Terms of Address and Reference of Kannur and Calicut Muslims in Kerala

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Introduction

Malayalam (ISO: mal) is one of the major Dravidian languages spoken in South India. It is the official language of Kerala. This Dravidian language is also spoken in other places like Lakshadweep islands, Fiji, Canada, Malaysia, UAE, Israel, etc. According to the Census of India in 2001, there are almost 33,000,000 speakers of this particular language.

The paper looks into one of the major dialects of Malayalam known as Moplah (Mappila) Malayalam. This dialect is majorly spoken by the Muslim communities of the Malabar region. One of the special features of their dialect is that, there is a huge influence of Arabic terms and sounds in their language. Certain sounds that are absent in Malayalam is present in their Malayalam. Because of this influence of Arabic in their dialect, the Malayalam spoken by the Muslims in Malabar is called as 'Arabi-Malayalam'.

Kannur and Calicut (Kozhikode) districts are two districts situated on the south-west coast of India. The Malayalam spoken over these areas shows a similar influence of Arabic terms of reference and addresses in their daily usage. Kannur district earlier known as *'Cannanore'* has a population of 2,523,003 of which male and female were 1,181,446 and 1,341,557. According to 2011 census, 65.04% of population lives in urban regions of the district and 34.96% of population lives in rural areas of villages. Calicut district has a population of 3,086,293 of which male and female were 1,470,942 and 1,615,351. In Calicut 67.15% of population lives in urban area and 38.85% are in rural area. Both these districts are dominated by Muslim majority.

Methodology

This paper is on "Terms of Address and Reference of Kannur and Calicut Muslims in Kerala. Methodology adopted for the collection of data was primarily direct data elicitation. People from an age group between 18yrs to 24 yrs. were consulted for collecting the primary

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data. The consultants of this research include both male and female members of the Muslim community. And some people from Hindu community were also consulted during the data collection. This was done to check both comparative and contrastive analysis of the data. The data was collected from the consultants through questionnaire (interview) and group discussions, The informants were asked to narrate certain incidents and stories. Some of the data was also collected during their natural conversation with friends. Most of the consultants' interview lasted from 45-60 minutes while some interviews, mainly group discussions, extended up to one and half to two hours. All these data were recorded using a recorder with the consent of the consultants during their interviews. These audio files were sliced into parts for analysing the data. Some of the data was transcribed during the interview itself.

Terms of Address and Reference

Terms of address and reference are used by all of us in our conversation on a day today basis. The addresses and references of a community vary from generation to generation. The terms of address used by older people may not be the same as the terms used by younger ones. So, age, sex, religion, social ranks, etc. impact the choice of terms that people use. Furthermore, these include different types of address and reference terminologies that are used in a community. Mostly these terms depend upon the context in which the particular term is used. Similarly, the location changes the usage of words and terms and the meaning.

In Kerala one can see a huge difference in the terms used by people belonging to different communities. To draw an example, the terms used by Nambooridiri (Upper caste Hindu/Brahmins), Christian, and Muslim dialects are different from each other. The usage of terms of addresses and reference varies from one's kinship terms. Caste-based terms are in use in Kerala.

Kerala is a state where one can see a lot of divisions within the same religion, based on castes. Castes are further divided into sub-castes. The caste and the addresses and references given on the basis of people's caste and occupations are even used in a public context.

This article focuses on the terms of addresses and references of both Kannur and Calicut Muslim communities which were collected under the categories of occupational terms, caste based terms, and terms used by intimacy/ couples and religious terms.

Terms of Address and Reference by Muslims of Kannur and Calicut in Kerala

1. Use of caste based address and reference
i) Kannur Muslim Community

In the Kannur Muslim community, the caste-based references are mostly used rather

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than caste-based addresses. The Muslims settled in this part of Kerala are referred as *ma:piḻa*. But they hardly use the term to address them. Similarly, in some parts of Kannur the Hindus are referred as *ṯiyar*, so-called lower caste (Other Backward Communities) in Kerala. But the Muslims of Kannur, especially older people, use the term as a generic term *ṯiyar* for Hindus.

The caste-based addresses are not used in normal conversations but in a situation like abuses or fight. In personal conversations within the community, they are addressed on the basis of their caste along with their names like *Gopala ṯiyaa* (Gopal is the name of that person). In some parts of Kannur, people address as well as refer the members of Nair caste (considered to be upper caste Hindus) with their caste name. Like, *nayarkuṭṭiei* (*nayar* is the caste and *kuṭṭi* means child, i.e. child of a nayar). They are addressed as:

a) *nayarkuṭṭiyei*   *eviḍe*   *pokuŋŋi?*

  Nair child   where   go-PRES.PROG

Nair child where are you going?

And they are referred as:

b) *ɔːḷə*   *oru*   *nayarkuṭṭiya.*

  she-3rdP.SG   a   Nair child

 She is a Nair child.

Another caste-based reference is given to a sub-caste of Muslims who speak the Afghan dialect Pashto. They are referred as *paḍḍaŋi*.

nammaḷə   *ennə*   *oru*   *paḍḍaŋiya*   *kaŋḍinə*

We   today   a   pattan   see-PST

We saw a Pathan today.

ii) Calicut Muslim Community

The terms of address and reference used by this Muslim community are comparatively more prestigious/respectful than the terms used by Kannur Muslim community. The Muslims are referred as *mapiḻara* and they are addressed as *mapiḻarei.*

Reference-   *ɔːn*   *oru*   *mapiḻara*

           he-3rdP.SG   a   muslim man

He is a Muslim.

Address-   *ma:piḻarei*   *eviḍe*   *pokuva?*

           Muslim man where   go-PRES.PROG

Where are you going Muslim man?

For fishermen the reference term they use is *pusəla:nma:r.*

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Reference- *eɲɲə   oru   pusəla:num   illa*
            Today   single   fisherman-EMP   no-NEG
Today there is not even a single fisherman.

Address- *pusəla:ne   eɲɲə   mi:na eɲɲu?*
         Fisherman   what   fish   today
Fisherman, what fish do you have today?

        If the fisherman is a familiar person, then he is addressed with *ikka* (brother) behind his caste name while addressing: *pusəla:nikka.*

        The Calicut Muslims use the term *paŋikkyar* (astrologer caste). They are referred as *paŋikkyar* and they are addressed as *paŋikkyarei.*

Ex: One of the famous astrologers in the district/ area of research is referred as *unnikrishnapaŋikkar* (Unnikrishan is his name and *paŋikkar* is his caste) and, when he is addressed, he is either addressed as *paŋikkarsaarei* (Panicker sir) or as *unnikrishnapaŋikkarei.*

        The other caste-based terms include *pərayan* (a scheduled caste) and *ʈiyar* (backward class).

        A *pərava*n is always referred as *pəravan* and is addressed as *pərava*. Similarly, *a ʈiyar caste* person is referred as *ʈiyan* and is addressed as *ʈiyaa.* Elder people mostly address them as *eɖo,ʈiyaa*! (hey, ʈiyaa!).

        In this community one can also see a caste-based reference given by wife about their husband. For example, a Muslim woman would refer her husband to another person as *enʈe mapiḷaor enʈemapiḷa:ra* (*enʈe* means my and *mapiḷara* means husband) in this context. But, actually mapiḷa is the name of the caste. Same way a Hindu woman's husband would be referred as *ninʈe ʈiyan*
(*ninʈe* means *your*, and *ʈiyan* is a so-called lower caste Hindu). Women over here also address their husband with their caste like e*nʈe mapiḷe oɲɲu varumo?* (Will you please come my husband?).

iii. Address and Reference to Servants
        There always exists a difference in the relationship between the speaker and the recipient when it comes to address and reference to servants. Probably, this is can be marked as an asymmetrical relation between the speaker and the recipient where either has a lower status (Abbi 2001:226).

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In this category, both these communities have similar terms of address and reference to servants. The servants are mostly referred by the owners of the house by using the servant's name.

Ex: The servant's name with *Abdul,* during references will be referred with his name. Children or others who are younger than the age of the servant will always refer the servant with the addition of the term *ikka* (brother) after that person's name. Like, *Abduikka.*

The address given to the servant is almost similar to the reference. The servant will be called by the name by the residents in the house except the younger ones. One can see a respectful term given to the servant by the people/owners (all the people who are younger than the servant's age) in the house even if there exists an asymmetrical relation. They also address the servants using the pronoun *ɲiŋaḷ/ iŋaḷ*(you).

Address- *ɲiŋaḷ/iŋaḷ   enṱə   paɳi   eḍukunillaei?*
         You-2ndP.SG why   work   do-NEG
Why don't you work?

They are also addressed with *ikka* (brother) or *iṯṯəṯə/iṯṯ*ə (sister*)* along with their names. If the servant working in a Muslim house is a Hindu then, he will be referred and addressed as *eṯṯan* with their names like *ramaneṯṯan. Raman* is the name and *čeṯṯan* means brother). For a female Hindu household worker, she would be addressed as *tʃetʃi (*sister*)* along with their names.

Example: *sitetʃi* or *sitatʃetʃi*. (Sita is the name of the servant)

If they have a servant who is young, they are addressed with pronoun *ɲi* (you).
Example *ɲi   paɳi   eḍukunilla*
         You -2ndP.SG   work   do-PROG.NEG
You are not working.

Both in Kannur and Calicut, they just have one respectable term *ɲiŋaḷ*. This same term is used to address to every other person in the family. *ɲiŋaḷ/ iŋaḷ* term is also used to address the priest in the Muslim community. But, just to draw a comparative analysis, the most respectable term *ɲiŋaḷ* of these districts cannot be used in other districts like in central and southern Kerala because this same term over there is regarded as an unrespectable term that a person can use to their elders. This is just to show that the terms and their meanings change depending upon the location/community.

iv. Religious Terms

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Both Kannur and Calicut districts are predominantly Muslim areas. The terms used to refer to religious people are same in both the districts. Most of the terms they use to refer are people who are related to the mosque.

In Kannur, the person who teaches in Madrassa is addressed as *moula:ikka* or *moila:rikka*. In Calicut they use both *mouliya:r* and *musliya:r*. They hardly use another term for referring to them. The people over these area either call the name along with *mouliya:r* or they use the term in isolation.

Example: *Ahamedmouliya:r*.

Similarly, a person who had gone for Haj in Mecca will be referred as *haǐi/haǐiya:r* and the address term used for him will be *haǐiyarei*.

Address -*enʈə haǐiyarei   paʈʈijaʈu?*
            what   haji   happen-PST
What happened Haji?

Reference- *ɲa:n   ennə   hajiye kandu*
            I   today   haji   see-PST
I saw Haji today.

Both in Kannur and Calicut, the terms that are used in religious addresses come from Arabic. These terms are mixed with Malayalam resulting in slight changes in the sounds.

The term used for a person who calls for prayer at mosque is called as *xælfa*. A representative person from the mosque who solves problem and registers marriage is referred as *xæɭi* and he will be addressed as *xæliya:r*. Another Arabic term is given to the person who calls for prayer on Friday. He is addressed as *xætib*. The person who teaches in Madrassa is addressed as *usʈa:d* which comes from the Arabic term *ostad* meaning Professor. The address given to the *usʈa:d*'s assistant is *mukkir*i and if the *mukkkir*i teaches in Madrassa then he too will be addressed as *usʈa:d*.

A religious Muslim man almost like a head is known as *taŋaɭ*. These people are often referred to as *taŋama:r*. He will be addressed as *taŋaɭei* or his name will be put in front of this term.

Today this term of address and reference has almost become like a title that has been attached to most of them and they use it in their name and in family.

4. Occupational Terms

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Occupational terms of address and reference are seen in both the Muslim communities. Their address and the reference terms do not vary too much when it comes to occupation. The influence of English terms being nativized, usage of Sanskrit words, Arabic terms all come together in this. A carpenter is referred by the people as *aʃari* during conversations. But they do not use the word *aʃar*i while addressing the carpenter. They either address them with the name, or the name along with the profession is used.

Reference*:*   *eŋale*   *aʃari*   *vaŋŋilla*
                 yesterday   carpenter   come-PST.NEG
The carpenter didn't come yesterday.

Address: *mohaʃari*   *iŋale*   *ɲiŋaḷuɳḍakije kaʈʈiḷnallatə*
                 mohancarpenter   yesterday   you   make-PST   bed   good
Mohan carpenter, the bed you made yesterday was nice.

Similarly, the occupation term used to address the person is goldsmith. He is both referred to and addressed by using the term *ʈaʈʈa:n.* People address these people as *ʈaʈʈa:nei* with or without his name attached. The children of the occupational caste people are also referred to with reference to the profession of their father. The reference given to the goldsmith's children will be:

Reference: *eʈə*   *a:*   *ʈaʈʈa:ntei*   *kuʈʈikaḷa*
                 these   that   goldsmith-GEN   child-PL
These are the children of that goldsmith.

But the children or any other family members of any other profession are not addressed by the name of the occupation.

There are many English words that are used to refer to certain professions. And most of these words are Indianised today. Doctor is referred to as dokkʈar and is addressed as *dokkʈʈare*!; an Engineer is referred to as *innginijar* and addressed as *innginijarsaare*!; teachers are usually distinguished with their names as *siʈatičar,* etc. In government schools and in some colleges of Calicut district, children address both female and male teachers using the same term *saare* (sir)*.* Ex. a female teacher named Sita will be addressed as *sitasaare* and a male teacher named Ram will also be called as *ramansaare.* They also use *ʈičar* to refer the female teacher and *maʃa* for male teachers. So, in certain contexts the people don't distinguish between male and female teachers on the basis of gender and they use the same term to address and refer to both the gender. Gender in such places can be just distinguished with the name of the person. But Arabic teacher will be always addressed as *munʃi* meaning scholar. This may be because the Arabic classes in schools are taken by a religious person. The people over here also abbreviate some English terms to address people on the basis of occupation like the man who stands near the door of the bus is both called and addressed as

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kiḷḷi probably derived from the word *kiḷḷinar* (cleaner). The conductor is referred to as *čekkar* and addressed as *čekkarei or čekkarikka!* (Checker brother). An Ayurvedic doctor is addressed as *vaaidjarei* and referred as *vaaidjan* and if this doctor comes to one's home and checks the patient they will be then addressed as *kampouṇḍar.* This term is mostly used by the aged people like grandmother and grandfather. The meaning of the word has also changed. Now the word *kampouṇḍar* means a person who stands or gives medicine in the Ayurvedic shop or hospital.

In Kannur and Calicut, the woodcutters are called as *aŋŋačči.* It's a Tamil word which is used to address and refer to the woodcutters. These woodcutters are sometimes addressed also as *aŋŋa* meaning brother in Tamil. Similarly North Indian people who works over there are always referred as *hindika:r* meaning people who speak Hindi. They are often addressed as *bhaiya* meaning brother in Hindi. For the migrant workers they never use the name along with their occupation for addressing and referring. But they still maintain their native names for addressing them.

5. Terms of Intimacy

Terms of intimacy are one of the most informal ways of using language. The address terms used by a husband to wife or by a boyfriend to a girlfriend and vice-versa give less importance to the asymmetrical or symmetrical relationship. In address forms, the male partner addresses the female partner mostly using abbreviations: if the wife's name is *Sunnabhi* the husband would call her as *Sunna*. Similarly name *Ayesha* is abbreviated to *ai*, *Nafeesa* as *Nafi*, *Begum* etc. And wives usually call their husbands using an abbreviated form of their name followed by *ikka* (brother). Example: a husband named *Mustaffa* would be called as *Mustikka* by his wife, *Jabbar* will be addressed as *jappu* or *jappikka* by his wife.

The women in both Kannur and Calicut use indirect forms of address like:
athe (listen)
oŋŋuvaru (please come)
iŋaḷe (you)

Pet names are mostly used by young married couples and lovers. The husband addresses his wife like kʰ*albe* (my heart), *ṯangamei* (my gold), *muṯṯei* (pearl), *ṯenei* (honey), *moḷu*or
vava (baby) etc.

Nicknames are also used to address the partner. Some of the nicknames that the person uses to call his/her partner are by referring to their body features. Like, a female with big eyes will be called as *undakaŋŋi,* female who has a sharp nose as parrot, *kiḷḷičunḍanma:naᴌame,* a woman whose face has a similar shape to a variety of mango (*kiḷḷŋḍan*) found in Kerala.

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Males also use to address the females using the terms like *ḍi*. They call them as *eḍiyei* (Hey woman!). Similar to this one is that when a husband is in a good mood he addresses (indirect) his wife as *ei* (Hey) and when there is some kind of quarrel the husband would call his wife as *eḍi* (Hey you woman!) with a high tone. In Malayalam, the term used to address a female is *ḍi* and a male is addressed as *ḍa*. When it comes to intimacy terms, the term used for addressing the female will also turn to *ḍa.*

The reference terms used by both Kannur and Calicut Muslim Communities are not very different. The Muslim woman always refers to their husband either by husband's name with *ikka*or as *anṭekuṭṭiɔḷḍeuppa* 'my children's father' or with the name of the child as *Nafiuḍeuppa* (Nafi is the name of the child and *upp*a means father). They also use the term *ivarə* (this person/man, i.e. husband) for reference. Females are referred to by the husbands as *ivaḷə (*this woman i.e. wife).

Conclusion

The paper has attempted to overview the *Terms of address and reference* by Mappila Muslims of Kannur and Calicut in Kerala. Some of the notable features which can be seen from the study include the distinctive features of the use of Malayalam in this region, their use of the personal pronoun niŋaḷ /iŋaḷ (you) used by the people to address everybody. Malayalam has three different terms for honorific, ordinary and intimacy. People over here use a single term for addressing people from servant to a person in a religious position. Similarly, one can see the least amount of formal usage of address and reference terms in terms of intimacy. There are certain terms that are supposed to be followed or used by the husband and wife to address their partner. Most people actually follow this rule or convention. In intimacy terms of address, one can see the use of names in abbreviated forms, addressing the partner with reference to their features, etc.

The religious terms used by the people over here are mostly Arabic loan words. They have nativised all these words and the people in the religious positions are addressed and referred to by their job position than by their name.

In occupational terms, the use of the person's name is more restricted. The person is always referred to by his or her profession. The whole family of that particular person will be referred to with the name of the occupation followed by the person. But the people limit the usage of the occupational terms when it comes to addressing especially the females and children. We can see that people of certain migrant communities are addresses with the terms of their language for addressing them.

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