5.0. Introduction

Establishing social relationship between interlocutors is probably the first step to every communicative event. Doing so, the interlocutors may choose different techniques to start, maintain, or close conversations. One of the significant issues in studying communication is to learn how opening conversations is managed by the people or how people may address one another in a given language.

Address terms have their basis in the socio-cultural context of a given society. Oyetade (1995) defines address terms as words or expressions used in interactive, dyadic and face-to-face situations to designate the person being talked to. Leech (1999) observes that address terms are a significant strategic verbal behavior well placed in the sociolinguistic literature as they show transactional, interpersonal and deictic ramifications in human relationships. To Afful (2006a) "terms of address constitute an important part of verbal behavior through which the behavior, norms and practices of a society can be identified". Other researchers also regard the study of address terms an important area for sociolinguistics due to the fact that it reveals how interpersonal relationships can be socially and strategically constructed (Fitch 1991, Morford 1997).

Terms of address in diverse speech communities are worth study. These terms of address are likely to be different owing to the fact that linguistic resources to express the culturally meaningful and permissible verbal behavior in different languages are different. Moreover, people use terms of address to negotiate or transform a cultural system (Fitch 1991, Morford 1997) and issues such as, age, sexuality, religion and ethnicity can also be inferred and realized from address terms (Afful 2006a).

Though many research studies have been carried out to study address forms in different languages, Kashmiri language has received negligible focus. As a result, the present study is aimed at investigating the choice of address terms by Kashmiri speakers.
5.1. Conceptual Framework

Parkinson (1985, p.3) writes that naturally different speech communities may make different uses of address term as a whole. In this regard, he distinguishes between communities that use address terms only occasionally as relatively tiny indicators of social information and other communities that use these address terms constantly and make the address terms vehicle carrying huge social information. The address system used by Kashmiri speakers fits into the latter order. The Kashmiri address system has a huge number of address forms used by speakers in varied contexts and most significantly the use of these address terms is socially rule-governed. Accordingly, in addition to exploring the linguistic structure and the repertoire of terms of address that is available to Kashmiri speakers, the present study also looks into the social structure of this address system from a sociolinguistic perspective. The researcher's assumption is that the Kashmiri address behavior is governed by social norms and the main objective of this study is to explore the meanings of Kashmiri address terms in order to know the kind of social norms that are involved and what factors may affect or constrain these rules.

Theoretically, this study examines address behavior of Kashmiri speakers in different communicative encounters or interactions under the purview of interactional and variationist sociolinguistics. From the interactional sociolinguistic perspective, the present study uses qualitative and quantitative analyses to depict and discuss how interlocutors rely on the linguistic resources available to them and select appropriate forms to address each other in a socio-cultural context and convey social meanings and simultaneously make evident the kind of relationship they share with the addressee whether that of power and distance or solidarity and intimacy. The analysis will reveal how interlocutors use various variant forms of address terms to demonstrate and create solidarity, for example, or to ensure that social distance between them and the other person is maintained.
Moreover, this study works in the framework of the variationist approach according to which the language varies not only on the basis of social factors of language users but also on the basis of social context in which the speaker finds himself (Keshavarz, 2001, p.6). With respect to variation in speakers‘ social characteristics, the study assumes that men and women give and receive terms of address differently; people of different age groups will address their interlocutors and be addressed by them differently and that interlocutors‘ other social attributes of occupation, education, regional variety as well as the relationship between interlocutors have an effect on the variation in address terms used.

This study will be investigating the variation of address forms not only according to addressers‘ social characteristics but also according to context. Understanding the effect of context on the choice of address terms becomes essentially significant in light of what Holmes (1992) calls as different styles in different social contexts. ―Examining the way people use language in different social contexts provides a wealth of information about the way language works, as well as about the social relationships in a community‖ Holmes (1992, p.1) Keshavarz (2001) also proposes that it is significant to examine the role of context in language since ―the linguistic and social behavior not only has to be appropriate to the individual and his socio-economic background, but it also needs to be suitable for particular occasions and situations‖ (p.5).

Moreover, Levinson (1983, p.54) says that ―the single most obvious way in which the relationship between language and context is reflected in the structure of languages themselves is through the phenomenon of deixis.” Among the various forms of deixis, one that is directly related to this study is social deixis, which refers to social roles played by an individual in a speech event. Social deixis includes terms of address and honorifics (Keshavarz, 2001).
Throughout the past decades, with a significant depth and varying issues sociolinguists have been deeply concerned with exploring different dimensions in selection of address terms. As a pioneering study in sociolinguistics, Brown and Gilman’s (1960) study on pronominal address system showed how the concepts like power and solidarity shape the use of address terms. Since then a large number of research studies, with much broader depth and scope, have been carried out. Brown and Ford (1964) focused on intimacy and status, Hymes (1967) studied social distance, Pride (1971) approached formality and informality and Moles (1974) explored confidence and respect. Other studies on terms of address focused on other languages and support the view that address forms identify and construct cultural beliefs (Evans-Pritchard 1964, Manjulakshi 2004, Koul et al., 1995).

Working on the non-kin terms of address in Hindi and the relation of these non-kin terms of address to the socio-cultural context of the dyads using them, Mehrotar (1981) observes that address terms act as an important stage in the whole face to face communicative act. The address terms not only act as the bridge between the interlocutors but the emotional value associated with the address terms can help achieve specific results. He further affirms that the differential use of terms of address has been institutionalized as a tool of defining and affirming both identity and status of the addresser and the addressee. "In fact, a good deal of information regarding the social structure and psychological makeup of the addressing dyad can be inferred from an examination of these verbal art forms in their two indispensable and interrelated dimensions-linguistic and sociolinguistic." Mehrotar (1981)

Mehrotar (1981), working on the address terms in Hindi, classifies these terms of address into nine categories: names, honorifics, titles, situation factors, multiple uses of address forms, greeting, invocation, addressing pets and avoidance of address term.
Similarly, Hudson (1980) notes that a significant dimension of variation in the terms of address has to do with cultural patterns that exist for a particular population in general due to their social values, beliefs and customs.

Keshavarz (1988), in his study of address terms in post revolutionary Iran, found that the revolution led to the emergence of solidarity which is reflected in the use of the terms like ‘brother‘ and ‘sister‘. These findings emerged while looking for the political function of the address terms.

Working on the personal names in Kashmiri, Koul (1995) observes that a study of terms of address in any language is important to the socio-linguistic research. He points out that these terms are determined by certain factors as social structure, cultural pattern and geographical setting. He elaborates that usage and selection of terms of address are shaped by socio-economic status, literacy level, caste, age and sex. He further asserts that historical and other factors also play a role in the address behavior in a language.

Manjulakshi (2004) working the Kannada language in Mysore, classified address terms into nine categories. This classification of address terms was a part of her attempt to describe the modes of address in Kannada language. The nine categories of address terms identified by the researcher are: Personal name, Kinship term, Caste Name, Names by which the exalted status of individuals are revealed or implied, Professional term, Personal name-kinship term, Personal name-professional term, Professional-Names for exaltation, and Non-respectable term.

Manjulakshi observes that terms and modes of address are significant in any society for purposes of identification and expression of ideas. She considers social rank, age, gender and communicative situation as the important factors in determining of choice of the address from. She also indicates that the selection and usage of address terms is guided by the relationship that exists or is perceived to exist between speakers and addressees.
According to Wardhaugh (2006), choices of address terms are governed by different social factors. He maintains that social status and rank of the addressee, the particular occasion of the conversation, sex, age, occupational hierarchy, family relationships, and the social dyadic relations are among the most significant social variables determining the choices of address terms.

On the scope of the studies on address terms, Afful (2006a) says that studies in socio-linguistics used to be limited to familial or domestic settings. He also opines that "more recently, studies of address terms (sometimes aided by discourse analysis) are beginning to make forays into other social processes and practices such as politics and religion suggesting the vitality of address terms". He claimed that the effect of Westernization and modernization was reflected in the use of personal names and catch phrases. "With differing levels of frequency and saliency, the use of these terms was dictated by sociocultural factors such as gender, status, age and relationship of interactants as well as pragmatic factors" (ibid). He further asserts that the findings of address term studies have implications for theory, intercultural communication and further research.

Zhang (2002), in his study of bilingual creativity in Chinese English, emphasizes the significance of studying terms of address. According to him, address terms play a significant role in conveying huge cultural information. These terms are the conveyers of the status of the interlocutors involved in the act of communication and about the relationship existing between them.

In another study, Afful (2006b) makes a distinction between 'address terms' and 'reference terms' and uses the former as the linguistic expression by which an addressee designates an addressee in a face-to-face encounter. With reference to the social functions of address terms, Afful (2006b) also observes that sociolinguistic studies on terms of address tend to show that they are dependent on a number of factors such as age, gender, socioeconomic status,
the relationship that exists between interlocutors and the domains of a communicative encounter.

5.2. Classification Scheme

With respect to the long history of Kashmiri language and its contact with other languages, it is not surprising to see huge range of address terms to account for the diverse and multicultural makeup of the Kashmiri society. It is also true that due to inherent differences among languages, researchers may adopt different classification schemes.

Mehrotar (1981), working on the address terms in Hindi, classifies these terms of address into nine categories: names, honorifics, titles, situation factors, multiple uses of address forms, greeting, invocation, addressing pets and avoidance of address term.

Fitch (1998) carried out a study on the variety of relationship among participants in Columbia. He notes five categories of address terms: proper names, second-person pronouns, kinship terms, nicknames titles and adjectival terms.

Afful (2006b) carried out a socio-linguistic study of non-kinship address terms among the Akans of postcolonial Ghana. This brought a new dimension to the address behavior as the speech community, Fantes of Ghana, was a little known speech community. Afful used observation, interview and introspection as the tools for collecting the data and came up with nine principle categories of address terms. In his analysis, Afful could see the reflection of westernization and modernism in the use of personal names and catch phrases. Afful also noticed that with differing levels of frequency and saliency, the use of these address terms among the Akans was dictated by socio-cultural factors such as gender, status, age and relationship of interactants as well as pragmatic factors. Afful (2006b) asserts that his study and earlier studies in African communities have confirmed the socio-cultural situatedness of address terms in
these communities similar to the findings of sociolinguistic studies on address terms in non-African settings.

Studying non-kinship address terms in Akan, Afful (2006b) classified eight categories that constituted the non-kinship linguistic repertoire used addressively by Amamoma residents as, descriptive phrases, attention getters, occupational terms, personal names, titles, catch phrases (CPs), zero address forms and pronouns. In another project, using observation as the main research tool corroborated by interview and introspection, Afful (2006a) refers to nine principal terms of address.

Manjulakshi (2004), working the Kannada language in Mysore, classified address terms into nine categories. This classification of address terms was a part of her attempt to describe the modes of address in Kannada language. The nine categories of address terms identified by the researcher are: Personal name, Kinship term, Caste Name, Names by which the exalted status of individuals are revealed or implied, Professional term, Personal name-kinship term, Personal name-professional term, Professional-Names for exaltation, and Non-respectable term.

Manjulakshi observes that terms and modes of address are significant in any society for purposes of identification and expression of ideas. She considers social rank, age, gender and communicative situation as the important factors in determining of choice of the address from. She also indicates that the selection and usage of address terms is guided by the relationship that exists or is perceived to exist between speakers and addressees.

The studies reviewed so far support the fact that a comprehensive identification and coverage of terms of address in a language needs a clear classification scheme. They also seem to accept variation in classification of address terms to represent cultural and social differences of the users.
After collecting data, through questionnaire and observation, for the present study, the observed address terms were classified under thirteen categories: Interjections of address, personal names, titles, religious-oriented terms, occupation-bound terms, kinship or family/relative terms, terms of intimacy, personal pronouns, metaphorical terms, pronouns of address, residence related terms, and indirect address. The reason for developing this classification was that it can display the common Kashmiri address terms more clearly according to its social and cultural conditions. However, it should be mentioned that in almost all groups, different gender bound terms are used for male and female addressees.

5.3. Classification of Kashmiri Address Terms and their Usage

In line with the above–mentioned theoretical and research based views, this study attempts to present and, to some extent, explain the linguistic resources available to Kashmiri addressers. In so doing, the study intended to extract and categorize the range of address terms which Kashmiri-speaking interlocutors use in different contexts. To collect a corpus of address terms, the researcher made observations and collected data through questionnaire. Due attention was also paid to ensure the exploration of the common Kashmiri address terms used by speakers in different ranges of age as well as different occupations.

5.3.1. Interjections of Address

Interjections are one of the most widely used modes of address in Kashmiri. Roughly corresponding to the English interjection ‘Hey‘, different types of interjections are used in Kashmiri to attract attention. Though the range of such interjections of address is wide but the frequency of usage of these interjections varies to a great deal with some of the interjections being used very widely and frequently. All of these interjections agree with addressee in number, gender and status. These interjections of address are broadly classified into two categories:
I. Non-honorific

II. Honorific/Polite

**Non-Honorific**

Table 5.1. Non-honorific Interjections of Address

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
<td><strong>Plural</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haya:</td>
<td>hayo:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hata:</td>
<td>hato:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hatav</td>
<td>Hatav</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tala:</td>
<td>tala:/talav</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talav</td>
<td>Talav</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ho</td>
<td>Ho</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The interjections of address given above are regionally distributed with ‘ho’, ‘hatav’ and ‘talav’ typically used in the southern part of the valley while as rest of the forms are used in the central and the northern areas.

These interjections of address may be followed by the first name of the addressee. For example, ho/haya/tala:Imran!

The use of these interjections is dependent on the relationship existing between the addressee and the addressee. There is a non-reciprocal use of these non-honorific interjections in the power relations. Thus a teacher receives the honorific form from his students giving them the non-honorific form. Similarly the elderly people are addressed with the honorific forms. The people occupying the prestigious positions are always addressed with the honorific forms.

The most important factors that govern the reciprocal use of the non-honorific forms of interjections of address are the intimacy and familiarity between the interlocutors. Putting it in Brown and Gilma’s framework, there is
reciprocal use of non-honorific interjections in the solidarity relationships while as the power relationships see the non-reciprocal use of these terms.

II. Honorific Interjections of Address

The honorific interjections of address are different from the non-honorific forms in the sense that they do not agree with number and gender. The honorific or polite forms of interjections of address are used in formal relationships and for showing respect for the addressee. The singular and plural forms of honorific or polite forms are same. The honorific interjections of address are as follows.

1. he:
2. hasa:
3. hatIsa:
4. talIsa:
5. hatIhaz

These interjections may optionally be followed by first names, last names or professional titles of the addressee with honorific terms like ʤi: or s3:b, e.g.

he:/hatIsa/hatIhaz da:ktar s3:b ‘Hey doctor’

he:/hatIsa/hatIhaz mi:r s3:b ‘Hey Mr Mir’

The honorific interjections of address are also used in informal relationships.

It is important to note that the interjections he:, hatIsa, hasa: and hatIhaz not always used as the vocatives to attract attention but they have are loaded with many functions. They are used as honorifics without being necessarily used as vocative interjections. They have the property of getting suffixed to the other word classes purely for the honorification of the addressee. The forms
that these interjections assume on suffixation are: he:, sa: and haz. Examples are given below.

1. bi haz yimI pagah
2. so kɔ:m kɔriv haz

It is to be noted that hasa:/ hatIsa: and tallsa: are used in informal relationship as well. They are used while addressing spouses, youngsters and juniors as well for showing affection and intimacy.

It is also worthwhile to mention that the honorific forms are not equal in their effect of showing deference. There is a hierarchy between the forms with he: as the least honorific and hatIhaz as the most polite from of interjections of address.

The choice in the use of modes of address necessarily depends on various types of interpersonal relationships among the people. The context of situation and various emotional factors play a prominent role in the choice of modes of address. The topic or subject of discourse, particular occasion, age, sex, social status and dyadic relationships of the participants are important factors, which determine their use. Thus, modes of address cannot be studied in isolation.

5.3.2. Kinship Terms

According to Braun (1988), kinship terms (KT) are terms for blood relations and for affines. The extended family system in Kashmiri culture is associated with a wide array of kinship terms which indicate the family relationships among individuals. This category of family terms includes all those terms whose referential meanings refer to addressee in the extended family domain, regardless of whether or not in any one instance the term is actually being used with that addressee.
Kashmiri language is very rich in address terms related to kinship. There is almost a separate basic address term for every kin in Kashmiri language. The main kinship terms of address are given in the following table which identifies the basic address terms related to kinship in Kashmiri language.

### Table 5.2. Basic Kinship Address Terms in Kashmiri

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Kashmiri</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Kashmiri</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Father</td>
<td>/mo:ḷ/</td>
<td>Sister’s daughter</td>
<td>/benzI/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>/mo:ʤ/</td>
<td>Father’s brother</td>
<td>/pitIr/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father’s father</td>
<td>/bI đab/</td>
<td>Father’s sister</td>
<td>/poph/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother’s father</td>
<td>/bI đab/</td>
<td>Mother’s brother</td>
<td>/ma:m/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother’s mother</td>
<td>/na:n/</td>
<td>Mother’s sister</td>
<td>/ma:si/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Son</td>
<td>/nettʃuv/</td>
<td>Father’s brother’s son</td>
<td>/pitur bo:j/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daughter</td>
<td>/ku:r/</td>
<td>Father’s brother’s daughter</td>
<td>/pitIr beni/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Son’s wife</td>
<td>/noʃ/</td>
<td>Father’s sister’s son</td>
<td>/pophtur bo:j/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daughter’s husband</td>
<td>/za:mtur/</td>
<td>Father’s sister’s daughter</td>
<td>/pophtIr beni/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father in law</td>
<td>/hihur/</td>
<td>Mother’s brother’s son</td>
<td>/ma:mtur bo:j/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother in law</td>
<td>/haf/</td>
<td>Mother’s brother’s daughter</td>
<td>/ma:mtIr beni/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brother’s wife</td>
<td>/bojkα:klI/</td>
<td>Mother’s sister’s son</td>
<td>/ma:stur bo:j/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brother’s son</td>
<td>/ba:pthIr/</td>
<td>Mother’s sister’s daughter</td>
<td>/ma:stur beni/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The basic address terms given in the table show the relationship between the interlocutors. The kinship terms are however not always used in their basic form. The different ways of addressing the kins in addition to the basic address terms are as follows.

The basic address term for father is /mo:ḷ/ in Kashmiri Language. In addition to this basic address term there are many other ways of addressing the father, like, /la:lI/, /tɔtʈ/, /ka:kh/, /aBI/, /de:di:/(dady), /pa:pI (papa)/, /ba:bI/, /obu:ʤI:/ (abu ji), etc. The basic address term /mo:ḷ/ is used less frequently by the Kashmiri speakers. The usage of the address terms for father is shaped by many different things like, age, gender and region of residence. The repertoire
of address terms available to Kashmiri speakers does not belong to the Kashmiri language in entirety. Most of the address terms have got recurrence because of the cultural and language contact especially through education and media. Since the access to media and education is not uniform across the population, therefore there are varying effects caused by these variables on the usage of address terms. The use of the indigenous and the borrowed address terms is varied across the population depending upon the age, gender, education etc. Hence the borrowed address terms like dady, papa, abuji are used more frequently by the educated young people. Similarly, the urban people use the borrowed kinship terms more than that of the rural people.

In the case of addressing their mothers, the Kashmiri speakers have got a whole range of terms, indigenous and borrowed, in addition to the basic address term mo:d$$. Some of the address terms used by Kashmiri speakers to address their mothers are: /bo:bl/, /mæmi:/, /a:pI/ /əmi:/ /ded/ etc. The usage of these address terms is shaped by the same variables that have been discussed already.

For almost all other relations, there is a number of address terms that can be used to address the respective kins.

The other modes of address with kins include the honorific and endearment terms that are suffixed to the basic terms meant for addressing different kins. For example, the honorific suffix ji is added to the address terms like papa, abu etc to make it more honorific in the form of papa ji, abu ji etc. This trend is common among the younger generations.

A number of terms of address are formed from kinship terms by adding some honorific terms. In the examples given below, different honorific and endearment terms are added to the kinship term bo:y ‘brother‘ to form various modes of address for addressing the same person, brother in this case.
Chapter 5

Address Terms in Kashmiri

a. bo:y + to:th = b ʒ:to: th
b. bo:y + sʒ:b = bʒ:ys ʒ:b
c. bo:y + dʒ:i = b ʒ:y dʒ:i:
d. bo:y + la:l = b ʒ:yla:l
e. bo:y + ja:n = b ʒ:y dʒa:n
f. bo:y + ra:j = b ʒ:y ra: ʒ

g. bo:y + ga:j = b ʒ:ygaash
h. bo:y + dʒigar = b ʒ:y dʒigur

These terms of address are used not only for an elder brother, but may be used for cousins, uncles or other elder males for whom respect is intended. Similarly, a number of honorific terms are added to beni ‘sister‘ while forming terms of address. e.g.,

i. beni + ʒ:ṭh = beni ʒ:ṭh
ii. beni + ded = beni ded
iii. beni + dʒiglr = beni dʒiglr
iv. beni + jii = benijii

These terms are not used only for elder sister but for other relations of cousins, aunts, or elderly women for whom respect in intended.

Similarly, a number of terms of address are used independently for elder kinsmen, distant relations and persons for whom respect or affection is intended. Terms of address used for male addressees like bab, la:lI (sʒ:b), ʒ:ṭh (s ʒ:b), ka:kh, ga:shl, to: th, bo:bji may be used for father, grandfather, uncle, elder brother, elder cousin or for any person for whom respect or affection is intended. Similarly, some terms of address used for females like ded, jiglr, ʒ:ṭh, di:di etc., may be used for elder kinsmen or distant relations,
or for persons for whom respect or affection is intended. These terms of address are used in a liberal sense.

5.3.2.1. Changing Patterns of Address in Kinship Domain

A closer look at the data collected for the study shows that the patterns of address in Kinship domain are fast changing and the indigenous honorifics suffixed to indigenous kinship terms as shown in the above examples are found in the elder generation only. There is almost a negligible use of these terms in the younger generations who have access to education and media. The younger generation addresses their brothers with borrowed terms. For example, brother is addressed with the English term ‘brother‘ or with ‘bayI‘ the nativized form of Urdu/Hindi term ‘baya‘. Same is the case with other kins. Maternal uncle is addressed as ma:mu:, maternal aunt with ‘ma:si’, paternal uncle as chacu, paternal aunt as puphi, and so on. The data shows the following trend in the changing patterns of address terms with respect to the indigenous and borrowed address terms.

With respect to the address terms used by the elders to the younger kins, there is non-reciprocal use. While the elders are addressed with the different kinship terms mainly for showing respect, affection and intimacy, the norm is that elders address the young ones by their first names, first names and middle names, first names and surnames etc. The terms of endearment like gaashi, shush, jaanI etc are also common for addressing younger children. The other modes include adding honorific suffixes to the first name or to the endearment term. For example, gaashi saab etc.

5.3.2.2. Kinship Terms with Non-Kins

The kinship terms are not only meant to be used to address the kins but they are also used with the non-kins as well. The kinship term to be used for non-kin depends upon the age of the addresser and the addressee. Thus a person of one‘s father‘s age can be addressed by the combination of the first name and
the basic term of address related to uncle. Examples include /Rahim cheh/, /Nazir Maam/ etc. Similarly a person of one’s elder brother's/sister’s age can be addressed accordingly as /Shafi bayi/, /Tasleem didi/ etc.

5.3.3. Honorifics

The term ‘honorific’ refers to special linguistic form that is used to signify deference towards the nominal referent or the addressee. The system of honorifics constitutes an integral component of the politeness dimension of language use, but whereas every language appears to have ways of expressing politeness, only certain languages have well-developed honorifics. Generally speaking, languages with highly developed honorifics systems are concentrated in Asia – Japanese, Korean, Tibetan, Javanese, and Thai are among the most familiar languages of this group. A thorough study of honorifics requires a two pronged approach. The description of honorifics as grammatical forms is one approach and is relatively easy to accomplish, whereas the description of their actual use requires wider pragmatic as well as sociolinguistic perspectives, taking into consideration the elements of conversational situations, such as relationships between the speakers and the addressees, and the functional roles that honorifics play in communicative interaction. Though the pragmatic aspects of honorific usage are gaining increasing attention in the field, descriptions are by and large purely grammatical, with little information on usage. The honorific titles common in Kashmiri address system includes the following titles.

I. s3:b

The honorific title s3:b is widely used among the Kashmiri speakers. This honorific title is gender specific, that is, it is used with males only and within this category it is used with males of any age. It is generally used with first name, henceforth FN and last name, henceforth LN. Examples of its use with FN include, Irfa:d s3:b, raʃi:d s3:b etc. and examples of its use with LN include, mi:r s3:b, fe:kʰ s3:b etc. Occasionally, it is also used with the
combination FN and MN and the combination of FN, MN and LN. Example of its use with the combination of FN and MN include gola:m mahmad s3:b, obdul rəʃi:d s3:b and that of its use with the combination of FN, MN and MN are nəsi:r ahmad khan s3:b etc.

The range of address forms to which the honorific title s3:b can be added is very wide. It can be used with kin address terms, like t3:t hji s3:b, la:li s3:b, etc., professional titles like, da:ktar s2:b, wəki:l s2:b, indʒi:nar s2:b etc., with religious titles like pi:r s3:b, a:ga:h s3:b h3:ʤi:j s3:b and with other terms borrowed from English like prop h esar s3:b, prinispil s3:b etc.

II. ra:ʤi

This honorific title is the nativized form of Urdu/Hindi ra:ʤa: and is the outcome of language contact through media. This honorific title is especially used with children. As far as its positional occurrence is concerned, it is restricted for use with the first name and is, at times, used as a solo form of address, without being suffixed to any part of the name. Examples of usage with FN include ʃa:jik ra:ʤi, ima:d ra:ʤi etc. The title is predominantly used with male children but has now begun to be extended for female children also.

III. Sir/Madam (English)

The honorifics _Sir_ and _Madam_ borrowed from English are frequently used in Kashmir. They may be employed between student-teacher, salesman-customer, clerk-peon, client-lawyer etc. Interestingly, it is not confined to the vocative contexts but also in other contexts. For example, meh chu vonmut sir’as, Madam chi wa:ryah asil.

IV. ʤi:

The honorific _ʤi:_ has a wide range of uses among Kashmiri speakers. Among Muslims, it is more predominantly used with females for honorification. Positionally, this honorific title is suffixed to the FN of females. For example, fi:ma: ʤi:, rəziya ʤi: etc. Other uses of the honorific _ʤi:_
include its usage with the kinship terms, like, *məmiː* *ʤiːː*, *paːpaː* *ʤiːː*, *abaː* *ʤiːː*, *tɜːːth* *ʤiːː*, etc.

V. *ʤaːn*

The honorific title *ʤaːn*’ is gender specific and is used with young females. For example, *sunen* *ʤaːn*, *liliː* *ʤaːn* etc. It is also used with kin terms, example, *deːdiː* *ʤaːn*, *məmiː* *ʤaːn*, *bɜːj* *ʤaːn*, *maːm* *ʤaːn* etc.

V. *ʤinaːb*

This honorific title is borrowed from Urdu/Hindi. It is used by the subordinates to address their superiors. The use of this honorific suffix is predominant in the formal settings. The educated class is using *‘sir‘* as a title to address the people to whom respect is intended instead of *jinab*. The use of *jinab* has therefore diminished and is used by the uneducated and less-educated people to address people of high status in the formal settings.

5.3.4. Terms Related to Occupations/Professions

Parkinson (1985, p.119) defines the occupation or work-related term of address as the one that a person receives or earns because of the degree he holds or because of the occupation he is engaged in. This applies both to occupations that are traditionally performed by highly-educated persons and to those that are more normally associated with the working class.

The number of terms related to occupation is probably as many as the occupations themselves. The table below lists some of the main terms of address related to occupation/profession.
Table 5.3. Terms of Address Related to Professions/Occupations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Kashmiri</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Kashmiri</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Doctor</td>
<td>/da:ktar/</td>
<td>Cobbler</td>
<td>/je:kh/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineer</td>
<td>/indʒi:nar/</td>
<td>Potter</td>
<td>/kra:l/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lawyer</td>
<td>/vəki:l/</td>
<td>Blacksmith</td>
<td>/Kha:r/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>/ma:star/</td>
<td>Saw</td>
<td>/s:ri:ka:/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carpenter</td>
<td>/ʧʰ:a:n/</td>
<td>Driver</td>
<td>/dre:var/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As a norm in the Kashmiri society, the working class occupations are not considered as high status occupations. On the other hand, the professions/occupations performed by highly educated people holding public positions are considered as prestigious jobs. The modes of address for these different professionals are different. The usage of the occupation related terms can be found with the following combinations.

5.3.4.1. Job Title and Honorific suffix:

Professionals are usually addressed by the combination of their job title and honorific suffix like _ji’ and _saab’. For example a doctor is addressed as /da:ktar sə:b/, engineer as /indzi:nar sə:b/, lawyer as /vəki:l sə:b/ etc.

Similarly, a teacher is addressed as /ma:ʃtar ʤi:/

5.3.4.2. General Address Term „vostI“

The people with different working class occupations are addressed with the general terms „vostI“. The working calls professionals are never addressed with their basic address terms. For example, addressing a cobbler with the basic address term is considered very offensive. Likewise, a carpenter, a blacksmith, a potter and other working class professionals are never addressed with their basic address terms. The common term to address them is „vostI“. The more polite form given to these professionals is Urdu/Hindi _usta:d ʤi:‘ which is used for honorification.
It is worth mentioning using the general title with the professionals of high prestige is never a choice. There is a strict complementary distribution of these modes of address with these different professionals. The indigenous address terms for working class professions/occupations are not suffixed with honorifics.

5.3.5. Personal Names

A personal name or full name is the set of names by which an individual is known and that can be recited as a word-group, with the understanding that, taken together, they all relate to that one individual. In many cultures, the term is synonymous with the birth name or legal name of the individual.

The names of Kashmiris typically consist of three parts, i.e, first name, middle name and the last name. The personal names can be used with different combinations to address each other.

5.3.5.1. First Name:

Addressing with the first name is the commonest mode of address among equals. However, it is considered disrespectful and impolite to address a person with his first name if there is a status difference. Thus it is common to see elders addressing the young by their first names. Similarly intimate people also use first name mutually to address each other and teenagers also address each other by the first name. Thus interlocutors in solidarity use first name mutually where as in power relations the mutual use of first name is not found. As already mentioned, a typical Kashmiri name consists of three parts: the first name, the second name and the last name. It needs to be mentioned that the first names like Gulam, Abdul and Mohammad, which are used for affiliating the given name to God or prophet, are not used separately for addressing in the Kashmiri society and can only be used by combining them with second names. The first name is suffixed with the honorific title for polite/honorific address.
5.3.5.2. Middle Name

Middle name is sometimes used separately and sometimes it is combined with the first name. For example, *Abdul Majid Khan* may be sometimes addressed as *Majid* and sometimes as *Abdul Majid*. The combination of First and second name is considered as polite.

Most of the names contain _Ahmad_ as the middle name. Such a middle name is not used alone to address any person. However the other second names like *Akram, Qadir* etc can be used separately to address a person. The honorific suffix is universal in the domain of personal names. It can be suffixed with any part of the name for honorification. In the case of middle name also, the honorific suffix *saab* is used for addressing with politeness/honor.

5.3.5.3. Last Name

The last name is typically the surname of the Kashmiri people. It is used with many combinations for addressing purposes. The most common use of the last name is its use with the first name. The first name combined with the last name reveals the whole identity of an interlocutor. The first name is the identity of the person and the last name reveals the identity of the family and social background of the addressee. The first name combined with the last name is the mode of address adopted by friends and people having long standing familiarity with each other. It is therefore used by the friends for each other. The superiors may also use this pattern to address their subordinates. This mode of address cannot be adopted by subordinates to their superiors. However, in formal settings, the people with a good ranks can be addressed with it by adding suffixing the last name with honorific tiltle *saab*. For example, *Mir saab, Lone saab* etc.

The different combinations of the personal names used by Kashmiris to address each other are given in the following table.
Table 5.4. Combinations of Personal Names Used for Addressing

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Address form I</th>
<th>Address form II</th>
<th>Address form III</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Related to first name</td>
<td>Possible combinations with middle name</td>
<td>Possible combinations with last name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FN, FN + Honorific, FN + MN</td>
<td>MN, MN + Honorific, FN + MN</td>
<td>LN + Honorific</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.3.6. Religion related terms

With respect to addressing interlocutors in face-to-face interaction, Kashmiri address system has a few terms which are used specifically for religious matters. There are mainly two ways of using the religion related terms for addressing people. The first has to do with the holy pilgrimage to Mecca. Thus a person having undertaken the pilgrimage to Mecca Medina are addressed as ‘ḥɜːʤ’. This term is also extended to the older addressees as age-related term of respect. Thus an elderly person may be addressed as ‘ḥɜːʤ’ without having undertaken the holy pilgrimage. The more polite way of addressing a the people having undertaken the holy pilgrimage is by adding the honorific title saab to the term ḥɜːʤ.

The second category of religion related address terms has to do with the religious knowledge and religious standing in a society. Therefore a person having a good religious knowledge is addressed as ‘Molvi saaab’, ‘Mufti saaab’ ‘Imam saaab’ etc.

The combinations of using address terms related to religion are given in the following table.
5.3.7. Terms of Endearment

A term of endearment is a word or phrase used to address or describe a person, animal or inanimate object for which the speaker feels love or affection. Terms of endearment are used for a variety of reasons, such as parents addressing their children and lovers addressing each other.

Terms of endearment are seen as intimate and are usually only used to those individuals who are close to us, that is; family members, but there are exceptions. These terms express —universally valued qualities, such as sweetness, beauty, peacefulness, innocence, warmth, playfulness, worth, providence or cuddlinessl (Casnig, 2012).

Kashmir language has some unique terms of endearment. These terms of endearment are predominantly used by the elders to address the younger ones. Some of the terms of endearment used by the Kashmiri speakers are: ʤigar, krehanmaːz, fuːf, toːth gaːfi, zuv, etc.

The terms of endearment always convey affection which is a component of the meaning of such terms. The terms of endearment in Kashmiri mostly name the body parts or the function thereof. For example, ʤigar, krehanmaːz, fuːf are body parts. As already mentioned the usage of the terms of endearment is influenced by the intimacy, relationship and age and gender of the interlocutors involved. Such terms are usually used by the elder members of the family with the children. A younger member of the family in normal context does not use terms of endearment with their elders except for in combination with the kinship terms as discussed in the beginning of this chapter dealing

### Table 5.5. Combinations of Religion-Related Address Terms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Combination I</th>
<th>Combination II</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FN + Religious Term</td>
<td>Religious Term + Honorific Suffix</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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**Chapter – 5**

Address Terms in Kashmiri
with the kinship address terms. Furthermore the terms of endearment are more often used by females than males. The data collected for the purpose suggests that the terms of endearment are more often used by females than males. Out of the 51 tokens of endearment collected through questionnaire from equal samples of males and females, 42 tokens of endearment are used by females. Out of the 51 tokens of endearment, 48 are used within the family domain.

5.3.8. Group Ranks/Hierarchical Ranks in Social Groups

One of the modes of address is to address the collocutor with the terms referring to his rank or position in a group or overall social setup. Most of such terms are honorific owing to the prestige of the positions being referred to. Kashmiri speakers use terms which refer to the rank of the addressee for addressing purposes. Most of such terms are borrowed from other languages like English. Examples of such title include, Chairman, president, Inspector General, Secretary etc. Other titles pertaining to social group-ranks are čju:k čdar, lambarda:r, etc.

The terms referring to the position or rank of the addressee are not separately but are suffixed with the honorific suffix saab. Thus a president of a particular organization is addressed as president saab. Chairman saab, lambardar saab etc are some other examples.

5.3.9. Metaphorical Address Terms

This category of address terms is metaphorical in their use. The difference between the metaphorical address terms and the terms of endearment is that terms of endearment always convey the positive meaning while as the metaphorical terms can have negative meaning also. Some of the metaphorical terms which convey the sense of beauty are kukil, ko:tur, zu:n. The metaphorical terms are also used by the elder members of the family for their dear ones. On the occasion of anger, negative metaphorical terms pertaining negative attributes are used.
5.3.10. Pronominal Forms

Pronominal forms pertaining to the second person are used as a mode of address in Kashmiri language. Pronominal forms, especially those referring to the addressee, viz, the second-person pronouns, are often the targets of honorific elaboration. The most well-known example of this is the use of plural pronouns, such as the forms for you (PL), “they”, and “we”, in reference to a singular addressee (or a third-person referent) as a sign of respect/politeness — French vous, German Sie, Russian vy, Tagalog kayo “you.PL”, sila “they”, Turkish siz “you.PL”, Ainu aoko.

The pronominal address forms may rightly be exercised as a politeness device. Kashmiri has two distinct pronominal address forms (in 2nd person): tsi (non-honorific) and toh (honorific). Third person pronouns exhibit a three-term distinction of the participants in speech acts: proximate, remote (within sight) and remote (out of sight). In each of the three categories of the third person pronouns, that is, proximate, remote I and remote II, there are distinct pronominal address forms for masculine and feminine categories. Plural forms in all the three categories of third person pronoun are used as honorific for singular nouns.

The pronominal structure in nominative case is given below.

**Table 5.6. Pronouns of Kashmiri in Nominative Case**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>Plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>bi</td>
<td>asj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>tsi</td>
<td>tohj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Honorific)</td>
<td>(Honorific)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>yi</td>
<td>yim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Honorific)</td>
<td>(Honorific)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proximate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remote I</td>
<td>hu</td>
<td>Hum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Honorific)</td>
<td>(Honorific)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remote II</td>
<td>su</td>
<td>tim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Honorific)</td>
<td>(Honorific)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Pronouns in their nominative case

Although the case system of pronouns is essentially the same as that of nouns, pronouns have more case forms than nouns.

All pronouns are free. They occur in all positions. They can be dropped if they are recoverable from the verb or from the context. Kashmiri has a system of pronominal suffixes/clitics, which are added to the verbs to refer to the subject, object, and indirect object.

The choice of the pronominal address forms, being sociolinguistically conditioned, refers to the alternative rules as suggested by S. Ervin Trip (1972). The process of selection is not only constrained by the power and solidarity semantics conceptualized by Brown and Gilman (1960), but also by the politeness factor. The persons with higher status or position and seniority are generally addressed as toh \(^j\) in face to face conversation and yim, hum and tim when referring to them. The choice is also guided by the familiarity between addresser-addressee. In case of intimate relation or friendship toh \(^j\) is not preferred and the politeness factor is overruled.

As mentioned earlier, the pronouns can be suffixed to the verbs in Kashmiri which makes the possibility of dropping the pronoun if it is traceable from the verb. Therefore, sometimes, it is only the verbal forms suffixed by plural form of the pronoun that is used as a polite expression. The subject pronominal is grammatically in agreement with the pronominal suffixed with the verb and with the auxillary verb. The second person singular masculine pronoun is used, as a politeness marker, with females.

Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Verb form (imperative)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tsi</td>
<td>yi (non-honorific) _you come‘</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toh(^j)</td>
<td>yiyiv (honorific) _you come‘</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsi</td>
<td>paru (honorific/polite with females) _you read‘</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.3.11. Terms of Intimacy

As a mode of address, terms of solidarity are terms used in situations where intimate interlocutors need to address partners in a conversation with more friendly and more amiable tone. Intimacy here refers to the relationship where the speaker considers the addressee as a member of an in-group, a friend or a person who shares some commonality with the speaker, so they address him using an intimate address term to show this close relationship. Terms of intimacy in this study includes nicknames, and diminutive names. Kashmiri speakers make use of the nicknames and diminutive names to a great deal for addressing their interlocutors.

Some of the common nicknames used by the Kashmiri speakers include *nikI, be::tl, sahbl, etc.* The diminutive names are the shortened forms of the names. Diminutive names is a typical feature of the kinship address where the elders of a family use the diminutive forms to address their younger members. This mode of address is also found among friends.

5.3.12. Indirect Address

Personal names are the most common way to identify a person. The frequency with which a name is used may vary from one speech community to another. Among Kashmiri speakers, generally, names are not used as often as they are in American speech. Not only does the use of different types of names convey different information, but sometimes names are intentionally avoided. This avoidance of names is most common in the address behavior of spouses and results in the employment of teknonym, zero address, third person pronoun etc which makes the address indirect. The avoidance of the naming in the case of spouses has a social basis where naming is considered as a taboo. Forced by the social bindings, the wife uses indirect address by adopting many ways. For example, A wife addresses her husband as *Aadilun mo:l (Adil’s Father)* or she may address her husband by naming anyone of her children. The trend is
However changing and the newer generation spouses address each other with their first names.

5.3.13. Addressing with the name of the place of residence

The name itself does not reveal the whole identity. A person is identified by many factors including the place of his/her residence. The place of residence marked with a genitive marker, at times, becomes a mode of address. This mode of address where a person addressed with the name of his/her residence is one of the ways of addressing among Kashmiri speakers. This mode of address is typically used with the married women in the rural areas where they are addressed and referred to with the name of their maiden residence. For example, a woman is addressed as *sirhamich* where Sirhama is the place of her maiden residence. Similarly a woman whose maiden residence is Srinagar and has been married in a rural area is addressed as *shahrIch*. It is important to mention that this mode of address is prevalent in the older generations.

5.4. Conclusion

The present research study was carried out in the broader frame of Sociolinguists to unveil the address terms in Kashmiri. As any other sociolinguistic study, this study aimed at exploring the social basis of the usage of address terms. The goal of studying the address terms was to explore the repertoire of address terms in Kashmiri, classify them into different categories and then explain the usage of these address terms. The research questions were: How is the usage of address terms in Kashmiri influenced by the relationship between interlocutors, social variables of gender, age, educational and/or occupational rank, and other factors associated with participants. Using observation and questionnaire as the main research tools, examples of address forms were collected from the Kashmiri speakers.

With respect to the findings of the study on address terms, the following points could be stressed:
In the case of the address terms, the attempt of the researcher to categorize the address expressions in Kashmiri can be regarded as a pioneering effort to highlight the rich repertoire of address terms on the one hand and the changeability and enrichment of these terms on the other. Thus the major goal in undertaking the present study was to draw the overall scheme of address terms that Kashmiri addressers might use to address their addressees.

The categorization of the address terms into thirteen categories does not imply that all the categories all equal in terms of their importance, frequency and utility. Each of the categories has its special usage for particular interlocutors and under certain conditions.

The huge range of honorifics in Kashmiri and the frequency of their usage in all social domains with a huge range of people, reveal the importance of courtesy in this language. It implies that courteous and respectful interaction is an important feature of Kashmiri address system. It also shows that Kashmiri speakers are very conscious about their face work.

Another important feature of Kashmiri is the use of kinship address terms. Kashmiri is found to be relying very much on the family relations and this is notable in the usage of kinship terms for non-kins.

Restricted use of the personal names and singular address pronominal on the one hand and the use general and professional titles, honorifics and terms of formality show that the sense of formality is also another significant feature of Kashmiri culture and language in general and terms of address in particular.

Borrowing new terms of address and refraining the use of some others over time which is one of the characteristic features of dynamic languages shows that Kashmiri language is dynamic enough to comply with the sociocultural changes in its speech community.

For addressing one another, Kashmiri interlocutors can adopt many different strategies and techniques. This flexible feature of address system
provides the Kashmiri speakers with a huge range of terms to address the addressees. Usage of an appropriate address term is influenced by variables as age, gender, status, family relationship, the degree of respect, familiarity, formality and intimacy between the interlocutors.

The existence of loanwords from other languages indirectly accounts for the long history of Kashmiri language and its interaction with other cultures. As a result, Kashmiri speakers use terms from other relevant oriental languages like Arabic, Sanskrit, and Persian in their expression.

In general, the overall study of the address terms in this study makes it evident that Kashmiri address terms are, relatively formal, gender sensitive and socially, culturally and politically loaded. Moreover, the thrust on using honorifics, kinship terms in their special usage and the coinage of religion oriented terms stand for sociocultural and sociopolitical function of the address terms in Kashmiri.