ADDRESS TERMS IN TURKISH : A CORPUS-BASED STUDY

MASTER'S THESIS

NURİYE ÖZER

MERSİN UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE
DEPARTMENT

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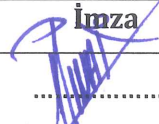### INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

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MERSİN
DECEMBER - 2019

ONAY

Nuriye ÖZER tarafından Doç. Dr. Pınar İBE AKCAN danışmanlığında hazırlanan "Address Terms in Turkish: A Corpus-Based Study" başlıklı çalışma aşağıda imzaları bulunan jüri üyeleri tarafından oy birliği ile Yüksek Lisans tezi olarak kabul edilmiştir.

Görevi	Ünvanı, Adı ve Soyadı	İmza
Başkan	Doç. Dr. Pınar İBE AKCAN	
Üye	Prof. Dr. Yeşim AKSAN	
Üye	Doç. Dr. Aygül UÇAR	

Yukarıdaki Jüri kararı Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Yönetim Kurulu'nun 26./12./2019 tarih ve 2019./26. sayılı kararıyla onaylanmıştır.

Prof. Dr. Yusuf Gürhan TOPÇU
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ÖZET

Hofstede'nin de belirttiği gibi Türkiye gibi paylaşımcı kültürler toplumun her bir üyesini bir diğerinden ayırma eğilimindedirler (Hofstede, 1994). Bu eğilimin getirisi olarak Türkçe çok geniş bir hitap şekilleri dizgesine sahiptir. Buna rağmen alanyazındaki çalışmaların Türkçenin bu konudaki zenginliğini yansıtmakta yeterli olmadığı görülmüştür. Alanyazındaki bu boşluğu doldurmayı hedefleyen bu çalışma Türkçede kullanılan hitap şekillerini, bunların biçimbirimsel çeşitlemelerini saptamayı ve bu hitap şekillerini sınıflamayı ve bu dilsel birimlerin işlevlerini belirlemeyi amaçlayan derlem temelli bir çalışmadır. TNC v.3.0 üzerinden toplanan verilerle yürütülen bu çalışmada ilk olarak hitap şekilleri farklı veri toplama yöntemlerinden yararlanılarak derlenmiş ve kapsamlı bir dizin oluşturulmuştur. Hitap şekillerinin sınıflandırılması için Braun'un (1988) önerdiği sınıflama Türkçeye uyarlanmıştır. İnceleme sonucunda Türkçe hitap şekilleri Adıl türünden olan hitap şekilleri, eylem türünden olan hitap şekilleri, isim türünden olan hitap şekilleri (sevgi sözcükleri, unvanlar, kişi adları, akrabalık terimleri, sözde akrabalık terimleri, saygı bildiren hitaplar, yakınlık bildiren hitaplar, olumsuzluk bildiren hitap şekilleri) olmak üzere üç ana sınıfa ayrılmıştır. Sınıflandırılan hitap şekillerine ait her bir alt ulamı birbirinden ayıran özellikler kullanım örnekleri ile beraber sunulmuştur. Araştırmanın diğer bir ayağı olarak da bulunan hitap şekilleri bağlamları göz önüne alınarak farklı değişkenler açısından incelenmiş ve hitap şekillerinin işlevleri tespit edilmeye çalışılmıştır. Araştırmanın sonucunda hitap şekillerinin onaya katılma, yer tutma, konuşmayı devretme, yüz koruma, duygu aktarma, dikkat çekme, alıcının dikkatini yönlendirme, konu değiştirme, konuşmanın tonunu ayarlama, emirleri yumuşatma işlevlerinde kullanıldıkları görülmüştür. Son olarak hitap şekillerinin cümle içinde kullanıldıkları yerler incelenmiş ve bu inceleme sonucunda hitap şekillerinin cümle içinde kullanıldıkları yerin gösterdikleri işlevlerle doğrudan ilişkili olduğu sonucuna varılmıştır. Teoride bu araştırma Türkçe hitap dizgesini daha geniş bir bakış açısından tanımlamayı amaçlamaktadır. Pratik de ise derlem temelli bu özgün çalışma ile Türkiye'deki toplumsal ve kültürel yapının hitap şekillerine nasıl yansıdığı ile ilgili sezdirimlerle eğitim, çeviri, toplumdilbilim, sosyoloji, psikoloji, doğal dil işleme gibi alanlara katkıda bulunulması hedeflenmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Hitap Şekilleri, Derlem Dilbilim, Türkçe Hitap Şekillerinin Sınıflandırılması, Türkçe Hitap Şekillerinin İşlevleri ve Yeri.

Danışman: Doç. Dr. Pınar İBE AKCAN, İngiliz Dili ve Edebiyatı Anabilim Dalı, Mersin Üniversitesi, Mersin.

ABSTRACT

As Hofstede states collectivistic cultures like Turkish culture tend to distinguish the every members of society from another (Hofstede, 1994). As a profit of this tendency, Turkish has an extensive address system. Despite the abundance of Turkish address terms, the studies in Turkish literature can not enough to reflect the abundance. Present study aiming to fill these gaps in Turkish literature is conducted to detect the linguistic devices used as address terms in Turkish, classify the detected address terms and determine the functions of Turkish address terms. The corpus based study is conducted on the data which is collected from TNC v.3.0. As a first step of the present study, address terms are compiled by the help of different data collection methods and a wide range of address term is indexed. In order to classify address terms, Braun's classification (1988) is adapted to Turkish. Based on the aim of the study, the address terms are classified as following: pronominal verbal and nominal address terms (kinship terms, fictive kinship terms, familiarizers, endearment terms, mockeries, titles, honorifics, and names). All the distinctive features of sub-categories are described. As an another step, determining functions of address terms based on their context is aimed. The positions of address terms are also investigated to determine the their effects on the meaning and functions of address terms. The following functions which show the why speakers employ address term are determined in the present study: foregrounding, setting the tone of the conversation, make listener focused, selecting next speaker, involving nonconforming responses, agreeing, softening the commands, conveying the feeling, topic shifting, attention gathering. Lastly, it is seen that functions of address terms are sensitive to the positions of address terms. In theoretical vein, the present study aims to describe Turkish address system from a wider perspective. In practical veins, it is hoped that the corpus-based study will contribute to the researches regarding education, translation, sociolinguistic, sociology, psychology and naturally occurring data studies.

Keywords: Address Terms, Corpus Linguistics, Classification of Turkish Address Terms, Functions and Positioning of Turkish Address Terms.

Advisor: Ass. Prof. Pınar İBE AKCAN, Department of English Language and Literature, Mersin University, Mersin.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

To MUSTAFA and ÜLVİYE …

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ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviation	Definition
FL	First Name
FLN	Full Name
FN	First Name
LN	Last Name
T	Title
TLN	Title Plus Last Name
TNC	Turkish National Corpus

1. INTRODUCTION

The first chapter gives a brief overview of the previous works on that topic. The problematic areas related to the notion of address terms are covered in this chapter. In addition, the components of the current research; the aims of it, the significance of the study, research questions are presented in this chapter.

Although accurate information about the starting point of human society is not known, it is taken for granted that human beings have been living in society since time immemorial. For this reason, famous Greek Philosopher Aristotle stated more than two thousand three hundred years before that "man is by nature a social animal." As seen, it is an undeniable fact that human relationships, which are the cement of society exist wherever human beings live together (Arendt and Canovan, 1998: 18). Most compelling evidence of it is that nearly everyone interacts with 80,000 people which is enough to fill a stadium until they are 78 (Vital, 2003). It means that people have 80.000 different types of relationships through all their life. This example is one in a million to show that people as social creatures have to interact with each other to survive. While interacting, they use language as a means of communication to express ideas, feelings, desires, and queries to the world around themselves. To show the importance of the language in human life, Fromkin, Rodman and Hyams state that "people live in a world of language" (2003: 3). Crystal depicts the language as "the systematic, conventional, use of sounds, signs, or written symbols in human society for communication and self-expression" (1992: 454). What the definition implies is that language is the key to human lives.

If language can be said to be at the core of humanity, we can come to this conclusion effective use of language helps people in their interpersonal relationships here, there, and everywhere. It means more than simply using language for exchanging feelings, ideas or facts between one person to another. Effective communication can be called as a significant process in which interpersonal relationships between human beings are shaped. It can be said that it includes "the management of social relations" (Watzlawick et al., 1967: 49; Brown& Yule, 1983: 206). In order to manage these relationships, people have to group them such as family, friends, distant relatives, etc. In this regard, they have to accommodate their language according to these groups and employ certain linguistic expressions to indicate that you are in this certain group (family, friends, etc.). Additionally, during such interactions, interlocutors give hints about their identities, cultures, tendencies related to their relationship between hearers and many other pieces of personal information by employing some resources from the linguistic system. Address terms in which all these hints are embedded can be classified as one of these linguistic resources.

Address terms are frequently employed in every interaction (Gao, 2014: 2615). In this aspect, it can be said that it is not easy to define them because there are many aspects involves in

these interactions. As a result of that there are many different definitions which approach address terms from a different perspectives. Dunkling defines address terms as "numerically and attitudinally-marked designator which are used for the benefit of a speaker, an addressee, or a third-party hearer either optionally or necessarily for grammatical, practical, social, emotional, or externally-imposed reasons" (1990: 22). Braun states that address terms are words and expressions used for addressing which refer to the interlocutor so they have relevant deictic elements (1988: 8). Jucker and Taavitsainen portray address terms as linguistic expressions used by speakers to appeal the target addressees in a direct way (2003: 1). On the other side, Oyetade explains address terms as words or expressions used in interactive, dyadic and face-to-face situations to signigy the interlocutor for whom the addressee send the message (1995: 515). A further definition is given by Fasold who describes address terms as words that speakers use to specify the person with which they are communicating (2000: 1). Richard, Platt and Weber state that they can be defined as the words employed to address somebody in speech or writing (1985: 4). Basically, they denote a speaker's linguistic reference to his/her interlocutor. As the definitions imply speakers place self and others through address terms in different social settings which means there are numerous possible address terms (International Network of Address Research, n.d.). Clayman also supports this view by stating that address terms are very natural and abundant in every settings. But, he also states that it causes problems related to their use and import (Clayman, 2010: 162). That makes the topic tough but intriguing to investigate.

People experience a variety of social relationship on a daily basis with their families, friends, co-workers, neighbours, strangers and so on. Although every relationship is unique, they have one-size-fits-all formula for a healty relationship: communication. As it is mentioned above, people need to employ address terms in order to develop effective communication (Demirbaş, 2017: 2155). Address terms give speakers chance to adjust solidarity, intimacy, distance between themselves and their interlocutors. These linguistic choices related to address terms imply the interpersonal relationship which the speakers suppose to exist between themselves and their interlocutors (Schnell, 2007: 2). Address terms are used to make the target addresse and their relationships clear. The findings of Shiina proves it by showing address terms are generally used when the addresser first get on the stage in the theater scripts (2007: 26). According to their view related to these relationships, speakers set the borders of their relationship with interlocutors by the help of the address terms (Catrin and Wide, 2015: 3). In this aspect, it can be said that the terms that are employed by the speakers to address their interlocutors are significant for developing social relationships.

As it is mentioned, chosen address term lets people decide the distance between they and their interlocutor. Speakers can declare the way of communication in which they would like to be by the help of the address terms employed for their receiver. In that way, these speakers can

impede an unwanted tone of speaking directed to them. It helps speakers state the tone of conversation and also it provides a protection for them. In this aspect, it can be classified as one of the supplemantary way of face-saving. The address terms help the participants of communication prevent from face threats and "solidify their social relationships" by acting in a face-saving way (Nkwain, 2014: 189). This shows a need to be explicit about exactly what is meant by the word face. Yule also explains it like this "face refers to our emotional and social sense of self that everyone has and expects everyone else to recognize" (Yule, 1996:42). Additionally, a facethreatening act, is described as a threat uttered by a speaker to other individual's face wants. Conversely, a face-saving act is described as speaker's avoiding any possible threat to another's face (Yule, 1996: 61). As it can be concluded that these notions are directly related to address terms which bear its own risk of threating other participants. Nkwain shows these relation by stating that all the speakers try to choose the most suitable address term to employ because they don't want to risk their relationship, communication and position in the society by acting in a face-threatening way. In his words, Nkwain maintains that "speakers show awareness of, and adhere to, established norms of usage in order to consolidate and foster solidarity, enhance camaraderie and engender warmth" (2014: 189). "In this way, they avoid threatening the face of others in the choice of address term or strategy chosen" (Nkwain, 2014: 189).

When the significant place of the address terms in social relationship is taken into account, it can be stated that properly employing address terms is one of the significant factors that direct the ideal speaker-hearer relationship. So, it wouldn't be wrong to call address terms as social minefields because appropriate use of address terms strengthen relationships between people while inappropriate use of address terms damage these relationships. To give an example, if people use the same way to address their close friends and their boss, it will pose problems related to their relationship just because these people can not fulfill the expected social norms. People expect to be addressed according to several factors such as the ranks, genders, age and status of themselves which are inseparable units of their identity. A considerable amount of studies in literature is related to these factors which affect the address term choice of speakers. which proves the vital importance of addressing behaviours in social relationships. In their studies conducted on the address terms directed by Filipino domestic workers to their Malaysian employers, Gan, David and Dumanig reveal that the workers don't use address terms which are only belong to their own culture but, address terms used by these workers are influenced by Filipino, Malaysian and Western culture (2015) which shows how address terms are sensitive to culture. Keshavarz (2001) also categorizes culture as a determining variable to in choosing the address term to direct the addressees. Keshavarz (2001) notes some other social parameters which affect choosing address terms. The first factor is demographic features of interlocutors

such as their gender, education, occupation, age, position in society, etc. The second factor is related to social relationship and social distance between addresser and addresee. The last one is formality and informality degree of context in which the address term is uttered. Address system in a language is also "closely interrelated cognitive, historical and ideological realities of the society " in which they are employed (Mashiri, 1999: 93). Esmae'li's findings also support the discussion that states address term choices are very sensitive to the social context in which they occur (2011: 183). She finds that Iranian spouses prefer employing different address terms to each others when they are alone, when they are together with their children and when they are together with their husbands/wifes's parents (2011: 186). Widiatmaj (2014: 33) lists the factors that affect the address choice of people. He suggests these factors as followings: "Particular Occasion, Rank of the Other, Age, Family Relationship, Occupational Hierarchy, Transactional Status, and Degree of Intimacy". Friedrich also lists the factors as following "social context (setting, scenes) ; characteristics of participants, i.e., age generation, sex, genealogical distance, relative authority, group membership; the tone underlying a relationship or brought to expression in it; topic of discourse; and language variety itself, i.e.,dialect" (1972: 271). Wardhaugh also indicates that social factors affects the speakers' address choice. The social factors can be listed as following age, social positioning in society, sex, family ties, transactional status, event, occupational hierarchy, solidarity level, race (2006: 272). In her research König (1990) reveals that there are many factors which affect the decision regarding address terms. She lists all the variables under three categories: biological (age, sex, generation), sociological (social status in society) and psychological (formality, informality). On the other hand, Horosan's list which includes age, sex, residential address, birthplace and education (1987: 44 as cited in Bayyurt and Bayraktaroğlu, 2001). All these factors affecting the choice of address terms proves that address terms are socially meaningful because "speakers have to choose between several variants; all of which are grammatically interchangeable forms and the variant chosen expresses social features of the dyad" (Braun, 1988: 13). Also, it should be noted that speakers' process of choosing address terms require an excessive brain activity because speakers have to perceive and then analyze all these factors in mean time to employ an address term. The excessive brain activity to only utter a linguistic unit which is only small part of whole discourse provides an important insights into the significance of address terms in social relations. As can be understood, the existence of that much factors regarding deciding on address terms is the result of their vital importance in reinforcing and maintaining social relations but also the abundance results in failing to choose appropriate address terms as well. When speaker can not process all the required factors to address which can differ from one addressee to another or when he/she ignores even one of them, it is highly probable to employing an inappropriate address terms. In this aspects, a parallel between cooking and choosing addressing terms can be drawn, if the cook

(speaker) forgets about adding one of the ingereditient (factors) to the meal (social relations), then the combination of ingeridients don't turn out a foregone conclusion.

Nkwain clarifies that speakers make so many different strategic choices in naming and addressing other interlocutors that it makes them confused about choosing the suitable address term (Nkwain, 2014: 189). Chosing appropriate address terms qualify the speakers as competent members of their society (Nkwain, 2014: 189). That is why, they don't want to risk it by employing unwanted address terms. During the communication their brain is constantly processing to find the answers of question like following ones (Nkwain, 2014: 189-190):

How should I name or address others? What about younger or older interlocutors? Should I address them by title, first name, nickname? Or by some combination of these? Should I not simply avoid using their names, and possibly replace them with a kinship term or social address term?

Little and Gelles points the importance of the questions which are given above by stating that the questions such as 'How shall I address him?' are directly related to the key factor of the social psychology: the self, the other, and the situation (1975: 573). They also reminds problematic for individuals in social interaction since deciding on the address term to direct the addressee is challenging especially in the contextes where the etiquette of address terms is not institutionalized (Little and Gelles, 1975: 573). The mind of the speakers seems like a pretty mixed bag in terms of finding the right address terms. Everyone feels pressure during the communication when they have to employ an address term for their interlocutors. The questions collected from forums that speakers struggle with when addressing someone can be listed as following:

(1) How to address director? (Müdüre nasıl hitap edilir?)

(Ktp, 2008)

(2) How should we address both of the academicians who stand side by side? (Yan yana duran iki hocaya nasıl hitap edilir?)

(Bioss,2010)

(3) How a salespersonshould address a customer who is a woman? (Bir satış elemanı kadın müşteriye nasıl hitap etmeli?)

(Daniel, 2018)

(4) When mother-in-law can be called as mother? (Kaynanaya ne zaman anne denir?)

(Gantenbein,2010)

The first thing that comes to mind related to addressing is that people only care who is their addressee but they also seek an answer the question "who am I?" From time immemorial, people have tried to find answer of the question and their raison d'être (reason for being). The idea of knowing thyself which was suggested by ancient philosophers today still keep its own seat in the life of each person. As Bergen and Braithwaite note that questions which are related to identity challenge each member of society one by one, in their relationships with family and friends, colleague (165). The identity which is defined by Carbaugh (1996: 28) as following "The individual has a 'self' or something inside of himself or herself that is special, unique, yet rather stable across scenes and times" is a term which is based on the ground of psychology. But, it can be proclaimed that the psychologically based term is directly related to language Cerulo (1997); Howard (2000); Mead (1934), Goffman (1959, 1971a, 1974); Berger and Luckmann (1966). Bergen and Braithwaite state that "identities are constituted in communication" (2009: 166). Address terms used in these communications are announced as one of the major linguistic devices on which speakers drawn by constructing their identities. Afful and Mwinlaaru opine that address terms are not only the way of showing power or resistance to power which shows the distance between individuals but also they are the ways of identity construction. (2012: 18). Bergen and Braithwaite also dictate that all of the naming processes namely address terms and references play significant role in identity construction. (2009: 170). Along with Bergen and Braithwaite, Tracy verifies that person referencing practices speakers prefer in their ordinary communications are a significant way to construct their identities as a certain kind of person (2002: 60). In their researches conducted on parents who adopt children, Bergen, Suter, and Daas (2006) reveal that adoptive mothers try to construct an identity that is similar to biological mothers. In this process, they use address terms which qualify them as a mother. By using such address terms they try to construct their own desired identities and they want to validate their motherhood. (Bergen, Suter, and Daas, 2006). Kellas, LeClair-Underberg and Normand studies on stepfamily address terms proves these findings (2008). They also concludes that address terms have identity-building functions in stepfamilies (Kellas, et al., 2008). In a similar way, Felamban (2012) invesigates the identity construction ways of a novel's main character. She finds that the main character employs a lot of address terms to construct her identity "as an Arab Bedouin and a Muslim" (Felamban, 2012: 47).

In conjuction with building their own identities by the help of address terms, spekears also use address terms to impress their own ideas upon the other participants of communication. Address terms have a force to announce the stances and attitudes which people adopt during their social relationships (Jaworski and Glasinski, 2000: 36). In a similar sense, Hyed points that address terms "a natural outlet for speakers to encode stances, as a sociopragmatic tool of self-positioning, toward their addressees" (2014: 273). Hyed also concedes that address terms are "by

their nature loaded with social and interactional impetus" which can be used by addressers to lead to other interlocutors to the way on which he/she walks (2014: 292). By choosing certain address terms speakers offers a lot information about themselves and their identities they wish to show. (Hyed, 2014: 273) and in this way they manipulate the others' perceptions about themselves. Jaworski and Glasinski go further that address terms allows the speakers to rhetorically accomplish their ideologies even in political discourses which is the most important end of the political discourse (ibid). In her study conducted on the analysis of pseudotranslation of Nihan Yeğinobalı 'Genç Kızlar', Bengi finds that instead of localize address terms, translator (actually writer) prefers using address terms as their forms in the source language such as Mr. Samson, Mrs. Ludlow which don't have any place in Turkish address system (1990: 111). She uses source language's address terms to make the others believe that the novel is a really translated into Turkish from English. It shows us that address terms are culture sensitive and they are one of the important factors that writers can be used to manipulate the readers, editors and publishers. Additionally, as a results of their studies aiming to determine the correlations between the address terms employed in the nurse-patient interaction and their effect on nursing care, Şimşek Arslan, Göktaş and Buldukoğlu conclude that the chosen address terms by nursers to address patients are directly related to the nursing care satisfaction degree of the patients (2019). When they are addressed with an informal address terms which encodes that the nurses care for them more closely and they feel more satisfied about their treatment process even though there isn't any solid evidence that can show the relations between these two notions. As it is proved that address terms have the power of manipulating people's opinions.

In a formal settings the ways of addressing others are laid down by the rules and even laws which show us the crital roles of address terms which are life-blood of communication in the social relations. In the first years of Turkish Republic, the laws regarding the prohibition of some honorifics and nicknames such as ağa (agha), hacı (pilgrim), hafız (hafiz), hoca (hodja), molla (mollah), efendi (gentleman), bey (sir), beyefendi (mister), paşa (pasha), hanım (lady), hanımefendi (madam) was introduced to create a nation without classes or special prividged classes (2590 Sayılı Efendi, Bey, Paşa Gibi Lakap Ve Unvanların Kaldırılmasına Dair Kanun, 1934). That is something shows that address terms are one of the factors which shape the society. Actually, the importance of address terms are accepted by all walks of life therefore, nearly all of the institution provides their members protocol guidelines which includes the rules that dictate them how to address certain person to avoid any kind of misunderstandings. Wardhaugh also points that such rule-based addressing behaviours are usually seen in military discourse (2006). A soldier has to show his/her respect to his/her commander through address terms even under the dangerous circumstances like war. Lorente's (2007) observation that Filipino domestic workers are forbidden by their Singaporean superiors in addressing them with kinship terms that

show them as in equal positions can be a good example to show the functions of address terms as social life regulator. Findings regarding that addressing behaviours must obey the unwritten social rules are seen in Wardhaugh's study (2006) in Hasnapur which is a feudal society, they force the wifes into call her husband by their first names (270). But, in Javanesse culture, the wifes are forced to address their husbands as 'mas' which means elder brother and the husbands are forced to address their wifes as 'dhik' which means younger sibling (ibid). The other evidence of significant place of addressing behaviours in society can be understood from the superstitious belief regarding address terms. Little and Gelles mentions one of these beliefs (1975). In their words, there exist some societies in which the member of these societies avoid employing certain address terms to certain addressees because they believe that these addressing practices invoke the fear of some evil force (1975: 573). In her study named after Gündelik Yaşamda Selamlaşma ve Yemek Görgü Kurallarının Toplumda Farklılaşması (Societal Differentiation of Greetings and Table Manners in Daily Life), Demir touches upon address terms which are defined as the presupposition of communication by her and states that verbal and nonverbal behaviors regarding address terms are shaped by dominating societal rules and value judgments (2012: 182).

The importance of address terms in social life can also be understood form the considerable amount of literature has been published on etiquette which guide the people how to address the others. But, it should be noted there, the main concern related to books of ettiquette is that these kinds of valuable publications such as books of ettiquette, travellers' guidies that mostly include a section under the title of address terms have tendency to reflect the ideal ways of addressing so they don't provide the realistic reflection of the what is used by most of the society (Braun,1988: 229). In addition to Braun's indication of this issue, Sonnenhause & Hanna (2013: 1) also add that there exists a dual status of address terms between system and performance which makes describing the real usage of address terms a must.

Globalization has caused an increasing need of communication among the cultures. In parallel with this fact, thousands of people start learning Turkish every year. Learning Turkish does not mean learning only grammar and vocabularies of the target language. The learners should have pragmatic awareness related to Turkish. Otherwise, it is inevitable that they can communicate effectively. In support of this discussion, Keevallik argues that the appropriate choice of address terms can only be guaranteed by enough knowledge of "the social structure of the language community as perceived by the insiders" (1999: 126). She reminds that the process turns out not to be trouble-free even for the insiders who are native speakers of that language to conform these pre-set norms or rules which lead the speakers' address behaviour (ibid). Throughout Zhu Hua's paper aiming at investigating address terms used by Chinese people living in UK, it is proved that address terms which are directly related to metalanguage practices help

Chinese speakers with constructing their social and cultural identities in a foreign culture (2010). In this aspect, knowing what kind of address terms are regarded as appropriate in the respective culture has a vital importance. A number of research exist pertaining to second language learning and address terms that bring the importance of the address terms into lights. Takenoya's 1995 study (as cited in Bardovi-Harlig,1996: 30) points the difficulties of second language learners experience while acquiring the target languages' address terms. Regarding this, Bardovi-Harlig suggest teaching address terms in language class as one of the opportunities to expand student's cross-cultural knowledge (1996: 30). Additionally, in their studies Antonova and Travina suggest a lesson model to teach address terms which aren't included in the curriculum (2014). They demonstrates that teaching address terms in the second language classes contributes to development of all language skills and this is especially true of speaking skills (Antonova and Travina, 2014: 379). In an another study, Bayat and Farahani maintain that addressing others appropriately is one of the most problematic topics for second language learners which can not be realized in the classess but in real life context. They suggest teaching address terms which guarantee fruitful conversation explicity because learners need it to have brillant mastery of the languages and cultures (Farahani and Bayat, 2014: 212).

All agreed that address terms should take part in the curriculum of language classes. However, questions have been raised about the adequacy of textbooks, curriculums and teachers regarding address terms. Teachers' instructions and textbooks are seen as the main components of language classrooms (Richard, 2001; O'Roark, 2001; West, 1960). Terzi also questions the second language teachers knowledge of address terms in her study which aims to investigate pre-service second language teachers' appropriateness of using addressing terms with which she associates pragmatic competence (2014). According to the results of this study, it is said that teachers have a rather limited repertoire regarding address terms in the target second language and they are not pragmatically-competent in the address systems of the target langauge, which might be suggesting the existence of a gap in language teacher training and education in Turkey (Terzi, 2014: v). In a similar way, Thomson and Otsuji's study proves the incapacity of texbooks in terms of address terms by concluding that textbooks don't include the new trends on address terms (2003: 194). In a surprising way, texbooks used less common address terms and addresee suffixes instead of using the most common ones to teach the learns (Thomson and Otsuji, 2003: 194). In addition to these findings, they also state that there are some examples that show that given address terms aren't used in appropriate with the contexts in which they are used which keeps learners from learning address terms in target language appropriately. The other researcher has reported the inadequacy of address terms is Brown (2010). He reveals that "presentation of address terms that is inauthentic, limited in terms of appropriateness and which betrays preconceptions regarding the abilities and social roles of 'foreign' language learners."

(Brown, 2010: 35). In their work that they investigate the gender-based language in textbooks, Jin, Vivian, Tong, Ling and Tarmizi reveal that the used address terms differentiate social classes and depict males in higher position (2013: 115). As a result of their study, they suggest that material developers must be careful about choosing address terms since they directly influnce the perception of target learners about gender inequality (Jin, et al., 2013: 119). Speaking of the place of address terms in curriculums, Özbay and İpek conclude that address terms which are related to both comprehension and narrative skills don't take enough part in the Turkish lessons in their studies investigating addressing terms used by secondary school students (2015: 90). 65 % of 1360 student who participate in the study states that they don't discuss address terms as a subject in Turkish lessons (ibid: 104). In parallel with their findings in 2015, The Curriculum of Turkish Programme published in 2019 is examined in the present study and it is seen that it includes learning outcomes under the title of speaking skills and strategies as following : …. using appropriate address terms as a part of politeness … , … using address terms properly…. . It must be pointed that the missing parts which are stated by Özbay and İpek still exists in the curriculum of 2019. Still, there is no activity, theorotical information or explanation regarding what are the contextually appropriate address terms. When The Curriculum of English Programme for Primary and Secondary Schools (2019) is investigated in the same fashion, it is also seen that there isn't any learning outcomes regarding addressing which can be seen a critical gap in the programme.

Correspondingly, address terms and some micropragmatic features related to address namely introductions, greetings are one of the first topics that are taught to the foreign language learners of Turkish. On this basis, it is expected that address terms take enough part in textbooks to represent address terms in Turkish but it is seen that textbooks don't present address terms withing a broad framework. (Braun, 1988: 300). When three different Turkish textbooks which are designed for second language learners (Öztürk et al., 2010; Aslan, 2015; Aslan, 2012) are examined , it is found that there aren't any separete section that focus on addressing in Turkish. Also, out of 64 dialogue detected in these books, there are only three types of address terms namely honorifics (Gamze Hanım, Ayşe Hanım), personal names (Olga, Demet) and pronominal address terms (sen, siz) are found. There are totally 11 different address terms in these books. The study named Türkçe Ders Kitaplarında Akrabalık Kavramları (Concepts of Kinship in Turkish Course Books) support these findings (Demirgüneş, Çelik and İşeri, 2015). They conclude that although it is obvious that Turkish is rich in the concepts of kinship, the concepts are seen rarely in the textbooks designed to teach Turkish (Demirgüneş, Çelik and İşeri, 2015: 1). It is reported that there are some kinship terms which are used frequently in daily life of a Turkish speaker such as hala (aunt) and abla (sister) don't found in textbooks (Demirgüneş, et al., 2015: 11). In this line, they also suggest that kinship terms used in textbooks should be compared to real life

usage of them to reveal the authenticty of address terms (Demirgüneş, et al., 2015: 11). These inspiring findings support the findings of Braun who suggests that textbooks provides too limited informations related to entire address system (1988: 300). In nutshell, textbooks which are learners' main sources of contact with language don't reflect the variety in address terms.

Thanks to advancement of technology, internet sources are gradually taking the place of textbooks which are designed for language teaching. There are a lot of researchers who consider internet sources as a factor which increase the number of students who learn second language (Kasanga, 1996; LeLoup& Ponterio, 2000; Slate, Manuel& Brinson, 2002; Singhal, 1997). In this aspect, it is not surprising founding a lot of internet resources that aims to teach address terms. The difference between these sources and textbooks is that the internet sources are more requirements-driven which means that they have much more opportunities to revise their content and follow the new trends on address term. But, the case which should be pointed here is the similarities between them. Like textbooks internet sources related to address terms don't repserent the authentic usage of these words or expressions used to address others in the languages. Similar to the ones in textbooks, the address terms depicted on internet sources intented to teach Turkish don't provide sufficient information related to the functions and appropriate usage of them for the learners to make them aware of pragmatic features of these terms. It is clear that such lack of knowledge in these reference sources of learners "result in confusion and possible teaching-induced pragmatic and communicative failures" (Akutsu, 2006: 137). A notable example in which the address term namely "bay" which is a public address terms mostly used in official letters is given in a way that Turkish speakers don't use anymore in any kinds of face-to-face communication is given in the example (5) and (6).

(5)   Bay Mehmet Öztürk

(Addressing people in Turkish – Hitaplar, n.d., para. 3).

(6)   Bay Frank Campbel

(Business etiquette: Greeting a colleague in Turkey, 2016,

Greeting Turkish colleague section, para. 1).

The other questions have been raised about the translations of the address terms. Presenting these kinds of linguistic realisations in an another language should involve more than denotations of them, they should also involve "intercultural linguistic exchange" (Ugorji, 2008: 57). As Nida reports meaning loss, within limits, can be called normal and inevitable because

sometimes translators can't interpret the cultural context, socio-cultural meanings and emotional meaning of the context (1964: 175). But, when the translator can not assign natural appropriate equivalents of address terms, it can lead to a great loss of meaning. As it can be understood, address terms are like boxes that speakers fill them with their feelings, ideas, identities, cultures, tendencies, status which they can't express by the help of a thousand words. That is why conveying the "rich nuances of these terms" is hardly possible (Ngo, 2006: 1). "Efendim" which shows respect to heaerer is translated as "my master" in English which means a person who employs a servant or owns a slave (IES, 2018).

It is expected that translation of address terms not only transfers the linguistic structures of the original ones, but also conveys the intended meanings and all possible implications of them. But, it is seen that the effects of original and translated text on the receivers of the messages are not same which means they can't create an equivalent effects on them (Ngo,2006: 3). As a result of her research which is conducted to examine translation of Vietnamese address terms to English, Ngo states that there is a great loss regarding pragmatic implications that are exclusively manipulated through the use of the terms and socio-cultural meanings of Vietnamese address terms which give great details related to interpersonal relationships between Vietnamese people (Ngo,2006: 4). Additionally, it is found that '' dynamic-equivalence translations of most of the terms make it impossible for target readers to have the same understanding and feeling about the target text as readers of the source text (Ngo,2006: 4). Newmark (1981), Garcez (1992) and Xiao-Ying (2007) are other researches who remark that translating address terms without losing their original meaning is a though and problematic issue. They claim that these problems result from address terms' culture-specific connotations. In his work on translating address terms in Chinese and English, Methven also states the difficulties regarding tranlating honorifics and address terms (2006). According to him, the are lexical gaps between Chinese and English in terms of address terms which makes conveying the same meanings impossible (Methven, 2006). In her study conducted on translating address forms used in Animal Farm from English to Brazilian Portuguese, Inez (2009) mentions that using equivalents of the address terms can not be enough to give the same message. Additionally, it is possible that these equivalents don't get the same reaction from the readers (Inez, 2009). As a result of these studies, it is also revealed that when cultures are distant, translating address terms appropriately and reflecting the rich nuances of them get harder which is also support the view that address terms are culturally- determined linguistic resources. The findings reported here appear to support the assumption that the linguistic and cultural differences between address terms are neglected during the process of translation.

Translation and address terms come together in an another problematic area: machine translation (MT). As Hutchins points that the kinds of errors made by MT and human translators

aren't same (2005: 505). While the errors of human translators can be tolerated, errors of MT can not be tolerated. This is because the errors of human translators did little effect to the core meaning of the text when compared to the errors of machine translation. Even a small error can make the the system of machine translation translate the text in a way that is far removed from the original text. There is an example that makes the point easy to understand. When Google Translate which works as a multi-language machine translator is used to translate some sentences including address terms, the results show the problems related to translation of address terms (Google Translate, n.d.). While the sentence "Nasılsın ?" can be translated as "How are you ?", the translation of the sentence "Nasılsın cicim ?" is equal to "how are your mosques?" As it can be seen easily the only difference between these sentences is the address term. This leads us to the conclusion that the system which is used by more than two hundered million people can not recognize some of the address terms in Turkish.

Dictionaries are defined as the most accurate and ample sources of vocabularies of languages in which address terms take a key position. As it stands, it is expected that address terms have extensive covarage in the dictionaries. However, it is seen that today's most frequently used address terms such as panpa, kardo, şekerim, etc. don't show up as lexical units in general dictionaries. Also, some of the words that are mostly employed as address terms namely kaptan, usta, hacı aren't categorized as address terms. It is the natural consequence of aims of the general dictionaries but the fact remains that there is lack of reference source related to Turkish address terms in the literature. That little attention has been paid to address terms points the lack of reference source in Turkish. The constant changes and variety in the address terms must be reflected in the specialized dictionaries like the Dunkling's dictionary (1990) and Ji's dictionary (2000). Since, it is a fact that "meanings in language can't be defined adequately by only remaining enclosed within the formal symbolic system of language." (Hasan, 1973: 287).

As the famous writer Highet said "Language is a living thing. We can feel it changing. Parts of it become old: they drop off and are forgotten. New pieces bud out, spread into leaves, and become big branches, proliferating." So, all of the languages change, and these changes can be seen in all areas of language use. There is no reason why address terms escape these changes. Address terms can be classified as the most responsive linguistic units to the changes in the languages, societies and cultures. Jucker and Taavitsainen state that speakers' choices of address terms are "culturally dependent and change in the course of time as old criteria become obsolete and come to be replaced by new criteria" (2003: 4). Özcan's longitudinal study conducted on choice of address terms also proves that peoples' addressing habits change in times. (2016). As Fang and Heng point the changes in society and culture also have big influence on the choice of address terms (1983: 496). In parallel with these findings, Keshavarz (1988) in his study which is conducted on the address terms used in post-revolutionary Iranian Persian proves that address

terms changes in concert with potical changes (the Islamic Revolution in Iran in 1979 in his study). The fact that "large-scale political changes have also been shown to affect address systems operating in various speech communities" by Jaworski and Glasinski (2000: 36). Mashiri is the one who reminds effects of socio-political changes in societies on the address systems of that language (1999). He reveals that colonial capitalism brought with its the culture and it affects Shona's address system (Mashiri, 1999: 97). As can be seen, changes in societies prompt changes in addressing system in that language. When the shoe is on the other foot, it still worhts stating changes seen in address terms can be coded as a clear proof of profound societal changes (Mashiri, 1999: 93). In a similar way, Beidelman marks that address terms don't serve only as "signs of, but contributors to, the change" (1963: 314). Additionally, it can be understood from the study of Hyed that using certain address terms (dude and alter in her study) at certain times depend on trends which is certain that they will change in time and the change has some consequences. In her words, "the following consequences of such trends can be seen: huge popularity and massive use by certain groups of young speakers and stylization in popular culture on the one hand, raised eyebrows by parents and criticism from linguistic gatekeepers on the other hand"(2014: 273). Rokni summarizes the discussion by stating that "the terms of address are not stable and fixed categories and they are influenced by undergoing changes in society" (2012: 2). As a natural consequence, it can be said that there is always something to tell about address terms because they are always in a constant state of flux.

Most of the above-stated problems related to address terms stem from the creative nature of these linguistic devices. As it mentioned above, these creativeness means that all the languages have speakers of all languages can address to someone by using an unheard addres term which is derived by themselves at that time. Such an address term doesn't need to be meaningful for the other speakers of the language. The address terms used by Mungan (Mungan, 1999 as cited in Alkan Ataman, 2018: 65) can be given as interesting examples to signify the creativeness in Turkish address terms.

In these examples taken from different parts of the examples, the address terms are employed by a stranger man to address a young girl (Mungan, 1999 as cited in Alkan Ataman, 2018: 65).

(7) aynalı kızım (my girl with mirror), kupa kızım (my queen of hearts), elmas kesimli kızım (my diamond shape girl), perili kızım (my haunted girl), pireli kızım (my flea-ridden girl), saat bakışlı kızım (my clock-eyed girl), hülyalı kızım (my dreamy girl), şerbetli kızım (my girl with syrup), tül masalı kızım (my tulle story girl), timsah gözlü kızım (my girl with crocodile eye), cin sırlı kızım (my evil-glazed girl), gül lokumlu kızım (my girl with rose delight), masal uykulu kızım (my girl with tale sleeping), mıknatıs topu kızım (my magnetic ball girl), bulut bakışlı kızım (my girl with cloud-eyed), melek oklu kızım (my girl with angel arrow), ballı kızım (my honeybun daugher/girl), tenha kızım (my desolate girl)

A considerable amount of literature has been published on address terms which prove the importance of the topic. By extending the Kadar's observation related to Chineese address terms (2015), it can be said that "in literature, address terms have been examined primarily from semantic, pragmatic and sociolinguistic angles" as in (Brown & Gilman, 1972) ; (Brown & Ford, 1961) ; and (Ervin-Tripp, 1972). Besides these linguistics oriented studies, researchers have studied by address terms from multiple perspectives. Address term is a phenomenon that can be seen in every context in which social interactions take place that is why it is studied in diverse academic fields. Following the most-cited, classic studies of (Brown and Gilman, 1960 ; Brown and Ford, 1964; Brown and Levinson, 1978; Lambert and Tucker, 1976; Kroger, Wood, and Kim, 1984, Watts, 1992; Ervin-Tripp, 1986; Dickey, 1997) which are conducted in the pragmatics and sociolinguistics, researches on address terms have been conducted in other fields such as translation studies (Methven, 2006; Ngo, 2006; Xiao Ying, 2007; Lotfollahi and Dabbaghi,2012), literature studies (Busse, 2006; Alyılmaz,2015). Besides language directed studies, for a long while, address terms awaken "sociologists', anthropologists', and social psychologists'" interests on the grounds that they seek to describe social bonds in a society (Khani & Yousefi, 2010). These studies can be given as following anthropology and psychology (Geoghegan, 1970; Griffin,2010; Little & Gelles, 1975). The other fields which investigate address terms can be classified as following media/radio (Edu-Buandoh, 1999; Clayman, 2010), healthcare field (Arslan, Göktaş, Buldukoğlu, 2019; Bergman, Eggertsen, Phillips, Cherkin, & Shultz, 1988; Bowie, 1996; Elizabeth, 1989), political discourse (Keshavarz, 1988; Bull and Fetzer, 2006; Jaworski & Galasinski, 2000), religious (Sevinç, 2016; Dzameshie, 1997; Alharbi, 2015), sports (Rendle-Short, 2010). It might be expected that as studies regarding addressing terms increase in numbers, variety in the focuses of these studies also increases.

Address terms of all languages are organized into different address system within their own rules which make them valuable to investigate individually. (You, 2014: 575). In parallel with this fact, a lot of researches have been conducted on address terms in a wide range of languages namely English (Brown and Ford,1961), Spanish (Lambert and Tucker, 1976; Fitch, 1998), French (Morford 1997; Lambert and Tucker, 1976), German (Winchatz 2001; Norris, 2001), Italian (Bates and Benigni, 1975; Danesi and Lettieri, 1983), Chinese (Chao, 1956; Song, 1994), Russian (Friedrich,1966), Arabic (Parkinson, 1985), Korean (Clancy, 1997), Lithuanian (Klimas, 1994), Estonian (Keevallik, 1999), Icelandic (Jones, 1965), Yoruba (Oyetade, 1995), Kashmiri (Koul, 1995), Hindi (Mehrotra, 2009), Quechua (Moles, 1974), Burmese (Thompson, 1965), Annamese (Benedict, 1947), Jarawa (Conant, 1961), Bengali (Das, 1968; Emihovich, 1981), Kashmiri (Koul, 1995), Akan (Agyekum, 2006), Manambu (Aikhenvald, 2008), Dagbanli (Salifu, 2010), S'gaw Karen (Pabst, 2016), Karaite Turkish (Güllüdağ, 2012), Manggarai (Semiun, 2018), Bantu languages (Sommer and Lupapula, 2012; Mashiri, 1999). In addition to these languages,

researches seek to discover the address term notion even in pidgins, creoles and mixed languages. These are can be listed as following: Cameroon Pidgin English (Echu, 2008); (Anchimbe, 2011), Quechua-Spanish (Moles, 1974), Nigerian English (Adegbija, 1989); Caribbean Creoles (Mühleisen, 2005); (Mühleisen, 2011).

In addition to these studies regarding address terms in different languages individually, there are multilingual studies which have been conducted to show differences and similarities of address systems in to one or more languages namely Chinese-American English (Zhou, 1998; Qin, 2008; Hao, Zhang, and Zhu, 2008), Spanish-Catalan (Osváth, 2015), French-Dutch (Martiny, 1996), Korean-American English (Hwang, 1991), Persian-English (Varnosfadrani and Lotfollahi, 2012), (Kroger, Wood and Kim, 1984). As can be seen, even exotic languages (Bayyurt and Bayraktaroğlu, 2001: 209), Farsi and English (Dadmehr and Moghaddam, 2014) have been included in the wealth of literature regarding address terms over the course of many years which points the importance of address term studies and stresses that address terms are significant means to transfer cultural messages (Zhang, 2002: 308).

The fact that address terms have been studied in a large number of languages proves that there are culture-specific motives that direct the choice of address terms. Collectivistic cultures like Turkish in which people live under a culture of relatedness have wide range of address terms. However, far too little attention has been paid to address terms in Turkish when compared with this variety The researches have been conducted on Turkish address forms are the ones which are limited to some specific contexes such as service-interaction, matchmaking shows on TV (Bayyurt and Bayraktaroğlu, 2001; Özcan, 2016; Alaca, 2014; Küçük, 2016). The other ones investigate only a limited number of address terms because of their small set of database (Demirbaş, 2017; Özezen, 2004; Alyılmaz, 2015; Azap, 2008). Some of the studies are based on only introspection of the researchers while some of them gather data from specific corpara comprising three or four novels. As the list given above demostrate, there is a conspicuous absence of researches on Turkish languages except just a few research. Much of the current literature on address terms pays particular attention to T-V distinction but Turkish has many words and expressions to refer interpersonal relationships which are ignored by these studies. Regarding all these, it is easy to say that these valuable researches are not enough to represent the whole system of the address in Turkish.

In Turkish literatures address term notion is placed under different terms such as *seslenme biçimleri* (Gökduman, 2017); (Peçenek & Ay,1996); (Li,1996); (Özezen, 2004), *seslenmeler* (İmamova, 2010), *seslenme sözleri* (Demirbaş, 2017); (Yüceol Özezen,2019); (Doğru, 2018), *seslenme ögeleri* (Akata,2018) ; (Alyılmaz,2015a), *seslenme edatı* (Nakiboğlu, 2018*), seslenme ünlemleri* (Baydar,2016), *nida seslenme kelimeleri* (Özyurt and Köse, 2006), *seslenme sözcükleri* (Göğüş, 1998*), seslenme durumu* (Vardar 1998); (Hengirmen 1999),

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seslenme ünlemi (Korkmaz, 2003), *seslenmeler/seslenme grupları* (Alyılmaz, 1999), *seslenme öbekleri* (Alyılmaz, 2015b), *seslenme edatı* (Ergin,1985), *seslenme şekli* (Çetin,2012), *hitap blokları* (Alyılmaz, 2015); (Gemalmaz, 1992 as cited in Alyılmaz, 2015), *seslenmeli tümleç* (Hatiboğlu, 1972) ; (Özmen, 1995); (Hatiboğlu, 1982), *seslenmeli özne* (Dizdaroğlu, 1972); (Koç, 1990), *seslenme bağımsız tümleçleri* (Özmen, 2013), *ünlem tümleci* (Delice, 2007), *hitap ifadeleri* (Özbay and İpek,2015); (Aktaş and Yılmaz,2017); (Yıldırım,2017), *hitap unsuru* (Şen,2008), *çağrı ünlemleri/seslenme ünlemleri* (Külebi, 1990), *nidalık edatlar* (Denny, 1941), *çağrılı nidalar* (Denny, 1941), **dokuncalı nidalar** (Denny, 1941), *seslenme sözü* (TDK, 2011), *çağırma hitap edatları* (Hacıeminoğlu, 1984), *hitap şekilleri* (Türker, 2001); (Alaca, 2014), *hitap biçimleri* (Oğuz, 2011); (Aça, 2018); (Küçük, 2016), *hitaplar* (Şen, 2008), *hitap sözleri* (İmamova, 2010), *hitap sözcükleri* (Bengi,1990), hitap yolları (Bulut, 2012), *sesleniş sözcükleri* (Yuldaşev, 1956), *vokatif* (Yazıcı-Ersoy, 2015).

As it can be seen, there is no general agreement on Turkish terminology regarding address terms. Address terms are used in a way that they are equated with many different terms and they also embody a group of different word categories. The fact that a lot different terms used for the same notion can be called as conceptual confusion. In his research related to terminological problems, Zülfikar explains that abundance of terms which equal to the same concept causes misperceptions and misconceptions (1991: VIII). It affects the cumulative characteristics of the literature related to address terms negatively because of the difficulties in disciplinary communication. In addition to difficulties which can be seen in the field of linguistics, Jacobsson and Jacobsson state that "conceptual confusion may be a significant obstacle to cross-disciplinary dialogue" in their studies which is conducted on the conceptual confusion in the field of technology (2014: 811). Besides theoretical difficulties mentioned above, it is possible to face with difficulties because of discrepancies between these terms. In practical vein, it can be highlighted that the conceptual confusions can be one of the challenging factors for the ones who try to learn the concept (Zülfikar, 1991: VIII) namely address terms. The ambuguities in terminology of address terms can result from the lack of knowledge in the literature which shows the necessity and significance of researches that will enlighten these ambuguties. It also opens a new door for researches into showing the differences and similarities between address terms (hitaplar) and vocatives (seslenmeler) which are used in the same meaning in the previous researches.

Address terms in Turkish take more place in grammar books when it is compared with linguistics researchers. As can be seen in the list above, address terms are classified under the different types of words in the grammar books which causes ambuguties and problems related to classification of them (Azap, 2008: 3). Also, these sources define address terms as external factor of the sentence which don't pay attention the the syntactic position them. In that aspect, most of

the grammarians claim that when the address terms are omitted from the sentences, there will not be any semantic change in the sentences. They also imply that address terms which have vital roles in communication don't have any functions in sentences.

It is an unquestionable fact that in many different social contexts, people employ address terms to point his/her words' target collocutor even before verbal communication starts. It shows that addressing is a social need of human beings which is met by the help of language. That is why people employ address terms in all occasions even when it is not compulsory to use them when people knowing each other well involve in the face-to-face communication (Yang, 2010: 738). According to Yang, using address terms to someone who is familiar to speaker in the middle of the conversation is not a must but people still tend to use address terms even in those situations (2010: 738). In a similar way, In a similar way, Lerner declares that employing an address term is not necessary for a speaker who participate in a communication in which she/he is talking to just one other person (2003). Rendle-Short also supports the discussion by stating there is no need to attract the other person's attention in two-party interaction. From this point of view, she concludes that choosing an address term (mate in her study) is a marked choice that gives a lot of cues about contexts, speakers and the other participants and their attitudes (Rendle-Short, 2010: 1202-1203). The following example which will be analyzed in a detailed way in the next chapters summarizes the all the discussion.

(8)   1 Curt: Well my problem is tryina find parts. 'n stuff.
       2 I got en engine over there I stuck damn near a
       3 thousan dollars in it.
       4 (0.4)
       5 I haven'got heads'r carburetion for it.
       6 (1.0)
       7 En it's never been run.
       8 (1.7)
       9 En I-5
       10 r Mike: 5What [size is it Curt,
       11 Curt: [I–
       12 Curt: Uh:: three, fifty fou:r no:w,

                         (Lerner, 2003: 185).

Lerner explains the examples like that "Mike's question can be understood to be addressed to Curt even before the address term is produced" (2003: 185). In this aspect, if address terms were employed to function only as a device to attract the attention of the participant of the conversation then it would be expected that Mike didn't use any address terms in such a context. But, as Lerner states it proves that address terms can be used in service of different functions (2003: 185).

Diologues between Hacivat and Karagöz also can be the best example to explain the above mentioned issues. In these dialogues, it is clear that Hacivat and Karagöz know each other well

and they communicate face to face which means using address terms isn't compulsory for them according to the scholors who claim address terms are non-functional linguistic devices. The following examples show the difference between diaologues with and without the address terms. As can be seen in the examples, address terms show addresser's intentions, feelings and thoughts (Alkan Ataman, 2018: v) which means they serve different functions.

(9) Hacivat- Vay… *Karagöz'üm* maşallah akşam-ı şerifler hayırlı olsun.
    Karagöz- *Lebbeyk* (buyrun efendim)…
    Hacivat- Akşam-ı şerifler hayırlar olsun derim *cancağızım.*
    Karagöz- Senin de sinsileni sansarlar boğsun. (Tokar atar.)
    Hacivat- Aman *Karagöz'üm* maşallah beni böyle gelir gelmez darba hakkın yok.
    Karagöz- *Sen* de şu tokadı al da burnuna sok. (Tokat atar.)
    Hacivat- Yazıklar olsun sana *Karagöz'üm* yazık.
    Karagöz- Hoş geldin *kazık oğlu kazık* (Tokat atar.)

               (Oral, 2007:147-148)

(9') Hacivat- Vay… maşallah akşam-ı şerifler hayırlı olsun.
    Karagöz- (buyrun)…
    Hacivat- Akşam-ı şerifler hayırlar olsun derim .
    Karagöz- Senin de sinsileni sansarlar boğsun. (Tokar atar.)
    Hacivat- Aman maşallah beni böyle gelir gelmez darba hakkın yok.
    Karagöz- şu tokadı al da burnuna sok. (Tokat atar.)
    Hacivat- Yazıklar olsun sana yazık.
    Karagöz- Hoş geldin (Tokat atar.)
            (adapted from Oral, 2007:147-148)

As the literature review reveal previous studies mostly rely on elicited data obtainde via questionnaires. When the participants are asked how they address the addressee, their answers based on imaginary situations. Surveys includes only brief descriptions of the situations which makes the participants rely on their own or other peoples' memories. In that way, researchers can gather unnatural, incomplete, hypothetical answers by the help of the surveys (Qin, 2008: 411).

Just like the persons who have the same grammar rules may not perform them in the same way. The people who share the same knowledge related to address terms can make different choices. That is why describing address system in a language can be more significant than the describing only choices of individuals related to address terms. Also, as Ervin-Trip states that the study's of how speakers choose among the terms available to them by the help of surveys, Discourse Completion Tests (DCT) are most probably quite different from the native speakers' knowledge regarding what kinds of address terms are possible and appropriate to employ (1972: 227). It shows the importance of corpus as a data gathering tool which represents native speakers' real performances.

1.1. Aim of the Study

Given the above mentioned problems left hanging in the air, there is obviously a need for detailed analysis of address systems in Turkish. As in Clayman's study, the "very naturalness of address terms in environments – even the ones in which address terms are not expected to be used- poses a puzzle as to their use and import" (2010: 162) which creates a need to investigate address terms. All of these missing parts in the literature and the problematic areas related to address terms prove that it is interesting to investigate address terms in Turkish from a different perspective. As Dickey states that some words can't be used as addresses (for example, kapı kulpu, otobüs durağı), while others appear only as addresses (Beyefendi, Hanımefendi, Sayın, etc.) (199: 255). Additionally, Aliakbari and Toni states that all the languages have different language devices which are employed to "express what is culturally permissible and meaningful" (2008: 2). Considering all these facts, the present study aims at investigating the words which can be used as address terms in Turkish address system and which address terms are permissible and meaningful in Turkish culture. The second purpose of the study is proposing a new classification for address terms in Turkish. Thirdly, one of the main aim is to explore whether any generalisations can be made on the functions of address in Turkish address systems. Lastly, the present study aims to identify where an address term are seen in naturally occurring interactions taken from a corpus data, and what communicative functions are achieved when it is used in such positions. As a result of the study, creating the Turkish glossess which shows both literal meaning and the grammatical characteristics of address terms is also aimed. In a nutshell, the thesis unravel above mentioned mysteries surrounding address system in Turkish.

1.2. Significance of the Study

The present study takes as its starting point a range of linguistic notion that has not always been paid special attention in Turkish literature. In the Turkish literature regarding address terms, there isn't any linguistic source that only focuses on address terms and explains them in a detailed way (Alkan Ataman, 2018: 3). Alkan Ataman mentions that although it is such an important topic for sociolinguistic and cultural history, it can be thought that there aren't enough studies on address terms (2018: 677). Kadar also says over the same discussion by stating that it hasn't been possible to systemize the address systems because researchers find the extensive address lexicon as overwhelming (2017: 301). Sonnenhauser and Hanna also support this view by stating that the the topic has long been overlooked in the linguistic literature. They add that still, there is no systematic approach to define the language-specific ways to address others (Sonnenhause and Hanna, 2013: 1). Apart from this, in their study aiming investigating Turkish kinship terms used in textbooks, Demirgüneş, Çelik and İşeri underscore by stating that

(2015: 12) researchers should design detailed and holistic corpus-based studies (Turkish National Corpus, Spoken Turkish Corpus, METU Turkish Corpus) and by comparing the findings of these studies with the small-scaled studies, they would reach detailed conclusions. In the light of these views, the study intend to reach more far-reaching conclusions regarding address terms.

In Turkish literature on address terms, it is clear that there are some points remains unclear. The present study aims to contribute the field related to these missing parts. While no quantitative study has been carried out to estimate the number of Turkish address terms, it can be said without the risk of exaggeration that there are several thousand of address terms in Turkish. In this aspect, the present study explains the need for such a large lexicon to address people. In theoretical vein, this present study aims to help fill these gaps by analysing a unique set of data gathered from the Turkish National Corpus v.3.0 (Aksan, et.al., 2012) that does reflect the address system in Turkish. In practical vein, this study aims to offer a new perspective by describing address systems of Turkish. When address terms in Turkish are described interlocutors can communicate more effectively and they can improve their interpersonal relationships by choosing the most appropriate address terms. In this manner, Yang states that gaining a deep understanding of addressing terms is really significant, communication-specifically in cross-cultural communication (2010: 1). Additionally, the results of the study also can be useful for teachers and learners of Turkish as second language. Also, the writers of textbooks, books of ettiquette, travellers' guidies can draw their data from here to represent the real language use. It is hoped that the present study contribute to the field of lexicography by helping them add new entries and adapt the available entries that are classified as address terms in Turkish. In a similar way, these words and phrases can be labelled in the corpus. Apart from the ones which are mentioned above, the results of the study can make the translation process easier by revealing how the native speakers of Turkish employ address terms and what kinds of words can be classified as address terms.

The other aspect that makes researches on address terms valuable is the fact that these researches are really efficient to reveal the interpersonal relationships in the speech communities (Fitch, 1991; Morford, 1997). Afful and Mwinlaaru put their fingers on the importance of researches conducted on address terms by stating that they help "present a complex network of interlocking social relations" (2012: 17). Said and Hua explains the importance of studies conducted on address terms as following "the study of address terms is crucial in understanding how a given language provides tools as well as choices for its speakers to position themselves in relation to others" (2017: 85). When viewed from this point of view, it is expected that the present research will have something to say related to interpersonal relationships in Turkish society. Alkan Ataman's implication regarding her own study can be generalized to all the studies conducted on address terms. In this aspect, it can be claimed that the studies conducted on the

address terms can contribute to language, cultural identity, life style, world-view of Turkish society (2018: 677).

In their studies in which they investigates address terms used in academic context within the scope of social psychology, Little and Gelles writes that "form of address is a significant product of symbolic interaction that provides a fruitful empirical basis for further hypothesis formulation" (1975: 585). Hyed also confirms that address terms are an interesting field to investigate since they provide data for studies conducted on discourse-grammar interface and studies conducted on "ways in which issues of stance and identity are explicitly encoded in language use by speakers" (Hyed, 2014: 273). It is quite obvious that with old history and rich culture Turkish provides excellent data to conduct such a study.

1.3. Research Questions

In particular, the present study examines three main research questions which are given below:

1. What are the lexical items which can be coded as address term in Turkish?
2. How can these address terms be classified ?
3. What are the functions of these address terms?

It is necessary here to clarify that in the literature the concept of address terms has been used interchangeably with following words: *forms of address, address terms, addressing forms, address forms, terms of address, modes of address, addressing words, vocatives, exclamations, calls, summons.* In the present paper address terms are adopted to refer the aforementioned linguistic realizations.

1.4. Limitations of the Study

Although the research has reached its aims, there are some limitations. Walsh informs that investigation of system of address is too large to cover in a single study (2014: 10). In line with it, to emphasis investigating address system in a language within the limits of a study is impossible, Shormani and Qarabesh point that an in-depth analysis that covers all aspects of address terms reveals great amount of data– so much so that these findings can be the subject of several books (2018: 2).That is why it is possible that there can be some missing parts related to address systems of Turkish which are listed below.

First of all, there is lack of quantitative analysis regarding some parts of the examination. Giving statistical informations greatly increase the scale of the study which is already broad in scope.

The number of the various ways in which a person can be addressed are virtually infinite (Ervin-Tripp, 1972: 215). Stone also supports this view by claiming that "systems of address consist of all the possible choices open to the speaker between linguistic elements referring to the addresse" (Stone, 1977: 491). Therefore, it is impossible to present whole system of the address terms in Turkish. Although many different data collection methods are employed to reduce the risk of missing an existing address term in Turkish, there can be some missing ones which haven't been found during the data collection process. Additionally, drawing inspiration from Braun, it should be accepted that address system of a language comprises of all the avaible terms and their relationships between themselves (1988: 12). Since address terms are really sensitive to time and the other changes in society, culture and language, the available address terms can change in time.

In her research, Alaca states that the implications related to address terms are made based on the presuppositions because it is impossible to exactly understand what is the real meaning of the chosen address terms or what is the real intention of speakers while examining address terms (2014: 171). Although corpus data lets researchers take firm steps related to reaching conclusions, there is still a risk of experiencing same challenges.

This present paper does not deny the role of phonological features especially in the process of determing functions of the address terms. But, phonological features of the address terms are not in the scope of this study. Another limitation is about non-linguistic elements in communication such as mimics, gestures, and visual aids like glancing. Therefore, these non-linguistic elements are not the concern of this present study.

The translations regarding address terms are made to make the extracts including address terms more understandable. In this aspect, the translated forms of them may not sound really natural in the target language. But, it should be noted that the main aim of this study doesn't include translating address terms in an authentic way but, it includes reflecting the meaning of it appropriately.

2. REVIEW OF LITERATURE

In this chapter, the theoretical framework for this paper is established. First, corpus linguistics is defined to show grounded linguistics sub-field of that study. Second, an overview of address terms is provided.

2.1. Corpus Linguistics

Biber et al. define the corpus as a large principled collection of natural texts (1998: 4). Sinclair defines corpus as "a collection of naturally occurring language text, chosen to characterize a state or variety of a language" (1991: 171). Francis defines corpus as "a collection of texts assumed to be representative of a given language, dialect, or other subset of language, to be used for linguistic analysis" (as cited in Tognini-Bonelli, 2001: 2). Crystal defines corpus as "a collection of linguistic data" which can be compiled as written texts or a transcription of recorded speech (1992: 95). In a similar way, Sinclair defines corpus as "a collection of naturally occurring language text, chosen to characterize a state or variety of a language"(1991: 71). McEnery and Wilson define corpus by the help of the inherent features of corpus as following: "(a) loosely, a corpus refers to any body of text (b) Most commonly, it refers to a body of machine-readable text and (c) More strictly, it refers to a finite collection of machine-readable texts sampled to be maximally representative of a language or a variety of it" (1996: 215). As it can be seen, all the definitions shared some common notions such as *collection, natural.* In a nutshell, corpus is an artefact which is selected based on pre-set criterias. It includes naturally occuring pieces of languages which means these pieces of languages which are spoken text or written text aren't manipulated (Pearson, 1998: 43).

Although there isn't any agreement on the origin of corpus linguistics, it is a fact that Aijmer and Rühlemann state corpus linguistics is a relatively young discipline (2015: 4) when it is compared with the other sub-fields of linguistics. Johansson states that the origin of the corpus linguistics dates back to late eighteenth century (2008: 35). On the other hand, it is claimed that origins of the corpus linguistics can be traced back as far as the thirteenth century (O'Keeffe and McCarthy, 2010: 3). Despite of these disagreements, it can be clearly seen that the development of computational technology marked a new era for corpus linguistics in 1960s- 1970s. There have been four major developments in corpus design and construction in parallel with the developments in computational technology. By the help of these developments, corpus analytical tools started to store, compile and analyse different kinds of corpora which can be seen as breakthrough in this field (Johansson, 2008: 35-36). Since those times, the sub-field of linguistics namely corpus linguistics has grown considerably. As Pearson indicates, electronic corpara bring a lot of innovations with themselves (1998: 44). Developments in computing lead to the creation

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of very large corpora. The first electronic corpus " Brown Corpus" was compiled in 1960s (Francis and Kucera, 1964). It was a one-million word corpus including different kinds of written materials (Aijmer and Rühlemann, 2015: 4). In addition to building large corpora such as the one mentioned above, these developments also make it possible to create different types of corpus such as "specialized corpora, monitor corpora and reference corpora, full text corpora, sample corpora, parallel corpora and comparable corpora which can be used for many different purposes (Pearson, 1998: 44). Moreover, there are special corpora including audio and visual data which let the researchers conduct study on gesture, gaze, body language of the speakers (Carter and Adolphis, 2008 :276). Additionally, there are many different corpora in various languages that makes reaching the language and researching on a language easier for non-native researchers. In a nutshell, there are numerous corpora which can be reached with a click. This rapid improvement is summarised by Sinclair as following :

> Thirty years ago when this research started it was considered impossible to process texts of several million words in length.
> Twenty years ago it was considered marginally possible but lunatic.
> Ten years ago it was considered quite possible but still lunatic. Today it is very popular.

<div align="right">(Sinclair, 1991:1)</div>

Sinclair suggests that "traditionally linguistics has been limited to what a single individual could experience and remember related to language when they depend on their intuition as a source of the data" (1991: 1). From this point of view, corpus linguistics brings new aspect into the language. Corpus linguistics gives a lot of opportunities to the researchers. Thanks to corpus linguistics, linguists start to conduct studies on real langue rather than their own intuitions. According to McEnery and Wilson, corpus linguistics is "the study of language based on examples of real life language use" (1996: 1). Biber et.al. determine the essential characteristics of corpus analysis. These are "empiricism" which means that it is based on authentic language use, "utilization of large body of texts", "extensive use of computers to analyze the language", " using both qualitative and quantitive analysis" (1998: 4). Hunston points that corpus is "an electronically stored collection of samples of naturally occurring language but it doesn't mean corpus by itself can do something with computational abilities (2002: 3). Rather, they can conduct researches on a large quantity of naturally occurring, authentic data gathered from various speakers and writers. McEnery and Hardie's view on corpus proves that corpus allows the researchers to observe real language (2012: 26). Also, computational technology lets linguists to store and then analyze and describe larger database of natural language which they can not gather by the help of any other methods such as intuion, interview, survey, etc. It can be employed to describe linguistics features and to test the hypotheses related to these features. As a result of the corpus analysis, researchers obtain frequencies, distributions, statistical data

rather than possibilities. Additionally, corpus linguistics provides researchers with a large amount of data which is testable. It is suitable for both quantitive and qualitative researches. Corpus analysis provides quantitative, reusable data, and an opportunity to test and challenge their own ideas and intuitions about language. Most of the corpus include demographic information related to speaker or writer of the texts such as age, gender, class, education level which can affect the language use.

As can be seen a corpus provides all the data which are necessary for conducting a research on language structures. Therefore, it worths claming that corpus linguists help the linguist find the answer of what they want related to language Hoffmann et. al. state that corpus methodology can be used to study nearly all of the sub-fields of linguistics such as morphology, discourse, syntax (2008:19). "By the late 20th century, corpus linguistics have shaken the foundation of linguistics. Corpus linguistics put the lexis in the center of language studies which were dominated by syntax and grammar" (Scott & Tribble, 2006:4 as cited in Aijmer & Rühlemann, 2015:5).

In addition to other the sub-fields of linguistics mentions, corpus linguistics can be used to study pragmatics. Although pragmatic features like speech acts, politeness, hedges, boosters, vague language, etc. are not automatically retrievable from a corpus. There are a lot of reasons that proves that corpus linguistic methodology is suitable for pragmatics studies. (O'Keeffe & McCarthy, 2010:11). Most of the pragmatic studies elicit data by the help of the interviews, roleplays, Discourse Completion Tests (DCTs) (O'Keeffe & McCarthy, 2010:10). The data gathered by the help of these tools are criticized because of their authenticity and validity. They simplify the complexity of real language and can not provide the researcher with the naturally – occuring authentic data. In this aspect, corpus linguistics methodology perfectly fit in pragmatic studies.

Aforecited data collection tools provide results in an isolated way which makes interpreting the results really tough for the researchers. On the other hand, corpus pragmatic methodology present the target linguistic unit in a context which provides deeper insight for the researchers. Levinson points the importance of context by stating that pragmatics is "the study of the relationships between language and context that are found in the framework of language." (Levinson, 1983: 9).

Some modern-day corpora provide extensive contextual information in the form of a range of sociolinguistic metadata. Rühlemann and Clancy state that most of the modern corpora include contextual information such as age, gender, social class, religions, etc. (2018: 3). These contextual informations can be used as variables which explain why the speaker choose to use language in certain way in the pragmatic studies.

Despite these rapid improvements in the field which is mentioned above, corpus linguistics is relatively a new field. Therefore, there is still some disagreements to define this developing field. Different scholars define corpus linguistics variously such as a methodology, a discipline, a theory, or an approach. Pearson defines corpus linguistics as the methodologies and approaches that are used for the analysis of languages. Leech also classified corpus linguistics as a methodology used for linguistic research rather than field of study (1992: 106). Hunston also defines corpus linguistics as a method that can be employed to solve the problems related to language (2006). On the other hand, Tognini-Bonelli defines corpus linguistics as a theoritical status (2001: 1). The ones who defines corpus linguistics as a methodology supports their view by stating that corpus linguistics is a method and principle that show how can corpora can be used in language studies because there are a lot studies exist which are both corpus-based and non-corpus-based in all sub-fields of linguistics.

There are two different approaches to corpus linguistics: corpus-driven and corpus-based. Corpus-based approach means that theories are verified and then they are proofed by the researchers against corpora. Tognini-Bonelli (2001:65) suggests that corpus-based studies conducted on corpus data in order to investigate, validate, refute and refine a theory. Annotated corpora are more suitable for these kinds of approach. Researchers whose aims are showing evidence of their own intutions such as "theoretical linguists, computational linguists and media specialists" prefer corpus-based approach (Pearson, 1998: 50). On the other hand, corpus-driven approach means that theories are conceived in order to explain existing data from corpora. Raw corpora are more suitable for this kinds of approach. As Pearson states researches whose aims are discovering new facts about the language such as "lexicographers, terminographers" prefer corpus-driven approach (1998: 49). Atasoy Kolbaşı highlights an important point regarding the discussion by stating that "the definition of corpus linguistics as a method underpins this approach to the use of corpus data in linguistics" (Atasoy Kolbaşı, 2018: 14). On the contrary, the other approach namely corpus-driven approach doesn't consider corpus linguistics as a method but they code corpus linguistics as a source of language (2018: 14).

2.2. Turkish Culture as a Variable in Turkish Address System

Culture is developed through the agency of social organizations. Thus, the notion of the culture is generally considered equal to society. Hofstede states that people namely citizens of the nations share common values, beliefs, raditions, etc. (Hofstede, 1994: 5). But, it does not mean culture reflects complete internal homogeneity. Similarly, Spencer-Oatey defines it as following "Culture is a fuzzy set of basic assumptions and values, orientations to life, beliefs, policies, procedures and behavioural conventions that are shared by a group of people, and that influence

(but do not determine) each member's behaviour and his/her interpretations of the 'meaning' of other people's behaviour." (2008: 3). It shows the necessity of taking a nationality as a variable in a study conducted on language.

Turkey is a large country landed on the crossroads between Europe and Asia. Thanks to its geographic position the Western and Eastern worlds give Turkish people a longstanding exposure to different cultures. So, their interaction with a diversity of cultures make Turkish culture is unique culture. Turkish culture is a intermingle Islamic values, Turkish traditions and Western inspirations.As IES states that it is possible to detect differences in cultural practices according to "age, education, socioeconomic status, region, gender, political views" in Turkey. (IES, 2018).

The concept of honour can be seen as one of the important part of the Turkish culture which affects the behaviours of people. That concept force people to give public impression related to their dignity and integrity by pointing their positive qualities, achievements, social status, etc. (IES, 2018). Thus the virtual importance of the concept of honour in the society make them more aware related to this concept and they try to be more generous ,warm and honest to protect their own and the others' self images in the society (IES, 2018).

The Turkish communicate in a warm and indirect way when they meet someone for the first time. They choose implying something rather than saying something directly to avoid offending the hearers.They can say "I guess there has probably been a mistake" instead of "there has been a mistake". (IES, 2018). On the other hand, when they get more familiar with the hearers, Turkish people start to be more direct.

To make this discussion more clear in a scientific basis, Hofstede has examined people in several different countries. The study of national culture differences resulted in a model with six important cultural dimensions (Hofstede, 2001). These are power-distance, individualism-collectivism, masculinity – femininity, uncertainty avoidance, long term orientation, indulgence-restraint.

The power dimension score of Turkey implies that all the people in the society are not equal tells that Turkey has a high score on this dimension. It determines such characteristics in Turkish culture: they can be called as dependent, hierarchical, superiors often inaccessible (Hofstede, 2001).

The individualism-collectivitisim dimension is about the level of persons' interdepence in the society. The score of Turkey shows that Turkish belive that they belong to in groups which will take care of them if it is necessary. In Turkish society, "we" (family, friends, organizations) is more important than "I". Turkish people devote their time to establish new relationships with the others in their social environments.It is undeniable fact that Turkish culture is collectivist but the influence of cosmopolitiam ideals, technology, social media make the people especially the

younger ones decline the collectivist culture and it can be seen that their preference is more closer to individualism (IES, 2018).

Based on the femininity scores, solidarity is an important notion for Turkish people. Turkish people prefer agreeing, showing sympathy for the others (Hofstede, 2001).

Turkey's high score on the dimension of uncertainty avoidance shows that there is a strong need for rules. (Hofstede, 2001). In Turkish culture, it is possible to see many rituals which are used to avoid uncertainty. These rituals include social patterns, some certain ways of communication, traditions, etc.

The dimension that shows the long-term orinetation of societies imply the bound of the cultures with their own past. According to score of that dimension, Turkish people both respect their own "time-honoured traditions and norms" and they are open to changes related to their culture.

Additionaly, the other research which can be mentioned here is the research of Hall (1976) conducted on high context and low context cultures. He defines cultures like Turkish as high context cultures. In such a culture, the message is hidden in the physical context and in the internalized speakers (Hall, 1976: 91). A high-context culture mostly is based on indirect communication and nonverbal messages. In high-context communication, people don't need a detailed background informations to understand the message of the communication.The way of communication in high context cultures are fast,economical and efficient, and more appropriate when compared with the low context cultures. They tend to spend less time to programming their communication.

Low context cultures   **High context cultures**

German American English French Spanish Mexican Greek   Turkish Arab Chinese

Figure 2.1. Low context and high context cultures

2.3. Address Terms

In this section the previous studies on address terms are discussed chronologically by pointing the seminal researches.

As it is mentioned before, address terms have come into prominence in the literature from the mid-1950s-1970s, through the 1980s- 1990s, and from the early 2000s to the present. The researches conducted on these dates have contributed to the literature related to address terms in many different aspects (Zappettini, 2015: 2). The beginning of address literature is mostly identified with the publication of Brown and Gilman's pioneering article in which they distinct T form of address pronoun from V form of address pronoun (1960). Yet, Zappettini states that long before this seminal paper Gedike (1794) conducted a research on "du and sie "in German (as cited in Zappettini, 2015: 1-2). In the early twentienth century, there were an increase in the number of the researchers conducted on the address terms namely personal pronouns. Most of these works dealt only with European languages. In the decades between 1920s and 1940s the scope of the language which is investigated in terms of address terms were broadened. Fay (1920) was one very the first researchers who researched the apperance of French pronouns tu and vous in Molière's plays (as cited in Zappettini, 2015: 2).

2.3.1. The studies between 1950s-1970s

2.3.1.1. Roger Brown and Albert Gilman

Roger Brown and his co-worker, Albert Gilman are one of the first sociolinguists who dealt with address terms. They are interested in especially the use of address pronouns and the T/V distinctions. In their seminal paper is based on a empirical study related to semantics of address pronouns (Brown and Gilman, 1960). They states that "there is covariation between these pronouns used by speakers and the interpersonal relationships between interlocutors". Additionally, they maintain that there is another correlation between these two form of address pronouns employed by speakers and the characterictics of the speakers (Brown and Gilman, 1960: 253).

In their preliminary studies which open new doors to the researches in address terms, Brown and Gilman states that there are most of the languages in which two singular pronouns of address are still used actively such as German, Italian, Spanish, French (1960: 252). This is not the point that they want to highlight related to these pronouns, in their words: "the interesting thing about such pronouns is their close association with two dimensions fundamental to the analysis of all social life – the dimensions of power and solidarity" (ibid). To reach their aims, they employ a multimodel approach in their study. They (Brown and Gilman, 1960: 253) collect plays and letters to gather information regarding these pronouns' usage in past and they conduct interviews to collect data regarding different languages such as French, Italian, German and Spanish, etc. but, the main data of the study is collected through the questionnaire. The semantic

evaluations of these two pronouns namely T and V (Latin *tu* and *vos*) are explained as following by Brown and Gilman (1960: 254):

> In the Latin of antiquity there was only tu in the singular. The plural vos as a form of address to one person was first directed to the emperor, and there are several theories (Byrne, 1936; Chatelain, 1880) about how this may have come about. The use of the plural to the emperor began in the fourth century. By that time there were actually two emperors; the ruler of the eastern empire had his seat in Constantinople and the ruler of the west sat in Rome. Because of Diocletian's reforms the imperial office, although vested in two men, was administratively unified. Words addressed to one man were, by implication, addressed to both. The choice of vos as a form of address may have been in response to this implicit plurality. An emperor is also plural in another sense; he is the summation of his people and can speak as their representative. Royal persons sometimes say 'we' where an ordinary man would say 'I.' The Roman emperor sometimes spoke of himself as nos, and the reverential vos is the simple reciprocal of this.

They add that today the plurality is not related to actual plurality as it was in the past, bu it is used as a metaphor for power (ibid). According to Brown and Gilman, the person who can control the behavior of others can be said to have power over the other ones (1960: 255). They list the bases of power as following: physical power, economical potential, age, sex, instituonalized role in church, the state, the army or within the family" (ibid). The power is nonreciprocal because it is not possible that both two parties have power in the same area of behavior. One of the important finding of them shows that power semantic is also nonreciprocal which means that the superior employs T for the addressee and he/she receives V (ibid).

Times have changed and in parallel with this change, nonreciprocal power semantic which prescribes usage between superior and inferior gave way to "a social structure in which there are unique power ranks for every individual" (Brown and Gilman, 1960: 256). As a result of the changes, society at the top started to address each other by employing the V form and they showed their politeness in this way. It was coded as sign of elegance. The upper class of society still prefered addressing the lower class by the help of T form but they received V form. On the other side, lower class started employ each other by emloying the T form as a sign of intimacy which is named as solidarity dimension by Brown and Gilman (160: 256-257). In comparision with power dimension, solidarity is symmetrical (ibid: 258). They claim that solidarity associated with T form can be the result of the frequent contact and sharing similarities. Contrary to the fact that power semantic is nonreciprocal, solidarity semantic is reciprocal. In solidarity dimension, when the T form is used reciprocally, it is sign of intimacy and when the V form is used reciprocally, then it is a sign of formality (ibid).

They also mentions that the solidarity dimension can be applicable to each person who are addressed. To give an example, Brown and Gilman states that the ones who are superior in terms of power can be solidary such as parents, elder sisters and brothers or they can not be solidary such as officials who the addresser contact seldomly (1960:258).

In order to explain the power and solidarity dimension in a more clear way, Brown and Gilman visualize them by the help of the schemas given below:
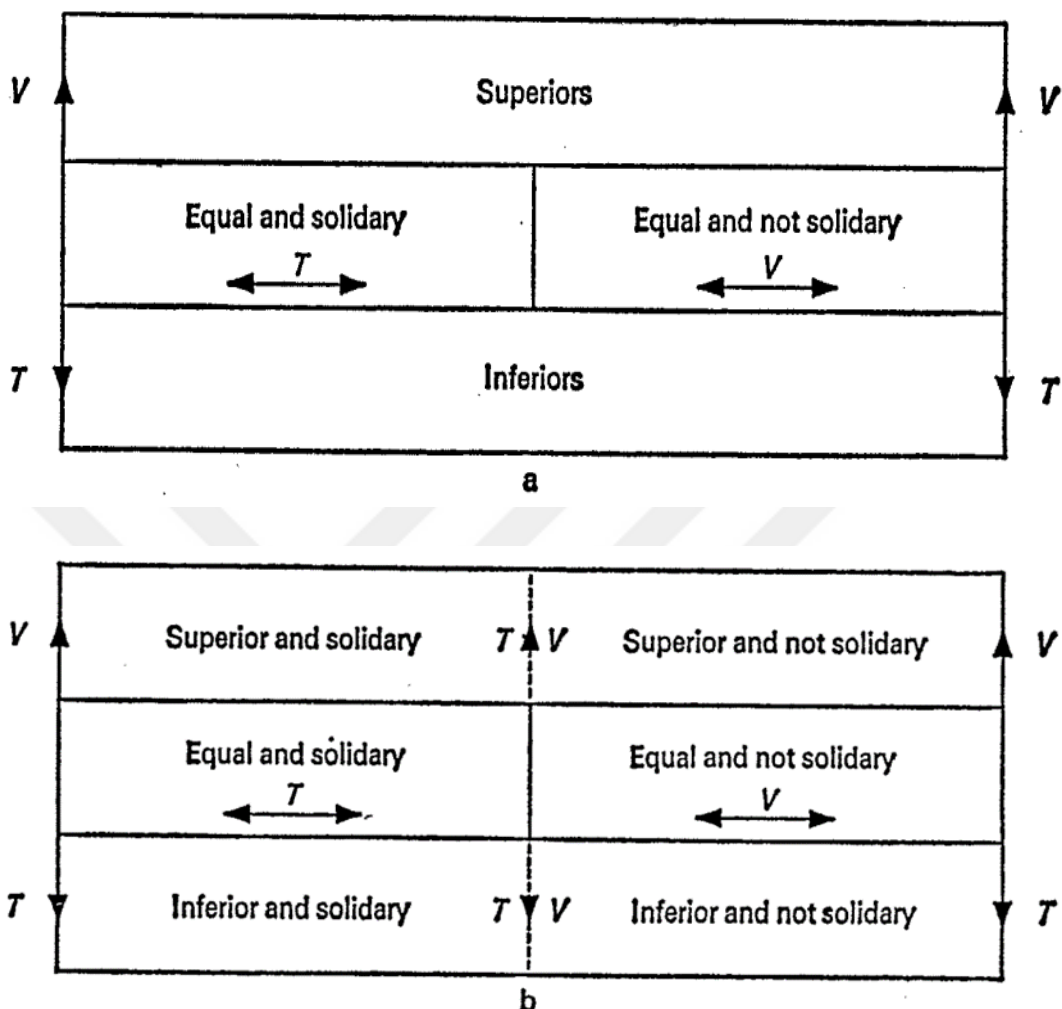
Figure 2. 2. The two-dimensional semantic (a) in equilibrium and (b) under tension.
(Brown and Gilman, 1960:259)

They also provide an explanation for these schemas. According to their explanations, in Figure b, six possible categories of people are shown in terms of their relations to the speaker and how speaker choose to address them according to different factors namely solidarity and power is shown (Brown and Gilman, 1960: 259). They remark that the given rules related to addressing can be confusing fort he speakers who are in the upper left and lower right categories. For the upper left, power indicates V and solidarity T. For the lower right, power indicates T and solidarity V (ibid).

The abstract conflicts which are mentioned above are examplified by the help of the social dyads which makes understanding the conflict easier and they are shown through the figures given below. According to them (1960: 258), conflicts illustrated in the first three dyads are

related to lower right category of Figure 2.2b (addressing inferiors without solidarity) Additionally, in the second three dyads are related to the upper left category of Figure 2.2b (addressing superiors with solidarity) :

Customer
$T\downarrow V \quad \uparrow V$
Waiter

Officer
$T\downarrow V \quad \uparrow V$
Soldier

Employer
$T\downarrow V \quad \uparrow V$
Employee

Parent
$T\downarrow \quad T\uparrow V$
Son

Master
$T\downarrow \quad T\uparrow V$
Faithful servant

Elder Brother
$T\downarrow \quad T\uparrow V$
Younger brother

a

Customer
$\updownarrow V$
Waiter

Officer
$\updownarrow V$
Soldier

Employer
$\updownarrow V$
Employee

Parent
$T\updownarrow$
Son

Master
$T\updownarrow$
Faithful servant

Elder brother
$T\updownarrow$
Younger brother

b
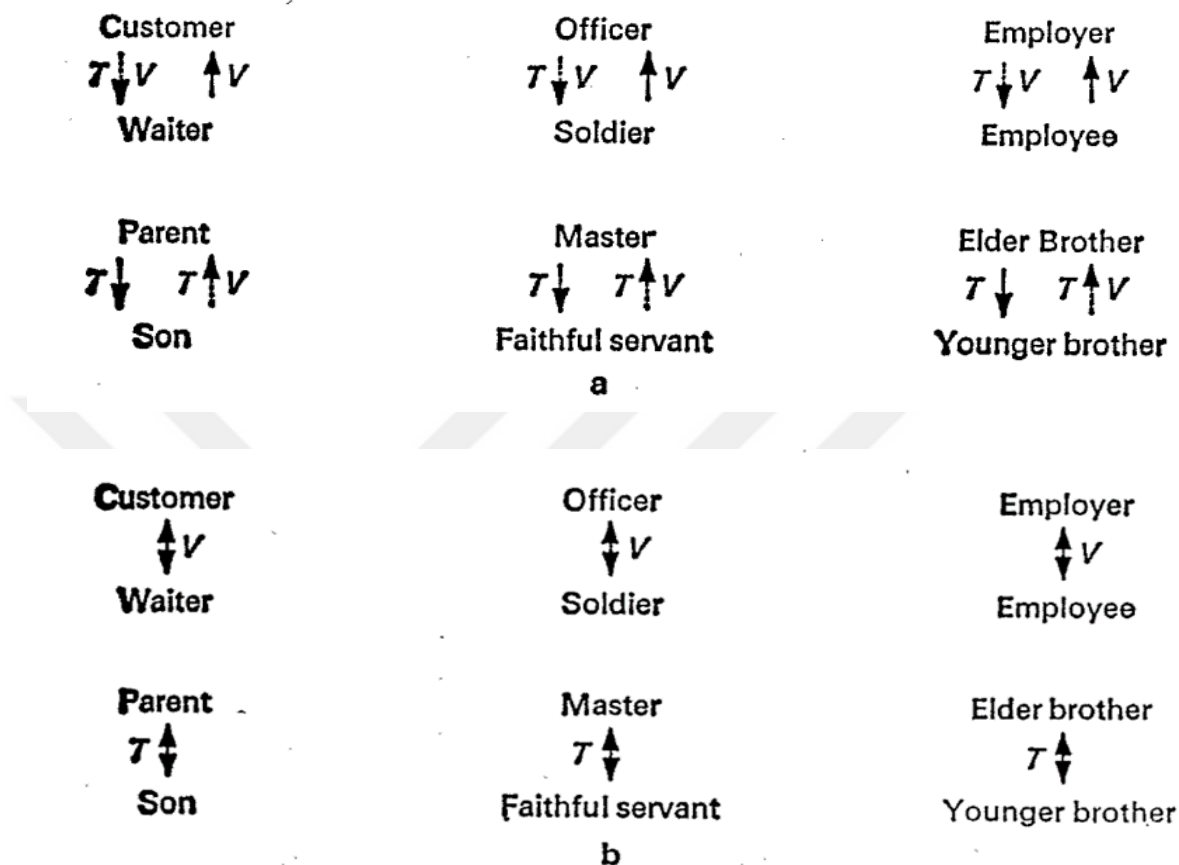
Figure 2.3. Social dyads involving (a) semantic conflict and (b) their resolution

Brown and Gilman emphasize that these days there have been a shift from power to solidarity (1960: 261). Solidarity (the mutual T form) which is seen the way of maintaining social relations replace the the power (the polite V/V form and asymmetrical T/V form). Although solidarity is so important, Brown and Gilman state that still one of the participants of conversation (generally more powerful one) has right to change the tone of the conversation from asymmetrical T/V usage or polite V/V usage to T/T usage to reach the solidarity (1960: 260).

They conclude their paper as stating "… the modern direction of change in pronoun usage express a will to extend the solidarity ethic to everyone … there is security in the mutual T " (Brown and Gilman, 1960: 280).

2.3.1.2.Roger Brown and Marguerite Ford

In 1961 Brown and Ford examine nominal address terms in American English by analyzing a lot of different kinds of database to collect target linguistic devices as American plays, address term examples gathered from business firm, questionnaries, etc. Brown and Ford states that the rules regarding address terms are controlled by the relationship between the addressee and addresser (1961: 375).

In methodological basis, the study is also important to show "application of semantic analysis to the sudy of social structure" (ibid). The way that follow to collect data is still inspiring for researches that will conduct on address terms because they try to collect data by the help of different data collection techniques to catch possible inacuracies in one of them (Brown and Ford: 375-376).

The first data is collected from the usage in modern American plays. Address terms used in thirty-eight plays written by American playwrights are found. In this way, they claim that they represent all social groups such as minorities, different ethnic groups, narcotics, addicts, policemen, etc. Although these materials are not include the records of authentic speech of the characters, the conversations are constructed by playwrights who "accurately reproduce the true norms of address" (ibid: 375-376). But, the strong side of this step of data collection is that that it is possible to compare one playwrights against the other one.

The second data set is actual usage in a Boston business firm. During the two months, a man has been responsible to note down the address terms which he has heard from their co-workers. He has noted collected address terms for 214 different dyads. From 12 different occupational level totaly 82 different people who are addresser or addresse have been involved in these dyads (ibid: 376).

Thirdly, the other data set is collected from 34 business managers whose ages range from 30 to 38. They design a questionnaire and each of the participants are asked to note the full names, positions of four different individuals whom they see every day. The descriptions of these four people given as following: "one person equal to himself in the organization hierarchy with whom he was on close or intimate terms, one person equal to himself with whom he was on distant or formal terms, one person superior to himself in the organization hierarchy, one person subordinate to himself in the hierarchy" (Brown and Gilman, 1961:376). Then, they are asked to the words that they used for the first time each day while greeting them (ibid).

Lastly, they collect data of recorded usage in Midwest. The address terms are collected by the help of "ten specimen records of the events and conversation in a full-day of the life of a child in the Psyhological Field Station. (ibid).

This paper is one of the earliest studiest conducted on intimacy and distance. It is also one of the first that shows the difference between using first name and title+ last name as an address term (1964: 236). They find that first names and title+ last name are the mostly used address terms in American English. Additionally, they reveal that speakers employ these address terms in three different dyadic patterns. These patterns are as following: "The reciprocal exchange of first names (the mutual FN), The reciprocal exchange of title+ last name (the mutual TLN), and the nonreciprocal use of TLN and FN" (Brown and Ford, 1964: 243-244). It should be noted that FN involves full first names, familiar abbreviations, diminutitives. And, it is also said that there are difference between male and female first names in American English. While male names aren't used in their full forms (Bobbie, Bob, Jimmy), the female first names are used in their full forms. The other notion that must be pointed here that the titles includes "Mr., Mrs., Miss, Dr., Senator, Major, etc." (Brown and Ford, 1961: 376).

For the two reciprocal patterns, they state that these two patterns are on a scale that ranges from acquaintance to intimacy (ibid: 377). Shared values that can be the result of kinship, job, sex, nationality, etc. and close contact can be listed as the main factors leading the intimacy (ibid).

In nonreciprocal patterns, there are two different relations generating it: " difference of age" and "difference of occupational status". To prove the first relations, they give the example that states children address adults by using TLN and they receive FN. In a similar way, the adult addresser who is nearly 15 years or more older than the addressee is addressed by TLN and gives FN back to other participant of conversation (Brown and Ford, 1960: 377). For the second relation, it worths saying that if the person has higher occupational status than the addressee then he/she addresses him or her by employing FN and he/she receives TLN.

Besides of FN and TLN, there are some other address terms namely *title without name* such as sir, madam, Miss, *last name alone* such as Jones, Dear Jones, and *multiple name*s such as James Scoggin, Scoggin, James, Jim, or Scoggs (ibid: 378-380).

Similar to Brown and Gilman, they express that the speaker whose status is higher than the hearer's status address hearer by the help of FN while s/he is addressed by the help of TLN. The choices of the interlocutors can be explained like that the person who has lower status than the other participants are more eager to maintain the social relationship and they want to avoid the risk of being excluded by the ones who have higher status (Berat, 2012:28).

Although, there are some norms to designate certain address terms and pronouns, it doesn't mean these can not change during the process of social relations. According to Brown&Ford when people get more familiar, the address terms that they use reflect more intimacy, for example, from Mrs. Brown to Emma. But, they add that "even when relationships do develop in intimacy they will not necessarily pass through the intermediate nonreciprocal stage"

(Brown and Ford, 1961:382). In the figure given below they show how address patterns can change in time :
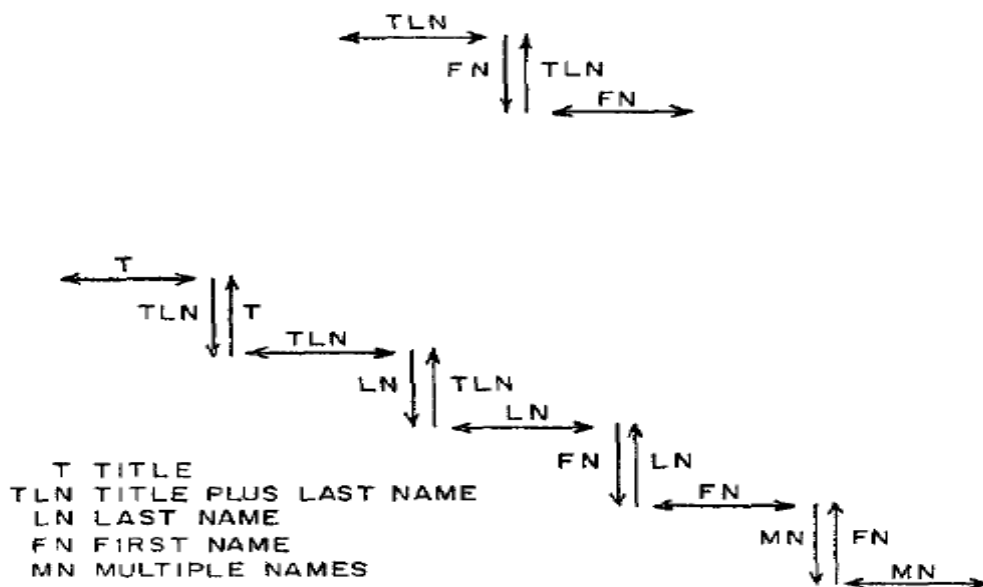
Figure 2.4. Graphic models of the progression of address in time (from left to right) (Brown and Ford, 1961: 382).

Although they can not reach such a conclusion that states there are some universals regarding addressing patterns in all languages, they reach some findings that make them suppose that patterns of address can be universals. They conclude that in all languages which are examined in their studies, it is seen that these pronouns follow the same abstract pattern as "First Name" and "Title + Last Name" (Brown and Ford, 1961: 380). They also deduce that it is probably show that the abstract direct relation between "personal address of intimacy and condescension, distance and deference is a linguistic universal" (Brown and Ford, 1961: 380).

2.3.2. The studies between 1970s-1980s

2.3.2.1. Susan Ervin-Tripp

In 1972 Ervin-Tripp suggests some rules related to address terms in American English. The seminal paper grounds on Brown and Ford's ingenious study (1964) and supplements it with new findings. Susan Ervin-Tripp starts to her analysis based on the idea that states "the rules of verbal output and comprehension must be organized to specify social feature" (Ervin-Tripp, 1969: 8). The method of the study makes that research one of the most influncing studies in the literature of address systems (1972: 226). She uses method of diagramming selection of forms of address. As can be seen, Susan Ervin-Tripp takes a quite different approach to analyze address

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terms in American English, she describes addressing system as a series of choices by the help of a computer flow charts. The flow chart given in her study is given below to visualize the present discussion:
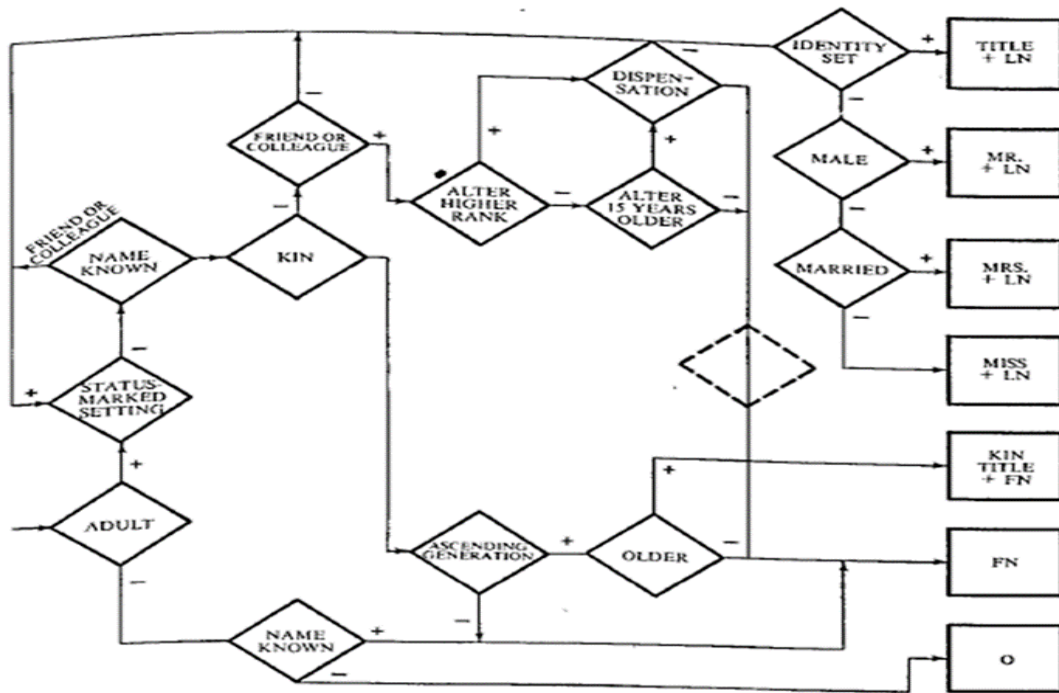
Figure 4.5. American address system (Ervin-Tripp, 1972:226).

Ervin-Tripp points that the chart is designed according to "competent adult member of a Western American academic community " which means generalizing it to whole American society is not the aim of her study (ibid).

In that study, she also demonstrates the factors that influnce the choice of the address terms. In parallel with Brown and Ford's finding, it must be stated that rank as one of these social factors comes to the fore when it is compared with the age as a factor which means that the speaker who is older or having higher status designates the address terms which are directed to him or her (Ervin-Tripp, 1972).

One of the important finding of her study is that she describes address as "a case of alternation" and she states it is possible to exist variations in the occurence of address rules and behaviors. The finding also gives a theoretical depth to Brown and Gilman's (1961) inference that there can be some individual variations regarding using sociolinguistic rules. More precisely, she provides rules which governs speech namely addressing behaviors in an interactional situation. In that way, she tries to explain the reasons and the process which promt the choice of one linguistic device over another alternative device.

2.3.3. The studies between 1980s-1990s and up to present

2.3.3.1. Friederike Braun

Braun's research is one of the most cited research in the literature of address terms. It is a large scaled research which gathers data related to patterns and system of address terms in many different languages including Turkish. The other languages are "Arabic, Chinese, Dari, (Irish) English, Finnish, Georgian, German, Greek, Haussa, Hebrew, Hungarian, Icelandic, Italian, Kazakh, Korean, Mingrelian, Norwegian, Pashto, Persian, Polish, Portuguese, Romanian, Russian, Serbo-Croatian, Spanish, Swedish, Tigrinya, and Twi". In order to gather data, she collects previous researches on address terms and interviews with the native speaker of the target languages (1998: 1).

In this work, Braun object to previous studies which tries to define a system of address by ignoring language variation (Braun, 1998: 18). She supports this view by stating that the native speakers of the same languages choose different address terms to address the same person in a same situations. Previous researches present rules and they try to standarize the choice of the address terms which doesn't represent the real language use (Braun, 1998: 19).

Braun defines address terms as self-representation of addressers (Braun, 1998: 24). She claims that there exist numerous factors affecting the choice of the spekaers' address terms such as their own age, position in society and group, gender, ideology, dialect, education. She also argues that the thing that makes the people accept address terms different from their own expectations and to interpret it in terms of the personalities of the speaker rather than judging it according to their own standards is address competence (Braun, 1998: 31-32).

After analyzing a lot of address terms in many different languages, Braun comes to the conclusion that says some certain terms of address are classified as polite. Also, she adds that when the speaker choose the appropriate form of address which shows the addressee-addresser relations and it fits in social norms related to interpersonal relationships and then the employed address terms can be called as polite (Braun, 1988: 49).

2.3.3.2. Richard Watts

Watts raises an objection against the view of the Braun related to politeness and address terms. He states that people have "conventional, ritualised utterances that need no great effort to produce which is called as politic behaviours" (Watts, 1992: 62). Watts classifies address terms as linguistic expressions that are expected by both the speaker and the interlocutor.He points that people can realize and react it when speaker employs an address term which is more familiar or more respectful for the relationship between speaker and hearer. (Watts, 1992: 64). That is why

people generally agree what sort of address terms is appropriate and choose how to address hearers according to it.

2.4. Classifications of Address Terms

In the literature of address terms, there isn't a general agreement regarding classification of address terms. That is why, nearly all of the studies try to classify addrees terms again and again and their classifications are based on different factors which can be listed as their parts of speech, morphological features, contextes in which address terms used, semantic feautures of address terms, syntactic feautures of address terms, and their combinations with the other linguistic devices. In this aspects, it is possible to come accross many different address types which are independent of each other.

With the above mentioned issue in mind, some of the classifications in the literature are listed here. Mehrotra detects nine types of address terms which are namely "names, invocations, addressing pets, honorifics, titles, situation factors, multiple uses of address forms, greetings" (1981). Chaika (1982) lists the address terms as "first name, title, title and last name, last name, special nicknames. Braun also states that address terms can be classified as "nominal address terms, pronominal address terms and verbal address terms (1988) (see Leech, 1999 for nouns of address and pronouns of addresss). Braun divides nominal address terms into nine different subcategories which are "names, kinship terms, terms equivalent to Mr. and Mrs., title, abstract nouns such as *your honor,*occupational terms, words reflecting certain kinds of relationship, endearment terms, terms which show the addressee as someone's relative such as father of Ayşe (1988). Dunkling puts forword a similar classification which can be listed as following: "kinship terms, names, religous terms, titles, occupational terms, military ranks, endearment and friendship terms" (1990). Fitch is the other name who suggest a classification for address terms (1998). According to Fitch address terms can be classified as following: "second-person pronouns, proper names, kinship terms, nicknames, titles and adjectival terms" (1998). Wardhaugh states that an addresser can direct "title, name, last name and their combination" to the addressee (2006). Aliakbari and Toni suggest the following categorization of address terms: "personal names, general titles, occupation-based titles, religious terms, kinship terms, honorifics, intimacy terms, personal pronouns, descriptive phrases, zero address terms" (2008). Kleinknecht classifies address terms "names, kinship terms, (titles and other additions to given and last names, words that describe a relationship between the collocutors, terms of endearment, familiarizers, invectives and similar" (2013).

Özezen classifies address terms by depending on whether the addresser knows the first name of addressee or not (2004: 2266). According to Özezen's classifications, address terms can be used in the following situations:

1. Address terms used when the addresser knows the first name of addressee and he/she wants to point it,
2. Address terms used when the addresser doesn't know the first name of addressee and he/she doesn't want to point it,
3. Address terms used when the addresser knows the first name of addressee but he/she forgets temporaly,
4. Address terms used when the addresser knows the first name of addressee but he/she forgets permanently,
5. Address terms used when the addresser knows the first name of addressee but he/she doesn't use temporaly to show his/her intimacy,
6. Address terms used when the addresser knows the first name of addressee but he/she doesn't use to show his/her anger,
7. Address terms used when the addresser knows the first name of addressee but he/she doesn't want to use it with the worry of being kind enough,
8. Address terms used when the addresser knows the first name of addressee but he/she doesn't use to show his/her carelessness(or his/her freedom and power),
9. Address terms used when the addresser knows the first name of addressee but he/she wants to make addressee feel that humiliated,
10. Address terms used when the addresser doesn't know the first name of addressee and he/she wants to show how angry is she/he,
11. Address terms used when the addresser doesn't know he first name of addressee but still he/she wants to show his/her politeness,
12. Address terms used when the addresser doesn't know he first name of addressee but still he/she wants to show his/her intimacy,
13. Address terms used when the addresser doesn't know the first name of addressee but he/she doesn't use to show his/her carelessness(or his/her freedom and power),
14. Address terms used when the addresser doesn't know the first name of addressee but he/she wants to make addressee feel that humiliated,
15. Address terms used when the addresser doesn't know the first name of addressee but he/she doesn't use to show his/her sense of ownership.

(Özezen, 2004:2266).

In a similar vein, Demirbaş also classifies address terms which are used in four main dicalects of Turkish according to their usage:

1. Addresing someone or a group
2. Addressing animals
3. Addressing objects
4. Addressing divine powers
5. Addressing oneself

(Demirbaş, 2017, 2163-2165).

Özezen also classifies address terms into five main categories namely one-word address terms, address terms formed with compound words, address terms formed with phrases, sentences which have vocative functions, mixed forms and she groups these main categories into sub-categories which are given below:

1. One-word address terms
1.1. Address terms formed with onomatopoeic word (exclamation)
1.2. Address terms formed with the first name of addressee
1.2.1. Address terms formed by using first name directly
1.2.2. Address terms formed by clipping
1.3. Addressing with kinship terms
1.3.1. Addressing terms which indicate real kinship
1.3.2. Addressing terms which indicate fictive kinship
1.4. Addressing with nouns or adjectives which indicate love, diminution/glorification,
1.4.1. Address terms formed by using the suffix +{lık}
1.5. Addressing with the words which indicate gender differences-differenciancies
1.6. Addressing with second person pronouns
1.7. Addressing with the words which indicate the duty/job
2. Address terms formed with compound words
3. Address terms formed with phrases
3.1. Addresing with phrases of titles
3.2. Addressing with compound nouns
3.2.1. Addressing with compound nouns which are equal to proper nouns
3.3. Addressing with exclamatory phrases
3.4. Addressing with noun phrases
3.5. Addressing with adjective phrases
4. Address terms in sentence formats
5. Mixed Forms

(Özezen, 2004: 2265-2276)

As can be seen, Özezen (2004: 2265-2276) categories address terms into five main categories. Demirbaş adapts Özezen's classification by adding some new categories and she puts the categories into final forms like this:

1.Addressing terms formed with words and compound words
1.1. Addressing with nouns
1.1.1. Proper nouns
1.1.1.1. Real usage of proper nouns
1.1.1.1.1. Proper nouns + {Im} (possesive)
1.1.1.1.2. Proper nouns + {Cık}
1.1.1.2. Fictive usage of proper names
1.1.1.3. Clipping proper names
1.1.2. Nicknames
1.1.3. Kinship Words
1.1.3.1. True usage of kinship words
1.1.3.1.1. True usage of kinship words + {Im} (possesive)
1.1.3.1.2. True usage of kinship words+ {Cık} + {Im} (possesive)
1.1.3.2. Fictive Usage of kinship words
1.1.3.2.1. Fictive usage of kinship words + {Im} (possesive)
1.1.4. Diminution / Glorification / Endearment Terms
1.1.4.1. Diminution / Glorification / Endearment Terms + {Im} (possesive)
1.1.4.1. Diminution/Glorification/Endearment Terms+ +{Cık} +{Im} (possesive)
1.1.5. Words used for scolding, humiliating, insulting, swearing
1.1.6. Addressing with the nouns which indicates gender discrimination
1.1.6.1.Nouns indicating feminity

1.1.6.2. Nouns indicating masculinity
1.1.7. Titles, occupation names
1.1.7.1. Titles, occupation names+ {Im} (possesive)
1.1.8. Names indicating a component of the nature
1.1.9. Names of animals
1.1.10. Names of place
1.1.11. Names of city, country
1.1.12. Names indicating that the addressee is from a certain city
1.1.13. Names of tribe and nation
1.1.14. Collective noun
1.2. Adjective
1.3. Pronouns
1.3.1. Singular Pronouns
1.3.2. Plural Pronouns
2. Addressing terms formed with phrases
2.1. Exclamations
2.1.1. Exclamations indication feelings, excitement, etc.
2.1.2. Exclamatory phrases
2.1.2.1. Exclamations + Name+ Kinship words
2.1.2.2 Exclamations + Name+ Kinship words {Im} (possesive) / +Cağızım / +Cım
2.1.2.3. Exclamations+ Adjective/Nickname
2.1.2.4. Exclamations+ Proper noun
2.1.2.5. Exclamations+ Titles
2.1.2.6. Exclamations+ Noun Phrases
2.1.2.7. Exclamations+Adjective Phrases
2.1.2.8. Exclamations+ Phrases of title
2.2. Phrases of title (occupation)
2.2.1. Personal names+ title or kinship words
2. 2.2. Names of occupation+title
2.2.3.Title + Names of occupation
2.2.4. Adjective+ phrases of title
2.3.Noun Phrases
2.4. Compound Noun Phrases
2.5. Adjective Phrases
2.6. Repetitive Phrases
2.7. Reduplication Phrases
2.7.1. Name + Reduplication Phrases
3. Addressing with sentences
4. Mixed forms
4.1. Exclamation+ Name + Exclamation
4.2. Phrases of title + Exclamation
4.3. Title + Compound Noun Phrase
4.4. Noun+ Exclamation
4.5. Title + Exclamation
5. Addressing with fixed expressions
6. Addressing with seller words
7. Addressing oneself

(Demirbaş, 2017: 2163- 2178)

Alkan Ataman also provides a similar classification. But, her classification only includes the address terms which are directed to people as in the present study (Alkan Ataman, 2018: 216-663).

1.Address terms in Contemporary Turkish
1.1. Address terms based on social status
1.1.1. Address terms directed to someone known

1.1.1.1. Address terms directed to someone who has higher status than the addresser
1.1.1.2. . Address terms directed to someone who has lower status than the addresser
1.1.1.3. Address terms used between the people who have same status
1.2. Address terms based on the intimacy between people
1.2.1. Address terms directed to relatives
1.2.1.1. General address terms used between relatives
1.2.1.2. Address terms directed to spouses
1.2.1.2.1. Address terms directed to their wifes by men
1.2.1.2.2. Address terms directed to their husbands by women
1.2.1.3. Address terms directed to parents
1.2.1.3.1. Address terms directed to fathers
1.2.1.3.2. Address terms directed to mothers
1.2.1.4. Address terms directed to children
1.2.1.4.1. Address terms directed to sons
1.2.1.4.2. Address terms directed to daughters
1.2.1.5. Address terms directed to siblings
1.2.1.5.1. Address terms directed to little and elder brothers
1.2.1.5.2. Address terms directed to little and elder sisters
1.2.1.6. Address terms directed to grandparents
1.2.1.7. Address terms directed to grandchilds
1.2.1.8. Address terms directed to first degree relatives and their children
1.2.1.9. Address terms directed to second degree relatives
1.2.1.10. Address terms directed to son in laws and daughter in laws
1.2.1.11. Address terms directed to mother in laws and father in laws
1.2.2. Address terms directed to friends
1.2.2.1. Address terms directed to boy friends
1.2.2.2. Address terms directed to girl friends
1.2.3. Address terms directed to fiancees and someone who the addresser likes
1.2.3.1. Address terms directed to fiancees and someone who the addresser likes by men
1.2.3.2. Address terms directed to fiancees, someone who the addresser likes by women
1.3. Address terms directed according to generations
1.3.1. Address terms directed to acquaintance
1.3.1.1. Address terms directed to someone who is little than the addresser
1.3.1.1.1. Address terms directed to teenages
1.3.1.1.2. Address terms directed to children
1.3.1.2. Address terms directed to someone who is elder than the addresser
1.3.1.3. Address terms directed to peers
1.3.1.3.1. Address terms used between children
1.3.2. Address terms directed to someone unknown
1.3.2.1. Address terms directed to someone who is little than the addresser
1.3.2.1.1. Address terms directed to teenages
1.3.2.1.2. Address terms directed to children
1.3.2.2. Address terms directed to someone who is elder than the addresser
1.3.2.3. Address terms directed to peers
1.3.2.3.1. Address terms used between adults
1.4. Address terms according to their intended usage
1.4.1. Sarcasm
1.4.2. Solidarity
1.5. Address terms according to their sources
1.5.1. Address terms formed with proper names
1.5.2. Address terms formed with kinship terms
1.5.3.1. Address terms formed with names of body parts
1.5.3.2. Address terms formed with names of body plants
1.5.3.3. Address terms formed with names of animals
1.5.3.4. Address terms formed with names of food
1.5.3.5. Address terms formed with names of mine
1.5.3.6. Address terms formed with the words which reflect value
1.5.4. Address terms formed to refer the physical appearences of addressee
1.5.5. Indirect address terms

One of the recently conducted studies on Turkish address terms is Doğru's study in which he aims to determine which words can be used as addressing terms, how they can be formed structurally and he also tries to make suggestions regarding the conceptional sub-categories of these terms. Doğru also aims to discuss their occurences in the general Turkish dictionaries (2018). Doğru claims that address words can be divided into two sub-categories when they are investigated from the point of their semantic properties : ones being addressing words in their denotative sense (be,hey,hu, etc.) and the other ones being addressing words in their connotative sense (ahbap, amca,etc.). It is claimed that the former category can be coded as the one of the sources of the theories regarding the origin of language (Akalın, 2011: 588 as cited in Doğru, 2018: 138). The later one consists of personal names/surnames, nicknames, kinship terms, words regarding occupations, titles, the ones coined by analogy with existing words, names of animals, names of objects, names related to religous issues, names which reflect the things which a person have something in common with one another, pronouns, all the other nous which have the characteristics of addressing words thanks to stress and intonation» (Doğru, 2018: 138).

Özbay and İpek classifies only friendship terms (it will be called as familiarizers in the present study) as following: addressing with kinship terms, addressing with the words borrowed from foreign languages, addressing with the words formed by linguistic deviation, addressing with endearment terms, addressing with slangs and insulting words, addressing with the words indicating compliment and the other address terms (2015: 94).

In his article designed to analyze the address terms directed to woman in the book of Dede Korkut divides address terms into three different categories which can be listed as following "address terms which don't express prejudice", "address terms which express positive prejudice", "address terms which express negative prejudice" (Şen, 2008: 628-637). He also divides these main address categories into sub-categories which is shown above (Şen, 2008):

1. Address terms which don't express prejudice
1.1. Address terms which are directed to a woman by another woman
1.1.a. Address terms which are directed to a woman who is the friend of addresser
1.1.b. Address terms which are directed to a woman who is at the service of addresser
1.1.c. Address term which are directed to a woman who is the daugher-in law of addresser
1.2. Address terms which are directed to a woman by a man
1.2.a Address term which are directed to a woman who is the mother of addresser
1.2.b. Address term which are directed to a woman who is the wife of addresser
1.2.c. Address term which are directed to a woman who is the fiancee of addresser
1.2.d. Address term which are directed to a woman who the addressee don't know or pretend not to know
 2. Address terms expressing positive prejudice
2.1. Address terms which are directed to a woman by another woman
2.1.a. Address terms which are directed to a woman who is the superior of addresser
2.1.b. Address term which are directed to a woman who is the daugher-in law of addresser
2.2.   Address terms which are directed to a woman by a man
2.2.a. Address term which are directed to a woman who is the mother of addresser
2.2.b. Address term which are directed to a woman who is the wife of addresser

2.2.c. Address term which are directed to a woman who is the fiancee of addresser
3. Address terms expressing negative prejudice
3.1. Address terms which are directed to a woman by another woman
3.2. Address terms which are directed to a woman by a man
3.2.a. Address term which are directed to a woman who is the mother of addresser
3.2.b. Address term which are directed to a woman who is the wife of addresser

Taken together, it can be seen that classifications of address terms in Turkish aren't chorent in themselves since nearly each sub-categories are determined based on different aspects of address terms such as their parts of speech (nouns, adjectives etc.), the addressee to whom or which the address terms are directed (addressing oneself, addressing divine power), combination of address terms with other linguistic devices (exclamation+name+exclamation), phrases in which address terms are seen (reduplication phrases, adjective phrases), morphological features of them (one-word forms, compound words, proper nouns + {Cık}), semantic features of them (endearment terms, fictive terms), gender discriminations (nouns indicating masculinity). Addition to these observation, it should be stated that there are some sub-categories which don't fit with the definitions of address terms which is mentioned in the first chapter of the present study such as addressing with seller words such as *sütçü* (when it is uttered by the seller to inform the buyers), names of city, country such as *Erzincan, Erzincan*, names of place such as *saray* etc. should be reexamined. It is imported to note that the classifications do not give any clue to language users when, how and to whom they can use these address terms. To give an example, there is a sub-category which is named as "name of animals" and it is possible that these sub-category includes address terms having both negative and positive connotations such as a*yı* and *kuzu* which are totally different in terms of their appropriateness to be used in the same context. Classifying any linguistic devices by dividing them into a world of sub-categories always poses risk of leaving out some samples of these devices. There is no doubt that the detailed and valuable above mentioned classifications are good enough to cover the address terms which the researchers have collected within the scope of their own researchers, but such classifications make inserting a new address term to the one of these class hard. Such detailed classifications have marked nearly each address terms one by one which means there is a risk that the classification can not comprise all the "possible" and "existing" address terms in Turkish address system. Shortly, suggesting a new class for nearly each address terms don't provide a practical and generic classification system for address term which are limitless and dynamic linguistic devices.

2.5. Functions and Positioning of Address Terms

In this section, studies conducted on functions and positionings of address terms are investigated.

2.5.1. Leech, 1999

Geoffrey Leech offers a leading study regarding vocatives (1999). In this study, Leech takes a corpus analysis of some 100,000 words taken from the Longman Corpus of Spoken and Written English which represents both British and American English. He offers formal, functional and pragmatic classifications for vocatives. According to Leech vocatives and address terms are closely related notions (ibid:107). While an address term is a linguistic device employed to refer the addressee of the message, a vocative is a special type of address term which is loosely connected to the rest of the utterance (ibid).

Leech claims that vocatives perform three functions with many different combinations. The first pragmatic functions of the vocaties is "summoning attention". In this function the speaker wants to alert the other interlocutor to the fact that he/she is addressed. The following example can be seen as the easiest way to summarize the discussion: (Leech, 1999:107):

(10)   A: Mum!
          B: What darling?

The second function proposed by Leech is "addresse identification." For the sake of this function, speakers use address terms to point to intended receiver of their message by distinguishing them from the other receivers who can easily think themselves as addressee (Leech, 1999: 107). Leech explains this function by examplifying it as following (Leech, 1999: 107):

(11)   Hey Ben, do you remember a hole puncher coming I ordered?

The third function is "establish or maintain a social relationship between the speaker and the addressee"(Leech, 1999:107). In the following example it is clear that the vocative (dude) has "social bond-maintaining function" (Leech, 1999:107):

(12)   Oh yeah dude totally.

It is crucial to state that the only function of vocatives aren't the ones regarding communicative functions. They can have emotive function. Leech gives the example of a mother who address her child to explain the emotive function (1999:107-108). One of his examples shows that a speaker can also express his/her negative feelings by the help of a vocative. When

the following vocative is used to warn someone to turn down the volume of the music (Leech, 1999:108) :

(13)   Egon!

In short, Leech provides an useful functional classification for vocatives (1999). In that way, he sheds light on addressing and naming habits of English speakers. The functions which are listed in this seminal study can be seen as the main functions of the address terms which are revisited again and again by the other researchers in the following years.

2.5.2. Shina, 2007

Shiina in her study conducted on selected English comedies notes that vocaties are serve many different functions in drama (2007a:20). In such a context, they are used to show the relationship between participants of communication in order to make the audience familiarize with the characters who are on the stage. Also, playwright draws advantage from vocatives to make the written texts sounds more like spoken texts. Lastly, vocatives (mostly the ones used in medial positions) in drama are employed to arouse the interest of the audience and addressee because there are risk of loosing attention (ibid).

Shiina also states that the meaning of an address term not only directly related to the lexical meaning of the address terms but also it is related to context in which it occurs. According to Shiina, pragmatic implications of each address terms can be coded as final product of "the the collaboration of the choice of the form, positioning, attributes and roles of the interlocutors" (2007b: 29). In this aspect, determining the function and meaning of address terms depend on many different variables.

Shiina is another researcher who states that vocatives can have more than one pragmatic functions (2007a: 17). She describes vocatives as multi-functional (ibid: 22). Shiina details the discussion by stating the functions given below are not "mutually exclusive but they can overlap with each other" (ibid: 18). In the research which aims to investigate functions of addressing devices based on their positions in the utterances, Shiina lists four main fuctions of address terms as following (1) interpersonal management functions; (2) conversational management functions; (3) information management functions; and (4) illocutionary force management functions (2007a). Choosing a certain vocative such as a deferential or a familiarize, in itself, serves for interpersonal management function (ibid:22). In addition to her view on interpersonal management functions of vocatives, she also points that they are multi-functional and their main function is "interpersonal management" (Shiina, 2007a: 22).

The second function determined by Shiina is conversational management function. While defining the sub-categories of it, Shiina adapts Brinton's classification regarding functions of discourse markers (Brinton, 1996:37-38 as cited in Shiina, 2007a:26). She classifies these sub-categories regarding conversational management function as following: (1) to start an utterance; (2) to close an utterance: (3) to nominate the addressee; (4) to attract attention; and (5) to hold the floor (ibid).

In her paper that follows the one which is discussed above (Shiina, 2007a), she explains the last two functions of vocatives namely information management functions and illocutionary force management functions (Shiina, 2007b).

Shiina claims that address terms are used in three components of the discourse structure namely preface, body and tag and they add pragmatic meaning to these components. In addition to this information, she also states that they are used to adjust the flow of information (ibid: 38).

The other function which is described by her is illocutionary force management functions. A remarkable feautures of illocutionary force management function is vocatives strengthen the illocutionary force of the imperative (Shiina, 2007: 38). It means that the speaker avoids the risk that addressee miss the directives. Address terms collocated with imparatives make the target receiver respond or react to the message (Shiina, 2007b: 38).

2.5.3. Clayman, 2010

Clayman analyzes the address terms taken from news interviews which have been conducted over the past twenty-five years (2010: 163). He builds his study on the question which is "why would interviewees ever need to indicate who they are talking to in such an explicit way?" (ibid: 179). He tries to find the answer of this question by revealing the functions of address terms in this context and the relationship between functions and positioning of them. To reach his aims, he investigates more than 140 instances including address terms.

As a result of his research, he finds that address terms are used in expressive actions and disaligning actions. For the disaligning actions Clayman states that "recurrently in responsive actions that are disaligning in some way, that is, actions that resist or oppose the agenda being pursued through the previous question" (2010:1171). He lists three sub-categories to describe the functions of address terms in disalignment. They can be listed as following: (1) topical agenda departures, (2) action agenda departures, (3) disagreements.

Under the title of topical agenda departures, he argues that one of the participants uses an address term to departe from the topical agenda which is set by the other participant. In this function, address terms can preface the topic shift.

In Clayman's research, he states that when an address term is used in the purpose of topic shifting, it can be "positioned not as a preface to the turn but as a preface to the subsequent shift" (Clayman, 2010:164). According to the extracts given in his research, it can be seen that speakers use address terms in delayed topic shift. In these examples topic shifts are prefaced with an address term to raise other issues during the talk (Clayman, 2010:166). Similar to topical departures, speakers depart from the action agenda by employing an address term. Clayman's research shows us addressers' action agenda departure against an unwanted question (2010: 166). The speaker can disalign with the action agenda by giving his/her own answer instead of choosing one of the given possible answers by the other participant of the communication. The departure is again mostly prefaced with an address term (ibid: 166).

In addition to this function of address terms , Clayman states that speakers use same strategy to answer non-conforming responses by the help of and address term (ibid: 167). They also use address terms while they declare their disagreements. He remarks that although there are examples which are analyzed as separate phenomenon of address term usage, some examples which are coded as including disagreement also involve action agenda departures (ibid: 168). It is another evidence that shows that functions of address terms can be overlapped.

Clayman (2010: 170) states that sometimes address terms are introduced immediately after the speaker declares his/her agreement. The discussion proves that address terms must be investigsted in contexed-based approaches; otherwise researches can come to the misleading conclusions. Analyzing only the sentence in which an address term is embedded can't be enough to reach an accurate implications regarding functions, types, meanings, etc.

When an address term is used in the service of disaligning (topical agenda departures, action agenda departures, disagreements), it is tend to be used at the beginning of a turn. When a speaker wants to declarete his/her disagreement, he/she launches the turn by the help of the address terms (Clayman, 2010: 170).

In his analysis of positioning of address terms which are involved in disagreements, Clayman (2010: 170) maintains that address terms are used in such purposes to delay the disagreement. Other items of talk ('uh', 'well', justificatory accounts, appreciations, etc.) involving this action prove the delaying intention of the speaker (Clayman, 2010: 170).

In Clayman's words "address terms may contribute substantively to the act of disalignment itself" (2010: 170). When attentional engagement is at risk in such an environment, the speaker try to achieve mutual engagement by the help of address terms.

An address term itself has attention-soliciting property which is the one of factors that makes it involving a disagreement that risks recipient engagement. As the Clayman points the discourse marker ('look') with an attention gathering effect can be employed before an address term (2010: 170).

As Clayman says "the attention-soliciting property" can be sound as unreasonable when the relationship between interlocutors has been established. But, he proves that "the pre-positioned address term which is used as methodically by the addressee treats the ensuing action *as if* it were an independently produced or 'first' action" which make declarating disagreement easier for the speaker (Clayman, 2010: 170).

For the address terms employed in expressive actions, Clayman states that "address terms are also implicated in actions that are more purely 'expressive' in nature, attuned primarily to the speaker's own talk rather than its alignment with sequentially prior talk" (2010:171). He lists two sub-categories to describe the functions of address terms in expressive actions. They can be listed as following: (1) foregrounding talk, (2) speaking 'sincerely (Clayman, 2010: 171). In respect to foregrounding it is said that "address terms are recurrently associated with talk designed to stand out from the background of the turn in progress" (Clayman, 2010: 171).

It is observed that one of the interlocutor employ an address term after talk about something for a while and still he/she has something to say. Clayman support these findings by stating that a speaker uses an address term when entering turn components which are thought as more important than the ones which have been said before it by the speaker (2010: 172) and the speaker tries to find a chance to say it by gaining time by uttering an address term. Clayman also states that there can be different sort of foregrounding which express something more important, serious. He also adds that includes multifaceted shift like stylistic shifts. Also, they can be employed to point whole entry into entire turns that are depicted as of heightened relevance or importance (ibid: 173).

The last action which is achieved by the help of address terms is "expressions of beliefs, opinions, feelings, intentions, and so on – that are offered as genuine, sincere, or from the heart" (Clayman, 2010: 173). He emphasizes that it is the most difficult ones to distinguish from the other functions of address terms which are above mentioned because while someone can express his/her sincerity, he/she can also foreground, shift the topic etc. He points the positioning of address terms which are used to serve for different purposes as the difference between them. He explains it by the following words: "unlike the tendency toward prefatory positioning within disalignment, address terms here range more freely across the turn constructional unit launching the expression, with most appearing at the end of that initial unit" (Clayman, 2010: 174). The following example shows an address terms that is involving in IE's way of sharing her sincere feelings. An example which is below is provided to make the action more understandable. Clayman states that the other responses of the speaker who takes part in the following example remain on the factual level and these examples don't include any kinds of address term (2010:174).

As a result of this detailed study, Clayman reveals that "address terms are doing something else altogether which means that their apparent redundancy mobilized in the service of a variety of other interactional objectives" (2010: 179).

The research in which Clayman investigates address terms used during the news interviews talk proves that address terms are employed in such a context even though it is not necessary to establish the directionality of talk since as a nature (question-answer) it emphasizes the required directionality (2010: 161). The result which shows the abundance of address terms in this context is one of the evidences that shows address terms can be used in the service of many different actions besides their main functions namely addressing someone.

2.5.4. Wilson, 2010

In his research which is conducted by the help of a small-scaled corpus of conversation between a rugby team members, Wilson tries to investigate discourse functions of address terms (2010:33). He attempts to explain functions of address terms which are used in this context by analyzing address terms which are found in a corpus of 13558 words with 21 speakers (ibid).

In this research three discourse functions are identified. These can be listed as following: Control Acts, Feedback Requests and Evaluative Statements. He defines control act as an act in which addressees do not give a verbal reaction but, they do something else such as requests, demands, directives, advices (ibid: 45).

Firstly, regarding control acts it can be said that he labels attention getters as a control act. He claims that in the preliminary work of Ervin-Tripp (1976) which is discussed above, attention getters are classified as imperatives that is enough to label as control acts because attention getters also force the addressee to focus on the speaker (ibid: 46).

He also mentions that address terms which function as control acts are generally seen in the patterns which reflects solidarity and inclusivity by the help of other linguistic devices such as *we, let's*, etc. (2010: 47). In such a pattern an address term not only mitigate the force of control acts, but also maintain the relationship in a context which highlight the unequal power relations between interlocutors.

In contrast to control acts, the function category of feedback request includes the requests which makes the addressee give a response verbally. Requests for information, suggestion, etc. can be listed as feedback requests. "It could even be a prompt for formulaic verbal interaction" (Wilson, 2010:48).

On the other hand, evaluative acts encompass many different discourse functions such as compliment, encouragement, self-evaluation, self-evaluation, criticism, positive evaluation,

negative evaluation. He also states that the mitigating effect of address terms are also seen in evaluative acts.

By reproducing the findings of a previous study, (Vine 2006: 31 as cited in Wilson, 2010: 45), he adds an important point revealing that while determining the type, researchers must evaluate power relations between interlocutors instead of forms of the sentence in which these acts are seen. That gives an important cue regarding analyzing the data while conducting a similar research. The other important finding of the study reveals that players employ more familiarizers when they are compared with their coaches (Wilson, 2010: 44) which proves the effects of power relationships between interlocutors on choosing address terms.

According to Wilson, the functions of the address term are not limited to these ones. It is also works as a mitigator in the directives which are highly face-threatening (Rendle-Short 2010: 1207 as cited in Wilson, 2010: 43).

2.5.5. McCarthy and O'Keeffe, 2003

In their seminal study, McCarthy and O'Keeffe (2003) investigate the usage of vocatives on the data elicited from the Cambridge and Nottingham Corpus of Discourse in English (CANCODE). To reach the list of vocatives, they generate a frequency list and choose the vocatives from that list. As a next step, they include maximum of five usages of an address terms to the data (McCarthy and O'Keeffe, 2003: 7). McCarthy and O'Keeffe (2003) determine the contextual functions of the collected vocatives and their results unreveal many untouched points in the literature. They divide the functions into six categories. These categories can be listed respectively as following: relational, topic, badinage, mitigator, turn, summon (4) (McCarthy and O'Keeffe: 8). To give details related to the mentioned categories, it can be said that the main functions of relational talks are detected as maintaining relationship. To strengthen the relationships, the speakers generally boost the face of the addresses. The second most frequent function of vocatives is seen as topic management function including topic launching, expanding, shifting, closing, etc. Besides these acts, they reveal that a vocative can be used to validate the topic which are called as "topic validation" by them (McCarthy and O'Keeffe: 10). In the topic validation, the addresser utters the name of other participant to make him/her validate the assertion. The third function is badinage reffering to humour and irony (McCarthy and O'Keeffe: 10). It shows the intimacy desire of the participants. The other functions called as mitigator is seen when there is a possible threat to the face of the participants (McCarthy and O'Keeffe: 12). In the turn management function, addressee identification and vocatives which are seen at interruptions. Lastly, they categorizes summons as a function which means the vocatives are used to get the attention of the addressee (McCarthy and O'Keeffe: 13). It should be pointed that there

can be more than one function of a vocative as it is repeated many times in the present study but McCarthy and O'Keefe classify these vocatives according to their main conversational functions.

2.5.6. Zago, 2007

In the study analyzing the pragmatic functions and positions of address terms in dialogues which are gathered from three different movies, Zago (2015) reaches similar results with Shiina (2007a; 2007b). It is also reminded by Zago (2015:186) that vocatives performs many different pragmatic functions and he adds that "the specific pragmatic value of each vocative is heavily modulated depending on the cotext and position of occurrence». Based on his results, he states that there are different types of address terms serving different purposes found in these movies which can be classied as following "summonses, relational vocatives, adversarial vocatives, emphatic vocatives, turn management vocatives, mitigators, insults, badinage vocatives and vocatives validating the addressee's identity"(Zago, 2015). The classification is adapted from McCarthy and O'Keefe's classification which is mentioned above (2003).

Speaking of summons, they are used to get connect with addressees (Zago, 2015:190). Due to the fact that they are directed to the other interlocutors to attract their attention, they are generally used in initial or standalone position. One of the most significant result of Zago's study proves that although it is a well- known fact that recipient design (attracting the addressee's attention) is one of the basic functions of vocatives, sheer number of vocatives (even the ones which are categorized as multifunctional cases) do not function as attention gathers but they perform other pragmatic functions (ibid).

The other category relational vocatives are associated with "Relational vocatives co-occur with greetings, leave-takings, ofers, thanks, apologies, agreements, compliments, and other positive face boosters" (Zago, 2015:191). They are related to establishement and maintance of social relationships. In Zago's words, "relational vocatives boost the communicative intent of the conversational acts they accompany"(ibid).

According to Zago, endearment and familiarizers are intrinsic positive face boosters which means inherently relational vocative but which doesn't mean that they can not be used in the sercive of other functions (Zago, 2015:191). They can be used to construct intimacy and solidarity between interlocutors or they can be used as a mitigator.

It is place to remember that mitigators are one of the vocatives which are classified by Zago (2015:198). He codes mitigators as "downtoners of face-threatening acts" (2015:198). Mitigators, emphatic vocatives and adversarial vocatives which are coded as tools of the pragmatics of alignment/disalignment, have diferent functions in the conversation. But, it is not easy to distinguish one of them from the others (ibid). One of the significant results of the study

states that to distinguish the functions of vocatives which are potentially multifunctional, researchers should take audiovisual cues (prosodic features such as pitch, speed of articulation) and paralinguistic features (facial expressions, gestures).

The other type of vocatives are adversarial vocatives they can co-occur with confrontational speech acts namely "disagreements, criticisms, accusations, refusals, menaces, orders, polemical warnings, etc." (Zago, 2015:192).

Emphatic vocatives is divided in the two different sub-categories. One of these categories includes the vocatives which brings the following portion of the turn into focus as given in the extract given below (Zago, 2015: 195). The other category is the vocatives which are seen in final positions and expressive emotions of the speakers (Zago, 2015: 196). Zago points that the emphatic vocatives can be confused with adversarial vocatives but the former one are seen when the speaker utter something in a hearfelt way and the latter one strengthens divisive utterances (2015: 196).

Additionally, turn management vocatives generally seen with questions and taq-questions. They are used in the service of reinforcing the utterance in which they occur. According to Zango, nearly all of the turn management vocaties have more than one function. In the analyzed data, there are some examples showing the turn management vocatives which occur at interruptions.

The last vocative type is "less frequent functions: Insults, badinage, addressee's identity validation". It is found that there are three minor functions. These are insults, badinage, and addressee's identity validation (Zago, 2015: 199). Generally, insults aren't thought as vocatives but they can be thought as opposite category of endearment terms. Both endearment terms and insults serves to qualify the social space between speakers (Zago, 2015: 199). On the other hand, badinage vocative can be used to tease someone which can be insulting. The last one is addressee's identity validation vocatives that are employed to check the identity of the addressee when they encounter for the first time.

Zago lists the some characteristics of vocatives. Firstly, they consist of lexical forms namely, nouns or adjectives. Secondly, he codes vocatives as peripheral elements. Thirdly, vocatives can be seen in the position of initial, medial, final and stand-alone positions. He is also one of the researchers who emphasizes the importance of vocatives in fictional works such as movies which includes both the horizontal communication among characters, and the vertical communication between characters and readers/audiences (Zago, 2015: 186). In this aspect, it can be said that vocatives used in this kind of setting have a lot of pragmatic functions. In this aspect, the way he suggests to analyze the functions of vocatives provides great inspiration for the future studies. Although McCarthy and O'Keefe (2003) attempt to designate one function for

each vocative to reach quatitative data easier, Zago admits that a vocative can have more than one function simultaneously (2015: 188-189).

2.5.7. The Other Studies on Address Terms and Their Functions

In the study conducted on address terms used by Kampar students, the researchers Rahmadani and Wahyuni find five functions of address terms (2018). These can be listed as following: attract people attention, show politeness, show intimacy, show power differential, and reflect identity (Rahmadani and Wahyuni, 2018: 136). When they analyzed the distribution of these functions, it is found that the mostly used function of address terms is showing intimacy function which is followed as: attracting people attention, showing politeness, reflecting identity, and showing power differential (Rahmadani and Wahyuni, 2018: 140).

Said and Hua prove that people use address terms strategically even in family context not just as a tool of smooth communication but also as a way of assuring their positions, achieving wanted outcomes and building relationship (2017).

In Yang's study (2010), it is stated that there are three functions of address terms. Firstly, Yang reveals that address terms are used to gather attention of interlocutors, to make the participant remember the one's title, status or relationship between them. Secondly, they are directed as a sign of politeness and respect. Thirdly, address terms are uttered to give hints about identity, gender, age, status of interlocutors. (Yang, 2010: 738).

As it mentioned before, address terms are mostly coded as external units of sentences in the grammar books of Turkish which means that they have no part to play in sentences. Although there isn't any study directly conducted to determine functions of address terms in Turkish, among the researchers who conduct study on address terms, there is a general agreement that address terms are used in service of different purposes. Demirbaş suggested that address terms have many different functions but their main function is calling addressee to the context (Demirbaş, 2017: 2155). In agreement with the other studies, Özezen also mentions that address terms are used in the service of attract the attention of addressee who has an half ear on what the addresser says to the addressers' messages (2004: 2266). In the other studies, it is also repeated that addressing devices are employed to call the receiver to the context of communication, point and strengthen the message, warn the receiver, attract the attention of receiver, make the receiver excited (Gemalmaz, 1992: 128; Alyılmaz 1994: 252). Based on his native speaker intution, Doğru (2018) believes that people employ address terms in the purposes of calling, warning, attracting attention, prompting, showing solidarity/formality, pointing status, honoring, controlling communication, pointing their own participation in the communication, reflecting some emotions (excitement, happiness, love, respect, hate, fear, sorrow, anger,etc.), insulting,

humiliating, teasing, reproaching, calling for help, scolding, praying, invoking, threatening, etc. (2018: 135-136).

Özcan (2016) investigates address terms used by students ("56 monolingual Turkish and 48 monolingual Danish speaking students"). The seminal longitudinal study reveals that certain address terms are used for certain functions. Firstly, she suggests that first names are used to address a certain addresse, get the attention of addressee, to name of the participants in the group, to address group leader, to give instruction, to warn, to request something (ibid: 990-991). Secondly diminutives are used to show affection (Özcan: 991). Thirdly, positive address terms are used to appreciate good behaviours (Özcan: 992). On the other hand, negative ones are used to criticize inappropriate behaviours (Özcan, 2016: 995). The neutral ones (like ulan,kız) can be used in many different functions. They can be used to express unbelief, to get attention, to demand something, to express surprise, to express anger, to express agreement and disagreement, to complain, to persuade, to express impatience, to express feeling, to give instruction (Özcan: 997-1000).

To determine the the frequent pragmatic contexts and discourse functions of "ulan", Işık Güler and Eröz-Tuğa examine it with a corpus-based approach by using Spoken Turkish Corpus and Turkish National Corpus as data source of their study (2017). Although they don't directly call ulan as an address term, it still worths mentioning about their study here because of their inspiring method and findings. Detailed examination of them show that ulan occurs in three pragmatic contexts which are context of direct addressing, context of indirect speech and context of fictive (emotive) speech (Işık Güler and Eröz-Tuğa: 48-50). In this aspect, it should be pointed that regarding using ulan in the context of emotive speech, they state that it is frequently used in trouble telling to express their feelings. So, ulan can be coded as expression of emotion rather than an address term (Işık Güler and Eröz-Tuğa, 2017: 50). In the analysis of discourse functions of ulan, they listed five functions namely vocative interjection, relationship indexing marker, emotional / expressive interjection, intensification and emphasis, pre-denigration expletive interjection used with swearword/threat, repetititves placed between reduplications (Işık Güler and Eröz-Tuğa: 50-57). Drawing on an extensive range of sources provided by corpus, they show that how fruitful the results of the corpus based addressing term studies. They also reveal that address terms should be investigated in terms of their functions.

2.6. Positioning

Klimas states that address terms can be seen at the beggining, in the middle, or at the end of the sentences because there is no preposition govern them, they have no verbs with which they have to go (1994: 11). Klimas gives some examples proving his claim and showing whether there

is any difference between these examples when the same address terms used in different position. These examples are adapted to Turkish to make the discussion more understandable:

(14)   Mübeccel nerede yaşıyorsun şu an?
         Mübeccel, where do you live now?

(15)   Şimdi Mübeccel sen nerede yaşıyorsun ?
         Now, Mübeccel where do you live?

(16)   Şimdi nerede yaşıyorsun Mübeccel ?
         Where do you live now, Mübeccel ?

(17)   Mübeccel ! Şimdi nerede yaşıyorsun?
         Mübeccel! Where do you live now ?

                                                    (adapted to Turkish from Klimas, 1994: 11).

After analyzing a series of examples which are similar to ones given above, he concludes that there are differences in all of these versions. He also adds that address terms in the middle are not used as much as the other ones (Klimas, 1994: 11). His findings show that speakers have reasons that lies behind choosing using address terms in certain positions.

Rendle-Short also points the importance of positioning by stating that when an address term (mate in her study) which is directed to someone is used in different positions, different meanings can be assigned to it. She explains the need to analyze the position of address term which is a factor that affects the meaning of address term by stating that although all of the address terms imply something immediately after they are uttered but sometimes these implications are not clear enough to understand, in such as situation speakers have to take the address terms' positionings, meanings and their connections with the previous talks into consideration to understand the intended meaning (Rendle-Short, 2010: 1202).

In her cutting edge paper of 2010, Rendle-Short points the effect of sequential placement of address terms on the interpretation of them. The placement of address terms directly affects their functions and interpretations in communication. The placement has such an important role in the interpretation of an address term that it can make the address term that is employed for stating the closeness between speaker and hearer sound as totally antagonistic or hostile (Rendle-Short, 2010: 1201).

There are many reasons to claim that positioning of vocaties are problematic (Shiina, 2007a:18). In a similar way, Leech also states that positioning regarding address terms are problematic because identifying the exact turn in which the utterance starts and ends is difficult

(1999:115). Study of Shiina shows identifying where a turn starts and ends even in authentic spoken data is problematic because of the nature of the data which is transcribed and punctuated by a transcriber who doesn't involve in the context (2007a:18). To come through these difficulties, Shiina "develops a set of broad guidelines as a working model" (ibid:18). According to Shiina, the best strategies for the management of these difficulties is accepting "the full stop, question mark, exclamation mark, semicolon, colon, and dash as representing a pause or syntactic break, and take it as a speech units boundaries" (ibid). Similarly, comma and capitalization shouldn't be regarded as a marker of a speech unit. Since they are generally used to indicate syntactic structures instead of pauses (Shiina, 2007a:18).

In his corpus-based analysis of vocatives, Leech (1999) explains the borders of speech which are created by punction marks as C-Unit which is "as a syntactically free-standing unit of spoken language "(108). In the present study, the spoken language in the description is accepted as the transcriptions of spoken data or spoken data which are presented in written forms such as dialogues in novels as suggested in Leech (1999).

In his leading study, Leech finds that both the vocaties positions in C-unit and the length of the C-unit are directly related to the functions of vocatives (1999: 116). In a similar way, he states that the length of the C-unit is related to the positionings of vocaties (ibid). To give an example from his findings, when a speaker uses a vocative in an initial position, the length of the C-unit is more tend to be longer than the ones in which the vocative is used in the final position. By turning qualitative data into quantitative data, it can be concluded that the distribution of the initially positioned vocatives are its highest rate in the C-units which has 4-6 words and also there are some examples which are seen in 13 word C-units. On the other hand, most of the finally positioned vocaties are seen in the 1-3 word range (Leech, 1999:116).

In Leech's study, it is clearly seen that the length of the C-unit and the positioning of vocatives in the C-unit are directly related to functions of the vocatives. According to him, the initially positioned address terms are generally used in service of attention gettering and signaling the appropriate addressee. , the finally positioned address terms are mostly employed to identify someone as an addressee and maintain the social relationships (Leech, 1999:116).

Leech points the importance of the syntactic positions of vocatives to examine the communicative functions of them (1999:114). In his leading study, he detects four positions in which the vocatives can be seen. These can be listed as following 1) final position, 2) initial position, 3) medial position 4) stand-alone position (1999:114-115). The vocatives placed in final position follow the C-unit. They are seen closely attachted to the C-unit (Leech, 1999:114). In Leech's study, 68% of all the vocatives are positioned finally (ibid). As regards to vocatives in initial positions that can be stated that they are the vocatives which precedes the C-unit. Of the study sample 11.5% of the vocatives are seen in the initial position (ibid). On the other hand,

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vocatives seen in the medial position are 9.25% of all the vocatives, which means that these kinds of vocatives is the least seen vocative type. Leech states that medial positened vocatives can be seen in the middle of the C-unit and they can also be seen between two C-units (ibid). The last position in which vocatives are seen is the stand-alone position. Leech explains it by stating that "stand alone position where the vocative is not attached to another unit" (ibid). As a result of this study, it can be seen that English speakers mostly prefer using vocatives in final position while medial positioned ones are the least prefered ones.

The preference regarding the positions of the vocatives is closely related to length of the C-unit. Leech (1999:116) explains the relationship as following: With final vocatives, the units consist of three or less words. On the contrary, with initial vocatives, there are some examples including 13 words (ibid).

The other researcher who finds investigating positioning of address terms is Lerner (2003). Lerner reveals that initially positioned address terms are mostly used to check the availability of a hearer (2003, p.184). Lerner explains the functions of finally positioned address terms as the devices used to show certain attitudes to the hearer (2003, p.185). To explain it in a detailed way, it can be said that post-positioned address terms uphold the target addressee which is already determined by the speaker. In this way, it points the message of talk for the intented recipient who is already addressed (ibid).

Leech concludes that address terms can show more than one function (1999: 116). In that way, the multifultionality of vocaties are approved by Leech. The vocatives positioned initially combines attention-gathering function with the other function namely pointing out the appropriate addressee.

As is mentioned under the title of "functions of address term", Clayman reveals the relationship between functions of address terms and their positions (2010). Some of his findings that proves this relationship can be given as following: When an address term is used in the purpose of disaligning and foregrounding, it is seen that the speaker also exploits the address term's attention-soliciting function. It can be seen as the reason why they are used at the turn-initial positions. Clayman explains it like that in this way "address terms can work to highlight the ensuing talk, secure recipient attention or cast it as being produced to some extent independently of the prior action" (2010: 172). Additionally, when an address term is used in the purpose of speaking sincerely, thanks to its later positioning the speaker also exploits other functions of address term. Clayman explains it like that in this way they are being used *not* to solicit attention in the service of foregrounding or disalignment, but for some other purpose which are not found in the Clayman's study.

In Shiina's study, the findings regarding the distributions of vocatives show that medially positioned vocatives are mostly seen ones and the finally postioned vocatives are the second most

frequently seen ones. On the other hand, the initially positioned vocatives and the ones which stand alone are seen at least rates (2007a: 20).

In 1973, Jefferson demonstrates that address terms are generally seen in the final positions (48). That is why, speakers try to check the maintenance of their relationship between the other participant or participants of the communication. He also reveals that address terms are frequently seen in the tag positions. His paper attempts to demonstrate that address terms' occurrence in tag positions is not "trival misplacement" but it is "intensely organized phenomenon" (Jefferson, 1973: 48).

Hyed also refers to some of the studies (namely Leech, 1999 and Rendle-Short, 2009) which are cited above and she notes that these studies attempt to correlate syntactic positioning with their different discourse functions. She adds that "even in the absence of clear-cut categorization, such a sequential perspective highlights the role of vocatives in the construction and signaling of turn-taking" (2014: 282).

In her study, Alyılmaz reviews the previous views on vocatives and vocative groups to decide whether vocatives are external elements of the sentences or not. She summarizes the discussion and states that most of the previous studies mark vocatives as external elements of the sentences and it creates a lot of problems related to teaching and learning of these linguistic devices (2015: 31). In order to prove that vocatives can be classified as parts of the speech, Alyılmaz investigate some of the sentence which are collected from previous studies. As a result of this investigation, it is said that the primary function of vocatives is warning and calling them to the context of the communication. Therefore, they are used in the sentence initial position to show this function. Vocatives in the service of other purposes such as strenghtening, stress, rhythm, melody, etc. can be used in medial and final positions (ibid).

2.7. Address Terms in Turkish

Like most of the languages, Turkish address system consist of three word classes. These are 1) pronominal terms of address, 2) verbal terms of address, 3) nominal terms of address (Braun, 1988: 7).

2.7.1. Pronominal Address Terms

Pronominal address terms are the pronouns that are employed to addres the collocutor (Braun, 1988:7). In Turkish, there are two second person pronouns of address. One of them is sen that is equivalent to T (tu) form. The other one is siz that is equivalent to V (vous) form. It shows that Turkish is one of the languages, which make the T/V distinction (Bayyurt, 1992: 7). Speaker chooses sen or siz according to his/her relationship with the hearer. There are

two different semantic dimensions that can define these relationships between speaker and hearer: power (status of interlocutors in the society), and solidarity (intimacy level of the interlocutors).Also, Brown and Gilman states that sen (T) is used when the speaker wants to point the familarity and siz (V) is used when the speaker wants to place emphasis on politeness.König states that employing siz or sen depends on many different factors such as age,respect,status, hierarchy (1990: 184).

Turkish speakers code vous (siz) as "formality indicator and marker of distant relationship" (Bayyurt, 1999: 25). In this aspect, they find employing the pronoun vous (siz) to address to someone with whom they have close relationship such as their family members inappropriate (ibid). On the contrary, some of them find using vous (siz) pronoun to address someone such as their older family members as sign of politeness and good manners which is learned through family education (ibid: 26). In comparison with vous (siz) pronoun, tu (sen) is coded as "intimate and close relationship marker" by Turkish speakers (ibid). These speakers marks that addressing someone like their youngest family members by using the pronoun tu (sen) "gives them the feeling of authority and seniority, sympathy and love, interest in their affairs, hierarchy, solidarity, and the avoidance of the distance created by the use of the pronoun 'siz' "(ibid).

2.7.2. Verbal Address Terms

Braun defines verbal terms of address as the verbs that are employed to address the hearer by the help of person agreement inflectional suffixes (Braun, 1998:8). In Turkish, subject pronoun aren't necessarily used in sentences.In such a situation, verb in the sentence can be only unit that indicate who is addressee.Imperatives in Turkish can be given as an examples of that category. The pronoun that addresses the hearer can be left out in the form of imparative in Turkish.

(18)   Bak (Look)(Second person singular)
         Bakın (Look) (Second person plural and V form)
         Bakınız (Look) (Second person plural and V form)

2.7.3. Nominal Address Terms

According to Braun, nouns of address are "adjectives and substantives" that are employed to address the collocutors (1998: 9). There are many different classifications of nominal terms of address in Turkish. Braun divides nominal address terms into nine different

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categories. These are names, kinship terms, corresponding terms of address, title terms, abstract nouns, words for certain types of relationship, terms used to avoid using the addressee's personal name, terms of endearment (1998: 9-10). Dunkling also categories nominal address terms into different categories. These are polite terms of address, mock names, transferred names, family terms, terms of endearment and friendship, neutral terms of address, unfriendly and insulting terms of address, and zero vocatives (1990: 3-12).

2.7.4. Zero Address Terms

In her study aiming to determine the addressing behaviours in Estonian, Keevallik conduct a study on 238 elementary and high school students to reach this aim (199:127). In the questionnaire, one of the questions is as following: "What do you do in the situation when you don't know which form to use?" (ibid: 130). She prefers to ask this question because she realizes that the difficulties regarding choosing accurate address terms are seen in some different situations: sometimes it can be hard for the speaker to estimate the age of addressee or mutual distance between them. Also, sometimes addresser has to guess the status of addressee (power or solidarity) and expactations of the addressee that can be awkward for both parties. When such situations are considered, it can be seen that the confusion which the addressers experience in these situations can lead them to avoid from employing any kind of address terms (ibid).

There are numerous social situations in which one or more than one participant can not, or do not employ any address terms (Little and Gelles, 1975:573). To set an example, in a number of cultures a wife keeps away from usin the name of her husband when she addresses him (Service, 1971:36 as cited in Little& Gelles, 1975:573).

2.7.5. The Other Studies on Turkish Address Terms

In her thesis, Bayyurt (1992) investigates how Turkish address terms and pronominals are employed and what kind of factors affecting Turkish speakers' preferences of these address terms. She investigates these notions in the scope of politeness theory (deference aspect of it) and Brown and Gilman's (1960) power and solidarity notions. She makes a questionnaire to collect data and the questionnaire is designed to elicit the address terms that are employed in three different settings in which it is likely to see some kinds of address terms. In addition to data collected from questionnaires, she tapes the conversations of Turkish speakers at family gathering (Bayyurt, 1992) which shows that in such a study findings obtained from questionnaires must be supported by authentic language data. At the end of the study, it is revealed that Turkish speakers tend to use different address terms with appropriate pronoun in

different settings (Bayyurt, 1992: 45). Additionally, as a result of her study, she concludes that the factors that affect the choosing of address terms can be listed as following:"the age, status, sex, and educational background of the adressees, the perceived distance,the amount of experience s/he has in the specific area, the degree of familiarity" (Bayyurt, 1992 : 45). Although she states that "it would be unrealistic to further overgeneralize the findings of such a limited study" (Bayyurt, 1992: 45), it worths pointing that the study reveals that there are many different variables which affects the speakers' address term choice. It shows that choosing appropriate address terms is such an important issue for Turkish speakers that they proccess many differet factors simultaneously in their minds.

In her master thesis, Başer conducts a study to compare and contrast the address terms employed in family interaction between Turks and Americans (2012). Başer collects the data of her study by the help of a questionnaire. As a result of this comprehensive study, it is proved that Turkish speakers tend to use more varied address terms to address their family members than the Americans speakers (Başer, 2012: 97). She states two reasons for this situation: Firstly, "American English does not offer its users as many specific kinship address terms as Turkish does." Secondly, "American respondents did not much favor using the specific kinship address terms to address their family members even in the cases where specific kinship address terms were available to address these family members" (Başer, 2012: 97-98). She also detects that Americans mostly prefer employing FN to address their family members, which is probably to result, is some crucial negative effects and serious breakdowns in the relationships of Turkish people. She also detects that while Turkish speakers use address inversion, American speakers don't use it (Başer, 2012: 106).

In her doctoral dissertation, Dinçkan seeks to examine translation of address terms which "yields information in terms of understanding both the literary translation process and the complexity of the use of language in society" (2004: iv). In her words, in terms of address terms' translations, "the translator is not only translating an address form, a grammatical category, but also interpreting and shaping the social relationship between the characters in the novel" (2004: iv). She conducts a multi aspectual analysis of the translation of T/V pronouns by the help the data elicited from the special corpus of 19th century English (2004: 300). In order to decide the factors affect T/V pronouns' choice, all the characters are classified according to «their age, martial status, education level, social class (Dinçkan, 2004: 302). She concludes that all of these factors explain the choices in some degree but they are not enough to explain all of the instances. She points that relationships between characters should be taken into account to explain them. She also mentions that translators make their decisions on T/V forms based on the address terms which are used in the same utterance with these T/V forms. She also provides a list which shows how address terms in English and Turkish match with pronouns based on the relationships

between characters (Dinçkan, 2004: 317) which will be fruitful for both translators, second language learners and teachers, researchers.

Alaca investigates the address terms employed in matchmaking shows on TV (2014). Alaca detects that 'abla, abi, teyze, amca, hanım and bey' are the address terms used in these shows (Alaca, 2014: 100). Interestingly, it is revealed that the kinship terms (she divides them as family terms and kinship terms) such as *'abla, abi, teyze, amca'* are only used by the presenter who can be seen as the superior one when compared to other participants. In parallel with this finding, the participants of the programme address the presenter by using the address term '*hanım'*. In this research, it is shown that based on their state of mind speakers can change the address terms directed to the addressee even in a matter of seconds (Alaca, 2014: 100). She also reveals that address choice of participants can be affected by the other participants' choices (Alaca, 2014: 170). It is also reminded that address terms which are seen as the reflection of social relationships and class discriminations on the language are mostly depend on context in which they are employed (Alaca, 2014: 171).

Azap investigates address terms in Turkish as a part of her thesis (2008). She states that terms belonging to address system in Turkish are mostly categorized under different classes in the literature which creates many problems (2008: 2). She also states that address terms can not be coded as sentence external factors but contrary to her own claim Azap also claims that when the address terms in sentences are omitted, there aren't any semantic changes in the sentences (2008: 48). Additionally, she investigates address terms' syntactic properties (2008). She divides address terms as "address terms stating personal name", "address terms stating other living creatures", "address terms stating names of objects", "address terms stating names of various events" (Azap, 2008).

In her inspiring doctoral thesis, Alkan Ataman examines address terms which are defined as one of the most significant language items on the data elicited from texts to show the changes in historical process of Turkish. She complies address terms from Old Turkish, Old Oghuz Turkish, Ottoman Turkish and Contemparary Turkish and then she classifies all these address terms which is mentioned-above under the title of classification. She marks the samples of address terms as gradationally current, common, sincere and neutral (güncel, yaygın, samimi, yansız) (2018). Her research provides one of the most comprehensive research regarding address terms in Turkish. Alkan Ataman contributes the Turkish literature by providing a highly original and influential list of address terms. Alkan Ataman concludes that address terms are sensitive to time, changes in society (2018: 687). She also reveals that there can be some unconventional usage of address terms: semantically (using maymun to show love), structurally (using sefgilim instead of sevgilim), culturally (using dostum to address father-in-law (Alkan Ataman, 2018: 665-666).

Çetintaş Yıldırım (2018) conducts an inspiring study to detect the differences between child directed speech properties of Turkish fathers and mothers. Suprisingly, she reveals that Turkish parents use to negative address terms to show their intimacy to their child. Additionally, the distinctive feature of the study is that Çetintaş Yıldırım's study present the authentic usage of address terms which proves the creative natures of them such as 'aşitopum, anacan, aşkitella, çılgınbebo, çukutu, etc.' (2018: 17).

Besides these researches and the ones which are mentioned under the different titles of the present study, there are considerable number of research on address terms are published. Much of the available literature on address terms deal with pronominal address terms namely sen (tu) and siz (vous) in Turkish. König investigates the factors that affects the choice of sen/siz in Turkish. In the conclusion of the research, it is detected that age, gender, kinship, social status and class, distance, formality, solidarity are the factors affecting the choice of sen or siz. In parallel with König's study, Balpınar also detects that age, gender, kinship, rank, solidarity, solidarity and group membership are the factors affecting the usage of sen and siz (1996: 289). Balpınar conducts the same questionnary two times (1973 and 1990) to reach these results (ibid). One of the most effective point of Balpınar's longitudinal research is proving that these factors don't show any changes in 17 years period. Bayyurt and Bayraktaroğlu have attempted to investigate the usage of sen and siz in the context of service encounter (2001). These chosen contexts reflects different formality and economic levels and the other variable of the study is gender of the participants. As a result of the study, it is seen that there are some differences regarding usage of sen and siz between menn and women. While men more frequently direct 'sen' to their interlocutors, women tend to use 'siz' more frequently (Bayyurt and Bayraktaroğlu, 2001). Also, they state that economic status, frequency of contact, gender and the trust are the factors affecting the choice between sen or siz (ibid: 235). Until now, all the studies, follow the Brown and Gilman's approach related to power and solidarity. Unlike them, Hatipoğlu carries out a research to reveal the social meanings of 'sen' (tu) which is coded as familiar second person pronoun (2008). Her approach is based on Brown and Gilman's Power and Solidarity model and the other aim of the study is investigating whether this model can explain all the social meanings of 'sen' or not. As a results of analysis, it is shown that there are two main groups of people who are address by using 'sen': 'sympathy SEN'(nuclear family members, extended family member, friends, acquaintances, neighbours, girlfriend/boyfriend, children,etc.) 'antagonism SEN' which is used for the people who addresser doesn't like and she/he uses it to keep these people at bay (ibid). She concludes that "Brown and Gilman's model can be used to classify and explain the more general social meanings of the pronoun SEN but it fails to accommodate some of the more specific meanings of this pronoun" (Hatipoğlu, 2008: 28). Yücel Özezen investigates seni/sizi vocative markers which can be seen in different combination such as 'sizi gidi, seni aptal seni' (2019: 729). She reveals

that +i morpheme is not used to encode accusative status or it is not possisive suffixes but, she concludes that these forms are used to call someone or show some emotions (Yüceol Özezen, 2019: 739). By the help of diachronic approach, it is also revealed they are emerged from 'sen ey and siz ey' (Yüceol Özezen, 2019: 739).

Some of these researchers deal with investigating address terms which are especially used in certain dialects and certain regions. In line with it, Aça (2018) deals with address terms used between old generation spouses living in Balıkesir region. An interesting investigation of the study is that the spouses address each other by using the name of their own eldest children (Aça, 2018:160). In a similar way, Gökşen (2016) investigate the men's choices regarding choices to name their wifes in Anatolia and reveals that men use both positive and negative words to name their wifes. It can be deduced that men prefer naming their wifes by using negative words to protect them from any kinds of harm (Gökşen, 2016: 59). Lastly, Nakiboğlu investigates an address terms which are used in Çorum, Tokat and Amasya (2017). All of them show that address terms are sensitive to the local cultures and it is possible to see a lot of different region or dialect specific address terms in Turkish.

There are some studies of which primary concer is examining address terms using in education related text, contexts, etc. In their study Hamiloğlu and Emirmustafaoğlu (2017) investigate the politeness and impoliteness in Turkish EFL students' e-mails which are sent to their lecturers. They code address terms as one of the signs which shows politeness and analyze the address terms used in these e-mails. To give an example, some students use their lecturers' first names with a title or honorifics such as Dear Miss Buse although it is not a proper and formal usage for the target language because in such a context using surname instead of first name is mostly prefered in English (2017: 198). Some addition examples can be given as following to show this transfer: One of the students address his/her lecturer as Buse hocam which is totally Turkish (ibid). It is seen that Turkish students transfer their pragmatic knowledge in Turkish to their addressing habits in their target language. Demirgüneş, Çelik and İşeri (2015) conduct a study to detect the linguistic devices which are related to kinship concept and their collocations in the ten different Turkish course book. They suggest that although there are a lot of concepts which refer to kin relationships between family members in Turkish, the shortage of these linguistic concepts are seen in the Turkish course books. It proves the question marks in the minds regarding the authenticty of text books in terms of address terms which is mentioned in the introduction section. Aktaş and Yılmaz investigated the address terms used by the undergraduate students of Education Faculty (2016). They detect that candidate teachers use address terms showing their love, respect, politeness, compliment and negative feelings (insulting words, slangs, etc.) The mostly used address terms are detected as "canım, kanka, dostum and kardeşim".

There are a few crosslinguistic analyses of address terms. Although these studies aren't directly related to address terms, they examined addressing behaviours in Turkish culture and the other cultures as a part of their studies. The study of Korean eduction in Turkey and the linguistic and cultural differences between Korean and Turkish conducted by Türközü also investigates address terms as a small part of the study (2009) and he states that Turkish and Korean address terms are really similar in many aspects thanks to their cultures. Imamova compares the way of Turkish and Uzbek speakers' expressing respect by the help of address terms and it is revealed that in both languages, speakers use honorifics such as bey, hanım, bayan, kinship terms such as amca, teyze and title and modal words such as patron, hoca, müdür to show their respects to their interlocutors (2010). In his crosslinguistic study, Kara investigates the kinship terms of Khakassian, Altaic, Tuvian and Shorian Turkish of Southern Siberia and he tries to find the phonetic and semantic commonalities between there dialects and Turkish which is spoken in Turkey (2013: 338). To that end, the researcher scans the dictionaries of these languages to collect data. As a result of this study, it is found that the kinship terms investigated in the study resemble each other in terms of phonetic, morphologic and semantic aspects which shows that there are still some connections among these Turkish languages (Kara, 2013: 341).

There can be seen some researches conducted to detect and examine address terms which are used in certain texts such as the book of Dede Korkut (Alyılmaz, 2015), Orkhon Inscriptions (Oğuz, 2007), Kutadgu Bilig (Alkan Ataman, 2019), contemporary Turkish written texts (Yıldırım, 2017), lullabies (Bayrak İşcanoğlu, 2018), subtitles (Gökduman, 2017), web language (Akata, 2018). Recently, some researchers conducts study only on certain address terms: anne (Acar, 2013), ulan (Işık-Güler& Eröz-Tuğa, 2017), cicianne (Çetin, 2012).

2.8. Address Terms and Corpus Linguistics

The study in which address terms are investigated by the help of corpus data is Hyed's study of 2014. In this cross-linguistic study, she compares two different address terms: one of them is 'dude' in English and the other one is 'alter' in German. The most striking sides of the study is that Hyed shows her steps of choosing the appropriate corpus as a data source. She shows differences between the available corpora in terms of these two address terms which proves that all of the availabe corpora are not suitable as a data source for address terms studies. She adds that if the target address term is absent in a corpus, there is no need to take it as a sign that the address term is not one of the relevant ones in the target language, but it should be taken as a sign that the design of corpus is not suitable for investigating that address term (2014:279).

The other important side of this study is related to its data set. A composite set of data is investigated to analyze these address terms (alter and dude). There are four different data

collection methods. Firstly, the data of this study are taken from COCA (Corpus of Contemporary English) and DSAv (Deutsches Spracharchiv). Secondly, the examples taken from previously published data are also included in the data set of this cross-linguistic study. Thirdly, computer-mediated communication genres are also used as one of the data sources of this study. Lastly, metacommunicative judgements of language users are taken into consideration (Hyed, 2014:279). Depending on these data sets, she points that providing quantifiable results based on the combinations of the above-mentioned data collection methods is not possible (ibid).

Formentelli (2007) investigates the address terms 'mate' on the data elicited from the BNC. Transcribed spoken texts are determined as database of the study to investigate the spontaneous usage of the term. As a first step, the words which don't function as address terms are ruled out from the data (Formentelli, 2007:186). After ruling out unrelated occurences, there are totally 323 occurences of mate which are coded as address terms (ibid). The researcher also points that the corpus data lets him to examine a great number of contextual information such as level of formality, region, social dimensions, etc. (Formenttelli, 2007).

Clancy and O' Keeffe (2015) conduct a case study on address terms by the help of the small scaled corpora. One of them is 55,000- word corpus including records of a radio program and the other one is 12, 500-word SettCorp including family interactions (Clancy, O'Keeffe, 2015: 244). As can be seen, the contexts are purely different in terms of solidarity and the researchers aim to compare the functions of address terms used in these two contexts. As a first step, they read the each line of the corpus manually and classified the address terms (Clancy and O' Keeffe, 2015: 246). After their investigations, they normalized their raw data to 10,000 words (Clancy and O' Keeffe, 2015: 247). They states that corpus data provides the researchers with inspiring quantitative evidence but to make a detailed analysis of the address terms, there is a need for a functional analysis of all address terms (Clancy and O' Keeffe, 2015).

3. DATA AND METHOD

The present chapter principally points out how data is collected and analyzed to reach the aims of the present study. In this aspect, the feautures of database, data collection methods and tools, the steps of the data collection, the collected data, theoretical frameworks of the study, data analysis process is discussed in a detailed way.

This study involves a multi-methods design in which qualitative data is analysed with the interpretation of the quantitative results. This study has been carried out to investigate the general use of Turkish address terms. The data elicited from the TNC v.3.0 guides the researcher to carry out insightful qualitative and quantitative analysis. There are some criticism related to qualitative research methods. It is claim that they are less reliable when compared to quantitave researches because the reliability of a study refers to the reproducibility of the findings. However, in this study, corpus lets researcher check for contradictions again and again, it provides researcher with a chance to re-analyze their data. In this study, multiple ways are used to explore research problems. These multiple ways used to investigate the address terms provide a nuanced understanding of how the addressed terms are being used in Turkish. Furthermore, by following a multimethod approach a more validate, reliable complete and holistic description of Turkish address systems can be obtained.

As a first step of the study, the list of address terms in Turkish are compiled by the help of native speaker intuition, observation, via internet sources and the previous studies conducted on the address terms. The address terms which are gathered by note-taking and scanning by the researcher. Some of the data are collected by observation conducted over the course of nineteen months (February 2018 - October 2019). Most of the address terms are gathered from Ekşi Sözlük which is the digital public sphere of current Turkish use. This digital platform provides vast amount of data with thousands of users, millions of postings. Its multitude mass and diversity provides intuitions of a range of native speakers. All of the titles including "hitap" (Türkçe hitap şekilleri, samimiyetsiz hitap şekilleri, Türklere has hitap şekilleri, arkadaşa hitap şekilleri, sevgiliye en güzel hitap şekli, nefret edilesi hitap şekilleri, erkeklerin hemcinslerine hitap şekilleri, samimiyetsizlik kokan hitap şekilleri, kardeşlerin birbirine kitap şekilleri etc.) are scanned by the researcher manually. In addition to these two data collection methods, all the previous researches available for the researcher are read meticulously and the samples which are accepted as address term are noted down but the ones which don't fit with the definition of address terms of the present study such as address terms directed to objects, animals, cities which are mentioned above and the ones which are really outdated are not included in the list. It worths noting that although the present study is a corpus-based one, during the data collection process

some samples are collected from the corpus. To collect samples from corpus, the regularities in the addressing behaviours of speakers are detected such as güzel gözlüm, yeşil gözlüm, zeytin gözlüm and then the repeated part of these expressions are searched and detected samples are added to the list. During the process of scanning both Ekşi Sözlük and the previous studies conducted on Turkish address terms, it is seen that there are some words listed as address terms but they actually don't function as address terms which are left out of the list. It should be added that there are a lot of different misconceptions regarding which words can be used in the service of addressing. For example, there can be seen some studies which are coded greetings such as 'selam, hey, günaydın' as an address term (see Braun, 1988 for a criticism for such studies) and the other ones list linguistic devices such as ey, be, şşşt, etc. as address terms. Braun does not include such linguistic structures in her own data. In line with her, these linguistic devices are keep out of our definition of address terms. As a result of data collection process totally 1239 address terms are listed (See Appendix 1- 2).

At next step of data collection process, Turkish National Corpus (TNC) v.3.0 are used. TNC is designed as balanced and general purpose corpus for contemporary Turkish (Aksan, et. al., 2012). It provides a versatile and broad enough database for this study (Aksan, et al. 2012). It is 50 million-word reference corpus of Turkish. It covers the period of covering 20 years (1990-2009), so it can be said that it represent the contemporary Turkish. 98% of the corpus consists of written data gathered from various genres such as newspaper, academic prose, fiction and verse. 2% of TNC consist of spoken data gathered from many different social settings (Aksan, et al. 2012) (http//tnc.org.tr.). More detailed information regarding the corpus and its design can be found in Aksan et. al. (2012).

Because conducting a study on the data elicitied from the entire corpus would be extremely labour-intensive (Biber, Connor, Upton, 2007: 15), it is suggested to choose a set of data from corpus which is believed to provide the best repsentation of the target linguistic device. To achieve this purpose, the data are gathered from the imaginative prose (9.5 million words) and spoken part of (1 million words) the corpus which provides real input data when it is not possible to make analysis based on only the intuition of linguists and native speakers. These domains provide widely different types of interpersonal interaction, relationship, situation samples resembling the ones seen in real life. They let the researcher conduct study on wide range of interlocutors represented by recorded naturally occuring data. These domains are chosen as source of data because they are the most suitable source to elicit address terms. In that way, it is aimed to maximize the generated number of address terms. Thanks to these advantages of them, they are seen as appropriate samples to analyze and to make generalizations on address terms in Turkish.

In that step, concordance lines are generated by searching the address term list to check whether they are seen in the corpus as an address term or not. Each entry of the pre-determined list of address terms are searched one by one firstly in the domain of imaginative prose and then the whole process is repeated for the spoken parts of the corpus. Totally 2478 address terms queries are made to decide whether pre-determined address terms are seen on the corpus or not. While deciding it, references, address terms and the other word categories can be seen in the same query which means that there is a need to scritunize all the other forms to mark the address term. To complete this step, really huge number of data is checked by researcher but it is not possible to give any certain statistical data related to this process. In order to the manage such a big data, the researcher stop scritunizing when the word which is searched is seen in the function of addressing. However, for the ones which are not found in the corpus, all the concordonce lines have to be checked to be sure that they don't take part in the corpus as address terms. For the sake of an example, it can be said that the word 'yumuşak' is occurred 1053 times but there isn't any use of address terms in these occurreances. On the other hand, 'aptal aşık' is seen only one time and it is used as an address terms.

Figure 3.1. shows the query screen of TNC. As can be seen in the figure, TNC provides researchers with many tools to conduct their studies in an ideal way:
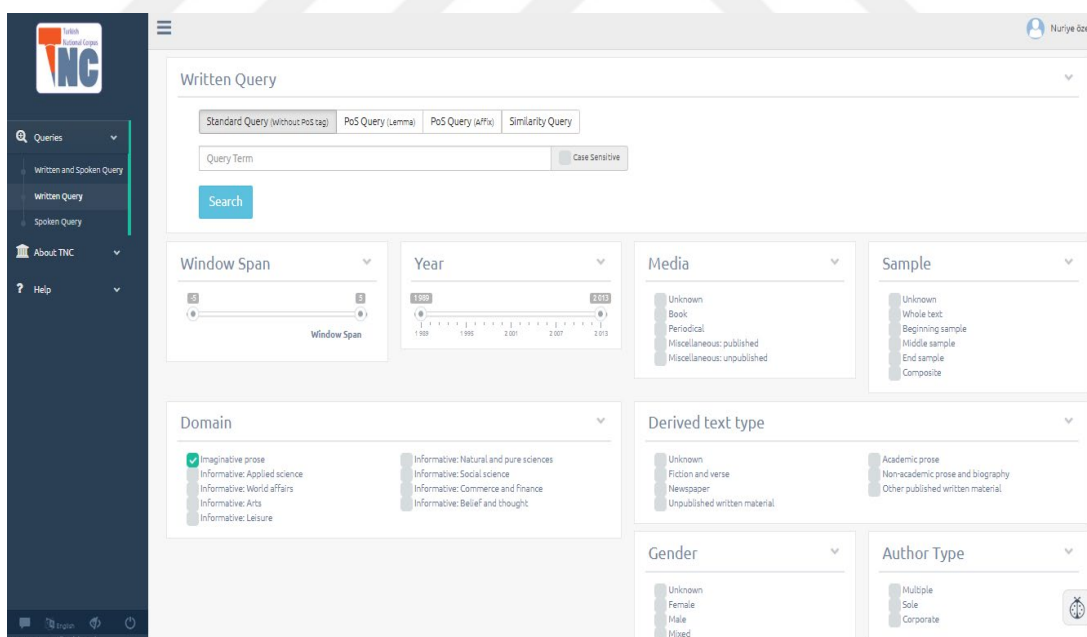
Figure 3.1. Query Screen of TNC v.3.0

After all of target words (canım, usta, hacı, kanka, etc.) are analyzed by hand and eye technique. Appearance for each linguistic units are identified. As Dickey states, all of the previous studies ignore the variations of address terms. But, ideal way of examining address term is conducting a research and all marked as well as unmarked address terms (Dickey, 1997: 256).

To gather these variation, pre-determined address terms are searched by the help of the following regular expression: ^address term+ (for example when we search ^baba+ we can get baba, babacık, babacığım, babalık etc.). Out of 1239 address terms which are pre-determined by the researcher 731 addres terms are found in the corpus. Thus, by means of the data derived from the corpus, the examination of Turkish address system is made step by step.

As mentioned there are some address terms which can not be found in the corpus. To decide whether they are parts of the address system or not they are asked to native speakers. 12 native speakers asssits this process by deciding on whether these address terms which can not be founded in corpus data such as beybilibom, keko, kanki,teyzezade,yaren, etc. are really address terms used in Turkish or not. At the end of the whole process, there are 1227 words which are coded as address terms. These address terms are classified under categories namely verbal address, endearments, mockeries, familiaries, honorifics, titles, kinship terms, so-called kinship term, pro-nominal address terms and zero address terms which are proposed by researcher to classify Turkish address terms. This classification is adapted from the Braun's (1988) classifications. When address terms are considered as emotionally charged words, it is difficult to find an address terms which haven't got any social implications. Even the ones which are pointed as neutral as in the example convey these emotions, attitudes, and thoughts. In a similar way, Formentelli defines address terms as linguistic devices which are "almost never neutral in the interpersonal meaning they convey" (2009: 179). In this aspect, it can be said that classifying address terms in reference to their socio-indexial implications can be useful for the speakers of the target language. By the help of such a classification, the speakers (native or not) can choose the suitable address terms by bearing different variables in their minds which give them chance for a safe communication.

At the next step, to determine the functions of address terms in Turkish, a small sample is chosen from fictive prose and the spoken part of the corpus because of the expected difficulty of obtaining the data. The sample which is recruited from the corpus includes an address term taken from each subcategories of nominal address terms.The chosen address terms can be listed as following: öğretmenim (title), sayın (honorific), canım (endearment term), aptal (mockery), dostum (familiarizer), abi (kinship and fictive kinship term). 1008 concordance outputs including address terms are obtained for qualitative analysis of address terms' functions. These address terms are chosen to represent their own address categories. While sampling these address terms it is thought that there isn't any age, gender, social status restriction to use these address terms when they are compared with the other address terms in their own categories. Also, frequencies of the address terms are another factors to choose them. In parallel with the frequencies in the TNC v.3.0, a quick search on Google reveals that the chosen address terms are most commonly used ones in Turkish. A random sample of each address terms is recruited from

the corpus. The confidence level was 90% with a margin of error of +/- 5. It is really important to note that as can be seen in Table 3.1, there is an imbalance between the frequencies of these address terms but it doesn't affect the results of the present study. Since they are not investigated individually in the present study such an investigation doesn't serve the purpose of the study. Rather, they are grouped under the title of "address terms" to make generalizations regarding address system of Turkish. In the present study, statistics will not be presented for each of them but rather for a group of address terms.

Table 3.1. Sampling statistics regarding chosen address terms

Address Term	Observed (Spoken Data)	Sampling (Spoken Data)	Observed (Imaginative Prose)	Sampling (Imaginative Prose)
Canım	581	185	3242	250
Sayın	1778	235	1375	227
Dostum	118	83	723	198
Aptal	12	12	736	199
Öğretmenim	18	17	370	157
Abi	622	189	1950	238

Only tokens relevant to the study are counted and analysed. To illustrate, while the lines like this "*Canım, nasılsın ?* " are counted, lines like the following example are discarded "*Olanlardan sonra canım çok sıkıldı.*" Additionally, references which are frequently seen in the collected data are ruled out. The following example of reference makes the discussion more clear: "*Ahmet abi çok iyi biridir*". Therefore, the results are checked manually and spurious tokens are discarded. After checking 1990 lines, the concordance lines that include endearment terms are generated from the corpus. Altogether, 1008 concordances are investigated that contained these words and 251 tokens for *canım*, 713 tokens for *dostum*, 38 tokens for *aptal*, 211 tokens for *sayın,* 65 tokens for *öğretmenim*, and 270 tokens for *abi* are gathered by the help of the data elicited from the TNC v.3.0 , analyses of Turkish address terms and their functions are made step by step.

After the examinations of these concordonce output, based on the approach of Leech (1999) and McCarthy and O'Keefe's (2003) approaches functions of the address terms in Turkish are determined as following: foregrounding talk, situational role designation/ Setting the tone of the communication, selecting next speaker, making the listener remain focused, topic Shifting/

raising other issues, softening the virtual commands, involving non-conforming responses, and disagreements.

It should be pointed that while deciding the functions and positions of address terms, the discourse in which the address terms seen are also examined. The difference between a standart concordance lines (totally 11 words) and the contexts from which concordance lines are elicited (totally 50 words) are seen in the figures given below. There is a general agreement on the importance of understanding and examining address terms in contexts to decide both their functions and positions (McCarthy and O'Keefe, 2003:7; Rendle-Short, 2010:1203). To overcome these difficulties Garcia's careful line-by-line reading (the identification-in-context) method is used to determine the functions of address terms (Garcia, 2007)

Tür	Künye	Sol	-5;5	Sağ
📄	W-PI05C3A-0573-1314	şöyle bir baktı, "A, Uğur	Abi	hoş geldin" diyerek boynuna sarıldı.
📄	W-DA16B3A-1040-545	şöför olsaydı... Yeter artık Üzeyir	Abi...	Sabahtan beri sen dahil bütün
📄	W-QA16B5A-0175-1844	şurdan. Hemşire hanım, şurayı batikonlayın...	Abi	onlarca parça var burda. Kafaya
📄	W-HA16B2A-0792-2308	şokta herif ne dediğini bilmiyo...	Abi,	kaza nasıl oldu anlat, açılırsın...
📄	W-SI45F1D-4710-210	Şlap diye bir ses çıktı.	Abi	de dönüp bana "Niye böyle
📄	W-NA16B1A-1466-1793	şişler nerede?.. PRODÜKSİYON AMİRİ Geldi	abi...	IŞIKÇI Bi dakka adamı şişlemeyin...
📄	W-OA16B3A-1289-1873	şimdi. Adamın asabını bozma yaa..."	"Abi,	ne kafa bulması? Çabuk diyorum
📄	W-BE39C2A-0356-110	şimdi, kendisine İTÜ yıllarından beri	"Abi"	diye hitap ettiği Süleyman Demirel'le
📄	W-CA16B3A-0577-1881	Şimdi ne mi istiyorum senden	abi?	Borç istiyorum. Üç gündür eve
📄	W-CA16B3A-0735-35	şimdi kahvemizi söyle bakalım. Tabii	abi	hemen, emrin olur. Kahveler içilirken

Figure 3.2. Some concordance line showing the query results of 'abi'

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sineği konmuş gibi koşturuyorsun yine." "Abi, bizim Mustafa çatıya çıkmış. Koş, kendini atar bu deli!" "Şaban, kafa bulmanın sırası değil şimdi. Adamın asabını bozma yaa..." **"Abi,** ne kafa bulması? Çabuk diyorum sana, herkes toplanmış, yemin olsun yaa... Belediyeden gelmişler, kaçak çalışıyorlar diye takımlarını toplamaya başlamışlar bunların. Mustafa da takım çantasını almış,

Figure 3.3. Concordance results showing the address term 'abi' in context

Rokni enunciates that conducting a study on address term is a really though job because there are several non-linguistic and paralinguistic factors which enact with each other during the process of choosing the right address term. That is the reason why they can be a challenging phenomenon to investigate and describe them (2012: 2) without any non-linguistic and

paralinguistic cues. In this sense, making generalizations regarding address terms that can be work under all circumstances seems really complicated and tough (ibid). To overcome these difficulties, all the informations provided by the corpus are taken in to account during the process of analysis. It should be also noted that Turkish National Corpus v.3.0 provides general metadata: names of the publications, years of the publications, author(s) of the publications, registers of them, domain of publications, types of media, derived text types, types of author(s), gender of the author(s), audiences and sample.

Lastly, the positions of the addres terms are examined based on the Leech's suggestions mentioned in the previous chapter in a detailed way. As discussed in the review of literature chapter, it is clear that the positioning of address terms has an important effect on determining their functions. Depend on the position of address term, it shows different discursive effects which makes investigating relationship between the postions and functions of address terms necessary for the present study.

Throught the present research, there is a need to translate Turkish address terms to English. But, as mentioned in the first chapter, there are a lot of discussions regarding translations of address terms since finding perfect equivalent of these culturally-induced words is nearly impossible. To avoid the risk of loss in meanings of address terms are given in Turkish. If it is badly needed, both denotative equivalence and pragmatic equivalence are given when both of them are necessary as suggested in Methven (2006).

4. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

The present chapter presents the analysis of data. Data is analyzed to identify, and classify Turkish address terms and describe the functions and positions of the address terms. The detected functions and positions of Turkish address terms are correlated with each other.

As a result of multi-staged data collection process which is mentioned in the previous chapter, 1227 address terms are detected. Out of 1227 address terms which are listed by the researcher 731 relevant items are found in the TNC v.3.0. Although some parts of the study are conducted on the address terms found in the TNC v.3.0., the address terms which aren't found in the corpus (kankilop, aşkilop, kocişko, beybiliboy) are also included in the classifications of the address terms in Turkish.

The address terms gathered from the corpus are classified into nine categories namely pro-nominal address terms, verbal address terms, endearments, mockeries, familiarizers, honorifics, titles, kinship terms, so-called kinship terms.

4.1. Classifications of Turkish Address Terms

4.1.1. Pronominal Address Terms

It is a well-known fact that Turkish is one of the languages which make a T/V distinction. As afromentioned, in linguistics T/V distinction describes that certain languages have second person pronouns that mark different levels of solidarity, intimacy, familarity, politeness, etc. towards the one to whom the second person pronoun is directed. Turkish makes the distinction with the second person pronoun sen (T) and siz (V). As Brown and Gilman (1961) suggest that T form (sen in Turkish) is associated with solidarity, informality, on the other hand, V form (siz in Turkish) is associated with power and formality which are demonstrated in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1. Pronominal Address Terms in Turkish

Pronominal Address Terms
Sen   You (T form)
Siz   You (V form)

Pronominal address terms are suitable to be used in nearly every social settings because they carry less messages when compared to other kinds of address terms. Pronominal address terms are one of the most neutral address terms in Turkish which help addresser to hide the informations (the intention of the addresser, the relationship between the addressee and addresser, etc.) which he or she doesn't want to share with the others. Choosing the appropriate address terms between only these two options requires less mental activity when compared with the other categories including hunders of address terms. In addition to this economic side of them, these two well-defined pronominal address terms have lower risks in social relations than the others. Kretzenbacher also proves that although there are still some insecurities and potential of embrassment regarding the choice of pronominal address terms, they can be easily tolerated because the distiction between T and V forms of second person pronouns is overwhelmingly useful for the speakers (2006: 17.16). Taken together, these feautures of them make the pronominal address terms as one of the mostly used addressing devices in Turkish. However, it is also observed that they are generally used with the other address terms in the same utterance. Probably, it is the result of the neutral tones of them which are considered insufficient to convey the feelings, messages of the speaker.

(19)   *DİMİTROF: **Siz** kendinizi düşünün Bay Vogt. Nasıl bir kayaya çarptığınızı bilmiyorsunuz...*
        DİMİTROF: **'Siz'** (V form) think yourself 'Bay Vogt'. You don't know what kinds of weather
        you hit....

                                                    (W-FA14B1A-2669-1931)

(20)   *Ben yatıyorum. Geliyor musun? **Sen** yat canım. Ben biraz çıkacağım. Çıkacak mısın!*
        I am going to sleep. Are you coming ? 'Sen' (V form) sleep **'canım'**. I will go outsite for a
        short time. Will you go outside !

                                                    (W-PA16B4A-0591-487)

Returning briefly to the Figure 2.2 which is also given in the review of literature section of the present study, some of the observations regarding the usage of pronominal address terms which is proposed by Brown and Gilman in 1960 are presented here, although it is not directly aimed in the present study. As a result of the present study, all the usage of pronominal address terms suggested by Brown and Gilman (T form directed from superior to inferior, V form directed from inferior to superior, T form directed from superior but not solidary to inferior but not solidary, V form used between power equals and solidary, etc.) are detected. But, when their suggestions are compared with the the data which is examined, some other usage of pronominal address terms are also revealed.

Table 4.2. Two dimensional semantics: power semantics (Brown and Gilman, 1960)

V	Superiors		V
T	Power equals AND solidary	Power equals NOT solidary	T
T	Inferiors		T

Table 4.3 Two dimensional semantics: solidarity semantics (Brown and Gilman, 1960)

T	Superior AND Solidary	Superior NOT Solidary	V
T	Equal AND Solidary	Equal NOT Solidary	V
T	Inferior AND Solidary	Inferior NOT Solidary	T

The findings show that apart from the usages given above, 'siz' (V form) can be used when the heaer is equal or inferior for the speaker and the speaker wants to express his/her anger. Similarly, 'sen' (T form) can be used when the heaer is equal or superior for the speaker and the speaker wants to express his/her anger. The observation supports the findings of Hatipoğlu who reveals that some of the participants of her study report using 'sen' for the people whom they don't like, they want to hold at arm's length or at whom they are angry (2008:21).

The example 3 shows that when the hearer and speaker are equal to each other (both of them are member of parliament the speaker) and there isn't any solidarity between them (they have opposite political ideologies) İG uses 'sen' when he gets angry to address the hearer. In such a usage, it is clear that the addresser's intention of employing 'sen' (T form) is not showing his/her intimacy but his/her only intention is not accepting the power of the addressee by using 'siz' (V form). On the contrary that, in the example 4, the speaker addresses someone who is inferior than himself/herself (teacher – student relationship) by using 'siz' (V form) to imply his anger. Also, in this example, the teacher increases the face threatening degree of the utterances by uttering and address terms which aren't expected. The sarcastic usage only detected in the example of 'siz'.

(21) *MŞ:Daha sürem dolmadı, konuşmama devam ediyorum.*

B:Tamam efendim; siz buyurun Sayın Şahin.

*İG:Kürsü dolu; **sen** adam çağırıyorsun!*

B:Kim konuşuyor, kim?

MŞ:My time is not up , I am talking on.

B:Okay 'efendim'; It's your turn 'Sayın Şahin'.

İG:The lectern is not available (someone is speaking); **sen** (T form) calling someone else!

B:Who is speaking?, who is it ?

(S-ACABQq-0429-19)

(22) *Biri: Nerde defterin? ,Kazık kadar adamsın. Sus terbiyesiz. Kahvede mi oturuyorsun... Gürültü yapma. Spor ayakkabıların nerde? Aman efendim siz turist misiniz? ...*

Someone: Where is your notebook?, You are all grown up now. Shut up 'terbiyesiz'. Are you sitting in the coffee house…. Don't make noise. Where is your sneakers ? Oh 'efendim' are **'siz'** (you- V form) tourist ?

(W-SA14B1A-1586-28)

In a similar way, 'sen' (T form) can be used to humiliate the addressee who is equal or inferior. When 'sen' is used in Turkish, it is generally not certain that the intention of the speaker is showing intimacy or just looking down on the addressee. The following example proves the latter usage of 'sen'. Besides proving it, it also proves that without the explanation of the writer, the intention of the speaker would be ambigious (it is still ambigious for the addressee in the example) which creates tensions in the conversations. A similar ambiguity is also seen in some kinds of usage of 'siz' which can indicate both formality, respect and the desire of holding someone at bay.

(23)   *"Sen mesleğe yeni başladın değil mi?" diye soruyor Kemal, kısılmış gözlerinin arasından, küçümseyen bakışlarını yardımcıma dikerek.*

"'**Sen**' (T form) have started the job recently, haven't you?" asks Kemal by staring at my beyond his slit-eyed humiliating glance.

(W-EA16B4A-0097-698)

Also, it can be said that while some choices regarding second person pronouns are power-driven, some others can be solidarity-driven according to the dynamics of relationship between the addressee and addresser, the context, the pre-set rules of the context, third parties of the conversation etc. In a formal context, even close friends can address each other by employing V form of pronominal address terms while they can address each other in an informal context by the help of T form. To give an example, in the example (24), there is a girl who addresses the addressee who is the only people she loves in the world by using 'siz' (V form). But, according to the pre-set criterias, it is expected that the addressee (who can be coded as Superior AND Solidary) is addressed by using T form. As can be seen the reality doesn't fit with these criterias.

The power factor dominates the solidarity factor which means that the addresser choice is based on a power-driven criteria rather than solidarity-driven one.

(24) *Bir de **siz** böyle konuşunca dayanamıyorum... **Siz... Siz**, benim sevdiğim tek insansınız... Sizi kaybetmeye dayanamam....*

   I can not stand it when **'siz'** (V form) talks like that**... 'Siz'... 'Siz'** are the only person I love .... I can not stand losing you...

<div align="right">(W-DA16B4A-0082-626)</div>

Cook states that there are nominal encoders of T and V forms (2014: 19). T form of second person pronoun can also be indicated by the other categories of address terms. In Turkish, these categories can be listed as endearment terms, kinship terms, familiarizers which also indicate the solidarity between interlocutors and mockeries which can be used to humiliate the addressee. V form also can be associated with honorifics and titles. In Turkish, these nominal encoders prove that T-V distinction is not absolute as described in the literature. In the first example, it is seen that the governor is addressed by employing a honorifics 'sayın valim' which means that the addresse is superior and all these notions are directly related to V form of pronominal address terms. However, the performance is different from the expectations. In line with it, in the second example, the daughter uses V form of pronominal address while she is addressing her father. Although, family members are coded as the ones who can be addressed with T form by the most of the previous studies, there still exist some exceptions in the reality.

(25) "***Sen** beni yanlış anladın, sayın Valim," demişti Hüdai. "Öyle olsun!" diye yanıtlamıştı Vali.*

   'Sen' (T form) got me wrong, 'sayın Valim' said Hüdai. "So be it!" replied Governor.

<div align="right">(W-NA16B4A-0040-135)</div>

(26) "Ya bir şey olsaydı!.. Ya bir şey olsaydı!" "Olmadı ya, babacığım?.. Siz ona bakın," diyerek, Lerzan onu teskin etmeye çalıştı.

   "If anything happened !.. If anything happened!" "Nothing happened, 'babacığım'?.. Lerzan tries to calm him by saying 'Siz' (V-form) think of it.

<div align="right">(W-RA16B3A-0627-943)</div>

If the data is investigated in a more detailed way in a further study aiming pronominal address terms, it is obvious that the number of examples which don't match with previous

studies' rule-based findings can increase. The findings regarding the pronominal address terms in Turkish show that Brown and Gilmans' inspiring suggestions explains the usage of 'sen' and 'siz' in some degrees. However, as can be seen from the examples, V form is not certainly used for expressing formality and social distance and T form is not necessarily used for expressing informality and solidarity in Turkish. Looking from the broader perspective, it can be said that the mismatches can be the results of the changes in social expectations. In today's world, nearly each member of society can assign different meanings for the power and solidarity. It shows that deterministic models to explain usage of address terms neglect these possible meanings. The choice regarding pronominal address term can change even in an intra-speaker utterance, so it is really impossible to explain all the possible usage of such dynamic notions in language by the help of rule-based models.

4.1. 2. Verbal Address Terms

Turkish is an agglutinative language which means that person, time and case suffixes are added to verb to make a sentence. T/V distinction mentioned above is encoded in the verb as a personal pronoun suffix namely second person singular suffixes. -sIn is used for T form of second person pronouns while –sInız is used for V form of second person pronouns. Turkish T/V dichotomy can also be reflected in the imperative forms. Verbal address terms imply that T/V distinction exists in the deep structure of every sentence. The existence of verbal address terms in Turkish is in line of Kerbat-Orecchioni's words : all sentences- even the ones including any address terms- address someone in principle (as cited in Ebongue, 2018: 105) The usages and findings which are mentioned above also work for verbal address terms.

(27)   *Bu çukulatadan ver*   (T form)
    Give me some piece of this chocolate.
                        (S-BEABXO-0056-171)

(28)   *İstediği ne varsa verin…*   (V form)
    Give him/her whatever she/he wants…
                        (W-JI09C4A-1294-1)

(29)   Şimdi dosyayı hemen kabine sekreterine veriniz.   (V form)
    Now, give the file to the Cabinet Secretary without delay
                        (W-HA16B2A-1304-111)

4.1.3. Nominal Address Terms

4.1.3.1. Endearment Terms

Endearment terms can be defined as terms of address which are used to address or describe the hearer whom the speaker feels affection (Grząśko, 2015: 105). Totally 291 endearment terms are detected as a result of the data collection process. Out of 291 endearment terms 172 endearment terms are observed in the corpus data. On the other hand, there are 119 endearment terms which can not be found in the corpus data as an addressing device. The findings regarding which endearment terms are detected and which ones are not detected in the TNC v.3. are given in Appendix 2 . The endearment terms identified in the present study are set out in the Table 4.4. given below:

Even though the usage of endearment terms are limited to certain addressees, certain contexts and certain social norms, there are sheer number of endearment terms in Turkish which signal that Turkish speakers place special emphasis on solidarity and maintaining the social relationships with the others. Endearment terms are generally used in informal settings to address wide range of people such as close friends, family members, partners or all the other individuals to whom the speaker feels close. They are mostly used to indicate affection, love, intimacy, friendship, trust, etc.

(30)   *Ah senin kirlendik mi diye soran dillerini seveyim, **kuzum**…*

Ah I love your tongue which asks whether we got dirty or not, 'kuzum' ….

(WTA16B0A-0093-63)

(31)   *Beni affet! **Hayatım**, sen bir tanesin.Ama yarın buluşamayız..*

Forgive me ! 'Hayatım', you are unique. But, we can not meet tomorrow

(W-SI22C1A-0528-72)

(32)   *Geldiğine çok sevindim **sevgilim**. Seni çok özledim.*

I'm so glad you're here 'sevgilim'. I miss you so much.

(W-OA16B2A-0438-556)

Turning now to address terms which can not be found in the corpus data such as aşkilet, aşkilibilitom, aşko, ciciş, cicişko, etc., it can be said that endearment terms are really creative-based addressing devices. The observation corroborates with the view of Braun (1988: 10) who claims that endearment terms are, to some degree, conventionalized but they are also based on linguistic creativiness and imagination power of the speakers. It might be result of the speakers' desire of addressing the ones who are unique for them by the help of a unique address terms. Addressing their beloved ones by employing a timeworn endearment terms might not be seen as

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the ideal way for the speakers and it probably leads them to create new endearment terms, new trends of addressing. In that way, the speakers feel like they engage in a kind of communication which only pertains to their own relationship. It strengthen the feeling of being special which is the main motivation of close relationships. The desire can also explain the abundance in endearment terms in Turkish.

Table 4.4. Endearment Terms

Endearment Terms
Acar yanım + Afacan ; Afet ; Ağzını /yüzünü yediğim ; Ahu ; Akıl küpü ; Akıllı + Altınım + Aşk böceğim; Aşkıcantom ; Aşkilet ; Aşkilibilitom ; Aşkım ; Aşkımsu ; Aşkısı ; Aşkitella ; Aşkito ; Aşkitoşko ; Aşko; Aşkoş ; Aşkoşum ; Aşkuşum ; Ay ışığım ; Ay parçam; Ay parçası; Azizem; Bal; Bal böceği ; Bal dudaklı(ım) ; Bal gözlüm ; Bal küpüm ; Balım ; Balım kaymağım ; Ballim ; Ballisi; Başımın bahtı ; Başımın tatlı belası ; Bebeğim ; Bebek; Bebekim ; Bebiko ; Bebiş; Bebişim; Bebito; Belalım; Belam; Beybi su ; Beybisi ; Bi tanem ; Bıcırık; Bıdık; Bir tanem; Biriciğim; Biricik; Bitecik; Bızdık ; Böceğim ; Böcüğüm ; Boncuğum ; Boncuk ; Buğday gözlüm ; Bücürük ; Bülbülüm; Can kurban ; Can kuşum ; Can yoldaşım ; Canan ; Cancağızım ; Caniko ; Canikom ; Canım ; Canım benim; Canım ciğerim ; Canımcığım ; Canımın cananı ; Canımın canı ; Canımın içi ; Canımın içinin içi ; Canımın kıvırcığı ; Canıms ; Canına yandığım ; Canını sevdiğim ; Caniş ; Canısı ; Canişko ; Cankuş; Cano ; (mahzun gözlü) ; Canparem ; Cennetim ; Cennet gözlüm ; Ceylanım; Çatalkaram ; Çerâğım; Çiçeğim ; Cicim ; Ciciş; Cicişko ; Ciğerim; Ciğerimin köşesi ; Çikolatam ; Çilek kokulu sevgilim ; Cimcime ; Çirkinim ; Çıtır ; Çitlembik ; Çitlenbik ; Civanım; Civcivim ; Darling ; Derde dermanım Dilber ; Dinim ; Dünya güzeli ; Dünyam ; Ebruli düşlerimin kahramanı ; Elmasım ; En sevdiğim ; En yakınım ; Erkeğim ; Esmer Bomba ; Esmer güzeli ; Esmerim ; Evimin direği ; Evimizin direği ; Fındığım ; Fındık ; Fındık farem ; Fındık kurdu ; Fıstığım ; Fıstık ; Gadam ; Gadasını aldığım ; Gamzelim ; Ganim ; Gecemin ışığı ; Geleceğim; Göğsümün sol yarısı ; Goncam ; Gönlümün ışığı ; Gönlümün sahibi ; Gönlümün sultanı ; Gönlümün tahtı ; Gönüldeş ; Gönüldeşim ; Göz bebeği ; Göz bebeğim ; Gözleri bal ; Gözüm ; Gözümün bebeği; Gözümün çırası ; Gözümün nuru ; Gözünün yağını yediğim ; Gül pembe ; Gül yüzlüm/yanaklım Gülo ; Gülüm ; Günahsızım ; Gündüzüm ; Güneşim ; Güzelim ; Güzeller güzeli; Güzellik ; Hasretim; Hayalim ; Hayat arkadaşım ; Hayatım ; Hayatımın anlamı ; Hayatımın neşesi ; Helalim ; Her şeyim; Hicranım ; Hilal kaşlım ; Hülyalım ; İki gözceğizim; İki gözüm ; İki gözümün çiçeği ; İlk aşkım ; İlk göz ağrım ; İnci ; İnci tanem ; İpekböceği/denizkızı saçlım ; Işığım ; İyilik meleğim ; Kadınım ; Kadersizim ; Kahrım ; Kalbim ; Kalbimin sahibi ; Kalbimin sultanı ; Kar tanem ; Kara gözlüm ; Kara kaşlım ; Karabiberim ; Karam; Kaşı kemanım ; Kavuklum ; Kaymağım; Kelebeğim ; Kıblegâhım ; Kıymetlim; Kolum kanadım ; Kömür gözlüm; Kumralım ; Kurban olduğum; Kuşum; Kuzu ; Kuzucuğum ; Kuzum ; Kuzuşko ; Küçüğüm ; Küçük adamım ; Lokum ; Lokumum; Manita; Maralım ; Meleğim ; Melek ; Melek yüzlüm ; Miniğim ; Minik farem ; Miniş ; Minnoş Minnoşum ; Muradım ; Mutluluğum ; Namusum; Nar tanem ; Nefesim ; Neşem ; Neşe kaynağım ; Nişanlım ; Nur tanem; Nur-ı aynım ; Nurum ; Ömrüm ; Ördeğim ; Parçam ; Perim ; Peri ruhsarım , Sabahlarım; Şekerim; Şekerpare ; Selvi boylum ; Serserim ; Sevdiceğim ; Sevdicek ; Sevdiğim ; Sevgili ; Sevgilim ; Sevimli ; Sigaramın ilk nefesi; Şirin sözlüm ; Şirinlik muskam/şirinlik muskası ; Sol yanım ; Sözlüm ; Sultanım ; Sunam ; Tacım ; Tahtım ; Taklım; Talihsizim ; Tatlı dillim ; Tatlım ; Tatlış ; Tatlışım ; Taze fidanım ; Telli turnam ; Tipini sevdiğim; Tomurcuk ; Tontiş ; Tontişim ; Tontonikom ; Uğur böceğim ; Umut gözlüm ; Üzüm tanem ; Ümit çiçeğim ; Vazgeçilmezim ; Yakut/ Yakutum ; Yar; Yaralı ceylan ; Yaralım ; Yarim; Yaşama sevincim ; Yavru ; Yavuklu ; Yediverenim; Yıldızım ; Yoluna öldüğüm ; Yüreğimin huzuru ; Zümrütüm

The afromentioned desire of speakers brings another finding regarding endearment terms forward. Language is the most powerful way to convey all of the emotions but when it comes to affection, there is often a lot people want to express. The speakers tend to use more than one endearment terms sequentially which creates addressing phrases in which combined several words turn into one longer phrase. These extra long endearment terms are used to express the strong feelings of the speaker. Bearing in mind that imaginative prose includes more hyperbolic expressions when compared to naturally occurring data, the following example summarizes the discussion:

(33)   ***Bitmeyecek rüya Sen, ebruli düşlerimin kahramanı. Tüm renklerin kaynağı, gecemin ışığı. Hayat ağacım, can yoldaşım, canım, çiçek kokulu sevgilim sen****… Yüreğimi koydum yüreğinin üzerine.*

'Bitmeyecek rüya Sen, ebruli düşlerimin kahramanı. Tüm renklerin kaynağı, gecemin ışığı. Hayat ağacım, can yoldaşım, canım, çiçek kokulu sevgilim sen...' I put my heart on yours.

(W-QI22C1A-0532-12)

Another possible explanations for these long addressing phrases in Turkish is that most of them are created to address only a certain addressee. In this line, such phrases describe some special features of the addressee which keeps Turkish speaker from storing such expressions as an available address terms in their own address systems. These usages of them are mostly spontaneous outputs of the speakers' emotional outburst.

Although endearment terms can be seen as an important part of private language. Addressing a pure stranger by the help of an endearment term is something common in Turkish culture. It is possible to encounter someone addressing the others by using endearment terms in service encounters, in the queue, in the first contact with a stranger. Cleyne et al. also state that such address terms are used even in the contexts where there is actually no need to employ an address term and decrease the social distance (2009: 157). Such usages of endearment terms can be shown as one the reasons of abundance in endearment terms. As can be seen that there are a lot of endearment in Turkish that is why Turkish people want to have intimate relations with their interlocutors even when they are purely foreigner. In the following example, the doctor addresses the patient with whom the doctor has contacted for the first time by using an endearment term :

(34)   *..... avucunu sık," sıkıyorum, Ne ince damarların varmış senin **tatlım.***

.....clench your fist, I am clenching it, How thin your veins are 'tatlım'

(W-GA16B1A-0643-38)

Hower, it should be pointed here that there are some endearment terms which are reserved for certain people in Turkish and using these kinds of endearment terms in an inappropriate way can create problems. The indicated intimacy degree of each endearment terms is totally different from each others. To set an example, 'güzelim' in Turkish is reserved for women, 'cimcime' for little girls, 'aşkım' for partners, etc. In a similar way, there are some other problems caused by using endearment terms in an inappropriate way. When the endearment terms are used to address a perfect stranger or when they are used in formal settings, the intented meaning can be different which causes problems. It can be said that when these addressing devices used by stranger, the intented meaning can be different as in the example below. In (35), a man addresses a woman by using an endearment terms which is actually reserved to be used by someone who is really close to the addressee:

(35)   *Kadın : Bak hayvan herif, hemen peşimi bırakmazsan polis çağıracağım!*
       Sapık : Çağıralım tabii! Hatta istersen eş, dost, yakın akraba, alayını çağıralım... 'Yavrum!'
       Woman: Look, 'hayvan herif', if you stop following me now, I will call the police.
       Pervert: Sure, let's call ! Moreover, if you want, let's call kith and kin, close relatives, all
        of them …. 'Yavrum!'

(W-GA14B1A-1618-152)

As it is proved that endearment terms are not necessarily always associated with the satisfying addressees' positive face wants. Sometimes, the addressers place themselves in a superior position by employing endearment terms. In the following example (example 36), the addresser sounds like she is patronizing by employing an endearment term to address one of her friend:

(36)   *S :Davultepe ordan önce mi sonra mı?*
         S :Ben Susanoğlu'ndan gelirken...
         S :Hıı.
         *S : **Canım** Mezitli'nin sonu işte ya.*
         S :He anladım tamam.

         S:Is Davultepe is ahead or behind of that place?
         S:When I was coming back from Susanoğlu…..
         S:Hıı.
         S: 'Canım' it is at the end of Mezitli.
         S: Ok I understood.

(S-BEABXO-0358-82)

Endearment terms are generally used with possessive (1st person possessive suffix -(I)m) and diminutive suffixes (-CIk; -CAk ; -CAğIz) in Turkish. The inflected versions of enaderment terms are used when the addreser wants to point out the close relationship between addresee. As can be understood, endearment terms are modified to convey more affection.

(37) *"Ama yanıtım senin söylediklerinin bir derlemesiydi," dedim. "Ama derlemen yanlış oldu, cancağızım." "Nesi yanlıştı?"*

I said that "but, my answer way composition of what you had said". But, your composition was wrong, 'cancağızım'. "What was wrong with it ?"

(W-JA16B2A-0859-5)

Also, it can be concluded that physical beauty (yakışıklım, güzelim, esmerim), wanted physical properties (gür saçlım, kara kaşlım, bal gözlüm), positive characteristic properties (iyilik meleğim), worth (yakutum, zümrütüm), uniqueness (ay parçam, yıldızım), role in the relationships (sözlüm, nişanlım, aşkım), closenees (gözüm, canım, canımın içi), sweetness (kaymağım, balım, şekerim, tatlım), hopeless love (acar yanım, hasretim, talihsizliğim), mischievousness (afacan, cimcime), smallness and delicacy (miniğim, küçüğüm, minik farem, kelebeğim), edibility (çikolatam, fındığım, fıstığım) are mostly valued qualities by Turkish endearment terms.

4.1.3.2. Honorifics

Pizziconi classifies Turkish as an 'honorific-rich' language (2011). In line with her finding, 67 different honorifics are found. Among these 68 honorifics which are used to signify the respect of speaker to interlocutor only 50 of them are found in TNC v.3.0 and 16 honorifics can not be found in the collected data. It shows that some of the honorifics which are given above is not currently used in Turkish such as zat-ı ali, çaker-perver. The outdated address terms are mostly collected from the dictionaries which show the inadequancy of them to represent the current Turkish address system in terms of honorifics.

(38) *"Sayın bakan, özür dilerim ama benim bilmediğim bir sorun mu var?" dedi Bahar, öfkeli bir sesle.*

"'Sayın bakan', I am sorry but is there any problem which I don't know? "said Bahar annoyedly.

(W-RA16B3A-0649-700)

(39)   *....FM : Teşekkür ederim. **Sayın Başkanım, değerli milletvekilleri**; öncelikle, söz hakkını bana devrettiği için, bu duyarlılığı gösterdiği için, Iğdır Milletvekilimiz Sayın Dursun Akdemir'e teşekkür ediyorum. ....*

....FM : Thank you. " 'Sayın Başkanım, değerli milletvekilleri' "; firstly I am thankful to our delegy of Iğdır dear Dursun Akdemir' who has yielded his right to speak to me for showing awareness regarding this issues"....

(S-ACABQq-0423-637)

*(40)   Ey **Haşmetli Kralımız**.. Yıldızlardan aldığımız mesajlara göre, bu sene ülkende, halkının dinini değiştirecek bir erkek çocuğu dünyaya gelecek....*

'Haşmetli Kralımız!' According to messages which we received from stars, in your country, a boy who will change your people's religion will be born this year. ....

(W-LA16B2A-0009-1)

Honorifics detected in the present study are listed in Table 4.5 which is given below:

Table 4.5. Honorifics

Honorifics
Asâlet-meab ; Bay ; Bayan ; Bayanlar ; Bayanlar baylar ; Bayım ; Bey ; Beyim ; Beyler ; Beyzade ; Beyzadem ; Bilge ; Büyüğüm ; Büyüğümüz ; Büyük ; Büyük hanım ; Çâker-nevaz ; Çaker-perver; Değerli ; Devletli ; Devletlü ; Efendi ; Efendim ; Efendizadem ; Ekselans ; Faziletli ; Han ; Hanım; Hanımefendi ; Hanımefendiciğim ; Hanımım ; Haşmetli ; Haşmetlüm; Hazret ; Hazretleri ; Hörmetli; Hürmetli; Hörmetlimiz ; Kıymetli ; Kudretli ; Kutlu ; Küçük bey ; Küçük efendi ; Küçük hanım; Lord; Lordum; Madam ; Majeste ; Majesteleri ; Matmazel ; Medarı İftiharımız ; Mösyö ; Muhterem; Mukaddes ; Mübarek ; Necip ; Saadetli ; Saygıdeğer ; Sayın ; Şevketlim ; Soylu ; Üstad; Velinimetim; Yüce ; Zat-ı ali ; Zat-ı şahane ; Zat-ı Şahaneleri ; Zatualiniz

As can be seen in the examples given above, honorifics are linguistic encoders of deference, respect, social distance, formality in Turkish. In this aspects, it can be said that they are related to negative face wants of the speakers. Among the address terms categories, honorifics can be coded as the most rule-bound ones. When these two striking features of honorifics come together, it can be said that some deviations from their rule-based usage can be really face-threatening. When compared with the other categories, it is sure that deviations regarding honorifics will be immedially detected by the all parties of communication because of the pre-set norms dictating how, when and to whom the speakers should employ honorifics.

It is an undeniable fact that Turkish is rich in honorifics when it is compared with the other languages. However, it worths stating that as an address category honorifics include limited

numbers of samples when it is compared with the other categories of Turkish address terms. As is well known, they are rule-governed which can be marked as the reason of this issue. Thanks to their rule-governed nature, honorifics aren't easily affected by time, speakers' linguistic creativity, addressing trends and idiosyncratic preferences of the speakers. Leech's view on honorifics can also explain this invariance in Turkish honorifics. Leech (1999:111) mentions that addressing someone by the help of honorifics doesn't necessarily mean that the speaker aware the cognizance of the addressee as an individual which can be interpreted like that speakers don't need to create any kinds of honorifics to address someone but they just need to match the pre-determined honorifics with the qualities of addressee. In a sense, addressing some with honorifics can be coded as achieving a linguistic ritual.

Honorifics are generally coded as context-specific address terms in the literature. But, it should be noted that they are mostly but not exclusively used in formal settings. Honorifics can be the best example proving that address terms are context-depended. Despite of their strict regularity, even honorifics can be used in different contexts with different implications:

(41) *"Kızlar neden sıradan bir elektrik kesintisini bile fantastik bir kılıfa sokarlar?" "Çünkü sınırsız bir düş gücümüz var... Çünkü yaşam böyle daha renkli, **Bay Çokbilmiş**."*
Why do girls encode even a typical blackout as a something fantastic? Because we have limitless imagication .... Because life is more colorful in this way, 'Bay Çokbilmiş'

(W-SA16B2A-1196-5)

Although it is generally considered that the inferior one addresses the superior one by the help of honorifics, it is observed that such a limitations is not must for honorifics when they are used in daily language. Leech also mentions that honorifics can be used indepently of power status of interlocutors (1999:112). In the example (42), the intention of Fatma Hanım is not showing respect to Mobilyacı Atıf, but she tries to show her own superiority and preserve the social distance:

(42) *Alo, dedi. Ben Mobilyacı Atıf... Nermin sen misin? Ben de Fatma Hanım, bir şey mi dediniz **beyefendi**?..*
Hello, he said. I am Mobilyacı Atıf.... Nermin is that you ? I am Fatma Hanım, have you said something 'beyefendi' ?

(W-EA16B2A-0987-632)

While some of the honorifics can be used alone such as hanımefendi, beyefendi, beyler bayanlar, most them are used with the other address terms and they can not be used alone such

as saygıdeğer, kıymetli, muhterem, etc. So, it can be concluded that honorifics co-occurs with the other kinds of address terms which are given in the following table. In the literature, the following usages of honorifics are pointed many times (FN+Honorifics ; Honorifics+LN; Honorifics+ FLN; Honorifics+T), Besides these well known honorific compounds, corpus data shed additional lights on the compounds including honorifics by showing that honorifics can be used with even mockeries, kinship terms, familiarizers. The compounds in which honorifics are used is given in the table below (Table 4. 6.):

Table 4.6. Honorific Compounds

First Name + Honorific	Ahmet Efendi ; Fazilet Hanım ; Emin Ağa
Honorific + Last Name	Sayın Yılmaz ; Değerli Kaya
Honorific +Full Name	Sayın Zeynep Demir , Emin Kaya Beyefendi
Honorific +Title	Sayın Vali ; Kıymetli Doktor Bey ; Öğretmen Hanım
Honorific+Title+Kinship term	Sayın polis teyzeciğim
Honorific+ Familiarizer	Muhterem arkadaşlar ; Aziz dostlar **;** Kıymetli misafirler
Honorific +Kinship term	Sayın abim; Kıymetli ablam ; Değerli kardeşlerim
Honorific +Title + Full Name	Sayın Şair Ahmet Sırfyelenek
Honorific+ Mockeries	Lan Sayın Veli ; Lan Sayın Amerikalılar

Greatness (büyük, haşmetli), power (kudretli, haşmetli), nobleness (soylu, asâlet-meab, beyzade), dignity (devletlü, lord), worth (kıymetli, velinimetim), master (efendim, üstad) are mostly valued qualities by Turkish honorifics.

4.1.3.3. Titles

Totally 200 titles are collected as a result of data collection process. Out of 200 titles, 101 of them are detected in the TNC v.3. (check Appendix 2). On the other hand, only 19 titles from the pre-determined list can not be seen in the corpus data which proves that most of the titles in Turkish can be used in service of addressing someone. Titles are the address terms which reflect the social status, rank, position in an institutions. Unlike other address term categories, the addressers don't assign new roles to the addresees which means that addressees have deserved to be addressed by the titles on their own, and then the addressers prefer addressing him/her by the help of these deserved epithets or not**.**

The address terms which are categorized as 'titles' are given in the Table (4.7.)

Table 4.7 Titles

Titles
Ahi ; Albay ; Albayım ; Amir ; Amirim ; Arabacı ; Asker ; Astsubay ; Avukat ; Ayan ; Bakan ; Bakanım; Bakkal ; Barmen ; Başbakan ; Başçavuş ; Başhekim ; Başkan ; Casus ; Cumhurbaşkanı; Cumhurbaşkanım ; Çavuş ; Çerçi ; Çırak ; Dadı ; Dekan ; Dekanım ; Derviş ; Doktor ; Elçi ; Emektar ; Er ; Eren ; Erenler ; Eskici ; Garson ; Gazeteci ; Genel başkan ; Genelkurmay başkanı ; General ; Hafız ; Hakim ; Han ; Hancı ; Hekim ; Hemşire ; Hemşirem ; Hoca ; Hocam ; İmam ; İmamzade Kahveci ; Kalfa ; Kaptan ; Katip ; Kaymakam ; Komiser ; Komiserim ; Komser ; Komutan; Komutanım ; Kral ; Kralım ; Kraliçe ; Kraliçem ; Lala ; Lider ; Liderim ; Makamlı ; Memur ; Memure; Miço ; Milletvekili ; Molla ; Muhtar ; Müdire ; Müdür ; Müdürüm ; Müezzin ; Mühendis ; Öğretmen; Öğretmenim ; Padişah ; Padişahım ; Paşa ; Paşam ; Paşazade ; Patron ; Pazarcı ; Pehlivan ; Pir ; Pirim ; Prens ; Prenses ; Prensesim ; Prensim ; Profesör ; Reis ; Rektör; Rektör Yardımcım ; Rektör Vekilim ; Rektörüm ; Savcı ; Sebzeci ; Sekreter ; Seyyid ; Sütçü ; Şef; Şefim ; Şeyhüda ; Taksici ; Teğmen ; Usta ; Uşak ; Üsteğmen ; Vali ; Vali paşa ; Vekilim ; Yargıç ; Yüksekokul Müdürüm

(43)   ***Muhtar, muhtar***, haydi senin de numaran verildi.

     'Muhtar, muhar', Come on, your number is given, too.

<div align="center">(W-HA16B2A-1440-973)</div>

(44)   *Ö :Şimdi bir saniye, <B> kes kesmeyi bilir misin, becerebilir misin? <B> Konuşmayın demiyorum teker teker. Ş :**Öğretmenim** biz sizi sigara içerken gördük.*

    Ö: Now, just a second, <B> cut do you know how to cut, can you do it ? <B> i'm not

    saying don't talk to you but talk one by one. Ş: 'Öğretmenim' we saw you smoking.

<div align="center">(S-ADABDp-0187-2)</div>

(45)   ***Kaptan** neler oluyor? diye sordu, serdümen. "Bilmiyorum. Çok aptalca ama sanırım birilerinin saldrısına uğradık..."*

    'Kaptan' what is happening ? asked helmsman. " I don't know. It is ridiculous but I think we

    have been attacked…"

<div align="center">(W-RA16B3A-0649-457)</div>

Although they are coded as neutral address terms, which are used in formal settings, Lubecka states that when titles are used in informal settings, they can show affection, sarcasm and irony (1993:63).

(46)   *Büfeci, yüzüme baktı: "Başka emriniz, **paşam**?" Bardağımda bira bitmişti. İkinciyi istemekte ikircikliydim.*

Grocer looked at my face: '" Do you have another order, 'paşam'?" The water in my glass has finished. I was hesitant to want another.

(W-CA16B2A-1308-753)

Goldsteing and Tamura list some occupational titles in English which can be used as a direct address terms (without any suffixation or combination like FN+ Title) without any face-threatening risk (1975:65). They list as following: titles used for politicians, soldiers, health care professionals, clergies, instructors. For the titles denoting other profession such as bellboy, driver, salesperson, they state that they can not be used as direct address terms if the addresser doesn't have any occupation related connection with the addressee. By borrowing their views, it can be concluded that addressing someone with a direct title can be really face-threatining for the members of all occupations in Turkish. Addressing ones who have "relatively" lower positions with a direct title such as garson, bakkal can be more face-threatening when it is compared with the other ones who have "relatively" higher positions such as doktor, başkan, etc. That is why, the titles used for the ones in higher positions function like honorifics. The difference can be seen in the following example:

(47)   *"Garson!.. Bir tane daha getir bana," diye bağırdı amerikan bara doğru.*
         'Garson!..' Bring me one more, shouted to lunch counter.
                            (W-RA16B3A-0627-56)

(48)   *Yakalayamayız başkan. BEL. İŞÇİLERİ: (Hepsi üzerlerindeki tulumları çıkarıp başkanın karşısına dikilirler) Temizlemiyoruz.*
         Constables: We can not catch 'başkan'. Municipal Workers: (All of them take off their coveralls and stand against mayor) We don't clean it.
                            (W-EA14B1A-1616-275)

The findings are also supported by the Hook's classification that classifies title alone address terms as the ones which indicate least solidarity (1984). In parallel with these findings, it can be stated that Turkish speakers mostly use titles as part of addressing phrases (see Table 9) or they use it with possessive suffix (1st person possessive suffix -(I)m) to avoid the risk of threatening the face of the addressee. It should be noted that the possessive suffix –(I)m doesn't indicate solidarity as in endearment terms, but it strengthens the politeness level of titles by showing the addressee that I am accepting your power. In the following example, the addresser employs "müdürüm" to address his manager. In this example, 'müdürüm' is used as a politiness

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device by the speaker. In the adapted version of first example, how a direct title sounds and changes the tone of the conversation can be seen easily:

(49)   *MÜDÜR: Deli misin sen? Ne rüşveti? Ne cebime atması? MÜLAYİM: **Müdürüm**, sen didin ya! MÜDÜR: Aptal herif!*

MANAGER: Are you crazy? What are you talking about ? There is no such a thing as accepting a bribe? MÜLAYİM: 'Müdürüm', you have said it! MANAGER: 'Aptal herif!'

(W-IA14B1A-1620-6)

(49')   *MÜDÜR: Deli misin sen? Ne rüşveti? Ne cebime atması? MÜLAYİM: **Müdür**, sen didin ya! MÜDÜR: Aptal herif!*

MANAGER: Are you crazy? What are you talking about ? There is no such a thing as accepting a bribe? MÜLAYİM: 'Müdür', you have said it! MANAGER: 'Aptal herif!'

In the literature, it is reported that titles are used in the following combinations (FN+Title, LN+Title, FLN+ Title, Honorifics+Title). Thanks to the fruitfulness of corpus data, some other combinations are detected in the present study. Titles in Turkish can be used in many different combinations which are listed below:

Table 4.8 Title Compounds

First Name + Title	Mustafa Öğretmen ; Doktor Ayşe ; Ahmet Kaptan
Title + Last Name	Prof. Saygın ; Cumhurbaşkanı Peker
Title +Full Name	Avukat Erdem Sezgin ; Doktor Jale Bayın
Honorific +Title	Kıymetli Hocam ; Değerli Hakim ; İmam Efendi
Title+ Honorific+Kinship Term	Polis Bey Kardeşim ; Öğretmen Hanım Kızım
Honorofic+Title+ Full Name	Değerli Öğretmenim Yıldız Aksak
Title+First Name+ Kinship Term	Boyacı Mehmet Abi
Mockeries + Title	Lan Arabacı

Field-specific occupational titles (Doktor, Hemşire – Öğretmen, Profesör), Religious-Spiritual titles (Molla, Şeyda), Rank-based titles (Teğmen, Çavuş, Çırak), Diplomatic titles (Elçi, Vekil, Milletvekili), Courtly titles (Kral, Prenses), Institutional titles (Memur, Amir, Sekreter), Commercial titles (Sebzeci, Arabacı, Bakkal) Provincial titles (Kaymakam, Muhtar) are mostly used in the Turkish address systems.

4.1.3.4.Addressing of Mockeries

There is a wider repertoire of mockeries in Turkish address system. Totally 282 mockeries are found in the present study. Out of these 282 address terms, 172 of them are found in the corpus data and only 110 mockeries can not be found in TNC v.3.0 (see Appendix 2). Although comparing address term categories with each other isn't statistically correct, it is an undeniable fact that mockeries are one of the biggest categories found in the present study. These types of address terms are mainly used to humiliate, insult or just mock the hearer in Turkish.

Table 4.9. Addressing of Mockeries

Mockeries
(Aç) kurt; (Kart)Horoz ; Adi; Ağır vasıta; Akılsız; Aksak; Akşamcı; Alçak; Alemci; Allahın belası; Allahın cezası; Allahlık; Allahsız; Allahsız kitapsız; Allahsız tosbağa; Amele; Ampul; Apaçi; Aptal; Aptal aşık; Armut; Artist; Artist bozuntusu; Aşağılık; Aşifte; At ağızlı; Avanak; Ayı; Ayı boğan; Aymaz; Ayyaş; Azgın; Azman; B.k; B.k böceği; B.k çuvalı ; B.kum ; Bacaksız ; Badem ; Barzo; Baş belası ; Başımın belası ; Bebe ; Bela ; Besleme ; Beyinsiz ; Bitli ; Borazan ; Boyu devrilesice; Böcek ; Budala ; Bunak ; Bücür ; Büzük ; Cadaloz ; Cadı ; Camız ; Canavar ; Canımın dışı ; Canına yandığımın .. ; Cani ; Civelek ; Cüce ; Çapsız ; Çirkin; Çolak ; Çomar ; Çöm ; Çömez; Çulsuz ; Dalavereci ; Dallama ; Dana ; Davar ; Değişik; Deli ; Dengesiz ; Denyo ; Deyyus ; Dingil; Dinsiz ; Dinsiz imansız; Dinsiz oğlu dinsiz ; Dişlek ; Dobik ; Dobiş ; Dobişko ; Dombalak ; Dombili ; Domuşuk ; Domuz; Dört göz ; Duba ; Düdük; Dümbük ; Dünkü b.k ; Dürzü ; Düzenbaz ; Eksik etek; Embesil ; Ergen; Eşek ; Eşek kafalı ; Eşek oğlu eşek ; Eşek sıpası ; Eşkıya ; Eşşoğlusu; Et kafalı ; Fahişe ; Faşist ; Faşo; Faydasız ; Fırfır ; Fırıldak ; Fırlama ; G.t ; G.t lalesi ; G.tlek; G.toş; G.tü b.klu ; Gavur ; Gazman; Geberesice ; Gerzek (kafalı) ; Gevşek ; Gevşek ağızlı; Gıcık ; Göbelek Görgüsüz ; Hain ; Hapishane kaçkını ; Haspam ; Haşerat ; Haşere ; Haydut ; Hayırsız ; Haylaz ; Haysiyetsiz ; Hayta ; Hayvan; Hayvan eti yemiş ; Hayvan oğlu hayvan/hayvanat ; Hergele ; Hınzır; Hırbo ; Hırt ; Hıyar ; Hıyar ağası ; Hıyarto ; Hint fukarası ; Hödük ; Irzı kırık; İbne ; İbnetor; İki yüzlü ; İpne ; İşe yaramaz ; İt; İtoğluit / it oğlu it ; Kabak ; Kabak kafa /kafalı ; Kaçık; Kafir ; Kalas ; Kancık ; Kapçık ağızlı ; Kaşar; Kaşık düşmanı ; Katır ; Kaz kafalı ; Kazma ; Kazma sapı ; Keçi ; Keçi b.ku ; Keko ; Kel; Keltoş ; Kenar dilberi ; Kenar gülü ; Kepçe kulak ; Keranacı ; Keriz ; Kerkenez ; Keş; Kevaşe ; Kıl kuyruk ; Kılıksız; Kırık ; Kızıl kurt ; Koca bebek ; Koca kafa; Kokmuş ; Kolpa ; Korkak ; Köpeoğlu ; Kuduruk ; Kunduz; Lağım suratlı ; Lanet olası ; Lavuk ; Mal; Mal değneği ; Man kafa ; Manda ; Manyak ; Marsık ; Maskara ; Mayasız ; Maymun ; Mendebur ; Meymenetsiz ; Mikrop ; Mirasyedi ; Moruk (ihtiyar); Moskof ; Muşmula suratlı ; Namussuz ; Or.spu ; Orman kaçkını ; Osuruklu ; Otlakçı; Öküz ; Ömür törpüsü ; Pasaklı ; Patates çuvalı ; Pavyoncu ; Pezevenk ; Piç ; Pigme ; Pislik ; Pok ; Salak ; Sansar; Sapık ; Sığır ; Sırtlan ; Sıska ; Soyka ; Soykasından kalasıca ; Soysuz ; Soytarı ; Susak; Sümsük ; Sümüklü ; Süt kuzusu ; Şebelek ; Şişko ; Şom ağızlı ; Tavernacı ; Terbiyesiz ; Tıfıl ; Tırrek; Tırsak; Tipsiz ; Tombalak ; Top ; Topal ; Utanmaz arlanmaz ; Uyuşuk ; Uyuz ; Üçkağıtçı ; Vefasız ; Yalancı; Yamuk (kafalı); Yamyam ; Yaramaz ; Yarım akıllı ; Yavur dölü ; Yer elması ; Yobaz ; Yosma; Yumoş; Yumuşak ; Yüz karası ; Zalim ; Zavallı ; Zındık ; Zibidi ; Zilli ; Zirzop ; Zurna ; Zübük

Despite of their abundance in Turkish address system, mockeries has not been granted much attention in Turkish literature. Most of the studies don't mention these types of address terms because the data collected via questionnaires or interviews. During a questionnaire or

interview participant behave in a socially desired way and they can not give the answers which are socially undesirable. That is why there has been little interest in this wide-ranging group of the address terms. Thus, the finding verifies the chosen method. Thanks to corpus data which reflect the real language, it reveals that there great number of mockeries in Turkish address system.

(50) "*Kadınlar bir sınıf değildir **avanak**!" diye onun sözünü kesti bahar döneminin sonuna yaklaşılmasına rağmen hâlâ atkısını çıkarmayan Yaşar.*

Yaşar who doesn't take off his scarf even though the spring terms is about to finish interrupt his words by saying "Women are not a class 'avanak' "

<div align="right">(W-MA16B4A-1316-5)</div>

(51) *Senin yaşındakiler ev geçindiriyor. Aklın bir karış havada **beyinsiz… Beyinsiz**!" diye bağırıp, ayılan Salih'i sözleriyle tekrar bayılttı*

He made Salih who have recently came to himself fainted again by saying: "Your peers earn a living for their families. You have your heads in thhe clouds 'beyinsiz'… 'Beyinsiz!' "

<div align="right">(W-CA16B2A-0159-19)</div>

(52) *ÇETİN: Kapa çeneni **yobaz**. (Alanda gerginlik iyice artmıştır. Gençler ellerinde pankartlar birbirlerine düşmanca bakmaktadırlar.)..*

Shut up 'yobaz' (The tension in the area is increased. The youth with banners in their hands are looking at each others in a hostile way)

<div align="right">(W-EA14B1A-1616-3)</div>

The ignored categories of address terms are used in service of many different purposes such as showing anger, dislike superiority, and even affection. Dunkling states that mockeries can be used as playful names to show endearment and affection (1990:3). In the corpus data, there are many examples in which they are employed to indicate intimacy between hearer and speaker. As Dadmehr and Moghaddam states the address terms such as mockeries in our classification which can be called as taboos generally used in colloquial or informal contexes show solidarity between interlocutors (2014:18). It is really surprising that expletives are employed to address the hearer and the transferred message doesn't include any insulting element. Dunkling explains it by stating that even though they have still insulting nature in these address terms, all the participants of the conversation know that they are spoken to show solidarity (Dunkling, 1990).

(53) *B :Çık!*

D :Niye?

B :Sen girme. Sen ne anlarsın bilgisayardan. <gülme>

<div align="right">94</div>

*D : Seni döverim haa bak **Gıcık şey.***

B :Sensin o.

D :Şu kuponlara da bakıp durma. Sinirlerim bozuluyo.

B :Sanane.

B: No!

D: Why?

B:Don't enter. You can not understand anything regarding computer. <laughing >

D:I should warn you that I will take a punch at you. 'Gıcık şey'

B: You are 'gıcık şey'

D: Stop looking at these coupon. I am losing my nerve.

B: It is none of your business.

(S-BEABXO-0084-4)

(54)   *...farzedelim ki bir sapık var... Sen bu adamı niye seviyorsun **zilli**? Hak edeni sev...*
Assuming that there is a pervert... Why do you love that man 'zilli'? Love the one who deserves it..

(W-KA16B2A-0308-39),

   Some similarities between endearment terms and mockeries are detected. Similar to endearment terms, mockeries are also repeated againg and again in the same utterance as a result of addressers' uncontrolable burst of emotion. The repetition can be formed as a repetition of the same mockery or as the successive repetition of different mockeries. Some examples regarding this phenomenon which are seen in the corpus are given below:

(55)   *"Ulan **deyyus**, ulan **Allahsız kitapsız pezevenk**, çok yakında benim ne olduğumu sen de anlayacaksın. Hele verdiğin sözü tutma*
   " 'Ulan deyyus, ulan Allahsız kitapsız pezevenk, you will soon understand who I am. Don't you dare forget your promise.

(W-SA16B3A-1144-9)

(56)   *Çıt'ın üstüne yürüyor. "**B*k herif, b*k**, senin yüzünden hepsi, senin yüzünden!"*
    She walks up to Çıt. " 'B*k herif, b*k,' this is all your fault, your fault.!"

(W-JA16B4A-1747-418)

The other issue that emerges from the analysis of mockeries is extra long addressing phrases which is described in a detailed way under the title of endearment terms. Due to the same reason explained there, mockeries are used in a long addressing phrases. Also, it proves a distinctive feature of mockeries which is that mockeries are mostly context-depended linguistic units. The choices regarding of mockeries are purely based on what makes the speaker irritated. For the sake of an example, it can be said that when the speaker is angry with someone who tells lie, she/he can not address him or her as ' görgüsüz, faydasız, vefasız' or something else but 'yalancı'. The following example shows mockeries used in extra long addressing phrases.

(57) ***Hain, satılmış, Bolşevik ajanı, demokrasi düşmanı, Moskova ağzıyla konuşan kızıl, bozguncu, devlet düşmanı, anarşist, komünist****! Bu türlü bir savaşımın zevkli olmadığı ortada.*

'Hain, satılmış, Bolşevik ajanı, demokrasi düşmanı, Moskova ağzıyla konuşan kızıl, bozguncu, devlet düşmanı, anarşist, komünist' It is clear that such a battle is not enjoyable.

(W-PA14B4A-1627-625)

Another observation regarding mockeries reveals that they are mostly used among male speakers to create convivial atmosphre. Mockeries seem like parts of their bro talk. It can be assumed as a result of their avoidance of addressing another male by the help of endearment terms. In this aspect, they most probably suppose that while they are indicating solidarity to addressee, they also prove their "manhood" by addressing someone with mockeries.

(58)   *D : Do si re mo do si.*
C :Dışarı!
*D : Oo takip etmiyor musun **adamım**?*
*C : Kes lan traşı **dürzü**. Hobba offsayt a**ına koyim. Lanet olsun sana.*
M :Lanet olsun aşkımıza.
D : Offsaytten attı 3 tane bide bana artistlik yapıyor.   Artist misin sen?
C : O maç ben sana çaktım 3 tane. Diyar unut o maçı.

D : Do si re mo do si.
C :Out!
D : Oo don't you follow 'adamım'?
C : Don't take the piss 'dürzü'. Oh no! Offside f*ck it. Damn you!
M :Damn our love.
D : He has scored 3 goals but they have been offside and now he is showing off. Are you swagger?
C : I have kicked 3 goals in that match. Diyar forget that match.

(S-BEABXO-0440-1)

Ugliness (çirkin, şişko, dobişko, cüce), unwanted physical properties (koca kafalı, kabak kafalı, at ağızlı), negative characteristic properties (yalancı, vefasız, haysiyetsiz), profaneness (dinsiz, dinsiz imansız, Allahsız), weakness (tırsak, korkak, zavallı), cruelty (eşkıya, zalim, cani), scatological referent (b*k, g*tüm, osuruklu), flirtatiousness (yosma, zilli, civelek), stupidity (beyinsiz, akılsız, aptal), homosexuality (kırık, ibne, ırzı kırık), unlovableness (meymenetsiz, muşmula suratlı), dirtiness (kokmuş, domuz, pasaklı) are some of the qualities marked by mockeries in Turkish.

4.1.3.5. Kinship Terms

Kinship terms are generally coded as the address terms directed to the relatives. Total number of kinship terms found in the present study is 257. Of the 257 kinship terms, 127 can not be found in the "Turkish National Corpus" which means that there are 130 kinship terms found in the corpus data. Kinship terms are sensitive to regional and dialectical differences that can be shown as the reason why 130 of kinship terms aren't occurred in the corpus data. Turning now to the abundance of the kinship terms in Turkish, it reveals that kinship ties are very important in Turkish society. Thanks to collectivistic culture, each member of the society are coded as a member of an extended family in Turkish culture.

Kinship terms are used to address blood or marriage relatives of the speaker. Turkish family terms are depend on biteral descent and speakers attribute equal importance to both maternal and paternal relatives by addressing them. A host of different kinship terms exist to mark the same relationship between addressee and addresser such as '*aba, abla, ablam, ablacığım, ablacık, abloş, abloşum, ablası, ablacan, kız kardeşim, kardeşim, bacı, bacım, bacılık, hemşire, hemşirem*' *which are used to address only the sister of the addresser*. On the contrary, the same kinship term is used to mark different kinds of relationships. To set an example, 'kızım' is not only used by the mother or father of the addressee but anyone who is older than the addressee feel like they have right to address a girl in the family as 'kızım'. In most of the languages, speakers prefer address family members with their first names. They employ the first names to address even the ones who are older than themselves which is not observed in Turkish. A Turkish speaker employs a different kinship term for the each members of their family such as his/her brother's wife, his/her sister's husband, his/her spouse's brother, his/her spouse's sister, his/her uncle's wife, his/her aunt's husbands, etc. Taken together, these observations prove the complex kinship relationships in Turkish and they can be seen as one of the reason of the abundance in Turkish kinship terms.   Table 4.10 below illustrates the collected kinship terms in the present study:

Table 4.10. Kinship Terms

Kinship Terms
Aba ; Abba ; Abi ; Abican ; Abiciğim ; Abicik ; Abim ; Abisi ; Abiş ; Abla ; Ablacan ; Ablacığım; Ablacık ; Ablam ; Ablası ; Abloş ; Ağa baba ; Ağababa ; Ağabey ; Ağabeyciğim ; Ağabeyim ; Ağbi ; Ahfat (Torun) ; Aka (Abi) ; Akraba ; Amca ; Amca kızı ; Amca oğlu ; Amcacığım ; Amcam ; Amcam kızı ; Amcam oğlu ; Amcazade ; Ana ; Anacığım ; Anacık ; Analık ; Anam ; Anası ; Anasının kuzusu; Anne ; Anne sultan ; Anneanne ; Anneciğim; Annelerin gülü ; Annem ; Annesi ; Annesinin kuzusu; Anoş ; Arvat ; Ata ; Atalık ; Atam ; Atam ötem ; Avrat ; Ayal (Wife) ; Aybala ; Aybalam ; Baba; Baba efendi ; Babaanne ; Babacığım ; Babacık ; Babam ; Babam oğlu ; Baboş ; Bacanak ; Bacı ; Bacım ; Bala ; Balama ; Baldız ; Beslemelik ; Bey amca ; Bey baba ; Bey kardeşim ; Beybaba ; Beygana (büyükanne) ; Bibi ; Bibigelin ; Bila (Kız kardeş) ; Bilader ; Birader ; Bizim kız ; Bizim oğlan; Böle (amca kızı) ; Buba ; Bula (gelin) ; Büyük anne ; Büyükanne ; Büyükpeder ; Cice ; Cici ana ; Cici baba; Cicianne ; Çağa (çocuk) ; Çocuğum ; Çocuk ; Çocuklar ; Çocuklarımın annesi/anası; Çocuklarımın babası ; Damat ; Dayı ; Dayı oğlu ; Dayıcığım ; Dayıcık ; Dayım ; Dayızade ; Dede ; Dedeciğim ; Dedecik ; Dedem ; Dide ; Döl döş (torun) ; Düğür ; Dünür ; Ebe ; Ebegarı (nine) ; Eci (anneanne) (dedenin hanımı) ; Efendi baba ; Ehil (karı) ; El kızı (gelin) ref. ; Emmi ; Emmim ; Emmoğlu ; Enişte; Ergişi ; Erim ; Etfal (çocuk) ; Ev Şenliği ; Ev Uşağı ; Evlat ; Evlatcığım ; Evlatçık; Evlatlık ; Eyce (nine) ; Gelin Gelin bacım ; Gelin kız ; Gelinim ; Gız ; Gızım ; Görüm ; Görümce ; Görümüm ; Güvey ; Güveyi ; Hakıra ; Hala ; Hala oğlu ; Halacığım ; Halacık ; Halam oğlu ; Halazade; Haltı (teyze); Haminne ; Hanım (eş) ; Hanım abla ; Hanım anne Hanım kardeş ; Hanım kardeşim ; Hanım kız ; Hanım teyze Hanımmanne Harem (kadın/eş) ; Hatun bacım ; Hemşire ; Herif ; Hısım ; İç güveyi; Kadın anam ; Kanım ; Kardaş kızan ; Kardeş ; Kardeşcağızım ; Kardeşim ; Kardeşims ; Karı; Karıcığım ; Kayınço ; Kayınvalide ; Kaynata Kerime ; Kerimem ; Kız ; Kızan ; Kızçe ; Kızçem ; Kızım; Koca karı ; Kocaana/Kocana/Gocana ; Kocakarı ; Kocam ; Kociş ; Kocişim ; Kocişko ; Kuzen; Kuzi ; Kuzin ; Küçük kardeş ; Küçük kardeşim ; Mahdum (erkek evlat) ; Mayna (nine) ; Nene ; Oğlan; Oğlancık ; Oğlum ; Oğluş ; Oğluşum ; Oğul Uşak (torun) ; Oğulluk ; P.kumun oğlu ; Paşa baba ; Peder; Soyum sopum ; Süt kardeşim ; Süt kız ; Sütnine ; Şvester (kız kardeş) ; Taygeldi (üvey kardeş) ; Tede (dede) ; Teyze ; Teyze kızı ; Teyze oğlu ; Teyzeciğim ; Teyzem Teyzesi ; Teyzezade; Torun ; Torunum; Uşağum ; Uşak ; Üvey ana/üvey anam ; Üvey anne/üvey annem ; Üvey baba ; Üvey kardeş; Valide Veled ; Yavrucağızım ; Yavrucuğum ; Yavrum ; Yavrum evladım; Yavrumun kuzusu ; Yavrumun yavrusu ; Yavruş ; Yeğen ; Yeğenim ; Yenge ; Yengeciğim ; Yengem; Yiğen ; Yiğenim; Zade (oğul) ; Zevce ; Zevcem ; Zevcim ; Zevç

(59) *..her şeyi söylediğin şu garip anandan niçin gizledin? -**Ana**, senden bir şey gizlemiş falan değilim lütfen öyle düşünme*

Why did you hold out on me- your poor mother with whom you used to share everything_

-'Ana' I didn't hide anything please don't think like that.

(W-KA16B2A-0784-1070)

(60) *Ben şimdi kızıma bunu yediririm, diyor. Yiyemiyorum. Canım babacığım, biricik babacığım, oh hiç kırar mıyım seni, ama canım istemiyor.*

Now, I am going to give this food to my daughter. I can not eat it. 'Canım babacığım, biricik babacığım,' oh I don't want to hurt you, but I don't feel like eating it.

(W-HA16B3A-1935-59)

(61) E:*Biber dolması Dur işte bu hafta para alıcam ya yine. öyle içi pişir <B> Dolmayı yiyorsunuz değil mi? M : Dolmayı yedik* **anne**, *dolma bitti. E :Yapabilirim yani.*

E:Stuffed green pepper Wait I will take money this week. cook the ingredients like that <B> Do you eat stuffed vegatables, don't you? M: We had eaten the stuffed vegatables **'anne'**, we finished them. So, I can cook it.

(S-BEABXO-0415-419)

According to Wardhaugh kinship terms are age-oriented address terms (2006:271). To certain extent, it is acceptable for Turkish. When kinship terms used appropriate to expected norms, they can be used as a face saving device which lets the members of society maintain their social relationships. On the contrary, when the addressee receives a kinship term which is not appropriate to the pre-set norms, it can be face-threatning for the addressee.

(62) *"Sana da vereyim mi* **teyze**?*" dedi. Teyze mi? Ne teyzesi? Ayol kaç yaşında sanıyorsun sen ablayı? Hain? Kadın düşmanı! Yaş düşmanı!*

Can I give it to you '**teyze**' he said. Aunt, really? What are you talking about? What do you think how old I am ? 'Hain ? Kadın düşmanı! Yaş düşmanı!"

(W-FA16B2A-2628-28)

However, it doesn't mean age is the only factor to choose the appropriate kinship terms in Turkish. Kinship terms in Turkish don't need to correspond to the real age relationship, it can be used to indicate power, superiority or avoid unwanted intimacy. Especially female speakers tend to address their male speech partners by the help of a kinship term without paying extra attention to their age to avoid unwanted intimacy. In such a context, by addressing a pure stranger with a kinship terms –figuratively speaking including them into their families, they (especially female speakers) don't intend to show affection, actually they try to exclude them from the possible close contacts. In the following example, the the speaker use kinship term 'abi' to show his respect for the addressee:

(63) *"N'oldu,* **abi**?*" dedi. Pis köle, kullandığı lafa bak, abi! Yaşı benden büyüktü, ama büyük olmayı hiç öğrenememişti…*

He said " What happened 'abi'? Dirty slave, did you notice his word, abi! He was older than me but he couldn't learn being older…

(W-TA16B1A-1192-574)

As can be understood there are many different strategies to address someone but among these strategies address inversion can be called as the most interesting one. The term can be

defined as addressing someone with a an address terms reflecting addressers' role rather than the addresses' roles (Braun, 1988). Address inversion in Turkish is seen in the kinship terms category. The superior ones can address the inferior one by using such a strategy to show his/her affection, intimacy and seldomly authority. In the following example, it is seen that the speaker address the other participant of communication by 'abisi' by inversing their roles:

(64)   *"Bi yere gitti," diyor, önemsiz bir şey anlatırmış gibi, "söylerim, o seni bulur! Ne var ne yok?"*
         *"İyidir **abisi**, n'olsun işte!"*
         "He has gone to somewhere" he is saying like it is something trivial, I will say it to him
          and he will find you!" "What's going on?" "Not too bad just surviving **'abisi'** "
                                                                        (W-JA16B4A-1747-2)

Suprisingly, in Turkish speakers also address someone with addressee's role in another relationship such as dayısı, ablası. The following example is best to explain the way of addressing. Such an addressing are employed mostly to be bridge between the children and the other parties of the communication. In the example, there is a woman who is the mother of the child and sister of the other participant of the conversation. She address her brother by the help of his role in his relationship with the woman's child namely his nephew:

(65)   *.... N: ... Hadi götür dayıya ver hadi. Hadi dayıya götür de ver. **Dayı... Dayısı** bak geliyor... .*
         ....N: ...... Let's take it and give it to your uncle, come on. Go on take and give it to your uncle.
         'Dayı'.... **'Dayısı'** look at him, he is coming…
                                                                        (S-BEABXO-0074-1)

4.1.3.5.1. Fictive Kinship Terms

Kinship terms can also be used to address someone who is not a member of addresser's family, including complete strangers, friends, acquaintances and even officials in Turkish. This type of usage is known as fictive kinship terms (Braun, 1988: 7). In that way, intimate and harmonious feelings are enhanced between the members of society and the aim of effective communication is achieved.

There exist some limitations regarding addressing someone with fictive kinship terms. It worths noting that in Turkish, all of the kinship terms can not be used as fictive kinship terms. While some of the kinship terms such as 'amca, teyze, abla, abi' can be used for a pure stranger, some of them such as 'gelin, dünür' can not be used for someone who is really close to the speaker The choice of fictive kinship terms employed to stranger is made according to the age of the

addressee, gender of the addressee, power and the solidarity regarding the relationship between addresser and addressee, formality and informality of the contexts.

The list of fictive kinship terms are given in the table below. (also Check Appendix 2). The given examples and the list of fictive kinship terms make the whole discussion clear.

Table 4.11. Fictive Kinship Terms

Fictive Kinship Terms
Aba ; Abba ; Abi ; Abican ; Abiciğim ; Abicik ; Abim ; Abisi ; Abiş ; Abla ; Ablacan ; Ablacığım; Ablacık; Ablam ; Ablası ; Abloş ; Ağa baba ; Ağababa ; Ağabey ; Ağabeyciğim ; Ağabeyim; Ağbi ; Amca ; Amcacığım ; Amcam ; Amcazade ; Ana ; Anacığım ; Anacık ; Anam ; Anası ; Anasının kuzusu; Anne ; Anne sultan ; Anneanne ; Anneciğim; Annem ; Annesi ; Annesinin kuzusu ; Anoş; Arvat ; Ata; Atam ötem ; Avrat ; Aybala ; Aybalam ; Baba; Baba efendi ; Babaanne ; Babacığım ; Babacık ; Babam ; Baboş; Bacanak ; Bacı ; Bacım ; Baldız ; Bey amca ; Bey baba ; Bey kardeşim ; Beybaba ; Bibi ; Bilader ; Birader; Bizim kız; Bizim oğlan; Buba ; Büyükanne ; Çocuğum ; Çocuk; Çocuklar ; Damat ; Dayı ; Dayıcığım ; Dayıcık ; Dayım ; Dayızade ; Dede ; Dedeciğim ; Dedecik ; Dedem ; Dide ; Ebe ; Ebegarı (nine) ; Efendi baba ; El kızı (gelin) ; Emmi ; Emmim ; Emmoğlu ; Enişte ; Ergişi ; Evlat ; Evlatçığım; Evlatçık; Gelin; Gelin bacım ; Gelin kız ; Gız ; Gızım ; Hakıra ; Hala; Halacığım ; Halacık ; Halazade; Haminne ; Hanım abla ; Hanım anne; Hanım kardeş ; Hanım kardeşim ; Hanım kız ; Hanım teyze; Hanımanne ; Hatun bacım ; Hemşire ; Herif (adam) ; Kardaş kızan ; Kardeş ; Kardeşcağızım ; Kardeşim ; Kardeşims ; Karı (kadın); Kayınço; Kerime ; Kerimem ; Kız ; Kızan ; Kızçe ; Kızçem ; Kızım; Koca karı ; Kocaana/Kocana/Gocana ; Kocakarı; Küçük kardeş ; Küçük kardeşim ; Nene ; Oğlan; Oğlancık ; Oğlum ; Oğluş ; Oğluşum ; Oğul Uşak ; Paşa baba; Peder; Soyum sopum ; Süt kardeşim ; Süt kız ; Sütnine ; Teyze ; Teyzeciğim ; Teyzem; Teyzesi ; Teyzezade; Torun ; Torunum; Uşağum ; Uşak ; Valide Veled ; Yavrucağızım ; Yavrucuğum ; Yavrum ; Yavrum evladım ; Yavruş ; Yeğen ; Yeğenim ; Yenge ; Yengeciğim ; Yengem ; Yiğen ; Yiğenim;

(66) ***Abla*** *çinekoplar çok taze, vereyim mi?*

'Abla' blue fish are fresh, can I give you some?

(W-MA16B3A-0331-3199)

(67) *Gel, bak **yavrum**... Ne göstereceğim sana?" Bayan Körpegül onu yatak odasına götürdü. Eski bir dolabının kapağını açtı*

Come and see '**yavrum**'... What will I show you? Ms. Körpegül led her to the bedroom. She opened the door of an old closet...

(W-OA16B1A-1221-293)

(68) *Şoförünün verdiği yanıt da ilginç "**Kardeşim**!Ben polis miyim, savcı mı?"*

The anser which the driver gave is also interesting "'Kardeşim!' Am I police or prosecutor?

(W-MA16B1A-0689-2006)

(69) *Ş :Geçen Pazar ani bi afta öncesinden açıldı ama ani öyle sanatçılar şeyler meyler yoktu   yani.*

  N :Neyse kısmet.

  Nİ : Tabi.

  *GD : Sen nassın be **Nursel abla** iyisin?*

  Nİ :İyiyim be Gülten sen naptın?

  GD :Bende iyiyim. Beyin napiyi, çocuklar?

Ş:Last Sunday well it was opened one week earlier but there aren't artists or these kinds of things

N: Whatever shall be

Nİ: Of course

GD: How are you 'Nursel abla'? Are you okay?

Nİ: I am ok 'Gülten' How about yourself?

GD: I am ok, too. How is your husband, children?

         (S-BEABXO-0149-78)

  As is shown in the previous table, address terms indicating consanguineal relativeness (blood-based) such as amca, teyze, anne, abla, etc. are dominantly used as fictive kinship terms. It is also clear that step-terms can not be used as fictive kinship terms in Turkish. The examples regarding the terms belonging to affinial relativeness (marriage-based) are really limited. To list them, it can be said that damat, gelin, yenge and enişte can be used in the service of fictive kinship terms. In recent years, it is also observed that male speakers have used 'kayınço' and 'bacanak' as fictive address terms to show their intimacy in their bro talks. So, Turkish native speakers address strangers in the perspective of their blood relatives. It means that no one address a stranger walking in the street as baldız or görümce, dünür, üvey anne, etc. It is hard to explain why only these address terms are used as fictive kinship terms, but it might be said that step-terms and terms indicating affinial relativeness describe more specific relationships and roles when compared with terms indicating consanguineal relativeness and also terms based on consanguineal relativeness can be coded as the one which reflect most solidarity to addressee.

  In Turkish literature, there is an agreement that kinship terms can be used for strangers, but how we can distinguish true kinship terms from fictive kinship terms is fuzzy. As a result of analysis of huge data, some observations regarding the contextual cues to detect differences between them are listed here to contribute the future researchers.

  When the kinship terms are used with the first name of the addressee, then it most probably reflects fictive kinship terms. Generally, Turkish speakers tend to address their true

relatives by using kinship terms alone. In the following example, the speaker address a woman to whom she feels really close by using the fictive address term 'Zekine ana'. If the term 'ana' in the following example (example 70) would referred to true kinship terms, there had been no need to mark which 'ana' (Zekine) she mentioned.

(70)   ***Zekine ana** artık benim de bir ailem var. Sanki yetim olduğunu yüzüne vurmuş gibi kendisini suçlu hisseden aşçı oturduğu yerden sessizce kalkarak mutfağına döndü.*
'Zekine ana' now, I have a family, too. The cook who felt guilty as if she reminded her about her orphanhood stood up silently and turn back to the kitchen.

(W-UA16B3A-0716-1)

When the true kinship terms are directed to an addressee, it is possible to see other words indicating relativeness in the discourse of the communicataion. When the fictive kinship terms are directed to an addressee, it is possible to see address terms from other categories in the discourse of the communication and even in the intrasentential utterance in which the fictive kinship term is used. Example (71) can be best to explain this finding. In the example, speaker D addresses the speaker M by using three different address terms 'oğlum, abi, kardeşim' which all reflect relativeness but there isn't any consistence between them:

(71)   D : Di mi **oğlum** kimse görmesin duvarımı ya. Hepsini ne ya nasıl temizlicem **abi.**

M :Tek tek silecen ya.

D :Tek tek silecem ha. Şu kalsın.

M : <D 1.30> **Kardeşim** aç mısın?

D :Ha yok **kardeş** sağ ol.

M : Valla mı? Yemek yiyelim istersen.

D :Yok valla sağ ol. Bitmiyo lan bu.

D: Is that so, **'oğlum'**? I wish anyone wouldn't see my wall. What on earth is that how   can I clean it **'abi'**

M: You will delete them one by one.

D: one by one .. ıs that right? Let's keep it.

M : <D 1.30> **'Kardeşim'** are you hungry?

D: No, I am not hungry **'kardeş',** thank you.

M: Oh really ? If you want, we can eat meal.

D: Really, no thanks. It seems like it won't finish.

(S-BEABXO-0087-9)

Suprisingly, it is observed that the more the solidarity and politeness degree of the term increases by the help of diminutive or possessive suffixes (-(I)m, CIk; -CAk ; -CAğIz) or honorofics, the more the possibility that the directed address term is a fictive kinship term increases.

Lastly, it should be pointed that Turkish speakers tend to address a female stranger with the addressing terms reflecting maternal kinship such as teyze while they are tend to employ kinship terms reflecting paternal kinship for the male strangers such as 'amca'. It can be seen as a result of the honor (namus) notion in Turkish culture. By addressing a woman by 'teyze', the speaker makes the woman closer to his/her moter while she/he keeps the distance between this woman and his/her mother. The motivation behind these tendencies have paralles with Gökçen's observations that shows husbands in Anatolia address their wifes by using some mockeries to protect them from other males' sexual interests (2016).

4.1.3.6.Names

Names employed by Turkish native speakers includes first names, full names, nicknames, transferred names. Using personal names is the most neutral form of address terms. To avoid offending hearer speakers can employ their first names. This kinds of address terms can be used for every possible speaker and they can be used in every setting. But, using first names while addressing someone who is older than the speaker cause some crucial negative effects and serious breakdowns in communications with the addressees. Turkish people also employ transferred names while addressing such as Brütüs, Tarzan. By the help of this kinds of names, the speaker transfer a characteristic feauture of the famous person to addresee.

Table 4.12. Names

Names
Yılmaz ; Kaya; Demir ; Şahin; Çelik ; Mehmet ; Zeynep ; Fatma ; Ali ; Mustafa ; Hatice; Emine ; Hüseyin ; Brütüs ; Tarzan ; Doğrucu Davut

(72) Sen de eksik kalma **Brütüs**, zapla..

Don't fall behind Brütüs, zap

(W-KA16B3A-0550-4)4

4.1.3.7.Familiarizers

There are 210 familiarizers found in the present study. Of 210 familiarizers, 104 of them can not be found in TNC v.3.0. Some of the address terms can not be found in the corpus data can be listed as following: kankilop, koçito, kank, panpa. It shows that familiarizers are another group of address terms which are directly based on creativity of the speakers. Table (4.13) shows the familiarizers collected in the present study:

Table 4.13 Familiarizers

Familiarizers
Abuç ; Adam ; Adamım ; Adamın dibi ; Adaş ; Adaşım ; Ahali ; Ahbap; Ahretlik ; Allahın adamı Allahın kulu ; Anam babam; Anam bacım ; Arap ; Arkadaş ; Arkadaşım ; Arkideş ; Arslan ; Arslan parçası ; Arslanım ; Aslan ; Azizim ; Baba dostu ; Babalık; Babacan ; Babator ; Babito ; Baboli ; Babuş; Bacılık; Badi ; Baro ; Başdaş (akran) ; Beybiliboy ; Boolum (arkadaş) ; Bro ; Cancan ; Cemaat ; Cemaat;ı Müslimin ; Cengaver ; Çerkez ; Çingen ; Çingene ; Çitlenbik ; Dadaş; Danacan ; Deli fişek ; Delikanlı ; Derdo ; Devrem ; Din kardeşim ; Dost ; Dostum ; Dünyalı ; Ede (kardeş) ; Efe ; Ekip ; Eleman ; Ellam; Entel ; Fanti ; Gakko /gakkoş ; Gardaş ; Gardiş ; Genco ; Genç ; Gençler ; Gençlik ; Göbel ; Gözlük ; Gundi ; Gurban ; Güzel insan ; Hacı; Hacı baba ; Hacı cavcav ; Halk ; Hemçağım ; Hemşehrim; Hemşerim ; İhtiyar ; İnsan ; İnsanlar ; Kaçak ; Kada ; Kadın ; Kank ; Kanka ; Kankaşk ; Kankeyta ; Kankeyto ; Kanki ; Kankilop ; Kankiş ; Kankit ; Kankito ; Kankitom ; Kankittin ; Kanklüpto; Kankut ; Kaplan ; Kaplanım ; Kara (bıyılı/kaşlı/gözlü) Kardaşlığım ; Kardaşlık ; Kardeşceğizim ; Kardeşlik ; Kardi ; Kardo ; Kartal; Kartalım ; Keke ; Kenks ; Kerata ; Kınalı ; Kıvırcık ; Kızıl ; Kirve ; Kirvemoğlu; Kişi ; Koç ; Koçero; Koçito ; Komşu ; Komşum ; Konuklar ; Kopil ; Köfte ; Köftehor ; Köylü ; Kurban; Kurbani ; Kurt adam ; Küçük ; Külhani ; Küpeli ; Kürt ; Laz ; Leylek ; Maşer (halk) ; Memleketlim ; Millet ; Mirim ; Misafirler ; Monşer ; Moruk ; Mümin (kardeşim) ; Mümine ; Müminler; Müslüman ; Müslüman kardeşlerim ; Oligarşik ; Optik ; Ortağım Ortak ; Ortaks ; Orti ; Öksüz ; Pampa; Pampik ; Pampirella ; Pampişko ; Pamuk ; Panpa ; Panpiş ; Pompişim ; Ponçiğim ; Ponçik

Although Leech states that familiarizes are not welcomed to used for strangers (1999: 111), in Turkish it is seen that they can be used for strangers, friends, acquaintance.Familiarizers are friendly terms of address which can be used to address both familiar and unfamiliar addressees. It shows that members of Turkish society seek to solidarity rather than power. Creating group-identity lies behind the bottom of familiarizers which motives the speaker to create some new address terms namely familiarizers belonging only to their groups or relationships. In the last analysis, it is not suprising that there are a lot of familiarizers in Turkish address system thanks to the afromentioned issues regarding familiarizers.

The given examples show that Turkish speakers use familiarizers in a very intensive and frequent way. During even in a short conversation, it is possible to see more than one familiarizers. These address terms are generally used in a informal settings where it is more

difficult to taking turns and foregrounding it which will be analyzed in a detailed way under the title of "functions of address terms".

(73) S: **Dostum** *haftada böyle kaç saat alıyor bu?*

   R:*Bu mu?* **Baba** *haftada belki 5 saatimi 10 saatimi bunlara veriyorum.*

   S: 'Dostum' how many hours do you spend for it in a week?
   R: Is this ? 'Baba' I spend approximately 5-10 hours in a week for them.

<div align="right">(S-BEABXO-0086-7)</div>

(74) *K :Aynı dönemin adamları.*

   B :Yenilerden Acun Ilıcalı heye **kirve**.

   K :Ayıkıyon mu **kirve.**

   B : **Moruk** *kusura bakma birazda yorgunum ya benimle muhabbete doyum olmuyo.*

   K :Sizin kapı mı?

   B :Cık!

   *K :***Moruk** *Galatasaray'da... Galatasaray'da Beşiktaş'ta falan böyle kutlanıyor mu?*

   K: They are contemporaries.
   B: Acun Ilıcalı is one of the new ones, yeah 'kirve'
   K: Can you understand 'kirve' ?
   B: 'Moruk' I am sorry I am a little bit tired you can not get enough of chatting with me.
   K: Is it your door?
   B: No!
   K: 'Moruk' in Galatasaray... Is it celebrated like this in Galatasaray and Beşiktaş?

<div align="right">(S-BEABXO-0080-28)</div>

   As can be understood from the examples given above, familiarizers can be coded as indicator of solidarity, intimacy, familiarity and equality in Turkish. Most of the time, they are used to address the hearer with a friendly tone. Hower, it is possible to detect some usage showing addressers' power and superiority over addresee. It is also possible that sometimes, familiarizers might sound like disrespectful to the third parties, but there isn't any face-threatening risk for the interlocutors of the conversation, such an usage can be coded as solidarity indicator in their mini cultures.

   Sameness (devrem, hemçağım, adaşım,), sharing (sırdaş, ortak), physical power (kartal, koç, arslanım), camaraderie (dostum, arkadaşım, kanka, kardeşim), physical properities

(kıvırcık, kara kaşlı), braveness (cengaver, külhani), community (millet, ahali), race (çingene, yörük), cuteness (çitlembik, ponçik) are some of the qualities marked by familiarizers in Turkish.

4.2. Functions of Address terms

The functions of the address terms are ignored because they are coded as external factors of the sentence in the traditional grammars of Turkish. Similarly, Leech says that address terms is "loosely attachable to clause structure" but it doesn't mean they haven't got any function (1990:107-108). Determining the functions of Turkish address terms is at the heart of understanding the reason why speakers employ address terms even when there is literally no need to use them, why they use dreadfully long address terms which is against the "the least effort law" of the language, If they don't have any function, how not to use them can be offensive for the other parties of the communication, why speakers need to repeat them many times during the communication and lastly if they aren't used in service of anything, why there are a world of address terms.

As mentioned before,there are 1008 lines including the target address terms are analyzed firstly to decide whether address terms in Turkish have any kinds of linguistic functions. After the data is analyzed to check this, it is certain that Turkish address terms are one of the functional (even multifunctional) units of utterance. In the light of the collected data, the following functions of Turkish address terms are proposed:

Table 4.14. *Functions and positions of address terms in Turkish*

Functions of Turkish Address Terms
1. Involving Agreement
2. Attention gathering
3. Conveying the feeling
4. Holding the floor/Foregrounding the talk
5. Involving non-conforming utterances, and disagreements
6.Making the listener remain focused
7.Selecting next speaker
8.Situational role designation/ Setting the tone of the communication
9.Softening the virtual commands
10. Topic Shifting

It is possible that an address term simultaneously accomplishes more than one function in the same utterances. Actually, all the suggested functions for Turkish address terms are highly

related to each other. It should be pointed that sometimes some functions can be seen hand in hand with each other while the other times there can be one fuction that wins over the other ones. For instance, while an address term is used in service of topic shifting, it can also let the speakear select the next speaker. Bearing in mind that, in the present study, by following the McCarthy and O'Keefe's way (2003), only one function is attributed per address term in order to manage data and presenting quantitative analysis in a clear way. As repeated many times in the present study, address terms are highly context-dependent linguistic devices; therefore, investigating the context in which the target address terms used is a must to decide the dominant function.

Before proceeding to report the findings regarding functions and positions of address terms in Turkish, it is necessary to highlight that it is not claimed that the address terms take whole charge of achieving suggested functions on themselves. The other contextual cues, discourse elements and address terms come together and they perform a function all together. In a similar way, McCarthy and O'Keefe state that an address term used in service of topic changing doesn't always change the topic on its own. Sometimes, it can be placed in the environment of a topic change or it can it can be used as a signal to show or support the function by the help of the other discoursal events (2003: 7). Clayman also proves that address terms can accomplice to another action to perform certain actions or they they can be more directly implicated in these actions (2010: 175). For the sake of an example, the address term 'dostum' in the example (75) given below are categorized under the function of 'involvement agreement' which doesn't mean the speaker achieve the act of agreement by this address term, but it means the address term has a role (which will be discussed below) in such utterances. On the other hand, the address term in the example (76) achieves the act of attention gathering by itself.

Distributions of Address Terms' Functions in Turkish
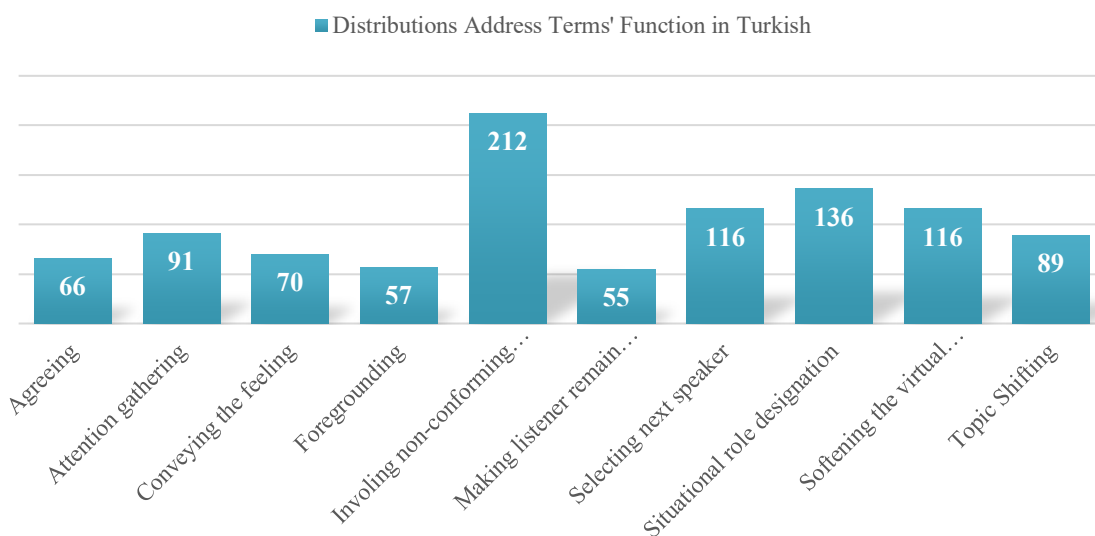
Figure 4.1. Distributions of address terms' functions in Turkish (Frequency)

The aboved-given graph shows frequency rates belonging each category belonging to suggested functions of Turkish address terms. The same data are given in percentages to make the data more meaningful and comparable with each other.
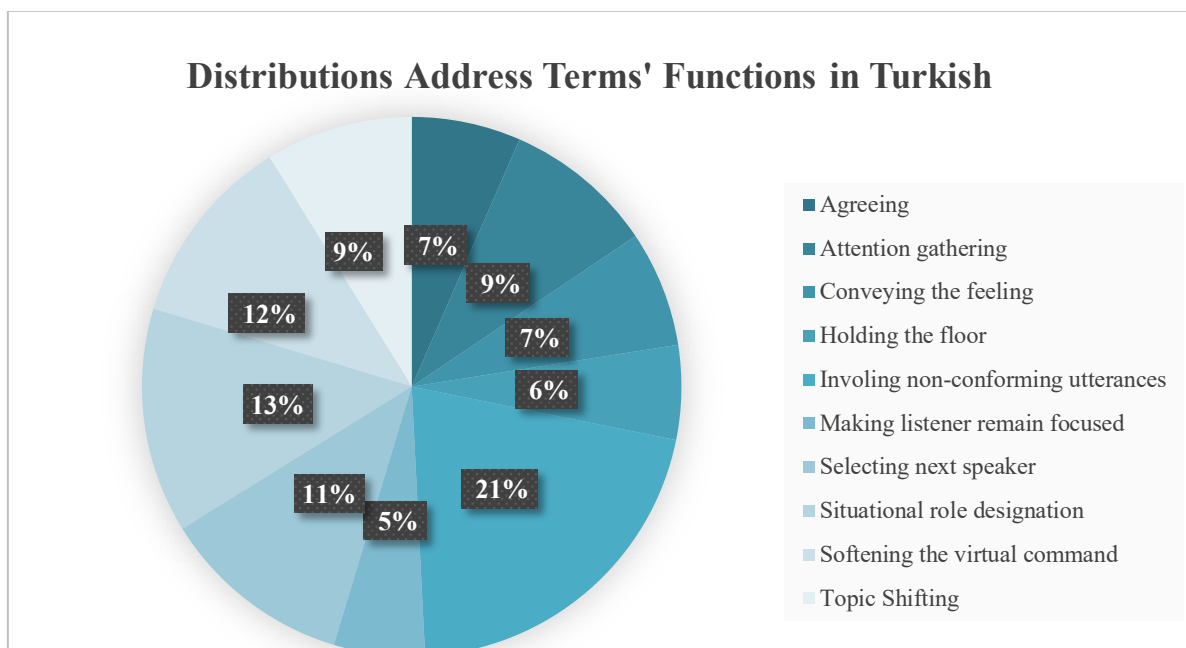
Figure 4.2. Distributions of Address Terms' Functions in Turkish (Percentages)

Out of 1008 concordance lines in which address terms are used, involving non-conforming utterances function of address terms (21%) are the most frequent function appearing in the data gathered from TNC v.3.0, followed by situational role designation/ setting the tone of the communication function (13%), softening the virtual commands (12%), selecting next speaker (12%), attention gathering (9%), topic shifting (9%), conveying the feeling (7%), involving agreements (7%), holding the floor (6%), and lastly making listener remained focused (5%). From the graph given above, it can be easily seen that involving non-conforming utterances function of Turkish address terms are seen significantly more than the others. On the other hand, the other functions of address terms distribute in a "relatively" balanced way. As can be understood , the difference between the type of speech acts is notable enough to be statistically significant.

4.2.1. Involving Agreements

In calculating the percentages, it has been revealed that 7 % of all the instances refers to agreeing functions of address terms. In this function, address terms are used to show agreement on their own or they co-occur with some kinds of agreement statements such as appreciation, approval, recognition (escpecially when speaker signals that he or she recognizes the message of

the speaker), etc. In the following example, there are two friends talking about last sport news. In this example, an agreement statement is followed by an address term 'dostum' as a response to other participant's claim regarding submissions.

(75)   *R:Lan UEFA bile ne diyo ne demiş biliyon mu ya iki iddaname niye gönderiyosunuz.*

    S :Haa.

    R :Birbirinden farklı iki iddaname.

    Oynanmış bilader onların üstüne belli yani.

    *S : Yani %100 orası öyle **dostum**.*

    R :Boşver Aziz iyi yaptı böyle konuşmaklan bilader.

    S :Aynen. Yapacak tabi ya hakkını arayacak tam bir Fenerbahçeli.

    <D 6> Aziz Yıldırım dostum konuşurken okumuyor değil mi genelde yani bakarak millete bakarak...

    R :Yook genelde tabi genelde kendi bakarak okur.

R: 'Lan' do you know what UAFE said? They said that why did you send two submissions.

S:Yes.

R: Two submissions which are different from each other.

It is clear that these documents are forged 'bilader'

S: Yes, I agree 100 percent 'dostum'

R: Never mind. Aziz did the best by talking like this 'bilader'

S:Exactly. He will do, he will claim his rights. He is a perfect fan of Fenerbahçe.

<D 6> Aziz Yıldırım 'dostum' doesn't read a text while he is speaking, does he ? I mean he generally speaks by looking at the audiences.

R: Nooo generally, of course generally he reads a text by speaking.

                                                   (S-BEABXO-0086-8)

Rendle-Short who detects the familiarizer 'mate' also performs a similar function states that speakers prefer adding some kinds of address terms (mate in her study) to the end of even such a minimal agreement token like the one in our example "*Yani %100 orası öyle dostum.*", even though it is not necessary (2008). Rendle-Short explains it as the speakers' intention of elongating the previous statement. By building on her hypothesis, it can be claimed that Turkish speakers use address terms co-occuring with agreement statements to show their sincerity in the act of agreeing. It can be seen as a need by the speakers because some expressions stating agreement in Turkish aynen, tabi tabi are mostly used to slide over the previous speaker, so they don't reflect true agreement. In this way, by using an address term the speakers try to verify their agreement

statements. It must be stated that address terms' involvement agreement function in Turkish strengthens friendly relations and triggers convergence between interlocutors.

When the sampled address terms are investigated in terms of 'agreeing' functions. It is seen that *dostum* appears in the function of 'agreeing' 14 times, *canım* occurs 18 times, *abi* appeears 22 times, *sayın* apeears 8 times, *öğretmenim* appears 3 times and lastly *aptal* is seen only 1 time as in the service of 'agreeing' function. It should be highlighted that the given numbers are not any statistical results, they are just given to make a deeper qualitative observation. It is not possible to reach any statistical results based on the given numbers because of the unbalanced distribution of these address terms[1]. The finding supports the finding that shows address terms used in service of agreeing function is directly related to create intimacy between interlocutors. In line with it, it is seen that the more intimate address terms are such as 'abi, canım, dostum', the more frequent they are used in service of 'agreeing' function. The other address terms which are related to distant relationships are used less frequently.
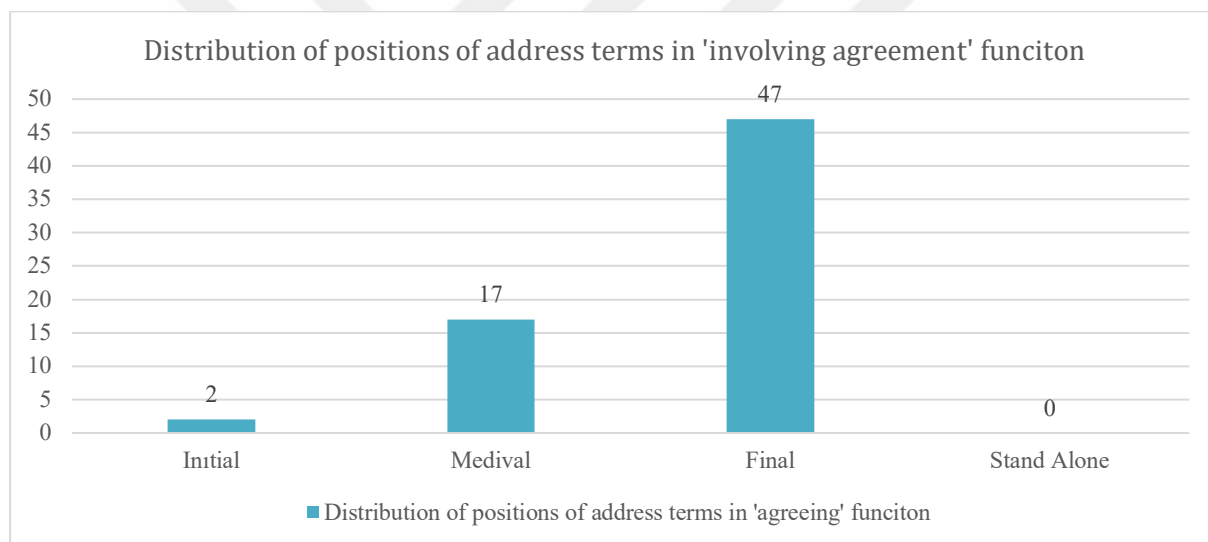
Figure 4.3. Distribution of positions of address terms in 'involving agreement' function

(n=66)

As mentioned before, address terms can be seen in four different postions in Turkish: initial, final, medial and stand alone. The graph given above shows where the address terms used in 'agreeing' functions are used and their distributions. According to this graph, address terms are mostly used in final postion 71 % (47 times) to perform 'agreeing' function which is followed by medial % 26 (17 times) and initial %3 (2 times). There isn't any occurence showing stand alone usage of these kinds of address terms in the data.

The findings regarding positions have parallels with Rendle-Short's findings (2008). She also reveals that address terms used to perform 'agreeing' functions are mostly used at the end of the turn. Thanks to address terms used in the agreement function which are generally short

utterances in Turkish, speakers create the illusion that they are contribute to the communication by talking a little more (see also Rendle-Short, 2008).

4.2.2. Attention Gathering

Statistically speaking, attention gathering function of address terms accounts for 9% (91 tokens) of all instances. Address terms are used to attract the attention of heaerers. This is also one of the most basic features of address terms. There is a general agreement in the literature that address terms are linguistic attention gatherer. Address terms function like summons to attract the attention of hearers. In this function, the speaker warns the receiver to the fact that the message is for you. Employing address terms to attract the attention of the addressee is the most basic way of saying 'hey, I am talking to you!' Address terms are used to gather the attention of the addressee when the addresser wants to highlight the importance of his/her mesage, when he/she realizes that addressee has half an ear on the sended messages, when the addresse ignore the messages sending from the addresser, when the addreser is not sure whether they are still in a communication or not (lack of eye contact), when the speaker directs his/her messages to the addressee for the first time, etc. Thus, address terms used to gather the attention of the other participants of the communication can be coded as an invitation card sended to get addressee's in communication.

In the following examples, two different extracts taken from a Parliamentary Meeting is seen. As is known, during the Parliamentary Meetings, there are hundereds of people. In such a crowd, sending his/her messages to the appropriate addressee is a little bit risky for the speaker. To overcome this risk, addresser prefers employing address terms until she/he will be sure that the target receiver receive the message. In the first example, speaker SE tries to attract the attention of TE but his first attempt has been failed because TE ignores him until he addresses him/her one more time. The second example is best to explain the whole discussion regarding attention gathering functions of address terms. In this example, there are three different speakers and two of them (ÜG and MR) try to contact with B by using the same strategy "employing an address terms to attract his attention". Although they are ignored by B, they don't give up using this strategy in the next lines of conversation. Taken together, the fact that two different speaker employ address terms to attract the same addressee's attention simultaneously and they don't change their strategies even though they are failed shows that the attention gathering functions of address terms is accepted as the one of the basic way of attracting the attention of the addressee. It should be pointed that in these two examples, the speakers only address their

messages' target receivers but they don't share their messages until they are sure that they are listened by them.

(76) **SE: *Sayın Başkan...***

Sayın Başkan...

TE: Sayın Ergin, bir saniye müsaade eder misiniz.

Yapılması gereken şu: Sayın Başbakan milletvekillerini...

SE: 'Sayın Başkan'

Sayın Başkan

TE: 'Sayın Ergin', could you excuse me for a second?

That is what should be done: 'Sayın Başkan' deputies...

(S-ACABQq-0425-798)

(77) *ÜG :**Sayın Başkan**.*

B :Sayın milletvekilleri, İçtüzüğün 68'inci maddesine göre, birleşimi kapatacağım efendim.

Birleşimi kapatacağım efendim.

Müsaade buyurun.

*MR :**Sayın Başkan**, bu Meclis böyle çalışmaz! **Sayın Başkan**, kapatın Meclisi.*

*ÜG : **Sayın Başkan**.*

*MR :**Sayın Başkan**, bu Meclis böyle çalışmaz, günahtır, yazıktır; kapatın Meclisi.*

Yazıktır.

B :Efendim, başka söz isteyen var mı?

MR :Ne sözü ya!

ÜG: 'Sayın Başkan'.

B: 'Sayın milletvekilleri', I will end the session according to 68. article of byelaw 'efendim'.

I will end the session 'efendim'.

Let me do this.

MR: 'Sayın Başkan', the Parliament doesn't work like this ! 'Sayın Başkan', close the Parliament.

ÜG: 'Sayın Başkan'.

MR: 'Sayın Başkan', the Parliament doesn't work like this, it is a sin, it is a shame; close the Parliament.

It is a shame.

B: 'Efendim', is there someone who wants to talk?

MR: what're you talking about?

(S-ACABQq-0427-3)

Out of 91 instances, dostum appears in the function of 'attention gathering' 7 times, canım occurs 8 times, *abi* appeaers 22 times, *sayın* apeears 47 times, *öğretmenim* appears 6 times and lastly *aptal* is not seen in the service of 'attention gathering' function. Although making comparision regarding these data is not possible, these numbers are given to offer an insight into how functions of address terms are contexed-depended. As mentioned before, in formal communication the function is used more frequently when it is compared with the informal communications. In informal communications, there is nearly no need to attract the attention of the addressee (except the first contact) because there are limited number of speakers in such a context.
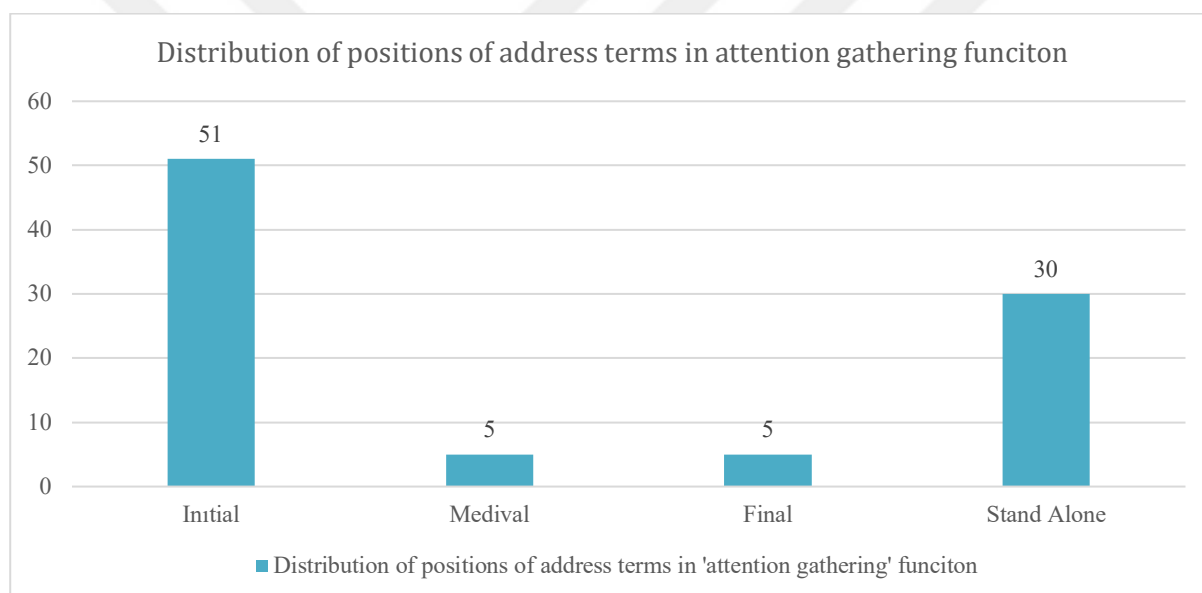
Figure 4.4. Distribution of positions of address terms in attention gathering function

(n=91)

The graph given above shows where the address terms functioning as attention getter are appeared and their distributions. According to this graph, address terms are mostly used in inital postions 56%(51 times) to perform 'attention gathering' function which is followed by stand alone (30 times) and medival 5.5 %(5 times), final 5.5% (5 times).

The findings regarding the positions of address terms to attract attention support Shiina's findings, (2007: 27) she states that attention getting address terms are mostly used in the sentence-initial position. Lerner (2003) also states that initial position is the common place where address terms are seen in service of attention gathering in multiparty conversations. Suprisingly, in Turksih attention getting address terms are also used as stand alone address terms

which proves the aforementioned observation that Turkish speakers can not share their messages until they are sure that they are listened. Also, in Turkish, these stand alone address terms are used to attract the attention of the speaker so as to warn him or her when the addresser thinks that he or she says something unwanted. This kind of usage can only be understood from the tone of the speaker. Ahmet Bey... Ahmet Bey.. can be used by someone superior to warn the speaker (Ahmet) regarding his words.

Thanks to the finding related to attention gathering functions of address terms, we can reach a brother generalizations regarding address system. By the help of 'attention gathering' function of the address terms in Turkish, the speakers also let the other participants of the communication know that the message is not directly for you. Looking from a broad perspective, it can be concluded that all the literature of address system is largely based on the inclusionary features of the address terms such as inviting the addresees to communication, including speakers in certain classes by assigning roles for them, but it shows that address terms have exclusionary features which basically means that while a speaker address someone as 'canım', he actually excludes the other from the role of 'canım'.

4.2.3. Conveying the feeling

Unlike the other functions of addres terms aiming to convey, thoughts, informations, messages or aiming to pave the way for conveying informations, messages, etc, the function of address terms namely 'conveying the feeling' aims to show the feeling of addresser towards the addressee. As the name implies, speakers use the address terms to react the words, actions of the previous speaker.

As discussed in the previous section, all kinds of feelings such as interest, concern, respect, contempt, love can be conveyed through the address terms thanks to the variety offered by Turkish address systems. In Turkish, it is also possible that speakers convey the exact opposite meaning implied by the address term by the help of paralinguistic features such as tone and pitch which makes the determining functions of address terms harder. Most of the functions of address terms aren't directly affected by the intention of the speaker or the intended meaning of the address terms such as foregrounding, selecting next speaker but 'conveying the feeling' function of address terms are directly related to the intended meaning of address terms. If the speaker uses an address term coding positive feelings, then it will function as a positive face-booster, if the speaker employs an address term coding negative feelings, then it will function as a face-threatening device. Distinguishing 'conveying the feeling' function of address terms from the other functions can be seen as a though job because all the address terms intrinsically reflect certain emotions. The following example can be illuminating to explain this function:

The following example shows a part of a TV programme in which there is a guest and presenter. They are mostly talk on the life story of the guest and in parallel with this story, some acquaintance from past are invited to the programme. As can be understand, it is itself full of emotions. In the extract given below, the speaker S who is the guest express her gratitude to the presenter by employing an address term 'canım benim'. As seen, she repeats the address terms third times to reflect her feelings :

(78)   S: Evet bu özel günde FahrunisaHanım bizi yalnız bırakmadı

*S: **Canım benim***

S: Kapı açılsın ve FahrunisaHanım içeri girsin. Ama kimle ?

S: Canım benim, çok teşekkür ederim hayatım benim

S: Yes Mrs. Fahrunisa doesn't leave us alone in this special day

S: 'Canım benim'

S: Open the door and let Mrs. Fahrunisa come in. But with whom she will coming?

S: 'Canım benim' çok teşekkür ederim hayatım benim

(S-ADBBAo-0443-31)

It is calculated that all of the sample address terms used to convey the feeling of addresser in Turkish. As shown before, there are totally 70 address terms performing this function. For the sake of a deeper understanding, it can be concluded that *abi* is appeared 11 times, *dostum* is used 14 times, *canım* is used 28 times, *sayın* is used 2 times, aptal is appeared 8 times and lastly *öğretmenim* is used 7 times in service of conveying the feeling function.
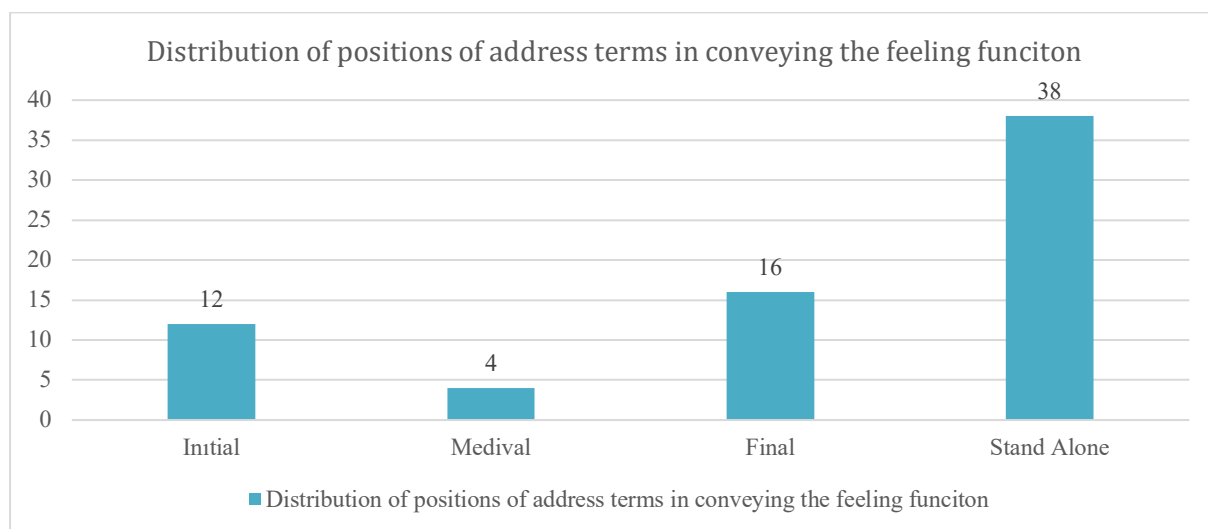
Figure 4.5. Distribution of the positions of address terms in 'conveying the feeling' function

(n=70)

Regarding the positions of address terms used in service of conveyin feelings, it is found that address terms are mostly used in stand alone positiion 54%(38 times) to perform 'conveying the feeling' function which is followed by final 23% (16 times) and initial 17%(12 times), medival 6% (4 times). All of the findings are summarized in Figure 4.5.

Stand-alone position is coded as dispreferred position by the most of the functions of address terms in Turkish. Among these functions, only 'attention gathering' function and 'conveying the feeling' function are mostly seen in stand-alone vocatives. Shiina also mentiones that stand-alone vocatives which are the least in her data, generally used with linguistic devices such as endearment modifiers to reflect the feelings of the addresser (2007:45). By using address terms in a stand-alone position, the speakers lift the effectiveness of the address term since in such a usage, the only focus is on the address term. To test it in the the conveying the feeling functions of address terms, the following examples can be investigated: In the first example, the strong emotions of the speaker can be seen obviously. To show this strong emotions, speaker directs a stand-alone address term to her beloved one. In the second example, the same address term 'canım' is used in the same function but it is used in sentence-initial position which proves the differences between the effects of position in the conveying the feeling function of address terms. It can be concluded that stand-alone address terms imply deeper emotions by strengthening the effect of transferred feelings.

(79)   *Nurgül sustu, kızardı; yüreğindeki fırtına dalgalanıverdi: "Reha" dedi, **Canım Reha'cığım benim...** Seni çok seviyorum... Seni çok, pek çok seviyorum..."*
       Nurgül kept silent, she blushed; suddenly, the storm in her heart surged: " 'Reha' " she said, Canım Reha'cığım benim' …. I love you so much… I love you very much…

                                                                                      (W-EA16B1A-0856-32)

*(80)   Hadi hadi... Ay **canım**,lan gelin bi öpiim sizi... Cıvıklık istemez şıllıktaş... Seni doğurucaama taş doğursaydım...*
       Come on, come on… Aww 'canım' 'lan' come here, I want to kiss you… Don't behave like a saucebox 'şıllıktaş'…. I wish I'd never had a child like you.

                                                                                      (W-HA16B2A-0792-1243)

4.2.4. Holding the floor/ Foregrounding the talk

Out of the 1008 address terms, 6% of them are used in service of holding the floor/ foregrounding the talk. Speakers try to hold the floor until they have finished what they want to say by the help of the address terms. During the naturally occurring spoken conversation, people use some linguistic units to hold the floor while they are searching for an adequate term or maintaining the flow of the communication. Address terms can be classified as one of these

linguistic units. Using address terms to hold the floor means that the turn has not been completed by the speaker. So, address terms help speakers to hold the floor and gain time to formulate their next utterances.

The following extract taken from an informal speech between two close friends. They are talking about a machine used to sweep the ways of their cities. The speaker coded as SE uses address term 'abi' as a turn holder device to keep talking. It seems like SE can not remember the name of the machine and he tries to gain sometime time by using an address term.

(81)   *SO: Hele ki haftasonu*

SE: Süpürüüyolar ama.

Hafta sonuna, Pazar günü akşam .. Abi .. yaa! Şey, bi tane makinesi var, o sahili süpürüyor yaa!.

İL: Hıı işte.

SO: Especially weekends

SE: But, they sweep it.

At the weekends, sunday evening … 'Abi'… Well, there is a machine for it, it sweeps the beach.

İL: Hıı, just like that.

(S-BEABXw-0397-328)
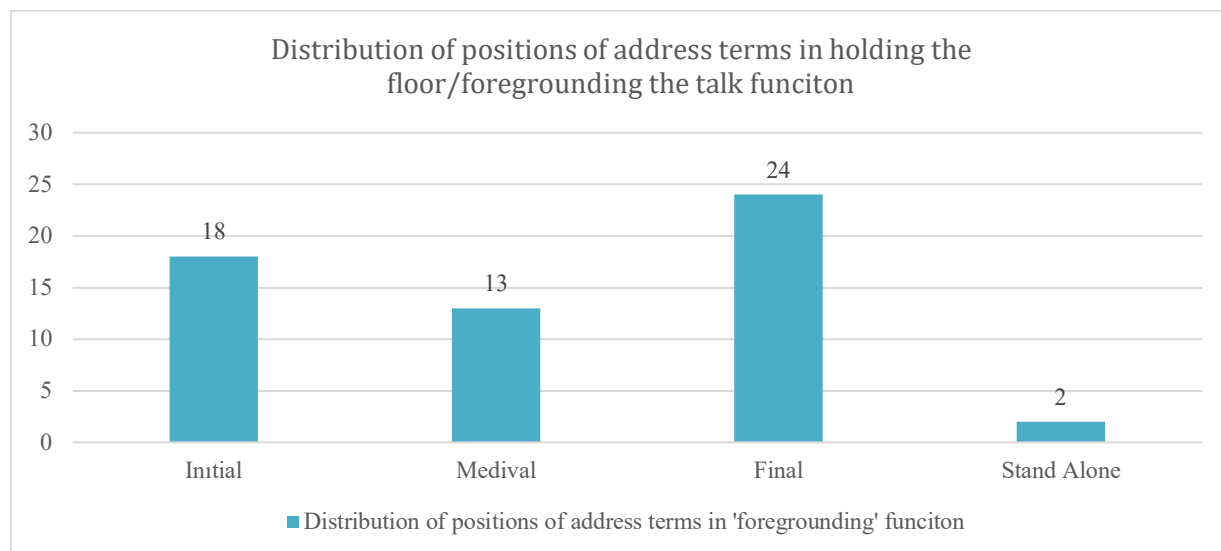
Figure 4.6. Distribution of positions of address terms in holding the floor/foregrounding the talk

(n=57)

As is clear from the Figure 4.6. given above, holding the floor/foregrounding address terms are mostly used in the final positions 32% (24 times) which is followed by initial positioned

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vocatives 23% (18 times), medival vocatives 42% and lastly address terms used in stand alone position is the least in the present data regarding foregrounding functions of Turkish address terms 3% (2).

When the targeted address terms are investigated in terms of 'holding the floor ' function, it is seen that *canım* is appeared 22 times, *abi* is employed to hold the floor 15 times, *sayın* is preffered in this function 12 times, *dostum* is used 5 times, *öğretmenim* is used 2 times and *aptal* is used only one time.

4.2.5. Involving non-conforming utterances, and disagreements

21% (212 times) of the address terms occur in the function of involving non-conforming utterances and disagreements. It is the most frequently detected function of Turkish address terms. That is why in this function address terms co-occur with a great variety of acts. Any kinds of acts which can be classified as face-threatining such as disagreements, demands tend to co-occur with address terms in Turkish. Address terms also involve non-conforming utterances about which the speaker is sure that the addressee won't like what I say.The speaker who is aware of the potential threat for the face of addresse tries to mitigate the threat by employing an address term. Before expressing the disagreement with the hearer or deny something speakers start the utterance with an address terms. (Clayman, 2010:161). Therefore, when the speaker will say something which the hearer doesn't want to hear, the speaker employ an address term as a face-saving device. Clayman also states that speakers used an address term even in a simple yes/no answers if they are thought that this yes or no can be face-threatining(ibid). It should be pointed that the mentioned threats are also there for speakers themselves and for even the third parties of the conversations and they are also mitigated by employing an address term.

In the literature, address terms used in such contexts are coded as face-saving devices or mitigators. These implications in the literature are based on the assumption that the address terms' connotation is positive, But, there are a large number of mockeries which can also be used in the ' non-conforming utterances'. Regarding this ignored usage, it can be concluded that when an address terms with negative connotation is used in the environment of non-conforming responses, it boosts the face-threatining effect of the utterances.

In the following example, there are two friends who have a talk related to 'likes' on social media. M ask İ's question back to him which drives him into a corner and threats his face. In response to this, İ utters a nonconforming response which treats the face of M. Also, Speaker İ is aware that his words aren't approved by Speaker M by saying 'kusura bakmayın da' he shows it.

(82)   İ : Hayır beğendin mi?

M : Sen benim hangi fotoğrafımı beğendin?

İ : Abi şimdi bak herkes aynı şeyi yapıyo da, kusura bakmayın bi fotoğrafla bi yazı aynı şey

değil.Ya birine verilen emekle ötekine verilen emek aynı mı?

M :Emek aynı olmayabilir.

İ: Nope just say did you like it ?

M: Which photo of me did you like ? (You didn't like any of them.)

İ: 'Abi' now think that everyone does the same think but I am sorry, a photo and a text aren't the same. Are the effort made for them same?

M: It is possible that they aren't same.

(S-BEABXO-0319-2)

Figuring out the address tokens used in service of involving non-conforming utterances and disagreement function, it can be shown that abi used in service of involving non-conforming utterances 61 times, dostum is used 32 times, sayın is seen 38 times, canım is appeared 53 times, öğretmenim is seen 17 times and aptal is used 12 times. As can be seen, this function of Turkish address term can be seen in any context and in any kinds of relationship.
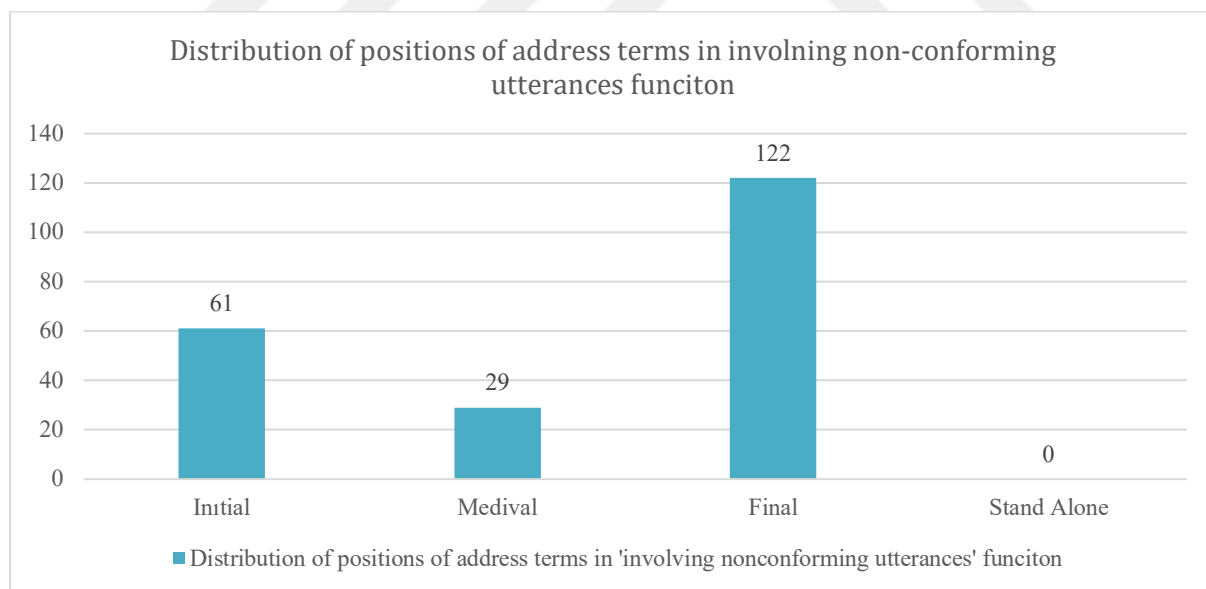
Figure 4.7. Distribution of positions of address terms in 'involving non-conforming utterances function'

(n=212)

According to the Figures given above, finally positioned address terms are used mostly in the service of involving non-conforming utterances function 57% (122 times) which is followed

by initially positioned address terms 295 (61 times), medially positioned address terms 14% (29 times). There is no instance showing stand alone address terms in this function. It is not suprising that finally positioned address terms are dominantly used in this function of Turkish address terms since this correlation shows that although the speaker threats the face of the addressee, he/she still wants to maintain the relationship. For example, in the example of "…Yeter artık Üzeyir Abi.." (W-DA16B3A-1040-715), the speaker both threaten the face of 'Üzeyir Abi' and he also point that you are still my 'abi' (brother).

4.2.6. Making listener remain focused

In the present sampled data, there are 55 address terms directed to make the listener remain focused. First, the speakers must grab their listeners' attention then they need to hold it to continue a smooth communication. Speakers employ address terms for this purpose. This is the speaker's hidden way of saying "Hey ,I am *still* talking with you." In some instances, 'making listener remain focused function' can be seen together with 'the holding the floor/foregrounding the talk function' thanks to multifunctional nature of the address terms. Generally, speakers use address terms to awaken the other parties of the communication when they talk too much, when they want to emphasis a certain part of their conversations, when they summarize what they have said,etc.

The following extract is a typical example of making listener remain focused function of Turkish address terms. Speaker tells the story of his journey second-by-second. During his long speech, he uses 'abi' to make speaker C remain focused. At the beginnings of the speech, there isn't any address terms, but when he feels that he talks too much at the end of his speech, he starts to employ an address term:

(83)   *C : Almanya'ya mı?*

   Ö : Kemerlerinizi bağlayın dedi.He Almanya'ya 2 saatte.

   Biz 9000 fitte gittik onlar 15000 biz 9000 fitte gittik.

   Ya bindim ilk defa bincem tamam mı, neyse hostesler mostesler geldi işte, kontrol ettik

   Kayışınızı bağlayın az sonra kalkıyoz falan dedi.

   Kaptan ben kaptan dedi. 30 saniye sonra kalkıyoz dedi.

   Yavaş yavaş gidiyo işte 30 saniye sonra kalkışımız var dedi.

   Lütfen kemerlerinizi bağlayın.

   Neyse abi bağladık.

Durdu durdu, a**na koyim pervanelerini bi çalıştırdı var ya anasını s**im geriye yaslanıyorum tamam mı, düz yolda bir ilerliyo a**na koyim ben böyle. Abi havalandı a**a koyim, içim bi hoş olmaya başladı benim.

Çıktı çıktı çıktı.

<B> Hay a**na koyim 9000 fit.

Çok pis oldum be.

C: To Germany ?

Ö: She said tighten your seatbelt. Yes, I flied to Germany. It took 2 hours.

We were at 9000 flight level, they were at 15000 we were at 9000.

Oh! I got on the plane. It would my first, is that all right? Anyway hostesses came, they said that we controlled it, fasten your sealtbelts, the plane would take off in just a moment Captain said that I was captain. After 30 seconds he/she said that the plane was taking off.

It was moving slowly you see he said that the plane would take off after 30 seconds.

Please fasten your seatbelts

Anyway 'abi' we fastened our sealtbelts.

He waited and waited and then suddenly he started the engine, damn it! I was leaning back capice?, he went straight in really fast wa, f.ck it!

The plane ascended continually

<B> f*ck it 9000 flight level

I felt really awful.   (S-BEABXW-0058-1)
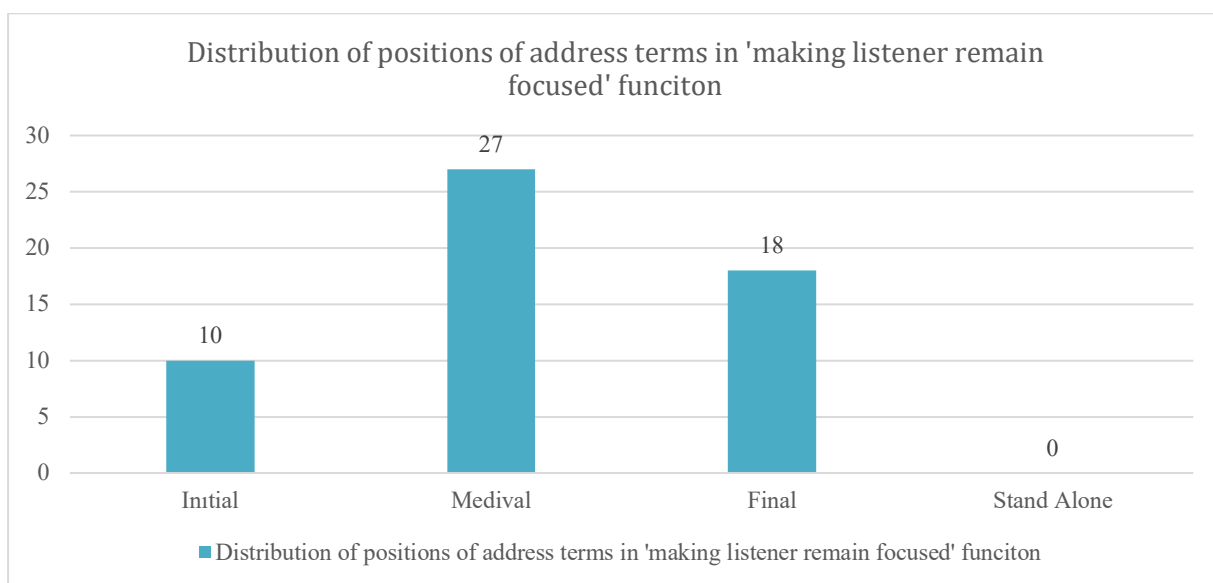
Figure 4.8. Distribution of postions of address terms in 'making listener remained focused' function   (n=55)

The address terms employ to make listener remain focused dominantly occur medially %49 (27 times). 33% of making focused address terms is appeared in the final positions. 18% of them are seen in the initial positions. Again, there is no example showing a making focused address terms in stand alone position. The dominance of medival address terms in this function is an expected result since as is mentioned they are used in the long speeches to keep audience alive.

Out of 55 address terms used for make listener remain focused, 21 of them belong to abi, 8 of them belong to dostum, 4 of them belong to canım, 3 of them belong to öğretmenim, 19 of them belong to sayın and there are no examples regarding aptal. As can be seen, this function of Turkish address term can be seen in formal and informal contexts. Extra long speeches are inherently coded functions of formal settings where speaker uses address terms to check whether they are still listening him/her or not. On the other hand, in informal speeches, it is not expected that a speaker dominate the whole conversation which makes the speakers use the address terms as a awakening device.

4.2.7. Selecting next speaker

Sometimes speakers choose who will speak after themselves by addressing the intended person. The speaker gives the turn to hearer by employing address terms especially during the conversations in which more than two interlocutors participate.In this way, speaker distinguish the hearer from the other participants and puts the hearer in the center of attention (Özcan, 2016:987). Selecting next speaker function of address terms are determined by some other scholars (Sacks et al. 1974; Lerner, 2003; Shiina, 2007; Clayman, 2010).

In the following example, there are five different speakers. Although she has four different options to choose as a next speaker, speaker Güllü selects speaker Hasan as next speaker by using the address term 'Hasan Abi'. The following examples also sheds new lights on the analysis of address terms. In the example, it is seen that Hasan doesn't give any verbal response to Güllü's words but it doesn't mean the failure of Güllü's selecting next speaker act. It is a good cue showing that while determining something related to address terms speakers intention must be taken into account rather than the result of this intention.

(84) *HÜSEYİN: Hepsi kurumuş. HASAN: Yok canım, hepsi değil. Birazını da ateşe verip yakmışlar. ALİ: Kesip satmışlar. Yakacak olarak kullanmışlar. GÜLLÜ: **Hasan Abi** o zaman bunu saklayalım. Görürlerse bunu da yakarlar. ZEYNEP: Su olmadan yaşayamaz ….*

HÜSEYİN: All of them are dead. HASAN: You don't say' Not all of them. They burnt some of them into the fire. ALİ: They cut it and sold them. They used as fuel. GÜLLÜ: 'Hasan Abi'

then let's hide it. If they notice, it they can fire it. ZEYNEP: They can not live without water ....

Address terms used to select the next speaker accounts for 12% (116 tokens) of all instances.There are totally 116 address terms indicating the function of selecting next speaker. Out of these 116 address terms, 38 of them are *abi*, 29 of them are *sayın*, 19 of them are dostum, 19 of them are dostum, 2 of them are aptal, 34 of them are *canım.*
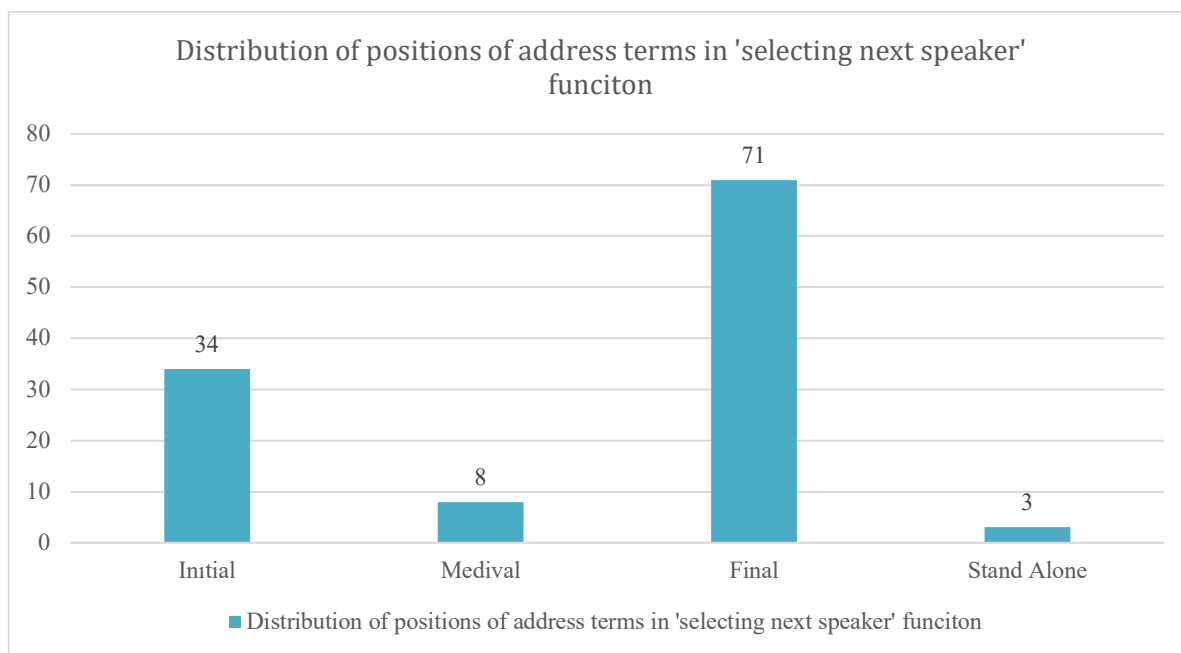
Figure 4.9. Distribution of positions of address terms in selecting next speaker function

(n=116)

Turkish address terms used in the selecting next speaker function are generally seen in final positions 61% (71 times). It is an expected finding that speakers should complete their own turn to select the next speaker. The other evidence supports this finding is that selecting address terms directed to next speaker function are mostly seen in an interrogative sentence. 29% of all address terms (34 times) in this category are used in initial positions followed by medial positions 7% (8 times). And lastly, only 3% of all instances are seen in the stand-alone position.

4.2.8. Situational role designation/ Setting the tone of the communication

There are 136 address terms used in the function of 'situational role designation/setting the tone of the communication' among 1008 address terms. It equals to 13% of total address terms investigated in this part of the present study. It is clear that all address terms themselves bring out the role of the addressee but in this function addressers intentionally use certain

address terms to show the addressee his/her role and to set the tone of the conversation. Situational role designation/setting the tone of the communication is used specially when the speakers feelings towards the addressee change. To set an example, a wife who is angry at her husband can address him as 'beyefendi' which doesn't reflect the relationship between them, it just show the role of the addressee assigned by the addresser. Wood and Kroger also reveal that address terms can be used to "set the tone of the interchanges" (1991).

Correspondingly, address terms set the tone of the communication. When the speaker starts the conversation by addressing the interlocutors as "hanımefendi", "beyefendi" most probably the hearer will say back an address term which is also formal. Also, what role each address terms plays can be differ from setting to setting. As it can be seen in the example (), speaker B designate the role of friend to speaker K by using the terms of familiarizers. Regarding this, the tone of the communication is informal.

(85)   *B: Ee! **moruk** ne yaptın **oğlum** yaa!*

*K:Ne yapıyım **moruk** ya evdeyiz sıcaklarda uğraşıyoruz.*

Sen ne yaptın?

*B: Valla ne olsun **dostum** yorgunum yorgunum yaa! Çalışıyorum biliyosun.*

*İnan var yaa! hiç takatim yok **birader**.*

B. Ee! moruk what did you do 'oğlum'

K: What could I do 'moruk' we are at home, we are coping with hot weather

What did you do?

B: Well, what can I say 'dostum' I am tired, very tired. You know I have been working.

Believe that I have no energy.

(S-BEABXO-0080-1)

A counter example can make the discussion more meaningful. The example given below proves that the address terms set the tone of the conversation since such an example is against the nature of communication. It is also obvious that when the speaker set this tone, the heaerer also follow the same path.

(85')   B: Ee! moruk ne yaptın oğlum yaa!

K:Ne yapıyım Sayın Burak Bey evdeyiz sıcaklarda uğraşıyoruz.

Sizler ne yaptınız efendim ?

B: Valla ne olsun dostum yorgunum yorgunum yaa! Çalışıyorum biliyosun.

İnan var yaa! hiç takatim yok birader.

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Sometimes, speakers use this function of address term as a strategy. In the following example, a conversation taken place in a police inquiry is depicted. A policewoman asks some questions to a criminal and the criminal directs the address term 'sayın polis teyzeciğim' to the policewoman. He chooses such an address term to present himself as an honest person by pretending like they are close enough to call her by a kinship terms while he still accepts her superiority (sayın).

(86)   *Cancun'a niye gittiniz? Bilmiyorum. Nasıl yani? Beni o kadın götürdü,* **Sayın**

   polis teyzeciğim. *Orada ne yaptınız?*

   Why did you go to Cancun? I don't know. How come? That woman took me, 'Sayın polis teyzeciğim' What did you do there?...

(W-EA16B3A-0570-851)

When the sampled address terms are investigated in terms of 'situational role designation/setting the tone of the conversation' functions. It is seen that *dostum* appears in this function 28 times, *canım* occurs 34 times, *abi* appeears 42 times, sayın apeears 23 times, *öğretmenim* appears 7 times and lastly *aptal* is seen only 2 times as in the service of the mentioned function.
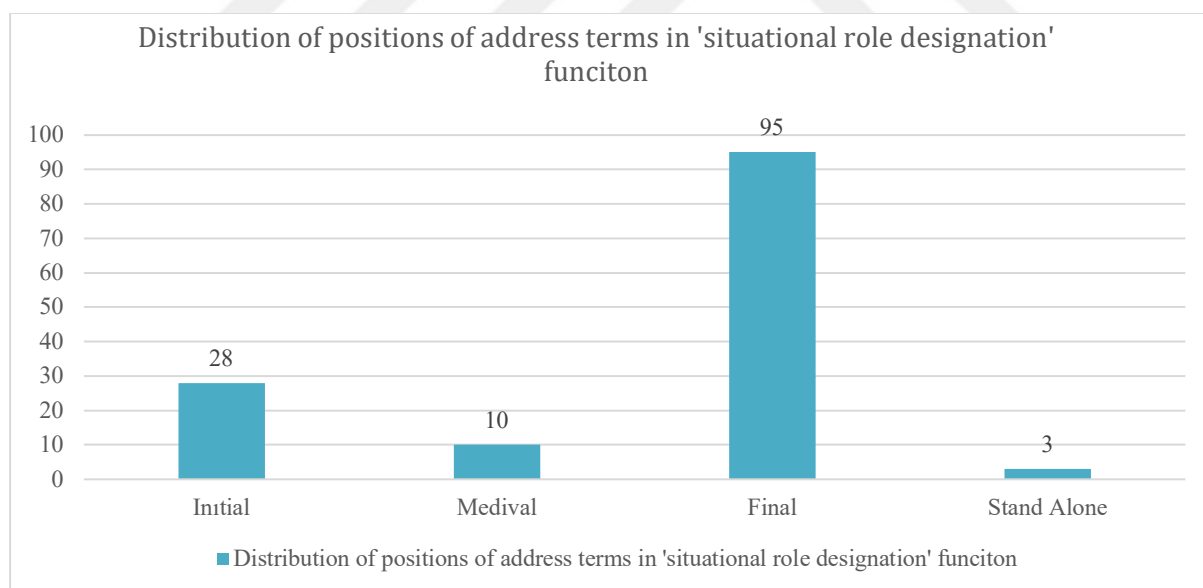
Figure 4.10. Distribution of positions of address terms in 'situational role designation/ setting the tone of the communication' function

(n=136)

When the address terms used to set the tone of the conversaions are investigated in terms of where they are placed in the sentence, it is revealed that address terms are mostly used in

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finally postioned 70% (95 times) which is followed by initially positioned address terms 21% (28 times) and medially positioned address terms 10 %(7 times), stand alone address terms 2% (3 times).

2.4.9. Topic Shifting

Topic shifting means that one of the participants of the communication change the discussion of the topic but the participant doesn't need to state the change explicitly. Speakers can employ address terms to raise the other issues. Address terms The same function also is detected in the studies of Clayman (2010), McCarthy & O'Keeffe (2003) and Busse (2006).

In the following example, there are two close friends who are chatting. As can be seen in the line 3 and line 4, while they are talking about one of their friends, the speaker Ö shifts the topic to a singer by the help of an address term:

(87)   C : Kaç kere şey değiştiricen.Onun için hiç uğraşmaya gerek yok.

Bin Mersin'den in Bolu'da.

<D 7> Aramadı Cengiz.

Ö : Aramadı ya, niye aramadı ben de anlamadım.

Abi bu Atiye çok sağlam.

 Bu şarkıyı söyleyen Atiye var ya, kız çok tatlı ya.

C: How many times will you change it ? There is no need to make an effort for it.

Get on the bus from Mersin and then get off the bus in Bolu.

<D 7> Cengiz didn't call.

Ö: Yes, he didn't call, I can not understand why he didn't call.

'Abi' Atiye is terrific.

Atiye who sings that song, the girl is so sweet.

(S-BEABXW-0058-2)

In the following example, it is clear that the speaker uses turn shifting achieved by an address term so as not to answer the questions of the other speaker. Firstly, he tries to gain some time by foregrounding the talk by the help of address terms (canım, hayatım) and then the address term 'bir tanem' prefaces the topic shif:

(88)   Beni seviyor musun? **Canım Hayatım. Bir tanem** *(Yahu bu ne biçim koku? Üstüme sinecek; inşallah Zeynep'in kullandıklarındandır.) Bu ne güzel parfüm... Adı ne?*

Do you love me? 'Canım Hayatım Bir tanem' (Man! what kind of frangrance is that? I will be scented with it. I hope it is one of Zeynep's frangrance). What a beautiful frangrance … What is its name? ..

(W-FA16B3A-0393-19)

Out of 89 instances, dostum appears in the function of 'topic shifting 16 times, canım occurs 28 times, abi appeaers 21 times, sayın apeears 17 times, öğretmenim appears 7 times and lastly aptal is not seen in the service of 'function. As repeated many times,
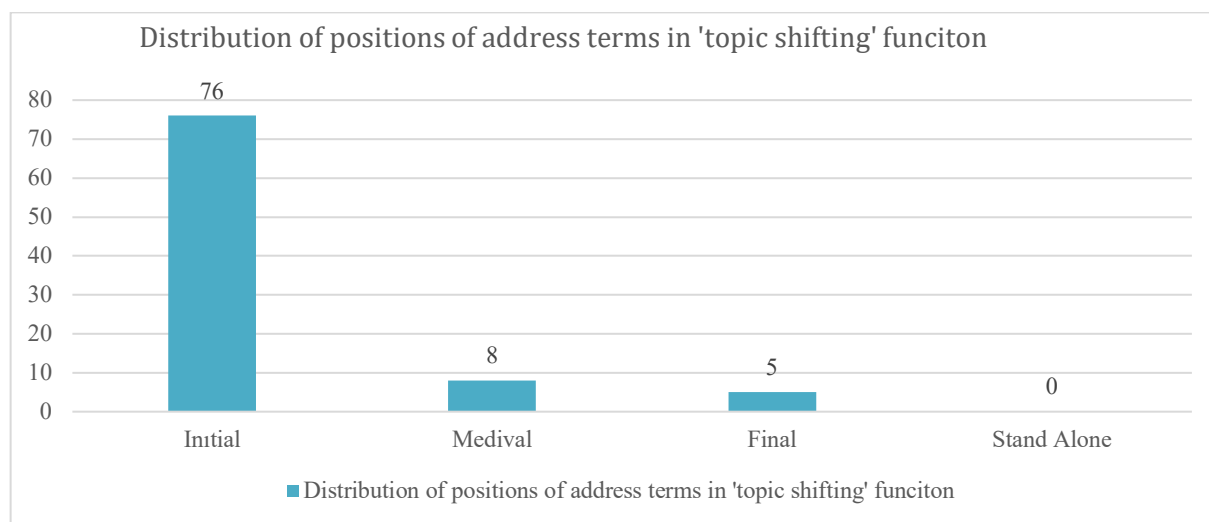
Figure 4.11. Distribution of positions of address terms in 'topic shifting' function

(n=89)

As is expected, address terms used to shift the topic occur mostly utterance initially in the present data. 85 % of the all instances (76 tokens) in this function is appeared in the sentence initial position which is followed by medially positioned address terms (9% ; 8 tokens) and final positioned address terms (%6 ; 5 tokens).

2.4.10. Softening/ Strengthening the virtual commands

Address terms are employed to soften the virtual commands. It functions as mitigator in the imperative sentences. Address terms mitigate the commands and make them more polite. In the following example which depicts a scene in which the tension between speakers is rising, it is clearly seen that the addresser is inferior than the addressee. In this aspect, he feels obliged to employ an address term even when he is ordering the other speaker around.

(89) *"Kesme Abi paramı." "Hakkını veriyorum." " Bir de hak deme Abi Ağrıma gidiyor. Bu*

   tantanayla paramı bırakmam sende." "Ne? Ne dedin? ...

   Don't encroach my money 'abi'. You got yours. Don't say it 'abi'. I take it to heart. I won't

   give up my money because of this discussion. What? What did you say?

<div align="center">(W-KA16B1A-0700-1320)</div>

The issue regarding mockeries which is mentioned under the title of 'involving non-conforming utterances function' is also seen in this function of address terms. Bearing the above-mentioned discussion in mind, it can be said that mockeries occurring with commands strengthen the effect of command rather than softening it. It shows the effects of address terms on how they change the implied meaning of the command. Each address terms attribute different face-threatening degrees to the commands. In the light of the following utterance which is detected in the corpus data, the hypothesis is tested below. As can be seen, while the utterance including command is kept fixed, the address terms co-occuring with it are changed to see their effects on the utterance. The result is presented in the Figure 4.12.

(90) *.... Sen önce şu sifon sesi konusunu halletsene canım aptal kardeşim....*

   .... Firstly, deal with the issue regarding flush sound 'canım aptal kardeşim'....

<div align="center">(W-RA16B2A-0062-689)</div>
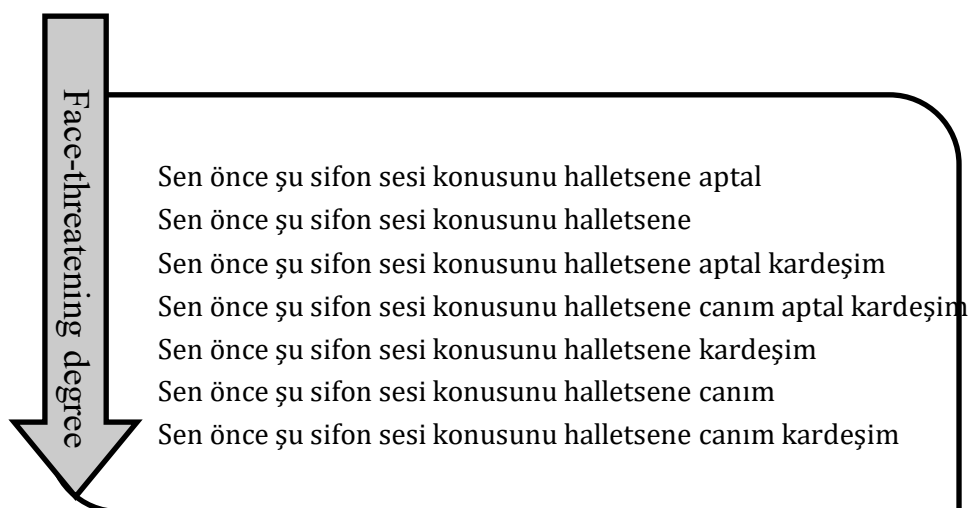
Figure 4.12. Effects of address terms on face-threatening degree of a command

Additionally, it can be stated that abi is used 16 times, canım is used 40 times, dost is used 30 times, sayın is used 16 times, öğretmenim is used 4 times, aptal is used 10 times in the function of softening or strengthening the virtual command.

Address terms uttered to soften or strengthen the commands are mostly appeared in the final positions.In this aspect, it can be said that speaker prefer employing address term as a mitigator after the heaerer heard the whole command. 58% of all instances (68) refer to address terms used in final position. Additionally, sentence-initial address terms are used in a frequent way to make the hearer prepared for the commands. 10% of the total instances are seen in the medival position. Lastly, there is only one instance showing stand alone usage of address terms.

Figure 4.13. shows statistical data regarding the address terms' distribution of positions in softening/strengthen the command function:

Distribution of positions of address terms in 'softening the virtual command' funciton

Distribution of positions of address terms in 'topic shifting' funciton
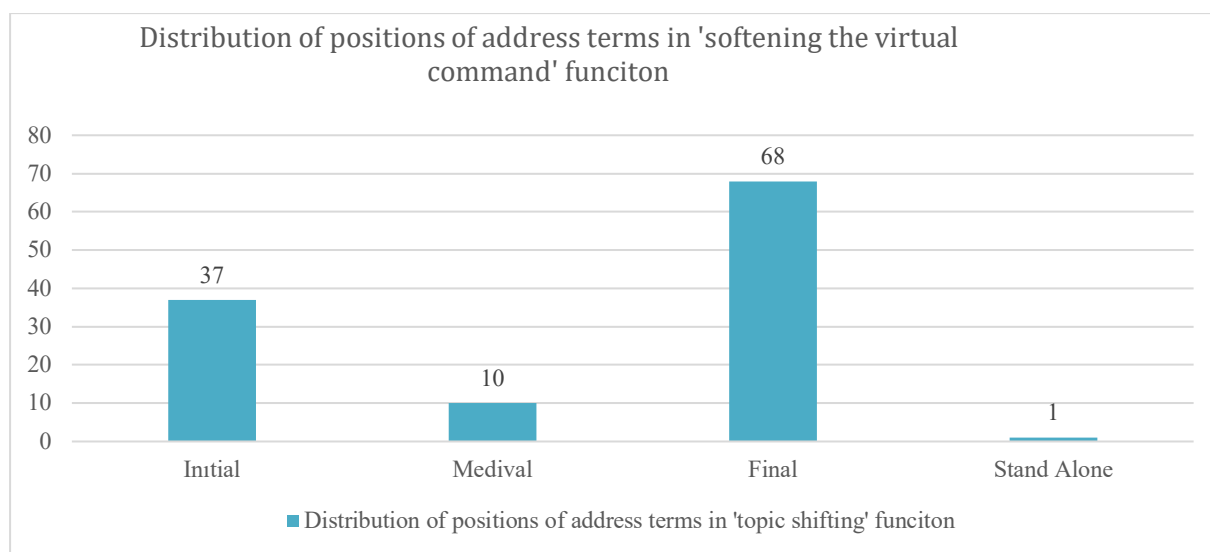
Figure 4. 13. Distribution of positions of address terms in 'softening the virtual commands' (n=116)

As Clayman states that some functions of address terms are naturally "established by the activity structure and participation framework" according to the environment in which they are used (2010:162). It means that certain environments are expected to bring along certain functions of address terms. To give an example, classroom environment naturally add certain functions –making listener remained focused, attracting the attention of the speaker- to address terms which means that the intention of the addressee may not be using address terms in the service of these actions. It also shows that the above mentioned functions are secured even if when the addressee used any address term to reach another aim rather than these two. These facts make some points related to address terms clear. Firstly, it is proved that address terms can have different functions beyond the ones which are called as "main functions". Secondly, the environment in which the address term employed assigns certain functions to the address terms, independently of what the speaker may or may not want to assign these functions. Thirdly, as can be understood from the previous point the speaker can employ the address terms in the

service of different functions than the ones which are assigned naturally by the environment. Fourthly, an address terms can have more than one function at the same time thanks to the environment, intention of the participants, relationships between participants, etc. Lastly, all these facts make analyzing context which directly affect the results in order to investigate address terms compulsory.

In Turkish address terms are seen in four different positions in the sentence: final, initial, medival and stand alone. Altough their distributions are investigated in the subcategories of functions one by one. Taking a closer look to their overall distributions in the data can be insightful:
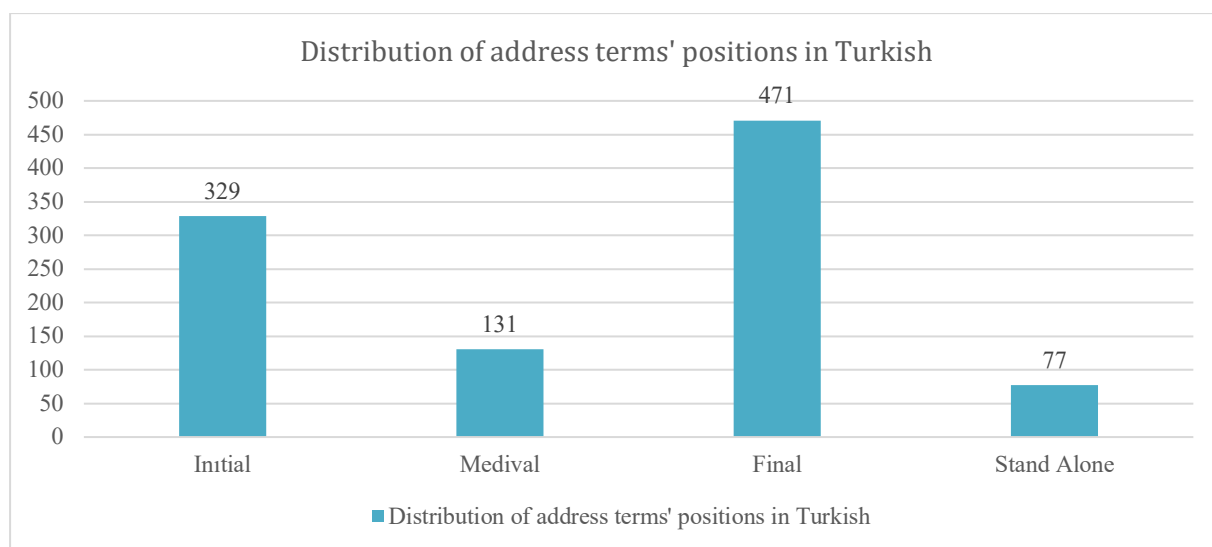
Figure 4.14 Distributions of the positions

(n=1008)

To conclude, it can be said that address terms in Turkish are dominantly seen in the final positions sequencially followed by initial, medival and stand alone positions. As is revealed by some scholars (Leech, 1999; McCarthy and O'Keeffe, 2003; Shiina, 2007, Wood and Kroger, 1991; Clayman,2010) address terms's functions greatly depend on their positions in the sentences. In the present study, it is revealed that certain functions correlate with certain positions. As discussed above, softening the virtual commands, situational role designation, selecting next speaker, involing the non-conforming utterences, holding floor functions correlate with finally positioned address terms. On the other hand, topic shifting and attention gathering functions correlate with initially positioned address terms. Making listener remain focused function of address terms correlates with medially positioned address terms while conveying the feeling function correlates with stand alone positions.

5. CONCLUSION

The current study aims at investigating the linguistic devices which can be used as address terms in Turkish address system and which address terms are permissible and meaningful in Turkish culture. The second purpose of the study is proposing a new classification for address terms in Turkish. Thirdly, one of the main aims is to explore whether any generalisations can be made on the functions of address in Turkish address systems. Lastly, the present study aims to identify where an address term is seen in naturally occurring interactions taken from a corpus data, and what communicative functions are achieved when it is used in such positions.

To reach these above-mentioned aims, a multimethod approach is employed which is the most distinctive feature of the present study. To avoid the potentially unnatural and imaginary responses gathered from surveys, interviews, etc., the data regarding address terms is collected by the help of native speaker intuition, observation, internet sources and the previous studies conducted on the address terms. In order to analyze the complied list of address terms, data provided by the TNC is used. Data gathered from corpus reflects the social reality by the help of describing many different interpersonal relationships in many different settings. Also, because of the lack of suitable data, there are only a few researches that analyze address terms in context. This paper aims to help fill this gap by analyzing address terms by the help of this unique set of data that reflect contemporary Turkish. The material itself (TNC V.3.0) gives a unique opportunity to explore the Turkish address system.On the basis of the corpus data, classification and functions of typical use of address terms are proposed and their positions are investigated.

1227 address terms are detected in the present study. Compelling variation of the terms which are ignored by the previous studies are also signified in the present study as suggested in Braun (1988). The results demonstrate that there are various kinds of address terms. That can be explained by the Hofstede's words collectivistic cultures like Turkish are programmed to distinguish the every members of one category of people from another. (Hofstede, 1994:6).

The address terms on the predetermined list are checked one by one to decide whether they are seen as an address term in the corpus. The result of this labour-intensive process is hoped to be useful for tagging Turkish address terms in TNC.v.3. Also, searching 1227 address terms in the corpus provides a huge amount of data which makes the study more reliable.

As can be seen, there is a wide array of address terms to employ for the addressees in different social positions and situated interpersonal roles. By adapting Braun's classification (1988) these address terms are classified under three main categories namely verbal, nominal and pronominal address terms. And then, nominal address terms are divided into eight different sub-categories: endearment terms, honorifics, titles, mockeries, familiarizers, kinship terms,

fictive kinship terms, and names. As can be seen, the most significant side of this classification is that it includes address term categories such as mockeries which is totally ignored by the previous studies It is hoped that this classification can fill the gap regarding classifications of address terms in Turkish mentioned under the title of review of literature.

Each address categories suggested by the present study is investigated in terms of their usage, their semantic implications, their connections with the other address categories, their relationships with Turkish culture and thanks to this investigation the present study unravels many untouched features regarding each category. Şen states that address terms are one of the linguistic devices which prove the richness of Turkish's expression techniques (Şen, 2008:627). In line with this richness, a lot of unreported usages of address terms are detected in the present study.

The distinctive features which are hoped to be useful to distinguish a subcategory from the other subcategories are determined. Especially, the way proposed to distinguish fictive kinship terms from true kinship terms is hoped to provide great amount of contribution to the existing knowledge of Turkish address system.

As mentioned before, address terms are coded as external units of sentences in Turkish literature because they are loosely attached to the sentence in which they are seen. But, the present study reveals that address terms in Turkish are *multifunctional* linguistic units.In the present study the following functions of Turkish address terms are detected: agreeing, attention gathering, conveying the feeling, holding the floor/foregrounding the talk, involving non-conforming utterances, and disagreements, making the listener remain focused, selecting next speaker, situational role designation/ setting the tone of the communication, softening the virtual commands, topic shifting. It is hoped that the findings regarding functions of address terms contribute to the understanding of address terms.

Thanks to their loosely attachable natures which make them marked as external units of sentences, address terms can be used in four different positions in Turkish: initial, medival, final and stand alone positions. Depending where address terms are seen, their functions vary. It is revealed that certain postions are directly tied to certain functions of address terms. To give an example, it can be said that address terms are dominantly used in final postions when they are used in service of involving non-conforming responses, or they are mostly used in stand alone position when they are used to convey the meaning.

The undertaken analysis of Turkish address terms presents new understanding regarding the Turkish address terms. The results of the present study have a great number of implications for language learning and teachning practices, psychology, sociology, translation studies, natural language processing studies.

Some suggestions regarding address terms are given below:

It must be noted that all types of the address terms and even all the address terms mentioned in the present study are worthy of analysis in their own right. The future researchers can be sure that studies that will be conducted on even one of these address terms chosen from the given list will provide them fruitful linguistic data.

Hyed points the importance of investigating address terms in cross-linguistic perspective. In that sense, she points that cross-linguistic perspective helps researchers to detect certain patterns regarding address terms which can otherwise go unnoticed (2014: 274). In a similar way, Dadmehr and Moghaddam points that crosslinguistic studies make researchers aware of similarities regarding address terms in two and more languages can "facilitate attaining linguistic universals" (2014:20). When it is considered from this point of view, the findings of the present study can be used as a data of a future study which will be conducted in the cross-lingustic perspective. It is suggested to conduct a crosslinguistic study to compare Turkish address terms and address terms of any other language. In this way it is ensured that the culture-specific use of address terms becomes apparent when comparing the use of address terms in the other language.

As can be seen, there is an urgent need to describe address systems in Turkish from multi-disciplinary approach. Further studies which will bring the approaches of psychology, sociology, etc. and linguistics together the explain the address system will highly contribute to the literature in Turkish.

Address terms in Turkish can be revisited in years to present a new approach related to changes in Turkish address terms.

The present study is conducted on usage of address terms and additional light may be shed on what happens when the speakers don't employ any kinds of address terms such as "İsim neydi? " " Ne lazımdı ?" Also, there is great scope here to expand research on address terms used by politicans, and there are signs that this is underway.

There are remarkable differences between the usages of address terms in spoken and written data. Investigating these differences certainly provides inspiring data.

As mentioned before there are some difficulties to determine where address terms are seen. In the present study, Leech's suggestions are applied to determine the positions of address terms but suggesting a model special to Turkish will provide great contribution to the field.

In various social media interactions users employ different address terms to designate each other and these address terms can provide researchers with different data set when compared the ones found in the present study. Address terms used in different contexts can be compared. All the address term examples can be tagged in Turkish National Corpus to provide future researchers with a comprehensive database. Also, address terms can be examined in terms of their stylistic variations.

It is detected that some address terms start to loose their addressing functions such as canım and abi (Olur mu abi ya, yok canım) and they are mostly used in certain formulaic expressions which is not used to address someone. In the present data, it is clearly seen that speakers can use these formulaic expressions even when they talk themselves such as (hadi canım, yok artık abi ya) and also they are easily used in the contexts in which normally using endearment term (canım) or kinship term (abi) is not appropriate which are shown as the prove of this hypothesis which should be tested by a future study. In a similar way, there are some difficulties in distinguishing mockeries from expletives. A further study aiming to present the differences between them can contribute to the field.

Conducting a new study by using STD (Spoken Turkish Corpus) (Ruhi, Eröz-Tuğa, Hatipoğlu, IşıkGüler, Acar, Eryılmaz, Can, Karakaş, Çokal Karadaş, 2010) as a control corpus certainly sheds new lights on the address system of Turkish.

The limited sides of the present study are left for the future studies. It is clear that still there is a need for a study which covers both microlinguistic such as phonologic and macrolinguistic such as sociopragmatic features of address terms in Turkish.

Lastly, deciding whether the findings of the present study are on the right track or not is up to future studies.

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX 1

Endearment terms	Address term	Observed in the corpus/ Not observed in the corpus
1.	(bitter) Çikolatam	Observed
2.	Acar yanım	Observed
3.	Afacan	Observed
4.	Afet	Not observed
5.	Ağzını /yüzünü yediğim	Not observed
6.	Ahu	Observed
7.	Akıl küpü / Akıl küpüm	Not observed
8.	Akıllı	Observed
9.	Altınım	Observed
10.	Aşk böceğim	Not observed
11.	Aşkıcantom	Not observed
12.	Aşkilet	Not observed
13.	Aşkilibilitom	Not observed
14.	Aşkım	Observed
15.	Aşkımsu	Not observed
16.	Aşkısı	Not observed
17.	Aşkitella	Not observed
18.	Aşkito	Not observed
19.	Aşkitom	Observed
20.	Aşkitoşko	Not observed
21.	Aşko	Not observed
22.	Aşkoş	Not observed
23.	Aşkoşum	Not observed
24.	Aşkuşum	Not observed
25.	Ay ışığım	Not observed
26.	Ay parçam	Not observed
27.	Ay parçası	Observed
28.	Azizem	Observed
29.	Bal	Observed
30.	Bal böceği	Not observed
31.	Bal dudaklı(ım)	Not observed
32.	Bal gözlüm	Observed
33.	Bal küpüm	Not observed
34.	Balım	Observed
35.	Balım kaymağım	Observed
36.	Ballim	Not observed
37.	Ballisi	Not observed
38.	Başımın bahtı	Observed
39.	Başımın tatlı belası	Observed
40.	Bebeğim	Observed
41.	Bebek	Observed
42.	Bebekim	Not observed
43.	Bebiko	Not observed
44.	Bebiş	Observed
45.	Bebişim	Observed
46.	Bebito	Not observed

47.	Belalım	Observed
48.	Belam	Observed
49.	Beybi	Observed
50.	Beybi su	Not observed
51.	Beybisi	Not observed
52.	Bi tanem	Observed
53.	Bıcırık	Observed
54.	Bıdık	Observed
55.	Bir tanem	Observed
56.	Biriciğim	Observed
57.	Biricik	Observed
58.	Bitecik (Bitecik noun) -	Observed
59.	Bızdık	Observed
60.	Böceğim	Not observed
61.	Böcüğüm	Not observed
62.	Boncuğum	Not observed
63.	Boncuk	Observed
64.	Bücürük	Not observed
65.	Buğday gözlüm	Observed
66.	Bülbülüm	Observed
67.	Can kurban	Not observed
68.	Can kuşum -	Not observed
69.	Can yoldaşım	Observed
70.	Canan	Observed
71.	Cancağızım	Observed
72.	Caniko	Observed
73.	Canikom	Observed
74.	Canım	Observed
75.	Canım benim	Observed
76.	Canım ciğerim	Observed
77.	Canımcığım	Observed
78.	Canımın cananı	Not observed
79.	Canımın canı	Observed
80.	Canımın içi	Observed
81.	Canımın içinin içi	Observed
82.	Canımın kıvırcığı	Observed
83.	Canımın kıvırcığı	Observed
84.	Canıms	Not observed
85.	Canına yandığım	Not observed
86.	Canını sevdiğim	Not observed
87.	Caniş	Not observed
88.	Canısı	Observed
89.	Canişko	Not observed
90.	Cankuş	Not observed
91.	Cano	Observed
92.	Canparem	Not observed
93.	Çatalkaram	Not observed
94.	Cennet gözlüm	Observed
95.	Cennetim	Not observed
96.	Çerâğım	Observed
97.	Ceylanım	Observed
98.	Çiçeğim	Observed

99.	Çiçek kokulu sevgilim	Observed
100.	Cicim	Observed
101.	Ciciş	Not observed
102.	Cicişko	Not observed
103.	Ciğerim	Observed
104.	Ciğerimin köşesi	Observed
105.	Cimcime	Not observed
106.	Çirkinim	Observed
107.	Çıtır	Not observed
108.	Çitlembik	Not observed
109.	Çitlenbik	Not observed
110.	Civanım	Observed
111.	Civcivim	Observed
112.	Darling	Observed
113.	Denizkızı saçlım	Observed
114.	Derde dermanım	Observed
115.	Dilber	Observed
116.	Dinim	Observed
117.	Dünya güzeli	Observed
118.	Dünyam	Not observed
119.	Ebruli düşlerimin kahramanı	Observed
120.	Elmasım	Observed
121.	En sevdiğim	Not observed
122.	En yakınım	Observed
123.	Erkeğim	Observed
124.	Esmer Bomba	Not observed
125.	Esmer güzeli	Not observed
126.	Esmerim	Observed
127.	Evimin direği	Observed
128.	Evimizin direği	Observed
129.	Fındığım	Not observed
130.	Fındık	Not observed
131.	Fındık farem	Not observed
132.	Fındık kurdu	Not observed
133.	Fıstığım -	Not observed
134.	Fıstık	Not observed
135.	Gadam	Not observed
136.	Gadasını aldığım	Observed
137.	Gamzelim	Not observed
138.	Ganim	Not observed
139.	Gecemin ışığı	Observed
140.	Geleceğim	Observed
141.	Göğsümün sol yarısı	Observed
142.	Goncam	Not observed
143.	Gönlümün ışığı	Observed
144.	Gönlümün sahibi	Not observed
145.	Gönlümün sultanı	Observed
146.	Gönlümün tahtı	Observed
147.	Gönüldeş	Not observed
148.	Gönüldeşim	Observed
149.	Göz bebeği	Observed
150.	Göz bebeğim	Not observed

151.	Gözleri bal	Observed
152.	Gözüm	Observed
153.	Gözümün bebeği	Observed
154.	Gözümün çırası	Not observed
155.	Gözümün nuru	Observed
156.	Gözünün yağını yediğim	Not observed
157.	Gül pembe	Not observed
158.	Gül yüzlü/yanaklı	Observed
159.	Gülo	Not observed
160.	Gülüm	Observed
161.	Günahsızım	Observed
162.	Gündüzüm	Not observed
163.	Güneşim	Observed
164.	Güzelim	Observed
165.	Güzeller güzeli	Observed
166.	Güzellik	Observed
167.	Hasretim	Observed
168.	Hayat arkadaşım	Not observed
169.	Hayatım	Observed
170.	Hayatımın anlamı	Not observed
171.	Hayatımın neşesi	Not observed
172.	Helalim	Not observed
173.	Her şeyim	Observed
174.	Hicranım	Observed
175.	Hilal kaşlım	Observed
176.	İki gözceğizim	Not observed
177.	İki gözüm	Observed
178.	İki gözümün çiçeği	Not observed
179.	İlk aşkım	Not observed
180.	İlk göz ağrım	Not observed
181.	İnci	Not observed
182.	İnci tanem	Not observed
183.	İpekböceği saçlım	Observed
184.	Işığım	Observed
185.	İyilik meleğim	Not observed
186.	Kadersizim	Observed
187.	Kadınım	Observed
188.	Kahrım	Observed
189.	Kalbim	Observed
190.	Kalbimin sahibi	Not observed
191.	Kalbimin sultanı	Not observed
192.	Kar tanem	Observed
193.	Kara gözlüm	Observed
194.	Kara kaşlım	Observed
195.	Karabiberim	Not observed
196.	Karam	Observed
197.	Kaşı kemanım	Observed
198.	Kavuklum	Observed
199.	Kaymağım	Not observed
200.	Kelebeğim	Observed
201.	Kıblegâhım	Observed
202.	Kıymetlim	Observed

203.	Kolum kanadım -	Observed
204.	Kömür gözlüm	Observed
205.	Küçüğüm	Observed
206.	Küçük adamım	Observed
207.	Kuğum	Observed
208.	Kumralım	Observed
209.	Kurban olduğum	Observed
210.	Kuşum	Observed
211.	Kuzu	Observed
212.	Kuzucuğum	Observed
213.	Kuzum	Observed
214.	Kuzuşko	Not observed
215.	Lokum	Not observed
216.	Lokumum	Not observed
217.	Manita	Not observed
218.	Maralım	Observed
219.	Meleğim	Observed
220.	Melek	Observed
221.	Melek yüzlüm	Not observed
222.	Miniğim	Observed
223.	Minik farem	Observed
224.	Miniş	Observed
225.	Minnoş	Not observed
226.	Minnoşum	Not observed
227.	Muradım	Observed
228.	Mutluluğum	Not observed
229.	Namusum	Observed
230.	Nar tanem	Observed
231.	Nefesim	Not observed
232.	Neşe kaynağım	Not observed
233.	Neşem	Not observed
234.	Nişanlım	Observed
235.	Nur tanem	Not observed
236.	Nur-ı aynım	Observed
237.	Nurum	Observed
238.	Ömrüm	Not observed
239.	Ördeğim	Observed
240.	Parçam	Observed
241.	Sabahlarım	Observed
242.	Şekerim	Observed
243.	Şekerpare -	Observed
244.	Selvi boylum	Observed
245.	Serserim	Not observed
246.	Sevdiceğim	Observed
247.	Sevdicek	Not observed
248.	Sevdiğim	Observed
249.	Sevgili	Observed
250.	Sevgilim	Observed
251.	Sevimli	Observed
252.	Sigaramın ilk nefesi	Not observed
253.	Şirin sözlüm	Observed
254.	Şirinlikmuskam/Şirinlik muskası	Not observed

255.	Sol yanım	Observed
256.	Sözlüm	Not observed
257.	Sultanım	Observed
258.	Sunam	Not observed
259.	Tacım	Observed
260.	Tahtım	Observed
261.	Taklım	Not observed
262.	Talihsizim	Observed
263.	Tatlı dillim -	Not observed
264.	Tatlım	Observed
265.	Tatlış	Not observed
266.	Tatlışım	Not observed
267.	Taze fidanım	Observed
268.	Telli turnam	Not observed
269.	Tipini sevdiğim	Not observed
270.	Tomurcuk	Observed
271.	Tontiş	Not observed
272.	Tontişim	Not observed
273.	Tontonikom	Not observed
274.	Tuti dillim	Observed
275.	Uğur böceğim	Not observed
276.	Ümit çiçeğim	Observed
277.	Umut gözlüm	Observed
278.	Üzüm tanem	Observed
279.	Vazgeçilmezim	Observed
280.	Yakut/ Yakutum	Not observed
281.	Yar	Observed
282.	Yaralı ceylan	Observed
283.	Yaralım	Observed
284.	Yarim	Observed
285.	Yavru	Observed
286.	Yavuklu	Observed
287.	Yediverenim	Observed
288.	Yıldızım	Observed
289.	Yoluna öldüğüm	Not observed
290.	Yüreğimin huzuru	Observed
291.	Zümrütüm	Not observed
Honorifics		
292.	Asâlet-meab	Not Observed
293.	Bay	Observed
294.	Bayan	Observed
295.	Bayanlar	Observed
296.	Bayanlar baylar	Observed
297.	Bayım	Observed
298.	Bey	Observed
299.	Beyim	Observed
300.	Beyler	Observed
301.	Beyzade	Not Observed
302.	Beyzadem	Observed
303.	Bilge	Observed
304.	Büyüğüm	Observed
305.	Büyüğümüz	Observed

306.	Büyük	Observed
307.	Büyük hanım	Observed
308.	Çâker-nevaz	Not Observed
309.	Çaker-perver	Not Observed
310.	Değerli	Observed
311.	Devletli	Observed
312.	Devletlü	Observed
313.	Efendi	Observed
314.	Efendim	Observed
315.	Efendizadem	Observed
316.	Ekselans	Observed
317.	Faziletli	Observed
318.	Han	Observed
319.	Hanım	Observed
320.	Hanımefendi	Observed
321.	Hanımefendiciğim	Observed
322.	Hanımım	Observed
323.	Haşmetli	Observed
324.	Haşmetlüm	Observed
325.	Hazret	Observed
326.	Hazretleri	Observed
327.	Hörmetli	Not Observed
328.	Hörmetlimiz	Not Observed
329.	Hürmetli	Not Observed
330.	Kıymetli	Observed
331.	Kudretli	Observed
332.	Kutlu	Not Observed
333.	Küçük bey	Observed
334.	Küçük efendi	Not Observed
335.	Küçük hanım	Observed
336.	Lord	Not Observed
337.	Lordum	Observed
338.	Madam	Observed
339.	Majeste	Not Observed
340.	Majesteleri	Not Observed
341.	Matmazel	Observed
342.	Medarı İftiharımız	Observed
343.	Mösyö	Observed
344.	Muhterem	Observed
345.	Mukaddes	Not Observed
346.	Mübarek	Observed
347.	Necip	Observed
348.	Saygıdeğer	Observed
349.	Sayın	Observed
350.	Şevketlim	Observed
351.	Soylu	Observed
352.	Üstad	Observed
353.	Velinimetim	Observed
354.	Yüce	Observed
355.	Zat-ı ali	Not Observed
356.	Zat-ı şahane	Not Observed
357.	Zatı-Şahaneleri	Not Observed

358.	Zatualiniz	Not Observed
Titles	Ahi	Not Observed
359.	Albay	Observed
360.	Albayım	Observed
361.	Amir	Observed
362.	Amirim	Observed
363.	Arabacı	Observed
364.	Asker	Observed
365.	Astsubay	Observed
366.	Avukat	Observed
367.	Ayan	Not Observed
368.	Bakan	Observed
369.	Bakanım	Observed
370.	Bakkal	Observed
371.	Barmen	Observed
372.	Başbakan	Observed
373.	Başçavuş	Not Observed
374.	Başhekim	Observed
375.	Başkan	Observed
376.	Casus	Observed
377.	Cumhurbaşkanı	Observed
378.	Cumhurbaşkanım	Observed
379.	Çavuş	Observed
380.	Çerçi	Observed
381.	Çırak	Observed
382.	Dadı	Observed
383.	Dekan	Observed
384.	Dekanım	Observed
385.	Derviş	Observed
386.	Doktor	Observed
387.	Elçi	Observed
388.	Emektar	Observed
389.	Er	Not Observed
390.	Eren	Not Observed
391.	Erenler	Observed
392.	Eskici	Observed
393.	Garson	Observed
394.	Gazeteci	Observed
395.	Genel başkan	Not Observed
396.	Genelkurmay başkanı	Observed
397.	General	Observed
398.	Hafız	Observed
399.	Hakim	Observed
400.	Han	Observed
401.	Hancı	Observed
402.	Hekim	Observed
403.	Hemşire	Observed
404.	Hemşirem	Observed
405.	Hoca	Observed
406.	Hocam	Observed
407.	İmam	Observed

408.	İmamzade	Not Observed
409.	Kahveci	Observed
410.	Kalfa	Observed
411.	Kaptan	Observed
412.	Katip	Not Observed
413.	Kaymakam	Observed
414.	Komiser	Observed
415.	Komiserim	Observed
416.	Komser	Observed
417.	Komutan	Observed
418.	Komutanım	Observed
419.	Kral	Observed
420.	Kralım	Observed
421.	Kraliçe	Observed
422.	Kraliçem	Observed
423.	Lala	Observed
424.	Lider	Observed
425.	Liderim	Observed
426.	Makamlı	Not Observed
427.	Memur	Observed
428.	Memure	Not Observed
429.	Miço	Observed
430.	Milletvekili	Observed
431.	Molla	Observed
432.	Muhtar	Observed
433.	Müdire	Observed
434.	Müdür	Observed
435.	Müdürüm	Observed
436.	Müezzin	Observed
437.	Mühendis	Observed
438.	Öğretmen	Observed
439.	Öğretmenim	Observed
440.	Padişah	Observed
441.	Padişahım	Observed
442.	Paşa	Observed
443.	Paşam	Observed
444.	Paşazade	Not Observed
445.	Patron	Observed
446.	Pazarcı	Observed
447.	Pehlivan	Not Observed
448.	Pir	Observed
449.	Pirim	Not Observed
450.	Prens	Observed
451.	Prenses	Observed
452.	Prensesim	Observed
453.	Prensim	Observed
454.	Profesör	Observed
455.	Reis	Observed
456.	Rektör	Not Observed
457.	Rektör Yardımcım	Observed
458.	Rektör Vekilim	Observed
459.	Rektörüm	Observed

460.	Savcı	Observed
461.	Sebzeci	Observed
462.	Sekreter	Observed
463.	Seyyid	Not Observed
464.	Sütçü	Not Observed
465.	Şef	Observed
466.	Şefim	Observed
467.	(bülbülü) Şeyda	Observed
468.	Taksici	Not Observed
469.	Teğmen	Observed
470.	Usta	Observed
471.	Uşak	Observed
472.	Üsteğmen	Observed
473.	Vali	Observed
474.	Vali paşa	Not Observed
475.	Vekilim	Observed
476.	Yargıç	Observed
477.	Yüksekokul Müdürüm	Observed
Mockeries		
478.	(Aç) kurt	Observed
479.	(Kart)Horoz	Observed
480.	Adi	Observed
481.	Ağır vasıta	Not Observed
482.	Akılsız	Observed
483.	Aksak	Not Observed
484.	Akşamcı	Not Observed
485.	Alçak	Observed
486.	Alemci	Not Observed
487.	Allahın belası	Observed
488.	Allahın cezası	Observed
489.	Allahlık	Observed
490.	Allahsız	Observed
491.	Allahsız kitapsız	Observed
492.	Allahsız tosbağa	Observed
493.	Amele	Not Observed
494.	Ampul	Not Observed
495.	Apaçi	Not Observed
496.	Aptal	Observed
497.	Aptal aşık	Observed
498.	Armut	Observed
499.	Artist	Observed
500.	Artist bozuntusu	Observed
501.	Aşağılık	Observed
502.	Aşifte	Not Observed
503.	At ağızlı	Not Observed
504.	Avanak	Observed
505.	Ayı	Observed
506.	Ayı boğan	Not Observed
507.	Aymaz	Observed
508.	Ayyaş	Observed
509.	Azgın	Observed
510.	Azman	Observed

511.	B.k	Observed
512.	B.k böceği	Not Observed
513.	B.k çuvalı	Not Observed
514.	B.kum	Not Observed
515.	Bacaksız	Observed
516.	Badem	Observed
517.	Barzo	Not Observed
518.	Baş belası	Not Observed
519.	Başımın belası	Observed
520.	Bebe	Observed
521.	Bela	Observed
522.	Besleme	Not Observed
523.	Beyinsiz	Observed
524.	Bitli	Observed
525.	Borazan	Not Observed
526.	Boyu devrilesice	Observed
527.	Böcek	Observed
528.	Budala	Observed
529.	Bunak	Observed
530.	Bücür	Observed
531.	Büzük	Not Observed
532.	Cadaloz	Observed
533.	Cadı	Observed
534.	Camız	Not Observed
535.	Canavar	Observed
536.	Canımın dışı	Observed
537.	Canına yandığımın ..	Observed
538.	Cani	Observed
539.	Civelek	Not Observed
540.	Cüce	Observed
541.	Çapsız	Not Observed
542.	Çirkin	Observed
543.	Çolak	Not Observed
544.	Çomar	Not Observed
545.	Çöm	Not Observed
546.	Çömez	Observed
547.	Çulsuz	Not Observed
548.	Dalavereci	Not Observed
549.	Dallama	Observed
550.	Dana	Observed
551.	Davar	Observed
552.	Değişik	Not Observed
553.	Deli	Observed
554.	Dengesiz	Observed
555.	Denyo	Observed
556.	Deyyus	Observed
557.	Dingil	Observed
558.	Dinsiz	Observed
559.	Dinsiz imansız	Observed
560.	Dinsiz oğlu dinsiz	Observed
561.	Dişlek	Not Observed
562.	Dobik	Not Observed

563.	Dobiş	Not Observed
564.	Dobişko	Not Observed
565.	Dombalak	Not Observed
566.	Dombili	Not Observed
567.	Domuşuk	Not Observed
568.	Domuz	Observed
569.	Dört göz	Not Observed
570.	Duba	Not Observed
571.	Düdük	Observed
572.	Dümbük	Observed
573.	Dünkü b.k	Observed
574.	Dürzü	Observed
575.	Düzenbaz	Observed
576.	Eksik etek	Not Observed
577.	Embesil	Observed
578.	Ergen	Observed
579.	Eşek	Observed
580.	Eşek kafalı	Observed
581.	Eşek oğlu eşek	Observed
582.	Eşek sıpası	Observed
583.	Eşkıya	Observed
584.	Eşşoğlusu	Observed
585.	Et kafalı	Observed
586.	Fahişe	Observed
587.	Faşist	Observed
588.	Faşo	Not Observed
589.	Faydasız	Not Observed
590.	Fırfır	Not Observed
591.	Fırıldak	Not Observed
592.	Fırlama	Not Observed
593.	G.t	Observed
594.	G.t lalesi	Not Observed
595.	G.tlek	Not Observed
596.	G.toş	Observed
597.	G.tü b.klu	Not Observed
598.	Gavur	Observed
599.	Gazman	Not Observed
600.	Geberesice	Observed
601.	Gerzek (kafalı)	Observed
602.	Gevşek	Observed
603.	Gevşek ağızlı	Observed
604.	Gıcık	Observed
605.	Göbelek	Not Observed
606.	Görgüsüz	Observed
607.	Hain	Observed
608.	Hapishane kaçkını	Not Observed
609.	Haspam	Observed
610.	Haşerat	Not Observed
611.	Haşere	Not Observed
612.	Haydut	Observed
613.	Hayırsız	Observed
614.	Haylaz	Observed

615.	Haysiyetsiz	Observed
616.	Hayta	Observed
617.	Hayvan	Observed
618.	Hayvan eti yemiş	Not Observed
619.	Hayvan oğlu hayvan/hayvanat	Observed
620.	Hergele	Observed
621.	Hınzır	Observed
622.	Hırbo	Observed
623.	Hırt	Not Observed
624.	Hıyar	Observed
625.	Hıyar ağası	Not Observed
626.	Hıyarto	Observed
627.	Hint fukarası	Not Observed
628.	Hödük	Observed
629.	Irzı kırık	Not Observed
630.	İbne	Observed
631.	İbnetor	Not Observed
632.	İki yüzlü	Observed
633.	İpne	Observed
634.	İşe yaramaz	Observed
635.	İt	Observed
636.	İtoğluit / it oğlu it	Observed
637.	Kabak	Not Observed
638.	Kabak kafa /kafalı	Not Observed
639.	Kaçık	Observed
640.	Kafir	Observed
641.	Kalas	Not Observed
642.	Kancık	Observed
643.	Kapçık ağızlı	Observed
644.	Kaşar	Not Observed
645.	Kaşık düşmanı	Not Observed
646.	Katır	Not Observed
647.	Kaz kafalı	Observed
648.	Kazma	Observed
649.	Kazma sapı	Observed
650.	Keçi	Not Observed
651.	Keçi b.ku	Not Observed
652.	Keko	Observed
653.	Kel	Observed
654.	Keltoş	Observed
655.	Kenar dilberi	Not Observed
656.	Kenar gülü	Not Observed
657.	Kepçe kulak	Not Observed
658.	Keranacı	Observed
659.	Keriz	Observed
660.	Kerkenez	Not Observed
661.	Keş	Observed
662.	Kevaşe	Observed
663.	Kıl kuyruk	Not Observed
664.	Kılıksız	Not Observed
665.	Kırık	Not Observed
666.	Kızıl kurt	Not Observed

667.	Koca bebek	Observed
668.	Koca kafa	Observed
669.	Kokmuş	Observed
670.	Kolpa	Not Observed
671.	Korkak	Observed
672.	Köpeoğlu	Not Observed
673.	Kuduruk	Observed
674.	Kunduz	Not Observed
675.	Lağım suratlı	Not Observed
676.	Lanet olası	Observed
677.	Lavuk	Not Observed
678.	Mal	Observed
679.	Mal değneği	Not Observed
680.	Man kafa	Not Observed
681.	Manda	Observed
682.	Manyak	Observed
683.	Marsık	Not Observed
684.	Maskara	Observed
685.	Mayasız	Observed
686.	Maymun	Not Observed
687.	Mendebur	Observed
688.	Meymenetsiz	Observed
689.	Mikrop	Observed
690.	Mirasyedi	Not Observed
691.	Moruk (ihtiyar)	Observed
692.	Moskof	Observed
693.	Muşmula suratlı	Not Observed
694.	Namussuz	Observed
695.	Or.spu	Observed
696.	Orman kaçkını	Not Observed
697.	Osuruklu	Not Observed
698.	Otlakçı	Not Observed
699.	Öküz	Observed
700.	Ömür törpüsü	Not Observed
701.	Pasaklı	Observed
702.	Patates çuvalı	Not Observed
703.	Pavyoncu	Not Observed
704.	Pezevenk	Observed
705.	Piç	Observed
706.	Pigme	Not Observed
707.	Pislik	Observed
708.	Pok	Not Observed
709.	Salak	Observed
710.	Sansar	Observed
711.	Sapık	Observed
712.	Sığır	Observed
713.	Sırtlan	Observed
714.	Sıska	Not Observed
715.	Soyka	Not Observed
716.	Soykasından kalasıca	Not Observed
717.	Soysuz	Observed
718.	Soytarı	Observed

719.	Susak	Observed
720.	Sümsük	Observed
721.	Sümüklü	Not Observed
722.	Süt kuzusu	Observed
723.	Şebelek	Observed
724.	Şişko	Observed
725.	Şom ağızlı	Observed
726.	Tavernacı	Not Observed
727.	Terbiyesiz	Observed
728.	Tıfıl	Not Observed
729.	Tırrek	Not Observed
730.	Tırsak	Not Observed
731.	Tipsiz	Not Observed
732.	Tombalak	Not Observed
733.	Top	Observed
734.	Topal	Not Observed
735.	Utanmaz arlanmaz	Observed
736.	Uyuşuk	Observed
737.	Uyuz	Observed
738.	Üçkağıtçı	Not Observed
739.	Vefasız	Observed
740.	Yalancı	Observed
741.	Yamuk (kafalı)	Observed
742.	Yamyam	Not Observed
743.	Yaramaz	Observed
744.	Yarım akıllı	Not Observed
745.	Yavur dölü	Not Observed
746.	Yer elması	Not Observed
747.	Yobaz	Observed
748.	Yosma	Observed
749.	Yumoş	Not Observed
750.	Yumuşak	Not Observed
751.	Yüz karası	Observed
752.	Zalim	Observed
753.	Zavallı	Not Observed
754.	Zındık	Observed
755.	Zibidi	Observed
756.	Zilli	Observed
757.	Zirzop	Observed
758.	Zurna	Observed
759.	Zübük	Not Observed
Familiarizers		
760.	Adam	Observed
761.	Adamım	Observed
762.	Adamın dibi	Not Observed
763.	Adaş	Not Observed
764.	Adaşım	Observed
765.	Ahali	Observed
766.	Ahbap	Observed
767.	Ahretlik	Observed
768.	Allahın adamı	Observed
769.	Allahın kulu	Not Observed

770.	Anam babam	Observed
771.	Anam bacım	Observed
772.	Arap	Observed
773.	Arkadaş	Observed
774.	Arkadaşım	Observed
775.	Arkideş	Not Observed
776.	Arslan	Not Observed
777.	Arslan parçası	Not Observed
778.	Arslanım	Observed
779.	Aslan	Observed
780.	Azizim	Observed
781.	Baba dostu	Not Observed
782.	Babacan	Not Observed
783.	Babalık	Observed
784.	Babator	Not Observed
785.	Babito	Not Observed
786.	Baboli	Not Observed
787.	Babuş	Not Observed
788.	Bacılık	Not Observed
789.	Badi	Not Observed
790.	Baro	Not Observed
791.	Başdaş (akran)	Not Observed
792.	Beybiliboy	Not Observed
793.	Boolum (arkadaş)	Not Observed
794.	Bro	Not Observed
795.	Cancan	Not Observed
796.	Cemaat	Observed
797.	Cemaat-ı Müslimin	Observed
798.	Cengaver	Not Observed
799.	Çerkez	Observed
800.	Çingen	Not Observed
801.	Çingene	Observed
802.	Çitlenbik	Not Observed
803.	Dadaş	Not Observed
804.	Danacan	Not Observed
805.	Deli fişek	Not Observed
806.	Delikanlı	Observed
807.	Derdo	Not Observed
808.	Devrem	Observed
809.	Din kardeşim	Not Observed
810.	Dost	Observed
811.	Dostum	Observed
812.	Dünyalı	Observed
813.	Ede (kardeş)	Not Observed
814.	Efe	Observed
815.	Ekip	Not Observed
816.	Eleman	Observed
817.	Ellam	Not Observed
818.	Entel	Observed
819.	Fanti	Not Observed
820.	Gakko /gakkoş	Not Observed
821.	Gardaş	Observed

822.	Gardiş	Not Observed
823.	Genco	Not Observed
824.	Genç	Observed
825.	Gençler	Observed
826.	Gençlik	Observed
827.	Göbel	Not Observed
828.	Gözlük	Not Observed
829.	Gundi	Not Observed
830.	Gurban	Observed
831.	Güzel insan	Observed
832.	Hacı	Observed
833.	Hacı baba	Observed
834.	Hacı cavcav	Observed
835.	Halk	Observed
836.	Hemçağım	Observed
837.	Hemşehrim	Observed
838.	Hemşerim	Observed
839.	İhtiyar	Observed
840.	İnsan	Observed
841.	İnsanlar	Observed
842.	Kaçak	Observed
843.	Kada	Not Observed
844.	Kadın	Observed
845.	Kank	Observed
846.	Kanka	Observed
847.	Kankaşk	Not Observed
848.	Kankeyta	Not Observed
849.	Kankeyto	Not Observed
850.	Kanki	Observed
851.	Kankilop	Not Observed
852.	Kankiş	Not Observed
853.	Kankit	Not Observed
854.	Kankito	Not Observed
855.	Kankitom	Not Observed
856.	Kankittin	Not Observed
857.	Kanklüpto	Not Observed
858.	Kankut	Not Observed
859.	Kaplan	Not Observed
860.	Kaplanım	Observed
861.	Kara (bıyılı/kaşlı/gözlü)	Observed
862.	Kardaşlığım	Not Observed
863.	Kardaşlık	Observed
864.	Kardeşceğizim	Not Observed
865.	Kardeşlik	Not Observed
866.	Kardi	Not Observed
867.	Kardo	Not Observed
868.	Kartal	Not Observed
869.	Kartalım	Not Observed
870.	Keke	Observed
871.	Kenks	Not Observed
872.	Kerata	Observed
873.	Kınalı	Observed

874.	Kıvırcık	Not Observed
875.	Kızıl	Observed
876.	Kirve	Observed
877.	Kirvemoğlu	Observed
878.	Kişi	Observed
879.	Koç	Observed
880.	Koçero	Not Observed
881.	Koçito	Not Observed
882.	Komşu	Observed
883.	Komşum	Observed
884.	Konuklar	Observed
885.	Kopil	Not Observed
886.	Köfte	Not Observed
887.	Köftehor	Observed
888.	Köylü	Observed
889.	Kurban	Observed
890.	Kurbani	Not Observed
891.	Kurt adam	Observed
892.	Küçük	Observed
893.	Külhani	Not Observed
894.	Küpeli	Observed
895.	Kürt	Not Observed
896.	Laz	Not Observed
897.	Leylek	Not Observed
898.	Maşer (halk)	Not Observed
899.	Memleketlim	Not Observed
900.	Millet	Observed
901.	Mirim	Observed
902.	Misafirler	Observed
903.	Monşer	Observed
904.	Moruk	Observed
905.	Mümin (kardeşim)	Not Observed
906.	Mümine	Not Observed
907.	Müminler	Observed
908.	Müslüman	Observed
909.	Müslüman kardeşlerim	Observed
910.	Oligarşik	Observed
911.	Optik	Not Observed
912.	Ortağım	Observed
913.	Ortak	Observed
914.	Ortaks	Not Observed
915.	Orti	Not Observed
916.	Öksüz	Observed
917.	Pampa	Not Observed
918.	Pampik	Not Observed
919.	Pampirella	Not Observed
920.	Pampişko	Not Observed
921.	Pamuk	Not Observed
922.	Panpa	Not Observed
923.	Panpiş	Not Observed
924.	Pompişim	Not Observed
925.	Ponçiğim	Not Observed

926.	Ponçik	Not Observed
927.	Poşet	Not Observed
928.	Rafık	Not Observed
929.	Refik	Observed
930.	Renktaş	Not Observed
931.	Saf	Observed
932.	Safım	Observed
933.	Sınıf	Not Observed
934.	Sırdaşım	Observed
935.	Şahıs	Observed
936.	Şampiyon	Not Observed
937.	Şaşkın	Observed
938.	Şehirli	Observed
939.	Şeker	Observed
940.	Takım	Observed
941.	Takımdaş	Not Observed
942.	Taş bebek	Not Observed
943.	Tavşan	Observed
944.	Tertip	Observed
945.	Tonton	Observed
946.	Toprağım	Not Observed
947.	Toprak	Not Observed
948.	Toraman	Observed
949.	Tosbağa	Not Observed
950.	Tospik	Not Observed
951.	Tosun	Not Observed
952.	Tosunum	Observed
953.	Ufaklık	Observed
954.	Ümmeti insan	Observed
955.	Ümmeti muhalefet	Observed
956.	Ümmeti muhammed	Not Observed
957.	Üyeler	Observed
958.	Vatandaşlar	Observed
959.	Voyn	Not Observed
960.	Yakışıklı	Observed
961.	Yaren	Not Observed
962.	Yavru kuş	Observed
963.	Yetim	Observed
964.	Yiğidim	Observed
965.	Yiğido	Not Observed
966.	Yiğit	Observed
967.	Yörük	Not Observed
968.	Yumurcak	Observed
969.	Zenci	Not Observed
Kinship terms		
970.	Aba	Observed
971.	Abba	Not Observed
972.	Abi	Observed
973.	Abican	Not Observed
974.	Abiciğim	Observed
975.	Abicik	Observed
976.	Abim	Observed

977.	Abisi	Observed
978.	Abiş	Not Observed
979.	Abla	Observed
980.	Ablacan	Not Observed
981.	Ablacığım	Observed
982.	Ablacık	Observed
983.	Ablam	Observed
984.	Ablası	Observed
985.	Abloş	Observed
986.	Ağa baba	Not Observed
987.	Ağababa	Observed
988.	Ağabey	Observed
989.	Ağabeyciğim	Observed
990.	Ağabeyim	Observed
991.	Ağbi	Observed
992.	Ahfat (Torun)	Not Observed
993.	Aka (Abi)	Not Observed
994.	Akraba	Not Observed
995.	Amca	Observed
996.	Amca kızı	Observed
997.	Amca oğlu	Not Observed
998.	Amcacığım	Observed
999.	Amcam	Observed
1000.	Amcam kızı	Not Observed
1001.	Amcam oğlu	Observed
1002.	Amcazade	Not Observed
1003.	Ana	Observed
1004.	Anacığım	Observed
1005.	Anacık	Observed
1006.	Analık	Not Observed
1007.	Anam	Observed
1008.	Anası	Not Observed
1009.	Anasının kuzusu	Observed
1010.	Anne	Observed
1011.	Anne sultan	Observed
1012.	Anneanne	Observed
1013.	Anneciğim	Observed
1014.	Annelerin gülü	Not Observed
1015.	Annem	Observed
1016.	Annesi	Observed
1017.	Annesinin kuzusu	Not Observed
1018.	Anoş	Not Observed
1019.	Arvat	Not Observed
1020.	Ata	Not Observed
1021.	Atalık	Not Observed
1022.	Atam	Not Observed
1023.	Atam ötem	Not Observed
1024.	Avrat	Observed
1025.	Ayal (Wife)	Not Observed
1026.	Aybala	Observed
1027.	Aybalam	Not Observed
1028.	Baba	Observed

1029.	Baba efendi	Not Observed
1030.	Babaanne	Observed
1031.	Babacığım	Observed
1032.	Babacık	Observed
1033.	Babalık	Observed
1034.	Babam	Observed
1035.	Babam oğlu	Not Observed
1036.	Baboş	Not Observed
1037.	Bacanak	Observed
1038.	Bacı	Observed
1039.	Bacım	Observed
1040.	Bala	Observed
1041.	Balama	Not Observed
1042.	Baldız	Observed
1043.	Beslemelik	Not Observed
1044.	Bey amca	Observed
1045.	Bey baba	Observed
1046.	Bey kardeşim	Observed
1047.	Beybaba	Observed
1048.	Beygana (büyükanne)	Not Observed
1049.	Bibi	Observed
1050.	Bibigelin	Not Observed
1051.	Bila (Kız kardeş)	Not Observed
1052.	Bilader	Observed
1053.	Birader	Observed
1054.	Bizim kız	Not Observed
1055.	Bizim oğlan	Observed
1056.	Böle (amca kızı)	Not Observed
1057.	Buba	Observed
1058.	Bula (gelin)	Not Observed
1059.	Büyük anne	Not Observed
1060.	Büyükanne	Observed
1061.	Büyükpeder	Not Observed
1062.	Cice	Not Observed
1063.	Cici ana	Not Observed
1064.	Cici baba	Not Observed
1065.	Cicianne	Observed
1066.	Çağa (çocuk)	Not Observed
1067.	Çocuğum	Observed
1068.	Çocuk	Observed
1069.	Çocuklar	Observed
1070.	Çocuklarımın annesi/anası	Not Observed
1071.	Çocuklarımın babası	Not Observed
1072.	Damat	Observed
1073.	Dayı	Observed
1074.	Dayı oğlu	Not Observed
1075.	Dayıcığım	Observed
1076.	Dayıcık	Not Observed
1077.	Dayım	Observed
1078.	Dayızade	Not Observed
1079.	Dede	Observed
1080.	Dedeciğim	Observed

1081.	Dedecik	Observed
1082.	Dedem	Observed
1083.	Dide	Not Observed
1084.	Döl döş (torun)	Not Observed
1085.	Düğür	Not Observed
1086.	Dünür	Observed
1087.	Ebe	Observed
1088.	Ebegarı (nine)	Not Observed
1089.	Eci (anneanne) (dedenin hanımı)	Not Observed
1090.	Efendi baba	Observed
1091.	Ehil (karı)	Not Observed
1092.	El kızı (gelin) ref.	Not Observed
1093.	Emmi	Observed
1094.	Emmim	Not Observed
1095.	Emmoğlu	Observed
1096.	Enişte	Observed
1097.	Ergişi	Not Observed
1098.	Erim	Not Observed
1099.	Etfal (çocuk)	Not Observed
1100.	Ev Şenliği	Not Observed
1101.	Ev Uşağı	Not Observed
1102.	Evlat	Observed
1103.	Evlatcığım	Not Observed
1104.	Evlatçık	Not Observed
1105.	Evlatlık	Not Observed
1106.	Eyce (nine)	Not Observed
1107.	Gelin	Observed
1108.	Gelin bacım	Not Observed
1109.	Gelin kız	Not Observed
1110.	Gelinim	Observed
1111.	Gız	Observed
1112.	Gızım	Observed
1113.	Görüm	Not Observed
1114.	Görümce	Observed
1115.	Görümüm	Not Observed
1116.	Güvey	Not Observed
1117.	Güveyi	Not Observed
1118.	Hakıra	Not Observed
1119.	Hala	Observed
1120.	Hala oğlu	Not Observed
1121.	Halacığım	Observed
1122.	Halacık	Not Observed
1123.	Halam oğlu	Not Observed
1124.	Halazade	Not Observed
1125.	Haltı (teyze)	Not Observed
1126.	Haminne	Observed
1127.	Hanım (eş)	Observed
1128.	Hanım abla	Observed
1129.	Hanım anne	Observed
1130.	Hanım kardeş	Not Observed
1131.	Hanım kardeşim	Not Observed
1132.	Hanım kız	Not Observed

1133.	Hanım teyze	Observed
1134.	Hanımanne	Observed
1135.	Harem (kadın/eş)	Not Observed
1136.	Hatun bacım	Not Observed
1137.	Hemşire	Observed
1138.	Herif	Observed
1139.	Hısım	Not Observed
1140.	İç güveyi	Not Observed
1141.	Kadın anam	Not Observed
1142.	Kanım	Not Observed
1143.	Kardaş kızan	Not Observed
1144.	Kardeş	Observed
1145.	Kardeşcağızım	Observed
1146.	Kardeşim	Observed
1147.	Kardeşims	Observed
1148.	Karı	Observed
1149.	Karıcığım	Observed
1150.	Kayınço	Observed
1151.	Kayınvalide	Not Observed
1152.	Kaynata	Not Observed
1153.	Kerime	Not Observed
1154.	Kerimem	Not Observed
1155.	Kız	Observed
1156.	Kızan	Observed
1157.	Kızçe	Not Observed
1158.	Kızçem	Not Observed
1159.	Kızım	Observed
1160.	Koca karı	Not Observed
1161.	Kocaana/Kocana/Gocana	Not Observed
1162.	Kocakarı	Observed
1163.	Kocam	Observed
1164.	Kociş	Not Observed
1165.	Kocişim	Not Observed
1166.	Kocişko	Not Observed
1167.	Kuzen	Observed
1168.	Kuzi	Not Observed
1169.	Kuzin	Not Observed
1170.	Küçük kardeş	Not Observed
1171.	Küçük kardeşim	Observed
1172.	Mahdum (erkek evlat)	Not Observed
1173.	Mayna (nine)	Not Observed
1174.	Nene	Observed
1175.	Oğlan	Observed
1176.	Oğlancık	Observed
1177.	Oğlum	Observed
1178.	Oğluş	Observed
1179.	Oğluşum	Not Observed
1180.	Oğul Uşak (torun)	Not Observed
1181.	Oğulluk	Not Observed
1182.	P.kumun oğlu	Not Observed
1183.	Paşa baba	Observed
1184.	Peder	Observed

1185.	Soyum sopum	Not Observed
1186.	Süt kardeşim	Not Observed
1187.	Süt kız	Not Observed
1188.	Sütnine	Not Observed
1189.	Şvester (kız kardeş)	Not Observed
1190.	Taygeldi (üvey kardeş)	Not Observed
1191.	Tede (dede)	Not Observed
1192.	Teyze	Observed
1193.	Teyze kızı	Not Observed
1194.	Teyze oğlu	Not Observed
1195.	Teyzeciğim	Observed
1196.	Teyzem	Observed
1197.	Teyzesi	Observed
1198.	Teyzezade	Not Observed
1199.	Torun	Not Observed
1200.	Torunum	Observed
1201.	Uşağum	Observed
1202.	Uşak	Observed
1203.	Üvey ana/üvey anam	Not Observed
1204.	Üvey anne/üvey annem	Not Observed
1205.	Üvey baba	Not Observed
1206.	Üvey kardeş	Not Observed
1207.	Valide	Observed
1208.	Veled	Observed
1209.	Yavrucağızım	Not Observed
1210.	Yavrucuğum	Observed
1211.	Yavrum	Observed
1212.	Yavrum evladım	Observed
1213.	Yavrumun kuzusu	Not Observed
1214.	Yavrumun yavrusu	Not Observed
1215.	Yavruş	Not Observed
1216.	Yeğen	Observed
1217.	Yeğenim	Observed
1218.	Yenge	Observed
1219.	Yengeciğim	Observed
1220.	Yengem	Observed
1221.	Yiğen	Not Observed
1222.	Yiğenim	Observed
1223.	Zade (oğul)	Not Observed
1224.	Zevce	Not Observed
1225.	Zevcem	Not Observed
1226.	Zevcim	Observed
1227.	Zevç	Not Observed

APPENDIX 2

Endearment terms

Küçük adamım

Uzun ömürler, turp gibisin, **küçük adamım**. Emin adımlarla mükemmel adamlığa yürüyorsun (W-DA16B2A-0863-2)

Afacan

Gelip yanıbaşına oturuyorum. "Yat bakalım **afacan**." diyorum. Masalı okumaya başlıyorum: "Bir varmış bir yokmuş... (W-KA16B4A-0147-88)

Akıllı (Akıllı+Noun)

PATRON Kapa çeneni. SÜSLÜ KEDİ **Akıllı** babam! PATRONUN KARISI **Akıllı** kocam! (W-VA14B1A-1601-136)

Altınım

Aman Allah'ım Mehmet'im ha, yiğidim ha, baş yastığım ha, nasıl gidersin, bizi bırakıp nasıl gidersin, biz sensiz ne yaparız! **Altınım**, mücevherim, servetim..." diye inliyor (W-RA16B2A-0840-4)

Aşkım

Yedide çıktım. Niye mi. Yok artık **aşkım** bilmiyor musun pazartesileri öyle çıkıyorum hep. Sen gerçekten sinirlisin bugün (W-TA16B1A-0919-80)

Ay parçası (Ay parçası+ Noun)

Ey ay parçası sevgilim, yaşayabildiğimiz kadar yaşayacağız birlikte. Her bir an bizim için vazgeçilmez olacak. (W-QI22C1A-0532-19)

Işığım

"Benim **ışığım**, sabahlarım, Boğaziçim, sevdiğim. Bilmem bu mektup sana ulaşacak mı? Keşke bir telefonla konuşabilsek de sana, beni merak etme diyebilseydim. (W-PA16B4A-0162-25)

(Küçücük) Parçam

Tüm olan bitenin ortasındasın küçücük parçam, usulca zehirlenen melek; ben yangının işgüzar uşaklarından, sen nefesin zorlanana dek kumla dost... (W-OA16B4A-0127-13)

Sabahlarım

Benim ışığım, **sabahlarım**, Boğaziçim, sevdiğim. Bilmem bu mektup sana ulaşacak mı? Keşke bir telefonla konuşabilsek de sana, beni merak etme diyebilseydim (W-PA16B4A-0162-2)

Azizem

İstiyorsan ki bi-haber kalalım Bi-karâri-i kalbi sevdadan, Ey **azizem,** severken ayrılalım... (W-BA16B3A-1918-3)

Bal (Bal +Noun)

"**Bal** kardeşim" dedi, "tüm bu konuştuklarımızda gerçek payı vardır elbet. Ancak bazıları sadece söylenti olabilir.(W-JA16B2A-0759-202)

Gözleri bal

Süzen ve Kemal için uğraşmak, didinmek değerdi. "Süzen, **gözleri bal** Süzenim!" dedi. Karısını çok severdi. Hâlâ ilk evlendikleri yılın taze sevgisi yüreğinde yaşamakta idi. (W-OA16B1A-0509-249)

Balım

Hani, insanı, huri okulunda "genç kız rüyalarına eleştirel yaklaşımlar" dersinde Profesör Loveless'a ders malzemesi yapacak cinsten duygular! "Hadi **balım,** daha neler?(W-SA16B0A-0132-3)

Balım kaymağım

Günaydın Arkadaşlar. Ne güzel Bilgiler vermişsin "Pimpirikli" Teşekkürler. Hitap şeklinide beğendim **balım kaymağım..** (W-VI44F1D-4747-1)

Başımın tatlı belası

Korka korka ağabeyine baktı. Öyle sevimliydi ki. **"Başımın tatlı belası!"** diyerek gülmeye başladı Bora. Diğerleri de ona katıldılar. (W-LA16B1A-1252-1)

Başımın bahtı

"Erkeğim,Mustafam! **Başımın bahtı,** gönlümün tahtı," diyordu kavak. "Kara kaşlım, gür saçlım, ekin biçende gözlediğim askere gidende özlediğim. Selvi boylum insan soylum! (W-DA16B1A-1507-1)

Gönlümün tahtı

"Erkeğim, Mustafam! Başımın bahtı, **gönlümün tahtı,**" diyordu kavak. "Kara kaşlım, gür saçlım, ekin biçende gözlediğim askere gidende özlediğim.

Bebek

Belki bir şeyler öğrenir ha!. Hey, **bebek,** üzerindeki fazlalığı çıkart istersen." Şiba denileni yaptı. (W-TA16B3A-0786-309)

Bebeğim

Yo, sen ağladın mı? Neden **bebeğim?** Seni kim incitti? Yoksa benim olmayışıma mı kederlendin? (W-QA16B3A-3326-2)

Bebiş

Al bakalım mamanı **bebiş,** hadi al! Bunları anımsayınca zihnimde yine nargile imgesi belirdi. (W-IA16B3A-0300-44)

Bebişim

Şimdi bir de beni düşün..." Uzanıp elimi tuttu, "Düşünmez miyim **bebişim?"** dedi üzüntüyle, "Annenlere dönmene öyle sevindim ki.. (W-OA16B4A-0167-13)

Belalım

Takdir edersin ki su yakmıyor bu telefonlar. "Aşkm napıyon" gibi bir mesaj çekme, anında karşılığını alırsın **belalım** (W-UI45F1D-4707-3)

Belam

Nasıl ararım seni gönül benim gönlüm göz benim gözüm başkasına ne anlamam ki derdim sabaha çıkmaz ateşim bedenime sığmaz **belam**, mahpusum, vurgunum benim.

Bıcırık

....yatağını açayım mı?" "Zahmet etme, **bıcırık;** yatmak istersem ben açarım, ben kitaplarımı toplayacağım biraz, ortalık dandini. (W-HA16B1A-1238-1)

Bıdık

... Bu kapı mı? Teşekkür ederim... Abi? N'apıyorsun? İyi misin? İyiyim be **bıdık.** Nasıl olayım. Oturuyoruz. (W-UA16B4A-0909-20)

Bir tanem

" Coştu, uçtu Süheyla, sevincinden boynuma sarıldı, üst üste üç kez öptü beni. "Sevgilim **bir tanem,** yarın hemen gidelim, ben de çok istiyorum" dedi. (W-HA16B3A-0781-23)

Bi tanem

Anne banyoya gitti!" "Yemek yedin mi Meriçcim, aç mısın **bi tanem?"** "Yemek yok. Anne gittiii. Baba gelmedi. Bebekler çok aç." "Hay Allah!.. Bak şimdi..." (W-JA16B4A-0146-4)

Biriciğim

"Ama tekrar yaparlarsa anne? Ha, ya tekrar yaparlarsa?" **"Biriciğim,** o kasten incitmeye girer. Öyle insanların, laylaylom arkadaşlıkların, benim yaşamımda yeri olmaz." (W-QA16B1A-1731-1)

Biricik (Biricik+Noun)

Nasıl yani, dedi. Bak **biricik** kardeşim, daha önce hakkında hiçbir fikrimiz olmayan acayip bir dünyaya ve görünüm ve hareketlerinden ...(W-SA16B2A-0836-132)

Bızdık

"Sen benim adımdan bile oyun çıkardın **bızdık,** değil mi? Sahi niye bizi yalın ayak başı kabak bir ağabey yaptın çıktın iki gündür, söylesene!" (W-HA16B1A-1238-3)

Boncuk

" Neşeli bir sesle: "Tanıştığımıza memnun oldum, Mavi Boncuk," diyen genç kadın, motorun yattığı tarafa doğru hafif bir reverans yaptı. " (W-RA16B3A-0627-158)

Yavru

 Hiç halim kalmadı Yavru! Beni de trene bindirin çekip Bedriye'min yanına gideyim. (W-CA16B4A-0734-386)

Bülbülüm

Masraftan çeginme sagın... Nee... Güvet de mi yaptırıyon? **Bülbülüm**, sarı ganaryam... Göyde güvette mi yıkıyodu anan seni... alırız güzel bi legen, çıpı çıpı yaparız (W-RA14B1A-4730-1)

Can yoldaşım

KADINIM, **CAN YOLDAŞIM**. Hâlâ nasıl oluyor bilmem, Senin gündoğumu tazeliğinde kokun. (W-HA16B3A-1000-16)

Canan

Duruşun aynasıdır güzelliğin ey **canan** Varlığınla içimde tazelenir hanüman Keremin ayak sesinde arasam seni (W-VA15B1A-2630-2)

Cancağızım

"Ama derlemen yanlış oldu, **cancağızım."** "Nesi yanlıştı?" "Artık söyleyelim mi çocuklar," diye sordu Sırma. (W-JA16B2A-0859-5)

Caniko

Ne yapayım?.. Sen sinirlenme **caniko...** Senin karın anlamı olmayan hiçbir şeyi almaz... (W-RA14B1A-4730-3)

Canikom

Bak **canikom,** seni gördüğüm günden beri uyuyamıyorum, içim cehennem gibi kaynıyor, çıldırmamak için kendimi zor tutuyorum! (W-PA16B4A-0089-9)

Canım

"Hiç önemli değil, **canım.** Hadi yarın konuşuruz." Kapattım (W-UA16B4A-1185-2421)

Canım benim

Çıkar o sakızı, gülüm. At ağzından... Sonra sen de benim gibi çirkin olursun... Çok güzelsin. Reha... Tükür sakızı**, canım benim**..." (W-EA16B1A-0856-2)

Canımcığım

Canımcığım, Burada da bazılarının beklediği ama pek az kimsenin inandığı büyük bir şey oldu. İsmet Paşa ve arkadaşlarının verdiği öneri ...(W-VA16B3A-1038-1)

Canımın içi

Halis karakovan balı.Tamam **canımın içi**, ben zaten geliyorum.(W-RA16B3A-0257-13)

Canımın canı

Canımın canı, gözümün ışığı, Padişahım, neden yabancı durursun bana karşı? Benim bu dünyada kimim var (W-UA14B1A-1595-3)

Canımın kıvırcığı

Bebeğim, **canımın kıvırcığı,** boranda fırtınada sürgün vermiş tomurcuk, üzüm tanem, nar tanem, acar yanım, bir tanem..."(W-KA16B4A-1297-1)

Canımın içinin içi

Şerefe canımın içi!.. Sağlığına **canımın içinin içi**!.. Oooh, şu içki de olmasa bazı bazı!.. Bazı bazı diyorsun ama, sık sık içiyorsun... Hep kilon bu yüzden (W-CA16B3A-0577-1)

Canısı

Ay, kimin kocası, kimin **canısı**, kimin bebişkosu, kimin şişkosu gelmiş... Hoşgeldin süpermenim benim... (W-RA14B1A-4730-1)

(Yaralı) ceylan

Gelinecek nokta bundan farklı olacak ha! Kapa çeneni Hırsız Saksağan, **yaralı ceylan**! Işınla kendini o eski, yalın zamana (W-DA16B2A-0111-1)

Ceylanım

Sen aldırma onlara, mahzun gözlü **ceylanım.** Yüreğinin buyurduğunu yap. Evlensen de evlenmesen de, bir atımlık kurşun gibidir hayat (W-IA16B3A-0041-5)

Çiçeğim

Hadi, güzel kızım. **Çiçeğim**." Fakos, elini kozmik güç koluna uzatırken gemi korkunç bir çekim gücüyle sarsıldı. (W-TA16B3A-0786-19)

Cicim

Müberra Hanım, "Yesene **cicim,** bunlar senin kuvvetin" dediği yemeklerin tiridine lokmamı bandım (W-IA16B2A-0771-5)

Ciğerim

…işte belki de o an yüzünden, bugün., burada... Neyse, korkma **ciğerim** benim... Bunların hiçbirinden söz etmeyeceğim onlara. (W-FA16B1A-1170-18)

Ciğerimin köşesi

Canım Paşam, **ciğerimin köşesi** paşam, ben seninle doğdum, bakma büyüyemediğime, "sarışın bir kurda" değil, hiçbir güzelliğe benzemeyen, sığamayan paşacığım (W-DA16B2A-0111-4)

Ciğerparem

"Ey ablam, yüreğimin huzuru, gözümün nuru, **ciğerparem**, karanlık gecelerde yanaklarımdan süzülen sıcak göz yaşım nerdesin? (W-NA16B1A-1565-3)

Çirkinim

Çirkinim sen bekle daha güzelini bulmazsam seni alırım, olmuyor mu bu? Serpil ceylan gibi bir kız oysa... (W-MA16B4A-0772-5)

Civanım

Şişmanca adam peltek konuşmasını sürdürürken bana bakmadı bile: "Dert etme be **civanım**... bizim işimiz senle değil... bizim işimiz, anladın mı... (W-EA16B2A-1740-1)

Civcivim

Haklısın, biz bunları baş başa bırakıp, işimize bakalım **civcivim?** (Odadan gülerek çıkarlarken, Muzaffer partili adama göz kırpar. (W-SA14B1A-4732-1)

İpekböceği saçlım

Matbaanın önünden geçerken camekândan içeri, Türesin'in gözlerine baktı. "Karanfiller nice yaraşmış sana! Seviyorum, ipekböceği saçlım," dedi Türes'in gözleri (W-FA16B1A-1503-2)

Enik

YAHYA: İşte çocuklarım. Nasıl, bana benziyorlar değil mi? İBRAHİM: (Kendini tutamaz.) Yok canım! Ne de olsa çocuk bunlar. Sevimli iki **enik**. (Okşar.) Sizi gidi **enikler**... Sizi gidi uslanmış eşek yavruları! (W-JA14B1A-1689-3)

Darling

Bana kalırsa tüm kömür ocaklarını kapatırım, güzelim kırları çirkinleştiriyorlar, lütfen sütü geçirir misiniz "**darling**"?.. (W-HA16B4A-0016-3)

Derde dermanım

…**derde dermanım**, taze fidanım, kaşı kemanım; kara gözlüm, şirin sözlüm, güler yüzlüm. Nuş edip aşkın hun ile ciğer dolsun, aşüfte gönül derd ile beter olsun.. (W-QA16B0A-0227-8)

Dilber

"Bana kara diyen **dilber**, Gözlerin kara değil mi? Yüzünü sevdiren gelin, Kaşların kara değil mi?" "Beni kara diye yerme Mevlam yaratmış, hor görme... (W-JE39C2A-0422-65)

Dünya güzeli

GÜLŞEN- (ESNEYEREK) Amaann, bugün de sabah oldu! SUZAN H.- Suratnı asma **dünya güzeli** yavrucağım! Ne istiyorsan söyle?.. (W-RA14B3A-0553-63)

Elmasım

"Ne olur, sen kendini harap etme elmasım, (babam bana çoğu kez elmasım derdi) annen için en iyi şey ölmesi. Onun acı çekmesine, inlemesine dayanamıyorum" diyordu (W-RG09C4A-1169-4)

En yakınım

Ah canımın içi Mavi Tuna, çocuğum, ağabeyim, Mabelim, bir tanem, sevdiğim, **en yakınım**, seni nasıl özledim, ah nasıl!.. (W-JA16B4A-0146-1)

Erkeğim

"Korkuttum mu seni bebek?" "Oh Killing. Sen misin?" "Benim ya... Bernardo gitti mi?" "Gitti **erkeğim.** Gel kollarıma..." (W-KA16B2A-0308-43)

Esmerim

"Meto, sinirli **esmerim**, gergin yüreklim, geçmiş olsun!" diyerek hayatın gidilmeyen yönüne yelken açan Meto'yu biraz olsun rahatlatır. (W-TA15B2A-0539-6)

Evimin direği

Anne: Cümleler başarılı fakat içerik çok zayıftı **evimin direği** sevgili goncacığım. Saat 10, Ufuk'un yatması değil benim eve gelme saatimdi (W-SA16B2A-1490-2)

Evimizin direği /koruyucu meleği/ sevgi dolu yüreği

Güzel yüzün ne tatlı Sana sevgim bin katlı Bir meleksin kanatlı Biricik anneciğim **Evimizin direği** Koruyucu meleği Sevgi dolu yüreği Biricik anneciğim..." (W-OI22E1B-2908-1)

Fıstık

Kitap dizilmişti, baskı aşaması yakındı. "Kitabın neredeyse hazır **fıstık,**" dedi ve yan gözle bakarak ekledi, "editörün de tam karanfil ha."(W-NA16B4A-1437-28)

Gadasını aldığım

Beriki, bu tuhaf soruya gülerek, güzel bir Kayseri lehçesiyle: Sen ne diyon **gadasını aldığım**?.. Duymadın mı ki bu akşam âşık imtihanı var?. (W-KA16B1A-0722-1)

Geleceğim

Benim ömrümsün sen, onurum, **geleceğim**... Gitmek hangi acıyı onarır ki Bilmez misin çare değil üzüntü. (W-FA15B1A-1748-24)

Gönlümün sultanı

Yavaş gel üzerime yiğidim, dedi Senem. N'olur **gönlümün sultanı**, biraz destur ver... Yüreğim göğsümden fırlayıp uçacak nerdeyse... (W-KA16B1A-0722-5)

Gönlümün tahtı

"Erkeğim, Mustafam! Başımın bahtı, gönlümün tahtı," diyordu kavak. "Kara kaşlım, gür saçlım, ekin biçende gözlediğim askere gidende özlediğim. (W-DA16B1A-1507-1)

Göz bebeği

Tanrının bir meleği Uyu ey **göz bebeği**. Bütün ömrümün çiçeği, Uyu yavrum ninni. (W-SG03C4A-3372-11)

Gözümün bebeği

Sen, sevdamın ortağı, aşkımın çiçeği, **gözümün bebeği** sen... Ve ben... Bir tek seni yâr bilen... (W-QI22C1A-0532-2)

Gözüm

İşte şimdi böyle bir değişimin başlangıcındayım **gözüm**. Dediklerine katılıyorum: benim 'bağlanma' kavramıyla ortaya koymaya uğraştığım her şeyi aşmışsın, (W-JA16B2A-0437-365)

Gözümün nuru

Ey **gözümün nuru,** ömrümün huzuru, gönlümün gururu evlâdım... Bu dünyadan göçmeyecek olanlar, hiç dünyaya gelmemiş olanlardır (W-KA16B1A-0722-12)

Gül yüzlüm

Gider, karşılarız Eylem'i. Kızım... **Gül yüzlüm benim**... Boynu bükük çiçeğim... Dur, şu kıymayı kavuralım. (W-TA16B0A-0093-1)

Gülüm

"Peki o kurutulmuş sebzeler ne olacak baba?" diye sordu Yağmur. "Ben de anlamadım **gülüm**," dedim. "Ben anladıııım!" (W-QA16B1A-0775-41)

Güneşim

Elveda öğretmenim, **Güneşim,** kılavuzum. Öğretmen: Elveda çocuklarım, Elveda oğlum-kızım. ((W-TA14B1A-1589-10)

Güzelim

Evet, evet işte o... Yo hayır canım bir şey olmamış... Evlerini kaybetmişler... Bak **güzelim**, bizim Türkçede ona başsağlığı dilenmez, geçmiş olsun denir... (W-VA14B1A-3373-628)

Güzeller güzeli

Güzeller güzeli nişanlım neler pişirmiş. Sofra da yok yok. Bir yanda dolma bir yanda sarma ..(W-SA14B3A-1588-41)

Güzellik

Ey gökkuşağından sıyrılan **güzellik** Her akşamüstü aynı hüzünle Yedi renkli sevinçlerden ayrılan güzellik Saat Mersin sularına kızıl kala Yüreğini yollara savuran güzellik (W-FA15B1A-2678-19)

Gönlümün ışığı / kıblegâhım/ çerâğım /günahsızım

"Ey, Yusuf gibi günahsızım, kıblegâhım, **gönlümün ışığı**, çerâğım, her şeyim, Cızir'im, Botan'ım, Dicle'm, nicedir hâlin? (W-NA16B1A-1565-30)

Hayatım

"Natali... Yolunda gitmeyen bir şeyler mi var?" "Ben hallederim **hayatım**. Sen düşünme bunları, akşama görüşürüz. (W-SA16B1A-1488-122)

Her şeyim

Erkeğim benim, hayatım, **her şeyim**! Demek votka içerek beni düşünüyorsun." "Evet. Düşüne düşüne bir deri bir kemik kaldım" (W-IA16B2A-0771-19)

Hilal kaşlım / selvi boylum

Belli ki'devletlü adamsın, kendine acımoorsun? Aşkını istiyorum **hilal kaşlım**, selvi boylum! Ucuzdur? (W-TA16B2A-1143-1)

İki gözüm

İki gözüm insan her şeyi kendini sevindirmek için yapmaz mı? Yapar... herkes öyledir biraz. (W-JA16B2A-0437-3)

Kadınım

Esmam... **Vefakar, cefakar kadınım**... Dayanamadın değil mi benim dört duvar arasına atılmama (W-EA16B3A-1146-47)

Kalbim

...kafama bir kaç sert şut çektikten sonra tekrar dudaklarımızı birleşti. Bunu kutlamalıyız **kalbim**. Bekle beni. (W-OA16B4A-0178-262)

Kar tanem

"Gerçekten mi? O zaman güneş kötü bir şey. Sevmedim onu." "Hayır **kar tanem**. Yanlış düşünüyorsun. Güneş kötü değil. (W-UA16B1A-3337-7)

Kara gözlüm

Ferdi: Reyhan! Reyhan! Reyhan: Geliyorum, Ferdi! Günaydın Büyükbaba! Nasılsın Küpeli? Ya sen **Kara Gözlüm**, sen nasılsın? (W-VA14B1A-1602-2)

Kara kaşlım

"**Kara kaşlım**, gür saçlım, ekin biçende gözlediğim askere gidende özlediğim. Selvi boylum insan soylum! (W-DA16B1A-1507-2)

Kelebeğim

Kalkıyorum **kelebeğim**, bütün gece açmadım altını, pişik olmuştur... Birinci basamakta şimdi Yusuf... Kalkıyorum çiçeğim. (W-KA16B4A-0462-8)

Kıymetlim

Beyhan'ın alkolik babasının bir tövbesini daha bozup körkütük eve geldiği bir gece, boynuna sarılıp, "Beni böyle sevemez misin, **Kıymetlim**?" (W-NA16B4A-0120-4)

Kurban olduğum

"Etme bacım, yapma **kurban olduğum**, sen derdini söylemezsen, ne istediğini demezsen kimse sana bir şey yapamaz, kimse sana yardım edemez. (W-MA16B4A-0772-9)

Kuşum

Bırak yapsınlar. Sakın yataktan çıkma tamam mı?.. Güzel **kuşum** orda mısın?.. Bak birtanem, bu kadar yıl sonra. Azıcık daha sabret.(W-RA16B3A-0257-40)

Kuzu

Benim hatırım için içmez misin? Heja sütü içerken Yelda onu izliyordu. Sen zayıfsın **kuzu**... İyi beslenmiyor musun sen? (W-RA16B2A-3329-2)

Kuzum

"Kim demiş! Ne zaman başladı sende bu paranoya, **kuzum**?" "Kocama, güzel bir kadından öte bir şey ifade etmediğimi öğrendiğim gün! (W-QA16B4A-0155-110)

Kuzucuğum

.. kahverengi lekeleri çoğalmış ellerimi yakalayıp ara sokaklarda gezdiriyordu daha geçen yıl beni, ne oldu sana **kuzucuğum**? (W-FA16B4A-0005-4)

Küçüğüm

"Bugün nasılsın **küçüğüm**?" diye sordu. Bilgehan neşeyle ziyaretine gelmeyen Ümit'in bugün geldiğini ve bisikletini tamir ederek hediye ettiğini anlattı. (W-RA16B1A-1211-30)

Maralım

Demek mecburi istikametlerin, Ayrılığı gösteren o adaletsiz kavşağında; -Oy benim yaralım... **maralım**!- Demek şimdi gidiyorsun (W-OA15B1A-1746-1)

Meleğim

Bunları elde etmek için çok uğraştım. Tek bir şans ver bana **meleğim**!" Ufak tefek kaçamaklar ve bol dedikodularla geçti yıllar, (W-JA16B4A-0146-32)

Melek

Hiçbir derste öğrenmedim, hiçbir kitapta okumadım, hiçbir filmde görmedim; ah ne kadar da güzelmiş âşıkın maşukun uyuyuşunu doya doya seyretmesi, ey **melek**. (W-GA16B2A-0139-235)

Miniğim

"Miniğim benim, **miniğim**, merak etmedin ya, oyuna Belediye Başkanı geldi, çok beğendi, biz de bunu kutlamak için gittik bir yerlerde içtik (W-GA16B1A-0643-3)

Minik farem

Dinçer: Yani? Pınar: Yanisi... Daha ayaklarımız yere basarak düşünmeliyiz... Dinçer: Senin yanındayken mümkün mü pınarım... **minik farem** benim... (W-RA14B1A-4730-1)

Miniş

....dertli dertli anlatıyor, Ruhi de Dila'yı "Aman da **miniş** kızım benim… benim… Ne kadar da büyümüş" diye diye seviyordu (W-TA16B1A-0918-1)

Namusum /muradım / kahrım

... kokusu tarçın karanlıkta hırçın **namusum, muradım, kahrım**. kaç yol ağlarım geceleri kabarır dağ susar deniz bilmezler nasıl ararım (W-TA15B2A-0539-12)

Nar tanem / Üzüm tanem/Acar yanım / canımın kıvırcığı /tomurcuk

Bebeğim, canımın kıvırcığı, boranda fırtınada sürgün vermiş tomurcuk, üzüm tanem, nar tanem, acar yanım, bir tanem..." (W-KA16B4A-1297-19)

Nişanlım

"Ne yazayım?" "Nişanlım yaz." "Ni-şan-lım. Yazdım işte." "Kendi adını da yaz." "Bil-gin." "Bu kâğıdı saklayacağım." "Sakla." "Aferin sana benim akıllı **nişanlım."** " (W-SA16B2A-1232-20)

Nur-ı aynım

.. dersinin bir kısmını anlattıktan sonra bize doğru eğilerek "Söylediklerimin zevkine vardınız mı, **nuru aynım**?" dediğinde bir ağızdan "Vardık" diye bağırırdık. (W-II09C3A-1943-7)

Nurum

..**nurum** usul usul uyutun uğultunu kudurttun çulsuz pulsuz yurdum puç kuzgunusun nurum (W-RA16B4A-0901-3)

Ördeğim

"Sen tek başına yaşayamazsın **ördeğim**!" dedi Gül, gülerek. Dalları yerlere serili bir dizi ağaç vardı, aralarından kuş sesleri geliyordu. (W-DA16B2A-0639-1)

Sevdiceğim

Unutmak, ancak unutmayı başardıktan sonra kolay gelir insana. "Al sazını **sevdiceğim**" denmiş ya bir sultanıyegâhta; İşte öylesine bir aşk olmamalı (W-FA16B1A-1503-1)

Sevdiğim

Gel kaçalım **sevdiğim**, kemanların çığlığa dönüştüğü gecenin sınırlarından, uçbeylerinden karanlığın, bir kez daha kaçalım... (W-FA15B1A-1728-75)

Sevgilim

Şöyle diyordu: "Biliyorsun sen ey **sevgilim**, Vücudumun ve ruhumun yorgunluğunu, Açığa vurmaktadır sırrımı (W-PA16B4A-1475-895)

Sevimli

....başını eğmekle yetiniyor, yoluna gidiyor. "**Sevimli** delikanlı," diyor yaşlı kadın; "ne zaman görse, gelir hatır sorar, 'sizin için yapabileceğim bir şey var mı?' der. (W-GA16B4A-1239-197)

Şirin sözlüm / Kaşı kemanım / güler yüzlüm /taze fidanım

... **taze fidanım, kaşı kemanım; kara gözlüm, şirin sözlüm, güler yüzlüm**. Nuş edip aşkın hun ile ciğer dolsun, aşüfte gönül derd ile beter olsun (W-QA16B0A-0227-4)

Sultanım

"Sen merak etme **sultanım**, şimdiye kadar nasıl hallettiysek yine öyle halledeceğiz. Hiçbir problem çıkmayacak."(W-TA16B4A-0910-213)

Şekerim

"**Şekerim**, tüccerin para kazandığı zamanı bilmek lazım. Ne zaman fındık, ne zaman çay toplanır, parasını ne zaman alırlar. Pamuk toplamaya gelenler...(W-PA16B0A-0160-106)

Tatlım

YILDIZ: Yoo bırak böyle kalalım **tatlım**. Güzelim, sevgilim, bir tanem benim. (Kızını delicesine sever ve öper) Kaç yaşında oldun Nazlı? (W-SA14B1A-4732-1)

Yar/Göğsümün sol yarısı

Uyandım, seni düşündüm Ey **yar** Ey **göğsümün sol yarısı**! Su bulanınca Meydanlarda sesin yırtılınca ...(W-OA15B1A-1746-20)

Yarim/Kavuklum /Yavuklum

VİLDAN: Sevgili **yarim, yavuklum, kavuklum**... Evvela üzerime farz olan Tanrı selamını sunarım! Hemen söyleyeyim burada mektupları denetliyorlar. (W-GA14B1A-1618-6)

Yıldızım

Kumdan evler kurmayalım birlikte düşler kurmayalım deneyemedik diye ağlamayalım hüzünlü küçük **yıldızım** hep orada kal sen gizemli masmavi sonsuzlukta (W-MA16B1A-0163-22)

Yüreğimin huzuru

Ey ablam, **yüreğimin huzuru**, gözümün nuru, ciğerparem, karanlık gecelerde yanaklarımdan süzülen sıcak göz yaşım nerdesin??"

Ebruli düşlerimin kahramanı/ hayat ağacım/ can yoldaşım/çiçek kokulu sevgilim /gecemin ışığı/ tüm renklerin kaynağı

Bitmeyecek rüya Sen, **ebruli düşlerimin kahramanı**. **Tüm renklerin kaynağı, gecemin ışığı. Hayat ağacım, can yoldaşım, canım, çiçek kokulu sevgilim** sen... Yüreğimi koydum yüreğinin üzerine (W-QI22C1A-0532-1)

Yaralım

Demek mecburi istikametlerin, Ayrılığı gösteren o adaletsiz kavşağında; -Oy benim **yaralım**... maralım!- Demek şimdi gidiyorsun (W-OA15B1A-1746-4)

Sevgili

'**Sevgili** küçüğüm,' diyordu son mektubunda, 'yalvarırım beni düşünme, benim için üzülme. Korkusuz bir adam ol... (W-JA16B2A-0336-1308)

Tuti dillim

Haminneciğim, sizi üzdüm mü yoksa! Yok benim **tuti dillim**, deyiverdi aceleyle Hayal Hatun, neden üzüleyim ki? W-TA16B2A-1143-1

Yediverenim

Bir türlü kavuşamadığım, kavuşmaya doyamadığım. Kıble sabalarının halvetiyle açan **yediverenim**. Karanlıkların ardında uyandırmadan kimseleri ... (W-TG37C0A-0228-1)

Kumralım

Bu kaçıncı hasretim, aylardan hangi aydır Söyle **kumralım**, ben adımı unuttum Söyle kumralım, benim adım neydi? (W-QA16B4A-1251-6)

Dinim/ tahtım / tacım

Perhialı sevgilisi uğruna "Aşkım **dinim**!", "Aşkım **tahtım, tacım**!.." dememiş miydi!.. Mahkemece yurt hainliği kanıtlanıp ölüm kararı kesinleşmiş (W-DA16B2A-1719-6)

Hasretim /hicranım

uyandırdın sevgimi; gecelerimi yıkadın, dolunaylara doldurdun. Şâm-ı gamda cilve-i didâr umarsın ey **gönül hasretim, hicranım**, firkatimsin. (W-TG37C0A-0228-1)

Bal gözlüm hülyalım ümit çiçeğim

BEKLİYOR MUSUN? **Bal gözlüm hülyalım ümit çiçeğim** Beni düşlerine alıyor musun? Duygular denizi sonsuz gerçeğim (W-OA15B1A-1733-2)

Kadersizim / Talihsizim

Merhaba Nalân, Merhaba üzgün melek. Merhaba **kadersizim, talihsizim**. Merhaba titreyen elim, sancıyan belim, Ağrıyan dizim, vazgeçilmezim!.. (W-OA15B1A-1746-1)

Ahu

Bir damlası yere düşerse Allah bu milleti helak eder" deyip inleyen sürmeli gözlü **ahu**, yay kaşı mahi, ay yüzlü ahi! Ey saba rüzgarının gül kokusunda W-RI22C4A-0842-53

Gül yanaklı/yüzlü

Ey **gül yanaklı** çocuk Gel zamana Gel ve gül birazcık Bahçeniz leylâk Saksılarınız papatya Pencereleriniz yasemin Duvarlarınız sarmaşık (W-OI22E1B-2908-1693)

(küçük) Kuğum

Samir'im, canım yavrum, **küçük kuğum**" diyerek hüngür hüngür ağlıyor. Samir, Sırpların 2 Mayıs 1992 ile 26 Şubat 1996 arasında tam 1395 gün kuşattığı ....(W-JA16B2A-0336-8)

Titles

Albay

"**Albay** Flaw. John Flaw." "Evet, benim. Siz kimsiniz? "Kanada Nükleer Araştırma Merkezi'nden Cari Smith. (W-TA16B3A-0786-167)

Albayım

Kızı babasının kucağından kahramanca çekip alırken, göğsümü şişirip "Bunu yapmaya hakkınız yok, **albayım**!" diyorum. (W-UA16B4A-0909-34)

Amir (Amir+Honorifics)

Abuzer, bugüne kadar bir ev sahibi olamamanın mahcubiyeti ile, "Bu devirde ev sahibi olmak kolay mı, **amir** bey?" diye cevap verdi. (W-EA16B2A-1563-55)

Amirim

"Ver elini öpeyim **amirim**. Nasıl kandırdın beni! Büyük adammışsın vesselam," deyip elime sarıldı. (W-QA16B3A-3326-3)

Arabacı

Karşı sokağın ucundaki eski işhanının merdivenlerinden olayı izleyen iri yarı palabıyıklı adam, "Lan **arabacı,** vurma Kırmızı Ata" diye uyardı. (W-MA16B1A-0689-11)

Asker

Gülümsedi Tuna."Anlaşıldı mı asker?" diye sertçe sordu Tuğgeneral. (W-JA16B4A-0146-809)

Astsubay

ERDEM: **Astsubay** Süleyman, birliğinize hücum emri vermenin tam zamanı. Sağ olarak ele geçirmeye çalışın! (W-VA14B1A-1605-2)

Avukat

...biz dolaşıklığı çözdük, her şeyi olması gereken yerine koyduk." "Öyle mi dersin **Avukat** Bey?" "Öyle ya!" (W-NA16B3A-0661-167)

Bakan

"Bütün bunlar gerçek olabilir mi?" diye sordu bakan, etrafındakilere çaresiz bakışlarla göz atarken. "Ne yazık ki hepsi gerçek, sayın **bakan**," (W-RA16B3A-0649-850)

Bakkal

Hayır **bakkal**, dün gece A Takımı'nı seyretmedim! Hayır **bakkal**, Romasız Perihan'ı tanımıyorum! Hayır **bakkal,** takım tutmuyorum, hükümeti kurma çalışmalarıyla ilgilenmiyorum (W-PA16B0A-0297-280)

Barmen

CERO: (Sarhoş) iyi akşamlar **barmen**. JACK: (Sarhoş) Dur uyuyacağım biraz. CERO: (Sarhoş) Kalk. Sabah olmuş. (W-SA14B3A-1588-5)

Başbakan

General Papulas heyecandan iyice boğuklaşmış bir sesle, "Sayın **Başbakan**..." dedi, "...ben de millete ve hükümete kesin zafer vaat ediyorum." (W-RA16B0A-0292-152)

Başkan

Şimdi sayın başkanımız konuşacaklar. Buyrun **başkan**... BAŞKAN: Sayın bakanım, değerli konuklar, Şirinkent'li hemşehrilerim, bugün, çevre haftasını ...(W-EA14B1A-1616-280)

Bezirganbaşı

Aç kapıyı **bezirgânbaşı, bezirgânbaşı** Kapı hakkı ne verirsin, ne verirsin (W-MA16B4A-0126-12)

Casus

Kuşdilini de çözmüş," dedi. "Pis **casus,**" diyerek yumruğunu sıktı Nuri. Eli acıyınca bir de "Ay!" patlattı. (W-SA16B2A-1199-23)

Cumhurbaşkanım

Sunucu, sesi hafifçe titreyerek sordu: "Hangi konumla orada bulunuyorsunuz, **Cumhurbaşkanım**?" "Görünüşe bakılırsa, kaçırıldım," (W-LA16B4A-0298-3)

Çavuş

Aradığınız şahıs benim." "Şimdi beni dinle **Çavuş**." Çavuşun kalın, gözlerinin üstünü örtmüş kaşları yukarıya kalktı, alnı kırış kırış oldu. " (W-KA16B4A-0121-386)

Çerçi

Bana göre bir nen, bir nesne yok mu, **Çerçibaşı**? Var... Olmaz olur mu? (W-FA14B1A-1502-1)

Çırak

MEMİŞ: Eyvah Usta'm! USTA: **Çırak... Çırak...** Nerelerdeydin sen bakayım? MEMİŞ: Karakolda... USTA: Ne?!. MEMİŞ: Şey... (W-TA14B1A-1590-76)

Dadı

..iskemlelerden birine ilişmiş, yüzü kül gibi, gözleri yuvalarından fırlamış, tir tir titriyordu. "**Dadı**, ne var, ne oldu, neden haykırdın böyle?" (W-QA16B4A-0155-166)

Dekan

"Sağlığıma gösterdiğiniz ilgiye teşekkür ederim yoldaş **dekan**" dedi Leonid, duygularını belli etmemeye çalışarak.

Dekanım

"Buyrun sayın **dekanım**!" dedi; "Bir emir mi var yine yukarılardan?" "Jüri başkanısın sınavda. (W-PA16B2A-1422-1)

Derviş

Kız ocağa dönüp sacayağındaki tencerenin kapağını açtı, karıştırmaya başladı. Diğeri "Öpeyim **Derviş** Sahire Teyze" diyerek koştu (W-KA36B2A-0085-216)

Doktor

"**Doktor** Hanım, bebek için bir aspirin yazar mısınız?.." "Doktor Hanım, ecza dolabının anahtarı sizde mi?.. (W-EA16B1A-0856-1001)

Elçi

Götürürsün değil mi bizim hediyeleri de **elçi** efendi?" Kervancı saygıyla eğildi, "Benim için şereftir, Sultanım. (W-PA16B4A-1475-57)

Emektar

...tüm yaşamımı sakat sürdürmeye razı olurdum. Doğru mu acaba? Sahiden öyle mi **Emektar** Kadir. Saçını bu çiftlikte ağartmış, boğaz tokluğuna. Son kez, pek geveledi ağzında. (W-EA16B2A-0448-41)

Erenler

"Erenler!" dedi. "Ney-i şerifinizle bu güne kadar üflediğiniz her şey, kusurlu olduğu için kusursuzdu. Ama şimdi üflediğiniz, kusursuz olduğu için kusurlu!" (W-TA16B4A-1264-13)

Eskici

Huuu **eskici...** Şu benim sevgiye ne verirsin... Bakma öyle eski durduğuna vallahi sıfır... hiç kullanmaya vaktim olmadı... (W-RA14B1A-4730-1)

Garson

"**Garson**!.. Bir tane daha getir bana," diye bağırdı amerikan bara doğru. "Çok getir... çok... Ne o böyle yüksükle getiriyorsun?" (W-RA16B3A-0627-263)

Gazeteci

"Ne zaman çıkar yazı?" "Haftaya belki." "Siz gelmek şart. Mutlaka gelmek var siz, **gazeteci** hanım. Gün ver, ben yapacak hazırlık." "Ne hazırlığı?" (W-KA16B0A-0118-458)

General

Bunu demek istiyorsun, öyle değil mi?" "Devam edin **General**." "Okumaktan çekinme, öğrenmekten geri durma ...(W-NA16B4A-0054-324)

Hafız

Ben varmadım dengime demiş, Rukiyem de mi varmasın **Hafız** Ninem? Ağlarken Şükran: Çakalın derdi çarık, Rukiye'min yüreciği yanık. (W-GA16B4A-1930-6)

Hakim

AVUKAT: Sayın **hakim**, evet, ortada bir cinayet var, ama bunun tüm suçunu müvekkilimde aramak doğru olur mu? (W-VA14B1A-1599-26)

Hancı

Kırçıl sakallı adam, hancının sözüne itiraz etti: O tasvire bu şehir hiç uyuyor mu be **hancı**? dedi.(W-KA16B1A-0722-53)

Hekim

Cemal'in arkadaşı hemen söze atılmış: De hele sözünü **hekim** kardeş. Elimizden her iş gelir evvel Allah. (W-QA16B1A-1198-36)

Hoca

Hemen düzeltti: "Yanlış anlamayın **Hoca** Efendi, amacım sizin sultanınıza söz söylemek değildi, yalnızca karşımızdaki düşmanın..." (W-MA16B3A-0504-1055)

Hocam

"Tekrarlar mısınız **Hocam**, yazamadık". "Arkadaşından yaz". "Integralin şeyini tahtaya yazar mısınız **Hocam**, anlayamadık. (W-UA16B2A-0724-660)

Hemşire

Bir süre sonra hemşire girer.) MEHLİKA: Ah, **hemşire** hanım, iyi ki hemen geldiniz... Şirin'i görmeyince, meraklandım. (W-FA14B1A-2670-48)

Hemşirem

Verin, elinizi öpeyim hocam... Güzel **hemşirem**, ak zambağım benim, çıkart şu serumu kolumdan, ben Beyoğlu'na gidicem... (W-OA16B3A-0409-2)

İmam

"Hadi gidelim, **imam** efendi, "dedi Murat, kısa bir sessizliğin ardından, "biz görevimizi yaptık, günah bizden gitti". (W-SA16B2A-0311-147)

Kahveci

Len **kahveci**" diyecek. "Yap bana bir sade kave, okkalı olsun." Koskoca Gazi Paşa, sade kave içecek elbet. (W-FA16B2A-0984-51)

Kalfa

..(İki ucundan tutarak pirinç mangalı getirir.) SADBERK: Neden Arif Efendi yardım etmedi **kalfa**? (W-DA14B1A-1307-58)

Kaptan

"**Kaptan** neler oluyor?" diye sordu, serdümen. "Bilmiyorum. Çok aptalca ama sanırım birilerinin saldrısına uğradık. (W-RA16B3A-0649-457)

Kaymakam

"Cengiz, babanın adı mıydı **Kaymakam**?" "Ölü doğan oğlumu bu adla gömdüm, ağa. Askerlik arkadaşımın adıydı. (W-RA16B4A-0104-86)

Komser

Ne goldü ama be! Gerçi siz hatırlamak istemeyebilirsiniz ama ben yine de size o anı göstermek isterim, **komser** bey. (W-RA16B1A-1073-4)

Komiser

UĞUR: (Şaşkınlıkla) Elebaşıları bu mu? **Komiser** bey işinize karışmak gibi olmasın ama, bu işte bir yanlışlık var. (W-EA14B1A-1616-123)

Komiserim

Polislerin işi bitince, Ümit'in annesi komiseri selamladı: Yoruldunuz **komiserim**. Lütfen biraz içeri girin de sizlere birer sütlü kakao pişireyim (W-HA16B3A-1936-2)

Komutan

"**Komutan** Şiba. Dünyadan bir mesaj aldım. Sanırım gitme zamanı." "Dünya mı?" "Evet Şiba. Garip bir olay olduğunu bildiriyor dostlarımız." (W-TA16B3A-0786-129)

Komutanım

"**Komutanım**, bir şey daha vardı... Ben dün... Görevdeyken yani..." Şenol, cümlesini çok zor tamamlayabildi. "Yanlış şeyler söyledim..." (W-RA16B3A-0257-240)

Kral

UŞAK: Sayın **Kral** hazretleri, ülkemizin en güçlü adamı sizinle görüşmek istiyor. İlânınızı duyup bir tedavi teklifi için gelmiş bulunuyor. (W-VA14B1A-1603-193)

Kralım /Kraliçe

..Evet **Kraliçe**, artık siz de kraliçelik unvanını kaybettiniz. KRALİÇE Ama bana da bir şans vermeniz gerekmiyor mu sayın **Kralım**? (W-VA14B1A-1601-20)

Kraliçem

Kraliçe: Benim kralım mı öldü? 2. Nedime: Hatırlamıyor musunuz **kraliçem**? Kraliçe: Peki ben yas tuttum mu? (W-TA14B1A-1589-25)

Lala

MEHMET (coşkun): Çok güzel! Vallahi, sen ne dersen de, ben dahi başını keserim sadrazamın. İstersem keserim, değil mi**, Lala? S** (W-UA14B1A-1595-2)

Lider

"Sana teşekkür borçluyuz **lider**. Yardımlarınız için minnettarız. Artık bize dönüş yolumuzu gösterirsiniz umarım." (W-TA16B3A-0786-89)

Liderim

OLTAN: **Liderim** ben ayağa kalkmasam olur mu? LİDER: Tabi Oltan, önce sağlık gelir. Evet çocuklar, sırayla okumaya başlayalım. (W-VA14B1A-1598-8)

Lordum

"Evet **Lordum** ben onların sır tutucusuyum. Onları bulabilirsiniz" dedi yarı yarıya korkmuş yarı yarıya heyecanlanmış bir ses. (W-RA16B1C-0305-5)

Memur

Yazdım, mührü de bastım. Her şey tamam, bir imzanız kaldı **memur** bey." Talip Bey tapuları imzalarken dikleşti, mutlu bir gülümseyiş attı ortalığa. (W-KA16B4A-0121-406)

Miço

Köfteci Şakir'in oğlu yanından geçerken, öyle laf olsun diye "köpek nerde be **miço**?" dedi. (W-GA16B4A-1930-9)

Milletvekili

VOLKART: Sayın **milletvekili**, siz sevmek ne demek, bilmiyorsunuz anlaşılan... Bir Türk kızını seviyorum, diyorum... (W-FA14B1A-2670-22)

Molla

Ali Kemal kızdı: "Rica ederim **molla** bey, haksızlık etmeyin! Biliyorsunuz, Damat Paşa da, ben de bunun için yırtındık ama Ankara elinde... (W-RA16B0A-0292-274)

Muhtar

"Aman **Muhtar** dayı ağzından yel alsın. Nişanlıyım biliyorsun. Anlarsın ya," diye yılıştı onbaşı. (W-MA16B4A-0772-273)

Müdire

Yalnız, dedi Müdire Hanım, sana bir haber var. Milli Eğitim Müdürlüğü liseler arası şiir ve hikâye yarışması tertip etti. (W-SA16B1A-0671-59)

Müdür

"Şimdi tamam **Müdür** bey, diploma için teşekkür ederim." dedi... Bu hareket yapılırken okuldaki herkesin gözleri sulanmıştı.. (W-QA16B4A-0015-983)

Müdürüm

Hemen; "**Müdürüm** biz Allah'tan başka hiç bir şeyden korkmayız. Vur de vururuz. Öldür de öldürürüz... Ama kaçmak yok. Bak Mersin'den kaçtık... (W-QA16B4A-0015-81)

Müezzin

Öteki dünya tabir edilen bi yer yoksa bu siz ve saz arkadaşlarınız için çok kötü bir sürpriz olacak, **müezzin** bey (W-RA16B1A-1073-12)

Mühendis

"**Mühendis** Bey, ben Erzincan Valisi, Hakan yanımda şimdi... feribot hesabını fakslamış... sizden yanıt bekliyorduk..." (W-NA16B4A-0040-215)

Öğretmen

Böyle olmaz." Ayşe'nin annesi öğretmenin bu çıkışından ürkmüştü. Ama gerilemedi. "Yaşı küçüktür **öğretmen** hanım. Sonra yıl içinde hasta oldu, okula gelemedi. (W-FA16B3A-1234-586)

Öğretmenim

"Keş'i biz yoğurttan yaparız **öğretmenim,"** diye başladı, "kaymağı alınmış yoğurttan. Sonracıma bu yoğurdu süzeriz, tuzlarız öğretmenim. (W-IA16B3A-1015-245)

Padişah

Hikmet Bey, **Padişah** Hazretleri, naçizane kanaatim bütün nazırlarından daha zekidir, her zeki insan gibi zekâsının haracını ister .. (W-NA16B3A-0050-624)

Padişahım

Danışmanbaşı; "Ben bilmem, **padişahım,"** demiş. "Ben bilmediğim gibi öbür danışmanların da bilmezler." (W-TA16B2A-1200-53)

Paşa

Dumanlı kafayı dumanla yola getiririz. Öyle değil mi **Paşa**!.. Sipahi yoksa, Gelincik ver, iyisinden olsun evlât... (W-DA16B3A-0791-1348)

Paşam

"Bir aksilik çıkmamış, haber aldığıma göre." "Hayır **Paşam**, her şey iyi gidiyor. Sultan Aziz Topkapı Sarayı'na götürüldü. ' (W-LA16B3A-1947-12)

Pir

Ey **pir**! "Ne ki senden alınmıştır, o senin hayrına..." mı diyorsun? Peki, ne ki bana hiç verilmeseydi, içimde değirmen taşları döndürmeseydi. (W-RA16B2A-0846-17)

Prens

Bir köşede meyva, şampanya, "Hoşgeldiniz sayın **prens**!" düzeni. Kız oda hakkında gerekli bilgileri verip, iyi istirahatler dileyip gitti. (W-OA16B4A-0061-361)

Prensim

Küçük Cadı Şeroks ve Büyücü Çırağı Borga huzurlarınıza kabullerini bekliyorlar, **prensim**!"(W-TA16B2A-1204-1)

Prenses

"Kimse yok mu?" diye seslendi ürkek bir sesle. "Buradayım..." dedi toparlanmaya çalışan Büyücü Timma. "**Prenses Alina**, siz misiniz?" "Evet," (W-TA16B2A-1204-62)

Prensesim

"Emrinizdeyim, **prensesim**!" Prens Milla, Alina'nın ardından saraya doğru yola koyuldu.(W-TA16B2A-1204-2)

Profesör

Bu iyi! Siz şimdi benim arkama geçin lütfen **Profesör**." dedi. "Sen de al bakalım şu diptikon yazısını!" (W-SA16B2A-0738-485)

Reis

Al onu! Kapudan zevcesine göz dikmek kimin haddine **Reis**! Cinnet geçiren biri gibi "sen al onu nikâhına" diye kulağımda çınlayan avazım! (W-TA16B0A-0136-170)

Savcı

DİMİTROF: (Sertçe keser.) **Sayın** Savcı... Reichstag yangınından sonra kimse polis kışlalarına saldırdı mı? (W-FA14B1A-2669-76)

Sebzeci

Güleç. Yaz güneşi gibi. Hey **sebzeci,** buraya baksana. Adam, karşı taraftan gelen sesle irkildi. Gelinlik pozu çabucak kovdu zihninden (W-TA16B1A-0835-4)

Sekreter

HASAN: iyi günler **sekreter** hanım. FUNDA: iyi günler Hasan bey. EFEKET: (Ayak sesleri, kapı, açılıp, kapanır) (W-SA14B3A-1588-65)

Şef

"**Şef**, ne kombinası be! Eskidendi o!.." "Fark etmez? Sen kurumu de! Büyük baş hayvanlar Suriye'ye kaçırıldığı için son zamanlarda..." (W-IA16B3A-1015-187)

Şefim

Hadi durma!" "Şimdi, sayın **Şefim**!" "Gelelim nebati yağ meselesine! Necati, bunu da sen al, nasıl?" (W-IA16B3A-1015-5)

Taksici

Ne tarafa gidiyoruz? Tarafa! Otogar tarafa. Yağmurlu günlerde ya da gecelerde neden taksiler azalır bay **taksici**? ((W-JA16B4A-0875-19)

Teğmen

"Gel **teğmen,** çay iç." Şenol, Oktay Astsubay'ın yanındaki boş sandalyeye otururken Tayfun Yüzbaşı sordu: "Ufuk Bey'le tanıştınız mı?" (W-RA16B3A-0257-57)

Usta

Usta, nedenini anlayabilmiş değilim, ama bana zaman hızlanmış gibi geliyor. Yaptığım bütün işler daha uzun sürüyor artık. Sabahları daha erken çıktığım halde işe..(W-OA16B3A-1289-449)

Uşak

SARAY NAZIRI: Ben de duyuyorum. Hey **uşak**! UŞAK: Buyrun efendim SARAY NAZIRI: Bu at kişnemesi nerden geliyor? (W-VA14B1A-1603-76)

Üsteğmen

"Tabi, **Üsteğmen** Eminof, ne emrederseniz. Sizin için elimden gelen her şeyi yaparım, bilirsiniz." (W-EA16B3A-0490-11)

Vali

.... ayağa kalkıyor; daha yüksek sesle ve asabi, ahizeye: **"...Vali Bey!.."** diyor, **"...Vali Bey,** sizi duyamıyorum... Alo, alo!.. **Vali Bey,** siz beni duyabiliyor musunuz?" (W-OA16B3A-0415-101)

Vekilim

Sayın **vekilim,** Maruzatım muhakkak ki çok mühim ve hatta çok cüretkâranedir. Fakat memleket için hükümet ve hatta partinizin kurtarılması...(W-JA16B2A-0873-1)

Yargıç

Sayın **Yargıç.** Ahlakın, vicdanının, merhametin kırıntısını bırakmadığını bilmiyorduk. (W-NA16B4A-0054-328)

Honorifics

Bayan

Taşmanızın gerekçesi henüz anlaşılabilmiş değil **bayan,** araştırmalar devam ediyor. Genlerinizde bir işgalcinin hücreleri dolaşıyor. (W-SA16B2A-1394-318)

Bayanlar

Sonra incecik, tığ gibi aerobik hocamız gelip, "**Bayanlar**! Bu koca göbekleri hızla eriteceğiz. Var mısınız?" diye bağırmıştı. (W-MA16B4A-0126-73)

Bayanlar baylar

Aklınızı başınıza toplayın **bayanlar, baylar.** Sizler şapka devriminin ilân edildiği bir şehrin, pardon kentin, bir kentin lisesinde okumaktasınız (W-FA16B2A-0004-16)

Bay

O anda, kapı son derece usturuplu bir şekilde ne uzun ne kısa, eşit aralıklarla tam üç kez vuruldu. "Kapı açık **Bay** Kurtbilgini," diye seslendim. (W-DA16B2A-0032-815)

Bayım

Aynı odayı mı istiyorsunuz **bayım?** diye sordu bakışlarını çözdüğü bilmeceden ayırmadan. Evet, diye yanıtladım. (W-DA16B1A-1507-49)

Bey

Aklımın pek yerinde olmadığını itiraf ediyorum işte. Neden bana şok yaptılar öyleyse bu sabah?" Şok bir tedavi yöntemidir Medeni **Bey**, bir işkence yöntemi değil(W-FA16B4A-3306-525)

Beyler

"Bir dakika **beyler,** şimdi, bu bayanlar..." Şişmanca adam peltek konuşmasını sürdürürken bana bakmadı bile: "Dert etme be civanım... bizim işimiz senle değil.. (W-EA16B2A-1740-19)

Beyim

Merak edip sordu. Yamak, mahcup bir edayla gülümserken: Bu şehre ilk defa mı geliyorsun **beyim**? dedi. Burası Erzurum'dur... (W-KA16B1A-0722-116)

Beyzadem

Yuh olsun, altmış yaşında adamsın!' diyeceksiniz, başka şeyler de öğrendim. Gülmeyiniz **beyzadem**, makas kaçıyor. Kızlar beğenmez, evde kaldım diye gelirsiniz (W-PA16B1A-0917-2)

Bilge (Bilge+noun)

Ey bilge ruh, sana danışmaya geldim olsa olsa. Beni bağışla ve yol göster." (W-KA16B1A-0546-249)

Büyük Hanım

"Teşekkür ederim ama gidemem." **"Büyük Hanım,** Allah aşkına direnme artık. Niye gidemeyecekmişsin?" (W-SA16B2A-0659-12)

Büyüğüm

"Değerli ve saygıdeğer **büyüğüm**; İstifa meselesini bir kez daha düşündüm de... Bakın isterseniz şöyle yapalım. Oğlumu okul çıkışı yanımda getirmeme izin verin. (W-QA16B3A-0617-18)

Büyüğümüz

Fısıldaştılar. Türkân söz aldı. Saygı değer **büyüğümüz**, eğer bizim bir toplantımıza katılırsanız dünyanın en mutlu gençleri biz olacağız. (W-IA16B2A-0762-10)

Değerli

Bayanlar baylar, **değerli** konuklar, yeryüzünün en güzel ormanına, yani çeşit çeşit hayvanların barış ve mutluluk içinde yaşadıkları "Özgürlük Ormanı"na Ormanı"na hoş geldiniz. (W-VA14B1A-1601-94)

Devletli

Ama, **Devletli** Sultanım, acaba gerçekten lâyık mıyım buna ben? TURHAN: Elbette, yoksa niye düşünülesiniz? (W-UA14B1A-1595-4)

Devletlü

Saçlarımdan bir tek tel eksik olsa belki öfke gösterirsin sen. Gözüm, canım, efendim, sevdiğim, **devletlü** sultânım! (W-NA16B1A-1565-1)

Efendim

Berberin korkusu geçmiş, makas gene eskisi gibi şıkır şıkır biteviye işlemeye başlamıştı. "Anladım **efendim** ne düşündüğünüzü. (W-KA16B4A-0121-744)

Efendi

Şoför Cemil içerden sesleniyordu: "Şakir **Efendi**! Gene iğneleri yakmayasın!" Bir ara Sansar da göründü kapıda, içeri girmedi (W-CA16B1A-0505-1108)

Efendizadem

Değil mi ya, hiç ben size kötü cariye verir miyim Efendizadem diye yüzlerce dil döküyordu. O gece Hayal Banu yalnız sabahladı. (W-TA16B2A-1143-1)

Ekselans

O da Komünist. Ciddi misiniz **Ekselans?** Evet azılı komünist hem de. Eskiden IGD diye komünist bir örgüte üyeymiş**.** (W-KA16B2A-0798-8)

Faziletli

"**Faziletli** senyorlar, sizlere Halkü'l Vadi'nin teslim alındığını, Don Pedro'nun esarete düştüğünü, itaatsizlik edenlerin maalesef kılıcın adaletine.... (W-TA16B0A-0136-7)

Han

"Buraya, benden sonra ilk gelen Çerkez sensin. Senin şerefine." "Ellerinizden öperim Üzeyir **Han**." Kadehleri tokuşturdular. (W-KA16B4A-0121-115)

Hanım

Hoş geldiniz öğretmenim; şey... Bey oğlum. Öğretmen: Hoş bulduk Nuriye **Hanım**. Nuriye Hanım: Nasılsınız Efendi oğlum? (W-TA14B1A-1589-1956)

Hanımefendi

"Çok teşekkür ederim **hanımefendi**, sizin gibi güçlü bir kadının benim şiirimi beğenmesi onur verici. (W-TA16B2A-0694-258)

Hanımefendiciğim

Her ne ise, ben bu hatunu, bu sınıfa pek yakıştırdım. "**Hanımefendiciğim**, Allah ömürler versin... Siz, hanımefendilerin şahısınız. Hanımefendiciğim siz, siz, siz..." (W-RA16B2A-0441-3)

Hanımım

USTA: Bu zanaatın en iyisiyim **Hanımım**. İstediğin hüneri söyle; geçeyim tezgâhımın başına. AHTEN: Öyleyse, oğlum için bir beşik isterim senden (W-TA14B1A-1591-9)

Haşmetli

"Ey **Haşmetli** Kralımız. Yıldızlardan aldığımız mesajlara göre, bu sene ülkende, halkının dinini değiştirecek bir erkek çocuğu dünyaya gelecek. (W-LA16B2A-0009-20)

Hazret

Tövbe estağfurullah... (4. kibriti çakar. Bir eliyle paketin kapağını açar. Yüzü donar) Hayrola **hazret**, ne oldu? 1. HASTA: (Yatağında doğrularak, bakar) Boş. (W-LA14B1A-1709-1)

Hazretleri

Ayağı başın yerine çıkarmak olmaz mıydı bu? Ağa **Hazretleri,** ast nedir üst nedir benden iyi bilirsiniz eski bir asker olarak**.** (W-UA14B1A-1595-161)

Kıymetli

"Sayın Divan ve **kıymetli** üyeler! Yönetim Kurulu Başkanı sayın Yağdanlıkoğlu, şahsım gibi soldan gelmeler için zeki, kültürlü, yaratıcı (W-IA16B3A-0474-124)

Küçük bey

"Beni aşağı indirme, **küçük bey** Evde karga beslenmez!" Sonra da, "Onu hemen bırak!" diye buyurdu. ama yaralı diye karşı çıkacak oldum (W-PA16B4A-1247-6)

Küçük hanım

"**Küçük Hanım**," dedi; "bunun aynısını yapamam, çünkü ısmarlayan kişi bu yüzüğü kendi tasarladı, kendi çizdi... Takdir edersiniz ki, yalnız kendisinde olmasını ister. (W-RA16B3A-1071-15)

Kudretli /şevketlim

"Bu hoşaf ne kadar soğuk," buyurunca Dürrizade, "**Kudretli** Hünkârım, hoşafın kâsesi buzdandır. Afiyetler olsun **şevketlim**," demiş. (W-SA16B2A-0659-21)

Madam /mösyö

...söndüreyim mi ışığı, **mösyö**?" "İstediğiniz kadar okuyabilirsiniz **madam**, keyfinize bakın." "Teşekkür ederim efendim (W-OA16B4A-0072-218)

Majesteleri

Tanıklık için gönüllü olarak müracaat ettim **majesteleri...** YARGIÇ: İşin? RUTH: Serbest çalışırım... (W-FA14B1A-2669-1)

Matmazel /küçük bayanlar

"İyi günler, Matmazel Eleni." "İyi günler, küçük bayanlar." Gülümseyerek aramızdan geçti. (W-PA16B4A-1247-49)

Mübarek

Sanki benim patron! Sanki adamın işi benimle! Be **mübarek** adam, senin patronundan bana ne! Alacağın varsa alırsın, aldığın zaman, aldığın zaman benimle .... (W-CA16B1A-0505-184)

Muhterem

Aferin çocuğum otur. Öğrenci: Sağ olun **muhterem** hocam. Notumu şey ettirdiniz mi hocam? Öğretmen: Anlayamadım çocuğum? (W-SA14B1A-1586-16)

Velinimetim

... uzun yazılar okumaya tahammülü yokmuş. Gerekçesi çok yerinde. Başüstüne **velinimetim!**.., dedim, hikayeciye de kısa yazmasını söyledim. (W-JA16B3A-1721-24)

Üstad

Hoş geldin Mithat Cemal. MİTHAT: Hoş bulduk **üstad**. Sizin komitacılık mes'elesini konuşuyorduk Eşref Ediple.(W-DA14B1A-1307-20)

Saadetli

Saadetli Padişahım! Prut Nehrini aşacak bir köprünün yapımını, ancak Sinan başarabilir. Gayet usta bir mimardır. (W-LA14B1A-1709-1)

Sayın

"İyi ya, Düzenbaz'dan hazır kurtulmuşsunuz köycek, sen şimdi niye değiştirmek istiyorsun adını?" "**Sayın** Hâkimim, ben ismimden memnundum. (W-IA16B3A-0041-1346)

Saygıdeğer

Bütün gün çalışmaktan halsiz düşmüş sesini bana duyurmaya çalışarak tekrarlıyordu: "Su içer misiniz **saygıdeğer** efendi?" (W-MA16B4A-0102-104)

Refik

Sait Nusret'e, "Naşı eğleniyor musun? Sıkılmadın ya?" "Ne sıkılması **refik**, yalnız yanıma defter kalem almadığıma yanıyorum. İçimden bunları yazmak geliyor. (W-SA16B2A-1070-13)

Familiarizers

Adam

Bu da Türklere ait bir atasözü mü? (Güler) MARY: (Bağırarak) Hey **adam**! Sende bir gram akılda mı yok? (W-SA14B3A-1588-2099)

Adamım

Sıcak bir dost dille soruyor: Nerden gelin **adamım**? Betin benzin de atmış. Bir şey mi oldu? (W-SA16B4A-1492-29)

Adaşım

Sonra aynen şunları söyledi: "Yav **adaşım,** şimdi anlıyorum ki biz basınla sosyal ilişkilerimizi çok ihmal etmişiz (W-RE39C2A-0358-9)

Ahali

Ey **ahali**! Beklenen gece bu gecedir. Gökte ay, havada rüzgar vardır. Tanrıdan gelen işarettir bu. (W-QA16B3A-3326-1)

Ahbap

Hey **ahbap** hasta olacaksın, ne dikilip duruyorsun orada? Yeşil gözlü hıyara, geçmiş kocaman şemsiyesinin altına, oradan bağırıyordu. (W-CA16B3A-0577-43)

Ahretlik

Zemzem içeri geldiğinde: "**Ahretlik**, hani helva?" diye sorduğunda, Medine'nin cevabı hazırmış: "Kız yine mi unuttun? (W-RI42E1B-2940-3)

Allahın adamı

Bunu kendisine kötülük olsun diye yapmadığını elbette biliyordu. Ama bayağı kesir mevzusu açıldığında söz konusu bilim adamına "Hiç işin yok muydu **Allahın adamı**. (W-IA16B4A-0793-1)

Anam babam

O zaman yerine gelecek olana yatırım yapmalıyız **anam babam.** Böyle altın tepside bir fırsatı kaçıracaklar uyuzluklarından.(W-FA16B3A-0986-10)

Anam bacım

Diyorum ki, söyleyin, söyleyin ağam, yahut **anam bacım**, ona sevdiğinizi söyleyin. Sevdiğinize yahut küsünüze, söyleyin. (W-OA16B3A-0409-3)

Arap

Badem sen de! Hişt.. **Arap**..Kızdın mı lan ööle badem felan dedim diye (W-IA16B4A-0793-159)

Arkadaş

Kadın: Size zahmet olacak, dedi. Arkadaşlıkta zahmet diye bir şey yoktur, öyle değil mi arkadaş, dedim. Öyle arkadaş, dedi Hamdi. (W-UA16B1A-1218-366)

Arkadaşım

Senin de bu çorbada bir tuzun olmasın mı, arkadaşım?" demişti, "Yarın öbür gün torunlarına övünçle anlatacağın bir hikâyen olmasın mı?(W-NA16B4A-0040-947)

Arslanım

Sen de benim gibi tek başına mı tadına varmak istedin köprünün. Az emeğin geçmedi hani. Bu köprü biraz da senindir, **arslanım**."(W-NA16B4A-0040-3)

Aslan

Emre, Cem'in sırtına bir şaplak indirdi. "Aslan arkadaşım! Hakan Şükür, mübarek!" "Görmeliydin! Çam yarması gibi oğlana bir geçirdi.. (W-LA16B1A-1252-226)

Azizim

"Azizim müthiş, ne güzel yorum bu böyle. Hiç ders falan almadan, Allah'ın büyüklüğüne bak," diyerek hayranlığını dile getirdi (W-UA16B3A-1065-34)

Babalık

"Ne dövmesi **babalık?** Ölüyordu, kurtardım onu." "Ölüyor muydu?" diye, şaşkınlıkla sormuş Hoca.(W-UA16B1A-1233-22) (FT)

Cemaat

Kerim Hoca devam etti: **Cemaat,** dedi, sizler beni de tanıyorsunuz. Hacıyı da, Cafer ustayı da. Durup herkese ayrı ayrı baktı. Sonra devam etti.. (W-CA16B4A-0988-25)

Cemaat-i Müslimin

Ey **cemaat-ı müslimin**! Duydum ki sizler ha bu mereti sulandırıp oyle içiyimişsiniz; pu mereti de yakıp tüttüriyimişsiniz. (W-EA16B2A-0684-2)

Çerkez

"Getir bardağını be! İç sıcak sıcak!" dedi. Şemsi kalktı ayağa, gözkapaklarını araladı: "**Çerkez** aaabi be!" dedi. "Söyle ulan **Arnavut çingenesi!"(**W-CA16B1A-0505-64)

Çılgın(herif)

Çılgın herif, bir düşünsene, sen kim, o kim! BEKTAŞ: Öyle bir "Bektaş aslanım" deyişi var ki... (W-UA14B1A-1595-5)

Çingene

Erol'un yanından ayrılıp sokağın dört bir yanına saçıldılar. Abdullah bir anda her yerden yükselen "**Çingene** Abdullah!" sesleriyle olduğu yerde kalakaldı. (W-IA16B2A-2674-12)

Delikanlı

(Kapı şiddetle açılır.) AKİF: Dinle bakalım **delikanlı...** Dinle ve fikrini söyle... (W-DA14B1A-1307-190)

Devrem

"Devrem ben Hüseyin. Geçmiş olsun devrem. Biraz daha dayan olur mu? Bak destek timleri yola çıktı. Sana doğru geliyorlar. **Devrem** aman pes etme olur mu?" (W-QA16B5A-0175-4)

Dost

 "Hoş gelmişsiniz, başımızın üstüne gelmişsiniz ağam. Merhaba ey **dost,** merhaba," dedi. (W-LA16B3A-1947-62)

Dostum

Abuzer gözlerini yeniden yumdu. "Hiçbir şeyden bu kadar emin olmamalısın **dostum**," dedi. (W-EA16B2A-1563-222)

Dünyalı

"Bu da görüntü. Gerçek değil. İnanılmaz bir şey. Hiçbir şey gerçek değil burada." "Yaklaş **dünyalı**!" (W-TA16B3A-0786-27)

Efe

...ellerimi tut, hadi ellerimi tut gitmeyeceğim deyip söz ver bana... **Efe efe efe**!.. işte bu koskoca yıldızlar bu koskoca gezegenler (W-OA16B4A-0178-130)

Eleman

Madem yanmak istiyosun, o senin bilceen iş. Otur evinde edebinde kâfirlik faaliyetlerini azdır **eleman.** (W-RA16B1A-1073-11)

Gardaş

Omuzundan tuttuğu birini çevirip: Hele **gardaş**, dedi. nedir bu hengâme?.. Bu kalabalığın sebebi ne ola? (W-KA16B1A-0722-23)

Genç (adam/dostum)

Ve parayı önüne, masanın üstüne bıraktı. "Boşuna vakit kaybediyorsun, **genç dostum**. Para borcunu ne zaman olsa ödersin. (W-RA16B3A-0627-657)

Gençler

"**Gençler** benim istihbaratım çok geniştir... Bir birinize bakışmanıza gerek yok. Ben ve bana itimat eden insanlar bilirler ki, aşiretim devletten yanadır. (W-QA16B4A-0015-633)

Gurban

Nasılsa iki saat sonra yemek var, doyurursun **gurban**! Ben aşçıya bir işmar iderem, sana iki gap birden getittirim namussuzum.. (W-IA14B1A-1620-1)

Güzel insan

Ama aralarında siz yoksunuz Madam Suslova. **Güzel insan**, sevgili komşum Anuşka! (W-DA16B1A-1507-7)

Hacı

"Ben temizim... Temiz kaldım... Tertemizim..." Dersin aslında, cakayla Kanıtın da, çektiğin dokuz başlı "acı". Kanıta ne hacet **hacı**! (W-GA15B1A-1722-8)

Hacı baba

HIDIR: Allah göstermesin **Hacı Baba**. Surda az bir cezam kalmış, ben kendimi bilmez miyim? (W-MA14B3A-1812-13)

Hacı cavcav

Vay **hacı cav cav** vay. (Uşak'a) Tut elimi, kalkamıyorum. (Kalkar) Hamdolsun kavuşturana... (W-LA14B1A-1709-94)

Halk

Çıkışta başından geçen bir hikâyeyi anlatacak, yoksa iki katı para verecek. Ona göre, ey **halk,** duyduk duymadık demeyin! Hamama yıkanmaya gelin!.." (W-TA16B2A-1200-303)

Hemşehrim/ hemçağım

Sen karıncaya özen **hemçağım, hemşehrim**. Ben, dalda kuruyana kadar ağustosböceğiyim. (W-OA15B0A-1706-3)

Hemşerim

"Hey **hemşerim**! Işığı kapat, ışığı kapat!" Tehdit edici ve kaba bir erkek sesiydi bu. (W-OA16B4A-0119-75)

İhtiyar

"Aferin sana **ihtiyar**!" dedi. Şaşırıp kaldı. Acaba alay mı ediyordu, yoksa gerçekten övgü sözleri miydi bunlar....(W-UA16B4A-0320-644)

İnsan

Çünkü sana egemen oluyorlar farkında değil misin? Sen karşı koymalısın ey **insan**! Sorumluluğunu kavrayıp zulümlere sen karşı koymalısın! (W-MA16B3A-0379-2)

İnsanlar

Kapatın pencerelerinizi, bize yağmur, bize rüzgar gerek, koltuklar, halılar, sorumluluk, yataklar sizin olsun, kapatın pencerelerinizi ey **insanlar**! (W-RA16B4A-0901-9)

Kaçak

Kaçak neredesin sen dün gece yurdu da aradım yoktun, itiraf et bakalım neredeydin.(W-KA16B2A-0784-107)

Kadın

Sus **kadın**! Ne bağırıp duruyorsun! Bulduğun nedir? (W-VA16B1A-1245-1364)

Kaplanım

MUSTAFA: "Bana da "Mustafa **kaplanım**" diyor, ama ikimiz de uysal birer köpek kesiliyoruz karşısında. (W-UA14B1A-1595-5)

Kara (saçlı)

"Gel benim gür bıyıklı, kara saçlı erkeğim. İster sen gel, ister çağır beni. Koynuna girivereyim. (W-QA16B3A-1131-1653)

Kardaşlık

Vah! Vah! Vah! (Mecnun'a döner) **Kardaşlık** nerelisin sen? Kimlerdensin? MECNUN: (üzüntülü) Nereli olduğumu, kimlerden olduğumu ben de unuttum anacığım. (W-SA14B1A-1585-1)

Kardeşlik

Öteki plastik çiçekleri yere bırakır. Sigarayı alır.) Sağol **kardeşlik**. Değdi doğrusu. Sabahtan beri toprak çapalayıp çiçek ekmekten belim tutuldu. (W-EA14B1A-1616-10)

Kerata

"Ben de kalırım amca, nasıl olsa işim yok, gücüm yok." Ah ulan, ne zaman işin gücün oldu ki **kerata**? (W-FA16B2A-0578-17)

(yiğit/mübarek) Kişi

"Ey **yiğit kişi**! Kalpler sırlar meydanında dolaştı, ben seni oradan tanıdım." Sonra, "Dön arkana bak." dedi bana (W-PA16B4A-1475-1)

Kirve

Gidip gömeceğiz Muzaffer" dedi. "İkimiz." "İkimiz **kirve**" dedim. (W-QA16B1A-0731-2)

Kirvemoğlu

"Ne işe yarar bu kadar toprak?" "**Kirvemoğlu**, bir ağaç dikerem, gölgesinde otururam. Gölge nedir, ne değildir bilir misin? (W-JA16B2A-1012-1)

Koç

"Tamam Bernd'e kırmızı şarap" dedikten sonra Murat'a döndü: "Hadi bakalım **koç**, düş peşime. İçkileri getirelim. (W-MA16B4A-0102-81)

Komşu

Yolladı da ne oldu? Onlar gelene dek adam öldü. Vah! Ne edeceğim şimdi **komşu**? Vah! Vah!(W-SA14B1A-1585-96)

Komşum

Lan Halil, bunların ikisi de birbirinden yabansı, bir şey dikkatini çekmiyor mu?" "Yoo, niye sordun **komşum**?" " (W-JA16B3A-0999-25)

(değerli/sayın) Konuklar

Dear yabancı **konuklar**, Mrs. Hududi bu kıyafetle ayıp olacağını söylediyse de, biz ona, bunlar bizi hep tanıyan dostlarımız yahu, ona hoşgörü gösterirler dedik (W-FA16B3A-0986-44)

Köftehor

Arada bir sinirlenir, "**köftehor**, iyileşeceksen iyileş gayrı!" diye bağırırdı. Sigaralar daha sık sarılır, namaz vakitleri yine aksar olmuştu. (W-DA16B3A-0478-13)

Köylü

Bak bak... Olayı düşük aykûsu ve dar vizyonuyla nasıl da anladı "**köylü**"... Bot bu, dozer diil... Köylü deme anneye... Cadı... (W-HA16B2A-0792-250)

Kurban

Ben yoncalığa ulaşıncaya dek su onların yoncalığına akmaya devam edecekti. Annem; "Hadi **kurban**..." deyince yola düştüm, yirmi dakikalık yol.(W-UA16B1A-1233-137)

Kurt adam

Beni görünce; "Heyy, **kurt adam** nereye?!" diye çığlık attı. Ünvanlarım çoğalıyordu. Önce balıkadam, şimdi de kurtadam!.. (W-KA16B4A-0147-1)

Küçük

Hele ona bir "günaydın", de... SÜRGÜN: (El sallar.) Günaydın **küçük,** günaydın... ÇOCUK: Aaa, bir sürgün!   (W-EA14B1A-1615-1445).

Mirim

Buralarda kimse tıraş olmuyor **mirim**, herkes bir kucak kirli sakalla, bellerine inen saçlarla dolaşıyor. Kokuyorlar mirim, kokuyorlar nuru aynım. (W-KA16B4A-0121-13)

Monşer

....,gözlüğü gibi yüzünün ayrılmaz bir parçası olan küçümseyici gülümsemesiyle "Aman **monşer**," demişti. O dilenci değil ki, Hasanpaşa Karakolunun taharrisi..(W-NA16B3A-0050-2)

Moruk / ufaklık

"N'aber **ufaklık**?" "İyiyim **moruk**. Sınav var, bomba gibi hazırlandım... Muhteşem kopyalar hazırladım. İnce ince yazdım her şeyi..." "Ya, kopya çekme." (W-SA16B1A-1351-53)

Müminler

"Ey **müminler**, Allanın gazabından korkanlar, Müslüman kardeşlerim! Kur'an-ı Kerim'in Zilzâl suresinde şöyle buyrulmuştur....

Müslüman

"Ey **Müslüman** arkama Yahudi saklandı gel onu öldür" diyeceklerdir". Gül'ün Arınç'la düşüncelerinin ayrıldığı başka konular da oluyordu (W-SA16B4A-0269-343)

Müslüman (kardeşim)

Müslüman kardeşlerim!.. Şu mübarek Ramazan-ı şerifin kadrini, kıymetini bilelim. Bu ayın kudsiyetini iyice ruhumuza sindirelim. (W-EA16B3A-1146-85)

Oligarşik (herif)

Biz kapatmadık ki oğlum," dedi Dursun yine pişkin pişkin. "Bak Dursun, bi çıkarsam ebeni şey ederim ama. Allahsız **oligarşik**, düzenbaz herif!"(W-SA16B2A-1199-2)

(suç/iş/ruh) Ortağım

Duyarsız, umursamaz, dış dünya ile irtibatı tamamen kopuktu... Simsıcak bir bakıştı **suç ortağım**... (W-LA16B2A-0009-20)

Ortak

Melih, Serdar'a sarılıp, Seni gördüğüme sevindim **ortak**, dedi. Zımba gibi görünüyorsun. Artık kötü günleri geride bıraktık değil mi (W-NA16B4A-0431-544)

Saf (hocam/karılar)

Hadi bir sigara bul be Hasan, bak o feci tiryakidir, belki sevap işlersin. Ha?" "Cigaraylan sevap olur mu a benim **saf** hocam? Amma dur bi bahalım. (W-JA16B4A-0146-425)

Safım

Nasıl olacaksın bi kere, **safım**? Dersaneye gidebilecek misin, özel okula, mekdanılsa, gidebilecek misin? Kaç para harçlık veriyorlar evden? (W-OA16B3A-0409-5)

Sırdaşım

"Söyle canım **sırdaşım**! Ne istiyorsun?" "Seni istiyorum yavrum." "Ne diyorsun be, sabah sabah!?" "Kızma yavrum. (W-GA16B3A-0374-10)

(deli) Şahıs

Belli, bişeyler söyliycek, öyle bakıyor. Söylesin gitsin hadi. "Ne bakıyosun lan **deli şahıs**?" dedim mevzuya kolay olsun diye. "Usta sen inanmıyosun ama... (W-PA16B4A-1043-25)

Şaşkın

KRAL Yaa! KRALİÇE Öyle tabii, **şaşkın**! Gel beni dinle de planımı anlatayım (W-VA14B1A-1601-261)

Şehirli (adam/kadın)

"Ah Nevo, siz **şehirli kadınlar** hep böyle güzel sözlere, çiçeklere, hediyelere kanmaya ne kadar da hazırsınızdır. Terbiyesiz adam ... (W-RA16B4A-0104-47)

Şeker (abim/ablam/kardeşim)

Yav **canım abim** benim, **şeker abim**, baksana nasıl porsumuş, öyle iyice gömülmüş kendine, kat kat olup uyumuş, ne istiyorsun garibandan. (W-QA16B2A-0626-2)

Takım

ÇAVUŞ: **Takım** dur!.. Asker kızlar dururlar ve çavuş ne derse onu yaparlar...Ç(W-GA14B1A-1618-81)

(minik) Tavşan

AMCA: Nasılsın bakalım minik **tavşan**? Kaç yaşına giriyorsun bakalım? IŞIL: Altıya... AMCA: Desene yaşlanıyoruz biz.(W-PA14B1A-1626-24)

Tertip

"**Tertip**, ya şu sobayı nasıl söndürecez?" "Abi, bi dakka. Haberciyi çağırayım." (W-RA16B3A-0257-45)

Tonton (baba/amca/çocuk/adam)

Doğum günüm yarın haberiniz olsun. Ne mi istiyorum? Zincir. Ucuna mineli yürek takılıyor ya ondan. Resminizi koyarım belki. Aaa, hiç de değil **tonton amca**, dede diyemem size..." (W-FA16B4A-0005-27)

Toraman

Sahi, sen neden yalnızdın amca? Bu soruyu ne zaman sorsam, "Kurcalama **toraman**, ben böyle iyiyim," derdi. Gerçekten de iyi miydi? (W-NA16B1A-0322-10)

Tosunum

Urguya Nine umursamıyordu: "Sen onlara aldırma, **tosunum!** Garı gocanın döğüşü, yaz gününün yağışına benzer. Sindi gelir, sindi geçer!" (W-GA16B3A-1009-7)

Ümmeti muhalefet

"Elma... Elma..." diye avazı çıktığı kadar bağırıyor işte... Neredesiniz ey **ümmeti muhalefet**..? Eğer elmalara kulak vermezsiniz, cümbür muhalefet "ayvayı .... (W-GA16B3A-0789-4)

Ümmeti insan

Neredesiniz, ey **ümmeti insan**?.. Kim size "Kış(la)armutu" "Kış(la)armutu" "Kış(la)armutu" dedi ki, "çıkmamakta" ve "körebe" oynamakta direniyorsunuz. (W-GA16B3A-0789-5)

İslam ümmeti

"Ey **İslam ümmeti**! Ne diyelim artık, silahlar çatışmaya girdi. Biz Amerika, yahudi ve yandaşlarına karşı tüm Allah düşmanlarına karşı safımızı aldık. (W-IA42B4A-0302-4)

Üyeler

Pek sayın **üyeler**!.. Müvekkilim o kadar ağır suçlar işlemiş, ve suçluluğu gerek tanıkların anlattıklarından, gerek kendi uğursuz suratından o kadar belli olmuştur ki... (W-JA16B4A-1720-5)

Vatandaşlar

"**Vatandaşlar**!" dedi. "İlimizin bazı köylerinde şap hastalığı görüldü. Bilindiği gibi bu hastalık tehlikeli bir hastalıktır. Vaktinde tedbir alınmazsa hayvanları kırar geçirir. (W-GA16B3A-1009-17)

Yakışıklı

Henüz çocuğu olmadığından ve sık sık "Nasılsın bakalım **yakışıklı?**" deyip yanağına öpücük konduruverdiği için, delice aşık olmayı hak ediyor. (W-UA16B2A-0724-310)

Yavru kuş

Yaprak'ın şaşkınlığına güldü Tanju, "herhalde be **yavru kuş**, Kuran'dan söz ediyoruz bi ince." (W-NA16B4A-1437-7)

Yetim /öksüz/ kınalı (kızım/kuzum)

"**Kınalı kızım**," diyordu, "senin anan baban yok mu?" ""Yok teyze!" diyordu Meryem. "Vah yavruum! Hem **yetim**, hem **öksüz yavrum**!" (W-OA16B4A-0119-101)

Yiğidim

Elindeki çanta radyoyu bırakarak, pençesiyle boynundan Ahmet'i kendisine çekti anlından öptü. "Bulamadın mı **yiğidim**?" dedi. (W-UA16B3A-0716-21)

Yiğit

Şahmaran ne size, ne bana bir şey yapamaz, görürsünüz." "Kıyma kendine **yiğit**," demiş padişah kızı. "Bu, benim yazım. (W-TA16B2A-1200-877)

Addressing of mockeries

Adi (Adi+Noun)

Len artist bozuntusu, **adi herif**... Ölçünü almışlar işte. Ben giymeyeceğim de ne demek? (W-NA14B1A-1624-19)

Armut

Bak biraz daha konuşursan gelirim oraya, dat ederim seni... Çürük geveze armut!.. (W-QA14B1A-4729-1)

Artist

Başı sıkışan yazar can kurtaran simidi gibi bu iki sözcüğe sarılıyor. "Seni cambaz, madrabaz, hilebaz seni... Seni tiyatrocu, seni **artist** seni!.." (W-OA16B4A-0326-82)

Artist bozuntusu

Anlat bakalım **artist bozuntusu**. Neyi anlatayım. Ben kötü bir adamım işte. Diğerleri gibi. Diğerleri mi? (W-KA16B2A-0798-1)

Aptal aşık

Sıkıldı. Gözlerini yere indirip "**Aptal aşık**" dedi. "Özgürlük her şeydir" Uzun saçlarının salınıp benden uzaklaştığını gördüm bir tek. (W-PA16B1A-0917-1)

Aşağılık

...kucağımda birkaç çiçekle çırılçıplak oturduğum sandalyeden fırlayıp **"Aşağılık** herif kendine sahip ol" diye bağırmış, çiçekleri suratına fırlatmıştım. (W-OA16B2A-0800-72)

Alçak

Şişko Fırıncı onun üstüne yürüyerek: "**Alçak**," dedi. "Fırınımı soymaya kalktın." (W-JA16B1A-0862-199)

Allahın belası

Neyin var canım?" dedi Nur. "Sus, **Allahın belası**, bari sus, utan da sus" diye kükredi Ömer. (W-HA16B1A-0367-4)

Allahın cezası

"Sabah erken sildim süpürdüm her yeri," dedi Gülbeyaz. "**Allahın cezası**, eline mi yapışır, bir daha süpür." (W-IA16B3A-0041-8)

Allahlık

Yanı başımızda kıyılar! Sen bozgunu hazırlarsın allahlık! – İmanı kıt bir zındık teranesi bunlar, diye diretiyordu Kapudan. (W-TA16B0A-0136-3)

Allahsız

"Ne ulan, Allahsız, yıkacaksın evi! Bi kelek mi var? Gel, gel içeri!" (W-JA16B4A-1747-3)

Allahsız kitapsız

"Ulan deyyus, ulan **Allahsız kitapsız** pezevenk, çok yakında benim ne olduğumu sen de anlayacaksın. Hele verdiğin sözü tutma (W-SA16B3A-1144-9)

Allahsız tosbağa

Bozaki olan softalar karanlık dükkânlarına çekilince Berber Ali, "Sinsilesi bozuk köpekler, **Allahsız tosbağalar,**" diye bağırdı. (W-CA16B2A-0159-16)

Akılsız

Gizli tutmak istediği bir işi çıkmıştır belki Amerika'da. Sorar öğrenirim. **Akılsız** evladım, sormakla olur mu? Alçaklık ettim diyecek değil ya.W-PA16B4A-0591-48

Avanak

"Kadınlar bir sınıf değildir **avanak!"** diye onun sözünü kesti bahar döneminin sonuna yaklaşılmasına rağmen hâlâ atkısını çıkarmayan Yaşar. (W-MA16B4A-1316-5)

Ayı

 Cenk bu kez de önünde duran arabaya çarptı. Çüş **ayı!** Dağdan mı indin? Duran arabaya çarpıyorsun! dedi çarptığı arabanın sürücüsü. (W-EA16B4A-0688-454)

Aymaz

"Ey **aymaz** adam! Ey yüce gücünü bilmez adam!" demiş, "Yıldızlar canını verir çocuklara. Çünkü bilirler ki, bir gün o çocuklar büyüyecek .... (W-BA16B1A-0880-1)

Azgın

Defolun be!.."....., aşağıya seslendiler. "Anneee! Top oynarken camı kırmışlar!" Annemin sesi yine yankılandı. **"Azgın** şeyler, ne olacak!.. (W-PA16B4A-1247-48)

Azman / meymenetsiz

"Maymun sen de..." dedi, **"Meymenetsi**z şey... Nefret ediyorum senden... **Azman** çiçek..." "Çiçek" de dese, benden sınıf geçemezdi artık (W-EA16B1A-0856-12)

B.k

Çıt'ın üstüne yürüyor. "Bok herif, **bok,** senin yüzünden hepsi, senin yüzünden!" Metin önüne geçiyor İnga'nın. (W-JA16B4A-1747-418)

Bacaksız

Bir günde iyi huylu bir çocuk oldun, seni bacaksız! Daha dün sabah evdekilere kan kusturan o değildi sanki. (W-SA16B2A-1394-4)

Badem

İpna borsacı. Elimdeki gübre hisselerini başka müşterilerine devrettirdin, yüzde aldın di mi ibliis. Bi başka müşterinin paspal bira senetlerini de bana kakaladın, **badem**! Ama ama aabi kalbimi kırıyosun yaa. Sen işi bilmiyosun (W-DA16B3A-1040-97)

Böcek

"Ben varım lan **böcek.** N'olcek?.." Bizim tel maşa kabadayı önü başında mezarlık servisi gibi dikilen esas delikanlıyı görünce şöyle bir yutkunmuş ... (W-JA16B4A-0799-127)

Başımın belası

Ne var başımın belası, tüm zamanların en bela adamı. Ne oldu yine? Sevgilinden mi ayrıldın? (W-KA16B2A-0784-2)

Bebe

Kalktım, duş aldım, gittim. Kahvaltı denilen, sek kahve, istersen süt de var, bunlar kuruvasanlardır adiloş **bebe!** (W-EA16B3A-0570-26)

Bela

Hayri yumruğu savurunca, Osman'ın burnundan kan boşanmıştı. 'Amma da bela herif be!' diye söylendi. Üstelik, haklıydı da geçen gün. Tabii haklıydı. "Ulan **bela** herif be!" (W-UA16B2A-1248-61)

Beyinsiz

Senin yaşındakiler ev geçindiriyor. Aklın bir karış havada beyinsiz... **Beyinsiz!"** diye bağırıp, ayılan Salih'i sözleriyle tekrar bayılttı (W-CA16B2A-0159-19)

Bitli

Ne haber be Mualla? Bakıyorum bu gece gıkın çıkmıyor. MUALLA: İşine bak **bitli** Nuri. Takılma bana kafam bozuk.

Boyu devrilesice

Mahmut fazla gecikmedi. Annem isyanlarda, **"Boyu devrilesice** Mahmut, bula bula burayı mı buldun? Lan bunlar ekmek yemeyi bilmiyorlar. (W-LH09C2A-0276-2)

Budala

"Ben yemyeşil, kocaman ağaçları olan bir ormana gitmek isterdim," dedi. "Orada atalarımı da görürdüm!" "Burada orman ve ataların ne gezer **budala**!" (W-GA16B1A-1929-132)

Ayyaş

Yuh be! Pis **ayyaş!** Bir daha buralarda görünme! Telaşla uzaklaşırken omzuna bir el dokunmuş, ürküyle dönüp bakmıştı: Kurtarıcısıydı (W-MA16B3A-0655-72)

Bunak

Bu yaştan sonra bir de kendini aklamak için uğraşması mı gerekecekti?.. "Bana bak, **bunak**! Fazla düşünme," diye çıkıştı Kargabaş Ömer sabırsızlıkla. (W-PA16B4A-1247-28)

Bücür

Bana ha? Ben seni çıtır çıtır ezerim, **bücür**!" "Ez de görelim, koca kafa! Öyle kolay mı? Hele bir bizim tarafa geç!.." (W-GA16B1A-0732-12)

Cadaloz

Yırtarım senin o genzini; ahirete kadar faranjit kalırsın, anneyle doğru konuş **cadaloz...** (W-HA16B2A-0792-12)

Cadı

Gelir yerim vallahi seni... **Cadı!..** Bak sana torpil geçtim... Seni Konya Balıkçılığını Geliştirme Enstitüsü'ne müdür amiri yardımcı kalfası sekreteri olarak gönderiyorum.(W-QA14B1A-4729-1)

Yettin artık ama sen, kuduruk **cadı**... Eline tüfek geçirmiş, annesinin gözü önünde "eve oğlan çaarıcam" diyo.. (W-HA16B2A-0792-178)

Canavar

S.adamı: Vallahi ısırdı... Ühhü... Hiç mi acımadın mı **canavar!..** S.kadını: Isır da görelim demedin mi... S.adamı: Şimdi görürsün sen (W-PA14B1A-4731-1)

Cani /pislik

"Katil, **Cani!** Öldürdün onu **pislik**. Seni, seni öldüreceğim. Allah belan versin. (W-PA16B1A-0917-20)

Canına yandığımın (Canına yandığımın + noun)

Canına yandığımın karısı demiş, senin terlik neyine, ayakların yere mi değiyor ki!" "Tamam!" dedi Aksu ... (W-IA16B3A-1015-3)

Canımın dışı

O zaman görürsün sen!.. Anne: O biraz sıkar **canımın dışı**!.. Baba: Hay senin canına!.. Anne: Ben senin canına!..(W-QA14B1A-4729-1)

Çakal

...beynini zorlayınca her zaman olduğu gibi çakala dönüşen Dursun. "Yok yaa, olur mu?" dedi Hayri. "Ayıp olmaz mı **çakal** ağbi," dedi Yeti.(W-SA16B2A-1199-55)

Çömez

ÇAVUŞ: Hepiniz gidebilirsiniz!.. Sen benimle gel **çömez!** Diğerleri çıkarlar... Çavuş Vildan'ı sahnenin diğer yanındaki "WC" yazılı tabelanın olduğu yere getirir. (W-GA14B1A-1618-2)

Cüce

Toybay Kakavan **cüce**!.. Şapşal yaratık!.. Bir karış boyuyla bana kafa tutuyor!.. Sultan olduğumu unutuyor, benim... Ettiğimi bulacak mışım... Hah!.. (W-FA14B1A-1502-32)

Dallama

Gayet tabii, canım **dallama** kardeşim, çünkü Nietzsche, Sibel Can'ı, Tarkan'ı, İbrahim Tatlıses'i, Madonna'yı ve Maradona'yı tanıyamadan öldü. (W-RA16B2A-0062-12)

(Deli) Dana

YASİN: Ooo! Tarık ağabey hoş geldin. TARIK: (Sevinçli) Sen ne arıyorsun burada deli **dana**? YASİN: Nasılsın ağabey (W-SA14B3A-1588-8)

Davar

...çok fena sinirlendi bir gün. "Biz bilmiyo muyuz lan s.kt.ğimiz karıları anlatmayı d**avar**!" diye bağırarak Şenol'un mesai arkadaşları arasındaki itibarını iki paralık etti. (W-TA16B1A-0918-7)

Deli

SADIK: Sus lan **deli** domuz, her şeye karışma. DELİ ÖMER: Ne bağırıyon? Bu hale getirmek için elinizden gelen her şeyi yaptınız. (W-UA14B1A-1597-406)

Dengesiz

Bakkala çık, azcık açılırsın... Hüzün yapma anneye! Sulugöz... Bu da bööle işte... **Dengesiz karı...** (W-HA16B2A-0792-11)

Deyyus

"Baba yapma, n'olur." Çevire çevire dövüyor Abdullah'ı. Kıçına bir tekme yapıştırıp yatağı boylatıyor: "Zıbar orda e mi! Hırsız **deyyus**!" (W-IA16B2A-2674-1)

Dingil

"Öt bakalım ulan **dingil**, sabah sabah ne istiyorsun?" Ali, reisin adamlarının etrafını sarmasına bozulup "Önce şu köpeklerini çek de ne istediğimi söyleyeyim (W-CA16B2A-0159-2)

Dinsiz /İmansız /Kitapsız

"**İmansız! Kitapsız! Dinsiz**!" diye feryât edip elindeki taşı pencerenin kepengine altı. Eli sopalı birkaç kişi de öfkeyle ... Kısık sesli biri, "Hüseyin Ağa! (W-TA16B4A-1264-3)

Dinsiz oğlu dinsiz /iki yüzlü

....ulan konuşsana uyuz köpek. Konuşsana ulan **dinsiz oğlu dinsiz**. Konuşsana ulan iki dinli de iki yüzlü. Ulan sizi sürdüler akılsız, (W-KA16B4A-0121-26)

Dinsiz imansız

Ben senin derdindeyim **dinsiz imansız** yar! Boyu devrilesi Devlet!" diyerek uykuya yenildi.(W-JA16B3A-0999-3)

Domuz

.. Yıldızla adam yalnız kalmıştır. YILDIZ:... Allah belanı verir inşallah **domuz** herif. (Şişeye bakar, boş olduğunu görünce, büfeye gider, yeni bir tane açar (W-SA14B1A-4732-1)

Düdük /direksiyonuna tükürdüğümün şapsal uzaylısı

"Çekilsene lan şuradan direksiyonuna tükürdüğümün şapşal uzaylısı! Adama rahat versene lan **düdük!**" " (W-SA16B2A-1199-66)

Dümbük

"Sen kimin çenesini kapıyosun be! Sen kimle konuşuyosun! Ben komandoyken kaç pisliği temizledim haberin var mı **dümbük**! (W-OA16B3A-0033-6)

Dünkü b.k

Sen dünkü bok, bugün kok! Ben senin lombak g.tünü görmek zo-run-da-mı-yım?? Hayır değilim! (W-ZI45E1C-5072-214)

Dürzü

Bana bak ulan ağzımı bozdurma şimdi. Parasıyla değil mi, **dürzü**? Getir işte, paran batacak diye de korkma. (W-SA14B1A-4732-2)

Düzenbaz

"Yorulmuşum, çürüdüm... Siz konuşun..." Uykusu gelince, "**Düzenbaz** yatıyorum ben," diyerek Emin'in alnına bir öpücük kondurur (W-NA16B2A-1001-108)

Ergen

DEĞİRMENCİ: Ah, aptal oğlum, ah **bin yıllık ergen** oğlum, ah koca Keloğlanım benim, senden başka herkesler bilir bunu! (W-JA14B1A-1689-5)

Eşek

Oğlum, ne istedin kızcağızdan, ha **eşek** herif! Bir yol anlat bakalım derdini, bizim usul ile" (W-PA16B1A-0917-156)

Eşek kafalı

Kiralık katiller parayı peşin alır. (Alaylı) Galiba sen beyaz eşya alıyorsun. Peşin fiyatına beş ay taksitle. (Kızar) Olur mu **eşek kafalı**? YASİN: Para bana kalınca katilin istediğinden fazla veririm.

Eşek sıpası

Kaşıntısı dinmeyince hırçınlaşıyor, sert, azar dolu sesiyle; "Kız orası değil **eşşek sıpası**! Sırtımın ortasını kaşısana!. (W-CA16B2A-1299-4)

Eşkıya

"Bu kirli sakal ne eşkıya meslek lisesi mi lan bura" diye tutturdu lavuk. "Erhınç rolü için sakal bırakıyorum, piyes, müsammere, kültür şeysi" felan dediysem de dinlemedi şerefsiz.. (W-PA16B4A-1043-240)

Et kafalı

Sen de aynı b.kun soyusun. Yarından itibaren yanımdan hiç ayrılmayıp zanaatımı öğreneceksin. Anladın mı **et kafalı** oğlum?" (W-CA16B2A-0159-2)

Eşşoğlusu

....hadi olsun on yedi, bilemedin on sekiz!" dedi Holo-Devrim, düşünceli düşünceli. Eski bir Karadeniz fıkrasını anımsıyordu, "Yirmi beşi de nereden çıkardı **eşşoğlusu**!" (W-NA16B4A-0054-2)

Eşek oğlu eşek

"Alo! buyrun" dedim, demedim, ince, çatal bir erkek sesi bastırdı. "Alo ya, **eşek oğlu eşşek**!" Şaşkınlıkla: "Hayrola?" demişim. (W-DA16B2A-0111-1)

Eşşoğlueşşek

Delicesine vuruyor, bir yandan da "Ben sana soğuk kola getireceksin demedim mi lan **eşşoğlueşşek**?" diye bağırıyordu. (W-QA16B5A-0175-4)

Fahişe

Hüsrev Bey'in sesi yükseliverdi: Ne biçim konuşuyorsun kızım? Müberranım tükürür gibi yaptı: Tüh, utanmaz, arlanmaz **fahişe**!.. neler söylüyor (W-DA16B4A-0082-72)

Faşist

Neye uğradıklarını şaşırmış durumdalar. "Haydi," diyorum. "Haydi **faşist** köpekler, karı kız dövmeye benziyor mu? Haydi gelin bakalım!" (W-LA16B4A-0149-56)

G.t

Üstelik çok kararlı gitti bizimkiler, hiçbiri yalnız dönmez. Hasılatınız iyi yani bu akşam. Versene şurdan bir yolluk, en azından bu durumun şerefine, **göt** kadın! (W-RI09C2A-0023-1)

Gavur

Yürekte tezek olsa bu yapılmaz. A be **gavur**, Bulgar'ın gavuru bile sıkmadı kurşunu bu sevdaya.. (W-GA16B4A-1930-5)

Geberesice/ lanet olası

"**Lanet olası** nerdesin ha? Nerdesin?" Hasan Aylin'e sokuldu. "Nerdesin, **geberesice**?" (W-PA16B2A-0748-3)

Gevşek ağızlı

Denizli şivesiyle "Beni bakın, gırcem o çenenizi, vurcem gırcem, o olcek, **gevşek ağızlı** gancık sürüsü" diye bağırırdı. (W-IA16B4A-0793-29)

Hain

Koştu yetişemedi, arkamdan taş atıyordu: Zehir olsun canına, aç kurt..! **Hain** it..! Sen akşama eve gelirsin..! (W-LA16B1A-1366-50)

Haspam

"Yenilerde pek saygı görgü kalmadı," diye ekledim. "**Haspam**, sanki sen kaçın kurasısın? Duyan da seni bir şey zanneder." Karşılıklı gülüştük. (W-PA16B0A-0160-3)

Haydut

Arka bahçedeki kızıl erikten düştüm, diyorum babama. "Ben sana, yeme o zehir gibi erikleri, bırak büyüsünler, demedim mi, **haydut**!".. (W-UA16B4A-0909-16)

Hayırsız (evlat)/ Yüz karası

Ey Zeliha! Ey faziletli Kazancı ailesinin **hayırsız evladı**! Ey bu ailenin **yüz karası**! Bırak rahmindeki çocuk yaşasın! (W-RA16B0A-0295-47)

Haylaz

... "Dur kız, n'apıyorsun sen, **haylaz**," demişti, beni kendisine çekmiş, saçlarımı öpmüştü. (W- QA16B2A-1435-14)

Haysiyetsiz

... Ulan **haysiyetsiz!** Ulan şerefsiz!.. Sapıklara jigolalık yapmak mıydı işin, söyle?!" Baba Abbas, Kemal'i sakinleştirmek için çay ocağının .... (W-JA16B4A-0854-5)

Hayta

Senin civcivlerin ölmüş müydü **Hayta**. Eğilmiş, ölü kediyi, Oğlu diye seven yaşlı kadını hatırla. (W-HA16B1A-1341-6)

Hayvan / Kazma sapı

"Al işte... Kazık değil, **kazma sapı** herif. Cenaze bu, cenaze. **Hayvan**! Yok yav, bu herifin adam madam olacağı yok..." (W-QA16B2A-1435-179)

Hayvan oğlu hayvan

Madem baban kötü adamdır, sofrasından doyurmasına karnını, **hayvan oğlu hayvan**! Kendin kazan, kazan da ben de sana aferin diyeyim (W-KA16B3A-0636-485)

Hınzır

Nee? Sana rüşvet mi virdii? MÜDÜR: Rüşveti duyunca, senin de kulağın açıldı **hınzır**! MÜLAYİM: Ne kadar müdürüm? (W-IA14B1A-1620-19)

Hırbo

"Niye kopardın fıstıkları efendi?" dedi serseri burunlu Ökkeş. "Sana ne ulan **hırbo**!" dedim küçümseyen sesimin dörtte biriyle. (W-IA16B2A-0771-2)

Hıyar

Dudaklarında ve gözlerinde sinsi bir gülümseyiş vardı. Eşek, ancak ikisinin işitebileceği kadar hafif bir sesle çıkıştı candaşına: Ne gülüyorsun ulan **hıyar**? (W-QA16B2A-0378-71)

(Kart) Horoz

"Defol git; gözüm görmesin. Nerede eşelendiysen orada çöplen **kart horoz** seni!" dedi havada uçan terliğin peşinden. (W-UA16B2A-0884-94)

Hödük

"Aşağılık **hödük,** manyak, üç kâatçı" dedim. Boynuma sarıldı Nuray, reklam filmlerindeki gibi sol ayağını dizinden büktü. "(W-IA16B2A-0771-3)

İbne

... **lan ibne**, tanklar sokağa çıktığı zaman Dadaloğlu desene, diyemezsin **ibne**, Dadaloğlu ne yapmış abi, ferman padişahın dağlar bizimdir .. (W-RA16B4A-0901-38)

İpne (kılıklı)

Ben Genel Yayın Yönetmeni Orçun. Lan **ipne kılıklı** it. Ben de Gündüz gazetesinden İrfan. Oraya gelirsem senin o at kuyruğu saçından tutar (W-KA16B2A-0798-3)

İşe yaramaz

Nedir elinizden çektiğimiz? **İşe yaramaz** aylak herifler. Sizi biz mi besleyeceğiz? Ne çalışıp çok çok ürettiniz, Ne aldığınız borcu verdiniz (W-JA14B1A-1689-207)

İt (herif)

Dursun ve susup dinlediler. "Açsanıza lan kapıyı, **it herifler**! Ulan ben sizin var ya topunuzun dübürüne..." (W-SA16B2A-1199-504)

İt oğlu it / itoğluit/hergele

Ulan **hergele,** ulan it, ulan **itoğluit**, sen kimsin bana tabanca çekecek ulan, diye bağırmış. Tüm apartman kapıları açılmış.. (W-CA16B3A-0577-1)

Kaçık

"Dan! Dan!" Ulan **kaçık** çoban! Sen otur da peynir ekmekle ye aklını. Gündüzün ortasında vuracaksın ağayı, (W-EA16B2A-0448-38)

Kancık/sürtük

KÖSEM: O kadar ha? (Öfkesi birden parlayarak) Seni yalancı **sürtük**, seni kızgın **kancık**, seni zülüflü baltacılar yosması seni! (W-UA14B1A-1595-5)

Kapçık ağızlı

Trenler ne işe yarar **kapçık ağızlı**?" Yanıtı önceden ezberlemiş bir çocuk olarak, "İnsanları birbirine kavuşturur" diye bağırırdım (W-JA16B2A-0336-1)

Kaz kafalı

MÜŞTAK: (Bekçiye) **Kaz kafalı**, ne bakıyorsun öyle? Evliliğimi bozduğun yetişmedi, annemi de öldürüyorsun. (W-QA14B1A-1631-3)

Kel

ANA: (Kızgın) A benim aptal oğlum **Kel** oğlum, yoksul oğlum. Hani ne kazandın ki ocağa ne vurayım? (W-JA14B1A-1689-25)

Keltoş

"Ulan **keltoş**. Sen o kalemle yazmayı bırak. Sana bi tükenmez kalem vereyim. Al eline kalemi onunla yaz." (W-KA16B2A-0798-3)

Keranacı

Sen hayatında kendi kazandığın parayla bişey al da o zaman konuş **keranacı**" dedi. Kafasını bagajdan çıkarıp rahat rahat ağlasın diye, sırtımı dönüp kös kös okula gittim (W-IA16B4A-0793-2)

Keriz

Seni düşman saysaydım ben, girebilir miydin buraya, **keriz**, düşünsene bir? Ne geveleyip duruyorsun? Konuş! Ne istiyorsun? (W-JA16B4A-1747-2)

Keş

Keşçi öğretmen!" diye seslendi. Aldırmadım. "**Keş!**" Dönüp bakmadım... "Keş! Keş! Keeeeeş!" Kasabanın bana verdiği ad buydu: Keş! (W-IA16B3A-1015-12)

Kevaşe

Kimse kimseyi değiştiremez. Bir ata. "kes sesini **kevaşe**; yaşadıklarını yazan kevaşe" bile dedi (W-EA16B2A-0684-6)

Koca bebek

Tostoparlak bir ay, demiryolu üzerinden Sapanca'ya vurmuş hışır hışır gidiyordu. Belki aydı seslenen. "Hey **koca bebek**! Buradayım ben!" (W-OA16B3A-0737-1)

Koca kafa

"Teslim ol koca kafa! Özür dile, belki affederim." "Asla," dedi Bobi, "seni bir lokmada yutarım ben! (W-GA16B1A-0732-5)

Korkak /pis

Ne yapacağını hiç düşünmedi, karar veremedi, şaşkınlıkla konuşmaya başladığını duydu. "**Pis korkak** herif. Kendi kuralların için hep başkalarını suçlamışsın. (W-HA16B1A-0367-190)

Kuduruk

Kat'i surette kötü bi niyetim yok... Yettin artık ama sen, **kuduruk** cadı... Eline tüfek geçirmiş, annesinin gözü önünde "eve oğlan çaarıcam" diyo... (W-HA16B2A-0792-2)

Manda

..otur yahu, bütün plaja rezil ettin bizi! Bir şamreli eksik Allah'ın magandasının. Bak **manda**, sus yoksa seni Bokpınar'a veririz. (W-TA16B3A-0450-50)

Maskara

"Gel buraya **maskara**!" dedi. "O sepet sadece ceviz toplamaya yaramıyormuş demek," dedi Emir. Elleri arkasında böbürlenerek dolanan Coco ise söyleniyordu... (W-GA16B1A-1929-2)

Mayumun

Hayri "Yok deve, deve görmüş olmasın," dedi yalakça gülerek. Nebahat onun yanına gidip midesine sıkı bir yumruk çaktı. "Fare görmüş dedim ulan, besili **maymun**!"

Mendebur / manyak

"**Mendebur manyak.** Adam oldun galiba. Geberteceğim seni!" diyerek üstüme saldırdı. (W-LA16B4A-0148-19)

Mikrop

KOMİSER: Kes lan zırıltıyı, sapık köpek, **mikrop**... (W-MA14B3A-1812-8)

Moruk

..yaşlı adama öfkeyle: Ulan **moruk,** dedi kaç kere söyledim sana buraya girmek yasak diye. Kendi yetmiyormuş gibi bir de uyuz köpeğini getiriyor! (W-GA16B4A-1930-14)

Moskof (kafa)

Son isteğin nedir? Annemi görmek istiyom Haticem. Sen sööle **Moskof kafa**, sen ne istiyon? (W-RA16B1A-1073-4)

Or.spu

Hadi dene bakalım, ikiyüzlü karı, pis **or.spu**! Bir gün şişleyeceğim seni..(W-PA16B4A-0746-1)

Namussuz / şişko

Namussuz, şişko dursan, fiyakan mı bozulacaktı. Böcek kadar da mı görünmedim gözüne?(W-KA16B3A-0706-56)

Öküz

Zaten sen bende hiçbir iyi, güzel ve sevilesi yan bulamadın **öküz** herif! Uğradığım kötülüklerle beslenmiş şişmanlığımdan başka! (W-MA16B2A-0874-102)

Pasaklı

Kuru Mustafa'nın öfkesi hâlâ yatışmamıştı: "Gı **pasaklı**, sen vazifeni bilmiyon mu, gı? Ula avrat dediğin, gişisinin herbi şeyini istemeden hazır etmez mi? (W-GA16B3A-1009-11)

Pezevenk

Yardım edelim, diyerek... "Ulan **pezevenk**, neredeyse arabayı götürüyorlarmışta sen farketmemişsin. Şimdi de kalkmış yardım edelim diyorsun bok herif!" (W-EA16B4A-0688-47)

Piç (kurusu)

"İyi misin?" dedi. "Bunu sana ödeteceğim, aşağılık **piç kurusu**" dedim, içimde durdurulamaz bir şiddet arzusu vardı. (W-OA16B2A-0800-59)

Salak

" Yerlere yatıyordu, "Lan **salak**, o senin baban değil mi, gel de kendin söylesene. Tamam, anladık gidersin," diye (W-UA16B2A-1163-100)

Sansar /gerzek kafalı /sümsük

Anne: Ben senin canına!.. Baba: Sus **gerzek kafalı sansar**!.. Anne: Haha!.. Güleyim bari **sümsük**!.. Baba: Sümsük senin babandır... (W-QA14B1A-4729-1)

Sapık

Bir kez daha, "Üstüme gelme **sapık** herif!" diye avaz avaz bağırdı. "Lokantada ne yaptığını herkes gördü. **Sapık** herif! İbne!" (W-OA16B4A-0119-122)

Sığır

Hayatımdan bezdim be! Sen erkekliği, cinselliği filan hâlâ bööle bişey mi zannediyosun **sığır**! (W-HA16B2A-0792-68)

Sırtan (bakışlı)

Kapının eşiğinde dikilip parmağını gözümüze sokarcasına, "sana diyorum, sana **sırtlan bakışlı**..." diye kükremesi .. (W-UA16B1A-1233-20)

Şebelek

Osurgot ve Mutant Nebahat'tan "Seni kaldırıp şu duvara fırlatırsam anlarsın ağırlığı **şebelek**!" şeklinde bir yanıt almıştı. (W-SA16B2A-1199-2)

Soytarı

Bereket versin şube müdürü, — İn aşağı be, **soytarı**! diye bağırdı da, masadan inip yerime oturdum. (W-JA16B3A-1721-3)

Susak (kafa) /pösteki (kafa)

Nasılsın **susak kafa**? diye sataşanlara, İyiyim, **pösteki kafa**. Sen nasılsın? diye karşılık veriyormuş (W-UA16B1A-1207)

Süt kuzusu

Süt kuzusu herifler... Ben maceracıymışım da... Anarşistmişim de falan filan... KOMİSER: Yok yahu? (W-FA14B1A-2669-1)

Utanmaz arlanmaz

... utanmaz, arlanmaz! Bırak rol kesmeyi. Aklın sıra kızcağızı gözümün önünde türkü söyleyip kandıracaksın ha! (W-QA14B1A-1631-1)

Uyuşuk

"Vur lan, uzaklaştırsana topu **uyuşuk** herif," dedi Yeti. "Ay kaçalım, üstümüze geliyor," dedi Nuri. (W-SA16B2A-1199-25)

Uyuz (it/eşek)

Ulan **uyuz it**, Yunanlılar geldiğinde, bizim ordudan kaçıp da Yunan ordusuna katılmadınız mı, kasabalarımızı, köylerimizi yakmadınız mı (W-KA16B4A-0121-69)

Vefasız

"Vay **vefasız**!" diye başladı. "Nerelerdesin? İşin düşmezse aramazsın." Baştan böyle sitemle konuşmaya başlanmasını sevmem (W-PA16B0A-0160-29)

Yamyam

Ben Nezahat halamı çok severim... Aaaa, **yamyam,** Zehra yengesini yedi. Kızım manyaklaşma. Kiraz bu, tabi yiycez (W-DA16B3A-1040-7)

Yaramaz

"Hey! Küçük **yaramaz**, buraya gel," dedi. "Sana söyleyeceklerim var!" Şimdi sözünde durmanın sırası mıydı? (W-GA16B1A-1929-36)

Yobaz

ÇETİN: Kapa çeneni **yobaz**. (Alanda gerginlik iyice artmıştır. Gençler ellerinde pankartlar birbirlerine düşmanca bakmaktadırlar. (W-EA14B1A-1616-3)

Yosma

Kenan'ı kokluyordu. "Kız **Yosma**, dolaşmaya mı çıktınız?" diyerek onunla da ilgilendi Kenan. Boşta kalan Eşkıya bana yaklaştı. (W-PA16B4A-0099-23)

Zavallı

"**Zavallı** salak mahluk, babanın hem Meryem'in ırzına geçtiğini, hem de onu öldürmek için sana verdiğini anlayamadın mı?" (W-OA16B4A-0119-1075)

Zındık / kafir

"Ah Beybaba! Ah be Babalık! Niye çamura yattın?" Onlar, "Kalk **zındık**! Kalk bre **kâfir**!" diye bağırdıkları (W-TA16B4A-1264-2)

Zirzop

.. nedense ve kaşla göz arasında cebinden bir tomar para çıkarıp hışımla savurdu. "Al ulan **zirzop,"** dedi peşinden de; "al işte, sattın atı!" (W-IA16B4A-0025-15)

Zibidi

"Ben bilmemkaç yıllık bakkallık hayatımda hiç kimseye haraç olarak sakız bile çiğnetmedim, **zibidi!**" (W-OA16B3A-0501-8)

Zilli

...farzedelim ki bir sapık var... Sen bu adamı niye seviyorsun **zilli**? Hak edeni sev... (W-KA16B2A-0308-39)

Kinship terms

Aba

Kezban Abam da suya gidiyor. Çağırıp soralım. Kezban **Aba**, kıız Kezban Aba gelsene! KEZBAN: (Elinde kovalar içeri girer) Ne var, ne oldu? (W-UA14B1A-1597-4) (FKT)

Abi

Mesela şu alet bozuldu diyelim." "Bozulmaz **abi**" "Hiç mi bozulmaz?" "Bozulmaz dedim ya abi. Amerikan malı bu, bir şey olmaz." (W-RA16B3A-0257-1637) (FKT)

Abiciğim

"Haa, burda yanıldığın belli **abiciğim**! Bu açık pazarlamacılık, evrenseldir anadın mı!" Şaşkınlıkla baktım yüzüne (W-MA16B1A-0689-2) (FCT)

Abicik

Ece Ayhanmış, okumuşsunuz, yani **abicik** yeterince öğrenmişsiniz bunları, şimdi bu çocuk burda duruyor, yanlış anlama meslek öğreniyorlar (W-RA16B4A-0901-3) (FCT)

Abim

Yazıyosun, 3456'ya yolluyosun. Anında koyuyolar, **abim**. Sen elini bulaştırmıyosun. Of ulan, of. Mafyanın da raconunu indirdiler anasını satiim. (W-RA16B1A-1073-91) (FCT)

Abisi

Pişman olacak doğduğuna o orospu çocukları!" "Dişe diş yani..." "Aynen öyle **abisi**. Bak seni tanınmaz hale getirmişler (W-OA16B3A-0501-48) (FCT)

Abla

Sen Ferit'le anlaşamazsın ki **abla**." "Pekâlâ anlaşırım!" "Vallahi dümdüz bir adam o, hiçbir özelliği yok (W-RA16B2A-0441-734)(KT)

Ablacığım

Merhaba **ablacığım**, oturayım mı? Anımsayamadığım bir tanıdık sanıp gülümsüyorum. (W-GA16B2A-1924-3) (FCT)

Ablam

Adamlar, rakılar, şarkılar susturulur ama, şu kopası yürek susturulmaz be **ablam**..." "Şimdi can alıcı noktaya geldik..." (W-EA16B1A-0856-221) (FCT)

Ablası

Geri kalan zamanda da öylece bırakıyorum, bir değişiklik olsun diye." "Büyüyor, **ablası**, büyüyor," dedi hınzır Sırma(W-JA16B2A-0859-105) (FCT)

Abloş

Daha da kızardım. "İstersen sen de gel." Birden bana döndü. "Olur di mi? Hatırım için **abloş**." (W-PA16B0A-0160-2)(FCT)

Ağababa

"Vallahi bilemem. Ama kamyonu yakarız diye okuyunca... Canım sıkıldı **ağababa**... Bir fikrini alayım, dedim"(W-RA16B4A-0104-1) (FCT)

Ağabey

Dersler iyi gidiyor mu? Bir şeye ihtiyacın var mı?" "Yok **ağabey,** teşekkür ederim." Kimler vardı Hasan Ağabeyin sınıfında? (W-GI09C4A-1927-1296) (FCT)

Ağabeyciğim

Dördümüzü de öpüyor. Öyleyse yarışın ikinci kısmı başlıyor. Sevgili **ağabeyciğim**, düş peşime... (W-KA16B2A-0544-17) (FCT)

Ağabeyim

"Dayanmaya kararlıyım Han **ağabeyim**." "Allah sana güç ve kuvvet versin. (W-KA16B4A-0121-198) (FCT)

Ağbi

Derhal şu müziği kapatın! buyurdu. Kapatamayız **ağbi**! Niçin? Kapatma düğmesi mi bozuk? (W-RA16B2A-0062-240) (FCT)

Amca

Mesaj, Narkotik Şube'den Komiser Yardımcısı Serkan'dandı. "**Nevzat Amca** çok önemli bir konu var. (W-OA16B4A-0046-1390) (FCT)

Amca kızı

Sana bir şeyi yanlış belletmişler **amca kızı**; Hollanda'da sürekli kalabilmen için üç gün değil en az üç yıl katlanman gerekliydi bana. (W-MA16B4A-0772-6) (KT)

Amcam oğlu

"Ay ışığı süt gibi, sallanır selvi gibi, sen orada uluma, **'amcam oğlu'** it gibi!.." (W-JA16B4A-0799-1) (KT)

Amcam

Oh canım Artin **amcam**, sen Hıristiyansın, ne de olsa daha açık fikirlisin bizimkilerden. Sen onları ikna et kuzum. (W-IA16B3A-0041-194) (FCT)

Amcacığım

Yumurta mı? Sizin ördekler yumurtlamıyor mu? Hiç sorma **amcacığım**, zaten yumurtlayan bir tane ördeğimiz var (W-UA16B1A-1207-2)(FCT)

Ana

..her şeyi söylediğin şu garip anandan niçin gizledin? -**Ana**, senden bir şey gizlemiş falan değilim lütfen öyle düşünme (W-KA16B2A-0784-1070) (KT)

Anne

Ahmet'in de okuluna gidip, onu da şikâyet edeceğini söyledi. Nası yalvardım, '**Anne** yapma, beni rezil etme,' diye (W-EA16B2A-0744-1717) (KT)

Anasının kuzusu

Sıdıkağ, yavrum nooldu? Evladım**, anasının kuzusu**, vuruldun mu, hamile misin, bi problemin mi var, fare felan mı gördün? (W-HA16B2A-0792-4)(KT)

Anam

"Şu zavallı ihtiyardan ne bekliyorsun güzel **anam**," dedi. Annenin dudakları titredi, "Bıktım saçmasapan fikirlerinizden," dedi. (W-IA16B3A-0871-225) (KT)

Annem

"Ama güzel **annem** o, o zamandı, bu, bu zaman. Hem Nurten iyi kız. Tanıyınca sen de seveceksin." (W-QA16B3A-0617-564) (KT)

Anacığım

Halime yanına diz çökerek, "Ne olur böyle konuşma **anacığım**, bir sallasam dertlerim sapır sapır dökülür." (W-SA16B2A-1070-58) (KT)

Anneciğim

Neden benim gözlerim mavi değil de siyah **anneciğim**?" "Çünkü küçük kızım, senin annenle babanın gözleri de siyah da ondan."(W-MA16B3A-0039-374) (FCT)

Anacık

Nerede iş buldun? Öğretmenlik mi yapacaksın?" "Yok be, **Anacık**. Öğretmenlik kim, ben kim?.. (W-LA16B1A-1252-4) (FCT)

Annesi

"**Annesi**, oğlun geliyor, sevdiği yemekleri hazırladın değil mi?"... Kalbi küt küt atan sabırsız ve gözleri dolu bekleyişler. (W-SA16B1A-1488-951) (KT)

Anne sultan

Bir on iki Mart günüydü ve yaşasaydı ertesi gün de Aras'ın doğum günü kutlanacaktı. "Açık prova **anne sultan!** (W-JA16B4A-0146-2) (KT)

Anneanne

"Deden bırakmaz yavrum. Hem ben yüzemem." "Orası derin değil ki **anneanne!** Yürüyorsun yürüyorsun, su belinde. Hem çok temiz. Balık kaynıyor. (W-PA16B4A-0877-171) (KT)

Avrat

Sonra içerde bir koşuşturma duydum. Az sonra da açıldı kapı. 'N'oldu **avrat?'** dedim. 'Bu çocuk niye dışarıda?' 'Heeç' dedi (W-SA16B4A-0047-43) (KT)

Aybalam

Zıbınlar bitiyor mu Nur? Bitti de marka işliyorum. **Aybala!** Ya erkek olursa? Ahmet olur, fena mı? Yooo, güzel tabi... (W-RA16B2A-0441-1)

Baba

"Tamam **baba.** Anlıyorum... Ben iyiyim, gerçekten." Kızının ona gereksinimi olduğunu, üzmemek için rahat davrandığını çok iyi biliyordu Leonid (W-KA16B4A-0100-1529)(KT)

Babam

EBRU: (Sarılır öper) Canım **babam.** CEMAL: Ne diyorsun sen be? HAMDİ: Baba adamım ya ne sandın (W-JA14B1A-1622-1147) (FCT)

Babaanne

ADA: Çok istemiş demek ki... Bir şeyi çok istersen olur mu **babaanne?** BABAANNE: Öyle derler. ADA: Ben de babam gibi resim çizmeyi çok istiyorum **babaanne** (W-PA14B1A-1626-80) (KT)

Babacığım

"**Babacığım** nah bitirirsin demiştin ya, hani bitirirsem alnımı karışlayacaktın ya, işte bitirdim, bak diplomam burada. (W-GA16B1A-0643-243) (KT)

Babacık

Babacık, beni öpmeden mi gidiyorsun? Baba: İyi geceler kızım. (Aşağı inip arabanın altına girer.) (W-TA14B1A-1589-4) (KT)

Bacanak

Say ki, Türkiye koca bir rulet masası..." İyice içimi kararttın be **bacanak"** dedim. "Biraz da şu iyimser cümlelerini etsen de rahatlasam." (W-OA16B4A-0326-13)(KT)

Bacı

Ya bu kadın? Niye ister resmini çekmemizi? "Sen burada mı oturuyorsun **bacı**? Çocuğun iki demek? Mum var mı?" (W-JA16B2A-1012-89) (FKT)

Bacım

İkbal hanım: **Bacım**, sen oğlunu evlendirmeyi düşünmüyor musun? Düşünmüyorum desem yalan olur. (W-HA16B2A-0717-67) (FCT)

Bala

Duruyor. "Demin bana niye öyle baktın **bala**?" Emir çok az biliyor Türkçeyi. Az gerekmiş, az konuşmuş. "So nâna bekleyip..." "Anan mı, nerede anan?" (W-LA16B3A-0172-8) (FKT)

Baldız

Tiyatrocu bana dönüyor, "heey, **baldız,** sen tiyatroyu seversin, görecektin dün bizi" diyor... Birden midem bulanıyor, karşımdaki tablo iğrenç bir şey: "Bok herif tiyatron batsın, şu kardeşimin haline bir baksana" (W-GA16B1A-0643-10) (FKT)

Bey amca

Diğer yarısını kime bırakıyorsun **bey amca?** Çocuklarına mı? MEHMET AĞA: Yok efendi yok. O zındıklara zırnık bırakmam. (W-SA14B1A-1585-23) (FKT)

Bey baba

Genç komiser muavini, oturmasını işaret ederek: -Sakin ol **bey baba**, olmuş bir kere. Sen. şimdi otur biraz nefeslen. (W-KA16B2A-0784-1) (FKT)

Bey kardeşim

İyi o zaman seni bizim kısma götürcem benim yemek ortağım olursun, kim davet ederse benim adımı ver, gitme başkasının yanına." "Oldu **bey kardeşim."** (W-CE09C3A-0382-10)(FKT)

Beybaba

Bunda haksızlık var **beybaba!** Önce bir tıss yayılıyor güverteye, ardından yeni bir ses duyuluyor. Haksızlık var! Biz onca zahmeti hepten boşuna mı çekelim? (W-EA16B4A-0353-13) (FKT)

Bibi

Sonra bütün kalabalığın duyabileceği bir sesle, "Bu kasabada herkes yalancı **bibi!"** diyecekti. (W-OA16B4A-0119-10) (KT)

Bilader

Yok deve." "Gidin alın o zaman, devam edelim," dedi asker. "Işık hızında kalkanın dışına sen çık **bilader,** o zaman hem sizi galip sayarız hem de senin cenaze masraflarını karşılarız," dedi (W-SA16B2A-1199-3) (FKT)

Birader

"Şöyle yana çekilin de yolcular binsin **birader!"** dedi şoför. Sert bir bakış fırlattım ama bu, "Çekilmeyeceğim" anlamında değildi. (W-IA16B3A-0474-69) (FKT)

Bizim oğlan

...tüm dostlarıma binlerce teşekkürler. Mutlu yıllar hepinize, mutlu yıllar **bizim oğlan**! Kafasını kullanmak isteyip kullanamayanlara ....(W-UA16B4A-0695-2) (FKT)

Buba

Oğlu Hasan da uyanmış, gözlerini uğuşturuyordu: "Kasabaya mı gidiyon buba? Benim çakıyı unutma, hani alacam demiştin, kırmızı saplı, güzel bir şey olsun.(W-KA16B3A-0706-9) (KT)

Büyükanne

"İşte **büyükanne**, sana sözünü ettiğim çocuk bu," diyecek ve tekerlekli sandalyede oturmakta olan zavallı ihtiyar beni görünce hüngür hüngür ağlamaya başlayacak (W-NA16B1A-0322-102) (KT)

Cicianne

Anlayamıyorum **cicianne.** Üftâde yavrum, senin de dediğin gibi o kişiler kâğıt üzerinden geliyorlar; senin, benim gibi gerçek değiller (W-FA16B1A-1503-15) (KT)

Çocuk

Bana bak **çocuk.** Benimle dalga mı geçiyorsun. Çocuk 2: Evet... Dedem gibi, şu eski deyimleri kullandığın zaman çok komik oluyorsun.(W-VA14B1A-1603-884) (KT)

Çocuğum

"Siz de biliyordunuz değil mi?" diye sordum, ellerimi cebime sokup, daha şimdiden üşümeye başlayarak. "Böyle şeyler bilinmez **çocuğum**, ancak sezilir!" (W-JA16B4A-0146-339) (FKT)

Çocuklar

"Siz tanışıyor musunuz?" diye sordu Kararlı şaşırarak. "Anlaşılan herkes birbirini tanıyor **çocuklar**" diye cevap verdi Bilge Somon gülümseyerek. (W-OA16B4A-1197-1146)(FKT)

Damat

Beyağa Hasso'ya döndü, "Haydi **damat** halayın başını sen çekeceksin, kalk bakalım," dedi. Hasso da hiç anlayamamıştı (W-IA16B3A-0041-297)

Dayı

Bodrum'a ineeken saçlarınıza bulaasınız, ıslak görünüp duruu gaari... Yok **dayı** yok... Biz jöle filan kullanmıyoruz... (W-DA16B3A-1040-192)

Dayıcığım

"Bu kadar erken geleceğini ummuyordum **dayıcığım**," dedi. "Bu yıl sınavlarımız erken bitti, ben de hemen buraya koştum." (W-GA16B1A-1929-1)

Dayım

Yürü de **koca dayım**, nereye kadar demiş. Bunun sonu mezar be **dayım**. Ondan sonra yol mu var? (W-GA16B4A-1930-11)(FKT)

Dede

"**Dede** şuna bir şey söyle," **"Dede**, hani benimle de oynayacaktın," gibi bağrışlar ve tepinmeler arasında zar zor anlatabildim(W-QA16B4A-0299-609) (KT)

Dedeciğim

"Daha oturabilirdiniz, **dedeciğim**." "Kız, biz sizin yaşınızda mıyız? Bu kadar saat oturabilmek bile ne devlet..." (W-QA16B4A-0299-27)

Dedecik

"Söz **dedecik**!" diye bağırarak ikisi birden dedeyi öpücüklere boğdular. Dede dere kıyısına, saz kesmeye giderken onlar da köye koştular. (W-RA16B1A-0788-1) (KT)

Dedem

Şöyle yatmadan önce, huzurla içeyim kahvemi." "Emrin olur **dedem**." "Dur kız, dur! Kahveden vazgeçtim. Sen bana bir kadeh rakı ver (W-RA16B4A-0104-527)

Dünür

Korktum **dünür**, Allah seni inandırsın korktum. O günden beri yüreğim pır pır ediyor. (W-UA16B2A-1206-6) (KT)

Ebe

Mıstık, ne diyo şu hasas? Gine tahsildar mı gelmiş yoğsam?" Mıstık'ın muzipliği üstündeydi: "Yok **ebe**, tahsildar değal?" "Kimimiş öyleyse? (W-GA16B3A-1009-46) (FKT)

Efendi baba

AKİF: (Sevgiyle yardıma hazır.) Ben yardım edeyim **efendi baba**. Siz rahatsız olmayın. (W-DA14B1A-1307-6) (FKT)

Emmi

Yeğenim" dedi. "Bak, evliyalar neler yapmışlar..." "Neler yapmışlar **emmi**?.." Ne çok şey anlattı... (W-UA16B1A-1233-55) (FKT)

Emmeoğlu

Bence Gültür bakanlığının bütçesini doptan geselim gardaşlar. Gültür değil **emmoğlu** yannış şeyettin. Doğrusu Gültür olacak. (W-NA16B1A-1466-1) (FKT)

Enişte

Çakır gözlerinde ışıltılarla nazlı nazlı "Hoş geldin **enişte**!" derdi. Annem biraz küskün, kardeşine hafif gücenik bakardı. (W-MA16B2A-0874-44) (KT)

Evlat

Sırat boş gözlerle yaşlı adamı süzdü. İşte şimdi gerçekten kafayı sıyırdı. "Üzgünüm, **evlat**. Onu asla bulamazsın. O hiçbir yerde..." (W-QA16B3A-3326-15) (FKT)

Gelin

Kaynana: Tembel **gelin**! Bir mangalı da yakamıyorsun. Gelin: Balıkları temizliyorum. Kaynana: Temizlemiyorsun. (W-TA14B1A-1589-240) (KT)

Gelinim

 "Ayşem, kızım, kıymetli **gelinim**." Gelen doktor kısa bir muayeneden sonra: Hastaneye götürmemiz lazım, çocuğunu düşürüyor, dedi. (W-TA16B1A-0835-22) (KT)

Gız

"Ver şu tarif kâğıdını..." "Al canım, birdanam." "**Gız** bak bana birdanam birdanam deme, ağzın alışacak vallaha. (W-FA16B2A-0578-30) (FKT)

Hala

MUSTAFA: (Sahne arkasından sesi duyulur) **Hatçe Hala! Hatçe Hala**! HATÇE: (Yerinden fırlar) Aha da geldiler komşu... (W-SA14B1A-1585-241) (FKT)

Halacığım

" Yeğenim Can, hemen elimden tuttu: "**Halacığım**, ikimiz yatacağız. Benim odamda. Geceleri, bana masal anlatır mısın? (W-DA16B2A-0888-5) (FKT)

Haminne

Adsız Evliya'nın önünden geçerken Saadet sessizliği bozdu. "**Haminne** beni niye mektebe göndermediler? (W-SA16B2A-1070-2) (FKT)

Hanım (eş)

Uykudan uyanır gibi mahmur bir hâlde eşine dönerek: Hayır, **hanım** olmaz. Biz nasıl bakarız, nasıl büyütürüz bu çocuğu. (W-RA16B3A-0814-1804) (KT)

Hanım abla

"**Hanım abla**, çocuk senin mi?" diye sordu şoför. "Evet, benim," dedi Kumru, Sultan da, yüzünde ışıl ışıl bir sevinç, "Evet, onun," (W-RA16B3A-1134-10) (FKT)

Hanım anne

EMİNE: Ne zaman geleceğini yazmıyor mu? İSMET: Yazıyor **hanım anne**. (Okuyarak) (W-DA14B1A-1307-6) (FKT)

Hanım kız

Saçlarım taradıktan sonra, tarakta kalanları yuvarlar, götürür banyonun termosifon sobasına atar. Ya sen ne yapıyorsun **hanım kız**, haydi lavaboya. (W-HA16B2A-1934-4) (KT)

Hanım teyze

"Vah vah, cık cık" deyince, anneannem ağlamaya başladı. Oğlum yoksa beynim de mi maviye boyanmış? dedi. Doktor: Yok hanım teyze yok, dedi. (W-HA16B2A-1934-61) (FKT)

Hanımanne

Nuriye Hanım: Benim gibi mektebe gitseydin burada ne yazdığını okurdun. Ayşe Hanım: Evet **hanımanne** ben okuyamıyorum! (W-TA14B1A-1589-1) (FKT)

Hemşire

KADIN: Yavrumu eteğimle sararım. SUBAY: Ey **hemşire** sarsana şu çocuğu yorgana, mosmor olmuş yavrucak. Vah zavallı, vah yazık. SUBAY: Türkü söyler." (W-FA16B2A-0984-95) (FKT)

Herif

...karısı Koppo'ya, **'Herif herif** ayaktasın, ölmüşlerin hayrına bana bir tas su ver küzeden,' demişti de, Koppo, fakiri döve döve yataklara düşürmüştü." " (W-LA16B2A-0436-550) (KT)

Kardeş

"Ben ne kadar kalırım burada, **kardeş**?" "Nerden kardeşin oluyorum? Ben vatan haini değilim." "Ben de değilim." "Değilsen burada işin ne?" (W-RA16B4A-0104-724) (FKT)

Kardeşim

Şöyle dedi Birim Yöneticisine: "Bak kardeşim, ben onu bunu bilmem. Sen olayları tırmandırıyorsun. Herkes hakkında işlem yapıyorsun**. (W-MA16B3A-0457-753) (FKT)

Kardeşcağızım

"Evet, bitti işte. Bak şimdi **kardeşcağızım**, önce Nihan'ı ve Cemo'yu bulacağız. Onlar da bu mektubun muhatabı, öyle değil mi?" (W-TA16B0A-0093-1) (FKT)

Kardeşims

"He he hee, yaa**, herifs bu günler içins üretilmedi mi **kardeşims**, he hee, durup savaşssa ya, ne diye bizimle koşsuyo he he heee?" diye sordu Çakal.(W-SA16B2A-1199-1)(FKT)

Karı

"Açtım ağzımı, yumdum gözümü." diye anlatıyordu anası. "Altta kalır mıyım? ...... Tuu Allah cezalarını versin." "Ağzını bozma **karı**. (W-IA16B2A-2674-31) (KT)

Karıcığım

Yalnız ben bilmezmişim. Ne dedi karım boynuma sarılarak: "Sen daha yüksek yerlere layıksın" dedi. "Gerçekten mi söylüyorsun **karıcığım**?" dedim (W-HA16B3A-0781-80) (KT)

Kayınço

"Abi yapma, ayıptır," diyorum. "Ayıbı mı kaldı!" "**Kayınço** etme, kalkta anlat hele." diyor Cemal. "Şerefim iki paralık oldu, rezil oldum enişte rezil!" (W-MA16B4A-0772-3) (KT)

Kız

Yokum bugün. Anne ne olur! **Kız** git babana söyle! Anneni alma ağzına! (W-SA16B4A-1492-2311) (KT)

Kızan

Çalı çırpı, toprakla, sekiz ayda diktiler bunları, diye surların tepesine oturtulmuş altı kuleyi gösterdi. – Taş mı yok? – Yok ya **kızan**, nerede bulsunlar taşı? (W-TA16B0A-0136-32) (FKT)

Kızım

"Nurdem Kıray, tahtaya geliver **kızım**!" Kara tahtanın önünde çok mu zavallı duruyorum? Şu anda, Perihan'ın yerinde olmayı bile isterdim. (W-GA16B4A-0991-956) (KT)

Kocam

Sarhoş, müzik aletiyle eşikte belirir. Hemen çalmaya başlar. Bir süre...) KADIN: **Kocam**! RESSAM: Karım! (W-GA14B1A-1489-57) (KT)

Kocakarı

Baba evine döndüm işte. Ama sen bundan hiç hoşlanmadın değil mi **kocakarı**? Sen üvey anne tarafını temsil ediyorsun çünkü ... (W-DA16B3A-1494-7) (KT)

Kuzen

Ah zavallı, güzel, sinsicik **kuzen**! Dalgasız, heyecansız küçük tatlı su! Yüzeylerde dolaşmak, derinlerdeki güzellikleri asla göremeden ... (W-JA16B4A-0146-16) (KT)

Küçük kardeşim

Anin yanına gitti. "Gel..." "Yine ne var **küçük kardeşim**?" "Gel de bak." Çuka'yı kolundan çekerek..... (W-QA16B1A-0775-3) (KT)

Nene

"Ben seni pek severim, **nene**..." ...... Nereden biliyordu o kadın, O'nun başının okşanmasının, kaşınmasının önemini? (W-QA16B1A-0713-8) (FKT)

Oğlan

Hay deli **oğlan**! Yürü köftehor. Kavuklu Arkası: Ayy... köfte mi? Karnım öyle bir acıktı ki usta. (W-TA14B1A-1589-180) (FKT)

Oğlum

Babam, elleriyle yüzünü kapamış sürekli aynı şeyi yineliyor: Ne oldu sana **oğlum**! Anneme bakıyorum, bütün çizgilerin sarktığı yüzünde bir baykuşun hüznü var. (W-JA16B4A-0875-1229)(KT)

Paşa baba

N'olur **Paşa baba**, inat etmeyip Saray'a gidin. Korktu da gelmedi, derler. Size hiç korkmak yakışmaz, türlü söylenti çıkartırlar. (W-LA16B4A-1948-1) (KT)

Teyze

Al şu mendili. Canın yandı mı?" "**Teyze** bak, sen onu bizden korumaya kalktın, o gelip seni pençeledi." "Yürü gidelim lan. (W-CA16B3A-1557-313) (FKT)

Teyzesi

Söz düştükçe, yeri geldikçe övünürdü annesi: "**Teyzesi**, kız gibi oğlum. Namuslu, arlı. Sağa sola bakmaz, geceleri dışarı çıkmaz. İçki, sigara içmez, oyun oynamaz. (W-LA16B4A-0687-468) (FKT)

Teyzeciğim

Hayrola **teyzeciğim**, bu ne telaş?" "Evladım buraların yabancısıyım, hastane tarafına gidecek bir dolmuşa bakıyorum." (W-RA16B2A-1246-35) (FKT)

Teyzem

"Aman **teyzem**, canım teyzem," demiş, kadının ellerine sarılmış. "İşte anahtarı sana teslim. Hamamı da senin olsun, kurnası da. (W-TA16B2A-1200-59) (FKT)

Torunum

Ama sevgili **torunum**, yolu olsa da olmasa da, açlık hep için için kazısa da midesini, Anadolu hep çok güzel bir yer oldu. (W-PA16B0A-0297-48) (KT)

Uşağum

 "Sen de pilmelisun oni". Şaşkınlıkla, "Karıncalar dua eder mi Hamdi amca?" diye sordum. "Elpette **uşağum**. Onlar hemi çalışır, hemi dua ederler (W-JA16B2A-0336-7) (FKT)

Valide

Seç bââyan seç! Elle ablacım, korkma! Evet yengeciğim evet... Halis yün bunlar. Sar ağzına burnuna, üşüme **valide**! (W-FA16B4A-0005-111) (FKT)

Yavrucuğum

"Hayır **yavrucuğum**, tabi ki sen bir şeyi bu kadar kuvvetle istersen, o olur. Okula gideceksin!" (W-RA16B2A-0441-59) (KT)

Yavrum

Gel, bak yavrum... Ne göstereceğim sana?" Bayan Körpegül onu yatak odasına götürdü. Eski bir dolabının kapağını açtı (W-OA16B1A-1221-293) (FKT)

Yavrum evladım

Aman... Aman... Yüreciğimde bir ağrı var... **Yavrum evladım**... Hasan: Teyzeciğim... Hastaneye gitsek... Belki... Yaşlı Kadın: Tabibe ne hacet yavrum.. (W-VA14B1A-1632-2) (FKT)

Yeğen

Neden geldin be adam? – Ona söyleyeceklerimi... – Bütün Pera biliyor! Ganguzza dayı şaşırdıydı. – Neden öyle haşinsin **yeğen**? (W-TA16B0A-0136-27) (FKT)

Yeğenim

"Gördün mü?" diye sevindi dayım. "....... "Sen Yunan ajanı mısın, **yeğenim**. (W-RA16B2A-0406-58) (KT)

Yenge

"Kaça elma?" "Sana indirimli **yenge**, suçluyuz... Kaç kilo tartayım?" "Elma güzel, ama almayacağım, taşıyamam." (W-JA16B3A-0999-61) (FKT)

Yengeciğim

Seç bââyan seç! Elle ablacım, korkma! Evet yengeciğim evet... Halis yün bunlar. (W-FA16B4A-0005-4) (FKT)

Yengem

Şöyle dolaş da içeri geç, dinlen, hangisinden istersen, hesaplı verelim... Kaburganı kırdık, cüzdanını kırmayalım, gel **yengem**..." "Kaça elma?" (W-JA16B3A-0999-29) (FKT)

Veled

"Veled dinle beni. Annene söyle. Şerbetçiyi çağırsın, kar istesin biraz. Soğuk bez koysun başını çarptığın yere**.** (W-QA16B3A-1131-1) (FKT)

Zevcim

Anneciğim ve babacığım merhaba. Akşam yemekte mümkünse nohutlu pilav, nar gibi kızarmış patatesler ve yanında da köfte rica ediyorum. Şimdi gelelim sevgili **zevcim** size.. (KT)

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Publications

Özer, N. (2017). *Are materials changing?: 21st century English language teaching materials*. Paper presented at 3rd Çukurova International ELT Teachers Conferences CUELT 2017, Çukurova Üniversitesi, Adana.

Özer, N & Aksan, Y. (2019). *Türkçede hitap şekilleri: Derlem temelli bir çalışma*. Poster session presented at 33. Ulusal Dilbilim Kurultayı, Mersin University, Mersin.