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**MODES OF ADDRESS
AND
PRONOMINAL USAGE IN PUNJABI**

A Sociolinguistic Study

**OMKAR N. KOUL
MADHU BALA**



**CENTRAL INSTITUTE OF INDIAN LANGUAGES
MANASAGANGOTRI, MYSORE-570 006**

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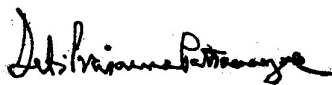
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FOREWORD

Terms of address form part of the socio-cultural matrix of a people. These can be studied on a historical developmental scale or on a synchronic typological scale. In a hierarchical society address terms are asymmetrical. But when social change takes place and the hierarchy breaks down new kinds of symmetry and asymmetry set in. Study of semantic evolution of terms in a changing society poses a bigger challenge. How underlying social rules change and how people exercise options present fascinating dimensions of study.

Dr. Koul has attempted a study of modes of address and pronominal usage in the context of Punjabi. Similar studies need to be done for all Indian languages to work out typologies. If this is accepted by scholars then our efforts would be rewarded. I congratulate the authors and all those involved in the production of the work, more particularly Sri H. L. N. Bharati for quick execution of this work.



(D. P. Pattanayak)

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Omkar N. Koul
Madhu Bala

ABBREVIATIONS USED

TM	Topic Marker
VOC.	Vocative
CP	Contrast Particle
HON.	Honorific
CM	Conjunctive Marker
CAUS.	Causal
FUT.	Future
P	Particle
ERG.	Ergative
EP	Emphatic Particle
NH	Non-Honorific
Pl.	Plural
AUX. V.	Auxiliary Verb
FN	First Name
NN	Nick Name
LN	Last Name
TLN	Title plus Last Name

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Areas of Sociolinguistic Research

The study of terms of address and pronominal usage in a given language is not possible without taking into account the social structure and cultural patterns of the people who speak that language natively. These patterns determine the language behaviour of individuals in a given society. The role of human beings in a particular society varies according to the requirement of that society in its geographical and developmental settings. It has been observed that the use of modes of address largely depends on the degree of power and solidarity in a given society among different social dyads.

This power and solidarity, influenced by different historical and social factors, largely determine the selection of modes of address. Individual differences from speaker to speaker may occur due to individual

personality differences. The use of modes of address varies according to the social status of the participants; influencing factors include age, sex, caste, etc. These factors operate in most of the cultural areas of present day India.

In a modern dynamic society there is rapid change in people's linguistic behaviour. These changes can be observed in the use of modes of address and pronominal usage as well. In a dynamic society the semantics of reciprocal solidarity has developed in response to the growth of social mobility. The extension of social solidarity is a social change that is reflected in linguistic behaviour and has in turn occasioned further extensions of various kinds.

1.2. Review of Available Literature

Various types of modes of address include diminutive first names, first and second names, surnames, professional titles, different interjections of address and second person pronouns of address, etc. These modes of address have been studied for the following languages in the available literature on the subject.

To begin with Brown and Gilman (1960)

explain the development of pronominal usage and address forms in various European languages, e.g., Latin, Italian, French, Spanish, German and English. Their study consists of five sections. In the first two sections a description of the semantic evolution of pronominal address is given. In the third section, the relationship between social structure, group ideology and the semantics of pronouns is explained. The final two sections are concerned with expressive style, i.e., co-variation between pronouns; and the characteristics of pronouns used by the speakers. The aim of Brown and Gilman was to trace change in the usage of pronouns from the Middle Ages to present times.

They have reported that in the 19th century the power semantic predominated in Western Europe, but within the past century under the influence of a more mobile social system, the solidarity semantic has gained supremacy over the power semantic.

Brown and Gilman make a clear distinction between symmetry and asymmetry in the form of interpersonal address. According to them at an earlier stage, there was reciprocal use

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of T (= tu, thou, du) between equals of lower classes and of V (= vous, you, sie) between the equals of the mobility, and non-reciprocal use of T and V between the persons of non-equal status.

Brown and Ford (1964) extended the work of Brown and Gilman (1960) and interpreted forms of address in American English in terms of the two dimensions, intimacy and status.

Americans have mainly two forms of address: Titles plus last name (TLN) and first name (FN). These two modes of address allow the three patterns prevalent among Americans: (1) reciprocal use of FN, (2) reciprocal use of TLN and (3) non-receiprocal use of TLN and FN. Several other forms like Title (T), Last name (LN), Multiple names (MN) are also used. The semantic distinction between the FN and TLN shows equality but unfamiliarity. The use of FN is generally preferred by the people in non-formal situations and also indicates intimacy or familiarity between the addressee and the addresser. The TLN is generally used in formal situations and for addressing a person of higher social status.

S.M. Ervin Tripp (1971) extended the work

done by Brown and Ford (1964). Ervin Tripp has described the rules of address in social structure. She has presented modes of address to show what forms of address are possible and how people make choices in particular situations. She has presented a brief comparative study of various languages on the basis of modes of address. A comparison of the Bisayan and Korean systems is presented quoting the works of William Geoghegan (1971) and Howell (1967). In the Bisayan system, the choice of the modes of address is made on the basis of age, rank and friendship, but in the Korean system, rank is given the first prominence. In the Korean system intimacy creates complex dyadic relations. It is shown that the Bisayan system is very close to the American rather than to the Korean system.

Lambert's work (1967) as quoted by Ervin Tripp (1971) presents the criteria for selecting modes of address as a system of social rules. He also discusses how address rules develop with the speaker's age.

Ervin Tripp has quoted the work of Kantorovich. According to his work, besides, factors like age and rank that determine the modes

of address in a system, we need to attend to other signals as well like tone of voice and other address features of address.

In Nuer modes of address, Evans Pritchard (1964) shows the detailed correlation between the usage of forms of address and aspects of social structure.

Bates and Benigni (1975) study the use of address in Italy. They have pointed out that among several factors, age seems to be the most important factor in the use of address terms or pronouns of address. Paulston (1976) as quoted in Renate (1985) has studied the use of Pronouns in Swedish. Paulston has observed that Pronoun avoidance is common in Swedish, and the use of formal pronouns indicates distance between the addressee and addressor.

Strik (1980) has investigated the use of modes of address in Iran. According to his study, an Iranian gives importance to social status and professional titles that mark differences. The solidarity semantic is frequent in use because of influence of a hierarchical social structure. He makes a contrastive study of forms of address in America

and Iran, and finds that structural relations in systems of address vary according to the role these play in a culture.

Constable (1980) points out that Malian French retains the sociolinguistic features in modes of address which have become obsolete in France. The use of T and V is required in Mali. Therefore, their use is retained in Malian French.

A study by Fang and Hang (1983) suggests that address norms are changing in Peoples Republic of China. They have pointed out that the use of address terms as well as address pronouns have been influenced by the social and political changes that have taken place.

Renate (1985) shows that the choice of pronouns and terms of address in News Deutschland depends on a number of factors such as the kind of text, party membership, social class and role. In certain situations there is a conflict among the prescribed norms, the informal pronouns, and the speaker's intuition about a situation. This can lead to pronoun avoidance or pronoun switching specifically. The study shows that investigation

of written texts could lead to insight into language variation if an access to the spoken language is impossible.

1.3. Earlier Studies of Modes of Address in Indian Languages

The use of modes of address including pronominal choice has been studied in different works for several Indian languages. A brief review of such works is presented.

Jain (1973) has studied pronominal usage in Hindi in detail. Jain points out that pronouns in Hindi have two meanings: a 'normal' and a 'contextual' meaning. His study is concerned with these two types of meanings as expressed by second person pronouns of Hindi.

He shows that the three second person pronouns of Hindi (i.e., **tu**, **tūm** and **āp**) are used with five possible verbal forms, which yield six acceptable combinations. A brief history of structural descriptions of pronominal usage among Delhi speakers is given. He shows how certain pronominal forms that are found in spoken dialect are not accounted for in grammars of Hindi. He reviews the work already done on pronouns. He shows how choice of pronoun is governed by context and relationship.

He describes the meaning of various pronominal forms used by an individual. He describes the relationship between the pronoun meanings and the attitudes of people towards their usage and how one affects the other.

He describes the role of 'no naming' among affinal relations naming being a taboo among these relations. The use of different kinds of names conveys different meanings and the same holds for 'no naming'.

He explains the social basis of pluralisation and points out that the grammatical function of pluralisation is separate from its social function. He points out how the rules of social usage can be used to recover deleted pronouns in cases where syntactic rules are not sufficient. Rules of pronominal usage are considered in relation to other form of speech behaviour.

At the end he argues that the use of kinship terms of address is not independent of pronominal usage. Kinship terms of address are governed by the same rules, used for pronominal usage. He discusses the normal and the contextual meanings of kinship terms of address in a given context or structure and their

co-occurrence with pronominal forms of address.

Goswami (1974) also describes the usage of *tu*, *tUm* and *āp* in Hindi as a function of age, social status and family relationship etc. The pronoun *āp* is used always in formal situations and also for the persons having higher social status. Kalra (1974) explains the use of modes of address and pronominal usage in Hindi with the help of illustrations of various types. Bhatnagar (1975) briefly discusses the usage of second person pronouns in Hindi. He presents the usage of modes of address in family, educational institutions and in some other situations. He points out the social factors like age, sex, status, etc., which determine pronoun choice and modes of address.

Misra (1977) describes how the terms of address and pronominal forms are used to show equality, status differences, intimacy and distance, etc., in Indian society. He presents the co-variances between the various kinds of social relationships (defined on the basis of family status and caste attitudes, etc.) and modes of address.

In order to make the analysis objective, Misra has chosen four novels of Prem Chand,

viz., **Gaban**, **Godān**, **Nirmalā** and **Sevāsadan**, and uses these as sources of data for terms of address and second person pronominal usage in the Hindi spoken in the region of Varanasi, Uttar Pradesh. The interpersonal relationships and attitudes of the people in this particular region are closely related with the terms of address and pronominal usage found in the corpus represented by novels.

In his introduction (1-13) to the book, Misra states that the usage of terms and pronouns of address is correlated with social status and caste attitudes and with familial relationships. He gives a table of Hindi pronouns and their forms in different cases. Besides the second person pronouns, terms of address include: caste name terms, kinship terms, first names, diminutive first names and terms associated with professions. The author has outlined the organisation of a society, based on caste system in four different **Varna's** keeping in view certain social customs, the organisation of families, interpersonal relationships, etc.

In the second chapter, the author distinguishes two main axes in his study:

1) The Contextual Dimension.

2) The Dyadic Relational Dimension

Setting up these dimensions for a socio-linguistic study of the usage of second person pronouns and terms of address is important and useful as the text of novels provides adequate data for analysis along these dimensions.

In the third chapter, he presents a detailed analysis of the data drawn from the four novels. The author discusses the usage of second person pronouns and terms of address between speakers having different professional, social and familial relations. In the conclusion, he presents generalisations based on the data he has analysed.

Venkitachalam (1981) provides a brief description of the semantic and morphological features of personal pronouns in Malayalam. He discusses socially restricted common forms of address based on caste.

In Malayalam, among friends and relations, the reciprocal *nii* is used within the family, elders use non-reciprocal *nii* but in all other situations *ninna*, the more polite form is used.

Pronominal usage also varies according to status differences. Professional titles as well as an honorific address form **saar** are also widely in use.

Pronominal forms that are used when addressing Malayalam Brahmin priests and persons of the ruling classes are **tirumeeni**, **tirumanassō** and **tampuraan**. These terms are used by lower caste people to address them. The term **tampuraan** may be used to address any person of markedly superior social status. Certain expressions are restricted to royal families: **tirumkham trikkāṇ**. The terms **aviṭunn**, **iviṭunn** and **añṇunnō** are not necessarily caste bound. They can be used for persons of any caste.

Lakshmi Bai (1981) points out the second person polite plural forms used non-reciprocally in educated families between husband and wife in various South Indian languages.

Mehrotra (1981) describes the non-kin forms of address in Hindi in relation to various socio-cultural settings of the dyads using them. He has drawn the data for analysis from Hindi one-act plays and from native speakers of Hindi residing in and around Banaras in North India.

He illustrates the use of common modes of address in Hindi like full formal name (FFN), first name (FN), abbreviated first name (AFN), nick name (NN) and last name (LN). Then he discusses the use of honorific suffixes like *ji*, *bābu*, *seṭh*, *ṭhakur*, *mahto*, *lālā*, *sāhib*, *pandit* in different situations. The various titles and names used in Hindi have been classified into: state titles, official titles and occupational titles. Occupational titles have been again classified into occupational titles with name and occupational titles without name. He has shown the importance of social settings and contexts in determining the choice of modes of address. Multiple uses of address forms according to the speaker's purpose is indicated in the mode of summoning someone and in greeting phrases, invocation and addressing pets. At the end he discusses the situations in which the use of address forms is unintentionally or deliberately avoided.

Analysing the use of terms and pronouns of address in a Hindi novel *Godan* of Premchand, Ravi Prakash (1983) has pointed out that the status of the participants plays an important role in the usage of pronouns and terms of address in Hindi.

Thirumalai (1983 : 13-40) lists various non-linguistic factors that govern the choice of different modes of address related to women. The description of these factors is on the basis of a socio-psychological analysis of language use. Certain norms have been discussed for the choice of modes of address within the family and social circle in various contexts and situations.

Koul (1984) describes the modes of address in Kashmiri. His study deals with the relation an addressee has with the addresser in society. He classifies Kashmiri native speakers into two categories on the basis of religion (i.e., Hindu, Muslim). Further sub-division among Hindus and Muslims has been made on the basis of their professions and family background.

In Kashmiri, there are three types of second person pronouns of address: (1) non-honorific singular, (2) honorific singular and (3) plural (both honorific and non-honorific). The honorific singular and plural forms are the same.

Beside personal pronouns of address Kashmiri modes of address include interjections (both honorific and non-honorific), names (first name, diminutive name, nick name, surname) and titles.

The use of these modes of address is described under three main headings: social, professional and familial dyadic relations.

1.4. Earlier Studies of Punjabi Address Behaviour

No sociolinguistic work has been carried out in depth on the use of modes of address in Punjabi so far, although the traditional and modern grammarians of Punjabi do mention the distinction between the various pronominal forms of Punjabi. (These will be discussed in the next Chapter).

Walia (1977, 1979) makes some remarks on the use of modes of address in Punjabi. He indicates that modes of address reflect kinship, age, caste, region, occupational and social status, and the religion of the speaker and addressee.

The present work is the first detailed study of the use of modes of address and pronominal usage in Punjabi.

1.5. Methodology

To investigate the use of various modes of address and pronominal forms, data have been collected from the following main sources: observation and experience, discussions,

questionnaires and literary texts.

Keen observation of various situations involving different participants has helped the investigators to understand the usage of forms of address. While two persons are talking with each other, one can observe what forms they are using; how the forms vary according to social context; and what type of relationship an addressee has with the addresser. It is easy to observe the status, age, caste, sex, etc., of the participants which condition their choice of modes of address. The investigators have taken notes on the usage of modes of address, that they have observed.

A questionnaire was designed and administered among respondents belonging to different categories of age, sex, education and social status, and the data thus collected was analysed. The results reveal not only the particular choices of modes of address but also their frequency.

The questionnaire (see Appendix) starts with personal information about the respondent (name, place of birth, sex, age, religion, education and occupation). It has three parts

elicidating data on the use of modes of address by the respondent in three different sets of dyadic relations: (1) familial, (2) social and (3) professional.

The category of familial relations suggested a list of all possible kinship relations (both consanguineal and affinal). The category of social relations includes different types of social dyadic relations such as landlord/tenant, master/servant, friend, stranger, acquaintance, neighbour, etc. The category of professional relations includes different professional dyadic relations: shopkeeper/customer; doctor/patient; teacher/student; lawyer/client; official/petitioner; etc., and persons of other various professions. The respondents furnished the required information and a number of them also furnished additional information under 'Remarks'. This information was quite useful in understanding the actual situations and the socio-economic background of the participants.

In addition, modes of address were frequently discussed with native speakers. These discussions were useful in finding out the frequency of the use of certain modes of address

in different situations.

Besides the above sources, we have drawn data from different types of literary texts in Punjabi. Works of fiction, especially plays, present the actual use of modes of address in different life like situations. We have selected nineteen novels and plays for the present study. Sentences from the texts were written on separate cards along with contextual notes. These cards were arranged according to different social dyadic relations.

In the present work the data thus collected have been arranged and analysed in different sections. Wherever the data from the texts are used, reference to the source is also given in parentheses. Data which are not referenced have been collected by other means: observation, discussion and questionnaires.

1.6. Scope of the Present Work

The study of modes of address (including pronominal forms) is an important subject from both a theoretical as well as a pedagogical point of view. We have seen above that the use of modes of address has been studied for a number of European as well as Indian languages, in one form or another from a sociolinguistic

point of view. The results of these works show interesting parallels between social structures and the structures of the use of address systems in a number of languages. Especially the studies of the modes of address in Indian languages indicate the existence of common social structures and cultural patterns among people belonging to different linguistic groups. A study such as this one will also be useful in making comparisons of the usage of modes of address among languages. Knowledge of such usage would also help in understanding the social structures of the people concerned.

This subject is very important from a pedagogical point of view also. It is very useful for first language learners to understand the frequency of the usage of the forms of address in their mother tongue. The learners are able to make distinction between informal and formal forms of address in different situations. In a second language teaching and/or learning situation, the teaching and learning of these forms of address is very important. A second language learner of Punjabi must be taught the actual use of all the informal and formal modes of address. A learner must be able to

use different types of modes of address in different situations. The use of modes of address may be incorporated into the design of instructional materials.

The aims of the present study are two-fold:

- (1) To describe the use of modes of address and pronominal usage of Punjabi in detail with data drawn from different sources including questionnaires and literary texts and to make comparisons of the usage of the modes of address in Punjabi with other Indian languages, as a help in understanding the social structure of the various people of India. It may also be possible to discover some universal characteristics in the use of modes of address and pronominal usage and
- (2) The second aim is pedagogical. This study can be useful in the preparation of instructional materials both for first and second language teaching/learning of Punjabi. As such the study attempts to provide an adequate description of various sample situations which a language learner is likely to face.

- - - -

2. SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND DYADIC RELATIONS

2.1. Social Structure of Punjabi Speakers

For a study of modes of address and pronominal usage in Punjabi, it is important to understand the social structure of the people who speak Punjabi in and outside the state of Punjab in India. Punjabi is spoken natively by three major religious communities - Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims.

2.1.1. Hindus

Traditionally, Hindus are classified into four major castes (**varnās**): Brahman, Kashtriya, Vaishya and Shudra. Each group contain more than one sub-caste (**jāti**) of varying status. These were formed originally on the basis of the division of labour. These groups maintained working relations with each other at different levels. Several professional groups emerged from these castes. Among Shudras, best known as Harijans, a three-way distinction is made among (1) Chamār, (2) Chimb and (3) Bhangi.

These groups generally live in separate sections of villages and towns. There is little free interaction between the people of these caste and other castes. Rather, they have lived in isolation from other caste groups for a long period of time. In contemporary Indian society, the rigidity of the caste system has lessened to some extent and various methods have been implemented by Government and voluntary agencies to shatter the barriers of the caste system.

2.1.2. Sikhs

Sikhs have emerged as a strong religious community cutting the bonds of the traditional caste system prevalent among Hindus. The Sikh Gurus condemned the caste system, preached the unity of all people and did not recognise traditional castes. Though in practice the caste consciousness has not yet completely died out. Mazhabi Sikhs belonging to lower professional castes are still considered lower in social status.

2.1.3. Muslims

Muslims also do not believe in the caste system. The community is mainly divided into two groups 'Pirs' (the class of priests) and

non-priests. There are of course traditional professional groups in this community. Since partition Muslims are in the minority in Indian Punjab.

The horizontal differences within the same caste rank have also been noted. Caste is not the sole factor of determining the status. Caste is an integrating and cohesive factor, because it covers not only kinship ties but political and economic relationships too. Hierarchies of caste, class and power are clearly visible in a village community, these hierarchies criss-cross each other, but do not fully coincide. A higher caste person may have or have not a corresponding higher ranks in class and power hierarchies. Horizontal differences within the caste imply that a caste is not a homogenous group. Previously the higher caste enjoyed superior position on the basis of their higher ascriptive ranks. Now, they enjoy higher status on the basis of their higher performance. In rural areas, we still find caste and class group to be influential and powerful. Thus modes of address may be determined on the basis of caste social stratification and multi-dimensional factors like class, power and style.

2.2. Hierarchical Structure

On the hierarchical structure, a four-fold distinction is made among the people on the basis of profession (Atam Singh, 1980 : 96) : (1) Agricultural class, (2) Business class, (3) Artisan class and (4) Labour class. The business class comprises **Banias**, **Sunārs** and **Aroṛās**. The artisan class includes **tarkhāns** (carpenters), **lohārs** (blacksmiths), **nāis** (barbers), **kumhār** (potters), **lilari** (dyers), and **jhiurs** (those who draw water from wells). The labour class includes **Chamārs**, **Ramdāsis**, **Bālmikis**, **Majhabies**, etc.

These professions are mostly hereditary. In the labour class, there exist differences in social strata. No homogeneity is found within the same caste group. Though the grouping is made on the basis of profession, as far as modes of address are concerned, upper class people use honorific forms of address at home and outside the home, but lower class people use non-honorific forms of address at home and honorific forms of address outside home. Certain socio-economic factors are responsible for ongoing changes in professions. Some of the professions, being more beneficial from the economic point of view, attract persons

from less prosperous professional groups. For example, a woman belonging to a Brahmin family may adopt the profession of **jhuri** or scrubbing of utensils.

Traditional values are fast changing under the influence of widespread education and modern professions. These have been responsible for re-assigning social status. It is easy to find people belonging to a lower class by family background and profession who have attained higher social status and thereby broken through old values and the traditional caste system.

2.3. Social Structure and the Modes of Address

The use of modes of address and second person pronouns depends on the interpersonal relationship of the addresser and addressee and on the different situations in which the interaction takes place. It is essential to keep in view the social structure of the people in order to understand the use of modes of address.

The sources of the data collected for this study have been described in the preceding section. The social structure of the people is reflected in the novels, plays, short-stories,

etc., from which the data have been largely drawn. The books selected for the present study are written by eminent Punjabi writers like Nanak Singh (1897-1971), Kapoor Singh Ghumman (b.1927), Surjit Singh Sethi (b.1928), Gudial Singh Khosla (b.1912), Harcharan Singh (b.1919), Amrita Pritam (b.1919), Balwant Gargi (b.1916), Kartar Singh Duggal (b.1917), Narinder Paul Singh (b.1924), Sant Singh Sekhon (b.1908), Devinder (b.1926) and Jaswant Singh Kanwal (b.1919). These works are deeply influenced by present day Punjabi society and reveal different aspects of day-to-day life. All these Punjabi writers belong to the Punjab and have command over the Punjabi of different regions, which they use in their writings. All these writers use standard as well as some colloquial variety of Panjabi. In their novels and plays, rural illiterate characters use some local form of Panjabi. One of the traditional features of the speech of such people is that they would always use non-honorific forms of address without taking into consideration the age, sex or status of the people they are addressing. In contemporary society, one notices considerable change on this point among village folk, due to widespread education,

industrialization and certain other social reforms. Mobility brings change in the attitudes of people, in their status, and relationships. They attempt to use modes of address and pronominal forms appropriate to their new social situation.

Although there has been tremendous change in the lives of villagers, non-honorific forms are still in common use. The villagers belong to a closely knit socio-cultural pattern; most of them are closely related with one another. It has been observed and supported by data that villagers tend to use mostly non-honorific forms of address like **bapu** for father, **bebe** for mother in order to show intimacy and affection. They avoid the use of honorific form of address in all situations.

2.4. Terms of Address and Terms of Reference

The form **babu**, **bebe** also show the actual relation an addresser may have with an addressee. Their use sometimes creates ambiguity, because these forms can be used for grand-father/grand-mother as well as for father/mother. In a joint family, a child picks up those terms of address used by his father and mother and other members of the family when addressing other elders of

the family. Over a period of time this (form of address) becomes a standard form of address for members of the second as well as the first generation. The term loses its original meaning and becomes more like a personal name used to identify a particular person individually. A number of examples of this type were observed among respondents.

<i>Term of address</i>	<i>Original meaning</i>	<i>Term of reference</i>
pabi	'brother's wife'	for 'mother'
caca	'father's younger brother'	for 'father'
amma/bebe	'mother'	for 'grand-mother'
bapu	'father'	for 'grand-father'
bai	'brother'	for 'father's younger brother'
pala	'father'	for 'brother-in-law'
bebe	'mother'	for 'mother's elder sister'

This phenomenon is very common in joint families where kinship terms of address are very frequently used to identify an addressee.

Thus in the above examples, there is no one to one correspondence between terms of address and their referent. Terms of reference

denote the actual relation an addressee may have with the addresser; but the term of address shows the actual form used by an addresser for the addressee. Sometimes to avoid ambiguity and to make the distinction between the different referents of a single term of address a speaker uses **vəddi bebe** for 'grand-mother', **choṭṭi bebe** for his or her 'own mother'.

In rural areas, though caste/creed distinctions are maintained, generally the inhabitants maintain close social relations with each other and use familial relational terms of address for each other: **amma** 'mother', **tai** 'father's elder brother's wife', **caca** 'father's younger brother', **taIa** 'father's elder brother' etc. Age is also taken into account here. If an addressee is quite old, she/he may be addressed as **tai/amma/caci**, **taIa/caca**, etc., but if he or she is younger or the same age as the addresser then he or she is addressed by FN/NN or terms like **pai**, **pən**, etc.

In a rural society, due to one's close familial relations and intimacy with others, mostly non-honorific forms of address are used. Honorific terms of address are used for

addressees who are outsiders or people with whom one comes into contact only occasionally. Age is sometimes not taken into consideration in this framework, e.g., usually a younger sister is addressed by her 'FN/NN before marriage, but after marriage formal forms of address may be used for her. Similarly, cross-cousin relations may be addressed by their full names suffixed with the honorific *ji* or by formal kinship term of address like *bir ji* / *pèn ji*, etc.

Though in rural areas a daughter-in-law normally uses non-honorific terms of address for her father-in-law, there are other behavioural patterns for showing respect to him; i.e., to cover one's face, not to speak before him, not to sit on a chair or a cot in his presence.

A single individual plays different roles in his society. In the familial relationship, actual kinship term is not always used for a particular person, certain standard forms are used for each and every person, whether he/she has familial relation with him or not. For example, terms like *ānti* 'aunt' and *ǎkəl* 'uncle' are very frequently used for addressing elders.

They are attached not necessarily to particular persons in the family but also to all strangers, neighbours or acquaintances, provided they are older than the speaker. In such cases their use does not reveal a particular kinship relationship between the addresser and addressee.

Among familial relations, we do not find any variation in the modes of address used for mother's elder brother, mother's elder sister, mother's sister's husband, or for father's elder brother and younger brother. It is very rare to find the use of other terms, i.e., *massi* for *bebe*. As mentioned above this is because of the influence of other members of the family. Sometimes, when a child grows up and becomes conscious of the actual kinship relation he has with a given person, he then switches to the appropriate kinship term of address.

2.5. No-Naming

Calling or referring to certain relatives by name is taboo in affinal relations in both rural and urban areas. A wife may be called by her first name or a nick name by her husband or by his son's name like *raṇe di bebe* 'Rana's mother' but she never addresses her husband by

his first name or nick name. She usually addresses her husband by using her son's name like **raṇe de bapu** 'Rana's father', etc., and sometimes only by honorific suffix **ji** as **ji, mē kīa, suṇde ni, bolde ni**.

Though naming is a taboo in rural areas, rural women usually use the non-honorific pronoun **tū** when addressing their husbands. In urban areas, the polite or honorific pronoun **tUsī** is also used.

Some people living in rural areas, never address their elders or younger by their personal names but only with such forms as **bai/peṇe/bibi** though naming is not taboo in this situation. Such terms appear to be more informal and intimate.

Some people use first name/full name, for an elder or younger addressee with whom they are acquainted. With strangers this rule is not applicable. Mostly the term **ji** an honorific suffix is used as an address form. It correlates with the use of the honorific pronoun **tUsī**.

2.6. Dyadic Relations

There are three main dyadic relationships possible between individuals who enter into

communication in given context. These are: (1) familial, (2) social and (3) professional. Under familial dyadic relations, there is a network of familial relationships which includes relations both from the paternal as well as the maternal side. There are different hierarchical levels of relations determined by age, sex and status of participants and by context. These relations can be of two types: (1) Consanguineal and (2) Affinal. Consanguineal relations include parents, siblings, children, etc., and affinal include spouses and other relatives on the side of spouses.

Social dyadic relation include the various roles a person plays in society, e.g., landlord, tenant, neighbour, friend, a stranger, an acquaintance, etc.

Professional dyadic relations are developed when two persons come into contact through their professional practice: doctor/patient, shopkeeper/customer, etc.

As seen above the social structure determines variations in the use of modes of address. These variations may be geographical, stylistic and social. Two inter-related concepts: (1) Social context and (2) Role-relations are

to be taken in view while discussing addressing forms from sociological angle. Members of community do not seem to have conscious definite norms in the use of addressing terms, these vary depending on the speaker, the addressee, the situation and the setting.

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3. TYPES OF MODES OF ADDRESS

Modes of address are of various types- interjections, second person pronouns, kinship terms and names of address (nick names, family pet names, diminutive first names, surnames, professional titles, etc.). In this section each of these address forms is discussed under separate sub-headings.

3.1. Interjections of Address

Corresponding to the English interjection **Hey** and hindi-Urdu **òre**, in Punjabi we have both non-honorific and honorific interjections of address agreeing with the addressee in number and gender. These interjections are normally used for attracting the attention of the addressee.

3.1.1. Non-honorific

Non-honorific forms of interjections are as follows:

Masculine		Feminine	
Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
ve	ve	ni	ni
o	o	o	o
oe	oe	oe	oe
e	e	e	e

When these interjections are used, the following vocative case markers are added to any accompanying terms of address:

Masculine		Feminine	
Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
-Ia	-Io	-e	-o

Examples:

Singular

Inter- jection	Addressee	+ Case marker	
ve	mũṇḍa	+ Ia	ve mũṇḍIa 'Hey boy'
o	mũṇḍa	+ Ia	o mũṇḍIa 'Hey boy'

<i>Inter- jection</i>	<i>Addressee</i>	<i>+ Case marker</i>	
oe	mũṇḍa	+ Ia	oe mũṇḍIa 'Hey boy'
ni	kUṛi	+ Ie	ni kUṛIe 'Hey girl'
e	kUṛi	+ Ie	e kUṛIe 'Hey girl'
oe	kUṛi	+ Ie	oe kUṛIe 'Hey girl'

Plural

ve	mũṇḍe	+ Io	ve mũṇḍIo 'Hey boys'
o	mũṇḍe	+ Io	o mũṇḍIo 'Hey boys'
oe	mũṇḍe	+ Io	oe mũṇḍIo 'Hey boys'
ni	kUṛi	+ Io	ni kUṛIo 'Hey girls'
o	kUṛi	+ Io	o kUṛIo 'Hey girls'
oe	kUṛi	+ Io	oe kUṛIo 'Hey girls'

It is to be noted that **ve** is frequently used for addressing males and **ni** for addressing females. When case markers are added, the forms of address undergo certain morphophonemic changes:

a	+	Ia	>	Ia
e	+	Ia	>	Ia

The interjections are used mostly for emphasis and identification of addressee. The interjections may optionally be followed by a pronominal form, a kinship term of address or the personal names of address.

Examples:

1. ve mŭṇḍIa kItab lIa
 Hey boy(VOC) book bring
 'Hey boy! bring the book'.

or

- 1a. mŭṇḍIa kItab lIa

2. o mŭṇḍIa meri gəl sŭṇ
 Hey boy(VOC) my talk listen
 'Hey boy! listen to me'.

or

- 2a. mŭṇḍIa meri gəl sŭṇ

3. oe mŭṇḍIa tũ kItthe cəlla?
 Hey boy(VOC) you where going
 'Hey boy! where are you going?'

or

- 3a. mŭṇḍIa tũ kItthe cəlla?

4. ni kŭṛie tũ apṇa kəmm kər
 Hey girl(VOC) you your work do
 'Hey girl! do your work'.

or

- 4a. kŭṛie tũ apṇa kəmm kər

5. e kŭṛie tere pItaji kər hən?
 Hey girl(VOC) your father(HON) home(LOC) is
 'Hey girl! is your father at home?'

or

5a. kUrIe tere pIta ji kār hān?

6. ve mŪṇḍIo tUsĩ ki kār rāe ho
Hey boys(VOC) you what do- ing are
'Hey boys! what are you doing?'

or

6a. mŪṇḍIo! tUsĩ ki kār rāe ho?

7. o mŪṇḍIo tUsĩ khālo kyō gāe ho
Hey boys(VOC) you stand why went are
'Hey boys! why have you stood up?'

or

7a. mŪṇḍIo! tUsĩ khālo kyō gāe ho?

8. oe mŪṇḍIo, kāl nū khedḍā hōṅlā
Hey boys(VOC) tomorrow (at) games will be
'Hey boys! there will be games tomorrow'.

or

8a. mŪṇḍIo kāl nū khedḍā hōṅlā

The interjection may optionally be followed by a pronominal form, a kinship term of address or the personal names of the addressee.

Examples:

(a) Interjection + Pronominal Form

9. ve tere kolō ō nIkāl kIVē gāi
Hey you from she escaped how went
'Hey! How she has escaped from you?'
(BG.1968:43)

10. ve tū tā kāmā ē
Hey you(EP) also foolish are
'Hey! you are foolish'. (BG.1968:43)

11. ve mēnũ sôb pāta e karlā da
 Hey to me all know is work of
 'Hey! I know what you do'.
 (BG.1968:50)
12. o mere maləḱ tUaḁe ehsan da bəḁla
 Hey my master your kindness of revenge
 mē kItthe dlāga
 I where give will
 'O! my master, how can I repay your
 kindness?'
 (NS.1944:110)

(b) *Interjection + Kinship Terms of Address*

13. oe práva, é tã teri
 Hey brother(VOC) this also your
 pābi e
 borhter's wife is
 'Hey brother, she is your sister-in-law'.
 (BG.1970:80)
14. o práva, jan vi de befəzul
 Hey brother(VOC) go also let useless
 gəllā
 talks
 'Hey brother, cut this nonsense'.
15. ve pUṭta, mǎ hi jaṇḁi hē Is
 Hey son(VOC) mother only knows is this
 piṛ nũ
 trouble to
 'Hey son, only a mother can experience
 this pain'.
 (BG.1968:72)
16. ni mǎ pIpəḁl de tán tUṭ-tUṭ
 Hey mother pipal(VOC) of branch breaking
 pēḁe ne
 falling is

'Hey mother, the branches of the pipal
tree are breaking'.
(BG.1970:52)

17. ve pàì tũ kəṇ e?
Hey brother you who are
'Hey brother, who are you?'
(BG.1972:93)

18. ve vir loka cari vi te
Hey brother(VOC) social custom also TM
kəṛni pēḍi he
todo falls is
'Hey brother, we have to observe social
customs'.
(KSG.1971:44)

(c) *Interjection + Personal Names*

19. ve ramu! mē tere kol ki bethā
Hey ramu (VOC) I your along what sit
'Hey Ramu! how can I sit along with you?'
(KSD.1954:37)

20. oe cāḍu, mera kōṛa tīar e?
Hey chandu(VOC) my horse ready is
'Hey Chandu! is my horse ready?'
(BG.1968:52)

21. ni prItto tũ mere kol a ke
Hey Prito(VOC) you my near come (and)
beth ja
sit go
'Hey Prito! come and sit along with me'.
(KSD.1954:37)

22. ve ramIa, kār ja
Hey rama, home go
'Hey Rama! go home'.

23. o mōna! cāl kār cālIe
Hey mohana(VOC) go home go-we
'Hey Mohan! let us go home'.

24. oe ašu, sðkul da kðmm kðr
 Hey ashu(VOC) school of work do
 'Hey Ashu! do your school work'.

25. e ðnju, meri kṭtab lIa
 Hey anju(VOC) my book bring
 'Hey Anju, bring my book'.

3.1.2. Honorific

Interjections **e** and **o** can also be used as polite or honorific forms of address. They are not frequent in use, however,

Examples:

26. o šá ji sare pṭḍ de tUsĩ malIk ho
 O shah ji, whole village of you owner are
 'O Shah ji, you are the owner of the
 whole village'.

27. e babuji, ðjj-kðl kIse te vIšvas
 Hey babuji, these days anybody on believe
 na kðro
 not do
 'Hey babuji, don't believe anybody these
 days'

28. o vðkil sáB, mera kðmm kðr deo
 Hey vakil sahib! my work do give
 'Hey vakil sahib, please do my work'.

3.2. Second Person Pronouns of Address

Second person pronouns of address are very frequently used in Punjabi as in other languages. Traditional and modern grammars and other descriptions of Punjabi available make a

distinction between the various pronominal forms of Punjabi.

	<i>I</i> person	<i>II</i> person	<i>III</i> person
Nominative:			
Singular	mē	tū	ó
Plural	əsi	tUsī	ó
Agentive:			
Singular	mē	tū	ó
Plural	əsā	tUsā	óna
Dative:			
Singular	mēnū	tēnū	ónu
Plural	sānu	tUānū	ónanū
Ablative:			
Singular	mettō	tettthō	one
Plural	sātthō	tUatthō	onánū
Object genitive:			
<u>Masc. Sg.</u>			
Singular	mera	tera	óda
Plural	sāda	tUāda	ónada
<u>Mas. Pl.</u>			
Singular	mere	tere	óde
Plural	sāde	tUāde	ónade
<u>Fem. Sg.</u>			
Singular	meri	teri	ódi
Plural	sādi	tUādi	ónadi
<u>Fem. Pl.</u>			
Singular	meriā	teriā	odiā
Plural	sādia	tUādia	ónadiā

3.2.1. Pronouns and Inflections

First, second, third person pronominal forms are inflected for number and case. The first and second person pronouns have forms for nominative, agentive, dative, ablative and genitive cases. Third person pronouns are used as demonstratives as well. They do not inflect for gender and number. Punjabi is distinct from Hindi in the use of agentive singular case markers. Whereas in Hindi, the agentive *ne* is added to all three pronouns, in Punjabi *ne* postposition is required. For example: in Hindi /*mē ne k̄ha*/; in Punjabi /*mē k̄ia*/ 'I said'.

In Punjabi /*apanū*/ is a colloquial form and is occasionally used in place of /*tuānū*/. The pronoun /*ap*/ is occasionally used in place of /*tusi*/ under the influence of Hindi and Urdu. The plural forms of second and third person pronouns can be used for singular referents as honorific forms. The pronoun /*tū*/ shows intimacy; /*tusi*/ is a more formal form of address.

3.2.2. Second Person Pronouns and Their Usage

The singular non-honorific forms are used for addressing people of lower status,

youngsters and reciprocally friends and equals in informal situations. The singular honorific forms are used to address persons of higher status, elders and reciprocally strangers and other educated adults.

In Punjabi there are two pronominal forms of address, i.e., *tũ*, *tUsĩ/ap*. The marginal pronominal form *ap* is used sometimes under the influence of Hindi and Urdu. *tũ/tUsĩ* correspond to four different possible verbal forms in the imperative.

<i>tũ</i>	-----	<i>a</i>	-----	<i>v+Ø</i>
<i>tũ</i>	-----	<i>ai</i>	-----	<i>v+i</i>
<i>tUsĩ</i>	-----	<i>ao</i>	-----	<i>v+O</i>
<i>tUsĩ</i>	-----	<i>aṇa</i>	-----	<i>v+ṇa</i>

These verbal forms are not mutually interchangeable. For example, *tũ* can be used only with verbal form *a* and not with *ao*. Similarly, *tUsĩ* can be used with *ao* and not with *a*. Thus we can say that there is agreement between subject pronoun and verbal form.

The second person *tũ* pronominal form correspond to two different verbal forms *a* and *ai*. The difference between these two verbal forms is not social, but rather one of timing of action. The expression *tũ a* for

example, expresses the action 'to come just now' but *tũ aĩ* means 'come (at an indefinite time in future)'. Thus we find a semantic difference between these two verbal forms. There are two different forms of pronouns of address as *tũ*, *tUsĩ/ap* in the singular, *tUsĩ lok*, *tUsĩ* in the plural. The plural form is used for both honorific singular and plural. *lok* is also added to *tUsĩ* for showing the plurality.

Thus, the following are the basic second person pronouns:

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
II person non-honorific	<i>tũ</i>	<i>tUsĩ</i> <i>tUsĩ lok</i>
II person honorific	<i>tUsĩ</i>	<i>tUsĩ</i> <i>tUsĩ lok</i>
	<i>ap</i>	<i>ap</i> <i>ap lok</i>

As said above, second person honorific form *ap* is used very rarely in Punjabi. The pronominal form *tUsĩ* is used both for honorific as well as for non-honorific. Examples are given below:

3.2.3. Second Person Non-honorific Pronoun

The non-honorific second person singular **tũ** is mostly used in informal situation or in addressing intimate friends or persons of lower social status or youngsters to show affection. It is not uncommon in rural areas to find uneducated boys and girls addressing their parents with **tũ** in informal situations. It is frequently used as a form of address for elders in rural areas.

29. m'ṇ tũ āmbale to kṇḍō aIa?
 Mohan you Ambala from when came
 'Mohan, when did you come from Ambala?'

30. mUnni, tũ mera Ik kḍmm kḍregi?
 Munni, you mine a work do will
 'Munni, will you do something for me?'

31. ramu, tũ e pēse seṭh ji nũ de
 Ramu, you this money Seth HON to give
 a
 come
 'Ramu, you give this money to Seth ji'.

32. bapu, tũ tã meri gēl mṇḍa i nḍi?
 Bapu, you CP mine talk accept EP not
 'Bapu, you do not listen to me?'

33. vir, tũ mēnũ pēse ni dḍega?
 Vir, you to me money not give will
 'Vir, won't you give me money?'

The pronoun **tUsĩ** is used both for plural as well as for singular. But here **tUsĩ** is used

in informal situations to address more than one person, for instance for addressing a group of one's friends. Sometimes **lok** is added to **tUsĩ** to show plurality.

Examples:

34. hUṇ tUsĩ Is bḁs vIc jaoge?
now you(Pl) this bus in go will
'Now you will go by this bus?'
35. tUsĩ lok(Pl) meri gḁl te viśvas kḁro
you people mine talk on believe do
'You people believe in what I say'.

3.2.4. Second Person Honorific Pronoun

The second person singular honorific form of address **tUsĩ/ap** is used to address elders and others who are higher in social status. It is also used for friends in formal situations, and for youngsters for showing affection or for being sarcastic. This form of address is normally used by educated people. Examples are given below:

36. tUsĩ kḁl nũ saḁe kḁr ḁḁa
you tomorrow to our home come
'You, come to our home tomorrow'.
37. tUsĩ bḁt dīna bad mīle
you long days after met
'You met after a long time'.
38. tUsĩ bḁzar kḁdḁ jaoge?
you bazar when go will
'When will you go to bazar?'

39. tUsĩ menũ kðdo mIlogē?
you me when meet will
'When will you meet me?'

40. tUsĩ hUṇ sðkul jao
you now school go to
'Now you go to school'.

The use of **ap** is not frequent. It is used in formal situations only.

Examples:

41. apji da tðnnvad
your(HON) of thanks
'Thanks to you'.

42. mē apji di ki seva kðr
I your(HON) of what service do
sðkda hã
can am
'What service can I do for you?'

The second honorific pronouns **tUsĩ**, **tUsĩ lok**, **ap lok**, are used to address elders and persons having higher social status. While addressing larger groups of people, particular modes of address like **ap lok**, **tUsĩ lok**, etc., are used. Examples are given below:

43. ap lokã nũ é jan ke khUšĩ
you people to this know CM glad
hovegi
will be
'You will be glad to know this'.

44. tUsĩ lok meri gól bôre tĩan nal
 you people my talk very care with
 sUņo
 listen
 'You listen to me very carefully'.

Following are forms of the second person pronouns used in the dative case and ablative case:

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
II person non-honorific	tēnũ	tUānũ
II person honorific	tUanũ apnũ	tUānũ apnũ ap loka nũ tUsĩ loka nũ

tUānũ is used for the honorific singular as well as the plural. ap nũ is very rarely used. tēnũ and tetthõ second person non-honorific pronouns are used only in the singular.

Examples:

Intimate friends:

45. tēnũ mē huņ kIve sāmjavā
 to you I now how to tell
 'Now how will I tell you?'
46. tetthõ é kōmm kIvē ni hūda
 from you this work how not do
 'Why can't you do this work?'

Youngsters:

47. tənũ mē ki kīa si
to you I what said had
'What did I tell you?'
48. tetthō é ḍibba ni bōḍ hoṇa
from you this tin not close to be
'You can't close this tin'.

Lower status:

49. tənũ, mē kḏl aṇ lḏi kīa si
to you I tomorrow come for said had
'I had told you to come tomorrow'.
50. tetthō meri gḏl da jḏvab kiḌ ni
from you my talk of reply why not
ditta jāda
given goes
'Why don't you reply me?'

The second person non-honorific plural pronominal forms **tUānũ**, **tUātthō** are used both for honorific singular as well as for non-honorific plural.

51. tUānũ é kiṭab bāzar vīc nḏi mīlegi
to you this book bazar in not get will
'You will not get this book in the bazar'.
52. tUānũ ḏpṇe des di seva kḏrni
to you your country of serve do
cḏidi he
must is
'You must serve your country'.

The term **tUàtthõ** is usually used by parents to address their children. A parent or an elder brother may use this term to address his/her children or youngster in anger (to show sarcasm or distance).

53. tUàtthõ mē ki as kār sākda hā
from you I what hope do can am
'What(hope) can I expect from you?'

54. tUàtthõ tã choṭe choṭe kām vi nōi
from you TM small small work EP not
ho sākde
happen can
'You cannot do even small work'.

The second person honorific singular **tUànũ**, **apnũ** are used to address elders and others having higher social status or for showing deep affection to youngsters.

Examples:

Elders:

55. tUànũ meri gāl da bura nōi mōṇna
to you my talk of ill not accept
cāida
must
'You must not take it ill'

56. apnũ ḍpni sét da khIal rākhna
to you your health of care take
cāida he
must is
'you must take care of your health'.

Youngsters:

57. tUānũ mē dūd piṇ lāi kīa si
to you I milk take to said had
'I told you to drink your milk'.

Social status:

58. tUānũ mē pēlā vi kīa si
to you I early also told had
'I have already told you'.

A term **apnũ** is sometime used to address an audience of more than one person.

59. apnũ é jan ke dUkh hovega
to you this know CM sorrow will be
'You will be sorry to know this'.

Similarly, **ap lokā nũ** and **tUsī loka nũ** are used to address people in groups.

Following are the forms of the second person pronouns used in the genitive case:

	Masculine		Feminine	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
II Person	tera	tera	teri	teriā
non-honorific	tUaḍa	tUaḍe	tUaḍi	tUaḍiā
II Person	apda	ap lokā da/ apde	apdi	ap lokā diā
honorific			ap lokā di	ap diā
	tUaḍe	tUaḍe	tUaḍe lokā	tUaḍe lokā
	lokā da	lokā de	di	diā

The genitive pronouns agree with the possessor in person and status and with the possessed in number and gender.

60. tera kār kitthe hē
your home where is
'Where is your house?'
61. tera mūṇḍa ki kām kārda hē
your son what work do is
'What does your son do?'
62. tere prā da ki nā hē
your brother of what name is
'What is your brother's name?'
63. teri kuṛi ḍjjkāl ki kārdi hē
your daughter these days what does is
'What type of work does your daughter
do these days?'
64. teriā kitabā kitthe hōn
your books where are
'Where are your books?'
65. tUaḍa sākul tUaḍe kār tō kinni
your school your home from how much
dur hē
far is
'How far is your school from your home?'
66. tUaḍe lokā da šukkrīa mē kive kārā
your people of thanks I how do
'How can I thank you people?'
67. apda kām kārō tUsī ja ke
your work do you go CM
'Go, and do your work'.

Here the term **apda** is used in anger.

68. mē tUaḍe kārā tō cānda Ikāṭṭha
 I your houses from donation collect
 kār lIa he
 do taken have
 'I have collected donations from your
 houses'.

The term **tUaḍe lokā da** is used, to address
 an audience of more than one person as in
 the example given below.

69. mēnū ḍfsos he kI tUaḍe lokā de
 to me sorry is that your people of
 kār jāl ke rakh ho gāe hān
 houses burnt of ashes has been
 'I feel sorry, that your houses have
 been burnt to ash'.
70. tUaḍi pēn kēre sākul vIc pārdi he
 your sister which school in study is
 'In which school does your sister study?'
71. mē hā ap di beṭi rāma
 I am your of daughter Rama
 'I am your daughter Rama'.
72. tUaḍiā kItabā mej te pālā hān
 your books table on lying are
 'Your books are lying on table'.
73. e lārai ap lokā di jan da
 this war your people of life of
 khātra baṇ sākdi he
 danger become can be
 'This war can prove dangerous to your
 life'.

74. tUāḍe lokā di nḍzrā vlc mē cor hā
 you people of sights in I thief am
 'You people think I am thief?'

3.3. Kinship Terms of Address

In the study of kinship terms of address, various socio-cultural patterns must be taken into account. According to Radcliffe Brown, "A kinship system is a network of social relations which is the social structure. The rights and duties of relatives to one another are part of the system and so are the terms used in addressing or referring to the relatives" (1970:13).

Distinction among the kinship terms is to be made on the basis of biological or genealogical variables. On the basis of biological relations, kinship terms may be classified into two broad categories:

- 1) Consanguineous and
- 2) Affinal.

On the basis of genealogical relations, these two kinship relations (Consanguineous and Affinal) may be classified into three degrees of order relations: (a) First order relation, i.e., father/mother, brother/sister, son/daughter, husband/wife; (b) Second order

relations, i.e., father's sister, father's brother, father's mother, father's father, mother's mother, mother's father, etc.; and (c) Third order relations, i.e., father's father's father, mother's mother's mother, father's brother's son, mother's sister's son, etc.

Kinship terms of address that are used for three distinct relations may be classified into two broad categories:

- 1) Descriptive and
- 2) Classificatory.

In descriptive kinship terms of address, various addressing terms are used for first and second order relations, but for third order relations, kinship terms of address are more or less the same as used for second order relations. We do find the difference in kinship terminology; because the same stem is added with all relational terms like **pərdada** for father's father's father, **pərdadi** for father's father's mother and **pərnani** for mother's mother and **pərnana** for mother's father's father.

Mostly the kinship terms in Punjabi are used as modes of address. Various kinship

terms are used as modes of address for different kinship relations:

a) First Order Relation

<i>Kinship relation</i>	<i>Terms of address</i>
Father	ḍeḍi, bai, pIta ji, papa ji, bapu, paIa.
Mother	māmmi, bebe, ḍmma, mā, bibi, bi ji.
Son	Nick name (NN), First name (FN), Diminutive first name (DFN), FN + ji, pUtt, beṭa, pUttār.
Daughter	NN, FN, DFN, FN +ji, beti, pUttār, tie.
Brother	papa ji, vir ji, prā ji, vir, pai sáb.
Sister	peṇ ji, pèṇ, didi, didi ji.
Husband	FN, sur name + sáb + sārḍar ji, lala ji, sUbás de bapu.
Wife	FN, NN, sUbás di bidi.

b) Second Order Relations

Paternal

<i>Kinship relation</i>	<i>Terms of address</i>
Grand-father	dada ji, bai, baba, bapu.
Grand-mother	dadi ji, dadi, bebe, ḍmma, bijī.
Father's elder brother	taIa ji, taIa.

<i>Kinship relation</i>	<i>Terms of address</i>
-------------------------	-------------------------

Father's younger brother	cacaji, caca.
--------------------------	---------------

Father's sister	pua ji, pua.
-----------------	--------------

Maternal

<i>Kinship relation</i>	<i>Terms of address</i>
-------------------------	-------------------------

Grand-father	nana ji, bapu ji, bai, bai ji.
--------------	--------------------------------

Grand-mother	nani ji, ðmma, bijji, bebe.
--------------	-----------------------------

Mother's brother	mama ji, mama.
------------------	----------------

Mother's sister	massi ji, massi.
-----------------	------------------

Affinal

<i>Kinship relation</i>	<i>Terms of address</i>
-------------------------	-------------------------

Mother-in-law	mata ji, bijji, bebe ji, ðmma ji, bebe, mã ji.
---------------	--

Father-in-law	pIta ji, bai ji, bapu ji.
---------------	---------------------------

Husband's elder brother	pai sá b, pra ji, vir ji.
-------------------------	---------------------------

Husband's younger brother	FN, NN, vir.
---------------------------	--------------

Husband's sister	pèñ ji, NN, FN.
------------------	-----------------

Daughter-in-law	bóu, NN, FN.
-----------------	--------------

Sister-in-law	pàbi ji, pàbi.
---------------	----------------

c) Third Order Relations

<i>Kinship relation</i>	<i>Terms of address</i>
-------------------------	-------------------------

Mother's father's father	nana ji, nana.
--------------------------	----------------

*Kinship relation**Terms of address*Mother's father's
mother

nani ji, nani.

Mother's mother's
father

nana ji, nana.

Mother's mother's
mother

nani ji, nani.

Father's father's
father

dada ji, dada, baba.

Father's father's
mother

dadi ji, ðamma ji.

Mother's father's
brother

nana ji, nana.

Father's father's
brother

baba ji, taIa ji.

Mother's brother's
wife

mami, mami ji.

Father's elder
brother's wife

tai ji, tai.

Father's younger
brother's wife

caci ji, caci.

Mother's sister's
husband

masðr ji, masðr.

Father's sister's
husband

phUphðr ji, phUphðr.

Wife's father's
brothertaIa ji, caca ji,
taIa, caca.Wife's father's
brothertaIa ji, caca ji,
taIa, caca.Husband's father's
brothertaIa ji, caca ji,
taIa, caca.

Wife's brother's wife pabi ji, NN, FN.

<i>Kinship relation</i>	<i>Terms of address</i>
Wife's sister's husband	jija ji, FN, Full name.
Husband's younger brother's wife	FN, NN.
Husband's elder brother's wife	pàbi ji, didi, pèn ji.
Husband's sister's husband	jija ji, FN.
Father's brother's elder son	vir ji, pài sàb,
Father's brother's younger son	FN, NN.
Father's brother's elder daughter	pèn ji, pèn, didi.
Father's brother's younger daughter	FN, NN.
Father's brother's elder daughter	pèn ji, pèn, didi.
Mother's brother's younger daughter	FN, NN.

A distinction need not to be made among cross cousin relations, both from maternal and paternal side. As far as modes of address are concerned, they have equal status. The addressing forms that are used for them are same as used for one's own brother, sister like *vir ji, pài sàb, vir, pai, etc., didi, pèn ji, pèn, etc.*

Honorific suffixes *ji* and *sàb* are also

added in polite honorific forms of address. There are certain restrictions as far as the use of these honorific suffixes is concerned. Whereas some kinship terms take both these suffixes, others do not. They are not interchangeable in certain cases.

Examples:

	<i>ji</i> <i>sáb</i>		
pai	-	+	pàì sáb 'brother'
vir	+	-	vir ji 'brother'
pa	+	-	pà ji 'brother'
ðmma	+	-	ðmma ji 'mother'
bai	+	-	bai ji 'father'
papa	+	-	papa ji 'father'
pɛɲ	+	-	pɛɲ ji 'sister'
mama	+	-	mama ji 'mother's brother'
massi	+	-	massi ji 'mother's sister'
taIa	+	-	taIa ji 'father's elder brother'
pua	+	-	pua ji 'father's sister'
phuphðɾ	+	-	phUphðɾ ji 'father's sis- ter's husband'

Similary in Muslim community *jan* is added to kinship terms of address:

	<i>ji</i> <i>jan</i>		
ðbba	+	+	ðbba ji/jan 'father'

pàì	-	+	pàì jan	'brother'
ðmmi	+	+	ðmmi ji/jan	'mother'

3.4. Other Terms of Address

Names of individuals (first name, diminutive first names, first and middle names, surnames) and professional titles are very frequently used as the modes of address. These terms may be followed by honorific suffixes like **ji** or **sáb** for changing them into polite forms of address. Whereas **ji** is used with all the personal Hindu/Sikh names, **sáb** is added mostly to the male surnames of Hindus/Sikhs. These honorific suffixes are appended to names as follows:

First Name

		<i>ji</i>	<i>sáb</i>	
ram	+	-	ram ji	'Ram ji'
rajiv	+	-	rajiv ji	'Rajiv ji'
pəvəṇ	+	-	pəvəṇ ji	'Pavan ji'
məḍú	+	-	məḍú ji	'Madhu ji'
ram sĪṇ	+	-	ram sĪṇ ji	'Ram Singh ji'

Diminutive First Name

ramu	+	-	ramu ji	'Ramu ji'
bĪṭṭu	+	-	bĪṭṭu ji	'Bittu ji'
āṇju	+	-	āṇju ji	'Anju ji'
sāvi	+	-	sāvi ji	'Savi ji'

First Name + Middle Name

ram lal	+	-	ram lal ji	'Ram Lal ji'
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ram nath + - ram nath ji 'Ram Nath ji'
 Īndu bala + - Īndu bala ji 'Indu Bala ji'

First Name + Middle Name + Last Name

ji sá

ram lal joṣi + - ram lal joṣi ji
 'Ram lal Joshi ji'
 Ṣam lal gUpta + - sam lal gUpta ji
 'Shyam lal Gupta ji'
 nina rani gUpta + - nin rani gUpta ji
 'Nina Rani Gupta ji'
 renu bala Ṣārma + - renu bala Ṣārma ji
 'Renu Bala Sharma ji'

Surnames

Honorific suffixes *ji* and *sá* are both used with vowels and consonants ending surnames.

ji sá

gUpta + + gUpta ji/sá 'Gupta ji/Sahib'
 koṣṭl - + koṣṭl sá 'Kaushal Sahib'
 méta + + méta ji/sá 'Mehta ji/Sahib'
 vIrdi - + vIrdi sá 'Virdi Sahib'

Professional Titles

The honorific suffixes *ji* and *sá* are used with some professional titles. But *sá* is used with professional titles of both males and females. The honorific morphemes *ji* and *sá* may also be used independently by the juniors or youngsters, etc., in addressing senior officers or elders in formal situations. They may also be used to strangers in addressing each other.

Examples:

English

	<i>ji sáab</i>		
mast̤ar	+	-	mast̤ar ji/sáb 'Master Sahib/ji'
m̤nej̤ar	-	+	m̤nej̤ar sáb 'Manager Sahib'
profes̤ar	-	+	profes̤ar sáb 'Professor Sahib'
Inspekt̤ar	-	+	Inspekt̤ar sáb 'Inspector Sahib'
ḍakt̤ar	+	+	ḍakt̤ar ji/sáb 'Doctor Sahib/ji'
keṛṭ̤ān	-	+	keṛṭ̤ān sáb 'Captain Sahib'
InjnIar	-	+	InjnIar sáb 'Engineer Sahib'
prInsip̤l	-	+	prInsip̤l sáb 'Principal Sahib'
sUp̤rt̤end̤nt̤	-	+	sUp̤rt̤end̤nt̤ sáb 'Superintendent Sahib'

Persian and Arabic

v̤kil	-	+	v̤kil sáb 'Vakil Sahib'
kh̤janci	-	+	kh̤janci sáb 'Khajanci Sahib'
s̤rp̤nc	+	+	s̤rp̤nc ji/sáb 'Sarp̤nc Sahaib'
maulvi	-	+	maulvi sáb 'Maulvi Sahib'

$$j i \quad s i b'$$

təsilɖar - təsilɖar sɑ́b
 'Tehsilɖar Sahib'

dIvan - + dIvan s'áb
 'Diwan Sahib'

Certain professional terms which are derived by adding the forms of the suffix **vala** agreeing with subject in number and gender are also used as modes of address. Following are its forms:

	Masculine		Feminine	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
səbzi	vala	vale	vali	valiā
dūda	+	+	+	-
cae	+	+	+	-
rIkṣa	+	+	-	-

Notice that case markers are also added after the forms of the suffix **vala**.

<i>Professional Title</i>	<i>Modes of Address</i>
səbzi + vala + e	səbzi vale 'vegetable seller'
dūd + vala + e	dūd vale 'milkman'
rikša + vala + e	rikša vale 'rickshaw puller'

Some professional terms like **jðmadar** 'sweeper', **tòbi** 'washerman', **mocci** 'cobbler' are also used as modes of address.

The above study shows that the use of vocative forms is very common in Punjabi community. The frequency of using vocative forms like **ni**, **ve**, **oe** is very high to address youngsters and for those having equal social status. Similarly, honorific suffixes like **ji** and **sáb** are frequently used. Only **sáb** is used to address an officer. **sáb** is also added to those addressing terms used to address females like **memsáb**, **ðaktðrsáb**.

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4. MODES OF GREETINGS AND MODES OF ADDRESS

4.1. Modes of Greetings

Modes of greetings have their own value in the sociology of language. In every greeting situation, two persons come in contact in a particular ethnic situation, which is characterised by means of some paralinguistic features like gesture, statements, etc. Goffman (1963: 91) has called it an 'ethnography of encounter'. Greeting is the primary necessity that satisfies the socio-psychological need of the individuals in a given society.

Modes of greetings are closely correlated with modes of address. Like modes of address, modes of greetings are also related with socio-linguistic factors like, age, sex, status and interpersonal relationships, etc. A greeter uses greeting forms appropriate to particular situations by taking into account these socio-linguistic factors. Greeting is not regarded merely a usage of certain norms,

but it is a social ritual which is governed by the situations in which the greeter says what is expected by greetee in one way or another. It is used either to welcome or to say good bye.

4.2. Verbal and Non-verbal Greetings

As in other languages, in Punjabi there are two types of modes of greetings, i.e., (1) verbal and (2) non-verbal. Both types of greetings can either be formal or non-formal. Verbal greetings appear in the form of utterance of greeting phrases like *nāmāste*, *sāt sārī ḏkal*, *peri peṇa*, etc. Non-verbal expressions and gestures of greetings may include smiling, nodding, hugging, closing of eyes, bowing of head and twinkling of eyes, etc. Though there is a difference between these two types of greetings, but both of them are characterised by social setting, context and interpersonal relationships. Mostly, non-verbal greeting gestures and verbal greeting utterances are combined in an actual situation. Both verbal and non-verbal greetings are used in different kinds of formal and non-formal situations.

Most of the fixed verbal greetings are used both in oral conversation and in writing.

Usually, formal verbal greeting forms are used in writing. In rural areas, illiterate people do not use any formal greeting forms but start their conversation by the non-formal verbal forms like:

1. oe, tũ kâdõ aIa
o, you when came
'When did you come?'
2. a bîi vira, kIvẽ aIa e
come on brother, why came is
'Come on brother, what brings you here?'

Sometimes, employees of lower status do not use modes of greetings for greeting superiors. A husband and a wife generally do not use formal verbal greeting terms for greeting each other. The same is true among children. A daughter-in-law in rural areas always greets her elders by formal non-verbal forms of greeting. Usually, formal greeting forms are also used in a situation when one wants to apologize someone or seeks help of others. The literal meaning of a few greeting phrases are not relevant in many cases. They are characterised by some sort of mystifications as in the examples:

3. cõga pher mIlãge
O.K. later will meet
'Expecting to see you later'.

4. ki hal e ðmlie (BSG.1959:40)
what condition is Amlia
'Amlie, how are you?'
5. ki hal cal he
what condition is
'How are you?'

To enquire about greeter's health is a common social ritual in Punjabi community. (It does not mean that greeter has gone through an ailment).

Modes of greetings also vary from culture to culture and society to society. Every culture has some stereo-typed non-verbal greeting forms peculiar to it, like kissing, embracing, bowing, salutation, hand shake and touching of feet. In Punjabi culture, greetings like embracing, touching of feet and hand shake are common in use (but other gestures like kissing, bowing and salutation are used in specific contexts). Kissing at forehead or at cheeks is possible in a context when parents greet their children. When two persons having familial relations or close intimacy meet occasionally, they generally embrace each other (common among adults and old people). Educated people of equal status and same sex shake hands and greet by verbal forms

as well as formal situations.

Among the fixed verbal greeting forms between Sikhs, **sət səri əkāl** and **helo** are generally used to greet seniors and friends of equal social status. The verbal greeting form **vá gūru ji ki fəte**, is generally used among Sikhs to greet saints, religious priests or **grānthis**, **sevadars** (workers in Gurudwaras) and to those who perform ritual ceremonies in and outside Gurudwaras. These terms of greetings are uttered by the Sikh religious leaders, saints, etc., in addressing religious or social congregations.

Mostly Sikhs use **əḍabərz**, **səlam** and **helo** as modes of greetings for addressing the Muslims and get in return the same terms. Muslims also address Sikhs by **sət səri əkāl** also.

Among the fixed greeting forms, Muslims use **əslam aləikum**, **əḍabərz** and **adab** in addressing another member of the same community. In response to the greeting form **əslam aləikum** they normally get the greeting form **valəikum səlam** in return.

There is a reciprocal use of **əḍabərz**, **əḍab**, **səlam**, **helo** between a Muslim and Hindu/Sikh.

elder one's while uttering the formal modes of greeting.

8. nāmāste, āñṭi (KSD.1954:68)

nmaste, aunt
'Namaste, aunt'.

9. caca, ram ram (D.1973:156)

uncle, Ram Ram
'Uncle, Ram Ram'.

10. sāt sārī ākal, prā ji (KSG.1970:26)

Sat Sari Akal, brother (HON)
'Brother! Sat Sari Akal'.

11. adab, caca jan (D.1973:110)

adab uncle (HON)
'Adab, uncle'.

In a formal situation sometimes a greetee slightly bends down while shaking hand with the greeter. This gesture shows extra politeness and respect.

Verbal greetings are avoided in few situations which might involve disturbance to others like while watching a play, a movie, listening to a lecture, or any serious action in progress. Physical distance and intensity of emotion also prevent the use of verbal greetings. In such type of situations, non-verbal greetings like smiling, nodding of the head, facial gesture and lifting and

Formal

Greeter

12. ki hal e
what condition is
'How are you?'

Greetee

- 12a. mérbani
kindness
'Your kindness'
- 12b. dua e tUàḍi
blessings are your
'Your blessings are with me'.
- 12c. thik e tUsĩ dḍosso
well is you say
'I am fine. How are you?'
- 12d. cḍga e
good is
'I am fine'.

Greeter

13. tḍkra e
strong are
'Are you fine?'

Greetee

- 13a. hã tUàḍi kIrpa e
yes your kindness is
'Yes, it is your kindness'.

Greeter

14. kĩve gujḍr rḍi e
how pass-ing is
'What is going on?'

ram-ram. The use of the fixed address forms is not always reciprocal. Sometimes, their use varies according to the status of participants and situations. For example, a labourer and a junior will use **nāmāskar** or **jē ram ji ki** for the person of higher social status and may receive **nāmāste** a non-verbal, non-formal greeting form in return.

Among the fixed formal greetings between Hindus and Sikhs **sāt sārī ākal, hēlo** and **nāmāste** are used by Hindus to greet Sikhs. Mostly verbal forms **sāt sārī ākal** or **hēlo** are used by Hindus to greet Sikhs. The term **nāmāste** is rarely used as compared to **sāt sārī ākal** or **hēlo**. These terms are used to greet persons of equal social status and age. These greeting forms are used both in formal and non-formal situations by taking into account the different social factors.

The verbal forms of greetings that are mostly used by the Sikhs to greet Hindus are **sāt sārī ākal** and **hēlo**. Though **nāmāste**, **nāmāskar** are also used to greet Hindus but comparatively rare than **sāt sārī ākal** and **hēlo**. These greeting forms are used to greet people of equal status and age both in informal

Non-verbal greetings also appear in alternative responses.

Examples:

Greeter

18. mâttha t̥ekda
forehead bowing
'I bow my forehead'

Greetee

- 18a. jUg jUg ji
eternity live
'May you live long'.
- 18b. r̥əb tənũ raji r̥əkkhe
god to you well keep
'May God keep you healthy'.
- 18c. r̥əb tənũ pUtt̥əɾ deve
god to you son give
'May God bless you with a son'.

Greeter

19. p̥əri p̥əɳa
feet to fall
'I touch (your) feet'.

Greetee

- 19a. jĩuda r̥əv̥e
living remain
'Live long'.

These greeting forms are used for elders for whom respect is intended. They are also combined with the gesture of bowing or touching the feet. In informal non-verbal greetings,

Very rarely a Muslim may address a Hindu by **nāmōste** or **nāmōskar** and address a Sikh by **sāt sri ōkal**. Educated Muslims may use neutral greeting term **helo** also in certain situations.

It is to be noted that the fixed verbal greeting forms can be used both in formal as well as in non-formal situations depending on the participants and contexts. Another important aspect of the use of these forms is that mostly there is a reciprocal use of the fixed greeting forms. (Sometimes the responses do not remain fixed). A greetee may use any of the forms of greetings in response to the greeting form used for him by the greeter.

4.3.2. Alternative Greetings

Alternative greetings are of two types: formal and non-formal. The expressions used for alternative greetings may enquire about general well-being of the addressee, indicate respect towards the addressee, indicate affection, good wishes or blessings from elders for young ones. The examples of formal and non-formal alternative greeting expressions are given below:

of any rank, age and sex.

Greeting phrases related with one's health and of well being are invariably used in Punjabi like:

24. ki hal cal e, tðkɾa e (HS.1965:64)
 what condition is fine is
 lðmbðɾdar
 lambardar
 'How are you, are you fine lambardar?'
25. sUɳa yar khub tʰat ne (BSG.1972:90)
 tell yar very enjoy is
 'Tell me friend, are you enjoying
 yourself very much?'
26. raji e kUɾe (HS.1965:64)
 well is daughter
 'Daughter, are you fine?'
27. ki hal e tie (BSG.1972:91)
 what condition is daughter
 'Daughter, how are you?'

It is a common feature among orthodox people to make use of such type of compliments like:

28. tũ te bɔt kðmjor ho gði e
 you also very weak become went is
 mẽ te tẽnũ pðcchaɳ vi na sðki
 I also to you recognize EP not could
 'You have got so weak, I could not
 recognize you'.

These remarks type greetings are used by near and dear ones, when they meet after

Greetee

- 14a. rəb di kirpa e
god of kindness is
'It is a kindness of God'.

Non-formal

Greeter

15. sUna yar khub that ne
say friend much glory is
'Say friend, are you enjoying?'

Greetee

- 15a. moj kārda ā
enjoy do-ing are
'I am enjoying'.

Greeter

16. ki hal cal e
what condition is
'How are you?'

Greetee

- 16a. hāzur di mērbani
majesty of kindness
'Sir, it is your kindness'.

Greeter

17. kīve cāl rīa e
how going is
'How are things going on?'

Greetee

- 17a. sōb hāzur di mērbani
all majesty of kindness
'Sir, it is all your kindness'.

When the younger people bow down to touch the feet of elder ones, the elders give their blessings with reference to greetee's health, prosperity and longevity.

Examples:

33. jUgg-jUgg ji (Sekhon 1974:84)
long live
'May you live long'.
34. cānga pai jIũda rðve (BSG.1970:57)
well brother live remain
'Brother, you may live long'.
35. tũ pUtra jUg-jUg (JSK.1970:24)
you son(VOC) eternity
jivẽ ga
live will
'Son, may you live long!'
36. jiũdi rðvẽ, teri (BSG.1959:25)
live eternity your
bel vðdé
creeper increase
'Live long and prosper'.
37. bUđđ sUágðñ, (BSG.1959:54)
old whose husband is living
dÚd pUtt vali hove
milk son of be
'May your husband live long, and be
blessed with son!'
38. bðcce jivIa (BSG.1959:54)
child live long
'Child, may you live long!'

gestures are used to greet concerned persons. Gestures like bowing one's head, touching of feet, etc., are very common. The elders in their response also use gestures in giving blessings, etc.

In Punjabi, welcome forms combined with terms for good wishes are also used as modes of greetings.

Examples:

20. jiaIā nū, beṭho (KSG.1970:34)
welcome to sit
'Welcome and sit down'.

21. tusī vi bIrajo prīsipḍl ji
you also take seat principal (HON)
(KSG.1970:30)
'Principal (please) take your seat'.

22. tḍṣrif rḍkkho, mḍnejḍr sḍb (KSG.1970:30)
keep manager (HON)
'Manager, (please) take your seat'.

23. a kUṛe tām̄ba, a kḍī (BSG.1959:56)
come girl Tamba come several
dIna tō nḍi ai
days from not came
'Come on Tamba, where were you so long?'

Greeting terms like nḍmḍste, sḍt sḍri ḍkal are used by a large number of educated and uneducated people, living in the Punjab. These greeting forms can be used by persons

bibi + nāmōste
 bapu ji + sāt sārī ākal

2) *Verbal Greeting + Modes of Address*

sālam + sāb
 sāt sārī ākal/ + daktār sāb
 nāmōste/helo
 nāmōste + āñṭi
 sāt sārī ākal + prā ji
 helo + sār
 pēri pēṇa + pabi
 ādab + caca jan

Examples are as follows:

40. sāt sārī ākal prāji (KSG.1970:26)
 Sat Sari Akal brother(HON)
 'Brother, Sat Sari Akal'.

41. nāmōste āñṭi (KSD.1954:68)
 namaste aunt
 'Namaste, aunt'.

42. pēri pēṇa pabi (BG.1972:93)
 feet touch sister-in-law
 'Bhabi, I touch your feet'.

43. āccha bibi nāmōste (KSD.1954:68)
 well bibi namaste
 'Bibi, namaste'.

44. helo, sīvāl sārjān sāb (KSD.1954:83)
 hello, civil surgeon sahib
 'Hello, Civil Surgeon Sahib'.

a long period of time.

Some modes of greetings are related to a particular religious community. For example, the following greeting forms have their meanings in the practice of Sikh religion only:

**vá gŪru / vá gŪru ji ki f̂t̂e / vá gŪru
ji ka khalsa, vá gŪru ji ki f̂t̂e**

"The Khalsa belongs to God, may God
victory be yours"!

While addressing an audience at religious gathering or congregation such type of greetings are used in which glory of God is praised.

Blessings in the name of God are also used as modes of greetings like:

29. r̂b tUāḍa p̂la k̂re
God your welfare do
'May God bless you!'

30. r̂b tUāñ p̂tt̂r deve (BSG.1959:54)
God to you son give
'May God bless you with a son!'

31. r̂b tUāḍi ŝt b̂ṇai r̂kk̂he
God your health made keep
'May God keep you always healthy'.

32. r̂b i rak̂ha ĥe
God only protector is
'God protects (all)!'
or
'Only God protects!'

5. USE OF MODES OF ADDRESS : (ANALYSIS OF DATA)

Here in this chapter we attempt to classify the various modes of address (including pronominal forms) under three main types of dyadic relationships: familial, social and professional.

5.1. Familial Dyadic Relations

As pointed out above, familial dyadic relations include relationships both from the paternal as well as the maternal side. The usage of different modes of address depends on the type of relationship an addresser may have with the addressee in the hierarchy of kinship relations.

A few kinship relations on both the paternal and maternal sides are considered to be more or less of equal status. This is reflected in the forms of address used by the participants. For example, the maternal grand-father and grand-mother have the same kinship status as the paternal grand-father and grand-mother,

sāḍke jāṽā is also a form of blessing which is very commonly used by elder one's.

39. mē sāḍke jāṽā apṇe pūtt te (BSG.1959:22)
 I call go own son of
 'May my life be added to my son!'

4.4. Correlation Between Modes of Greetings and Modes of Address

The modes of greetings are deeply correlated with the modes of address. The modes of greetings are used before a conversation is started and also before parting. The greeting forms are mostly used first by the youngsters for elders or by juniors to seniors. The greetee then reciprocates by the use of appropriate modes of greetings. The modes of address can be commenced by any participant irrespective of his age, status, etc.

Generally, modes of address are used along with the modes of greetings. The forms of address may either precede or follow the greeting forms.

1) Modes of Address + Verbal Greeting

ḍakṭār sáḅ	+ nāmāsta/sāt sārī ḍkal
šārma ji	+ sāt sārī ḍkal
ṭnkḍl/āṇṭi	+ nāmāste
caca/mata ji	+ ram-ram

cəl rōi hē

go- ing is

'How are your studies going on Sunita?'

2. sət̪nam, apni sēli nal meri

Satnam self friend with my

Īnt̪rɔd̪əks̪ən̪ nōi kəɾɔ̃ni (HS.1965:42)

introduction not do(CAUS)

'Satnam, won't you introduce me to
your friend?'

Similarly, an elder brother Jagdish addresses his younger sister by her diminutive first name:

3. əccha sUna, tari, khub (NS.1944:4)

well tell Tari, great

raji-khŨsi rōi

happily is

'Tari tell me, did you spend your
days happily?'

4. mUnni, tere Imtián̪ kə̃d̪ō̃ hō rōe hən

Munni, your exams when hold-ing are

'Munni, when are your exams going
to be held?'

In the examples, 1, 2, 3 and 4, Sunita and Satnam are first names, Tari is a DFN and Munni is a NN.

Though normally a younger sister does not address her brother by his first name or nick name, the forms of address that she uses are not always honorific. The terms **vir**,

45. bapu ji, sət səri (Sekhon 1974.94)
 father(HON) Sat Sari

 əkāl

 Akāl

 'Father Sat Sari Akāl'.

The modes of greeting form part of modes of address. Modes of greeting have therefore not been studied in isolation or unrelated to the forms of address. There are clear out selectional restrictions in the combined use of the terms of greetings along with the forms of address. As shown in the examples given above, the modes of greeting may either precede or follow the forms of address. The use of terms of greeting and the terms of address are influenced by social context and participants.

- - - -

pronominal form of address (you 2) to show respect and affection.

9. vir ji, hun tUsĩ kðdõ aoge
brother HON now you when come FUT
'Brother, when will you come back?'
10. pàpa ji, vir ji, chðdð (NS.1944:67)
Papa HON, Vir HON, leaving
ke na jao
P don't go
'Brother, don't go leaving us behind'.
11. prà ji tUsĩ mere nal nði cðlo ge
brother HON you me with not come FUT
'Brother, won't you come with me?'
12. dekho prà ji tUsĩ pẽðu
see brother (HON) you village of
kuṛiã nũ nðfrðt kðrde o
girls to hate do are
'See brother, you hate village girls'.
13. ki kέα je papa ji (NS.1944:67)
what said is brother HON
'Brother, what did you say?'
14. dev vir é vi te (AP.1969:40)
Dev brother this also then
devta di kIrpa e
God of blessings are
'Dev brother, they are also God's
blessings'.
15. prem pàpe tũ ónu pũll (D.1973:176)
Prem papa VOC you her forget
nði sðkda
not can
'Prem (brother), can't you forget her?'

respectively. Similarly, paternal uncle and maternal uncle, paternal aunt and maternal aunt, son and son-in-law, daughter and daughter-in-law, father and father-in-law have the same kinship status. Normally the same modes of address are used for either member of these kin pairs.

Following is the description of such kinship relations explaining the use of different types of modes of address:

5.1.1. Brother to Sister

An elder brother may address his sister by her first name or nick name, but he will receive a formal form of address in return. But a younger brother always uses a particular form of address or a pet family name for addressing his elder sister such as **didī**, **pèn**, **pène**, **bibi**, etc. Similarly, a sister may address her elder brother by **vir**, **vir jī**, **prá**, **prá jī**, etc. It has been observed that in certain cases, when the brother and sister are not much different in age, they use first names, diminutive first names or nick names in addressing each other.

5.1.1. Elder Brother to Younger Sister

1. sUnitā terī pṛāī kesi
Sunita your studies how

20. pəppu, ja apna kəmm kəɾ
 Pappu, go own work do
 'Pappu, go (and) do your own work'.

21. aʃu, bəzər, tɔ̃ d̪ɔ̃ lɪa de
 Ashu, bazar, from curd bring give
 'Ashu, bring curd from bazar'.

5.1.2. Brother to Brother

It has been observed that at a young age, if there is not much age difference between two brothers, there is reciprocal use of first names or nick names. A younger brother normally switches over to honorific forms of address for addressing his elder brother, as they grow up. An elder brother uses polite forms of address for his younger brother only in formal situations.

5.1.2.1. Younger Brother to Elder Brother

A younger brother may address his elder brother by using particular kinship term of address such **vir ji**, **pàì sàb**, **prà ji**. The form of address **vir ji** is very frequent and **pàì sàb** and **prà ji** is very rarely used. **vir ji** shows much more intimacy than **prà ji** or **pàì sàb** as in the sentences given below:

22. vir ji, mɛ̃ tUaɖe ləi roɖi llāṽṽ
 Vir ji, I you for bread bring
 'Brother, may I bring meals for you'.

vir ji, prá ji, pàpa ji, are general kinship terms used as modes of address in the examples given below:

5. vir, tũ kə̀d̥d̥õ jaẽga
brother, you when go FUT
'Brother, when will you go?'
6. prá m̃ẽ vi ə̀je huni (HS.1965:65)
brother, I also just now
ai ă
came am
'Brother, I came just now'.
7. khalɛ vir sə̀jd̥a kiõ e (HS.1965:65)
eat take brother shy why are
'Take it, why do you feel shy'.

In the above examples, the terms used for elder brother may seem to be somewhat non-honorific, but they are used for showing affection.

Similarly, an elder sister may address her younger brother with kinship terms of address like **bir** or **vir** to show deep affection.

8. cə̀l bir tũ d̥ũd̥ i (HS.1965:47)
come brother you milk EP
pi lɛ
drink take
'Brother, please take milk'.

5.1.1.2. Younger Sister to Elder Brother

A younger sister may also use an honorific

kəmm vIkhaɔ

work show

'Parveen, show me your school work'.

5.1.3. Sister to Sister

When there is not much age difference between two sisters, they address each other by their first names or nick names. In some cases, especially in formal situations, a younger sister uses particular terms of address, like **didi**, **pəñ ji** for her elder sister. In general **pəñ** and **didi** are very frequent terms of address. An elder sister may use a nick name or first name to address her younger sister.

5.1.3.1. Younger Sister to Elder Sister

29. pəñ mənũ əpni kəɽi de de
sister t me your watch give
'Sister (please), give me your watch'.

30. didi meri ănti tənũ bula rəI si
sister my aunt to you call-ing was
'Sister, my aunt wanted to see you'.

31. hă didi mē rá pUll (D.1973:27)
yes sister I way forget
gəi si
'went was
'Yes, I forgot the way'.

In case where there is not much age difference between the two sisters, they address

5.1.1.3. Younger Brother to Elder Sister

A younger brother addresses his elder sister with honorific forms of address like **didī, pēṇ jī, pēṇ, bibī.**

Notice that **pēṇ** is not a formal term of address, but when used with a name, it indicates an honorific title used for a noble lady like **pēṇ kām̐la devī** 'Sister Kamala Devi'. Notice the following examples:

16. **didī jī merī kām̐z sī deo**
sister HON my shirt sew give
'Sister, please sew my shirt'.
17. **pēṇ jī, mere sākul da kām̐m kārā**
sister HON my school's of work do
deo
give
'Sister help me in doing my school work'.
18. **pēṇ cāl. bāzar cālīe**
sister come bazar let's go
'Sister, let us go to bazar'.
19. **būt cāṁga kita bibī** (Sekhon 1974:96)
very well did bibi
'Sister, you did well'.

5.1.1.4. Elder Sister to Younger Brother

An elder sister may address her younger brother by his first name or nick name or with a kinship term of address like **bir.**

'Sister, don't worry, Sat Guru and
Bapu ji (father) both are with you'.

5.1.4. Son to Mother

A son generally addresses his mother by using particular modes of address used in the family like *māmmi*, *beji*, *bebe*, *māmmi ji*, *cài*, *mata ji*, *mā*, *mā ji*, *bi ji*, *āmmi*, etc. A grown up son uses honorific forms of address like *māmmi + ji*, *bebe +ji*, *mata + ji*, etc., in the presence of others, or sometimes to show affection. Otherwise non-honorific terms like *bebe*, *cài*, *mā* are frequent in use. Terms like *bebe* and *cài* are common among uneducated people. Examples are as follows:

37. *māmmi*, *mēnũ* *dās rūpāe da noṭ de deo*
Mummy, to me ten rupee of note give give
'Mummy, please give me a ten rupee note'.

38. *māmmi beṭho*, *tUānũ* *Ik bōt*
mummy be seated to you one very
mājedar gāl sUpāle (HS.1965:96)
interesting matter tell
'Mummy, be seated, listen an interesting matter'.

39. *cāl mā jādō devāge* (Sekhon 1974:42)
come mother when will give
ūdō kṭa lāvāge bIaj
then deduct take-FUT interest
'Come (mother), interest will be
deducted when we give money'.

23. pàì sàb roṭi kha ke jana
 brother HON, meal taking EP go
 'Brother, please go after taking your meals'.

24. prà ji beṭho (KSG.1967:32)
 brother HON, be seated
 'Brother, be seated (please)'.

Terms like **vir**, **bai**, etc., are also used by a younger brother addressing an elder brother. The term **bai** is mostly used as a mode of address by uneducated people.

25. vir kḏl nũ cḏlā jāi
 brother tomorrow go
 'Brother, go tomorrow'.

26. bai, tũ menũ Ik bḏld (Sekhon 74:54)
 brother you to me a buffalo
 lē de
 purchase
 'Brother, please purchase a buffalo for me'.

5.1.2.2. Elder Brother to Younger Brother

An elder brother may address his younger brother using a nick name or a first name as in the examples below:

27. kaka, apṇa paṭh jḏbani yad kḏr
 kaka, your lesson by heart learn do
 'Kaka, learn your lesson by heart'.

28. pḏrvin, menũ apṇe sḏkul da
 Parveen to me own school of

like 'hello'. In certain formal situations, greeter and greetee fold hands and shake both hands, but in other situations only with single hand. Friends of equal status always greet each other by verbal greeting forms and non-verbal gestures like handshake, pat on face or back, closing of eyes, etc. When there is an intimacy between greeter and greetee the age factor is not taken into account in such situations. Greetings are also related with etiquette: a greeting has no value unless a person has etiquette, e.g., if he/she refuses to extend his/her hand for greeting or takes seat without permission, etc.

In the contemporary modern society in urban areas, the parents greet their son by the greeting form 'hello'. The son also greets his parents in return by the same greeting formal verbal form.

6. helo beṭa sáḅ (KSD.1954:12)
hello son (HON)
'Hello! son'.

7. helo ḁmmi (KSD.1954:12)
hello mother
'Hello! mother'.

In a formal situation, a younger person folds his/her hands or touches the feet of

each other by their first names. In the examples given below, sisters address each other by diminutive first names:

32. lajo! lajo! rəbb de vaste (BG.1959:105)
Lajo! Lajo! God is sake

cUpp ré

quiet be

'Lajo! Lajo! for God's sake please be quiet'.

33. dipo, kára Ubbəl gIa (BG.1970:105)
Deepo, medicine boiled has
'Deepo, medicine has been boiled'.

5.1.3.2. Elder Sister to Younger Sister

34. seema, tənū mām̄mi bUla rəi he
Seema, to you mummy call-ing is
'Seema, mummy is calling you'.

35. bebi, mənū tən̄ na kār
Baby, to me disturb not do
'Baby, please don't disturb me'.

In the example given below an elder sister addresses her younger sister with kinship terms like **bibi** and **pən** to express her sympathy and to console her:

36. kabār na bibi pən (NS.1944:84)
worry don't sister sister

sətt gUru tere tən̄ sən̄ e, bapu ji
true Guru you with is Bapu HON

tere kol ne
you with is

waving of hands are used. Strangers may or may not use formal greeting forms before starting a conversation.

Like verbal greetings, non-verbal greetings are also used in formal as well as in informal situations appropriate to contexts.

4.3. Fixed and Alternative Greetings

In Punjabi two types of greetings are used: (1) fixed greetings and (2) alternative greetings. In fixed greetings, most of the responses can be predicted. In alternative greetings, responses may vary from person to person, according to situations.

4.3.1. Fixed Greetings

Among the fixed greeting forms between Hindus **nāmḁste**, **nāmḁskar** are very frequently used. **nāmḁste** is less formal than **nāmḁskar**. **nāmḁste** and **helo** are generally used among friends, colleagues, acquaintances and strangers of equal status. **nāmḁskar** is frequently used in formal situations. The greeting forms **ram-ram** and **jē ramji ki** are mostly used by illiterate and less educated people and usually by those who have migrated from U.P., Bihar to Punjab. **jē ram ji ki** is more formal than

40. ó te mUkk gIa e (KSG.1970:45)
 that finish went has
 bebe, a nõi mUkka
 bebe this not finished
 'Mother that has finished, but not
 this'.
41. bebe hUṇ tera ki hal he
 mother now your what condition is
 'Mother, how are you feeling now?'
42. hã cài mẽ tenũ bót (D.1973:67)
 yes mother I to-you very
 tññ kārnavã
 trouble to give
 'Yes mother, I create much trouble
 for you'.

Honorific forms of address are either used for showing deep affection for mother or they are used in the presence of others in a formal situation. Examples are given as under:

43. mã ji tUsĩ mere (Sekhon 1974:91)
 mother HON you me
 kol a jao
 to come go
 'Mother come near to me'.
44. bi ji jaṇdeo tUsĩ (ICN.1969:77)
 mother HON go give you
 jao bibi
 go bibi
 'Mother, let it be. Bibi you
 may go'.

45. mām̐mi ji, dekho mere (HS.1965:94)
 mother HON see my
 nokār nū māt kiSe kām̐m pējo
 servant to not any work send
 'Mother, don't send my servant for
 any work'.

5.1.5. Mother to Son

A mother usually addresses her son by his first name or nick name. She always uses a non-honorific form of address while addressing her son, but an honorific form of address in the presence of others. She may also use **betā** or **pūttār** and **pūtt** to show affection.

46. kaka ājj cheti a gīa e
 kaka today soon come went are
 'Kaka, you have come very soon today'.
47. pār mē vi ki kārā kiśān
 but I also what do Kishan
 'Kishan, what can I do?'
48. vīkki, āp̐a dūd le le
 Vikky, your milk take take
 'Vikky, take your milk'.
49. vīkas, mās̐in nū na cher
 Vikas, machine to don't touch
 'Vikas, don't touch the machine'.

Terms like **pūtt**, **pūttār**, **bācce** are used to show deep affection as in the examples given below:

50. ve a pUtt mŭ́ (Sekhon 1974:87)
hey come son face

hətt̪h t̪ò te kəpr̪e bədd̪əl, thəkea
hands wash then clothes change tired

hōvega
will be

'Come on son, wash your hands and face
and change your clothes (dress), you
must be tired'.

51. Īndər! Īndər! Īndər beṭa (D.1973:170)
Inder Inder Inder son

na ja
not go

'Inder (my son) don't go'.

52. bəcca ḍsī koi véliā bēṭhiā (HS.1965:78)
child we any idle sitting

sā
were

'Were we sitting idle son?'

A mother may also address her son with
term like pài, mŭṇḍIa, ve mŭṇḍIa, etc.

53. ve pài mŭṇḍIa teri (Sekhon 1974:94)
hey brother boy your

bōu tā bəṛi cəlak e
wife CP very clever is

'Brother (boy) your wife is very clever'.

54. bəṣ kər ve mŭṇḍIa, ēve (Sekhon 1974:91)
stop do hey boy this

vād̪du gəllā na kərIa kər
much talk not do-ing do

'O' (boy) don't talk so much'.

55. ve jitIa kàritea, ðje (KSG.1970:45)
 hey Jitya now
 tera gənnna nɔi mUka
 your sugarcane not finished
 'Jitya, didn't you finish your sugarcane
 yet?'

In the above example **kàritea** is a sort of derogatory term added by the mother to the first name to show anger.

5.1.6. Daughter to Mother

A daughter might address her mother with either honorific or non-honorific terms. Normally a mother is addressed by her children with non-honorific forms of address. if a daughter is grown up, educated or has a higher status in society then she might address her mother with honorific forms. An honorific form is also used in the presence of others to show respect. But in rural areas a mother is addressed with non-honorific forms irrespective of the status of the addresser. Sometimes, sons or daughters tend to adopt those forms of address that are used by other members of family for the addressee like **pàbi**, etc.

Example:

56. pàbi ji, é (D.1973:18)
 brother's wife HON this

səvetər kIs da bəna rəe ho
sweater whose of knit-ing are
'Mother, whose sweater you are knitting?'

In the above example, the daughter addresses her mother with the term **pəbi ji** (normally used as an address term for brother's wife). Other terms of address are **mā**, **mata ji**, **məmmi**, **məmmi ji**, **mā ji**, **cāi ji**, **bibi ji**.

57. cəl mā əsī cəl nīā (GSK.1950:12)
let mother we go

hā enū rēp de
is him live let
'Mother, let us go, let him stay here'.

58. mā ji, ki gəl e (HS.1965:38)
mother HON what matter is
'Mother, what is the matter?'

In the above examples Satnam addresses her mother by both **mata ji** and **mā ji** in the presence of others.

59. cāi ji, tənū kInne (D.1973.23)
mother HON to you how much

var kīa es kār vīc jā
times said this home in either

šīšā rəvega jā mē
'Mother, how many times have I said,
either I will remain in this house
or the mirror'.

Besides terms of address, pronominal forms are also used in the example given above.

Though a daughter is addressing her mother with an honorific form of address, still she uses non-honorific pronominal forms along with it.

5.1.7. Mother to Daughter

A mother generally addresses her daughter by her first name, diminutive first name or nick name. She always uses non-honorific form of address while addressing her, but an honorific form of address may be used in the presence of others. She also uses terms like *tīe* 'daughter', *puṭṭār* 'son', *bāccī* 'child', etc., to show deep affection.

60. *Uṭṭh kārmo, pō phUṭṭ* (GSK.1950:9)
get up Karmo dawn burst

pāi e
laid is
'Karmo, get up, it is dawn'.

61. *kUṛe jito, kītthō ai ā* (HS.1965:76)
girl Jeeto, where came is
'Jeeto, where from have you come?'

62. *mUnni, ŠIv kore* (Sekhon 1974:80)
munni, shiv kaur
'Hey girl! Shiv Kaur'.

63. *sātnam! sātnam dārvaja klō* (HS.1965:42)
Satnam! Satnam door why
bāḍ kita i
close did is

'Satnam, why you have closed the door?'

64. mUnni, tera tã sIr mũ (HS.1965:81)
 Munni, your EP head mouth
 aṭṭe nal pḍrea pIa e
 flour with full of laid is
 'Munni, your head is full with flour'.

Terms like pUttār, tie, bācca are used to express deep affection. The term pUttār means 'son' but it is used for a daughter also for showing affection.

65. dāss pUttār
 tell son
 'Daughter, tell'.
66. pUl janni ā tie, (GSK.1950:5)
 forget go is daughter
 ki kḍrā
 what do
 'Daughter, I forget what to do'.
67. hā sḍmḍj ḡḍi hā (GSK.1950:9)
 yes understand went is
 bācci
 child (she)
 'Daughter, I have understood'.

A kinship term of address like **bibi** is also used by the mother to address her daughter.

Example:

68. bibi sUkkh nal tã (Sekhon 1974:96)
 bibi comfort with EP

ai e
came is
'Daughter, did you come with ease?'

5.1.8. Daughter-in-law to Mother-in-law

A daughter-in-law may address her mother-in-law with those kinship terms of address used by her husband and other family members like *mā ji*, *mā*, *mata ji*, *māmmi*, *bebe*, *bibi*, *māmmi ji*, etc.

69. rUtt bəḍḍəl rōi e (Sekhon 1974:176)
season changing is

mā ji
mother HON
'Mother, (the) season is changing'.

70. *mā*, aṭṭa nōi mettho (HS.1965:76)
mother flour not by me

əjj pī hūda
today grind can
'Mother, I can't grind this flour today'.

71. *māmmi* meri gəl da gUssa nā mənno
mother my talk's anger don't accept
'Mother, don't get angry at what I am
going to say'.

72. *mata* ji, *mē* əjj der nal avāgi
mother HON I today delay with come will
'Mother, I will be late today'.

Normally, honorific forms of address are used by daughters-in-law when addressing mothers-in-law to show respect.

5.1.9. Mother-in-law to Daughter-in-law

A mother-in-law might address her daughter-in-law by her first name or nick name or by a particular term of address like **bāu**, **kUre**, etc. In the examples given below, both **bāu** and **kUre** are used in anger:

73. bās ni bāu! mū
stop hey daughter-in-law mouth
sāmbalke bol
carefully talk
'Stop daughter-in-law, hold your tongue'.
74. kUre tū (Sekhon 1974:75)
daughter-in-law you
Ūnji betṭhi e
without sit is
'Daughter-in-law, are you sitting idle?'

The term **bāu** is restricted to daughter-in-law but **kUre** is used for daughters as well. In the above example, **kUre** is used to express anger. The mother-in-law may also use the first name or nick name to address her daughter-in-law.

75. rāma, e mej saf kār de
Rama, this table clean do give
'Rama, please clean this table'.
76. ānu mēnū dāva de de
Anu, to-me medicine give give
'Anu, give me medicine'.

5.1.1.10. Father-in-law to Daughter-in-law

A father-in-law might address his daughter-in-law by her first name or nick name or by a particular kinship term like **bôu**.

77. Ìndôr pal, tũ sôrdar (KSG.1970:75)
Inder Paul, you Sardar

ram sÎñ di tî nôi meri
Ram Singh of daughter not, my

vi te tî e
also P daughter are
'Inder Paul, you are not only the
daughter of Sardar Ram Singh, but
mine also'.

The father-in-law also uses the first name to address his daughter-in-law.

78. tera pûleka e, Ìndra (KSG.1970:76)
your illusion is Indra
'Indra, it is your illusion'.

A father-in-law may also address his daughter-in-law by the kinship term **beṭi** or **bôu**.

79. beṭi mere lôi cá bôṇa
daughter-in-law me for tea prepare
de
give
'Daughter, prepare tea for me'.

80. bôu, mere kôṇṇe lîa
bahu mine clothes bring
'Daughter-in-law, bring my clothes'.

5.1.11. Daughter-in-law to Father-in-law

A daughter-in-law uses the kinship term of address for her father-in-law which is used for him by her husband or other members of the family. She always uses honorific forms of address like **bapu ji**, **pita ji**, **ḍeḍi ji**.

81. mē kadd Īnkar kārni ā (KSG.1971:76)
I when refused doing am

bapu ji
father HON
'Father, did I ever refuse?'

82. pita ji, mere lāi Ik sal le
father Hon me for one shawl get

ke ana
CP bring
'Father, please bring a shawl for me'.

83. ḍeḍi ji mē bilkul thik hā
father HON I alright Okay am
'Father, I am alright'.

84. pāpa ji, tUsī kaddō ae
father HON you when come
'Father, when did you come?'

5.1.12. Father to Son

A father usually addresses his son by his first name, nick name, first plus middle name or with other terms in different situations. He normally uses non-honorific forms of address for his son.

Examples:

86. món, etthe a
Mohan, here come
'Mohan, come here'.
87. kUkku, mēñ ðpñi kðtab vIkha
Kuku, to-me your book show
'Kuku, show me your book'.
88. aśu, sðkul da kðmm kðr
Ashu, school's work do
'Ashu, do your school work'.
89. ðśok kUmar, ña le
Ashok Kumar, bath take
'Ashok Kumar, take (a) bath'.

In all the above examples, a father uses non-honorific forms of address. But sometimes a father may use honorific forms when his son is grown up and he has attained a higher social status. For example, in the presence of others if a father wants to show affection to his adult son, he uses a polite form of address.

90. món ji, tUsĩ éni der kitthe rðe
Mohan HON you so long where were
'Mohan ji, where were you so long?'
91. món beṭe tUaða ki hal he
Mohan son your what condition is
'Mohan, how are you?'

A father may also address his son with forms like pUttðr, beṭa 'son', etc.

92. pUttār Uṭṭh khḁlo
son, get-up stand-up
'Son, get up'.

93. beṭa, dḁvai lē lo
son, medicine take take
'Son, take your medicine'.

Sometimes a father may use a non-honorific form to show anger to his son.

94. tũ mera kēṇa mḁṇḁa é kI nḁi
you my advice act upon are or not
'Are you going to do what I say or not?'

95. tũ hUṇ menũ sḁbḁk sḁkhaega
you now to-me lesson will teach
'Now you are going to teach me a lesson?'

But at other times, he may use an honorific form to express sarcasm.

5.1.13. Son to Father

The common modes of address that are used by a son for his father are pIta ji, bapu ji, ḁḁḁi ji, lala ji, pāpa ji, etc. In higher society and among educated people, a son always uses honorific forms while addressing his father.

Examples:

96. thoṛa cIr hoIa, (Sekhon 1974:94)
little time passed,

bapu ji
father HON
'Father, only a little time has passed'.

97. lala ji kùṭṭ dīā tUānũ, sḍṭṭ
father HON press give to-you, injury
lḍgg gḍi honi e
struck gone will be
'Father, shall I massage you? You must
have been hurt?'

98. pIta ji, tUānũ pḍta (KSG.1971:33)
father HON to you know
nḍi ki kḍr beṭṭhe o
not what done sat have
'Father, you don't know what you have
done'.

99. ḍḍḍi mē mḍjbur hā (D.1973:79)
father I helpless am
'Father, I am helpless' (There is
nothing else I can do)

But among the uneducated people a son
generally uses non-honorific forms of address.

100. kīne marIa i tēnũ (Sekhon 1974:57)
who beat has to-you
bapu
bapu
'Father, who has beaten you?'

101. nḍi, pāia, ó kḍr nḍi
no father, he home not
si
was
'No, father, he was not at home'.

102. mē dāsna ābba (KSG.1971:50)
 I will tell father
 'Father, I will tell you'.

The term ābba is used by Muslims.

5.1.14. Father-in-law/Mother-in-law to Son-in-law

A son-in-law has the same status in the family as a son has. Honorific form is used to address the son-in-law.

103. mōn ji, cá le lāo
 Mohan HON,tea take take
 'Mohan ji, please take tea'.

A father-in-law or a mother-in-law may switch over to non-honorific forms as intimacy between them develops.

104. mōn, tera karoḅar ājj-kāḅl kēojāIa
 Mohan your business these days how
 cāḅl rIā e
 go-ing is
 'Mohan, how is your business getting
 on these days?'

105. mōn tū šerō kādō aIa
 Mohan you from-city when came
 'Mohan, when did you arrive from
 the city?'

5.1.15. Son-in-law to Father-in-law/Mother-in-law

But a father-in-law or a mother-in-law will always receive honorific forms of address from his/her son-in-law.

106. pIta ji, tUsĩ kðdð ae
 father HON, you when came
 'Father, when did you come?'
107. mata ji, tUàði ti mere
 mother HON, your daughter me
 nal lðrði he
 with quarrel is
 'Mother, your daughter quarrels
 with me'.
108. bapu ji, ki mē tUàði koi seva
 father HON, may I your any service
 kðr sðkda hã
 do can am
 'Father, can I do any thing for you?'

5.1.16. Father to Daughter

A father may address his daughter by her first name, diminutive first name, nick name or other non-honorific forms of address. In some situations a polite suffix *ji* is added to her first name: When she has acquired a higher social status, or in the presence of her colleagues, etc. This suffix can also be added to show deep affection to a daughter. A father uses polite or honorific forms for her only on rare occasions.

Examples:

109. cá vIc kðrtar kUre (Sekhon 1974:40)
 tea in Kartar Kaur

dūḍ kuc̥ch thora i
milk rather little is
'Kartar Kaur, there is not much milk
in the tea'.

110. bābbu, meri kāmiz de de
Babbu, my shirt give give
'Babbu, give my my shirt'.

111. bābli, mera koṭ rāfu kār deo
Babli, my coat darn do give
'Babli, (please) darn my coat'.

A father may also use honorific forms of address after his daughter is married or in the presence of her husband or her other in-laws. A father also uses **beṭe**, **puṭṭār** (which are normally used for a son) to show affection.

112. puṭṭār, é tū ki kār beṭhi hē
daughter, this you what done sat are
'Daughter, what have you done?'

113. beṭa, menū pūl na jāi
beta, tome forget not me?
'Daughter, don't forget me'.

Other terms like **bibi ti** and **kūrie** are also used.

114. bās, ro na, meri (HS.1965:24)
stop, weep don't, my
bibi ti
daughter
'Daughter, please don't weep'.

115. ki gəl e, kUrie, kIŌ (D.1974:71)
 what matter is, girl, why
 ro rđi e, kUŝđlIa
 weep-ing are, Kushalya
 'Kushalya, what is the matter, why
 are you weeping?'

5.1.17. Daughter to Father

A daughter generally uses honorific forms of address for her father. As we have pointed out above, among illiterate people non-honorific forms are also used.

Examples:

116. koi na pher (Sekhon 1974:40)
 anything not then
 bapu tũ tã pŭkhe thIai nđi
 father you PART. hungry found not
 morđa kIse nũ
 turn back any-body to
 'Doesn't matter, you do not let anybody
 to go without eating something'
117. paIa, mǎ ne kđde (HS.1965:20)
 father, mother ERG never
 menũ hđtth ni laIa
 to-me hand not lay-on
 'Father, mother never touched me'.

A daughter and a son use the same honorific forms in addressing their father.

Examples:

118. paIa ji, mẽ tUàđa pàr (HS.1965:20)
 father HON, I your burden

hola kār cāli hā
 lighten do going am
 'Father, I am going to lighten your
 burden'.

119. hor menū kucch (KSG.1970:75)
 more tome something

cāida vi nāi papa ji
 want also not father HON
 'Father, I don't want anything'.

120. bapu ji, sāt sārī (Sekhon 1974:96)
 father HON, sat sari

ākal
 akal
 'Father, Sat Sri Akal'.

121. dēdī ji, hūñ tūādi kārī vīc ki
 day HON now your watch in what

ṭem he
 time is
 'Father, what time do you have?'

122. bapu ji, tūsī, bārī der bad ae
 bapu HON, you very late after came
 'Father, you have come after a long
 time'.

123. pīta ji, hūñ mera phīkār na kārō
 father HON, now my worry don't do
 'Father, don't worry about me'.

124. pher, dēdī pher ki (D.1973:20)
 then dady then what

hovega
 will-happen
 'Father, then what will happen?'

125. klõ, ðbba ji (D.1973:106)
 why, father HON
 'Why, father?'

5.1.18. Husband to Wife

Normally no formal forms of address are used by a husband to address his wife. Formal forms of address may however, be used in the presence of others or in certain formal situations. A husband addresses his wife by her first name, nick name or with other terms like *širimði*, *darlĩ*, *pàgvane*, *sukhdev di mã*, etc., depending on their social status and the context of the situation.

Examples:

126. šila ji vððai (KSG.1971:23)
 Shila HON, congratulation
 dIo
 give
 'Shila ji, congratulate me'.
127. ĩndu! meriã ðkkhã vIcc (KSG.1970:95)
 Indu! my eyes in
 vekh
 look
 'Indu, look into my eyes'.

A husband may use polite form of address in the presence of others.

128. beṭṭho lðlita ji (Sekhon 1974:156)
 sit down Lalita HON
 'Lalita ji, be seated'.

Persons who belong to the older generation, avoid using direct modes of address with their spouses. Here a husband addresses his wife by referring to his son.

129. ki gəl ε, (Sekhon 1974:94)
 what matter is,
 sUkhdev di mā
 Sukhdev's mother
 'Sukhdev's mother, what is the matter?'

130. mē kīa pali di mā (D.1973:507)
 I said Pali's mother
 'Pali's mother, I am saying'.

Terms like *qīḏr* or *ḏarlin* are common among educated people.

131. kḏho qīḏr
 say dear
 'Dear, say'.

132. darlin mē ṭhik kīa si (GSK.1950:77)
 darling, I right say was
 'Darling, what I said was right'.

Other terms like *širimṭi ji*, and *pāgvane* are also used in formal situation.

133. širimṭi ji, paṇi (KSG.1971:127)
 shrimati HON, water
 'Shrimati ji, water!'

134. pāgvane meri gəl tā sUṇ
 address-form my talk P listen
 'Pagvane (the term used for wife),
 listen to me'.

5.1.19. Wife to Husband

A wife may use honorific forms of address while addressing her husband in the presence of others or in formal situations. She may use professional terms with honorific suffixes like **ḍaktḍr sáḇ, vḍkil sáḇ**, etc.

In earlier generations both husband and wife avoided using any direct mode of address in their conversation as in the following examples:

135. nIrmḍla de pāia, dekh (HS.1965:20)
Nirmala's father, see

le kUṛi de hal
take daughter's condition
'Nirmala's father, see your daughter's condition'.

136. bolde ni, tUsĩ bḍzar kḍḍḍ jao ge
talk don't, you bazar when go will
'You are not saying, when you will go to bazar?'

A wife may address her husband with other terms also as in the examples given below:

137. ḍḍā na kḍo pḍtidev (KSG.1971:35)
like don't say husband
this
'Patidev (husband), don't speak like this'.

138. Širiman ji, é kḍr (Sekhon 1974:1)
Mr. HON, this house

hɛ, pʊstkala nɔi
is, library not
'Mr., this is home, not a library'.

139. babu ji, ɛnũ kʊjj (Sekhon 1974:153)
Babu HON, to it some

kabu cə rəkkho
control in have
'Babu ji (husband), you must have some
control over it'.

A wife may also address her husband by
his first name.

140. sʊkhdev ji, kər (Sekhon 1974:153)
Sukhdev HON, done

cʊke ɪʃnan
have bath
'Sukhdev ji, have you taken your bath?'

In modern society, terms like *ḍīār*, *ḍarlin*
are also used.

141. jón ḍīār, tʊsĩ ki (GSK.1950:72)
John dear, you what

gəllĩ kər rəe ho
talk do-ing are
'John dear, what are you saying?'

142. ḍarlin ḍarlin (GSK.1950:63)
darling darling
'Darling, Darling'.

The analysis of addressing terms shows
that familial relational terms used for first
order relations are not only restricted to

family relations, but are also used for other social as well as professional relations. It has also been observed that a number of new Anglicized terms of address like *ɔnkɔl ʔti*, *ɔɔɔi*, *mɔmi*, etc., are frequently used in place of traditional terms mostly in urban areas. The people in rural areas tend to maintain the use of traditional native terms.

5.2. Social Dyadic Relations

A person in his social life comes in contact with other persons and plays different roles in a given society. These contacts can be of different types: contacts among neighbours, friends, land-lord-tenants, master-servant in a given society. Certain socio-economic, socio-cultural and religious patterns also bring individuals and families close together. As a result, diverse interpersonal relations of individuals develop among the members of a society. Some of the interpersonal relations are developed by a contact between a servant and a master, between a land-lord and a tenant and also between friends, strangers etc. The use of modes of address and pronouns of address depends on different factors in the interpersonal relationship. In this

section, some of the main dyadic relations have been discussed.

5.2.1. Student to Teacher

Different modes of address and pronouns are used between teachers and students depending on various factors. It mainly depends on the relationship between students and teachers, sex, age, socio-economical and educational background of the teachers as well as students level of education (primary, middle, college, university, etc.). The use of modes of address varies at different educational levels. Firstly, a distinction is to be made between male and female teachers. A male or female student uses different modes of address for male and female teachers at school level (i.e., primary to high). Examples of such type of modes of address are given below:

Teachers	
Female	Male
āṇṭi	mast̤ər sáḃ
məḍəm	mast̤ər ji
p̤ən̤ji	sər
m̤əḍəm ji	sər ji
āṇṭi ji	
mIs	

āṇṭi (originally English 'aunt') is a borrowed kinship term, but it is used as a mode of address for showing respect for elder women. **āṇṭi** may also be followed by honorific suffix **ji** as well, i.e., **āṇṭi ji**. Similarly **pēṇ** is a kinship term used for sister. **pēṇ ji** is an honorific mode of address for sister. It is also used for addressing a female teacher. **mēḍām** (Madam) is a borrowed term of address and **ji** may also be added to it, i.e., **mēḍām ji**. This is an honorific term of address used for educated and respectable women in general. **mīś** (Miss) and **sīśṭār** (Sister) are also borrowed modes of address generally used in English medium convent schools for teachers and nuns. **maṣṭār** is a term for teacher borrowed from English. **sáb** or **ji** honorific suffixes are added to it for changing it into modes of address. Similarly, **sār** (Sir) or **sār ji** (Sir ji) are used for addressing male teachers. These forms of address may be explained through various examples.

Examples for addressing female teachers are given below:

143. **āṇṭi, mē paṇi piṇ**
aunt, I water to-drink

jāṽā

go

'Aunt, may I go to drink water?'

144. meḍḍam, pēlā meri kappi cek kār deo
 madam first my copy check do give
 'Madam, please check my notebook first'.

145. pēṇ ji menū maf kār deo
 sister to-me forgive do give
 'Sister, please forgive me'.

146. meḍḍam ji, Is vak da ki
 madam HON this sentence of what
 mātḷlāb he
 meaning is
 'Madam, what is meant by this sentence?'

147. āṇṭi ji, huṇ mē ja sōkda hā
 aunt HON, now I go can am
 'Aunt (teacher), may I go now?'

148. mIs, mē apṇi kapi ḍjj kār
 Miss I my notebook to-day home
 pūll aIa
 forgot came
 'Miss, I have forgotten my notebook
 at home to-day'.

Following are the examples of the modes of address used for male teachers:

149. maṣṭār ji, menū Ik dIn di chUṭṭi
 master HON, to-me one day of leave
 de deo
 give give
 'Masterji, please give me leave for
 one day'.

150. mastār sáḇ, hUṇ tUàḍa ki hal hē
 master HON, now your how condition is
 'Master Sahib (teacher), how are
 you now?'

151. sār, mē é kōmm ni kitta
 sir, I this work not done
 'Sir, I have not done this work'.

Besides using modes of address, honorific pronouns like tUsī, tUàḍa, tUanū, etc., are also used by students. Honorific pronouns are same both for male and female teachers. Pronouns and modes of address are also used together in a sentence.

152. mastār ji, tUàḍa kār kitthe hē
 master HON, your house where is
 'Master ji, where is your house?'

153. mēḍḍm ji, tUsī, jēra kōmm ditta
 Madam HON, you which work given
 si mē ni kitta
 was I not done
 'Madam, I could not do the work,
 which you had given to me'.

154. mēḍḍm ji, kāl mē tUanū ḍpni
 madam HON, yesterday I you my
 fis ditti si
 fee given was
 'Madam, I had paid my fee to you
 yesterday'.

The use of modes of address and pronouns varies at different educational levels. Notice

that the **sār ji**, is mainly used for male teachers and **medām ji** for female teachers at the primary level. At the middle and high school levels, students mostly address their teachers by the terms like **sār**, **medām**, **āṁṁi**, **mīs**, etc. Terms like **sār ji** and **medām ji** are very rarely used.

At the level of college and university education, students use terms like **sār** and **medām** for male and female teachers respectively. Surnames are used with honorific titles like Prof. Gupta, Mr. Gill, Mrs. Bhatia, Dr. Puar, Joshi sahib, Joshi Sir, etc.

It is observed that first name is added with the terms of address, like **Usha Madam**. But the term like **Usha Madam** is used to identify particular person in a particular context. For example, if teachers are in a group and a student has to convey a message to a particular teacher then he/she may use 'madam'/'sir' with the first name or surname of the teacher for specific identification.

A distinction is also made by high school or primary school students according to teacher's status in the school. For senior teachers they may use **bāddi medām** (elder or

senior madam) or **bāḍḍe sār** (elder or senior sir) and for junior teachers **choṭi meḍām** (younger or junior) or **choṭe sār** (younger or junior). Such distinction is also made in a case when there are two teachers in a school of a particular subject or class. In these examples **bāḍḍi** (fem.)/**bāḍḍe** (mas.) and **choṭṭi** (fem.)/**choṭṭe** (mas.) indicate elder or senior and younger or junior respectively.

5.2.2. Teacher to Student

A teacher may address a student in the class by his/her first name, but outside class or school, he/she may address him/her by his/her nick name as well. If there is private tuition at home, in that case, a teacher mainly addresses him or her by nick name. Examples are given below:

155. mōn, rōḷa na pa
Mohan, noise don't put
'Mohan, don't make a noise'.

156. ram, tũ apṇi kapi lla
Ram, you your copy bring
'Ram, bring your copy'.

157. ōnju, khḍṛi ho
Anju, stand up
'Anju, stand up'.

158. oe dipIa sðval kðdð (KSG.1970:101)
Hey! Dipa question solved

lIa e
take have
'Hey Dipia! Have you solved this
question'.

159. hã bði bðntu, sUña (KSG.1970:105)
yes hay Bantu, tell

Uṭṭh ke kàṇi
get P story
'Yes Bantu! Get up and tell a story'.

160. mUnna tũ é kðmm kIõ nõi khðtðm
Munna you this work why not finish

kItta
did

'Munna, why didn't you finish this
work?'

161. bðblu, menũ ðpni kðtab vIkha
Bablu, to-me your book show
'Bablu, show me your book'.

162. mUnni, tera kðr kItthe hē
Munni, your house where is
'Munni, where is your house?'

Like modes of address, non-honorific
pronouns are also used by the teachers.

Examples:

163. tũ beṭh ja
you sit (down (go)
'You sit down'.

164. tũ ap̃i kapi lIa
you your copy bring
'Bring your copy'.

165. rɔla na pa
noise, don't put
'Don't make a noise'.

In imperative sentence, second person pronouns are not used at the surface level. They are however understood in the use of the form of the verb in a sentence, e.g., in the sentence *rɔla na pa* non-honorific pronoun *tũ* is recovered through *pa*.

A teacher may also use polite terms or pronouns of address for his/her student in a situation when he wants to show more affection to student or if a student is grown up and belongs to a higher family or in formal situations.

166. tUsĩ menũ ɔp̃a kɔmm vIkhaɔ
you, to-me your work show
'(Please) show me your work'.

167. tUàɛ pIta ji da ki nã he
your father HON of what name is
'What is your father's name?'

Honorific forms may be used by the teacher while making sarcastic remarks:

168. tUsĩ mere tũ v'add
you me than better

jaṇde ho
know are
'You know better than me'.

In anger, the teacher normally uses non-honorific forms only.

Examples:

169. tũ kəɭ səkul kyō ni aɭa
you yesterday school why not came
'Why didn't you come to school
yesterday'.

170. tũ bēnc de Utte khəɭo ja
you bench of on stand go
'Stand up on the bench'.

Mild abuses are generally used by male teachers for male students in anger. Like **gəḏḏā (khotta)**, **Ullu**, **cəɭla**, **suro**, etc. Such derogatory modes of address are mostly used in rural schools by teachers who are unsophisticated. The use of such terms are less frequent or rarely used in urban schools. The use of such terms reflect the teacher's socio-cultural and educational background. A number of examples of such type of modes of address may be seen in a number of texts. Examples are given from the texts:

171. oe mūṇḏɭo cūpp kər (KSG.1970:98)
hey boys be quiet

jao suro
go pigs
'O boys - pigs, keep quiet'.

172. tUãde sarlã de dðmag (KSG.1970:107)
your all of brains

nũ sIuk lðgg gði hoi e khoteo
to bookworm stuck went happen is donkeys
'O donkeys, the brains of all of you
have been eaten up by insects'.

173. oe s'ri dIa, mẽ dðssã (KSG.1970:106)
hey pigs of I tell

te tã sUnave ga
EP then narrate will
'O son of pig, I will say (first) then
you will narrate'.

174. oe ðgge bðkk tĩqIa, (KSG.1970:106)
hey ahead say an insect

bðrekã lðgg gðiã tenũ
brakes struck gone to you
'O insect, carry on, why have you
stopped'.

175. oe tenũ thoṛa akhIa (KSG.1970:103)
hey to you any say

si, allu bukharIa
was plum
'O plum, I had not asked you'.

176. oe panã dIo golIo, (KSG.1970:101)
hey heart of slave,

sðval kIse nũ vi nõi aũda
question no one to also not knowing
'O leaf of a playing cards, no one
knows the answer (to this question)'.

177. oe bīll bātorīa tēnū (KSG.1970:106)
 hey talkative to you

aho āgā ho mār
 saying ahead die
 'O talkative, I am saying you to go
 'ahead'.

178. oe tū dās kāmāl de (D.1973:34)
 hey you tell Kamal of

bācce, tū ki jāvab kade e
 child you what answer taken is
 'O Kamal's child (i.e., Kamal) what is
 the answer you have found?'

5.2.3. Master to Servant

In general, non-honorific forms of address are used by a master to address his/her servant but a master always receives honorific forms of address in return. Honorific forms of address are very rarely used by the master in some formal situations for showing affection or intimacy.

Servants can be classified into different categories such as (a) Domestic servants, (2) Agricultural servants or labourers and (3) Attendants, drivers, etc.

Domestic servants may also be of different types, such as (a) sweeper, (b) **mai** (one who cleans utensils), (c) **mali** (gardener), (d) **aya** (one who looks after children and cooks meals,

etc.). Each and every servant has his/her own social status in the society. For example, a sweeper's status is lower than the status of a servant who cleans utensils.

It is not necessary that all servants belong to low caste. Sometimes, persons of high caste are compelled to do work of lower status due to their poverty. For example, a Brahman woman has a high status in society, but if she has no source of income, poverty forces her to do any lower standard work. Therefore, caste is not taken into account when we talk about the status of persons who are engaged in work considered to be of lower status. Further, a distinction is made between three servants **mali** (gardener), **aya** (nurse) and **ra'soia** (cook), whether they are skilled or not. Normally some skilled workers have higher status than the unskilled workers, and they command some respect in society. The financial benefit or returns do not determine whether the work is skilled or unskilled one.

The status is also determined by the conditions and situation of work. For example, if a servant is working in a rich family house,

he commands more respect than the one working in a middle class family house.

Thus, servants are categorised according to their status, skill and also the condition of their work.

Generally, terms used by servants for their masters are more or less of same type. There are only some negligible differences, if any. Non-honorific modes of address used by masters for their servants are also not very different. These modes of addresses vary according to age and sex of the participants. Thus addressing procedures from both side, i.e., master to servant and servant to master are different. In domestic category, we start from lower status servant to upper status servant.

5.2.3.1. Sweepers

In general, sweepers belong to a lower caste. Their status is considered to be low because of their profession. Sweepers are now addressed by their first name, diminutive first name or nick name. There was a time, when a sweeper was never addressed by his/her first name or nick name, but by the professional terms like *jāmadar/jāmadarni*

in Punjabi, and **bhāṅgi** or **mehtrani** in Hindi.
Now these terms are very rarely used.

179. jāmādarṇi, pēsē kḥl nū lē jāvi
jamādarṇi, money tomorrow to take gone
'Jamādarṇi, take money tomorrow'.

180. āmro, pipe dā kuṛā bār suṭṭ de
Amro, dustbin of garbage out throw
'Amro, throw out the garbage from
dustbin'.

In an example from the text, a master uses
an abuse **sala** (wife's brother) in anger.

181. oe sale rāmālu de, (HS.1965:104)
hey sale Rāmālu of,
āj j tū bathrūm saf nāi kitta
today you bathroom clean not did
'O sale Rāmālu, why didn't you clean
bathroom today?'

In this example, an abuse **sala** (literally
'wife's brother') is used for the addressee.

182. chḥḍḍ jāmādar cḥḡṛā (HS.1965:104)
stop jamādar dispute
'Jamādar, stop this dispute'.

183. jāmādar sāb nīberō (HS.1965:104)
jamādar HON hush up
cḥḡṛā
dispute
'Jamādar Sahib, please clear this
dispute'.

In the above example, a term of solidarity

is used for the head sweeper. Here a polite suffix **sáb** is added with the professional title.

184. ja pài, é te (HS.1965:104)
 go brother this EP
 kām̐la e, kūt̐ piti hoi su
 stupid is, sip drank happen is
 'Go brother, he is stupid and is drunk'.

Sometimes, modes of address and pronouns are together used in a sentence.

Example:

185. Šə̀kUntla, tũ kə̀l kyõ nõi ai
 Shakuntla, you yesterday why not come
 'Shakuntla, why didn't you come
 yesterday?'

5.2.3.2. Mai (One who cleans utensils)

Servants of this category are addressed by their first name or nick names. If a women servant engaged in this work is old in age, she is addressed as **mai ji** or **mai**. The term **mai ji** is used in a context when master shows respect for her. The term **mai** is also used for a lady peon working in a school/college. This term is also used for an old female beggar. The term **mai** is also used as a term for mother by some people.

The term **mai** is fairly common among domestic

servants. If the female servant is young, she will be addressed by her first name or nick name instead of mai.

It is observed that sometimes kinship terms of address like massi (mother's sister) is used for her for showing intimacy and affection.

Examples:

186. mai, pēlā kəpp pletā saf kār de
mai, first cup plates clean do give
'Mai, clean cups and plates first'.

187. kəmmo, pāḍe vim de nal saf kār
Kammo utensils vim of with clean do
'Kammo, clean utensils with vim'.

188. mai ji, pāḍe šam nū saf
mai HON utensils evening in clean
kār dena
do give
'Mai ji, clean utensils in the
evening'.

Like non-honorific modes of address non-honorific pronouns are also used.

189. massi, tū kəl pāḍe mājən
Massi, you tomorrow utensils scrubb
na āvi
don't come
'Massi, don't come to clean utensils
tomorrow'.

190. tū ḍjj bōt der nal
you to-day very late with

ai
came
'You came very late today'.

191. kəɭ nũ der nal na ăvi
tomorrow to late with don't come
'Don't come late tomorrow'.

An honorific suffix **ji** is also added to **mai**.

Example:

192. mai ji, tUsĩ meri gəɭ tã sUno
mai Hon, you my talk EP listen
'Mai ji, listen to me'.

5.2.3.3. Mali (Gardener)

In general, non-honorific terms like **mali** are used for male servant and **maləŋ** for female servants. A **mali** may also be addressed by the term **pəi** as well.

193. mali, é phUɭ tor 'de
gardener, this flower pluck give
'Gardener, pluck this flower'.

194. pəi, é bij bo de
brother, this seed sow give
'Brother, sow this seed'.

The non-honorific pronouns are also used.

195. tũ kəɭ pəɖIă nu paŋi
you yesterday plants to water

klõ nõi ditta
 why not give
 'Why didn't you water the plants
 yesterday?'

5.2.3.4. Aya

The woman that looks after child/children is normally addressed by the professional non-honorific term of address **aya** itself. She may however be addressed by her first name also in case if she is young.

Examples:

196. aya, mUnne nũ bag vIc lē a
 Aya munne to garden in take come
 'Aya, take Munna to the garden'.
197. munny, rĩku de jutte pa de
 Munni, Rinku of shoes put on
 'Munni, help Rinku to put on his shoes'.
198. aya-aya mē kār jaṇa e (KSD.1954:46)
 Aya-Aya I home to go have
 'Aya-Aya, I have to go home'.
199. te tenũ ki e aya (KSD.1954:66)
 then to you what is aya
 'Aya, then what to you?'

5.2.3.5. Rāsoia (Cook)

Cooks are mostly males. They are addressed by their first name, full name or nick name.

200. mōṇ, col na bānaĩ
 Mohan, rice don't cook
 'Mohan, don't cook rice'.

201. mōn lal khana tīar hē
 Mohan Lal food ready is
 'Mohan Lal, is the food ready?'
202. ram dūlare, roṭi mē (Sekhon 1974:133)
 Ram Dūlare, meals in
 kya der hē
 how much time is
 'Ram Dūlare, how long the preparation
 of meals will take?'

If a servant is quite old he is addressed as **baba ji**, **lala ji**, etc. The use of pronominal forms depend on the factors of age and status.

5.2.3.6. Other Servants

This category of servants may include general household servants, agricultural servants, office attendants, personal chauffeurs. A household servant may assist his/her master in all the household work, i.e., cleaning, washing, cooking, looking after the children, etc.

Some servants are employed for agriculture work only. Sometimes, instead of money, fixed amount of grains are given to them as a remuneration for their work. Mostly, young, uneducated and landless peasants are engaged in agriculture work. They are generally addressed by their first names or nick names

and with non-honorific pronominal forms of address.

A master employs attendants for his private office as well as household work. They are mostly literate or technical hands because they have to do work of office or private business.

Status of the personal chauffeur is higher than other servants. Mostly chauffeurs are literate. They get more salary than other servants. Their status is higher according to their professional skill, and the conditions of work.

In general, first names, full names, nick names and non-honorific pronouns of address are used for them. In some cases for showing affection and intimacy, polite forms of address like the use of *ji*, etc., with the names including kinship terms of address like *beta*, *baba*, *caca* are used for them. In certain formal situations, honorific terms of address are also used.

5.2.4. Servant to Master

A master always addressed by honorific forms of address. Generally, these forms

like **sáb ji**, **sáb bádur**, **h̄zur** are also used.

Notice the following examples:

203. **sáb ji**, **s̄lam** (GSK.1950:60)
 sahaib HON salam
 'Sahib, Salam'.

In this example, a **m̄st̄r̄i** (mechanic) addresses the master:

204. **n̄i h̄zur mera é** (GSK.1950:62)
 no sir my this
m̄t̄l̄b̄ t̄ n̄i
 meaning EP. not
 'No Sir, this is not what I mean
 to say'.

205. **sáb bádur m̄ ki** (GSK.1950:62)
 sahib brave I what
ḡl̄ti kiti e
 wrong done
 'Sahib, what wrong I have done?'

206. **or̄t̄ jat e sáb** (KSD.1954:66)
 woman caste is sir
 'Sir, this is what women are'.

207. **saḍi b̄cci k̄It̄ni p̄l̄ari** (KSD.1978:39)
 our daughter how sweet
he sáb
 is sahib
 'How sweet our daughter is!'

208. **bau ji, koi admi** (Sekhon 1974:155)
 Bau HON, any man
ne b̄ar
 is outside

'Bau ji, there is a man outside'.

Similarly, a female master may also be addressed by honorific forms of address, which include **bibi**, **mem sá'b**, **bibi ji**, **malkIn**, etc.

209. bibi ji, menũ tã koi (HS.1965:93)

bibi HON, tome EP any

nđi pđta relu, nũ pàvẽ dđss
not know Relu, to pehaps said

gđe honge
went will have

'Bibi ji, I don't know, perhaps he
might have told to Relu'.

210. nđi mem sá'b (GSK.1950:87)

not Mem Sahib

'No Mem Sahib'.

211. mem sá'b cae tIar .he (BG.1970:121)

Mem HON tea ready is

'Mem Sahib, tea is ready'.

212. vekho te sđi bibi (KSD.1954:64)

see EP P bibi

'See, Bibi'.

213. ji malkIn (D.1973:297)

yes mistress

'Yes, mistress'.

To address the master's daughter, non-honorific addressing form is used:

214. chođi malkIn tũ (D.1973:35)

younger mistress you

pārešān lāgni
sad looking-are
'Younger Mistress, you are looking sad'.

In the absence of master a servant may refer his/her master by name + addressing form like hūsna + bibi, prem + babu. Examples are given below:

215. hūsna bibi te prem (KSD.1954:130)
Husna bibi and Prem
babu Ikko tēksi vīc bēṭh ke
babu one taxi in sitting P
cāle gāe ne
gone have (Aux.V.)
'Husna bibi and Prem babu have gone
in the same taxi'.

5.2.5. Friend to Friend

Two male or female friends, usually address each other either by their first names or by the nick names. Two male friends occasionally address each other by the term **yar** 'friend' as well. Examples are given below:

216. helo mīstār jāgdiś, (NS.1944:22)
Hello Mister Jagdish,
yar āje tāk tū Itthe i e
friend still upto you here EP are
'Hello Mr. Jagadish, are you still
here?'
217. o bāldev mera fīucār (NS.1944:23)
hey! Baldev my future

bəɾa ʃandar e
very bright is
'O Baldev, my future is very bright'.

218. nã aʃa, mẽ nõi jaŋa (D.1973:233)
no Asha, I don't to go
'No Asha, I don't want to go'.

219. rup fəʒul gəllã na (D.1973:233)
Rup useless talk don't
kəɾ, mẽ ro pəvãgi
do I cry will
'Roop, don't talk useless things,
I will cry'.

5.2.6. Neighbours

Neighbours may be addressed by first names, full names, surnames, nick names and also by kinship terms of address. It mostly depends on the age, social status and interpersonal relationships, etc. In rural areas among neighbours, kinship terms of address like **caca (ji)**, **taIa (ji)**, **tai**, **caci** and also kinship term + name like **caca bəʒənt siŋ** or **caci kesro**, etc., are frequent in use, but among urban areas they are not frequently used. In urban areas terms like, **prá ji**, **pəbi ji**, **ãkəl ji** or **ãŋti ji** are used, in the same age group. The terms like **mata ji**/**baba ji** are used for elders.

220. ãŋti ji, tUsĩ kəddə bəʒar jao ge
aunt HON, you when bazar go will
'Aunt, when will you go to bazar?'

221. ākəɫ ji, tʊsɪ dəftəɾ ja rəe ho
uncle HON, you office go-ing are
'Uncle, are you going to office?'

222. mata ji, menū əpəɳa cakku de deo
mata HON, to me your knife give
'Mata ji, give me your knife'.

5.2.7. Strangers

The modes of address used among friends and among strangers vary according to age, sex, status and context. Two intimate friends at equal level always use non-honorific modes of address, but they switch to honorific forms of address in certain formal situations. Strangers of higher status personally unknown to each other, always use formal or honorific modes of address. Strangers may also use non-honorific forms of address when addressee is younger in age or he/she belongs to lower social status but the addresser will get honorific forms of address in return. Sometimes, non-honorific forms of address are also used by the strangers when they are illiterate. Examples are given below:

223. prā ji, əsā kɪgəɳve (GSK.1950:28)
brother HON, we Kingsway
kəp jaɳa e
camp to go
'Brother, we have to go to Kingsway Camp'.

224. lala ji ap̄ni zəban (GSK.1950:26)
Lala HON, own tongue

kabu vɪc rəkkho
control in keep
'Lala ji, hold your tongue'.

225. te pài, tũ Īj (GSK.1950:31)
o brother you this

kê khã
manner say
'O brother, you must say like this'.

226. le prá, tũ menũ (GSK.1950:32)
O brother, you to me

p̄lɔ̄ is t̄əɾã s̄əm̄ɔ̄já
earlier this way to make understand

d̄ēda
give

'Brother, why didn't you tell me
earlier like this?'

A male stranger may address a female stranger by a kinship term of address like p̄ɛ̄n̄ ji, p̄ɛ̄n̄, bibi, etc., or by kUɾie, biba, etc. Similarly, a female may address a male stranger by prá ji, vir ji, pài sáb, pà ji, caca ji, taIa ji, baba ji, etc.

Examples:

227. p̄ɛ̄n̄ ji, b̄əs te c̄ɔ̄ɾn (GSK.1950:32)
sister HON bus on boarding

vale s̄áb apo ap̄ni k̄ətar vɪcc kh̄əlo
to be all own queue in stand

jāde ne
go are
'Sister, all those who want to get
into the bus, stand in queue'.

228. bibi ap meri jōga pe (GSK.1950:32)
Bibi you my place on
a jao
come
'Bibi, please take my seat'.

If a stranger is a Muslim or Sikh, he may
be addressed by an addressee as **mōlana**, **sārdar**
ji, etc.

229. mōlana, mōlana jago, (GSK.1950:33)
Maulana, Maulana get up,
bōs auṇ vali e
bus come about to is
'Maulana, Maulana, get up, bus is
about to come'.

230. sārdaṛ ji, tUāḍa ki nā he
Sardar HON your what name is
'Sardar ji, what is your name?'

A female stranger who appears to be educated
and of high status is addressed by the term
mēḍōm, and similarly, a male stranger of the
same category is addressed by **mīstār** or **sāb**,
etc.

231. mera khīal he mēḍōm (Sethi 1969:33)
my idea is madam
tUāḍa pōti sōb kUcch
your husband every thing

jānda si
knew was
'I think that your husband knew
every thing'.

Two female strangers address each other by both honorific and non-honorific forms of address. If they are educated and of higher status they use honorific forms of address otherwise non-honorific forms of address are frequently used.

232. na pēṇ ḡjihi gəll (GSK.1950:44)
no sister this type matter
múō na kôḍ
from mouth
'No sister, don't say like this'.

233. bibi tũ bal menũ (GSK.1950:43)
Bibi you child to me
phôṛa de
handover
'Bibi give your child to me'.

234. pēṇ ji, é rəsta kIdār nũ
sister HON, this road where to
jāda he
go is
'Sister, where does this road lead to?'

5.2.8. Landlord to Peasants

A landlord, having higher social status in society, is addressed by peasants by using honorific forms of address, but the peasants

will receive non-honorific modes of address in return.

Examples:

235. khet vīc bij bo de
field in seed sow
'Sow seed in the field'.

236. podīā nū paṇi de de
plants to water give
'Water the plants'.

5.2.9. Peasants to Landlord

237. hāzur menū tānkha de deo
sir to-me salary give
'Sir, (please) pay me my salary'.

238. sārkar mere te rēm kārō
sarkar to-me pity do
'Sarkar, (please) have pity on me'.

5.2.10. Landlord to Tenant

A landlord and a tenant generally make reciprocal use of honorific modes of address and pronominal forms for each other.

Examples:

239. bapu ji, menū kārāya cāida he
Bapu ji, to-me rent want is
'Bapu ji, please give me the (amount of) rent'.

240. hā daktār sāb é mera (BG.1970:73)
yes doctor HON this my

əṭhvā phera e
eighth round is
'Yes, Doctor sahib, I have come
eighth time'.

241. sārdaṛ ji, kārāya menū peṣgi deo
Sardar HON rent to-me advance give
'Sardar ji, please pay me rent in
advance'.

5.2.11. Tenant to Landlord

A tenant addresses his landlord by his
surname + **sáb**.

242. bās dīvan sáb, tUsī (BG.1970:75)
more Diwan Sahib, you
do Ik dīn di mōlāt dīo
two one day of permission give
'Diwan Sahaib, give me permission for
about two days more'.

In some situation, when the tenant is of
a lower status than the landlord, a landlord
uses non-honorific forms of address as well.

243. tū kārāya kyō ni dīda
you (NH) rent why not give
'Why don't you pay the rent?'

244. mē tera sōman bār phēk dīāga
I your(NH) belongings out throw will
'I will throw your belongings outside
the house'.

In the above examples, non-honorific forms
of address are used in anger.

5.2.12. Acquaintances

The use of forms of address among acquaintances depend on different types of relations and age, sex and situations, etc. Acquaintances can be of various kinds. Forms of address like *pən̄ ji*, *pài sáḅ*, *Ńnkḁl*, *āṅṭi*, *baba*, *bibi ji*, etc., are very commonly used. Among the younger age groups, or of equal age group or status, first names, full names, surnames with suffixes are also used. Examples are given below:

245. *Ńnkḁl ji*, *tUsĩ sadḁe kḁr aṇa*
uncle HON, you our home come
'Uncle, come to our home'.
246. *āṅṭi ji*, *tUāḁi kḁṛi vIc ki ṭem he*
aunt HON, your watch in what time is
'Aunt, what time is it by your watch'.
247. *pən̄ ji*, *pài sáḅ da ki*
sister HON, brother HON of what
hal he
condition is
'Sister, how is (my) brother?'
248. *kaka*, *a ja be ja*
kaka come go be seated
'Kaka, come in, be seated'.
249. *mUnni*, *teri mḁmmi ki kḁr rḁi he*
Munni, your mother what do-ing is
'Munni, what is your mother
doing?'

250. prá ji, tUsĩ kIvẽ ae
brother HON, you how came
'Brother, how did you come?'
251. gUpta sá b cðlo kafi haus cðlie
Gupta HON let us Coffee House go to
'Mr. Gupta, let us go to, Coffee House'.

In rural areas mostly the terms like **taya/tai, caca/caci, prá/pẽñ** are used.

252. tai ji, tUsĩ kItthõ a rðe ho
aunt HON, you where come-ing are
'Aunt, where are you coming from?'
253. caci ji, tUsĩ kðdõ ae
aunt HON you when come
'Aunt, when did you come?'
254. taIa ji, cá pi lðo
Uncle HON, tea drink take
'Uncle, please take tea'.

A person plays different roles in a given society, and comes in contact with other people in different social situations. The main roles being that of a friend, neighbour, master, servant, stranger, landlord, tenant, etc. As seen above, the modes of address are determined by different types of inter-personal relationship between the persons who come in contact in society.

5.3. Professional Dyadic Relations

The professional relations are developed

in a context, when two persons come in contact in their professional practice. For example, a doctor comes in contact with a patient, a shopkeeper with a customer, a lawyer with a client, and an official with a non-official, etc. Normally the participants address each other by their full names, surnames, surnames plus honorific suffixes, professional titles plus honorific suffixes, etc.

5.3.1. Official to Official

It is observed that persons having an equal rank or status in the profession address each other by full names or surnames plus honorific suffixes, i.e., **ji** or **sáb**. Examples are given below:

255. s'õh lal ji, kĩve ana hoIa
Sohan Lal HON, how come did
'Mr. Sohan Lal, how did you come?'

256. gUpta ji, mē cùt n'oi bol rIa
Gupta HON, I lie not tell-ing
'Mr. Gupta, I am not telling a lie'.

257. gUpta s'áb, tUsĩ dilli tō k'õdõ
Gupta HON, you Delhi from when
vap's ae
back came
'Mr. Gupta, when did you come back
from Delhi?'

In certain cases, instead of adding **ji**

or **sáb** to either names or surnames of addressee, English honorific address forms like **mIst̤ər** (Mister), **mIsIz** (Mrs.), **mIs** (Miss), **məd̤əm** (Madam) are used along with the full names and/or surnames.

258. mIst̤ər v̤ərma, é ki e (D.1973:133)
Mr. Varma, this what is
'Mr. Varma, what is this?'

259. mIs cop̤ra, énã kolõ (D.1973:74)
Miss Chopra, him from
duja farm p̤ərva l̤o
second form fill up-CAUS take
'Miss Chopra, ask him to fill in the
second form'.

260. mIst̤ər m̤'n lal, ki tUàḍa k̤mm
Mister Mohan Lal have your work
kh̤t̤əm ho gIa h̤
completed happened is
'Mr. Mohan Lal, have you completed
your work?'

261. mIst̤ər gUpta, meri f̤Il kItthe h̤
Mr. Gupta, my file where is
'Mr. Gupta, where is my file?'

262. h̤zur kag̤j te tUàḍe (D.1973:133)
majesty papers EP your
h̤t̤th vIc ne m̤nũ ki p̤ta
hand in are to me what know
'Sir, papers are in your hand, how
would I know?'

263. s̤r h̤r b̤nde ḍa k̤mm (D.1973:133)
sir every person of work

kārān da apo apṇa tārīkka hūda he
to-do of own self way be is
'Sir, every person has his own way
to do work'.

5.3.2. Official to Non-official

The modes of address used by officials and non-officials while addressing each other are of different kinds. Mostly the situation, age and status of a person determine the choice of the modes of address. There is a reciprocal use of formal modes of address among the participants of more or less equal status. Informal modes of address are used for showing sympathy.

264. tUsī kitthe rēde ho
you where live are
'Where do you live?'

265. hUṇ tUsī cīnta na kārō
now you worry not do
'Don't worry now'.

266. mere lalk koi seva ho tā dāsso
my for any service is then tell
'Please, tell me if there is
any service for me'.
(Please, tell me, what can I do for
you?)

An official may use polite words to show sympathy.

Examples:

267. beṭh ja bibi, tera kḁmm mē hUṇi
sit down bibi your work I now
kḁrāga
do-will
'Sit down (bibi), I will do your work
just now'.
268. phIkḁr na kḁr, mē tera kḁmm
worry not do, I your work
zḁrur kḁrāga
definitely will-do
'Don't worry, I will do your work
definitely'.

5.3.3. Non-official to Official

269. prā ji, tUsī mera kḁmm kḁdo tḁk
brother HON, you my work when upto
kḁroge
will-do
'Brother, when will you do my work?'
270. pāi sáḁ, menū pesīā dī ḁsid
brother HON, to-me money of receipt
de deo
give give
'Brother, please give me the receipt
of money'.

5.3.4. Shopkeeper to Customer

A shopkeeper normally addresses his customers by formal form of address, different modes of address are used to address different types of male and female customers, such as biba ji, pēṇ ji, mata ji, mai, sḁrdar ji,

pàì sáḃ, prájì, etc. Examples are given below:

271. ao pēṇ jì, kì (KSG.1971:94)
 come on sister HON, what
 cōida e
 want is
 'Come on sister, what do you want?'

272. mata jì, rāñ ñi cīnta na kārō
 mother HON, colour of worry don't do
 'Mother, don't worry about colour?'

The term **mai** is generally used for quite old lady. In this context it does not refer to old maid servant, but as a term of respect as used for one's mother.

273. lē mai ṭṭṭh anne (KSG.1971:105)
 take mother eight anna
 ñi e
 of is
 'Take mother, it's cost is eight annas'.

Normally terms like **biba jì** are also used by the shopkeeper for younger females as in the examples given below:

274. biba jì, é prīṇṭ bōt cāṇa hē
 Biba HON, this print very good is
 'Biba, this print is very good'.
275. biba, meri gāl māṇno, é kārā
 Biba my talk accept this cloth
 lē lāo
 take

'Biba, accept my suggestion, take this cloth'.

While addressing a male customer usually, a shopkeeper may use formal terms of address used for the people of higher status in the society as in the examples given below:

276. sārdaṛ ji, é tUāḍi āpni dUkan hē
Sardar HON, this your own shop is
'Sardarji, this is your own shop'.
277. aho babu ji, vIkhaō (NS.1944:70)
yes babu HON, show
kōḍ ke kēṛiā kItabā ne
bringout CP which books are
'Bajuji, show me which books you have?'
278. prā ji, pēse di phIkār na kārō
brother HON money of worry not do
'Brother, don't worry about money'.
279. pāi sāb, é jUṭṭa bōt cāllega
brother HON, this shoes very will last
'Brother, these shoes will last long'.

If a shopkeeper is acquainted with his customer, he may address him/her by his/her first name or by surname as in the examples given below:

280. hēlo jāgdev, ki (KSG.1971:108)
hello Jagdev, how
hal cal hē bāi
condition are EP
'Hello Jagdev, how are you?'

281. hā ji, Ÿekh ji, (KSG.1971:108)
yes ji, Shekh HON,

phāmao

tell

'Yes, Shekhji (please) tell me'.

282. kIC bāi ki lēṇa cōdri (NS.1944:71)
why SP what take chodhri
'Che dhri, what do you want to purchase?'

But in certain cases, a shopkeeper may also address his customer by non-honorific forms of address when he considers the status of customer lower or when he shows affection for the younger customers.

Examples:

283. baba, tenū khōṇṇ cōidi he
baba, you sugar want are
'Baba, do you want sugar?'

284. guḍḍi tel tenū kōl
Guddi (means dole) oil to-you tomorrow
mīlega
get-will
'Guddi, you will get oil tomorrow'.

285. bibi, mē dam ni kōṭa sōkda
bibi, I rates not reduce can
'Bibi, I cannot reduce rates'.

In the above examples, **baba** is used to address an old man. **guḍḍi** and **bibi** are the terms used for showing affection or intimacy.

5.3.5. Customer to Shopkeeper

A shopkeeper is addressed both by honorific and non-honorific forms of address. Kinship terms of address like **práva**, **vira**, **pài** are also used to address him as in the examples given below:

286. **práva**, Ik ṭIkki saḅəŋ (KSG.1971:105)
 Brother, one piece soap

di tã dei
 of CP give
 'Brother, give me a cake of soap'.

287. **vira**, tũ te lUtt (KSG.1971:104)
 Brother, you CP looting

pai hoi e
 put happen are
 'Brother, you are looting'.
 (You rob people).

288. pUtra, ḥəkk ḥəlal di (KSG.1971:105)
 son honest of

ḳəmai khani cáidi e
 earning eat should is
 'Son, earn money honestly'.

289. ve pài, tere p̣əse (NS.1944:37)
 Hey brother, your money

mar ke n̄s te n̄i c̣əlle
 killing CP running CP not going
 'Brother, we are not going without
 paying your money'.

A shopkeeper receives non-honorific forms of address in an informal situation where the

customer is elder and has higher social status.

290. pàì mēnũ Us kIsðm da jUttā vIkha
 Brother to-me that type of shoes show
 'Brother, please show me that type of
 shoes'.

291. pàì Ik dðrjðñ sðntðria di de
 Brother one dozen oranges of give
 de
 give
 'Brother, give me one dozen of oranges'.

Honorific forms of address are also used
 by the customers as in the examples given
 below:

292. lala ji, Ik pekðt lun da deñā
 Lala HON, one packet salt of give
 'Lalaji, give me a packet of salt'.

293. prā ji, Is kðpre di kInni
 Brother HON, this cloth of how much
 kImðt hē
 cost is
 'Brother, how much does this cloth
 cost?'

294. pàì sáñ, je é khðrab hoi,
 Brother HON, if this defective is
 tã mē vapðs kðr dīaga
 then I return do will
 'Brother, if it will be defective,
 then I will return it to you'.

295. kIŃ šekh sáñ, ki (Sekhon 1974:60)
 why, Sheikh HON, what

kUcch hē je tUāḍe kol
 type is EP you have
 'Sheikh Sahib, what do you have?'

If a shopkeeper is a big businessman, in that case **seth ji** will be used by the customer as in the examples below:

296. seth ji tUāḍa karobar kesa cāl
 Seth HON, your business how going
 rIā hē
 on is
 Seth ji, how is your business going on?'

297. seth ji, ḍjj kāl tUsĩ kāda
 Seth HON, these days you what type
 vḍpar kār rḍe ho
 business do-ing are
 'Seth ji, what type of business you
 are doing these days?'

A hawker is being also addressed by the customer by his professional term of address.

Examples:

298. ō kele vale! Ure (KSG.1971:90)
 O banana vendor here
 gḍll sUḇe na
 talk listen
 'O banana seller! come on listen'.

299. oe bḍi kUkḍriḇḇ vallā (Sekhon 1974:62)
 O! P hen seller
 'O! hen seller'.

5.3.6. Passenger to Rickshaw Puller

A person addresses a rickshaw puller as
 ó rIkša wale/ó rIkša, etc. Examples are given
 below:

300. ó rIkša, kI tũ stēšān lē cōlega
 o rickshaw will you station take will
 'O Rickshaw (puller), will you take us
 to station?'

301. ó rIkšawale, bōzar jaṇ de kInne
 o rickshawale bazar to-go how much
 pēse lōega
 money will take
 'O Ricksha (puller), how much money
 will you charge for going to bazar?'

But Rickshaw puller always uses honorific
 form of address like pēṇ ji, bibi ji, mata ji,
 babu sáḅ, babu ji, sārḁar ji, etc.

302. pēṇ ji, tUsĩ kItthe jaṇa he
 sister HON, you where to go have
 'Sister, where will you go?'

303. babu sáḅ, jo tUsĩ deṇa cāo
 Babu HON, whatever you pay want
 de dena
 give give
 'Babu sahib, pay me whatever will
 please you'.

5.3.7. A Doctor to Patient

A doctor uses different types of modes
 of address while addressing his patients

according to his/her age, sex and social status. If a patient is grown up and of higher status, he addresses him/her by honorific form of address. If a patient is illiterate, he/she is addressed by non-honorific forms of address as in the examples given below:

304. sârdar ji, hUṇ tUāḍa ki hal he
Sardar HON, now your what condition is
'Sardar ji, how are you feeling now?'
305. pēṇ ji, tUāḍe sIr vIc dârd he
sister HON, your head in ache is
'Sister, do you have headache?'
306. mata ji, é dâva rat nũ leṇa
mata HON, this medicine night at take
'Mataji, please take this medicine in
the evening'.
307. cāḡa babu ji, mē tã cālda (HS.1965:25)
O.K. babu HON, I P going
'O.K. Babuji, I am going'.
308. mai, ap lIkḥēgi, ke (HS.1965:26)
mai, you write-will, or
ḡgUṭha lavēgi
thumb impression put
'Mai, will you write or put thumb
impression?'
309. bibi tenũ cākkār a rāe he
bibi, you giddiness come-ing are
'Bibi, are you feeling giddiness?'
310. baba, tũ é dâva kâdō
Baba, you this medicine when

lItti si
take was
'Baba, when did you take this medicine?'

311. mai kḏbra na sḏb thik
mai worry not, every thing O.K.
ho javega
happen will be
'Mai, don't worry, every thing will
be O.K.'

A doctor may address his patient by his first name, if they are acquainted with each other and the addressee is young in age as in the following examples:

312. m'ṇ é dḏva hḏfte vIcc pḏj
Mohan, this medicine week in five
vari leṇi he
time take is
'Mohan, you will have to take this
medicine five time in a week'.

313. nIrmḏla bḏcci, sḏcco (HṢ.1965:24)
Nirmala child, clearly
sḏcc dḏs khāda i?
true tell what eat have
'Nirmala, tell me clearly what have
you eaten?'

314. ki kItta e gyan sIn (D.1973:138).
what done is Gyan Singh
'Gyan Singh, what have you done?'

315. rupa, dekh apṇe ap nū (D.1973:138)
Rupa, look your-self to
'Rupa, look at yourself.'

It has been observed that a lady doctor addresses her patients mostly by kinship terms like **bibi**, **bibi ji**, **mata ji**, and **mata**. She also uses polite forms of address as in the following examples:

316. mIst̥ər pran nath ji, (Sekhon 1974:123)
Mr. Pran Nath HON,

phərmaie

say

'Mr. Pran Nathji, please say'.

317. jo s̥əttIa, teri (Sekhon 1974:127)
whatever Satya your

mərji h̥e, deṽi

desire is give

'Satya, pay me as you please'.

318. əccha bibi, m̃e Iñada (Sekhon, 1974:126)
well bibi, I her

mUaIna k̥ər̃di s̃a

check up doing was

'Well bibi, I was examining her!'

319. əcchi t̥ər̃a dekh ke (Sekhon 1974:126)
properly see CP

t̥hik d̥əsd̃i h̃a mai ji

proper tell am mai HON

'Maiji, I will tell you after examining her properly'.

320. əccha mata ji, (Sekhon 1974:128)
well mata HON

b̥ūdvar ñū Ilaj s̃Uru

Wednesday to treatment start

kār dīāge

do will

'O.K. Mataji, treatment will be started from Wednesday'.

321. mata, bōt phIkār (Sekhon 1974:126)
mother much worried

di gāl nāi

of matter not

'Mother, it is not a matter to be much worried about'.

The term **bibi ji**, is very frequently used by the doctor for female patients:

322. aie bibi ji, (Sekhon 1974:129)
come on bibi HON,

apda ki na hē ji

you name name is HON

'Come on bibiji, what is your name?'

5.3.8. Patient to Doctor

A doctor is always addressed by professional term like **ḍaktār sāb, ḍaktār**.

Examples:

323. ḍaktār sāb, mē ē dāva dīn vīc
doctor HON, I this medicine day in

kīnni var leṇi hē

how time take is

'Doctor Sahib, how many times I have to take this medicine in a day?'

324. ḍaktār sāb, dāssō hūṇ (HS.1965:26)
doctor Hon, tell now

kiddā kita jave
 how to do go
 'Doctor, now tell me what to do?'

325. phikār na karo, ḍaktār ji cheti karo
 worry not do, doctor HON quick do
 'Doctor ji, don't worry, (please)
 be quick'.

326. ḍaccha ḍaktār, ēda peṭ (AP.1969:37)
 well doctor, her stomach
 jōra dekho
 a little check
 'Well doctor, please check her stomach'.

5.3.9. Lawyer to Client

In general, there is a reciprocal use of honorific or polite modes of address between a lawyer and a client. They may address each other by full names, surnames or professional title plus polite suffixes. In case the client belongs to a lower social status or is very well known to the lawyer, the lawyer may address him by non-honorific forms of address as well. The lawyer is normally addressed by an honorific form of address, usually by **vākil sāb**.

327. tUsī kes di phikār na karo
 you case of worry not do
 'Don't worry about the case'.

328. tuāḍi peṣi somvar
 your hearing Monday

nũ hē

on is

'The hearing of your case is on Monday'.

329. baba, é pharðm pðr do
baba, this form fill up
'Baba, fill up this form'.

330. bibi, etthe gUṭṭha la de
bibi, here thumb put give
'Bibi, put your thumb print here'.

5.3.10. Client to Lawyer

331. vðkil sáḃ, mere mũṇḃe di jðmanðt
vakil HON, my boy of bail
kðdð hovegi
when will be
'Vakil Saahib, when will my son be
released on bail?'

332. vðkil sáḃ, cori da mere pas koi
vakil HON, theft of I have any
sðbut nði
proof not
'Vakil Sahib, I don't have any proof
of theft'.

Above analysis shows the use of addressing terms in different professions. A person of higher social status may be addressed by the professional titles, like **inspektðr sáḃ, vðkil sáḃ, ðaktðr sáḃ, mðnegðr sáḃ, profesðr sáḃ**, etc. There are many other professions of lower social status where professional terms of address are not used. For example, a shop-

keeper, a milkman, a washerman, etc., are addressed by the familial terms like **pài sáb**, **pra' ji**, etc., and females are addressed by **pènji**, **mai**, etc. In addition to familial terms the religious identification terms like **sàrdar ji**, **pàndIt ji** are also used for addressing addressees in professional relationship.

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6. FREQUENCY IN THE USE OF MODES OF ADDRESS

6.1. The Sample

A total number of 80 respondents belonging to various districts of Punjab were interviewed and observed for the use of modes of address in various situations.

6.1.1. Age-group and Sex

These respondents were divided into three age groups: **A1** (Age 10-20 years), **A2** (Age 20-41 years) and **A3** (Age above 40 years). The Table No.1 shows the distribution in terms of sex and age group.

TABLE NO.1

Age group	Male	Female
A1	11	6
A2	22	18
A3	13	10
Total ...	46	34

6.1.2. Districts

The respondents belonging to different districts of Punjab are represented in the Table No.2 below:

TABLE NO.2

Age group	Male	Female	District
A1	9	6	Patiala
	1	--	Amritsar

A2	20	12	Patiala
	1	1	Sangrur
	1	1	Ludhiana
	--	2	Hoshiarpur
	--	1	Gurdaspur
	--	1	Ropar

A3	9	7	Patiala
	2	--	Sangrur
	2	--	Karpurthala
	--	3	Bathinda

6.1.3. Religion

The respondents belong to three religions groups:

(1) Sikhs, (2) Hindus and (3) Muslims.

TABLE NO.3

Age group	Sikh		Hindu		Muslim	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
A1	4	3	7	3	--	--
A2	12	8	9	10	1	--
A3	7	8	5	2	1	--
Total	23	19	21	15	2	--

6.1.4. Education

Out of 80 respondents, 24 are illiterate and 56 literate. The literate persons ranged between primary and post-graduate level. Their distribution in terms of age group is given as follows in Table No.4.

TABLE NO.4

Age group	Illiterate	Literate
A1	2	15
A2	8	32
A3	14	9
Total	24	56

6.1.5. Occupation

The respondents belong to various occupations. See the Table No.5 given below:

TABLE NO.5

Occupation	Age group			Total
	A1	A2	A3	
Teachers	1	12	5	18
Students	13	4	--	17
Office goers	1	11	5	17
Businessman	--	2	4	6
Gardener	--	2	2	4
Agriculturalist	--	2	3	5
Housewives	1	4	8	13

As illustrated above, the sample consisted of the respondents both males and females, belonging to three different age groups, different geographical regions, with different backgrounds in education and belonging to different occupations. The variables of sex, religion, region, education and occupation were not found much relevant for the present study. We have therefore, collated the result on the basis of three age groups only. The age group appears a dominant and decisive

factor in the frequency of the use of modes of address in the present study. Wherever necessary we have made references to other variables as well.

6.2. Use of Modes of Address

In all 71 major items under familial, social and professional relations (see Appendix-I) were included for observation and discussion. The respondents in some cases gave more than one choice for addressing an addressee mostly under social and professional relations. Such responses were also taken into consideration for the analysis. In this section, we will briefly discuss the results and give the information in terms of total percentage for the use of these modes of address among the familial relations, social relations and professional relations. All the items are discussed separately below.

Social Relations

6.2.1. Father

A father is addressed by 15 different terms of address as given in the Table No.6 below. Among the respondents of A1 group, the terms **pàpa ji**, **ḍeḍi/ḍeḍi ji**, **bapu**, etc., are used in this preference. The term **pàpa ji** is most

frequently used by respondents of A1 and A2. The terms of address **pIta ji** and **babu** are very frequently used by the A3 group of respondents. It is interesting to note that **ḍeḍi ji** (borrowed from English) is mostly used by A1 respondents. Similarly, the term **pIta ji** is used mostly by the A3 respondents. The terms **ḍbba** or **ḍbba jan** are used only by Muslim respondents (Table No.6).

TABLE NO.6

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
pàpa ji	32.0	15.3	5.0
ḍeḍi	18.7	7.6	-
babu	18.7	7.6	25.0
babu ji	12.5	12.8	10.0
bai	6.2	5.1	5.0
bau ji	6.2	5.0	-
bai ji	-	12.8	10.0
pàpa	-	2.5	-
caca ji	-	2.5	-
caca	-	10.2	5.0
pIta ji	-	7.6	40.0
dar ji	-	5.1	-
ḍeḍi ji	6.2	2.5	-
ḍbba	-	-	5.0
ḍbba jan	-	2.5	-

6.2.2. Father's Father

There is a choice of 12 terms of address used for father's father by respondents. The terms **baba/baba ji** followed by **bai ji** and **dada ji** are frequently used by A1 group. The A2 and A3 groups use the terms **baba/baba ji** and **dada ji** very frequently. The terms like **caca ji**, **lala** and **bapu ji** are used by the A3 group only, and are not very frequently used (Table No.7).

TABLE NO.7

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
baba	23.5	16.0	16.6
baba ji	23.5	32.2	50.0
bai ji	23.5	10.0	-
dada ji	17.6	25.8	16.6
pāpa ji	5.8	6.4	-
pIta ji	5.8	3.2	-
bai	-	3.2	-
bau ji	-	3.2	-
caca ji	-	-	4.1
lala ji	-	-	4.1
bapu ji	-	-	8.3

6.2.3. Father's Mother

There is a choice between 15 terms for addressing one's father's mother. The A1 speakers use the terms *ðmma/ðmma ji* and *dadi/dadi ji* very frequently. A2 and A3 speakers, use the terms *dadi/dadi ji* and *ðmma* frequently. *ðmma ji* appears to be frequently used by A1 speakers and is rarely used by A2 and A3 speakers (Table No.8).

TABLE NO.8

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
<i>ðmma</i>	25.0	16.6	18.1
<i>dadi</i>	12.5	10.0	27.2
<i>dadi ji</i>	12.5	20.0	36.3
<i>dadi mā</i>	-	3.3	-
<i>bibi ji</i>	6.2	3.3	-
<i>bi ji</i>	6.2	3.3	-
<i>ðmma ji</i>	31.2	3.3	4.5
<i>mata ji</i>	6.2	6.6	-
<i>māji</i>	-	6.6	4.5
<i>pābi ji</i>	-	3.3	-
<i>be ji</i>	-	3.3	-
<i>bebe ji</i>	-	3.3	4.5
<i>mā</i>	-	3.3	-
<i>ðmbo</i>	-	-	4.5

6.2.4. Father's Elder Brother

There are two forms of kinship terms of address **taIa** and **taIa ji** for father's elder brother. Most of the respondents use honorific form **taIa ji** (Table No.9).

TABLE NO.9

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
taIa	25.0	22.2	33.3
taIa ji	75.0	77.7	66.6

6.2.5. Father's Younger Brother

The kinship terms of address **caca ji/** **caca** are most frequently used in all the three groups. **ਭੰਕਭੰ** (a borrowed term) is used by the A1 group of respondents only. Similarly, **caca jan** is used by Muslims only (Table No.10).

TABLE NO.10

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
caca	15.3	22.9	33.3
caca ji	69.2	66.6	66.6
ਭੰਕਭੰ ji	15.3	-	-
caca	-	3.7	-
caca ji	-	3.7	-

6.2.6. Father's Elder Sister

The kinship terms of address **pua ji/pua** are very frequently used by all the three groups. **ãnti** (based on a borrowed English term **aunt**) is used by A1 speakers only. Similarly **phuphi jan** is preferred by Muslims (Table No.11).

TABLE NO.11

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
pua ji	75.0	64.2	66.6
pua	18.7	28.5	28.5
ãnti	6.2	-	-
phuphi jan	-	3.5	-
bebe ji	-	3.5	-
bebe	-	-	4.7

6.2.7. Father's Younger Sister

Out of the choice of four terms, **pua ji** is most frequently used by the respondents which is followed by **pua**- an informal term. Only a very low percentage of respondents under A1 group use **ãnti** (based on a borrowed word **aunt**) (Table No.12).

TABLE NO.12

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
pūa ji	73.3	59.0	68.4
pūa	20.0	36.3	31.5
ānti	6.6	-	-
bebe ji	-	4.5	-

6.2.8. Father's Sister's Husband

Out of several choices for addressing one's father's sister's husband, most of the respondents use the honorific kinship term **phUphār ji** which is followed by non-honorific one **phUphār** as term of address. Other terms are used by a small number of respondents (Table No.13).

TABLE NO.13

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
phUphār ji	82.3	83.3	61.9
phUphār	17.3	-	33.3
baba	-	-	4.7
ñnkāl ji	-	4.1	-
pai	-	4.1	-
phupha jan	-	4.1	-
pāia ji	-	4.1	-

6.2.9. Mother

There are at least 15 terms used by the respondents in addressing their mother. In A1 group terms **bibi/bibi ji** followed by the **mðmmi** are mostly used. The A2 and A3 respondents mostly use **bebe**. In A3 the terms like **mata ji**, **mã** and **pàbi** are also used by good number of people, followed by the terms like **ðmma** and **mã ji** (Table No.14).

TABLE NO.14

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
mata ji	5.8	10.0	13.6
bebe ji	-	7.5	4.5
ðmma	5.8	5.0	9.0
mðmmi	23.5	5.0	-
bi ji	5.8	12.5	-
bibi	41.1	12.5	4.5
bebe	5.8	20.0	18.1
bibi ji	11.7	12.5	9.0
mðmmi ji	-	5.0	-
cài ji	-	5.0	-
be ji	-	2.5	-
ðmma ji	-	2.5	4.5
mã	-	-	13.6
pàbi	-	-	13.6
mãji	-	-	9.6

6.2.10. Mother's Father

There are at least 9 terms of address used for one's mother's father. The kinship terms **nana ji** or **nana** are frequently used by most of the respondents. The formal term has higher frequency of use (Table No.15).

TABLE NO.15

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
nana	17.6	13.3	31.8
nana ji	70.5	56.6	59.0
baba ji	-	3.3	4.5
bapu ji	5.8	3.3	-
papa ji	5.8	3.3	-
bai ji	-	10.0	-
lala ji	-	3.3	4.5
bapu	-	3.3	-
bai	-	3.3	-

6.2.11. Mother's Mother

There are at least nine terms used for addressing one's mother's mother. The formal kinship term **nani ji** is mostly used followed by the informal term **nani** by the respondents. In A3 group, the term **mata ji** is also used by a good number of respondents. The terms

like **mata ji**, **bi ji** and **mã ji** used by A1 group appear to be under the influence of their frequent use by the A2 and A3 group of respondents for addressing their mother (Table No.16).

TABLE NO.16

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
nani	17.6	22.5	36.3
nani ji	64.7	58.0	45.4
mata ji	5.8	3.2	9.0
bi ji	5.8	-	-
mã ji	5.8	-	-
bibi ji	-	3.2	-
be ji	-	6.4	-
nani mã	-	-	4.5

6.2.12. Mother's Brother

Mostly the formal kinship term of address **mama ji** is used by the respondents in addressing their mother's brothers. A lower percentage of people use **mama** the informal one. This term has good frequency in A3 (Table No.17).

TABLE NO.17

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
mama ji	94.1	70.0	60.0
mama	5.8	30.0	40.0

6.2.13. Elder Brother

There are at least ten terms of address besides the personal names (first name, nick name and full name) for addressing one's elder brother. The formal kinship term **vir ji** is used by most of the respondents. The informal term **vir** appears to be more frequent in A2. In A1 group, the first name is also used to address one's elder brother by youngsters. The other kinship terms like **pàì**, **vira**, **pà ji**, **prà**, **pàì sàb** and nick names are used by a good number of respondents of A2 group. In A3 group, the kinship terms **bai**, **prà ji** and personal names are also used by a good number of respondents (Table No.18).

TABLE NO.18

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
vir ji	50.0	45.4	21.0
vir	8.3	21.2	5.2
bai	8.3	21.2	5.2
FN	25.0	6.0	15.8
NN	8.3	3.3	-
Full name	-	6.0	21.0
pàì	-	3.3	-
vira	-	3.3	-

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
paji	-	3.3	-
pra	-	3.3	-
pài sab	-	3.3	-
pàpa ji	-	-	5.2
prà ji	-	-	15.7

6.2.14. Younger Brother

Most of the respondents in A1 and A2 groups address their younger brothers by nick names or first names. The use of first names appears to be of high frequency in A3 group, probably because nick names were not very commonly used earlier. **pài** a kinship term of address appears to be used by a good number of respondents in A3 group (Table No.19).

TABLE NO.19

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
NN	53.8	42.4	11.1
FN	46.1	36.3	44.4
vir	-	6.0	11.1
pài	-	6.0	27.7
prà	-	3.0	-
Full name	-	3.0	-
bai	-	3.0	5.5

6.2.15. Mother's Sister

The kinship terms **massi ji** and **massi** are mostly used by all the three groups. The non-polite form without the honorific suffix is used by good number of speakers in A3 (Table No.20).

TABLE NO.20

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
massi ji	90.9	70.2	59.0
massi	9.9	24.3	40.9
FN	-	2.7	-
bebe	-	2.7	-

6.2.16. Mother's Sister's Husband

Mostly the kinship terms **masðr ji** and **masðr** are used by all the three groups. In A3 group the non-polite form **masðr** is used by a good number of people (Table No.21).

TABLE NO.21

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
masðr ji	92.8	81.8	59.1
masðr	7.1	15.0	40.9
bai	-	3.0	-

6.2.17. Elder Brother's Wife

There are several choices for addressing one's elder brother's wife. The kinship terms **pàbi/pàbi ji**, **pàrjai ji** are most frequently in use. Whereas all the four terms are used by equal number of the respondents in A1 group, **pàbi/pàbi ji** are used by most of the speakers in A2 and A3 groups. The term **pàbi jan** is used only by Muslims (Table No.22).

TABLE NO.22

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
pàbi	25.0	32.0	33.3
pàerjai ji	25.0	8.0	16.6
pàrjai	25.0	8.0	22.2
pàbi ji	25.0	40.0	22.2
FN	-	-	5.5
pàbi jan	-	4.0	-
NN	-	8.0	-

6.2.18. Younger Brother's Wife

A younger brother's wife is mostly addressed by her first name or a nick name. The terms **pàbi** and **pàbi ji** are used by good number of respondents in A2 group. The speakers in the A3 group use **beti** as well (Table No.23).

TABLE NO.23

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
NN	-	16.6	5.5
FN	-	44.4	61.1
beṭi	-	-	16.6
pabi ji	-	16.6	11.1
pābi	-	22.2	5.5

6.2.19. Brother's Son

A brother's son, being normally younger in age, is addressed by first name or a nick name by most of the respondents in all the three groups. The term **beṭa** is used by a good percentage of respondents in A2 (Table No.24).

TABLE NO.24

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
FN	100.0	29.6	70.0
NN	-	66.6	20.0
beṭa	-	3.7	5.0
Full name	-	-	5.0

6.2.20. Brother's Daughter

A brother's daughter, normally being younger

in age, is addressed by her first name or nick name by all the respondents. The terms like **beṭi** or **kUṛie** are used only by a low percentage of people (Table No.25).

TABLE NO.25

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
NN	33.3	41.6	63.1
FN	66.6	54.1	31.5
beṭi	-	-	5.2
kUṛie	-	4.1	-

6.2.21. Elder Sister

The kinship terms **pèn/pèn ji** are mostly used for addresssing one's elder sister. The term **didì** is used by a good number of A1 group speakers, some of them (when very young) use first name or nick name as well. The term **bibi** is used by some A2 and A3 group of speakers only (Table No.26).

TABLE NO.26

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
NN	9.0	-	-
pèn ji	-	36.3	56.2

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
didī	27.2	4.5	-
bibi	-	18.1	12.5
pēṇ	54.5	31.8	31.2
FN	9.0	9.0	-

6.2.22. Younger Sister

Mostly the family nick name or first name is used in addressing one's younger sister. In A3 group some respondents use pēṇ ji as well. A low percentage of people in the A1 group use the kinship term pēṇ (Table No.27).

TABLE NO.27

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
NN	70.0	55.5	50.0
FN	20.0	37.0	31.2
bibi	-	3.7	6.2
pēṇ ji	-	-	12.5
pēṇ	10.0	3.7	-

6.2.23. Elder Sister's Husband

The term jija ji is most frequently used by all the respondents. A lower percentage

of people use non-polite term *jija* as well among A2 and A3 groups. other terms like *pàia ji* or *pài sáb* are used by a small number of people in A2 and A3 groups (Table No.28).

TABLE NO.28

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
Only <i>ji</i> (tUsĩ)	-	4.5	-
Full name	-	9.0	6.6
<i>jija</i>	-	9.0	13.3
<i>jija ji</i>	100.0	63.6	66.6
<i>paia ji</i>	-	9.0	6.6
<i>pai</i>	-	-	6.6
<i>pai sáb</i>	-	4.5	-

6.2.24. Younger Sister's Husband

The term *jija ji* is used by most of the respondents of A2 group and some in A3 group. Largest number of respondents in A3 use the full name and also first name as a term of address. The full name and the first name are used by a good number of respondents in A2 group as well (Table No.29).

TABLE NO.29

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
Full name	-	30.0	41.6
jija ji	-	40.0	16.6
FN	-	15.0	25.0
jija	-	-	8.3
bau ji	-	-	8.3
Name + ji	-	5.0	-
pàì sàb	-	5.0	-
pàIa ji	-	5.0	-

6.2.25. Sister's Son

A nick name or first name is used very frequently for addressing one's sister's son (usually younger in age) (Table No.30).

TABLE NO.30

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
NN	100.0	13.6	38.8
FN	-	86.3	50.0
Full name	-	-	11.1

6.2.26. Sister's Daughter

Mostly the nick name or first name is used

in addressing one's sister's daughter. A small number of respondents in A2 and A3 use affectionate kinship terms like **kUṛi** or **beṭi** as a mode of address (Table No.31).

TABLE NO.31

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
NN	100.0	77.7	50.0
FN	-	22.3	43.7
beṭi/kUṛi	-	-	6.2

6.2.27. Son

A son is usually addressed by his nick name or first name by his parents. The affectionate kinship terms like **pUtt**, **beṭa** are used by a small number of respondents (Table No.32).

TABLE NO.32

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
NN	-	62.9	42.8
FN	-	14.8	52.3
pUtt/beṭa	-	14.8	4.7
Full name	-	7.4	-

6.2.28. Father's Brother's Son

The nick name, first name, full name, the kinship terms **vir** and **pài** are used mostly for younger cousins. The polite kinship terms **vir ji**, **pài ji** and **bai ji** are used for elders (Table No.33).

TABLE NO.33

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
Full name	-	-	8.3
NN	31.2	36.1	33.3
FN	25.0	19.4	-
vir ji	25.0	14.4	-
pài sàb	-	-	8.3
pài	-	-	8.3
bai ji	6.2	-	-
pà ji	-	2.7	-

6.2.29. Father's Sister's Son

Mostly nick name, first name, full name and kinship terms like **prà**, **bai**, **vir** are used for addressing younger cousins of more or less same age. The polite terms like **vir ji**, **pài sàb**, **pa ji**, **pàpa ji** and **name + vir ji** are used for elders or in formal situations only (Table No.34).

TABLE NO. 34

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
Full name	-	17.2	-
NN	30.0	27.5	23.5
FN	25.0	31.0	35.8
vir ji	35.0	17.2	-
pài sàb	-	3.4	-
prà	-	-	5.8
bai	-	-	5.8
Name + vir ji	-	-	5.8
pài	-	-	11.7
pà ji	5.0	-	-
pàpa ji	-	-	5.8
vir	5.0	3.4	5.8

6.2.30. Father's Brother's Daughter

Mostly the kinship terms **pèn**, **pèn ji** and first name are used by A1 group of respondent and they are used by a good number of speakers in A2 and A3. A girl's nick name is used by most of the respondents of A2 and A3 groups. A name plus **pèn ji** is used by some respondents in A3 group (Table No.35).

TABLE NO.35

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
bibi	-	5.8	-
pɛɳ	30.7	17.7	-
pɛɳ ji	23.0	20.5	-
FN	30.7	14.7	12.5
Name + pɛɳ ji	-	-	12.5
NN	15.3	41.1	50.0

6.2.31. Father's Sister's Daughter

The kinship terms **pɛɳ**, **pɛɳ ji**, nick name and full name are used by most of the A3 group speakers. In A2 group, most of the speakers use nick name and first name. All the A3 group respondents use the polite kinship term **pɛɳ ji** for the elders (Table No.36).

TABLE NO.36

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
pɛɳ ji	22.2	10.7	100.0
pɛɳ	27.7	10.7	-
NN	22.2	46.4	-
FN	27.7	28.5	-
Full name	-	3.5	-

6.2.32. Daughter

Mostly daughter's nick name and first name are used in addressing her by her parents. Some respondents address their daughters by full name. A small percentage of respondents use the affectionate kinship terms like **beti** or **tie** in addressing her (Table No.37).

TABLE NO.37

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
beti/tie	-	9.5	5.8
NN	-	61.9	52.9
FN	-	23.8	29.4
Full name	-	4.7	11.7

6.2.33. Mother's Brother's Son

The nick name, first name and **vir ji** are very common in use for addressing ones mother's brother's son. The full name is used by a good number of respondents of A3 group (Table No.38).

TABLE NO.38

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
FN	12.5	28.5	33.3
pai	-	-	9.5
vir ji	43.7	17.1	9.5

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
Name + vir ji	-	-	4.7
NN	43.7	40.0	19.0
pàì sàb	-	8.5	4.7
kaka ji	-	-	4.7
Full name	-	5.7	14.2

6.2.34. Mother's Brother's Daughter

Mostly **pèṇ ji** is used by the respondents of all the three age groups in addressing one's mother's brother's daughter. The kinship term **didi** is used only by respondents of A1 group. **pèṇ** and nick name are also used by a good number of respondents in A1, A2 and A3 for the younger ones (Table No.39).

TABLE NO.39

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
nn	23.4	19.0	-
pèṇ ji	26.6	39.0	37.5
FN	8.0	15.8	26.3
pèṇ	8.0	26.2	23.2
didi	34.0	-	-
Full name	-	-	13.0

6.2.35. Mother's Sister's Son

An elder cousin is addressed by **vir ji** and cousins of more or less the same age are addressed by a nick name, first name or full name by the respondents of all the age groups (Table No.40).

TABLE NO.40

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
pàpa ji	-	-	6.6
NN	38.4	33.3	-
FN	15.3	24.2	33.3
pài	-	-	13.3
vira	7.6	6.0	-
Full name	-	15.1	20.0
pài sàb ji	-	6.0	6.0
vir ji	38.4	15.1	20.0

6.2.36. Mother's Sister's Daughter

The nick name is mostly used by the respondents of A1 and A2 groups. **didì** and **pèn ji** are also used for elders. The addressee's first name or the kinship terms **pèn/pèn ji** are mostly used by the respondents of A2 and A3 (Table No.41).

TABLE NO. 41

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
NN	33.3	29.0	-
pɛɳ ji	16.6	29.0	27.2
FN	8.3	25.8	36.3
pɛɳ	16.6	16.1	27.2
dididi	25.0	-	-
Full name	-	-	9.0

6.2.37. Wife

Mostly first name or a nick name is used in addressing one's wife. Only a small number of respondents avoid to use wife's name and address her by indirect terms of address like **Subáś di bibi** (Subhash's mother). Muslims also use **begðm** as a term of address (Table No.42).

TABLE NO. 42

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
FN	-	46.6	58.3
NN	-	40.0	25.0
tUsĩ	-	-	8.3
begðm	-	6.6	-
sUBáś di bibi	-	-	8.3
Only ji	-	6.6	-

6.2.38. Wife's Elder Brother

Most A2 group respondents use the first name and A3 group respondents **vir ji** or full name for the addressee. The address term **pài sáb** or any other polite form of address is also used by A2 group (Table No.43).

TABLE NO.43

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
vir ji	-	8.3	37.5
Full name	-	-	37.5
First name	-	58.3	25.0
pài sáb	-	33.4	-

6.2.39. Wife's Elder Sister

Mostly the kinship term **pèn ji** is used by the A2 respondents. The respondents of A3 group use the first name and other terms like **bibi**, **pèn ji** (Table No.44).

TABLE NO.44

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
FN	-	25.0	60.0
bibi	-	-	20.0
pèn ji	-	75.0	20.0

6.2.40. Wife's Younger Brother

Addressee's first name is mostly used by the respondents. His nick name or full name is also used. A small percentage of people use a polite term *vir ji* (Table No.45).

TABLE NO.45

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
<i>vir ji</i>	-	9.0	-
FN	-	36.3	72.7
NN	-	27.2	9.0
Full name	-	27.2	-

6.2.41. Wife's Younger Sister

Addressees are mostly addressed by their nick names or first names. A small number of people use the kinship term *pèn* for her (Table No.46).

TABLE NO.46

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
NN	-	46.0	50.0
FN	-	38.4	50.0
<i>pèn</i>	-	15.3	-

6.2.42. Wife's Mother

Mostly the terms of address used by one's wife for her mother are used by her husband as well while addressing his mother-in-law. There are several choices for addressing her (Table No.47).

TABLE NO.47

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
bibi	-	10.0	-
mata ji	-	10.0	41.6
bebe	-	10.0	8.3
bebe ji	-	20.0	-
bibi ji	-	10.0	8.3
amma ji	-	10.0	-
pabi ji	-	-	25.0
bi ji	-	-	8.3
cài ji	-	10.0	8.3
amma	-	10.0	-

6.2.43. Wife's Father

Mostly the terms used by a lady for addressing her father are used by her husband as well in addressing his father-in-law (Table No.48).

TABLE NO.48

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
bai ji	-	27.2	-
bapu	-	9.0	18.1
bapu ji	-	9.0	-
pāpa ji	-	9.0	9.0
bai	-	-	9.0
baba ji	-	9.0	9.0
pIta ji	-	18.1	36.3
ḡbba ji	-	-	9.0
ḡḡḡi ji	-	9.0	9.0
caca ji	-	9.0	-

6.2.44. Husband

Indirect forms of address like **ji**, **suno ji**, **munne de bapu** type etc., are used by most of the respondents. The professional or community honorific titles like **sardar ji**, **lala ji** are used mostly by A3 group respondents. A lower percentage of people use the surname plus honorific title **sáb** for the addressees (Table No.49)

TABLE NO.49

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
FN	-	7.1	-
sòrdar/lala/ Titles + ji	-	7.1	42.6
Surname + sá'b	-	7.1	14.2
Indirect address ji etc.	-	77.7	42.4

6.2.45. Husband's Elder Brother

The terms **pàì sá'b** and **vir ji** are mostly used for the addressees. A woman generally uses the same term for addressing her husband's brother as used by her husband for him (Table No.50).

TABLE NO.50

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
pàì'a ji	-	-	16.6
pàì sá'b	-	60.0	33.3
gUđđ'a da taya	-	-	16.6
pàì	-	-	33.3
vir ji	-	40.0	-

6.2.46. Husband's Elder Sister

The term **pən̄ ji** is mostly used by the respondents of A2 group. The term **bibi** is mostly used by the A3 group respondents (Table No.51).

TABLE NO.51

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
pən̄ ji	-	90.0	33.3
bibi ji	-	-	50.0
bebe	-	-	16.6
didī	-	9.0	-

6.2.47. Husband's Younger Brother

The first name and nick name are mostly used for the addressee by A2 group. The A3 group of respondents use **pài** (Table No.52).

TABLE NO.52

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
pài	-	-	100.0
FN	-	83.3	-
Full name	-	8.3	-
NN	-	8.3	-

6.2.48. Husband's Younger Sister

Mostly the addressee's first name or nick name are used as a term of address. The terms like *bibi* or *pən ji* are also used (Table No.53).

TABLE NO.53

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
Full name	-	10.0	-
bibi	-	-	50.0
pən ji	-	10.0	25.0
NN	-	10.0	25.0
FN	-	70.0	-

6.2.49. Husband's Mother

There are several choices for addressing the addressee. Mostly the term of address used by one's husband for his mother is adopted by his wife as well. Terms like *mata ji*, *bibi ji*, *bi ji* and *bebe ji* are very frequently used (Table No.54).

TABLE NO.54

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
bibi	-	6.6	-
bibi ji	-	6.6	-

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
mā	-	-	14.2
mata ji	-	26.6	14.2
mā ji	-	-	12.2
pābi ji	-	-	14.2
be ji	-	13.3	-
bebe ji	-	6.6	42.8
ḁmma	-	13.3	-
mḁmmi ji	-	6.6	-
bi ji	-	20.0	-

6.2.50. Husband's Father

The terms which are used by one for his father are usually used by his wife for her father-in-law. The honorific terms like **bapu ji**, **pāpa ji** and **pīta ji**, **bai ji** are mostly used for the addressee (Table No.55).

TABLE NO.55

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
bapu ji	-	28.5	66.6
bai ji	-	21.4	16.6
bau ji	-	-	16.6
pāpa ji	-	28.5	-
pīta ji	-	21.3	-

Social Relations**6.2.51. Landlord**

Mostly the honorific terms of address like **lala ji**, **sārdar ji**, surname plus honorific suffixes **ji** and **sāb**, kinship terms like **ānkāḷ ji**, **bai ji**, **bapu ji** are used in addressing male landlords by tenants. Similarly, **pēṇ ji**, **bebe**, **mata ji**, **bibi ji**, **āṇṭi ji**, etc., are used for addressing landladies by tenants (Table No.56).

TABLE NO.56

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
ānkāḷ ji/āṇṭi ji	-	25.0	-
lala ji/pēṇ ji	-	25.0	25.0
sārdar ji/pāṇḍāt ji/ Surname + ji	-	25.0	25.0
bai ji	-	3.5	25.0
bapu ji	-	3.5	-
bebe	-	3.5	-
mata ji	-	15.0	12.5
bibi ji	-	-	12.5

6.2.52. Tenant

Tenants are generally addressed by the landlords/landladies using polite forms of address depending on their social status.

Tenant's name or surname plus honorific suffixes like **ji**, **sáb**, kinship terms like **prà ji**, **vir ji**, etc., are normally used for addressing male tenants. Female tenants are also addressed by terms like **bibi ji**, **pèn ji**, etc. The age and social status of the tenants mostly determines the choice for the use of terms of address (Table No.57).

TABLE NO.57

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
Name	-	64.6	50.0
Title + sáb	-	11.6	12.5
bibi ji / pèn ji	-	5.8	37.5
prà ji / vir ji	-	11.6	-
sārdar ji	-	5.8	-

6.2.53. Master

Mostly a servant addresses his master by the honorific forms of address- **sáb**, surname plus **sáb** or **ji** or by honorific kinship terms like **prà ji**, **pèn ji**, **bibi ji**, etc. Youngsters are addressed by first name or nick name, etc., in affection (Table No.58).

TABLE NO.58

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
pra ji/pên ji	-	33.3	9.0
sáb/bibi ji	-	33.3	45.0
Title + sáb/ji	-	33.3	45.0

6.2.54. Servants

Servants are usually addressed by their first names or nick names. An elderly servant is addressed by a kinship term like **caca/caci** or **pài**, etc. **mata ji** is also used by addressing an elder lady servant by youngsters in affection (Table No.59).

TABLE NO.59

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
caca/caci	33.3	-	-
mai ji	-	-	8.3
FN	66.6	75.0	41.6
pài	-	-	8.3
mata ji	-	-	8.3
NN	-	25.0	25.0

6.2.55. Friends

Mostly the relationship between friends is of informal nature. It has however been observed that honorific and polite forms of address are used when the addressee is older in age than the addresser and if he/she has higher social status. Friends in Punjabi society (as in rest of the country) generally belong to same sex and have more or less same social status and belong to same age group. The modes of address are of two types: (a) Formal and (b) Non-formal.

6.2.55.1. Formal

In this category honorific suffixes are added to kinship personal names/titles and kinship terms used for address (Table No.60).

TABLE NO.60

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
vir ji/pàì sab/prà ji/ pèñ ji	37.6	37.1	46.4
Surname/Title + sàb ji	-	43.8	41.5
didi/didi ji	62.4	19.1	12.1

6.2.55.2. Non-formal

In this category FN, NN, Surname, etc.,

are used as terms of address (Table No.61).

TABLE NO.61

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
FN/FN + ji	52.1	25.7	34.5
NN/Surname	37.2	36.1	25.2
Full name	10.7	25.6	30.1
yar/pai	-	7.7	4.2
pèn/vir	-	4.9	6.0

6.2.56. Strangers

One may meet strangers of different age groups. The approximate age and status (by appearance, etc.) is very important in making a choice of modes of address for an addressee. An elder stranger is normally addressed by a polite or honorific form of address including some kinship terms. Terms like **baba ji**, **pà ji**, **prà ji**, **sàrdar ji**, **babu ji**, **ñnkəɭ ji**, **caca ji** or merely **ji** or **sáb** are used for elder strangers and the terms like **amma ji**, **mata ji**, **pèn ji**, **caci ji**, **ãñti ji**, etc., used for elder female strangers. Mostly polite or honorific terms of address as stated above are used for the strangers of equal age group as well. Some non-honorific or informal forms

of address like **pàì, vir, pèn, didi** for youngsters, or for those whose social status by appearance or profession is much lower than that of the addresser. The youngsters (in early age group) are addressed by affectionate terms like **kaka, pùtt, beṭa, mũḍia**, etc., used for males, and **gũḍḍi, biba, mUnni, beṭi, kũrie**, etc., for females. There are no hard and fast rules for addressing the strangers. Mostly the terms used are determined by the age and social status of the persons involved in conversation. See the Table Nos.62, 63 and 64, below:

6.2.56.1. Older Strangers

TABLE NO.62

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
baba ji/baba	20.4	19.5	9.4
pàì/pà ji	4.5	8.6	9.4
ji	-	2.1	9.4
bir ji	11.3	6.5	1.8
pàì sàb	9.0	-	9.4
gIani ji	-	-	1.8
Mr./sàb	-	-	3.6
prà ji/pà ji	-	13.0	-

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
tai ji/caci ji	4.5	8.6	1.8
pə̃n ji/pə̃n	-	-	30.1
mata ji	6.8	21.7	3.7
əmma	2.2	-	-
bebe ji	2.2	2.17	-
caca ji	6.8	-	-
əmma ji	11.3	-	3.7
didi ji/bibi ji/didi	2.2	-	3.7
sərdar ji	-	6.5	9.4
bUjUrgo	-	-	5.6
ə̃nkə̃l ji	9.0	2.1	-
ə̃nti ji	9.0	4.3	-

6.2.56.2. Strangers of Equal Age Group

TABLE NO.63

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
pai sáb	11.1	29.4	21.7
pài/pà ji	-	19.6	13.4
vir ji	11.1	9.8	4.3
ji/tUsĩ	-	21.5	13.4
sáb	-	-	2.11

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
sōrdar ji	-	-	2.1
Mr./sab	-	-	4.3
prā ji	5.5	7.8	2.1
pēṇ ji	33.3	1.9	34.7
pēṇ/biba	11.1	-	2.1
yar/bai	5.5	-	-
aṛi	5.5	-	-
vir	5.5	1.9	-
ḍidi/bibi	5.5	1.9	-
meḍḍm/sIstḍr	-	1.9	2.1

6.2.56.3. Younger Strangers

TABLE NO.64

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
kaka	33.3	37.7	34.7
sōrdar sáb	-	-	2.1
kaka ji	-	4.9	4.3
pāi/biba	-	3.2	2.1
pUtt	-	-	2.1
gUḍḍi	38.8	40.9	39.0
biba	-	1.6	4.3

mUnni/beṭi	-	3.3	2.1
pən ji	-	-	2.1
beṭa/beṭe	-	6.5	4.3
kUrie	11.1	1.6	2.1
aṛi	5.5	-	-
yar	5.5	-	-
mŭḍia	5.5	-	-

6.2.57. Acquaintances

Among acquaintances mostly the relationship is of formal nature and therefore formal forms of address are in use. The age, social status and particular context helps to determine the actual form of address, to be used.

In general, elder persons receive formal forms of address, include the kinship terms or names or surnames plus honorific suffixes, like ṭnkḍl ji/taIa/taIa ji, caca ji. The females are addressed by pən ji, ṭnti ji, mata ji, bibi ji, caci ji, etc. The acquaintances of same age group are also addressed by the polite or honorific forms of address. Sometimes merely informal forms of address are

used. The youngsters are addressed by names, nicknames or by kinship terms like **beṭa/beṭi**, **kaka**, **gUḍḍi**, **mUṇni**, etc., in case they are very young in comparison to the addresser. Terms like **pài**, **pèṇ**, **vir**, etc., are also used in case the age difference is not much. The social status of the addressee plays a prominent role in determining the actual choice of the mode of address to be used. See the Table Nos.65, 66 and 67 below:

6.2.57.1. Acquaintance of Older Age Group

TABLE NO.65

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
āṇṭi ji/āṇkṭl ji	26.3	11.7	-
ji/prá ji	7.8	8.8	12.1
pai sáb/pèṇ ji/pài	-	38.1	46.1
vir ji/vira	13.0	8.8	2.4
Mr. + Surname	5.2	4.3	4.8
caca/taIa ji/caci/caci ji/ taI ji	47.0	13.0	16.8
pāṇḍIt ji/sārdar ji/ baba ji/máraj ji/ bibi ji	5.2	7.1	7.2
amma ji/mata ji/ massi/bebe/pārjai ji	2.6	5.7	9.6

6.2.57.2. Acquaintance of Equal Age Group

TABLE NO.66

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
FN	8.6	15.3	26.8
pai/pàì sàb/pà ji/ vir ji/prá ji/vir	21.5	44.1	19.4
tũ/tUsĩ	8.6	-	4.8
pabi ji/pènji/pen	34.7	30.7	26.7
Surname + ji/NN/Name + ji	26.0	5.7	21.8
ãñti/ñnkðl	-	3.8	-

6.2.57.3. Acquaintances of Younger Age Group

TABLE NO.67

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
beṭa	-	-	3.0
NNFN/Full name	66.6	46.6	39.3
beṭa/kaka/kaka ji	13.3	28.8	18.1
kUrie/gUḍḍi	13.3	16.3	27.2
pèn/pèn ji	-	-	6.0
pài vi	6.6	11.0	3.0

6.2.58. Neighbours

As in the case of acquaintances, neighbours

are also addressed by various forms of address depending on their age, social status, interpersonal relationship and various contexts. Neighbours are generally regarded more intimate than the acquaintances. Elders are addressed by names or surnames, professional names plus honorific titles **ji** or **sáb**, or by polite or honorific kinship terms of address.

Neighbours of equal age group are also mostly addressed by polite or honorific forms of address. The youngsters are addressed by first names, nick names or affectionate kinship terms of address like **beṭa/beṭi**, **kaka**, **guḍḍi**, etc. See the Table Nos.68, 69 and 70 below:

6.2.58.1. Elder Neighbour

TABLE NO.68

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
Surname + sáb / Title + sáb	1.8	1.1	5.4
bai ji / bapu/bapu ji	7.2	-	5.0
pài sáb/pài ji/vir ji/ pra/vira/pai	3.6	12.2	9.4
sārdar ji/sārdarni	-	-	4.6
Name + ji /EN (+ ji)/NN	-	-	10.7
caca ji/caca/taIa ji/taIa	38.1	31.0	19.4

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
baba/baba ji/bəjUrɡo	-	4.4	2.6
masəɾ ji/ənkəl/ənkəl ji	43.3	9.9	-
əmma ji/bebe ji/bebe	5.4	2.2	5.3
pən ji/bibi ji/pən/pabi	1.8	11.1	14.1
tai/tai ji/caci/caci ji	23.6	24.4	16.6
be ji/mata ji/pərjai ji	-	3.3	3.9
mami/ənɕi/ənɕi ji	12.7	-	-

6.2.58.2. Neighbour of Equal Age Group

TABLE NO.69

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
pà ji/pài	4.1	7.6	-
Title + ji/Surname/ FN/NN/ Name + ji	71.8	58.0	33.2
Full name	6.2	2.5	-
pra ji/vir ji/ pai sàb/Surname	10.4	11.5	4.1
pən/bibi/pərjai ji	3.12	5.1	20.7

6.2.58.3. Younger Neighbour

TABLE NO.70

	A1	A2	A3
kaka	-	7.5	6.8
NN/Full name/FN	75.8	80.1	77.2
pUtt	24.1	1.5	2.2
gUḍḍi/gUḍḍu	-	9.0	11.3
kUṛe/yar	-	1.5	2.2

Professional Relations

6.2.59. Shopkeeper

Mostly shopkeepers elder in age or of the same age group and of high status are addressed by honorific or polite modes of address. The terms like **lala ji**, **seṭh ji**, **seṭh sá'b**, **sārdar ji** and **sārdar sá'b**, etc., are used for those addressees with higher social status. Notice that the terms **lala** and **seṭh** without the suffixes **ji** or **sá'b** are not polite forms of address. These are used by friends of same age group. Kinship terms like **vir ji**, **pà'i sá'b**, **baba ji** addressee's name or surname plus **ji** or **sá'b**, are also commonly used for showing intimacy. Elder customers may address the youngster by **kaka**, **pà'i** or **beṭe** as well (Table No.71).

TABLE NO. 71

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
lala ji/seth ji/seth sá'b	21.5	33.3	31.0
Name + ji/sáb	21.5	22.5	20.0
vir ji/prá ji	45.5	33.3	25.0
baba ji	11.5	10.4	10.0
kaka	-	-	14.0

6.2.60. Customer

A shopkeeper in general uses honorific or polite forms of address in addressing his customers of all age groups. He shows extra politeness in addressing the customers of higher social status and of the A2 and A3 groups. Shopkeepers address customers of A1 age group by informal modes of address like **pài/pèn** or the customer's name or a nick name. They use **pài sá'b** or **pèn ji** in case the customers are not personally known to them. They also use terms of affection like **bebe/bibi/kaka/mũđIa** also (Table No.72).

TABLE NO. 72

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
pài/NN/FN	47.0	5.12	6.4

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
sārdarji/lala ji	-	17.9	15.3
pāi sáab/pèñ ji	41.1	41.	23.5
bai ji/māraj	-	2.5	3.2
Name + ji/sáab	-	12.8	6.4
babu ji/mata ji	-	5.1	19.2
bebe/bibi/kaka	11.7	12.8	19.2

6.2.61. Doctor

The term **ḍaktḍar sáab** is mostly used for addressing a doctor by all the respondents. The respondents of A1 group also use **ḍaktḍar ji**, **ḍñkḍl ji/āñṭi ji** as well. Other terms such as **ḍaktḍar**, **ḍaktḍarni ji**, **pèñ ji**, **mēḍḍm**, etc., are used by a small percentage of various social backgrounds (Table No.73).

TABLE NO.73

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
ḍaktḍar sáab	29.4	92.6	72.1
ḍaktḍar ji	35.2	2.4	8.3
ḍaktḍar	-	-	2.7
ḍaktḍarni		--	2.7
ḍaktḍarni ji	-	2.4	-

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
pèṇ ji	5.8	4.8	11.1
mēḍḍm	5.8	-	2.7
ḍnkḍl ji/āṇṭi ji	23.5	-	-

6.2.62. Patient

A doctor mostly addresses A1 age group by **kaka/kaka ji/pài** or by **biba/bibi** and by polite pronouns of address. He uses **pài sáb/pèṇ ji** or **bibi ji**, etc., for the patients of A2 and A3 groups. The professional titles or surname + **ji/sáb** are used for those known to him (Table No.74).

TABLE NO.74

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
baba ji	-	3.5	7.1
Honorific pronouns	11.7	17.5	21.4
FN/Nick name	5.8	1.7	7.1
sḍrdar ji/Title + Surname, Name + ji/sáb	-	3.5	10.6
kaka ji/pài/kaka	58.8	8.7	3.5
baba/bibi/bibi ji	23.5	26.2	28.5

6.2.63. Teacher

Honorific modes of address are used for addressing teacher. The terms **maṣṭar ji/** and **pēṇ ji** are used for addressing male and female teachers respectively. The terms **sḍr/sḍr ji/** **meḍḍm** are also frequently used by all the age group respondents. The term **maṣṭar + sáḅ** is used by the respondents of A3 group only. Other terms Mr./Miss/Mrs. plus surname are also used by a small number of respondents in A3 (Table No.75).

TABLE NO.75

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
maṣṭar ji/pēṇ ji	61.2	45.5	40.6
sḍr/sḍr ji/meḍḍm	38.6	45.5	31.2
maṣṭar sáḅ/Title + sáḅ	-	19.0	21.8
Mr./Miss/Mrs. + Surname	-	-	6.1

6.2.64. Student

Students are generally addressed by their first names, nick names or full names by their teachers. When the name is not known, a teacher addresses his students by affectionate terms like **kaka/mũṇḍIa/kUṛie**, etc. (Table No.76).

TABLE NO.76

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
FN/NN	88.2	84.8	33.3
Full name	11.7	12.1	66.6
nŨŋIa/kUŋie/kaka	-	3.0	-

6.2.65. Lawyer

A lawyer is mostly addressed by **vðkil sá**b and surname + **sá**b or **ji**. A lower percentage of people address him by **vðkil ji** and by polite terms like **pài sá**b, etc. (Table No.77).

TABLE NO.77

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
pài sáb	-	-	22.2
vir ji/vðkil ji	-	10.0	11.1
vðkil sáb	-	70.0	66.6
FN/Surname + sáb	-	20.0	-

6.2.66. Senior Officials

Terms of address used for officials depend on his/her status, age and interpersonal relationships. Mostly all senior officials are addressed by polite forms of address like

professional title + **sáb**, surname + **sáb**, Mr./Mrs./Madam + surname, or by **sáb**, **sâr** and **medəm**. The addressee's official status is mostly responsible for the choice of the mode of address to be used for him/her. Officials are addressed either by their own junior colleagues or outsiders, who come in official contact with them. Mostly officials of equal status or close colleagues are addressed by more intimate modes of address like Mr. + surname, First name or Fullname + **ji**. They may be addressed by kinship terms of address like **pài sáb/pèn ji**.

Officials of junior rank or status, youngsters, are mostly addressed by Full name + **ji**, last Name + **ji** or by terms like **pài sáb/pèn ji**, **babu ji** or by personal names without polite suffixes or prefixes of titles (Table Nos.78 and 79).

6.2.66.1. Seniors

TABLE NO. 78

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
Title + sáb	-	30.5	-
professôr sáb	-	5.5	40.0
sáb	50.0	8.7	40.0

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
sər	-	30.5	6.6
Mr./surname/surname + sáb	-	5.5	6.6
mədəm/bibi ji/mədəm ji	25.0	5.5	6.6
bau ji	25.0	-	-
pèn ji	-	13.8	-

6.2.66.2. Equals

TABLE NO.79

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
pài sáb	-	7.8	-
FN + ji	-	15.7	4.7
FN	33.3	18.4	28.5
Full name	-	10.5	9.5
Title + sáb	-	-	4.7
Surname + ji	33.3	7.8	4.7
FN/Full name	-	31.5	33.3
FN/Full name + ji	-	7.8	9.5
Miss/Mr./Mrs./surname	-	-	4.7
pèn ji/pài sáb	33.3	-	-

6.2.67. Other Professional Categories

Other professional categories include

6.2.67.1. Milkman

TABLE NO. 80

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
sərdar ji/šərma ji/gIani ji	26.6	28.4	6.8
pəŋ ji/pəi/pəi sáɓ	26.6	57.1	33.3
pəɗɗɗɗ	-	-	-

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
NN/Full name + ji/FN	19.9	7.1	59.9
vira/vir	13.3	-	-
ðnkðl ji	13.3	7.1	-

6.2.67.2. Sweeper

TABLE NO.81

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
FN	25.0	53.5	15.3
NN/ðmma	10.0	3.5	23.0
Full name/Full name + ji	-	7.1	7.6
jðmadarni/caci	10.0	28.5	46.1
tai/cuṛi/tai ji	25.0	3.5	7.5
jðmadar	10.0	3.5	-
baba ji	20.0	-	-

Besides these terms related to one's profession, some other polite or kinship terms of address like personal names, kinship terms like **pài ji**, **pài sáb** or **pai** are also used for addressing the persons of the above categories.

These persons in return mostly choose honorific or polite forms of address like **sáb**,

mēḍm, pàì sáḅ, pēṇ ji, babu ji, mata ji, bibi ji, vir ji, prá ji. Table Nos.80 and 81 show the use of modes of address for addressing two prominent professional categories 'milkman' and 'sweeper' respectively.

The study of frequency in the use of different modes of address is very useful from the pedagogical point of view. As may be seen the age group appears a major decisive factor in the frequency of the use of modes of address. The frequency of the terms of address also reflects the social and professional status of the addressee and addresser. It also indicates the type of interpersonal relationship and attitudes.

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7. CONCLUSION

In the present study the semantic rules governing the choice of modes of address and second person pronominal usage in Punjabi have been worked out from a collection of data drawn from literary texts, questionnaires, discussions, observation and experience. The use of modes of address and pronominal usage is characterized by different socio-linguistic components: the topic of discourse, the context of the speech event, the age, generation, sex and kinship status.

It has been observed that the most common address forms are FN, NN, TLN, Full Name, Title + Honorific suffixes (*sáb, ji*, etc.) and other kinship terms of address based on different relations an addressee may have with an addresser. It is confirmed that the use of address form is not independent of pronominal usage. The use of terms of address and pronouns of address are governed by the

same type of rules. A person may be addressed with as many titles as there are relationships or roles he plays in a society. There are certain usages which are clearly predictable but the others are conditioned by social parameters pertained to the society.

The use of terms of address and second person pronouns are correlated with social structure and cultural patterns of the people who speak the given language natively. It has been observed that the people living in rural areas generally tend to use non-honorific forms of address without taking into account the age, sex and the status of the people, they are addressing. Though there is considerable change among the people due to wide spread education, economic development, industrialisation and other social reforms, but still non-honorific forms are in common use. In urban areas, people use mostly honorific forms of address and the terms like *ānti* and *ōnkāi* are commonly used by them for all strangers, neighbours and acquaintances. The use of these terms does not reveal a particular relationship between the addresser and addressee. In rural areas, though caste creed distinction is maintained, but they

have close familial relations with each other, so they use familial relational terms of address for each other. But in urban areas, they are addressed by their first names or professional titles.

In non-reciprocal patterns, a distinction is made in terms of status. A person of higher social status is being addressed by his subordinates by TLN while they receive FN in return. The practice of using intimate address forms for subordinates and the distant forms for persons of higher status also govern the use of pronouns of address and conventional greetings as well. The switching from formal to informal modes of address and pronouns of address shows the progression of relation from acquaintance to friendship. The pronominal form *tũ* 'you' is more common among intimates and for addressing subordinates while *tUsĩ* 'you' is used for non-intimates, persons of higher social status, and distant acquaintances. Where there is clear difference between the two, the person of higher status has power to intimate the change, because there is little risk if he is initiator for act of association, whereas risk would be greater in case of

the person of lower social status. Every step towards friendship is initiated by the person of higher status.

In Punjabi the honorific suffixes appended with first name are only *ji* and *sāb*, to show extra politeness. The use of these honorific suffixes is both free and bound. These suffixes are generally appended with FN's, surnames and professional titles. There are certain restrictions in the use of these honorific suffixes. Some kinship terms take both suffixes, others do not. They are not interchangeable in certain cases as discussed in Chapter-3. In Punjabi 'Mr./Miss' and 'Mrs.' are the common titles adopted from English. Whereas in English these titles are appended to the full name or LN, but in Punjabi these are added to FN also. There are some additional terms like *Širmati/Širiman*, *sərdar/sərdarni*, *bibi/biba*, *kaka*, etc. These titles are not necessarily used with surnames only they can be prefixed to first names as well. Other common English titles used are *sir/madam*. In general these terms are used either reciprocally between new acquaintances or non-reciprocally by a person of lower status to a person of higher

status, subordinates to seniors, or by school children and students of college and universities to address their teachers. These terms are less intimate and more differential.

The vocative particle **he** is used both in Hindi and Punjabi to address divinities like **he s̄cce patsa**, **he r̄bb** in Punjabi, **he ram**, **he bh̄gvan** in Hindi. For addressing human beings in Hindi, there are two or three vocative forms, while in Punjabi there are different honorific and non-honorific vocative forms agreeing with the addressee in number and gender.

Modes of address are also correlated with modes of greetings. Modes of greetings either precede or follow the modes of address. The use of greeting forms (both verbal and non-verbal) vary according to socio-linguistic factors and interpersonal relationship.

The address forms are always context bound, so there are two types of addressing forms: (a) static and (b) non-static. Both address forms are used for all the three dyadic relations, i.e., familial, social and professional, but the frequency is higher in familial dyadic relation than the other two.

Familial relations include relationships

both from paternal and maternal side. These relations are more or less of equal status, reflected in the forms of address used by the participants. Social dyadic relations are developed, when a person plays different roles in a given society according to different social settings. Similarly, professional dyadic relations are also developed when persons come in contact in their professional practice. It has been observed that the age is the predominant factor in the frequency of the use of modes of address among different dyadic relations.

It has been noticed that there is considerable flexibility in the choice of the use of modes of address. There is no single term which can be used for an addressee by the addressers belonging to different status and age groups. Some of the forms are shared by persons of higher and equal status for an addressee on the one hand, and persons of lower status on the other. So the use of modes of address is shown both in upward or higher status and downward or lower status positions of their users.

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APPENDIX – I

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**Abbreviations of the References of Texts quoted
are explained below**

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APPENDIX - II

QUESTIONNAIRE

Use of Modes of Address in Punjabi

1. Name: _____ District: _____
2. Place of birth: _____
3. Sex: Male [] Female []
4. Age in years: 10 to 20 []
21 to 40 []
Above 40 []
5. Religion: Sikh [] Hindu [] Muslim []
6. Education : Illiterate _____
Upto Hr.Sec. _____
Graduate _____
Post-Graduate _____
- 6(a) Occupation: _____
7. What type of modes of address do you use for the following:

Familial Relations

- 1) Father:
- 2) Father's father:
- 3) Father's mother:
- 4) Father's elder brother:
- 5) Father's younger brother:
- 6) Father's elder sister:
- 7) Father's younger sister:
- 8) Father's sister's husband:

- 9) Mother:
- 10) Mother's father:
- 11) Mother's mother:
- 12) Mother's elder brother:
- 13) Mother's younger brother:
- 14) Mother's elder sister:
- 15) Mother's younger sisters:
- 16) Mother's sister's husband:
- 17) Brother:
- 18) Elder brother:
- 19) Younger brother:
- 20) Elder brother's wife:
- 21) Younger brother's wife:
- 22) Brother's son:
- 23) Brother's daughter:
- 24) Sister:
- 25) Elder sister:
- 26) Younger sister:
- 27) Elder sister's husband:
- 28) Younger sister's husband:
- 29) Sister's son:
- 30) Sister's daughter:
- 31) Son:
- 32) Father's brother's son:
- 33) Father's sister's son:
- 34) Father's brother's daughter:
- 35) Father's sister's daughter:

- 36) Daughter:
- 37) Mother's brother's son:
- 38) Mother's sister's son:
- 39) Mother's sister's daughter:
- 40) Mother's brother's daughter:
- 41) Wife:
- 42) Wife's elder brother:
- 43) Wife's elder sister:
- 44) Wife's elder brother:
- 45) wife's younger sister:
- 46) Wife's mother:
- 47) Wife's father:
- 48) Husband:
- 49) Husband's elder brother:
- 50) Husband's elder sister:
- 51) Husband's younger brother:
- 52) Husband's younger sister:
- 53) Husband's mother:
- 54) Husband's father:

Social Relations

	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>
55) Land-lord:	_____	_____
56) Tenant:	_____	_____
57) Master:	_____	_____
58) Servant:	_____	_____

59) Friends:

	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>
i) Formal:	_____	_____
ii) Non-formal:	_____	_____

60) (a) Stranger

<i>Age group</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>
i) Older	_____	_____
ii) Equal	_____	_____
iii) Younger	_____	_____

(b) Acquaintances

<i>Age group</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>
i) Older	_____	_____
ii) Equal	_____	_____
iii) Younger	_____	_____

(c) Neighbours

<i>Age group</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>
i) Older	_____	_____
ii) Equal	_____	_____
iii) Younger	_____	_____

Professional Relations

	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>
61) Shopkeeper:	_____	_____
62) Customer:	_____	_____
63) Doctor:	_____	_____
64) Patient:	_____	_____

65) Teacher:

*Male**Female*

a) Primary

b) Middle/Hr.Sec.

c) College

d) University

66) Students:

*Male**Female*

a) Primary

b) Middle/Hr.Sec.

c) College

d) University

*Male**Female*

67) Lawyer:

68) Milkman/woman:

69) Sweeper:

70) Washerman/women:

71) Official:

a) Senior officers:

b) Colleagues of the same status:

c) Junior colleagues:

