

## Analyzing Address Forms in Pakistani Serial: A Gender Based Study

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### Abstract

*Language is sensitized to social variables and ancillary linguistic choices in particular gender. The gender based different ways of using address form can be found from various aspects such as the use of names or titles etc. This research aims to navigate the similarities and differences exist between male and female in terms of address. The data consists of some dialogues taken from one Pakistani serial. Mixed method approach was used for data analysis. First data was analyzed quantitatively then qualitatively. The outcomes of the research reveal that male gender use more title address forms while female gender use kinship term most while making choice of address terms. But on the other hand both genders are conscious about context i.e. choices of address form vary according to the context. Overall it is concluded that both genders used a variety of address forms the use of titles as address terms are seen more by male as compared to female. While analyzing female gender choices of address forms it is seen that they use kinship terms more as compared to male. This study will be helpful for students to analyze the choices of address forms based on other social variables and parameters. This study contributes to our understanding of how language, gender, and society intersect in popular culture by shedding light on the sociolinguistic patterns found in Pakistani serials.*

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## 1. Introduction

One of the language aspects is that can give essential information about the functioning of interpersonal relationships and societal hierarchies (Braun, 1988). Social conventions, identities, and values—including gender—are reflected in language (Coates, 2004). In addition to functioning as a communication system, it also functions as a social activity that both influences and is influenced by social structures (Cameron, 2001).

Pakistani serials are a popular form of media in South Asia that represent a significant cultural artifact for sociolinguistic analysis. These serials do more than merely entertain as with any form of media. Societal attitudes and behaviors are changed by them, including those related to gender, thus they serve as both a mirror and molder of cultural norms (Lotz, 2006). These serials provide a fertile ground for exploring the subtle nuances of gender dynamics within Pakistani society through their dialogues and character portrayals (Qureshi, 2012).

The studies conducted at the earliest in Sociolinguistics consist of research on ‘speech behaviors of English speakers’ which focuses on the way these English countries address one another. According to Wardhaugh (2006) for successful and effective communication, looking at different forms of address is considered vital, as it determines the status of relationships. To express respect, fondness, insult or depreciation towards people, can use such forms of address. Several factors need to be considered for the investigating ‘how people are addressed appropriately’, such as: sex, age, race, family relationship, the social status/other ranks, occupational hierarchy or transactional status. Huspek and Philipsen say: “In everyday conversation, people used to speak language to communicate with each other for a purpose. They use personal names, kinship terms, pet names etc. this is how persons will be addressed in a society”.

Braun (1988) argued that although, there are general rules present for address forms, just because these forms are more of a social phenomenon, they vary from occasion to occasion. Variation in the language formation is, pursuant to mutual relationship of experiential literature (that isn't extinct) with cultural settings and societal ends of language employ. This perspective marks conversational address a societal phenomenon that is variable and systematic, these features turning it into a sociolinguistic variable, as well as a social phenomenon.

### **1.1 Generic Rules of Forms of Address**

Even if it can be ineffective at times, we'll start by looking at the fundamental guidelines for address forms. A person can be addressed in English or American by their name, their title, their name plus their name, or by nothing at all, sometimes known as the no-naming form or. Examples of names:

Name in full "A rise! Horatio Fliyd Beanish, do you know that we are at war?"

First name "Robert, they are on your desk."

Nick name "Jonny, there's something I have to tell you."

Next are Examples of Titles (1) The familial relationship "All right, kids! Father says go for a walk outside. (2) Job title "Operator, could you please put through a call to Copenhagen?" (3) Title of rank "Captain, you are exactly right."

### **1.2 Research Questions**

This study attempts to explore the following questions:

1. What are different forms of address used by females and males?
2. What are the similarities and differences in the address forms of males and females?
3. What are the reasons for these existing differences and similarities of the address forms?

#### 4. How gender plays a pivotal role on choice of address forms?

By investigating these problems, this study intends to add to the contemporary body of research on the intersection of language, gender, and society (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 2013), and illuminate the broader societal implications of gendered language use in the context of Pakistani serials.

### 1.3 Significance of the Study

This research will be beneficial to provide knowledge about forms of address especially used in Pakistani serial of 'Udaari', consisting of 25 episodes. The significance of this research as follow:

1. On the basis of theoretically concern, this paper can provide benefaction to the readers in developing and increasing the knowledge of address forms from pragmatic perspective.
2. From practical perspective, it will give additional information to a person who needs to study and analyze forms of address in different context.

The importance of this research lies in its competence to intensify our perception of gender dynamics within Pakistani society, as reflected through its popular media. The study's specific focus on address forms in Pakistani serials provides a nuanced perspective on the linguistic dimensions of gender roles and relations in this particular cultural context.

Firstly, this research contributes to the academic discourse on gender and language by offering new insights into the gendered usage of address forms in Pakistani serials. These perceptions have vast ramifications for comprehending the interaction among language, power, and gender, with capacity to enlighten related study in media studies, gender studies, and sociolinguistics.

Secondly, the research enlightens the gender distinctions in use of address terms, and the substations customs or traditions and expectancies these disparities show, the research encourage crucial investigation on these forms

and their effects for promoting gender equality. In this manner, this study can enhance understanding to current perceptions regarding equality and gender roles in Pakistani society.

Lastly, the research has practical importance for Pakistani media. By bringing into light the ways in which gender norms are presented in serials using address terms, this research directly appeal to the media producers that how they can challenge traditional gender norms and how they can play their role in promoting gender equality through linguistics portrayals.

In conclusion, this study is significant for its contributions to academic understanding of gender and language, its potential to inform societal attitudes towards gender, and its practical implications for media production.

## **2. Literature Review**

According to Brown and Gilman (1960), depending on special circumstances the pattern of address may alter as time passes, and the alteration in the varieties of address is detected by the relationship tier present among the interlocutors. According to them the only one pronoun of address is used mostly when people are speaking and writing English: 'you' is used for many persons and 'you' is also used for one individual. In Spanish, German, French, Italian and another languages, in Latin language there are two pronouns of address that starts with "vou" and "tu" and for ease they use the symbols 'T' and 'V' instead of using full pronouns. According to their believe the correct usage of these two pronouns of address depends upon the relationship of interlocutors. Power and solidarity are the two dimensions, the pronouns 'T' and 'V' are related to. Brown and Ford (cited in Hymes, 1964) gave a number of options for the particular selection of an address, which involves jus the first name [FN] or title with last name [TLN] in American English. A certain pattern is pointed out in American English about address forms, they commence by elucidating the traditions of American address and later in their study they highlight few particular pattern of address that should be found in address norms of all existing languages. They also try to point out few other representations of the many generic forms other

than title plus last name and first name for example: title exempt from name (including Madam, Sir, and Ms.), unaccompanied last name, numerous names wherein for an addressee several forms of appropriate name can be coined by speaker, sometimes calling [TLN], in other occasions diverge forms either First Name [FN] or pet names or nicknames. But it must be noted that this particular pattern is applicable for more than one titles, pronouns and names. It also included greetings that were themselves quite varied such as: Hi, Hello, Good morning, etc.

Wardhaugh (1986) is of the point of view that several languages possess a divergence correspondent to the *vous-tu* (t/v) disparity in French, as grammatically a Singular 'you- tu (T) and on the other side a plural you-*vous* (V) are present there. T form is used for familiar addressee whereas V form is used to show politeness in conversation. Latin (*tu /vous*), Italian (*tu / lei*), Russian (*ty /vy*), German (*du / sie*), Greek (*esi / esis*) and Swedish (*du / ni*) are other languages with similar divergence in T and V forms of address. English itself also once has this *thou* and *you* divergence. According to Braun (1988), expressions and normal words are used sometimes as forms of address. He is of the viewpoint that these expressions and generic words have some lexical meanings and when employed for addressing individuals these forms convey sense relating to their lexical definition or meaning. He also brings to light that when a range of meaning is associated with different kinds of address then it makes their semantics more complicated. Al-Bainy (1996) is of the view that speakers have to think a while before addressing addressees. The start of conversation is generally a kind of address that according to him is "a particular word that is utilized by speaker to gain the concentration of his addressee."

According to Keshavarz (2001) different kinds of address forms are fundamentally linguistic forms that are utilized to call someone to gain his or her attention by speakers during conversation. He is of the viewpoint that within a speech community address forms are utilized to reflect complex societal relations among community members. On the other hand, these varieties of address forms also mirror the complicated relationship between society and language. Zhang (2002), in his research on bilingual creativity, highlights the

significance of researches conducted on address terms. He also stresses the importance of these address terms as they play vital role in delivering the cultural messages, particularly with regard to the social status of speaker and addressee and power or authority relation among them. Wardhaugh (2006) also brings into light that there are several societal factors which are responsible for our selection of terms. These societal factors include specific occasion, the societal status or position or class of addressee, age, sex, family relationships, transactional status, occupational hierarchy, for example a patient-doctor relationship, race, and the level of intimacy. Afful (2006) attempts to make a difference among 'reference terms' and 'address terms' and deploys the latter as linguistics expression which is used by speaker to allot a designation to addressee during face to face meeting or conversation. With regards to the societal functions of address terms, he highlights that most of the sociolinguistic researches conducted on address terms incline to demonstrate that they usually rely on numerous factors for example on socioeconomic status, sex, age, speaker and addressee relationship and social context or cultural setting or place of meeting.

Analyzing address forms with perspective of Pakistani societal context has always been an interested topic to investigate for researchers. Qureshi (2012) described the significance of kinship address terms in Pakistani societal context and pointed out their numerous use in Pakistani media. Though, there has always been restricted work particularly evaluating gender disparities in the use of address terms in Pakistani serials, which current research aims to fill.

### **3. Methodology**

Mixed method technique is used throughout the study to evaluate the address terms used in a Pakistani serial "Udaari". Mix-method approach is applied in this research as it allows both qualitative and quantitative analysis of collected data and resultant outcomes or findings are more reliable (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007). Data is taken from "Udari" serial consisting of 25 episodes. The selection of "Udari" serial was made because of its setting in rural and urban landscapes as it provide the opportunity to collect data from two distinct

cultural and societal context (Sarangi, 1994). Transcription is not included in data rather data is collected by observing and recording interlocutors gender, age, relationship and social status and variety of address forms they deploy in different contexts.

#### **4. Data Analysis**

For analysis data is organized into four tables systematically. These four tables are exhibiting various combinations i.e. male to male, female to female, male to female, and female to male. Each table is consisting of different columns that are illustrating the relationship, address forms used by speakers during conversation and context in which the specific address terms is deployed.

On the part of quantitative analysis frequency count technique is used in order to highlight the most frequent used address terms in each category. These frequency counts give deep insights into the forms of address terms use amongst distinctive genders (Biber, Conrad & Reppen, 1998).

On the other hand, qualitative analysis includes evaluating the forms and meanings that are associated with the address terms. As described by Holmes (2008) in his sociolinguistics theory that qualitative analysis of address terms is involved analyzing the interlocutor's relationship, gender dynamics and social context.

#### **5. Ethical Considerations**

All data is collected keeping in mind the ethical guidelines as data is collected from only those episodes of "Udari" those are available publically. Furthermore, data is analyzed without violating copyright laws and rules.

#### **6. Results and Discussion**

The 32 forms of address are used in the drama of 25 episodes are grouped under the four tables as male to male, male to female, female to female and female to male. The tables show names of addresser and addressee in first column,



relationship between addresser and addressee in second column, the next column shows the actual usage of real terms in communication and the last column gives the description of the context in which the terms of address is used, including when the term of address is used, where the speech event occurs and other situational information. Following is the table 1 showing the address forms used between male to male.

**Table-6.1:** Male to Male

<b>Addresser/Addressee</b>	<b>Relationship</b>	<b>Addressee Form</b>	<b>Context Description</b>
Imtiaz/Nawaz	Stranger	First name	Imtiaz during a fight between two young man of the village call them with first name and said them don't fight. Imtiaz don't know these men very closely.
Bus-conductor/police officer	Stranger	Title name	A police officer was talking to a bus conductor related to a passenger that was sitting on the roof of the bus. The bus conductor used 'Sir g' to address the officer.
Imtiaz/Iqbal	Significant other	Pet name (Baala)	Bala (Iqbal) is a young man. He has a bit intimacy with Imtiaz because of his family friend

Imtiaz/Malik	Friends	First name	terms with Imtiaz. Imtiaz address him with pet name. Imtiaz was telling Malik that he solved his problem related to land.
Iqbal/Imtiaz	Significant other	Title/first name (Baala)	Bala address Imtiaz as 'Paa Imtiaz' in a respected way as he was elder from him.

The above table shows the address terms between male to male. It will shed light on that how male addresses to male. The above table shows that depending upon the occupation and superiority like in age or social class address from becomes differ.

For example, the bus driver addresses the police officer because of its superiority in occupation or social class "sir g". While Imtiaz talking to a stranger addresses him with first name as he was younger from him. Similarly, impact of age factor can be seen in that Imtiaz who is elder than Iqbal addresses him with first name but Iqbal addresses Imtiaz with title and first name as "paa Imtiaz" in respected way. Talking with friends male address each other with first name. Thus, factors of age and social class or occupation are significant here in analyzing male to male address forms.

**Table-6.2: Male to Female**

<b>Addresser-Addressee</b>	<b>Relationship</b>	<b>Addressee Form</b>	<b>Context Description</b>
Imtiaz/Sajida	Significant other	Kinship term (Parjai)	Imtiaz is a friend of Sajida's delayed husband. He addressed her as 'Parjai'.
Imtiaz/Sajida	Husband/wife	Pet name (Sajjo)	Latter on Imtiaz marry with Sajida and addresses her with pet name.
Imtiaz/Zainab	Father/step daughter	Kinship term (Shehzadi)	Imtiaz used shehzadi word for her step daughter most of the time
Imtiaz/Sajida	Husband/wife	Aggressive (badshakal buddi)	Imtiaz calling his wife with this title just because she did not doing a job.
Arsh/Milli's mother	Significant other	Kinship term (Aunty)	Arsh addresses his friend's mother as 'Aunty'.
Arsh/Farwah	Friends	First name	Farwa is band member and friend of Arsh.
Ilyas/Meera	Neighbor	First name	Ilyas was calling Meera with her name all the time.
Iqbal/Sajida	Neighbor	Kinship term (Baaji)	Iqbal used this term to address her aunt Sajida when she refused not to open the door.
Arsh/Meera	Friends	First name	Arsh addressed Meera by her first name all the time.

The above table 2 shows the addresses forms between male to female. In these address forms we can see the impact of context and relationship on address terms. For example Imtiaz addresses Sajida as "parjai, sajo and budshakal budhi" depending upon the context and relationship. He addresses her as "parjai" when she was the wife of his delayed friend. Latter he marries with her

and addresses her with pet name “Sajo” but latter on when their relationship becomes not good he addresses her as “budshakal budhi” as she was elder from him. Similarly, Imtiaz addresses her step daughter with her pet name “Zaibo” but at some occasions when in order to show her love for her he addresses her as “Shehzadi’. Further analysis of address forms from male to female shows that male addresses female mostly with the related kinship term or with first name. Thus, analysis of address forms male to female shows the significance of context and relationship.

**Table-6.3:** Female to Female

<b>Addresser- Addressee</b>	<b>Relationship</b>	<b>Addressee Form</b>	<b>Context Description</b>
Sajida/Rasheeda	Neighbors	Kinship+First name (Apa Sheeda)	Sajida calls her neighbor ‘Apa Sheeda’. She has good terms with her and her family.
Passenger/Sajida	Stranger	Kinship term (Behan ji)	A stranger was asking about time from Sajida in a bus by saying ‘behan ji’.
Meera/Milli	Friends	First name	Meera was talking her new home to Milli by calling her first name
Meera/Sheedan	Daughter/mother	Kinship term (baibay)	Meera addresses her mother as ‘baibay’
Sajida/Meera	Neighbor	First name	Meera is daughter of Apa Sheeda and neighbor of Sajida. She addresses her with first name.
Sajida/Farzana	Sisters	Title+ kinship (Wadi baaji)	Sajida calls her elder sister as ‘Wadi baaji’

Zainab/Sajida	Daughter/Mother	Kinship term (Ammi ji)	Zaibo happily opens the door by calling Ammi ji.
Meera/Sajida	Neighbor	Kinship term (Khaala)	Meera and her family has very close terms with their neighbors 'Sajida'. She calls her 'khaala'.
Milli's mother/Sajida	Strangers	Kinship term (baaji g)	Sajida asked Milli's mother for a job by saying 'baaji ji'

The table 3 shows the address forms from female to female. The analysis of table shows that female mostly used kinship terms even talking with strangers. They also use first name in order to address each other. Here again the context matters as female of this drama mostly stay at home so they are habitual of using kinship term even with the strangers. It also shows their love and politeness towards addressee.

**Table-6.4:** Female to Male

Addresser-Addressee	Relationship	Addressee Form	Context Description
Meera/Ilyas	Significant others	First name	Meera is in love with Ilyas and addresses him with first name.
Sheedan/Iqbal	Family member	Pet name (Baaly)	She calls her brother with pet name 'Baaly'.
Zainab/Imtiaz	Daughter/father	Kinship term (Abba)	Zaibo addresses her father as 'Abba' all the time.
Sajida/Ilyas	Family member	First name+ KN term (Ilyas putar)	She calls her sister's son as 'Iyas Putar'
Sajida/Imtiaz	Significant	KN term+	Sajida calls her late

	other	first name (Paa Imtiaz)	husband friend as 'Paa Imtiaz'
Sheedan/Ijaz	Mother/ son	Pet name (Jaazy)	Sheedan was complaining to her son about the volume of tv by calling 'Jaazy'.
Meera/Majid	Daughter/father	Kinship term (Abba)	Meera calls her father 'Abba'
Sheedan/Majid	Wife/husband	Pet name (Maajay)	Sheedan addresses her husband with kinship term.
Sajida/Iqbal	Neighbor	Kinship term (pa baalay)	Sajida addressed her neighbor Iqbal with the kinship term 'pa baalay'.

The above table 4 shows the address terms used by female in order to address male in the serial under observation. Here again the context and relationship is considered important. As Zaibo addresses Imtiaz (her late father's friend) as "chacha" later on when he married with her mother she addresses him as "aba" depending upon relation and context. Similarly use of kinship term + first name as "putar Illyas" shows the love of her aunt "sajida" for him. Thus, here again the kinship term seems dominant depending upon the context.

### 6.1 Similarities and differences in address forms based on gender

Talking about the similarities and differences in address terms of male and female based upon this data it can be seen that while addressing male to male they are more conscious about the social class and context, as they used title to address. This shows that they have practical aspect towards life. They are also conscious about age factors because they are habitual of using vernacular form of language so they have to be conscious about age factor in order to give respect to them. While talking with female they used mostly pet names, kinship terms or first name. Here we can see the reflection of context that at the environment

of home they become conscious about relations use of kinship term shows that. The use of pet names shows love towards that person mostly while talking with the age fellow female or female friends they are using first names to address.

Coming towards female the factors of relationship and context are seems dominant. It can be seen that in the whole serial women are more conscious about the relationship and their choice of address forms as kinship terms and pet names mostly also depict that they are more conscious about relationship. It also shows that women are more conscious about emotional side of life. While talking about the similarities in choice of address forms in both genders it can be seen that both are conscious about context and relationship while making choice of address terms.

## **6.2 Impact of gender on the choice of address term**

The impact of gender can be seen in the choice of address forms in the above data as male gender is more practical and talk about practical side of life like business and politics thus they used title in the choice of address terms more as compared to male. On the other hand, female talk more about the emotional aspects of life and relative type things. Hence, they use kinship terms and pet names more they show the impact of politeness, emotions, and love (which are properties of female gender more as compared to male gender) in the choice of address terms. Furthermore, both genders are conscious about contextual use of address forms.

## **6.3 Comparison of Findings with Previous Research**

In comparing the findings of this study with previous research on language and gender, several parallels and distinctions emerge. This analysis of address forms in Pakistani serials aligns with the broader body of research on gendered language use, confirming the pervasive influence of societal norms and expectations on linguistic choices.

Similar to findings of our research, Lakoff (1973) is of the viewpoint that women social status is reflected by their language. In current research, female

addressers use informal address forms such as kinship terms or pet names most prominently which depicts their emotional connection and nurtures roles. These findings of study align with Lakoff's believe that women's language mostly reflect their relationships and societal roles.

Coates (2004) is of the view that language exhibits social status of the addresser along with his or her gender. The findings of current research advocates this viewpoint, as findings show that male addresser tends to use formal address terms often which depicts their authoritative role. On the other hand, informal address terms choice of female addressers show their subordinate and nurture roles. This indicates that in Pakistani society the selection of address terms is mostly influenced by social expectations.

Braun (1988) argued that choice of address terms by addresser is deeply influenced by his status, intentions, social norms and traditions. The findings of this study further support this perspective as it revealed that male and female interlocutors social status, intentions and how much they are influenced by norms and traditions of their context and society is reflected in their choice of address terms. However, the current study added uniqueness to the literature of the field as it investigates the Pakistani serial that has been unexplored in previous research.

In conclusion, our findings align with previous studies on language and gender, while also providing new insights into the gendered usage of address forms in Pakistani serials. This study contributes to the ongoing dialogue on the influence of societal norms on linguistic choices and furthers our understanding of the complex relationship between language, gender, and culture.

## **7. Conclusion**

The data explicitly indicates that abreast of context and interpersonal relationships, gender has a significant impact on the selection of address terms in Pakistan. Although both genders and context play a cardinal role in the selection of address terms, numerous other societal factors for example, purpose



of conversation, place of conversation, time of conversation all aspects have a valuable impact on address term choice. Therefore, in order to select an appropriate address term the accurate information of concrete context is necessary or in other words selection of address terms rely a lot on the concrete context of the conversation.

Brown and Frod (1961:378) are of the view point that the addresser may use numerous forms of the proper name for the same addressee, sometime calling TLN or FN or LN or a pet name, or making phonetic alternative versions of either FN or the pet name or nickname. Though, the selection is not arbitrary. For examples Imtiaz addresses Sajida as “parjai, sajo and budshakal budhi” and to his step daughter as “tee rani, zaibo and shahzadi. Therefore, both genders used diverge address terms according to context or to express speaker intentions.

Secondly, it was concluded from data that male are more conscious about using respected address terms to elder as compared to women as Nawaz and Iqbal address Imtiaz as “paa Imtiaz” males have to be more conscious as they used vernacular language. On the other hand, female shows respect and love to everyone either younger or elder that can be seen from their address terms. As Befu (1958) asserts that age play an important role in the choice of address forms.

Thirdly, it is also concluded from the analysis of data that males are more social-class conscious as they used more titles in address terms as compared to female. On the other hand, female used kinship terms more to address. As we seen from data while talking to stranger which a police officer the truck driver used the term “sir g” to address. On the other hand, Sajida while talking to a stranger in bus addresses her with kinship term as “behan g”. The choice of titles more as address forms depicts that men have practical intentions towards life while on the other hand female’s choices of address forms as they used more kinship terms depict their emotional attitude towards life.

Overall it is concluded that both genders used a variety of address forms the use of titles as address terms are seen more by male as compared to female.

While analyzing female gender choices of address forms it is seen that they use kinship terms more as compared to male. The reason of this difference in choices of address terms seems because of their different social attitudes. Men talk about more practical aspects of life while females talk about the emotional side of life more. As a famous psychologist Jonathan Grey (1992) and Deborah Tannen (1990) claim that men and women speak differently as society subjects them to different life experiences. Men talk about business and trade-like things and females talk about relative and domestic-type things and this effect can be seen in their choices of address forms.

Similarities in both genders' choices of address terms exist in the form of context. Choice of address terms of both genders is contextualized. For example, Imtiaz in his love mode or the context where he feels his wife beneficial for him addresses her with pet name "Sajo" while in anger while he feels annoyed by her he addresses her as "budshakal budhi". Similarly, his choice of address for his step daughter also varies according to the context as "Tee rani, Zaibo, Shehzadi". Zaibo also shows contextualized variation in address forms for his step father. Thus, in both genders the choice of address forms is context dependent. As Brown and Yule (1989: 54) claims different terms of address forms will be used in different sociolinguistic contexts. Furthermore, the impact of gender on choice of address forms is very vital. It can be seen that males use different address forms while talking to males and while talking with females choice of address forms is different. Similarly, a wide difference in male-to-male and female-to-female choices of address forms as discussed above and can be seen from data is also an impact of gender on the choices of address forms.

## **8. Limitation & Recommendation**

This research employs only one serial to gather data for address terms because of limited time span which is a limitation of this research as this limited data cannot mirror all address terms that are used in contemporary real life. Nevertheless, this research does not act to be exhaustive as it tries to present another method for analyzing and investigating choices of address terms that are deployed in conversation. Researchers can work further on more serials or

an expensive cross-cultural examination from real life situation among distinct individuals is envisaged in future.

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