A Sociolinguistic Study of Address Terms in Assiut, Upper - Egypt

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Abstract

This study attempts to describe and analyze the address terms which are used mainly in the urban Upper-Egyptian Arabic variety, especially in Assiut city, within a sociolinguistic framework. The study examines Assiuti Arabic address terms in the light of the theory of politeness. In this study, the term "address terms" refers to vocatives, i.e. terms of direct address to call persons (Chao 1956, p.217), e.g. first names, kin terms, terms of intimacy, titles, zero address terms, job-related address terms and religious terms of address. The study data have been analyzed in the light of the Politeness theory (Brown & Levinson 1987). The data have been collected from the results of questionnaires and interviews with 210 participants from three different age groups. The analysis has shown that address term choice depends on the interlocutors' relationship in terms of intimacy, social variables of age, gender, education, social distance and the context or setting. The findings have proven that address terms in Assiut can be classified into two types: positive and negative and deciding between them relies on different social variables, the most important of which are age and social distance.

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ملخص :

تهدف الدراسة إلى وصف تحليل مصطلحات المخاطبة المستخدمة بشكل رئيسي في اللهجة الصعيدية المصرية في مدينة أسيوط تحديدا ، و ذلك ضمن إطار اجتماعي لغوى. كما تبحث الدراسة في مصطلحات المخاطبة العربية المستخدمة في مدينة أسيوط في ضوء نظرية التأدب اللغوي. في هذه الدراسة، يُسلَط الضوء على كلمات النداء التي تستخدم بشكل مباشر لمناداة الأشخاص، مثل الأسماء الأولى ومصطلحات الأقارب والكلمات المحببة والألقاب والمصطلحات الصفرية والمصطلحات الخاصة بالوظيفة والمصطلحات الدينية. تم تحليل نتائج الدراسة في ضوء نظرية التأدب اللغوي لبراون و ليفينسون ١٩٨٧. كما تم الحصول على المعلومات الخاصة بالدراسة عن طريق نظام الاستبانة والمقابلات الشخصية مع ٢١٠ شخص من ثلاث فئات عمرية مختلفة. وأظهر التحليل أن الاختيار المناسب لمصطلح ما يرتبط بعلاقة المتحدثين ببعضهم البعض سواء كانت علاقة مقربة أو رسمية. كما يتوقف اختيار المصطلح المناسب على بعض العوامل الاجتماعية مثل : العمر، النوع، مستوى التعليم، المسافة الاجتماعية، السياق و المكان .و قد أوضحت النتائج أيضا أن مصطلحات المخاطبة في أسيوط يمكن تصنيفها إلى إيجابية و سلبية وفقا لمتغيرات اجتماعية مختلفة، أهمها العمر والمسافة الاجتماعية.

1.0 Introduction

According to Downes (1984, P.15), "Sociolinguistics is that branch of linguistics which studies just those properties of language and languages which require reference to social, including contextual, factors in their explanation." Therefore; Holmes (1992, P.16) has observed that "the sociolinguist's aim is to move towards a theory which provides a motivated account of the way language is used in a community, and of the choices people make when they use language." Holmes (1992, P.1) declares that "Examining the way people use language in different social contexts provides a wealth of information about the way language works, as well as about the social relationships in a community." According to Larina (2018, P.300), the world is witnessing increasing intercultural and social contact as a result of immigration, studying abroad, and technological advances and the most important means of communication is language. Therefore, language is one of the greatest human inventions of all time. Language not only helps us to communicate information, but also helps us to shape our thoughts. Thus, knowing the rules that people follow to communicate, identify themselves, and address each other is one of the most notable hardships that one may face in any intercultural contact. For Yang (2010, P.743), one of the earliest sociolinguistic studies of speech behavior among speakers of any language is how persons address each other. The way people use to address each other is a fundamental phenomenon that has long been of interest to sociolinguists. Holmes (1992, P.1) states that "examining the way people use language in different social contexts provides a wealth of information about the way language works, as well as, about the social relationships in a

community." Consequently, language users intentionally or unintentionally reveal their identities while engaging in social linguistic interactions (Formentelli, 2009, P.179). This study attempts to describe and analyze the address terms that are used mainly in urban UEA variety, especially in Assiut city according to the theory of politeness. The connotations of urban Upper-Egyptian Arabic address terms are all different and each has different linguistic or emotional characteristics and rules for their usage are quite complicated and they vary from one to another.

1.1 Definition of Address Terms

"Address terms are words and phrases used for addressing" (Braun, 1988, p.7). Keshavarz (2001, p.6) defines address terms as "linguistic forms that are used in addressing others to attract their attention or for referring to them in the course of a conversation." Address forms are considered a key component of effective communication. According to Yang (2010, P.743), knowing how to address people appropriately "needs the taking of several factors into consideration, such as the social status or rank of the other, sex, age, family relationship, occupational hierarchy, transactional status, race or degree of intimacy." Consequently, a single person can be addressed by different address terms in different situations.

"Address forms are the words speakers use to designate the person they are talking to while they are talking to them" (Fasold, 1990, P.1). Braun (1988, P.7) argues that terms of address are "words and phrases used for addressing". Additionally, Oyetade (1995) refers to address forms as words or expressions used in face-to-face interactions in order to specify the person being talked to. Parkinson (1985, P.1) postulates that "Terms of address, defined loosely as words used in a speech event that refer to the addressee of that speech event, can be extremely important conveyors of social information". Thus, terms of address are extremely vital to provide information about the interlocutors and the relationship between them.

For Abugharsa (2014, P.2), terms of address "are generally determined by factors related to power and solidarity, which are socially established among speakers in their choices of honorific terms." The dimensions of power and solidarity have been fundamental to sociolinguistic theory since Brown and Gilman (1960) have introduced the concept in relation to the pronoun system. The existence of power and solidarity in any community determines the address forms choice (Zavitri, 2018, P.129). The more familiar and equal the speakers to each other, the more informal terms of address (e.g., first names and nick names) are likely to be used in addressing. Hudson (2001) argues that "these various linguistic signals of power-solidarity relationships can be seen as ways in which speakers can show others how they locate themselves in their social world" (P. 131). In this sense, terms of address are used to establish the interlocutors' identities, status, and relationship with each other. One example of power is the relationship that holds between the students and their professor.

While students address their professor by his/her title plus last name (TLN) (Prof. Jack) or title only (Prof, Sir), the professor addresses the students by their first names or in some cases nicknames (John, Sara). This is referred to as asymmetric versus symmetric title exchanges by Wardhaugh (2010). More examples of power are: (adult to child, boss to secretary, teacher to student, master to servant, doctor to patient … etc.) Solidarity, on the other hand, is related to social characteristics which depend on many factors including the speakers' social distance and characteristics they share (e.g., age, gender, religion, race, occupation, etc.) (Hudson, 2001).

2.0 Significance of the study

Though address terms are used most frequently in everyday human interaction in the Upper-Egyptian culture, yet (to the researcher's knowledge) no single study has investigated the use of these address forms among people in Assiut and the factors affecting the use of proper address terms according to the relationships between Urban Upper-Egyptian speakers (youth and old people). Since there has not been any attempt to uncover the terms of address in Assiut, the contribution of the present research work is the first of its type. This study not only looks for stylistic or linguistic forms, but also looks for the Urban Upper-Egyptian address patterns in Assiut city from a sociolinguistic point of view.

3.0 Theoretical framework

Politeness means having or showing good manners and respect for the feelings of others (Wehmeier, 2000, P.976). Meier (1995, P.387) suggests that "politeness is understood in terms of doing what is socially acceptable." As defined by Cutting (2002, P.45), "politeness refers to the choices that are made in language use, the linguistic expressions that give people space, and show a friendly attitude to them." Undoubtedly, the most famous study on politeness theory is that of Brown and Levinson's (1978, 1987). Brown and Levinson's study is based basically on the interpretation of Goffman's theory on face. According to Goffman (1955, P.213), face refers to 'the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact'. In other words, face refers to a particular image we present to others in a social interaction. Additionally, Brown and Levinson (1978, P.63) define face as "the want to be unimpeded and the want to be approved of in certain respects". According to Brown and Levinson (1978, P.62), there are two kinds of face: positive and negative. Positive face is the desire to be identified, appreciated and liked by others. Negative face is the desire to be unrestrained in your actions in a society. The positive face emphasizes the interlocutors' desire for showing solidarity and similarities they have with others (Abugharsa 2014, P.4). The negative face expresses the speakers' desire to have the power to control the talk and the behavior of others which fulfills the interlocutors' needs to be unimpeded (Brown and Gilman, 1960, P.533). Thus the individuals who constitute higher social status are more likely to use this pattern more than others (Abugharsa 2014, P.4). Terms of address are an important part of "face" (Brown and Levinson, 1987).

Accordingly, the relationship between speaker and addressee shows the degree of politeness of the address terms. In other words, choosing the suitable address terms depends on the degree of power and solidarity among people. The choice of address terms can be a sign of politeness since it is closely dependent on the interactants' relationship or social distance (Holms 1992, P.268). Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness theory is based on the recognition of positive and negative face acts and address terms are used to clarify both of them. For example, when the speaker wishes to emphasize his/her close relationship with the referent, positively polite formulae like first names (FNs) are most often used. Negative politeness is constructed as a means of avoiding face-threatening acts (FTAs), and this can be done by using address forms like last names and titles (Nevala 2004). Despite being criticized for its universalist claims, Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory is still one of the most fundamental theories in linguistics. The argument and results of this study is to an extreme degree in favor of the politeness theory.

4.0 Objectives of the study

This study is an attempt to answer the following questions:

1) What are the terms that are used by Urban Upper-Egyptian speakers of Arabic to address each other in Assiut city?

2) Do social variables such as sex, age, degree of intimacy, social distance and setting affect using different address forms among Assiuti Arabic speakers?

3) How can these terms of address be classified?

4) How well is Brown and Levinson's (1978) politeness theory relevant to address forms among Assiuti Arabic speakers?

5.0. Methodology

5.1. Data collection

The quantitative and qualitative mixed research methods are used in this study. In the examination of terms of address in the present study, a multi-method of interviews, a detailed questionnaire, and the observation of the behavior of the informants are used. Mixed methods research is a collection of qualitative and quantitative methods in the same study. According to Dörnyei (2007, P.24), "quantitative research involves data collection procedures that result primarily in numerical data which is then analyzed primarily by statistical methods. Typical example: survey research using a questionnaire". He also mentions that "qualitative research involves data collection procedures that result primarily in open-ended, non-numerical data which is then analyzed primarily by non-statistical methods. Typical example: interview research, with the transcribed recordings analyzed by qualitative content analysis." Both of these two types have led to a third research method which is "mixed method research". Mixed methods research involves "different combinations of qualitative and quantitative research either at the data collection or at the analysis levels. Typical example: consecutive and interrelated questionnaire and interview studies" Dörnyei (2007, P.24). This type of research method has developed rapidly in these last few years, emerging as a research methodology with a recognized name and distinct identity (Denscombe, 2008), especially in some fields such as education, health sciences, psychology and sociology. The use of qualitative and quantitative approaches in combination provides a better understanding of research problems and complex phenomena than

either approach alone (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007). According to Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2017, P.14), mixed-methods research is defined as "the class of research where researchers mix or combine quantitative and qualitative research techniques, methods, approaches, concepts or language into a single study." Dörnyei (2007, P.47) argues that "the mixed methods approach can offer additional benefit to the understanding of the phenomena in question." The main purpose of using the mixed methods approach in this study is mainly to get a comprehensive overview of the Assiuti addressing system in the light of politeness theory. According to Kasper and Rose (2002, P.76), the main strengths of using the mixed methods approach are their being "comparatively quick to conduct, comparatively cheap to administer" and that large samples enable inferential statistics to be used." That's why the researcher has decided to use the mixed-methods approach in this study.

5.2. Instrument

5.2.1. Questionnaire

According to Gomaa, (2002),

"despite the fact that the observation of real-life situations provides data that occur naturally, such observations may be constrained by many factors such as time, a particular situation, and human relationships. The possibilities of the occurrence of particular situations cannot be reliably predicted. Therefore, it may be difficult to collect enough appropriate data by simple observation."

To collect an adequate number of samples and to obtain authentic data at a reasonable time, an online questionnaire based on the writer's observations has been developed to elicit the stereotypic use of address terms among Assiuti people. According to Wilkinson and Birmingham (2003), a questionnaire is one of many suitable tools used in research because it is a cheap and influential way to obtain authentic data in a manageable and constructed form.

Designing a successful questionnaire is not an easy task and Wilkinson and Birmingham (2003, P.8) claim that "an effective questionnaire is one that enables the transmission of useful and accurate information or data from the respondents to the researcher." Thus the researcher has tried to design a simple questionnaire form and focused on the main point of the study.

5.2.2. Interviews

Interviews have long been used in research as a way of collecting data about a specific topic. Interviews "involve a set of assumptions and understandings about the situation which are not normally associated with a casual conversation" (Denscombe 1998, P. 109).

The content of the online questionnaire to obtain address forms that are used in Assiut city is mainly based on the work of Braun (1988) with some modification. The general aim of Braun's study is to collect information on forms of address in all kinds of languages. Braun's Project has been done by interviewing participants on the basis of a specially constructed questionnaire.

5.3. Participants

A written questionnaire has been administrated to 210 participants divided into 155 females and 55 Males. The participants have been divided into three age groups (17:25, 26:44, 45:65). The youngest participant is 17 and the oldest is 65 years old. The questionnaire is written in Arabic and translated here to English and each copy of them consists of two parts. In the first part, the participants have answered personal questions about name and age and in the second part, the participants have answered questions about using address terms as expressions of politeness with family, friends and colleagues and strange people. In each of these sections, the participants have asked to provide how they address those people**.** Then a semi-structured interview has been designed to support the results of the questionnaire and get a comprehensive overview of the Assiuti addressing system in the light of politeness theory.

5.4. Data analysis

As for the distribution process, the researcher has asked her students, relatives and acquaintances to participate in filling the online questionnaire and then has chosen 12 of the participants to take part in the interviews. Finally, the results have been translated, transcribed and divided into positive and negative politeness terms of address.

6.0. Discussion

6.1. Types of Address Terms in Assiut City

According to the findings of this study, types of address terms in Assiut can be divided into positive and negative address terms as the following:

6.1.1. Positive politeness address terms

Positive politeness address terms emphasize the interlocutors "desire for showing solidarity and similarities they have with others" (Abugharsa 2014, p.4). Analysis of the study has shown the following positive address terms.

6.1.1.1. Personal pronouns

In Urban UEA, the pronoun forms that correspond to (tu.) pronoun include the second person pronouns /?inta/ 'you (m.sg) , /?inti/ 'you (f.sg) and /?intu/ 'you (m/f.pl).

(1) /?inta miin/

'who are you?' (You for masculine singular)

(2) /?inti miin/

'who are you?' (You for feminine singular)

(3) /?intu miin/

'who are you?' (You for plural)

The object pronoun endings –ak, -ik and –kum (You: masculine singular, feminine singular and plural)

(4) /?ana baHibb-ak/

'I love you' (for masculine)

(5) /?ana baHibb-ik/

'I love you' (for feminine)

(6) /?ana baHibbi-kum/

'I love you' (for plural)

The second person verb conjugations include the forms that end in –t (masculine), -ti (feminine) and –tu (plural)

(7) /ruH-ti l-madrasa mbaariH /

(-ti) for feminine

Did you go to school yesterday?

(8) /ruH-t il-madrasa mbaariH/

(-t) for masculine

Did you go to school yesterday?

(9) /ruH-tu l madrasa mbaariH/

(-tu) for plural

Did you go to school yesterday?

6.1.1.2. Personal Names

Everyone has a personal name, no exceptions. The name is given to a person by his parents at birth. People mostly use first name (FN) in informal situations to indicate intimate relationship between users. Most Arabic names are originally Arabic words with a meaning. For example, /kariim/ a name for males that means "generous" and /ʔamiinah/ a name for females that means "honest". These personal names are used for identifying, referring to and addressing the people in one's environment. If you are directly calling or addressing someone, you must use the vocative particle /yaa/ 'Oh' before their name or title. In addition to using first names, some Assiuti people tend to use last names or family names in addressing each other, especially among friends.

6.1.1.3. Nicknames

In addition to the personal name that is given to any baby, some children may be optionally given a nickname. The Arabic term for nickname in Arabic is /ʔism dalaʕ/ which implies intimacy and endearment. Nicknames are defined in Oxford dictionary as "informal often humorous names connected with a person's real name, his/her personality or appearance or with something he/she has done." Most of the nicknames in Urban UEA are clearly abbreviated or derived forms of first names, e.g., Hamaada, muudy for Muhammad, suusu for Soha, etc. Other nicknames are chosen randomly with no relationship to the name of the person, e.g., /darš/ for Mustafa, /ʔabu xaliil/ for Ibrahim.

6.1.1.4 .Terms of Endearment

Terms of endearment are passionate terms that are used in situations where intimate interlocutors (lovers, friends, siblings … etc.) need to address each other in an affectionate manner to show love and intimacy e.g., /Habiibi/ and /Habibti/ 'my beloved', /galbi/ 'my heart', /Hayaati/ 'my life', /rooHi/ 'my soul'.

6.1.1.5. Kinship Terms

Kinship terms (KT) are words for family members or blood relations. There are two basic sets of kin terms: terms of reference and terms of address. A term of reference is a term used to refer to someone while communicating with others. For example, if someone is asked "Who is that person to you?" he or she might say "He is my father /ʔabuuya/." A term of address is a term used by someone to speak to others directly, e.g., /ʔahlan ya baaba/ 'Hi, Dad.' In this study, the researcher concentrates on terms of address only. The extended family system in the Arab culture, in general, and among Urban Upper Egyptian speakers, in particular, is associated with a wide variety of kinship terms. Also, there are many other terms that are used fictively among the people of Assiut. Fictive kinship means using kinship terms for non-relatives. For example, using the kin term /ʕammu/ 'uncle' to address non-relative old males and addressing an old taxi driver or a doorman /bawwaab/ by /ya ʕam / 'Oh, uncle' while he is not his/her actual uncle. This fictive use of kinship terms is ~~used~~ adopted among people in Assiut to show deference and respect.

6.1.2. Negative politeness address terms

Negative politeness address terms express the speakers' desire to have the power to control the talk and the behavior of others, which fulfills the interlocutors' needs to be unimpeded (Brown and Gilman 1960, p.253). The findings of the study have shown the following negative politeness address terms that are used in Assiut city:

6.1.2.1. Personal pronouns

The forms in Urban UEA that correspond to the form (vous) and are considered negative politeness address terms are called Honorifics. Honorifics are classified as negative because they are used to address strange people and people who don't have intimate relationship with speakers such as:

(10) /HaDritak/, /siyadtak/, /janaabak/ (for masculine)

'Your excellency'

(11) /HaDritik/, /siyadtik/, /janaabik/ (for feminine)

'Your excellency'

6.1.2.2. Teknonyms

Forms include /?abu fulaan/ 'father of so and so' or /?umm fulaan/ 'mother of so and so'. /fulaan/ is replaced by the name of the eldest son if there are sons, or if there are no sons, by the name of the eldest daughter. These forms are used frequently in Urban

UEA to indicate reciprocal respect. Women address male relatives of the family in this way generally. Women address one another by their personal names, but may switch to teknonyms on formal occasions, such as weddings, birthdays, and deaths as a sign of respect and sometimes because it is not accepted to address a girl or a woman by her personal name in public situations. Husbands and wives address each other by reciprocal teknonyms in situations where formality is required. In other words, Teknonyms are often used to avoid the addressee's personal name or as a sign of respect and conservativeness.

6.1.2.3. Job or Occupation-related terms of address

Parkinson (1985, p. 119) defines the occupation or work-related term of address as "the one that a person receives or earns because of the degree he holds or because of the occupation he is engaged in". Occupational terms are very common in the Urban UEA system, e.g. /duktuur/ which are used to address both 'professors, instructors in university and physicians', /baŠmuhandis/ 'engineer'. However, people in Assiut may use the term /baŠmuhandis/ 'engineer' to address some people who are not real engineers such as taxi drivers and plumbers as a sign of respect.

6.1.2.4. Religious terms of address

There is a great influence of religion on language use in the Urban UEA system. Urban UEA speakers always cry out to Allah 'God' and praise him in their prayers. They commonly use many terms to address Allah for example /yaa rabb/ 'O, Lord'. As for Muslims, there are ninety-nine holy names which are used to address Allah. There are also some religious terms used among Urban UEA people to address each other as a sign of respect. Two of these terms include the terms /Hajj/ (masculine) and /Hajja/ (feminine) 'pilgrim'. These two terms are used to address those people who have undertaken the pilgrimage to Mecca. They are also used to address old males and females as a sign of respect even if they have not undertaken pilgrimage to Mecca yet.

6.1.2.5. Zero terms of address

These are terms that are used when the speaker is not sure how to address others. They often tend to avoid using any address form. Instead, they use forms such as, /min faDlak/ or /law samaHt/ 'excuse me'.

7. Conclusion

In order to study and analyze Assiuti address terms within the theory of politeness, a detailed questionnaire and interviews have been conducted with 210 Assiuti persons from three age groups and the results have demonstrated that terms of address in Assiut could be classified into positive and negative address terms in the light of the theory of politeness. Positive terms are: first names, kin terms, and terms of intimacy. The results of the questionnaire show that 84 % of all participants use KT to address their superior family members and relatives. A large percentage of the participants have chosen to use FN to address their older and younger siblings in addition to male and female cousins especially who are as the same age of the participants or younger. Results have revealed that 67.7 % of female informants and 63.6% of male informants have reported using FN to address their elder male siblings, 51.6% females and 63.6% males use FN for addressing younger male siblings, 43% females and 52.7% males use FN with younger female siblings, 49% females and 58.2% males use FN to address elder female siblings, 85.8% females and 69% males use FN for addressing male cousins and 67% females and 74.5% males use FN to address female cousins. The results reveal that ET are used by 24.6% females and 8,3% males to address family members, especially siblings and cousins.

The second type of the terms that are adapted among Assiuti people is called the negative type of address terms. Negative terms are: teknonyms, religious terms, titles, job-related terms and zero address terms. As for religious terms haaj & hajja,

only six females 3.9 % inform addressing their fathers and grandfathers by the term hajj as a sign of respect. As for male participants, the percentage of using religious address terms to address different members within family is high especially among male participants. 47,2% males have reported using religious forms of address which refers to deference toward older family members. The results of the questionnaire reveal that using these terms by females is rare, while the percentage of using teknonyms by males is high. 77.6% of participants have reported using zero address term " law samaht" to open a polite conversation with strangers to ask about something they don't know in the street.

People in Assiut use both types of address terms. They use positive address terms with people who have intimate relationship with them, while negative address terms are used with strange people and people who don't have intimate relationship with them. In general, choice of positive address terms or negative terms depends on many social variables such as age and social distance.

APPENDIX

Symbols Representing the Arabic Data

The phonemic symbols used to represent the Arabic data in this research paper are listed below with their corresponding Arabic graphemes.

[b]	Voiced bilabial stop	[ب]
[t]	Voiceless dento-alveolar stop	[ت]
[T]	Voiceless dento-alveolar emphatic stop	[ط]
[d]	Voiced dento-alveolar stop	[د]
[D]	Voiced dento-alveolar emphatic stop	[ض]
[k]	Voiceless velar stop	[ك]
[q]	Voiceless uvular stop	[ق]
[?]	Voiceless glottal stop	[ء]
[j]	Voiced alveo-palatal affricate	[ج]
[H]	Voiceless pharyngeal fricative	[ح]
[ʕ]	Voiced pharyngeal fricative	[ع]
[f]	Voiceless labio-dental fricative	[ف]
[Ɵ]	Voiceless dental fricative	[ث]
[ð]	Voiced dental fricative	[ذ]
[ð̣]	Voiced dental emphatic fricative	[ظ]
[s]	Voiceless dento-alveolar fricative	[س]

[S]	Voiceless dento-alveolar emphatic fricative	[ص]
[z]	Voiced dento-alveolar fricative	[ز]
[š]	Voiceless alveo-palatal fricative	[ش]
[x]	Voiceless uvular fricative	[خ]
[ɣ]	Voiced uvular fricative	[غ]
[h]	Voiceless glottal fricative	[ﻫ]
[r]	Voiced alveolar flap/trill (when geminate)	[ر]
[l]	Voiced alveolar lateral	[ل]
[m]	Voiced bilabial nasal	[م]
[n]	Voiced alveolar nasal	[ن]
[y]	Voiced palatal glide	[ي]
[w]	Voiced bilabial round glide	[و]
[i]	Short high front vowel	كسرة
[a]	Short low front vowel	فتحة
[u]	Short high back rounded vowel	ضمة
[ii]	Long Hihh front vowel	ياء
[aa]	Long low front vowel	ألف
[uu]	Long high back rounded vowel	واو

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