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A Socio-Pragmatic Analysis of Address Forms with Reference to their Realizations in Iraqi Arabic

Asst. Inst. Maysoon kadhim Ali*
Tikrit University / College of Arts / Department of Translation
E-mail: maysoonkadhim@gmail.com

Keywords: -Socio-Linguistics - Pragmatics -Address titles -Iraqi dialect	Abstract: Address Forms deal with theories of addressing. Every language has built a system to mark the relationship between people, in which it can be referred to as the addresser and the addressee. Different systems in different languages must be studied. The Iraqi Arabic language differentiates itself by a particular system that may consist of pronouns, nouns and verbs. This study tries to show the types and the strategies that build the Iraqi Arabic language system of addressing. Moreover, address forms may vary as a result of different factors as age, status and gender. This point needs also to be investigated. The current study aims at investigating the Iraqi Arabic system of addressing, that is, its types, strategies and structures, and investigating the effects of gender, age and status on the use of address forms in Iraqi Arabic language. This study is limited to study the Iraqi Arabic language system of addressing. It is
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* Corresponding Author: Maysoon kadhim Ali , E-Mail: maysoonkadhim@gmail.com
,Tel: +96407709801220 , Affiliation :College of Arts / Department of Translation , Tikrit University –Iraq

<p>Available online 10/10/2019</p>	<p>also limited to Braun (1988) model of address form classification. This study is valuable to those students / scholars/ teachers who are interested in sociolinguistic studies as well as linguistic ones. It is also valuable to those people who are interested in getting acquainted with the traditions of other countries, particularly Iraq.</p>
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تحليل اجتماعي وتداولي لصيغ الخطاب واستخداماتها في اللغة العربية

ميسون كاظم علي

جامعة تكريت كلية الآداب /قسم الترجمة

<p>الخلاصة : تتناول الدراسة الحالية احدى المفاهيم المهمة في علم اللغة الاجتماعي والتداولية، الا وهو اسلوب النداء في اللغة الإنكليزية بصورة عامة وفي اللغة العراقية العامية بصورة خاصة. ومن المعروف ان كل لغة لها نظام معين لتمييز العلاقة بين الأشخاص، والتي يمكن الإشارة إليها على أنها المرسل والمرسل إليه.</p> <p>تهدف الدراسة الحالية الى بيان الانواع والتركيبات المستخدمة في عناوين النداء في اللغة العربية وبالذات الجهة العراقية والوقوف على اهم التركيبات للعناوين في الالكنة العراقية العامية.</p> <p>اعتمدت الدراسة الحالية على اربعة محاورات بين اشخاص من مختلف الاعمار ومختلف الاجناس اثناء محاوراتهم في الحياة اليومية للمتحدثين لذا اعتمد الباحث على كتابة الخطاب الذي فيما بينهم وبالتالي قد تم تحليلهم ومناقشتهم في الدراسة الحالية.</p>	<p>الكلمات الدالة:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">- علم اللغة الاجتماعي- التداولية-عناوين النداء- الجهة العراقية <p>معلومات البحث</p> <p>تاريخ البحث:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">-الاستلام : 2019/6/11-القبول :2019/6/30-التوفر على الانترنت : 2019/10/10
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A. Sociolinguistics

In general, sociolinguistics is a very broad field, and it can be used to describe many different ways of studying language. A lot of linguists might describe themselves as sociolinguists, but the people who call themselves sociolinguists may have rather different interests from each other and they may use very different methods for collecting and analyzing data (Meyerhoff, 2006:1).

In particular, sociolinguistics is a term that refers to the study of the relationship between language and society, and how language is used in multilingual speech communities (Crystal, 2008:440).

B. Pragmatics

Pragmatics is the study of the meaning as communicated by the speaker (or writer) and interpreted by listener or reader. It is also an analysis of the speaker's meaning or it is the study of meaning in context. Therefore, this field investigates the meaning of words in particular context and how the context would interpret what is said. Pragmatics also explores how listeners can make influences in order to understand the speaker's intended meaning. The field of pragmatics also deals with how a great deal of unsaid is recognized as a communicated part by the listener (1996:3).

C. Address Forms

Forms of address (AFs) are terms and expressions used for addressing. They contain a strong element of deixis. Their lexical meaning can be different from and can be contradictive to the addressee's characteristics and they often designate to collocutors (Braun, 1988:7).

1. Address Forms in English and Arabic

The term, address, represents the linguistic reference of a speaker to his or her collocutor(s) (Braun, 1988:7). It does not include linguistic means of opening interaction or of forming first contact. It can serve as a mean of initiating contact, but frequently other forms are

used, e.g., English ‘Hey!’ Arabic ‘مرحبا’, German ‘Sag mal’, French ‘Pardon!’ All these, as well as verbal and non-verbal greeting.

Recognizing address unity in the pragmatic meaning of address forms would emerge as a semantic domain. (Bean, 1978:xiii).

Fasold (1990:1) claims that AFs as ‘the words speakers use to designate the persons they are talking to while they are talking to them.’ This definition shows that participants cannot be clearly designated unless they are in face-to-face interaction. For example, if a student speaks to his/her teacher, s/he gives him/her title and sometimes title and last name showing respect and politeness towards him/her. But in other situations, if this student is asked about his/her teacher’s name, he will refer to him/her by using his/her last name only and so on. In brief, ‘the shape of linguistic behavior changes rapidly as the speaker’s social position changes’ (Brown and Fraser, 1979:36 and Saville - Troike, 1982:89).

4. Classification of Address Forms

Sociolinguistics may be usefully defined as the study of variation in language, or more precisely of variation within speech communities, since the purely geographical aspects of variation had been studied for generations by the students of dialect geography and dialectology, the study of regional dialects. In a speech community of any size, there is considerable variation among individuals: stockbrokers do not speak like plumbers, women do not speak like men, young people do not speak like old people, and so on. Moreover, even a single individual is not confined to a single variety of the language: you do not use the language in the same way when you are chatting to friends in a bar, when you are being interviewed for a job, when you are writing an essay, and when you are being introduced to royalty. Earlier linguists had, of course, noticed this variation, but they were inclined to dismiss it as peripheral, as inconsequential, even as a nuisance getting in the way of good descriptions. Today, however, we recognize that variation is an integral and essential part of language, and that absence of variation is almost pathological (Trask, 2007:265).

In most languages, AFs focus on three word classes: (1) pronouns, (2) verbs, and (3) nouns supplemented by words which are syntactically dependent on them (Braun, 1988:8).

1. Pronouns of Address

These are pronouns referring to the collocutor(s). These are, above all second person pronouns such as the English you, German du and ihr, French tu and vous, and Standard Arabic أَنْتَ ، أَنْتِ ، أَنْتُمْ و أَنْتُنَّ , Iraqi Arabic هو ، هي But other grammatical persons, as well, can act as pronouns of address if only they refer to the communication partner, e.g., the German Sie (third person plural), the Italian Lei (third person singular feminine).(Ibid).

Brown and Gilman (1960:79) introduce the symbols T and V to designate the simple or intimate pronoun of address T and the polite, distant, or secondary pronoun of address V in a language. The abbreviations T and V are derived from Latin tu and vos and are especially suitable for languages with a contrast of two pronominal variants such as French tu/vous, German du/Sie, Spanish tú/usted, and Standard Arabic أَنْتِ ، أَنْتُمْetc. Many languages, however, have more than two variants. Extending the Brown and Gilman's terminology, they might be classified as T and V₁, V₂, V₃ ... It should further be noted that the 'polite' connotation of a V pronoun is very much dependent on the status of the other variants. V₁ may not be polite when compared to V₂. The concept of politeness in relation to address forms is clarified through the data analysis in Ch3 below . (For further illustration of the phenomenon of politeness cf. Al-Ta'ii, 1998). (Braun, 1988:8).

2. Verb Forms of Address

Some verbs are frequently redundant when they are accompanied by a pronoun of address and is expressed by means of inflectional suffixes. But it can also be the only bearer of reference when the subject pronoun is not mandatory in some languages. In the Finnish sentence 'Mihin menet?' 'Where do you go?' the verb (menet) constitutes a form of address, for the inflectional suffix -t (second person singular) is the only element expressing reference to the collocutor.

The verb is the bearer of address in some languages, especially when a pronoun is explicitly used and the politeness is uncertain (Ibid.). In Portuguese, for instance, third person 'verbal' address without pronoun or noun is frequently used as a neutral variant by means of which speakers escape the selection of variants (ibid).

3. Nouns of Address

Nouns of address refer to and designate the collocutors and can be considered substantives and adjectives. There are numerous and diverse types in this class. The most frequently used in languages will be mentioned here:

(A) Names

Crystal (1987:112) defines name as ‘a word or phrase that identifies a specific person, place or thing.’ Personal or proper names denote sociocultural features (Akinnaso, 1981:276f). In some cultures, for example, personal names are restricted or even tabooed as AFs. For instance, in some islands like Carib women never mention their husbands by name (Jespersen, 1922:238).

Personal names, however, belong to the nominal repertory of address in all languages. Numerous classes of names can be distinguished according to the different naming systems; they may have different functions in address (Braun, 1988:9). Personal names can be classified according to the way individuals are addressed: first name, last name, diminutive name, and multiple names.

(B) First Name

A first name (FN) is the first AF given immediately after birth. For example, in Robert Allen, Robert is the FN.

In English (British and American), there are two names given to a newly born child: first name and mid name, and it is the decision of the person himself to choose one of them when he grows up, as in Jenna Jassmin.

As a form of address, FN is mutually and widely used between children, brothers, sisters, lovers, close friends, school fellows, spouses, etc. Relationship of this usage is naturally reciprocal. In Iraqi societies, the use of FN is very common.

(C) Last Name/Surname

Ervin-Tripp (1972:230) and Brown and Ford (1961:134) state that in certain conditions where FN could either be polysyllabic or it would have no abbreviation, however, the last name (LN) is either monosyllabic or easily transformed into a monosyllable, LN is simply a substitute for FN and patterns in identical fashion.

LN represents a degree of intimacy greater than titles and last name (henceforth TLN) but less than FN although it is reciprocal and common between enlisted men until they become acquainted. As familiarity increases, it leads to FN usage downward. Martin (1998:104) reports a conversation between a man who was applying for his license and the clerk in the office. The clerk called this man by his first name and the latter replied very politely saying, “Is my last name too difficult for you?” This was a consequence of the running discourse on the practice of calling strangers by their FNs. In upper class boarding schools, boys and girls use LN when addressing each other not FN. It is sometimes non-reciprocal as in the case of very distinguished professors when they begin their letters to junior colleagues with ‘Dear LN’. However, it is not common to use LN in Eastern societies in general and Iraq in particular (Akinaso, 1981:273).

(D) Diminutive Name

Pei (1952:74) finds that “Names can be confusing due to their shortening and alteration which causes them to be unrecognizable.” The FN in a diminutive form is used to show an intimate relationship between friends, classmates, children, etc., and it can be used by parents when addressing their sons or grandsons. For instance, John becomes Johnny, William becomes Willie, Theodore becomes Ted, Edward becomes Ed ... and so on. Another example concerning the Iraqi societies, Ahmed becomes Hamoody, Huda becomes Hudhud, etc.

This use of a diminutive form of names (henceforth DN) represents a symmetrical relation among friends to show intimacy more than what FN does and less than multiple name does, in which the latter is used to cope with the need to find many alternatives to call one’s closest personal relationships (Burling, 1970:90).

(E) Multiple Names

Brown and Ford (1961:135) state that very good friends exclude the use of mutual FN since it won't denote the friendship. In this case, they will address each other with multiple names (henceforth MN): "sometimes saying TLN, sometimes FN or LN or a nickname, sometimes creating phonetic variants of either FN or the nickname."²(Ibid)

These MNs are not used to express anger; they are more or less in free variation. The use of the more formal options, like TLN or LN, are not taken seriously. The use of MN need not be reciprocal. Leeds-Hurwitz (1980) reports how a woman who had been promoted to a somewhat ambiguous position in a business concern used a non-reciprocal MN to help her carve out her place in the institutional hierarchy.

4. The Structure of the Titles

There are, generally speaking, different types of the structures of titles; these could be explained as in the following sub-sections:

(A) Title without Name (T)

It includes such titles as Sir. They are commonly used either reciprocally as in the interaction between newly acquaintances or non-reciprocally by a person from the lower status to a higher status person, in which the latter gives FN and receives title alone. This version is well-known in the army especially in non-reciprocal military usage when T is given to remote colonels, commanders, and admirals in spite of the fact that these superiors' names are well known. This usage shows deference and less intimacy than title and last name (TLN) (Brown and Ford, 1961:135).

Accumulation of titles means showing much deference since more than one title can be used. When the speaker simply does not know the other person's name, s/he may use 'title', 'Mr.', 'Mrs.' or 'Miss' plus an empty last name. But while it is perfectly acceptable to address a priest, for example, as 'Father', or a physician as 'Doctor', it is odd to address someone as just 'Mrs.' Ervin-Tripp (1972:228f) proposes that this problem be solved by changing metaphors and adds rules of the forms.

(B) Title and Last Name (TLN)

Title plus last name is symmetrically or reciprocally used by newly introduced adults, and FN will be substituted after a small increase of intimacy develops. It represents a degree of intimacy greater than LN but less than T. In general, this usage is either reciprocal as that between new acquaintances or non-reciprocal given to a person of higher status by a person of lower status (Brown and Ford, 1961:139 and Burling, 1970:89). For instance, two participants interact with each other when they meet in the morning, this conversation takes place:

- Good morning Mr. Brown.

- Good morning Mr. Davis.

They use mutual V, that is TLN. However, when it is non-reciprocal the conversation will be:

- Good morning Mr. Brown.

- Good morning Davis.

Brown and Ford (1961:140f) maintain that the general statement that can be made is that if address pattern changes in time, it will change in the direction of mutual TLN non-reciprocal TLN and FN mutual FN though a step may be skipped. For instance, a prospective postgraduate student arrives at a university to meet some of the faculty of his department and is interviewed by the chairman. Probably the two will initially exchange TLN. In the course of the day or, if not shortly after the student enrolls, the chairman will begin to call him by FN. He extends the hand of friendship, but the student knows that it behoves him not to grasp it too quickly. The student will continue with the TLN for several years (four is probably the mode) and in this period the non-reciprocity of speech will express the inequality of status. If the chairman is neither very elderly nor very august, the student will eventually feel able to reciprocate the FN and the dyad will have advanced to mutual FN. The three patterns may be described as a progression in time .

(c) Definite Article + TLN and Definite Article + T

The definite article the is used with certain titles, for example, The Reverend.

This use of the definite article started in the eighteenth century when the definite article the and the given name began to be used. Before this date, people used to put the appropriate title and the surname as in Rev-. English speakers, till now, drop the but not as often as the Americans do (Mencken, 1962:281f). It is noteworthy that in most cases in Britain. The is used before titles in most cases and then comes the full name, example The Lady Margaret Thatcher. The use of the FN may be due to the fact that the title is strictly personal awarded to its bearer and not to the whole family.

(D) The use of the Plural

The use of the plural with some titles, as Messrs., was denounced here and there.

5. Kinship Terms (KT)

These are terms for blood relatives and for affine. When a KT is used for addressing someone who is not relative to the speaker in one way or another, this is called a 'fictive use' of a KT. Fictive use can also imply addressing a relative with a term expressing a relationship different from the biological one (Braun, 1988 and Burling, 1970:29ff). An example of this is the use of kinship terms such as أخِي (my brother) to one's cousin in Standard Arabic.

In address, there are sometimes special KTs which may or may not occur in reference, for example endearing short forms and derivations, or honorific forms.

A. Abstract Nouns

These are forms of address which originally referred to some abstract quality of the addressee, for example 'Your Grace'.

B. Reciprocity and Symmetry

So far, we have been dealing with reciprocal use of AFs and symmetrical relationship or non-reciprocal and asymmetrical but these terms should be explained in detail for the better understanding of address system in any language.

Following Brown and Gilman (1960) and later publications on address theory, the use of AFs is reciprocal when two speakers exchange the same AF, or equivalent ones. An example

of this is when two English men address each other as Mr. (V). Correspondingly, address is non-reciprocal when the forms used by two speakers in a dyad are different, or non-equivalent. An example for this type is when a person addresses his mother with KT Mom, but is addressed with FN in return. All AFs in a given dyad being used reciprocally, the address relationship is symmetrical. When different forms are used, the address relationship is asymmetrical. A relationship can be called partly symmetrical if part of the forms are used reciprocally.

Reciprocity and symmetry are raised by the effects that the age, status and gender differences cause.

6. Meanings of Address Forms

An AF, like any other word, has meaning. However, a closer examination of the semantics of address variants turns out to be a complicated matter, with several kinds of meanings involved.

The preceding argument has indicated that AFs may or may not have recognizable literal meanings or traces of such meanings. Thus, literal meaning should not be regarded as the primary content of AFs, for they may be indeterminable or lost. Another approach would be equating the meaning of an AF with its referent. But apart from the fact that meaning and referent are kept separated as distinct concepts in semantics (Ogden and Richards, 1949:11f and Palmer, 1981), the equation of referent with meaning is especially inconvenient when AFs are concerned. A pronoun of address such as English you can designate any person, whether dead, alive, or invented, can refer to ghosts, animals, to beings of any kind as well as to objects. If the function of address was to designate the individual collocutor by means of linguistic form, a fixed label, for example, a name, would suffice. But normally, one and the same person is addressed in many different ways by different speakers or even by one and the same speaker, and one and the same address variant can be used for very different addressees. Hence, the person of the referent cannot be considered the “embodiment” of the meaning of an address variant (Braun, 1988:258).

7. The System of Address

The system of address of any language comprises the totality of the available forms and their interrelations in that language. Languages as well as varieties of language differ in their repertory of address and the number of variants (Braun, 1988:12).

In some languages, there is only one pronoun of address for an individual addressee as in the English language. In other languages, there are two pronouns of address for an individual addressee as in German or many other languages such as Romanian and Sinhalese (cf. Bell, 1976:96).

Moreover, the existence of several variants, pronominal or other, makes non-reciprocal usage easier and more frequent and allows a more detailed encoding of differences in age, sex, social or occupational status. Cultural norms and values also can be reflected in an address system. If KT's express, for instance, juniority and seniority even within one generation, conclusions may be drawn concerning the importance of age in the respective culture. The same applies to the making of status or sex in AFs. For example, if a number of nominal variants in address system refer to religious contexts, such as Arabic *حاج* or *مُلا*, this may indicate the status of religion in this community (Braun, 1988:12f) (cf. also 3.7 below).

8. Rules of Address

There are two types of rules of address:

Alternation and co-occurrence: These rules facilitate choice and make cohesive speech possible (Ervin-Tripp, 1972 (as cited in Gumperz and Hymes, 1972:214ff and Bell, 1976:94ff)).

First, alternation rules control the choice of linguistic elements from the total repertoire of the user and represent the sociolinguistic equivalent of the paradigmatic axis of linguistics. That is, where a single context permits a choice from a set of elements, these described as being in a paradigmatic relationship with each other. For example, the ability of most English consonants to fill the slot in the environment /-en/, giving pen, Ben, ten, den ... is seen as paralleled in sociolinguistic description by such items as Sir, Professor, Fred, ... etc. which form the address system of the language.

Co-occurrence rules, in contrast, are syntagmatic in effect, sequential—regulating the consistent choice of forms which, in sequence, reinforce a chosen alternative. The choice of the AF professor, for example, implies later uses, not only the same term but orders modified into requests, probably ‘careful’ pronunciation, choices of ‘standard’ grammatical structures and lexical items and so forth.

8.1 Address Behavior

Address behavior is the way individual speakers or groups of speakers use the repertory of address variants available to them.

From a sociolinguistic point of view, address behavior is meaningful whenever speakers have to choose between several variants, all of which are grammatical interchangeable forms. Thus, the variant chosen expresses social features of the dyad. Address behavior is further influenced by a speaker’s social and linguistic background (Ervin-Tripp, 1972:213ff).

8.2 Social Forms

In English these forms are used to designate or identify the social states of participants such as Mr, Mss. Harman and Stork (1975 : 219) define status as the expert which social rank and power is expressed in language.(Al-juboori).

9. AFS and Vocatives

The vocative case is the case used for a noun that identifies a person (animal, object, etc.) being addressed or, occasionally, the determiners of that noun. A vocative expression is an expression of direct address where the identity of the party spoken to is set forth expressly within a sentence. For example, in the sentence:

e.g I don't know, John.

John is a vocative expression that indicates the party being addressed—as opposed to the sentence, "I don't know John", where John is the direct object of the verb "know." (Nordquist, 2019:23).

Finally, a vocative is a nominal element added to a clause to serve certain purposes connected to either attracting the attention of the hearer or maintaining social contact between participation in conversation. The use of vocatives reflects an overlap of syntax (Badea, 2007:31).

10. The Methodology and Data Selection

The current section is dedicated to show the following points concerning the selected data and the analysis:

1. The nature of the data takes the form of dialogues in the everyday life of the Iraqi people.
2. The researcher depends has chosen these data by writing these conversations that take place in between people of different ages (young, old) and different sex (male and female).
3. Four dialogues have been chosen to be analyzed in the lights of the address forms; they are enough to arrive at certain concluding remarks throughout the current work.
4. Each example is written in both English and Arabic languagesp, since the study sheds light on the Iraqi Arabic, so the examples are translated into English as well.

11. Data Analysis

Sample One :

A 55 years old man (Ali Ahmed) works in a company. The company's manager (Mohammed Adnan) is 30 years old. The conversation between Ali and Mohammed as follows:

Context: morning greeting

Ali: صباح الخير استاذ محمد good morning Mr. Mohammed

Mohammed (a) : صباح الخير good morning

Mohammed (b) : صباح الخير محمد good morning Mohamed

Mohammed (c): صباح الخير حجي good morning Haji

Mohammed (d) : صباح الخير ابو احمد good morning Abu-Ahmed.

In this situation, though Mohammed is older than Ali, Ali addresses Mohammed with أستاذ (i.e., a title+FN), which is a formal and a highly polite form that shows respect. This reflects that the effect of "Status or power" on AF use is stronger than the effect of "age" in some contexts. The syntactic structure of the AF used is a word +noun.

In Iraqi societies, as opposite to the Eastern societies, the use of LN is not common. Thus, the use of FN attached with a title shows the highest degree of politeness and formality.

On the other hand, Mohammed can reply to Ali's greeting in four different ways depending on the degree of intimacy or distance between them and/or the respect shown.

1. Mohammed can reply with (a) صباح الخير showing a high distance and difference.
2. He can also reply with (b) which also shows distance, but in addition to highly carelessness to the age differences. This is, however, an attitude that is not favorable in Iraqi societies even in the formal situations.
3. The reply (c) is the one that shows a little intimacy and/or respect to age differences. The AF "حجي" "Hajii" means "The old man", it is used as title to show respect to older men, while the title "حجية" "Hajia" is used in the same way but for women.
4. In case there is no intimacy, the reply (d) is the most preferable one in such situation in Iraqi societies. Calling the employee, who is older in age, by a "kinship+son name" AF is a mark of respect to age in addition to keeping a distance built by the effect of "power or status" i.e., the employee/employer space. "ابو احمد" consists of "Abu" which means "father of", and "Ahmed" is the name of the eldest son of "Mohammed". It is a tradition in the Western societies to call the men by such construction, i.e., Abu+their eldest son FN.

To arrange the options from the least intimate to the most, we get (c then d then b then a).

Sample Two :

Ali is a 25 years old. He, every day, goes with his 2-years elder brother (Ahmed) to the gym. Today, their best friend Mohammed (26 years) has made them a surprise and got a membership in the same gym to spend some more time together.

Ali :؟محمداً ذلك حمود هذا هو محمد؟ This is not Mohammed

Ahmed : اخوية علي هذا ابو جاسم : Yes, he's my brother Ali, Abu-Jasim

Ali: هل اخوية شجابتك هنا Hey, my brother what brought you here?

Mohammed: شون مفاجاة حلوة ؟ شوفو هيجي الاساتذة يشتغلون What a surprise!

In this sample, number of AFs are used. They are explained in the below table:

Participant	AF	Type	Analysis
Ali – referring to his brother	ولك	Abstract noun	It is used to show intimacy. This word can be considered offensive if it is used in a not-intimate relationship kind.
	حمود	Diminutive names	It is an alternative and shortened form of the name Ahmed. It again shows intimacy.
Ali – referring to his friend	هذا	A Dixies means "This"	It is used to show intimacy. It can be considered an offense if it is used in a not-intimate relationship kind.
	محمد	FN	The speaker is making use of "Multiple names", jumping from abstract nouns to names back to dixies and so on.
Ahmed referring to his brother	اخوية	Kinship meaning "brother"	=
Ahmed referring to their friend	أبو جاسم	Kinship	It is an alternative name for "Mohammed". It is a culture specific name. It is used in informal and intimate situations.

			Though it (Abu Jasem) means " Father of Jasem" , it does not necessarily imply that the boy (Mohammed) is married and has a son named "Jasem" because , in Iraq , there are number of such forms which are used traditionally as alternatives to some names , whether the person has son or not.
Ali- referring to their friend	اخوية	Kinship- Fictive.	Though it does mean "brother", it is not used to show a relationship of biological brotherhood. It is used to show high intimacy- a fictive kind of kinship.
Mohammed – referring to himself	الاساتذة	A title means " the teachers or Sir or instructors " (depending on the context)	Here, though the title is formal, but it is not used in its normal meaning. The speaker is making use of "Multiple names" in an unserious way trying to add a sense of humor to his conversation.

Sample Three :

Two young girls (Noora and Huda) are students in the Arabic department. They spend all their time together. Now, they are out shopping and they, by coincidence, meet their classmates Ali and Yassmein.

Noora: حبي هدهد اريد اشترى هلفستان.. خلي افوت اقيسه Darling, I want to buy a sweater, let me try it

Huda: ولج هذولي مو علي وياسمين ؟ These are not Ali and Yassemin

Noora: جايين علينا خلي ننتظر نسلم عليهم Yes, they are coming for us.

Ali and Yassmein: هلو بنات شلونكم Hi, girls how are you?

Noora: هله ابو حسوني ، شونج سمسيم ، Hi Hassoni , How are you Simsim?

Huda: هله علي هلو حبي ياسمين Hi Ali, most welcome my sweetie.

The AFs in the conversation above are as follows:

Participant	AF	Type	Analysis
Noora – referring to her best friend Huda	هدهد	Diminutive names	an alternative and shortened form of the Female name Huda . It shows intimacy.
	حبي	Abstract noun means " My love"	It is a common term between young girls in Iraq , both close friends or ordinary friends .
Huda referring to her best friend Noora	ولج	Abstract noun	It is used to show intimacy . This word can be considered offensive if it is used in a not-intimate relationship kind. It is the feminine form of "ولك"
Huda referring to Ali and Yassemien	هذولي	A Dixies means "Those"	It is used to show carelessness as Huda seems having less intimacy with Ali and Ysaamein when compared to Nora. This is clarified from the different ways of replying used by Huda and Noora to Ali and yassmeins greeting .
	علي و ياسمين	Names	The use of FN is common in Iraqi societies and it conveys no particular image of the relationship as one can call their close or far friends or strangers by their FN.

Noora referring to Ali and Yassmein	هم	Pronoun means (They)	=
	عليهم	There is no English typology for this form of Iraqi AF . عليهم consists of على which literally means "on" , and هم which means "They".	
Noora referring to herself and Huda.	علينا	Similar to "علينا" that is mentioned above , but "علينا" consists of "on"- على and "we"- نا(نحن)	=
Ali and Yassmein	بنات	Abstract noun means "Girls"	=
Noora	أبو حسوني	Name + Diminutive name of Hussein	Abu Hassony (originally Hussein) is an alternative name for "Ali". It is a culture specific name . It is used in informal and intimate situations. Though it (Abu Hassony -Hussein) means " Father of Hussein" , it does not necessarily imply that the boy(Ali)

			is married and has a son named "Hassony" . (See <i>ابو جاسم</i> above)
	<i>سمسم</i>	Diminutive name of Yassmein	To show a close relationship.
Huda referring to Ali and Yassmein	<i>علي</i>	FN	FN , as it has been mentioned above, usually cannot help in indicating the type of the relationship between the speakers . However, it gets its function from the other AFs used in the conversation. In this case , for example , <i>هنذولي</i> helps to indicate a cold relationship between "Huda" and Ali and Yassmein.
	<i>حبي</i>	Abstract noun means " My love"	It is a common term between young girls in Iraq , both close friends or ordinary friends .Here, it is nothing more than a word of civility , that is , it is not an indication of intimacy.

Sample Four :

Noora -25 years old- got engaged . She arranged a small party and invited the following : 1. Her best friend Huda – 24 years old. 2- Her co-worker Ali-27 years old and his wife Nada -25 years old. 3- Her boss Ahmed – 55 years old. (Note / NoM is Nooras mother – 57 years old) Noora’ s friends and boss congratulated her and her mother and wished her the best, the conversation was as following :

Huda : *مبارك خالة حبييتي* . Congrates Nona, congrates my aunt .

Noora: *الله يبارك بيج حبييتي* God bless you my love.

Ali: مبارك خالة ام نورا .. مبارک ست نورا Congrates Miss. Nora, congrates my aunt Um Nora

Nada : مبارک ام نورا مبارک : Miss Nora, May Allah give you what is good, Congrates Um Nora

Noora (a) : تسلمين ست ندى .. شكرا استاذ علي Thank you Mr.Ali. Thank you Miss.Nada

Noora (b) : تسلمين ست ندى ، شكرا اخوية علي Thank you , my brother Ali.

Ahmed (a) : مبارک بنتي نورا.. مبارک اختي ام نورا Congrates darling Nora. Congrate my sister Um Nora.

Ahmed (b) : مبارک ست نورا.. مبارک ام نورا Congrates Miss. Nora . Congrates Um Nora.

NoM : شكرا جميعا

Participant	AF	Type	Analysis
Huda referring to her best friend Noora	نونة	Diminutive names	an alternative and shortened form of the Female name Noora . It shows intimacy.
	كلبي	Abstract noun means " My heart"	It is a common term between young girls in Iraq , both close friends and ordinary friends.
Huda referring to her best friend Nooras Mother	خالة	Fictive kinship means "aunt"	It is used to show love and respect.
	حبيبي	Abstract noun means " My love"	=
Nooras reply	حبيبي	=	She makes use of the same type of AF in her reply indicating that

			they both share the same much of love and intimacy.
Ali and his wife Nada referring to Noora	ست نورا	Title +FN	A highly polite form of Iraqi AF which indicates a formal kind of relationship.
Ali and his wife Nada referring to Nooras mother	خالدة ام نورا	Fictive kinship+ name (Um-mother of+ FN)	The AF "أم نورا" is similar to ابو حسين ، ابو جاسم etc. It consists of two parts , - أم which means "mother of " and هدى which is a FN of femal -Noora . This type of AF can be used in formal and informal relationships . However , in this situation , this AF (Um Noora) indicates a formal relationship , when it is analyzed in accordance with the first half of the speech.
Nooras reply	أستاذ علي / ست ندى	Title +FN	This is one way to reply , to reply to a formal speech with a formal speech .
	أخوية علي	Fictive kinship	This is also a formal

		meaning brother + FN	reply , but a less formal reply than title+FN.
Ahmed – the boss- referring to Noora and her mother	بنتي نورا	Fictive kinship meaning "daughter"+FN	This FA is considered an "in between " AF. It is neither too formal nor too intimate . However, it shows a bit intimacy with a consideration to age and status differences
	اختي ام نورا	Fictive kinship meaning "sister" + name (Um-mother of + FN)	=
	ست نورا	Title +FN	A very formal AF that indicates the existence of a distance.
	ام أنور	Name (Um+FN)	Less intimate , more formal , less polite than (fictive kinship+name (UM+FN)- أختي لام نورا above

Five : List of other Iraqi address forms :

The following list presents a number of other types of address forms used by the Iraqi speakers; these ones are of different categories and sorts of AFs.

No.	AF	Type	Analysis
1-	الاهل	Abstract noun that literally means "family"	<p>It can mean two different things: 1. It can mean " your family " , for example when someone asks how are your family ? – the family that involves father, mother, brothers, and sisters and/or wife /husband and children . This "الاهل" is used in both formal and informal situation .</p> <p>2. It can mean "wife" , that is to refer to man's wife indirectly . For example , when someone wants to ask how is your wife? He/she asks saying " شونهم الاهل؟ " .</p> <p>So, in this meaning , this term is used in formal situations mainly.</p>
2-	شونهم	A plural form of some words referring to singular person.	<p>To pluralize is a means to show respect and to be polite to others . So when someone says " how are they " – شونهم while he is only asking about one person , it means that the speaker is trying to be both polite and formal .</p>
3-	حضرتك	Abstract noun	It is a highly polite and formal term.
4-	حضرتج	Abstract noun	<p>The feminine form of " حضرتتك " . In Iraqi language , the letter "ج" is substituted for "ك" to refer to female , foe example حضرتك/حضرتج</p>

			شونك/شونج ولك/ولج
5-	حضراته كم	Abstract noun + plural form	1- It can be used to refer to a group of people as a highly polite and formal AF , or 2- to refer to a single person showing the highest degree of formality and politeness.
6-	افندي	An abstract noun that means " the man with high status and power"	In past , it was a term that severs formality and politeness , but nowadays , it is no longer used with that connotation or meaning. Nowadays , it can be used in two situations : 1- either in making sarcasm (in reciprocal relationships) , 2- or in joking with a friend (in symmetric relationships)

10. Conclusions

This study has reached the following conclusions:

1-The status of the interlocutors, age and gender are essential elements in Iraqi societies in determining the AF used. It is found that gender effects come at the very top because there are particular AFs that cannot be used with a different-gender-friendship , for example , it is not acceptable for a girl to address a boy , even if the boy is a close friend , with "حبي" which , in contrast, is a common AF in same-gender friendship , and vice versa. Then, status is found to be at the second position , for example a younger man who holds a high status is seen to address an older man with bare FN just because the latter is in a lower status.

2-Iraqi Arabic employs pronouns and nouns with no verb in address system. As far as pronouns of address are concerned, Iraqi Arabic is a T/V language.

3-Iraqi Arabic language considers title+FN as the most polite AF as opposite to English that considers title+LN as the most formal.

4-A number of AF types are found in Iraqi Arabic such as : title , NF , abstract nouns , names , kinships , and plural forms . Sometimes more than one type are mixed together either to make the speech much more polite and formal , or polite and intimate , or as a multiple name system with close friends- that is the highest degree of intimacy .

5- Iraqi Arabic is found to be lacking AFs that designate or identify the social states of participants like those found in English , that is , in English there are Miss and Mrs , while in Iraqi Arabic there is not such classification though it is found in the Standard Arabic.

6-There are number of AFs in Iraqi language that can be used in both formal and informal situations , for example , the use of FN , abu/um+FN and fictive kinships.

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