

THE MEANING ASSIGNED TO THE TERM 'ABLA' (ELDER SISTER) IN FINNISH AND TURKISH*

'Abla' Kavramına Fince ve Türkçede Yüklenen Anlamlar

Nazlı GÜNDÜZ**

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Öz: Makale Fin dili ile karşılaştırıldığında Türk dilinde hitabet ve saygı sözcüklerinin kullanımında ortaya çıkan farklı kültürel anlamları, 'abla' sözcüğünden yola çıkarak açıklamaktadır. Finlandiya'da yayımlanan bir gazete, Finlandiya'da Türkçe eğitimi almış bir gazetecinin Türkiye'de çalışmaya başladığında sokakta kendisine 'abla' sözcüğü ile hitap edilmesini anlamlandıramadığından bahseder. Bahsedilen yazı Helsinki Üniversitesi'nde yürütülen Türkçe derslerine götürülüp, 'abla' ve 'hocam' kelimelerine odaklanılarak, hitabet ve saygı ifade eden kelimelerin kullandıkları bağlamlara göre aldıkları anlamlar tartışılmıştır. Bu sözcükleri ve 8 farklı hitabet kelimesini kapsayan bir mülakat ile 42 Fin'e kendi kültürlerinde hitabet kelimelerini nasıl kullandıkları sorulmuştur. Veri çözümlemesi sonuçları Türkler için hitabet, saygı ve büyüklük gösteren kelimelerin çok önem taşımalarına rağmen, Finlerin genelde ailedeki herkese özel adı ile hitap ettiğini; büyüklere nadiren akrabalık ifade eden sözcükler kullandıklarını; ancak, tanımadıkları beylere, hanımlara veya üniversite profesörlerine saygı ifade eden hitabet sözcükleri kullandıklarını açığa çıkarmıştır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Kültür, dil, hitap kelimeleri, saygı kelimeleri, kültürlerarası eğitim

Abstract: This paper illustrates different cultural meanings assigned to terms of kinship, address and honorifics in Turkish and Finnish in regard to the term 'abla' (elder sister) in Turkish. A newspaper article in Finland mentioned about a journalist, who had studied Turkish in Finland and started working in Turkey, was addressed 'abla' in the streets and did not understand why people were calling her like that. The article was brought to Turkish classes at the University of Helsinki and the cultural meanings of the terms of address were discussed by focusing on 'abla' and 'hocam' (Professor). Later, an interview about the use of these terms in their own culture was designed and applied to 42 Finns. Results of the data analysis showed that Finns generally address everybody in the family with first name (FN); elderly relatives seldom with kinship terms; unknown males/females, and professors with honorifics, whereas Turks assign a lot of importance to these terms.

Keywords: Culture, language, kinship terms, terms of address, honorifics, intercultural teaching

1. INTRODUCTION

Globalisation and worldwide mobility enable people to come in touch with other cultures and languages. In order to communicate appropriately, one needs to

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** Yrd. Doç. Dr., Gazi Üniversitesi, Edebiyat Fakültesi, Batı Dilleri ve Edebiyatları Bölümü Öğretim Üyesi, İngiliz Dili ve Edebiyatı Anabilim Dalı, Ankara/TÜRKİYE. nazgunduz@gazi.edu.tr. Gönderim Tarihi: 15.09.2016. Kabul Tarihi: 24.11.2016.

understand, learn to show tolerant stance to cultural differences and accept them as they are because every language carries its own cultural values. According to Agar (1991: 167) “*language and culture are wired together*” and are inseparable. Studies by the Council of Europe (2001) on language teaching revealed that integrating language and culture in foreign language teaching promotes learners to become interculturally competent in the target language (Byram 1989; Byram 1997). “*Intercultural competence is the ability to interact effectively with people from other cultures we recognise as being different from our own*” (Guilherme 2000: 297). When teaching a foreign language for communicative purposes, teachers generally start with the teaching of greetings, kinship terms, terms of address, and honorifics, such as *Hello+first name (FN)*, *Hello mother/father/aunt, Mr+SN, Mrs.+SN, etc.*, or *Hello+title (T)+surname (SN)*. These terms are important components of language and can differ from culture to culture.

Kinship is based on genealogy and the relatives of a person are described as those with whom one has a genealogical connection. The pioneering anthropologist Lewis Henry Morgan (1871) performed the first survey of kinship terminologies in use around the world. He argued that most kinship terminologies distinguish between sexes, generations, and relatives by blood and marriage. Also, in his book an ‘Introduction to Sociolinguistics’ the linguist Wardhaugh states (2006: 229):

Kinship systems are a universal feature of languages, because kinship is so important in social organization. Some systems are much richer than others, but all make use of such factors as gender, age, generation, blood, and marriage in their organization. One of the attractions that kinship systems have for investigators is that these factors are fairly readily ascertainable. You can therefore relate them with considerable confidence to the actual words that people use to describe a particular kin relationship.

Therefore, it is significant to teach such terms from a sociolinguistic point of view by paying attention to different social contexts, and what meanings these terms of address convey to the members of those contexts. Nonetheless, learning cultural differences, in theory, does not always lead to successful interaction in practice, since languages have connotative meanings next to denotative meanings and one may misinterpret the conveyed meaning, or be misinterpreted in social intercourse in the target language context. Chandler (2003) affirms denotation to refer to the first meaning of a word in a dictionary, whereas connotation provides the underlying meaning.

Terms of address and honorifics are important linguistic components of a language reflecting the speaker’s stance towards the addressee. Appropriate choices of terms promote sound communication between speakers of two different cultures (Ervin-Tripp 1972). Otherwise, one of the speakers might get confused. There are four types of terms of address in general: terms of kinship, social titles, first names and surnames, and demonstratives. Which one of these to choose depends on social

context, social factors, and the stance of the speaker. The social context may differ from informal daily life occasions to formal occasions like conferences. Social factors range from social status, rank, sex, age, family relationship, hierarchy, to occupation, etc. (Spolsky 1998).

In this study, it is going to be highlighted why a Finnish female journalist, though having studied the Turkish language prior to working in Turkey, got confused when she was addressed *abla*, a kinship term of address meaning elder sister in Turkey. Since she had no knowledge of the close family relationship of Turks before, it would have been better if she had been taught making a contrastive analysis of different and similar usages of terms of address between the Finnish and Turkish culture in order to learn to create cultural awareness. Hence, the focus of this study is on terms of kinship and address, and social titles of respect and titles of professions; in other words, honorifics in both cultures.

1.1. USE OF KINSHIP TERMS AND TITLES OF RESPECT/ HONORIFICS IN TURKISH AND FINNISH

We live in a society and have certain positions and roles to differentiate members of a social group in a social context. Therefore, we give specific names of address to specific roles. Within a family, one is likely to have a father, a mother, son(s), daughter(s), grandparent(s), aunt(s), uncle(s), cousins(s), daughter(s)-in-law, etc. Each of these positions has an important role in the functioning of the family. Since families have expanded and grown into societies, there are also specific roles in the society itself, and thus specific names are attributed to specific positions and groups within that society. At a university, there is a rector, lecturers, students, etc., and each of the mentioned individuals has a certain role within the social community (Braun 1988). In some cultures, it is important to stress the titles of address to show affect and respect to the specific roles in the community. Finnish and Turkish cultures have in general similar terms for kinship, occupations, and social titles, but they use them differently in terms of address for communicative purposes (Larzen-Östermark 2009).

In Finland, like in other western cultures, first name (FN) is used to emphasize both equality and individuality. No one in the society is superior to the other, and each person is different than the other. This view relies on the *egalitarian doctrine* which defends the idea that all human beings are equal in fundamental worth or moral status (Anderson 1999). No matter at what age a person is, she/he generally addresses every other person by FN within a social group. Yli-Vakkuri (2005: 190) reveals: "*in the 1960s, it is thought to have become more common to address an interlocutor in the second-person singular, marking an end to a period, starting from the end of the 19th century*". However, in very formal contexts the second-person plural pronoun *te* is

still used by Finns, whereas the use of an inclusive pronoun such as *me* (we) is indicated to be a form of “positive politeness” (Muikku-Werner (1993: 179).

In Turkey, on the contrary, just like in other Altaic and Asian cultures collectivism and togetherness are important, and thus terms of kinship, respect and hierarchy are salient to differentiate the members of the community. An elder female kin is addressed with the kinship term *abla* rather than by the first name by siblings and by younger members of the society. A lecturer is addressed with the honorific *hocam* (Sir/Professor) by students at a university.

2. DATA AND METHODOLOGY

The data of this qualitative research study is based on unstructured interviews with 42 speakers of Finnish who live in the vicinity of Helsinki, Finland. It consists of 3 parts. First, permission via e-mail correspondence was obtained from the journalist for using and analyzing her article in the study. Next, the first part of the data was elicited through 3 class sessions with students within all 3 courses as a pilot study to present and gather information, as well as obtains feedback about the similarities and differences between kinship terms, terms of address, and honorifics in Finnish and Turkish. Then, 10 terms (see Table 1) which were highlighted by the journalist were decided to be chosen as focal terms and directed in sample interrogative questions, and dialogue scenarios to the participants of the focus study to collect data about the usage and meaning of these terms in Finnish context.

TURKISH	ENGLISH	FINNISH
Abla	Elder sister	Iso sisko
Abi (Ağabey)	Elder brother	Iso veli
Kardeş	Younger brother/sister	Sisaara/ sisko/Pikku Pikku veli
Amca	Uncle	Setä
Teyze	Aunt	Täti
Yenge	Sister-in-law	Käly
Kızım/Oğlum/Evladım	My daughter/My girl/My son/My Child	Tyttöni/Poikani/ Lapseni
Hanım/Hanımefendi	Mrs./Miss/Lady	Rouva/Arvoisa Rouva
Bey/Beyefendi	Mr./ Sir	Herra/Arvoisa Herra
Hocam	Teacher/Sir/Miss/Professor	Opettaja/ Arvoisa Professori

Table 1. Kinship terms/ Terms of Address/ Honorifics

2.1. INSTRUMENTS

The research consists of a pilot and a focal study with approximately 20 items, and 2 sets of situation based scenarios with dialogues between addresser and addressees. The interview questions of the pilot study were designed with general terms of address to elicit information and data about the kinship terms, and the usage of kinship terms, and terms of respect among students. To illustrate, the students enrolled to Turkish Courses (1, 2 and 3) at the University of Helsinki were given information about Turkish terms of address, and were asked interrogative Turkish sentences to elicit the usage of these terms by them in their own culture (see Appendix A for Table 2). This table was also used in the subsequent study. First, students were asked how they addressed their brothers, sisters, sons, daughters, uncles, aunts, a younger neighbour(s), an older neighbor(s), an unknown gentleman/lady, lecturers and professors, etc. Next, they were asked how they addressed people in the street, marketplace and shops. Comments on their usage of address forms generated additional questions. The data therefore relate to reported and not actual use of address forms. The main questions were the following:

The focal study, next to the interrogative questions, also makes use of unstructured interview questions based on sentences of imaginary conversation between male and female addressers and addressees at the Turkish marketplace and minibus (see Appendices B and C showing tables 3 and 4). The questions were designed to find out how Finnish participants respond at similar situations, and whether they utter equivalent forms of terms of address in Finnish context, or not.

Tables 3 and 4 are depicting and exemplifying scenarios of possible sentences uttered by people in the imaginary Turkish context. In the marketplace in Turkey, a male salesperson would address a person buying fruit from him according to the looks of the person and would be addressed by the female or male who is buying fruit from him, likewise. A female travelling on a minibus (public transport with fare) would address the driver to ask about the fare, and the possible response would be like the sentences as shown in Table 4. This method was chosen to have interviewees visualize the situation in order to raise awareness to cultural differences depicted by the journalist.

2.2. PARTICIPANTS

As aforementioned, the data of the study was elicited from 42 Finnish speakers living in Helsinki, Espoo, and Vantaa, in 2013. The participants consisted of 3 groups: students, lecturers and friends. The first group was invited to a classroom to take part in the interview collectively. The members of the subsequent groups were interviewed face to face, personally by the researcher who wrote down the responses as close to verbatim as possible. The majority of the participants did not want to be recorded; therefore, none of the participants is recorded. Of the 24 students enrolled

at the University of Helsinki (during the school terms 2013-2014), 20 were female and 4 male Finnish-speaking students. Of the 10 Finnish lecturers, 9 were female and 1 male working at the University of Helsinki. Among the 8 Finnish friends, 6 were female and 2 male. The age range of all the participants was 19 to 70. With each group the interview lasted approximately 45 to 90 minutes.

2.3. DATA COLLECTION PROCEDURES

In the Turkish 3 Course at the University of Helsinki, Department of World Cultures, Altaic Studies, students were given tasks to look at the headlines of local Finnish newspapers in order to find news related to Turkey, and in class they looked at several online Turkish newspapers to find news related to Finland. For one of the tasks, one student brought a Finnish newspaper article with the headline “*Kaikkien turkkilaisten isosisko*” (Being addressed elder sister makes one the sister of all Turks) written by a female journalist who had been living and working in Turkey for a couple of years (Nalbantoğlu 2013). This journalist felt the need to discuss the meaning of the term *abla* in her article, since it sounded strange for Finns to be addressed *elder sister* by people who had no kin relationships with them. Students translated the text, first individually as homework, later the translations were revised in the classroom. After reading the Turkish translations and learning the issue, it was decided to bring up this topic to discussion in the class to focus on the connotative meanings of the basic terms of kinship, which had been taught briefly in the Basic Turkish 1 Course formerly, and explain why Turks were using kinship terms to address non-related people as well. Later, it was decided to focus on this *hot topic* and broaden the subject, and transfer it into a research study to elicit data about the scope of terms of address in Finnish from other students.

As an initial step, it was decided to carry out a pilot study to find out if there were sufficient numbers of informants to enable meaningful data collection, and find out whether improvement was needed. Then, a table of specific terms of address with focus on the newspaper article and their meaning was designed (see Table 1). Next, data about the usage and meanings of the kinship terms, terms of address and honorifics in Finnish were collected through interrogative sentences. When some students in the pilot study told they did not know most of the kinship terms, for they had not used any of them in their lifetime, it was decided to include into the focal study colleagues and friends who were older than the students and had more knowledge about the usage of kinship terms in Finnish culture.

Various interrogative sentences containing specific terms of address in Turkish, as seen in Table 2 were directed to the participants to elicit information about how they were used in Finnish context. To illustrate, first the informants were asked how they would address brothers, sisters, uncles, aunts, a younger neighbor, an older

neighbor, an unknown gentleman/lady, lecturers and professors, as well as people in the street, marketplace and shops by providing them with sample Turkish sentences. After discussing and noting down their answers, they were informed about Turkish culture in detail, and requested to imagine if they were the people shopping at a marketplace and driving on the bus in Helsinki, how they would address the salesperson and the bus driver, and how they would be addressed by these people? Comments generated additional questions.

Table 1 and the sentences in tables 2, 3 and 4 were shown to the participants in the first group by the use of an overhead projector (OHP), and the elicited raw data were initially written on the whiteboard to discuss their intended meaning together with all the participants in the groups. To the rest of the participants in groups 2 and 3 material was read out from handouts, and responses were written down. Later, the final version of the responses was subjected to thematic analysis in which the researcher coded, categorized, and integrated the data by making comparisons. Finally, the interview responses were coded and analyzed.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Since there was a gap identified about the usage and meaning of kinship terms and terms of address between Turkish and Finnish cultures, the interviewees were initially presented with a brief information about the system of kinship terms, terms of address and honorifics in Turkish to clarify the ambiguity created by the usage of the terms, as shown below initial to the subsequent results to elicit their knowledge about the usage of these terms in Finnish context.

3.1 TERMS OF KINSHIP IN TURKISH

Just like in other Asian cultures, in Turkish culture the hierarchical position of members of the family is important (Wardhaugh 2006). An elder male sibling is addressed generally *ağabey/abi*, and not with FN by siblings; and an elder female sibling is addressed *abla*. When there are several brothers and sisters, to indicate which one is addressed they put the first name (FN) in front of the term: *FN+abi* or *FN+abla*. The brother of the father is addressed *amca* (paternal uncle). The brother of the mother is addressed *dayı* (maternal uncle). The sister of the father is addressed *hala* (paternal aunt). The sister of the mother is addressed *teyze* (maternal aunt). The wives of both paternal and maternal uncles are addressed *yenge* (aunt-in-law). The husbands of both paternal and maternal aunts are addressed either *amca* or *enişte* (uncle-in-law). If there are several uncles and aunts, they are addressed *FN+amca*, *FN+yenge*, *FN+hala*, *FN+teyze*, *FN+dayı*, *FN+enişte*. Also, the wife of a sibling is addressed with the term *yenge*, and the husband of a sibling is addressed with *enişte*.

Data analysis of the interviewee responses to kinship terms in Table 1 showed that 40 out of the 42 (40/42) Finnish interviewees generally address everybody in the family including brothers and sisters with the FN. Students told they have kinship terms in their language to describe the position of the family members, but do not use any of them to address relatives in daily life. Then, colleagues affirmed that this has been the case for more than a century in Finland. It was also uttered that they rarely (5/42) address elderly relatives with FN+setä (uncle), or *iso setä+FN* (great uncle+FN), *täti+FN*, *iso täti+FN* (aunt+FN or great aunt+ FN). Colleagues and elderly friends explained that sometimes children are taught to address very close family members, and very close friends with kinship terms like *täti+FN*, *iso täti+FN*, etc., but when these children grow up they adopt the usage of the FN rule of the society (10/42). Although relatives through marriage have specific kinship terms, they are addressed by FN (42/42). Students' responses showed that the majority of them even do not know most of the specific terms used to describe relatives through marriage (15/24). Lecturers and some elderly friends (12/18) remembered some of these terms as *käily* (sister-in-law) *lanko* (brother-in-law) *näälämies* (sister's husband) by telling that nowadays these are only seen in literary texts.

Furthermore, some students told they address their parents with their FNs (2/24). One friend disclosed that recently other forms of address are regarded weird and offensive by giving the following example of an elderly man, who although in his 70s requested being addressed with FN, rather than *setä* by his niece. All participants expressed that parents occasionally address their daughters *tyttöni* (my girl), and sons *poikani* (my boy) to show their sincerity and affection (42/42). Since social conditions change within time, kinship systems also change to reflect the new conditions. The profound social change in Finnish society in the last century produced certain changes in Finnish kinship designation. Changing family structures have removed them from daily contact (Nyblom 2006).

3.2. TERMS OF SOCIAL TITLES, PROFESSIONS, AND RESPECT

Peterson (2010: 401) indicates “*systems of address are not only culturally and socially bound, but vary according to situation - who is present, the level of formality, how well the speakers knows the addressee, and so on*”. All societies have culturally specific methods of expressing *politeness*, and there are varieties of ways to express *polite* behaviour in certain situations.

In Turkish culture social titles (T) are used to address people according to their social positions, that is, education, occupation and academic rank in society, with regard to their age. An educated person is seen as a person to be highly respected; when addressing her/him honorifics *hanım* for a female and *bey* for a male are added to the FN postpositionally. Additionally, terms of kinship are easily added in post

position to these terms by elderly people. According to the level of formality, a man is addressed either *Ali Bey* (FN+Mr) or *Ali Bey Ođlum* (FN+Mr+My son). A female is addressed *Ayşe Hanım* (FN+Mrs/Miss), or *Ayşe Hanım Kızım* (FN+Mrs/Miss+My daughter/ girl). People are also addressed with the titles of their professions. A primary or secondary grade teacher is addressed *öđretmenim* (teacher) by pupils. For adults, a male teacher is *Ali Öđretmen* (FN+T), *Öđretmen Bey* (T+Mr), *Öđretmen Bey Ođlum* (T+Mr+My son). A female teacher is *Ayşe Öđretmen* (FN+T), *Öđretmen Hanım* (FN+T+my Daughter). To emphasize respect, the term *sayın* (dear/respected) is put initial to FN, title or term of kinship: *Sayın Öđretmen* (dear +T), *Sayın Öđretmen Bey* (dear+T+Mr), *Sayın Öđretmen Hanım* (dear+T+Mrs/Miss), *Sayın Ali Öđretmen* (dear +FN+T), *Sayın Ayşe Öđretmen* (dear +FN+T), *Sayın Ali Bey Ođlum* (dear+FN+T+My son/boy), *Sayın Ayşe Hanım Kızım* (dear+FN+T+My daughter/girl). Academic ranks are also important. A university lecturer is addressed *hocam* by students, and likewise s/he is addressed *hocam* by some colleagues and neighbours. Some colleagues or students might address her/him *Ayşe/Ali Hocam* (FN+Hocam). In more formal settings, they are addressed with honorifics, such as *Sayın Profesör* (dear+academic rank), *Sayın Profesör Bey* (dear+academic rank+Mr), *Sayın Profesör Ali Bey* (dear+academic rank+FN+Mr), *Sayın profesör Hanım*, (dear+academic rank+Mrs/Miss), *Sayın Profesör Ayşe Hanım* , (dear+academic rank+FN+Mrs/Miss), and so on and so forth.

Interviewee responses emphasized that in Finnish culture the universal rule is to address someone with the FN and the singular second person pronoun, no matter which title or rank he/she has but in very formal occasions, to show respect, especially to the profession, they use the second person plural, as well (38/42). The responses to the questions: *How do you address an unknown person who is considerably older than you?*, and *How do you address your lecturers?* show a slight difference among the Finnish community. Usually, school children are addressing their teachers' *opettaja* (teacher) whereas secondary, high school and university students address them with their FN (33/42). The majority of the Finns does not address people at all, and just tell straight what they have to say. In formal occasions at specific national days and specific celebrations at the university, they address people with the pronoun *Te*, and with honorifics, but do not use any terms of kinship (42/42). Very rarely an elderly professor is addressed with her/his academic rank+SN: *Professori+SN*. In terms of an unknown person, at a very formal and special occasion like a ceremony, a male is addressed with *Herra+SN*, or *Herra+FN+SN*, or *Arvoisa Herra* (dear/respected Sir). A female is addressed with *Rouva+SN*, or *Rouva+FN+SN* or *Arvoisa Rouva* (40/42).

3.2.1. Ambiguity of Terms of Kinship, Social Titles, and Honorifics in Turkish Culture

Although terms of kinship distinguish family members in Turkish society, Turkish people easily address people they meet in the street, market place, bus, or

neighbourhood *abla, abi, kardeş, amca teyze, or yenge* to sound polite and respectful in order to make the addressee feel comfortable and safe; meaning to assure them that there is nothing to fear. Someone can also address a stranger with terms of kinship meaning: “*I trust you*”, “*treat me in the same way*”. The terms are chosen according to the age and sex, as well as the social position of the person. Ibsen et al. (1972) defines this type of usage as *fictive kinship*, indicating relationships among individuals who recognize kinship obligations, even though these relationships are not based on either consanguineal or affinal ties. Roberts (2009) and Kramsch (2000) put that culture enters into interlocution and plays an important role in how rhetoric, pragmatics, politeness and sincerity reveal intention and speaker stance. Likewise, Wardhaugh (2006: 282) indicates “politeness is a very important principle in language use and we must consider others’ feelings”.

On the other hand, in response to the questions: *How do you address people in the street?*, and *How do you address sales people and shop assistants?* All the interviewees affirmed that they never have used any kinship terms to address strangers in the street. Though, some had addressed the friends of their parents with *tüti+FN* or *setü+FN* (8/42). The majority of the interviewees responded saying that they wished to keep a polite distance in service situations with unknown people because of shyness, and preferred to avoid addressing people in the street and therefore used the first person pronoun (30/42). That is, the majority of the addresses were made from a first person perspective, using the Finnish modal verb+I, without marking the utterance with polite forms. Still, some stated they occasionally used the formal *Te* in specific shops like Stockmann (9/42).

Even though the study has identified striking differences in the cultural usage of forms of address, the number of the participants is not high and the location of the study is limited to the Helsinki area, it would be recommended that the results not be overgeneralized to the entire Finnish population.

To revise the issue, the aforementioned Finnish journalist attended Turkish classes in Finland to cope with Turkish at work prior coming to Turkey for work. After her arrival, she did not understand why people were addressing her *abla* everywhere in the society, since they had no familial ties with her. When in the target culture, she realized that the term *abla* she had learnt at school did not solely refer to the parental sibling in Turkey. She also referred to an elderly woman who was working in her household and had the custom to address her *kızım* (my daughter), which also sounded weird. This was for showing sincerity, and meant emotionally: “*I regard you as a very close relative, that is, ‘my child’ so do not fear me and feel comfortable with me. I am a member of your house*”. The children of the neighbours were addressing her *teyze*, the sales person at the greengrocer, where she was buying her vegetables and fruit was addressing her *abla*, which again sounded weird for her at first. Nonetheless, when she had learned the underlying social values, she accepted to be

addressed like that. After living for several months in Turkey she got used to the culture and started to use appropriate terms of address at specific situations herself and became an intercultural competent speaker of Turkish (Byram 1989). She had gained linguistic and cultural competence by integrating *abla* to her target language productivity. According to Tomalin (2009: 115) "*behavioral adaptation is basic to intercultural awareness*".

CONCLUSION

The result of the study relying on the analysis and interpretation of students', colleagues' and friends' responses revealed that Finns, generally address everybody in the family including brothers and sisters with the FN, and seldom address elderly relatives with kinship terms and honorifics. In informal and formal occasions, when encountered with unfamiliar people, they address people with the pronoun *Te*. Very rarely a professor, an unknown male or a female are addressed with honorifics. In Turkey, on the contrary, as highlighted above collectivism and togetherness are regarded as very important, and therefore terms of kinship, respect and hierarchy are expected to be used by the members of the society. Açıkalın (2007: 35) reports "*abla-abi (elder sister or elder brother) reflect the personal privacy on the part of elders and superiors, because they include the meaning of implicit hierarchy. They are preferred by hierarchical societies and convey the meaning of power and status consciousness*".

Finnish culture, just like such other western cultures, as English, German, and Dutch is first name oriented, while Turkish culture is kinship and social title oriented, just like in Middle Eastern and Asian cultures (Wardhaugh 2006). As Güner Dilek (2008) expresses, for Altaic people kinship is a crucial factor, brings up the idea of togetherness, and from an early age children are introduced to the kinship circle. There are instances you may find of terms which are very obviously kinship terms but are used with people who are very obviously not kin by any of the criteria usually employed, e.g., the Turkish use of terms equivalent western kin term sister, brother, uncle, and aunt in various social relationships. It is the kinship system which determines who is called what Wardhaugh argues (2006: 271-283). Hence, cultural context plays a significant role in the acquisition of terms of address and honorifics.

After living for several months in Istanbul, the Finnish Journalist got used to the term *abla* and started to use it as well. Raising awareness to sociolinguistic skills, empathy, respect and open-mindedness for otherness and integrating these with knowledge makes the learner mindful. "*Mindful thinking becomes a learned process of cognitive focusing that enables one to experience an eye-opening intercultural learning journey in life*" say Ryann (2009: 54) and Langer (1989). A person learns to speak the target language competently after paying attention to values, views and ways of

thinking and gains the ability to communicate in a flexible manner with members of the target culture who have acquired intercultural competence (Byram 2003).

It was also noteworthy that after having studied and analyzed the details of terms of address in Turkish, some students attending the Turkish classes at the University of Helsinki started to address the lecturer with the honorific *hocam* in and outside the classroom. As Byram (1989) suggests, language teaching should be taught in an integrated way hand in hand with knowledge, attitudes, skills of interpretation, skills of discovery and interaction, tolerance and cultural awareness.

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APPENDIX A

Table 2. Interrogative sentences about kinship terms of address, and honorifics

-How do you address your elder sister/ elder brother?
-How do you address your younger brother/ younger sister?
-How do you address your father's brother?
-How do you address your brother's/uncle's wife?
-How do you address your mother's sister?
-How do you address your son/ daughter?
-How do you address a female neighbour who is at the age of your mother?
-How do you address a male neighbour who is at the age of your father?
-How do you address a school teacher/ a senior lecturer?
-How do you address a male bus driver who looks older/ younger than you?
-How do you address a well-dressed lady in the street?
-How do you address an elder male/female relative who you respect?

APPENDIX B

Table 3. Terms of Address at the Marketplace

Addresser to addressee	The possible replies would be:
A male salesperson to a female looking a little bit elder and ordinary:	
-Abla, portakal da vereyim mi? (Elder sister, shall I give oranges too?)	-Evet (kardeş) 2 kilo ver. (Yes, (younger brother), give 2 kilos.)
A salesperson to a male looking a little bit elder and ordinary:	
-Abi, portakal da vereyim mi? (Elder brother, shall I give oranges too?)	-Evet (kardeş) 2 kilo ver. (Yes, (younger brother), give 2 kilos.)
A male salesperson to an ordinary looking woman at the age of his mother:	
-Teyze, portakal da vereyim mi? (Aunt, shall I give oranges too?)	-Evet (evladım/oğlum) 2 kilo ver. (Yes, (my son/child), give 2 kilos.)
To an ordinary looking man at the age of his father:	
-Amca, portakal da vereyim mi? (Uncle, shall I give oranges too?)	-Evet (evladım/oğlum) 2 kilo ver. (Yes, (my son/child), give 2 kilos.)
To a woman looking a little younger than him:	
-Kardeş, portakal da vereyim mi? (Younger sister, shall I give oranges too?)	-Evet (abi) 2 kilo ver. (Yes, (elder brother), give 2 kilos.)
To a man looking a little younger than him:	
-Kardeş, portakal da vereyim mi? (Younger brother, shall I give oranges too?)	-Evet abi 2 kilo ver. (Yes, (elder brother), give 2 kilos.)
To a young girl at the age of his daughter:	
-Kızım, portakal da vereyim mi? (My daughter/girl, shall I give you oranges)	-Evet (amca) 2 kilo ver. (Yes, (uncle), give 2 kilos.)

too?)	
To a young boy looking at the age of his son:	
-Oğlum, portakal da vereyim mi? (My son/boy shall I give you oranges too?)	Evet (amca) 2 kilo ver. (Yes, (uncle), give 2 kilos.)
To an woman looking smart or well educated:	
-Hanımefendi, portakal da vereyim mi? (Madam can I give you oranges too?)	Evet 2 kilo verin (lütfen). (Yes, give 2 kilos (please)).
To an man looking smart or well educated:	
-Beyefendi portakal da vereyim mi? (Mister can I give you oranges too?)	Evet 2 kilo verin (lütfen). (Yes, give 2 kilos (please)).

APPENDIX C

Table 4. Terms of Address in the Minibus

Addresser to addressee	The possible replies from the addressee
An ordinary and a bit elder looking female to the minibus driver:	
-Kardeş, ücret ne kadar? (Young brother how much is the fare?)	-3 lira abla. (3 Turkish liras elder sister.)
A female looking a bit younger:	
-Abi, ücret ne kadar? (Elder brother how much is the fare?)	-3 lira kardeş. (3 Turkish liras elder sister.)
A female child:	
-Amca, ücret ne kadar? (Uncle how much is the fare?)	-3 lira kızım. (3 Turkish liras my daughter.)
A female looking elder:	
-Oğlum, ücret ne kadar? (My son how much is the fare?)	-3 lira teyze. (3 Turkish liras aunt.)
A well-educated and smartly dressed woman:	
-Şoför bey, ücret ne kadar? (Mister driver how much is the fare?)	-3 lira hanımefendi. (3 Turkish liras Miss/Madam).