Terms of Address in Libyan Arabic Compared to Other Arabic Varieties

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ABSTRACT

This paper presents a discussion about the terms of address used mainly in Libyan Arabic, and how they are similar and/or different from the terms used in other Arabic societies. In addition, the current paper describes how the use of such terms is determined by various social factors and perceptions, and how it is emphasized that these titles must always be used in their appropriate contexts. Additionally, this paper provides a discussion regarding the situations in which these titles may vary from formal to less formal, and consequently affect levels of politeness of the whole utterance. Examples are provided on the basis of data cited in previous works of research, and on the author's own experience as a native speaker of Arabic and a citizen of the State of Libya.

INTRODUCTION

Sociolinguists have always been concerned with the role of social factors in accounting for the nature of systematic variation of languages. Lehman's (1979) states that studies on sociolinguistics have provided us with significant data regarding the relationships that hold between language use and the cultures in which these languages are spoken. An example of this variation is the use of terms of address and titles across cultures. Terms of address are extremely important in that they provide information about the speaker, the addressee, the relationship between them, and the sociocultural nature of a given society. Forms of address include pronouns (e.g. French pronouns *tu* and *vous*), verbs (e.g. the Arabic verb *khodh*, less polite meaning for the verb 'take', and *tafadal*, more polite meaning for the verb 'here you go'), nouns (e.g. kinship terms such as *uncle* and *aunt*; titles like *Mr.*, *Mrs.*, *doctor*, *professor*, *major*, *friend*, and *bro*). This paper focuses on the different patterns of terms of address used in Libyan Arabic in everyday social interactions in the State of Libya and how the use of these terms is similar and/or different from that in other Arabic-speaking countries in the Middle East.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Different social interactions are used by individuals, who make the undelaying principles of these interactions, and are as well made by them, in order to reflect social relationships in a given speech event. These interactions involve different kinds of speech acts which are required to fulfill the needs of the human complex nature. Aliakbari and Toni (2008, p.1) generally

indicate that "establishing [a] social relationship between individuals is perhaps the first step to every communicative event." One example of social interactions, and the one relevant to this study, is the use of terms of address, also known as social honorifics. According to Farghal and Shakir (1994), speakers of different languages use terms of address in order to encode social perspectives in human interactions. As a result, in every context, interlocutors place themselves as either speakers or authorized recipients to whom the terms of address are reserved.

Braun (1998, p. 7) argues that terms of address are "words and phrases used for addressing". This involves the identification of people by their role and position in the society (e.g., educators, authority figures, professionals, politicians, family members, friends, and total strangers) which is determined also by the role and position of the speaker. Keshavars (2001, p. 6) refers to terms of address as "the linguistic forms that are used in addressing others to attract their attention or to refer to them in the course of a conversation". In this regard, forms of address reflect the nature of social relationships that hold between individuals in a given speech community. This kind of relationship is described by Chomsky (1965, cited in Alrabaa, 1985, p. 645) as the "knowledge held by an ideal speaker-hearer, in a homogeneous community who knows his language perfectly". Additionally, Oyetade (1995, cited in Aliakbari and Toni, 1979, p. 1) refers to social honorifics as "words or expressions used in interactive, dyadic and face-to-face situations in order to designate the person being talked to"; i.e. to reinforce the addressee's identity (Levinson, 1983).

Why Are Terms of Address Used?

The question that is worth asking here is what factors determine the use of these terms. As Shehab (2005) discusses, the speaker's choice of a particular address term is based on three parameters: interlocutors' social status, their relationship in a particular speech event, and the degree of formality of the whole interactional situation. Wardhaugh (2010), on the other hand, adds variables such as age, gender, family relationships, occupational hierarchy, and transactional status to the parameters to select the appropriate address form(s). Based on these variables, social honorifics reflect culture-specific realities related to the current social situation (Fillmore, 1975), and provide information about the addressor and the addressee, their social rank, and the attitudes they have towards each other. However, Farghal and Shakir (1994) believe that social context is the major factor that determines what honorifics to use in order to obtain the communicative purpose of that social situation.

Power and Solidarity

In addition to the importance of the context in hand in choosing specific honorific terms, other factors are also salient in determining the use of appropriate terms of address.

Terms of address are generally determined by factors related to power and solidarity, which are socially established among speakers in their choices of honorific terms. The more intimate and equal the speakers to each other, the more informal terms of address (e.g., first

names and nick names) are likely to be used. Hudson (1980, P. 128) argues that "the linguistic signaling of power and solidarity can be seen as another instance of the way in which a speaker locates himself in his social world when he speaks." In this sense, terms of address are used to establish the interlocutors' identities, status, and relationship with each other.

One example of power is the relationship that holds between the employee and their boss. While employees address their boss by his/her last name (e.g. Mr. Williams, Mrs. Landers), the boss would most likely address the employees by their first names or in some cases nicknames (Brian, Sara). This is referred to as asymmetric versus symmetric title exchanges by Wardhaugh (2010) who states that inequality of power between the employer and employees, for example, determines the asymmetric and symmetric use of social deixis, such as titles (doctor, professor, Sir, Madam), first names (Fred, George, buddy), and last names (Mr. Stevens, Mrs. Hayes). Solidarity, on the other hand is related to social parameters which depend on various factors including the speakers social distance and characteristics they share (e.g., age, gender, religion, race, occupation, etc) (Hudson, 1996).

Interestingly, in addition to using honorific terms to establish social relationships among the interlocutors in a given interaction, individuals use honorific terms in order to locate themselves in their own social world (Hudson (1980). The power-solidarity parameter is influenced by the presence or absence of the authorized referent. Individuals tend to utilize terms of address which reflect more power and less solidarity when the referent is not physically present.

Types of Terms of Address

According to Levinson (1983), social honorifics are classified into two major types: relational and absolute. *Relational honorifics* are related to socially deictic linguistic information utilized in forms reserved for authorized interlocutors, both speakers and recipients. In this sense, the use of relational honorifics is determined by the type of social relationship between the interactants. For example, the use of *tu* 'you (2SG)' and *vous* 'you (2PL)' in French depends on the status of the speakers. The use of *vous* emphasizes the power of the addressee and mitigates the power of the speaker. *Absolute honorifics*, on the other hand, are fixed terms of address which state the formality levels between the speakers, and emphasize the authority of the recipients. One example is the utilization of honorific terms such as Your Honor, Your Majesty and His Highness. These terms of address are reserved for certain recipients in the society. Specific absolute honorifics are also reserved for specific speakers; e.g., the use of 1st person plural pronoun 'we' by the king of Jordan or the Emperor of Japan when referring to themselves. Another example of fixed terms is the titles reserved for religious people. For example, the person who serves in the church is referred to as 'Pastor,' and the person who leads the prayer in the mosque, and holds Friday lectures is referred to as *Emam* and *Sheikh* respectively (Kadim, 2008).

Politeness and Terms of Address in Arabic

We saw that languages are sensitive to the speaker-hearer relationship, and that this sensitivity is expressed in the various terms of address used in social interactions. On the other hand, this sensitivity is associated with the degree of formality, and consequently establishes the level of politeness required for such events. As Al-Shurafa (2002) explains, politeness constitutes the basis of social order production and the preconditioning of human cooperation. Hence, politeness is based on the recognition of the addresses and their rights in a given situation (Spolsky, 1998).

Wardhaugh (2010) brings to discussion the notion of social customs awareness that is incorporated in the politeness with which we make use of language. In this sense, the use of terms of address varies across cultures because politeness is communicated differently in different cultures based on the social norms in those cultures. As a result, what is considered polite in one culture may not be the same in another culture (Hawisher & Selfe, 2000). Therefore, learning to be polite includes understanding the social norms and cultural values in a given community in addition to learning the terms of address associated with politeness in that community (Youssef, 2012).

It is through this awareness that individuals in a given society can express their feelings towards each other in different situations. Mišić Ilić (2004) elaborates on Wardhaugh's (2010) statement by explaining the process of demonstrating recognition of individual's public self-images (i.e., face) either positively (showing solidarity) or negatively (accepting another person's right not to be imposed on). In other words, it is the job of the speaker to make the appropriate choices in terms of their relationship with the addresses.

These notions of positive and negative politeness are outlined in Brown and Levinson's (1978) model of politeness, which presents the notion of 'face' in light of the concepts of positive and negative strategies of politeness. *Positive politeness* is the use of speech strategies which emphasize the interlocutors' requirement for solidarity, and highlight bidirectional similarities between the speakers. One example is the simultaneous use of a title and last name (e.g., Mr. Landers). *Negative politeness*, on the other hand, is associated with the expression of restraint of power based on the hierarchy and distance relationship that holds between the speaker and the addressee in order to fulfill the individuals' needs for freedom of imposition by others. An example of this is addressing the addressee by the first name 'Dave' by a more powerful speaker. This kind of negative politeness is practiced in terms of power and solidarity; the individuals who constitute higher social status are more likely to use this pattern more than others, and they mostly tend to use what Najeeb, Maros, and Nor (2012) refer to as 'distancing styles' such as the production of indirect apologies by using plural pronouns. In other words, "speakers who can choose between a polite form and a less polite form, but invariably receive the polite form themselves; have a superior position over their collocutors in the hierarchy of politeness" (Braun, 1988, p. 110).

Accordingly, the relationship between the addressor and addressee determines the degree of politeness of the address terms. In other words, defining the terms of address as positively or negatively polite is based on the nature of the relationship between interlocutors and the situation or moment of interaction.

Politeness of address terms is also related to social class and education. For example, users of terms such as *hadretak/ hadretik* 'your presence' are more of less educated people from lower class addressing other more educated people from higher class. Braun (1988, p.21) believes that such social practices are performed by lower class individuals "apparently in imitation of what they believe to be upper-class or middle-class address behavior."

Based on the above discussion, we can see the relationship that connects politeness to terms of address. Terms of address are one form of politeness channel through which social relationships are expressed via social dimensions of solidarity, power, and status. An example of this is presented by Alrabaa (1985) who indicates that in colloquial Arabic, parents and teachers are addressed by terms such as *hadretak* and *hadretek* 'your presence.' Another example of showing politeness is the use of plural pronouns to address a single person. Mosque sheikhs and politicians are addressed by using the plural pronoun 2PL *antom* 'plural form of you' instead of 2SG *anta* 'singular form of you' (Braun, 1988). Other terms such as *fadhelah*, *sammaha* 'eminence, said to mosque sheiks', *syakatakom*, *saadatekom*, *fakhamatekom*, *maaleekom* 'excellency, said to politicians' are also used in order to show utmost respect to the person being addressed (McLoughlin, 1982).

Terms of address in Arabic

Terms of address in Arabic are complicated and generally influenced by the conservative traditions of the society and the principles of the Islamic religion which dedicates specific terms of address to emphasize reserving respect to individuals of higher ranks and status. These terms are very diverse and cannot be totally covered in this paper to compare them with the ones used in the Libyan dialect. Accordingly, certain expressions are highlighted in this paper based on how they are generally used in the Libyan variety of Arabic. The following pages include a general description of address titles in Libyan Arabic used to address certain individuals such as family members, strangers, and elderly citizens. The use of these titles is compared to their corresponding use in other in other Arabic dialects as well as in Standard Arabic.

The choice of a certain address title in Arabic is made on the basis of variables such as gender, age, position, and social rank of both the addressors and the addressees (McLoughlin, 1982). Such factors are expected to be considered in all kinds of social interactions because they show that their user is educated and well-raised. For that reason, teaching them to youngsters from an early age is strongly emphasized.

Family Members

In Standard Arabic, parents are always addressed by titles such as *umi* 'mom', *abi* 'dad'. Sometimes parents are addressed with compassion *umah* 'mother', *abatah* or *abati* 'father'. Parents address their children, who also address each other, by their first names. Some expressions are used by parents to show intimacy and love towards their children. Such expressions include *qurat ainee* 'the apple of my eye' and *felthat kabedy* 'my own flesh and blood' (Kadim, 2008). More passionate terms are used between the husband and his wife, although the first names can also be used in this case. As Erwin (2002) explains, the husband may address his wife as *habibty* 'my beloved', and the wife can call her husband *habiby* 'my beloved.' Although these terms are used between spouses openly in some Arabic societies such as in Egypt and Lebanon, they are sometimes used in private as the case in the Libyan and Saudi societies due to the conservative nature of these societies which are deeply influenced by the Islamic patterning of culture (Erwin, 2002).

Nevertheless, family members are addressed in Standard Arabic in other more official honorific terms. Kadim (2008) discusses that these terms are reserved to restricted official status; e.g., referring to families of business men and diplomats. One example is addressing the wife with *aqeela* 'wife, formal' instead of *zawja* 'wife, informal.' As for children, while the daughter is referred to as *Kareema* 'daughter, formal' instead of *Ebna* 'daughter, informal', the son is addressed as *Najel* 'son, formal' instead of *Ebn* 'son, informal'. In Libyan Arabic, these official honorifics are also used in wedding invitation cards, to replace the names of the women, but they do not replace the names of men (Youssef, 2012). One exception is the use of the title *haram* 'respectful wife' instead of *ageela* as the case in other Arabic societies. For example, a wedding invitation card for the wife of a gentleman named Ahmed Omar will be titled as *a-Sayeda Haram a-sayed Ahmed Omar* 'Madam the wife of Mr. Ahmed Omar'. The card addressed to his daughter will be titled as *Al-Anesa Kareemat a-Sayed Ahmed Omar* 'Miss Daughter of Mr. Ahmed Omar'. Such a process is considered highly respectful in the Libyan culture, because it is regarded as a necessity in this conservative society not to directly mention the first names of the ladies in official invitations.

Braun (1988) discusses titles used by children when addressing their parents in Jordanian Arabic. As he states, individuals in Jordan sometimes use very formal terms to address their parents to show utmost respect. For example, instead of addressing their parents by using second person pronouns (2NG) *inta* 'you, for addressing a male individual', *inti* 'you, for addressing a female individual', children are expected to use terms such as *hadretak*, *hadretik* ('your presence' for the father and mother respectively). The same thing can also be said about the Egyptian, Iraqi, and Lebanese Arabic (Braun, 1988). In Egyptian Arabic, Children are expected to address their father with *hadretak*, and address their mother with *hadretik* (Arabic Learning Resources, http://arabic.desert-sky.net/coll_address.html). However, older sons and daughters may sometimes use other terms with their parents. For example, An Egyptian son may call his father *hagg* (i.e., *Haj*, the man who performed pilgrimage to Mecca), and his mother *hagga* (i.e.,

Hajja, the women who performed pilgrimage to Mecca). The terms *hagg* and *hagga* can also be used to address old men and women (in family and strangers) even if they have not been on pilgrimage to Mecca (Arabic Learning Resources). These terms, *haj* (for the father and stranger senior men) and *hajje* (for the mother and stranger senior women) are also used in Iraqi Arabic to address aged parents and elderly strangers to show utmost respect and reflect good manners (Kadim, 2008).

According to Yassin (1978), the use of these terms emphasizes the speakers' social positions, status, and relationship between them. In Libyan Arabic, there are no major changes; the mother is addressed as '*umi, mama*' and the father as '*buya, baba, and baty*'. Older Libyan sons and daughters sometimes address their parents by using *haj* 'for the father' and *hajj* 'for the mother' to show respect to their parents. Similar to other Arabic societies, these terms are also used by younger strangers in Libya to address stranger senior citizens. Siblings address each other by first names (e.g., Ahmed, Aisha).

Brachynyms

Parents address their children by using various titles depending on the age of their children. While they address their older children with their first names, they address their younger kids and newly-borns by nick names or diminutive, also known as brachynyms (Yassin, 1978), which convey compassion and intimacy (e.g., *omri* 'my age', *hayaty* 'my life', *rohi* 'my spirit', *eyoonee* 'my eyes', *habeebee* 'my love', *albee*, *galby* 'my heart') (McLoughlin,1982). Moreover, parents use 'diminutive patterns' (Yassin, 1978) with their children and sometimes other children as well. These patterns are short forms of the child's first name, and they are mostly used as nicknames. For example, boys named *Ahmed*, *Mohamed* and *Mahmood* may be addressed as *Medo, Hammady, Hamada.* Likewise, girls named Fatma are called *Fatooma*, *Batta*, *Ifteema*, *Fatoom*. These diminutives are also applied to address terms such as daughter and son; parents may use *bnaytty* and *wleedy*/*bnayee* instead of *benty* and *weldy*/*ebny* for 'daughter' and 'son' respectively. The use of diminutives in Libyan Arabic is different from that of Kuwaiti Arabic, in that the latter requires associating the diminutive patterns with expressions such as kin terms and nicknames. For example, a Kuwaiti father my address his son with a title such as: *Ya Nweessir Ya wleedi ya hbayyibi* 'My beloved son Nweesir' (Yassin, 1978, p. 62). According to Yassin (1978) these kinds of expressions are used in Kuwaiti dialect to address close relatives only in order to indicate utmost care and intimacy.

Bipolarity

There are cases in some Arabic countries in which parents address their children in a very distinguished and 'unique' custom. This custom, which is referred to by Yassin (1977) as 'Bipolarity,' involves the practice of using the same term to address both the speaker and addressee. One example from Libyan Arabic is when mothers address their children by such terms as *mommy*, *mama*, *umi*, *emima* 'mother, mom', and fathers denote terms like *baba*, *buya*

ubayee 'father, dad, daddy' which are also used when children address their parents. Moreover, aunts and uncles tend to use this pattern to address their nieces and nephews; for example, maternal uncles and aunts may call their nieces and nephews *khal*, *khaly*, *khalo* 'maternal uncle', and *khalty*, *khalto* 'maternal aunt'. The same thing applies for paternal uncles and aunts; e.g., *ummi*, *ummo* 'paternal uncle', and *ummty*, *ummto*, *umema* 'paternal aunt'. Interestingly, nieces and nephews use the exact same terms to address those uncles and aunts (Davies, 1949).

According to Yassin (1977, p. 297) bipolarity is used as "a function of familiarity and endearment on the basis of generational asymmetry." He explains that a father in Kuwait may call his son or his daughter *yuba* 'my father' and at the same time they call him *yuba*. The same relationship holds between mothers and their kids, *yumma* 'my mother' is used to denote both speaker and addressee. The use of this pattern is restricted to certain contexts; for example, mothers, fathers, uncles, and aunts in Libyan culture use these bipolar terms when they give advice or suggestions to their kids, nieces, and nephews, or when they want to express emotions of love and care to those younger addressees (Ayoub, 1964). In Egyptian culture, these terms are used when seniors ask favors from juniors in a form of "conciliatory request … rather than an abrupt command" (Schmidt, 1986, p. 61). It is through the use of bipolar terms that adults break boundaries of formality and get closer to their children, nephews, and nieces and make them feel more comfortable to listen and sometimes reveal secrets that should be revealed to caregivers.

A similar pattern is also used by Libyan grandparents for the same reasons. As grandmothers tend to, almost most of the time, address their grandchildren by nick names and diminutives (i.e., brachynyms) such as *hannty, hnena, hunna, hunny,henaye, jedaye, judda* 'grandma, granny', grandfathers address their grandchildren by using these term: *jeddo, juddy, jdeda* 'grandpa' (Yassin, 1977). These terms are different from the ones used in Syrian Arabic in which the grandfather is referred to as *jeddi*, and the grandmother is addressed as *sitti* (Davies, 1949). Such diminutive terms are used informally among relatives and close acquaintances in order to emphasize intimacy and affection (Yassin, 1977). However, adults generally address their children, nephews, nieces, and grandchildren by their first names.

Tecknonyms

It should be mentioned here that there is a distinctive address form for parents that Braun (1988), McLoughlin (1982) and Yassin (1978) refer to as *Tecknonyms*; the custom of addressing married couples by the name of their eldest 'male' child. For example, if a husband and a wife have a son called Ali, they are called *abu Ali* 'father of Ali' and *um Ali* 'mother of Ali.' This feature is unique because it is strongly sought by all married couples in some Arabic countries such as Syria, Lebanon, Egypt, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, and Kuwait (McLoughlin, 1982; Yassin, 1978; Kadim, 2008) due to the prestigious and respectful connotations it conveys. It is considered prestigious because it indicates that this person is full of wisdom, experience, and knowledge of the world, and therefore trustworthy for having a unique distinctive perception of life. What is interesting is that even if those couples have daughters older than their son, or even

is they have only daughters, or no children at all (especially if married for a long time) they are always expected to be called by the name of the older son or, in case of no-children marriage, the name of the husband's father (e.g., abu Ahmed, um Ahmed) (Spolsky, 1998). Another function of tecknonyms discussed by Yassin (1978) is used among couples in Kuwait when talking about each other. For example, the wife may use the term *abu aleyal* 'father of the children' to refer to her husband, who as well calls her *um aleyal* 'mother of the children'.

Moreover, McLoughlin (1982) explains another remarkable custom related to this feature. She discusses the fact that choosing these male names is sometimes not random. For example, a man (even if unmarried) named Mohamed is addressed as *Abu-l- Qasim* (in relation to prophet Mohamed's son, Qasim, who died in infancy). Other examples of this custom which are also attributed to religious figures are found in Egyptian Arabic (e.g. *Abu Khalil* for a man called Ibrahim, *Abu Ali* for a man called Hassan) (Macdonald, 2000). Interestingly, tecknonyms do not exist in Libyan Arabic. Fathers and mothers are addressed by their first names even if they have sons, and they are addressed by the term *haj* and *hajja* in case they are relatively old.

Tecknonyms may not be easy to explain to non-native speakers especially if they have no experience not only living among native speakers, but also living in an Arabic country. In other words, such terms are more understood socially than linguistically, as Braun (1988, p. 258) states regarding these terms, "While a "literal meaning" may be missing and referents may vary, there is always some social meaning encoded in an address variant… social meaning is the most interesting aspect of address; it is the reason for, as well as the product of, address differentiation."

Strangers

Addressing strangers in Arabic countries differs depending on the gender and ages of the addressors and addresses. If the addressor is more than ten years younger than the addressee, the speakers uses titles such as the standard Arabic *ummi* 'my uncle' for a male stranger (*ummo* in Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon) and the standard Arabic *khalti* 'my aunt' for a female stranger (*khalto* in Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, and Lebanon) (Braun, 1988). Braun explains more by saying that if the speaker is more than fifteen or twenty years younger than the addressee, then terms such as *haj* for a senior male citizen and *hajja* for a senior female citizen are used. The terms *haj* and *hajja* are originally used to address people who went to Mecca in Saudi Arabia for the purpose of Pilgrimage. However, these terms are now used to address the elderly whether they got the chance to undertake the Pilgrimage or not (Aliakbari and Toni, 2008). In addition, respect for the elderly is always strictly emphasized in Arabic countries. Alrabaa (1985) points out that second person pronouns are not preferred at all when addressing these citizens because the use of such pronouns gives the impression that the interlocutors are equal and deserve the same level of respect and appreciation. This conveys negative connotations when talking to the elderly in particular.

In case the addressor and addressee appear to be approximately at the same age, gender is the major factor that determines the suitable term to use (Farhat, 2013). In case of Libyan Arabic, terms such as *khoy*, *istady* 'brother, Sir' are used by a women addressing a man or by a man addressing a man, and terms like *okhty*, *abla* 'sister, Mam' are used by a man to address a women or by a women to address another women (Braun, 1988). Overall, simple age differences do not require asymmetrical address terms; such terms are expressed in situations which include differences in generation among the interlocutors.

Slight differences from this form of address exist in other Arabic countries. In Egypt, for example, the elderly are addressed as *hag*, *hagga* 'like haj, hajja.' People in their forties and fifties are referred to as *bayeh* 'Sir', *hanem* or *madam* 'Miss, Madam,' and *afandem* 'Turkish word meaning Sir, Madam' for both men and women who are approximately at the same age as the speaker. Arabic dialects are variable and native speakers have a lot of choices available. This is emphasized by Parkinson (1982, p. 185; cited in Braun, 1988) who, when talking about Egyptian Arabic, states that "[S]peakers choose to use terms [of address] constantly, much more than English speakers do. And they have a lot more to choose from … there is relatively a large number of terms available, and a rule exists requiring term of address usage at relatively frequent intervals."

Teachers and Students

In this kind of relationship, the academic title-first name-last name forms are the only ones used in all the Arab countries (Braun, 1988). In Jordanian Arabic, honorific titles such as *abla* 'elementary and high school female teacher,' *ustad, ustaz*, and *ustath* 'elementary and high school male teacher,' *duktor* 'male doctor, *duktora* 'female doctor, and *ustad-ustaz-ustath* 'male professor', *ustada , ustaza, and ustatha* 'female professor' are used to address staff members (Braun, 1988). In some cases, Masters and PhD students are also addressed as *ustad-ustaz-ustath*, *ustada* and *duktor*, *duktora* respectively for encouragement as well as respect.

Similar patterns are observed in Libyan Arabic. Elementary teachers, high school teachers, and university staff are addressed in one of two forms: either the academic title and the first name (e.g., *abla Nora, doktora Aisha, ustad Ahmed*), or the academic title, first name and last name (e.g., *abla Nora Abid, doktora Aisha Faris, ustad Ahmed Mostafa*). In Jordan, academic titles such as *doctor* and *ustad* are also given to individuals who look educated even if they are not really doctors or professors (Braun, 1988). It is noticed that terms such as *hadretak* and *hadretek* 'your presence' which are used in Arabic societies, such as Egypt, to address parents are also used to address teachers, professors, and doctors.

As for students, they are mostly addressed by their first names except in very limited circumstances. Teachers, professors, and doctors address their students by first names (e.g. *Layla*, Rami) except if these students are well-known to the whole staff, either as good students or not very good ones. One example is the use of *Majdi* for '*Layla Majdi*,' and *Jaber* for '*Rami*

Jaber' (Taha, 2010). Sometimes teachers use students' last names when they forget their first names due to the fact that first names are more frequent and common than last names, and it is very likely that more than one student in the class can have the same first name. The same practices can be said about addressing students in all the Arabic societies (Taha, 2010).

These diverse uses of first names and last names reflect power and social status. People who are addressed by their last names are those who display power and occupy the higher ranks in the society (Schmidt (1986). One exception is the students who are addressed by their last names because these names are not as common as the first names. In Arabic, such honorific terms are always viewed in terms of power and solidarity (Farghal and Shakir, 1994). This is related to Taha's (2010, p.3) study of the address terms in Dongolawi Nubian in which he states that "relationships among participants in conversation could often be encoded in language through the employment of a variety of terms that can reflect the social status of an interlocutor."

CONCLUSION

Terms of address in Arabic are interestingly diverse in different Arabic societies as well as within single Arabic societies (Owens, 2001). In general, factors such as age, gender, position and social status are said to be the core determiners for choosing the appropriate terms and titles to use with citizens from different ages and walks of life. Accordingly, terms of address are said to be systematic although the choice of a particular address system can vary across contexts (Philipsen & Huspek, 1985). In other words, the use of these terms is socially governed (Fowler, 1993); it is based on the social patterns specific to the culture to which the speakers belong, and therefore can vary from one Arabic culture to another. Variation of address terms provides different possibilities for using appropriate forms in various situations. This is supported by Braun (1988, p. 13) who states that "From a sociolinguistic point of view, address behavior is meaningful whenever speakers have to choose between several variants, all of which are grammatically correct in a given conversational context." Learning this social system is strongly emphasized in Libyan Arabic and thus starts from early childhood. In fact, children are sometimes punished for not choosing the appropriate term. This is because the use of these terms reflects politeness and good upraising in an educated environment. Politeness of the terms of address in the Libyan society is the key factor to determine the kind of relationship and impressions people have among each other. As Farhat (2013, p. 58) explains, "[b]eing polite helps in establishing good social relations, intimate friendships, trusted co-mates … Being polite also makes you being loved and cared for by the others."

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