

Modes of Address in Kashmiri

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1. Introduction

In general, modes of address in Kashmiri are correlated with the social status and interpersonal relationships between the addressee and addresser. Modes of address consist of different types of interjections, first names, diminutive first names, surnames, kinship terms, terms associated with professions, second person pronouns etc. Here we will briefly discuss the usage of these modes of address from sociolinguistic point of view.

A proper understanding of the socio-cultural patterns of the society and people who use these modes of address is important. The native speakers of Kashmiri belong to two main religious communities of Hindus and Muslims. The latter community is in majority. There are some variations on the phonological, morphological and lexical levels between the speech of these two communities, which are important from a sociolinguistic point of view. There is no caste system prevalent among either of the two communities. There are of course certain professional groups among each community. Hindus (all Brahmins) are divided into two groups: priests and non-priests. The priests (who are in the minority) perform all the rites and rituals and act as priests in Hindu temples and places of worship. On the basis of certain professions, some minority groups of lower social status among Hindus are those of Buhuris and persons engaged in odd jobs: cooks, bakers etc. The majority of Hindus consider such persons lower in status and do not normally enter into inter group marriages. Those who neither belong to the priest group nor to the lower professional groups of odd jobs enjoy higher status among the Hindus. The modes of address used for the priest group are always honorific and they are different from those used for the lower professional groups.

Muslims are also divided on the basis of professional groups. Social status is generally determined by economic, educational and professional factors. Among Muslims, pirs (the group of priests), which are in minority, perform rites and rituals for all Muslims and are respected at social and religious ceremonies. The community is divided into different professional groups: agriculturists, businessmen, employees, labourers etc. The professions of butcher, carpenter, barber, goldsmith, mason and cobbler are hereditary. Only a very low percentage of people not belonging to hereditary professional families take up these jobs. Both the financial prospects and social status of goldsmith and blacksmith occasionally attract some persons to take up one of the above professions even though it is not traditionally in their family.

In modern society, current economic position, nature of profession, age, sex, education etc., play an important role in determining social status. With the spread of education and the tremendous change in the standard of living, old superstitions and values are fast changing. The traditional values are becoming less important day by day under the influence of modernization. It is easy to find people who belong to the lower class by family background and profession but have attained higher social status, shattering the barriers of old values and ideas.

It is important to keep in view the social structure of the native speakers of Kashmiri of both communities, Hindus and Muslims, divided into different classes on the basis of their family background and professions. Modes of address are correlated with the social structure of the people who interact: The inter-relationships, familial or kinship relations and considerations of social status must be taken into account while studying the subject.

2. Types of Modes of Address

Modes of address include interjections, first names, diminutive first names, surnames, terms associated with professions, kinship terms and second person pronouns of address. Here we will describe main types of forms of address.

2.1. Interjections of Address

Roughly corresponding to the English interjection ‘Hey’ or the Hindi-Urdu *are* different types of interjections are used in Kashmiri to attract attention. These can broadly be classified into two types: non-honorific and honorific or polite. They agree with addressee in number, gender and status.

2.1.1. Non-honorific

	Masculine		Feminine	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
a)	hayaa	hayoo	hayee	hayee
b)	hAAv	hAAv	hAAy	hAAy
c)	hataa	hatoo	hatay	hatay
d)	hatav	hatav	hatay	hatay
e)	talaa	talaa	talay	talay
f)	talav	talav	talay	talay
g)	hatlbaa	hatlbaa	hatibii	hatlbii
h)	tallbaa	tallbaa	tallbii	tallbii

Note that (a), (c) and (e) are used mostly by the native speakers of Kashmiri, who belong to Srinagar and Baramulla Districts. The forms of (b), (d) and (f) are used by the native speakers of Kashmiri who belong to the Districts of Anantnag and Pulwama. The forms of (g) and (h) are used by all the speakers. Besides being a form of address, (g) is also used in the meaning of ‘take’ as well. These terms may optionally be followed by the diminutive first names of the address. e.g.,

hayaa/ hayoo/ hAAv mohnaa	‘Hey, Mohan’
hataa/ hAAy/ hatav/ rahmaanaa	‘Hey, Rahman’
hayaa/ hAAy/ hatay shiilay	‘Hey Shiela’

The honorific or polite forms of interjections of address are used in formal relationships and for showing respect for the addressee. The singular and plural forms of honorific or polite forms are same:

hee	tallhaz
hasAA	hatlmaahraa
hatlsAA	talmaahraa
tallIsAA	hatljinaab
hatlhaz	talljinaab

These interjections may optionally be followed by first names, last names or professional titles of the addressee with honorific terms like *jii* or *sAAb*, e.g.

hee/ hasAA/hatisAA mohan jii	‘Hey Mr. Mohan’
hee/ hatlhaz/ tallhaz Daar sAAb	‘Hey’ Mr. Dar’
hee/ hatlmaahraa/ talmaahraa rAAanaa sAAb	‘Hey’, Mr. Raina’

It is to be noted that *hasAA/ hatlsAA* and *tallIsAA* are used in informal relationship as well. They are used while addressing spouses, youngsters and juniors as well for showing affection and intimacy. *hatlhaz* or *haz* is used for addressing Muslims and *hatlmaahraa* or *maahraa* for addressing Hindus. *hatl jinaab* or *jinaab* may be used for addressing Hindus as well as Muslims.

Honorific terms like *jii* or *sAAb* are also added to full names, first names or first plus middle names of persons. *jii* is mostly used with Hindu names and *sAAb* with Muslim names. e.g.

hee mohan jii	'Mr. Mohan'
rameesh kumaar jii	'Mr. Ramesh kumar'
mohan lall jii	'Mr. Mohan Lal'
mohan laal ganjuu jii	'Mr. Mohan Lal Ganju'
rAhmaan sAAb	'Mr. Rahman'
rAhmaan Daar sAAb	'Mr. Rahman Dar'

Whereas *jii* is always used with the professional title *maasTar* teacher', *sAAb* is used with the professional titles or surnames of both communities. e. g.

maasTar jii	'Teacher'
DaakTar sAAb	'Doctor'
vAhmaan sAAb	'lawyer'
raazdaan sAAb	'Mr. Razdan (a Hindu surname)'
loon sAAb	'Mr. lone (a Muslim surname)'

The terms *jii* and *sAAb* are used by elders with the first names or kinship terms of youngsters as well for showing affection. The term *sAAb* also is added to the imperative forms of verbs as well. e.g.

- (a) karsAA panIn' kAAm
Do-HON own work'
'Please do your work.'
- (b) me disAA kitaab
to-me give-HON (the) book
'Please give me the book.'

The 'terms *haz* 'sir' and *maahraa* 'sir' are used for addressing Muslims and Hindus respectively. The term *jinaab* 'sir' is used for addressing both Hindus and Muslims. These terms normally follow the subject noun or pronoun e.g.,

- (c) bI haz/maahraa/jinaab gatshI garI
I hon. go-fut home
'Sir, I will go home.'

They may also be used with the imperative forms of verbs. e.g.

- (d) gAtshiv haz garI
go-HON sir home
'Please go home.'
- (e) diyiv haz/maahraa/jinaab kitaab
give-Hon sir book
'Please give the book'

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

2.2. Kinship Terms of Address

A number of terms of address are formed from kinship terms by adding some honorific terms. The vocative case suffix *-aa* for masculine singular, *-I* for feminine singular and *-av* for plural are added to these compound terms when used as modes of address. In the examples given below, different honorific terms are added as case suffixes to the kinship term *booy* ‘brother’ changing it into a term of address. e.g.,

booy + TooTh	= bAAyTooTh	+ aa	= bAAyTaaThyaa
booy + sAAb	= bAAysAAb	+ aa	= bAAysAAbaa
booy + jii	= bAAyjii	+ aa	= bAAyjiyaa
booy + laal	= bAAylaal	+ aa	= bAAylaalaa
booy + jaan	= bAAyjaan	+ aa	= bAAyjaanaa
booy + raaj	= bAAyraaji	+ aa	= bAAyraajaa
booy + gaash	= bAAygaash	+ aa	= bAAygaashaa
booy + jigur	= bAAyjigur	+ aa	= bAAyjigraa

Note that whereas all the basic honorific terms added to the kinship term ‘booy’ above stand for the meaning ‘dear’ or ‘dear one’, some of them have different literal meanings. They are: *laal* ‘ruby’ *jaan* ‘good’, *raajI* ‘king’, *gaash* ‘light’, *jigar* ‘heart’. The terms *jii* and *sAAb* (*saahib*) are from Hindi- Urdu.

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

beni + TAATh	= beniTAATh	+ ii	= beniTAAThii
beni + gAAsh	= benigAAsh	+ ii	= benigAAshii
beni + dyed	= benidyed	+ ii	= benidyedii
beni + jiglr	= benijiglr	+ ii	= benijigrii
beni + jii	= benijii	+ ii	= benijiii

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

Similarly, a number of terms of address are used independently for elder kinsmen, distant relations and persons for whom respect or affection is intended. Terms of address used for male addressees like *bab*, *laall* (*sAAb*), *TaaThi* (*sAAb*), *kaakh*, *gaashI*, *TooTh*, *boobjii* may be used for father, grandfather, uncle, elder brother, elder cousin or for any person for whom respect or affection is intended. Similarly, some terms of address used for females like *dyed*, *jigIr*, *baabii*, *TAAThii*, *kaakany*, *diidi* etc., may be used for elder kinsmen or distant relations, or for persons for whom respect or affection is intended. These terms of address are used in a liberal sense. These terms are used not only for kinsmen or distant relations, but also for unrelated persons to show respect or affection.

2.3. Second Person Pronouns of Address

There are two main types of second pronouns of address: singular and plural. Singular honorific and plural (both honorific as well as non-honorific) forms are the same. e.g.

Case	Singular		Plural	
	Non-honorific	Honorific	Honorific/non-honorific	
Nominative	tsI	toh’	toh’	‘you’
Oblique	tse	t>hi	t>hi	

In the possessive case, there is gender and number concord with the head of the nominal group or object. E.g.,

Subject Person	Object			
	Masculine	Feminine		
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl
2 nd sg Non-hon.	coon	cAAAny'	cAAAn'	caani
2 nd pI./hon. sg.	tuhund	tuhInd'	tuhInz	tuhInzI

Examples:

coon kalam	'your pen'
cAAAn' kalam	'your pens'
cAAAn' gAr	'your watch'
caani gari	'your watches'
tuhund meez	'your table'
tuhInd' meez	'your tables'
tuhInz kursii	'your chair'
tuhInz kursiyi	'your chairs'

The non-honorific singular forms of pronouns are generally used in informal situations to address very close friends, youngsters, spouses and people of lower social status. Sometimes these forms of address are used for addressing elders as well as those for whom respect is intended, particularly female members of one's family i.e. mother, sister etc. in informal situations. The honorific forms of address are used for addressing close friends, youngsters and spouses as well in formal situations or for showing extra love, affection or being sarcastic in certain situations.

The usage of modes of address should therefore, be studied keeping in view the contextual situation and dyadic relations between the addresser and addressee.

3. Dyadic Relations

There are three main dyadic relations: (a) social, (b) professional and (c) Familial.

2.3 Social Dyadic Relations

Social dyadic relations are the result of the meeting between two strangers or friends. Individuals in a given society play different types of roles when they come in contact with each other. The socio-cultural, economic and religious patterns of a society bring individuals and families close to each other. These contacts result in free interaction and the development of interpersonal relationships between individuals. The interpersonal relationships between teacher-student, master-servant, friends, and strangers etc., determine the usage of modes of address under this category. e.g.,

Teacher – Student

- tsI kar yi kAAm
you do this work
'Do this work.'
- yi kAAm kar
'Do this work.'

Student – Teacher

2. bI maahraa karI yi kAAm
I Hon do-will this work
I will do this work'

Master – Servant:

3. (hayoo) rAhmaanaa baazrI an d>d
(Hey) Rahman market-AbI bring milk
'Rahman, bring milk from the market.'

Servant-Master:

4. me diyiv haz (toh') pAA~sI
to-me give (HON) (you) money
'Please give me money.'

In the examples given above, a teacher uses non-honorific second person pronouns of address for his student and receives honorific term of address in return. In some situations, the teacher as well as master may use honorific terms/pronouns of address for a student and a servant respectively to show affection or appreciation e.g.,

Teacher - Student :

5. behsAA pathar
sit-polite down
'Please sit down.'
6. kAAm kAriv
work do-(Hon)
'Please do your work.'

Master - Servant :

7. palav tshunsAA nAv'
clothes put on (Hon) new
'Please put on (your) new clothes.'

The teacher as well as the master while in anger may use the same honorific forms of address for addressing a student or servant respectively. Here the usage of such forms is sarcastic and reflects the anger of the addresser. e.g.,

8. toh' kariv panIn' kAAm
You (Hon) do-Hon your-own work
'Please do your own work.'
9. toh' mI hechInAAviv me
you-Hon don't teach-Caus to-me
'Please do not teach me.'

The usage of modes of address amongst friends varies according to age, sex and context. Normally intimate friends (of either sex) address each other with non-honorific terms of address, but on certain formal occasions in the presence of others they may use honorific forms. Friends when young normally use non-honorific forms of address and switch over to formal ones as they grow

older. Strangers of an equal social status normally use honorific forms of address in addressing each other. The addresser may use non-honorific forms of address as well, if he or she is aware that he/she will receive honorific forms of address in return.

3.2 Professional dyadic relations

Professional dyadic relations develop in different ways. Interaction between people belonging to same or different professions is very common. Sometimes, professional and social dyadic relations are merged together. Under the category of professional dyadic relations, we may study the interactions, which take place between official and a non-official, a shopkeeper and a customer, a doctor and a patient, the contractor and a laborer etc.

Two officials who belong to the same rank or status address each other by first plus second names or by surnames plus honorific terms like *jii*, *sAAb*, e.g.,

sohan laal jii	'Mr. Sohan Lal'
rAAnaajii	'Mr. Raina'
dar sAAb	'Mr. Dar'
shah sAAb	'Mr. Shah'
ayuub paree sAAb	'Mr. Ayub Parey'

The names may optionally be preceded by appropriate honorific interjections of address. The modes of address used among officials and non-officials in their conversations may be of different kinds, depending on social status or position of the participants. A non-official usually addresses an official with honorific modes of address. He may also receive formal or non-polite terms of address in return. e.g.,

Non-official

10. toh' kAriv haz/maahraa me peTh meharbAAanii
you-Hon do-Hon me on kindness
'Please favor me with your kindness.'
11. t>hi jinaab k'aa gatshi
to-you-Hon what want
'What would you like to have?'
12. t>hi k'aa haz/maahraa naav
to-you-Hon what Hon name
'What is your name?'

Official - non-official

13. toh' mI bAriv parvaay, bI karI tuhInz kAAm
you do not feel worry I do-Fu your work
'Please don't worry, I will do your work.'
14. tsI mI kar me pareeshaan
you-non-Hon don't do to-me perturb
'Don't perturb me.'
15. (toh') gAtshiv tshA:~Div yinsaaph
(you-Hon) go-Hon look for justice
'Please go (and) seek justice.'

A patient and a doctor, or a client and a lawyer, who are involved in conversations may also use different types of modes of address. In the professional relationship, a patient and a client will always use honorific forms of address and will receive the type of terms of address in return depending on their social status. e.g.,

Patient - doctor:

16. DaakTar SAAb me (jinaab) chu kalas dood
doctor-Hon to-me(Hon) is headache
'Doctor, I have a headache.'
17. toh' diytav haz/maahraa davaa
you give-Hon Hon to-me medicine
'Please give me medicine.'
18. bI kAtsi laTi haz/maahraa khemI davaa d>has
I how many times -Hon eat-fut medicine
'How many times a day should I take medicine?'

Doctor - patient :

19. yi rATiv davaa
this take-Hon medicine
'Please take this medicine.'
20. baazrI Aniv davaa
market-AbI bring-Hon medicine
'Please bring medicine from the market.'
21. tse kh'oothaa kaa~h davaa
you-non-hon ate-you any medicine
'Have you taken any medicine?'

Client - lawyer :

22. (toh') liikhiv haz/maahraa darkhaas
(you-Hon) write Hon application
'Please write the application.'
23. bI jinaab dimoovI sAAriy pAA~sI
I Hon will-give-you- whole money
'I will give you the whole amount of money.'
24. toh' kAriv haz/maaharaa meharbAAanii
you-Hon do-Hon kindness
'Please be kind.'

Lawyer - client:

25. toh' trAAviv yi kath me peTh
you-Hon leave this matter me on
'You leave this matter for me.'

26. tsI di me tayAArii karnI
 you-non-hon give me preparation do-Inf
 ‘You let me prepare myself (for it)’
27. tse chuy paanI adaalats manz hAAzir gatshun
 you-Dat-non-hon have self court-Loc in attend go-Inf
 ‘You will have to attend the court in person.’

3.3 *Familial Ddyadic Relations*

The term ‘family’ in Kashmiri society is used in a liberal sense. It actually represents a net-work of related families on both paternal and maternal sides. The use of modes of address in this category depends purely on the type of relationship and age of the participants. The dyadic relational sets of father-son, father - daughter, mother-son, mother-daughter, brother-brother, brother-sister, sister-sister and husband-wife are basic ones. The kinship relations on both the paternal and maternal sides are considered at par. Also, in the forms of address, the distinction between true siblings and cousins is not maintained. Furthermore, father, father-in-law, paternal and maternal uncles are of the same status; mother, mother-in-law, maternal and paternal aunts are of the same status; elder brother , brother-in-law are of an equal category; elder sister or sister-in-law are of an equal category; son and son-in-law, daughter and daughter-in-law belong to the same kinship status. Here we will present examples of some of the above familial dyadic relations:

Father-Son

Normally, the father addresses his son by the first name or first plus middle name, or by diminutive first name or nick-name (known as family pet name as well). The father uses the non-honorific pronominal form to address him. e.g.,

28. mohna:/mohan laalaa/mohanjiaa baazrI an sabzii
 Mohan/Mohan Lal/Mohanji market-AbI bring vegetables
 Mohan/Mohan Lal/Mohanji, bring vegetables from the market’
29. tsI chukhnaa boozaan?
 you-non-hon are not listening
 ‘Aren’t you listening?’

In these examples, the father may use Mohan (first name), Mohan Lal (first plus middle name) or Mohan ji (diminutive first name or family pet name) for his son. The choice is determined by certain factors in certain situations. If his son is grown up and has attained higher social status or position, and while addressing him in the presence of others (his son’s colleagues, friends etc.), the father is likely to use polite forms of address. In certain situation, the use of honorific or polite forms of address may denote that father’s anger, or of his being sarcastic. e.g.

30. toh’ chiv bAD’ mAhniv baneemIt’
 you-Hon have great man become
 ‘You have become a great man.’
31. ahansAA TaaTh’aa mey hechInaav
 yes-Hon dear one, to-me teach-Caus
 ‘Yes, dear, you will teach me.’

The son always addresses his father by the particular mode of address used for him in his family. The common modes of address are *TaaTh’aajii*, *boob jii*, *laali sAAb*, *bab*, *gaashI*, *gaashaa jii*, *paapaa jii*, *pitaa jii* etc. In the higher society the son always uses honorific pronouns of address for addressing his father. e.g.

30. boobjii me diyiv (maahraa) pAA~sI
 babuji me-Dat give-Hon money
 ‘Babuji, please give me money.’

As pointed out above, whereas a son-in-law has the same kinship status as the son in family. The relationship is of formal type in the beginning, and the use of reciprocal honorific modes of address including honorific pronominal forms is very common. In due course of time, the father-in-law may use informal modes of address for his son-in-law.

Father-Daughter

A father normally addresses his daughter by her first name, or diminutive first name or nickname (known as family pet name as well). He may add the suffix *ji:* with her first name after she is married or in the presence of others for showing deep affection. e.g.

33. kaa~tay tsI voon bAniyaan
 Kanta you knit pullover
 ‘Kanta you knit a pullover’
34. kaa~tI TAAThii meen’ kAmiiz an
 Kanta-dear mine shirt bring
 ‘Kanta, bring my shirt’
35. bablii yi kitaab ni
 Babli this book take
 Babli, take this book.’

In the above examples, the first name is used in sentence (33), *TA:Th* is added in sentence (34), and in sentence (35) *bablii* a nickname (family pet name) is used instead. The daughter, like the son, always uses a particular mode of address for him, which is common in her family and uses honorific pronominal forms. e.g.,

36. boobjii toh’ kheyiv batI
 Babuji you-Hon eat meals
 ‘Babuji, please have your meals.’

The father-in-law addresses his daughter-in-law with the family pet name given to her by her in-laws (like *p’aarii*, *TAAThii*, *raanii* etc.) or by her first name with suffix *jii* etc. Very rarely, he would use honorific pronominal form of address. The daughter-in-law in return always uses kinship terms of address or the particular family pet mode of address for him as used by her husband in addressing his father. She also uses honorific pronominal forms, e.g,

37. p’aarii, caay banaav
 pyari: tea prepare
 ‘Pyari, prepare tea.’
38. raanii tsI chalun yi dAj
 Rani you-non-hon wash-Inf this handkerchief
 ‘Rani, wash this handkerchief.’

39. boobjii toh' kheyiv maahraa batI
'Babuji you-Hon eat-Hon Hon meals
'Babuji, please take your meals.'
40. laaII sAAAb bI gatshIhAA baazar
Lala saheb I will-go-Cond market
'Lala Saab, I would like to go to market.'

In Some families, a daughter-in-law in the beginning does not talk with her father-in-law and only gradually starts conversation with him.

Mother-Son/daughter

Mother always uses first name or diminutive first name or the nickname (or family pet name) when addressing her son or daughter a son/daughter. e.g.

41. raamji:/boobaa me k'uth Anizi shaal
Ramji/Babu, me-dat for bring shawl
Ramji/Boba bring a shawl for me.'
42. shiilay /TtAATHii garIc kAAAm kar
Shiela/Tathi (dear one) home-gen work do
'Shiela/Tathi do your household work.'

A son/daughter addresses his/her mother by the particular mode of address used for mother in the family like, *kaakan' baabii jigIr*, *mAmii* etc. A son/daughter normally uses familiar or non-honorific pronominal forms to address even in formal situations.

Brother-brother/sister

The elder brother usually addresses his young brother or sister by his or her first name or by the first name plus suffixes *jii* or *sAAAb* indicating affection or by the nick name or family pet name. These terms of address are same as used by the parents in the family to address youngsters. The elder brother also uses non-honorific pronominal forms of address. The younger brother or the sister always uses the honorific terms such as *bAAysAAAb*, *bAayTooTh*, *TaaThi* etc. and honorific pronominal forms of address. In case, the age difference between the elder and younger brother is not much, they may address each other by their first names at the young age and use reciprocal non-honorific pronominal forms of address. As they grow up, the younger brother/sister switches to the honorific modes of address. The elder brother may also use honorific form of address in some formal situations. This kind of switchover may not occur in the families of lower social status. Examples are given below:

43. rAhmaana:/boobaa az chuyaa kaaleej gatshun?
Rahman/Babu, today have-to college go-Inf
'Rahman/Babu, do you have to go to college today?'
44. raajay/sAAAbay tsI kar aaykah sAkuull
Raj/Saba you-non-hon when came school-Abl
'Raj/Saba, when did you come from school?'

Sister-Sister/brother

Elder sister uses the same modes of address for her younger sister or brother as are used by other elder (including parents) in the family for her younger brother or sister. Normally any of the following terms of address: *benijii*, *benigAAsh*, *benijigIr*, *TAATHii*, *diidii* etc. are used for addressing elder sister in a particular family. The younger sister or brother addresses the elder sister by honorific pronominal

forms very rarely, or in formal situations only. Normally non-honorific pronominal forms of address are used. Some examples of the usage of these modes of address are given as under:

45. diidii me ditI panIn' gAr
Didi to-me give your watch
'Didi, give me your watch.'
46. boobaa tse chayaa nAv dAj
Boba you-dat have new handkerchief
'Boba, do you have a new handkerchief?'

Husband-wife

There are no formal modes of address used by the husband for his wife or by the wife for her husband. In upper class society, couples belonging to younger generation address each other by their first names. Sometimes, a wife may not use the name of the husband directly. She may use his surname or other professional titles with honorific suffixes like *dar sAAb*, *DaakTar sAAb*, *vAkiil sAAb* etc. Whereas a husband usually uses non-honorific pronominal forms of address addressing his wife, he may get some honorific terms of pronominal use in return.

To conclude, the use of modes of address is directly related to the socio-cultural patterns of a given society at a given time. As the society changes the linguistic behavior too undergoes a change. The use of language in society reflects the social and cultural structure of the people who use the language in communication. There are various types of modes of address prevalent in Kashmiri. They can be studied from different points of view. We have discussed main types of the modes of address as: interjections of address, kinship terms of address, and second person pronominal usage from the point of view of their actual use in the Kashmiri society. As illustrated above, the use of modes of address is determined by different dyadic relations: social, professional and familial.

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