A SOCIOLINGUISTIC INVESTIGATION OF LANGUAGE VARIABLES AND LANGUAGE CHOICE IN THE KASHMIRI SPEECH COMMUNITY

ABSTRACT

THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF

Doctor of Philosophy

IN

LINGUISTICS

By

Nisar Ahmad Koka

Under the Supervision of

Dr. M.K.A. Beg

(READER)

DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS

ALIGARH MUSLIM UNIVERSITY

ALIGARH

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Abstract

of the Ph.D. thesis on

“A Sociolinguistic Investigation of Language Variables and Language Choice

in the Kashmiri Speech Community”

During the last few decades sociolinguistics has emerged as an autonomous field of study. It has been recognized all over the world. Sociolinguistics is rightly concerned with the ways in which language varies according to the situation in which the users find themselves and according to social groups to which they belong.

Variation is an inherent property of almost all widely used languages of the world. Languages vary according to the social characteristics of speakers. They also vary according to situations in which the users find themselves. Language variation in sociolinguistics refers to variation in linguistic items, in accordance with social variation. The factors such as religion, age, sex education, region and occupation are responsible for variation in language and the resultant linguistic items are called as sociolinguistic or linguistic variables. Since the language variation takes place because of social variation, the linguistic and social variables are correlated.

Language variation reflects social variation. The state of Jammu and Kashmir is the home of various races and sects. The people of this state belong to different social groups. Technically speaking there is a social heterogeneity in the Kashmiri speech community. This social heterogeneity is reflected in the linguistic behaviour.
of the Kashmir speech community. This leads to variation in language among its speakers.

As said earlier, there are certain social factors which are widely held responsible for stratifying the Kashmiri speech community into various groups of speakers. These factors include religion, age, sex, education, region and occupation.

The social factor religion bifurcates the Kashmiri speech community into two main groups of speakers, viz., Muslim Kashmiri speakers and Hindu Kashmiri speakers. On the basis of the social factor age, the speech community has been differentiated into three groups of speakers, viz., A1 (15-35 years), A2 (36-50 years) and A3 (51 years and above). The social factor sex divides the Kashmiri speakers into two groups, viz., Male and Female Kashmiri speakers. Similarly from the point of view of difference in educational level, the said speech community has been distinguished into three groups of speakers, viz., E1 (illiterate i.e. the speakers having no education at all), E2 (semiliterate i.e. the speakers having upto intermediate or plus two level education) and E3 (educated i.e. the speakers having education from graduation onwards). Likewise on the basis of the social factor region, the aforesaid speech community provides a two dimensional demarcation i.e. urban and rural speakers of Kashmiri. In the same way the social factor occupation distinguishes the Kashmiri speech community into farmers, businessmen, boatmen/fishermen and cobblers. The speakers belonging to all these groups vary considerably in the use of their language at various levels of linguistics.

Language choice on the other hand takes place in a language contact situation where two or more languages exist side by side while performing different social
functions. These languages grow in an atmosphere of ‘give’ and ‘take’ and language choice becomes a creative natural process in that atmosphere. In the multilingual setting of the Kashmiri speech community the amalgam of various languages, viz., Kashmiri, Urdu, English and Hindi have led to the exchange of a large number of materials among their speakers and language choice is emerging as a natural phenomenon.

Language variation and the language choice are the dominant features of Kashmiri. Both of these phenomena are very interesting and I, as a native speaker of Kashmiri got very much fascinating to work on “A Sociolinguistic Investigation of Language Variables and Language Choice in the Kashmiri Speech Community” for my doctoral degree in linguistics.

The whole volume of the present study has been divided into seven chapters. The I chapter deals with some theoretical aspects of the language variation. In this chapter an attempt has been made to throw light on various theories of variation propounded by different scholars of linguistics and sociolinguistics from time to time. The same chapter also looks into various variation studies of different scholars and their findings.

The II chapter discusses the research design. The present study follows the same pattern of research methodology as adopted by various other scholars of sociolinguistics. The study is purely data oriented, I, as an investigator collected the entire data from a sample of 205 respondents, who are the native speakers of Kashmiri. The respondents have been selected in such a way that they were the true representatives of whole Kashmiri speech community. The respondents have also
been consciously chosen from different social groups and various sects of the society.

So far as the methods of data collection are concerned, it was collected by various methods such as distribution of questionnaire, conduction of interviews and some conversations with the various members of the speech community.

As regards the places of data collection, they have been selected keeping in view the concentration of Kashmiri speakers belonging to different social groups. The places mainly include: parks, gardens, tourist spots, hostels, schools, colleges, bus stops, markets, paddy fields, government offices, hospitals, exhibition grounds and other such places. In order to get the data as natural as possible, in addition to above mentioned places the investigator also visited many village, towns, urban centres and some other common meeting places, where the people from different social backgrounds were easily available and had oral communication relating to their day-to-day life.

While conducting the field work for the present study different occupational groups of the speech community were visited by the investigator. The speakers belonging to different occupational groups, viz., farmers, businessmen, cobblers, and fishermen/boatmen were put some questions relating to their occupation and their responses were recorded in a natural way.

The entire mass of the data collected was not useful for the purpose of the present study. So the first thing which I, as an investigator did was that the irrelevant, weak and doubtful portions of the data were eliminated and the weaknesses found in data were rectified. This process is called as editing of data.
After the completion of the editing of data. The resultant portion was analyzed. This process involved the verification of the proposed hypotheses of the present study to arrive at right conclusion and desired results. The analysis of data falls under two headings:

(i) Sociolinguistic investigation of variables found at various levels of the Kashmiri language such as phonology, morphology and syntax.

(ii) Switching from Kashmiri to other languages by Kashmiri speakers.

Finally, the interpretation of data was done i.e. the resultant data was tabulated. The tabulation of data facilitated the understanding of data and simplified its process of study.

In the III chapter the sociolinguistic variables are identified and their correlation with social variables have been established. Here the term Kashmiri speech community has been discussed in details. Moreover, the functions of the Kashmiri language in various domains of the social life have been discussed. The social heterogeneity of the Kashmiri speech community has also been fully explored in the same chapter.

As the structure of the Kashmiri language varies considerably at various levels of linguistics in relation to certain social factors, such as religion, age, sex, education, region and occupation. In the chapter IV an attempt has been made to show as to how various speakers of Kashmiri vary in their use of language at the level of phonology. It has been found that the differences in the vowels, semi-
vowels, consonants and vowel sequences correlate with corresponding social
variables in the society.

Chapter V of the present study takes into account as to how the Kashmiri
speakers show variation in their linguistic usage at the level of morphology. There is
a good stock of morphological and lexical items found in the speech of one group of
speakers, but missing in that of other group, which develops alternative set of forms
conveying the same meaning. The morphological variation among the Kashmiri
speakers has been found to occur over a fairly wide range of categories such as
nouns, pronouns, verbs and adjectives. The variation of this type has also been found
in the use of certain address forms, courteous markers and kinship terms. For the
morphological variation among Kashmiri speakers the social factors such as religion,
age, sex, education, region and occupation are widely held responsible.

The chapter VI of the present study highlights how the speakers of the
Kashmiri language vary in their linguistic behaviour at the Level of syntax. Syntax
as a matter of fact is the study of combination of morphemes and words into
sentences. In the Kashmiri speech community it has been observed that a large stock
of expressions, even the full sentences used by speakers belonging to one social
group are not used by speakers belonging to another social group. Technically
speaking, the Kashmiri speakers from different social groups vary considerably in
the use of their language at the syntactic level also. This variation has also been
noticed in accordance with same social factors such as religion, age, sex, education,
region and occupation.
Syntactic variation among Kashmiri speakers has mainly been noticed due to the alternative use of certain grammatical categories by these speakers. It has been found that it is the varying use of nominal, pronominal, verbal and adjectival categories by Kashmiri speakers which has given rise to the syntactic variation among them. The alternative use of certain address forms, courteous markers and kinship terms also bring about variation among Kashmiri speakers at the syntactic level of their language. Moreover, the phrasal and proverbial use of language has also been found to differentiate one group of speakers from other. But as a matter of fact this type of variation has been found in respect of the social factor age only.

In the multilingual setting of the Kashmiri speech community the allocation of functions of different languages and different varieties of Kashmiri has become a natural phenomenon. In the state of Jammu and Kashmir Urdu and English are the first and second official languages respectively. They are also the languages of literacy in all government and semi-government institutions. These languages are largely used in written communication in various domains of social activity by Kashmiri speakers. However, the oral communication vastly takes place through Kashmiri in each and every domain of social life.

Kashmiri speakers encounter Urdu and English in various situations. As a result of which they are bound to switch over from their mother tongue to these languages. The chapter VII attempts to explore as to how the Kashmiri mother tongue speakers cross their linguistic boundary and make choice from other languages. The choice in the use of language among the Kashmiri speech community
has been observed and analysed at various levels of linguistics such as phonology, morphology and syntax.

Finally all the results and findings of the present study have been summarised under summary and conclusion. It has been in a nutshell concluded that the language variation and language choice are two dominant features of the Kashmiri language. And the Kashmiri speakers undergo both of these phenomena considerably.

The term variation itself is a wide term that covers many aspects. The present study is therefore limited in its scope as it accounts for the variation among the Kashmiri speech community with respect to only few social variables. The study is thus incomplete and some more work is needed to be done in this regard.
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ALIGARH MUSLIM UNIVERSITY
ALIGARH
2001
In The
Name of Allah
The most Beneficent
The most Merciful
Certificate

Certified that the Ph.D. thesis submitted by Mr. Nisar Ahmad Koka on “A Sociolinguistic Investigation of Language Variables and Language Choice in the Kashmiri Speech Community” is his original research work and has been written under my direct supervision.

(Dr. Mirza Khalil A. Beg)
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Aligarh-202002
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Preface
Today, sociolinguistics has become a recognized area of study and research in the field of linguistics. There has been the widespread interest in sociolinguistics all over the world. Sociolinguistics is a fascinating and challenging field of enquiry. It is rightly concerned with the ways in which language interacts with society. The scholars of sociolinguistics have been taking keen interest in language problems like language use in multilingual and bilingual settings, language maintenance and language shift, language standardization and language modernization, language and culture, ethnography of communication, communicative competence, language choice, language change and language variation.

Variation in language is a common phenomenon. A language varies according to the social characteristics of the speaker. It also varies according to situation in which a speaker finds himself. No living language can remain static. It must vary according to given circumstances.

Language choice on the other hand takes place in language contact situation. Both language variation and language choice occur in the Kashmiri speech community. I, as the native speaker of Kashmiri, was very much fascinated by the phenomena of language variation and language choice. That is why I selected the topic “A Sociolinguistic Investigation of Language Variables and Language Choice in the Kashmiri Speech Community” for my Ph.D. thesis.

The present study has been divided into seven chapters. The first chapter deals with some theoretical considerations of language variation. In this chapter various
theories of variation propounded by various scholars have been discussed. In the same chapter, I have also discussed various variation studies and their findings.

The second chapter discusses the research design. The present study follows the same pattern of research methodology as adopted by various other scholars of sociolinguistics. The study is purely data oriented. The data was collected directly by myself from a sample of 205 respondents who are the native speakers of Kashmiri. They are the true representatives of the different social groups of the Kashmiri speech community.

In the third chapter, the linguistic variables have been identified and their correlation with social variables have been established.

In chapters 4, 5 and 6 an attempt has been made to explain how the speakers of Kashmiri vary in the use of their language at various levels of linguistics such as phonology, morphology and syntax respectively. These chapters explore how the Kashmiri speakers show variations in their linguistic behaviour with respect to social variables like religion, region, age, sex, education and occupation.

The Kashmiri speakers not only vary in their linguistic behaviour, but they also switch over from their mother tongue to other languages considerably. In chapter seven an investigation has been made as to how the Kashmiri speakers switch over to some other languages.
The present work was directly supervised by my esteemed teacher Dr. M.K.A. Beg who is now the Chairman of Department of Linguistics, A.M.U., Aligarh. Words are not enough to express my deep sense of gratitude to him. It was his able guidance, constant help and constructive criticism that led me to complete this work. Despite his preoccupations, he always kept himself available to me and went through the manuscripts of my thesis making corrections and suggesting ways and means for the improvement of the documentation and presentation and even the style of the presentation. In fact, he has always been the source of inspiration for me. I admit that without his guidance and help this work would not have seen the light of the day.

I am also obliged and must not forget to extend my thanks to all those respondents from whom I collected the data.

(NISAR AHMAD KOKA)
List of Phonetic Symbols
## List of Phonetic Symbols

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<td>around</td>
<td>around</td>
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<td>aːg ‘fire’</td>
<td>aːg</td>
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<tr>
<td>tʃh</td>
<td>patʃ ‘belief’</td>
<td>tʃh</td>
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List of Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>HVK</td>
<td>Hindu Variety of Kashmiri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UVK</td>
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<td>RVK</td>
<td>Rural Variety of Kashmiri</td>
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<td>MVK</td>
<td>Male Variety of Kashmiri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FVK</td>
<td>Female Variety of Kashmiri</td>
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<td>A1</td>
<td>Age Group (15-35 Years)</td>
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<td>A2</td>
<td>Age Group (36-50 Years)</td>
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<td>A3</td>
<td>Age Group (51 Years and Above)</td>
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<td>Illiterate Group</td>
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<td>Educated Group</td>
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<td>/</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>Investigator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>Respondent</td>
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Introduction
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Introduction

1.1 Theoretical Considerations of Language Variation

1.1.1 Variation in Language

Variation in language is a natural phenomenon. Languages vary according to the social characteristics of speakers. They also vary according to situations. No living language can remain static. It must vary according to the given social circumstances.

Language variation has been the focus of attention of linguists, sociolinguists and other language scientists. Language variation, in sociolinguistics, refers to the variation in linguistic item in accordance with social variation. The factors such as religion, age, sex, occupation, education and economic levels are responsible for variation in language and the resultant linguistic items are called linguistic or sociolinguistic variables. Since language variation takes place because of social variation, the linguistic and social variables are correlated.

The phenomenon of language variation has always attracted the attention of sociolinguists. It has also been the subject of discussion among various sociologists and language scientists. These scholars have dealt with the problems of variation in different ways. This has given rise to various theories about the phenomenon of language variation.
1.1.2 Theories of Language Variation

1.1.2.1 Ronald Wardhaugh

Wardhaugh (1986:5) asserts that "when we look closely at any language, we will discover time and time again that there is considerable internal variation, and that speakers make constant use of many different possibilities offered to them". Since each language exists in a number of different varieties, the speakers make use of different varieties according to situations, and no individual speaker speaks in the same way all the time. Wardhaugh is of the view that speakers make changes and modifications and employ alternative expressions in their speech for a wide range of purposes in their everyday life. Wardhaugh argues that many linguists would attempted to view language as a homogeneous entity and in that case each speaker of that language would control a single style, but as a matter of fact languages undergo internal variation to a considerable extent and it would be impossible to find single-style speakers (Wardhaugh 1986:5).

Thus it can be said that languages vary in many kinds of ways and the investigations show that speakers are aware of this fact. Variation seems to be an inherent property of the language.

1.1.2.2 William Labov

Labov (1972:188) observes that "it is common for a language to have many alternate ways of saying "the same" thing. Some words like car and automobile, seem to have the same referents; others have two pronunciations, like working and workin."
There are syntactic options such as *Who is he talking to?* vs. *To whom is he talking?* or *It’s easy for him to talk* vs. *For him to talk is easy*.

In light of the above statement it can be said that the speakers of any particular speech community show certain variations, modifications and alternations in the use of their language at various levels of linguistics such as phonological, lexical and syntactic levels. Labov (1972:181) also observed that it is the social structure of a speech community which is important for the change in the linguistic behaviour of that community. It has also been seen that it is impossible for any one to notice the developments of linguistic change unless and until he will be fully aware about the social structure of that community in which change occurs. Labov (1972:181) says that “internal, structure pressures and the sociolinguistic pressures act in systematic alternation in the mechanism of linguistic change”.

Moreover, it has been observed by Labov (1972:1) that the mechanism of linguistic change can be analysed into three separate problems: the origin of linguistic variation, the spread and propagation of linguistic change and the regularity of linguistic change. In this model of three way division, variation in one word or several words in the speech of one or two individuals is required as a starting point. These variations may be produced by the process of assimilation or differentiation by analogy, borrowing and fusion. Such variations mostly occur only once and are extinguished as quickly as they arise.
1.1.2.3 Andre Martinent

Among the linguists who studied language in relation to its social context, Andre Martinent is one who took this subject seriously and dealt with the phenomenon of variation very interestingly. Martinent in “Economic des changements phonothetiques” diverged the linguist’s attention from such remote and occasional factors and showed that the change that we notice in every act of communication is influenced by the constant pressure, produced by internal relations of linguistic system. In a report to the Ninth International Congress of Linguists held in 1962, Martinent declared:

“It is clear, of course that any language......is exposed to change, determined by impacts from outside, no one will doubt that man’s changing needs in general will affect his communicative needs which in turn will conditioned linguistic structure. The impacts from outside may consist in the pressures exerted on each other by two languages ‘in contact’. The linguist will feel competent to deal with the later, but he may be accused if, in his capacity as a linguist, he declines the investigation to investigate sociological conditioning” (quoted in Labov 1966:12).

From the above statement it can be concluded that when languages change under the influence of some external factors, the fact can not be denied that they change according to the choice of users also. This means that most of the speakers make deliberate changes in the use of their language according to the situation and purpose.
1.1.2.4 Edward Sapir

According to Sapir, languages also undergo variation depending on the identity of the person spoken to or the person spoken about. As a matter of fact these variations have been found to be of a very little interest to the scholars and researchers of linguistics. On account of which these types of variations have received a very little attention from different social and language scientists. The classical instances of this type of variation are found in Nootka, where the speakers make the use of separate linguistic forms in speaking to or about the children e.g. fat people, dwarf people, hunchbacks etc. (Sapir cited in Bright 1976:32). Further, it has been observed by Sapir that there is a close and simultaneous relationship between linguistic variation and identity of the person, who speaks and to whom one speaks. Thus in yana both men and women used the ‘female speech’ in speaking to women and ‘male speech’ is used only by men in speaking to men.

1.1.2.5 Peter Trudgill

Peter Trudgill emphasized the relationship between language and society. He came out with the view that the linguistic variation to which he called as 'fuzziness' is the result of social variation. He suggested that society and language are correlated. He (Trudgill 1974:1-35) holds the view that the social structure is reflected in linguistic behaviour of a particular speech community. Social variation can produce a corresponding linguistic variation. Trudgill claimed that in addition to the social structure and social environment, the values of society can also have a profound effect
on its language. All this happens through a process known as taboo (Trudgill 1974:29-30).

Trudgill (1974:32) maintains: “one of the main factor that has led to the growth of sociolinguistic research has been the recognition of the importance of the fact that language is a very variable phenomenon, and that this variability may have as much to do with the society as with language”. Moreover, he opines that the internal differentiation of the human societies is reflected in their language and the different social groups of a particular speech community do not use the same pattern of language. But they vary considerably at various levels of linguistics (Trudgill 1974:1-35).

1.1.2.6 Fischer and Ferguson

One more important type of variation which is most commonly found in the American speech community is correlated with the difference between formal and informal situations. The theory of variation proposed by J.L. Fischer (1958) is with regard to this. His theory is about the study of (ŋ) variable, i.e. the pronunciation like singing [ŋ] verses singin [n]. Most Americans can confirm pronunciations like huntin which are found more commonly in informal situations, while the pronunciations like hunting are found in most formal situations (Fischer 1958:50). Here the terms “formality “ and “informality” have been defined in terms of a particular society or a particular speech community. The styles of speech used in formal verses informal situations are highly standardized and strictly differentiated. Ferguson (1959) has used the term ‘diaglossia’ for this type of linguistic variation and has described it in Arabic,
Swiss German, Haitian, French and Modern Greek languages. This type of variation may also be considered as the sociolinguistic variation.

1.1.2.7 Bailey and Bickerton

Bailey (1973: 34-5), another well known linguist of the second half of the twentieth century, vehemently criticized the different theories of linguistic variation proposed by various scholars from time to time. Bickerton (1971) supported the view held by Bailey. Both of them opine that language variation results from changes in progress. Moreover, they stated that it is the environment in which the variation occurs plays a very prominent role in the variation.

The dynamic model suggested by Bailey & Bickerton emphasized the individual speech behaviour to which they called the ‘idolect’ where as others were greatly concerned with group behaviour to which they called as ‘sociolect’. They were of the opinion that one individual controls one idolect of the language and the other controls another. These lects vary considerably from one another (Wardhaugh 1986:183).

1.1.2.8 A.D. Grimshaw

According to Grimshaw (1972:113), the variation in language appears to be of much interest to language researchers in three different possible ways. The first involves the description of variation in register (style), code and dialect or the differentiation of the languages themselves and the relation of that differentiation to the geographical location and the social attributes of the speaker. The social attributes
include socioeconomic status, caste, age, sex, religion, education, occupation and social class, etc. The second interest is in terms of command of the speaker over the variants and the third interest is associated with the functions of language and the development of communicative competence (Grimshaw 1972:113).

1.2 Historical Perspectives of Language Variation

The history of varying property of language is of course as old as the language itself. This property of language has always been a subject of discussion among a large number of researchers and language scientists from time to time. The early well documented records of this study dates back to the first half of the twentieth century. These records are associated with Edward Sapir (1915) and K. Jaberg (1936). But the empirical work in this field was for the first time carried out by Labov in the second half of the twentieth century.

According to Peter Trudgill (1983:2-3), the first and foremost study relating to the fields of language and society, which serves the linguistic purpose, was the empirical study of sound change. This study of sound change was carried out by William Labov in 1961 on a very small island called as Maratha’s Vineyard. This study of Labov is generally regarded as starting point in the study of a language in relation to its social context. In his study of Maratha’s Vineyard, Labov (1972: chapters 1 and 7) logically described the existence of systematic differences between the speakers in their use of certain linguistic variables.
Trudgill (1983: 2) says that “much work of this type falls within the framework established first and foremost by William Labov and consists of work which Labov himself has sometimes referred to as secular linguistics”.

The name of William Labov is generally associated with such issues as the relationship between language and social class. However Labov does not make his objective to learn more about any particular society, nor to examine the correlation between linguistic and social phenomena for its own sake (Trudgill 1983: 2). Rather, he is concerned to learn more about the language and to investigate the topics such as the mechanism of linguistic change and the nature of linguistic variability. In the recent years this study has lead to the development of the variation theory, i.e. the recognition of ‘fuzziness’ in the linguistic systems and the problem of incorporating variability into the linguistic description (Trudgill, 1983:3).

As a matter of fact, it is the dialectology, which has been main source of evidence for the social history of speech variation. But there are considerable numbers of studies, showing the relationship between speech and social groups. In their investigations in the Italian dialects Jaberg and Jacob Jude (Gumperz 1971: 79) have noticed considerable variations among the speakers of different social groups.

1.3 Some Language Variation Studies and their Findings

1.3.1 William Labov

Empirical work of Labov in the area of language variation begins from the grass root level. His study of sound change in 1961 on Maratha’s Vineyard is
Maratha's Vineyard is a small island with a very little population being as much as 6000 people. But during each summer the population increases due to the fact that thousands of people come to stay over there, for varying periods of time. The eastern part of the island, which is called as Down island part is mostly occupied by the permanent residents. But some summer visitors are also settled there. The western part of island called as up island part which is occupied by the rural people has its centre Chillmark. The permanent population consists of: Yankers, Portugues and native people. The Yankers are the off springs of the early settlers. In comparison with Yankers the Portugues are fairly recent new comers, but have been on the island for several generations. The native people on remote handland, GayHead are descended from original occupation of the island (Labov 1972: chapters 4-7).

Labov (1972:12-13), focussed his attention on the fact as to how the natives of Maratha's Vineyard pronounced the vowels in two sets of words: out, house and trout and while, pie and night. It has been observed that there occurred centralization of first part of the diphthongs as [(au) to [eu] and [(ai) to [ei] and that the centering was more noticeable in the first set of the words than in the second set. The variable in the first set of words has been called as (aw) variable ([au]) or [ɔU] and that in the second set as (ay) variable ([ai] or [ɔi]). Labov then plotted his findings from his 69 natives of
Maratha’s Vineyard on various graphs, to examine the relationship between the degree of centralization and the social factors such as age, ethnicity, occupation and place of residence.

By age level, Labov (1972:22) found the distribution of centralized variants as follows:

**TABLE 1.1: Degree of centralization of (ay) and (aw) by age level on Maratha’s Vineyard.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>(ay)</th>
<th>(aw)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61-75</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46-60</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31-45</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14-30</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Labov (1972b: 22)*

From this table it is found that the centralization is most obvious in the age group of 31-45. There was also a little change more advanced in those of Yankee descent than among those in other two groups (Portugues and natives). The change was more advanced among those, who made their living from fishing than those who were from the business background, serving the summer visitors. It was also much more in the speech of those who belonged to Up-island particularly around the ‘Chillmark’, the centre of fishing industry than Down-island speech as shown in Table 1.2.
TABLE 1.2: The geographical distribution of centralization on Maratha’s Vineyard.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>(ay)</th>
<th>(aw)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Down-island</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edgartown</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oak Bluffs</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vineyard Haven</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Up-Island</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oak Bluffs</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.Tisbury</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WestTisbury</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chillmark</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gay Head</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Labov (1972b: 25)*

From Table 1.2 it is learnt that the change is most advanced in the people in their thirties and early forties, who are fishermen living in Up-Island. According to Labov (1972: 36) "when a man says [rōit] or [hōus], he is unconsciously establishing the fact that he belongs to the island: that he is one of the natives to whom the island really belongs". The observation made by Labov suggests that the change is merely an exaggeration of an existing tendency to centralize the first part of the diphthong. This exaggerating tendency is the characteristic of those who belong to the island. Thus in a nutshell it can be said that more one identifies with the island, more he centralizes the first part of the diphthong.
Further, Labov (1972: 39) divides his informants into three groups according to their feelings about the island. These groups include: positives, negatives and neutrals. He found a striking relationship between such feelings and centralization as shown in Table 1.3.

**TABLE 1.3: The degree of centralization and orientation toward Maratha’s Vineyard.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>(ay)</th>
<th>(aw)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>40 Positive</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 Neutral</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 Negative</td>
<td>09</td>
<td>08</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Labov (1972b: 39)*

Finally Labov (1972:181) holds that “internal structural pressures and sociolinguistic pressures act in systematic alternation in the mechanism of linguistic change”. After Maratha’s Vineyard Labov worked in an entirely different kind of community in New York. In the New York City in 1966 Labov wanted to try out some hypothesis which he had already formulated about the use of a single linguistic variable (\(r\)). This variable represents the presence or absence (\(r\): [r] verses (\(r\):[θ]) of a consonantal construction corresponding to the letter in the words like *farm* and *fair*. Labov (1972: 44) states: “we begin with the general hypothesis suggested by exploratory interviews: if any two subgroups of New York City speakers are ranked in
scale of social stratification, then they will be ranked in the same order by their
differential use of (r)’.

It has been observed that r-pronunciation after the re-introduction of vowel in
the New York speech is the characteristic feature of the younger people than the older
ones. The same feature was found more likely at the end of the words like floor than
before the consonants like fourth (Labov 1972: 57).

Labov (1972:43-51) tested his hypothesis by collecting the data from three
departmental stores in New York. The three departmental stores Labov visited by him
were Sacks, Macy’s and S.Klein, representing: High, Middle and Low social classes
respectively. While collecting data in the New York departmental stores, Labov asked
for the location of departmental store situated on the ‘fourth floor’. He was replied by
the shop assistant that “the department was situated on the ‘fourth floor’. He then
wanted the careful repetition of ‘fourth floor’. So he moved forward and pretended not
having heard the first answer. Thus making the shop assistant to say it again. By
selecting the words fourth and floor he was able to test the hypothesis about the
influence of the linguistic context, because the (r) is followed by a consonant in fourth
and not in floor. The incidence of [r] use that has been found by Labov (1972:5)
among the individuals employed in three departmental stores is shown in Table 1.4.
TABLE 1.4: The % of r-use in three New York City departmental stores.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sakes (%)</th>
<th>Macy's (%)</th>
<th>S. Klein (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All [r]</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some [r]</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No [r]</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Labov (1972b: 51)*

From this table it is seen that 32% and 31% personnel approached in Sakes and Macy's respectively used [r] in all possible instances. But only 17 persons do so in S. Klein, 79% of the 171 employees in S. Klein who were approached did not used [r] at all. But only 38% of the employees approached in Sakes and 49% of 125 employees approached in Macy’s were [r] less.

Further, it has also been observed by Labov (1972:150) that the older people of speech community used less r-pronunciation. However, the data collected from S. Klein on the basis of the factor *age* produced unsatisfactory results. The data collected from Macy’s gave the results in opposite direction that is to say in Macy’s r-pronunciation appeared to increase with age. On the basis of this fact it can be concluded that the members of the highest and the lowest social groups tend not to change their pronunciation after it becomes fixed in adolescence. But the members of middle social classes do so because of their social aspiration.
Here Labov (1972:150) says “we now find that this uniform stratification of (r) in performance is accompanied by a uniform evaluation of the prestige norm by younger speakers of all classes”. Thus in the light of the above statement, it can be said that today in New York City the pronunciation of the words like ‘car’ and ‘guard’ with r-pronunciation are highly valued and these are generally associated with upper middle class.

Labov (1972:144) argues that “this r-pronunciation is the chief manifestation of the new prestige pattern which prevails in New York City”. Thus the introduction of [r] into the previously r-less dialect was not only a phonetic change but it also has a wide spread phonetic consequences. The r-pronouncing speakers can differentiate between ‘guard’ and ‘god’, ‘source’ and ‘sauce’, ‘bared’ and ‘bad’. It has also been observed that in every context the members of the said speech community are differentiated by the use of linguistic variables. According to Labov (1972), ‘it is a linguistic variable that signals both social and stylistic stratification’.

Labov (1972:145) also claimed that the New York City was r-pronouncing city in 18th century, but became r-less in 19th century. This change seemed to follow the influence of London speech, where the r-less pattern was overwhelmingly observed by Walker (1971).

1.3.2 Peter Trudgill

Another important study related to the field of linguistic variation was carried out by Trudgill (1974) in Norwich, England. This study itself is an excellent example of the ‘classical Labovian method’, using the structured interviews. The town selected
was the Norwich, the native town of Trudgill. As a result of which it was very easy for him to collect the data as he was fully aware of the social structure and accent of Norwich people. While pursuing his study, Trudgill himself used the Norwich accent in interviewing his respondents. This activity proved quite fruitful to let his respondents speak more naturally (Hudson 1980: 152).

At the time of selection of speakers, the social structure of Norwich has carefully been taken into account. The individuals had randomly been selected from four different areas, representing different types of housing and range of social status. These individuals were at first approached at their homes to see if they were willing to be interviewed or not. But it has been observed that majority of individuals reacted positively to be interviewed. Some of the individuals had to be rejected deliberately on the basis of certain reasons, such as most of them had only migrated to Norwich within only previous ten years. So vacuum created by the rejection of some was occupied by the alternate replacement at random by others, until the resultant score of 50 adults had been identified. To this number further 10 school children were added more, making sixty interviews in all.

In his study of Norwich, England, Trudgill (1972) investigated sixteen phonological variables. He stratified the Norwich speech community into 5 social classes: Middle middle class (MMC), Lower middle class (LMC), Upper working class (UWC), Middle working class (MWC) and Lower working class (LWC). His analysis of variables (ɪ), (t) and (h) shows that, the occurrence of their variants, in the words like 'singing', 'better' and 'hammer' are used more frequently than the corresponding [n], [?] and Ø variants observing the social class from Lower working
class (LWC) to Upper working class (UWC). Trudgill (1974:43) observed that "if we are to obtain a correct picture of the relationship between language and social stratification we must be able to measure both linguistic and social phenomena so that we can correlate the two accurately".

Trudgill admitted that the members of the Lower working class (LWC) in Norwich say 'singing' but they invariably do not use 'hammer' which means that each variable has its characteristic distribution of the variants. It has also been noticed that the members of Lower working class (LWC) say 'singin'. But when they were given a list of words to read containing the words ending in -ing, they pronounced the (ng) with the (ŋ) variant mostly. Thus there are two variants, (ng):[ŋ] and (ng):[ŋ] out of these (ng):[ŋ] is generally considered to represent standard English and RP. Thus it can be said that (ng):[ŋ] is commonly used by speakers with high status than those with low status (Hudson 1980: 153). This fact is specified in the following figure:
Figure 1.1 represents Norwich (ng), proportion of (ng):[ŋ] in speech of five socioeconomic classes in four styles: word-list (white), reading passage (hatched), formal (dotted), casual (solid).

(Source: based on Trudgill 1974a: 92)

From the above figure, it is clear that the proposed hypotheses are confirmed by the findings made by Trudgill. The average score for one group of speakers is represented by five histograms reflecting a variety of factors such as: occupation, income, education, housing and locality (Trudgill 1974: 36).

A general rise in the proportion of (ng):[ŋ] has also been noticed from 'casual' to 'word-list styles'. However, the middle class speakers differ in their use of casual and formal styles. But for the working class the difference is between formal and reading passage style. Here Trudgill used the data as shown in Table 1.5 to show two important points; first when style is kept constant, lower the social class the greater is the incidence of non-standard variant. Secondly when class is kept constant, the less formal the style, the greater is the incidence of non-standard variant. (Trudgill 1983: 109-10).
TABLE 1.5: The % use of ‘-in’ in four contextual styles of speech in Norwich.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social Class</th>
<th>WLS</th>
<th>RPS</th>
<th>FS</th>
<th>CS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MMC</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LMC</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UWC</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MWC</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LWC</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) Social Classes: MMC (Middle Middle Class), LMC (Lower Middle Class), UWC (Upper Working Class), MWC (Middle Working Class), LWC (Lower Working Class).

(b) Style: WLS (Word List), RPS (Reading Passage), FS (Formal), CS (Casual).

Source: based on Trudgill (1983b: 109-10)

Thus from the Table 1.5 it is clear that the figures therefore increase in every column from top to bottom and in every row from left to right. However, some increases are negligible and some are considerable. For example middle class speakers always seem to avoid ‘-in’ pronunciation in most formal styles. But they relax considerably more in casual styles. Lower working class speakers do not make any real distinction between two speaking styles and use ‘-in’ pronunciations in both styles. Just like the middle working class speakers, the lower working class speakers
are conscious that '‐ing' pronunciations are used in reading styles and many other occasions. Another similar pattern is found in case of another variable also. As the pronunciation of |t|, which varies between standard [t] or [th] and non-standard [?] or [t?]. Among the middle class speakers there is the increased use of standard (t):[t] in reading (Trudgill 1974:96).

From the findings of Trudgill (1972) it has been noticed that there were certain changes in progress in Norwich also. The distribution of the variants of (ng) variable showed certain remarkable difference between the working class males and working class females in the usage of (ng) variable, with males favoured the (n) variant (as in the words like 'singin' and 'fishin') as compared with the females. The females have been found showing stronger affinity towards standard forms than the males. The reason for strong affinity of women to the prestigious standard than the men have been said is due to the fact that the women may be more status conscious. It is because of the fact that their social position is usually inferior to men and have developed less social networks than men. On account of which they feel less security for themselves (Trudgill 1973: 3).

1.3.3 John J. Gumperz

Another early study of linguistic variation was carried out by Gumperz (1958). The system used by him for the classification of dialect differences was outlined in an early article of Gumperz (1958). In carrying out this study Gumperz has to face some sort of problem. This is because of the fact that the society investigated by him was roughly differentiated on the basis of caste membership. During his survey Gumperz
selected a village called Khalapur as a place for data collection. This village is located in Saharanpur District of Utter Pradesh. The total population of the village was about only 1000 people. The speech of the region around the Khalapur is Khari Boli, a dialect of Western Hindi. But in Khalapur the villagers fairly use Hindi in their daily communication in various domains of social life (Grierson 1971:27-8).

Gumperz (1958) attempted to show that how the small differences in the speech can differentiate the sub groups of the speech community from one another on the basis of their linguistic usage. The social structure of the village Khalapur, which is situated at the distance of 80 miles from Delhi in its north is dominated by the Hindu caste membership with the Brahmins at top, Rajput, Vashiyas (merchants), several groups of artisans and the labours at the lower level. But at the bottom there are untouchable castes such as Chamars (landless labours), Jatia Chamras (leather workers) and Bhangies (sweepers). The later are restricted to live in certain neighborhoods and have a lesser freedom to move in the villages as compared with members of the upper caste social groups. It has also been seen that about 10% of the total population comprises the Muslims (Gumperz 1971: 28).

According to Gumperz (1971: 158), “khalapur inhabitants are divided by profound differences in ritual status, wealth, political power, occupation and education, affecting every aspect of daily interaction”. Thus it has been observed that the ritual parameters provides 31 distinct recognized caste groups, comprised of 90% of Hindus and only 10% of Muslims. The rank of caste is of he order: Brahmin, Rajputs and merchants at the top and untouchable Chamars at the bottom. But on the basis of wealth and political power, Rajput’s occupy the top position in the society and
then are Brahmins. Though at present education is in the reach of all groups of the society equally, but the fact can not be denied that the majority of students of higher education come from Rajputs and upper caste groups (Gumperz 1971:158-9).

Further, Gumperz (1971: 30) admitted that “the standard has contrasts between simple vowels /a/, /u/, /o/ and diphthongs /ai/, /ui/, /oi/ before consonants”. It has been found that in the language of the said area, certain characteristics of the village dialect are the clear indicators of the social group membership. Moreover, it has been found that there is a phonological contrast of standard between the simple vowels /a/, /u/, /o/ and diphthongs /ai/, /ui/ and /oi/ before consonants. This contrast, which is the characteristic of upper caste groups is not found in the speech of Chamars, Jatia Chamars and Sweepers. Among the Chamars (shoemakers), Jatia Chamars and Sweepers the use of (ə) is very common, but this pronunciation is generally considered as “old fashioned and low prestige”. Though the members of lower castes make much effort to adopt the standard variety, but their speech remains even distinct (Gumperz 1971: 28-32).

One thing more which has been found there is that each of the three untouchable castes therefore has a specific speech characteristic, that distinguishes it clearly from other two untouchable groups in the village. But the speech of Muslim community resembles with that of touchable classes. The variety of speech used by lower caste Bhangies (Sweepers) is close to the dialect of that area in which Khalapur is located. On the basis of this fact the upper class people are restricted to make the use of the regional dialect in order to differentiate themselves from untouchables (Gumperz 1971: 28-44).
To sum up, it can be said that the survey conducted by Gumperz (1958) shows a direct relationship between the linguistic variation and caste membership. His studies show how the social heterogeneity is reflected in the structure of language.

1.3.4 J. Cheshire

Another important study relating to linguistic variation was carried out by an eminent female scholar J. Cheshire (1978). In her study carried out in Reading, England, she focussed her attention on the use of (s) variable in the speech of three groups of boys and girls. The (s) variable in this case is the extension of third person singular verb marking all other persons e.g. "I knows", "You knows", "We has" and "They calls". While conducting her research, Cheshire collected the data from 13 boys and 12 girls. All informants belonged to the same age group of 9-17 years. They were divided into three groups, viz., one male group (Ortsread boys), a small group of three boys (Shenfield boys) and one female group (Shenfield girls).

It has been observed by Cheshire (cited in Wardhaugh 1986: 165) that all the subjects selected used non standard forms with regular verbs such as ‘know’ and ‘call’ in more than half the occasions of their daily use. It was also found that the use of ‘do’ was slightly preferred over ‘does’ which is again a non standard form. Cheshire also suggested that the form ‘has’ occurred only as a full verb as: ‘(we has a much around in there)’ or before an infinitive ‘(I has to stop in)’, but never as an auxiliary (so ‘I have got’, not ‘I has got’). It has also been noticed by Cheshire (1978: 62) that the ‘vernacular’ verbs i.e. the commonly like eat, run, kill and leave have been seen to take the ‘s’ endings in all forms in comparison with other verbs to the extent that the
use of *eats, runs, kills and leaves* is conveying with such verbs. Thus when a verb is used in third person singular it always takes the ‘s’ ending. Thus in case of a vernacular verb the ‘s’ ending is favoured in all persons. But one thing should be very clear that in case the verb has a complement in which the verb in the complement is marked for tense the ‘s’ ending does not seem to occur. Cheshire (1978) also found some social factors operated in the pattern of variation. She argued that the boys and girls in their use of (s) variable vary considerably. She also claimed that though the girls use ‘s’ endings in the same way as the boys. But the former group does not exhibit same correlation between the frequency of use and index scores. It has also been observed that (Wardhaugh 1986: 165) the girls shifted the use of ‘s’ variable towards the standard English norms in the formal situations to a greater extent than the boys.

Finally, Cheshire (1978: 68-9) came to this conclusion that both social as well as the linguistic factors play a very crucial role in the ‘variation’ of language. As it has been found during her study of Reading, England that in case of boys, the norms that are central to the vernacular culture play a very important role in governing the speech variation in the form of ‘have’ and ‘do’. It was supposed to be due to the linguistic changes in progress.

1.3.5 J. L. Fischer

Another important type of variation, which is common in most of the societies is correlating with the difference between *formal* and *informal* situations. This type of variation study was carried out by Fischer (1958). His study is one of the earliest
studies of (ŋ) variable, i.e. the pronunciation like ‘singing’ [ŋ] versus ‘singin’ [n]. It may be pointed out that both of these variants, i.e. [ŋ] and [n] have a long history in the language. Though, it has been found that the use of [ŋ] variant in its abusive terms was to some extent common in 19th and 20th centuries. But at present in most of the areas especially the privileged ones, the use of [ŋ] variant in words like: ‘fishing’, ‘singing’ and ‘shooting’ is hardly found. What is much common today is the use of [n] variant in words, like ‘fishin’, ‘singin’ and ‘shootin’ (Wardhaugh 1983: 155).

While conducting his study in the New-England, community, Fischer interviewed twelve boys and twelve girls. All the subjects selected as informants belonged to the age group of 3-10 years. During his investigation, Fischer got his subjects involved in discussing the recent activities with one another and attempted to note their use of [ŋ] and [n] variants in formal and informal situations (Fischer 1958: 50).

Fischer’s study is a very simple account of a common variable as it involved a very little number of respondents from whom the data had been collected. The method, employed for data collection was very informal and casual and no statistical testing of findings had been performed. But it is also true to say that no attempt has come in progress to make any profound claims, i.e. no criticism has been made to Fischer’s study so far (Wardhaugh 1986: 157).

1.3.6 W. Wolfram

Another study relating to linguistic variation is the one conducted by W. Wolfram in Detroit. This study emphasized the use of the multiple negation as a
linguistic variable. From this study it has been found that the use of the multiple negation is directly relating to the social class. It has been argued (Wardhaugh 1986: 167) that it was the lower working class group, which made the use of such multiple negation more frequently than other groups on about 70% of the possible occasions. The upper working class did the same at 38% of their possible occasions, where as the lower middle class and the upper middle class groups used the multiple negation on about 11% and 2% of their possible occasions respectively.

After analysing the different variables investigated in Detroit speech, it has been found that the speakers of the said speech community show some inconsistencies and vary considerably in their linguistic behaviour. It was found that in formal situations the speakers tend to show their affinity towards the standard usage. However, the children and the male speakers had been found to exhibit the less standard of their linguistic behaviour as compared with adults and females of the same social group.

Moreover, after identifying different social groups, Wolfram, (cited in Wardhaugh 1986: 168) attempted to show how the linguistic behaviour among speakers of the Detroit speech community exhibit the inconsistencies in their linguistic behaviour. Wolfram (cited in Wardhaugh 1986: 160) investigated four phonological and four grammatical variables for the purpose.

Wolfram (1969: 60-70) also discussed a situation in Detroit in which the black speakers were found deleting the final stops in clusters and made a distinction according to the grammatical function of the stops.
As in case of the final cluster in 'cold', the d has no independent grammatical function, but in case of 'burned' it marks past tense and is grammatically the -ed ending and therefore has its own meaning.

Table 1.6: The final cluster simplification among black speakers in Detroit.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social Class</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Upper middle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.79</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Based on Wolfram (1969: 59-69)

To sum up, it can be said that a linguistic variable is an item in the structure of the language, which has alternate realization, as one speaker realizes it in one way and the other speaker in an entirely different way or the same speaker realizes it differently at different occasions and situations. For example, one speaker may say 'singing' mostly where as the other may prefer to say 'singin', depending upon the fact that to which social group the speaker belongs.
1.4 Social and Linguistic Variables

1.4.1 Social Variables

Most of the sociolinguistic studies are concerned with the ways in which language varies according to the social context in which it is used. It also changes according to the social group to which the user of the language belongs. In every speech community there is a social heterogeneity or social stratification, i.e. there are different social levels or different groups of people. This social heterogeneity is reflected in the linguistic behaviour of the same speech community and results in language variation among its speakers. This is because of the fact that language and society are closely related. It can therefore, be said that linguistic variability is closely linked to social variability. It can also be said that linguistic variability is due to social variability. It is assumed that for the linguistic variability certain social factors or what may be called social variables are quite responsible. Such social variables are age, sex, religion, occupation, profession, education, economic status and social class. These variables considerably modify the structure of language and give rise to linguistic variables.

1.4.2 Linguistic Variables

As said earlier, the phenomenon of variation in language has always been a subject of much discussion and interest to linguists and the concept of linguistic variable is an outcome of research in this direction. Scholars have developed tools necessary for the identification of linguistic variation among different social groups.
According to Hudson (1986: 157), "the linguistic variables which sociolinguists have studied are those where the meaning remains constant but the form varies, though in theory one could study such aspects as the different ways in which past tense forms are used as a linguistic variable". In case the above definition is used as the definition of a linguistic variable, there seems to occur a wide range of serious problems. This is because of the fact that it becomes difficult to account for the same meaning. For instance, it has been claimed that 'cat' and 'pussy' have the same meaning and could therefore be considered as a linguistic variable. In the same way, the alternative pronunciation of 'house' with and without [h] can also be considered as an example of linguistic variable (Hudson 1980: 157).

According to Ronald Wardhaugh (1986: 135), "a linguistic variable is a linguistic item which has identifiable variants". Let us say, for example, the words, like 'singing' and 'fishing' were sometimes pronounced by some people as 'singin' and 'fishin'. Thus the final sound in these words may be called the linguistic variable (ŋ) with its two variants: [ŋ] in 'singing' and [n] in 'singin'. Another example of linguistic variable is found in the words like: 'car' and 'card'. These words are sometimes given as r-less pronunciation. Here we can see the linguistic variable(r) with its two variants [r] and ø (pronounced as 'zero'). One more example of the linguistic variable involves the vowel in the words like bend and trend, here the vowel is sometimes nasalized and sometimes not. In this case the linguistic variable (ε) has a number of variants such as [ε],ε₁,ε₂,...,εⁿ here the superscripts 1 to n are used to indicate the degree of utilization observed to occur, depending upon the quantity of nasalization (Wardhaugh 1986: 135).
The linguists who had been involved in studying the linguistic variation have mostly investigated the (η) and (r) variables. In addition to these two variables the other variables used include: (h) variable in the words like ‘house’ and ‘hospital’, i.e. (h):[h] or ə, the (t) variable in ‘bet’ and better, i.e. (t):[t] or [ʔ], the (θ) and (ð) variables in ‘thin’ and ‘they’ i.e. (θ):[θ] or [t] and (ð):[ð]:[ð] or [d]; (l) variable in French in ‘il’, i.e. (l):[l] or ə; and consonant variables like the final (t) and (d) in the words like ‘test’ and ‘told’, i.e. their presence or absence. Vocalic variables used to have included the vowel (ɛ) in the words like ‘pen’ and ‘men’; the (a) or (ɔ) in ‘dog’, ‘caught’ and ‘coffee’; the (ɛ) in ‘beg’; the (æ) in ‘back’, ‘bag’ and ‘bad’ and ‘half’; and the (U) in ‘pull’ (Wardhaugh 1986: 135-36).
Chapter-2

Research Design
CHAPTER - 2

Research Design

2.1 The Problem

Language variation is a common phenomenon found almost in all widely used languages. The phenomenon of language choice on the other hand takes place in language contact situation. Both these phenomena are the dominant features of the Kashmiri language. These tendencies of the language, in general, have been the focus of attention of a number of scholars of linguistics and sociolinguistics. The present study deals with the investigation of variables which are found at various levels of the Kashmiri language. It also shows how the Kashmiri speakers switch over to other languages.

The research methodology adopted here follows almost the same pattern of methodology as adopted by other scholars and researchers while making such investigations. However, in the following lines efforts have been made to explain the objectives of the study and hypotheses framed in addition to discussing some other aspects of methodology like collection of data and its analysis.

2.2 Main Objectives of the Study

The main objectives of the present study are to investigate language variation and language choice found at various levels of linguistics of the Kashmiri language. There is no denying the fact that the Kashmiri is spoken in various domains and for
various purposes, including close-knit and open networks of communication of the Kashmiri speech community. It is also used in the formal and informal settings. The details of the objectives of the study are as follows:

(i) To investigate the linguistic variability of the Kashmiri language and to relate it to the social heterogeneity which is reflected in the structure of the language. As the Kashmiri speech community is heterogeneous it is stratified into different social groups on the basis of certain social variables such as religion, age, sex, education, occupation and region etc. On the basis of religion, the speech community can be broadly distinguished into Muslim Kashmiri speakers and Hindu Kashmiri speakers. On the basis of age, we have distinguished three age groups: A1 (15 to 35 years), A2 (36 to 50 years) and A3 (51 years and above). Similarly on the basis of sex the speech community can be divided into male and female speakers. Likewise the education has been categorised into three groups, viz., E1 (illiterate, having no education at all), E2 (semiliterate, having education upto intermediate or plus two level) and E3 (educated, having education from graduation onwards). In the same way the region covers two main groups of speakers, i.e. urban Kashmiri speakers and rural Kashmiri speakers. Moreover, on the basis of occupation, we have different occupational groups such as farmers, cobblers, potters and boatmen/fishermen etc. All these speakers from different social groups vary considerably in the use of their language at various levels of linguistics.

(ii) To study the language variation and language choice in terms of the use of language in various domains of social life of the Kashmiri speech community.
(iii) To study the variation in terms of utilization of language in mass communication networks, such as news broadcasting, news telecasting, advertising and entertainment in relation to social variables of age, sex, religion, education, occupation, etc.

(iv) To standardize the tools of data collection for the study of language variation and language choice in different situation of social spheres of the Kashmiri speech community.

2.3 Hypotheses

A hypothesis is a provisional formulation; a tentative solution of the problem posed by a researcher. The first and foremost step to conduct research is to establish a hypothesis, which forms the key point to be either proved or disproved. On the basis of objectives of the present study and exploratory discussion with the members of the speech community under study, the following hypotheses have been formulated for investigation and testing:

(i) The Kashmiri speech community is highly heterogeneous in structure. The different social groups of the said speech community vary considerably in the use of their language at various level of linguistics such as phonology, morphology, syntax and lexicon in various domains such as family, friendship, marketing and other spheres of their everyday routine life.

(ii) As the structure of the Kashmiri language varies considerably at various levels of its organisation, the reason for this linguistic variability has been explained
in terms of social variability. This is because of the fact that linguistic variables are correlated with social variables. In other words it may be said that the language and society are closely related to each other.

(iii) To relate the linguistic variability to social heterogeneity in the Kashmiri speech community, and to show as how this linguistic variability is reflected in the structure of Kashmiri language at various levels of its organization.

(iv) The Kashmiri speakers not only show the variability within their speech, but they also cross their linguistic boundaries and make choice from other languages too. This interlingual behaviour of Kashmiri speech community has to be tested and verified.

Here it is very important to mention that all the hypotheses have not been listed and some of the hypotheses listed above consist of several sub hypotheses. Each of which has been tested separately for the purpose of analysis and interpretation of data.

2.4 Research Methodology

In the present study, we have followed the same pattern of methodology generally adopted by the researchers in such type of sociolinguistic investigations. The study is purely based on the data collection through various methods such as questionnaires, interviews, etc.
2.4.1 Selection of Sample

For any kind of sociolinguistic research, the first and the foremost step for an investigator is to select a sample of respondents. The respondents should be selected in such a way that they should represent the whole speech community. The respondents should come from various sections of the society. They should represent each social variable.

According to 1971 Census report the total number of Kashmiri speakers in India is 2,495,487. This number rises to 3,174,684 in 1981 Census. The language figures for 1991 are not available, as no Census was held in Jammu and Kashmir in 1991 due to the disturbed condition of the state. After I took up the work, the first thing I did was to make the selection of a sample of informants. The sample selected was such that all its members were the right representatives of different social groups of the Kashmiri speech community.

For the present study I decided to collect the data from a sample of 251 respondents belonging to different social groups of the Kashmiri speech community. The social variables which were taken into consideration are religion, age, sex, occupation, education and region.

2.4.2 Data Collection

For the present sociolinguistic study the following tools for data collection were adopted:
2.4.2.1 Questionnaire

The most important tool used in the collection of sociolinguistic data is questionnaire. As Bayer (1986:19) observes, "the use of the questionnaire has occupied an interior and remarkable position in any kind of sociolinguistic research". After the sample of the respondents was selected the next step we took was to shape up an adequate questionnaire. The questionnaire in the present study was framed very carefully, keeping in view the relevance of both independent and dependent variables. As regards the independent variables we have focused attention on the social factors such as: age, sex, education, religion, occupation and region. From the point of view of the dependent variables the study of variation in different domains of social life of the speech community under study has been considered significant for our purpose. The language variation has been studied in terms of both close-knit and open networks of communication.

The questionnaire of the present study consists of four parts, viz. (i) Background information of the respondent, (ii) Lexicon, (iii) Self-evaluation test and (iv) Folklore. In the first part of our questionnaire, we got the maximum information about the characteristics of the social aspects of respondents such as: age, sex, education, religion, occupation and region. Thus in order to get linguistic data in our chalked out questionnaire, the suitable questions for the purpose have been formulated in its second three parts. While conducting the present study we also made the respondents to read out few passages. The respondents were also made to tell some folklores, folktales and stories of some Muslim and Hindu saints. The very purpose of this task was just to test the phonetic characteristics of vowels and diphthongs. In
doing so I was able to find out the variation in the use of language among the speakers of the Kashmiri speech community. I was also able to discover the choice of linguistic items at various levels of linguistics. Moreover, the purpose of recording the unstructured conversation was to collect the linguistic data for the analysis and to discover many structural or semantic features typical to the Kashmiri language.

2.4.2.2 Interviews

Besides collecting the data through the questionnaire, we also recorded interviews with some native speakers of the Kashmiri language. My aim was to get the speech in terms of data as natural as possible. In the present study interviews held with the members of the Kashmiri speech community were structured but informal. While interviewing the respondents, different questions were put to them to which they responded gladly. The respondents have also been self-evaluated by asking them to give the Kashmiri equivalents for a set of expressions and a list of lexical items. The questions asked were meant to elicit the data that helped in the investigation of variation in the Kashmiri language. Also to see how Kashmiri speakers make choice from other languages in course of communication.

It may be mentioned that the prior knowledge of the Kashmiri speech community and the Kashmiri language gave the investigator a better understanding of the problem. It is mainly on this basis that we sorted out the linguistic variables, which reflect social variation. It has been observed that the speakers of the Kashmiri speech community vary in their use of language and also switch over to other languages such as English and Urdu at various levels of linguistics.
The questionnaire framed by us covered the various aspects of the Kashmiri language such as phonology, morphology, lexicon, syntax, modes of addresses and personal names. Gumperz (1972:12) holds the view that it is essential for an investigator to take those features of the language into account which carry the maximum amount of social information, while investigating that language from the sociolinguistic point of view. This also applies to the present study.

2.4.2.3 Places of Data Collection

The places for data collection were selected, keeping in view the concentration of Kashmiri speakers belonging to different social groups. For the collection of the data the investigator first distributed the chalked out questionnaires among different respondents. The questionnaires were very carefully distributed among the respondents from various social groups of Kashmiri speech community. The number of respondents has been carefully selected from each social group. Then the questionnaires were distributed accordingly.

The investigator also recorded many interviews with the help of a magnetic tape recorder in a very natural way. During the process of data collection the investigator also got him-self involved in various kinds of conversations, discussions and observation with the respondents, during the use of their language in various social domains.

Being a permanent resident of the region where the language under investigation i.e. Kashmiri is fairly used in various spheres of social activity such as talking to ones friends, family members and ones spouse, it was very easy for the
investigator to visit the places where the people of different social backgrounds were in a regular contact with each other and were easily available. These places generally include: parks, tourist spots, hostels, schools, colleges, bus stops, markets, shops, paddy fields, government offices, exhibition grounds and other such places. In addition to this the investigator also visited many villages, towns and common meeting places, where people from different social backgrounds were easily available and had oral communication about matters relating to their day-to-day life. Moreover, the investigator got different speakers involved in various kinds of discussions and conversations with him. The investigator also visited various shopkeepers and asked them about the price of various requirements of daily use. By doing so he made these shop keepers to respond in a quite natural way.

During the process of data collection, the investigator also visited various health centers and heard the doctors advising their patients. Different government offices and institutions such as schools and colleges were also visited by the investigator where he found the employees and teachers busy in communicating with people and students of different social background.

While conducting the field work for the present study, the investigator visited different occupational groups of the said speech community and put some questions to them relating to their occupations and recorded their responses in quite natural way. In the same way the investigator also visited other social groups of the same speech community and interviewed them and recorded their responses. It may be pointed out that the data has been collected from the speakers of different social groups of said speech community without making them aware of it.
After recording the speech from various social groups of the Kashmiri speech community it has been concluded that all these groups vary considerably in their use of language at various levels of linguistics such as phonology, morphology, lexicon and syntax. Besides, it has also been noticed that the speakers of the said speech community make a considerable choice in their use of language. They switch from their mother tongue to other languages and mix up the lexical items, and even full sentences from other languages into their mother tongue in various situations. Thus, it may be concluded that the linguistic variability and the language choice are the striking features of the Kashmiri language.

2.4.2.4 Editing of Data

In any study, the entire mass of data collected is not relevant and useful for the study of the research. The first thing what I did in this study was that I wedded out the weak and doubtful parts of the data. As mentioned earlier, in the present study, the data has been collected from various sources and several of its parts were weak, doubtful and unwanted for my purpose. Thus in order to arrive at the reliable findings and results, the data was properly handled. The weaknesses were rectified the doubtful and irrelevant portions of the data were wedded out.

2.4.2.5 Analysis and Interpretation of Data

After the editing was over, my next step was to analyse the data. This process involves the verification of the proposed hypothesis of the present study in order to arrive at the right conclusion and desired results. Here I have fitted my findings in the general theoretical framework, dealing with the structure of the language and its
relation to society and individuals. The analysis of the data falls under two main headings:

(i) Sociolinguistic investigation of variability found at various levels of the Kashmiri language such as phonology, morphology, lexicon and syntax.

(ii) Switching from Kashmiri to other languages by the Kashmiri speech community.

2.4.2.6 Tabulation of the Data

After the analysis and interpretation of the data, the resultant data was tabulated, i.e. the writing of the data under various columns. Tabulation of the resultant data into various columns facilitated the understanding of the data and simplified its process of study.
Chapter-3
Sociolinguistic Variation among the Kashmiri Speech Community
CHAPTER - 3

Sociolinguistic Variation among the Kashmiri Speech Community

3.1 The Kashmiri Speech Community

The term ‘Speech Community’ refers to a group of individuals who share the same language as their mother tongue. The Kashmiri speech community comprises a group of people who share the common language Kashmiri as their mother tongue. The Kashmiri language has been specified in Schedule VIII to the Constitution of India. According to the Census report of 1981 the total number of Kashmiri speakers in India is 3,174,684. Jammu and Kashmir has 3,136,146 Kashmiri speakers. The language figures for 1991 are not available as no Census was held in Jammu and Kashmir in 1991 due to disturbed conditions of the state. It is presumed that today the number of Kashmiri speakers would be much higher as compared to the number as mentioned in the 1981 Census report.

Kashmiri speakers are mainly concentrated in the state of Jammu & Kashmir, particularly in the valley of Kashmir. Kashmiri is the principal regional and dominant majority language of the valley of Kashmir and is predominantly spoken as the mother tongue by 97% of the total population of the valley and 52.73% of the total population of Jammu & Kashmir (Census 1981). A good number of Kashmiri speakers are settled in different states and union territories of India and maintain their language. As stated in the Census report of 1981, the Kashmiri speakers are scattered in different states.
and union territories of India. But their main concentration is found in Jammu & Kashmir specially in the Kashmir Valley. In other areas their percentage is negligible.

**TABLE 3.1: Distribution of Kashmiri Speakers in India/States and Union Territories (Census 1981)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. No.</th>
<th>India/States/Union Territories</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>No. of Kashmiri Speakers</th>
<th>% to the Total Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>661,497,149</td>
<td>3174684</td>
<td>0.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Andhra Pradesh</td>
<td>53,175,277</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Arunachal Pradesh</td>
<td>597,862</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Andaman &amp; Nicobar Island</td>
<td>178,885</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Bihar</td>
<td>69,628,725</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Chandigarh</td>
<td>440,837</td>
<td>553</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Delhi</td>
<td>6,147,632</td>
<td>3651</td>
<td>0.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Gujarat</td>
<td>33,919,82</td>
<td>472</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Goa, Daman &amp; Diu</td>
<td>1,059,012</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Haryana</td>
<td>12,873,434</td>
<td>289</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Himachal Pradesh</td>
<td>4,257,575</td>
<td>29492</td>
<td>0.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Jammu &amp; Kashmir</td>
<td>5,947,575</td>
<td>3136146</td>
<td>52.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Karnataka</td>
<td>36,839,222</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Kerala</td>
<td>25,244,369</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Madhya Pradesh</td>
<td>52,000,069</td>
<td>463</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Maharashtra</td>
<td>62,230,282</td>
<td>1092</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Manipur</td>
<td>1,409,239</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.2 Functions of the Kashmiri Language

3.2.1 The Use of Kashmiri in Oral Communication

Kashmiri is the regional, dominant and majority language of the Jammu and Kashmir state. It is spoken as the mother tongue by 52.73% of the total population of the state of Jammu Kashmir and 97% of the total population of the valley of Kashmir (Census 1981). Yet the language has never been given a chance to be used as an official language of the state. But there is no denying the fact that Kaahmiri has played a very significant role in various domains of social life of the Kashmiri speech community. Kashmiri is primarily a language of oral communication. Among the Kashmiri speech community the oral communication takes place largely through Kashmiri in almost every sphere of social life. The Kashmiri speakers use Kashmiri in
talking to their friends, family members, ones spouses etc. Kashmiri is also used fairly in market places during selling and buying of daily requirements of life.

3.2.2 Kashmiri in Electronic Media

Kashmiri is fairly used in news broadcasting, news telecasting and in advertising. Besides, a considerable number of social, political, cultural, agricultural and industrial programmes are broadcast and telecast in the Kashmiri language. Similarly a good number of educational, literary and art programmes are arranged on TV and radio through Kashmiri. Besides them, many traditional programmes such as folk-dances, folk-tales, folk-songs, Kashmiri documentary films, Kashmiri dramas and serials are also broadcast and telecast through the Kashmiri language.

3.2.3 Kashmiri in Print Media

Kashmiri is put to writing at its minimum. No daily newspaper is published in Kashmiri from anywhere in the state of Jammu and Kashmir. But some magazines are brought out in Kashmiri. They include 'AALOUE' published by the Information Department, of Jammu and Kashmir Government, 'ANHAR' by the Department of Kashmiri, University of Kashmir and 'SHEERAZA' by the Cultural Academy the Government of Jammu and Kashmir and 'PRAGASH' by Information Bureau. Besides 'WAAD', 'BAWATH', and 'HARMOKH' are some other magazines published in Kashmiri by the individuals like Iqbal Faheem, Malfuza Jan, Shahid Budgami and Hakim Manzoor respectively. Besides, a sizable amount of literary materials and textbooks have recently been published in Kashmiri.
Jammu and Kashmir Academy of Art, Culture and Language is working for the promotion of the Kashmiri language. The Academy is highly engaged in preparing research journals, encyclopedia and Kashmiri to Kashmiri dictionary.

3.4 Social Variation among the Kashmiri Speech Community

The Kashmiri speech community comprises people belonging to different social groups. There is a social heterogeneity in this community. It is this heterogeneity at social level which is described in other terms as 'social variation'.

Kashmiri speech community is predominantly a Muslim majority community. Next to the Muslims are the Hindus, but they form a microscopic population in the state. Though the people of these two faiths share the same language, but they vary considerably from the social and cultural points of view. Even the common surnames like Bhat, Raina, Pandit, Koul, Shah, Bakhshi, etc. are not going to bridge the socio-cultural gap between the two communities.

Most Muslims are agriculturists and the Hindus who constitute less than 5% of the total population of the valley of Kashmir belong predominantly to the service class. On the socioeconomic plane, the Kashmiri speech community provides a two-dimensional demarcation: (a) rural versus urban, and (b) low stationed versus high stationed groups of the people. The rural people are mostly from the agricultural background. They are disadvantaged in the sphere of education in comparison to their urban counterparts. Urban people constitute the business class and educated elite and the less advantaged labour. The fact can not be denied that there are rich and educated agriculturists in the rural areas also, but their number is quite low. There is also a
considerable number of rural people who have migrated to the urban centers where they found good educational and other facilities for themselves as well as for their children.

In the following sections we shall discuss certain social variables which are responsible for the heterogeneous character of the Kashmiri speech community.

3.4.1 Religion

As said earlier, the Kashmiri speech community comprises a majority community of the Muslims and a microscopic minority of the Hindus. Almost all the Hindu Kashmiri speakers in the state of Jammu & Kashmir belong to the Brahmin caste. They are locally called as batd meaning a ‘scholar’ or a ‘doctor’ (Madan 1976:106-7). During the Muslim rule in the valley of Kashmir, the Hindu Kashmiris learnt Persian. At that time Persian was used as an official language of Jammu & Kashmir and the knowledge of Kashmiri was very advantageous.

Muslim Kashmiri speakers constitute over 95% of total population of the valley of Kashmir. Most Muslims come from the agricultural and business backgrounds. The Muslim community is divided into two main classes, viz., ‘priestly’ and ‘non priestly’. These two groups of the same community do not exhibit any significant cultural divergence, but from the educational point of view the former group is more advanced. In other words, education is mostly within the reach of the ‘priestly’ group than their ‘non priestly’ counterparts. All the Muslims except cobblers can interdine with each other. They generally enter into matrimonial relations within their own social groups. Intermarriages and interdining among Hindus and Muslims is
not traditionally acceptable. Thus on the basis of religion the entire speech community can be classified into the Muslim Kashmiri speakers and the Hindu Kashmiri speakers.

3.4.2 Region

On the regional basis, the Kashmiri speech community provides two main groups, viz., the rural and the urban Kashmiri speakers. The rural speakers of Kashmiri as said earlier, are mostly agriculturists. They are also by and large disadvantaged in the field of education as compared with their urban counterparts. The urban Kashmiri speakers on the other hand constitute the business class and educated elite. Those Kashmiri speakers who live in the valley of Srinagar can be called urban Kashmiri speakers and those who live in the rest of the valley other than Srinagar are called rural Kashmiri speakers.

3.4.3 Education

The Kashmiri speech community is stratified at the level of education. Everybody is not getting equal opportunity of education. Some are illiterate, some are literate and educated and some are highly educated. Highly educated class is mostly from the urban areas. The rural Kashmiri speakers lag behind in respect of education. The main reason for the little percentage of higher education among the rural Kashmiri speakers is their rural and agricultural background. As they are busy in looking after their lands, they pay very little attention to education.

On the basis of this social variable, the Kashmiri speech community has been divided into three main education group, viz., $E_1$ (illiterates), $E_2$ (semiliterate, having
education up to Intermediate or Plus two level) and E3 (educated, having education from graduation onwards).

3.4.4 Occupation

The main occupational groups of the speech community are office goers, farmers, businessmen, artisans, fishermen/boatmen, cobblers, etc. The office goers include executives, teachers (teachers of university, colleges and high schools), doctors and engineers. Farmers locally called grɔ:si or zimi:nda:x are mostly the rural agriculturists. They earn their need by farming including fruit-growing. Some also produce saffron.

The people from business class locally known as ba:pəri mostly deal in fruits such as apples, nuts, almonds and saffron. They also do the business of shawls, carpets and other readymade woolen garments. The fishermen/boatmen locally called as the gaʃə hə":nz earn their living by fishing. They inhabit the are as which have direct access to water, such as riverbanks, where it is easy for them to catch the fishes. They are mostly engaged in the business of fish catching and rowing of their small boats. Another kind of boatmen locally called φungə hə":nz owned ‘house boats’ locally called φungə. They are engaged in tourist industry as guides, houseboat owners and hoteliers. They earn their living by renting out their ‘house boats’ to tourists. During the summer season these boatmen earn a lot of money. Some of these boatmen are the load carriers from one ghaːth to another ghaːth in their boats. Presently some of them have shifted to the business of selling and purchasing the wood for fuel and timber for construction purposes. They are economically well off.
The cobblers locally called *va:tal* constitute the poorest and the socially backward class of the Kashmiri speech community. They are leather workers (shoemakers). They earn their living by making and mending shoes. They are socially backward people and their social activities are confined to their own intragroups. These cobblers generally fall in two groups – one group is engaged as carriers of dead animals, sweepers etc. Another group of cobblers is engaged in all low jobs except dead animal carriers. They generally live on the outskirts of the villages.

3.4.5 Age

Age is also an important social variable, which influences the language. In every speech community there are people of different age groups. In Kashmiri speech community also there are young, adult and elderly people. The three age groups have been specified as $A_1$ (15 to 35 years), $A_2$ (36 to 50 years) and $A_3$ (51 years and above).

3.4.6 Sex

On the basis of the sex or gender, the Kashmiri speech community has been divided into female Kashmiri speakers and male Kashmiri speakers. In the Kashmiri society, it is the responsibility of male to feed and look after his spouse and other family members. Most women of Kashmiri speech community are housewives, but in rural area women, in addition to their original duties of maintaining houses, work in the agricultural fields along with their men. There are notable differences between the language of men and women in the Kashmiri speech community.
3.5 Variation in Language among Kashmiri Speech Community

Since Kashmiri speech community is highly heterogeneous in character, it varies considerably in respect of language. The social variation of the Kashmiri speech community is reflected in linguistic behaviour of its speakers giving rise to speech variation among them. The resultant linguistic variables are indicators of one's social identity. The variation in language among the Kashmiri speech community is found at various levels of linguistics such as phonology, morphology, lexicon and syntax. This linguistic variability is due to the social variability of the Kashmiri speech community.

Language variability is a natural phenomenon, which reflects variation at the societal level. The individuals of the two social groups cannot follow the same pattern of language and cannot use the same structure of language. They are bound to vary in their linguistic behaviour as they are different socially.

For example, the words like \textit{gagud.} ‘rat’ and \textit{gud.} ‘horse’ as pronounced by rural Kashmiri speakers are pronounced as \textit{gagur.} ‘rat’ and \textit{gur.} ‘horse’ by urban Kashmiri speakers respectively. The final sound in these words may be termed as linguistic variable (r) with its two variants [d] in \textit{gagud.} ‘rat’ and [r] in \textit{gagur.} ‘rat’ and \textit{gur.} ‘horse’.

Similarly, the words like \textit{inka:r} ‘refusal’ and \textit{inteza:m} ‘arrangement’ as pronounced by educated Kashmiri speakers are pronounced as \textit{yinka:r} ‘refusal’ and \textit{yenziza:m} ‘arrangement’ by illiterate Kashmiri speakers respectively. The initial sounds in these words may be called linguistic variable (i) with its two variants [i] in
'refusal' and 'arrangement' and [y] in 'refusal' and 'arrangement'.

In the same way, there are certain lexical items which are preferred by one social group, but discarded by the other. There are some other lexical items whose meanings remain the same but forms vary in different social groups, e.g., a Muslim Kashmiri speaker would always be found using 'water', but a Hindu Kashmiri speaker uses 'water'.

Similarly, a Muslim speaker of Kashmiri uses the word 'sugar' and a Hindu speaker uses a term 'sugar'.

The linguistic variability among the Kashmiri speakers is noticed in the process of word formation and sentence construction. The variation is also found in the use of nouns, pronouns, verbs and adjectives. Certain address forms, Kinship terms and courtesy markers also vary structurally. For example the educated class use the address forms like 'oh', -sa 'oh', hōtsa: 'oh Mr.' hōthaz 'oh sir' and hōtmarā: 'oh sir' (for a Hindu). It was found that the speakers from the education group (illiterates) frequently use 'oh' and hōto 'oh' while addressing the people from the Kashmiri speech community. Such variations among the Kashmiri speech community are very common.
Chapter-4
Phonological Variation
4.0 Introduction

The structure of the Kashmiri speech community is highly heterogeneous and is stratified into various social groups on the basis of social factors such as religion, education, sex, age, region and occupation. This social heterogeneity of the Kashmiri speech community is very well reflected in its speech which shows variation of various types. These speech variations can be analyzed at various levels of linguistics such as phonology, morphology, syntax, etc. Various social groups of the said speech community vary considerably at the level of phonology. It has been found that the differences in vowels, semi-vowels, consonants and vowel sequences correlate with certain social variables in the society. Given below are some phonological variables corresponding with social variables of the Kashmiri speech community.

4.1 Phonological Variation due to Religious Differences

4.1.1 Consonants

Religion is an important social factor which bifurcates the Kashmiri speech community into two main groups of speakers, viz., The Muslim speakers of Kashmiri and the Hindu speakers of Kashmiri. The variety of Kashmiri spoken by Muslim Kashmiri may be termed as Muslim variety of Kashmiri (MVK) and the form of Kashmiri spoken by Hindu Kashmiri speakers may be called as Hindu variety of

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Kashmiri (HVK). These two groups of speakers vary considerably in the use of sound system of the same language. According to Grierson (1919:234) the main reason behind this variation is that the form of Kashmiri spoken by Muslim Kashmiri speakers is filled with the words borrowed from the Persian and Arabic vocabulary. And the variety of Kashmiri spoken by Hindu Kashmiri speakers is mostly filled with the words borrowed from Sanskrit. These two forms of Kashmiri were called by Kachru (1969:21) as 'Persainised' and 'Sanskritised' Kashmiri respectively.

4.1.1.1 Variability of [r] and [d]

The variation of [r] and [d] reflects religious differences among the Kashmiri speech community. The words for 'rat' and 'horse' are pronounced by the Hindus as gagur 'rat' and gur 'horse' respectively, where as the Muslims pronounce the same words as gagud 'rat' and gud 'horse'. The final sound in these words may be termed as linguistic variable (r) with its two variants [r] as in gagur 'rat' and gur 'horse' and [d] in gagud 'rat' and gud 'horse'. This phonological variation has been found in respect of all the three age groups (A1, A2 and A3) and in respect of both the sexess (Male & Female) of Muslim and Hindus Kashmiri speakers. Some other examples of this type of variation are tabulated as follows:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hindu Kashmiri Speakers (HVK)</th>
<th>Muslim Kashmiri Speakers (MVK)</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$n\hat{\alpha}r$</td>
<td>$n\hat{\alpha}d$</td>
<td>'arm'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\check{\hat{s}}ur$</td>
<td>$\check{\hat{s}}u\hat{\alpha}d$</td>
<td>'child'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kokur</td>
<td>koku$d$</td>
<td>'cock'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zor</td>
<td>zo$d$</td>
<td>'deaf'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kāgdr</td>
<td>kāgdrd</td>
<td>'fire pot'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hagur</td>
<td>hagu$d$</td>
<td>'wooden cart'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bro:lu:r</td>
<td>bro:da</td>
<td>'cat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ku:lu:r</td>
<td>ku:da</td>
<td>'daughter'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts:lu:r</td>
<td>ts:da</td>
<td>'sparrow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g:lu:r</td>
<td>g:da</td>
<td>'watch'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lu:ru</td>
<td>lu:da</td>
<td>'stick'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n:lu:r</td>
<td>n:da</td>
<td>'jug'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k:lu:r</td>
<td>k:da</td>
<td>'neck'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v:lu:r</td>
<td>v:da</td>
<td>'kitchen garden'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kor</td>
<td>ko:da</td>
<td>'a big bangle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he:lu:r</td>
<td>he:da</td>
<td>'ladder'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čo:lu:r</td>
<td>čo:da</td>
<td>'dumb'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h:lu:r</td>
<td>h:da</td>
<td>'quarrel'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d:lu:r</td>
<td>d:da</td>
<td>'beard'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p:lu:r</td>
<td>p:da</td>
<td>'hut'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>su:lu:r</td>
<td>su:da</td>
<td>'sari'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gu:lu:r</td>
<td>gu:da</td>
<td>'fish'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.1.1.2 Variation Due to deletion of \([\partial t]\) and \([\partial ts]\)

It has been found that in some loanwords borrowed form perso-Arabic sources, the final sounds \([\partial t]\) and \([\partial ts]\) in a number of words are optionally deleted in the speech of Muslim Kashmiri speakers are retained in the speech of Hindu Kashmiri speakers. The examples justifying this fact are given below:

**TABLE 4.2: Variability due to deletion and retention of \([\partial t]\) and \([\partial ts]\) among Muslim and Hindu Kashmiri speakers.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Muslim Kashmiri Speakers (MVK)</th>
<th>Hindu Kashmiri Speakers (HVK)</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>sakh</strong></td>
<td><strong>sakh ( \partial t )</strong></td>
<td>'hard'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>vakh</strong></td>
<td><strong>vakh ( \partial t )</strong></td>
<td>'time'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>bakh</strong></td>
<td><strong>bakh ( \partial t )</strong></td>
<td>'wealth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>rakh</strong></td>
<td><strong>rakh ( \partial t )</strong></td>
<td>'dress'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>makh</strong></td>
<td><strong>mak ( \partial ts )</strong></td>
<td>'axe'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ta:kh</strong></td>
<td><strong>ta:ki:ts</strong></td>
<td>'shelf'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.1.2 Vowels

4.1.2.1 Variability of \([i:]\) and \([i]\)

The most striking vocalic variability due to religious differences among the Kashmiri speech community is the variability of \([i:]\) and \([i]\). The words like \(ki:sm\(a\theta\) 'luck' and \(hi:ma\theta\) 'courage' as pronounced by Muslim Kashmiri speakers are pronounced as \(kis\(ma\theta\) 'luck' and \(hima\theta\) 'courage' respectively by the Hindu Kashmiri
speakers. In many words, especially of perso-Arabic origin, the Muslim speakers of Kashmiri use the long vowel \[i:\] whereas the Hindu Kashmiri speakers change its short counterpart. The table below shows some more examples of this type.

**TABLE 4.3: Replacement of \([i:]\) in the speech of Muslim Kashmiri speakers by \([i]\) in the speech of Hindu Kashmiri speakers.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Muslim Kashmiri Speakers (MVK)</th>
<th>Hindu Kashmiri Speakers (HVK)</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hi:s(\bar{\partial})</td>
<td>hi:s(\bar{\partial})</td>
<td>'share'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haki:ka(\theta)</td>
<td>haki:ka(\theta)</td>
<td>'fact'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>di:m(\partial)</td>
<td>dim(\partial)</td>
<td>'i will give'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>asli:t</td>
<td>aslit</td>
<td>'reality'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ji:s(\partial)m</td>
<td>ji:s(\partial)m</td>
<td>'body'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ki:s(\partial)m</td>
<td>ki:s(\partial)m</td>
<td>'kind'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khidma(\theta)</td>
<td>khidma(\theta)</td>
<td>'service'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khi:m(\partial)</td>
<td>khim(\partial)</td>
<td>'tent'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>li:s(\partial)</td>
<td>lis(\partial)</td>
<td>'beet'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These variations in the use of language at the level of phonology among the Muslim and Hindu Kashmiri speakers have been observed with respect to both the sexes (male and female) and all the three age groups (A1, A2 and A3).
4.1.2.2 Variability of \([o:]\) and \([a:]\)

In the past perfect tense, a set of verbs in the speech of Muslim Kashmiri speakers has different equivalents in the speech of Hindu Kashmiri speakers. The examples of this type are given below:

TABLE 4.4: The Variability of \([o:]\) and \([a:]\) among Muslim and Hindu Kashmiri speakers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Muslim Kashmiri Speakers (MVK)</th>
<th>Hindu Kashmiri Speakers (HVK)</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(dro:mut)</td>
<td>(dra:mut)</td>
<td>‘gone’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(tsa:mut)</td>
<td>(tsa:mut)</td>
<td>‘enter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(o:mut)</td>
<td>(a:mut)</td>
<td>‘has come’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ho:mut)</td>
<td>(ha:mut)</td>
<td>‘showed’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ro:mut)</td>
<td>(ra:mut)</td>
<td>‘lost’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(so:mut)</td>
<td>(sa:mut)</td>
<td>‘slept’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.2 Phonological Variation due to Differences in Educational Level

Education plays important role in determining the linguistic variables at level of phonology among the Kashmiri speech community. On the basis of education the entire speech community has been divided into three groups of speakers, viz., E1 (illiterate, having no education at all), E2 (semiliterate, having education upto intermediate or plus Two level) and E3 (educated, having education from graduation onwards). Among these groups the speakers of the former group E1 (15 to 35 years) vary considerably in the use of language at the level of phonology from the letter two
groups, i.e. E2 (semiliterate) and E3 (educated). The remaining two groups, viz., E2 (semiliterate) and E3 (educated) do not show any remarkable variation in their language at the phonological level. But it was found that the speakers from these two groups pronounce a large number of words of their language quiet differently from the speakers of the first group. The remaining two groups i.e. E2 (semiliterate) and E3 (educated) show great affinity towards the standard variety of Kashmiri. Its main reason is that most of the speakers from these two groups are office and college goers who always remain in constant touch with the speakers of the standard variety of Kashmiri. The standard variety according to Kachru (1969:21) is that variety of Kashmiri which is spoken mainly in the valley of Srinagar and by the average educated people. The speakers of the illiterate group (E1) speak the non-standard variety of the Kashmiri language.

4.2.1 Vowels and Semi-vowels

4.2.1.1 Variability of [i] and [y]

Among the Kashmiri speech community, the words for ‘leader’ and ‘arrangement’ are pronounced as ima:m and inteza:m respectively by the speakers belonging to E2 (semiliterate) and E3 (educated) groups. The speakers of E1 (illiterate) group pronounce the same words as yima:m ‘leader’ and yinteza:m ‘arrangement’. On the basis of such examples, it may be stated that the front vowel [i] occurring initially in the words of Perso-Arabic origin used by the E2 and E3 groups of speakers, is replaced by the semi-vowel [y] among E1 speakers in same words and in the same position. Other examples of this type are as follows:
TABLE 4.5: Variability of [y] and [i] among E1 (illiterate), E2 (semiliterate) and E3 (educated) Kashmiri speakers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>E1 (illiterate Kashmiri speakers)</th>
<th>E2 (semi literate Kashmiri speakers)</th>
<th>E3 (educated Kashmiri speakers)</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yəsla:h</td>
<td>isla:h</td>
<td>isla:h</td>
<td>‘shave’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yinka:r</td>
<td>inka:r</td>
<td>inka:r</td>
<td>‘refusal’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yiptedə:h</td>
<td>iptedə:h</td>
<td>iptedə:h</td>
<td>‘beginning’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yinteha:</td>
<td>Inteha:</td>
<td>inteha:</td>
<td>‘extreme’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yinteza:r</td>
<td>inteza:r</td>
<td>inteza:r</td>
<td>‘wait’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yiltəja:</td>
<td>Ilteja:</td>
<td>ilteja:</td>
<td>‘request’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yifəta:r</td>
<td>ifəta:r</td>
<td>ifəta:r</td>
<td>‘opening of fast’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yi:d</td>
<td>i:d</td>
<td>i:d</td>
<td>‘eid’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yitla:h</td>
<td>itla:h</td>
<td>itla:h</td>
<td>‘information’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yizha:r</td>
<td>izha:r</td>
<td>izha:r</td>
<td>‘expression’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yestifəa:</td>
<td>istefəa:</td>
<td>istefəa:</td>
<td>‘resignation’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yekhla:kh</td>
<td>ikhla:kh</td>
<td>ikhla:kh</td>
<td>‘manners’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yəkhṭəla:φ</td>
<td>iəkhṭəla:φ</td>
<td>iəkhṭəla:φ</td>
<td>‘dispute’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This table shows phonological differences between E1, and E3 groups, but no variation among the E1 and E2 groups.

4.3 Phonological Variation due to the Difference of Sex

The sex of an individual plays a very prominent role in determining the pattern of language use. It has been observed that the male and female speakers of Kashmiri
speech community vary considerably in the use of their language at the level of phonology. As in some other speech communities, the words spoken by the female speakers of the Kashmiri speech community are polite and womanly. But the male speakers of the same speech community have a totally different way of expressing themselves.

While investigating the language variation among the Kashmiri speech community, it was found that the female speakers tend to use more prestigious forms than the male speakers of the same social background. This is because of the fact that the female speakers are very ambitious and want to show their dominance and primacy in the society. Here it may be mentioned that these characteristics are found mostly among the literate and urban female speakers. There are no such tendencies among the illiterate and rural females. Moreover, the female speakers of the Kashmiri speech community are discussing their personal feelings more freely than the male speakers of the same speech community. The male speakers tend to prefer non-personal topics such as sports news etc. Male speakers also tend to respond to problems and give advice on solutions of problems, while the female speakers, whenever they get opportunity to get together on any occasion are more likely to discuss personal experiences that match with other females. In such occasions they are also seen busy in self-praising. They are also seen discussing the matters relating to fashion, decoration and ornamentation. Thus quite different pronunciations of certain words in male (MVK) and female (FVK) varieties of Kashmiri speech have been documented in the Kashmiri speech community.
The female speakers of the Kashmiri speech community also make use of exclamatory expressions in their speech more frequently e.g. *vey meya:ne khuda:ye!* "Oh my God!" and *hay keya go:s!* ‘what happened!’ Though these expressions are also used by male speakers in their speech. But the female speakers pronounce them very surprisingly, making the hearers to feel a sense of much surprise.

4.4 Phonological Variation due to Regional Differences

From the regional point of view the Kashmiri speech community is divided into rural and urban people. The rural people are mostly agriculturists and are by and large disadvantaged in the sphere of education as compared with their urban counterparts. Urban people constitute the business class, the educated elite and the less advantaged labour. No doubt there are also educated and rich rural agriculturists too, but their number is quite low. There is a tendency among the rural Kashmiris to migrate to urban centers, where they find better job opportunities and good educational facilities for their children. There is no denying the fact that environment has great impact on the linguistic structure of a community. Keeping in view the regional differences of language, the Kashmiri speech community has been classified into two groups, viz., the urban Kashmiri speakers and the rural Kashmiri speakers. The forms of Kashmiri spoken by these two groups may be called as Urban varieties of Kashmiri (UVK) and Rural variety of Kashmiri (RVK) respectively.

Necoar (1969:8) holds the view that the variety of Kashmir spoken in the valley of Srinagar is generally regarded as urban Kashmiri and the variety of Kashmiri spoken in the rest of the valley other than Srinagar is rural in character. Thus among
the Kashmiri speech community there are regional differences and the urban and rural
speakers vary considerably at level of phonology. Some of the phonological variables
commonly found among the Kashmiri speech community are discussed below:

4.4.1 Vowels

4.4.1.1 The variability of [a] and [e]

Among the Kashmiri speech community, the words pronounced as khan ‘eat’
and krakh ‘cry’ by the urban Kashmiri speakers are pronounced as khen ‘eat’ and
krekh ‘cry’ respectively by the rural Kashmiri speakers. It may be noted that in the
words the vowel [a] is replace by the vowel [e] following a consonant in monosyllabic
words. Thus rural speakers of Kashmiri have a tendency to use [e] whereas the urban
speakers prefer to use [a]. This is with respect to all the three age groups (A1, A2 and
A3) selected for the present study. Some more examples are as follows:
TABLE 4.6: Variation of vowels [a] and [e] among the urban and rural Kashmiri Speakers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Urban Kashmiri speakers (UVK)</th>
<th>Rural Kashmiri speakers (RVK)</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bah</td>
<td>beh</td>
<td>'sit'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rah</td>
<td>reh</td>
<td>'flame'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čand</td>
<td>čand</td>
<td>'grams'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lakh</td>
<td>lekh</td>
<td>'abuse'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>φras</td>
<td>φres</td>
<td>'name of a tree'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yakh</td>
<td>yekh</td>
<td>'ice'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grakh</td>
<td>grekh</td>
<td>'boil'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sakh</td>
<td>sekh</td>
<td>'sand'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>φakh</td>
<td>φekh</td>
<td>'powder'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čan</td>
<td>čen</td>
<td>'drink'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dad</td>
<td>ded</td>
<td>'grandmother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pan</td>
<td>pen</td>
<td>'fell'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dav</td>
<td>dev</td>
<td>'giant'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lad</td>
<td>led</td>
<td>'horse dongue'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dal</td>
<td>del</td>
<td>'bark of tree'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.4.1.2 Variability of [i] and [u]

It is reasonable to argue that the back short vowel [u] in the speech of urban Kashmiri speakers in the first syllable of certain disyllabic words is replaced by [i] in the speech of rural Kashmiri speakers. These variations are found in respect of all three age groups A1 (15 to 35 years), A2 (36 to 50 years) and A3 (51 years above). The examples showing this variation are shown below:

**TABLE 4.7: Variation of vowels [u] and [i] among the urban and rural Kashmiri Speakers.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Urban Kashmiri speakers (UVK)</th>
<th>Rural Kashmiri speakers (RVK)</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>lučh</strong></td>
<td><strong>ličh</strong></td>
<td>'small louse'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>kunčd</strong></td>
<td><strong>kinčd</strong></td>
<td>'hook'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>budč</strong></td>
<td><strong>bičd</strong></td>
<td>'old man'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>vučh</strong></td>
<td><strong>vičh</strong></td>
<td>'see'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>lunčd</strong></td>
<td><strong>linčd</strong></td>
<td>'branch'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>kun</strong></td>
<td><strong>kin</strong></td>
<td>'plinth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>gunčd</strong></td>
<td><strong>ginčd</strong></td>
<td>'rogue'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.4.1.3 Variability of [a:] and [a]

Another remarkable variation noticed in the language at the phonological level, among the Kashmiri speech community is the use of long vowel [a:] in the speech of urban Kashmiri speakers, (UVK) versus short vowel [a] in the speech of rural
Kashmiri speakers (RVK). This lengthening of the vowel \([a:]\) is a typical and striking feature observed in the speech of urban Kashmiri speakers (UVK) in place of the short vowel \([a]\) used by rural Kashmiri speakers (RVK). Thus the words pronounced by urban Kashmiri speakers as \(kara:n\) ‘doing’ and \(para:n\) ‘reading’ are pronounced by rural Kashmiri speakers as \(karan\) ‘doing’ and \(paran\) ‘reading’ respectively. This alternation in the use of language of the speakers of urban and rural groups is so remarkable, noticable and obvious that a non Kashmiri is even able to observed it. This variation in the use of language on the basis of region has been experienced and studied in respect of all the three age groups (A1, A2 and A3) and both the sexes (male and female) in the Kashmiri speech community. The other examples showing this type of phonological variation among the urban and rural Kashmiri speakers are as follows:
TABLE 4.8: Variation of vowels [a:] and [a] among urban and rural Kashmiri Speakers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Urban Kashmiri speakers (UVK)</th>
<th>Rural Kashmiri speakers (RVK)</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gatsha:n</td>
<td>gatshan</td>
<td>'going'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kheva:n</td>
<td>khevan</td>
<td>'eating'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niva:n</td>
<td>nivan</td>
<td>'taking'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yiva:n</td>
<td>yivan</td>
<td>'coming'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>riva:n</td>
<td>rivan</td>
<td>'weeping'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heva:n</td>
<td>hevan</td>
<td>'buying'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsala:n</td>
<td>tsalan</td>
<td>'moving'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čeva:n</td>
<td>čevan</td>
<td>'drinking'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>asa:n</td>
<td>asan</td>
<td>'laughing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vada:n</td>
<td>vadan</td>
<td>'weeping'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peva:n</td>
<td>pevan</td>
<td>'falling'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dava:n</td>
<td>davan</td>
<td>'running'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>roza:n</td>
<td>rozan</td>
<td>'staying'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>basa:n</td>
<td>basan</td>
<td>'living'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khasa:n</td>
<td>khasan</td>
<td>'climbing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hava:n</td>
<td>havan</td>
<td>'showing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kara:n</td>
<td>karan</td>
<td>'doing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>diva:n</td>
<td>divan</td>
<td>'giving'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Thus from the above table it is clearly found that the variation of \[ \text{[a:]} \]
and \[ a \] among urban and rural Kashmiri speakers is mainly observed in the
use of certain verb forms in their speech.

4.4.2 Consonants

4.4.2.1 Variability of \([r] \) and \([ d] \)

The frequent use of \([r] \) in the speech of urban Kashmiri speakers in place of
\([d] \) in the speech of rural Kashmiri speakers has been considerably noticed while
studying the speech variation among Kashmiri speech community. For example the
word \textit{kokur} ‘cock’ as pronounced so in speech of urban variety of Kashmiri (UVK) is
pronounced as \textit{kokud} ‘cock’ in the speech of rural variety of Kashmiri speakers
(RVK). This alternation of \([r] \) and \([ d] \) in the speech of urban and rural Kashmiri
speakers was noticed at the medial and final positions of a large number of words. The
examples stating the variation of this type in respect of three age groups (A1, A2 and
A3) and both the sexes (male and female) are as follows:
TABLE 4.9: The Variability of [r] and [ɕ] among urban and rural Kashmiri speakers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Urban Kashmiri speakers (UVK)</th>
<th>Rural Kashmiri speakers (RVK)</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>broːr</td>
<td>broː ɕ</td>
<td>‘cat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rabar</td>
<td>raba’q</td>
<td>‘rubber’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kāgdr</td>
<td>kāg’dq</td>
<td>‘fire pot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marguzaːr</td>
<td>maḍguzaːr</td>
<td>‘graveyard’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>har</td>
<td>ha’q</td>
<td>‘quarrel’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marḍd</td>
<td>maḍ’dq</td>
<td>‘man’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zor</td>
<td>zo’dq</td>
<td>‘deaf’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marhoːm</td>
<td>maḍhoːm</td>
<td>‘name of the village’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šur</td>
<td>šu’dq</td>
<td>‘baby’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gasrun</td>
<td>gaḍ’un</td>
<td>‘to shape up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuː r</td>
<td>kuː ɕ</td>
<td>‘daughter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jagr’d</td>
<td>jag’dq</td>
<td>‘quarrel’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kokur</td>
<td>koku’dq</td>
<td>‘cock’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hagur</td>
<td>hagu’dq</td>
<td>‘wooden cart’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lar</td>
<td>la’dq</td>
<td>‘piece of wood’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kar’d</td>
<td>ka’dq</td>
<td>‘peas’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pard’d</td>
<td>paḍ’qd</td>
<td>‘curtain’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dor</td>
<td>do’dq</td>
<td>‘hard’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khor</td>
<td>kho’dq</td>
<td>‘ditch’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.4.3 Vowel and Semi-vowel

4.4.3.1 Variability of [a:] and [ay]

One thing more which has been observed while studying the speech variation among the Kashmiri speech community on the basis of region is that the feminine personal names ending with [a:] vocative marker in the speech of urban Kashmiri speakers is replaced by [ay] vocative marker in the speech of rural Kashmiri speakers. The examples of this type are shown below:

TABLE 4.10: Variation of [a] and [ay] among urban and rural Kashmiri speakers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Urban Kashmiri speakers (UVK)</th>
<th>Rural Kashmiri speakers (RVK)</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>şari:φa:</td>
<td>şari:φay</td>
<td>'oh Sharif'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ro:ša:</td>
<td>ro:šay</td>
<td>'oh Rosha'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h_MPI:ma:</td>
<td>h_MPI:may</td>
<td>'oh Halima'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>φdımi:da:</td>
<td>φdımi:day</td>
<td>'oh Fehmid'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rdı:φi:ka:</td>
<td>rdı:φi:day</td>
<td>'oh Rafiq'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gulšana:</td>
<td>gulšanay</td>
<td>'oh Gulshan'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na:za:</td>
<td>na:zay</td>
<td>'oh Naza'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>şahzada:</td>
<td>şahzaday</td>
<td>'oh Shahazada'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter-5

Morphological Variation
4.4.1.4 Variation of Nasalized \([a^n]\) and \([\partial^n]\)

The linguistic variability at the phonological level is also noticed with respect to the use of nasalized vowel \([a^n]\) by urban Kashmiri speakers and n the nasalized \([\partial^n]\) by the rural Kashmiri speakers. The nasalized vowel is preceded, both in the speech of urban and rural speakers, by the nasalized consonant \([n]\). The rural speakers constantly replace the nasalized \([a^n]\) by the nasalized \([\partial^n]\). The nasalized schwa \([\partial^n]\) before the alveolar nasal n has become the marker of the rural speech (RVK) and less prestigious variety of the Kashmiri language.

**TABLE 4.11: Variability of nasalized \([a^n]\) and \([\partial^n]\) among urban and rural Kashmiri speakers.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Urban Kashmiri speakers (UVK)</th>
<th>Rural Kashmiri speakers (RVK)</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(ma^n:nkh)</td>
<td>(m\partial^n:nkh)</td>
<td>'peg'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\acute{sra}^n:nz)</td>
<td>(\acute{s}r\partial^n:nz)</td>
<td>'clamp'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ra^n:nz)</td>
<td>(r\partial^n:nz)</td>
<td>'catapult'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ga^n:n\acute{t}h)</td>
<td>(g\partial^n:n\acute{t}h)</td>
<td>'eagle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(dra^n:n\acute{t}h)</td>
<td>(d\partial^n:n\acute{t}h)</td>
<td>'transplant'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(pa^n:ntsh)</td>
<td>(p\partial^n:ntsh)</td>
<td>'five'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(pa^n:ntsha)</td>
<td>(p\partial^n:ntsha)</td>
<td>'fifty'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(kra^n:nz)</td>
<td>(kr\partial^n:nz)</td>
<td>'skeleton'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER - 5

Morphological Variation

5.0 Introduction

As at the level of phonology, the structure of the Kashmiri language also varies considerably at the level of word formation. This type of variation is technically known as morphological variation. There is a good stock of lexical forms and items which are found in the speech of one group of Kashmiri speakers but are missing in the speech of another group of speakers which develops another set of lexical items conveying the same meaning. In morphological variation too, certain social factors such as religion, age, sex, education and occupation play an important role.

5.1 Nominal Variation

The speakers of the Kashmiri language show variability in the use of certain ‘nominal categories’ with respect to social factors like religion, region, age, sex, education and occupation.

5.1.1 Nominal Variability due to the Difference in Religion

As said in the previous chapter, the entire Kashmiri speech community has been divided into two main groups. These two groups include the Hindu Kashmiri speakers and the Muslim Kashmiri speakers. The variety of Kashmiri spoken by the Hindu Kashmiris may be called as Hindu variety of Kashmiri (HVK) and the variety of Kashmiri spoken by Muslim Kashmiris may be termed as Muslim variety of Kashmiri.
years and above). Among the Kashmiri speech community it was found that the words of nominal category are very frequent in the speech of people falling under the age group of A3 (51 years and above). The other two groups of speakers belonging to the age groups of A1 (15-35 years) and A2 (36-50 years) do not use these nominal categories in their speech. Here it should be pointed out that these two groups of speakers, i.e. A1 (15-35 years) and A2 (36-50 years) have developed the alternative forms in their speech characterized by modern and technical terminologies. It may be stated that these technical forms of words are mostly borrowed from other languages with which the Kashmiri speakers are in direct touch. It has been observed that speakers from the age groups A1 (15-35 years) and A2 (36-50 years) do not show any notable variation in the use of certain nominal categories among themsevles. But it can be argued that speakers belonging to age group A3 (51 years and above) vary considerably in the use of large number of nominal categories from other two groups of speakers i.e. A1 (15-35 years) and A2 (36-50 years) in the Kashmiri speech community. The nominal variation among the speakers of different age groups is shown as follows:
TABLE 5.2: Variation in the use of certain nominal categories among the Kashmiri speakers belonging to three age groups, viz., A1 (15-35 years), A2 (36-50 years) and A3 (51 years and above).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A1 (15-35 years)</th>
<th>A2 (36-50 years)</th>
<th>A3 (51 years &amp; above)</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pišaːb</td>
<td>pišaːb</td>
<td>idraːr</td>
<td></td>
<td>'urine'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buːθ</td>
<td>buːθ</td>
<td>khorbaːn</td>
<td></td>
<td>'shoes'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kiːmaθ</td>
<td>kiːmaθ</td>
<td>nerakh</td>
<td></td>
<td>'price'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dastaːr</td>
<td>dastaːr</td>
<td>malmōli</td>
<td></td>
<td>'turban'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mōkaːn</td>
<td>mōkaːn</td>
<td>lōd</td>
<td></td>
<td>'house'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mōːl</td>
<td>mōːl</td>
<td>ragbaθ</td>
<td></td>
<td>'appetite'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>galte</td>
<td>galte</td>
<td>atuːd</td>
<td></td>
<td>'blunder'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moth</td>
<td>moth</td>
<td>chrong</td>
<td></td>
<td>'handful'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rувāgun</td>
<td>rувāgun</td>
<td>rāḥvāgun</td>
<td></td>
<td>'tomato'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paidːli</td>
<td>paidːli</td>
<td>vokhːli</td>
<td></td>
<td>'walking on foot'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>φaruːš</td>
<td>φaruːš</td>
<td>lōd</td>
<td></td>
<td>'floor'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mazːd</td>
<td>mazːd</td>
<td>saːd</td>
<td></td>
<td>'taste'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jehaːzd</td>
<td>jehaːzd</td>
<td>vetshːprāg</td>
<td></td>
<td>'aeroplane'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>galbːd</td>
<td>galbːd</td>
<td>sethaː</td>
<td></td>
<td>'a lot of'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čapːni</td>
<td>čapːni</td>
<td>naːlːni</td>
<td></td>
<td>'sleeper'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsːripahan</td>
<td>tsːripahan</td>
<td>adːbːgi</td>
<td></td>
<td>'later on'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>panun</td>
<td>panun</td>
<td>preyod</td>
<td></td>
<td>'familiar'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>doːd</td>
<td>doːd</td>
<td>paiːdaːr</td>
<td></td>
<td>'durable'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>konjuːs</td>
<td>konjuːs</td>
<td>konːd</td>
<td></td>
<td>'miser'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.1.3 Nominal Variability due to the Difference in Education

On the basis of education Kashmiri speech community has been divided into three main groups of speakers. These three groups are: E1 (illiterate), E2 (semiliterate) and E3 (educated). The illiterate speakers of Kashmiri speech community are those speakers who have no education at all. The semi-literate speakers are those who have up to intermediate level or plus two level education. The educated Kashmiri speakers are with the education from graduation onwards up to Ph.D's including all professional courses. The speakers belonging to E2 (semiliterate) and E3 (educated) groups do not show any significant variation in the use of language in terms of use of certain nominal categories. However, the speakers from the group E1 (illiterate) vary in the use of language to a greater extent from the speakers belonging to E2 (semi-literate) and E3 (educated) groups in terms of certain nominal categories.
TABLE 5.3: Nominal variation due to difference in education level.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>E1 (Illiterate Kashmiri speakers)</th>
<th>E2 (Semiliterate Kashmiri speakers)</th>
<th>E3 (Educated Kashmiri speakers)</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kurtöni</td>
<td>kami:z</td>
<td>kame:z</td>
<td>'shirt'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muθur</td>
<td>piša:b</td>
<td>piša:b</td>
<td>'urine'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bòr</td>
<td>dørva:z</td>
<td>dørva:z</td>
<td>'door'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ja:y</td>
<td>mđka:n</td>
<td>mđka:n</td>
<td>'house'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rut</td>
<td>the:kh</td>
<td>the:kh</td>
<td>'good'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>got</td>
<td>kðnzo:r</td>
<td>kðnzo:r</td>
<td>'weak'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paš</td>
<td>čhat</td>
<td>čhat</td>
<td>'roof'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuth</td>
<td>kðmrð</td>
<td>kðmrð</td>
<td>'room'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŝna:ve</td>
<td>rištðda:r</td>
<td>rištðda:r</td>
<td>'relative'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>råthvågun</td>
<td>ruvågun</td>
<td>ruvågun</td>
<td>'tomato'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vaθrun</td>
<td>bistðr</td>
<td>bistðr</td>
<td>'bedding'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khorba:n</td>
<td>buth</td>
<td>buth</td>
<td>'shoes'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na:löni</td>
<td>čapönd</td>
<td>čapönd</td>
<td>'slipper'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bene</td>
<td>hðmše:r</td>
<td>hðmše:r</td>
<td>'sister'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bo:i:</td>
<td>bðra:dðr</td>
<td>bðra:dðr</td>
<td>'brother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kre:hun</td>
<td>ko:l</td>
<td>ko:l</td>
<td>'black person'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: The table includes examples of terms that vary based on education level among Kashmiri speakers. The terms are followed by their glosses in English.

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5.1.4 Nominal Variability due to Regional Differences

As pointed out earlier that the Kashmiri speech community can be broadly divided into two main groups of speakers on the regional basis. These two groups of speakers include urban Kashmiri speakers and rural Kashmiri speakers. Like the phonology these two groups of speakers are found to vary considerably in their use of speech at nominal level. There are a large number of nominal categories used in the speech of urban Kashmiri speakers, which are not found in the speech of their rural counterparts. The variation in the use of certain noun forms among the urban and rural Kashmiri speakers is shown as follows:
TABLE 5.4: Nominal variation due to regional differences.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Urban Kashmiri speakers (UVK)</th>
<th>Rural Kashmiri speakers (RVK)</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>khā:nɡil/zu:n</td>
<td>gre:nkan</td>
<td>'egg yolk'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tirun</td>
<td>hundur</td>
<td>'cold'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsə:ri</td>
<td>huri</td>
<td>'extra'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gərəm</td>
<td>vušun</td>
<td>'hot'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mu:th</td>
<td>moni</td>
<td>'kiss'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marəd</td>
<td>mohinev</td>
<td>'man'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>θod</td>
<td>zu:nth</td>
<td>'tall'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dəm</td>
<td>šah</td>
<td>'breath'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sa:bnivor</td>
<td>sa:bnii:Čë:ti</td>
<td>'soap'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vu:rya:ni</td>
<td>nāɡə</td>
<td>'naked'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gule:l</td>
<td>re:nz</td>
<td>'catapult'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bresum</td>
<td>vəłun</td>
<td>'to weep'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ba:ra:dar</td>
<td>bo:i</td>
<td>'brother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>həmše:r</td>
<td>bene</td>
<td>'sister'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.2 Verbal Variation

Just like the nominal variations, the speakers of Kashmiri show considerable variations in verbal forms in their language. Here it is important to mention that the Kashmiri speakers vary in their use of verb forms with respect to only three social factors, viz., age, education and region. In other words it can be said that the social
factors age, education and region play a very significant role in the speech variations among the speakers of Kashmiri speech community in the use of their verbal categories. It also reasonable to mention that other social factors such as sex, occupation and religion do not play any significant role in the speech variation among Kashmiri speakers in the use of certain verbal categories.

5.2.1 Verbal Variability on the basis of Religion

On the basis of religion Kashmiri speakers have been noticed to show considerable variations in the use of their language at verbal level. For example a Hindu Kashmiri speaker always uses the verb a:\Sirma:d deyun ‘to pray’ while a Muslim Kashmiri speaker would most frequently say doye kh\=dr karun ‘to pray’.

Similarly the verb neya:z karun ‘to donate’ exists abundantly in the speech of Muslim Kashmiri speakers. On the other hand the Hindu Kashmiri speakers prefer to use the verb havun ‘to donate’ in that place.

5.2.2 Verbal Variability on the basis of Age

It has been observed that the Kashmiri speakers vary in their language in terms of use of certain verbal categories on the basis of social factor age also. The speakers belonging to age groups A1 (15-35 years) and A2 (36-50 years) have been noticed to make the frequent use of verb form behun ‘to sit’, while as the speakers from age group A3 (51 years & above) replace the same verb form by tikun ‘to sit’ in their speech.
Similarly the speakers of the age groups A1 (15-35 years) and A2 (36-50 years) use the verb \( \textit{khod tum gottshun} \) ‘finished’, while as the speakers from the age group A3 (51 years & above) have been seen using the verb form \( \textit{so:run} \) ‘finished’.

In the same way the speakers of the age groups A1 (15-35 years) and A2 (36-50 years) have been observed to use the verb \( \textit{mokla:run} \) ‘to end’. On the other hand the speakers from the age group A3 (51 years and above) have mostly been found using the verb \( \textit{sud kdrun} \) ‘to end’.

From the above, it can be deduced that in the Kashmiri speech community, the speakers with the age groups A1 (15-35 years) and A2 (36-50 years) do not show any significant variation in their speech in terms of certain verbal categories used by them. But the fact is that the Kashmiri speakers of the age group A3 (51 years and above) show a notable variation in their speech at the verbal level from the speakers belonging to age groups A1 (15-35 years) and A2 (36-50 years).

5.2.3 Verbal Variability on the basis of Region

It can be argued that the urban and rural Kashmiri speakers vary considerably in the use of large number of verbal categories in their speech. For example an urban Kashmiri speaker uses the verb \( \textit{bresun} \) ‘to weep’ while as in the speech of rural Kashmiri speakers this verb form is replaced by \( \textit{vddun} \) ‘to weep’. Similarly in the speech of urban Kashmiri speakers the verb \( \textit{tsdrun} \) ‘to exceed’ is frequently used. On the other hand in the speech of rural Kashmiri speakers the verb \( \textit{hurun} \) ‘to exceed’ has
been seen to occur regularly in place of *tsērun* ‘to exceed’ as used in the speech of rural Kashmiri speakers.

Likewise, the urban Kashmiri speakers tend to prefer the use of verb *lekōsa:rōne* ‘to abuse’ in comparison with their rural counterparts, who have been found to use the word *lekōkaṇi* ‘to abuse’ most frequently.

In the same way, the speakers of the urban Kashmiri group use the verb from *na:d deyun* ‘to call’, where as rural Kashmiri speakers use *a:loukarun* ‘to call’.

### 5.2.4 Verbal Variability on the basis of Education

Like the use of nouns, the speakers belonging to education group E2 (semiliterate, who have the education upto intermediate or plus two level) and E3 (educated, having education from graduation onwards upto Ph.D’s) do not show any remarkable difference in their use of speech at the verbal level among themselves. But it is true to say that the speakers belonging to education group E1 (illiterate) show a remarkable variation in their speech from other two groups i.e. E2 (semiliterate) and E3 (educated) in the use of certain verbal categories. For example the speakers from the group E1 (illiterate) are found to use the verb *be:zte kardnā* ‘to curse’. While the speakers of E2 (semiliterate) and E3 (educated) groups use the verb *kosun* which means ‘to curse’. Similarly the verb form *tsuvini* ‘to quarrel’ has been found commonly in the speech of urban Kashmiri speakers. But their rural counterparts are mostly found making the use of verb from *lōḍrī: kōrdni* ‘to quarrel’.
5.3 Pronominal Variation

As regards the variations in the use of pronominal categories among the speakers of the Kashmiri speech community, it has been noticed that this type of variability is mostly found on the basis of education. The speakers from the education group E1 (illiterate) show certain variations in the use of pronominal categories from other two groups i.e. E2 (semiliterate) and E3 (educated). However, it has also been seen that speakers from the education groups, E2 (semiliterate) and E3 (educated) do not show much variation among themselves in their language at the pronominal level. For example the speakers from the education groups E2 (semiliterate) and E3 (educated) frequently use the pronouns tohey ‘you’ (pl.), tim ‘he’, tohund ‘yours’ and timanhund ‘theirs’. On the other hand the speakers from the education group E1 (illiterate) have mostly been found to make the use of tsə ‘you’(sing.), su ‘he’(sing.) čo:n ‘yours’ and təmsund ‘his’ in their speech. These pronominal forms are used while talking to or talking about any male individual. While talking to or talking about any female individual the speakers from E1 (illiterate) group have been seen to use the pronouns like tsə ‘you’(sing.), sou ‘she’, čo:n ‘yours’ and tehund ‘theirs’.

5.4 Adjectival Variation

So far as the variation in the use of language among Kashmiri speakers at the adjectival level is concerned it is found to occur only on the basis of religion and age. The speakers of Kashmiri speech community do not show any remarkable variation in
their use of certain adjectival categories on the basis of other social factors other than religion and age.

5.4.1 Adjectival Variability on the basis of Religion

The Muslim and Hindu Kashmiri speakers show a noticeable variation in the use of certain adjectival categories in their speech. These variations are shown below:

TABLE 5.5: Variation in the use of certain adjectives among Muslim and Hindu Kashmiri speakers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Muslim Kashmiri speakers (MVK)</th>
<th>Hindu Kashmiri speakers (HVK)</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gusḍ</td>
<td>kru:ḍ</td>
<td>'anger'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gona:ḥ</td>
<td>pa:p</td>
<td>'sin'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sava:bga:ṛ</td>
<td>pon</td>
<td>'pious'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šere:ϕ</td>
<td>asḍlza:θ</td>
<td>'gentle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marḍz</td>
<td>be:mḍrī</td>
<td>'disease'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṉ od</td>
<td>zu:ntḥ</td>
<td>'tall'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.4.2 Adjectival Variability on the basis of Age

The Kashmiri speakers with the age groups A1 (15-35 years) and A2 (36-50 years) have been seen to make frequently the use of adjective forms šeri:ϕ ‘gentle’ and zendo ‘thin’ in their speech. The speakers belonging to age group A3 (51 years & above) replace these adjective forms by ḍsilza:θ ‘gentle’ and aotsh ‘thin’ respectively in their speech. Further more the speakers of age group A3 (51 years & above) have
also been found using the verb *ragbaθ* `appetite`. But the speakers belonging to age
groups A1 (15-35 years) and A2 (36-50 years) mostly use *mɛ:l* `appetite` in their
speech.

5.5 **Variation in certain Address Forms**

While studying the speech variation in the speech community on the basis of
social factor education. The speakers belonging to the education group E2
(semiliterate) and E3 (educated) are found to make the use of honorific and polite
forms of interjection to show honour and respect to their addressees. On the other hand
the speakers belonging to education group E1 (illiterate), are not found to make the
use of such address forms during the process of conversation with other people of the
said speech community. For example while addressing to any person the speakers
from education groups E2 (semiliterate) and E3 (educated) use the address forms such
as *hay* `oh’–*sa* `oh’ *hɔtsa* `oh Mr.’, *hɔθɛz* `oh sir’ *hɔmara:ra* `oh sir’ (for a Hindu). It
has been noticed that the speakers from education group E1 (illiterate) frequently
make the use of *ho* `oh’ and *hɔto* `oh’ on the same occasion.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>E1 (illiterate)</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>E2 (semiliterate)</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>E3 (educated)</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>ho</em></td>
<td><code>Oh(M)</code></td>
<td><em>hɔtsa</em></td>
<td>`Oh Mr.’</td>
<td><em>hɔz</em></td>
<td>`Oh Sir’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>hɔto</em></td>
<td><code>Oh(M)</code></td>
<td><em>hɔtsa</em></td>
<td>`Oh Mr.’</td>
<td><em>hɔtmara:</em></td>
<td>`Oh Sir(H)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>hɔti</em></td>
<td><code>Oh(F)</code></td>
<td><em>hɔθɛ</em></td>
<td>`Oh Mrs.’</td>
<td><em>hɔθ haz</em></td>
<td>`Oh Madam’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>hey</em></td>
<td><code>Oh(F)</code></td>
<td><em>hɔθɛ</em></td>
<td>`Oh Mrs.’</td>
<td><em>hɔθ haz</em></td>
<td>`Oh Madam’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.6 Variation in the use of certain Courtesy Markers

5.6.1 Variation in use of certain Courtesy Markers on the basis of Sex

The social factor sex has been found to play a very prominent role in variation of speech among Kashmiri speakers at the level of morphology. This type of variation has mainly been noticed in the use of certain courtesy markers by Kashmiri speakers. It has been seen that the courtesy marker $h\ddot{d}tba$: or $-baa$ is an old fashioned one and has been found frequently in the speech of low-stationed urban women and in the majority of the rural women. It is generally employed by the married women falling under the age of 30-50 years. These women make the use of this courtesy marker $h\ddot{d}tba$: or $-baa$, while addressing to their relatives like brother-in-law and father-in-law. They also use these markers to address the village elders and elderly strangers. The male speakers of the Kashmiri speech community do not employ $h\ddot{d}tba$: or $-baa$, as an expression of courtesy. They generally employ $h\ddot{d}tsa$: or $sa$: and $h\ddot{d}\theta\ddot{z}$: or $h\ddot{c}z$ as a courtesy marker, depending up on the social position of their addressee. If the addressee is well qualified, government employee and an honourable person then the courtesy marker $h\ddot{c}z$ is used to address him or her. But if the addressee is illiterate then the courtesy marker $-sa$: is used.

The use of another courtesy marker $h\ddot{d}bi$: or $-bi$: is very commonly employed by both male and female speakers falling under the age 35-50 years (who are married) to express their courtesy towards ones elderly sister-in-law and mother-in-law. This courtesy marker is also used to address an elderly village lady and any elderly stranger
woman. But the male and female speakers aged 15-30 years use the courtesy marker -
ₕₜ to express their courtesy towards the above said addressees.

One more courtesy marker dedi: is particularly employed by the female
speakers of the age group 36-50 years to express their greater courtesy towards an
elderly village woman and any other elderly stranger woman. The male speakers of
the Kashmiri speech community presently do not make the use of any such type of
marker in their speech.

5.7 Variation in certain Kinship Terms

These variations are mainly found on the basis of age and religion.

5.7.1 Age

The Kashmiri speakers of the age group A1 (15-35 years) use the Kinship
terms mostly borrowed from English. These kinship terms incude di:di, pa:pa:,
cdi:, cdi:, ja:, mumi:, sistar etc. The terms cdi:, pa:pa, mumi and ctd:ti are used
for their parents. For their elder sister they use di:di, cdi:ti:, sister, ji:je and behna:.
The terms used for their elder brother are borrowed mainly from Urdu such as

On the other hand the speakers of the age group A2 (36-50 years) have been
found to use the terms of relationship as the terms of address for every relative except
the brother-in-law and sister-in-law. They also use first name plus ka:kh or to:th such
as momc:ka:kh and rehma:n to:th for male relatives. Similarly for the female relatives
they use first name plus a:pdr such as sa:je a:pdr and zu:n:da:a:pdr.
5.7.2 Religion

The Hindu Kashmiri speakers have been found to use the kinship terms *ka:kin*ē, *ba:bi:* and *jig*ēr for their mother. They also use first name plus *jig*ēr such as *qa:li:* *jig*ēr, *ra:khi:* *jig*ēr and *so:ni:* *jig*ēr to other younger ladies of the family. For their father and uncle they use *ta:thi* and *bdi:ss*ēb respectively. They have also been found to use the first name plus *ka:kh* or *to:th* for female elders such as *sarve ka:kh* and *amb*ēt*o:th* etc.

5.8 Variation of Bound Forms

5.8.1 Suffixes

5.8.1.1 Variation in the use of Suffixes *ādar* and *mēz* on the basis of Age

One thing more which has remarkably been noticed in the speech of Kashmiri speakers from different age groups is the use of suffixes *ādar*’in’ and *mēz* ‘in’. The speakers belonging to age groups A1 (15-35 years) and A2 (36-50 years) have been seen frequently making the use of suffix *mēz* ‘in’ after certain nouns. On the other hand the speakers from the age group A3 (51 years and above) have been found to make the use of suffix *ādar*’in’ in place of *mēz* as used by speakers from age groups A1 (15-35 years) and A2 (36-50 years).
TABLE 5.7: The variability of suffixes ādar and māz

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A1 (15-35 years)</th>
<th>A2 (36-50 years)</th>
<th>A3 (51 years &amp; above)</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gamasmāːz</td>
<td>gamasmāːz</td>
<td>gamanāːdar</td>
<td>‘in the village’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ūsarasmāːz</td>
<td>ūsarasmāːz</td>
<td>ūsarasāːdar</td>
<td>‘in the city’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maknasmāːz</td>
<td>maknasmāːz</td>
<td>maknasāːdar</td>
<td>‘in the house’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>petemāːz</td>
<td>petemāːz</td>
<td>peteāːdar</td>
<td>‘in the trunk’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vaːdemāːz</td>
<td>vaːdemāːz</td>
<td>vaːdeːdar</td>
<td>‘in the kitchen garden’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ganasmāːz</td>
<td>ganasmāːz</td>
<td>ganasāːdar</td>
<td>‘in the stable’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaːdemāːz</td>
<td>gaːdemāːz</td>
<td>gaːdeːdar</td>
<td>‘in the bus’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bagasmāːz</td>
<td>bagasmāːz</td>
<td>bagasāːdar</td>
<td>‘in the garden’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naːdemāːz</td>
<td>naːdemāːz</td>
<td>naːdeːdar</td>
<td>‘in the pitcher’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.8.1.2 Variation due to the use of Suffixes /d\ and /dts/

In some loan words borrowed from perso-Arabic sources, the suffixes /d/ and /dts/ after the velar stops in the speech of Hindu Kashmiri speakers are optionally deleted in the speech of Muslim Kashmiri speakers. Examples of this type are shown as follows:
TABLE 5.8: Variation due to the use and deletion of |∂t| and |∂ts| on the basis of religion

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hindu Kashmiri Speakers (HVK)</th>
<th>Muslim Kashmiri Speakers (MVK)</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sakh∂t</td>
<td>sakh</td>
<td>'hard'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vakh∂t</td>
<td>vakh</td>
<td>'time'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bakh∂t</td>
<td>bakh</td>
<td>'fate'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rakh∂t</td>
<td>rakh</td>
<td>'dress'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>makits</td>
<td>makh</td>
<td>'axe'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta:khits</td>
<td>ta:kh</td>
<td>'shelf'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.8.2 Infixes

5.8.2.1 Variation due to the use of Infixes /O:/ and /a:/

In the free subject past perfect tense, a set of verbs in the speech of Muslim Kashmiri speakers have different equivalents in the speech of Hindu Kashmiri speakers. The examples are given as follows:
TABLE 5.9: Variation in the use of |O:| and |a:| on the basis of religion.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Muslim Kashmiri Speakers (MVK)</th>
<th>Hindu Kashmiri Speakers (HVK)</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dro:mut</td>
<td>dra:mut</td>
<td>‘left’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tso:mut</td>
<td>tsa:mut</td>
<td>‘entered’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o:mut</td>
<td>a:mut</td>
<td>‘come’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ho:mut</td>
<td>ha:mut</td>
<td>‘showed’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ro:mut</td>
<td>ra:mut</td>
<td>‘lost’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.8.2.2 Variation due to Insertion of Morpheme me in the Speech of Urban Kashmiri Speakers

One thing more that has been observed while studying the speech variation among Kashmiri speakers at verbal level, on the basis of region, is the insertion of morpheme me in the speech of urban Kashmiri speakers in comparison with their rural counterparts. The rural Kashmiri speakers drop the morpheme me in certain verb forms. On the other hand their urban counterparts make the most frequent use of this morpheme me in their speech.
TABLE 5.10: Insertion of the morpheme *me* in certain verb from in the speech of urban Kashmiri speakers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Urban Kashmiri speakers (UVK)</th>
<th>Rural Kashmiri speakers (RVK)</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dopmes</td>
<td>dopus</td>
<td>'told'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kormes</td>
<td>korus</td>
<td>'did'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heyotmes</td>
<td>heyotus</td>
<td>'took'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vučhmes</td>
<td>vučhus</td>
<td>'seen'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deytmes</td>
<td>deytus</td>
<td>'gave'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vonmes</td>
<td>vonəs</td>
<td>'told'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.9 Registral Variation

On the basis of occupation, the Kashmiri speech community can be differentiated into various occupational groups. There are remarkable and notable variations in the use of their language at the level of morphology. There are a large number of morphological items used by each occupational group which are associated with the occupation or the profession of that particular occupational group. The items used by one particular occupational group are hardly and rarely found in the speech of any other occupational group. This type of morphological variation can be technically called as 'Registral variation'. Since the registers are those items which are associated with the occupation or the profession of a particular occupational group. In the Kashmiri speech community, the variation in the use of language among different occupational groups (on the basis of occupation) at morphological level can thus
mainly be explained in terms of registral variation. Following types of registers have
developed in Kashmiri.

5.9.1 **Register of Business**

\[kar\text{\textregistered} z, \text{‘debt’}, \text{kira}:i: \text{‘rent’}, \text{r\"{o}\text{\textregistered}i}:d \text{‘ receipt’}, \text{su}:d \text{‘interest’}, \text{n\&\textregistered}h\text{‘profit’},\]
\[ro:zna:m\text{\textregistered} \text{‘daily account book’}, \theta o:k \text{‘whole sale’}, d\text{\textregistered} rjan, \text{‘a dozen’}, se:r \text{‘a measurement’}, s\text{\textregistered}st\text{\textregistered} \text{‘cheap’}.

5.9.2 **Register of Boatmen/Fishermen**

\[khu:r \text{‘oar’}, s\text{\textregistered} g \text{‘rope used for holding the net’}, \text{thumb\textregistered}ge\text{\textregistered} \text{‘upper part of the rope of net’} \text{dose} \text{‘the part of the net with which it is held with rope’}, \text{pariker} \text{‘pockets of the net’}, s\text{\textregistered} khr\text{\textregistered}n \text{‘tool used for weaving the net’} n\text{\textregistered}m \text{‘front part of the boat’}, k\text{\textregistered} \text{‘plug used to stop the entry of water in to the boat’} khot \text{‘a box kept in boat’} \text{dumb} \text{‘middle part of the boat’} \text{l\textregistered t\textregistered r\textregistered z} \text{‘rope used to hold the net’}, \text{ba:l \‘a river bank’} \text{ga:\textregistered v\textregistered r} \text{‘small boat’}, \text{l\textregistered t\textregistered d\textregistered r} \text{‘part of the boat where boatman sits’}, \text{thup\textregistered r} \text{‘basket used for taking the fishes for sale’}.

5.9.3 **Register of Farming**

\[zira:8 \text{‘crop production}, m\text{\textregistered} k\text{\textregistered}sh \text{‘axe’}, k\text{\textregistered} l \text{‘barn’}, toh \text{‘bran’}, y\text{\textregistered} n \text{‘irrigation furrow’}, ga:n \text{‘cattle shed’}, \text{bos \‘chaft’}, d\text{\textregistered} d \text{‘bull’}, d\text{\textregistered} d\text{\textregistered}hav\text{\textregistered r} \text{‘a pair of bull’}, d\text{\textregistered} d\text{\textregistered}va:yun \text{‘ploughing’}, \text{Ab\textregistered}ni \text{‘plough’}, yip\text{\textregistered}t \text{‘beam’}, m\text{\textregistered}kh \text{‘peg’}, \text{phuc\textregistered}ra:vun \text{‘harrowing’}, \text{\theta l\text{\textregistered}k\text{\textregistered}ni} \text{‘plantation’}, \text{lo:nun \‘harvesting’}, \text{\phi s\text{\textregistered}l} \text{‘crop’}, \text{kho\textregistered}k \text{‘dry’}, o\text{\textregistered}ur \text{‘wet’}, \text{fra:th \‘furrow’}, \text{tsu:\textregistered} \text{‘loosening or digging of soil’}, v\text{\textregistered}r\]
5.9.4 Register of Cobblers


5.9.5 Register of Bread Makers and Cooks


5.9.6 Register of Pot Makers

5.9.7 Register of Law

‘right’,

5.9.8 Medical or Technical Register


5.9.9 Religious Register

Besides the different occupational registers. There are two main types of
religious registers:

5.9.9.1 Religious Registers of Muslims

5.9.9.1.2 Religious Registers of Hindus

After studying these occupational and registral variations very keenly it has been seen that two occupational registers i.e. Register of law and Register of business are highly influenced by Persian borrowings. The religious registers, of Muslims are also based on Persian sources. But the medical and technical registers are greatly influenced by English borrowings.
Chapter-6
Syntactic
Variation
6.0 Introduction

It is not surprising for a language to show variations at its syntactic level among its speakers from different social groups when it varies in its phonology, morphology and lexicon. This is because of the fact that syntax is the combination and arrangement of smaller units into the larger ones. Syntax as a matter of fact is the study of combination or joining of morphemes and words into the sentences. In the Kashmiri speech community it has been noticed that a large stock of expressions, even the full sentences found among one social group are missing in the speech of another group. To be more specific, different groups of Kashmiri speakers vary considerably at the syntactic level. The data show that like phonology and morphology, the Kashmiri speakers tend to vary in their speech at the level of syntax too. For this variation certain social factors like: *religion, region, education, age, sex and occupation*, are held responsible.

Moreover, it has been observed that the syntactic variations among the speakers of Kashmiri are found mainly relating to nouns, pronouns, verbs, adjectives etc. The speakers of Kashmiri also vary in the use of certain address forms and courteous expressions.
6.1 Syntactic Variability on the basis of Religion

On the basis of social factor religion, the entire Kashmiri speech community has broadly been differentiated into Muslim Kashmiri speakers and Hindu Kashmiri speakers. These two groups of speakers show remarkable variation in their speech at syntactic level. These variations are relating to the use of certain nominal, verbal, and adjectival categories etc. in the speech of Muslim and Hindu Kashmiri speakers. In each item the examples under (a) show the sentences spoken by Muslims (MVK) and the examples under (b) are the sentences used by Hindu Kashmiri speakers (HVK).

6.1.1 Nouns

The Muslim and Hindu Kashmiri speakers vary in the use of their language at the syntactic level. These variations as said above are due to the varied use of certain nominal categories in the speech of Muslim and Hindu Kashmiri speakers.

Examples:

I

(a)  ra:\man \phi\eyur a:b p\o\til\a m\=\a.

(b)  ra:\man \phi\eyur pon\d bohguns m\=\a.

‘Ram poured water into the vessel’.
II (a) me čhe jōsmōčē ratshe ratshe dag.

(b) me čhe šri:rkis āgas āgas dag.

‘I am feeling pain in each part of my body’.

III (a) khādō sō:ti Ću kō: hvas mazō gatshan.

(b) medri:rō sō:ti ċhu mogal čay:e mazō:dar banavan.

‘The sugar makes the coffee tasty’.

IV (a) ši:lō ģōye pannis khāvdas sō:ti dili.

(b) ši:lō ģōye tō:hindis barōas sō:ti dili.

‘Sheela went to Delhi with her husband’.

V (a) rame:šan khev tra:mi māz batoa.

(b) rame:šan khev thā:las māz batoa.

‘Ramesh ate the food in the plate’.

VI (a) ikba:l ċhunō varya: nāṭā kheni pasād karan.

(b) ikba:l ċhunō ja:dō neni pasād karan.

‘Iqbal does not want to eat much meat’.

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VII (a) "alla:h talla:h körney janaθ nāsi:b.
(b) "bagva:n kerney sorgas jay.

‘God bless you with heaven’.

VIII (a) "ashrafan bor jeji:re a:b.
(b) "ašrafan lod hukas po:ni.

‘Ashraf filled the hubble-bubble with water’.

IX (a) "me čhō vome:d əsi gatsho ka:mya:b.
(b) "a:ša čhem əsi prove safal.

‘I hope that we will succeed’.

X (a) əsi pə:kə sə:rsi: šabas.
(b) əsi pə:kə rə:ti ra:tas.

‘We walked throughout night’.

XI (a) "ra:man kor ē:gnas māz a:bre:z.
(b) "ra:man kor sə:hnas māz piša:b.

‘Ram urinated in the courtyard’.
XII (a)  ause və ch šabas məz tsə:nər.

(b)  ause və ch ro:ti zu:n.

‘We saw the moon in the night’.

XIII (a)  me čov peya:las məz khə:ve.

(b)  me čeye mogal čay khə:sis məz.

‘I drunk coffee in the cup’.

XIV (a)  ye a:b čhu čanə khə:trə pa:kh.

(b)  ye po:nə čhu čanas keyut šu:ts.

‘This water is pure to drink’.

XV (a)  təmə kor aːta:b khasnə bro:nət gosul.

(b)  təmə kor khasvinə siri bro:nət sara:n.

‘He took bath before sunrise’.

XVI (a)  khuda:I kerney bakaθ.

(b)  bagva:n po:rer:ney.

‘God bless you’.

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Muslim and Hindu Kashmiri speakers also vary in the use of their language at the syntactic level, due to their variation in the use of certain verb forms.

Examples:

I (a)  \( \text{rōshi:dan bano:v hundri a:bi sō:ti vozu.} \)
(b)  \( \text{rōshi:dan ēhol thāḍ pa:ni sō:ti buθ.} \)

'Passid performed ablution with cold water'.

II (a)  \( \text{baban kor nećvis doye khō:r.} \)
(b)  \( \text{mōli deyut nećvis ḍ:śirva:d.} \)

'The father prayed for his son'.

III (a)  \( \text{me deyut ra:θ neya:z.} \)
(b)  \( \text{ra:θ kor me havan.} \)

'Yesterday I donated'. (Holly offerings)

IV (a)  \( \text{vosta:dan kor lō:ḍkan pēṭh gusi.} \)
(b)  \( \text{go:ran hov lō:kan kr:ḍ} \)

'The teacher showed his anger to students'.

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V  (a)   raːθ  aoːs  səːrskiː:  šabas  vaːo.

       (b)  aotrə  raːtas  aoːs  teːz  hava.

       ‘Yesterday the wind blew whole night’.

6.1.3 Adjectives

The Kashmiri speakers are found to vary in the use of their language at the syntactic level, due to the varying use of certain adjectival categories.

Examples:

I  (a)   me  baːsov  raːmas  aoːs  gusə.

       (b)  me  basev  raːmas  kruːd.

       ‘I felt Ram was angry’.

II  (a)   raʃiːd  čhu  vaːryaː  θod.

       (b)  raʃiːd  čhu  galbəd  zuːnth.

       ‘Rashid is very tall’.

III  (a)   səːnis  šaras  mæː  čhu  auz  amun.

       (b)  aðz  čhu  səːnis  šaras  mæː  šəːti:

       ‘There is peace in our city today’.

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6.2 Syntactic Variability due to Difference in Age

The syntactic variations among the Kashmiri speakers on the basis of age are found due to their variation in the use of certain nominal, verbal and adjectival categories. On the basis of age the Kashmiri speech community has been divided into three age groups like A1 (15-35 years), A2 (36-50 years) and A3 (51 years and above). Here it should be pointed out that the speakers from the age groups A1 (15-35 years) and A2 (36-50 years) do not show any remarkable variation in their speech among themselves at the syntactic level. Because there was also not observed any variation in their speech at the morphological and phonological level. The speakers belonging to age group A3 (51 years and above) show considerable variations in their language at syntactic level from the speakers belonging to age groups A1 (15-35 years) and A2 (36-50 years). Here in each item the examples under (a) show the sentences spoken by speakers belonging to age groups A1 (15-35 years) and A2 (36-50 years) and the examples under (b) show the sentences used by the speakers belonging to age groups A3 (51 years and above).

6.2.1 Nouns

The Kashmiri speakers of the different age groups vary in the use of their language at the syntactic level. This variation is relating to use of certain noun forms. The speakers belonging to age groups A1 (15-35 years) and A2 (36-50 years) tend to vary in the use of certain nominal categories from the speakers belonging to age group A3 (51 years and above). This varying use of nominal categories results in the variation of their speech at syntactic level.
Examples:

I  (a)  *su gov dili havēye jaha:zas māz.*
(b)  *su gov dili vōtshē prēgas ēdar.*

‘He went to Delhi by an aeroplane’.

II  (a)  *su dra:ve bu:th lēgiθ nebar.*
(b)  *su dra:ve khorba:n tsiniθ nebar.*

‘He went out wearing his shoes’.

III  (a)  *temov bano:v pokhtē maka:n.*
(b)  *temov lēz pokhtō lād.*

‘They built a pacca house’.

6.2.2 Verbs

Syntactic variations among Kashmiri speakers belonging to different age groups are also found due to the varying use of certain verbal categories in their speech.
Examples:

I  (a)  timov makdl:v  pandn kdm dohisey māz.

(b)  timov kdr dohesey māz pandn kdm šud.

‘They finished their work within a day’.

II (a)  su beyu:they ne tate ja:dd kalas.

(b)  su tike:voy ne tate ja:dd vakhtas.

‘He did not stayed there for much time’.

III (a)  bdče gey nebar gindne.

(b)  šudče gey neber drokne.

‘Child went out to play’.

6.2.3 Adjectives

The syntactic variations among the Kashmiri speakers are also found on the basis of use of certain varying adjectival forms.
Examples:

I
(a)  ašraφ  čhu  varya: šeri:φ  lɔɬ kɛ

(b)  ašraφ  čhu  setha  aʊləaθ.

‘Ashraf is a very gentle boy’.

II
(a)  nɔzi:r  čhu  varya:  Kamzo:r.

(b)  nɔzi:r  čhu  setha:  ɑotʃh.

‘Nazir is very weak’.

III
(a)  me  Ɂunð  varya:  ka:ɬ  pɛθɬ  mɔɬi  rozaŋ.

(b)  setha  kɔɬ  heθ  Ɂunð  me  ragbaθi.

‘I do not feel appetite for a long time’.

IV
(a)  hu  kursi:  čhe  setha:  paɬdaɬ

(b)  hu  kursi:  čhe  vaɬrya:  dɬ  Ɂ

‘That chair is very durable’.

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6.2.4 Syntactic Variability Relating to Phrases and Proverbs

Like other languages, Kashmiri has a rich source of phrases and proverbs. The Kashmiri speakers falling under the age group A3 (51 years and above) are found to make the frequent use of phrases and proverbs in their speech. This frequent use of phrases and proverbs in their daily use of language, differentiates their speech from the speakers belonging to age groups A1 (15-35 years) and A2 (36-50 years) at the level of syntax. The speakers from the age groups A1 (15-35 years) and A2 (36-50 years) do not use the phrases and proverbs in their speech as used by the speakers with age group A3 (51 years and above).

6.2.4.1 Phrases used by Kashmiri speakers with age group A3 (51 years and above).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phrases</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i) bo:ne mu:hul ta:run</td>
<td>‘to do any tough job’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii) gc:nte thu:l va:l nə</td>
<td>‘to be very clever’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iii) ń ń hund ga:ś</td>
<td>‘to be dearest’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iv) tsćd e dōd te mō:hey ńį</td>
<td>‘each and every thing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v) kijeve pō:thi thu:l tra:vin</td>
<td>‘to be very active’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vi) nēṭhōs tsong dōzun</td>
<td>‘roguish nature’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
vii) *nɔmɔs peth ne nu:n deyun* 'to be very miser'

viii) *bɔstɔn tselun* 'to be very hopeful'

ix) *ta:lɔs peth ne ta:l ɔvum* 'to be very talkative'

x) *khorov tɔl mets ni:rɔ ɔvlini* 'feeling of great surprise'

xi) *ɔ čh peth nɔ ɔ čh peni* 'without sleep'

xii) *dɔdɔ tɔ da:md rɔčhun* 'nourishing with great care'

xiii) *ŋg tɔ ɔ:snæ:ve* 'kith and kin'

xiv) *sɔ:l tsɔlið bɔthen ço:b* 'attacks after the escape of enemy'

xv) *kisre tɔli a:b va:tun* 'coming of sudden misfortune'

xvi) *asma:nɔs ɔkɔlayne* 'trying to do any impossible act'

xvii) *aor zou tɔdor kɔth* 'to be physically well'
6.2.4.2 Proverbs used by Kashmiri speakers belonging to age group A3 (51 years and above)

i) vave ba vave lo:n ba lo:n

‘As you sow, so shall you reap’

ii) yusey kare sont∂ gongul, suy kari hard∂ kra:ve

‘One who sows in the spring, harvests in autumn’.

iii) ru:d peney ĉhen∂ r∂b voθan

‘Unless it rains, there would be no mud’.

iv) yusey zaher kheye suy mare

‘One who take poison will die’.

v) baĉhn∂ khot∂ ĉhe be: k∂:rey ja:n

‘It is better to sit idle than to beg’.

vi) bõzi ga:r∂s bõzi g∂r∂s

‘One who deceives others, deceives himself’.

vii) beysinz yus kh∂ne g∂g, p∂nini sede:yes z∂g

‘One who digs ditch for others, fell himself into the ditch’.

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viii) aød šelkh bale mgdr kŏdū šelḵh balend

‘One feels more humiliated, when he is dishonoured and taunted by any one than he would be beaten’.

ix) aθ va:s ğhu mohrva:s

‘It is useful to be united’.

x) aθ e da:run gov pa:n kŏnun.

‘To beg before any one means to sell himself’.

xi) insa:n ney a:se dosən sə :ti gatshi mə ṣvər karun.

‘If there would be no men, the suggestion should be taken from walls’.

xii) őni dąd rave ra:ye sasòs dǎds vəθ

‘The blind bull misleads thousands bulls’.

xiii) ake kəθe ğhu rəθ vəsa n, ake kəθe ğhu dod vəsən

‘One talk causes bleeding, while other talk causes the production of milk’.

xiv) aor zove dor kŏθ geye bƏ ṣovləθ.

‘To be physically well, is the greatest wealth’.
6.3 Syntactic Variability on the basis of Education

On the basis of education, the Kashmiri speech community has been divided into three groups of Kashmiri speakers. These groups include E1 (illiterate), E2 (semi-literate) and E3 (educated). The speakers belonging to groups E2 (semi-literate) and E3 (educated) do not show any noticeable variation in their language among themselves at the level of syntax. But the speakers belonging to group E1 (illiterate) are found to vary greatly in their speech from the speakers belonging to E2 (semiliterate) and E3 (educated) groups. These variations in the speech of these speakers are found due the varying use of certain noun forms, address forms and courtesy markers, leading to variation of language among the speakers belonging to different age groups at the syntactic level. In each item the examples under (a) stand
for the sentences spoken by the speakers belonging to the education groups E2 (semiliterate) and E3 (educated), and the examples under (b) represent the sentences used by the speakers belonging to group education E1 (illiterate).

6.3.1 Nouns

The speakers belonging to education group E2 (semiliterate) and E3 (educated) are found to use the same pattern of language among themselves. They do not show any obvious variation in their speech in terms of certain nominal categories among themselves. With the result no syntactic variations are found among them. However, the speakers from the group E1 (illiterate) vary greatly in their use of language from the speakers belonging to education groups E2 (semiliterate) and E3 (educated). This varying use of certain nominal forms results in the variation of their speech at the syntactic level.

Examples:

I (a)  *bačan kor ė:gnas māz piša:b.*

(b)  *šuqḍə kor muṭur ė:gnas ā:dar.*

‘The child urinated in the courtyard’.

II (a)  *baši:r čhu kamras māz bi:hāt.*

(b)  *baši:r čhu kuthās āndar bihāt.*

‘Bashir is sitting in the room’.

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6.3.2 Address Forms

It has been observed that the speakers from education group E1 (illiterate) also show remarkable variations in the use of certain address forms from the speakers belonging to education groups E2 (semiliterate) and E3 (educated). This varying use of address forms among the speakers from different education groups leads to variation in the speech of these speakers at the level of syntax extraordinarily.

Examples:

III (a)  
*tim khaṭkov ause darvaːz.*

(b)  
*tim voy ause bar.*

‘He knocked at our door’.

IV (a)  
*rāḍiːdan heyot nov buːth*

(b)  
*rāḍiːdan aon nov khorbaːn*

‘Rashid bought new shoes’.

I (a)  
*Jinaːb anevehaz toheya ādar tašriːph.*

‘Sir, you please come in’.

(b)  
*autsu tsːā ādar.*

‘come in’.
In the sentence I (a) the address forms *jina:b, anevhaz, tohey, tašri:* have been used as courtesy markers. Similarly in the sentence II (a) the forms *haz* and *jina:b* are used as the courtesy markers. In the same way the forms *haz* and *jina:b* in the sentence III (a) have also been used as the courtesy markers. These courtesy markers, which are only found in the speech of Kashmiri speakers belonging to education groups E2 (semiliterate) and E3 (educated) are used to express their courtesy and honour towards their addressees. Further more it has also been observed that the use of these address forms depends up on the social status/position of the addressee. If the addressee is a well qualified, any high ranking government employee or any honourable person then the courtesy marker *haz* is used to address him or her. But if the addressee is an illiterate person, but elder than the addresser then the courtesy marker *-sa* is used to address him/her.
The use of courtesy is discussed in the context of how and where a speaker places a hearer in the organization of ranks of courtesy/honour that one obtain in the society/community. Obviously the personal pronouns play an important role in the context of courteous behaviour. The first and third person pronouns in Kashmiri reflect number as well as gender in order to perform the deitic function of proximity versus non-proximity of person.

Kashmiri second person pronouns *tsʰ ‘you sg.’* and *tohey you sg. hon.* “You pl. ord./hon” do not reflect the gender of person. Gender is exhibited in an utterance through the verb form.

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>(a)</td>
<td>tohey</td>
<td>Čhive</td>
<td>baːsaːn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>You(pl.)</td>
<td>seem(to be mas.pl.)</td>
<td>tired(mas.pl.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b)</td>
<td>tsʰ</td>
<td>Čhuk</td>
<td>baːsaːn</td>
<td>θ ıkmut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>you(sg.)</td>
<td>be(mas.sg.)</td>
<td>seem tired(mas.sg.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>(a)</td>
<td>tohey</td>
<td>Čhave</td>
<td>basaːn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>You(pl.)</td>
<td>seem(to be fem.pl.)</td>
<td>tired(fem.pl.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b)</td>
<td>tsʰ</td>
<td>Čakh</td>
<td>baːsaːn</td>
<td>θ ʰ čhmdtsʰ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>you(sg.)</td>
<td>(fem.sg. seem to be)</td>
<td>tired(fem.sg.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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6.4 Syntactic Variability due to Regional Difference

As said earlier that the social factor region bifurcates the Kashmiri speech community into two main groups of speakers i.e. urban Kashmiri speakers and the rural Kashmiri speakers. These two groups of speakers show notable syntactic variations in their speech due to the variation in the use of certain nominal, verbal and adjectival categories. In each item the examples under (a) represent the sentences spoken by urban Kashmiri speakers (UVK) and the examples shown under (b) represent the sentences used in the speech of rural Kashmiri speakers (RVK).

6.4.1 Noun

There are a large number of noun forms used by urban Kashmiri speakers, which are not found in the speech of the rural Kashmiri speakers. This alternative use of nominal categories among urban and rural Kashmiri speakers leads to variation in their speech at the syntactic level.

Examples:

I (a) $\text{me } \check{\text{che } thul\ddot{o} zu:n kheni kho\check{s} kara:n}$.

(b) $\text{me } \check{\text{che } gre:nkan khen\ddot{o} kho\check{s} gatshan}$.

'I like to eat egg yolk'.
II (a)  *me heyoη duka:ndaras sa:bnö vor.*

(b)  *me hets va:nö ve:lis sa:bnö čö:tö.*

'I bought a soap from shopkeeper'.

III (a)  *hu maröd čhu me bara:dar.*

(b)  *hu mohinev čhu me bo:y.*

'That man is my brother'.

6.4.2 Verbs

Variation in the use of certain verbal forms has also been seen to lead the variation in the language at the syntactic level among the urban and rural Kashmiri speakers.

Examples:

I (a)  *bače čhu zord zord brasa:n.*

(b)  *šuŋ čhu vadan zord zord.*

'The baby is crying loudly'.

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6.4.3 Adjectives

The syntactic variations in the use of language among urban and rural Kashmiri speakers are also found due to varying use of certain adjectives in their speech.
Examples:

I (a)  
\[ me \, \text{čhol} \, \text{turni} \, a:b\,\text{ð}s\,\text{t}i \, \text{bu}\theta. \]

(b)  
\[ me \, \text{čhol} \, \text{hundri} \, a:b\,\text{ð} \, \text{bu}\theta. \]

'I washed my face with cold water'.

II (a)  
\[ me \, \text{vōčh} \, \text{ke:n}tshan \, \text{gari:}b\text{an} \, \text{hōnd} \, \text{bače} \, \text{au:rya:ney}. \]

(b)  
\[ me \, \text{vūčh} \, \text{kenh} \, \text{gari:b} \, \text{sud} \, \text{nōgey}. \]

'I saw some poor children naked.'.

III (a)  
\[ me \, \text{kor} \, \text{gar}δm \, a:b\,\text{ð}s\,\text{t}i \, \text{sara:n}. \]

(b)  
\[ me \, \text{kor} \, \text{vōšne} \, a:b\,\text{ð} \, \text{s}t\,\text{t}i \, \text{sra:n}. \]

'I took bath with hot water'.

IV (a)  
\[ hu \, lōdkō \, \text{čhu} \, \text{ko:l}. \]

(b)  
\[ hu \, lōdkō \, \text{čhu} \, \text{krehun}. \]

'That boy is black'.
6.5 Syntactic Variability on the basis of Sex

The male and female speakers of the Kashmiri speech community show considerable variations in their speech at all levels of linguistics. It has been found that there are the expressions and the sentences found in the speech of female speakers, which are not found in the speech of male speakers. The expressions used by the female speakers are polite and womanly. But the male speakers have adopted a totally different way of their expression.

It has also been observed that the female speakers are more talkative in comparison with their male counterparts. The female speakers whenever get any chance of get together, get themselves involved in talking throughout, without feeling any tiredness. The female speakers are found discussing their personal matters and feelings more often. The order of the words and the intonation contour of the sentences spoken by female speakers, differentiate their speech from their male counterparts at the syntactic level. The female speakers are found often giving prayers to others. The speech of the female speakers is full of praying expressions. When a female speaker of the Kashmiri speech community comes in conversation with other community participant, especially younger than her, at the time of parting from one another, the woman uses frequent use of praying expressions for her addressee.
Examples:

I  
\[ \text{gatsh meyo:n khuda:y karney y\text{"ari}.} \]

‘May God bless you’.

II  
\[ \text{meyo:n khud:y h\text{"yne rut baha:r.} \]

‘May god succeed you’.

III  
\[ \text{meyo:n khuda:y deyney zi:nth aumber.} \]

‘May you live long’.

One thing more that has been observed there is that the female speakers use certain expressions which do not exist in the speech of male speakers frequently e.g. v\text{"y keya: go:m! ‘oh what happened! hey keya go:s! ‘what happened! v\text{"hy v\text{"hy meya:ni khuda:ye! ‘Oh my God’!}. Though these expressions are occasionally used by the male speakers of the speech community, but their way of expression is entirely different. The female speakers mostly use these expressions on the occasions of some misfortune and under stressful situations. The way the female speakers, utter these expressions, they make the hearers to feel a sense of surprise. The female speakers make use of these expressions when they come across some fearful and dreadful things and get frightened. As the women being affairded of even ordinary things, that is why they mostly use these expressions. When the women are put in some dangerous situation, where they experience some fear and horror the production of these expressions becomes natural and automatic in them.
Examples:

\[\text{v‘hy mey\-ne ku\-du\-ye!} \quad \text{‘Oh my God!’}.\]

\[\text{v‘hy ke\-ya: go\-m!} \quad \text{‘Oh what happened!’}.\]

\[\text{va:y voni ke\-ya bane!} \quad \text{‘Oh what will happen now!’}.\]

These expressions are also made in use when the female speakers come across some tragic situation, and when their hearts feel unfavourable condition of mind due to sorrow and grief.

The female speakers in comparison with their male counterparts are also found to be more critic about other people. They have been found oftenly criticising and passing comments on others. Thus the expressions like \[\text{ye ku\-t\-he\-y!} \quad \text{‘How is he!’}, \text{ye kith\-she\-y!} \quad \text{‘How is she!’}, \text{and aims na:y tag\-ne\-y!} \quad \text{‘He does not know!’} \] are frequently found in the speech of female speakers.

6.6 Syntactic Variability on the basis of Occupation

As said earlier that on the basis of occupation, the speech community has been divided into four main groups of speakers, viz., farmers, businessmen, fishermen/boatmen and cobblers. The variation in the language among the speakers from these groups has already been discussed in terms of registral variation or it can be said the variation in their Jargons. Registers or jargons are those items, which are associated with the occupation or the profession of a particular occupational group. Regarding the variability at the syntactic level, the speakers belonging to first three
occupational groups, viz., farmers, businessmen and fishermen/boatmen do not show any remarkable variation in their speech among themselves. But the fact can not be denied that the speakers belonging to the cobbler group tend to show variation from all other groups at the syntactic level. These variations are found due to the varying use of noun and verb forms in their speech. Here in each item the examples under (a) show the sentences spoken by the speakers belonging to different occupational groups such as farmers, businessmen, potters and fishermen/boatmen. And the examples under (b) show the sentences used by cobblers.

6.6.1 Nouns

The speakers from the occupational groups, viz., farmers, businessmen, and fishermen/boatmen do not show any noticeable variation in the use of certain nominal categories among themselves. However, the speakers from the cobbler group vary in their use of certain noun forms from rest of the occupational groups, which results in the varying use of their language at syntactic level.

Examples:

I (a) ye čhe hoːmds mðhney sɔnz tshaːvæj.

(b) ye čhe homds tshogdɔnæ netæj.

‘This is that man’s goat’.
We cooked the meat.

The man polished his shoes.

That man bought a duck.

6.6.2 Verbs

The speakers belonging to the occupational groups, viz., farmers, businessmen, and fishermen/boatmen vary in the use of certain verb forms from the speakers belonging to cobbler group. This inconsistency in the use of verbal categories among these groups of Kashmiri speakers leads to syntactic variation among them.
Examples:

I (a) *homḍ kor kokras khaš.*

(b) *homḍ kor čikre tsikun.*

‘He slaughtered the cock’.

II (a) *me kheve batḍ.*

(b) *me zom mothey.*

‘I ate the food’.

III (a) *homḍs naφras nev aim kalam tsu:ri.*

(b) *ḍ ṭnekul tshogḍas kalam.*

‘He stole pen from that man’.

IV (a) *timov kor ra:θ mu:d mut naφar daφan*

(b) *timov tro:ν ra:θ moφdɔ tala:n:l*

‘Yesterday they buried the dead body.’
Chapter-7
Language Choice in the Kashmiri Speech Community
CHAPTER - 7

Language Choice in the Kashmiri Speech Community

7.0 Introduction

It has been observed that when two languages come into contact and exist side by side while performing different social functions they grow in an atmosphere of ‘give’ and ‘take’. Language choice becomes a natural creative process in this atmosphere. In the Kashmiri speech community, the allocation of the roles of the different languages, viz., Urdu and English and the different varieties of Kashmiri have become a natural phenomenon. The speakers of the Kashmiri are found to switch over from their mother tongue and mix various phonological, morphological, lexical and syntactic items into their mother tongue from other languages of the Indian subcontinent to a considerable extent.

According to Bayer (1986:96) “a person shifting from one language to another or from one variety of a language to another variety depending on the role of speaker, the status of the addressee and the exigencies of the situation is a common thing under these conditions”. In case of Kashmiri speech community, it has been observed that, the speakers from different social groups using language, as a marker of identity has become very common. Thus in light of the above, it can be said that in a language contact situation the choice of a language is affected by various factors. These factors, according to Gumperz and Chavez (1972) include significance of topic of conversation, social context, illusions to past events and cultural attitudes etc.
Kachru (1983:193) holds that “Code-switching entails the ability to switch from code A to code B. The alternation of codes is determined by the function, the situation and participants”.

Switching from one's mother tongue to other languages and mixing words from other languages into one's mother tongue in a language contact situation may be technically termed as 'code-switching' and 'code-mixing'. Code-switching and code-mixing occurs in a situation where more than one language, dialect or more than one variety of the same language play a significant role in the speech of an individual.

7.1 Language Contact Situation in the Kashmiri Speech Community

In the general terms any particular situation whereby two or more languages come into contact, while serving the different purposes in a particular speech community may be called as ‘language contact situation’. In other words, when two or more languages serve the various purposes in any particular situation alternatively, the situation can be called as the language contact situation. In a language contact situation different languages have different sociolinguistic perspectives. One is used in one set of circumstances and the other in an entirely different environment. In the Kashmiri speech community, Urdu, Hindi and English are the significant contact languages among the Kashmiri mother tongue speakers.

7.1.1 Urdu as a Contact Language among Kashmiri Mother Tongue Speakers

According to census report of 1981, the number of Kashmiri mother tongue speakers, claming Urdu as their mother tongue is 648,464, accounting for 84.87% of
the total Kashmiri bilingual population (Beg 1996:103). Urdu is the most significant contact language among the Kashmiri mother tongue speakers. The main reason for the higher percentage of bilingualism in Urdu among Kashmiri mother tongue speakers is that Urdu is the official language and the language of literacy in Jammu and Kashmir. Beg (1996:103) holds that Urdu functions as a link language and the 'communication bridge' in the linguistically heterogeneous environment of the state and thus enjoys a special status in Jammu and Kashmir. Though the regional dominant and the principal majority language of Kashmir is Kashmiri. Yet it does not enjoy the same status as enjoyed by Urdu. Urdu has been made the language of administration and education in Jammu and Kashmir.

7.1.2 Hindi as a Contact Language among the Kashmiri Mother Tongue Speakers

According to Beg (1996:103) a lowest percentage of contact speakers of Hindi is found among Kashmiri mother tongue speakers. Out of 767,692 Kashmiri bilinguals only 65,904 have claimed Hindi as their contact language or the language of bilingualism (source Beg 1996:103). The number of Kashmiri Hindi bilingual speakers constitutes only 8.50% of the total Kashmiri bilingual population. The main reason for the little percentage of Kashmiri Hindi bilingualism lies in the fact that unlike Urdu, Hindi has never been given a chance to enjoy any special status in Jammu and Kashmir. Hindi has never been made the official language and the language of literacy or education in Jammu and Kashmir. Though some time back an attempt was made for the same but nothing except failure was achieved.
7.1.3 English as a Contact Language among Kashmiri Mother Tongue Speakers

Like Urdu and Hindi, English is also significant contact language among the Kashmiri mother tongue speakers. Like Urdu, English enjoys a special status in Jammu and Kashmir. English is the second official language in Jammu and Kashmir. It is the language of education or literacy at the university, college and high school level in the state. English is taught as a compulsory subject up to the high school level and as an optional subject at the graduate and postgraduate level in the colleges and the university. There is also a full-fledged postgraduate department of English in the University of Kashmir.

English has also been made the medium of instruction from nursery to high school level in all private and semi-government institutions. For last two years English has also been made as the medium of instruction up to high school level in all government schools. The Kashmiri mother tongue speakers come across English most frequently in various domains of their social activity. English has therefore emerged as a significant contact language among Kashmiri mother tongue speakers.

7.2 Bilingualism among the Kashmiri Speech Community

Bilingualism generally refers to ability to use two codes at two different occasions. When two languages come into contact the speakers of one language learn the elements of the other language and this produces the bilingualism in an individual. Bilingualism involves in its definition the learning of all languages subsequent to ones childhood language.
The concept of bilingualism was for the first time used by Weinreich (1953). According to Weinreich (1953:1) bilingualism exists when one speaker follows more than one language norm in his speech or writing alternately, depending on the circumstances of his utterance. Weinreich, further argued that a more precise definition of bilingualism involves at least two controversial factors: The proficiency with which the speaker follows two norms i.e. the relative degree of knowledge of each language and the amount of difference between two languages. (Weinreich 1953:1)

Bilingualism is a common phenomenon found in each modern society. At present no society affords to be a monolingual one. In many societies two or more languages exist side by side to perform different social functions. Besides societal bilingualism there also exits the individual bilingualism. Societal bilingualism means the use of more than one language, as an instrument of social control of the community. Where as the individual bilingualism is an individuals accomplishment in a number of languages (Pandit 1973:3).

In the bilingual Kashmiri speech community two languages are used differently. Both the languages are not used parallely in all situations and social contexts. One language is used in one situation and the other in the other situation. For example Urdu and English are used in the domains of education, administration and mass media. While as Kashmiri is used in oral communication in every day routine situations like talking to ones family members, ones friends, ones spouse etc. It is also used during selling and buying, public speeches and other formal situations.
There is a high incidence of Kashmiri-Urdu bilingualism in the Kashmiri speech community. The main reason for this bilingualism is that most of the Kashmiris receive their education through Urdu. Urdu is used in various situations and social domains. Kashmiris who can read and write Kashmiri can read and write Urdu also.

According to Koul and Schmidt (1983:19) "Urdu has been assigned all the prominent roles in the State of Jammu and Kashmir. As an official language of the State, it is used in administration, education and mass media. It is taught as a subject in all government schools 80% of the total respondents have reported that they understand, speak, read and write Urdu. The largest percentage of urdu knowing respondents belong to A1 (males) group, where as about 96% respondents reported that they control all the basic skills in urdu. The percentage of Urdu knowing respondents in female A2 and A3 is as low as 12.5%".

Despite the fact that Kashmiri is predominantly used as a language of personal and group communication. It is the medium of dreams and medium of communication within the family, with the friends, in market and other various domains of social life.

Besides Urdu, the Kashmiri mother tongue speakers are also bilinguals with Hindi and English. As mentioned earlier that the oral communication mainly takes place through Kashmiri in various domains of social life of Kashmiri speech community. But like Urdu, the written communication takes place through English in a considerable number of social situations. Kashmiri mother tongue speakers are also bilinguals with other scheduled and non-scheduled languages. According to census
Report of 1981, the tables 7.2.1 and 7.2.2 show bilingualism among Kashmiri speakers to scheduled and other non-scheduled languages.

**TABLE 7.2.1: Bilingualism among the Kashmiri speakers to the scheduled languages**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Contact Languages or the languages for bilingualism</th>
<th>Total No. of Speakers</th>
<th>% of Col. 2 to total Kashmiri bilinguals</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>698,464</td>
<td>84.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindi</td>
<td>65,904</td>
<td>8.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>1,116</td>
<td>0.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marathi</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>0.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujarati</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanskrit</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bengali</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kannada</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oriya</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assamese</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gorkhali/Nepali</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamil</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*(Census 1981)*

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TABLE 7.2.2: Bilingualism among the Kashmiri speakers with non-scheduled languages.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Contact Languages or the languages for bilingualism 1</th>
<th>Total No. of Speakers 2</th>
<th>% of Col. 2 to total Kashmiri bilinguals 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dogri</td>
<td>7,133</td>
<td>0.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shina</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>0.007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Landha</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ladakhi</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balti</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koargi/Kodgam</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kurukh/Koroan</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lushai/Mizo</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Census 1981)

7.3 The Concept of Code-Switching and Code-Mixing

As said earlier that phenomena of Code-switching and Code-mixing are found in a language contact situation, where more than one language is used. These phenomena of language use and language contact has been viewed and analysed by various sociolinguists like Gumperz (1964), Kachru (1976), Verma (1976), Rayfield (1970), Hymes (1986) and others.

According to Dell Hymes (cited in Bayer 1986:95) "it is a common term for alternative use of two or more language varieties of a language or even speech styles". As said earlier that when two languages come into
contact, they grow in an atmosphere of ‘give’ and ‘take’. Code-switching and Code-mixing becomes a natural phenomenon in that situation. Generally Code-switching and Code-mixing can be defined as the alternative use of two or more languages in a multilingual setting by the same individual. Code-alternation therefore is a broad term, which refers to both Code-switching and Code-mixing. Some scholars hold that there is no distinction between Code-switching and Code-mixing. They define Code-switching in broad terms, which includes Code-mixing also. According to Haugen (1973) Code-switching refers to the alternate use of two languages, including every thing from introduction of a simple unassimilated word up to a complete sentence or more, into the context of another language. The other scholars maintain a distinction between two processes. Sridhar (1980) distinguishes between two processes. He is of the opinion that language alternation in the code-mixing takes place intrasententially (within the same sentence) and is not accompanied by a shift in the speech situation as it is the case with Code-switching.

Kahru (1983:94) maintains that “Code-mixing entails transferring linguistic units from one code to another. Such a transfer (mixing) results in developing a new restricted or not so restricted code of linguistic interaction”.

Code-switching has been defined as the successive alternative use of two different language codes within the same discourse. It implies that the speaker is conscious of switch. If the consciousness is about the change in the social situation or in the topic of the discourse, then the mixing described here
is not Code-switching. The speaker is likely to choose this mixed language when he/she finds it appropriate to the social situation or the topic. The choosing of the code in the mixed language is Code-switching. These mixed items may be words, phrases, clauses or even sentences. This alternate use of items from two codes in the constant speech context may be called as Code-mixing.

7.3.1 Types of Code-Switching

As regards the types of Code-switching Gumperz (1972) distinguishes three types of code-switching which are as follows:

(a) Metaphorical code-switching  
(b) Conversational Code-switching  
(c) Situational Code-switching. In the metaphorical Code-switching there is topic change in conversation. In this type of Code-switching, the variety of code changes with the change of the topic in conversation. In the conversational Code-switching there is no change of topic or context. It mainly occurs, between two distinct languages. (Hudson 1980). The situational Code-switching occurs according to ‘change in social situation’.

7.3.2 Functions of Code-Switching

Like the types of Code-switching, the scholars have also identified various functions of Code-switching. Dua (1984:149-50) has distinguished three broad categories of functions of Code-switching which are as under:
(i) Conversational Functions

According to Gumperz (1976) the first broad category of function of Code-switching is called as 'conversational function'. Under this category, Gumperz mentions the following functions of Code-switching: quotation address, interjection, repetition, message, qualification etc.

(ii) Social Functions

The second category of functions of Code-switching is considered under social functions. According to Dua they are less precise and clearly definable than the conversational functions. With a view to formalize social functions of Code-switching, Dua (1984:150) considers three types of functions of Code-switching: firstly through Code switching one can identify, recognize or ignore, create or resolve conflicts in relationships in social settings and thus convey the feelings of intimacy or friendship.

Secondly, one can indicate ones intragroup and intergroup connections, ethnic background and sociopolitical affiliation by adopting the strategy of Code-switching. Finally and thirdly Code-switching may be a good predicctor of socioeconomic status and educational background of the participants in 'social setting'.

(iii) Attitudinal-emotional Functions

The third category of functions relating to Code-switching is referred to as 'attitudinal-emotional' functions. This type of Code-switching reflects
personal feelings such as affection, loyalty, commitment, respect, pride, challenge, sympathy or religious devotion. This type of Code-switching also reflects feelings, detachment, objectivity, displeasure, dislike, aggression etc.

7.4 Structure of Communication Networks in Kashmiri-Urdu Code-Switching Phenomenon

There is no denying the fact that the Kashmiri speakers use Urdu in various domains of their social activities. Urdu is also preferred to Kashmiri in various situations. A sociolinguistic survey conducted by Koul and Schmidt (1983) mentions the situations where Urdu is used in addition to Kashmiri. It is usually considered natural by a Kashmiri speaker to speak through his/her mother tongue (Kashmiri) to his/her friends, family members and ones spouse. He/she also uses Urdu in certain formal situations. In Kashmiri-Urdu bilingual situation, Kashmiri is the major language for informal communications. But Urdu is the major subsidiary language for the formal communication among the Kashmiri speakers. It is also used in talking to the speakers of the languages other than Kashmiri. As discussed earlier that there is a very high incidence of Kashmiri-Urdu bilingualism in the Kashmiri speech community. There are various reasons for this. Most of the Kashmiris receive their education in Urdu. The Kashmiri who can read and write Kashmiri can also read and write Urdu. The fact can not be denied that Kashmiri is used by a majority of people, overwhelmingly for personal and intra-group communications. It is the medium of communication in most of the informal occasions. But Urdu is used widely in most of the formal occasions. Urdu is
also used in writing letters even to those whom the writer of the letter would normally speak in Kashmiri.

Though the oral communication vastly takes place in Kashmiri in various domains of the social life. But Urdu is largely used in the written communication. As the majority of Kashmiri speakers are found to interact in their mother tongue in the informal communications and also in certain formal situations, both in home and social domains. But most of the switching of code from Kashmiri to Urdu is found to take place in the societal domain rather in home domain. Most of the switching is also situational and metaphorical. Situational Code-switching is relating to social situations and settings. It has been found that there is an ample opportunity of situational Code-switching between Kashmiri and Urdu in the Kashmiri speech community. Kashmir being a tourist spot, as a result of which the metaphorical Code-switching, which is related to the change of topic in conversation, is also given a prime importance. This is because of the fact that there are large numbers of topics for conversation.

7.5 Kashmiri-Urdu and Kashmiri-English Code-Switching among Kashmiri Mother Tongue Speakers

It is a well-known fact that ‘Code-switching’ is a characteristic feature of a language contact situation of a multilingual or bilingual setting. In a multilingual setting like Kashmiri speech community there is an alternative use of different languages and the different varieties of the same language in
conversation. This use has been found often within the same stretch of speech of the Kashmiri speakers. The Kashmiri speakers communicate orally in various domains of their social life through Kashmiri. But Urdu and English are used largely in written communication. It has been found that the Kashmiri speakers like Urdu switch over from Kashmiri to English also. The reason for this is that there are a large number of situations and domains where the Kashmiri speakers prefer to use English rather than Urdu and Kashmiri. As mentioned earlier, English enjoys the special status in Jammu and Kashmir. It is the second official language of the state. Moreover, it is has been made the language of education at primary, secondary and tertiary levels in the state of Jammu and Kashmir.

7.5.1 Kashmiri-Urdu Code-Switching

Among the Kashmiri speakers the Kashmiri-Urdu 'code-switching' has been found at various levels of linguistics:

7.5.1.1 Code-Switching at Phonological Level

In the phonological Code-switching, the native phonological features of Kashmiri are shifted to the lexical items of Urdu by the speakers of Kashmiri. The interaction of two phonologies are discussed below:

7.5.1.1.2 Interaction of Consonants

The interaction of consonants is shown below:
### 7.5.1.1.2.1 Plosives

**TABLE 7.5.1:** The Kashmiri velar stop \( k \) stands for Urdu \( q \)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kashmiri</th>
<th>Urdu</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kara:r</td>
<td>qara:r</td>
<td>'rest/relief'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kalam</td>
<td>qalam</td>
<td>'pen'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kad</td>
<td>qad</td>
<td>'height'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kāsālim</td>
<td>qisim</td>
<td>'type'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>burkā</td>
<td>burqa</td>
<td>'veil'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kami:z</td>
<td>qami:z</td>
<td>'shirt'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>korba:n</td>
<td>qurba:n</td>
<td>'sacrifice'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kabar</td>
<td>qabar</td>
<td>'grave'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE 7.5.2:** The Kashmiri voiceless aspirated velar stop \( kh \) replaces Urdu voiceless unaspirated velar stop \( k \).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kashmiri</th>
<th>Urdu</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pa:kh</td>
<td>pa:k</td>
<td>'holy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ča:la:kh</td>
<td>ča:la:k</td>
<td>'clever'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khakh</td>
<td>xa:k</td>
<td>'dust'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šari:kh</td>
<td>šari:k</td>
<td>'partner'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 7.5.3: The Kashmiri voiceless aspirated dental stop ૦ replaces Urdu voiceless unaspirated stop ૧.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kashmiri</th>
<th>Urdu</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yibadaθ</td>
<td>iba:dat</td>
<td>‘prayer’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zama:naθ</td>
<td>zama:nat</td>
<td>‘bail’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a:daθ</td>
<td>a:dat</td>
<td>‘habit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tija:raθ</td>
<td>tija:rat</td>
<td>‘business’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naja:θ</td>
<td>naja:t</td>
<td>‘liberation’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>harkaθ</td>
<td>harkat</td>
<td>‘movement’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta:kaθ</td>
<td>ta:qat</td>
<td>‘power’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sada:kaθ</td>
<td>sada:kat</td>
<td>‘reality’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 7.5.4: The Kashmiri voiceless aspirated velar stop ૮h stands for Urdu voiceless unaspirated uvular stop ૮.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kashmiri</th>
<th>Urdu</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hakh</td>
<td>haq</td>
<td>‘right’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>takhsi:m</td>
<td>taqsi:m</td>
<td>‘division’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nokhsa:n</td>
<td>nuqsa:n</td>
<td>‘loss’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yiteϕa:kh</td>
<td>itefa:q</td>
<td>‘chance’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ikhla:kh</td>
<td>ixla:q</td>
<td>‘manners’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### 7.5.1.1.2.2 Fricatives

**TABLE 7.5.5**: The Kashmiri velar stop *kh* is replaced by Urdu velar fricative *x*.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kashmiri</th>
<th>Urdu</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>khaːm</em></td>
<td><em>xaːm</em></td>
<td>'raw'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kharaːb</em></td>
<td><em>xaraːb</em></td>
<td>'bad'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>khaːkh</em></td>
<td><em>xaːk</em></td>
<td>'dust'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>khaːs</em></td>
<td><em>xaːs</em></td>
<td>'particular'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>khabar</em></td>
<td><em>xabar</em></td>
<td>'news'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>khoʃ</em></td>
<td><em>xuʃ</em></td>
<td>'happy'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE 7.5.6**: The Kashmiri velar stop *g* stands for Urdu fricative *g*.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kashmiri</th>
<th>Urdu</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>galaθ</em></td>
<td><em>galat</em></td>
<td>'wrong'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>golaːm</em></td>
<td><em>gulaːm</em></td>
<td>'slave'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>baːgh</em></td>
<td><em>baːg</em></td>
<td>'garden'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>gam</em></td>
<td><em>gam</em></td>
<td>'sorrow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>gəriːb</em></td>
<td><em>gəriːb</em></td>
<td>'poor'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 7.5.7: The Kashmiri voiceless aspirated bilabial stop \( \phi \) stands for Urdu voiceless labiodental fricative \( f \).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kashmiri</th>
<th>Urdu</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( t\phi s:i:l )</td>
<td>( t\phi s:i:l )</td>
<td>'detail'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( yensa: \phi )</td>
<td>( insa:f )</td>
<td>'justice'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( sa: \phi )</td>
<td>( sa:f )</td>
<td>'clean'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( k\phi \d\n )</td>
<td>( k\phi \d\n )</td>
<td>'coffin'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \phi \d\s )</td>
<td>( f\d\s )</td>
<td>'crop'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( s\phi e:d )</td>
<td>( s\phi e:d )</td>
<td>'white'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 7.5.8: Loss of dental unaspirated stop \( t \) of Urdu in Kashmiri when it is preceded by alveolar fricative \( s \) or palatal \( \check{s} \).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kashmiri</th>
<th>Urdu</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( z\d\a r\d )</td>
<td>( z\d\a r\d )</td>
<td>'strong'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( ya:d\a:sh )</td>
<td>( yada:sh )</td>
<td>'memory'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( ka\check{s}k\a:r )</td>
<td>( ka\check{st}k\a:r )</td>
<td>'farmer'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
7.5.1.1.3 Interactions of Semi Vowels

TABLE 7.5.9: Replacement of palatal semi vowel ə in Kashmiri by Urdu vowel i.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kashmiri</th>
<th>Urdu</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yima:m</td>
<td>ima:m</td>
<td>'leader'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yi:ma:n</td>
<td>i:ma:n</td>
<td>'faith'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yeste:ma:l</td>
<td>iste:ma:l</td>
<td>'use'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yintiza:m</td>
<td>inteza:m</td>
<td>'arrangement'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yinka:r</td>
<td>inka:r</td>
<td>'refusal'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yihla:s</td>
<td>ixla:s</td>
<td>'hospitality'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yizha:r</td>
<td>izha:r</td>
<td>'expression'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yinsa:f</td>
<td>insa:f</td>
<td>'justice'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yikhla:kh</td>
<td>ixla:q</td>
<td>'manners'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.5.1.1.4 Interactions of Vowels

The Interactions of vowels is shown below in the following tables:

TABLE 7.5.10: The consonant clusters in the word final positions are broken by inserting vowel ə in Kashmiri.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kashmiri</th>
<th>Urdu</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jisəm</td>
<td>jism</td>
<td>'body'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sabəz</td>
<td>sabz</td>
<td>'green'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>darəj</td>
<td>darj</td>
<td>'mentioned'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rasəm</td>
<td>rasm</td>
<td>'custom'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kisəm</td>
<td>qəsm</td>
<td>'kind'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nabəz</td>
<td>nabz</td>
<td>'pulse'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kabəz</td>
<td>qabz</td>
<td>'constipation'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### TABLE 7.5.11: The Kashmiri ə and o stand for Urdu vowel a.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kashmiri</th>
<th>Urdu</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>məḥal</td>
<td>mahal</td>
<td>'palace'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obur</td>
<td>abr</td>
<td>'cloud'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE 7.5.12: The Kashmiri mid central vowel ā stands for Urdu low central long vowel a: if it is followed by a consonant and the vowel i or i:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kashmiri</th>
<th>Urdu</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>māːliš</td>
<td>maːliš</td>
<td>'massage'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khāːtir</td>
<td>xaːtir</td>
<td>'mind'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>təːriːkh</td>
<td>taːriːx</td>
<td>'date'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hāːzir</td>
<td>haːzir</td>
<td>'present'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE 7.5.13: The Kashmiri low back vowel ɔ stands for Urdu high back vowel u

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kashmiri</th>
<th>Urdu</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gɔːnaːh</td>
<td>gunaːh</td>
<td>'sin'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gɔːlaːb</td>
<td>gulaːb</td>
<td>'rose'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gɔːlaːm</td>
<td>gulaːm</td>
<td>'slave'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khɔːdaːh</td>
<td>xudaːh</td>
<td>'god'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 7.5.14: The high back vowel $u$ changes in the word initial position into $v$ in Kashmiri.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kashmiri</th>
<th>Urdu</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$v\text{\textcircled{}}\text{sta:d}$</td>
<td>$\text{usta:d}$</td>
<td>'teacher'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$v\text{\textcircled{}}\text{me:d}$</td>
<td>$\text{umi:d}$</td>
<td>'hope'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$g\text{\textcircled{}}\text{l}\text{a:m}$</td>
<td>$\text{gula:m}$</td>
<td>'slave'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$k\text{\textcircled{}}\text{h\text{\textcircled{}}\text{d}\text{a:h}}$</td>
<td>$\text{xuda}$</td>
<td>'god'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.5.1.2 Code-switching at Morphological Level

In the Kashmiri speech community, the morphological switching occurs over a fairly wide range of categories which are discussed as follows:

7.5.1.2.1 Free Forms

A large number of Urdu free forms are found to occur in the speech of Kashmiri speakers, who are bilingual with Urdu. The Kashmiri speakers have modified these free forms according to the phonetic pattern of Kashmiri language.
### TABLE 7.5.15: Free forms of Urdu found in the speech of Kashmiri speakers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Urdu Free Forms</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>meːz</em></td>
<td>'table'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>baːg</em></td>
<td>'garden'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>addab</em></td>
<td>'literature'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kāmiːz</em></td>
<td>'shirt'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>gəlāt</em></td>
<td>'wrong'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>akhbaːr</em></td>
<td>'news paper'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kursi</em></td>
<td>'chair'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>dərvaːz</em></td>
<td>'door'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>zəmīːn</em></td>
<td>'earth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>asmaːn</em></td>
<td>'sky'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>gəzaː</em></td>
<td>'food'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>dukaːn</em></td>
<td>'shop'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>makaːn</em></td>
<td>'house'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 7.5.1.2.2 Bound Forms

It has been seen that in Kashmiri-Urdu Code-switching the Urdu bound forms are affixed with Kashmiri free forms. Here it should be mentioned that most of these Kashmiri free forms are borrowed from Urdu. But they have been modified by Kashmiri speakers according to phonetic temperament of their mother tongue.
7.5.1.2.2.1 Prefixes

The following examples show the switching of Urdu prefixes, used with Kashmiri free forms:

(i) Urdu prefix \textit{be-} 'without'
    \begin{itemize}
    \item \textit{be-šu:b} 'unsuitable'
    \item \textit{be-jan} 'without life'
    \item \textit{be-ka:r} 'without work'
    \item \textit{be-voku: φ} 'fool'
    \end{itemize}

(ii) Urdu prefix \textit{-ba:} 'with'
    \begin{itemize}
    \item \textit{ba:adab} 'with respect'
    \item \textit{ba:sama:n} 'with ammunition'
    \item \textit{ba:vazan} 'with weight'
    \end{itemize}

(iii) Urdu prefix \textit{-har-} 'every'
    \begin{itemize}
    \item \textit{harvizi} 'each time'
    \item \textit{harkāh} 'every one'
    \item \textit{harādi} 'every where'
    \item \textit{harsa:tǎ} 'everytime'
    \end{itemize}

(iv) Urdu prefix \textit{ham-} 'equal'
    \begin{itemize}
    \item \textit{ham-aumếm} 'of the same age'
    \item \textit{ham-jama:θ} 'of the same class'
    \item \textit{hamsaφar} 'having same goal'
    \end{itemize}
(v) Urdu prefix *bad-*

*badkirda:r* ‘bad character’

*bad-d-a:daθ* ‘bad habit’

*bad-khaslaθ* ‘bad nature’

*bad-nəsi:b* ‘bad luck’

*bad-siφθ* ‘bad quality’

*bad-kismθ* ‘bad luck’

(vi) Urdu prefix *kam* ‘less’

*kəmzə:r* ‘weak’

*kəməkil* ‘having less thinking’

*kəmθamθ* ‘discourage’

*kəməgov* ‘less talkative’

7.5.1.2.2.2 Suffixes

In the examples given below, the Urdu suffixes occur with Kashmiri free forms:

(i) Urdu suffix *da:r* ‘having’

*ma:lda:r* ‘having wealth’

*duka:nda:r* ‘shopkeeper’

*i:ma:nda:r* ‘honest’

*saməjda:r* ‘wise person’

*kira:ya:da:r* ‘renter’
(ii) Urdu suffix -niga:r 'maker'

nakšāniga:r 'engraver'
tasveerniga:r 'painter'

(iii) Urdu suffix -ba:z 'player'

ča:lba:z 'irafty'
dokhba:z 'deceitful'
patāgba:z 'kite flier'
makhanba:z 'butterer'

(iv) Urdu suffix -saz 'doer'

rāgsa:z 'painter'
ka:rsa:z 'worker'
ja:lsa:z 'cheater'

7.5.1.2.2.3 Word Compounding

In the formation of the compound words the first or the second element comes from Urdu, for example:

(i) Kashmiri + Urdu

gd ri:b + nava:z 'helper of poor'
kdlām + dava:θ 'pen and inkpot'
rasmā + reva:j 'customs'
doh + ra:t 'day and night'
mārād + zānā:n 'man and woman'
7.5.1.3 Code-switching at Syntactic Level

It has been observed that in the Kashmiri speech community, the Code-switching at the level of syntax occurs over a fairly wide range of syntactic and grammatical units. These switchings are described in terms of noun phrase, verb phrase, adjective and clause insertion etc.

7.5.1.3.1 Noun or Noun Phrase Insertion

(i)  \(b\ddot{a} \, \text{chus usta:d}\)
     'I am teacher'
(ii) \(ye \, \text{chu meyon k\ddot{a}l\ddot{a}m}\)
     'This is my pen'
(iii) \(ye \, \text{chu meyon te:b\ddot{a}}\)
     'This is my table'

7.5.1.3.2 Verb or Verb Phrase Insertion

(i)  \(ye \, \text{chu ra:m\ddot{a}sund m\ddot{a}ka:n}\)
     'This is Ram’s house'
(ii) \(b\ddot{a} \, \text{che \ chu khe:l kara:n}\)
     'The baby is playing'
(iii) \(ra:m\ddot{a}n \, \text{deyut sava:luk java:b}\)
     'Ram answered the question'
7.5.1.3.3 Sentence Insertion

(i) be keya vaney tse maː rạ rdọ st pareː ʂaːn hun.

‘What I can tell you I am very worried’

(ii) su aoː s tate maː ney aus ko apnay ʔː kʰo saː y ʔekhaː.

‘He was there I saw him with my eyes’

7.5.1.3.4 Insertion of Adjectives

(i) kuː r ʔeː sethaː kʰuː bsuː rəθ

‘The girl is very beautiful’

(ii) rəs:iː d ʔeː sethaː taː kəθvar

‘Rashid is very powerful’

(iii) nəziː r ʔuː vaː rya zə hiː n

‘Nazir is very intelligent’

(iv) nə:hidə ʔeː sethaː ɡəmgiː n

‘Nahida is very sad’

(v) meː z ʔuː goː l

‘The table is round’
7.5.2 Kashmiri-English Code-switching among Kashmiri Mother Tongue Speakers

The speakers of the Kashmiri speech community switch over from their mother tongue to English also. Kashmiri English Code-switching occurs mainly in the use of certain categories like nouns, verbs and adjectives:

7.5.2.1 Insertion of Nouns

(i) ye cháu mécón pen
   'This is my pen'
(ii) mé kor bá::θ-rú:ms máž sraːn
    'I took bath in the bathroom'
(iii) rásíːdón heyot peːn t mälːi
    'Rashid bought a pant'
(iv) báčhe geyt skuiːl
    'Children went to school'
(v) nážiːr gov lðılmralːry
    'Nazir went to library'

7.5.2.2 Insertion of Verbs

(i) raːmðn kðr pðntsím jámað paːs
    'Ram passed the class 5th'
(ii) šáːmðn kðr dríkíːg
    'Sham has drunk'
(iii) \(\textit{tim kor lāch}\)

‘He took the lunch’

(iv) \(\textit{fоjan kā:ri tre nā φār kil}\)

‘The army killed three persons’

(v) \(\textit{timi kā:r te:z drlvīg}\)

‘He drove very fast’

7.5.2.3 Insertion of Adjectives

(i) \(\textit{ikbа:l čhu varying intalejāt}\)

‘Iqbal is very intelligent’

(ii) \(\textit{hu čhu zābārdā:s ha:dfworkīg}\)

‘He is very hardworking’

(iii) \(\textit{tre:n ā:s sava:rev sā:ti φul}\)

‘Train was full of passengers’

(iv) \(\textit{hu lā:kā kā:čhu varying hādsum}\)

‘That boy is very handsome’

(v) \(\textit{аşraφ čhu varying selφā:s}\)

‘Ashraf is very selfish’
Summary and Conclusion
Summary and Conclusion

Variation is a common and natural phenomenon found in almost all widely used languages of the world. Languages vary according to the social characteristics of speakers. They also vary according to situation in which the users find themselves.

Language variation in sociolinguistics refers to the variation in linguistic items in accordance with social variation. The factors such as religion, region, age, sex, education and occupation are responsible for variation in language and resultant linguistics items are called as linguistic or sociolinguistic variables. Since language variation takes place because of social variation, the linguistic and social variables are correlated.

Language variation is the mirror reflection of social variation. The state of the Jammu and Kashmir is the home of various races and sects. There are different social levels. In other words we many say that there are people belonging to different social groups. Technically saying there is a social heterogeneity. This social heterogeneity is reflected in the linguistic behaviour of the speech community, thus leads to the speech variations among its speakers at various levels of linguistics. These speech variations are found at various levels of linguistics such as phonology, morphology, lexicon and syntax, on the basis of social variables, religion, age, sex, region, education and occupation. It may be noted that the impact of religion and region on Kashmiri speech varieties goes on hand to hand.
Kashmiri speech community comprises a considerable Muslim population and a little microscopic Hindu population. These two faiths of people are in contradistinction for being monotheistic and polytheistic respectively. Most of the Muslims are agriculturists. The Hindus who constitute approximately less than 5% of the total population of the valley belong predominantly to the service class.

On the basis of religion, the Kashmiri speech community has broadly been distinguished into two main groups of speakers, viz., Muslim and Hindu Kashmiri speakers. Almost all the Hindu Kashmiri speakers belong to the Brahmin caste. In Kashmir they are locally called as batd.

The Muslims on the other hand constitute approximately more than 96% of the total population of the valley. Most of the Muslims are from the agricultural and business background. Different occupational groups of the Kashmiri speech community such as cobblers, boatmen/fishermen and businessmen are also from Muslim community.

The Muslim and Hindu Kashmiri speakers show considerable variations in their speech. The main reason behind this variation is that the variety of speech used by Muslim Kashmiri speakers is filled with the Persian and Arabic vocabulary and the variety of Kashmiri spoken by Hindu Kashmiri speakers is full of the Sanskritic sources.

The region bifurcates the entire speech community into two main groups of speakers, viz., Rural and Urban Kashmiri speakers. The rural people are mostly the agriculturists. They are by and large disadvantaged in the spheres of the education and
business as compared with their urban counterparts. The urban Kashmiris on the other hand constitute the business class and education elite. It may be noted that the people living in the city of Srinagar, which is the summer capital of Jammu and Kashmir are called as the urban people and the people living in different parts of valley other than Srinagar are called as rural people. The urban people are generally considered as well cultured and civilized than their rural counterparts. Depending on the nature of ruralization and urbanization, the variety of Kashmiri spoken in the different areas other than Srinagar is rural in character. This variety is generally considered as the non-standard variety of Kashmiri.

Though education is presently in the reach of each social group of the Kashmiri speech community in the equal proportion. But there is no denying the fact that the students of the higher education belong to the urban Kashmiri group. The main reason for the little percentage of the higher educated students among the rural Kashmiries is due to their involvement in agriculture (Farming). For the purpose of looking after their agricultural fields, to produce various agricultural products, the rural people had paid a little attention towards education. As a result of which they had been lagged behind in the field of education by their urban counterparts. But it is reasonable to argue that at present the rural people have turned their attention back with a keen interest towards education. The percentage of students with lower as well as higher education among rural people is now considerable.

On the basis of education, the whole speech community has been divided into three groups of speakers, viz., E1 (illiterate i.e. having no education at all), E2
(semiliterate i.e. having education up to intermediate or plus two level) and E3 (educated i.e. having education from graduation onwards).

The main occupation of the Kashmiri people is agriculture (farming). The Kashmiri farmers are the cultivators of rice, wheat, maize, corn and mustard among cereals. They are also producers of potatoes, onions, turnips, brinjal, chilly and spinach among vegetables. Kashmiri farmers also produce fruits, for which they are famous all over the world. The chief fruit products are apple, nuts, walnuts and almonds. Besides, saffron is also grown by these farmers to a considerable extent.

It can be reasonably claimed that the Kashmiries do not wholly and soley depend on the agriculture only. But they have occupied other occupations also. Thus on the basis of occupation, the entire Kashmiri speech community can be distinguished into four main occupational groups such as farmers, businessmen, boatmen/fishermen and cobblers. The farmers as said earlier are the rural agriculturists. They make their living mostly by the production of different agricultural products.

The people from business class are mostly involved in the business of fruits such as apples, nuts and almonds. They also perform the business of saffron, handicraft products, woolens such as shawls and carpets. The handicrafts and the manufacture of woolen give employment to a fair proportion of the people, who are known all over the world as the finest handicraftsmen of the East.

The fishermen/boatmen locally called as ga:ño: or na:vó: constitute another occupational group in the Kashmiri speech community. They
mostly make their living by fishing. Some of them are the load carriers from one *gha:t* to another *gha:t* in their boats. Presently some of them have shifted to the business of selling and purchasing the wood for fuel and timber for construction purposes. They are economically well off. In Srinagar proper, these boatmen form two groups. One group is totally engaged in tourist industry as guides houseboat owners and hotelier’s. Another group in engaged in their traditional work of fish catching and rowing of their small boats.

The cobblers locally called as *va:tal* constitute the lowest occupational group in the Kashmiri speech community. The cobblers fall in two groups one is engaged as the carriers of dead animals, sweepers etc. Another group of cobblers is engaged in all low jobs except dead animal carriers. They generally live on the outskirts of the villages. They are not permissible to visit the homes of the other people and are strictly prohibited to interdine with them.

Like the other speech communities, there are found the people of different age groups. There are young, adults and older people. On the basis of age, the Kashmiri speech community has been differentiated into three main age groups, viz., A1 (15 to 35 years), A2 (36 to 50 years) and A3 (51 years and above).

As regards the social factor sex, it bifurcates the speech community into two groups of speakers, viz., male speakers and female speakers with their apparent speech variations. It has been presumed that some sociolinguistic features of one particular social group could optionally be used by another social group in different situation and occasions.
Kashmiri speech community has a highly structured phonological behavior, it has been found that the difference in the vowels, semivowels, vowel sequence, nasalized vowels, consonants and vocative markers of males and females correlate with the corresponding differences in the social strata of the speech community. But one thing may be noted that at the phonological level more variability is found in the use of vowels and semivowels than in consonants. Thus for the variation in the use of language among Kashmiri speakers at the phonological level, the social variables like religion, region and education have been found to a play a very significant role.

Like the phonology, the structure of the Kashmiri language also varies considerably at the level of morphology among its speakers. There are a large number of words found in the speech of one special group which are missing in the speech of another social group. For this variation in the process of word formation (morphology) among the Kashmiri speakers certain social variable such as religion, region, sex, age, education and occupation play a very prominent role. The variables found at the morphological level which divide the speech community into various social groups have been found in the use of a wide range of categories such as nouns, pronouns, verbs, adjective etc. The morphological variations have also been found to occur in the use of certain address forms, courtesy maskers and kinship terms. The variation in the use of nominal categories has mainly been found on the basis of religion, region, age and education. For the variation in the use of verbal categories among the Kashmiri speakers, the social variables religion, region, age and education have been found to play a very significant role. The variation in the use of certain pronominal categories have been found to exist only on the basis of education. As regards the variation in the
use of certain adjectival categories, it has been found to occur on the basis of social factors religion and age only. Similarly, the variation in the use of kinship terms, which leads to the morphological variation among Kashmiri speakers has been observed on the basis of the social variables education, age, religion and sex.

So far as the variation in the use of language at the level of morphology on the basis of social variable occupation is concerned. It has been observed and explained in terms of use of different ‘Registers’ or ‘Jargons’. The registers or jargons are those lexical items which are associated with the occupation or the profession of a particular occupational group.

It is not surprising or a new thing for any language to show variation at its syntactic level among its speakers, when it varies in its phonology, morphology and lexicon. This is because of the fact that syntax is the combination and arrangement of the smaller units into the larger ones. In other words we may say that syntax is the study of combination or joining of morphemes and words into the sentence of the language. In the Kashmiri speech community, it has been found that there are expressions and even full sentences used by the speakers of one social group which are lacking in the speech of another social group. It can be claimed that like the phonology and morphology, the Kashmiri speakers show obvious variations in their speech at the syntactic level with respect to social variables such as religion, region, age, education, sex and occupation. The variables found at the syntactic level, which divide the speech community into various social groups have been found to occur over a wide range of grammatical categories such as nouns, pronouns, verbs, adjectives, address forms, courtesy maskers etc. The Kashmiri speakers have also been found to
very in the use of certain phrases and proverbs which differentiates the speakers of one social group from those of another at syntactic level.

Besides showing the variation in their speech at various levels of linguistics, Kashmiri speakers also cross their linguistic boundary and switch over from their mothertongue to other language and mix words from other languages into their mother tongue. This phenomenon of language choice is technically called as Code-switching and Code-mixing. Thus the phenomenon of Kashmiri-Urdu and Kashmiri-English Code-switching has been observed and analysed at various levels of the Kashmiri language. In the Kashmiri-Urdu phonological switching, the phonological interaction and contrast between the Kashmiri and Urdu sounds have been discussed. Kashmiri-Urdu morphological switching has been found to occur over a fairly wide range of categories such as nouns, pronouns, verbs, adjectives etc. Similarly Urdu-Kashmiri syntactic Code-switching also occurs over different grammatical categories. As regards English-Kashmiri Code-switching, it has been observed at the nominal and adjectival level only.

It has been observed that in the Kashmiri-Urdu and Kashmiri-English language contact situation, the main reason for this language choice lies in the face that Urdu and English are the first and second official languages of Jammu and Kashmir respectively. They are also the languages of literacy and mass media of the state. Both of these languages enjoy the special status in the state. Most of the Kashmiri mother tongue speakers use Urdu and English in various domains of their social life. Moreover, it has been found that rural Kashmiri speakers tend to switch over to the urban speech variety, while talking to urban people.
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and

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Appendix-1

Questionnaire
Appendix - I

QUESTIONNAIRE

I. BACKGROUND INFORMATION OF THE RESPONDENT

1. Full Name: ________________________________

2. Address:
   (a) Permanent: ________________________________
   (b) Present: ________________________________

3. Place of Residence:
   (a) Rural □ (b) Urban □

4. Sex:
   (a) Male □ (b) Female □

5. Religion:
   (a) Muslim □ (b) Hindu □

6. Age:
   Group A1 (15 to 35 years) □
   Group A2 (36 to 50 years) □
   Group A3 (51 years and above) □

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7. Education:

E1 (illiterate)  
E2 (semiliterate), i.e. upto Intermediate or Plus Two Level  
E3 (educated), i.e. form Graduation onwards upto Ph.D.

8. Occupation:

(a) Businessman  
(b) Farmer  
(c) Cobbler  
(d) Fisherman/Boatman

II. LEXICON:

9. Name some major religious festivals observed in your community:

(i)  
(ii)  
(iii)  
(iv)  

10. Name some games that you play/played:

(i)  
(ii)  
(iii)  
(iv)  

11. Name some dishes you like most:

(i)  
(ii)  
(iii)  
(iv)  

12. Name some ladies/gents garments:

(i)  
(ii)  
(iii)  
(iv)  

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13. Name some common utensils used in kitchen:
(i) ________________________________ (ii) ________________________________
(iii) ________________________________ (iv) ________________________________

14. Give the names of days of the week:
(i) ________________________________ (ii) ________________________________ (iii) ________________________________ (iv) ________________________________
(v) ________________________________ (vi) ________________________________ (vii) ________________________________

15. Name months of year:
(i) ________________________________ (ii) ________________________________ (iii) ________________________________ (iv) ________________________________
(v) ________________________________ (vi) ________________________________ (vii) ________________________________ (viii) ________________________________
(ix) ________________________________ (x) ________________________________ (xi) ________________________________ (xii) ________________________________

16. Name different seasons of the year:
(i) ________________________________ (ii) ________________________________
(iii) ________________________________ (iv) ________________________________

17. Give the names of some popular fruits:
(i) ________________________________ (ii) ________________________________
(iii) ________________________________ (iv) ________________________________

18. Please call some feminine personal names (names of ladies)
(i) ________________________________ (ii) ________________________________
(iii) ________________________________ (iv) ________________________________
19. Please call some masculine names (names of some gents)

(i) ____________________________  (ii) ____________________________

(iii) ____________________________  (iv) ____________________________

III. SELF-EVALUATION TEST:

20. Give the Kashmiri equivalents for the following words:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Kashmiri</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cry</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reward</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arm</td>
<td>Shirt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baby</td>
<td>Cold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horse</td>
<td>Hen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rat</td>
<td>Rain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daughter</td>
<td>House</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mouse</td>
<td>Death</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leader</td>
<td>Dog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resignation</td>
<td>Minceball</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Branch</td>
<td>Lid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>See</td>
<td>Eagle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water</td>
<td>Cooked meat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heaven</td>
<td>Engagement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donation</td>
<td>Bark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boil</td>
<td>Cat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refusal</td>
<td>Manage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tomato</td>
<td>Oh!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hook</td>
<td>Peg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clamp</td>
<td>Part</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>God</td>
<td>Plate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trouser</td>
<td>Peace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Death</td>
<td>Bath</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hope</td>
<td>Body</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugar</td>
<td>Cowshed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiss</td>
<td>Duck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oil</td>
<td>Saucepan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sin</td>
<td>Serve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hell</td>
<td>Wealth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoes</td>
<td>Chilly</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

21. Give the Kashmiri equivalents for the following expressions:

(i) God bless you!  
(ii) Thank you.  
(iii) Thank God!  
(iv) May I come in Sir?  
(iii) Happy Birthday!  
(v) All the best!  
(vii) Hi! My darling!  
(viii) How do you do?  
(ix) O my God!
22. What expressions do you use while greeting some one?

(i) ___________________ (ii) ___________________

(iii) ___________________ (iv) ___________________

23. What expressions do you use while blessing some one?

(i) ___________________ (ii) ___________________

(iii) ___________________ (iv) ___________________

24. Give the numbers from one to twenty.

(i) ___________________ (ii) ___________________

(iii) ___________________ (iv) ___________________

25. Give the names of some equipments associated with your profession.

(i) ___________________ (ii) ___________________

(iii) ___________________ (iv) ___________________

26. Give the antonyms of following words.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tshot</th>
<th>pətəm</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ga:š</td>
<td>neču</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zanaːn</td>
<td>narəm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inkaːr</td>
<td>guːr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teyoth</td>
<td>voːnø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khošøk</td>
<td>køm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duːr</td>
<td>rut</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
IV. Folk Lore

28. Tell me briefly the story of a Muslim/Hindu saint. (tape recording)

29. Narrate briefly a folk tale heard from your grand parents. (tape recording)

30. Conversation among two or more persons. (tape recording)
Appendix-II

Interviews
Appendix - II

Interviews

While pursuing the present study, several interviews were conducted directly by the investigator. The investigator himself interviewed different respondents at different places.

Interview I

In the very 1st interview, the investigator interviewed one urban Kashmiri speaker Javed Ahmed Dar R/o Maisuma Srinagar and a rural Kashmiri speaker Khurshid Ahmad R/o Wachi Pulwama. These respondents were interviewed at their respective residences. Each of them was made to tell briefly a few sentences about a great Muslim Sufi saint Sheikh Noor-ud-din Wali (Ra).

The urban Kashmiri speaker Javed Ahmad Dar was interviewed as:

Investigator: tohey və:ni va me kāh kaθ̣o ʃi:kh nu:rdi:n və:lyes mutaḷḍk?

The rural Kashmiri speaker Khurshid Ahmad was also made to narrate the same story as:

I:  tohey vənitove me tshoten laфаzañ məz Ši:kh nu:rdin vəlyes mutalʊk kəh:


Interview II

In his II interview, the investigator interviewed two respondents. Firstly a respondent Mr. Nazir Ahmad Malik R/o Mellahura Pulwama, belonging to the education group E1 (illiterate) was interviewed by asking some questions as:
I: me və:nəva tohye keya ñihove na:ve?

R: me ñihu na:ve nɔzi:r ahmad mələk.

I: me və:neve tohey keya kə:m ñihive karan?

R: be ñihus zimi:ndərey karan.

I: me və:nədov tohey kātsan heyva:nan hīdəna:va?

R: dād, guʧ, gaguʧ, bro:ʧ, hu:n pōz bətri.

I: tohey və:nəlove me thu:l tra:van valən kātsan ja:nvaran hûd na:ve?

In this same interview, the investigator interviewed a respondent Bashir Ahmad Mir at his residence chokura Pulwama, belonging to education group E3 (Educated). He was interviewed by asking the following questions:

I: *tohey vənətove me panun na:ve?*

R: *jina:b me haz āhu na:ve bɔxi:r ahmad mi:r.*

I: *tohey vənətove me keya chhovə poqmut?*

R: *jina:b me haz āhu M.A. kormut.*

I: *tohey vənətove me auz keya āheve tohey karan?*

R: *jina:b bɔhaz āhus sarkərə ti:çər.*

**Interview III**

In his third interview, the investigator interviewed a Hindu Kashmiri speaker, Sanjay Kumar Sharma at his residence Achan Pulwama, by asking the following questions:

I: *me vənətove tohey a:bas keya ñihəvə tohey vanan?*

R: *po:nə*

I: *me van sa pə:təlas keya ñihəvə vanan?*

R: *bohgun*
I: me vɔːnɔtɔve tohey khādas keya ōhɔvɔ tohey vanan?

R: mɔdri:r.

I: me vɔːnɔtɔve tohey naːtan keya ōhɔvɔ tohey vanan?

R: nene.

I: me vɔːnɔtɔve neyaːz karnas keya ōhɔvɔ tohey vanan?

R: haːvun.

I: me vɔːnɔtɔve khaːb vɔ ōnas keya ōhɔvɔ tohey vanan?

R: sapun vuchun.

I: me vɔːnɔtɔve doulatɔs keya ōhɔvɔ tohey vanan?

R: dun.

I: me vɔːnɔtɔve hɔsas keya ōhɔvɔ tohey vanan?

R: āg.

I: me vɔːnɔtɔve kātsan haːvaːnan hûd naːve?

R: dād, gaːve gur, broːr gagur, kokur, beːtre.
Interview IV

In his fourth interview, the investigator interviewed a respondent Mohd. Sultan Mir belonging to age group A3 (51 years and above) at his residence Arwani Aneantnag. The respondent was made to tell the alternate forms (used in his time) for certain words used presently:

I: tohey keya að:səvə brōth jeha:zas vanan?

R: vōtshōpṟāg

I: paldal paknas keya að:səvə tohey brōnth vanan?

R: vokhē:lōpakun.

I: sku:ləs keya að:səvə tohey brōnth vanan?

R: tsaːtə hə:l

I: buːtas keya að:səvə tohey brōnth vanan?

R: khō:rbaːn.

I: Ĉapne keya að:səvə tohey brōnth vanan?

R: naːlō:nə.
Interview V

In his fifth interview, the investigator interviewed a rural female respondent Zarifa R/o Mellahura Pulwama and another urban female respondent Shaheena R/o Hazrat Bal Srinagar at their respective residences. Each of them was asked some questions to be answered.

The rural respondent was interviewed as follows:

I:  *me və:nətovo tohey kətsi baje ēhəvə nīdrə voθan?*

R:  *bə chhes pə:tsə baje nīdrə voθan.*

I:  *nīdrə voθan pəθ keya ēhəvə tohey karan?*

R:  *nīdrə vəθəθ ēhəs bə aθə buθ ēhala:n, sırəva:n, ća:i karan tə batə ranan.*

I:  *tamə pəθ keya ēhəvəc tohey karan?*

R:  *tamə pəθ ēhəs bə ba:key kə:m karan, kə:m makə ləvəθ ēhəs va:θə məz gatshan tə seyun anan, seyun ənət θ ēhəs beye ka:ləke khə:trə ranan.*

The urban respondent Shaheen responded as:
I: tohey vō :nō tove me tohey keya ēhhō vō nūdrō voθ nō pēthō beyō sōgnōs ta:nō karan?

Interview VI

In this interview, the investigator interviewed three respondents from three different occupational groups such as a farmer Ali Mohd. R/o Naina Pulwama, a fisherman Rajab Dar R/o Tulkhan Anantnag, and a cobbler Hasan Sheikh R/o Mellahura Pulwama. All these respondents were put some questions relating to their respective occupations. The farmer respondent was interviewed at his residence Naina by asking following questions as:

I: zәmi:nәs ә:b bәrnәd khә:trәyo:s nә:lә tohey istema:l kәran әheve әuә keya әнәәвә tohey vәnәn?

R: әuә әнәә vanәn әә ye:n.


R: әuә әнәә әә әә әә vanәn.

I: zәmi:nәs ә:b bәrnәs keya әнәәвә tohey vәnәn?

R: әuә әнәә vanәn әә ta:әә karun.

I: mukhtәlәф bә:lә vәvnәs keya әнәәвә tohey vәnәn?

R: әәәә karun.
The fisherman was asked the following questions by the investigator during his fishing hours in the river Jehellum.

I: yeθ na:yə keya ʘhəvə tohey vanan?

R: auθ ʘhə vanan asə ga:ə və:r.

I: yemə sə:tə tohey nəve ʘaləvən ʘhəvə auθ keya ʘhəvə tohey vənən?

R: auθ ʘhə vanan əsə khu:r.

I: yeθ məz tohey yəmdə ga:ə kənne nəvən ʘhəvə auθ keya ʘhəvə tohey vanan?

R: auθ ʘhə vanan asə ɬhupur.

I: na:ve bə:thəs kun raɬnəs keya ʘhəvə tohey vənən?

R: na:ve ba:l raɬnə.

I: yeməsə:təna:ye məzə tohey a:ə nebar kaɬən ʘhəvə auθ keya ʘhəvə tohey vanan?

R: kha:ʃər.
The cobbler respondent was asked the following questions at his residence.

I: yeθ pɔθ tohey yəm bu:th ɔhɔvɔ banavan auθ keya ɔhɔvɔ tohey vanan?

R: auθ ɔhɔ vanan əsə sāda:n.

I: yeθ ɔmadas keya ɔhɔvɔ tohey vanan?

R: auθ ɔhɔ vanan əsə ʧullə.

I: pɔləʃə keya ɔhɔvɔ tohey vanan?

R: auθ ɔhɔ vanan əsə ʧukhɔr.

I: gra:kas keya ɔhɔvɔ tohey vanan?

R: nə:ley.