Addressing Strangers in Mosuli Arabic

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Abstract

The study aims to investigate the socio-cultural rules that govern address usage in daily conversation in Mosuli Arabic within non-familiar context. A socio-pragmatic approach is adopted in this study and by using semi-structured interviews to collect data from 80 participants in English Department, College of Education for Humanities, University of Mosul. The selection of the participants is based on four variables namely: age, gender, educational status and marital status. In this study, two theoretical framework are selected as a model of analysis namely the communication accommodation theory (1987) and the power and solidarity theory of Brown and Gilman (1968). The study finds that the age and appearance are the most effective determiners of address choice in Mosul society. kinship terms are extended to address strangers and they are the best mean in achieving accommodation .

المستخلص

تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى التحقق من القواعد الاجتماعية والثقافية التي
تحكم مخاطبة الغرباء في المحادثة اليومية بلهجة الموصل العربية . تم اعتماد
منهج تداولي اجتماعي في هذه الدراسة وذلك باستخدام المقابلات شبه
المنظمة لجمع البيانات من 80 مشاركاً في قسم اللغة الإنجليزية، كلية التربية
للعلوم الإنسانية ، جامعة الموصل ، وقد اعتمد اختيار المشاركين على أربعة
متغيرات هي: العمر والجنس والمستوى العلمي والحالة الاجتماعية.

في هذه الدراسة ، تم اختيار إطارين نظريين كنموذج للتحليل هما:
نظرية إقامة التواصل (1987) ونظرية القوة والتضامن لبراون وجلمان
(1968). وتوصلت الدراسة إلى أن العمر والمظهر هما المحددان الأكثر
فاعلية لاختيار الصيغة الأفضل لمخاطبة الغرباء في مجتمع الموصل. وتمتد
صيغ القرابة لتشمل مخاطبة الغرباء وهي أفضل وسيلة في الحصول على
التوافق .

Introduction

Language is not merely for exchanging knowledge and information; it shows individuals' relationships, identities, culture and preferences to become close or distant from others. How people open and end conversation, how they address one another in a given context are significant in studying communication. Address terms are never neutral in communication. They are believed to convey feelings and attitudes; the choice of these elements is based on interlocutors' evaluation of communication situation.

Choosing address terms represents the social relationship between the speaker and the addressee. Meanwhile, it represents the social characteristics of speaker "Lambert & Tucker, 1976". Every time one person speaks to another, there is created a host of options centering around whether and how persons will be addressed or named. By now, still there are many unanswered questions about address terms, since address terms are as complicated as the society itself

"Chaika, 1982". The main issue is how people address each other. How distinct areas like personal names, family names, pronouns, titles, nicknames are used to address "Hymes, 1982".

Statement of the problem

There are variations in addresses terms used by speakers for example; different address forms may be used to address the same person by different speakers or by the same speaker at different times in a different situation. In addition, the same speaker may address different addressees with different AFs in similar or different situations.

Hypothesis

There is an accommodation in using address forms within unfamiliar context.

Aim

The aim of this study is to explore the nature of the interpersonal relationships and social rules underlying the address system in Mosuli Arabic within unfamiliar context.

Objectives of the study

1. To identify and describe the types of terms of address used by Mosuli speakers.
2. To explore the communicative functions of address terms used by Mosuli speakers in terms of the communication accommodation theory "CAT" and Brown and Gilman theory.

3. To identify and describe factors that determine variations of   address terms used by Mosuli speakers. i.e. it is context based

Literature review

Parkinson "1985" studies the terms of address in Egyptian Arabic. Depending on recording natural data from observation and interview, he identifies that the use of individual terms is closely related to the aspect of the addressee and his relation to the speaker, aspect of the speaker himself, and the situation in which the term is used. In a contrastive framework, Hwang "1991" contrasts terms of address in Korean and American cultures. In discussing the results, he states that while American culture is first-name oriented, Korean culture is title and family-name oriented. The functional load between pronouns and nouns in address usage is different in the two languages.

Dicky "1997" in Forms of address and terms of reference examines the relationship between the use of names and other words in address and in reference and what factors affect this difference. The study was based on observation and interview. She concludes that there is a close relationship between forms of address and terms of reference.

 Keshavarz "2001", in his study of the terms of address in Persian, explores the influence of social contexts as well as intimacy and distance on the choice of address terms. The results of the study reveal that "as social distance and degree of formality increase, the frequency of familiar terms of address decreases"Keshavarz,2001:5".

Qin "2008" analyzes the usages of address terms in Chinese and American English. The data were collected from movies. The results of the study show that beside the different categories of interpersonal relationships, the intentions of the speakers play an important role in the choice of address terms, both in Chinese and English.

Kubayi "2013" explores the nature of socio-cultural rules underlying address behavior in face-to-face interactions in Xitsonga. Data are collected using semi-structured interviews from 29 participants in Hlanganani region. The study finds that Hlanganani is an age-set society in that the age of a person is the primary determiner of address choice. The male receives superior status in address behaviour in Xitsonga. It is also found that women are given the same lower status as children.

Alharbi "2015" in a socio-pragmatic study analyzes the forms of address and terms of reference in classical Arabic as represented in the Chapter of Joseph in the Holy Quran. In this study she finds that the choice of these addressing and referring terms by Classical Arabic speakers is determined by sociolinguistic factors particularly gender, setting, and status.

AL-Qudah 2017 investigates the terms of address in Jordanian Arabic. He focuses on six major categories of address forms. The study identifies the most important forms under each category, their social meaning, and the governing factors that control their use. The study reveals that the social meaning of Jordanian terms of address is context- dependent. For instance, kinship terms are used to

address relatives and non- relatives to support positive face. Tecnonyms are found to be greatly embedded in the Jordanian culture as polite terms of address since they are nearly used in all social domains.

Data Collection

The present study uses semi-structured interview as a data collection method. 80 participants have been chosen in the terms of the variables of age, gender, material status and level of education. They are students at the Department of English, College of Education for Humanities, University of Mosul at the academic year 2016 - 2017. The selection of the students takes into account certain aspects: same age, monolingual speaker of Mosuli Arabic, unmarried, and the same level of education". In the interview, the participants are required to answer a series of planned questions about terms used to address family members. See Appendix.

Theoretical framework.

The present research, the interpretation of data will be according to two theoretical frame works, which are the communication accommodation theory "CAT" and Brown and Gilman theory of power and solidarity.

CAT was designed by Howard Giles to explain how and why people reduce and magnify communicative differences among themselves as well as the social consequences of so doing. Over the years, it has been elaborated and refined many times. Major accommodative strategies include converging toward or diverging away from another. These can be achieved by a host of verbal and nonverbal means, including language, syntactic and word choices and

modifying one's speech rate, pitch, gestures and accent. Generally "as many cognitive and affective functions are involved", people converge towards those whom they like, respect or have power, while they non accommodate, and even diverge, to underscore the importance of their personal or social identities to whom they dislike. Indeed, it is possible to converge on some communicative features while, simultaneously, diverging on others. Other accommodative moves include attuning to others' conversational needs and knowledge, under- and over-accommodating. CAT claims that people will accommodate to where they *believe* others to be rather than to where are objectively "Giles: 48*,* 2015". In the same vein, Giles mentions that speakers will over time increasingly accommodate to the communicative patterns they believe characteristic of their interactants, the more they wish affiliate "i.e., decrease social distance" with their interactants on either an individual or group level, or make their message more easily understood "Giles:51,2016".

In their study of address forms Brown and Gilman "1960" focus on the usage of the 2nd person pronoun in French, German, Italian, and Spanish. This study reveals that pronoun usage is governed by two social considerations: power and solidarity. Power refers to authority or the superiority of one person over another. As far as communication is concerned, the speaker may have power over the addressee or vice versa. This is affected by social factors like age, caste, race, and occupation. It is therefore non-reciprocal, in that two people may not have power over each other "in the same direction". A power relationship obtains, for instance, in communication involving a boss

and a subordinate member of staff, between a parent and child, and between a teacher and student. In such circumstances, according to Brown & Gilman, the person who wields power over the other uses "Tu", and receives the deferential "Vous" from the addressee, is supposed to have no power. Solidarity, by contrast, is inherently reciprocal. It is invoked between equals, people who are close or have a certain level of intimacy. In this relationship, the same pronoun Tu is reciprocally used by two or more people "Brown and Gilman:1960".

Data analysis

The analysis and interpretation of the research results will be according to CAT and the power and solidarity theory.

Forms used in Unfamiliar Context

When addressing an unfamiliar male who is older than the addresser, the results indicate that 68.75% of the participants use the term "ammo" "paternal uncle", 16.25% use the zero address form, 11.25% use the term "hadgi" "pilgrim", 1.25% use the term "azizi" "dear", and 2.5% use the term "khalo" "maternal uncle" (See Table 1).

Table (1) Forms used to address an unfamiliar male who is older than the addresser

Term	Ammo	Zero AF	Ḥadgi	Azizi	Khalo
Male	23	7	7	1	2
Female	32	6	2		
Total	55	13	9	1	2
Freq.%	68.75%	16.25%	11.25%	1.25%	2.5%

When addressing an unfamiliar female who is older than the addresser, the results indicate that 61.25% of the

participants use the kinship term "khali" "maternal aunt",16.25% use the kinship term "ammi" "paternal aunt", 12.5% use the title "hadgija" "pilgrim",1.25% use the term "ikhti" "sister", and 8.75% use the zero address form (See Table2).

Table (2) Forms used to address an unfamiliar female who is older than the addresser

Term	Hadgija	Ammi	Sister	Zero AF	Khali
Male	8	7	1	5	19
Female	2	6		2	30
Total	10	13	1	7	49
Freq.%	12.5%	16.25%	1.25%	8.75%	61.25%

Within CAT framework, the use of the kinship terms "ammo","ammi","Khali", "ikhti" or "khalo", the term "hadgi"or "hadgija", the term "azizi"or and the use of the zero address form are attempts by the participants to converge upward and asymmetrical using multi-dimensional models through the face issue strategy.

In this context, the participants' initial orientation is based only on the sociocultural norms of the conversation because there is no history relationship between the participants and no intergroup relation. According to the sociocultural norms, addressing an unfamiliar male or female who is older than the addresser is done through terms indicating respect, such as kinship terms and titles. Zero address forms are used when the addresser is not sure which term to use, show politeness and respect, and give the opportunity to the addresser to bail himself from unfavorable situations "Anchimbe, 2011".

The results further indicate that most of the participants tend to use the kinship term paternal uncle "ammo" in addressing an unfamiliar male. Some of the male participants use the title "hadgi" more than the female participants. The use of the zero address form is balanced between males and females (See Table 3).

Table (3) The difference between males and females in addressing an unfamiliar male who is older than the addresser

Term	ammo	Zero AF	Hadgi	Azizi	Khalo
Male	57.5%	17.5%	17.5%	2.5%	5%
Female	80%	15%	5%		

The results further indicate that the kinship term "khali" "maternal aunt" is more frequent than the kinship term "ammi" "paternal aunt" in addressing unfamiliar female. Female participants tend to use the kinship term "khali" more than male participants. On the contrary, male participants tend to use the title "hadgija" more than the female ones. In addition, male participants use zero address form more with females (See Table 4).

Table (4) The difference between males and females in addressing an unfamiliar female who is older than the addresser

Term	Hadgija	Ammi	Sister	Zero AF	Khali
Male	20%	17.5%	2.5%	12.5%	47.5%
Female	5%	15%		5%	75%

When addressing an unfamiliar male who is of the same age as the addresser, the results indicate that 30% of the participants use the general teknonym "abu lshabab", 26.25% use the term "akhi" "brother", 31.25% use the zero address form, 1.25% use the term "istath" "master", 2.5% use the term "azizi""dear", and 8.75% use the term "aini""my eye" (See Table 5).

Table (5) Forms used to address an unfamiliar male who is of the same age as the addresser

Term	Abu lshabab	brother	Aini	Zero AF	Master	Dear
Male	24	3	7	3	1	2
Female		18		22		
Total	24	21	7	25	1	2
Freq. %	30%	26.25 %	8.75 %	31.25 %	1.25%	2.5 %

When addressing an unfamiliar female who is of the same age as the addresser, the results indicate that 52.5% use zero address form, 28.75% use the term "ikhti" "sister", 15% use the term " ya binit" "girl", 1.25% use the term "aini" "my eye", and 2.5% use the term "sit" "master" (See Table 6).

Table (6) Forms used to address an unfamiliar female who is of the same age as the addresser

Term	Ja binit	Sister	Aini	Zero AF	Sit
Male		18		20	2
Female	12	5	1	22	
Total	12	23	1	42	2
Freq.%	15%	28.75%	1.25%	52.5%	2.5%

Within CAT framework, the use of the terms teknonyms, "istath or sit""master", "akhi" "brother" or "ikhti" "sister", "aini" "my eye", "azizi" "dear" and "ja binit" "girl" is an attempt by the participants to converge upward and symmetrical using multi-dimensional models through the face issue strategy. The participants' initial orientation is based only on the sociocultural norms of the interaction, which specify that polite terms should be used.

 The results further indicate that the use of the general teknonym "abu lshabab" is restricted to male participants. Female participants tend to use the term "akhuja" "brother" or the zero address form. The term "akhuja" "brother" is a neutral form and it brings comfort to both interlocutors.

The results further indicate that most male and female participants prefer to use the zero address form. The other male participants prefer the term "ikhti" "sister" because it is a neutral form and brings comfort to the addressee. Other female participants prefer the term "ya binit" "girl". So the most common form to address an unfamiliar female is the zero address form or the term "ikhti" "sister" (See Table 7).

Table (7) The difference between males and females in addressing an unfamiliar female who is of the same age as the addressee

Term	Ja binit	Sister	Aini	Zero AF	Sit
Male		45%		50%	5%
Female	30%	12.5%	2.5%	55%	

Within power and solidarity theory, the relation between an unfamiliar male or female who is of the same age as the addresser and the addresser is a relation of solidarity because there is no age difference between the interlocutors. The addressee receives the kinship terms, titles, terms of endearment, and the general teknonym.

When addressing an unfamiliar male who seems to have a social status and is older than the addresser, the results indicate that 46.25% of the participants use the term master, 17.5% use the zero address form, 2.5% use the term "hadgi" "pilgrim", 31.25% use the term "ammo", 1.25% use the term "siid" "mister", 1.25% use the term "azizi" "dear" (See Table 8).

Table (8) Forms used to address an unfamiliar male who seems to have a social status and older than the addressee

Term	Master	Zero AF	Hadgi	Ammo	Mister	Azizi
Male	23	6	2	8		1
Female	14	8		17	1	
Total	37	14	2	25	1	1
Freq.%	46.25%	17.5%	2.5%	31.25%	1.25%	1.25%

As for addressing an unfamiliar female who seems to have a social status and is older than the addresser, the results indicate that 40% use the term "khali" "maternal aunt", 7.5% use the term "ammi" "paternal aunt", 36.25% use the term "sit" "master", 13.75% use the zero address form, 1.25% use the title "hadgija" "pilgrim",1.25% use the term "ikhti" "sister" (See Table 9).

Table (9) Forms used to address an unfamiliar female who seems to have a social status and is older than the addressee

Term	Ammi	Khali	Hadgija	Sit	Sister ikhti	Zero AF
Male	2	11	1	20	1	5
Female	4	21		9		6
Total	6	32	1	29		11
Freq.%	7.5%	40%	1.25%	36.25%	1.25%	13.75%

Within CAT framework, the use of the terms "istath" or "sit" "master", "hadgi" or "hadhija", kinship "ammo""paternal uncle" or "ammi" "paternal aunt" , "khali" "maternal aunt" ,"ikhti" "sister","siid" "mister", and the term "azizi" "dear" and the zero address form is an attempt by the participants to converge upward and asymmetrical to the addressee through face issue strategy. The participants' initial orientation is based only on the sociocultural norms of the interaction. According to the norms, terms indicating respect are used to address an unfamiliar male who seems to have a social status and older than the addresser.

The results further indicate that male participants prefer the term "istath" "master", while females prefer to use the kinship "ammo" "paternal uncle". The use of the zero address form seems to be the same by males and females.

Therefore, the most appropriate form to address unfamiliar male who seems to have a social status is the term "istath" "master".

The results further indicate that although that the addressee seems to have a social status, most of the participants especially the females tend to use the kinship term "khali", while the male participants tend to use the title "sit" more than females. The use of the kinship term "ammi" and the zero address form is nearly the same between males and females (See Table 10).

Table (10) The difference between males and females in addressing an unfamiliar female who seems to have a social status and is older than the addresser

Term	Ammi	Khali	Hagdija	Sit	Sister	Zero AF
Male	5%	32.5%	2.5%	50%	2.5%	12.5%
Female	10%	52.5%		22.5%		15%

Within power and solidarity theory, the relation between the addresser and an unfamiliar male or female who seems to have a social status and older than the addresser is a power relation due to age and status difference. The addressee receives kinship terms or titles.

As for addressing an unfamiliar male who seems to have a social status and who is nearly of the same age as the addresser, the results indicate that 36.75% of the participants use the zero address form, 21.25% use the term "istath" "master", 18.75% use the term "akhi" "brother", 18.75% use the general teknonym " abu lshabab", 1.25% use the term "azizi" "dear", 1.25% use the term "

hadratuk" "your highness" , 1.25% use the term "zamili" "my colleague", and 1.25% use the term "aini" "my eye" (See Table 11).

Table (11) Forms used to address unfamiliar male who seems to have a social status and his age is nearly the same as of the addresser

Term	Master	Brother	ZAF	Abu lshabab	Dear azizi	hadratuk	Zamili	My eye
Males	13	3	6	15	1		1	1
Females	4	12	23			1		
Total	17	15	29	15	1	1	1	1
Freq.%	21.25%	18.75%	36.25%	18.75%	1.25%	1.25%	1.25%	1.25%

As for addressing an unfamiliar female who seems to have a higher social status and her age is nearly the same as of the addresser, the results indicate that 46.25% of the participants use the zero address form, 26.25% use the kinship term "ikhti" "sister", 15% use the term "sit" "master", 7.5% use the term " ya binit" "girl", 2.5% use the honorific "hadratuki" "your highness", and 2.5% use the term "aini" "my eye" (See Table 12).

Table (12) Forms used to address an unfamiliar female who seems to have a social status and her age is nearly the same as the addresser

Term	Sit	Sister ikhti	ZAF	ya binit	Hadratuki	My eye Aini
Males	11	16	12			1
Females	1	5	25	6	2	1
Total	12	21	37	6	2	2
Freq.%	15%	26.25%	46.25%	7.5%	2.5%	2.5%

By using terms "sit" or "istath" "master", the teknonym "abu lshabab", "ikhti" "sister","hadratuk" or "hadratuki" "your highness", "azizi" "dear", "zamili" "friend", "ja binit" "girl" and the term "aini" "my eye" the participants try to converge upward and symmetrical using multi-dimensional models through the face issue strategy. The zero address form is used when the addresser is not sure which term to use or to signal politeness and respect "Anchimbe, 2011".

The participants' initial orientation to converge is based only on the sociocultural norms of the interaction "meeting for the first time".

According to the sociocultural norms of the interaction, terms indicating respect such as teknonyms, kinship terms, titles, honorifics, terms of endearment or the zero address form are used.

The results further indicate that male participants use a variety of address forms as compared to females. Also, males prefer the teknonym "abu lshabab" and the title "master" in addressing an unfamiliar male. Females prefer the zero address form and the kinship term "brother". As such, the zero address form, kinship "brother", teknonym "abu lshabab", and the title "master" are the most prevailed forms (See Table 13).

Table (13) The difference between males and females in addressing unfamiliar male who seems to have a social status and his age nearly the same as the addresser

Term	Master	Brother	ZAF	Abu lshabab	Dear azizi	hadratuk	Zamili	My eye
Males	32.5%	7.5%	15%	37.5%	2.5%		2.5%	2.5%
Females	10%	30%	57.5%			2.5%		

The results further indicate that female participants use a variety of address forms as compared to the male participants. The most prevailed form is the zero address form, which is used mainly by females. The male participants prefer the term "ikhti" and the term "sit" (See Table 14).

Table (14) The difference between males and females in addressing an unfamiliar female who seems to have a social status and her age is nearly the same as of the addresser.

Term	Sit	Sister ikhti	ZAF	Ja binit	Hadratuki	My eye Aini
Males	27.5%	40%	30%			2.5%
Females	2.5%	12.5%	62.5%	15%	5%	2.5%

Within power and solidarity framework, the relation between an unfamiliar male or female who seems to have a higher social status and the addresser is a relation of power. The addressee receives kinship terms, teknonyms, and titles, or honorifics.

As for addressing an unfamiliar male who seems to have a lower social status and is older than the addresser, the results indicate that 75% of the participants use the kinship term "ammo" "paternal uncle", 11.25% use the title "hadgi" "pilgrim", 11.25% use the zero address form, and 2.5% use the kinship "khalo" "maternal uncle" (See Table 15).

Table (15) Forms used to address an unfamiliar male who seems to have a lower social status and is older than the addresser

Term	Paternal uncle ammo	Maternal uncle khalo	Hadgi	Zero address form
Males	23	2	9	6
Females	37			3
Total	60	2	9	9
Freq. %	75%	2.5%	11.25%	11.25%

When addressing an unfamiliar female who seems to have a lower social status and is older than the addresser, the results indicate that 61.25% of the participants use the kinship "khali" "maternal aunt",12.5% use the kinship "ammi" "paternal aunt", 12.5% use the title "hadgija" "pilgrim", 10% use the zero address form, 2.5%use the kinship "ikhti" "sister" and 1.25% use the kinship "yum" "mother" (See Table 16).

Table (16) Forms used to address an unfamiliar female who seems to have a lower social status and she is older than the addresser

Terms	Maternal aunt	Paternal aunt	Zero AF	Hadgija	yum mother	Sister ikhti
Males	17	6	6	8	1	2
Females	32	4	2	2		
Total	49	10	8	10	1	2
Freq.%	61.25%	12.5%	10%	12.5%	1.25%	2.5%

Within CAT framework, the use of the kinship terms "ammo, khalo, ammi, khali, yum or ikhti" and the use of title "hadgi or haghija" is an attempt by the participants to

converge upward and asymmetrical through the face issue strategy. The zero address form is used when the addresser is not sure which term to use and it is a marker of politeness and respect. The participants' initial orientation to converge is based only on the sociocultural norms of the interaction "meeting for the first time, no intergroup relation and no history relationship". The sociocultural norms specify that the addressee is an unfamiliar male who is older than the addressee. So, terms indicating respect are used.

The results further indicate that the most prevailed form in addressing unfamiliar male is the kinship term "ammo". The male participants use additional terms like kinship term "khalo" and the title "hadgi", while females prefer the kinship "ammo". Also in this context, it is clear that age factor prevails over the social status, although the addressee has a status lower than the addresser. The age difference between the addresser and the addressee governs the inevitability of the respectful terms such as kinship terms "ammo 75% or khalo 2.5%" or the title "hadgi 11.25%".

As such for addressing the unfamiliar female the results further indicate that male participants use a variety of address forms. Female participants prefer the term "khali" "maternal aunt". Generally, the most prevailed form in this context is the kinship term "khali". In this context, the age factor prevails the social status factor. Although the addressee has a lower social status than the addresser, terms indicating respect are used by the addresser due to age difference such as kinship terms and the title "hadgija" (See Table 17).

Table (17) The difference between males and females in addressing an unfamiliar female who seems with a low social status and she is older than the addresser

Terms	Maternal aunt	Paternal aunt	Zero AF	Hadgija	Yum mother	Sister ikhti
Males	42.5%	15%	15%	20%	2.5%	5%
Females	80%	10%	5%	5%		

Within power and solidarity framework, the relation between the addresser and an unfamiliar male or female who seems to have a lower social status and is older than the addresser is a relation of power due to age difference. The addressee receives the kinship terms or the title "hadgi or hadgija".

As for addressing an unfamiliar male who seems to have a low social status and his age is nearly the same as the addresser's, the results indicate that 40% of the participants use the zero address form, 33.75% use the general teknonym "abu lshabab" "father of the youth", 20% use the kinship "akhi" "my brother", 2.5% use the term "aini" "my eye", 2.5% use the term "azizi" "dear", and 1.25% use the term "zamili" "my colleage" (See Table 18).

Table (18) Forms used to address an unfamiliar male who seems to have a low social status and his age is nearly the same as the addresser's

Term	Zero AF	Brother Akhi	My eye aini	Dear Azizi	My colleage Zamili	Abu lshabab
Males	5	3	2	2	1	27
Females	27	13				
Total	32	16	2	2	1	27
Freq.%	40%	20%	2.5%	2.5%	1.25%	33.75%

When addressing an unfamiliar female with a low social status and her age is nearly the same as the addresser's, the results indicate that 55% of the participants use the zero address form, 31.25% use the term "ikhti" "my sister", 10% use the term "ya binit" "girl", 1.25% use the term "aini" "my eye", 2.5% use the term "sit" (See Table 19).

Table (19) Forms used to address an unfamiliar female with a low social status and her age is nearly the same as the addresser's

Term	Zero AF	My eye Aini	Sit	Ja binit	Sister Ikhti
Males	19	1	2		18
Females	25			8	7
Total	44	1	2	8	25
Freq.%	55%	1.25%	2.5%	10%	31.25%

Within CAT framework, the use of the kinship term "akhi or ikhti", the use of teknonym "abu lshabab", the use of the general address form "ja binit", the use of the title "sit" and the use of the terms of endearment "aini, azizi, and zamili" is an attempt by the participants to converge upward and symmetrical using multi-dimensional models through the face issue strategy.

When meeting someone for the first time, the sociocultural norms of the interaction determine the participants' initial orientation to converge. These norms specify that the addressee is an unfamiliar male with no status and his age is nearly the same as the addresser. Terms of respect are used.

The results further indicate that the most prevailed form is the zero address form in addressing unfamiliar male. The

male participants use a variety of address forms as compared to females who prefer only the zero address form or the kinship "akhi", whereas the males prefer mainly the general teknonym "abu lshabab" (See Table 20).

Table (20) The difference between males and females in addressing an unfamiliar male with a low social status and his age nearly the same as the addresser's

Term	Zero AF	Brother Akhi	My eye aini	Dear Azizi	My colleague Za mili	Abu lshabab
Males	12.5%	7.5%	5%	5%	2.5%	67.5%
Females	67.5%	32.5%				

The results show that nearly half of the male participants use the zero address form because it is used when the addresser is not sure which term to use and they are markers of politeness and respect. The rest of them use the term "ikhti" which is a neutral form and brings comfort to the addressee. Most of the female participants prefer the zero address form, while the others use the term "ikhti" and the term "ya binit".

Generally, the most prevailed forms in this context are zero address form and the kinship term "ikhti" (See Table 21).

Table (21) The difference between males and females in addressing an unfamiliar female with a low social status and her age is nearly the same as the addresser's

Term	Zero AF	My eye Aini	Sit	Ja binit	Sister Ikhti
Males	47.5%	2.5%	5%		45%
Females	62.5%			20%	17.5%

Within power and solidarity framework, the relation between the addresser and an unfamiliar male or female with a low social status and her age is nearly the same as the addresser's is a relation of solidarity. The addressee receives the kinship terms, the title, the general address form, the general teknonym and terms of endearment.

It is clear from the above situations that kinship terms are extended to address strangers. Any kinship term has two aspects, classifying or ordering aspect, which means that the addresser has gained a position in the kinship tree, and the relationship aspect, which means that the relationship between the two parties will be according to the position of the kinship tree. As for addressing elder strangers, the kinship "ammo" "paternal uncle" is preferred by the participants because it seems to give more respect than "khalo" to the addressee because relatives from the father side are more respected than those from mother side and the uncle has a position similar to that of father. On the contrary, in addressing females, the term "khali" "maternal aunt" is preferred because the maternal aunt has a similar position like the mother.

In addressing strangers of the same age, female participants use the kinship term "akhi" or the zero address forms because females have to secure their language and according to Muslim tradition as in the glorious Quran, Surat Al Ahzab, Verse 32

(يا نساء النبي لستن كأحد من النساء ان اتقيتن فلا تخضعن بالقول فيطمع الذي في قلبه مرض)"

(O wives of the Prophet! You are not like any other women, if you observe piety. So do not speak too softly, lest the sick at heart lusts after you)

by using this term the addressee is placed in the position of brother and the relationship of the two parties is that of brother and sister.

In the same vein, male participants prefer the zero address form or the kinship term "ikhti" "my sister" when addressing unfamiliar females.

According to CAT, convergence can be either upward or downward depending on the social value. This social value varies from one person to another depending on the available address forms. In other words, many address forms are available to the addresser to choose from.

From the previous results, it seems that most of the participants use the most respectful terms in addressing strangers in order to accomplish the upward convergence. This upward convergence will lead to accommodation.

Conclusion

The results indicate that there is an accommodation in using address forms. In addition, different address forms are used within unfamiliar context, kinship terms are extended to address strangers and they are the most prevailing forms in addressing besides the zero address form. In their attempts to achieve accommodation, the participants use polite terms in order to maintain upward convergence. Age and appearance are the most affective variables in determining address choice.

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Appendix

اختر الصيغة المناسبة لمخاطبة الأشخاص ادناه:

شخص غير معروف	
اكبر منك سنا ذكر	اكبر منك انثى
اصغر منك ذكر	اصغر منك انثى
شخص غير معروف ذو مركز اجتماعي عالي	
اكبر منك سنا ذكر	اكبر منك انثى
اصغر منك سنا ذكر	اصغر منك انثى
شخص غير معروف ذو مركز اجتماعي اقل من مركزك الاجتماعي	

اكبر منك سنا ذكر		اكبر منك انثى
اصغر منك سنا ذكر		اصغر منك انثى