From past to present: Exploring semantic change in Egyptian Colloquial Arabic address terms

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Abstract

Language change is an inevitable and natural phenomenon, and address terms (ATs) in Egyptian Colloquial Arabic (ECA) are no exception. This study explored how 40 commonly used ATs have changed over time. It relied on historical data from Spitta (1880, 1883), Spiro (1895, 1923), Parkinson (1985), and Hinds & Badawi (1986), along with responses from a Google Forms questionnaire completed by 60 participants. The results show that the main type of change is semantic broadening, where the meanings of ATs have expanded to include more inclusive and versatile uses. This linguistic shift is influenced by cultural values that focus on solidarity rather than hierarchy, and the breakdown of class barriers, especially following the 1952 Revolution, creating a more equal system of address. By examining the relationship between language and society, the study provides insights into the historical development of ATs in ECA, illustrating how language change mirrors broader societal shifts. It also offers valuable perspectives for educators and language professionals seeking to create culturally relevant teaching materials.

Keywords: semantic change, address terms, Egyptian Colloquial Arabic

1. Introduction

Language undergoes inevitable change across all levels, including pronunciation, vocabulary, grammar, and meaning. In this paper, we examine semantic change within the ATs in ECA. Before providing an introductory overview of ATs, it is essential to briefly explore the various types and reasons behind semantic changes in language.

Semantic change refers to the gradual evolution of word meanings over time (Campbell, 2013, p. 221; Millar & Trask, 2015, p. 32) Unlike sudden shifts, it unfolds slowly over many years, as words take on new meanings, implications, or entirely distinct meanings. Semantic change has numerous types, mainly widening, narrowing, amelioration, pejoration, and metaphorical extension (Campbell, 2013, pp. 221-230).

Widening or extension occurs when a word's meaning broadens, allowing it to be applied in more contexts than before (Campbell, 2013, p. 223). For example, *dog* once referred to a powerful breed but now includes all breeds of dogs. Similarly, *arrive* originally meant to come to shore, but has broadened to mean to come to any place (Millar & Trask, 2015). Also in

Arabic, حاج [ħagg][1] initially described a *pilgrim* to Mecca but now serves as a respectful title for old men, regardless of whether they have performed the pilgrimage or not.

Narrowing or specialization occurs when a word's meaning becomes more constrained, limiting its usage to fewer settings than before (Campbell, 2013, p. 223; Millar & Trask, 2015, p. 37). For instance, *girl* formerly referred to young people of either sex but now exclusively refers to female children or young women (Campbell, 2013; Millar & Trask, 2015). In Arabic, حكيم [ħaˈkiːm] meaning *wise* referred to a physician but now is more limited, associated with intelligence or wisdom.

Pejoration, also known as deterioration or degeneration, is the process by which a word's meaning shifts to become more negative, conveying disapproval or criticism. Initially, neutral or favorable words gradually take on derogatory connotations due to cultural influences and popular usage (Campbell, 2013, p. 228; Millar & Trask, 2015, p. 37). An example is the word *silly*, which originally meant being happy but evolved to being foolish over time (Campbell, 2013). Similarly, the Arabic word جاهل [ˈgaːhɪl] initially described someone lacking knowledge without negative connotations but has come to be used pejoratively as an insult, suggesting that someone is unintelligent or behaves like an idiot.

Amelioration, also known as melioration or elevation, occurs when a word's meaning shifts from negative or neutral to positive over time (Campbell, 2013, p. 229; Millar & Trask, 2015, p. 37). For example, *knight* referred to a boy or servant in Old English. Over time, it transformed into a military servant and then progressed to signify a warrior in service of the king. Eventually, it has come to denote a mounted warrior serving a king and lesser nobility (Campbell, 2013). Also in Arabic, انتفاضة [ʔɪntɪˈfaːdˤɑ] initially meant shaking off but ameliorated to denote a positive resistance against oppression.

Metaphorical extension occurs when a word's meaning is expanded through figurative associations, applying it to new contexts or concepts. This happens as speakers compare distinct concepts and transfer qualities from one to another (Millar & Trask, 2015, p. 37). For example, *head* initially referred exclusively to the upper part of the body above the shoulders. However, due to its association with being the highest point and in charge of the body, it has been metaphorically extended to represent various objects and individuals that are prominent, superior, or responsible. Examples include tape recorder heads, business leaders, and even the heads of cabbage and garlic (Millar & Trask, 2015, p. 38).

Semantic change is often driven by external factors like changes in society and culture and shifts in different human activities that affect word meanings. Campbell (2013) underscores the active role of language users in introducing new words and lexical innovations, often in response to specific changes observed in areas like technology, society, politics, and religion. These changes may entail the creation of names for emerging objects or alterations in the meaning of existing ones.

Focusing on Arabic, Anīs (1985) categorizes the factors of semantic change into intended and non-intended. Linguistic academies and scientific institutions introduce intended changes to

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[1] All Arabic words transcribed in IPA are presented according to their pronunciation in Cairo Arabic, the main Colloquial Egyptian Arabic variety.

keep up with advancements in different fields. Poets and literary authors also create them to clarify or emphasize specific meanings. These intended changes, however, have a limited impact and often do not attract much scholarly attention. In contrast, non-intended factors occur accidentally or without deliberate intent and arise from the need for new words to express unfamiliar ideas or experiences, represented by either borrowing from other languages or coining new terms (Anīs, 1985).

ATs include any linguistic expression utilized by speakers to denote the individual they are addressing (the addressee). These encompass pronouns, honorific substitutes for pronouns, names, nicknames, kinship terms, titles, and other vocative expressions. The functions expressed by ATs are numerous, including attracting the addressee's attention, giving orders or requests, or calling the addressee something (Parkinson, 2006), among others.

Even though ATs might seem like a minor part of language, they play an important role in communication. They are very useful for starting and continuing conversations, identifying the speaker and listener and their relationship, and even altering or playing with that relationship. These ATs help set the context for the conversation. Despite appearing harmless and ordinary, not using ATs regularly would break social norms (Parkinson, 1985).

Choosing a particular AT depends on several factors, such as the age, gender, and social status of the addressor and the addressee, their relationship, and the level of formality in the context. Nevertheless, Farghal & Shakir (1994) assert that ATs are commonly influenced by either power or solidarity, concepts introduced by Brown & Gilman (1960). Brown and Gilman's framework highlights how language serves as a tool for negotiating social relationships, with the addressor and the addressee strategically adjusting their linguistic behavior to either assert power or foster solidarity depending on the social context and their goals. Power involves asserting authority, resulting in greater social distance as it signifies hierarchical differences (Brown & Gilman,1960, p. 255). Conversely, solidarity entails fostering connections, rapport, and mutual understanding among the addressor and the addressee, leading to reduced social distance as it emphasizes shared bonds and equality (Brown & Gilman,1960, p. 257). The French *tu* vs. *vous* reflects these dynamics, with *tu*-terms indicating solidarity and *vous*-terms indicating power. Similar pronoun choices in ECA include إنت [ˈʔɪnta] *you*, masc. sing. vs. حضرتك [ħɑdˤˈrɪtak] *you*, masc. sing., where the first serves a role similar to *tu* and the latter serves another similar[2] to *vous* in French.

Braun (1988) examined ATs in 30 languages using the framework developed by Brown & Gilman (1960). Her research revealed that not all languages adhere to the binary T/V distinction, highlighting the challenge to the idea of a universally applicable binary system and its connection to power and solidarity. Consequently, Braun argued for considering additional factors like age, occupation, gender, or dialect when analyzing address patterns. It is worth noting that Braun's research was limited by its reliance on a small empirical database, typically consisting of only one or two speakers per language. Nonetheless, her work significantly contributed to the study of ATs.

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[2] These roles, however, are not an "exact parallel" to *tu* and *vous* as used in European languages (Parkinson, 1985, p. 29).

Levinson (1983) classifies honorifics as absolute and relational. Absolute honorifics are restricted to authorized addressors and addressees, with the addressee entitled to one designation over another based on their qualifications. In contrast, relational honorifics convey social meanings rather than indicating the addressee's actual qualities. Following this classification, ATs can also be classified as either absolute or relational. For instance, ماما [ˈmɑːmɑ] in ECA is an absolute AT when used to address a female parent but a relational one when used to address an unidentified old woman.

2. Literature review

Although universals in the field of ATs may be very few, as confirmed by Braun (1988), there have been shared changes in addressing across numerous language varieties. One notable change is a shift from absolute to relational usage of ATs, which can be considered semantic broadening. This has been observed in ECA, where an AT like بشمهندس [baʃmʊˈhandɪs] *chief engineer* has been extended to non-engineers as a general term of respect (Parkinson, 1985). Similarly, in Jordanian Arabic, kinship terms like أخ [ʔɑxx] *brother* and أخت [ʔʊxt] *sister* and occupational terms like أستاذ [ʔʊsˈtaːz] *male teacher* have been used to address individuals who are not actual relatives or educators in summons, greetings, inquiries, and requests (Farghal & Shakir, 1994; Farghal, 2002). Similarly, research by Kim-Renaud (2001) shows a trend in South Korea, where service workers and vendors are now commonly addressed using kinship terms. Parallel changes involving the use of kinship terms with non-kin have also been observed in China (Xiaozhao & Yi, 2017) and Japan (Inoue, 1999).

Another key change is democratization, moving from hierarchical to more egalitarian ATs, emphasizing solidarity over power. This trend has been observed in South Korea, where casual usage of kinship terms has become more common, and flexible, informal speech levels have replaced the formal ones prevalent in the 1800s (Kim-Renaud, 2001; Lee, 2012). In Japan, hierarchical ATs that indicated varying levels of politeness among social classes have shifted towards more egalitarian ones (Inoue, 1999; Okamoto, 2010), with a power-based plain speech by superiors now rare, except in conflicts or disputes (Shibatani, 1998). Similar changes have occurred in China (Fang & Heng, 1983; Shibatani, 1998), Jordan, where there has been a notable decrease in the use of epithets among educated young people (Al-Khatib, 2003), and Egypt, where the use of the formal AT حضرتك [ħadʕˈrɪtak] to address fathers has decreased because it carries a level of formality that is no longer deemed appropriate in many families (Parkinson, 1985). Similarly, ATs in Persian have evolved from formal to informal over time, with an increase in personal names, intimacy terms, and zero address terms, and a decline in honorifics, educational and cultural titles, and teknonyms, particularly following the Islamic Revolution of 1979 (Moghaddam et. al., 2015).

In European languages, moreover, there has been a shift towards ATs that emphasize solidarity (i.e., *tu*) rather than power (i.e., *vous*), as seen in Sweden, where the informal pronoun *du* is now the default, while the formal *ni* is reserved for specific situations (Clyne et al., 2009). A similar trend toward familiarization is evident in American English, where a more extreme shift toward familiarized first names and familiarizers has been observed in everyday interactions (Leech, 1999) and in business settings (Ervin-Tripp, 1972). This shift may have also influenced contemporary British English addressing practices (Clyne et al., 2009).

Another change in ATs involves contact between different language varieties. For instance, Vietnamese has borrowed many ATs, including core kinship terms, from Chinese (Alves, 2017). In Japan, traditionally a conservative society, there is a general trend towards using borrowed kinship English ATs like *papa* and *mama* instead of the traditional terms *otousan* and *okaasan* (Hidasi, 2014). Similarly, Jordanian Arabic shows a growing preference for adopting English ATs such as *Madam* and *Miss* (Al-Khatib, 2003). Also, in Palestinian Arabic, English ATs have been incorporated or used alongside Palestinian ones, such as addressing a female teacher with either the Palestinian ست [sɪtt] or the English *auntie* (Abuamsha, 2010).

3. Changes in ATs in the historical context of ECA

The subtle evolution of ATs in ECA underscores its capacity to assimilate, adapt, and redefine linguistic conventions in response to socio-political contexts, cultural interactions, and political upheavals, as outlined in Sadiq's (2016) scenario spanning four stages of ECA development. This scenario provides insights into how the development of ATs might have been influenced.

In the first stage (1830s-1850s), triggered by the aftermath of the 1835 plague (Woidich, 1994) and rural migration to Cairo to make up for the workforce gap (Lane, 1836), dialect leveling created a social fabric where ECA's prestige lacked firm grounding, especially among the non-Egyptian elite. This social fluidity might have contributed to a less defined system of ATs.

The second stage (1860s-1910s) witnessed cultural shifts under Khedive Ismail's rule (1863-1879), influenced by Turkish and French factors (Abdelbaki, 2013; Gérard, 1996). The multicultural environment during this period, evident in ECA's lexicon and linguistic diversity, led to the development of a more intricate system of ATs to accommodate varied influences. Examples include the ATs borrowed from Turkish أفندي [ʔaˈfandi] *effendi*, أسطى [ˈʔʊstˤɑ] *master artisan* and باشا [ˈbaːʃa] *Pasha*; and the ATs borrowed from French دكتور [dʊkˈtoːr] *physician* and برنس [ˈbrɪns] *prince*.

The third stage (1910s-1952) witnessed a political shift with the established British occupation, thereby increasing the integration of more foreign words in ECA. This period witnessed changes in ATs to mirror the dynamic sociopolitical climate, introducing new ATs or modifications to the existing ones, especially at the military level, although, according to Zack (2016, p. 222), Turkish still played a role in the army during the British occupation. Examples of the then widely spread English police and military ranks include كونستابل [kʊnɪˈstˤɑbl] *a police officer of a lower rank*, جنرال [dʒɪnɪˈrɑːl] *General* and مارشال [mɑrˈʃaːl] *Marshal*.

The fourth stage (1952-present) was shaped by the 1952 Revolution, with a regime that decided to abolish monarchy ATs. Interestingly, these very monarchy-related ATs found new usage in referring to military personnel, highlighting an ironic linguistic transformation during this stage. Examples include the use of باشا [ˈbaːʃa] *Pasha* and بيه [ˈbeːh] *Bey* which started (and are still used) to refer to police and military officers of different ranks. The ongoing adaptation of ECA to modern influences, including the increasing use of English ATs such as كابتن [ˈkabtɪn] *captain*, بروف [brʊff] *Prof.*, and دادي [ˈdaːdi] *dad/father* further illustrates the complex interplay between historical events and linguistic developments regarding ATs.

4. Research questions
The current paper seeks to answer the following research questions:

1. What are the types of semantic changes in the meanings of ATs in ECA from 1880 to 2023?
2. What are the general trends in semantic changes observed in ATs in ECA?
3. What factors have contributed to the semantic changes observed in ATs in ECA?
4. What role do changes in societal norms and values play in driving semantic changes in ATs usage in ECA?

5. Method

The study relied on various sources, including oral tales, dictionaries, sociolinguistic research, a questionnaire to explore contemporary semantic changes in the meanings of ATs, and the researchers' observations.

5.1. Oral tales by Spitta (1880, 1883)

5.1.1. Spitta (1880)

Spitta's *Grammatik des arabischen Vulgärdialektes von Aegypten* [*A Grammar of Egyptian Colloquial Arabic*] (1880) is a seminal work offering a detailed study of ECA grammar. The book also includes cultural content, featuring eleven oral tales, eleven traditional songs (mawāwīl), and 301 proverbs collected from everyday conversations with locals. This combination of linguistic and cultural insights makes it an invaluable resource for understanding the richness of EA at the end of the 19th century. We elicited ATs from the tales, songs, and proverbs. For the songs and proverbs, we relied on the translations provided in the book, while for the tales, the meanings of ATs were derived from the context since they are only transliterated.

5.1.2. Spitta (1883)

Spitta's *Contes arabes modernes* [*Modern Arabic Tales*] (1883) is a collection of twelve folk Egyptian tales that he collected and translated into French. Through his translation, Spitta made these tales accessible to a broader European audience. These tales reflect the popular culture of Egypt in the late 19th century, using natural language free from literary influence. We extracted the ATs from the entire book, using both the French translation and the context to determine their meanings.

5.2. Dictionaries

5.2.1. Spiro (1895, 1923)

Spiro's *An Arabic-English Vocabulary of the Colloquial Arabic of Egypt*[3] was published in 1895[4]. A second edition was published in 1923 under the title *Arabic-English Dictionary of the*

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[3] While both dictionaries claim to focus on ECA, Spiro (1895/1923) primarily concentrates on Cairo Arabic, and Hinds & Badawi (1986) cover Cairo and the Delta region. However, this distinction has not been a significant concern for us, as Cairo Arabic is widely regarded as the main Egyptian variety, present both within Cairo's migrant communities (Miller, 2005) and beyond Cairo (Ornaghi, 2010; Sadiq, 2016). Moreover, the ATs discussed in this study show minimal variation across Egyptian varieties, and the questionnaire respondents are well acquainted with Cairo Arabic.

[4] Two years later, in 1897, Spiro published another dictionary titled *An English-Arabic Vocabulary of the Modern and Colloquial Arabic of Egypt*. The ATs extracted from Spiro (1895) were compared to those in Spiro (1897), but no substantial differences were identified.

Modern Arabic of Egypt. We relied on both editions which cover a wide range of topics, including loanwords from diverse languages, administrative, financial, engineering, mechanical, and military terminology, along with colloquial expressions and slang phrases. This dictionary, acclaimed as a "pioneer in the field" by Hinds and Badawi (1986, p. xi), served as the standard for ECA until the publication of Hinds & Badawi's *A Dictionary of Egyptian Arabic: Arabic-English* in 1986 (Zack, 2014, p. 10).

Spiro (1895) was preceded by earlier works on ECA, including Cameron's 1892 dictionary *An Arabic-English Vocabulary for the Use of English Students of Modern Egyptian Arabic* and guides for travelers and British army officers (for more information, see Zack, 2014; Zack, 2015; and Mairs, 2016). However, these were overlooked due to their tendency to blend Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) with various dialects, lacking a dedicated focus on ECA.

5.2.2. Hinds & Badawi (1986)

Hinds & Badawi's *A Dictionary of Egyptian Arabic: Arabic-English* was published in 1986. It covers an extensive range of vocabulary, including words, expressions, and phrases commonly used in ECA. It stands out with its remarkable collection of 22,500 headword entries, which is the largest among Arabic dialect dictionaries next to the 35,000 headword entries found in Wehr's *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*. The entries are arranged alphabetically based on the Arabic rooting system, and for most words, example sentences are provided in transliteration along with corresponding English explanations.

5.3. Sociolinguistic research

Parkinson (1985)[5] is a sociolinguistic study on ATs in ECA, analyzing 262 unique terms (530 including variations) collected from the natural speech of Cairenes. The data was gathered by five assistants from different socio-economic backgrounds and was enriched with input from 19 additional Cairenes (10 males and 9 females) to clarify complex usages. The study highlights the essential role of ATs in defining and maintaining social relationships across various social contexts. Parkinson observed a strong connection between the pragmatics of language use and ATs, noting their reliance on social variables such as the speakers' identities and relationships. His research also revealed class-based shifts, including the reduced use of teknonyms among upper classes, and categorized ATs into six groups: pronouns, names and labels, family terms, terms of respect, friendly and joking terms, and terms of abuse.

5.4. Why were these sources selected, and which ATs were elicited?

The time span between the selected sources highlights the significant evolution of ECA, shaped by societal changes, technological advancements, and cultural transformations. This evolution is reflected in the semantic changes of many ATs, which illustrate the influence of social, political, and cultural factors on the language. A total of 40 frequently used ATs were drawn from all the sources and categorized by type in Table 1[6].

Only ATs that are still in use were selected. ATs that have fallen out of use, such as سعادتلو

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[5] This monograph is based on Parkinson's 1982 doctoral dissertation completed at the University of Michigan.
[6] We acknowledge that the ATs in ECA are fluid and flexible, making categorization difficult, and we recognize that the classification provided here may not receive unanimous agreement.

[saʕatˈtɪllʊ] *His Excellency* and باش كاتب [baʃˈkaːtɪb] *chief clerk*, were excluded. Furthermore, any AT that does not fit to be preceded with the vocative particle *ya* was excluded. This includes the well-known honorific pronoun substitutes[7] سعادة [saˈʕaːda] *Excellency* and حضرة [ˈħadˤrɪt] *Highness/Presence*, which can replace the subject or object سعادتك [saˈʕattak] *Your Excellency* (2nd person masc. sing.) or حضرتك [ħadˤˈrɪtak] *Your Highness* (2nd person masc. sing.). These ATs are seldom used by the younger generation, who were the participants in the questionnaire.

Table 1: ATs under study categorized by type

General[8]	Kinship		Nobility
أفندي	أبويا	جد	باشا
[ʔaˈfandi]	[ʔaˈbuːja]	[gɪdd]	[ˈbaːʃa]
أفندم	أبيه	خَال	برنس
[ʔaˈfandɪm]	[ʔaˈbeːh]	[xaːl]	[brɪns]
آنسة	أما/أمي	خالة	برنسيسة
[ʔaːˈnɪsa]	[ˈʔummi] – [ˈʔamma]	[ˈxaːla]	[brɪnˈsiːsa]
خواجة	أونكل	عم	بيه
[xaˈwaːga]	[ˈʔʊnkɪl]	[ʕamm]	[beːh]
سيد	بابا	عمة	
[siːd]	[baːba]	[ˈʕamma]	
سيى	تنت/طنط	ماما	
[siː]	[ˈtˤantˤ]	[ˈmaːma]	
مدام	تيتة		
[maˈdaːm]	[ˈteːta]		
7	**13**		**4**
Political	Occupational		Religious
دولة	أبلة	دَادَة	حَاج
[ˈdawla]	[ˈʔabla]	[ˈdaːda]	[ħagg]
ريس	أستاذ	دكتور	حاجة
[ˈrajjɪs]	[ʔʊsˈtaːz]	[dʊkˈtoːr]	[ˈħagga]
زعيم	أستاذة	عمدة	شيخ
[zaˈʕiːm]	[ʔʊsˈtaːza]	[ˈʕʊmda]	[ʃeːx]
	أسطى	كابتن	
	[ˈʔʊsˤtˤa]	[ˈkabtɪn]	
	باش مهندس	معلم	
	[baːʃ mʊˈhandɪs]	[mɪˈʕallɪm]	
3	**10**		**3**

5.5. Questionnaire

To study contemporary changes in the meanings of ATs, an online questionnaire (see Appendix 1) was created using Google Forms and distributed to university students and graduates (24 males and 36 females) aged 18 to 30, residing in different areas (30 urbanites, 5 migrants from the countryside to town, and 25 villagers) across various Egyptian governorates. This age group was selected due to its familiarity with contemporary ATs meanings and is more likely to be

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[7] Parkinson classifies these as a "swing category" between actual ATs and second-person pronouns (1985, p. 17).
[8] General ATs are those that do not fit into any of the other categories discussed here.

aware of evolving linguistic practices. Participants were asked to provide multiple meanings for each AT based on their experiences in Egypt, regardless of personal usage. The questionnaire featured the 40 ATs selected from the two dictionaries.

5.3. Researchers' observations

As researchers, we are native speakers and linguists, born and raised in Egypt. Our observations and experiences are also part of the data, allowing us to critically assess and judge the data. Whenever there were gaps or missing information in the questionnaire, we could fill them based on our expertise. For example, we added some missing details in the definitions provided in Appendix 2 when needed, especially regarding the nuanced differences between similar ATs.

6. Results

6.1. Types of semantic change in ATs

The results presented in Table 2 illustrate that ATs in ECA, from 1880 to 2023, have either maintained their original meanings or broadened their semantic range. Full details regarding the evolution of the meanings of these ATs are provided in Appendix 2.

Between 1880 and 1895, ATs largely retained their original meanings, with broadening occurring in nearly a third of the cases. From 1895 to 1923, semantic broadening decreased, and the percentage of unchanged ATs increased, indicating a period of relative semantic stability. From 1923 to 1986, a notable shift occurred: broadening became the dominant type of semantic change, while the proportion of unchanged ATs declined significantly. The period from 1986 to 2023 continued to reflect this trend, with both broadening and pejoration more prominent than in previous stages. Unlike the earlier timeframes, the modern period witnessed an increase in negative semantic shifts (pejoration), showing a wider range of changes in meaning. While the processes of grammaticalization and amelioration are still limited, they remain significant, indicating subtle linguistic evolution in recent decades.

Table 2: Types of semantic change in ATs in ECA from 1880 to 2023 by percent (%)

	1880/3[9]-1895	1895-1923	1923-1985/6[10]	1985/6-2023
No change (NC)	68.29	80.30	33.87	38.27
Broadening (B)	31.71	18.18	59.14	50.71
Amelioration (AM)	0	0	0	0.96
Grammaticalization (G)	0	0	0.54	0.96
Obsolete (OB)	0	0	1.08	0
Pejoration (P)	0	1.52	5.38	9.09
Number of meanings	**41**	**66**	**186**	**209**

Our investigation focused on the ATs from the sources we relied on, rather than contemporary neologisms. However, we recognize the coexistence of contemporary ATs along with those in our sources. For example, مستر [ˈmɪstˤɑr] (from the English *Mr.*) is used to address a male teacher alongside أستاذ [ʔʊsˈtaːz], and ميس [mɪss] (from the English *Miss*) is used for a female teacher, along with أستاذة [ʔʊsˈtaːza] and أبلة [ˈʔablɑ].

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[9] 1880/3 refers to the stage represented by Spitta's two books.
[10] 1985/6 refers to the stage represented by Parkinson (1985) and Hinds & Badawi (1986).

6.2. General trends in semantic change in ATs

Due to space constraints, it is difficult to examine the semantic change of each AT individually. For those interested in specific details, Appendix 2 provides further information. Below is a summary of the general trends in semantic change, focusing on recent developments.

1. Kinship ATs have broadened their usage to include a large number of social relationships and contexts. For instance, ماما [ˈmɑːmɑ] *mom*, أما [ˈʔamma] *mother*, خالة [ˈxaːla] *maternal aunt*, عمة [ˈʕamma] *paternal aunt* and طنط [ˈtˤɑntˤ] *paternal/maternal aunt* are kinship ATs that are now commonly used to address women who are not relatives. The specific nuances of usage often depend on factors such as social class (e.g., عمة [ˈʕamma] in the working class versus طنط [ˈtˤɑntˤ] in the middle class), educational level, or the age of the addressee.

2. Kinship ATs have seen a cultural shift among younger generations, evolving beyond their original familial contexts. These ATs such as أبويا [ʔaˈbuːja] *father*, عم [ʕamm] *paternal uncle*, and خال [xaːl] *maternal uncle* and أما [ˈʔamma] *mother*, عمة [ˈʕamma] *paternal aunt* and خالة [ˈxaːla] *maternal aunt* – traditionally associated with elderly individuals – are now widely embraced among peers for joking purposes. This change suggests a broader trend of using kinship ATs to convey familiarity among friends of both sexes.

3. The boundaries between different types of ATs have become increasingly blurred, with many now serving similar purposes. For instance, the occupational AT أستاذ [ʔʊsˈtaːz] *teacher*, the nobility AT برنس [ˈbrɪns] *prince*, the political ATs زعيم [zaˈʕiːm] *leader* and ريس [ˈrɑjjɪs] *president*, the kinship ATs أبويا [ʔaˈbuːja] *father* and عم [ʕamm] *paternal uncle*, and the religious AT حاج [ħagg] *male pilgrim* are all commonly used to refer to a known or unknown man. The distinctions between these ATs are influenced by factors such as the age, social class, residence, and education level of both the addressor and the addressee.

4. Most nobility ATs have broadened to include individuals from lower social backgrounds. Although there appears to be a trend of pejoration, it is essential to emphasize that there is no negative connotation associated with the evolved meanings. For instance, ATs like برنس [ˈbrɪns] *prince* and برنسيسة [brɪnˈsiːsa] *princess* are currently employed to address individuals who are neither royal nor presumed to be of upper-class origins.

5. Many ATs formerly linked to the upper classes and non-nobility are now used for lower-class individuals in areas where they were once rare, including rural regions. For example, the French-origin AT مدام [maˈdaːm] *madam* once reserved for upper- or middle-class married women, is now used to address working-class female nurses or tailors.

6. Many ATs indicating power have diminished in usage, now primarily serving solidarity purposes. For instance, the term سيد [siːd] has evolved from addressing authority figures to a casual way of addressing friends, as demonstrated in the common saying قول يا سيدي [ʔuːl ja ˈsiːdi] *say, my friend*. Likewise, noble ATs involving authority such as باشا [ˈbaːʃa] *Pasha* and برنس [ˈbrɪns] *prince* have adopted a playful connotation when used among close male friends or when addressing unknown males.

7. ATs in ECA exhibit diversity. Figure 1 displays the total frequency of all AT meanings obtained from the questionnaire and highlights that many ATs, originating from both Arabic and other languages, have been integrated into Egyptian culture. Following Arabic ATs, Turkish and French are among the most frequently used in ECA. English, Greek, and Italian ATs are also observed, although with much lesser frequency.
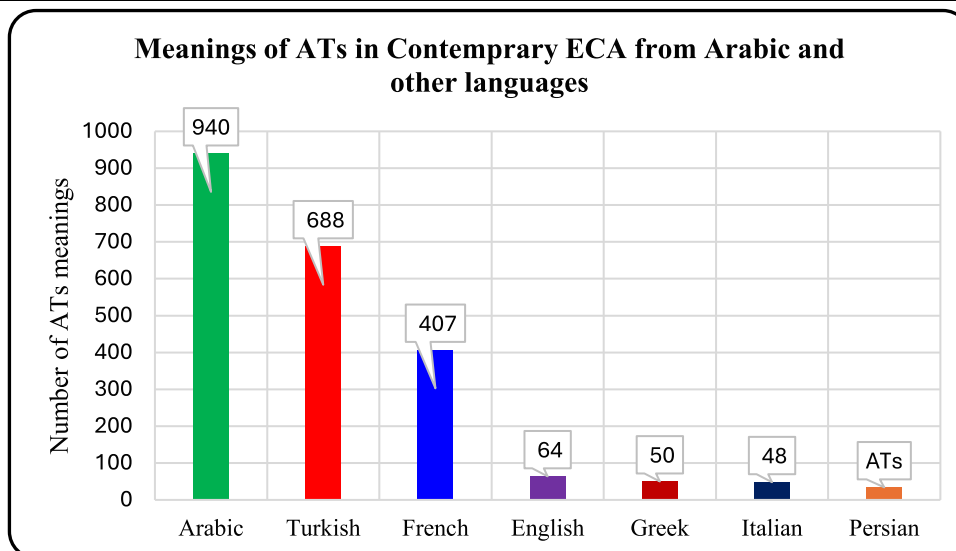
Meanings of ATs in Contemprary ECA from Arabic and other languages

Figure 1: Meanings of ATs in contemporary ECA from Arabic and other languages

7. Discussion

Our results highlight a shift from absolute to relational ATs in ECA through semantic broadening, indicating that the Egyptian society now values solidarity over power. Moreover, they show that diminishing social class distinctions have blurred the boundaries of ATs traditionally reserved for the nobility and upper classes, making them more common among lower classes. The results also show that Egyptians are still using ATs from other languages, despite the end of direct ties with foreign communities. We will discuss these results in a broader context.

7.1. From absolute to relational ATs

Around a third of the ATs investigated are kinship ATs whose meanings have largely broadened from absolute to relational (see Appendix 2), sometimes extending to non-familial relationships, while in other instances including different familial connections. For example, طنط [ˈtˤɑntˤ] has changed from its absolute meaning as a maternal or paternal aunt to its relational meaning as a/an (un)known woman, esp. if older and educated-looking. This trend could be due to many reasons that pertain to the nature of Egyptian culture.

Hofstede et al. (2010, pp. 31-33) categorize cultures[11] based on six dimensions: power distance (i.e., how much less influential members of a society accept unequal power distribution), uncertainty avoidance (i.e., how comfortable people are with ambiguity and uncertainty), individualism/collectivism (i.e., people prefer independence or being part of a close-knit group), masculinity/femininity (i.e., masculinity reflects a preference for assertiveness and achievement, while femininity emphasizes modesty and care), long-/short-term orientation (i.e., long-term orientation focuses on seeking virtue, while short-term orientation emphasizes absolute truth), and indulgence/restraint (i.e., how well societies control their impulses and desires). Any national culture can score high or low on any of these dimensions. Of particular

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[11]These dimensions were originally developed to assess the perspectives of employees in large international corporations, but they have been applied to address cultural variation in diverse areas such as education, media, psychology, public policy, human resources, etc.

relevance here is that a high individualism score signifies loose ties, with individuals expected to be self-reliant. In contrast, a low score reflects a collectivist culture characterized by strong, close-knit groups, such as extended families, where solidarity is emphasized. In such cultures, individuals exhibit solidarity by working together and supporting each other, offering protection and mutual assistance in exchange for loyalty and commitment to the group (Hofstede et al., 2010, p. 92).

Egypt's individualism score, originally calculated by Hofstede between 1967 and 1973, was 37 (Country Comparison Tool, 1973)[12]. By 2023, this score had significantly dropped to 13, highlighting a shift towards a more strongly collectivist culture in the contemporary Egyptian society over the past forty years (Country Comparison Tool, 2023). This growing collectivist mindset might explain why contemporary Egyptians increasingly use kinship ATs with non-relatives. This practice reflects a desire to create a sense of familiarity and trust, and to foster social cohesion and solidarity beyond their immediate family[13]. It is noteworthy that relational ATs are more frequently used with individuals of lower social class and older age, with most of these kinship ATs (such as أبويا [ʔaˈbuːja] *father*, أما [ˈʔɑmmɑ] *mother*, خال [xaːl] *maternal uncle*, خالة [ˈxaːla] *maternal aunt*, عم [ʕamm] *paternal uncle* and عمة [ˈʕamma] *paternal aunt* directed at old working-class people. The age gap between speakers and addressees often leads younger speakers to use kinship ATs with older individuals to show them respect, a practice influenced by the prevailing collectivist culture.

Notably, almost half of the kinship ATs examined are absent from Spitta (1880, 1883) and Spiro (1895, 1923), and those that are included do not mostly convey relational meanings (see Appendix 2). It is highly unlikely that the listed kinship ATs were used exclusively in their absolute meanings. This may be because Spitta and Spiro intended to introduce ECA to foreigners in Egypt, which required them to emphasize absolute meanings over relational ones. The absence of these relational meanings of kinship ATs in these works is a lost chance to document and study the development of these ATs.

The results of the questionnaire used to collect data for this study indicate that, on average, the relational meanings of kinship ATs account for about a quarter of the frequency of all the reported meanings. This emphasizes that although absolute meanings remain prevalent, the increasing use of relational meanings reflects the ongoing impact of family in shaping both language and social life in Egypt.

Although the discussion above has primarily concentrated on the growing use of kinship ATs relationally in ECA, this trend extends to other types of ATs as well. The underlying motivation appears to be a desire to build solidarity with the addressee; however, there could also be other socio-political motivations influencing this trend.

7.2. From power to solidarity: Democratization of ATs

A notable shift is observed in the use of ATs that were once associated with nobility or upper

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[12] Similar results on individualism versus collectivism in Egypt are documented in the Globe Project, a large-scale research initiative launched in 1993 by Robert J. House to study cultural differences. The results concerning Egypt are available at https://globeproject.com/results/countries/EGY%3Fmenu=list.html#country

[13] It is customary in conservative societies that people usually have "ways of creating familylike ties with persons who are not biological relatives but who are socially integrated into one's in-group" (Hofstede, 2001, p. 228).

classes. These ATs have expanded to include individuals from lower socioeconomic backgrounds or have shifted to emphasize solidarity over power. This change suggests a move towards a more egalitarian addressing system, similar to trends in other countries like South Korea (Kim-Renaud, 2001; Lee, 2012), Japan (Inoue, 1999; Okamoto, 2010; Shibatani, 1998), China (Fang & Heng, 1983), Iran (Moghaddam et al., 2015), Jordan (Al-Khatib, 2003), Sweden (Clyne et al., 2009), the USA (Ervin-Tripp, 1972; Leech, 1999), and Britain (Clyne at al., 2009).

In Egypt, the 23rd of July 1952 Revolution was a major factor in this change. The revolution ended the monarchy, created a republic, and drastically transformed the Egyptian society by dismantling the class system, redistributing land, and improving access to education and government jobs. These changes weakened the power of the landowning elite, promoted social mobility, and shifted values towards nationalism and equality. The end of the British occupation and the reduction of aristocratic symbols helped build a more equal society and a unified national identity.

On August 2nd, 1952, Official Order #68 of 1952 was issued to abolish nobility Ats, aiming to eliminate class differences and promote social justice. The 1956 Constitution also banned these ATs (Ahmad, 2022). While this reform reduced the importance of these ATs, they did not disappear completely. ATs like باشا [ˈbaːʃa] and بيه [beːh] continued to be used to show respect for high officials, especially in the military and the police. This usage fits Brown & Gilman's (1960) theory of language power, where addressing authority figures with nobility ATs emphasizes social hierarchy and maintains distance. Over time, these ATs have been used more by lower social classes.

In 1974, Egypt's economic liberalization policy (the Open Door Policy), following the Investment Law No. 43 of 1974, led to a rise in businesspeople from working-class backgrounds who accumulated wealth through various means (Mahrous, 2023). This new class began to be addressed with ATs once reserved for the upper classes.

Using nobility and upper-class ATs can also be a way to show strategic politeness aimed at flattering influential people when requesting favors. For instance, as noted by Parkinson (1985, p. 130), the AT بيه [beːh] might be used instead of أستاذ [ʔʊsˈtaːz] to facilitate making a request. Similar practices are seen in Egyptian universities, where students use grand ATs like معالي الدكتور [maˈʕaːlid-dʊkˈtoːr] *His Excellency Dr.* for professors, and staff members (both academic and administrative) address or refer to university presidents and vice-presidents as معالي الوزير [maˈʕaːlil-waˈziːr] *His Excellency Minister*.

A notable change is the adoption of nobility and upper-class ATs by marginalized groups[14]. This can be understood through the lens of the identity projection model, which Auer and Hinskens (2005) describe as a process where individuals or communities adjust their language to align with the social identities they aspire to or admire. According to this model, which is grounded in social psychology (Giles et al., 1991), marginalized individuals may be adopting nobility and upper-class ATs, such as باشا [ˈbaːʃa] *Pasha* for men and برنسيسة [brɪnˈsiːsa]

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[14] Marginalization is a broad concept. In the context of this paper, marginalized groups are the individuals who face economic disadvantages, such as limited income, fewer job opportunities, and reduced access to essential services.

princess for young women[15], as a strategy to project a higher social status. By doing so, they psychologically elevate their standing and resist the marginalization they face, embodying the grandiosity observed in contexts like *Mahraganat*[16] folk songs.

It is worth noting that Spitta (1880, 1883) included only two nobility and upper-class ATs, both presented exclusively in their absolute meanings. Similarly, Spiro did not document any extended meanings for the seven nobility and upper-class ATs listed in his dictionary (1923, 1985). It is unlikely that these ATs carried meanings beyond their absolute usage. These terms were reserved for the nobility, many of whom were Turkish or spoke Turkish as their first language, or for Egyptians who highly valued them. People lower on the social ladder might have been reluctant to use these ATs, as doing so could have resulted in penalties.

7.3. The occupation does not matter but the title does

Until the end of the 19ᵗʰ century, including the publication of Spitta (1880, 1883) and Spiro (1895), many prestigious occupations in Egypt were held by non-Egyptians, which is why many occupational ATs were borrowed from other languages, especially Turkish. Although the roots of Egyptian national identity date back before the early 20ᵗʰ century (Bassiouney, 2014), it was not until this time that "older, fragmented, and more localized forms of identity were rapidly replaced with new, alternative concepts of community, which for the first time could collectively encompass the majority of Egyptians" (Fahmy, 2010, p. 1). By 1923, when Spiro's second edition was released, there was still resistance from Egyptians against the foreign elite. In 1926, a new nationality law was passed (Flournoy & Hudson, 1929), and in 1927, regulations were introduced to prevent foreigners from practicing professions like law and medicine without passing exams set by Egyptian authorities (Abécassis & Le Gall-Kazazian, 1992, p. 9). During this period, Egyptians viewed foreigners as occupiers or beneficiaries. Therefore, they were reluctant to use ATs related to these foreigners. Moreover, Egyptians who took up prestigious occupations such as the judiciary, medicine, engineering, and banking were protective of their occupational ATs, making it less likely for those without proper qualifications to use them. This may explain why Spitta (1880,1883) only included one occupational working-class TA, which is معلم [mɪˈʕallɪm], and why Spiro (1895, 1923) focused mostly on the literal meanings of the seven occupational ATs he listed.

The 23ʳᵈ of July Revolution of 1952 brought significant educational reforms, making education more accessible[17] and reducing class barriers (Saleh, 2018). Individuals from poor and marginalized backgrounds began to take on occupations previously unavailable to them, such as teachers, doctors, engineers, managers, and university professors. With the rise of polytechnics, schools, and other educational institutions, new types of occupations emerged

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[15] Although not reflected in the data, many young men from marginalized groups are currently referring to each other as كينج [kɪŋg] *king*, سلطان [sulˈtˤɑːn] *sultan*, and إمبراطور [ʔɪmbɪrɑˈtˤoːr] *emperor*.

[16] Mahraganat is an Egyptian music style that began in the early 2000s in Cairo's working-class areas. Meaning "festivals" in Arabic, *Mahraganat* blends traditional sounds with electronic beats, autotuned vocals, and lyrics addressing social and everyday themes.

[17] Although it is generally believed that free public education in Egypt began only after the 1952 Revolution, this is not entirely accurate. Saleh (2018) points out that efforts to provide public education started earlier, with the 1923 constitution mandating compulsory education for all Egyptian children. Significant changes occurred in 1951 under Taha Hussein, who worked to unify and expand the education system. While the post-1952 government continued to build on these reforms, the foundation for free education was laid before the revolution.

that resembled traditional roles. For example, vocational schools produced skilled technicians in fields such as industry and agriculture. Although these roles were not on par with engineering specialists, the term for engineers (i.e., باش مهندس [baʃ muˈhandɪs]) was broadened to include these technicians. This was a shift from the traditional AT أسطى [ˈʔʊstˤɑ] for master artisans, who were typically trained as apprentices in workshops such as blacksmithing, carpentry, tailoring, and painting.

The broadening of occupational ATs to include people who do not hold specific occupations, like using أستاذ [ʔʊsˈtaːz] *teacher* as a term of respect for someone who is not a teacher, can be explained by the increase in educational opportunities. As more people achieve higher education, the distinction between different levels of expertise becomes less clear. This leads to a broader use of ATs for anyone who appears educated, even if they do not have the traditional qualifications. This change reflects a trend where the appearance of education and knowledge is often linked with occupational skills, resulting in a more general use of these ATs.

Marginalized groups also use occupational ATs for identity projection (Auer & Hinskens, 2005), similar to how they use nobility and upper-class ATs. By adopting ATs like عمدة [ˈʕʊmda] *mayor* and معلم [mɪˈʕallɪm] *boss*, they aim to enhance their social status and resist marginalization. This practice extends to political ATs as well, such as زعيم [zaˈʕiːm] *leader*, دولة [ˈdawla] *state*, and ريس [ˈɾɑjjɪs] *president*[18].

7.4. Foreign ATs assimilated in ECA

As mentioned in the Results section, Turkish and French ATs remain common in ECA due to historical influences. Egypt was under Ottoman rule from 1517 to 1914, during which Turkish was widely used, and Turks held important administrative roles (Fahmy, 1998; İhsanoğlu, 2012). This long-term presence led to the inclusion of Turkish words, including ATs, in ECA (Sadiq, 2016; İhsanoğlu, 2012). Furthermore, under Muhammad Ali Pasha (1769–1849) and his successors, especially Ismail Pasha, Khedive of Egypt (1830–1895), Egypt developed close ties with France. During this era, French was a global lingua franca (Wright, 2006) and had a significant impact on Egyptian culture (Abdelbaki, 2013). As a result, many French ATs became embedded in ECA.

Although English, Greek, and Italian ATs are also reported in the data, they are less common in ECA. Despite English being the language of British rule from 1882 to 1954, it had a relatively minor impact on ATs in ECA. The British occupation focused more on military and economic control, and British officials were seen as occupiers rather than integrated members of the community, which limited the influence of English. On the other hand, while some Egyptians viewed Turks as occupiers, others saw them as part of the Islamic Caliphate and thus more readily adopted Turkish ATs. This historical context, along with the strong French influence in the 19th century (Wright, 2006), explains why Turkish and French ATs became more deeply embedded in ECA than English. By the time Turkish rule ended, and French was

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[18] Although this trend does not appear in the data, many young men from marginalized groups are now using ATs like زعامة [zaˈʕaːma] *leadership*, رياسة [rɪˈjaːsa] *presidency*, and جمهورية [gʊmhʊˈrɪjja] *republic* when addressing one another.

no longer a global lingua franca, Turkish and French ATs had already become integral to ECA.

7.5. Broadening or pejoration?

It has been shown that the most significant change in ATs in ECA is semantic broadening. While Appendix 2, which contains all the data, might suggest a trend toward pejoration—since many meaning shifts appear to involve downward changes, such as nobility ATs being applied to non-nobility—this interpretation can be misleading. For instance, باشا [ˈbaːʃa], which originally meant *Pasha*, could be used now to address a middle-class educated-looking man in Western clothes. While this might be seen as pejoration, it is important to remember that pejoration is a process by which a word develops negative connotations over time (Campbell, 2013, p. 228). However, since these changes, including the shift in the meaning of باشا [ˈbaːʃa] and other ATs, are driven by a desire for solidarity, as shown above, they are better categorized as broadening.

8. Conclusion

This study has analyzed the main trends in semantic changes of ATs in ECA from 1880 to 2023, revealing a shift from absolute meanings to more relational and broader uses, reflecting social and cultural shifts in the Egyptian society. This change aligns with a stronger focus on Egypt's collectivist culture, where solidarity is valued over hierarchical differences. The democratization of ATs, especially those once reserved for the nobility and upper classes, points to a more egalitarian system of address. This linguistic evolution is linked to significant socio-political events like the 1952 Revolution, which dismantled the old class structure and promoted social equality and national unity, and the 1974 economic liberalization (the Open Door Policy) that elevated businesspeople from working-class backgrounds. The study also emphasizes the lasting influence of foreign languages, particularly Turkish and French, on ECA, highlighting Egypt's complex historical connections with these cultures.

The study is limited by its reliance on the sources examined (Spitta, 1880, 1883; Spiro, 1895, 1923; Parkinson, 1985; Hinds & Badawi, 1986). The small number of participants and their limited age range also present limitations. Also, the focus on socio-political and cultural factors in discussing the results may have overlooked other influences, such as media, globalization, and technology, on the evolution of ATs. Therefore, generalizations should be made carefully, as the results are influenced by these limitations and may not fully reflect the variety and changing nature of ATs in different contexts.

To overcome these limitations, future studies should use a wider range of data sources, such as newspapers, magazines, novels, folk tales, and radio or TV recordings, to better capture the different uses of ATs. Since digital communication is greatly influencing how Egyptians use language, collecting data from online platforms could offer a more up-to-date view of AT usage. In addition, examining new ATs that have emerged due to globalization could help reveal current trends and possible future developments in ECA. Furthermore, employing corpus linguistics could provide a more systematic and comprehensive approach to analyzing large datasets of real-world language use. By examining a corpus of spoken and written texts, researchers could identify patterns and trends in AT usage across different contexts, offering a deeper understanding of how address terms evolve.

We recognize that the research presented here may be limited compared to the extensive work required to understand the development of ATs in ECA fully. Also, the methods used might not be ideal for such a complex topic, which requires significant funding, collaboration among many researchers, and access to various historical resources. However, we hope this study will encourage further investigation into this area.

The significance of this study lies in its effort to enhance our understanding of historical linguistic changes in ECA, focusing on ATs. By highlighting the complex connection between historical events and language development, it demonstrates how political and social changes influence language use, particularly in ATs. The study also offers valuable evidence on semantic change, contributing to discussions about how language evolves in response to sociocultural influences. Furthermore, the results can help language educators improve teaching materials and support professionals like translators and interpreters in conveying meanings and cultural nuances more accurately.

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Appendix 1: Online Questionnaire

The Arabic version distributed among the participants is available at:
https://docs.google.com/forms/d/e/1FAIpQLSeOAnms6Xi3742ikS44tIxQaS5J5TLMLkSFjRGq9S3FLx_IGA/viewform

Here is its translation.

Dear Participant,

We sincerely thank you for taking the time to complete this questionnaire. Please rest assured that all responses will be used solely for research purposes, and no personal information will be disclosed to any party.

This questionnaire aims to understand the current uses of some address terms between people across various social and cultural levels. An address term refers to any word used to call or speak to someone, often preceded by the vocative particle *ya*.

Tips:

1. Provide a number of common uses for each address term in Egypt.
2. Use a dash (-) to separate each response.
3. If you are unfamiliar with a particular address term, please write "Not applicable".
4. Keep your answers concise. Avoid lengthy explanations such as "I use this address term when talking to..." as this is understood implicitly.
5. Be specific about the social role without generalizations. For instance, instead of "a man with a high status in society," specify their role, such as their job (e.g., Police officer), position (e.g., President), family relation (e.g., Father), or description (e.g., Elderly man).
6. We are interested only in the meanings of address terms in Egypt **at present**. Please do not include any outdated meanings for any term.

We value your time and emphasize accuracy over quantity in responses. Please focus on giving thoughtful answers to each question. If you do not have sufficient time to complete the survey, we kindly ask you not to participate.

For any inquiries, please contact us at either of these addresses: saudi.sadiq@mu.edu.eg or naglaa.abdelazeem@mu.edu.eg

Researchers:

Dr. Saudi Sadiq & Dr. Naglaa Ahmed Awny

I agree to participate in the survey and pledge to provide accurate answers.
- Yes

Personal Information (to be used for research purposes only):

Age:

Gender:
- Male
- Female

Educational Level:

- Primary
- Preparatory
- Secondary
- University or higher
- Other:

Where do you live?

- City
- Village
- I used to live in the countryside but moved to a city
- Other:

Are you ready?

1	أبلة	[ˈʔablɑ]	21	حاج	[ħagg]
2	أبويا/آبا	[ʔaˈbuːja]	22	حاجة	[ħaggaˈ]
3	أبيه	[ʔaˈbeːh]	23	خال	[xaːl]
4	أستاذ	[ʔʊsˈtaːz]	24	خالة	[ˈxaːla]
5	أستاذة	[ʔʊsˈtaːza]	25	خواجة	[xaˈwaːga]
6	أسطى/أوسطى/يسطا	[ˈʔʊsˤtˤɑ]	26	دادة	[ˈdaːda]
7	أفندي	[ʔaˈfandi]	27	دكتور	[dʊkˈtoːr]
8	أفندم	[ʔaˈfandɪm]	28	دولة	[ˈdawla]
9	أمي/أما	[ˈʔummi] – [ˈʔammɑ]	29	ريس	[ˈrɑjjɪs]
10	أنكل/أونكل	[ˈʔʊnkɪl]	30	زعيم	[zaˈʕiːm]
11	آنسة	[ʔaːˈnɪsa]	31	سي	[siː]
12	بابا	[baːbɑ]	32	سِيد	[siːd]
13	باش مهندس	[baːʃ mʊˈhandɪs]	33	شيخ	[ʃeːx]
14	باشا	[ˈbaːʃa]	34	عم	[ʕamm]
15	برنس	[brɪns]	35	عمة	[ˈʕamma]
16	برنسيسة	[brɪnˈsiːsa]	36	عمدة	[ˈʕʊmda]
17	بيه	[beːh]	37	كابتن	[ˈkabtɪn]
18	تنت/طنط	[ˈtˤɑntˤ]	38	ماما	[ˈmɑːmɑ]
19	تيتة	[ˈteːta]	39	مدام	[maˈdaːm]
20	جد	[gɪdd]	40	معلم	[mɪˈʕallɪm]

Appendix 2: Data

AT, type & origin	Source	Meanings		Change
Turkish – Occupational – آبلة	Spitta (1880)	Not given		
	Spitta (1883)	Not given		
	Spiro (1895)	Not given		
	Spiro (1923)	Not given		
	Parkinson (1985)[19]	UC[20] elder sister with a significant age difference		NC[21]
		much older woman to make her feel good (in all social classes), including an in-law aunt, a female neighbor, a mother's female friend or even a stranger woman		B[22]
		female teacher		B
	Hinds & Badawi (1986)	older woman, applied in particular by children to a schoolteacher = Miss		B[23]
	Data (2023)	MC[24] female teacher	46[25]	NC
		MC (un)known woman, esp. older and educated-looking	22	N
		MC single young woman	6	B
		MC elder sister with a notable age difference	4	NC
		WC & MC mocking term with a woman, esp. if young or middle-aged	4	P
		MC paternal or maternal uncle's wife	2	B
		MC & UC female university student	2	B
		Total	**86**	
Arabic – Kinship – أبويا/أبا	Spitta (1880)	father[26] (p.447, p.468, p.501)[27]		NC
	Spitta (1883)	father (p.28, p.70, p.160)		NC
	Spiro (1895)	Not given		
	Spiro (1923)	Not given		
	Parkinson (1985)	WC father		NC
		WC older male addressee (usually not related) who is about the age of the speaker's father, whether known or not known		B
		WC male addressee about the same age of a male speaker, esp. when the addressee is unknown, and the tone expresses annoyance seriously or in jest		B
		WC young boy (usually not related) about the age of the speaker's son, especially with an annoyance tone		B
	Hinds & Badawi (1986)	Dad		NC

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[19] The meanings from Parkinson (1985) are based on the results presented in the source. Page numbers are not provided, as the ATs are carefully listed in a well-organized index at the end, with some meanings drawn from numerous pages.

[20] For space considerations, the following abbreviations have been utilized: UC (upper class), MC (middle class), and WC (working class).

[21] Since the table does not provide data for comparison to determine the type of semantic change, "No change" has been chosen here and throughout when the given meaning aligns with the absolute meaning of the TA.

[22] Needless to say, the types of semantic change outlined here are based on our interpretations, and we recognize that others may have different perspectives.

[23] When the meaning of a AT provided by Hinds & Badawi (1986) aligns with that of Parkinson (1985), the change is not marked as "No change" because both sources reflect data collected within the same time span. This also applies to Spitta (1880) and (1883).

[24] When a social class is specified here, it typically refers to that of the addressee. Although the addressee's social class is not the sole factor in determining the ideal TA, it remains the primary criterion. We have done our best to categorize addressees as belonging to the WC, MC, or UC, but we recognize that defining Egypt's social structure is challenging and our categorization may be subject to debate.

[25] The numbers here indicate the frequency with which a particular meaning was provided by all participants in the questionnaire.

[26] The meanings from Spitta (1880, 1883) are derived from the context of the tales presented in the two sources.

[27] Since Spitta (1880, 1883) is not organized alphabetically like the other sources, a few page numbers are provided where the ATs appear. Some ATs are listed on multiple pages, but only a few are given here.

Category	Source	Description	Count	Code
	Data (2023)	WC father	53	NC
		WC (un)known older man, esp. lacking signs of education and dressed in non-Western clothes	16	B
		WC paternal or maternal old uncle	4	B
		playful form among WC or MC young male friends	2	B
		WC father-in-law	1	B
		Total	**76**	
Kinship – Turkish – أبيه	Spitta (1880)	Not given		
	Spitta (1883)	Not given		
	Spiro (1895)	Not given		
	Spiro (1923)	Not given		
	Parkinson (1985	UC elder brother with about 8-15 years of difference		NC
		UC aunt's husband if younger than the speaker's parents		B
		UC father's friend		B
		UC respected gentleman		B
	Hinds & Badawi (1986)	elder brother		NC
	Data (2023)	MC & UC elder brother with a notable age difference	26	NC
		MC & UC sister's husband	7	B
		MC & UC old relative	4	B
		MC & UC aunt's husband	1	NC
		Total	**38**	
Turkish – Professional – الأستاذ	Spitta (1880)	Not given		
	Spitta (1883)	Not given		
	Spiro (1895)	Not given		
	Spiro (1923)	master		NC
	Parkinson (1985)	university professor		B
		MC educated man, especially old or middle-aged, well-dressed, below the status of a doctor or engineer		B
		male friend (joking)		B
		sarcastic form used to attack a man who made a mistake		P
		man who masters what he does		NC
		primary to secondary male schoolteacher		B
		one's son (endearment)		B
		somewhat educated man		B
	Hinds & Badawi (1986)	teacher		NC
		man not qualified for a title (e.g., by profession or status)		B
		university professor		B
		man wearing the traditional dress of a sheikh (i.e., a gown and turban)		B
	Data (2023)	MC primary to secondary male schoolteacher	56	NC
		MC (un)known educated-looking man, esp. when dressed in Western clothes	28	B
		WC & MC man who masters what he does	3	NC
		MC & UC male university professor	2	NC
		playful form among MC & UC male friends	2	NC
		MC & UC male lawyer	1	B
		Total	**92**	
Professional – Turkish – الأستاذة	Spitta (1880)	Not given		
	Spitta (1883)	Not given		
	Spiro (1895)	Not given		
	Spiro (1923)	Not given		
	Parkinson (1985)	primary to secondary female schoolteacher		B
		one's daughter (endearment)		B
	Hinds & Badawi (1986)	woman professor		B
		woman schoolteacher		B
	Data (2023)	MC female teacher	49	NC
		MC (un)known educated-looking woman	30	B

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		MC & UC female lawyer	2	B
		playful form among MC & UC female friends	2	B
		WC & MC woman who masters what she does	1	B
		Total	**84**	
Occupational – Turkish – أسطى	Spitta (1880)	Not given		
	Spitta (1883)	Not given		
	Spiro (1895)	master artisan		NC
		cook		B
		coachman		B
	Spiro (1923)	master of a trade		NC
		cook		NC
		coachman		NC
		foreman		B
		driver		B
	Parkinson (1985)	WC man who is a master of manual or mechanical skill, esp. if unknown to the speaker, middle-aged, uneducated (e.g. shoemaker, woodworker, bus or taxi driver)		NC
		male friend (sarcastic)		P
		WC male coffee house waiter (sarcastic)		P
	Hinds & Badawi (1986)	one who has undergone training or apprenticeship in a craft or profession regarded as skilled, e.g., foreman of a small workshop, carpenter, qualified machine operative, driver, laundryman, belly-dancer, leader of a troupe of female dancers and musician		NC
	Data (2023)	WC car driver of public transport (e.g. bus, taxi driver) or private (chauffeur)	48	NC
		WC & MC male friend (playfully among young men and boys)	29	AM
		WC & MC (un)known young man or boy (playfully among young males and boys)	7	B
		WC man who gained a manual skill through training or apprenticeship such as electrician, plumber, carpenter, mechanic, upholsterer	5	NC
		WC & MC female friend (playfully among young females)	3	B
		Total	**92**	
General – Turkish – أفندي	Spitta (1880)	gentleman (p.444)		NC
	Spitta (1883)	Not given		
	Spiro (1895)	effendi		B
		gentleman		NC
	Spiro (1923)	effendi		NC
		gentleman of education		B
		esquire		B
	Parkinson (1985)	gentleman		NC
		UC man addressed by a WC individual		NC
		male friend (joking)		B
	Hinds & Badawi (1986)	Egyptian man in Western clothes		B
		Egyptian man from the middle class		B
		schoolteacher		B
	Data (2023)	MC man of a good social position	10	NC
		WC & MC derogatory or ridiculing expression directed at a man, especially among friends	7	P
		MC (un)known educated-looking man, esp. when well-dressed in Western clothes	4	NC
		MC male university graduate	1	B
		Total	**22**	
	Spitta (1880)	Not given		
	Spitta (1883)	Not given		
	Spiro (1895)	Not given		
	Spiro (1923)	Sir		NC

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General – Turkish – الأفندي	Parkinson (1985)	Sir, Ma'am; UC middle-aged or old individual, whose specific title (like doctor or bashmuhandis) is unknown to the speaker (e.g. high-ranking government officials, bosses, teachers, professors, army officers, and policemen)		NC
	Hinds & Badawi (1986)	middle-class Egyptian of either sex		B
	Data (2023)	MC & UC police or military officer, regardless of their ranks	8	B
		MC & UC (un)known educated-looking man or woman, esp. one who apparently has a good social position and whose AT is not precisely known	7	NC
		form of disagreement in response to a request addressed to an MC & UC man or woman	3	G
		form of inquiry addressed to an MC & UC man or woman	2	G
		Total	**20**	
Kinship – Arabic – الماما	Spitta (1880)	mother (p.501)		NC
	Spitta (1883)	mother (p.64, p.71, p.109, p.114)		NC
	Spiro (1895)	mother		NC
	Spiro (1923)	mother		NC
	Parkinson (1985)	WC mother		NC
		WC old woman, esp. when she is unknown to the speaker		B
	Hinds & Badawi (1986)	mother		NC
		formal and respectful mode of address to an older woman		B
	Data (2023)	WC & MC mother	42	NC
		WC & MC unknown old woman	10	NC
		WC mother-in-law	2	B
		WC grandmother	2	B
		WC maternal aunt	1	B
		WC playful form used among female friends	1	B
		Total	**58**	
French – Kinship – الأنكل	Spitta (1880)	Not given		
	Spitta (1883)	Not given		
	Spiro (1895)	Not given		
	Spiro (1923)	Not given		
	Parkinson (1985)	UC paternal uncle		NC
		UC maternal uncle		NC
	Hinds & Badawi (1986)	affectionate and respectful AT used by young people to uncles and also to men who are not close relatives = uncle		B
	Data (2023)	MC & UC paternal uncle	39	NC
		UC maternal uncle	16	NC
		MC & UC (un)known middle-aged or old man, dressed in Western clothes, educated-looking, and of a good social position	10	NC
		MC & UC middle-aged or old male family member, e.g. an aunt's husband	8	B
		MC & UC father's male friend	4	B
		MC & UC friend's father	1	B
		Total	**78**	
General – Arabic – الآنسة	Spitta (1880)	Not given		
	Spitta (1883)	Not given		
	Spiro (1895)	Not given		
	Spiro (1923)	miss		NC
		damsel		NC
	Parkinson (1985)	UC single young woman, addressed by all classes		NC
		one's daughter (endearment)		B
	Hinds & Badawi (1986)	young unmarried woman = miss		NC
	Data (2023)	MC & UC single young woman	48	NC
		MC & UC young woman of good social position	1	B

		Total	**49**	
Kinship - Italian - بابا	Spitta (1880)	Not given		
	Spitta (1883)	father (p. 153)		NC
	Spiro (1895)	Not given		
	Spiro (1923)	papa		NC
		father		NC
	Parkinson (1985)	MC father		NC
		one's son (bipolarity)		B
		UC paternal or maternal grandfather		B
		MC older male addressee (usually not related) who is about the age of the speaker's father, whether known or not known		B
		MC young boy (usually not related) about the age of the speaker's son, especially with an annoyance tone		B
		UC husband addressed by his wife		B
	Hinds & Badawi (1986)	daddy		NC
		father		NC
		affectionate form of address to the very young		B
	Data (2023)	WC, MC & UC father	39	NC
		MC & UC father-in-law	2	B
		mocking term with a MC & UC young man or child	2	P
		MC male fiancé	1	B
		MC (un)known old gentleman dressed in Western clothing and educated-looking	1	NC
		MC & UC male friend (playfully)	1	B
		MC & UC one's young boy (enderament)	1	B
		Total	**47**	
Occupational – Turkish – باش مهندس	Spitta (1880)	Not given		
	Spitta (1883)	Not given		
	Spiro (1895)	chief engineer		NC
	Spiro (1923)	chief engineer		NC
	Parkinson (1985)	male engineer		B
		MC or UC middle-aged man, addressed by a WC person		B
		man with no engineering degree who does technical work (e.g., a TV or refrigerator repairman or plumber), esp. when urgently needed		B
		MC or UC young or middle-aged unknown man		B
		any worker who does anything mechanical (e.g. car mechanic, bus driver, taxi driver), esp. when urgently needed		B
	Hinds & Badawi (1986)	chief engineer		NC
	Data (2023)	MC & UC engineering specialist	46	NC
		MC & UC (un)known educated-looking man, esp. when dressed in Western clothes	13	NC
		WC man proficient in manual work, such as a technician or craftsman	9	NC
		playful form used among MC male friends	2	B
		WC male car driver, esp. of public transport	2	B
		WC & MC man proficient in theoretical knowledge and practical skills	2	B
		WC & MC male contractor	1	B
		mocking term for a MC male know-all	1	P
		Total	**76**	
	Spitta (1880)	Not given		
	Spitta (1883)	Not given		
	Spiro (1895)	Pasha		NC
	Spiro (1923)	Pasha		NC
	Parkinson (1985)	MC or UC middle-aged or old man (although a WC man is evidenced), mostly unknown to the speaker		B
		male friend and relative (jokingly)		B

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		young child, grandchild and brother (endearment)		B
		teasing form addressed to a pretty, young woman		B
باشا – Turkish – Nobility	Hinds & Badawi (1986)	Pasha, formerly a highest-ranking officer or official		NC
		respectful address to high officials (esp. police officials)		B
	Data (2023)	MC & UC police or military officer, regardless of their ranks	39	NC
		MC & UC (un)known man who (appears to) hold/s a significant position, such as that of a minister, judicial officer, director, etc.	23	B
		WC & MC (un)known educated-looking man, esp. when neatly dressed in Western clothes	13	B
		playful form used among MC & UC male or female friends	7	B
		WC male car driver, esp. of public transport	2	B
		Total	**84**	
برنس – Nobility –French	Spitta (1880)	Not given		
	Spitta (1883)	Not given		
	Spiro (1895)	Prince		NC
	Spiro (1923)	Prince		NC
	Parkinson (1985)	young man in a friendly manner		B
	Hinds & Badawi (1986)	Prince		NC
	Data (2023)	playful form used among WC, MC & UC male friends	15	NC
		WC, MC & UC (un)known educated-looking young man	10	B
		MC & UC neat and well-presented young man	5	B
		MC & UC highly respected man known for outstanding achievements or qualities	4	B
		WC male car driver, esp. of public transport	3	B
		MC & UC rich man	1	B
		WC, MC & UC narcissistic young man	1	P
		Total	**39**	
برنسيسة - French - Nobility	Spitta (1880)	Not given		
	Spitta (1883)	Not given		
	Spiro (1895)	Not given		
	Spiro (1923)	Princess		
	Parkinson (1985)	young woman in a friendly manner		
	Hinds & Badawi (1986)	princess		NC
	Data (2023)	WC & MC beautiful girl	9	B
		MC & UC neat and well-presented young woman	4	B
		MC & UC spoiled young woman	3	P
		playful form among WC, MC & UC young female friends	3	B
		WC & MC strong young woman	2	B
		WC, MC & UC narcissistic young woman	2	P
		MC & UC female artist	2	B
		MC & UC highly respected young woman known for outstanding achievements or qualities	1	B
		WC & MC single young woman	1	B
		Total	**27**	
بيه - Turkish - Nobility	Spitta (1880)	bey (p.486)		
	Spitta (1883)	Not given		
	Spiro (1895)	Bey		NC
	Spiro (1923)	Bey		NC
	Parkinson (1985)	MC or UC middle-aged or old man (although a WC man is evidenced), often slightly known or unknown to the speaker (e.g. teachers, bosses, government functionaries)		B
		male friend, relative and colleague (jokingly)		B
	Hinds &	Bey, formerly a second-highest-ranking officer or official		NC

	Badawi (1986)	used loosely to indicate respect or to flatter		B
	Data (2023)	MC & UC (un)known man who (probably) holds a significant position, such as a minister, judicial officer, director, lawyer, etc.	24	B
		MC & UC police or military officer, esp. in higher ranks	22	B
		MC & UC (un)known educated-looking man, esp. when dressed neatly in Western clothes	5	B
		WC & MC mocking term for a man, esp. middle-aged and dressed in Western clothes	3	P
		Total	**54**	
Kinship - French - طنط/تانت	Spitta (1880)	Not given		
	Spitta (1883)	Not given		
	Spiro (1895)	Not given		
	Spiro (1923)	Not given		
	Parkinson (1985)	UC paternal or maternal aunt		NC
		UC paternal or maternal uncle's wife		B
		mother-in-law		B
	Hinds & Badawi (1986)	aunt, auntie		NC
		older woman		B
	Data (2023)	MC & UC (un)known older woman, esp. if she is educated-looking	30	NC
		MC & UC paternal aunt	19	NC
		MC & UC maternal aunt	16	NC
		MC & UC mother-in-law	3	NC
		Total	**68**	
Greek - Kinship - نينة	Spitta (1880)	Not given		
	Spitta (1883)	Not given		
	Spiro (1895)	grandmother		
	Spiro (1923)	grandmother		NC
		grandma		NC
	Parkinson (1985)	UC paternal or maternal grandmother		NC
	Hinds & Badawi (1986)	[children] old woman esp. a grandmother		B
	Data (2023)	MC & UC grandmother	45	NC
		MC & UC (un)known old educated-looking woman	5	NC
		Total	**50**	
Kinship - Arabic - جد	Spitta (1880)	Not given		
	Spitta (1883)	Not given		
	Spiro (1895)	grandfather		NC
	Spiro (1923)	grandfather		NC
	Parkinson (1985)	paternal or maternal grandfather, especially in town		NC
	Hinds & Badawi (1986)	grandfather		NC
	Data (2023)	MC & UC grandfather	51	NC
		MC & UC (un)known old educated-looking man	5	B
		Total	**56**	
Arabic - Religious - حاج	Spitta (1880)	pilgrim (p.468)		NC
		an old man, known or unknown (p.458)		B
	Spitta (1883)	Not given		
	Spiro (1895)	pilgrim		NC
	Spiro (1923)	pilgrim		NC
	Parkinson (1985)	man who performed the pilgrimage to Mecca in any social class		NC
		WC old man, esp. in traditional or non-elegant clothes, often unknown to the speaker (e.g., shop customer, bus rider, salesman, relative, stranger)		B
		WC father, regardless of whether he has performed the pilgrimage to		B

		Mecca		
	Hinds & Badawi (1986)	pilgrim		NC
		polite form of address to an older man		B
		WC & MC (un)known old man, esp. if dressed in non-Western clothes and uneducated	43	NC
		WC & MC father	14	B
	Data (2023)	WC, MC & UC man who performed the pilgrimage to Mecca	12	NC
		WC grandfather	3	NC
		playful form used among WC & MC male friends	2	B
		Total	**74**	
Arabic - Religious - حاجة	Spitta (1880)	Not given		
	Spitta (1883)	Not given		
	Spiro (1895)	pilgrim		NC
	Spiro (1923)	pilgrim		NC
		woman who performed the pilgrimage to Mecca in any social class		NC
	Parkinson (1985)	WC old woman, esp. in traditional or non-elegant clothes, often unknown to the speaker (e.g., shop customer, bus rider, salesman, relative, stranger)		B
		WC mother, regardless of whether she has performed the pilgrimage to Mecca		B
	Hinds & Badawi (1986)	female pilgrim		NC
		older woman		B
		WC, MC & UC (un)known old uneducated woman	40	NC
		WC & MC mother	15	B
	Data (2023)	WC, MC & UC woman who performed pilgrimage to Mecca	12	NC
		WC grandmother	4	B
		playful form among WC & MC female friends	2	B
		Total	**73**	
Arabic - Kinship - خال	Spitta (1880)	Not given		
	Spitta (1883)	maternal uncle (p.89)		NC
	Spiro (1895)	maternal uncle		NC
	Spiro (1923)	maternal uncle		NC
	Parkinson (1985)	maternal uncle		NC
	Hinds & Badawi (1986)	maternal uncle		NC
		familiar form of address to a youngish man		B
		WC maternal uncle	45	NC
	Data (2023)	(un)known WC man, typically uneducated, dressed in non-Western clothes, and older than the speaker	9	B
		WC male (esp. old) relative of the mother	7	B
		playful form among WC & MC male friends	1	NC
		Total	**62**	
Kinship - Arabic - خالة	Spitta (1880)	maternal aunt (p.489)		NC
		old woman (p.442)		B
	Spitta (1883)	maternal aunt (p.65, p.82, p.104)		NC
		old woman (p.67)		B
	Spiro (1895)	maternal aunt		NC
	Spiro (1923)	maternal aunt		NC
		mother-in-law		B
	Parkinson (1985)	WC mother-in-law		B
		WC middle-aged or old woman, esp. unknown to the speaker		NC
	Hinds & Badawi (1986)	maternal aunt		NC
		an older woman who is one's social inferior		NC
		WC maternal aunt	45	NC
	Data (2023)	WC mother's female friend	13	B
		WC (un)known uneducated woman, typically older than the	10	NC

		speaker, belonging to lower social classes		
		WC female (esp. old) relative of the mother	5	B
		Total	**73**	
General - Persian - خواجة	Spitta (1880)	mecrhant (p.442, p.457, p.485)		B
	Spitta (1883)	Not given		
	Spiro (1895)	gentleman		B
		Mr.		B
		Sir		B
		dry goods' merchant		NC
	Spiro (1923)	gentleman		NC
		Mr.		NC
		Sir		NC
		esquire		B
	Parkinson (1985)	foreigner, esp. Greek and Italian, living in Egypt		B
		Christian (with a negative undertone)		P
	Hinds & Badawi (1986)	European or western foreigner		B
		[obsol] Christian		OB
	Data (2023)	foreigner	24	NC
		MC imitator of the west	4	P
		tourist	4	AM
		mocking term for a WC & MC man acting pretentiously	1	P
		WC & MC Christian	1	NC
		Total	**34**	
Occupational - Turkish - دادة	Spitta (1880)	Not given		
	Spitta (1883)	Not given		
	Spiro (1895)	nurse		NC
		Maid		NC
	Spiro (1923)	nurse for children		NC
		nursery servant		P
		Maid		NC
		governess		B
	Parkinson (1985)	school janitresses		P
		nursery maid		NC
	Hinds & Badawi (1986)	nanny		NC
		children's nurse		NC
	Data (2023)	WC nursery maid	19	NC
		WC woman working in a public or private institution in a subordinate role, such as a housekeeper, office girl, etc.	11	P
		WC female servant	9	P
		WC child female caregiver	1	B
		Total	**40**	
Occupational - French - دكتور	Spitta (1880)	Not given		
	Spitta (1883)	Not given		
	Spiro (1895)	physician		NC
		doctor		NC
		physician		NC
	Spiro (1923)	doctor		NC
	Parkinson (1985)	any type of doctor, including medical doctors of all specialties, veterinarians, and pharmacists		B
		Ph.D. holder		B
		university professor		B
		medical student		B
		university/graduate teaching assistant		B
		UC unknown man addressed by a WC person (to show respect)		B
	Hinds & Badawi (1986)	medical practitioner: psychiatrist, veterinarian, orthopedist, dentist, neurologist		B
		one holding a doctorate		B
		pharmacist		B

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	Data (2023)	MC & UC medical practitioner; doctor	46	NC
		MC & UC university professor	27	NC
		MC & UC Ph.D. holder	5	NC
		MC & UC pharmacist	4	NC
		WC nurse	2	B
		mocking term for a WC & MC man who ignores speech or orders	1	P
		Total	**85**	
Arabic - Political - دولة	Spitta (1880)	Not given		
	Spitta (1883)	Not given		
	Spiro (1895)	Not given		
	Spiro (1923)	dynasty		NC
		power		NC
		empire		NC
		kingdom		NC
	Parkinson (1985)	NG		
	Hinds & Badawi (1986)	(obsol) title of the Prime Minister		B
	Data (2023)	playful form among WC & MC male friends	10	B
		UC Prime Minister	5	NC
		MC & UC police or military officer, esp. in higher ranks	3	B
		MC & UC well-known individual	3	B
		WC individual who refuses to conform to the accepted beliefs and behaviors of society	1	P
		WC individual who is addicted to drugs, esp. illegal ones like heroin or cocaine	1	P
		WC individual involved in violent or criminal activities, often associated with gangs	1	P
		Total	**24**	
Political - Arabic - ريس	Spitta (1880)	captin (p.499)		B
	Spitta (1883)	Not given		
	Spiro (1895)	chief		NC
		captain of a ship		NC
		president		B
	Spiro (1923)	chief, superior, head		NC
		captain of a ship		NC
		president		NC
		able seaman		B
	Parkinson (1985)	WC man who works in a low-class profession that normally does not require a manual or mechanical skill, esp. if he is unknown to the speaker, middle-aged, uneducated (e.g. bus conductor, construction worker, street sweeper, janitor, laundry boys)		B
		male friend (jokingly)		B
		WC male stranger		B
	Hinds & Badawi (1986)	man in charge of a group of workers, foreman, boss, chief		B
		captain of a boat		NC
		male not wearing military or religious dress or smart Western clothes or a waiter and any male who may be referred to as ʕusta		B
		president		NC
	Data (2023)	MC & UC male president	16	NC
		MC & UC superior at work, such as managers, supervisors, team leaders, or executives	15	B
		WC male car driver, esp. of public transport	10	B
		playful form used among WC, MC & UC male friends	8	NC
		WC skilled craftsman, such as carpenter, potter, mason, shoemaker, etc.	7	B

		WC (un)known middle-aged or old man, esp. when dressed in non-Western clothes and showing signs of a lack of education	6	B
		Total	**62**	
Political - Arabic - زعيم	Spitta (1880)	Not given		
	Spitta (1883)	Not given		
	Spiro (1895)	leader		NC
	Spiro (1923)	leader		NC
		chief		NC
		spokesman		B
	Parkinson (1985)	Not given		
	Hinds & Badawi (1986)	leader		NC
	Data (2023)	MC (un)known educated-looking young man, esp. when dressed in Western clothes	14	B
		WC & MC young man taking a leadership role among peers	6	B
		UC political leader	3	NC
		WC, MC & UC man with power	1	B
		form of respect to a MC & UC dear young man	1	B
		WC male car driver, esp. of public transport	1	B
		playful form used to address a MC & UC brother who is a young man	1	B
		Total	**27**	
General - Arabic - سيد	Spitta (1880)	Sir or master (p.466, p.488, p.502)		NC
		husband (p.458, p.486)		AM
		man addressed playfully (p.444, p.454, p.462, p.488)		B
		unknown man (p.474)		B
	Spitta (1883)	Sir or master (p.31, p.135, p.159)		NC
	Spiro (1895)	lord		NC
		master		NC
	Spiro (1923)	lord		NC
		master		NC
	Parkinson (1985)	sarcastic or jesting title used to address a WC or MC male, esp. unknown to the speaker, to express (fake or real) annoyance		P
		formerly, a working-class grandfather in the countryside		B
		fawning term used by servants and maids to address their boss		NC
		title used to express (fake or real) admiration or surprise, esp. in teasing females		B
	Hinds & Badawi (1986)	master (the master of the House)		NC
		grandfather		B
		any man		B
	Data (2023)	WC & MC grandfather, esp. in rural areas	6	NC
		term of affection used to address a WC, MC & UC man regardless of his age or educational background	8	NC
		term of respect used by servants to address their MC & UC employer	1	NC
		WC paternal uncle, esp. if old and living in a rural area	1	B
		Total	**16**	
General - Arabic - سي	Spitta (1880)	Not given		
	Spitta (1883)	Not given		
	Spiro (1895)	abbr. of سيد (lord, master)		NC
	Spiro (1923)	abbr. of سيد (lord, master; Mr.)		NC
	Parkinson (1985)	sarcastically or in jest, among all classes, a term of address to a friend, relative, or colleague with a playful tone		B
		term of respect used by service personnel (e.g. maids, doormen) to address a man they serve		B
	Hinds &	informal form of address to a man (among the lower classes or		B

	Badawi (1986)	between intimates)		
		respectful form of address (when used by an uneducated man addressing his superior)		B
	Data (2023)	an UC man (used by some people who serve him)	4	NC
		WC husband	2	B
		sarcastic term with a WC & MC man	1	P
		Total	**7**	
Arabic - Religious - شيخ	Spitta (1880)	chief teacher at Al-Azhar (p.482)		NC
		man of religion (p.485)		B
		unknown man (p.446, p.447, p.462, p.463, p.487)		B
		head of a village (p.46)		B
	Spitta (1883)	wise, elderly, or honorable man (p.72, p.154)		B
	Spiro 895)	aged		B
		old man		B
		chief		B
	Spiro (1923)	aged		NC
		old man		NC
		chief		NC
		saint		NC
		elder		NC
		head of a tribe		NC
		doctor of religious law		B
	Parkinson (1985)	man associated in one of various ways with a Muslim mosque such as doing the calls to prayer, leading prayers, giving religious counsel, teaching religious subjects, or reciting the Quran at funerals, weddings, and festivals		B
		MC family member or close friend in an angry or sarcastic tone (sometimes used by women to replace an abusive term of address)		P
		man considered too religious		B
	Hinds & Badawi (1986)	man who is of the Islamic professions and to whom some religious status is attributed		NC
		title of respect to an older man		NC
		leader of a group such as chief watchman		B
		[obsol] leader of a criminal gang		OB
		epithet for a clever cunning person		P
		appointed government official in charge of a section of a village		B
		acknowledged mentor or master		NC
	Data (2023)	devout Muslim WC & MC man, esp. one with a beard, or a scholar of Islamic studies	57	NC
		WC & MC (un)known old man, esp. when dressed in non-Western clothes	12	NC
		male leader of a Bedouin family or tribe	4	B
		MC & UC headman of a village or a section of a village	2	NC
		MC male marriage officiant	2	B
		WC male employee at a mosque	2	B
		WC, MC & WC young or middle-aged man, addressed in a way that shows surprise or disbelief, esp. in a sarcastic or negative tone	2	P
		Total	**81**	
Kinship - Arabic - عم	Spitta (1880)	paternal uncle (p.446. p.473)		NC
		unkown man (p.463, p.475)		B
	Spitta (1883)	Not given		
	Spiro (1895)	paternal uncle		NC
		father-in-law		B
	Spiro (1923)	paternal uncle		NC
		father-in-law		NC
	Parkinson (1985)	paternal uncle (usually ˈʕammi) among all classes (ˈʕammʊ is a variant used by very young speakers)		NC

		very old male cousin (the age of a father)		B
		father-in-law (all classes)		NC
		WC or MC man older than the speaker		B
		joking or sarcastic form used among male friends, esp. WC friends (most frequent use) (banter)		B
		praise form used among female friends		B
	Hinds & Badawi (1986)	paternal uncle		NC
		man treated as an uncle		B
		respectful title of a man (usually) older than the speaker and of the lower social classes		B
		informal term of address to a male like mate or buddy		B
	Data (2023)	WC, MC & UC[28] paternal uncle	31	NC
		WC (un)known man, typically older than the speaker, showing signs of no education	23	NC
		playful form used among WC, MC & UC male friends	8	NC
		WC, MC & UC male relative linked to the father, esp. if old	8	B
		Total	**70**	
Kinship - Arabic - عمة	Spitta (1880)	paternal aunt (p. 65)		NC
	Spitta (1883)	Not given		
	Spiro (1895)	paternal aunt		NC
	Spiro (1923)	paternal aunt		NC
	Parkinson (1985)	paternal aunt		NC
		paternal uncle's wife		B
	Hinds & Badawi (1986)	paternal aunt		NC
	Data (2023)	WC, MC & UC[29] paternal aunt	45	NC
		WC (un)known woman, typically older than the speaker, showing signs of no education	5	B
		WC & MC mother-in-law	1	B
		Total	**51**	
Occupational - Arabic - عمدة	Spitta (1880)	Not given		
	Spitta (1883)	Not given		
	Spiro (1895)	headman of a village		NC
		notable person		B
	Spiro (1923)	notable (of a village), Omdeh		NC
	Parkinson (1985)	Not given		
	Hinds & Badawi (1986)	headman of a village and its dependencies		NC
	Data (2023)	MC & UC headman of a village	21	NC
		playful form used among WC & MC male friends	7	B
		notable man, esp. from a reputable UC family in rural areas	3	NC
		WC, MC & UC endearment for the name "Emad"	3	B
		MC & UC male landowner with many agricultural properties	2	B
		mocking term for a WC man who acts pretentiously	1	P
		MC & UC chief man of a family in rural areas	1	B
		MC man proficient in theory and practice of a given field	1	B
		MC & UC male relative to a headman of a village	1	B
		Total	**40**	
	Spitta (1880)	Not given		
	Spitta (1883)	Not given		
	Spiro (1895)	captain of a ship		NC
	Spiro (1923)	Not given		
	Parkinson (1985)	MC or UC unknown young male, typically under 30		B
		sports coach		B

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[28] If addressed to a MC or UC paternal uncle, it is usually [ˈʕammʊ].

[29] If addressed to a MC or UC paternal uncle, it is usually [ʕamˈmɪtʊ].

Occupational – English – كابتن	Hinds & Badawi (1986)	captain (of a ship or aircraft)		NC
		sports coach		B
		captain (of a games team)		B
		polite form of address to an athlete		B
		young man (sometimes used ironically)		P
	Data (2023)	WC, MC & UC person actively involved in sports activities or working in a sports facility	45	NC
		MC & UC (un)known educated-looking young man or boy, esp. when dressed in Western clothes	8	NC
		playful form used to address MC & UC young friends	6	NC
		WC male car driver, esp. of public transport	2	B
		MC & UC pilot (of an aircraft)	2	NC
		MC & UC police or military officer, regardless of their ranks	1	B
		Total	**64**	
Kinship - French - ماما	Spitta (1880)	Not given		
	Spitta (1883)	Not given		
	Spiro (1895)	Not given		
	Spiro (1923)	mamma		NC
		mother		NC
	Parkinson (1985)	MC mother		NC
		one's daughter (bipolarity)		B
		UC paternal or maternal grandmother		B
		mother-in-law		B
		old woman (all classes) who is about the age of the speaker's mother, in a polite tone		B
		unknown young woman addressed by a fairly young man in teasing		B
	Hinds & Badawi (1986)	mummy		NC
		mother		NC
		exclamation of fear		G
		affectionate form of address to young girls and by women to young boys		B
	Data (2023)	WC, MC & UC mother	50	NC
		MC unknown old woman	6	NC
		MC mother-in-law	4	NC
		WC & MC stepmother	1	B
		MC wife	1	B
		MC foster mother	1	B
		WC & MC maternal aunt	1	B
		Total	**64**	
General - French - مدام	Spitta (1880)	Not given		
	Spitta (1883)	Not given		
	Spiro (1895)	wife		NC
		lady		B
	Spiro (1923)	wife		NC
		lady		NC
		Mrs.		B
		madam		B
	Parkinson (1985)	UC adult (middle-aged and older) educated, married woman, esp. wearing Western clothes		NC
	Hinds & Badawi (1986)	(usually middle- or upper-class) married woman		NC
	Data (2023)	MC & UC married woman, esp. in town	36	NC
		MC & UC (un)known middle-aged or old woman, esp. in town	6	NC
		MC middle-aged or old woman employed as a functionary in a government authority/agency	2	B
		WC female nurse in a public hospital, esp. if middle-aged or old	1	B

		WC seamstress	1	B
		Total	**46**	
Occupational - Arabic - معلم	Spitta (1880)	owner of a small business (p.455)		B
	Spitta (1883)	Not given		
	Spiro (1895)	foreman		B
	Spiro (1923)	foreman		B
	Parkinson (1985)	uneducated middle-aged or old WC man, esp. one who is large in stature and dressed in non-Western clothes and who is the owner of some enterprise in a WC neighborhood (e.g., a coffee house owner, butcher, vegetable or fruit stand operator, construction foreman, milkman, donkey cart owner/driver, laundry owner)		NC
		male friend and brother addressed sarcastically to express annoyance or praise		P
	Hinds & Badawi (1986)	man in traditional society who owns a small business, directs the labour of others, or holds a similar position of authority (e.g., a foreman, shopkeeper, or gang leader)		NC
		polite form of address to a lower-class man		B
	Data (2023)	WC man running a small business such as a butchery or minimarket in a low-class area	11	NC
		WC skilled craftsman, such as carpenter, potter, etc.	10	B
		playful form used among WC & MC male friends	10	B
		WC (un)known man dressed in non-Western clothes and showing signs of no education	7	NC
		WC & MC man proficient in theory and practice of a given field	2	B
		WC wise, old man	1	B
		Total	**41**	