

## A Cross-Gender Study of Kashmiri Greeting Rituals

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### Abstract

*One of the most important social and daily customs in any human society is greeting. Different spoken expressions of greeting are within the vernacular of any community and they have a high social position due to their importance in enhancing and promoting the relations between the society members. Variety of greeting expressions, both verbal as well as non-verbal are found in the speech of Kashmiri speakers. These verbal and non-verbal greeting expressions constitute Kashmiri greeting ritual (KGR).*

*The present paper is an endeavor to study the detailed usage of greeting expressions found among Kashmiri speakers with main focus on the cross-gender differences, as no such detailed study has been undertaken so far. The picture presented here is not an exhaustive study. There are still various ramifications of the subject that need to be handled with sharper and more sophisticated tools. Nevertheless, this sociolinguistic study may give some insight into the nature of the socio-psychological organization of our community, its rights and obligations, duties and privileges, attitude and beliefs. A strong 'verbal lubricant' in its own right, a greeting provides a bridge between individuals.*

**Keywords:** Greetings, Gesture, Conversation, Variables, Body language, Fixed response.

### Introduction

One of the most important social and daily customs in any human society is greeting. Different spoken expressions of greeting are within the vernacular of any community and they have a high social position due to their importance in enhancing and promoting the relations between the society members. Greeting is defined as the word or gesture of welcome and salutation, or the act or an instance of welcoming or saluting on meeting. Greeting is not only to be looked upon as usage of certain rules but it is a social practice which is governed by the situation in which the greeter says what is expected by the one being greeted. Greeting is as an act of communication with the help of which human-beings make intentionally or deliberately their presence known to each other. The key constitutive essentials of a greeting situation can be identified in terms of certain sociolinguistic variables, which determine the use of different types of greetings, like the spatio-temporal setting of the greetings (i.e. in a greeting situation, time and place are the two important dimensions that bind a social occasion. There are certain forms of greetings which are prescribed for one place but are not prescribed for another), participants involved and communication intent or the purpose of greetings.

Before starting the conversation, greeting expression is used to establish relation between the speaker and the hearer (pl. audience) and suggest the type of relationship between the participants or the social status between the individuals or group of people coming in contact with each other. Greeting expressions used are highly culture and situation specific and may change within a culture depending on the social status and relationship. Greetings can be expressed both physically and audibly, and often it involves the combination of both. Greetings are often, but not always, used at the beginning and at the end of the conversation. Usage of greeting expressions at the beginning and at the end of the conversation reflects good manners of the participants involved in the conversation process.

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Greeting each other on meeting is a sign of friendly intend as greeting expressions are considered as a tool to break silence between the participants of conversation. Greeting expressions should be employed correctly with appropriate words, tone of voice and body language. Greeting each other implies that one wishes to establish a relationship in a non-threatening atmosphere. This is referred to as 'Phatic Communication'. As David Crystal (1987; pp.427) says, "Phatic communication refers to a type of communication which signals one's readiness for interpersonal communication and/or one's willingness to interact within a particular community".

Different studies have been conducted on greetings in various cultures. Ferguson (1967; pp.137-151), considers greeting expressions as an example of 'a politeness formula'. He further said that these expressions are used in different contexts.

Ibrahim (1983; pp.7-15), uses the term 'minor sentences' to refer to the utterances of different types such as salutations, invocations and felicitations. He also pointed out that salutations are used to show politeness and respect in order to have a nice level of social discourse.

Chen Song-Cen (1991; pp.55-60) pointed out that greeting expressions form a very important part of the polite language. He said that by using greeting expressions, the speaker would indicate his attitudes towards the addressee or would start a conversation with him.

Taking greeting expressions as a speech act into consideration, there are two modes of greeting, i.e. verbal greeting and non-verbal greeting. Some of the English verbal greetings are as:

Good day

Good morning

Good afternoon

Good evening

Good night

Hello

Hi

How are you?

How are you doing?

How's it going?

Welcome (to somebody entering a place or group)

What's up? Etc.

Verbal greetings are incomplete without some kind of non-verbal behavior, implicit or explicit, in the use of any mode of greeting. A greeting can consist of an exchange of formal expression, a simple kiss, a hand shake or a hug. The form of greeting employed is usually determined by social etiquette, as well as relationship between the people. The verbal and the non-verbal expressions like hand-shake, facial expression, gestures, body language and eye contact, used while greeting, all signals what type of greeting is expected. Gestures are the most obvious signal. For example, greeting someone with open arms is generally a sign that a hug is expected. However, crossing arms can be interpreted as a sign of hostility. Facial expressions, body language and eye contact reflect emotions and interest level. A frown, slouching and lowered eye contact suggests disinterest, while smiling and an exuberant attitude is a sign of welcome. Throughout all cultures people greet one another as a sign of recognition, affection, friendship and respect. While hugs, handshakes, nods, bows and nose rubbing are all acceptable greetings, the most common greeting is a kiss, or kisses, on the cheek and forehead.

Various other non-verbal greeting expressions employed in different cultures are as:

Bowing

Fist pound (in which two individuals touch fists)

Handshake

Hand-kissing

Forehead Kissing  
 High-five  
 Hug  
 Pranama  
 Waving (the gesture of moving one's hand back and forth). Etc.

People usually greet each other when they meet. But greetings can also be passed to an individual on telephone. In this case, the greeting is meant to confirm whether the person on the other line is present or not. Some of the telephonic greetings of different countries are as:

Country / Language	Owner answers phone	Caller's response
China	Wei?	
India	Hello?	Hello
France	Allo?	
Israel	Shalom	
Japan	Moshi moshi	Dochirasama desuka? / Dare desuka?

**Table 1: Telephonic Greetings of Few Countries**

### Greeting Expressions Found in Kashmiri Speaking Males and Females

Variety of greeting expressions, both verbal as well as non-verbal are found in the speech of Kashmiri speakers. These verbal and non-verbal greeting expressions constitute Kashmiri greeting ritual (KGR). Greeting ritual is an act or an instance of welcoming or saluting on meeting or before starting a conversation. The non-verbal greeting expressions found among Kashmiri speakers are as:

Hug  
 Waving of hand  
 Kissing on the forehead  
 Kissing on the hand  
 Kissing on cheeks  
 Shaking hands  
 Holding hands  
 Folding hands  
 Slight bowing of head

These non verbal greeting expressions are accompanied by gestures like smile, an exuberant attitude and the welcoming body language and facial expressions.

The verbal greeting expressions found among Kashmiri speakers are */sala:m/*, */namaska:r/* and */a:da:b ariz/*. Verbal greeting expression */sala:m/* is used by the Kashmiri speakers belonging to Muslim community, verbal greeting expression */namaska:r/* is used by the Kashmiri speakers belonging to the Hindu community (esp. Pandits) and */a:da:b ariz/* is the common verbal greeting expression exchanged between these two communities to greet each other.

- */sala:m/*

*/asala:m-alajkum/* is an Arabic greeting used by Kashmiri speaking Muslims to greet another Muslim. It nearly translates to 'peace be upon you', but is often considered equivalent to 'hello' or 'good day' in English. It is accompanied with certain gesture, as some people put a hand on their heart as they shake hands and greet. In India, the greeting is accompanied by raising the right hand to the chest. The expression */asala:m-alajkum/* slightly varies in pronunciation from country to country, but it always remains intelligible throughout. The correct and the fixed response for the expression */asala:m-alajkum/* is */va:lajkum-sala:m/* which means 'may peace,

mercy and blessings of Allah be upon you too'. Moreover, it is also preferred to use the greeting when arriving and when leaving.

- ***/namaska:r/***

*/namaska:r/* is a common spoken greeting or salutation originated from the Indian subcontinent and is used by Kashmiri speaking Hindus (esp. Pandits) to greet another Hindu. It is a customary greeting when individuals meet, and a salutation upon their parting. When spoken to another person, it is commonly accompanied by the slight bow made with hands pressed together, palms touching and fingers pointed upwards, in front of the chest. */namaska:r/* is equivalent to 'good day' in English, with the implicit connotation 'to be well'. */namaska:r/* is a non-contact form of greeting as no shaking hands or kissing is involved between the participants. The gesture */namaska:r/* represents the belief that there is a Divine spark within each of us that is located in the heart chakra. In Sanskrit, the word is 'namah + te' which means 'I bow to you' – my greetings, salutations or prostration to you. */namaska:r/* has evolved from the word */namastaj/*. The correct and the fixed response for the greeting expression */namaska:r/* is */namaska:r/*.

- ***/a:da:b ariz/***

*/a:da:b ariz/* has been extracted from the Arabic word */a:da:b/* meaning 'respect and politeness'. Such a verbal greeting expression is associated with the culture of South Asian Muslims. Since the normal greeting of Muslims, i.e. */asala:m-alajkum/* was meant for Muslims only, and Muslims in India lived in a multi-religious society, this alternate form of greeting was coined. The gesture involves raising the right hand towards the face with palm inwards such that it is in front of the eyes and the finger tips are almost touching the forehead, as the upper torso is bent forward. Thus, in Kashmiri speaking community, */a:da:b ariz/* is used between the two communities, i.e. Muslim and Hindu community to greet each other. The correct and the fixed response for the expression */a:da:b ariz/* is */a:da:b ariz/* or simply */a:da:b/*.

These verbal greeting expressions are used by the Kashmiri speakers along with the non-verbal greeting expressions. Kashmiri speakers use these greeting expressions at the time of arriving as well as at the time of taking leave. Besides using these greeting expressions, leave taking is also accompanied with certain pleasantries such as */k<sup>h</sup>uda: ha:fiz/*, */alla:h ha:fiz/*, */beh k<sup>h</sup>uda:jas hava:li/*, */baḍ k<sup>h</sup>uda:jas hava:li/*, */ne:r ri:fi:jas kormak<sup>h</sup> hava:li/*, etc.

Kashmiri speaking community does not have different greeting expressions like other communities for different time frames, such as, 'good morning', 'good afternoon', 'good evening', and 'good night'. Kashmiri speaking Muslim community greets each other with the verbal expression */sala:m/* and Kashmiri speaking Hindu community greets each other with verbal expression */namaska:r/* and both the communities greet each other, (cross community greeting) with the verbal greeting expression */a:da:b ariz/* and for all the time frames these greeting expressions remain same. These greeting expressions are having the fixed responses and besides the non-verbal greeting expressions, these are accompanied by the honorifics as:

Participants	Greeting expression	Honorific	Fixed response
Muslim to Muslim	<i>/asala:m-alajkum/</i>	<i>/həz/ + /dʒina:b/</i>	<i>/va:lajkum-sala:m/</i>
Muslim to Hindu	<i>/a:da:b ariz/</i>	<i>/mahra:/</i>	<i>/a:da:b ariz/, /a:da:b/</i>
Hindu to Hindu	<i>/namaska:r/</i>	<i>/mahra:/</i>	<i>/namaska:r/</i>
Hindu to Muslim	<i>/a:da:b ariz/</i>	<i>/mahra:/, /dʒina:b/</i>	<i>/a:da:b ariz/, /a:da:b/</i>

**Table 2: Greeting Expressions with Fixed Responses**

The verbal greeting expressions are also followed by the greeting phrases which are dependent upon the context and the participants involved in the conversation. These greeting phrases are

generally related to queries about one's health and well-being. Some of the frequent greeting phrases used by Kashmiri speakers are as:

- /va:raj ʃ<sup>h</sup>iva: ?/  
[How are you?]
- /k<sup>h</sup>a:sa: va:raj ʃ<sup>h</sup>ivi?/  
[How are you?]
- /t<sup>h</sup>i:k pə:t<sup>h</sup>i ʃ<sup>h</sup>iva: ?/  
[Are you fine?]
- /sə:ri: ʃ<sup>h</sup>ivi: va:raj?/  
[Are all OK?]
- /k<sup>h</sup>ɔʃ pə:t<sup>h</sup>i ʃ<sup>h</sup>iva: ?/  
[Are you happy?]
- /k<sup>h</sup>a:sa: khɔʃ pə:t<sup>h</sup>i ʃ<sup>h</sup>iva: ?/  
[Hey, are you happy?]
- /k<sup>o</sup>: va:rajav?/  
[Hey, how are you?]
- /sehat ʃ<sup>h</sup>uva:t<sup>h</sup>i:k?/  
[How is your health?]
- /mahra: t<sup>h</sup>i:k pə:t<sup>h</sup>i ʃ<sup>h</sup>ivi?/  
[How are you?]
- /mahra: khɔʃ pə:t<sup>h</sup>i ʃ<sup>h</sup>ivi?/  
[Are you happy?]
- /va:raja: ?/  
[Fine?]
- /k<sup>h</sup>ɔʃ pə:t<sup>h</sup>i a: ?/  
[Happy?]
- /va:raje: ?/  
[Fine?]
- /va:raj ʃ<sup>h</sup>uk<sup>h</sup>a: ?/  
[How are you?]
- /va:raj ʃ<sup>h</sup>ak<sup>h</sup>aj?/  
[How are you?]
- /kehaj va:raj ʃ<sup>h</sup>akhaj?/  
[Hey, how are you?]

- /kʰo: kʰɔf pə:tʰij ʃʰukʰa:ʔ/  
[Hey are you happy?]

The replies for the greeting phrases given by the elders usually take the form of blessings as:

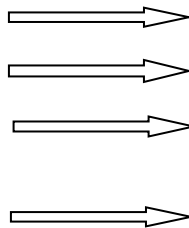
- /or zuv/  
[Healthy!]
- /dor koʃʰ/  
[Good health!]
- /rumi reʃun a:j/  
[As long life as that of a great Rishi!]
- /dəki boʃ/  
[Lucky!]
- /ləsiv/  
[May you live long!]
- /potri ga:ʃ/  
[Enjoy the pleasure of children!]
- /əʃʰ pu:r/  
[May your eyesight last forever!]

According to Koul (2005; p.136), from the point of predictability, greeting expressions fall under two broad categories, i.e. closed greeting and open greeting. The closed greetings are those greetings that have only one fixed response, where the predictability is cent percent, while as, the open greetings can have more than one response. Open greetings have limited predictability.

Kashmiri greeting expressions /asala:m-alajkum/, /namaska:r/ and /a:da:b ariz/ is having the fixed response like /va:lajkum-sala:m/, /namaska:r/ and /a:da:b ariz/ respectively, while as the greeting phrases used by the greeter to greet the greetee does not have the fixed response, rather the response depends upon the participants involved, context, age, gender, etc. The different responses observed by different greetees are as:

**Greeter**

/va:raj ʃʰiva:ʔ/  
[How are you?]

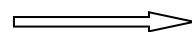
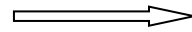
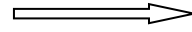
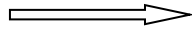


**Greetee**

/va:raj, tohʰi ʃʰiva: va:rjyʔ/  
[Fine. How are you?]  
/dɔjkʰə:r/  
[Your blessings. 'I'm fine.']  
/meharbə:ni:/  
[Your kindness. 'I'm fine.']  
/a: va:raj, tohʰi bo:znə:vivʔ/  
[Ya, fine. How are you?]

**Greetee**

'a: va:ray, toh' boznəviv?'  
[Ya, fine. How are you?]



**Greeter**

*/bas dɔjkʰə:r/*  
[Due to your blessings. 'I'm fine.']  
*/dor koʃʰ/*  
[Wish you be strong.]  
*/ləsiv/*  
[Wish you live long.]  
*/dəki bod/*  
[Wish you be lucky.], etc.

The response in case of open greetings is never fixed as there is always limited predictability in the kind of response received.

The greetings exchanged over telephone also vary among Kashmiri speakers. Mostly Kashmiri speakers exchange fixed greetings (*/asala:m-alajkum/*, */namaska:r/*, */a:da:b ariz/*) after saying 'Hello', followed by the greeting phrases like */hā: dʒina:b, va:raj ʃʰivi həz?/*, */kə:sa:, va:raj?/*, */mahra: va:raj ʃʰivi?/*, */va:raja:?/*, */va:raje:?/*, etc. But sometimes, greeting expressions are altogether neglected, and the conversation takes place directly from the greeting phrases mainly depending upon the context.

Place and time are the two important dimensions of a greeting situation as it binds the social occasion. There are certain forms of greeting expressions which are prescribed for one place but proscribed at another. For example, inside the office employees greet their boss by standing up as a mark of respect and orally saying */asala:m-alajkum/*, */namaska:r/*, */a:da:b ariz/*, 'Good morning', 'Good afternoon'. Choice of any of these verbal greeting expressions depends upon the community or the background of the employees as well as office management. Similarly, inside the school, students will also greet their teachers accordingly.

Generally both the genders, belonging to Hindu or Muslim community of Kashmir, prefer to greet and want to be greeted by the relexicalized greeting expressions such as 'good morning', 'good afternoon', 'good evening', 'How are you?', etc. in formal social settings. While as the same boss or the teacher whether male or female will be greeted by the general Kashmiri greeting expressions by the employees or students respectively, i.e. */asala:m-alajkum/*, */namaska:r/* or */a:da:b ariz/* in the informal or casual social setting. The degree of informality between the same genders as a boss and an employee or teacher and student is found more than the opposite genders in the informal social setting when the difference in age is less.

The role of a greeting is derived from a certain communicative intent, or the purpose for which the two parties are engaged in interaction. Greeting expressions, thus used are not only to convey a sense of respect but also to win a favor, to seek a pardon, to express gratitude, and to establish communion. It was observed that when a person received favor from someone, that person accorded greetings in a most deferential manner. It is a custom to greet a person after he has shown some favor. In such a situation, greeting does not convey respect but a sense of gratitude. For example, when one in distress gets a helping hand, or when a man's child is saved from an accident, etc., the greeting expressions used are as:

- */kʰuda: sə:b tʰəvinaj va:ri vati/*  
[May Allah keep you safe.]
- */kʰuda: kəʃnəj rə:ʃʰ/*  
[May Allah protect you.]
- */mʰo:n kʰuda: tʰəvinaj va:ri/*

[May my Lord keep you safe.]

- /ri:fi: t<sup>h</sup>əvinaj va:ri/  
[May God keep you safe.]
- /k<sup>h</sup>uda: kəʀ<sup>h</sup>naj paninis dʒa:nas rə:ʃ<sup>h</sup>/  
[May God protect your life.]
- /gats<sup>h</sup> p<sup>h</sup>alnə:vinaj m<sup>h</sup>o:n pa:k<sup>h</sup> parvardiga:r/  
[May my Lord prosper you.]
- /riʃi: kəʀ<sup>h</sup>naj rə:ʃ<sup>h</sup>/  
[May Rishi protect you.]
- /m<sup>h</sup>o:n kahno:v rəʃ<sup>h</sup>naj/  
[May my Lordprotect you.]
- /daj m<sup>h</sup>o:n t<sup>h</sup>əvinaj va:ri vati/  
[May my Lord keep you safe.]
- /dasgi:r m<sup>h</sup>o:n kəʀ<sup>h</sup>naj rə:ʃ<sup>h</sup> ti rap<sup>h</sup>a:kat/  
[May my Lord protect and prosper you.]
- /bagva:n kəʀ<sup>h</sup>naj rə:ʃ<sup>h</sup>/  
[May God protect you.]
- /gats<sup>h</sup> daj kəʀ<sup>h</sup>naj rə:ʃ<sup>h</sup>/  
[May my Lord Protect you.]
- /gas k<sup>h</sup>uda: kəʀ<sup>h</sup>naj a:ba:d/  
[May Allah prosper you.]

The communication intent or the purpose of the greeting expressions is accorded in the speech of both Kashmiri speaking males and females. When it comes to express gratitude, develop communion, win a favor or ask for pardon, female gender of both the communities exchange words in which ties of union are created. Among males, belonging to both the communities, phatic communion function of speech is less marked, but no doubt to some extent it is there. The phatic communion function of speech is found more among Kashmiri speaking females than males.

There are some situations wherein we usually tend to avoid verbal greetings which otherwise could lead to the disturbance to others. The situations include occasions such as watching a play, a movie, listening to a lecture, or any other type of action in progress, etc. In such situations, non-verbal gestures like smiling, waving of hands, nodding of head are used. Like verbal greetings, non-verbal greetings are also used in formal as well as in informal situations. Both Kashmiri speaking males and females follow the pattern, but older Kashmiri speaking females sometimes pass the general verbal greeting expressions when getting involved in the formal communication act in progress. While as, both the genders belonging to either of the communities use general greeting expressions when becoming a part of communication act in



progress in informal social setting. However, greeting phrases are mostly skipped in such a case as the main conversation is in progress.

Moreover, it will be pertinent to discuss the greetings across the same and different gender categories involved in the communication process.

➤ **Greetings Between Men:** Greetings between Kashmiri speaking men are different from the greetings exchanged between Kashmiri speaking women. Greeting expressions shared between males are simply *'asala:m-alajkum/*, */namaska:r/* and */a:da:b ariz/*, depending upon the community. Various greeting phrases are used between the two to enquire about the health of one another. But using greeting phrases to enquire about the health of one another does not mean that the greeter or the person being greeted was ill prior to the meeting. Men generally start up the conversation with the greeting phrases rather than greeting expressions when greeting another man of same or junior age group, while as, men generally use greeting expressions before greeting phrases along with honorifics when greeting another man of senior age group. For example:

➤ **Honorific Greeting Phrases**

- */va:raj ʃʰiv mahra: ?/*  
[How are you?]
- */kʰa: dʒina:b va:raj ʃʰivi ?/*  
[Sir, how are you?]
- */va:raj ʃʰivi həz ?/*  
[Are you fine?]
- */ʃʰi:k pə:ʃʰiv mahra: ?/*  
[Are you alright?]
- */ʃʰi:k pə:ʃʰiv həz dʒina:b ?/*  
[Are you alright?]
- */kʰɔʃ pə:ʃʰiv mahra: ?/*  
[Are you happy?]
- */kʰa:sa: va:raj ?/*  
[How are you?]

➤ **Non-Honorific Greeting phrases**

- */kʰo: ja: va:raja: ?/*  
[Hey, are you fine?]
- */ho: va:raja: ?/*  
[Hey, how are you?]
- */jo: ʃʰi:k ʃʰukʰa ?/*

[Hey, are you OK?]

- /ho: kʰɔʃ pə:tʰiːaː?/  
[Are you happy?]
- /tʰi:k pə:tʰiː ʃʰukʰaː?/  
[Are you alright?]
- /va:ri pə:tʰiː ʃʰukʰaː?/  
[How are you?]
- /kʰɔʃ pə:tʰiː ʃʰukʰaː?/  
[Are you happy?]

Besides these greeting expressions man use hand shake, touching of hand on the chest and folding of hands as non-verbal gestures while greeting another man. These non-verbal gestures are also community specific. For example, folding hands is peculiar to Hindu community.

➤ **Greetings Between Women:** The general greeting expressions (i.e. /asala:m-alajkum/, /namaska:r/, /a:da:b ariz/) and the greeting phrases used by a woman to greet another woman are likely to have as their content comments expressing appreciation about each other's appearance or dress, besides enquiring about the well being. Woman generally start up with the greeting phrases rather than greeting expressions when greeting another woman of same or junior age group, while as, woman generally use greeting expressions before greeting phrases along with honorifics when greeting another woman of senior age group. For example:

➤ **Honorific Greeting Phrases**

- /va:raj ʃʰakʰav?/  
[Are you fine?]
- /tʰi:k pə:tʰiː ʃʰakʰav?/  
[Are you alright?]
- /kʰɔʃ pə:tʰiː ʃʰakʰav?/  
[Are you happy?]
- /kʰoho: va:rajav?/  
[How are you?]
- /va:raj ʃʰivi həz?/  
[How are you?]
- /mahra: va:raj ʃʰivaː?/  
[How are you?]
- /va:rajav?/  
[Fine?]

- /kʰɔʃ pə:ʈʰi av?/  
[Are you happy?]

- /ʈʰi:k pə:ʈʰi av?/  
[Are you OK?]

➤ **Non-Honorific Greeting phrases**

- /ke: va:raje:?/  
[Hey, how are you?]

- /ʈʰi:k pə:ʈʰi ʃʰakhaj?/  
[Are you alright?]

- /ke he:j va:raj ʃʰakhaj?/  
[Hey, how are you?]

- /va:raje:?/  
[Fine?]

Besides these greeting expressions, woman use hug, kissing on forehead and kissing on cheeks as the non-verbal gesture to greet another woman.

➤ **Greetings Between Opposite Genders:** The greetings shared between the same genders are not same as shared by the opposite genders. Women has achieved upward mobility in present day society as a result of education and economic independence, she tends to discard essentially the feminine greetings in favor of greetings that are more commonly used by educated men. Men also use honorific and polite expressions along with greeting expressions to greet a woman.

For example:

MALE TO FEMALE	FEMALE TO MALE	ENGLISH MEANING
/va:raj ʃʰivi?/	/va:raj ʃʰivi həz?/	Are you fine?
/va:raj ʃʰiva:~/	/va:raj ʃʰiv mahra:~/	Are you fine?
/kʰɔʃ pə:ʈʰi ʃʰivi?/	/kʰɔʃ pə:ʈʰi həz?/	Are you happy?
/kʰɔʃ pə:ʈʰi ʃʰiva:~/	/kʰɔʃ pə:ʈʰi ʃʰiv mahra:~/	Are you happy?
/ʈʰi:k pə:ʈʰi ʃʰiv mahra:~/	/ʈʰi:k pə:ʈʰi ʃʰiv mahra:~/	Are you alright?
/ʈʰi:k pə:ʈʰi ʃʰivi həz?/	/ʈʰi:k pə:ʈʰi ʃʰivi həz?/	Are you alright?

**Table 3: Greetings Between Opposite Genders**

Besides using these greeting expressions, opposite gender belonging to Hindu community use folding of hands as non verbal expression, while as, among Kashmiri speaking Muslims bowing of head slightly is most often used between opposite genders.

Same pattern of greetings exchange is followed by males and females when conversing on telephone. Most of the time, greeting expressions along with honorifics as well as greeting

phrases are exchanged between the same or opposite gender after saying ‘Hello’ followed by the main conversation. But at times, direct conversation is started depending upon the previous context and familiarity between the participants.

➤ **Greetings Between Husband and Wife:** In the Kashmiri speaking society, wife generally greets her husband first. And along with general greeting expressions, wife usually employs honorifics to greet. The usage of honorifics is found more when the couple is in formal social setting, and sometimes honorifics usage is not found in the greeting expressions when the younger generation couple is in informal social setting.

➤ **Honorific Greetings Between Husband and Wife**

HUSBAND TO WIFE	WIFE TO HUSBAND	ENGLISH MEANING
/ <sup>h</sup> i:k pə: <sup>h</sup> i <sup>h</sup> iv <sup>h</sup> həz/	/ <sup>h</sup> i:k pə: <sup>h</sup> i <sup>h</sup> iv <sup>h</sup> həz/	Are you fine?
/ <sup>h</sup> i:k pə: <sup>h</sup> i <sup>h</sup> iv mahra: ?/	/ <sup>h</sup> i:k pə: <sup>h</sup> i <sup>h</sup> iv mahra: ?/	Are you fine?
/sehat <sup>h</sup> iv <sup>h</sup> həz <sup>h</sup> i:k ?/	/sehat <sup>h</sup> iv <sup>h</sup> həz <sup>h</sup> i:k ?/	How is your health?
/sehat <sup>h</sup> iv mahra: <sup>h</sup> i:k ?/	/sehat <sup>h</sup> iv mahra: <sup>h</sup> i:k ?/	How is your health?

**Table 4: Honorific greetings between husband and wife**

➤ **Non-honorific greetings between husband and wife**

HUSBAND TO WIFE	WIFE TO HUSBAND	ENGLISH MEANING
/ <sup>h</sup> i:k pə: <sup>h</sup> i <sup>h</sup> akha?/	/ <sup>h</sup> i:k pə: <sup>h</sup> i <sup>h</sup> uk <sup>h</sup> a?/	Are you OK?
/ <sup>h</sup> i:k pə: <sup>h</sup> e: ?/	/ <sup>h</sup> i:k pə: <sup>h</sup> a: ?/	Are you fine?
/si <sup>h</sup> akha? <sup>h</sup> i:k ?/	/si <sup>h</sup> uk <sup>h</sup> i <sup>h</sup> i:k ?/	Are you alright?

**Table 5: Non-honorific greetings between husband and wife**

While as, among the older generation husband and wife greetings along with honorifics were found in both formal as well as informal social setting.

**Conclusion**

People greet each other in order to make their presence known to each other, intentionally or deliberately. Greeting expressions along with the greeting phrases are used to know about the well being of the greetee. Greeting expressions form one of the important aspects of speech acts. Greeting expressions are not always, but most often used at the beginning of the conversation. Thus, greeting expressions can be viewed as the conversation initiators. Greetings are also used at the end of the conversation along with the pleasant leave taking expressions. Greetings can be expressed both verbally as well as non-verbally. Verbal greeting expressions cannot exist without non-verbal greeting gestures; otherwise such verbal greeting expressions will seem rude. Greeting expressions are culture and situation specific.

Kashmiri language, in terms of the modernization has also undergone a change in various speech practices and ‘Greeting Expressions’ is one among them. Greeting expressions of English language are found immersed in the language of Kashmiri speaking users. Kashmiri speakers are mostly found using English greetings when at work place or when chatting on internet. Frequency of using English greetings is mostly found among the younger generation men, women and children, than the old. While as, using Kashmiri greetings to some extent is alive at home among the younger generation. People usually prefer to greet others and also want others to greet them by the phrases like ‘Hello’, ‘How are you?’, ‘Good morning’, ‘Good afternoon’, etc., when present in formal social settings and expressions like ‘Hi, dude’, ‘What’s up?’, ‘How is going?’, etc., when present with friends (informal social setting). The usage of Kashmiri greeting expressions is marked very less among the younger generation males and females. The result may be due to the changing environment, changing trends, changing

thoughts, the process of globalization and the official status of English language. Greeting expressions exchanged between the same and the opposite genders also differs depending upon the age and the educational background.

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