

The role of address terms in Iraqw verbal greetings

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Abstract

This study investigates the functions of address terms in Iraqw verbal greetings. To achieve this objective, verbal greetings were collected from research participants who are native speakers of the Iraqw language residing in Getaghul and Bondeni villages, in the Manyara Region, Tanzania. The participants were rural farmers, some of whom also engaged in small-scale livestock keeping. The patterns of greetings were recorded using a voice recorder. The data were then transcribed. After the transcription, address terms used within greeting exchanges were noted down. Thereafter, interviews were

conducted with six elderly individuals knowledgeable in the Iraqw language to gain insight into the functions of address terms. The data were analyzed thematically based on the role of address terms. The analysis revealed five functions of address terms: showing respect, denoting intimacy, indicating a familial bond, reflecting social identity, and indicating social distance. These findings indicate the reciprocal and non-reciprocal relationships reflected in the use of address terms among Iraqw native speakers, thereby supporting Brown and Gilman's model (1960).

Keywords: address terms, verbal greetings, pragmatics, functions, Iraqw

Introduction

Iraqw people are found in the northern part of Tanzania (Bayo et al., 2024; Mous, 2020). They inhabit the Manyara and Arusha Regions. In the Manyara Region, there are more than 430,462 native speakers of the Iraqw language, while Arusha comprises more than 135,531 indigenous speakers (LoT, 2009). The Iraqw language originates from the Southern branch of the Cushitic language family (Mous et al., 2002). The Southern Cushitic languages comprise non-rift and rift languages. The rift branch encompasses the east-rift languages and the west-rift branch, which includes Iraqw, Alagwa, Gorwaa, and Burunge (Kießling, 2000; Maghway, 1995).

This study investigates the functions of address terms in Iraqw verbal greetings. Address terms are intimately connected aspects of greeting, especially in cultures that place strong emphasis on social hierarchies and formalities (Pastini and Susianti, 2023). Similarly, Rifai and Prasetyaningrum (2016) argue that address terms are an essential element of greetings. They maintain that the use of address terms in greetings depicts the interactants' interest or indicates their level of relationship. For example, when interlocutors employ first names as part of their greeting exchange, it shows familiarity or closeness between them. The importance of address terms and greetings in communication transcends beyond linguistic conventions,

serving as the transmission of cultural values, beliefs, and norms (Pastini and Susianti, 2023; Rifai and Prasetyaningrum, 2016).

In most speech communities, address terms play a significant role, serving as a tool in social interactions and maintaining the identity of the speakers within their complex cultural milieu (Surono, 2018). In some languages, like Iraqw, address terms are a constitutive part of greetings, and they are thus considered important in initiating or establishing first contact to develop and maintain a harmonious relationship between the interlocutors. In other cultures, like Western society, it is not mandatory to use address terms in greeting patterns because there are alternative ways to greet a person without the use of address terms (Braun, 1988). For example, in English, one may greet by saying 'hi!'. This kind of greeting is not advocated when junior members greet the senior members in the Iraqw community, except among age-mates. In Iraqw, a younger speaker has to address a senior member with a correct kinship term (Bayo, 2023). In contrast, older individuals often use personal names when addressing juniors in the Iraqw community. Personal names are also used among age-mates to express intimacy. Additionally, anyone younger than the speaker is designated using kinship terms that reflect their position as junior members of the Iraqw community. Therefore, this study investigates the functions of address terms in Iraqw verbal greetings.

Verbal greetings play a significant role in promoting social interactions among speakers of a particular language, fostering opportunities for them to develop and maintain social relationships. In greetings, address terms are utilized either when a speaker is initiating a greeting or when an addressee is responding to a speaker's greeting. In other cultures, it has been observed that addressing a person occurs before beginning the conversation (Rifai and Prasetyaningrum, 2016). Therefore, address terms are significant linguistic elements in communication, although the position of their occurrence may vary within the verbal greetings. That is, they can be utilized

before, during, or after the conversation (Gao, 2013). Given that address terms are crucial linguistic elements in greetings, this study, therefore, explores the functions of address in Iraqw verbal greetings, shedding light on how indigenous address terms are utilized.

In the context of this study, address terms are oral expressions or words employed to designate an individual in a face-to-face encounter. They include surname, title, first name, multiple names, nickname, kinship terms, endearment terms, combination of the aforementioned terms and tecknonyms (Aborampah, 2023; Akindele, 2008). Speakers' choice of address terms to designate an addressee is conditioned by different socio-cultural factors such as age, gender, social distance, generational relationship, communicative context, and status (Salihu, 2014). The use of address terms in communication plays different functions based on a particular community. This study, therefore, investigated the role of address terms in Iraqw verbal greetings. The investigation revealed distinct functions of address terms in Iraqw language, providing a deeper understanding of their culture associated with the use of address terms.

Literature review of the concept and functions of address terms

Address terms are linguistic devices used to identify and designate the person to whom a speaker intends to convey a message during an ongoing conversation (Oyetade, 1995). In his study, Afful (2006) defined address terms as language forms (phrases or words) employed by speakers to designate listeners in face-to-face conversations. These studies demonstrate that address terms are vital linguistic tools employed by communicators to facilitate social interactions.

In social interactions, address terms serve distinct roles. For instance, in Brown and Gilman's (1960), pronouns of address were utilized to show power and solidarity. Power manifests in nonreciprocal use of pronouns between the interlocutors. In their

study, the socially superior people are addressed using the formal pronoun V, indicating respect, and employ the informal pronoun T, depicting familiarity, to address the less powerful people. This was a widespread practice in most European societies (Brown and Gilman, 1960). They argue that over time, the dimension of solidarity has emerged, superseding that of non-equal power. This dimension of solidarity emerged as a mechanism to distinguish addressees between interlocutors with equal power and those with unequal status. Solidarity manifests through the use of pronouns, indicating equality among the interlocutors.

In non-European contexts, power and solidarity also manifest in the use of address terms. This means that address terms are used also to show social status and equality in other communities. Address terms are utilized to show social status based on the addressee's level of education, occupation, age, and wealth. In this case, speakers' choice of address terms may reflect the addressee's rank or position within the community. For instance, some people are designated by their professional titles like a teacher, doctor, professor, and so forth (Chamo, 2019; Wardhaugh, 2006). In other communities, such as Persian, honorifics are employed to address a person with status (Aliakbari and Toni, 2008). Solidarity reflected through the use of address terms was also reported in non-European communities. For instance, in the Shona community of Zimbabwe, Mashiri (1999) reports that reciprocal relationships among speakers are depicted not only through pronouns but also through other address terms, such as nouns, names, and nominal morphemes.

The choice of address terms reveals one's identity in social interaction. For example, a person can be addressed as a professor, signaling his or her social identity (Mensah, 2021). In another context, Emeka-Nwobia (2020) revealed the role of address terms in expressing identity among Nigerian Pentecostals. Church members use personal names, kinship terms, and titles to address one another, reflecting their shared identity as members of the same group.

Address terms denote the social distance among the interlocutors as either a close or distant relationship (Holmes, 2013). In a closer relationship, individuals tend to address each other using intimate terms of address such as first name, nickname, and endearment terms to show closeness or a social bond between them (Wardhaugh, 2006). Conversely, in a distant relationship, interlocutors tend to use formal terms of address, such as title, surname, honorifics, as well as title together with surname to depict respect (Holmes, 2013).

Address terms are used strategically to attract a person's attention to whom the speaker intends to express his or her message (Surono, 2018). In this case, one may use a title or a name to directly call the addressee. In other languages like English, attention grabbers are also used to secure the addressee's attention in a communicative encounter (Bruns and Kranich, 2021). Moreover, address terms are used to depict politeness to ensure smooth and successful communication between the speaker and addressee (Magashi, 2023). For example, the use of the Latin plural pronoun, *vos* 'you' abbreviated as V, as a generic representation of other plural pronouns in European languages was used to address socially superior people, which signals politeness and respect (Brown and Gilman, 1960). The choice of polite forms of address relies on the context, the rapport among the interlocutors, and culture (Brown and Levinson, 1987).

Wahyuni and Rahmadani (2018) report the functions of address terms used by the students in Kampar University studying at Padang. The students use address terms for multiple purposes, such as expressing intimacy, gaining attention from addressees, demonstrating politeness, reflecting identity, and asserting power. In another context, Leech (1999) found that vocatives used as address terms in written English serve three major roles: attracting the hearer's attention, identifying the addressee, and establishing, sustaining, and managing rapport between the communicators.

Saputra (2017) reports the roles of address terms used by characters in Peter Werner's film 'Front of the Class.' The study revealed that address terms are deliberately utilized to signify disparities in status, convey intimacy, and express respect. Additionally, Ozcan (2016) notes the functions of address terms among Turkish students, indicating that students use address terms for various purposes. Specifically, students employ first names to indicate a person, attract attention, identify individuals within a group, summon a group leader, issue warnings, give instructions, and make requests.

Address terms are often used for mitigation, especially in face-threatening contexts, disagreements, and non-conforming statements (Asprey and Tagg, 2019). Using respectful, affectionate, or solidarity-denoting terms can mitigate the impact of an act that might threaten someone's face. For example, when disagreeing with a professor or doctor, addressing them by their professional title can reduce the perceived threat.

The previous studies on the functions of address terms provide a framework for understanding the role of address terms in the Iraqw language. They highlight diverse functions of address terms across distinct languages, emphasizing that these terms serve varying purposes based on the cultural contexts. In the Iraqw language, the available studies on address terms by Bayo (2023), Alphonse (2024), and Mous (2021) indicate that there is inadequate information on the role of address terms. Bayo's (2023) study focuses on the types of address terms, while Alphonse (2024) explores the linguistic manifestations of age-grade status in Iraqw address term practices. Similarly, Mous (2021) presents various Iraqw terms of address. These studies show that the functions of address terms have not been thoroughly investigated or clearly presented in the Iraqw language. Therefore, this study builds on these previous studies by investigating the role of address terms in Iraqw verbal greetings.

Theoretical framework

This study was guided by the power and solidarity model developed by Brown and Gilman (1960). The model demonstrates the development of pronouns as forms of address used in communication in European languages. Brown and Gilman (1960) used the symbols T and V, derived from the Latin pronouns *tu* 'you' and *vos* 'you,' as generic representations of familiar and polite pronouns in European languages. They claimed that the choice of such pronouns was determined by the semantics of power and solidarity. Power manifests in non-reciprocal relationships between at least two people, indicating that both cannot hold power in the same area of behaviour. In power relationships, the superior receives V and, in turn, says T to designate a person of lower social status. Brown and Gilman (1960) also identify the basis of power, such as age, status, and sex, among others. They explain that when two people with unequal power interact, the person with lower social status uses the V form and receives the T form when addressing someone of higher status

In the Iraqw language, non-reciprocal relationships occur between two or more interlocutors. These relationships are evident when children address their parents using kinship terms that denote respect, while in return, they receive first names or kinship terms that indicate their status as junior members of the community. This non-reciprocal relationship is shaped by age differences between parents and children. The non-reciprocal relationships are also reflected in address terms that denote status differences between the interlocutors. When addressing leaders within or outside the community, less superior people use titles to show deference, highlighting a non-reciprocal pattern in the use of address terms. On the other hand, Brown and Gilman (1960) argue that, in some cases, interlocutors may share commonalities or mutual relationships that create a sense of equality, rather than defining them on the basis of power. The choice of pronouns of address indicating a reciprocal pattern

is determined by solidarity semantics in European languages (Brown and Gilman, 1960). In the Iraqw language, solidarity semantics is expressed not only through pronouns among age-mates but also through names, particularly among individuals within the same age group or friends.

Methodology

In this qualitative research, the researchers explored the role of address terms used in Iraqw verbal greetings. To achieve this objective, we collected data from Getaghul and Bondeni Villages in Manyara Region, Tanzania. These villages were selected because they have a higher concentration of Iraqw native speakers, making it easier to find research participants from whom the data were collected. Purposive sampling was employed when recording patterns of greetings from different social settings, such as in the family environment, burial ceremony, farming activities, and village meetings in the Iraqw community. The researchers intentionally recorded greeting exchanges performed in the Iraqw language by its speakers. The selected participants shared their views, experiences, perceptions, and perspectives regarding the functions of address terms in Iraqw verbal greetings through interviews with the researcher. Through purposive sampling, six elderly people who were knowledgeable in their native language and Iraqw address practices were sampled for semi-structured interviews. One interview session was conducted with research participants to gain insights into the functions of address terms in recorded verbal greetings in the Iraqw language. The participants for the interviews were Iraqw elderly people with both equal and non-equal relationships. The interviewees' ages ranged from 50 years and above. Regarding gender, there were three men and three women. In terms of education, two participants had attained standard four, a level of education provided during the colonial period, while the remaining four had not received

formal education. All participants were farmers, with some also engaged in small-scale livestock keeping.

The data were collected through participant observation and a semi-structured interview. Participant observation was used to collect data on Iraqw greeting patterns, with a focus on verbal greetings. As an indigenous speaker of the Iraqw language, the researcher visited various environments where participants interact in their socio-cultural activities and greet one another, while observing and recording data on the patterns of greetings in the Iraqw language. The settings included family environment, burial ceremony, and sub-village meetings. Using a phone recorder, patterns of Iraqw greetings were recorded, and address terms were extracted from greeting exchanges for analysis. To gain insight into the functions of address terms used within the greetings, the recorded information was re-played for the interviewees to listen and provide their comments. The researcher identified the address terms used in each greeting pattern. Thereafter, face-to-face interviews were conducted with the six Iraqw elderly participants. The data were analyzed thematically, wherein address terms were categorized based on the roles that they play in conversations. Themes associated with the functions of address terms were identified by the researcher. These themes are presented in the next section.

Findings and discussion

Functions of address terms in Iraqw verbal greetings

The analysis revealed several functions of address terms utilized by Iraqw indigenous speakers during their daily routine greetings. The functions include showing respect, depicting intimacy, indicating familial bonds, reflecting social identity, and indicating social distance.

Showing respect

The choice of address terms used in Iraqw verbal greetings reveals the degree of respect attributed to an individual based on the addressee's age and status. In the Iraqw community, respect is typically shown to elderly people and individuals with a higher status, as reflected in the use of address terms such as *aakó* 'grandfather,' *aamá* 'grandmother,' *aayí* 'mother,' and *baabá* 'father.' The use of such terms indicates non-reciprocal relationships between grandparents or parents and junior members in the community. When addressing parents or grandparents, children use kinship terms that denote respect, while in return, they are designated by their personal names or kinship terms that indicate their status as junior members of the community. This tendency is attested in the following greeting exchanges between a mother (B) and son (A) during the morning encounter.

- (1) (i) A: *Aayí lawoo' guuté?* 'How did you sleep, Mom?'
 B: *A sayuú garmá.* 'I'm fine, my son'
 (ii) B: *Kuungá a sayuhé?* 'Are you fine?'
 A: *A sayuú aayí* 'We are fine, mother'

In excerpt (1), the use of address terms is evident when a son (A) employs the term *aayí*, 'mother', when offering the morning greetings. In such a given conversation, the term *aayí* 'mother' was used as a kinship address term normally employed by youths and children to address their biological mothers, as evidenced in the first greeting exchange in excerpt (1) when the son (A) greeted his mother, *aayí lawoo' guuté?* (How did you sleep, Mom?). Considering that every speech act is potentially face-threatening to either a speaker and/or an addressee, the address term *aayí* 'mother' was strategically used to avoid social conflict between a son and his mother. Culturally, the son is obliged to use such a term to convey respect to his mother. Using any other term besides *aayí* 'mother' to refer to a biological mother could

have resulted in communication failure. Therefore, the term *aayi* ‘mother’ is employed as a politeness strategy to show respect to a mother. Moreover, the use of the kinship term *aayi* ‘mother’ is not limited to one’s biological mother but is often used by youths and children to address non-kin women who belong to the same generation as one’s biological mother to show respect. The mother also used the second-person pronoun *kuiṅga* ‘you’ when referring to the boy and his family members, which indicates a non-reciprocal relationship between the interlocutors.

Kinship address terms used to designate older members in the Iraqw community signal deference and courtesy. It is a way of showing honour to parents and other elderly people in the community. Respect reflected in the use of address terms is also revealed in the following greeting exchanges between a father (B) and her daughter (A) during the afternoon encounter.

(2) (i) A: *Baabá lawoo’ tlatlaang’w* ‘Good afternoon, father’

B: *Asayuu’ dasi!* ‘Fine, my daughter’

(ii) B: *Aidomá dasi?* ‘How are you doing, daughter?’

A: *Aidori’ baabá* ‘I’m doing well, my father’

In the greeting exchanges presented in extract (2), A, the daughter, uses the term *baabá* ‘father’ when addressing B, her father. This indicates that the term *baabá* ‘father’ is used by children when addressing their biological fathers; however, this term is also used outside the kin group to address a male person who belongs to the same age group as one’s biological father. Whether within the kin group or outside the kin group, the term *baabá* ‘father’ as an address term denotes deference attributed to an elderly person due to a genetic bond or one’s age. The father uses a general term *dasi* ‘daughter’, when addressing his own child, which indicates juniority.

As a general term, the word *dasi* ‘daughter’ is used either by parents or other people who are in the same age group

as one's parents to address any girl in the Iraqw community. Moreover, one of the interviewees stated that when addressing junior members, the elderly people, especially grandparents, also use several terms for grandchildren. This includes *nángwnangó* 'grandson' specifically for one's son's son. They also use *hátnangó* 'granddaughter' for one's son's daughter. For grandchildren from one's daughter's family, they use *nángwható* 'grandson' and *hátható* 'granddaughter.' Names are not used when addressing elderly people, as stated by one of the research participants, emphasizing the respect accorded to elderly individuals within the community. When a junior member addresses an elderly person by name, such a junior is considered impolite, disrespectful, and rude.

These findings corroborate those of Magashi (2023), who found that kinship terms *bha:bha* 'father' and *ma:yv* 'mother' are used to address both biological and non-biological parents to show respect in the Sukuma community. However, the two terms reported by Magashi (2023) are used both reciprocally and non-reciprocally in the Sukuma community. This reciprocal use of the terms for parents is evident in the Sukuma language when a young male speaker addresses an elderly man by the term *bha:bha* 'father' and receive the same term, depicting the same respect. In this regard, the terms for parents are used as either address terms or strategies to show deference in the Sukuma language. The terms *bha:bha* 'father' and *ma:yv* 'mother' in Sukuma are also non-reciprocally used between children and their biological parents.

In the Iraqw community, kinship terms used for parents are employed in a non-reciprocal manner. This implies that neither the elderly person addresses the younger addressee using such terms, nor are they used among the younger interlocutors themselves. These terms are exclusively used by younger speakers to address not only their biological parents but also individuals who belong to the same generation as their biological parents, indicating a shared societal convention. The younger

speakers in the Iraqw community employ the kinship address terms *baabá* ‘father’ and *aayi* ‘mother’ to uphold the dignity of their biological parents and other elderly individuals who belong to the same age cohort as their own biological parents. Such terms are strategically selected to protect parents’ negative faces and demonstrate respect towards them, thereby avoiding conflict that could have arisen when they select other terms of address than *baabá* ‘father’ and *aayi* ‘mother.’

Respect is also conveyed through terms used to address people with status. Address terms indicating the addressee’s status include *mwenyekiti*, ‘village chairman,’ a term used when addressing the village chairperson. Members of the community also use *balosamoó* ‘male ten-cell leader’ and *baloositoó* ‘female ten-cell leader’ borrowed from the Swahili term ‘balozi.’ Iraqw speakers use the term *kitongojomoó* for addressing a male sub-village chairperson and *kitongojitoó* for a female sub-village chairperson, borrowed from the Swahili term ‘kitongoji.’ The use of such terms by less superior individuals when addressing their leaders highlights non-reciprocal relationships between interlocutors, demonstrating respect for the leaders. This is revealed in the following greeting exchange between a woman (A) and a village chairperson (B).

- (3) (i) A: *Mwenyekiti lawaáy?* ‘Chairman, how are you?’
 B: *Sayuu Hhawú* ‘Fine Hhawu’

In extract (3), A, a woman designated B, a village chairperson using the title *mwenyekiti*, signaling an asymmetric relationship between the speakers. When addressing the woman, the chairperson used her first name, indicating his power over her. The use of religious titles also denotes respect. The religious titles used include *paadarmo* ‘priest’ and *mwinjilistamoó* ‘evangelist’ among others.

Showing intimacy

The choice of address terms denotes the bond between the interlocutors. In intimate relationships, communicators would prefer to use informal terms of address, while in non-equal relationships, they may opt to use formal terms of address. The findings indicate that first names were used reciprocally among the interlocutors to indicate an intimate relationship or familiarity. The names used include: *Bahá*, *Thluwaáy*, and *Akonaáy*, among others. This is revealed in the following greeting exchanges between two male friends.

- (4) (i) A: *Baha asayautá?* 'Baha, are you fine?'
 B: *A sayuú* 'I am fine'
 (ii) B: *Gam'kuúng asayautá Tluwaáy* 'Are you fine Tluway?'
 A: *A sayuú* 'I am fine'

In excerpt (4), A and B, who are friends, greeted each other using their first names. In this context, they use first names to show their closeness or familiarity. The use of a first name is apparent in the first greeting exchange in excerpt (4) when A greets B: *Bahá asayautá?* (Baha, are you fine?). The name *Baha* is B's first name; its use signals an intimate relationship between the two friends. The intimacy in their relationship is also evident in the second greeting exchange, when B addresses A: *Gam' kuúng asayautá Tluwaáy* (Are you fine Tluway?). The name *Tluwaáy* is A's first name. Therefore, first names in the greeting exchanges in excerpt (4) were reciprocally used between the interlocutors. First names are also used by parents and other elderly people to designate younger addressees, which shows power over the addressee. In the context of the above greetings, it was used by friends to show closeness or familiarity. Additionally, first names are also used as an attention-seeking strategy and to indicate direction. The detailed descriptions of names and naming practices in the Iraqw language are presented by Alphonse (2023).

The above results are similar to those of Brown and Ford (1961), who revealed the reciprocal and non-reciprocal use of first names in American society. In America, the reciprocal use of first names occurs between individuals with a mutual relationship due to shared norms, values, and frequent contact. In the Iraqw community, first names are reciprocally used among friends or individuals belonging to the same age group to convey familiarity or closeness. The non-reciprocal pattern of names occurs among speakers with distinct ages and statuses. For instance, in the Yoruba community, Oyetade (1995) reports that the non-reciprocal use of first names occurs when the elderly people address the younger individuals by their first names, but the younger individuals do not address elderly people in the same way. This non-reciprocal use of first names is typically influenced by differences in age and social status between interlocutors (Oyetade, 1995). In the Iraqw community, addressing elderly people by their first names is considered rude. When addressing elderly people, the younger members in the community use appropriate kinship terms, considering the addressee's age and gender. It is common and culturally acceptable for elderly people to address younger individuals by their first names or using address terms that signify their status as junior members of the community.

Showing familial bond

The use of address terms denotes the genetic ties between family members. This was also revealed in interactions through the use of terms like *hhiyá* 'brother' and *deená* 'married sister' or *hhoó* 'sister'. A familial relationship is also indicated by the terms of address used by children when addressing their parents. These terms include *baabá* 'father' and *aayí* 'mother'. Terms for other family members who are connected through blood also denote familial relationships between interlocutors. This familial relationship is reflected through the use of kinship terms among

family members, as in the following greeting exchanges between a sister (A) and brother (B) during the morning encounter.

- (5) (i) A: *Hhiyá lawooó matlé* ‘Good morning, my brother’
 B: *Asayuuú deená.* ‘Fine, my sister’
 (ii) B: *Kiing asayuhé* ‘Are you fine?’
 A: *Asayuuú hhiyá* ‘We are fine, my brother’

In Excerpt (5), which presents a greeting exchange between A, a sister, and B, her brother, the use of address terms is evident. A sister (A) addressed her brother (B) as *hhiyá* ‘brother’ in the first phrase of the first greeting exchange when she said *Hhiyá lawooó matlé* (Good morning, my brother). The use of the address term *hhiyá* ‘brother’ shows a genetic relationship between the two interlocutors. In response to his sister’s greeting, a brother (B) used the general term *deená* ‘sister’ in the second phrase of the first greeting exchange. The term *deená* ‘sister’ is a general term used by people to address any married sisters younger than one’s biological mother in the Iraqw community. However, in this context, the general term *deená* ‘sister’ was used by a brother when addressing his own married sister.

The genetic relationship reflected through the use of address terms is also apparent in the following greeting exchanges between a son (B) and his father (A). In the greeting exchanges below, a father (A) greeted his grown-up male child (B), who was farming. This greeting took place as the father was passing on the road which was near the farm where the young man was working. In this context, a father initiates addressing a son, which is unusual in the Iraqw community for an elderly person to do so. Culturally, the younger people are bound to initiate greeting the elderly people. An elderly person initiating a greeting occurs in a rare context, especially when a younger person is unaware of the presence of an elderly person.

- (6) (i) A: *Garma tlaw'asar'ok?* 'My son, how about your work?'
 B: *Gam' aidirii baabá* 'I'm dealing with it, father.'
- (ii) A: *Gam' gimay garma ee* 'Just proceed, my son'
 B: *Kahhoó baabá* 'Ok, my father'

In excerpt (6), the interlocutors utilize address terms to designate one another. In the initial phrase of the first greeting exchange, A, a father, addressed B, a son, using the phrase *garma ee* 'my son,' which is a general phrase, but it is also used to refer to one's child. In the context of this greeting, it was employed by a father (A) when addressing his grown-up male child, emphasising the genetic bond between them. However, the term *garmá* can be used as a general term by parents or other people who are in the same age group as one's parents to address any boy in the Iraqw community. As indicated earlier, the term *baabá* 'father' is a kinship terminology used by children to address their biological fathers or men who belong to the same age group as one's biological father. In the context of this greeting, the term *baabá* 'father' was used as an address term by a son to signal genetic ties with his father.

These findings are in line with the results presented by Majumder (2018), who revealed kinship terms of address employed among the Kurmali people who are genetically connected. In Kurmali, address terms that depict blood relations include *bap* 'father,' *dada* 'elder brother,' *mai* 'mother,' *b'ai* 'younger brother,' *b'ohin* 'younger sister,' and *didí* 'elder sister' (Majumdar, 2018). These terms are used among family members to address one another. Their use in social interactions reflects the familial relationship between the interlocutors. The aforementioned results in the Iraqw language indicate a non-reciprocal relationship between a father and his genetically related son. In this relationship, the younger speaker is obliged to use an appropriate kinship term to address his father. The choice to utilize the said address term in Iraqw was driven by

the communicators' intent to strengthen their bond as members of the same family, who are connected by genetic ties.

Reflecting identity

In certain contexts, the use of address terms between the addressee and speaker reflects an individual's identity, indicating that a specific person is a member of a particular group or community. In one of the conversations, the speaker used a phrase like *Iraqwar ee* 'my Iraqw people' to show their identity as Iraqw people. This is depicted in the following greeting encounter between a male individual and a group of Iraqw people.

(7) (i) A: *Iraqwar ee lawoo dohung?* 'My Iraqw people, how are you?'

B: *Asayuu'* 'We are fine'

In excerpt (7), the selection of the address phrase in the first phrase of the above greeting exchange reflects the communicators' identity. This is depicted when A, an Iraqw male speaker met B, his fellow Iraqw people, in one of the local markets in Getaghul village. When addressing a group of male Iraqw speakers, A, a man, states that *Iraqwar ee lawoo dohung?* (My Iraqw people, how are you?). The phrase *Iraqwar ee* 'my Iraqw people' is an address phrase used to designate two or more people. In the context of these greetings, a speaker aimed to affirm the identity of the addressees as members of the Iraqw community by identifying with them and establishing a connection with the group as individuals belonging to the same tribe and speaking the same language. Addressing the group with the phrase *Iraqwar ee*, 'my Iraqw people' implies that he belongs to the same Iraqw community. In this case, the phrase *Iraqwar ee* 'my Iraqw people' shows the group's identity as Iraqw people. The choice of address phrase in the provided greeting exchange reflects the interlocutors' intent to develop and maintain social relationship during their encounter, while also revealing their identities as

individuals from the same speech community. This result aligns with the findings by Rahmadani and Wahyuni (2018), who revealed that Padang University students use address terms to express their identity. They depicted their identity using some common address terms among them, such as the word *mas* ‘big brother.’ The utilization of this address term in the university context identifies the speaker or the addressee as a member of the Javanese community.

Showing social distance

The selection of address terms between the speaker and addressee can also denote social distance. The choice of address term can indicate either a close or distant relationship between the interlocutors. In a distant relationship, interlocutors use address terms that denote a degree of respect and formality. In this study, some terms were found to indicate social distance, such as *kiing* ‘you’ and *kuung* ‘you,’ which are used among strangers to signal distant relationships. When addressing strangers, speakers also use general terms like *garmá* ‘a boy’ and *dasi* ‘a girl’ to refer to younger addressees. For older strangers, kinship terms typically associated with parents, grandparents, or their age mates are often employed. Social distance is depicted in the following greeting exchanges between a female (B) and a male stranger (A).

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------|
| (8) (i) A: <i>kiing asayauta?</i> | ‘How are you?’ |
| B: <i>Asayuu’</i> | ‘I am fine’ |
| (ii) A: <i>kiing ar diima?</i> | ‘Where are you from?’ |
| B: <i>Aning ar ba Imboru</i> | ‘I am from Mbulu’ |
| (iii) B: <i>kuung o diima?</i> | ‘Where are you from?’ |
| A: <i>Aning o ba kha ’tesh</i> | ‘I am from Katesh’ |

In excerpt (8), the interlocutors use pronouns to address each other. The use of the pronoun *kiing* ‘you’ appeared in the first phrase of the first greeting exchange: *kiing asayauta?* (How are you?). The term *kiing* ‘you’ is a pronoun used to address women. In the context of these greetings, the pronoun *kiing* ‘you’ was used to designate a woman who is a stranger to depict social distance; however, such a pronoun is normally employed by elderly people to designate a younger female addressee, signaling a non-reciprocal relationship. In the first phrase of the third greeting exchange, the findings also indicate that B, a woman, uses the pronoun *kuíng* ‘you’ to address a male stranger. In the context of the provided greetings, the use of the pronoun *kuíng* ‘you’ reflects a social distance among the interlocutors, though the pronoun *kuíng* ‘you’ is commonly used to address a younger male person than the speaker, which shows power over the addressee. As mentioned earlier, the phenomenon of power reflected through the use of pronouns as address terms was also reported in European society (Brown & Gilman, 1960). In European languages, the power semantics manifest in non-reciprocal relationships between two interlocutors, where the superiors receive the pronoun V signaling respect, and, in turn, they use the pronoun T to address people of lower social status, which indicates familiarity. In the Iraqw language, the results show that the interlocutors’ choice of address terms reflects their desire to maintain distance by selecting terms that convey respect, highlighting the social distance between them.

In the Iraqw community, address terms used among strangers are not restricted to pronouns of address. This was also supported by one of the interviewees, who stated that when addressing the strangers, Iraqw native speakers also use kinship terms based on the interlocutors’ age and gender. The aspect of social distance depicted through the use of address terms was also found by Sunarti, Sumarti, and Riadhi (2019), who examined terms of address in the Abung Lampungese language in Indonesia. In the Lampungese community, address terms used

among strangers are divided into terms used for strangers from the same ethnic community and those from other ethnic groups. Most of the address terms used for addressing strangers show age and gender.

Conclusion

To sum up, address terms serve diverse functions in interpersonal relationships in the Iraqw community. This study highlights that address terms are used to depict respect, denote intimacy, indicate familial bonds, reflect identity, and indicate a social distance. Respect is shown through terms used to address elderly people in the community, such as parents. Intimacy appears in terms used to address close friends. Familial bonds are reflected in terms designating genetic relationships between the speaker and addressee. Identity is marked by terms used to address those who share the same social category, while social distance is indicated by terms used among strangers. Address terms in the Iraqw language not only depict Iraqw people's cultural values and social norms but also serve significant functions in shaping social relationships within the community.

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