Chapter 4

Language Change and Cultural Lexicon: Semantic Shifts and Relexicalization
4.1. INTRODUCTION TO LANGUAGE CHANGE

According to Naylor (1996:37), “Change is a necessary part of culture whereby groupings and individuals adjust or alter their beliefs, behaviors, and material and sociocultural productions. If humans and their cultures are to survive, they must adjust to the constantly changing environments.” Change is a word that depicts and denotes, among many other things, development, growth, and expansion. As a matter of fact, it is change that, in a way, keeps on to the way leading to continued existence. The phenomenon of language change has probably gained more public notice and criticism than any other linguistic issue.

David Crystal (2003:256,257), while defining language change, writes, “In Historical linguistics, a general term referring to change within a language over a period of time, seen as a universal and unstoppable process. The phenomenon was first systematically investigated by comparative philologists at the end of eighteenth century, and in the twentieth century by historical linguists and sociolinguists. All aspects of language are involved, though most attention has been paid to phonology and lexis, where change is most noticeable and frequent.”

It is an attested fact, nowadays, that all languages are continually changing. For instance, at any given moment the English language, for example, has a huge variety within itself, and this variety is known as synchronic variation. From these different forms comes the effect on
language over time that is known as diachronic change. So the tendency for languages to this process of change seems somewhat unavoidable and inevitable, but in most of the cases unobservable, and marks its imprint over a period of time.

4.1.1 Causes of Language-Change

Languages are constantly changing and the causes are many and varied. In this regard, Campbell and Mixco (2007:60) point out that important factors in “the explanation of language change is the identification of causal factors, both those that always bring about change and those that create circumstances known to facilitate change but in which, even when the factors are present, the change does not always take place.” Generally, linguists talk about two general ways in which language change takes place: “External change” and “Internal change”.

Language change occurs in accordance with both the external and internal causal factors. The external causal factors, according to Campbell and Mixco (Ibid, 60) “lie outside the structure of language itself and outside the human organism; they include such things as expressive uses of language, positive and negative social evaluations (prestige, stigma), the effects of literacy, prescriptive grammar, educational policies, political decree, language planning, language contact and so on.”

According to Campbell and Mixco (Ibid, 60), “Internal causal factors rely on the limitations and resources of human speech production and perception, physical explanations of change stemming from the physiology of human speech organs and cognitive explanations involving the perception, processing or learning of language. These internal factors are largely responsible for the natural, regular, universal aspects of
language and language change.” Thus, the kinds of changes that result due to the way speakers of a language steadily alter and change their language over time are the internal causes of language change.

Ottenheimer (2006:209,210) writes, “Internal change, in contrast to external change, tends to be somewhat more predictable because existing structural patterns in a language can be seen as exerting more pressure in certain directions than others. A good example of this is the increasing use in American English of the third-person plural pronouns they, them, their in place of their singular counterparts he/she, him/her and his/her.”

Wardhaugh also accounts for language change from the internal and external factor point of view. Writes Wardhaugh (2003:190,191) “The traditional view of language change also favors a ‘family tree’ account of change and of the relationships among languages. Linguists tend to reconstruct the histories of related languages or varieties of a language in such a way that sharp differentiations are made between those languages or varieties, so that at one point in time one thing (that is, a language itself, or a variety, or even a specific linguistic item) splits into two or more, or is lost. More rarely, there is coalescence. The alternative ‘wave’ account of change and relationships is much less easy to work with. In this approach the various changes that occur must be seen as flowing into and interacting with one another. It is not at all easy to reconcile the need to find contrasts with the desire to maintain certain fluidity in boundaries.”

Thus, a number of factors are responsible for this process of language change, and there are different views that have been put forward to spell out different causes responsible for the process of language
change. The present study touches the viewpoints as given by scholars like J. H. Bredsdorff, Jean Aitchison, Brian D Joseph, and Adrian Beard.

Bredsdorff tried to explain the causes of language change in 1821 (Bredsdorff 1821/1886). The main factors that Bredsdorff considers to be responsible for the process of language change include mishearing, misunderstanding, misrecollection, imperfection of speech-organs, indolence, the tendency towards analogy, the desire to be distinct, the need for expressing new ideas, and influence from foreign languages. (Cited in Malmkjær, 2004:221)

Further Malmkjær (2004:222) mentions, “Some of the ideas as put forward by Bredsdorff are still viable today. For instance, it is observed that the tendency towards analogy, speaker’s desire for uniformity, for regular patterns, causes language to become more rather than less regular in syntax and phonology. Colloquial speech—which popular, though rarely expert, opinion often classifies as indolent—can also eventually result in changes in pronunciation, spelling, grammatical-patterning and the semantic system. The influence from foreign languages is clearly observable when new words enter a language and become absorbed in its grammar and pronunciation system, as when pizza receives the English plural pizzas, or when weekend is pronounced as beginning with /v/ in Danish and is given the plural ending –er. This often results in the ability of speakers of a language to express a new idea or name new thing—pizzas were at one time unfamiliar in Britain, and at one time Danish did not have a word that could express the conceptualization of the weekend as a whole. Similarly, new inventions often result in the need for new terminology, as when the advent of computers led to the coinage of the term software by analogy with hardware, which was itself borrowed from
another sphere, namely that of the traditional hardware store, selling things like nails, glue, string and various tool.”

Aitchinson also provides an account of the causes of language change. Writes Aitchinson (2001:197), “Change is likely to be triggered by social factors, such as fashion, foreign influence and social need. However, these factors cannot take effect unless the language is ‘ready’ for a particular change. They simply make use of inherent tendencies which reside in the physical and mental make-up of human beings. Causality, therefore, needs to be explored on a number of different levels. The immediate trigger must be looked at alongside the underlying propensities of the languages concerned, and of human languages in general.

A language never allows disruptive changes to destroy the system. In response to disruptions, therapeutic changes are likely to intervene and restore the broken patterns-though in certain circumstances therapeutic changes can themselves cause further disruptions by setting off a chain of changes which may last for centuries.”

Like Aitchinson, many other linguists, especially historical linguists, presented their points of view on the causes of language change. In this regard, Brian D Joseph’s paper entitled ‘Historical Linguistics’ in *The Handbook of Linguistics* (eds Mark Aronoff and Jamie Rees-Miller,2003) touches upon, besides other things, the topic of change. Writes Brian (2003:118), “There are four main kinds of factors that play a role in inducing language change: psychological factors, physiological factors, systemic factors, and social factors. These all make sense in that they correspond to different aspects of language: language as a psychological “entity” housed (somewhere) in the brains of speakers,
language as the production of sounds and signs and forms through the physiology of the human body (e.g. the vocal tract), language as a system with regularities and interacting components, and finally language as a social “organism” that exists in the interactions between and among members of social groups.”

Adrian Beard (2004), in his book *Language Change*, also discusses the causes of language change as internal and external. The internal issues mainly involve looking at the way how new words are formed, the influence of dictionaries on spellings and meanings and so on and so forth. These internal issues are related to and within the general approach of external factors that have influenced and are influencing this process of language change e.g., the way changing social contexts are reflected in a language. Beard describes that the process of language change is bound up with the social change and that the language change is an ongoing process, rather than just historical study.

Besides the above mentioned causes of language change, there are a number of other factors like economy and language contact situation which also play due role in the process of language change.

I. Economy: Speakers tend to make their utterances as efficient and effective as possible to reach their communication goals. Speaking involves, therefore, a planning of costs and benefits.

II. Language-contact-extensive borrowing, especially in contact situations with bilinguals, multilinguals-borrowing affects all areas but mostly the lexicon.

In modern times language change is, for example, being brought about by technology. For example, mobile technologies have drastically altered language with the use of instant messaging and texting from
mobile phones. So, language changes, usually very slowly, sometimes
very rapidly.

In brief, language change can be defined as the process of
modification and alteration of features at different levels like phonetic,
morphological, syntactic and semantic over a period of time.

**A. Change at the Lexical Level**

Lexical change is probably the most frequent type of language change.
For example, assertions can be made about the age of a speaker by
observing his/her use of lexical items. It is very difficult to define
precisely and accurately the vocabulary available to speakers of English.
But the steady arrival of new words in the English language would make
it an apparent choice of inquiry into language change. All the way
through its history English has not only borrowed words generously from
other languages but has recombined and recycled them to create new
meanings.

**B. Change at the Phonological Level**

Phonological change refers to the changes in pronunciation that can come
in a variety of forms. Some changes merely affect the way a single word
is pronounced: older speakers across the United Kingdom tend to stress
the first syllable in the word *controversy*, for instance, while younger
speakers increasingly place the main stress on the second syllable,
William Labov distinctively recorded the change in pronunciation in a
relatively short period in the American resort of Martha’s Vineyard and
showed how this was the result of social tensions and processes. Small-scale phonological changes are difficult to map and record, especially as the technology of sound recording only goes back a hundred years or so. So the only evidence to illustrate how language has changed over the centuries is written evidence of what human languages have sounded like.

C. Change at the Syntactic Level

Syntactic change is, no doubt, the manner by which the physiognomy of a particular language gets modified. Syntactic change affects grammar in its morphological and syntactic aspects and is seen as gradual, the product of chain reactions and subject to cyclic drift. Grammatical change, in turn, is a subtle process and not always obvious to observe, as grammatical change appears to spread more slowly than lexical change. The older, more conservative forms of speech might sometimes remain present in some regional dialects, but not in others. For instance, the use of the second person pronouns *thou*, *thee*, *thy* and *thine*, for instance, sound old-fashioned to most of English speakers, but are still heard in parts of northern England; although even there they are becoming increasingly associated with older speakers. (source: http://www.questia.com/22.09.2009.1100hrs)

D. Change at the Semantic Level

Semantic change, also known as semantic shift or semantic progression describes the evolution of word usage, usually to the point that the modern meaning is radically different from the original usage. The appearance, rather the occurrence, of a new word is only the beginning of
its continuation. Once it becomes part of the language the meanings and applications it has for its speakers can shift dramatically, to the point of causing misunderstandings.

Chhibber (1987:68) states, “The meanings of linguistic signs do not stay the same. As compared to the phonological and the syntactic structure of a language, the semantic structure of a language is prone to change much more rapidly. Very often the changes in the semantic structure of a language become the primary concern of some books on semantics, and treated in this fashion, semantics becomes merely a history of lexis. Such treatment of semantic change is, however, mostly *ad hoc* and not supported by a theory of descriptive semantics.”

In diachronic (or historical) linguistics, semantic change is a change in one of the meanings of a word. Every word has a variety of senses and connotations which can be added, removed, or altered over time, often to the extent that cognates across space and time have very different meanings. An example of a recent semantic change is of the word *mouse*; with the advent of computer technology, the word for the rodent has been used as a referent for the input device.

The present chapter deals with the changes at the semantic level and at the lexical level paving the way to the processes of semantic shift and relexicalization.

4.2. SEMANTIC SHIFTS

The process of semantic shift is, for the most part, studied in accordance with the reference to the process of semantic change. Semantic shift is defined as a change in which the meaning of a word undergoes some
change (often somewhat related to its original meaning). This process occurs when existing words take a new meaning by shrinking or extending their domain or usage. It also results in an extension of the range of meanings when a word moves from one set of circumstances to another. For example, *navigator*, which once applied only to ships but, with the development of planes and cars, now applies to multiple forms of travel. Another example is Old English, *meat,* (‘*mete*’), which referred to all forms of solid food while *flesh* (*flæsc*) referred to animal tissue, and *food* (*foda*) referred to animal fodder. *Meat* was eventually restricted to flesh of animals, then *flesh* restricted to the tissue of humans and *food* was generalized to refer to all forms of solid food.

Vocabulary items that acquire new meanings rub out some of their old meanings, depending upon the users. Though not all the vocabulary items of a language go through these processes of meaning change, at least, a few of the vocabulary items in almost all the living languages undergo these processes of meaning change. This can be a gradual change, or a sudden change, or both.

The meaning change can take place in two ways. They are:

I. Meaning change within the same language, and

II. Meaning change that takes place when a vocabulary item is borrowed from one language into another language.

**Meaning change within the language:**

The meaning change in the same language can take the following possibilities:

i. Complete change in the original meaning of a vocabulary item.
Addition of new meanings, 

Deletion of some of the meanings, and 

Meaning Change Possibilities in Borrowing:

The meaning change due to borrowing of one vocabulary item from one language into another language has following possibilities. 

1. Generalization is a process in which a particular vocabulary item used with a particular meaning gets the generalized meaning. Pen (from Latin ‘penna’) is such a word. This had the meaning of 'feather used for writing'. It is now used to refer to all kinds of instruments used for writing purposes. 

2. Specialization is in a way an opposite process of the generalization process. That is, if a word has a general meaning, the meaning will get restricted or specialized. Wife (from Germanic ‘wībam’) is such a word. This was earlier used to refer to all women. Now it refers to 'wife' only. 

3. Elevation or amelioration is the process in which a particular word, used to refer to people or objects of lesser status, gets an elevated position and is used to refer to people or objects of higher status. For example, the word symposium (from Greek *sympinein*, "to drink together") was used to refer to a drinking party but, now, it is used for a gathering in which discussions of a higher order are pursued. 

4. Opposite to the process of elevation or amelioration is the process of degeneration or pejoratives. The words referring to things of a higher status begin to refer to things of lower status. Hypocrite (from Greek *hypokrites*) is such a word. This was earlier used to refer to an actor on the stage. Now it refers to a person who puts on a false appearance of
virtue. Similarly the word clown that was used to refer to a peasant now refers to a joker.

Semantic change examines how new meanings arise through language use, especially the various ways in which speakers and writers experiment with uses of words and constructions in the flow of strategic interaction with addressees. The development and change of the semantic structure of a word is always a source of qualitative and quantitative development of the vocabulary. The word being the linguistic realization of notion, it changes with the progress of human consciousness. This process is reflected in the development of lexical meaning. As the human mind achieves an even more exact understanding of the world of reality and the objective relationships that characterize it, the notions become more and more exact reflection of real things. The history of the social, economic and political life of people, the progress of culture and science bring about changes in notions and things influencing the semantic aspect of language.

The causes of semantic change, like language change, may be grouped under two main headings, linguistic and extralinguistic ones. The first one deals with changes due to the constant interdependence of vocabulary units in language and speech, such as differentiation between synonymous, changes taking place in connection with ellipsis and with fixed contents, changes resulting from ambiguity in certain contexts, and some other cases.

The extralinguistic causes are determined by the social nature of the language: they are observed in changes of meaning resulting from the development of the notion expressed and the thing named and by the appearance of new notions and things. In other words, extra -linguistic
causes of semantic change are connected with the development of the human mind as it moulds reality to conform to its needs.

Languages are powerfully affected by social, political, economic, cultural and technical change. The influence of these factors upon linguistic phenomena is studied by sociolinguistics. It shows that social factors can influence even structural features of linguistic units. Terms of science, for instance, have a number of specific features as compared to words used in other spheres of human activity.

4.2.1. Semantic Change-Typologies and Types

A number of taxonomic schemes have been suggested for semantic change. The most widely accepted scheme in the English-speaking academic world is from Leonard Bloomfield. These typologies list some other types of changes like lexical, besides the semantic ones, under the category of semantic change.

1. Typology by Leonard Bloomfield(1933)

The typology given by Bloomfield distinguishes between the terms like narrowing, widening, metaphor, metonymy, synecdoche, hyperbole, litotes, degeneration and elevation as shown in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Narrowing</th>
<th>it means a change from superordinate level to subordinate level, e.g., meat which meant food has changed its meaning to the flesh of an animal, thus narrowing.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Widening</td>
<td>widening means a change from subordinate level to superordinate level,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

e.g., *bird* which meant nestling, young bird has widened its meaning to bird in general.

| Metaphor | metaphor means the change based on similarity of thing, e.g., *bitter* "biting" to "not sweet" |
| Metonymy | it is the change based on nearness in space or time, e.g., *jaw* "cheek" to "jaw" |
| Synecdoche | change based on whole-part relation is known as synecdoche, e.g., *town* "fence" to "city" |
| Hyperbole | hyperbole is the change from stronger to weaker meaning, e.g., *astound* "strike with thunder" to "surprise strongly" |
| Litotes | litotes is defined as the change from weaker to stronger meaning, e.g., *kill* "torment" to "kill" |
| Degeneration | e.g., *knave* "boy" to "servant" shows the perfect example of degeneration. |
| Elevation | e.g., *knight* “boy” to “knight” is the perfect example of elevation. |

**Table 4.1 Typology by Leonard Bloomfield**

2. **Andreas Blank (1998)**

The typology as given by Andreas Blank is shown in the following table:

<p>| Metaphor | it is the change based on similarity between concepts, e.g., <em>mouse</em> &quot;rodent&quot; to &quot;computer device&quot; |
| Metonymy | it is defined as the change based on contiguity between concepts, e.g., <em>horn</em> &quot;animal horn&quot; to &quot;musical instrument&quot; |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Synecdoche</td>
<td>same as defined in the typology given by Leonard Bloomfield</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>specialization of</td>
<td>it is the downward shift in a taxonomy, e.g., corn &quot;corn&quot; to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meaning</td>
<td>&quot;wheat&quot; (UK)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>generalization of</td>
<td>it is the upward shift in a taxonomy, e.g., hoover &quot;Hoover</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meaning</td>
<td>vacuum cleaner&quot; to &quot;any type of vacuum cleaner&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>co-hyponymic transfer</td>
<td>it is the horizontal shift in a taxonomy, e.g., the confusion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>of mouse and rat in some dialects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>antiphrasis</td>
<td>the change based on a contrastive aspect of the concepts is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>known as antiphrasis, e.g., perfect lady in the sense of &quot;prostitue&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>auto-autonomy</td>
<td>it is the change of a word's sense and concept to the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>complementary opposite, e.g., bad in the slang sense of &quot;good&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>auto converse</td>
<td>auto converse is the lexical expression of a relationship by</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>the two extremes of the respective relationship, e.g., take in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>the dialectal use as &quot;give&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ellipsis</td>
<td>semantic change based on the contiguity of names is ellipsis,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>e.g., car &quot;cart&quot; → &quot;automobile&quot;, due to the invention of the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(motor) car</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>folk etymology</td>
<td>folk etymology refers to the semantic change based on the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>similarity of names, e.g., French contredanse, orig. English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>country dance)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.2 Typology by Andreas Blank
3. Karl Reisig (1839)

Reisig's ideas for a classification were published posthumously. He resorts to classical rhetoric and distinguishes between synecdoche, metonymy, and metaphor as shown in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Synecdoche</th>
<th>as per Reisig’s typology these include the shifts between part and whole</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Metonymy</td>
<td>shifts between cause and effect are included in metonymy according to the typology as given by Reisig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metaphor</td>
<td>Reisig uses the term metaphor in its normal usage</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.3 Typology by Karl Reisig

4. Hermann Paul (1880)

Hermann’s typology is shown in the following table:

1. specialization: enlargement of single senses of a word's meaning

2. specialization on a specific part of the contents: reduction of single senses of a word's meaning

3. transfer on a notion linked to the based notion in a spatial, temporal or causal way

Table 4.4 Typology by Hermann Paul
5. Arsène Darmesteter (1887)

The typology of Arsène Darmesteter mainly differentiates between the terms metaphor, metonymy, widening of meaning, and narrowing of meaning as shown in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Metaphor</th>
<th>metonymy</th>
<th>widening of meaning</th>
<th>narrowing of meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Table 4.5 Typology by Arsène Darmesteter

The last two are defined as change between whole and part, which would today be rendered as *synecdoche*.

6. Michel Bréal (1899)

Following is the table showing the typology as proposed by Michel Bréal:

| 1. restriction of sense is the change from a general to a special meaning | Table 4.6 Typology by Miche |
| 2. enlargement of sense is the change from a special to a general meaning |
| 3. metaphor |
7. Gustaf Stern (1931)

The typology for semantic change as suggested by Gustaf Stern is shown in the following table:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Substitution</td>
<td>it is the change related to the change of an object, of the knowledge referring to the object, of the attitude toward the object, e.g., artillery &quot;engines of war used to throw missiles&quot; changed into &quot;mounted guns&quot;, atom &quot;inseparable smallest physical-chemical element&quot; to &quot;physical-chemical element consisting of electrons&quot;, scholasticism &quot;philosophical system of the Middle Ages&quot; to &quot;servile adherence to the methods and teaching of schools&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Analogy</td>
<td>it is the change triggered by the change of an associated word, e.g., fast adj. &quot;fixed and rapid&quot; ← faste adv. &quot;fixedly, rapidly&quot;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shortening</td>
<td>e.g., periodical ← periodical paper depicts shortening</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nomination</td>
<td>Stern defines it as the intentional naming of a referent, new or old, with a name that has not previously been used for it e.g., lion &quot;brave man&quot; ← &quot;lion&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>regular transfer</td>
<td>it is defined as a subconscious Nomination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Permutation</td>
<td>it is the non-intentional shift of one referent to another due to a reinterpretation of a situation, e.g., bead &quot;prayer&quot; → &quot;pearl in a rosary&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 4.7 Typology by Gustaf Stern**

Ullmann distinguishes between nature and consequences of semantic change:

i) **Nature of semantic change**: Depending on the nature of the semantic change, Ullmann enlists the following types:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>metaphor</td>
<td>change based on a similarity of senses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>metonymy</td>
<td>change based on a contiguity of senses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>folk-etymology</td>
<td>change based on a similarity of names</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ellipsis</td>
<td>change based on a contiguity of names</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.8.a Typology of Stephen Ullmann

ii) **Consequences of semantic change**: On the basis of the consequences of semantic change, Ullmann differentiates between widening of meaning, narrowing of meaning, amelioration of meaning, and Pejoration of meaning as shown in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consequence</th>
<th>Effect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Widening of meaning</td>
<td>raise of quantity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narrowing of meaning</td>
<td>loss of quantity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amelioration of meaning</td>
<td>raise of quantity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pejoration of meaning</td>
<td>loss of quantity</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.8.b Typology of Stephen Ullmann
From the above list of typologies, typology by Andreas Blank (1998) has gained more and more acceptance. Although it was very difficult and problematic for Andreas Blank to include, both, amelioration and pejoration of meaning, as well as strengthening and weakening of meaning. According to Blank, these are not objectively classifiable phenomena; moreover, all Blank has shown that all of the examples listed under these headings can be grouped into the other phenomena.

4.3. RELEXICALIZATION

The term relexicalization as coined and defined by Michael Alexander Kirkwood Halliday is a process in which there is substitution of invented, unofficial words in certain areas of vocabulary in languages. It is defined as the process of systematic alteration of words, and the creation of new words, which are lexically opaque (their meaning is obscured). In such a process, new words are used for the older ones.

The term relexicalization is treated synonymous to the term relexification. As far as the term relexification is concerned, it was coined by Stewart in 1962. According to Stewart (1962:46), “The vocabulary derived from one source language has been largely replaced...by a more recent vocabulary derived from another language, while the original grammatical structure is preserved... This process of relexification seems to be the converse of restructuralization.” It is the process of vocabulary substitution in which the only information adopted from the target language in the lexical entry is the phonological representation.

The term relexification refers to the process of replacing (all or a large number of) the words of one language with the words from another language, while the grammar of the original language remains intact. This
term was originally used for creole languages, whose grammar is often thought to be derived from their (e.g. African) substrate languages, while their words derive from the European lexifier languages.

(http://www.glottopedia.com/relexification/11.11.2007.1300hrs)

The use of new words and concepts in place of the old words and concepts is what is known as relexicalization. It can also be taken as the process of renaming. There are a number of factors that attribute to this process like

i) Convenience

ii) Ease in lifestyle

iii) Acceptance, and

iv) Need etc

All of these factors are interconnected in one way or the other and pave way to this process of relexicalization.

4.4. SEMANTIC SHIFT AND RELEXICALIZATION IN KASHMIRI CULTURAL LEXICON

The process of change in the Kashmiri language follows both the external as well as the internal factor. The processes of language like borrowing and language contact are highly integrated in Kashmiri language and are categorized under the ‘external’ factor of language change. The Kashmiri language, like other languages, experiences contact with other languages followed by the process of borrowing.
Similarly the ‘internal’ factor of language change is observed in Kashmiri language, whereby a language gets modified over time. The internal factor of language change includes the linguistic processes like semantic shift.

Kashmiri language has been mainly influenced by languages like Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic (mainly through Persian) in the past, and even by this time is responding well to the influences received from languages like Urdu, Hindi and English etc. With the process of language change, the phonetic, the morphemic and the semantic structure of the Kashmiri language has also changed over the period of time. The change in the semantic domain/content of the Kashmiri language is the basic premise for the occurrence processes like semantic shift and Relexicalization.

As these processes are deeply rooted and linked to the process of language change, they are likely to influence culture. As the changes in the language take place, the change in the meaning of the cultural lexicon is inevitable.

**4.4.1. Semantic Shift in Kashmiri Cultural Lexicon**

Semantic shift, as described above, is that process in which a word takes on a new meaning, often related to the original, and loses its original one. And this ability of words to take on a new meaning capacitates an entire sentence/phrase/ clause of a new meaning. This process of semantic shift is very well exhibited in the cultural lexicon of Kashmiri language. There are a number of instances whereby meaning associated with a word has been extended or narrowed. Following are given some of the examples of semantic shifts in the Kashmiri cultural lexicon:
1. **‘khatim’**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source: Arabic</th>
<th>Meaning: finish, complete</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Meaning in Kashmiri:</strong> finish, recitation of Quranic verses as an offering to Allah</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Explanation:** In Kashmiri, ‘khatim’ is used for the occasion when Quranic verses are recited as an offering to Allah (swt), besides its original meaning of ‘finish, complete’. So the word ‘khatim’ has extended its domain of usage by a complete shift from its original meaning.

2. **‘bab’**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source: Persian</th>
<th>Meaning: father</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Meaning in Kashmiri:</strong> father, grandfather, saints</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Explanation:** ‘bab’ in Persian is used to address father. In Kashmiri it is used for father, grandfather (both paternal as well as maternal). Besides this, the word ‘bab’ is affixed to the names of saints as a mark of respect, for example ahad bab. The word ‘bab’ has extended its usage in the cultural lexicon of Kashmiri.
3. ‘ḥəkiːm’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Arabic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Meaning</td>
<td>Philosopher, intelligent, physician</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meaning in Kashmiri</td>
<td>physician</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. **Explanation**: ‘ḥəkiːm’ is used in Kashmiri for a person who practices Unani medicine (branch of medicine) in contrast to its meaning in Arabic as philosopher. So the word ‘ḥəkiːm’ has added to its domain of meaning in Kashmiri.

5. ‘vartaːv’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Meaning</td>
<td>use, custom, character, gifts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meaning in Kashmiri</td>
<td>gifts(cash and kind)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Explanation**: ‘vartaːv’ is a term in Kashmiri which is mainly used in the context of engagements and weddings. It refers to the gifts, in the form of cash and kind that are presented to bride and groom on their engagement and/ or wedding. The term has, therefore, narrowed its use from its original meaning of use, character, custom, and gifts in Sanskrit.
6. ‘हज़ीरि:’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source: Arabic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Meaning: Obeisance, Presence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meaning in Kashmiri: Return gifts(cash and kind)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Explanation: ‘हज़ीरि:’ is the word that is associated with marriage in Kashmiri cultural lexicon. It means the gifts given by the side of bride to the groom’s side in response to the gifts that are given to the bride by groom’s side at the time of engagement. The meaning of ‘हज़ीरि:’ is entirely different from its original meaning of ‘obeisance,’ in Arabic.

7. ‘پیر’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source: Persian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Meaning: Old person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meaning in Kashmiri: A Saint</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Explanation: The word ‘پیر’ is used in Kashmiri for a person of exceptional holiness which is a shift from its original meaning of ‘old’ in Persian.

8. ‘حمام’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source: Arabic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Meaning: bathroom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meaning in Kashmiri: bathroom, room</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Explanation: In addition to its meaning of bathroom, the word ‘hamaːm’ is used in Kashmiri to refer to a room that gets heated up by the burning of wood beneath the base, and this base is made of stones.

9. ‘dargah’

| Source: Persian | Meaning: Royal Court, shrine | Meaning in Kashmiri: a shrine |

Explanation: ‘dargah’ is used in Kashmiri for shrine, and the most famous example in this regard is Hazratbal shrine commonly referred to as ‘dargah’ by local masses. So this word has shifted from its original meaning of ‘court’ in Persian.

10. ‘kəhvi’

| Source: Persian | Meaning: Coffee | Meaning in Kashmiri: ‘Kashmiri tea’ |

11. Explanation: The word ‘kəhvi’ is invariably used in Kashmiri for the tea made of ‘daːlːciːn’ (cinnamon), ‘ə:l’ (green cardamom) and
sometimes also ‘kərj’ (saffron) in contrast to its original meaning of ‘coffee’ in Persian.

12. ‘khazaːniː’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source: Arabic</th>
<th>Meaning: Treasure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Meaning in Kashmiri: treasure, water tank</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Explanation: In addition to its original meaning of ‘treasure’, the word ‘khazaːniː’ is used in Kashmiri for the water tanks that are fitted in ‘hamaːm’ (bathroom).

13. ‘ḥəlvī’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source: Persian</th>
<th>Meaning: Sweet meat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Meaning in Kashmiri: sweet pudding</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Explanation: The Persian word ‘ḥəlvī’ is used in Kashmiri to mean sweet pudding usually served as dessert, in contrast to its original meaning of ‘sweet meat’. So the word has shifted its meaning in Kashmiri.
14. ‘šaharun’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source: English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Meaning: A device used for easing the foot into a shoe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meaning in Kashmiri: A device used for easing the foot into a shoe, an additional device used in ‘kāŋgir’ (fire-pot)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Explanation: The word ‘šaharun’ has extended its domain of use by the additional meaning of ‘a device used in ‘kāŋgir’ and also retaining its original meaning of ‘a device used for easing the foot into a shoe’.

15. ‘bakhta:va:r’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source: Persian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Meaning: lucky</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meaning in Kashmiri: rich</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Explanation: This word ‘bakhta:va:r’ has got somewhat related meaning of being rich in Kashmiri in contrast to its original meaning in Persian, that is of being lucky.
16. ‘yezman’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source: Sanskrit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Meaning: Head of the family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meaning in Kashmiri: father of bride/groom</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Explanation: ‘yezman’ is used in Kashmiri for the father of bride and/or groom, and similarly the word ‘yezmanba:y’ is used for the mother of bride and/or groom.

17. ‘sab’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source: Sanskrit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Meaning: meeting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meaning in Kashmiri: gathering of guests</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Explanation: The gathering of guests and invitees on occasions like engagements and marriages is termed as ‘sab’ in Kashmiri. The word has narrowed its semantic domain in the Kashmiri cultural lexicon with respect to its original meaning of meeting in Sanskrit.
18. ‘sarpo:š’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source: Persian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Meaning: any kind of cover, lid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meaning in Kashmiri: lid</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Explanation: The word ‘sarpo:š’ is used in Kashmiri to refer to lids that are used to cover the big plates known as ‘trə:m’. So the word has narrowed its semantic use from its original Persian meaning of any type of cover.

19. ‘nišə:nj’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source: Persian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Meaning: memorable, engagement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meaning in Kashmiri: engagement</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Explanation: ‘nišə:nj’ is used in Kashmiri to refer to the ceremony whereby the boy and girl are formally engaged to each other. The word has restricted its usage from the original meanings of memorable and engagement in Persian.
20. ‘nika:h’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source: Arabic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Meaning: marriage, wedding, contract of marriage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meaning in Kashmiri: marriage contract</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Explanation:** The word ‘nika:h’ denotes the marriage contract in Kashmiri in contrast to its multiple meanings of marriage, wedding and marriage contract in Arabic.

21. ‘zana:n’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source: Persian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Meaning: wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meaning in Kashmiri: wife, woman</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Explanation:** Apart from its original meaning of wife in Persian, the word ‘zana:n’ has extended its semantic usage in Kashmiri referring to woman and/or lady.
22. ‘mahara:z’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source: Sanskrit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Meaning: King</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meaning in Kashmiri: Bridegroom</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Explanation: The word ‘mahara:z’ is used in Kashmiri to refer to grooms and/or to the males who have just tied the marital knot.

23. ‘mahrenj’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source: Sanskrit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Meaning: Queen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meaning in Kashmiri: bride</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Explanation: The word ‘mahrenj’ is used in the same way as ‘mahara:z’, that is, to refer to brides and to females who have just tied the marital knot.

The above account shows in a lucid way the process of semantic shift in the cultural lexicon of Kashmiri. As is clear, the narrowing and widening of meaning are mostly prevalent in the cultural lexicon of Kashmiri.
4.4.2. Relexicalization in Kashmiri Cultural Lexicon

Relexicalization is the process which signifies the process of language change. There is a large list in the Kashmiri cultural lexicon consisting of new words and concepts that are used in place of the old ones. Not only this, there is a large number of additions or new entries to the repertoire of Kashmiri cultural lexicon.

Relexicalization is an important process in the cultural lexicon of Kashmiri to meet the challenges and demands of the contemporary times. The renamed (or the relexicalized) terms make it possible to ease the way leading towards successful communication which is acceptable to the majority of people by avoiding obsolete terms and deficiencies. It is the need because of the strong influences of education, fashion and the revolution brought about by the developments in the field of information technology and the processes of modernization, globalization, etc. There is, also, the presence of social pressure to accept these terms and make them part and parcel in the everyday communication. For example, the uses of the terms like sir, madam, and bread etc in place of ‘ma:sterji’, ‘madamji’ and ‘Dabaltsot’, etc.

The process of relexicalization in cultural lexicon of Kashmiri will be studied with reference to the categories as mentioned below:

1. Kinship terminology
2. Modes of greetings
3. Food
4. Clothing
5. Furnishing
6. Utensils
7. Structure of Houses
8. Amusement and pastimes

All these are intricately associated to the Kashmiri culture, and form a major portion of the Kashmiri cultural lexicon.

An account of the different categories follows:

1. Kinship terminology:

Kinship terminology refers to those words and terms that are used in a specific culture to describe a specific system of familial relationships. Kinship terms, according to E. R. Leach (1958) are “category words by means of which an individual is taught to recognize the significant groupings in the social structure into which he is born” (Source: http://www.google.com/kinship/15.06.2008/1100hrs). All human languages have a kinship term system, which is clearly highlighted in address system of a language. Without exception, all kinship term systems make use of such factors as sex, age, generation, blood and marriage in their society.

Kinship terminologies distinguish between relatives by blood and marriage. This distinction has been labelled as consanguineal (for relatives by blood) and affinal (for relatives by marriage).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONSANGUINEAL</th>
<th>AFFINAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Father(F)</td>
<td>Husband(H)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother(M)</td>
<td>Wife(W)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sister(Z)</td>
<td>Husband’s brother(HB)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Son(S)</td>
<td>Son’s wife(SW)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daughter(D)</td>
<td>Sister’s husband(ZH)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The study of kinship terms is an interesting field of study in Kashmiri. Here again the terms are distinguished into relatives by blood (i.e., consanguineal) and relatives by marriage (i.e. affinal). Kinship terms in Kashmiri distinguish between sexes, e.g., the difference between a brother and a sister, and between generations, e.g., the difference between a child and a parent.

Some of the terms listed in the consanguineal category include:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>KASHMIRI</th>
<th>GLOSS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mo:l</td>
<td>Father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mo:j</td>
<td>Mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beni</td>
<td>Sister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nečuv</td>
<td>Son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ku:r</td>
<td>Daughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bo:y</td>
<td>Brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buDibab</td>
<td>Father’s father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na:n’</td>
<td>Mother’s mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zur</td>
<td>Son’s son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pitur bo:y</td>
<td>father’s brother’s son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pitir beni</td>
<td>father’s brother’s daughter</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Some of the terms in the affinal category include:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kashmiri</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kha:vand</td>
<td>husband</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zana:n</td>
<td>wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>druy</td>
<td>husband’s brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>driyka:kin</td>
<td>husband’s brother’s wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>za:m</td>
<td>husband’s sister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zɔ:mi:</td>
<td>husband’s sister’s husband</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be:mi</td>
<td>sister’s husband</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>za:mitur</td>
<td>son-in-law</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Kinship terminology in Kashmiri is studied in accordance with:

i) Generation-different generations are labelled in relation to ‘ego’. (‘ego’ is the person in discussion i.e. for whom relation exists)
For example g-1, g-2, g-3, g-4, and g-5
Ego stands in g-3 group

ii) Lineality- The relations may be direct or indirect.

\[
\text{Lineal} \\
\quad \text{Lineal} \quad \text{Co-lineal} \quad \text{Ablineal}
\]

For example,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lineal</th>
<th>buD(^\text{i})bab(grand-father), mo:l(father), nečuv(son)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Co-lineal</td>
<td>bo:y(brother), petir(uncle)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl ineal</td>
<td>pitur-bo:y/beni, ma:mitir-bo:y/beni(cousin)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

iii) Sex: Kashmiri distinguishes between male and female cousins by suffixes like –ur in case of males, and –ir in case of females.
For example,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RELATION</th>
<th>OLD TERM</th>
<th>NEW TERM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Father’s brother</td>
<td>petir</td>
<td>Uncle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother’s brother</td>
<td>ma:m</td>
<td>Uncle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father’s sister’s husband</td>
<td>pɔphuv</td>
<td>Uncle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother’s sister’s husband</td>
<td>ma:suv</td>
<td>Uncle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father’s sister</td>
<td>pɔph</td>
<td>Aunty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother’s sister</td>
<td>ma:s</td>
<td>Aunty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother’s brother’s wife</td>
<td>ma:minɁ</td>
<td>Aunty</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There are a number of factors like education and urban/rural setting etc. which determine the use of these new terms in the kinship terminology of Kashmiri. For example, majority of the educated class prefer to use the term cousin for ‘pitur bo:y’, pitirbeni’, ‘ma:stur bo:y’, ‘mastirbeni’, ‘pɔphturbo:y’, ‘pɔphtirbeni’, ‘ma:miturbo:y’, and ‘ma:mitirbeni’. Likewise the people in urban areas mostly use the terms papa/daddy, and mummy for father in place of ‘To:Th/bab’ and ‘mo:j’ respectively.

2 Modes of greeting

Greeting is defined as the word or gesture of welcome and salutation, or the act or an instance of welcoming or saluting on meeting. Greeting is not only to be looked upon as a usage of certain rules but it is a social practice which is governed by the situation in which the greeter says what is expected by the one being greeted. The key constitutive essentials of a greeting situation can be identified in terms of certain sociolinguistic
variables, which determine the use of different types of greetings like the
spatio-temporal setting of the greetings (i.e. in a greeting situation time
and place are the two important dimensions that bind a social occasion.
There are certain forms of greetings which are prescribed for one place
but are not prescribed at another), participants (it means the the caste,
age, gender, education, religion, profession and status of the greeters and
the persons being greeted), and communicative intent or the purpose of
greetings (i.e. the function of a greeting is in due course derived from a
certain communicative intent, or the purpose for which the two parties are
engaged in interaction.) etc.

Modes of greeting vary from culture to culture and from person to
person. In a greeting situation, two persons come in contact in a particular
ethnic situation, which is characterized by means of some paralinguistic
features like gestures accompanied with certain statements.

A large number of changes and additions are seen in case of modes
of greetings in the context of Kashmiri cultural lexicon. The greetings
between man and man may vary from that of a greeting between woman
and woman, or man and woman. The greetings between man and man are
less complicated than that of the greeting between woman and woman
and/or man and woman. Between man and man, the participants may just
say ‘sala:m’ or ‘namaska:r’, or enquire about the health of one another.
The greetings of women addressing other women are a bit complicated
and are likely to have as their content comments expressing appreciation
about each other's appearance or dress. However, the greetings between a
man and a woman area bit more formal and restricted.

The mode of greeting is also determined by the factor like age,
education, and religion etc. For example, the people of same age prefer to
be less formal and use the terms in a simple manner like ‘sala:m’ and ‘namaska:r’. The greetings like hi and hello is common among educated people. The factor of religion is also very important as far as the mode of greeting is concerned. For example, ‘assala:mualaykum’ is used between two Muslims, ‘namaska:r’ is used among Hindus, and ‘a:da:b’ is the term used by a Muslim while greeting a Hindu, and vice versa.

One can observe relexicalization in greeting also. For example, the greeting situation between persons of same age exemplifying the process of relexicalization is given as:

Earlier- sala:m, assala:mualaykum, namaska:r

Now i.e. relexicalized- hi, hello

Hi, hellos are addition to the list of greeting between the persons of same age, while sala:m, assala:mualaykum are in use. But the grownups prefer the additions.

In the contemporary society, parents greet their kids and in response get the same or different greeting. For example, hi beta, hi mom, good morning beta, good morning papa etc.

The two social classes, i.e., Muslims and Pandits, used mainly ‘a:da:b’, ‘namaska:r’, and ‘assala:mualaykum’ as per following:

Muslim to Muslim assala:mualaykum
Pandit to Pandit namaska:r
Muslim to Pandit and vice-versa a:da:b

But, nowadays, this type of distinction has been replaced by lexical items like Hi, Hello, even though the above listed ones are also in use. The choice, between the two, is mainly determined by the context of
formality. For instance, students use both ‘assala:mualaykum’/a:da:b/namaska:r’ and ‘hello’ while greeting their teachers, but very rarely use ‘hi’. While as ‘hi’ and ‘hello’ is a routine among students. Similarly, the words like good morning, good evening, good night, ta ta, bye bye, and many others are becoming common day by day.

**MODES OF GREETING/EARLIER**

- assala:mualaykum
- a:da:b
- namaska:r
- sala:m
- khuda: ha:fiz

**MODES OF GREETING/RELEXICALIZED**

- Hi
- Hello
- Good night
- Ta ta
- Bye bye

### 3 Food:

The first and the most pressing demand of man, as of any other living creature, is food. Earlier the category of food was very simple in Kashmir with rice, wheat, meat and vegetables constituting its main components. But now, in addition to these, a number of items have been added, that
are prepared instantly, like active popcorn, chocolate drinks, cold coffee, juices, soft and cold drinks.

This category of food experienced a lot of additions as shown:

1. *ka:l*- Dinner

The term dinner is so widely used that its earlier form as *ka:l* has been completely overshadowed. This excessive highlight of ‘dinner’ may be attributed to the dominant influence and impact of English language in the life of Kashmiri people.

2. *ko:j*- Lunch

The *ko:j* word faced the same treatment as that of *ka:l*.

In the category of bakery, the names like *lavaːsi, bə:kirkhəːn̩*, *kulči* are facing diminishing usage against the contemporary usage of pastry, black forest, white forest, walnut pastry etc. Moreover, snacks, chips, pizzas, etc have been added to the list of food items.

**Terms/Words in Food /Earlier**

‘*ka:l*’

‘*ko:j*’

‘*lavaːsi*’

‘*bə:kirkhəːn̩*’

‘*kulči*’

‘*katlam*’

‘*naːn*’
‘tsəčivor’
‘girdi’

Terms/Words in Food/Relexicalized

Dinner
Lunch
Pastry
Black forest
White forest
Walnut pastry
Bread
Cake
Walnut pastry

4. Clothing:
Besides food, man requires clothing against the inclemency of the weather. Kashmir, as determined by its cultural and climatic factors, presents some unique features in this category, for example, ‘pheran’. Nowadays there are a number of ways available to a common Kashmiri, besides ‘pheran’, to fight against the winter inclemencies, e.g., room heaters, gas heaters, and bukharis etc. Similar advancements are observed in case of footwear like fur shoes, leather shoes and long shoes etc. As far as the clothing of the people of Kashmir is concerned, it has experienced a lot of changes. For example,
1. əːjaːmi or yezaːr-Trouser

*Trouser* is mainly used against its predecessor terms of əːjaːmi or yezaːr.

2. sadir⁷-Waistcoat

The term sadir⁷ is mostly confined to the senior members of the family who also use the term vaːskat, but this has been renamed as waistcoat in the contemporary times.

3. bən⁴aːn-Sweater

Instead of the word bən⁴aːn most of the people especially the young ones replace it with English equivalent ‘sweater’. The term bən⁴aːn was used with two restricted prefixes of haːph nar⁴ov banyan and full nar⁴ov bən⁴aːn for half sleeves sweater and full sleeves sweater respectively. But now a wide range of terms are associated with this term like pullover, cardigan in addition to sleeveless, half sleeves and full sleeves.

Besides the above, the terms like skirt, coat, pants, tie, safari suit, sherwani suit, jodhpuri suit, cape, capri, cargos, etc are other additions to the list of clothes.

4. pəːzaːr, khɔrbaːn-boot/chappal/slippers

There is very little use of the terms pəːzaːr/khɔrbaːn for the present day boot/chappal/slippers. Today’s’ Kashmiri has minimised the use of the terms pəːzaːr/khɔrbaːn in his vocabulary or has even totally left out these terms in his repertoire.

It is very important to mention here that the usage of these relexicalized terms over the earlier ones is mainly determined by the
factors like formal/informal situation, etc. For example, people prefer to use sweater, waistcoat, boot/chappal/slippers and trouser in formal settings, like in parties, in place of domestic use of ‘bənə:n’, ‘sadir’, ‘pə:za:r/khərba:n’ and ‘yeza:r/pə:ja:mi’, etc.

Apart from these additions, a large number of words in this category are becoming obsolete like ‘khra:v’ (foot wear), ‘pulihə:r’ (foot wear), ‘dasta:r’ (turban), ‘dejiho:r’ (kind of ornament) and ‘kasabi’ (woman head dress) etc.

**Terms/Words in Clothing/Earlier**

‘sadir’

‘yeza:r’

‘bənə:n’

‘khərba:n’

‘pə:za:r’

‘pulihə:r’

‘khra:v’

‘kasab:bi’

**Terms/Words in Clothing/Relexicalized**

Sweater

Trouser

Skirt

Capri
5. Furnishing: In Kashmir, by and large, people used to have a simple view of furnishing. The furnishing mainly comprised of ‘vaguv’, ‘gabi’, ‘patij’, ‘satrōnD’ and at the most ‘namdi’. But, nowadays, this entire concept of furnishing has changed with the introduction of carpets, wall-to-wall, sofas, and décor etc, although ‘namdahs’ are still there, but the words like ‘vaguv’, ‘patij’, ‘satrōnD’ and ‘gabi’ are fast becoming archaic.

Terms/Words In Furnishing/Earlier

‘vaguv’
‘gabi’
‘patij’
‘satrōnD’
namdi

Terms/Words In Furnishing/Relexicalized

carpets
wall-to-wall
6. **Utensils:** Kashmiris used to have an average class of utensils. Majority of these utensils were made of mud, but with the passage of time utensils made of aluminium, and copper etc took over charge.

**Terms/Words In Utensils/Earlier-**

‘de:g’ (cauldron, cooking pot),

‘de:gči/de:gčivə:r’ (small cooking pots),

‘khə:sja:li’ (cup),

‘Tu:r’ (bowl),

‘Tɔbur’ (bowl),

‘nɔTu’ (water container),

‘kənz’ (bowl),

‘Thə:D’ (lid),

‘sinTu:r’ (bowl),

*bat iTu:r* (bowl),

‘do:n’ (churner),

‘rikə:bi’ (plate),

‘thaniba:ni’ (butter-case),

‘kato:r’ (bowl)

‘kašvi’ (spoon),
‘čo:či’(spoon),
‘di:čivɔ:r’(cooking pot),
‘nandika:b’(bowl),
‘maTh’(big water container),
‘To:k’(bowl),
‘buška:bi’(bowl),
‘ka:b’(bowl),
‘lej/lejivɔ:r’(cooking pots),
‘Dul/Dulij’(water container),
‘tsoD/tsɔDvɔ:r’(cooking pots),
‘batiganj’(lunch box),
‘a:bgarda:n’(jug),
‘a:bkho:r’(glass),
‘ǩ̇n’(bowl)
‘tlič’(bowl),
‘tabič’(bowl),
‘masa:lDabi’(wooden or aluminium box meant for spices),
‘Dû:gi’(bowl),
‘batirikɔ:b/j/batipale:t’(plate)

Terms/Words in Utensils/Relexicalized

bowls,
cup,
plate,
coffee mug,
jug,
teaset,
dinner set,
churner,
trays,
sugar pot,
rice cookers,
toaster,
oven,
juicer,
mixer,
grinder,
glass,
spoon

The terms listed in the earlier category have been completely taken over by the words in the category of relexicalized one. For example, the terms like ‘khəːs'pə:lɪ’(cup), are a bit alien in contemporary times.

The current scene witnesses the use of rice-cookers, juicer-mixer-grinder, ovens, dinning sets, tea sets, and mugs etc. Related is the concept of ‘daːn’ that has been, in most of the cases, replaced by heaters, induction heaters, and cooking gas.
7. Structure of Houses:

Houses are, nowadays, constructed of wood, stones and brick. Earlier, there were muddy houses, followed by the houses constructed of wood, bricks, and stones.

The new words which have entered into this domain include: Hammam, Central heating system, drawing room, bathroom, living room, attic, verandah, glass room, lobby, and porch etc. There are also additions in the list of lexical items that are used in a present-day Kashmiri house like chandeliers, ceiling fans, table fans, table lamps, tube lights, halogen lights, MCB(miniature circuit breaker), and vertical blinds etc. The choice of lexical items is determined by the factors like education, for example, the use of the terms like living room, drawing room, kitchen and lobby etc in place of behankuTh, deva:nkha:ni, da:nikuTh and voT is very common among educated classes.

Terms/Words in Structure Of Houses/Earlier

*behankuTh*

*be:Thak*

*deva:nkha:ni*

*da:nikuTh*

*voT*
Terms/Words in Structure of Houses/Relexicalized

drawing room
bathroom
living room
attic
verandah
glass room
lobby

8. Leisure, amusement and pastimes:

There has been a striking change in this sphere of the social aspect of the life of the people of Kashmir. According to Lawrence (1992[1895] 255), "when the day’s work is done the Kashmiri seeks his home and after his food retires to rest...there is no society in the villages, and the only gatherings are at weddings or at the fairs at the shrines of the saints."

The list of words in the category of amusement and pastimes, which were in extensive usage in earlier times, include:

a) Hop-scotch (‘saziloy’): in this, there are seven compartments and one of the compartments is known as hell.

b) Hide and seek (‘tsurits<sup>eph</sup>’): this game was more popular among boys and they used to play it in the evening mainly in moonlight nights.
In this context, Khan (1999:101) writes, “Among the many amusements on the river banks was the sight of three or four women or girls sitting back to back. This was known as ‘tuli-loŋgun-tula:n-čhas.’”

In earlier times, ‘laDi:šah’ (satirical poems), ‘gevun’ (songs), and ‘da:sta:n’ (tales) etc were the techniques of entertainment available to the people of Kashmir.

Now the terms that are listed in the category of relexicalization include:

a) Games like cricket, football, and volleyball etc are listed in the outdoor games, while as chess, carom, and snakes-ladders are among the favourite in the indoor games.

b) Electronic and print media: Television, radio, CD players (compact discs like VCDs, DVDs etc) MP3 and MP4 players etc are the items in the electronic category of media. Newspapers (related to general information, economy and employment etc), magazines and journals etc are included in the category of print media.

A large number of people are utilising these tools of recreation in their leisure times. Watching television programmes like situation comedies (sitcoms) or listening to music acts as a mind soother to the people.

c) Information technology: the items like computers, laptops, palmtops, cell-phones, video-games, and i-pods etc have come due to the technological revolution and are frequently used by Kashmiris.

Terms/Words in Leisure/Amusement and Pastimes/Earlier

sazilonŋ

tsuritsʰ eph
Terms/Words in Leisure/Amusement and Pastimes/ Relexicalized

video games
i-pods
palmtops
CD players
cell phones
volley ball
chess
carom

Factors determining the use of relexicalized terms:

It follows, from the above mentioned account, that a change in the cultural lexicon is seen in almost all the spheres of life, and that the lexical choice, created as a result of change in culture, is determined mainly by:

a) Language attitude – It includes the feelings people have about their own language or the languages of others, and plays an important role in the choice of lexical items to be used. People are fast adopting languages like Urdu and English for their elitist tinge, and as a result the words from these languages have become part and parcel of the vocabulary of people, especially the kids.

b) Education – (educated vs. uneducated person/s):
This first factor of education has made groups in which the educated and highly qualified people prefer to use the relexicalized words as compared to their uneducated counterparts.

c) Urbanisation – (urban vs. rural person/s):

The people from the urban areas are highly inclined to the use of these new and renamed words in comparison to the people from rural areas.

d) Level of formality – (formal vs. informal situation):

The degree of formality, in a particular situation, determines the use of the words; the more formal situation, the more is the chances to use the relexicalized words, and vice versa.

All these factors play an active role in the selection of the choice of lexical items. To explain the above mentioned points, it needs to be mentioned here that the educated sect usually prefers to use the new terms, e.g. ‘paper’ over ‘akhba:r’, ‘cup’ over ‘p’a:li’, and ‘soup’ over ‘ras’, etc. For example

-UE: yi p’a:li pilin:xytav yapr:r /pass on the cup/
-E: yi kap kør:tav pa:s a:n
-UE: ras čhu mazida:r /soup is tasty/
-E: su:p čhu mazida:r

Likewise the people from urban areas, mostly, use the new additions of words e.g., ‘sweater’ over ‘bən’a:n’, boot/chappal/slippers’ over ‘khorbani’, etc.

R: yi bən’a:n čha va:ryah asil /this sweater is really nice/
U: yi suweTar čha va:ryah asil
Similarly, the level of formality determines the use of words. For example, at a function or even in a get-together people use the new additions as compared to old ones e.g., ‘hello/good morning/good evening’ over ‘sala:m/a:da:b/namaska:r’ etc.

-IF: sala:m, jina:b čha va:ray

-F: hello, how are you

(Abbreviations used: UE-uneducated, E-educated, R-rural, U-urban, IF-informal, F-formal)

**Conclusion:**

As is clear the processes of semantic shift and relexicalization form an important component as far as Kashmiri is concerned. The process of semantic shift is obvious in cultural terms, notably among the ones borrowed from other languages like Sanskrit, Arabic, and Persian. As found during analysis, semantic shifts generally involve widening and narrowing of meaning. Similarly the process of relexicalization has affected different spheres and a whole range of new terms have entered and enriched different spheres of culture. As is evident a good number of new terms have found place in food, clothing, greetings and kinship etc. In many cases the new ones are used alongside the old ones while in others the old terms have become obsolete.