&gt;</td> <td></td> <td>&lt;informal&gt;</td> </tr> </table>	<i>father</i>	<i>dad</i>	<i>pa/pop</i>	<formal>		<informal>	<i>Mummy</i>  <i>Mama</i>	(A) A child's word, discarded by boys and girls after about age 6. (B) "Mommy" is more common.  Childish. Used by some Europeans like Americans use "mom", or sometimes as when a father talks about the mother to the child. (ex. "Did you do what <i>mama</i> told you to do?")
<i>father</i>	<i>dad</i>	<i>pa/pop</i>							
<formal>		<informal>							
First name	Sometimes in my family (I tries it once). This usage would be impolite and taboo. Usually parents prefer a nickname or some other term.	First name	Rare. In my wife's family it is done, and her mother even calls her grandmother by her first name. (Very unusual.)						
Nick-name	More common than usage of first name, but still less frequent than <i>Dad</i> , etc. For example, my wife's Dad's nickname is "Yop" (for John), and all their kids call him "Yop", "Yopper", or "Uncle Yo" (someday "Grandpa Yop").	Nick-name	More common than usage of first name. Sometimes my wife's mother is called "Madge" (for Margaret).						
<i>Old man</i>	Usually impolite. Used when speaking of father in third term, but rarely to his face. Father may joke about himself as "the old man", but rarely will he like to hear others say "my old man."	<i>Old woman</i>	Like "old man". Not polite, rarely used to mother's face. Often used derogatorily.						
<i>Boss</i>	Even rarer.								
Miscellaneous	<i>Daddy-o</i> Sometimes in jest I've used <i>Daddy-o</i> , which was an old Beatnik term.	Miscellaneous	<i>Old lady</i> More common than "old woman" I think.						
	UNCLE		AUNT						
<i>Uncle</i> + FN	For an uncle, perhaps one whom you do not see often or with whom you must be formal, though children even call familiar uncles " <i>Uncle</i> So-and-so".	<i>Aunt</i> + FN	This is most common and is considered proper.						
First name	(A) Rare. Perhaps a nickname or some version of the FN, but usually "Uncle" precedes the FN. (B) Until nephews and nieces are of adult age. Then they can call all by FN—anyway in my family. (C) Some informants - they dropped aunt and uncle terms and used FN alone after they started going to college. (A role of equality).	First name	Again rare. But there is a greater chance that the woman's FN alone will be used than the man's.						
<i>Uncle</i>	Rare also. Children learn an uncle's identity as (for example) " <i>Uncle</i> Joe", as one name, not "Joe So-and-so who is an uncle."	<i>Aunt</i>	(A) Sometimes children learn to call an aunt "Auntie" and will retain this nickname into adulthood. I rarely see my own uncles and aunts, but I recall using " <i>Uncle</i> / <i>Aunt</i> So-and-so". (B) Rare in my opinion.						

\* (A) Male, (B) Female, (C) Schneider and Homans (1955).

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