



# THE UNIVERSITY *of* EDINBURGH

This thesis has been submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for a postgraduate degree (e.g. PhD, MPhil, DClinPsychol) at the University of Edinburgh. Please note the following terms and conditions of use:

- This work is protected by copyright and other intellectual property rights, which are retained by the thesis author, unless otherwise stated.
- A copy can be downloaded for personal non-commercial research or study, without prior permission or charge.
- This thesis cannot be reproduced or quoted extensively from without first obtaining permission in writing from the author.
- The content must not be changed in any way or sold commercially in any format or medium without the formal permission of the author.
- When referring to this work, full bibliographic details including the author, title, awarding institution and date of the thesis must be given.

# **Persian address pronouns and politeness in interaction**

Golnaz Nanbakhsh

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy  
Linguistics and English Language  
The University of Edinburgh

2011

## **Declaration**

In accordance with regulation 2.5 of the postgraduate assessment regulations for research degrees, I hereby declare that I have composed this thesis. The reported work is my own, otherwise acknowledgement is made in the text. This work has not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualifications.

Golnaz Nanbakhsh

## Abstract

In this thesis, I aim to investigate the variation of Persian pronominal address system and politeness strategies in contemporary Iranian society from a quantitative and qualitative sociolinguistic perspective. I focus on Persian speakers' use and perception of pronominal address forms in the light of socio-cultural norms in contemporary Iran. Persian, has two personal pronouns for singular address, *to* ([to]) the familiar or intimate 'you' and *šoma* ([ʃoma:]) the deferential or formal 'you' (historically the second person plural but now also used as second person singular). Moreover, Persian is a pro-drop language, so the interaction between address pronouns and agreement marking on the verb must be taken into account. Another significant feature of colloquial Persian is a hybrid usage of the overt deferential second person pronoun and informal agreement forming a mismatch construction (i.e. *šoma* with 2s verb agreement) and intra-speaker pronominal address switches that occur between the deferential and casual pronominal address forms. Those deviations from the prescribed forms and/or distribution of the address pronouns are very interesting aspects that may show different levels of politeness even in one utterance.

Consequently, this research examines spontaneous data looking at the sociolinguistic distributions and the pragmatic functions of pronominal address forms in contemporary Persian language and politeness synchronically. Three types of spontaneous data were collected for the purpose of analysis: a) participant observation, b) natural media conversations and c) sociolinguistic interviews with Persian speakers. In this study, the quantitative analysis investigates the correlation of pronominal address forms with extra-linguistic factors such as age and gender of speaker and addressee in the interactional data. The qualitative analysis sheds light on how pronominal address forms and their variation encode communicative strategies in face-to-face interactions. Based on triangulation of quantitative and qualitative results with sociolinguistic interviews, I propose a dynamic model of indexicality for Persian pronominal address forms, which accommodates different forms and functions of address pronouns in interactional stances.

## Acknowledgment

*Mærdom ændær hæsræte fæhme dorost* (Rumi<sup>1</sup>)

*“Men in search of truth”*

There are many people to whom I would like to extend my appreciation for guiding me along my PhD journey. I would like to express my gratitude to Dr Aaliya Rajah-Carrim, who supported me during the writing of the doctoral proposal in the latter stages of my MSc programme. I am grateful to my principal supervisor Professor Miriam Meyerhoff for her support, patience, and enthusiasm throughout my PhD work. In this avenue, she has taught me valuable lessons on the workings of academic research. Her insightful suggestions and guidance were significant to the completion of this dissertation. I would like to particularly extend my appreciation to Dr Graeme Trousdale for his support, time and patience in the completion of this work. I would also like to thank Dr Erik Schleef and Dr Joseph Gafaranga for providing me with substantial knowledge and experience in their fields of research. I am thankful to Angela Gayton for the meticulous proofreading of this thesis.

I am extremely grateful to my employers and colleagues at the Islamic and Middle Eastern Studies department for their support and friendship. Initiating doctoral study without a scholarship may be a steep road. However, thanks to the financial contribution of my father and the teaching scholarships of Islamic and Middle Eastern Studies department at Edinburgh, this educational journey was made possible.

I owe many thanks to my research participants for their great interest and enthusiasm during data collection for pilot study in Edinburgh (Fall and Winter 2006-2007) and field work research in Iran (Spring and Summer 2007). Without their willing cooperation, this work would not have been possible. In loving memory of three participants who are not among us anymore, but their thoughts and ideas are still a great inspiration in this and future work. I would also like to thank the Edinburgh University Small Grant scheme and British Institute of Persian Studies for providing financial support for the fieldwork research of this thesis.

---

<sup>1</sup> Couplet 2098 as cited in Zamani (1380: 544).

I would not have been able to pursue my doctoral studies if it had not been to the kind generosity of my colleague Dr. Pamela Poureshagh and her family. I am extremely indebted to my parents, Hassan and Mina, whose wisdom and courage have always guided me. I would like to record my deepest gratitude to my husband, Ali, for his enthusiasm, support and patience he has always given - especially over the entire period of this work. I value our lengthy discussions on different aspects of this work. Thanks are also due to my brother, Kambiz, whose friendship and support I value.

## Table of contents

<b>Declaration</b>	ii
<b>Abstract</b>	iii
<b>Acknowledgement</b>	iv
<b>Table of contents</b>	vi
<b>List of tables and figures</b>	xi
<b>Chapter 1 Introduction</b>	1
1.1. Aim of the study	1
1.2. Research questions and analytical framework	4
1.3. Organisation and scope of thesis	6
<b>Chapter 2 The social history and cultural background of Iran</b>	7
2.1. Introduction	7
2.2. Demographics of Iran and Tehran	7
2.2.1. Ethnicity and religion	8
2.2.2. Languages spoken in Iran	9
2.3. Historical background	10
2.3.1. Pre-revolutionary monarchy	10
2.3.2. Revolutionary egalitarian society	12
2.3.3. Contemporary Iranian society	15
2.4. Concluding remarks	18
<b>Chapter 3 The sociolinguistic and theoretical background</b>	20
3.1. Introduction	20
3.2. Personal pronouns and deixis	21

3.3. Address pronouns: The social nature and origins	25
3.4. Studies of pronouns of address	27
3.5. Persian pronoun system	34
3.5.1. Formal description	34
3.5.2. Subject and verb number agreement	35
3.5.3. Null-subject construction	36
3.5.4. Separable pronominal references and enclitics	37
3.5.5. Second person address pronouns and verbal morphology	38
3.5.6. Persian agreement mismatch construction	39
3.6. Correlation of pronominal address variables with extra-linguistic factors	41
3.6.1. Reciprocity/asymmetry (amongst interlocutors)	41
3.6.2. Co-occurrence of address pronoun agreement with other forms of address	42
3.6.3. Choice vs. prescribed	47
3.6.4. Social and contextual triggers for choice of address pronoun	49
3.6.5. Negotiability of T/V address forms	50
3.6.6. Variability/Interchangeability of T/V forms (address pronoun switching patterns)	51
3.7. Summary on pronominal address forms	52
3.8. Politeness and its relation with the T/V system	53
3.8.1. Concept of face in (non-)Western cultures	58
3.8.2. Face in Persian culture	60
3.8.3. Speech acts	61
3.8.4. Ta‘arof	62
3.8.5. Summary of politeness	67
3.9. Gender in sociolinguistics	68
3.10. Age in sociolinguistics	74
3.11. Concluding remarks	76
<b>Chapter 4 Methods</b>	<b>77</b>
4.1. Introduction	77
4.2. Research questions	78
4.2.1. Quantitative research questions	80
4.2.2. Qualitative research questions	



4.3. The method of data collection and context of study	81
4.3.1. Fieldwork experience in Edinburgh (2006) and Tehran (2007)	82
4.3.2. Media data	83
4.3.3. Individual and group recordings	86
4.4. Method of data preparation	89
4.4.1. Transcription and conventions	89
4.4.2. Data coding	90
4.5. The method of data analysis	91
4.5.1. Method of quantitative data analysis	91
4.5.2. Method of qualitative data analysis	92
4.6. Analytic framework: stancetaking and indexicality	94
4.7. Concluding remarks	100
<b>Chapter 5 Quantitative analysis of Persian address pronouns</b>	<b>102</b>
5.1. Introduction	102
5.2. Research questions	104
5.3. Usage of the T form in correlation with extra-linguistic factors	105
5.4. Usage of the V form in correlation with extra-linguistic factors	107
5.5. Usage of the mismatch construction in correlation with extra-linguistic factors	109
5.6. Correlation of T/V variables and the mismatch construction with extra-linguistic factors	111
5.7. Community views	113
5.8. Concluding remarks	121
<b>Chapter 6 Social functions of Persian address pronouns</b>	<b>123</b>
6.1. Introduction	123
6.2. First qualitative research question	126
6.3. Social function(s) served by second person address forms	127
6.3.1. Social functions of the overt deferential pronoun <i>šoma</i>	127
6.3.1.1. Contrastive emphasis	128
6.3.1.2. Deference as an in-group identity marker	130
6.3.1.3. Topic shift (organisational and task norm)	132

6.3.2. Social functions of the deferential verb agreement ( $\emptyset + 2h/2p$ )	135
6.3.2.1. Deference as an attention seeker	135
6.3.2.2. Hybrid use of deferential address forms (power management)	137
6.3.3. Social functions of the singular informal verb agreement ( $\emptyset + 2s$ )	139
6.3.3.1. Creating in-group membership: marking ‘in-groupness’	140
6.3.3.2. Condemning strategy: assertion of power and authority	142
6.4. Community views	144
6.5. Concluding remarks	147
<b>Chapter 7 Sociolinguistic functions of address pronoun switching and the mismatch construction</b>	<b>148</b>
7.1. Introduction	148
7.2. Second qualitative research question	149
7.3. Switching from the deferential address form to the informal form	151
7.3.1. <i>šoma</i> + 2h/2p → <i>to</i> + 2s (indexing sweet talk)	152
7.3.2. <i>šoma</i> + 2p → $\emptyset$ + 2s (indexing sarcasm)	154
7.3.3. $\emptyset$ + 2h/2p → $\emptyset$ +2s (indexing in-group membership)	156
7.3.4. Summary of findings	158
7.4. Switching from the informal address form to the deferential form	159
7.4.1. $\emptyset$ + 2s → $\emptyset$ +2p (indexing creating affect)	160
7.4.2. $\emptyset$ + 2s → $\emptyset$ + 2p (indexing out-group membership)	161
7.4.3. $\emptyset$ + 2s → $\emptyset$ + 2p → $\emptyset$ + 2s → $\emptyset$ + 2h (indexing self-lowering)	163
7.4.4. Summary of findings	165
7.5. Agreement mismatch construction	166
7.5.1. $\emptyset$ +2h → $\emptyset$ +2p → <i>šoma</i> + 2s (indexing asserting status)	167
7.5.2. $\emptyset$ + 2h/2s → $\emptyset$ + 2s → <i>šoma</i> + 2s (indexing lobbying)	169
7.5.3. Community views	172
7.5.4. Summary of findings	173
7.6. Modelling of address pronoun switching patterns and the mismatch construction	174
7.7. Concluding remarks	178

<b>Chapter 8 Discussion and conclusion</b>	181
8.1. Introduction	181
8.2. Implications of quantitative and qualitative analyses and community views	182
8.3. Future work	186
8.4. Thesis summary	186
<b>Bibliography</b>	190
<b>Appendices</b>	
Appendix A - Persian phonemes	209
Appendix B - Transcription conventions	210
Appendix C - Abbreviation list	211
Appendix D1 - Participants consent form (English)	212
Appendix D2 - Participants consent form (Persian)	214
Appendix E1 - Interview schedule (English)	216
Appendix E2 - Interview schedule (Persian)	217
Appendix F - Cell representation of quantitative data per episode	218

## List of tables and figures

Figure 2.1: Geographic distribution of the Iranian languages	10
Table 3.1: Pronominal address forms in a variety of languages	24
Figure 3.1: The two dimensional semantic model of T/V (a) in equilibrium and (b) under tension (Brown and Gilman 1972: 259).	29
Table 3.2: Persian subject pronouns and agreements	35
Table 3.3: Persian referent pronouns: seperable and enclitics	37
Table 3.4: Persian pronominal address forms	39
Table 3.5: Persian address term subject and agreement	43
Table 3.6: Persian titles and kinship terms (Keshavarz 1988, Stilo et al. 2005b)	44
Table 3.7: Persian titles used in media conversation (Stilo et al. 2005b)	45
Table 3.8: Opening sequence for conversation (Stilo et al. 2005a)	64
Table 3.8a: Greeting expressions	64
Table 3.8b: Expressions to inquire about health	64
Table 3.9: Closing sequence for conversation (Stilo et al. 2005a)	65
Table 3.10: Persian honorific and common verb forms (Hodge 1957, Mace 2003)	66
Table 4.1: Description of media data and its episodes	84
Table 4.2: Persian address pronouns (subject and verb agreement)	90
Table 5.1: Usage of the T form in correlation with extra-linguistic factors of gender, age, speaker and addressee	106
Table 5.2: Usage of the V form in correlation with extra-linguistic factors of gender, age, speaker and addressee	107
Table 5.3: Usage of V+2s form in correlation with extra-linguistic factors of gender, age, speaker and addressee	110
Table 5.4: Usage of pronominal address forms in correlation with extra-linguistic factors of gender, age, speaker and addressee	111
Table 7.1: Switching from the deferential address form to the informal form	151
Table 7.2: Switching from the informal address form to the deferential form	159
Table 7.3: The mismatch construction patterns	166
Figure 7.1: Model of form and function for Persian address pronoun switching patterns and the mismatch construction	176

# Chapter 1

---

## Introduction

### 1.1. Aim of the study

The motivation for pursuing my doctoral studies in the sociolinguistic variation of Persian pronominal address system initially emerged from observing people's views on how the Persian address pronouns are used in contemporary Iranian society. At a dinner gathering in Edinburgh (Autumn 2006), an eighty year old male family friend commented on his experience in contemporary Iran of being addressed impolitely by a bank clerk who requested his chequebook. He reported that the young bank clerk addressed him with *Haji*<sup>2</sup> 'Haji' and the imperative verb with singular agreement, which he perceived to be impolite, instead of using a deferential (plural) agreement. According to him, politeness norms in contemporary Iran contradicted greatly politeness rituals of Iran prior to the 1979 revolution.

Since the 1979 revolution in Iran, public ideologies about politeness and address forms have been radically reframed in egalitarian terms. This study investigates how Persian pronominal address forms are used to construct and reflect social reality in contemporary Iranian society. Persian has two personal pronouns for singular address, *to* ([to]) the familiar or intimate 'you' and *šoma* ([šoma:]) the deferential or formal 'you' (historically the second person plural but now also used as the second person singular). Moreover, Persian is a pro-drop (pronoun dropping) language, so the interaction between pronouns and agreement marking on the verb must be taken into account. Another significant feature of colloquial Persian is hybrid usage of second person address pronoun and verb agreement forming a **mismatch construction** (i.e. *šoma* with 2s verb agreement) and the second person **address pronoun switching** that occurs between the deferential and casual address forms in the same utterance. These deviations from the prescriptive use of address

---

<sup>2</sup> *Haji* is an honorific title given to a Muslim person who has successfully completed the Hajj to Mecca (Ruthven 1997: 147).

pronouns and their verb agreements are very interesting aspects that may show different levels of politeness even in one utterance.

Consequently, this research looks at the political and socio-cultural impacts of the Iranian 1979 revolution on contemporary Persian language and politeness. Since no historical interactional data is available for this study, instead of real time data (data from different periods), apparent time data (age stratified data from a specific period of time, in this case current time) is collected and examined synchronically (See also Chapter 3, Section 3.10). The fundamental question it addresses is: to what extent are these social ideologies reflected in the sociolinguistic behaviour of individuals?

There is limited research conducted in Persian linguistics focusing on the sociolinguistic functions of pronominal address forms and their variation (i.e. address pronoun switching and the mismatch construction<sup>3</sup>) in conversation. For instance, Koutlaki (2002) and Beeman (1986) investigated Persian politeness rituals only focusing on speech acts. On the other hand, Baumgardner (1982) discussed the Persian pre-revolutionary address system based on co-occurrence rules (Ervin-Tripp 1972a), marking degrees of power and solidarity within the pronominal dichotomy. However, his study did not account for the multi-directional possibility of pronominal address variation (i.e. address pronoun switching and the mismatch construction). Keshavarz (1988) focused on the Persian address system in post-revolutionary Iran, showing that plain speech and forms of address marking solidarity have reportedly gained popularity. His later work (Keshavarz 2001) only focused on the impact of social context, intimacy and distance on the choice of Persian address pronouns as opposed to their functions, and was further limited by having applied an overly simplistic model of ‘intimate you’ *to* versus ‘formal you’ *šoma* to the data. A difficult problem if we are interested in the social functions of pronominal address forms is that all those previous studies on the Persian address system are based on questionnaire data, not spontaneously occurring interactional speech.

In studies of other languages (Zilles 2005), although places and times of variation in agreement are noted, attention is focused on phonological and morphological factors, and

---

<sup>3</sup> Although address pronoun switching and the mismatch construction are defined in page 1, the details of their definitions can be found in Sections 3.6.6 and 3.5.6 respectively.

little attention is paid to the communicative functions (i.e. strategies) of pronominal address forms variations such as address pronoun switching or the mismatch construction. Sociolinguistic studies in German (Besch 1998, Clyne et. al 2006), Japanese (Okamoto 1995), Spanish (Ardali 2003) and Portuguese (Osterman 2003) offer a valuable insight into the way pronoun use may be manipulated for communicative purposes and the way in which such pragmatically motivated variation may simultaneously be part of long term morpho-syntactic changes. Evidence of instances of agreement mismatches in politeness levels can be found in languages such as Hindi (Jain 1973), Spanish (Kany 1951) and Brazilian Portuguese (Head 1976), but apparently no qualitative analyses have been carried out on other languages that would demonstrate the communicative functions carried out by address pronoun switching and the mismatch construction in interactional data.

Hence, the aim of this study is twofold: initially, a quantitative analysis of interactional data sheds light on the frequency of pronominal address form usage, and considers the distribution of these forms across gender and age of interlocutors. Age is a salient sociolinguistic variable influencing the choice of address pronouns. Therefore, I discuss the usage of the pronominal address forms (i.e. deferential and casual second person address pronouns and the mismatch construction) among the three generations (i.e. the pre-revolutionary, revolutionary and contemporary Iranian youth) to examine the use of pronominal address forms in correlation with extra-linguistic factors such as age and gender. In the second stage, a detailed qualitative analysis of the sociolinguistic functions of Persian pronouns of address is carried out, focusing on where and when speakers use address pronoun switching and the mismatch construction in conversation. This is the first quantitative and qualitative analysis of Persian address system conducted in contemporary Iranian Persian with the use of spontaneous interactional data. In the next section, I outline in more detail the quantitative and qualitative research questions addressing the socio-cultural and linguistic realisation of Persian pronominal address forms in contemporary Iranian society.

## 1.2. Research questions and analytical framework

In order to study language use, specifically pronominal address forms, in Iranian contemporary society, the extra-linguistic factors such as age and gender and their impacts on the use of pronominal address forms are highlighted.

In terms of gender, it is a socially accepted norm for women to use the Persian address pronoun *šoma* in formal and informal contexts with both genders. In conversation with men, women can claim power in society by the use of the polite forms of address (cf. Trudgill 1994, Eckert 2000) since women are culturally relegated to a secondary status relative to men and a higher level of politeness is expected from inferiors to superiors. Secondly, in dialogue with the same gender, women may claim prestige and etiquette with the use of deferential language and forms of address. Thus, it seems reasonable to predict that women in general will speak more formally and politely among themselves and with men. Therefore, the *to* pronoun is conventionally expected to be used more to address women by men, and the *šoma* pronoun to address men by women. However, I hypothesise that in contemporary Iranian society, due to women's social and political enhancement, there seems to be a trend towards the use of *to* by women or towards the equal use of *šoma* and *to* as address pronouns.

In order to explore the observed variation in language use and politeness in contemporary Iran, I have undertaken an ethnographic study of the Iranian community in Tehran. The study addresses quantitative and qualitative sociolinguistics research questions.

The quantitative analysis (Chapter 5) illuminates the proportionate use of pronominal address forms across age and gender of speaker and addressee in non-familial conversations. It is important to investigate whether there is a systematic difference in address pronoun usage and the mismatch construction across different age groups (the pre-revolutionary, revolutionary and contemporary Iranian youth) and gender. It focuses on three issues:



1. Are there any pronominal address forms that are never used by certain speaker groups, or with certain addressee groups?
2. Who is more likely to use which pronominal address form with whom?
3. Is there a balance in the use of pronominal address forms (i.e. no clear preference) in certain speaker-addressee constellations?

The results of the quantitative analysis are interpreted by examining the observed usages of pronominal address forms within a quantitative framework, and draw on notions such as age grading and issues of generational change (Labov 1972, 1994). In turn, the quantitative analysis is complemented by a qualitative analysis of pronominal address forms and their patterns of variation (Chapters 6 and 7). The qualitative analysis focuses on the functions of the pronominal address forms by shedding light on two overarching qualitative research questions:

1. What are the different social functions of second person singular and plural address pronouns and suffixes?
2. What are the sociolinguistic and pragmatic functions that address pronoun switching and the mismatch construction (i.e. *šoma* with 2s verb agreement) serve?

At a community level, it is expected that interlocutors address each other based on the social norms of politeness in society (i.e. the 1979 egalitarian ethos of language use). However, this study illuminates whether people conform to these norms of address forms usage or whether address patterns are formed among individuals based on their activities and/or stances in the interaction (Ochs 1992). As the pragmatic meaning of address forms is in the interaction, I argue that (1) the theme (topic) of discussion, (2) the speaker's social and personal attributes and (3) goals and expectations in discourse are crucial factors in determining the pragmatic indexicality of pronominal address variation. The qualitative analysis of data indicates that *šoma* may index intimacy, as intimacy is integrated with different types of stances such as affection or attention.

Finally, the results of open ended sociolinguistic interviews which address Persian speakers' perceptions and use of pronominal address forms in contemporary Iranian society are triangulated (see Labov 1966, Kasper 2000: 316) with the results of the quantitative and qualitative analyses. The interviews highlight how individuals in different age groups, and

of both genders, use pronominal address forms and perceive others' usage of address pronouns to encode politeness in interaction and society at large. The next section outlines the organisation of this study, in order to illustrate how the research questions are addressed.

### **1.3. Organisation and scope of thesis**

This chapter (Chapter 1) provides an overview of the main research aims of this study. Chapter 2 presents the social history and cultural background of Iran. It discusses relevant issues in Iranian history by addressing the social, political and cultural aspects of the pre-revolutionary, revolutionary and contemporary Iranian periods. In Chapter 3, the linguistic background of this study is provided, beginning with a survey of pronouns of address in Western and non-Western languages, then focusing on Persian address system and the extra-linguistic factors correlating with the use of pronominal address forms. Finally in this chapter, studies of politeness, gender and age as sociolinguistic variables of this thesis are described in detail.

Chapter 4 focuses on methods and approaches applied to answer the research questions. Initially quantitative and qualitative research questions and hypotheses are elaborated, and these are followed by the context and method of data collection. For the purpose of data analysis, the linguistic features examined in the recordings are addressed. Afterwards, the methods of analysis and analytical framework concerning the collected data are presented.

In Chapter 5, quantitative analysis of data is elaborated, where spontaneous interactions in public settings are analysed in terms of age and gender of speaker and addressee. In order to investigate communicative functions of pronominal address forms and how they index politeness in interaction, Chapter 6 provides a detailed qualitative analysis of pronominal address forms' social functions. After a determination of the social functions of the Persian pronominal address system, Chapter 7 qualitatively analyses the deviations in patterns of pronominal address form usage, i.e. address pronoun switching and the mismatch construction. Chapter 8 sums up the major contributions and implications of this thesis. It also presents new directions for future research in this area.

# Chapter 2

---

## The social history and cultural background of Iran

### 2.1. Introduction

Language and society have a mutually constitutive relationship (Mesthrie et al. 2000). The linguistic description of an address system is not possible unless one takes into account the social and historical factors of the society (Paulston 1976: 360). So it is reasonable to suppose that the social history of the Iranian society may have influenced Persian language use and its variation including pronominal address forms in today's Iran. In order to elaborate the observed variation in the pronominal address system, it is essential initially to pay attention to the social aspects of contemporary Iran, such as changes in institutional ideologies since the 1979 revolution, the economics of Iran, and lifestyle.

In this chapter, I initially discuss the demographics of Iran focusing on Tehran in Section 2.2. Section 2.3 highlights social, political and cultural aspects of the pre-revolutionary, the 1979 revolutionary, and finally, the contemporary periods.

### 2.2. Demographics of Iran and Tehran

Iran was known as Persia until 1935, and became an Islamic republic in 1979 after the ruling Shah was overthrown by a revolution. Iran is located in the southwest of Asia, bounded on the north by Armenia, Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan and the Caspian Sea, on the south by the Persian Gulf and the Gulf of Oman, on the west by Turkey and Iraq, and on the east by Afghanistan and Pakistan. The area of Iran is approximately 1.6 million square kilometres.

The population of Iran has increased dramatically during the latter half of the 20th century, reaching about 73 million by 2009 (SCI 2009). More than two-thirds of the population are under the age of 30, and one quarter are 15 years old or younger. These young Iranians,

who are in the majority, have had a huge impact on the social norms and lifestyle of contemporary Iran, which will be elaborated in Section 2.3.

Iran is ethnically and linguistically diverse. Tehran has been the country's capital city for over 200 years and nearly 14 million people live in Tehran in contrast to two hundred thousand in 1920 (Iran Chambers Society 2009). Moreover, Tehran is the country's largest economic centre and the base for large and small modern technological and industrial establishments. As a result, in the 20th century, Tehran faced a large immigration of people from all around Iran bringing various ethnic and religious groups together.

### **2.2.1. Ethnicity and Religion**

The term Iran is derived from *Aryānām*; lit: '[Land] of the Aryans' (Britannica 2009). The old Proto-Indo-Iranian term *Arya*, meaning 'hospitable', is believed to have been one of the self-referential terms used by the Aryans, and another meaning for Aryan is 'noble' (Britannica 2009). The term Iranian includes not only the Persians of Iran, Afghanistan, and Tajikistan, but also encompasses Azeris, Pashtuns, Baluchis, Kurds, and Lors who historically are parts of Iran.

It should be noted that at present Persian is spoken primarily in Iran, Afghanistan and Tajikistan, but was historically a more widely understood language in an area ranging from the Middle East to northern India. Furthermore, there are significant populations of speakers in other Persian Gulf countries such as Bahrain, Iraq, Oman, the Republic of Yemen and the United Arab Emirates (cf. UCLA, Language Materials Project 2009).

According to the Library of Congress (2008, 5)<sup>4</sup>, Iran's main ethnic groups consist of: Persians (65 %), Azerbaijani Turks (16 %), Kurds (7%), Lors (6%), Arabs (2%), Baluchis (2%), Turkmens (1%), Turkish tribal groups such as the Qashqai (1%), and non-Persian, non-Turkic groups such as Armenians, Assyrians, and Georgians (less than 1%). Most of these ethnic groups are present in Tehran and are also distributed across the country.

---

<sup>4</sup> Different publications have reported different statistics for the ethnicities and languages of Iran (e.g. see CIA World Factbook).

The constitutional law of Iran declares Shi'a Islam to be the official religion of Iran. At least 90% of Iranians are Shi'a Muslims, and about 8% are Sunni Muslims. Other religions present in Iran are Christianity (mainly Armenians and Assyrians, more than 300,000 followers), the Baha'i faith (at least 250,000), Zoroastrianism (about 32,000), and Judaism (about 30,000). The constitution recognises Christianity, Judaism, and Zoroastrianism as legitimate minority religions. The Baha'i faith has not been recognised as a legitimate minority religion since 1979 (Library of Congress 2008: 6).

Most ethnic Kurds and Baluchis are Sunni Muslims, while the remainder are mainly Shi'a, comprised mostly of Persians in Iran. The historical religion of the Persian Empire was Zoroastrianism and it still has a few thousand followers, mostly in Yazd and Kerman. They are known as the Parsis in the Indian subcontinent, or Zoroastrians in Iran.

### **2.2.2. Languages spoken in Iran**

The Iranian languages are a branch of the Indo-European language family and its subfamily, Indo-Iranian. The name 'Iranian language branch' is given because its principal member languages, including Persian, have been spoken in the area of the Iranian plateau since ancient times. However, as a linguistic classification 'Iranian' implies no specific or special relation with the modern country of Iran. To avoid this confusion, the term *Iranic* is sometimes also used for this branch. Iranian languages are spoken by many ethnic groups of Iran including Persians.

Persian, the official language, is spoken as a mother tongue by 58% of Iran's population. Other languages in use are Azari Turkish 26%, Kurdish 9%, Lori 2%, Baluchi 1%, Arabic 1%, other 3% (CIA 2009). Figure 2.1 shows the geographic distribution of Iranian languages. According to Jahani (2007), the estimated number of Persian speakers is between 150 and 200 million. The largest New Iranian languages are Persian, with the variants Farsi (Iran), Dari (Afghanistan) and Tajik (Tajikistan), Kurdish, Pashto and Baluchi (Jahani 2007).

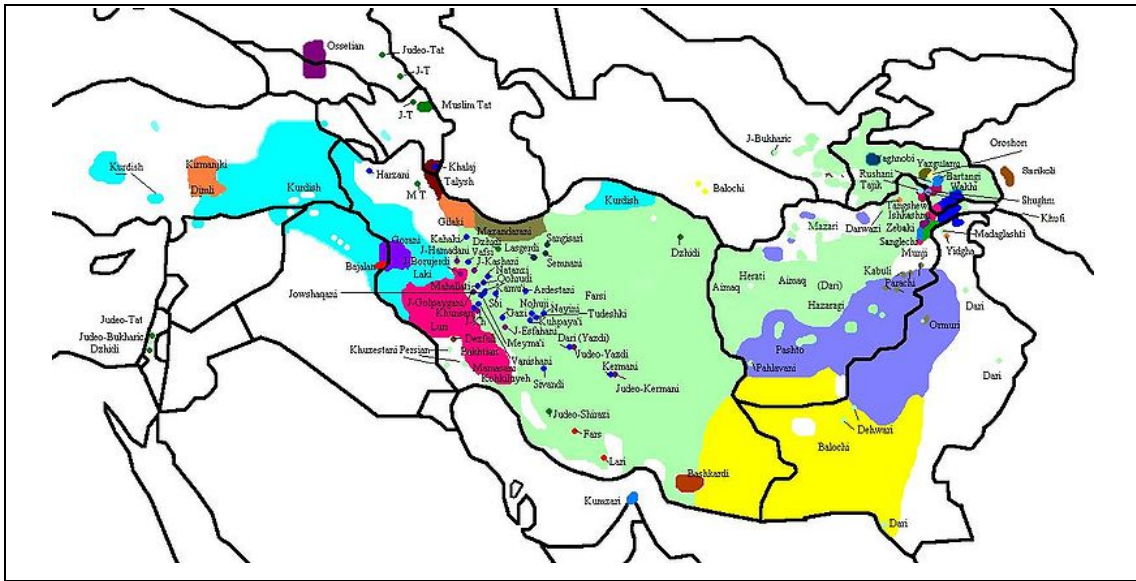


Figure 2.1: Geographic distribution of the Iranian languages: Persian (green), Pashto (purple) and Kurdish (turquoise), Lori (magenta), Baluchi (yellow), as well as smaller communities of other Iranian languages (Jahani 2007).

### 2.3. Historical background<sup>5</sup>

Socio-political changes in society can lead to changes in language use. The 1978-1979 Iranian revolution narrowed the gaps among different social classes. Hence, this social change had a profound impact on language use and forms of address in Iran (Keshavarz 1988: 565).

#### 2.3.1. The pre-revolutionary monarchy

Iranian society in the early 20th century consisted of a narrow ruling elite (i.e. the Qajar dynasty monarch and his extended family, court-appointed officials in Tehran and provincial capitals, major landlords, and chiefs of large nomadic tribes); a middle tier, including urban bazaar merchants, the Shi'a clergy, and craftsmen; and a large, poor segment comprising mostly share-cropping peasants and nomads but also some town dwellers engaged in service-sector trades.

<sup>5</sup> Information provided in Sections 2.3.1. and 2.3.2., in this chapter, are cited from Ansari 2003 unless otherwise noted.

Following the overthrow of the Qajar dynasty in 1925, Reza Shah Pahlavi implemented wide-ranging economic development programs that stimulated the industrialisation and urbanisation of the country. These changes led to the emergence of two new, urban social groups: a middle class of professionals and technocrats and a working class engaged in manual and industrial labour. Reza Shah's son and successor, Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi, continued the development programmes, and the two new social groups gradually expanded (Ansari 2003).

As a result of urbanisation and industrialisation under the Pahlavis, new social classes at all levels also began to appear during the twentieth century. These new upper, middle, and lower classes existed alongside the older, traditional classes, which caused even further horizontal stratification into distinct class groups (Keddie 1978: 324-5). Groups which had earlier shared power became stratified themselves in a class hierarchy dominated by the Pahlavi ruling class. This superimposition of the new and the old is what gave pre-revolutionary Iranian society its social structure. The new social structure allowed a mobility and breakdown of class lines unparalleled in Iranian history.

The Pahlavis sought to situate themselves within a Western historical tradition, which appears to many Iranians to be synonymous with Westernisation (Ansari 2003: 252). Reza Shah issued the state policy of unveiling in 1936, despite the resentment and opposition of traditional urban men and women. After Reza Shah's abdication in 1941, the unveiling policy was dismissed, and women were free to choose veiling or not until 1979. Under the Pahlavi ruling, the position of the Iranian women improved to a certain degree. For example, women's suffrage was among the reforms of 1963, and in 1967 a Family Protection Law was passed, introducing greater, though not complete, equality in marriage legislation (Beck and Nashat 2004).

The pre-revolutionary social stratification in Iran was an amalgam of both traditional class structure and a superimposed structure dominated by the vast industrialisation and modernisation under the Pahlavi dynasty. Needless to say, the divergence in social structure began to manifest itself in Iranian cultural values. Namely, the upper class

dominated every aspect of Iranian character, personality and cultural values, while the lower class kept heavily traditional lifestyles and values.

However, there were certain cultural values shared by lower and upper classes in Iranian society, which may have an impact on the Persian address system. These values such as respect and authority pervade many aspects of Iranian behaviour. Iranian interpersonal relations were marked by a conscious recognition of the equal or unequal status of interactants. Those people in the lower social classes were expected to show deference to those in the classes above them. Even within the lower class there was social stratification with those in the lower reaches of the lower classes also supposed to defer to those above them in the same class (Hodge 1957).

Respect for authority naturally was extended to the family unit as well. The father in an Iranian family was the supreme authority to which both wife and children deferred, and this obedience was expected even when the children became adults. Furthermore, age was respected in Iran both inside and outside the family. Correct marking of these differences made interaction very time- and energy-consuming in any social situation in Iran (Beeman 1986).

Having reviewed socio-cultural aspects of the pre-revolutionary era of Iran, we move on to discuss the 1979 revolutionary event and its impacts on socio-cultural values.

### **2.3.2. A revolutionary egalitarian society**

By the late 1970s, the professional and technocratic middle class had divided into secular and religious factions. Both groups contributed to the overthrow of the Shah in 1979. The secular group objected to the autocratic rule and economic corruption of the monarchy, and demanded political freedom, democracy, social equality, and economic justice, while the religious group feared that the Shah's embrace of the West threatened traditional Islamic morality.



Finally in 1979, the conflicts culminated in the transfer of power to a new group of leaders who envisioned fundamental economic and social changes in the structure of Iranian society. Ayatollah Khomeini consistently promised independence and freedom; after the revolution he also emphasised that the Islamic republic would be an egalitarian social and economic system in which the interests of the *mostæzæfin* “the deprived and oppressed” (Parsa 1989: 2) would be served.

As a result, the religious middle class, in alliance with the Shi‘a clergy and under the leadership of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, gradually split from the secular middle class and consolidated power after the revolution. This group pursued an accelerated industrialisation programme, causing further expansion of the middle-income population from 15% of the total population in 1979 to 40% by 1996 (Nomani and Behdad 2006: 45). The working class also expanded, while the peasant and nomad populations decreased; together, these three low-income groups accounted for 53% of the population. High-ranking officials, physicians, and entrepreneurs made up the upper-income group which were approximately 7% of the population (Nomani and Behdad 2006: 106).

Therefore, the 1979 revolution may be considered as a revolutionary class movement from technocrat (elite) ruling class to traditional (religious) class (Arjomand 1988: 200). The ideology of the Iranian Revolution can be summarised as populist, nationalist and most of all Shi‘a Islamic. Establishing and obeying this Islamic government was so important that it was actually ‘an expression of obedience to God’, ultimately ‘more necessary even than prayer and fasting’ for Islam according to Khomeini (1981), as without it true Islam would not survive. The clergy, as a social class immensely influential in Iranian political life, had effectively taken control of the official language of communication. Islam, its symbols and cultural constructs, were quintessentially the language of popular mobilisation (Ansari 2003: 7).

Following the victory of the 1979 Iranian revolution, its ideology was apparent in social and cultural policies and practices, such as gender, lifestyle and language. With the changes in government made by the 1979 Islamic revolution, women gained more freedom in social activities. A war with Iraq (1980) lasted eight years, during which women were asked to send their husbands and sons to war. A worsening economy forced women into the labour

market to provide for their families. The regime opened up job opportunities in government and universities for women, thus narrowing the education gap between women and men. As a result, after the 1979 revolution the increasing presence of women in social activities enhanced the discrepancy between what is expected and what they have to do in their lives (Keddie 2003: 292-295).

In terms of dress, following the 1979 revolution, Western-style neckties for men were banned. A significant impact of revolutionary Iran on women's lifestyle changes was the issue of *hijab* 'veil' (i.e. covering of women's head and body). The clothing restrictions imposed on women by the Islamic ideology of the revolution emphasised social distance between genders in society. But there were non-religious changes as well, such as an emphasis on working class dress, manners, and customs, as opposed to Western aristocratic or bourgeoisie elegance and the extravagance of the Shah's era. In men's dress, Shirin Ebadi (Iranian Noble prizewinner 2006) described the "overnight transformation" in February 1979 of the Ministry of Justice in Tehran where she was working as a judge:

"The men were no longer wearing suits and ties but plain slacks and collarless shirts, many of them quite wrinkled, some even stained. Even my nose caught a whiff of the change. The slight scent of perfume that had lingered in the corridors, especially in the mornings, was absent" (Ebadi 2006: 41).

Moreover, Amouzadeh and Tavangar (2004) show that the use of images of women in commercial advertisements was institutionally constrained in the Iranian post-revolutionary period. They argue that due to the effect of socio-political changes in advertising in post-revolutionary Iran, women's images are metaphorically replaced, for example, by the use of flowers. They also discuss how metaphor constructs and reflects the legitimated ideology of the two different periods in Iranian history, one based on advertising and the other inspired by Islamic values.

When there is a social movement for change to equality, for example, where power relations have been unequal, one commonly manifested change is the elimination of overt markers of hierarchy. An egalitarian ethos of language use may well be elaborated; as Fairclough (1992) argues, all indices of power may be eliminated. Among the many types of marker which tend to be avoided are asymmetrical terms of address, imperatives,

directives, and asymmetries in rights to initiate topics or asking questions (Fairclough 1992: 203).

Egalitarian revolutionary ideologies were also observed in language use, such as address terms and pronouns. For instance, solidarity address terms such as *bæradær* ‘brother’ and *xahær* ‘sister’ were observed to replace the pre-revolutionary address terms (e.g. *særkar xanum* ‘Mrs’, *aqā* ‘Mr’) among members of public (Keshavarz 1988). Moreover, this transition also emerged in the use of pronominal address forms, as *to* ‘informal you’ was used more frequently, compared to the *šoma* ‘formal you’, which was a norm of respect and authority in the pre-revolutionary period. These transitions and their related studies are discussed in detail in Chapter 3. The next section continues to address the socio-cultural changes in Iran during the post-revolutionary era.

### **2.3.3. Contemporary Iranian society**

My research focuses on the use of Persian address terms, specifically pronominal forms, in contemporary Iranian society. Iran has undergone diverse socio-cultural changes over the three decades following the 1979 Islamic revolution, including transformations in lifestyle, gender, and language use. In this section, prior to detailing the socio-cultural changes, the motives behind them are addressed.

The overthrow of the Pahlavi regime and the subsequent eight-year war (1980-1988) with Iraq eroded the social and cultural structure of Iranian society. Ayatollah Khomeini emphasised the importance of families having more children as a resource for battles and a means of development of the country. As a result, some of the well-known political and religious people in the country advocated having more children, to increase the population of Muslims. Between 1976 and 1986, Iran’s population increased by an average annual rate of 3.4% from 33 million to 49.4 million, and the government faced great demands for food, health care, education and employment. By 1988, the population growth rate in the country stood at 3.9% of the total population (IRIN 2009).

After Ayatollah Khomeini's death (1989) and the end of the Iran-Iraq War, the exhaustion of Iran's military and economic resources allowed for the emergence of a powerful pragmatic force within the broader conservative party. This new force was led by the new President Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani, under the leadership of conservative Supreme Leader Ali Khamenei. Rafsanjani's movement, *Jæhad-e sazændegi* 'Construction and development campaign' (Sharifian 2007: 419), re-oriented Iran's foreign policy in a dramatic fashion and operated what some called the economisation of foreign policy (Ehteshami and Hinnebusch 1997: 189). Economic turn-over opened up opportunities of education for youngsters regardless of their social class across the country. The CIA (2009) estimates that 89.4% of Iran's population aged 15 and over can read and write. A significant majority of this population is at or approaching college levels. Since the 1990s, the average Iranian family has provided their children with higher education opportunities<sup>6</sup>. The establishment of *Azad* University 'Open University' by Hashemi Rafsanjani (1989) in the main cities of Iran such as Tehran, Tabriz, and Esfahan and the extension of its branches across rural cities of Iran has provided young Iranian men and women equal education opportunities. Women's education became a priority alongside their family responsibilities (Paidar 1997: 75). Iran's university population swelled from 100,000 in 1979 to 2 million in 2006. Indeed, in Iran some 70% of science and engineering students are women (Masood 2006).

The presidency of Mohammad Khatami (1997-2005) in Iran instigated political, social and cultural policy reform due to his appreciation of democracy and freedom of speech. This period of time is referred to as the 'reform era'. During this period, Iran's young generation found the opportunity to express themselves via media, newspapers, music, blogs and cinema. As the digital media and the internet are dominated by English language, and these means have been used by Persian young speakers for communication, the Persian language evolved with more English words being incorporated into the language.

In this thesis, in order to investigate the impact of social changes on language use, Persian interlocutors from various generations and social strata were selected, in order to portray a

---

<sup>6</sup> In Iran, universities are either publicly funded or open (private with tuition fees) with entrance examination. The score obtained in the entrance examination determines which type of university one is admitted to.

clear picture of language use and politeness. Therefore, spontaneous media data are chosen for the analysis of pronominal address forms and politeness in this thesis. The chosen media programme (hidden camera and interviews) shows various social dilemmas and how they are dealt with by various members of society. This kind of data allows us to examine not only how pronominal address forms are used linguistically but also to identify the social functions of these address forms in interaction.

Moreover, people's lifestyle, such as adherence to a dress code, has become more casual compared to the revolutionary period. For example, the strict religious dress style (e.g. veils) is no longer the dominant style, especially in large cities such as Tehran. Some have exchanged their amorphous black veils for loosely fitted raincoats in colours like green and purple (Sadeghi 2008). Thus, I hypothesise that in contemporary Iranian society, due to women's social and political enhancement, there seems to be a trend towards the use of *to* (informal you) or equal use of *šoma* (formal you) and *to* by women.

In contemporary Iran, we can observe changes in family structure, for instance, the youth after the 1979 generation have a more flexible and open relationship with their parents. Nowadays, as will be shown by the open-ended interviews, older people claim the structure of the family has become more child-centred rather than father-centred (which was a social norm in the pre-revolutionary era).

Participants in spontaneous open-ended interviews<sup>7</sup> report interesting perceptions of the social changes affecting language use and politeness norms in contemporary Persian. Interestingly, homogenous perceptions regarding how language use has evolved towards informality and a casual style over time is observed among all generations and genders. The following interview which was conducted in Iran during my fieldwork sheds light on this matter more clearly. Nina is a 29 year old female graduate student. Over the phone we talked about language use in Iran:

Example 2.1

1 Golnaz: *šoma ĉe tæqirat-i dær estefadeh form-ha-ye xætabi*  
 2p what change-ind in use type-pl-ez address

---

<sup>7</sup> See Chapter 5 for perceptions of different generations to politeness norms.

- 2            *dær sal-ha-ye æxir        dideh-id?*  
in   year-pl-ez   recent        seen-2h?  
‘what changes have you observed in address form use in recent years?’
- 3 Nina:    *jame‘eh    be    sæmte        bi-ædæb        šodæn    piš        ræfte*  
society    to    direction    neg-politeness    become    ahead        gone  
‘the society has tended towards impoliteness (more rude behaviours)’
- 4            *šayæd        goman        bær    næzdiki        væ    sæmimiyæte        bištær*  
maybe    thought    in    closeness    and    friendship        more
- 5            *dær in    hal    æst.*  
in    this    state    is  
‘maybe it is assumed that these (impolite) forms of behaviour convey more intimacy and friendship’

This example highlights the social consciousness of a young Persian speaker regarding language use and its changes in contemporary Iranian society. The participant (Nina) accounts for the use of intimate and casual address forms as impolite but an index of solidarity. Consequently, these usages show that power in speech style may have diminished, narrowing the gap between people in different age groups and with different social statuses. Accordingly, the use of formal and polite address forms in social practices may well be described by considering the relationship between socio-cultural changes and language (Fairclough 1992, 2003). This is discussed in Chapter 7.

#### **2.4. Concluding remarks**

This chapter has highlighted the historical and socio-cultural aspects of Iranian society. Initially, it provided an overview of the demographics of Iran. In the subsequent section, it discussed the historical background of Iranian society, shedding light on social dimensions (e.g. age, gender, power and status) alongside socio-cultural norms of lifestyle and language use in pre-revolutionary, revolutionary and contemporary Iran. Investigating the socio-cultural changes within these time periods may elucidate the current trends of language and politeness usage in Iran.

To sum up, thirty years after the revolution, variation in language can be seen in a general preference for contemporary or eclectic use of language in the wider speech community. In

today's Iran, we can observe an eclectic ethos of social practices such as deference and honorifics (pre-revolutionary), religious address forms (revolutionary), and contemporary colloquial terms of address illuminating how language is used as an amalgam of social norms and values of different generations. Such address forms especially second person address pronouns will be discussed in Chapter 3.

# Chapter 3

---

## The sociolinguistic and theoretical background

### 3.1. Introduction

Sociolinguistic research indicates variation and change in the pronominal and address systems of many languages, including those with a T (informal you) and V (formal you) distinction (Brown and Gilman 1960), due to social or socio-political factors in the society (Head 1976, Paulston 1976, Braun 1988). In the narrow aspect of a linguistic form, the innovation of a polite second person singular may develop from any of a number of different routes, such as the use of an honorific noun (e.g. ‘excellence’, ‘grace’, ‘highness’), a third person pronoun (e.g. ‘she’, ‘they’), or a word for ‘self’ as the new polite form, contrasting with the original second person singular pronoun (Ferguson 1991: 183). However, the most common of the various patterns seems to be the use of the original second person plural to serve as a polite singular (Brown and Levinson 1987). The selection of second person deixis may be used by speakers to indicate their attitude towards their interlocutors (Head 1978).

This research will illuminate the use of Persian pronouns of address in interaction also shedding light on the current address terms and referent pronouns used in the society. The lexical address terms (i.e. titles, names) and referent pronouns are considered as independent factors and investigated alongside pronouns of address as they also show varying levels of politeness in interaction. Previous research on Persian address system (Keshavarz 1988, 2001, Ardehali 1990) tends to focus only on questionnaire data, and it applies a fixed model of ‘intimate you’ *to* or ‘formal you’ *šoma* to the data. It shows that *to* (2s pronoun) is restricted to family and close friends. The plural form *šoma* (2p pronoun) is used when addressing someone less familiar. However, the analysis of this work’s data shows that additionally there is an agreement mismatch construction and a good deal of switching between the formal and informal second person pronouns occurring in people’s daily conversations. It shows that address pronouns are not just constrained to the use of



one linguistic variant (i.e. formal or informal) but may occur in constellation in face-to-face interactions.

This thesis investigates the sociolinguistic stances, where address pronoun switches and the mismatch construction occur in speech. Drawing on the concept of face (Goffman 1967, Brown and Levinson 1987) within politeness theory and interactional sociolinguistics (Ervin-Tripp 1972, Blom and Gumperz 1972) it shows how society, in this study of Tehrani inhabitants, use and switch between the address pronouns *šoma* and *to* and the mismatch construction in the Persian pronominal address system.

This chapter is divided into the following sections. Initially, section 3.2 will discuss social deixis and sections 3.3 and 3.4 present forms of address such as T/V pronouns in Western and non-Western languages. Sections 3.5 to 3.7 provide an overview of Persian pronouns and its pronominal address system as well as the correlation Persian T/V paradigm with extra-linguistic factors. In section 3.8, politeness theory and its application to the Persian language, specifically the T-V system will be addressed. This will be followed by an overview of the study of gender and age in language and its relation to address pronouns in section 3.9 and section 3.10 respectively.

### **3.2. Personal pronouns and deixis**

Personal pronouns are primarily distinguished from one another by representing different parties in conversation (Finegan 2007: 38). This aspect of pronouns is called *person*: the first person is the speaker or speakers; the second person is the person or persons spoken to (the addressee); and the third person is the persons or things spoken about. Examples of these categories are as follows:

- First person: speaker: *I, me, mine, we, us, and ours*
- Second person: addressee: *you and yours*
- Third person: spoken about: *she, her, hers, he, him, his, it, its, they, them and theirs*

However, the linguistic nature of these words has been debated in recent years. For example, Lyons (1968: 276-77) notes pragmatic, semantic, and morphological differences

between the first and second person pronouns as opposed to the third person pronouns. In contrast Benveniste (1971: 217) points out that pronouns in general do not form a unitary grammatical category. Benveniste categorises noun substitutes (e.g. demonstrative and relative pronouns), and third person pronouns (i.e. *he*, *him*, *that* etc.) in the same syntactic category as they replace or relay one or another of the material elements of the utterance (Benveniste 1971: 217). Benveniste (1971) emphasises that elements in this syntactic category are not instances of person, but simply referents to some ‘objective’ reality. By contrast he argues that the first and second person personal pronouns do not share this substitution function; and belong to a category called ‘instances of discourse’ that uniquely refer to person<sup>8</sup>.

Instances of discourse, or deictic elements like first and second person pronouns, are distinguished from referential elements in language as their use is not static. That is, contrary to purely referential elements (see Levinson 1983: 60), deictic elements are not associated with “... a particular object and always identical with the mental image it awakens” (Benveniste 1971: 218). It is suggested that deictic elements derive their meaning from the ‘context of situation’. Deixis is of great importance to philosophical, psychological and linguistic approaches to the analysis of language (Levinson 1983: 61). Previous studies on deixis (Bühler 1934, Fillmore 1966, 1975, Lyons 1968, 1977a, 1977b) provide influential theoretical work on this phenomenon. Deixis is derived from the Greek adjective *deiktikos* meaning ‘to show’ or ‘to point out’ (Finegan 2007: 193). Fillmore (1966) explains that deixis encompasses:

“those aspects of language whose interpretation is relative to the occasion of utterance; to the time of utterance, and to times before and after the time of utterance; to the location of the speaker at the time of utterance, and to the identity of the speaker and the intended audience” (Fillmore 1966: 220).

In linguistics, deixis requires contextual information. It is argued that words are deictic if their semantic meaning is fixed but their pragmatic meaning varies depending on time and/or place (Lyons 1977a). Words or phrases that require contextual information to convey any meaning - for example, English pronouns - are said to be deictic. Since the meaning of deictic words may shift from one context to the next, these expressions have

---

<sup>8</sup> In Persian, however, the second person pronouns may also be categorised as referent pronouns if they occur after prepositions and not in subject position. This will be discussed in Section 3.5.6.

also been called shifters (cf. Jespersen 1922; see also Jakobson 1971[1957]). Deixis is closely related to both indexicality and anaphora which will be elaborated below.

The most classic categories of contextual information referred to by deixis are those of person, place, and time. Person deixis is concerned with the grammatical persons (i.e. first, second and third person pronouns) involved in an utterance. That is the encoding of the role of participants in the speech events in which the utterance in question is delivered (Levinson 1983: 62). In English and most other languages the distinctions are generally indicated by use of personal pronouns. Place deixis, also known as space deixis, concerns itself with the spatial locations relevant to an utterance. Similar to person deixis, the locations may be either those of the speaker and addressee or those of persons or objects being referred to. The most salient English examples are the spatial markers and expressions (e.g. *here, there, up, down*) and the demonstratives (e.g. *this* and *that*). Time, or temporal deixis concerns adverbs and prepositions (e.g. *now, then, before*). To these traditional categories (following Lyons 1968, 1977a and Fillmore 1971a, 1975), other types of deixis may be included such as discourse (text) deixis and social deixis. Discourse deixis, also referred to as text deixis, refers to the encoding of reference to portions of the unfolding discourse in which the utterance (which includes the text referring expressions) is situated (Levinson 1983: 62).

Anaphora is when an expression makes reference to the same referent as a prior term, as indicated in the use of the third person pronouns. Lyons (1977a: 676) points out that it is possible for an expression to be both deictic and anaphoric at the same time. This is shown in Example 3.1.

I was born in London and I have lived here/there all my life.

In Example 3.1 *here* or *there* function anaphorically in their reference to London, and deictically in that the choice between ‘here’ or ‘there’ indicates whether the speaker is or is not currently in London (Lyons 1977a). The general strategy to distinguish the two phenomena is as follows: when an expression refers to another linguistic expression or a piece of discourse, it is discourse deictic. When that expression refers to the same item as a prior linguistic expression, it is anaphoric (Levinson 1983).

On the other hand social deixis (Levinson 1983), is concerned with the “encoding of social distinctions that are relative to participant-roles, particularly aspects of the social relationship holding between speaker and addressee(s) or speaker and some referent” (Levinson 1983: 63). Two major forms of social deixis are the so-called T/V distinctions and honorifics. In sociolinguistics, a T-V distinction describes the situation where a language has second person pronouns that distinguish varying levels of politeness, social distance, courtesy, familiarity, or insult toward the addressee. The expressions T-form and V-form were introduced by Brown and Gilman (1960), based on the initial letters of these pronouns in Latin: *tu* and *vos*. In Latin, *tu* was originally the singular, and *vos* the plural, with no distinction for familiarity or formality.

The following table represents the T-V distinction in a variety of Western (Wardhaugh 1992: 258) and non-Western languages.

<b>Languages</b>	<b>T</b>	<b>V</b>
<b>Latin</b>	<i>Tu</i>	<i>Vos</i>
<b>Spanish</b>	<i>Tú/Vos</i>	<i>Usted</i> written as <i>Ud.</i>
<b>German</b>	<i>Du/Ihr</i>	<i>Sie</i>
<b>French</b>	<i>Tu</i>	<i>Vous</i>
<b>Russian</b>	<i>Ty</i>	<i>Vy</i>
<b>Swedish</b>	<i>Du</i>	<i>Ni</i>
<b>Italian</b>	<i>Tu</i>	<i>Voi/Lei</i>
<b>Chinese</b>	<i>Ni</i>	<i>Nin</i>
<b>Persian</b>	<i>To</i>	<i>Šoma</i>

Table 3.1: Pronominal address forms in a variety of languages

As shown in Table 3.1, the European development of two singular pronouns of address begins with the Latin *tu* and *vos*. For example, in Italian, the pronouns became *tu* and *voi* with the third person plural pronoun (3p) *Lei* gradually largely displacing *voi*; in French *tu* and *vous*; in Spanish *tu* and *vos* (later *usted* or *Ud.*). In German, the distinction began with *Du* and *Ihr*, but *Ihr* later gave way to *Sie* (3p) (Brown and Gilman 1960: 157). The current use of *Du* and *Sie* is one that can be characterised by the contrast of the notions intimate (*Du*) versus polite/respectful (*Sie*) (Besch 1998:14). This indicates how address forms and their functions changed over time (Besch 1998).

In some languages (i.e. Japanese, Chinese) distinctions between the relative ranks of speaker and addressee are systemically encoded, for example, in the morphological system, in which case we can refer to honorifics. In other languages such distinctions are also regularly encoded in choices between pronouns, summons forms or vocatives, and address titles (Levinson 1983: 63). For example, polite pronouns (French *Vous*, Dutch *Sie*, Italian *Lei*, Spanish *Usted*) and address titles show the social relations between the speaker and the addressee. Deixis, together with the more general phenomenon called indexicality, has received a considerable amount of attention in recent years among linguistic anthropologists (Hanks 1990, 1992, Silverstein 1976, 2003, Agha 1993, Ochs 1996) and more specifically sociolinguists (Kiesling 2009, Bucholtz 2009)<sup>9</sup>. In the case of second person pronouns such as *thou/ye* and *you* in early modern English, Silverstein (1976) argues that language is the main or even the only medium through which the social category of addressee/recipient is made to exist. Languages that have socially differentiated second person pronouns, such as the classic T/V type of distinction of many European languages (French *tu/Vous*, Spanish *tu/Usted*, German *du/Sie*, and Italian *tu/Voi* or *tu/Lei*) are more extreme examples of systems in which words (in this case pronouns) are used to activate or establish the relevant social coordinates of equality/inequality, solidarity/power (Brown and Gilman 1960). These are indexes that Silverstein sees as “maximally creative or performative” (Silverstein 1976: 34). Similarly, this thesis considers the Persian address pronouns to be manifestations of social deixis. In Persian discourse social relations between individuals may be assessed with the use of formal and informal address forms and their verbal agreements (see section 3.6). To my best knowledge there has been limited work done in the study of social deixis in pronominal systems. In the next section, a more detailed description of T/V distinction and related research within this domain is addressed.

### **3.3. Address pronouns: The social nature and origins**

Personal pronouns can vary along a number of dimensions, the most common of which are person, number, and gender. Pronouns may show several number distinctions, i.e. dual (two), trial (three), or plural (more) to refer exclusively to persons and things. In addition, pronouns may be inclusive or exclusive, depending upon whether or not the hearer is

---

<sup>9</sup> Indexicality as an analytical framework will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.

included or excluded in speech. Pronouns may also vary for gender (masculine, feminine or neuter). For example, there is natural gender distinction in the English third person singular (*he/she*), which is morphologically neutralised in the plural (*they*). In contrast other language may contain gender distinction in both third person singular and plural. For example, the Spanish third person singular is (*el/ella*) and plural (*ellos/ellas*) and in Arabic there are gender distinctive pronouns for second and third persons, whereas Persian is a gender neutral language.

In addition, pronouns may vary with reference to the relative social relationship of the participants in a speech event, creating the honorific dimension of personal pronouns, especially address pronouns (Head 1978). In such pronominal systems the speaker is provided with the choice that is usually binary of an informal T or a formal V pronoun in addressing the hearer. The determinants for the selection of a T or V pronoun is constrained in use and may vary from one culture or society to another, or from one group within the same culture or society to another, or from one moment to another in the speech of the same individual (Mühlhäusler and Harré 1990). The expression of social deixis in second person address pronouns is derived from the use of a plural pronoun in addressing a single individual. However, in some languages the third person singular or plural is used as a deferential second person to address an individual. For example, in both German and Spanish, the third person is used in polite address to an individual; German uses the third person plural and Spanish uses the third person singular (Brown and Gilman 1967). The use of a third person to address the hearer, is a more indirect method of address than the second person. It is argued (Silverberg 1940: 510) that this progression from direct to the most indirect method of address is what happened in the history of German address pronouns. The use of second person singular *du* in address to a single person changed to the use of the *Ihr* even though there was only one addressee. Then *Ihr* gave way to the use of *Er*, which in time gave way to the use of *Sie*.

Brown and Gilman (1960: 255) provide a different explanation for the occurrence of social deixis in pronouns of address. According to them the development of the use of the Latin second person plural *vos* in address to a single person is associated to the fact that the late Roman empire had two emperors, one placed in Rome and the other in Constantinople. In

addressing one emperor, one was in reality addressing both of them. Along this line Brown and Gilman (1960) note that:

“The choice of *vos* as a form of address may have been in response to this implicit plurality. An emperor is also plural in another sense; he is the summation of his people and can speak as their representative. Royal persons sometimes say ‘we’ where an ordinary man would say ‘I’. The Roman emperor sometimes spoke of himself as *nos* [we], and the reverential *vos* is the simple reciprocal of this” (Brown and Gilman 1960: 255).

It is suggested that there is an intrinsic connection between plurality and politeness (see Levinson 1983). Brown and Levinson (1978) hypothesise that language strategies are organised around the mutual preservation of interactants’ face (See Section 3.8.1). In this way plurality may be used as one of many strategies to make a face-damaging statement more indirect in communication. For this hypothesis they point out the pronominal development in Tamil. Once the Tamil plural pronoun came to be used as a form of deferential address to one person, speakers began to use a different form for the semantic plural. However, in time this new plural form also began to be used as a deferential form in address to one person. This, according to Levinson (1983), shows the connection between plurality and respect, this development is also paralleled in Persian (See Section 3.5.5).

### **3.4. Studies of pronouns of address**

One of the most influential comparative studies in the area of address forms was the study conducted by Brown and Gilman in 1960. With questionnaires they investigated the pronominal address system in European languages such as French, German, Italian, and Spanish. They propose several hypotheses about the nature, functions, and meanings of personal address systems, with particular reference to these languages and societies. Brown and Gilman (1960) discuss the two important semantics – power and solidarity – involved in the evolution of the T/V systems of certain European languages. By “semantics” Brown and Gilman (1969) mean “...the co-variation between the pronoun used and the objective relationship existing between speaker and the addressee” (Brown and Gilman 1969: 253). It

is argued that the solidarity semantic is associated with symmetrical pronominal usage and mostly expressed in reciprocal use of either the T or the V pronoun. On the other hand, the power semantic is associated with asymmetrical or non-reciprocal use of pronouns between the more and less powerful in communication. The plural form is thus used as a way of expressing formality, respect or social distance. As pointed out by Brown and Gilman (1960), the cause of power can be physical strength, wealth, age, sex, the institutionalised role of the church, the state, the army or within the family. Power relations may be regarded as those relations on a vertical social scale, and solidarity relations as those on a horizontal scale or similar behaviour disposition (Brown and Gilman 1960: 258). According to them, in spite of more democratic societies, the power semantic lasted up to the nineteenth century in Europe. Solidary power unequal still used the nonreciprocal address forms. However, the twentieth century, was the emergence of solidarity semantic, with both power equals and unequal using the mutual T if solidary and V if not (Figure 3.1a). Brown and Gilman (1960) note that the notion of pronominal choice is bound up with the social structure and ideology of particular societies. They maintain that the switch from the dominance of the power to the solidarity semantic resulted from the change from the feudal, static social structure of the Middle Ages to the more egalitarian social structure of the present day Europe. They also point out the growth of a large middle class and social upheaval in the form of war and revolution as two causes of the change in social structure (Brown and Gilman 1960: 264-269).

As shown in Figure 3.1, Brown and Gilman (1960) summarises the modern usage of T/V pronouns in a two-dimensional semantic model. In Figure 3.1, the direction of arrows upwards shows that inferiors address superiors with V form and downwards indicates that superiors address inferiors with T form. Bi-directional arrows show reciprocity. It means that those who are equal and solidary use mutual T and those who are equal, but not solidary, address each other by the 'V' form. When solidarity takes on greater importance, conflicts of this type arise. In Figure 3.1b, the problematic cases are the upper left and lower right hand boxes in which power and solidarity semantics conflict. Under tension, superior in power calls for 'V' but solidarity suggesting 'T', and inferior in power is indicated by 'T', while not solidary marked by 'V'. In these cases, as mentioned before, in



modern Europe by the mid – twentieth century, the solidarity semantic won over power, requiring mutual ‘T’ in the first instance and mutual ‘V’ in the second.

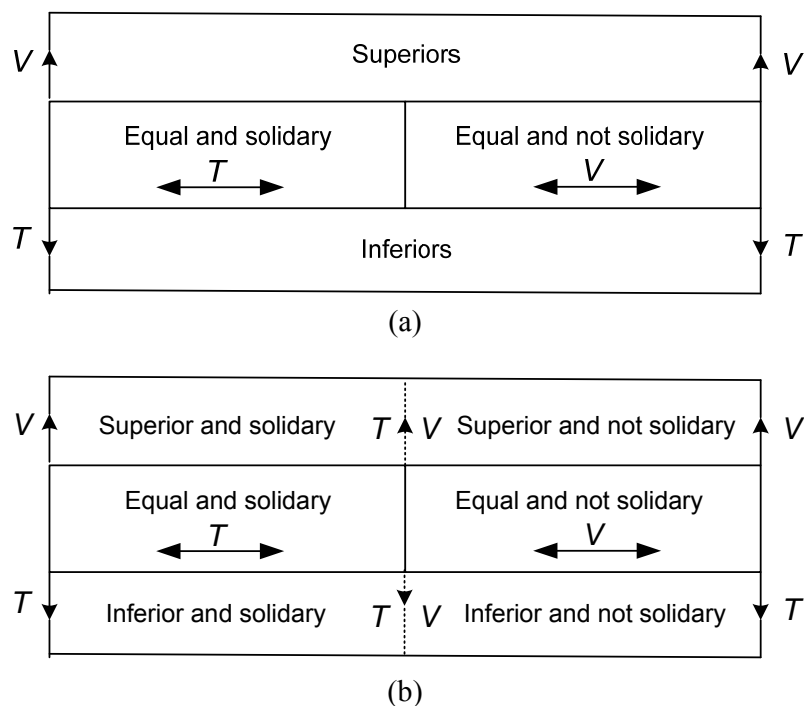


Figure 3.1. The two dimensional semantic model of T/V (a) in equilibrium and (b) under tension (Brown and Gilman 1972: 259).

Brown and Gilman (1960) in their study also discussed the transitory use of pronouns to express “...some attitude or emotion of the speaker”; they elaborate as follows:

“This kind of variation in language behaviour expresses a contemporaneous feeling or attitude. These variations are not consistent personal styles but departures from one’s own custom and the customs of a group in response to a mood” (Brown and Gilman 1960: 274).

However, in breaking the pronominal norms, the speaker’s new pronominal assessment is still retained within the confines of power and solidarity. For example if a speaker temporarily changes from V to T, he/she temporarily regards the addressee as an intimate or inferior. This thesis takes this synthesis further and argues for interactional stance influencing the versatile but systematic use of Persian address

pronouns. In Chapter 4 of this thesis, the interactional relationship between speakers are considered and discussed along the lines of indexicality and stancetaking.

Some of these claims outlined above, for example, that the relative use of T versus V forms is a correlate of a society's political ideology, was confirmed and developed by other scholars working on different languages (Friedrich 1966, 1966a, 1972, Bates and Benigni 1975, Paulston 1976). Friedrich's (1966) work points out that pronoun usage in Russian incorporates ten dimensions: "the topic of discourse, the context of the speech event; then age, generation, sex and kinship status; then dialect, group membership and relative jural and political authority; and finally, emotional solidarity -- the sympathy and antipathy between the two speakers." (Friedrich 1966: 229). Friedrich (1966) states pronouns display unusual properties of emotional expressiveness, logical abstraction, and frequency in Russian dialogue. In Russian, the second person singular pronouns were the most pervasive, frequent, and profound in their implications (Friedrich 1966: 298). Bates and Benigni (1975) examined the pronouns of address in Italy as a function of sociological parameters of age, sex and social class. They used a modified version of the Brown and Gilman's questionnaire in interviewing 117 Italian adults. Their results indicate a powerful age-class interaction in overall degrees of formality. They also found that the pronouns of address in Italy are tripartite: *tu*, *voi* and *Lei*. *Tu* is the T form; *Lei* is the respect form for non-familiar superiors and/or distance acquaintances in the city, while *voi* is the respect form used in the family. This three-fold distinction was not considered by Brown and Gilman. According to Bates and Benigni (1975) sex differences are not as important as age, political and social class in the selection of address variants in Italy. From these factors, age differences are the major status differences likely to trigger non-reciprocal address. Although languages are different in their selection and use of address variants, it seems that in most languages age, class and level of formality are major determining factors in this respect. In a fieldwork, Paulston (1976) described the address system in Swedish. She believed that linguistic description is not possible without considering the social and historical perspectives of a particular society. She reviewed the T/V dichotomy and usage of pronoun of address since 17<sup>th</sup> century, and concluded that due to social and historical factors of society, the dichotomy has disappeared and everyone uses the T form.

The power and solidarity model for the analysis of pronouns of address was later modified to *intimacy* and *status* (Brown and Ford 1964, my emphasis). Although many researchers have confirmed the Brown and Gilman (1960) model, there is some other work which shows its limitation. Their model cannot account for the use of *Sie* (3p) and first name (FN) in German (Clyne et al. 2003) which seem to simultaneously signal intimacy (FN) and status (*Sie*). Likewise, I argue that the T/V model does not provide an accurate explanation for the mixed *šoma* pronoun use and 2s verb agreement and pronoun switching patterns in Persian that will be discussed in section 3.5.5.

Furthermore, the deterministic T/V model articulated in Brown and Gilman (1960) and extended in Brown and Ford (1964) fails to consider the possibility of multiple meanings for the same form such as showing affection and intimacy with the V address form (Kendall 1981: 237). Hymes (1972: 35-71) states that power and solidarity models are not sufficient for the investigation of natural data. In contrast with previous studies on address terms, which have focused only on T or V pronouns, analysing them separately from each other, the significance of this thesis lies in the fact that it deals with the occurrence of V pronoun and 2s agreement in a unified way. It also points to considerable variability within the same contexts and amongst the same speakers that is manifested as switching patterns between formal and informal address forms in the Persian address system. This study also aims to extend the investigation of pronominal address forms as politeness strategies to determine which factors influence address usage in the pronominal system of pro-drop languages.

In the rest of this section, some further studies on forms of address will be discussed, which are not based on the Brown and Gilman (1960) model. These presented studies cannot give a comprehensive overview of all such studies, but some of the investigated issues are addressed including the relationship between interlocutors (Head 1976), psychological factors (Spencer-Oatey 1996), context (Morford 1997), social status (Yang 2007), socio-political change (Clyne et al. 2006), cultural settings (Benjamin and Afful 2006), social behaviour (Silverstein 1976, Musumeci 1991), socio-pragmatics (Martiny 1996), and power (Takahara 1992). These studies are all relevant to my proposed model for explaining the Persian pronominal address system usages. In a study carried out in China, Yang (2007)

describes how women's social status as a subordinate group is reflected by address forms. Traditionally, married women in China are required to use the same address forms used by their children to address their husband's families. Yang (2007) suggests that this reveals that married women are ranked as children. But it was found that higher university education aroused stronger consciousness of equality among married women, which in turn led to variation in address forms.

Head (1976) and Jensen's (1981: 60) study of the second person pronoun usage in Brazilian Portuguese (BP) concluded that regional, social variation and the relationship between interlocutors is the main conditioning social variable in the choice of addressee pronoun. For example, within the family the power semantic may lead to the use of *o senhor* 'informal polite singular' with a parent but the form will be accompanied by the *te* of solidarity which is the object clitic form of *tu*. Pronominal paradigms offer rich opportunities for affect displays. Spencer-Oatey (1996: 1) proposed a new parameter, namely 'affect', which is extracted from distance. Affect is an extra parameter of interlocutor relations which refers to "the subjective states that observers ascribe to a person on the basis of the person's conduct" (Kagan 1978 as cited in Besnier 1990: 421). Furthermore, in Spencer-Oatey's (1996) study psychological factors are considered; similar to Head (1976), she showed that the dynamics of the interlocutor relations should be investigated more. The social indexicality in French pronominal address among standard French speakers in the Paris metropolitan area is studied in Morford (1997: 14). According to her research, the symmetrical use of *tu* or *vous* was the preferred pattern rather than an absolute preference for *tu*. Morford (1997: 16) points out that context is an important factor determining pronoun use.

The links between language and gender in the study of pronouns of address are broadened by Ostermann (2003), Kuo (2003), and Yang (2007). Ostermann (2003) carried out an interactional analysis of second person pronoun usage and its employment in association with local contextualisation. Ostermann's (2003: 361) study indicated that the determining factors in the choice of address forms were age and the desire to create or maintain social distance.

Martiny (1996: 765) studied forms of address other than T and V such as indefinite pronouns and first person plural pronouns in French and Dutch. This approach has been referred to as a socio-pragmatic approach (Thomas 1995), because it considers co-occurrence of address forms such as first name, or French *tu* and *vous* with speech acts. Martiny (1996) points out that forms of address play an important role in the performance of speech acts. First, similar to vocatives they can serve to catch the attention of the addressee, or, if there are several persons present at the place and time of speaking, to select the person to whom a particular speech act is directed. Second, they may also be used to boost or to attenuate the force of a speech act (Martiny 1996: 767). Takahara (1992: 117) examined the Japanese second person pronouns and determined the main factors in their communicative usage. She concludes that the relative power of address forms is the chief determinant of use.

Besch (1998) indicates a change in the use of German T/V system that came about following the German student movement in the late 1960s. Before this period, students addressed each other and their instructors with *Sie* (T); *Du* (V) was used only for special friends. Bayer (1979) characterises this system of address as one based on an unmarked pronoun for formality (*Sie*) versus a marked one for intimacy (*Du*). In the late 1960s, as a protest against conventional social relationships, students began to use *Du* for communication with each other. According to Bayer (1979), this new system of address is based on an unmarked pronoun for solidarity (*Du*) versus a marked one for social distance (*Sie*). When both address systems were employed in a speech situation, misunderstandings were often the result. This led to a certain amount of uncertainty when addressing others, uncertainty that still exists today. Zimmer (1986:53) characterises the “*Du/Sie*-conflict” (do I say *Du* or *Sie*?), which repeatedly raises the question of one’s own social identity and group membership, as a common daily occurrence.

Similarly, Clyne et al. (2003) argue that the dichotomy T/V can no longer simply be understood in terms of solidarity vs. power. In other words, the power dimension (i.e. asymmetry between interlocutors) is no longer made salient in address, because nowadays, each individual claims to have power based on their own status. Rather, Clyne et al. (2003: 2) claim that the T/V dichotomy can be understood through social distance relations within

a theory of politeness. Secondly, Clyne et al. (2003) argue that changes in the use of address pronouns are characterised by cyclical fluctuations in time, such as the use of Swedish *ni* was replaced by *du* and later gave way to *ni* again, which no longer follow a simple linear development as claimed by Brown and Gilman (1960).

Clyne et al. (2003: 2) examined the French, German and Swedish address systems and the impact of socio-political changes on these systems. In their work, German showed a greater degree of dynamism, fluctuation and opportunity for negotiation of address forms compared to Swedish. The T pronoun was considered the unmarked pronoun in Swedish (Clyne et al. 2006: 312). Clyne et al. (2006) argue that socio-political change can complicate the determination of degree of social distance and therefore choice of address form. Consequently, this might lead to a more stable or volatile system in address form usage. For instance, in Persian and some other languages (e.g. Spanish and Portuguese) there is a possibility of switching patterns between deferential and casual pronominal address forms in intra-speaker utterances, which will be discussed in Section 3.6.6. As the analysis in Chapters 6 and 7 will highlight, the functions of address pronouns and patterns of address pronoun usage in Persian is motivated by the individual and interactional stances in the immediate interaction. This phenomenon sheds light on the communicative strategies fulfilled by the pronouns of address in interaction.

Having reviewed some of the literature on address pronouns in a variety of Western and non-Western languages, in the following section the Persian address system will be discussed.

### **3.5. Persian pronoun system**

#### **3.5.1. Formal description**

Persian is an SOV language, meaning that the general structure of sentences is Subject-Object-Verb. The subject pronouns and their agreements are described in Table 3.2 below. The colloquial forms of pronouns are given inside the brackets:

Person		Singular		Plural	
		Overt Pronoun	Agreement	Overt Pronoun	Agreement
<i>First Person</i>		<i>mæn</i> 'I'	- <i>æm</i>	<i>ma</i> 'we'	- <i>im</i>
<i>Second Person</i>		<i>to</i> 'you'	- <i>i</i>	<i>šoma</i> 'you'	- <i>id</i> /- <i>in</i>
<i>Third Person</i>	<i>Animate</i>	<i>ou, vey</i> 'he/she'	past tense: $\emptyset^{10}$ ( <i>past verb stem</i> ) present tense: - <i>æd</i>	<i>anha</i> [ <i>unha</i> ] 'those people' <i>inha</i> 'these people' <i>išan</i> [ <i>išun</i> ] 'they'	- <i>ænd</i> /- <i>æn</i>
	<i>Inanimate</i>	<i>an</i> [ <i>un</i> ] 'that' or 'it' <i>in</i> 'this' or 'it'	past tense: $\emptyset$ ( <i>past verb stem</i> ) present tense: - <i>æd</i>	<i>anha</i> [ <i>unha</i> ] 'those' or 'they' <i>inha</i> 'these'	- <i>ænd</i> / <i>æn</i>

Table 3.2: Persian subject pronouns and agreements

As can be seen in Table 3.2, pronouns reflect one of three persons and two numbers. The third person singular has separate forms for animate and inanimate. *Anha/inha* is the plural of *an* 'that' and *in* 'this'. It refers to either animate or inanimate third person plurals. *Išan* [*išun*] 'they' is a literary/formal (polite) alternative, which is only used for humans.

### 3.5.2. Subject and verb number agreement

In Persian morphology, there should always be number agreement between subject and verb. Mahootian (1997) describes agreement in Persian as follows:

Subject must be coded on the verb via the personal endings, which agree with the subject NP in person and number. The subject must be coded on the verb even if the subject is pro-dropped. An important exception to subject–verb agreement is with inanimate plural subjects, which can take a singular verb (Mahootian 1997: 145)

Plural marking is, in general, obligatory to indicate a plural referent in Persian. Sometimes, however, for emphasis, humbleness or modesty, the first person plural is used with a singular referent. Example 3.2 shows the speaker has used *ma* 'we' to refer to him/herself, which can be interpreted as a marker of humbleness or modesty.

Example 3.2

A: *doruq*      *mi-g-i*  
       *lie*        *dur-say-2s*  
       'You are lying.'

<sup>10</sup> The empty set ' $\emptyset$ ' is used to represent the null pronoun in the examples.

B: *ma æz in adæm-a ni-st-im*  
 we from this person-pl neg-be-1p  
 ‘I’m not that sort of a person’.

Such hybridity of pronoun and referent can also be seen in address pronouns, where the plural address pronoun can occur with a singular verb inflection. In Section 3.5.5, pronominal address forms, especially to address second person singular, will be discussed.

### 3.5.3. Null-Subject Construction

Persian, similar to Romance languages like Italian, Spanish or Catalan, can be categorised as a null-subject, or a pronoun dropping (pro-drop) language. In the case of subject pronouns, the missing subject can be retrieved from the verb morphology, which uniquely identifies each person and number. As can be seen in Examples 3.3 and 3.4, the free pronoun is optional in speech and when it is used, it is mostly to show emphasis. Thus, Example 3.3 is more likely in a contrastive or exclamatory context. Mahootian (1997: 206) notes that “when the referent is not being contrasted or emphasised, the pronoun is commonly dropped” as shown in Example 3.4.

#### Example 3.3

A: *to čera dir umæd-i? to emruz koja bud-i?*  
 2s why late came-2s? 2s today where was-2s?  
 ‘why are you late? where were you today?’

B: *mæn mædrese bud-æm!↑*  
 1s school was-1s  
 ‘I was at school!’

#### Example 3.4

A: *emruz če kar kærd-i?*  
 today what job did-2s?  
 ‘what did you do today?’

B: *mædreseh bud-æm.*  
 school was-1s  
 ‘I was at school.’



### 3.5.4. Separable pronominal references and enclitics

Pronominal reference in Persian is accomplished by separable pronominal forms and enclitic pronouns. Separable pronouns, which are grammatically optional as subjects, all may serve as subject, object, or object of preposition. In this study, I focus on address pronouns, which include second person markers as subjects or verb inflections (See Section 3.5.5). For this reason, I have used the notion of referent pronoun when the pronoun is not an address form (Dickey 1997: 256). For example, a referent pronoun can be objective or prepositional.

The Persian pronominal enclitics are also categorised as referent pronouns and deference can be expressed with the selection of different enclitic pronouns on nouns, verbs, prepositions. It is important and interesting to examine the pronominal references alongside pronouns of address. This will be especially important when we start to look at switches between address pronouns<sup>11</sup> in the collected spontaneous conversations (Chapter 7). By looking at both the subject pronouns and the referent pronouns, we will be able to shed light on what determines the politeness features in conversation when an address pronoun switch occurs. Table 3.3 lists the separable pronominal references and enclitics.

As indicated in Table 3.3, the pronominal enclitics can be categorised in two forms: the written (formal) style and the colloquial (informal) style, which are indicated in the square brackets. The colloquial endings (as shown in the brackets) have two forms, vowel-initial and consonant-initial. When a stem ends in a vowel, the enclitics must start with a consonant; when the stem of the word ends in a consonant the enclitic begins with a vowel (Mahootian 1997: 138).

Person		Singular		Plural	
		separable	enclitic	separable	enclitic
First Person		<i>mæn</i>	<i>-æm</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>-eman [-emun/-mun]</i>
		‘my, me’		‘our, us’	
Second Person		<i>to</i>	<i>-æt [-et/-t]</i>	<i>šoma</i>	<i>-etan [-etun/-tun]</i>
		‘your, you’		‘your, you’	
Third Person	Animate	<i>u</i>	<i>-æš [-eš/-š]</i>	<i>išan</i>	<i>-ešan [-ešun/-šun]</i>
		‘his/her/its, him/her/it’		‘their, them’	

Table 3.3: Persian referent pronouns: separable and enclitics

<sup>11</sup> The address pronoun switching patterns are discussed in Section 3.6.6.

In Persian, referent pronouns are used as a) possessive pronouns (if inflected on nouns), b) complements of prepositions (if inflected on prepositions), and c) direct objects of verbs (when suffixed to the verb). These usages are shown in Examples 3.5a, 3.5b and 3.5c respectively as separable referent pronouns and enclitics. It should be noted that the object enclitics follow the agreement inflection on the verb as can be seen in Example 3.5c.

Separable referent pronoun	Enclitics
<p>Example 3.5a</p> <p><i>ketab-e to ru miz-e</i>  book-ez 2s on table-is  ‘your book is on the table’</p>	<p><i>ketab-et ru miz-e</i>  book-2s.cl on table-is  ‘your book is on the table’</p>
<p>Example 3.5b</p> <p><i>bæray-e šoma či be-xær-æm?</i>  prep-ez 2p what subj-buy-1s  ‘what shall I buy for you?’</p>	<p><i>bæra-tun či be-xær-æm?</i>  prep-2p.cl what subj-buy-1s  ‘what shall I buy for you?’</p>
<p>Example 3.5c</p> <p><i>diruz did-æm išun-o</i>  yesterday saw-1s 3p-om  ‘yesterday I saw him/her’</p>	<p><i>diruz did-æm-e-šun</i>  yesterday saw-1s-ez-3p.cl  ‘yesterday I saw him/her’</p>

The second and third person plural referent pronouns and enclitic forms can be used to indicate singular as well as plural referents. In Examples 3.5b and 3.5c above, the second and third person plural referent pronouns *šoma* and *išun* as well as enclitics *-tun* and *-šun* can be interpreted as either plural or polite singular pronouns.

### 3.5.5. Second person address pronouns and verbal morphology

Persian has two personal pronouns for singular address, *to* the familiar or intimate ‘you’ and *šoma*, the deferential or formal ‘you’ (historically only the second person plural but now as a politeness strategy also used as second person singular). Table 3.4 below illustrates the formal patterns of Persian pronominal address form paradigm. The deferential verbal agreement (-id) is coded as 2h showing great deference and (-in) is coded as 2p indexing politeness not necessarily deference. The singular verbal agreement (-i) is coded as 2s in the analysis of data.

<i>Second Person Pronoun</i>	Overt pro.+agreement	Null subject+agreement
<b>Informal</b>	<i>To</i> +2s	∅ +2s
<b>Formal</b>	<i>Šoma</i> +2h/2p	∅+2h/2p

Table 3.4: Persian pronominal address forms

As may be seen in Table 3.4, there is a possibility of variation in subject and verb agreement in Persian. For example, in subject position the address form may occur as an overt pronominal form, a phonetically null subject or as a title or a name. The latter two forms (i.e. names and titles) which are not pronominal will be discussed in Section 3.6.2. However, the variation paradigm in agreement position is not as diverse as the overt subject position. It allows for either the deferential (-id/-in) or the informal (-i) verb agreement. In this work, the pronominal variables under investigation are the second person address forms *to*, *šoma* and their verbal agreements in face-to-face interaction. The different politeness levels of address forms in subject and verb agreement indicate the possibility of variation in address form usage which will be discussed in Chapters 6 and 7.

### 3.5.6. Persian agreement mismatch construction

In Persian morphology, number agreement between subject and verb is required. The plural pronouns and their agreement suffixes are used not only for plural address but also for singular address to indicate respect or when there is a status difference between interlocutors. Corbett (1998: 1) defines the element which determines the agreement the controller (e.g. subject pronoun) and target is defined as the element whose form is determined by agreement (i.e. verb ending). There is not always agreement between the controller and the target for pronouns and their verbs. Corbett (1998: 4) names such constructions “mismatch agreement”. As the analysis will show in polite speech we also find cases where the overt deferential pronoun can be in agreement with singular verb agreement (*šoma* {2p} + 2s verb suffix). This can be seen in Example 3.6, which is from the media discourse (discussed in detail in Chapter 7). The co-occurrence of *šoma* and 2s agreement in Persian, which I call a ‘mismatch construction’ (i.e. mismatch agreement), is underlined in Example 3.6. The exchange is between a man who has a faulty doorbell, talking to a repairman:

### Example 3.6

[Episode: Fixing the doorbell, Setting: Hidden camera, Speakers: B: the person who has a faulty doorbell, male, approx. 45 year old - H: repairman, male, approx. 30 year old)

B: *šoma zæŋ mi-zæŋ-i bæle*  
2p ring dur-hit-2s yes  
'You will ring, yes?'

H: *areh diŋe zæŋ mi-zæŋ-æm mošæxæš bešeh*  
yes so ring dur-hit-1s clear become-3s  
'Yes, I will ring so we can see if it is broken.'

There is also another type of mismatch construction, which is not an address form. Example 3.7 shows this mismatch agreement, which occurs in the third person subject pronoun and verb agreement.

### Example 3.7

A: *mi-tun-æm ba baba-tun sohbæt konæm?*  
dur-can-1s with father-2p.cl.speak do-1s  
'can I speak with your father?'

B: *išun xune ni-st.*  
3p home neg-is  
'he is not at home'

As we can see from Example 3.7, *išun* 'they' in this context refers to a singular person. The distinction between *u* 'he/she' and *išun* 'they' is similar to that between *to* (2s) and *šoma* (2p) (Mahootian 1997: 208). When individuals use *šoma* with 2s verb agreement or *išun* with a singular verb, it indicates an interplay between the power and solidarity semantic. This communicative strategy manifests attention paid to both speaker and hearer's positive and negative face wants (Brown and Levinson 1987). To date there has been limited research in Persian focusing on the communicative strategies performed by the mismatch construction in interaction.

In studies of other languages (Zilles 2005), although places and times of variation in agreement are noted, attention is focused on phonological and morphological factors, and no attention is paid to the communicative strategies of address form alternations such as pronoun switching or agreement mismatch constructions. Sociolinguistic studies in Portuguese (Osterman 2003), Japanese (Okamoto 1995) and Spanish (Ardali 2003) offer a

valuable insight into the way pronoun use may be manipulated for communicative purposes and the way in which such pragmatically motivated variation may simultaneously be part of long term morpho-syntactic changes. Evidence of instances of agreement mismatches in politeness levels can be found in languages such as Hindi (Jain 1973), Spanish (Kany 1951) and Brazilian Portuguese (Head 1976). For instance, Head (1976) and Jensen's (1981:60) study on the second person pronoun usage in Brazilian Portuguese (BP) concluded that regional, social variation and the relationship between interlocutors is the main conditioning social variable in the choice of addressee pronoun (e.g. within the family the power semantic may lead to the use of *o senhor* (informal polite singular) with a parent but the form will be accompanied by the *te* of solidarity which is the object clitic form of *tu*).

Having reviewed the Persian pronoun system and pronominal address forms including the mismatch construction and its related studies, the next section looks at the impact of extra-linguistic factors on the usage of different pronominal address forms.

### **3.6. Correlation of pronominal address variables with extra-linguistic factors**

This section outlines the formal variants (i.e. Persian address pronouns as per Table 3.4) along with extra-linguistic factors that affect their distribution:

- Reciprocity/asymmetry
- Co-occurrence of pronoun with other forms of address
- Choice vs. prescribed
- Social and contextual triggers for choice
- Negotiability
- Variability/interchangeability

The correlation of pronominal address (T, V and the mismatch construction) variables with these factors is discussed in the following subsections.

#### **3.6.1. Reciprocity/asymmetry (amongst interlocutors)**

According to Brown and Gilman (1960), reciprocity usage of T/V pronouns indicates solidarity between interlocutors speaking languages such as French and German, while

asymmetry of T/V usage shows power difference of interactants. For example a superior person uses T and receives V from an inferior person. Unlike European languages, in the Persian address system, there is no fixed reciprocity rule in T/V usage, such as an invitation to use the T form depending on an established relationship between interlocutors. Baumgardner (1980) reported both reciprocal and non-reciprocal usage of Persian pronominal address forms which are proportional depending on age, gender and social class differences. For example, both reciprocal and asymmetric usages of T/V were observed between siblings as well as parents and children; he states that, when the interlocutors are siblings, they are more likely to use the reciprocal pattern, compared to parents and children in interaction (Baumgardner 1980).

In Persian, when asymmetrical T/V is used there is a clear power difference amongst interlocutors such as in an employer and employee relationship. Baumgardner (1980) states that when there is age and sex difference, such as interactions between grandparents and grandchildren or father and daughter, we are more likely to observe asymmetric Persian pronominal address usage.

Research has indicated that the sudden shift from power to solidarity in Iran in the face of the socio-political upheaval in the country has yielded interesting changes in the forms of address in Persian. Forms of address in Persian have undergone sociolinguistic simplification since the Islamic Revolution of 1979 (Keshavarz 1988: 565). In post-revolutionary Iran, plain speech and forms of address, marking solidarity, have gained popularity. In addition, the asymmetrical forms of address, which reflected the social class structure of pre-revolutionary Iran, have gradually declined (Keshavarz 1988: 565).

### **3.6.2. Co-occurrence of address pronoun agreement with other forms of address**

Persian second person non-pronominal address terms (titles or name) may co-occur with T/V agreement pronouns in interaction, which are hierarchical in nature and allow for the expression of numerous degrees of politeness. Table 3.5 below illustrates the formal patterns of Persian address terms (non-pronominal) paradigm.

<b>Second Person Pronoun</b>	names/titles + agreement
<b>Informal</b>	names/titles +2s
<b>Formal</b>	Names/titles +2h/2p

Table 3.5: Persian address term subject and agreement

In subject position the address form may occur as a title or a name. Similar to pronominal address forms, names and titles can be used with different formal and informal verb agreements. Through the varied combinations of either First Name (FN) and/or Last Name (LN) plus a limited number of enclitics and titles, a great range of social distinctions can be made for both male and female addressees. Table 3.6 shows a selection of Persian titles and kinship terms (Keshavarz 1988, Stilo et al. 2005b) ranging from the most formal to the most informal.

The non-pronominal address terms in Table 3.6 are commonly used if the speaker is in social acquaintance with the addressee in order to address him/her with either first or last name depending on the social relationship. The address terms used among people with no pre-existing relationship will be highlighted in Table 3.7.

As can be seen in Table 3.6, forms 1 to 5 highlight the various uses of titles. Among these address forms, form 1 is the most deferential, which is addressing one by the title of their profession. In contrast, form 5, the use of male or female first name alone, constitutes the most familiar form of address in Persian. Slightly more formal is the use of form 4, FN + *jan* (or the less formal phonological variant *jun*) meaning ‘soul’ or ‘life’. This renders an address term equivalent to the English expression ‘my dear + first name (FN)’ or ‘FN + dear’. The informal and intimate forms of address *jan* and *jun*, namely meaning ‘dear’ in English, are considered terms of endearment. They are both used in colloquial expressions. In form 3, in order to address men, the FN is followed by *xan*; women are addressed as FN + *xanum*. The address terms 1, 2, 3 and 4 are structurally the same, except for the use of the genitive or *ezafe* construction<sup>12</sup> in forms 1 and 2. For example, in these forms, *aqā* (-ye) and *xanum* (-e) are followed by the title of the profession or last name (LN). In the

<sup>12</sup> *Ezafe* literally means ‘addition’. *Ezafe* links a head noun to an adjective, noun, adverb or prepositional phrase, which is indicated by inserting *-e* or *-ye* (Mahootian 1997: 66).

following, the address terms used among interlocutors with no pre-existing relationships is discussed.

	<b>Male</b>	<b>Female</b>
<b>1</b>	<i>Aqa(-ye) + mohændes</i> Mr(-ez) + engineer 'Mr engineer'	<i>Xanum(-e) + mohændes</i> Mrs/Ms./Miss(-ez) + engineer 'Mrs/Ms./Miss + engineer'
<b>2</b>	<i>Aqa(-ye) + LN</i> Mr(-ez) + LN 'Mr LN'	<i>Xanum(-e) + LN</i> Mrs/Ms./Miss(-ez) + LN 'Mrs/Ms./Ms.+LN'
<b>3</b>	<i>FN + xan</i> FN + Sir 'FN sir'	<i>FN + xanum</i> FN + Mrs/Ms./Miss 'FN + Mrs/Ms./Ms.'
<b>4</b>	<i>FN + jan/jun</i> FN + dear 'FN dear'	<i>FN + jan/jun</i> FN + dear 'FN dear'
<b>5</b>	FN	FN
<b>6</b>	<i>Pedær bozorg</i> Father big 'grand father'	<i>Madær bozorg</i> Mother big 'grand mother'
<b>7</b>	<i>Baba-i</i> Father-ind 'grand daddy'	<i>Maman-i</i> Mother-ind 'grand mummy'
<b>8</b>	<i>Pedær/baba</i> 'Father, daddy'	<i>Madær/mama/maman</i> 'mother, mum, mummy'
<b>9</b>	<i>Bæradær</i> Brother	<i>Xahær</i> Sister
<b>10</b>	<i>Æziz-æm</i> dear-1s.cl 'My dear'	<i>Æziz-æm</i> dear-1s.cl 'My dear'

Table 3.6: Persian titles and kinship terms (Keshavarz 1988, Stilo et al. 2005b)

Complete strangers in Iran are addressed either as *aqa* or *xanum*, but even in the case of strangers further additions are made to these two terms to be more formal or informal. For example, when people attempt to be more polite, they address taxi drivers as *aqa-ye ranænde* "Mr driver" or older people when addressing children with no acquaintance use *aqa pesær* 'Mr boy' or *doxtær xanum* 'Lady'. The pragmatic effect of this form of address is to get the attention of the hearer. In Table 3.7, as there is no pre-existing relationship between the interlocutors, slightly different non-pronominal address terms are listed compared to Table 3.6. Instead of FN or LN, the speakers use address terms in forms 1 to 8 (Table 3.7).

The use of address terms *Qorban* and *Ostad* is usually used between men. It should be noted that the diversity of deferential and informal forms of address for addressing men or women occur very frequently in Persian. The speaker uses these terms to call someone's



attention or to refer to someone whose name he or she does not know. They are equivalent to English terms such as ‘gentleman’ or ‘sir’. However, such forms like 5 and 6 are culturally specific to the Persian language to highlight social differentiation in conversation.

	<b>Male</b>	<b>Female</b>
<b>1</b>	<i>Jenab</i> ‘Sir’	<i>Særkar</i> ‘Lady’
<b>2</b>	<i>Aqa</i> ‘Sir, Mister’	<i>Xanum</i> ‘Mrs/Ms/Madam/Miss’
<b>3</b>	<i>Aqa-ye + mohtæræm</i> Sir-ez + respectful ‘Gentleman’	<i>Xanum-e + mohtæræm</i> Mrs-ez + respectful ‘Lady’
<b>4</b>	<i>Qorban</i> ‘Sir’(honorific)	No equivalent female term
<b>5</b>	<i>Haj + aqa</i> ‘Mr Haji’	<i>Haj + xanum</i> ‘Mrs Haji’
<b>6</b>	<i>Pedær(jan)</i> ‘Dear father’	<i>Madær(jan)</i> ‘Dear mother’
<b>7</b>	<i>Bæradær</i> ‘Brother’	<i>Xahær</i> ‘Sister’
<b>8</b>	<i>Ostad + (jan)</i> ‘Lecturer + (dear) ‘Sir’ (colloquial)	No equivalent female term

Table 3.7: Persian titles used in media conversation (Stilo et al. 2005b)

*Qorban* is a polite lexical substitute for ‘sir’. It also has different functions if a pronoun of address follows it: 1) it is used as an expression of showing gratitude, meaning “thank you” to offers, requests and inquiries about health and 2) it occurs commonly with good-byes either along with *xoda-hafez* (goodbye) or as its substitute by conjunction with an enclitic (e.g. *qorban-æt(-e-tun)* [goodbye]).

The word *Haj* in the address term *Haj aqa/xanum* derives from the Arabic word *Hæjj*. *Hæjj* is the pilgrimage to Mecca. A man who attends the pilgrimage is addressed *Haj aqa* or the slang form *Haji*. Women are only addressed *Haj xanum*. However, these address terms in the contemporary Iranian society have evolved into a common term of address among individuals. It is especially used in transactions as a form of flattery.

*Pedær/madær (jan)* ‘dear father/mother’ is a form of address used to minimise the social distance in conversation with an individual with no pre-existing relationship. It is usually followed by the formal form of the endearment address term *jan*. This endearment term

gives the address term an ironic meaning. *Bæradær* ‘brother’ and *xahær* ‘sister’ (form 9 in Table 3.6) are the more religious terms of address which were used in the early 1980s during the Iranian revolution<sup>13</sup>.

*Ostad jan* is a new contemporary address form mainly used to address an interlocutor who is older than the speaker. *Ostad* in Persian literally means ‘lecturer’. However, originally when referring to a master musician in the music traditions of the Middle East. *Ostad*, *Ustad*, *Ostaz*, *Ustaz*, *Usta* (all synonymous with ‘master’) is the word used in the Persian, Arabic, Turkish, Malay, Urdu and Hindi languages to denote a scholar or performer of high accomplishment, especially a musician. In the Spanish and Italian languages, a term analogous to *Ostad* is *Maestro*, meaning ‘master’ or ‘teacher’, which is used for similar politeness functions (Warrack and West 1992).

Some authors (Obolensky et al. 1973, Rafiee 2001) claim that the use of terms of endearment or informal non-pronominal address terms is limited in use between friends of either gender or among family members. However, the analysis in this thesis suggests that the informal non-pronominal endearment terms and address forms even occur in social contexts between people with no pre-existing relationships. Thus, I propose that the definition of the non-pronominal terms should be investigated in spontaneous discourse. Accordingly, Stilo et al. (2005b: 223) claim that *jan* and *jun* are colloquial and informal terms, but it may be used with strangers if the context invites such informality (e.g. in a service encounter or taxi).

Having reviewed the morphological features that my study examines, the socio-political changes the Persian address terms have undergone since the 1979 revolution should be addressed. Before the 1979 Islamic revolution in Iran, even more formal and polite terms than *šoma* were used to address the second person. *Jenab-ali* meaning ‘Your Excellency’ was used to address males and *særkar* meaning ‘Mrs’ was the female equivalent form. Keshavarz (1988) analyses this change by saying that before the revolution, the use of polite forms in asymmetrical situations was often necessary, for example to indicate

---

<sup>13</sup> I did not observe any tokens of *bæradær* and *xahær* address terms being used in the data set that I have collected.

flattery, whereas in the post-revolutionary era, they are used voluntarily to express modesty and politeness (Keshavarz 1988: 573).

Two already existing Persian kinship terms, *bæradær* ‘brother’ and *xahær* ‘sister’, emerged soon after the revolution as new reciprocal solidarity forms of address. They also acquired religious and revolutionary connotations. The emergence of these two solidarity non-pronominal Persian address terms was inspired by the egalitarian motives of the revolution and a broader pan-Islamic ideology which maintains that all members of the society are equal, regardless of their race, colour, sex, or socio-economic status (Keshavarz 1988: 568, Mir-Hosseini 2000: 101). Keshavarz (1988) points out that the terms *bæradær* ‘brother’ and *xahær* ‘sister’ are taken as neutral forms of address, particularly when they are used to address strangers. Therefore, the semantics of *bæradær* ‘brother’ and *xahær* ‘sister’ emphasise *solidarity* and not necessarily *intimacy* (Keshavarz 1988: 569).

### **3.6.3. Choice vs. prescribed**

The generic function of a pronominal address form represents participant deixis which is prescribed, while different forms of so-called social deixis (T vs. V) are the product of choices by speakers. In order to elaborate the participant and social deixis of address forms, we need to find the prescribed forms of address usages which are accepted as a norm. In linguistics, norm is defined as (1) the generally accepted usage, what is regularly used in speech; (2) the prescriptions and rules of usage recommended in dictionaries, grammars etc. (Sharapova 2000). Hartung (1977) defines implicit norm as the norm that the individual acquires through experience and linguistic activity and explicit norm as the reflection of these experiences in the forms of obligatory prescriptions (cf. Ager 1990: 239–240).

It should not be forgotten that norms can be different for different groups. “The norm thus understood is differently perceived by different groups within a speech community and often remains impenetrable to prescriptive practice” (Comrie et al. 1996: 20). Thus, an utterance within a community might be perceived as a violation by another community, due to the existence of overt and covert norms. Covert (hidden) norms represent the linguistic features of a speech community and their in-group solidarity, while overt norms indicate

the publicly recognised linguistic norms which are educated in schools (Trudgill 1972). The violation of a norm can be interpreted as impoliteness (Ide 1989); this will be discussed in Section 3.8.

In the Persian pronominal address system concord between subject and verb is prescribed in terms of formal language learning in the Iranian educational system and the Persian grammar textbooks (Mahootian 1997, Mace 2003). The flexibility in the use of address pronouns is even stigmatised among teachers and traditional older generations. Within this traditionalist perspective, politeness in the pronominal address paradigm is defined within a formal hierarchical structure. However, flexibility in the Persian pronominal address paradigm is legitimised for learners of Persian as a foreign language and discussed in grammar books (Mahootian 1997, Rafiee 2001, Stilo et al. 2005b).

According to Keshavarz (1988, 2001), *to* ‘the overt informal you’ is used in intimate or informal contexts to address inferiors in terms of age and authority, for example, by husband and wife to each other (when alone or with the immediate family) or by children to each other (as an indication of solidarity and friendliness) or as a sign of power when used to an inferior by a superior (Keshavarz 1988). In contrast, *šoma* ‘the overt deferential you’ is used in formal contexts to express respect and distance. It usually indicates less solidarity and more respect than *to* and is considered as a formal singular address form in Persian. It may be used by husband and wife in the presence of persons outside the immediate family, by children to parents, or by two persons who are of equal status but are not on familiar terms (Keshavarz 1988).

Interestingly, in interaction Persian speakers may not follow the prescriptive norms of address pronouns and alternate between the deferential and informal address pronouns and use the mismatch agreement construction. Although they may not have a formal education in how politeness is conveyed with address pronouns, Persian speakers use their cognitive resources or implicit linguistic norms to make systematic choices in the selection of the pronominal address forms. When there is no power difference between interlocutors or the power is challenged, the asymmetric use of T/V is not prescribed anymore, hence the

interlocutors can choose which address form to use depending on the stance of interaction. These issues are discussed in the following Chapters.

#### **3.6.4. Social and contextual triggers for choice of address pronoun**

Choice of T/V address enable speakers to express their distance and formality or intimacy and give clues to participants and observers of the social interactions about where each participant stands in the social structure (Sifianou 1992). For example, speech between individuals of unequal rank (due to status in an organisation, social class, age, gender, etc.) is likely to be less relaxed and more formal than between equals (Trudgill 1995). It has been argued that terms of address along with T/V pronominal systems constitute sociolinguistic universals (Brown and Ford 1964). The parameters determining choices of address often vary from class to class, age-group to age-group, and culture to culture. Keshavarz (1988: 570) highlights some social and contextual factors on the usage of *to* and *šoma*:

- Generally speaking, *to* is said to be considered a rude form of address to non-intimates.
- It is said to be a common practice for parents to address their children by *to* until they are about fifteen years of age. However, some educated middle-class parents have been observed to address their children by the polite pronoun *šoma* from the beginning. Keshavarz states that particularly after the age of puberty in the presence of people outside the immediate family, there is a tendency to address children by the polite form *šoma*.
- Before the revolution, it was common for superiors such as government officials and army officers to use nonreciprocal *to* to address their subordinates or masters to address their servants. However, it is argued that the occurrence of *to* in these contexts in post-revolutionary Iran is rare.
- After the revolution, an ordinary person can publicly refer to high-ranking officials by the solidarity forms of address. This may imply that the 1979 revolution in Iran caused a declining of status and authority which led to an egalitarian society.

In a further study, Keshavarz (2001: 5-6), with the use of questionnaires, investigated the impact of social context as well as intimacy and distance on the choice of address forms in Persian. He hypothesised that variation in the forms of address is related not only to the sociolinguistic variables such as sex, age and social class of the interlocutors but also to setting, intimacy, and social distance. His study indicates that the use of intimate terms of address is inversely proportional to social distance and formality of context. That is, as social distance and degree of formality of context increase, the frequency of familiar terms decreases. It was also found that in informal situations, age was the main determiner of forms of address. Conversely, under formal circumstances, gender was a stronger determiner in the use of address forms. Many factors have influenced the trend towards the use of *to* in post revolution Iran, and it is almost certainly bound up in broader changes in social behaviours, socio-economic situation, and solidarity (Beeman 1986).

### **3.6.5. Negotiability of T/V address forms**

In some languages such as German and Swedish, T/V forms are negotiable (Clyne et al. 2003). The act of alternation from formal to informal address form is constrained by dispensation rules (Ervin-Tripp 1986), norms that entitle certain categories of interlocutors, but not others, to initiate shift to informal address. In Swedish, the entitlement to initiate such shifts is normatively linked to interlocutors' relative status: higher status interlocutors can readily propose a shift from formal to informal address, but the act cannot be initiated by a lower status individual without risk of seeming impolite (Agha 2007: 34).

Similarly, in Mexican societies, there is ritual which involves an explicit proposal by one of the interlocutors, usually the one of higher status, to engage in mutual T form. The moment of the invitation to amend one's relational status from a more distant to a more intimate one, serves as an interpersonal turning point, which, ideally, is considered irreversible (Covarrubias 2002: 82). Although in Persian address system, there is no such negotiability to alternate from V to T form by explicit invitation, sometimes interlocutors might explicitly ask their addressee to use V form instead of T, in order to set a boundary in terms of social relationship. This type of pronominal address alternation to formal form may not

only occur amongst unequal interlocutors in terms of age, gender or social status, but also when the initiator wants to keep distance from the addressee.

### **3.6.6. Variability/Interchangeability of T/V forms (address pronoun switching patterns)**

Aalberse (2006) refers to the variability of T/V forms as pronoun mixing such that one addressee could be addressed by one and the same speaker with both T and V. Sometimes T and V were even used in tandem in one sentence. Berteloot (2001) interprets mixing as a sign that T and V were interchangeable forms. If forms are interchangeable loss of one of these forms follows naturally (cf. Aalberse 2006: 2). Wales (1983: 119) remarks that the fluctuation between T and V could itself be a sign of using an informal register.

In Persian there is a possibility of variation patterns in the pronominal address system such as address pronoun switching and agreement mismatch construction. In previous studies of address form (e.g. Ostermann 2003) ‘pronoun switching’ has been referred to as pronoun ‘alternation’ (see Ervin-Tripps [1972b] on sociolinguistic rules). In this study, the term ‘switching’ is used to describe the indexical manifestation of a shift from one pronominal address form to the other in the same interaction (Silverstein 2003).

These variation patterns are strategic and maybe considered deviant practices in interaction. They may occur below the interlocutors’ conscious awareness. We can observe intra-speaker address pronoun switching patterns in interaction. In other languages such as French (Blondeau 2008, van Compernelle 2008), Portuguese (Osterman 2003) it is documented that pronominal switches may only occur at the level of overt address pronouns not their verbal agreements. In Persian, we observe that address pronoun switching may occur both at the level of overt address pronouns as well as their agreement. For example the switch from the deferential address pronoun to the informal form and from the informal address pronoun to the deferential form (i.e.  $V \rightarrow T$  and  $T \rightarrow V$ ) may be seen in an interaction. As a result the variation patterns in the Persian pronominal address switching paradigm is not as straight forward as one may assume. These switches index variations in the level of politeness in interaction, i.e. fluctuating between deference and solidarity. Consequently, the work in this thesis shows that pronominal address switching

patterns are not only constrained to switching between the overt address form and their verb agreement but switching may also occur at the level of verb agreements. This may be evidence for versatility of the Persian address system. That is, individual's choice of address form at the initial stage of the conversation does not predetermine the choice of address form towards the end of the interaction. As the analysis will highlight, the function of address pronouns in Persian is based on the stance of the immediate interaction. This phenomenon sheds light on the communicative strategies fulfilled by the pronouns of address in interaction.

### **3.7. Summary on pronominal address forms**

It is questionable whether the previous theories and models of address pronouns are sufficient to account for all the data in my study. I aim to propose a model for the analysis of address pronouns which is pragmatic, meaning a pragmatic approach which targets the ways speakers use pronouns to encode roles, goals and communication intentions (Kendall 1981). A deterministic model is not a good enough explanation for T/V distinction; we need a more flexible model for its interpretation (as will be discussed in detail in the qualitative analysis in Chapter 7).

So far, the formal properties and the social factors influencing the use of address pronouns in the literature are presented in this chapter. The concepts of personal pronoun and deixis as well as T-V distinction in the second person pronoun system are explained, alongside the existing work on pronominal address systems. It has looked at work carried out by Brown and Gilman (1960) and scholars who confirmed and developed their model and introduced some limitations to their model. Finally, the impact of different extra-linguistic factors such as reciprocity/asymmetry, negotiability, variability and social and contextual triggers for use of address pronouns in Persian were discussed. We noted that as an effect of the 1979 Iranian revolution, and consequently the promotion of an Islamic ideology of equality, a trend towards the usage of solidarity address forms emerged. An analysis according to power and solidarity semantics alone does not seem to be the most suitable in these cases. In particular, the mismatch construction is a case of a hybrid use of solidarity and power semantic in one utterance.



### **3.8. Politeness and its relation with the T/V system**

Politeness theory and the concept of face are inevitable in the study of pronominal address systems. Therefore, in this section relevant studies regarding politeness will be reviewed. It will be shown that there is a need to move beyond a one-dimensional perspective in the study of politeness (in this case Persian address terms) and focus on a multi-dimensional perspective in politeness theory that includes face, stance and indexicality.

Linguistic politeness has generally been considered the proper concern of ‘pragmatics’, the area of linguistics that accounts for how we attribute meaning to utterances in context, or “meaning in interaction” (Thomas 1995: 23). With regard to this approach, politeness can be defined as the selection of specific linguistic alternatives between a set of possible ways of saying something (Holmes 2006).

Brown and Levinson (1987) attempted to establish a universal politeness theory based on the notion of face, originally introduced by Goffman (1967). The concept of face is generally understood in sociology and linguistics as “the negotiated public image, mutually granted each other by participants in a communicative event”, and it is located in the very flow of our daily communication (Scollon and Scollon 1995: 35). It is the “positive social value” that individuals want to create and/or maintain for themselves (Goffman 1955: 213). In other words, Goffman discusses face with reference to how people present themselves in social situations.

Brown and Levinson (1987) refer to face in terms of “public self-image” (Brown and Levinson 1987: 61). They proposed some strategies based on rationality and preserving face. The goals of their model are related to avoiding loss of face. Positive face refers to positive self image and desire for approval; however, violation of one’s positive self-image threatens positive face. Negative face explains freedom from imposition; a request impedes another’s freedom and is hence a negative face-threatening act. Features of positive politeness contribute to the creation of a positively polite conversational style: to stress in-group knowledge, shared attitudes and values, and appreciation of addressee; and features

of negative politeness contribute to the aim of distancing and non-imposing that defines negative politeness (Coates 1993: 94).

A threat to a person's face has been termed a face threatening act (FTA). Brown and Levinson argue that a FTA often requires a mitigating statement or some sort of politeness or the stream of communication will break down (Brown and Levinson 1987). The term 'face-threatening act' draws on the notion of speech acts from the field of semantics and pragmatics. Naming, wagering and requesting something are considered speech acts because when said they perform some activity. Therefore, some of the face-threatening acts discussed in the politeness literature are common examples of speech acts. However, as Meyerhoff (2006: 89) notes, some speech acts fluctuate to a large extent in their syntactic forms. For example, an apology can take a number of forms; some can be direct and some indirect and still be considered an apology.

Brown and Levinson (1987) outline four main types of politeness strategies: going bald-on record, using negative politeness markers, using positive politeness markers, and going off-record or being indirect. In going bald-on record, an FTA is performed in a direct and concise way without redressive action, e.g. an imperative form without any redress: 'Wash your hands'. In positive politeness, an FTA with a redressive action is performed. Here, strategies are oriented towards the positive face needs of the hearer. Such strategies are seeking common ground or co-operation, as in jokes, offers or use of intimate endearment terms. For instance, the endearment term 'sweetie' in the following example 'Have something to eat, sweetie' indicates in-group membership, hence it redresses the imperative force of offering. In negative politeness, an FTA with a redressive action is performed, and strategies are oriented towards negative face needs for the hearer, e.g. favouring an indirect formulation 'Would you mind washing your hands?'. In going off record, an FTA is performed indirectly. In this case, strategies might allow the act to have more than one interpretation, e.g. off-record strategies, which consist of all types of hints, metaphors, such as 'Gardening makes your hands dirty'.

Brown and Levinson (1987), in support of their claims for the universality of their politeness theory, illustrate these strategies with numerous examples from three different

languages: South Indian Tamil, Tzeltal, a Mayan language spoken in Mexico, and American and British English. However, a shortcoming of their study is that the examples they provide are without contextual information and the reader has no way of assessing exactly why the utterance is interpretable as a FTA. This dissertation adds to Brown and Levinson's politeness theory, as it provides contextual information as part of the data analysis.

Brown and Levinson (1987: 78) do, however, recognise the importance of three fundamental socio-cultural variables in assessing the relative weight of different FTAs: firstly, the social distance (D) between the participants; secondly, the power (P) that the addressee has over the speaker; and thirdly, the ranking of the imposition (R) expressed in the utterance in the relevant culture. Moreover, they note that the way these variables contribute will differ from culture to culture. Each of these components contributes to the relative seriousness of the FTA, and thus to the assessment of the appropriate strategy or level of politeness required to express the speaker's intended message. However, Holmes (2006: 686) argues that meaning making is a more dynamic process than Brown and Levinson's approach allows for, and is often a matter of interactional negotiation between participants.

An alternative framework to Brown and Levinson's politeness theory is Leech's (1983) politeness model, which uses the same approach, and in addition incorporates the goal of universality, but its analysis of linguistic politeness is different. Rather than focusing on 'face needs', Leech addressed the issue of "why people are often so indirect in conveying what they mean" (1983: 80). To answer this question, Leech proposed a Politeness Principle (PP), based on Grice (1983) and a set of maxims. Leech's PP states:

- Minimise (other things being equal) the expression of impolite beliefs.
- Maximise (other things being equal) the expression of polite beliefs (Leech 1983: 81).

Holmes (2006: 691) notes that post-modernist researchers avoid any suggestion that the meaning of an utterance can be fixed. They emphasise the dynamic nature of meaning in

interaction, including the expression of politeness. In other words, politeness is a matter of negotiation between communicative partners.

More recently, a number of researchers have adopted a post-modern approach to the analysis of politeness, challenging the “transmission model of communication” (Mills, 2003: 69), and questioning the proposition that people necessarily agree on what constitutes polite behaviour as implied in Brown and Levinson (1987) (e.g. Mills, 2003; Watts, 2003; Locher 2004). Researchers such as Brown and Levinson (1987), Leech (1983), and Thomas (1995: 204–205) justify their analytical framework with evidence such as the effect of an utterance on the addressee, and by referring to meta-linguistic observation and the development of the following discourse.

Politeness is a complex phenomenon. When analysing how politeness actually functions within conversation, Brown and Levinson’s 1987 model can only deal with certain elements of the data, for example where participants are overtly and clearly polite, and not in other cases (Mills 2003: 58). Furthermore, this model cannot deal with the way that politeness operates in real conversations as a form of assessment of behaviour (Mills 2003: 116). Due to such limitations, which have been identified in Brown and Levinson’s 1987 model, alternative forms of analysis have been suggested. For example, Mills (2003) has proposed a more complex model of politeness, considering the fact that each community of practice places greater or lesser emphasis on politeness according to agreed upon or shared norms. Mills (2003: 122) argues that (im)politeness has to be seen as an assessment of someone’s behaviour rather than a quality intrinsic to an utterance. Similarly, Watts (2003) states that politeness should be regarded as not just actions, but more importantly, social actions. Watts argues that we should “shift the weight off politeness onto a third term [that is, politic behaviour], which effectively covers every aspect of verbal behaviour that has previously been labelled ‘polite’” (Watts 2003: 256).

Locher and Watts (2005) argue that politeness cannot be explored solely with mitigation of FTA proposed by Brown and Levinson (1987). They use the term “relational work” rather than “facework” because human beings do not restrict themselves to forms of cooperative communication in which face-threatening is mitigated (Locher and Watts 2005: 28). In

Locher and Watts (2005), it is claimed that politeness is not only the prediction of what is polite (or impolite). But, politeness as a discursive concept also arises out of interactants' perceptions and judgements of their own and others' verbal behaviour. The concept of relational work allows for interpretations that consider behaviour to be merely appropriate and neither polite nor impolite, which is helpful in the investigating of the discursive struggle over politeness. Locher and Watts (2005:10) define relational work as "the 'work' individuals invest in negotiating relationships with others".

Arundale (2005) uses the term 'relational' to index "the dyadic phenomena of relating as they emerge dynamically in person-to-person communication". Similarly, Holmes and Schnurr (2005: 124-125) and Holmes and Marra (2004) cite Fletcher's (1999: 84) concept of 'relational practice': "Relational practice is a way of working that reflects a relational logic of effectiveness and requires a number of relational skills such as empathy, mutuality, reciprocity, and sensitivity to emotional contexts." They maintain that in the workplace (which is where they happen to be applying the model) relational practice has three crucial components: it is oriented to the face needs of others, it serves to advance the primary objectives of the workplace, and its practices are regarded as dispensable, irrelevant or peripheral.

In addition, Xie et al. (2005) state that politeness does not necessarily entail sincerity, thus sincere politeness and insincere politeness should be distinguished. They emphasise that politeness or impoliteness is a matter of moral judgement. In their study, the analytical focus shifts from the speaker to the hearer because it is the latter that assesses and evaluates the politeness or impoliteness of discourse (Xie et al. 2005: 457, Locher 2004). However, I regard polite discourse as a mutual assessment of interlocutors (Brown and Levinson 1987: 6), because politeness is a discursive concept based on interactants' perceptions and judgments of their own and others' verbal behaviour. Therefore, in order for address pronoun switching patterns and mismatch construction (*šoma* + 2s verb agreement) to index politeness, it needs to be framed within a mutual assessment of interlocutors. Thus, my approach to politeness is based on the notion of face in interaction (Goffman 1967), politeness theory (Brown and Levinson 1987) and indexicality (Ochs 1992). I argue that research in politeness can be best explained within a multi-dimensional perspective with

reference to speaker and addressee face wants (i.e. interpersonal stance) and how politeness is indexed in various speech events in interaction (i.e. situational stance).

As a consequence, theories of identity (e.g. Brewer et al. 1996, Simon 2004) suggest that face has a number of characteristics that need to be held in balance:

“face is a multi-faceted phenomenon, yet it can also be a unitary concept...has cognitive foundations and yet it is also socially constituted in interaction...it ‘belongs’ to individuals and to collectives, and yet it also applies to interpersonal relations” (Spencer-Oatey 2007: 654).

An analysis of face wants thus needs to take all of these elements into consideration. Authors who argue that face should be studied from a relational point of view (e.g. Holmes and Marra 2004, Arundale 2005, Locher and Watts 2005) are correct in emphasising the importance of these elements. Hence, in this thesis, the use of the term ‘relational’ refers to the relationship between the individuals, which can manifest the individual’s face wants with regard to distance, equality of status, boundaries, and the ways in which this relationship is managed or negotiated.

### **3.8.1. Concept of face in (non-)Western cultures**

Brown and Levinson’s (1987) politeness theory has been extended by linguists who study non-Western languages, such as Matsumoto (1989), Ide (1989) and Gu (1990). In the study of the honorific system in Japanese, both Matsumoto (1989) and Ide (1989) argue that it is not necessarily face that governs the interactants’ behaviour but rather interactional aspects of the conversation and social and psychological attitudes toward the particular referent expressed by the subject. In Gu (1990), the modern conception of politeness as well as its historical origins in Chinese are discussed. The relation between politeness, language and conversation are also considered. Gu (1990) attempts to demonstrate that polite behaviour is culture-specific and language-specific.

These researchers point out that Western conceptions of ‘face’ are very individualistic, and approaches to politeness based on such indirect conceptions do not account satisfactorily for more socially based notions, such as the twin Chinese concepts of ‘*mien-tzu*’ (or ‘*mianzi*’) and ‘*lian*’ (or ‘*lian*’). ‘*Mien-tzu*’ refers to “prestige that is accumulated by means

of personal effort or clever manoeuvring,” and is dependent on the external environment (Hu 1944: 465), while ‘*lien*’ is the respect assigned by one’s social group on the basis of the confidence of society in one’s moral character. Loss of ‘*lien*’ makes it impossible for a person to function properly within the community. “*Lien* is both a social sanction for enforcing moral standards and an internalised sanction” (Hu 1944: 465-466). This is a rather different conception of face than that used in Brown and Levinson’s theory, and it influences conceptions of what is considered ‘polite’ as opposed to what is required by social sanction and sociolinguistic norms (Holmes 2006: 694). In some languages, such as Chinese, Japanese and Korean, the choice of stylistic level and address forms is largely a matter of social convention or ‘linguistic etiquette’ (Kasper 1997). For instance, respect or deference is encoded in certain linguistic forms which are required when talking to one’s elders or those of higher status.

Moreover, in such societies, the discursive expression of politeness generally involves the use of avoidance and mitigation strategies (i.e. Brown and Levinson’s negative politeness strategies), and even address terms are extensively used in this way. By contrast, in communities where social relationships are not marked so formally or encoded so explicitly in the grammar or lexicon, politeness is expressed somewhat differently. For example, Greek interactants’ view of politeness focuses around expressions of concern, consideration, friendliness, and intimacy, rather than imposition-avoidance and distance maintenance (Sifianou 1992).

Félix-Brasdefer (2006) argues that in a Mexican community, politeness is accomplished largely by means of formulaic and semi-formulaic expressions that utilise ritualised linguistic forms to convey *respeto*, and by means of various linguistic forms that weaken the illocutionary force of a refusal. In addition, the negotiation of face is mainly achieved indirectly by means of constant attempts at (re)negotiating a successful resolution politely. Expressing *respeto* in Mexican society does not mean that the speaker is protecting the hearer’s individual territory or self-image, but rather, is showing *respeto* in accordance with the social rules established by a society, in which components of honour and dignity are incorporated into a ‘culture-specific transactional norm’ (Ting-Toomey and Cocroft 1994). In light of these results, it appears that the notion of negative face, as proposed in

Brown and Levinson (1987), does not seem to operate in Mexican society, because Mexicans do not emphasise the protection of their freedom of action, but rather stress their need to be included in the group and conform with the expected cultural norms of a community that recognises social distance, social power, and closeness in a given interactional context (Félix-Brasdefer 2006: 2180).

### 3.8.2. Face in Persian culture

Koutlaki (2002: 1742), in her investigation of Persian politeness strategies, defines the Persian concept of face in terms of the vernacular concepts of *šæxsiæt* and *ehteram*. *Šæxsiæt* is a complex concept which could be rendered as ‘personality’, ‘character’, ‘honour’, and ‘self-respect’. A person’s *šæxsiæt* is mainly dependent on the way s/he behaves and her/his educational background and is often perceived as related to the socialisation and upbringing s/he has received. A person’s *šæxsiæt* is perceived as indicative of a person’s self-respect: the more polite a person is, the more *šæxsiæt* s/he has. In other words, a person who wants to keep up his/her own *šæxsiæt* will also try to maintain his/her interlocutor’s *šæxsiæt* (Koutlaki 2002).

*Ehteram* (near equivalents are ‘honour’, ‘respect’, ‘esteem’ and ‘dignity’) establishes the positions and statuses of the interactants with respect to one another and is shown through the adherence to the established norms of behaviour according to the addressee’s position, age, status and interlocutors’ relationship (cf. Goffman 1967: 9 “duty to wider social units”). *Ehteram* is shown among others through the use of appropriate address terms, conformity to the rules of ritual politeness (*ta‘arof*) and other conventions. While *šæxsiæt* is more a personal fixed attribute based on her/his background and is largely unalterable, *ehteram* is a more dynamic concept, flowing from the speaker to the addressee, and may or may not always be given (Koutlaki 2002).

A person keeps her/his own *šæxsiæt* through showing *ehteram*, verbally and non-verbally, not only to an interlocutor but also to any other people present, which shows how the face needs of all participants in a given situation are met at the same time. Thus, non-conformity to established norms is very likely to result in a face-threatening situation for one’s interlocutor, because the use of an inappropriate linguistic form on the part of a speaker



may be perceived as trying to establish a different relationship from the one an addressee feels appropriate or desirable (Beeman 1986: 73-77). The next section provides an overview of the speech acts examined in the qualitative analysis of this study in Chapters 6 and 7.

### **3.8.3. Speech acts**

Historically, speech act theory originates from the philosophy of language. It is assumed by some (Austin 1962, Searle 1969, Grice 1975, Bierwisch 1980) that the minimal units of human communication are not linguistic expressions, but rather performance of certain kinds of acts, such as making statements, asking questions, giving directions, apologising, thanking and so on. Speech acts have been claimed to operate by universal pragmatic principles (Austin 1962, Searle 1969, 1975). In addition, speech acts are a feature of performance, which convey and carry great social implications (Ervin-Tripp 1976) and seem to be ruled by universal principles of cooperation and politeness (Brown and Levinson 1978, Leech 1983). It is believed that cultures differ drastically in their interactional styles, which lead to different preferences for modes of speech act behaviour (Gumperz 1978). In consequence, Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) claim that theories of speech acts need to be supplemented by eclectic research methods and analysis in order to be able to address the application of speech acts to non-Western cultures. For example, in Japanese culture, politeness is often achieved by using some benefits or debt expressions. *Wakimae*, as a Japanese cultural ritual (Ide 1989), is attention to people's interdependence, the reciprocity of relationships and discernment of appropriate behaviour to the social situation.

The speech acts studied in this thesis are acts of requests, offers, apologies, commands, refusals and compliments. These speech acts are used in the qualitative analysis of the media data. A sequential analysis of the opening (e.g. inquiring about health, responses to these inquiries) and closing (leave-taking) sequences of the conversation is provided. However, in between these two sequences different direct and indirect speech acts (requests, suggestions, commands, refusals, apologies, thanks, compliments, offers, and assertions) are also used in the interactions. The next section provides a detailed description of *ta'arof* and its associated expressions.

### 3.8.4. *Ta'arof*

*Ta'arof* is an important aspect of politeness in the Persian language and culture. Etymologically, it is an Arabic word meaning 'meeting together' (Beeman 1988: 27). The word *ta'arof* is defined as a kind of welcoming, praising, and presenting (Dekhoda 1966). Beeman (1986) points to two factors in his definition of *ta'arof*: the level of sincerity and social status. *Ta'arof* is used in a wide range of situations ranging from relatively informal to extremely formal depending upon the topic of discourse. I will investigate *ta'arof* in conjunction with the pronominal forms in conversation. *Ta'arof* is the ritualised Iranian behavioural routines "...activated when persons are constrained to deal with differential perceptual status" (Beeman 1976: 442). The exchange of *ta'arof* is a significant factor prevalent within the Persian culture. That is, every sociolinguistically competent speaker in Iran orients to and observes the conventions of *ta'arof*, regardless of ethnicity (i.e. the Persians, the Kurds, the Baluchies, the Turks, and the Gilakies) and religion (i.e. Muslims, Jews, Christians, and Zoroastrians)<sup>14</sup>.

*Ta'arof* is sometimes sincere but there are times that these phrases are used as empty offers. It encompasses the social interaction of every Iranian, from the highest to the lowest social class or group. Stilo and Clinton (1973) define *ta'arof* very appropriately as:

"...a cultural term which is difficult to explain outside the realm of experience of Iranian culture. It basically means the sum, or any individual act, of politeness required by social-cultural situations. *Ta'arof* is the outward manifestation of the Iranian concept of social grace, politeness and simply culturally accepted forms of personal interaction. It can consist of set phrases which must be said in specific situations, greetings, actions which are considered polite, compliments, sincere or otherwise, which are paid to someone, as well as the polite verbal and non-verbal ways to refute these compliments" (Stilo and Clinton 1973:48).

Based on the formal and informal expression of *ta'arof*, it can be seen that *ta'arof* generally means to pay respect to someone and is counted as social etiquette. Behaviourally, one gives a compliment for someone's good deed, one admires someone's elegant clothing, or praises someone's statement. Beeman (1986) writes that *ta'arof* refers

---

<sup>14</sup> See Chapter 2 for more details on Iranian ethnicity and religion.

to the most common principle in interpersonal interaction in Iran, which is to indicate lower status for oneself while elevating the status of the person being addressed (Beeman 1986: 140). Iranians exchange phrases of *ta'arof* in all levels of daily interaction, in both formal and informal settings such as offices, market places, social gatherings, and restaurants.

*Ta'arof* governs different aspects of social life. It may come into play when a host offers food to a guest. The system of *ta'arof* may demand that the guest declines politely, another form of *ta'arof*, waiting for the host to say *ta'arof naekonid*, which might be rendered as a mitigating device: "don't do *ta'arof*". The exchange of *ta'arof*, in situations such as offering food to guests, can go on for a long time. *Ta'arof* is an inescapable part of the patterns of courtesy, deference and consideration for others that are integral to Iranians' social life (Fathi 2004).

It should also be mentioned that the act of commanding or requesting in Persian is usually embedded in *ta'arof*, either to serve as flattery or reduce the negative imposition of the directives or imperatives. Moreover, it may function as a tool for negotiating interactants' relationships. Thus, *ta'arof* could compliment a speech act used alongside other performative verbs such as requests, offers, apologies, commands, refusal and complements.

It can be argued that repetitive complementing in English is analogous to the Persian *ta'arof*. In this line, Stilo et al. (2005b: 174) point out that paying one a high compliment is equivalent to offering one *ta'arof* in Persian. As one of the features of the Persian culture is the extensive use of the *ta'arof* expressions, *ta'arof* will be highlighted throughout the conversation. If the list of expressions in greetings, inquiries about health, and leave takings in Tables 3.8a and 3.8b and 3.9 are frequently repeated in conversation, they can be categorised as *ta'arof*. Moreover, the formal and informal expressions in the following tables together with the deferential and intimate lexical substitutions form the system of *ta'arof*. The following expressions downgrade the level of formality:

Greetings	Response to Greetings
<i>sælam</i> peace 'hello'	<i>sælam</i> peace 'hello'
<i>sælam æleykom</i> [Arabic] peace be upon you 'hello'	<i>sælam æleykom</i> [Arabic] peace be upon you 'hello'

Table 3.8a: Greeting expressions

Inquiries about health (generally following greeting)	Answers to inquires about health
<i>hal(æhval)-e šoma(tun)/to(et) xub-e?</i> manner-ez 2p/2s well-is? 'how are you?'	<i>mæmnun bæd ni.st-æm</i> thanks bad not. is-1s 'thanks, I am fine'
<i>hal(æhval)-e šoma(tun)/to(et) četor-e?</i> manner-ez 2p/2 show-is? 'how do you do?'	<i>qorban-e šoma/to</i> sacrifice-ez 2p/2s 'thank you'
<i>hal(æhval)-e šoma(tun)/to?</i> manner-ez 2p/2s? 'how are you?'	<i>al hæmdollella</i> [Arabic] praise be to God 'I am well, praise be to God'
<i>xub-i/in/id?</i> well-is.2s/2p/2h 'how are you?'	<i>motešæker-æm</i> grateful-1s 'I am grateful'
<i>četor-i/in/id?</i> how-2s/2p/2h? 'how are you?'	<i>mæmnun-æm</i> thanks-1s 'I am thankful'
	<i>merci xub-æm</i> thank you well-1s 'thanks I am well'

Table 3.8b: Expressions to inquire about health

Table 3.8: Opening sequence for conversation (Stilo et al. 2005a)

Leave-takings		
<i>xoda-fez</i> (shortened form)		
god-protect 'good bye'		
<i>xoda hafez</i>		
god protect 'good bye'		
<i>xoda hafez-e</i>	<i>šoma</i>	
god protect-ez	2p	
'good bye'		
<i>be</i>	<i>sælamæt</i>	
with	health	
'farewell'		
<i>mærhæmæt-e</i>	<i>šoma/(tun)</i>	<i>ziad / (baše)</i>
grace-ez	2p/2p.cl	plenty/ (be.3s)
'it is/was a pleasure to see you'		

Table 3.9: Closing sequence for conversation (Stilo et al. 2005a)

The opening and closing sequences in conversation in Tables 3.8 and 3.9 are a modified version of Persian greeting and cultural expressions adapted from Stilo et al. (2005a). It is worth mentioning that where Iranians ask politely how you are, they use *hal* 'health, condition' as the subject of their question/reply, while in English the person is the subject of this type of interaction. In the following, I will illustrate Persian honorific verbs and their associated speech acts, such as command, offering and request. In addition, the flexibility of formality in expression of speech acts with honorific verbs is addressed.

Persian deference can also be shown with the use of honorific verbs to encode the relative social status of speakers. Persian shares this feature with other Asian languages such as Japanese (Fukada and Asato 2004) and Korean (Strauss and Eun 2005). In Persian, common verbs may be substituted by various polite and deferential alternatives (Hodge 1957: 367-8). In many cases, the substitutions change the entire structure of the sentence. Examples of honorific verbs, with their ordinary alternatives, are shown in Table 3.10.

Honorific	Meaning	Ordinary	Meaning
<i>tæšrif daštæn</i>	to have one's honour	<i>budæn</i>	to be present (e.g. in a place)
<i>tæšrif avordæn</i>	to bring one's honour	<i>amædæn</i>	to come
<i>tæšrif bordæn</i>	to take one's honour	<i>ræftæn</i>	to go
<i>færmudæn</i> <i>ærz kærdæn</i>	to command to petition	<i>goftæn</i>	to say
<i>meyl daštæn</i> <i>meyl farmudæn</i>	to be inclined to	<i>xastæn</i>	to want, to request
<i>moltæfet šodæn</i>	to be attentive	<i>fæhmidæn</i>	to understand
<i>færmudæn</i>	to command	<i>kærdæn</i>	to do

Table 3.10: Persian honorific and common verb forms (Hodge 1957, Mace 2003)

*Tæšrif* means 'honouring, ennobling'. Hence *tæšrif avordæn* 'to bring honour' is 'to come'. On the other hand, *tæšrif bordæn* 'to take honour' is 'to go' and *tæšrif daštæn* 'to have honour' is 'to be (in a given place)'. Therefore, *tæšrif* may show a speech act of command in a redressive form.

Example 3.14

*tæšrif biarin* 'please come!'  
*lotfæn biyain* 'please come!'  
*biyain!* 'come!'

↑  
Formality

The most frequent honorific verb is *færmudæn*, literally 'to command'. It is used in imperative form as a general deferential verb meaning 'go ahead': *befærmayid* 'please go ahead', 'after you', and 'please have some', etc. It may substitute verbs more specifically suited to the occasion: *befærmayid daxel* 'please come in' instead of *beyain daxel*.

Moreover, *færmudæn* may replace *goftæn* 'to say': *mifærmudid* '[as] you were saying' (said by listener when the speaker has been interrupted and he now wishes him to continue), *mifærmudid* as a polite refrain-like response to another person's use of *ærz-mikonæm* (the humble verb 'I say'), *ma mifærmudidim* 'we said' (the royal 'we', used only by the Shah). Also, *færmudæn* frequently replaces *kærdæn* 'to do' in compound verbs. The offering speech act marked by *færmudæn* shows variation in degree of formality:

Example 3.15

*mive meyl næfærmudæn?* 'won't you have some fruit?'  
*mive meyl nemikonid?* 'won't you have some fruit?'  
*mive nemixorid?* 'won't you have some fruit?'

↑  
Formality

In compound verbs formed with *kærdæn* ‘to do’ and with certain other base verbs, the verbal part is replaced by *færmudæn* ‘to command’ in polite speech:

Example 3.16

*Ræiyes name ra tæid kærdænd* ‘the boss confirmed the letter’

*Ræiyes name ra tæiyed færmudænd* ‘the boss confirmed the letter’

When speaking for oneself or a group, we can replace *goftæn* ‘to say’ with the common polite form *ærz kærdæn* ‘to petition’. Moreover, the past tense form *ærz kærdæm ke* is also used to mean ‘I said with respect’.

Example 3.17

*mæn ærz kærdæm ke mænzele šoma nemiyam*

‘I said I wouldn’t come to your house’

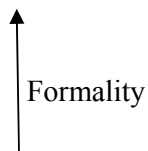
The speech act of request in Persian may be mitigated by various honorific expressions with different levels of formality.

Example 3.18

*lotf befærmayid* ‘please do a favour’

*lotf konid* ‘please do a favour’

*zæhmæt bekešid* ‘please do a favour’



Here *zæhmæt bekešid* ‘please do a favour’ may be substituted by *lotf konid* ‘please do a favour’ and *lotf befærmayid* ‘please do a favour’ respectively which in turn has *kærdæn* replaced by *færmudæn* which redresses the imposition of the request.

As shown above, honorific verbs may index variation in degrees of deference in speech acts. Precise statements as to the degree of deferential usage between interlocutors will entail considerably more sociological as well as linguistic data (Hodge 1957).

### 3.8.5. Summary of politeness

In sum, this section has provided a brief overview of speech acts and *ta‘arof*, which also highlight politeness in conversation. Due to the correlation of variation in deference between address forms and honorific markers (such as honorific titles and verbs), speakers’

alternation in use of these politeness markers may also denote variation in the level of formality and occur in the mismatch construction.

In the qualitative analysis, I shall examine whether observance of *ta'arof* in conversation influences the pronoun switching and mismatches within the Persian politeness system. I will discuss the use of *ta'arof* in different contexts such as greetings, enquiring about health and leave taking in conversation alongside various speech acts (requests, offers, apologies, commands, refusal and compliments).

### **3.9. Gender in sociolinguistics**

This section aims to summarise previous work describing and analysing linguistic differences between men and women. As noted in Chapter 1, one of the goals of this study is to ascertain whether there is gender variation in the use of Persian address terms.

It is widely accepted that there is sociolinguistic variation in language in terms of class, age, and ethnicity in addition to speakers' gender<sup>15</sup>. The emphasis of feminist language and gender research in the 1970s was on defining speech style and attributing it to men or women. Answers to the question of the difference between men and women's speech were sought within three theoretical frameworks: deficit, dominance, and difference (e.g. Lakoff 1973, Coates 1993). In what Eckert describes as 'first wave' model of variation, gender is considered as one of the primary social factors in variation (Eckert 2003).

Lakoff (1973) claims that linguistic figures such as *I think*, *hesitation makers* and *tag questions* shows men and women's difference in the actual use of language. Lakoff (1973) interpreted these linguistic speech differences as reflecting women's lack of confidence, and power, and their inferior position in society. Thus, men and women are expected to speak in different ways, men being direct and forceful, women being hesitant, polite and apologetic. In other words, gender is a fixed 'trait' or property that resides in individuals. This approach sees the language of women and men split into homogeneous groups such

---

<sup>15</sup> There is a difference between sex and gender in sociolinguistics. It is stated that sex is a category which is distinguished by biological characteristics, while gender is distinguished by people's socio-cultural behaviour, which encompasses speech (Holmes 2001: 150).



that generalised theories about their communication style can be developed by essentialist analysis (Stokoe and Smithson 2001: 218). This has been categorised as second wave feminist linguistics.

Lakoff (1973) also argues that women pay great attention to the correctness of their speech and etiquette in order to be accepted in society. It is indisputable that women are analysed by their speech and valued in society. Holmes (1995) suggests that while women “use language to establish, nurture and develop personal relationships,” language for men is “a tool for obtaining and conveying information” or “a means to an end” (Holmes 1995: 2).

Furthermore, traditional research on gender and language has not only been concerned with differences between female and male speakers but also the influential factors of power and dominance. According to Coates (1993), the dominance approach views women as an oppressed group, defining linguistic differences in women and men’s speech in terms of men’s dominance and women’s subordination (Coates 1993: 12-13). The practice of this linguistic analysis highlights the fact that males are a dominant force oppressing females. For example, Zimmerman and West (1975) found that more interruptions occurred in cross sex versus single sex conversations and it was the man who interrupted the most in cross sex conversations. Similarly, Lakoff (1973) found women more likely to be interrupted by men. Zimmerman and West (1975) determined that interruptions were a violation of a speaker’s right to complete their turn and argued that men deny women’s equal status in conversation by interrupting. They attributed this interactive behaviour to men’s possession of greater social power.

In reference to the difference in men and women’s conversational style, Coates (1993: 10) states that women more frequently utilise a cooperative style of speech. For example, while talking to each other, women add to rather than demolish or interrupt each other’s speech. On the other hand, she highlights the fact that men tend to use competitive strategies in conversation; in this case men treat their turn of speech as a chance to “outdo” other speakers while making their own point as forcibly as possible (Coates 1993: 10, Kiesling 1997).

Similarly, in variably hierarchical communities such as Iran, the linguistic differences in the speech of women and men are visible in more conservative families. For example, in the northern city of Tabriz, where I have family, Iranian women will not address their husbands by their first name in front of strangers; they address him by the surname or say *Aqa* 'Sir'. When women are talking about their husband in his absence, they refer to him as *Aqames* meaning 'my master'. In Iran it is a social norm for women to be polite in public, to avoid any misjudgement as out their intimate and informal speech style. However this study seeks to uncover whether men practice politeness in public interactions as much as women.

Gender preferential differences are common in Western communities where both women and men use particular forms in which one gender shows a greater preference for one form than the other (Holmes 2001). For example, women use more *-ing* [iŋ] pronunciation and fewer *-in* [in] pronunciations than men in words like 'swimming' and 'typing' (Holmes 2007: 160).

However, during the last decade there has been a shift in investigation of language and gender from the 'difference and dominance' perspective (i.e. second wave feminist linguistic analysis or 'modern approach') to a 'post-modern' (Cameron 2005) or 'third wave' variationist approach (Eckert 2000) which looks at gendered identities as a socially constructed process, not feature.

The third wave variationist approach looks at the gender variable in speech as something that people do or perform while speaking, rather than behaviour that they acquire or possess. In other words, the post-modern approach views gender's status as an "emergent property" of social interaction (Stokoe and Smithson 2001: 218, Mills 2003). As Cameron (2005: 484) asserts "gender identities and gendered behaviours are produced in an ongoing manner: gender is something you do or perform".

Rather than just focusing on the individual, this form of analysis also examines the role of context and social forces on the individual through particular practices so that ways of speaking may be judged by others as incompetent, aggressive, unprofessional and

unfeminine (Mills 2006). For example, workplaces constitute one of the sites where individuals 'do gender', while at the same time constructing their professional identities and meeting their organisation's expectations.

Holmes and Schnurr (2006) focus in particular on how participants manage and interpret the notion of 'femininity' in workplace discourse. They argue that the concepts 'feminine' and 'femininity' typically evoke negative reactions in contemporary society. By using an approach which frames 'doing femininity' at work as normal, unmarked, and effective workplace behaviour in many contexts (Holmes and Schnurr 2006), these notions can be reclaimed and reinterpreted positively.

Hence, the post-modern approach provides a local explanation that masculinities and femininities are produced in specific contexts or "communities of practice" in relation to local social arrangements (Holmes and Meyerhoff 1999, Mills 2003: 198, Cameron 2005: 484).

For instance, Ostermann's (2003) investigation of pronoun alternation at an all-female police station and a feminist crisis intervention centre in Brazil shows that the females' interactional styles of the second person pronoun alternation cannot be categorised within a single category called 'female speech'. She points out that the female participants are better understood as members of distinctive "communities of practices" (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1992, 1998), with distinctive ideologies and power relations which present the women's ways of interacting and their differing ways of carrying out their professional activities (Ostermann 2003: 351-377).

In addition, Mills (2003) states that when analysing politeness and impoliteness in relation to gender, it is not enough to simply analyse males' and females' use of politeness; what must be focused on is the gendered domains of speech acts and the perceived norms of the community of practice. The notion of community of practice can provide a framework for analysing the complexity of judging an utterance as polite or impolite, and it also reveals that within different communities of practice, individuals may perform their gendered identities in different ways. Another aspect in the study of gender is a speaker's identity

(Meyerhoff 1996). Meyerhoff claims that language is used as a social marker. In her work, the speakers' use of linguistic markers of group identity is considered. The framework proposes that the way interlocutors communicate with each other is by means of shared network ties which create sociolinguistically meaningful links between individuals' shared social identities (Meyerhoff 1996: 203-4).

The post-modern (post-structuralist) approach does not consider gender as the biological sex of interactants, but as a social process constructed in context and behaviour of speakers. Other factors than gender, such as ethnicity, class and age, should be taken into consideration when talking about gender in speech (Cameron 2005). In construction of gender the social categories (i.e. ethnicity, class and age) are correlated forming a web of multifaceted identities such as social and interpersonal identities. Accordingly Meyerhoff and Niedzielski (1994) suggest the following:

“Personal and group identities [...of] an individual's persona are not static, but rather can be activated or called on to different degrees depending on the situation” (Meyerhoff and Niedzielski 1994: 320).

In order to explain the occurrence of V pronoun with T agreement, I believe that there is a need for a flexible model to interpret address terms in terms of politeness and gender. Accordingly, politeness can be justified by considering a) a speaker's (positive and negative) face needs and b) how a relationship is negotiated among individuals in the immediate context of conversation. Similarly, gender can be identified in relation to an individual's social and interpersonal identities (cf. Meyerhoff and Niedzielski 1994, Meyerhoff 1996).

Moving from the study of language and gender in Western cultures to non-Western cultures, gender differences in speech are relevant linguistically and culturally in several structural levels of Japanese language such as phonology, morphology and lexis. In the Japanese language, women are relatively “polite, gentle, soft-spoken, non-assertive and empathetic” (Okamoto 1995: 298). As a consequence, Okamoto suggests that the gendered forms reflect the different roles and status of women and men. In Holmes (2001: 151-152), it is argued that in modern Japanese the difference in vocabulary items in men's and

women's speech is an indicator of formality or politeness rather than gender. Men's forms are limited to casual context and considered macho or coarse, while in public women's forms are used by everyone. Kuo (2003), in his study of how gender affects sports reporters' use of the second person pronoun *ni*, observed that when considering gender differences in language use, contextual factors, which include the identity of the interlocutor and the type of speech activity, should be considered as influencing behaviour (Kuo 2003: 491-492).

Contrary to the studies mentioned above, Keenan (1974) found that in the Malagasy community women were considered to be less polite than men. In this community, women habitually violated the norms favouring non-confrontation and indirectness that both men and women should conduct during speech. Therefore, language should be analysed in a way that the features differentiating the speech of men and women can be related to the social-structural pressures and constraints on their behaviour. It can thus be pointed out that there is nothing about femaleness that determines relative politeness. Politeness is all socially constructed (Ochs 1992).

The phenomenon of gender as a sociolinguistic feature has been widely investigated from both the 'modern' and 'post modern' approach by researchers in European cultures. However, in the study of address terms, gender as a variable is only studied from the 'modern approach; namely the difference and dominance approach in the Persian language by Keshavarz (2001). I am interested in looking at gender as a sociolinguistic factor from the perspective of the post-modern approach in Persian address forms in the Iranian contemporary society. Therefore, a quantitative and qualitative analysis of Persian pronominal address pronouns will be carried out. The quantitative analysis will examine whether social factors such as age and gender are an influencing factor in the choice of *to* and *šoma* and the mismatch construction. The qualitative, local analysis of men and women's different uses of V and T pronouns will be within the category of the "post-modern" feminist approach illustrating gender as the speaker's identity (Meyerhoff 1996, Mills 2003, Cameron 2005, Holmes and Schnurr 2006).

This section summarised previous studies conducted on the sociolinguistic motivations behind speech differentiations between men and women. It also discussed whether the differences in speech are specifically related to gender or, alternatively, to other factors such as status, power and dominance. Second-wave feminist linguistics or the modern approach in the study of language and gender was presented. Lastly, the shift from the modern approach to the post-modern approach, namely third-wave linguistic analysis, was discussed. This approach regards gender as an aspect of social linguistic identity which is achieved in conversation. This study will also look at gender phenomena in Persian address terms from a post modern approach, which investigates gender identities.

### **3.10. Age in sociolinguistics**

Another sociolinguistic factor in language use and variation is age. The relation between the age process and language use has been analysed from two points of view: real time and apparent time. In real time studies, a set of diachronic data from a different range of times (such as decades, generation, or even centuries) is compared to reveal the changes that occur through time and age. However, in many cases, where historical data are not available, linguists apply an apparent time approach by comparing the age of speakers at a specific time in a community rather than focusing on different eras in which the language is used. With the apparent time method (Labov 1963, 1966), we can view synchronic age patterns as a window to what has happened in a community over the last few generations. This is based on the assumption that individuals tend to preserve their speech patterns as they move through their lifespan (Labov 1966).

Another possible interpretation of a monotonic age slope is age grading. In age grading, each generation of speakers modifies its linguistic behaviour at a particular stage in life, sometimes well into adulthood. But the language itself does not change across generations. During adolescence, the core foundation of language such as speech style and sound will be established, and will not change in individuals in their later stages of life (Labov 2007). For example, we can listen to the speech of a 47 year old and get a sense of what the community norms were when s/he was a child (40 years ago).

However, it is not always possible to separate clearly the concepts of age and generation since, as Eckert (1997: 151) points out “age and ageing are experienced both individually and as part of a cohort of people who share a life stage, and/or an experience of history”. Eckert (1997: 156) highlights the distinction between chronological age, or the number of years since birth, biological age, or physical maturity (which does not necessarily, of course, correlate exactly with chronological age), and social age, which is tied to life events such as family status (including marriage or birth of first child) or legal status (Eckert gives as examples naturalisation or date of first arrest). Coupland and his colleagues use contextual age in much the same way as social age (Coupland 1997: 34).

In Western societies chronological age is usually the starting point for research on age and generation-specific use of language, but for societies elsewhere in the world this may be impossible. In the African context, for example, people may not know their absolute chronological age: if they are asked for their age, the clerk of the tribal authority may assign one based on physical appearance (Van Eeden 1991: 33, as cited in Makoni 1997: 61).

Age may be a more meaningful social category in some cultures than in others. Ota et al. (2000: 34) found that for 18-19 year olds a group identity in terms of age was stronger for Americans than for Japanese. Furthermore, being young appeared to be a more positive experience overall for the young American adults: the young Japanese in the sample were more ambivalent about their experiences of being young than were the Americans. The authors relate this finding to the social changes currently underway in Japan, where there is a gradual shift of culture from traditionalism to a more modern or Western culture in which being young is a more positive and more powerful life stage.

In this study, although it would be ideal to investigate variation in Persian address forms using a real time research methodology to reveal fundamental principles of language change, there are no or very limited accessible spontaneous data from the past decades. Therefore, I will apply an apparent time approach by comparing the age of speakers across generations in contemporary collected data.

### 3.11. Concluding remarks

In this chapter, I initially reviewed the address system, shedding light on the T/V distinction in Western and non-Western cultures. The study's scope, the Persian pronominal address system, was discussed in detail focusing on the variable patterns within the address paradigm. Extra-linguistic factors and their correlation with Persian social deixis is discussed. Furthermore, we observed that there may be cross-cultural similarities in patterns of address form variation between Persian and other languages such as Spanish and Portuguese (i.e. use of a mismatch construction and pronoun switching). Moreover, it was discussed that variation in politeness is not restricted to address pronouns, since it is also observed across titles and referent terms such as enclitics. Previous studies on the Persian address system provide only a simplistic model of T/V dichotomy based on gender and age.

After reviewing the Persian pronominal address system, related politeness theories as well as Persian politeness features such as speech acts and *ta'arof* were elaborated. In addition, to provide an insight on gender and age as major social factors in address form variation, relevant studies on gender and age were presented.

It can be argued that there is a need to move beyond the study of politeness in address forms from a one-dimensional perspective, such as social identity, intimacy-distance, positive-negative politeness or discursive politeness to an eclectic theory of politeness based on face, stancetaking and indexicality. In this research, with quantitative and qualitative analysis of collected spontaneous data, I claim that a fixed model defined for the interpretation of the address forms as either polite or impolite is not sufficient. Previous studies (Keshavarz 1988, 2001) categorised T for intimate situations and considered its use as rude in formal contexts. On the other hand, the V form was used in formal situations and considered as the polite form. I speculate that the T and V forms can be explained not only by people's social relations and context of speech but also with regard to interlocutors' negotiation and adaptation of their face wants. I will demonstrate that it is the stance and the contextual situation of the T/V usage which determine the politeness of the address pronoun being used.



# Chapter 4

---

## Methods

### 4.1. Introduction

To date there has been limited quantitative and qualitative sociolinguistic research carried out on Persian pronominal address forms in spontaneous conversations. Baumgardner's (1982) quantitative analysis of address forms was based on questionnaire data, which provided a simplistic account of how these forms are used. Later on, Keshavarz (2001: 5-6), with the use of questionnaires, investigated the impact of social context as well as intimacy and distance on the choice of address forms in Persian.

In contrast, this study provides a quantitative and qualitative analysis of Persian pronominal address forms based on spontaneous conversation of media recordings. With apparent time data, the quantitative analysis explores whether there is an ongoing change in the use of address pronouns in contemporary Persian across gender and three different age groups: young (post-1979 generation), middle-aged (revolutionary generation), and old generation (pre-revolutionary generation). The results from the quantitative analysis illuminate whether pronominal address forms' usage varies across generations and gender. The qualitative analysis sheds light on the sociolinguistic functions of address pronouns, their switching patterns and the agreement mismatch construction. It examines whether Persian pronouns of address are stable variables and can index various politeness strategies in different stances.

Gender is considered as a factor in this analysis, since in Iran it has traditionally been a social norm for women to seek social status through use of prestige linguistic features (Modarresi-Tehrani 1978). This was seen in the use of the Persian address form *šoma* by women in both formal and informal contexts (Keshavarz 1988). This might be due to the fact that women prefer to claim power and status in society with the use of polite terms of address (Trudgill 1972). Therefore, the *to* pronoun is expected to be used by men, and the *šoma* pronoun by women. However, I hypothesise that in contemporary Iranian society,

due to women's social and political enhancement (Mir-Hosseini 2000, Keddie 2003), there is a trend towards the use of informal pronominal address forms by women or equal use of informal and deferential pronominal address forms by men and women. As Fairclough (1992) states, an index of an egalitarian society is a democratic use of honorific linguistic features. On the other hand, examining the age factor as a sociolinguistic variable illuminates whether there is apparent time change in the use of pronominal address forms. My previous observation in a pilot study conducted in an Iranian community of Edinburgh suggests that the young Iranian generation uses casual or informal forms of language and particularly address pronouns. The interview data in this study qualitatively sheds light on the cultural and societal factors that may have influenced the choice of these forms.

This chapter is divided into the following sections. The quantitative and qualitative research questions posed at the outset of the thesis are reviewed in Section 4.2. Section 4.3 presents a detailed description of context, methods of data collection. The next section will mainly focus on data transcription and its conventions and describe how I have coded the pronominal address forms for the purposes of analysis. Subsequently in Section 4.5, the methods of analysis concerning the data collected are presented. Finally, the study's analytical framework is presented in Section 4.6.

## **4.2. Research questions**

In this thesis, I analyse a corpus of spontaneous media recordings (i.e. hidden camera and interviews). With this corpus, I ask a set of quantitative and qualitative questions regarding the use of the second person address pronouns *to* and *šoma* and their verb agreements.

### **4.2.1. Quantitative research questions**

Quantitatively, I look at the interaction of factors conditioning the choice of T/V paradigmatic variables:

- *to*
- *šoma*
- *šoma + 2s*

I hypothesise that the extra-linguistic factors that condition the choice of these linguistic variables may include:

- age
- gender

whereby these factors in turn correlate with speaker and addressee. So, the quantitative analysis of data looks at distribution of variables (*to*, *šoma*, and *šoma + 2s*) for the following categories:

- age of speaker
- age of addressee
- gender of speaker
- gender of addressee

The analysis will be presented in the form of a cell representation that considers all the above variables and factors (table of 6 rows and 18 columns) in Chapter 5. It focuses on the following question:

RQ- How does the use of various forms of the second person pronoun correlate with extra-linguistic factors such as speaker, addressee, gender and age?

The correlation of extra-linguistic factors (age and gender) as well as interlocutor's roles (speaker and addressee) with T/V variables cannot be predicted in detail in all possible combination of these variables and factors (6x18 cell representation table). So I address the impact of each factor on this correlation separately in the following hypothesis, and the exact correlation will be examined in the quantitative analysis (see Chapter 5).

Traditionally in Iran, women were expected to use more *šoma* to address not only men, but also their peers. Furthermore women used to be addressed with the *to* form by men, because of men's higher social power. Consequently, men were supposed to be addressed with the *šoma* form by women, male speakers were less constrained to use the deferential forms of address, so they tended to use casual forms of address. However, considering the egalitarian ideology of the 1979 Islamic revolution and its impact on language use, I expect

equal use of *to*, *šoma* and the mismatch construction by men and women. Furthermore, due to women's educational and socio-political enhancement in contemporary Iran, I expect men and women to be addressed equally with the three variants *to*, *šoma* and the mismatch construction.

In terms of age factor, I expect the post- 1979 generation (<30) to use *to*, the casual address pronoun and the mismatch construction more often than older speakers. Moreover, it is anticipated that the middle-aged group (30-55) (of the generation before the 1979 revolution) will use the mismatch construction more frequently than the young or old interlocutors. Due to the egalitarian ideology of the 1979 revolution, I expect the generation after the revolution (<30) and the middle-aged group (30-55) to be addressed with the casual address pronouns. The middle-aged group were the mainstream members during the 1979 revolution and at the threshold of the socio-cultural transition following that revolution. So it is expected that their linguistic competence entails a bilateral schema integrating pre- and post-revolutionary socio-cultural norms and values. In contrast, I expect that the older generation (>55) prefer to use the deferential address pronoun, as it is predicted that this group's linguistic repertoire is stable and is a manifestation of the social norms of the pre-revolutionary era. However, it should also be mentioned that the older or middle-aged generation favouring the 1979 revolution may also use the casual forms of address and I expect the old generation (>55) to be addressed with the casual, deferential pronominal address forms and the mismatch construction.

#### **4.2.2. Qualitative research questions**

In order to find out when and where the interlocutors use different T/V forms, address pronoun switching and mismatch construction in interaction, qualitative analysis should be carried out. Therefore, the following two qualitative research questions were posed at the outset of this work:

RQ1-What are the different social functions of second person singular and plural address pronouns and suffixes?
---

It is expected that the overt informal address pronoun *to* will index intimacy, with greater emphasis on the addressee in comparison with 2s verb agreement alone. However, I anticipate that a null subject with a singular informal suffix ( $\emptyset$ +2s) will index solidarity, with less attention to the addressee's face wants. On the other hand, it is expected that the overt deferential address form *šoma* will occur with its deferential agreement (2h) to index formality and respect. However, *šoma* in agreement with the colloquial plural suffix (2p) is expected to be less deferential and index deference accompanied by solidarity. Evidence for these interpretations will be evaluated in Chapter 6.

RQ2- What are the sociolinguistic and pragmatic functions that address pronoun switching and the mismatch construction (i.e. *šoma* + 2s verb agreement) serve?

Address pronouns are a powerful tool for indexing social relationships in communication. I expect that when there is a switch from the default address pronoun to a different variety of address pronoun in the same utterance, the switch indexes a communicative strategy of the speaker in the stance-taking. The address pronoun switching may function as either face threatening or saving strategies in conversation. Similarly, the mismatch construction is expected to function as a pivot of social relationship in interaction. Depending on the stance of the interactants, the mismatch construction may either index solidarity with the addressee or function as a way of claiming status or authority for the speaker in the conversation.

In order to investigate the research questions, the subsequent procedures are followed. These are outlined in Section 4.3, method of data collection and context of study, Section 4.4, method of data preparation, and Section 4.5, method of data analysis.

### **4.3. The method of data collection and context of study**

The primary methodology of this research is interactional sociolinguistics and it uses ethnographic sensibilities in data analysis. We can gain insights into how language is used in society by conducting ethnographic research. According to Scollon and Scollon (2001: 17), in order to ensure validity and reliability of any scientific pursuit, there are general processes, which are common to all ethnographic studies. Ethnographic research

methodology is based on fieldwork and participant observation. Therefore, data should be collected from situations of normal life in our contemporary world where people from different genders and generations and characteristics engage in social interaction.

To investigate the use of pronominal address forms in interaction, I have collected data from different resources to provide both reliability (the idea that other researchers would find the same thing) and validity (not researchers' own perception). These sources include a pilot study of family recordings, spontaneous media, and open-ended interviews. In order to observe clearly the interactional use of pronominal address forms, I became a participant in situational practices.

#### **4.3.1. Fieldwork experience in Edinburgh (2006) and Tehran (2007)**

In 2006, I conducted a pilot study consisting of recorded<sup>16</sup> family gatherings such as lunch or dinnertime conversation, and also individual and group interviews investigating address form behaviours in more than 20 Iranian families in Edinburgh. The families were first and second generation Iranians who had immigrated to the UK. The family dinnertime recordings showed frequent use of pro-drop, that is a phonetically null subject with a verb, marked with either a singular or a plural agreement. However, I did not observe considerable variation in the use of T/V forms (i.e. there was little or no address pronoun switching and use of mismatch construction) in the family conversations. These constraints on pronominal address form usage among Iranian families in Edinburgh may be explained by two factors: firstly, Persian speakers' contact with the English language where in the standard variety the sole second person pronoun is 'you'. Secondly, there was a lack of diversity of speech events observed in the family interactions. By this, I mean the conversations in family interactions were monothematic. That is the interlocutors talked about only one topic of discussion throughout the interaction (e.g., men's cooking style, how to spend summer holidays, food etc.). The pilot study helped me to identify contexts with more probability of pronominal address form occurrences. It shed also light on the effectiveness of embedding community views in the data analysis.

---

<sup>16</sup> The participants were given a tape recorder and recorded talk at their convenience.

The spontaneous media data, I used as the basis for this project are somewhat richer data than the pilot data because they position interactants in a variety of speech events and highlights the social and behavioural dynamics of the individual and society in a single conversation (see this Chapter Section 4.3.2.).

For the fieldwork of this study, I was interested in investigating the occurrence of address forms, specifically address pronouns, across different spontaneous formal and informal settings, such as courtrooms and service encounter. However, due to restrictions of access to such settings in Iran, I collected a corpus of spontaneous media conversations that show societal dilemmas. Thus, I use the following sets of data that was collected during my six month fieldwork in Tehran, from April to September 2007:

- i) I was a participant observer looking closely at people's politeness behaviour in society (e.g. shops, public transport, and hairdressers),
- ii) I recorded ten hours of spontaneous media conversations, and
- iii) I conducted twenty semi open-ended interviews, investigating individuals' perception and awareness of their pronominal address form usage.

During the phase of participant observation, I focused on interlocutors' interactional polite language use and noted their linguistic (i.e. pronominal address forms, terms of reference, speech acts) and prosodic features (i.e. gestures, tone of voice). Fieldwork notes are an asset for a researcher, as they may document an individual's changing stances, unconscious orientations to others, and their accompanying linguistic behaviour. Address form practices are best studied in contexts with frequent variation in stances of interactions. So for the purpose of data analysis, this thesis draws on data from fieldwork notes, recorded media conversations and open-ended interviews.

#### **4.3.2. Media data**

The data for the analysis is based on a corpus of ten hours of audio recordings of media conversations including two parts: hidden camera TV and interviews. This corpus is recorded from Channel Two of national Iranian television <http://tv2.irib.ir>, collected in a field trip to Iran in summer 2007. This programme, called *æz mæn ta ma* 'From me to us',

aims at raising awareness of the moral, social and economic dilemmas of society at large. It shows how to change from just thinking about oneself in society to a communal understanding of existing social problems. Table 4.1 provides an overview of the eight media episodes. Considering speech act as an independent variable as well as age and gender of speaker/addressee in the analysis is not in the scope of this thesis, since in the media data, it is not at all clear how a particular utterance would be categorised as a speech act. The speakers play around with form and function to a very high degree. For example, in the data someone makes a series of statements, and the next speaker replies with what is ‘formally’ an apology. But overall, the function of the exchange has clearly been interpreted by the interlocutors as an indirect request and a refusal. But where the statements ‘turn into’ a request is quite unclear.

<b>Episodes</b>	<b>Theme of Episode</b>
1-Neighbour	The aim is to investigate how well neighbours are acquainted with each other considering today’s busy lifestyle.
2-Beggar	Beggar begging for money and perception of donors towards the social consequences of offering money to beggars.
3-Bribe	Offering a bribe in return for a favour. The programme aims to unravel individuals’ awareness of the social consequences of accepting bribe.
4-Fixing the doorbell	Judging whether the repairmen are fair in the price they charge to fix a doorbell.
5-Signatory	The aim of this episode is to investigate whether individuals with no social acquaintance give testimony, in this case a signature, to certify the identity of a person applying for an identity card.
6-Thief	The episode looks in depth into people’s social awareness towards theft and whether they would arrest a thief if they could.
7-Throwing rubbish	This episode explores if the community are environmentally conscious and make the effort to collect litter (i.e. in this case a banana skin) even if they are not accountable for its cause.
8-Ticket seller	This episode examines whether people buy goods (i.e. bus tickets) under the standard price. It also inspects the social consequences and the community attitude towards such actions.

Table 4.1: Description of media data and its episodes

The feature of hidden camera provides a situation where the participants interact spontaneously. In the interviews, the interlocutors interact spontaneously, since the interviewer interrogates them unexpectedly. One might argue that media extracts involve



the staging of interactions by professionals, who in a sense attempt to entrap passers-by into participating in a pre-planned interaction sequence. In order to rectify this issue, I have researched this matter and consulted with members from Iranian broadcasting programme. The producer of this programme (Taghavi-Zonouz, personal communication July 2010) mentioned that the improvised actor and the interviewer's speech are not scripted nor staged. The improvised actor and interviewer are just given a theme of what topic to talk about. There is also empirical evidence for this as both the improvised actor and the interviewer use different strategies in addressing each pedestrian. The data cannot be staged nor scripted as the use of pronouns of address is conditional on the interaction of *both* interlocutors in the sequence of face-to-face interactions. Interviewer and improvised actors are not aware of what stances the pedestrians may take in response to their speech. This study contrasts with previous research on media television sitcoms (e.g. Quaglio 2009), where the interactions are predetermined.

The data draws on examples of address form usage from eight episodes of media conversation with 115 participants (Male: 90, Female: 25) categorised in three estimated age<sup>17</sup> groups: young (c.35 or under), middle-aged (c.36-55 years) and old (c.56-80 years). Each episode is a 20-minute programme with two sections, a hidden camera scenario followed by an interview with the presence of a camera.

The programme offers various themes and topics of social concern (e.g. price control, sense of responsibility and social consciousness). Depending on the theme of the episodes, usually conversations are between an improvised actor or an interviewer from the broadcasting studio and a member of the general public. Usually the hidden camera interactions precede the interviews. In this case, the improvised actor interacts with the public on the related topic. In the second stage, the interviewer interviews the person who participated in the hidden camera. Therefore, the context of the collected media corpus is important as it shows how people perform politeness in interaction in society at large where they have no pre-existing relationships.

---

<sup>17</sup>As the episodes in the hidden camera and interview programme are spontaneous interactions, the indicated interlocutor's ages are therefore estimates and are assessed on the basis of appearance and voice.

For the purpose of analysis, I divided the media data into two categories based on the similarity of themes and transactions conducted in the episodes: financial themes, and awareness of social problems. The objective of the financial themes was to seek people's awareness of financial corruption in society. These include bribery, selling dodgy goods, charging customers more than the service would have cost, and donating money to beggars. The social problems' awareness episodes consisted of social themes, such as how well you know your neighbours, whether you would arrest a thief if you could, and throwing rubbish on the floor; the fourth episode in this group is judging whether people give testimony to strangers. All the episodes with the above mentioned themes are hidden camera programmes and are followed by the interviews. With diversity of social interactions occurring among different age groups and across both genders, the spontaneous media conversations, in this study, provide a better picture of how language and politeness are used in different social contexts. This type of linguistic research conducted on spontaneous conversations is in contrast with previous studies carried out on stereotypical, ubiquitous television sitcoms, such as *Friends* (Quaglio 2009) and *Eastenders* (Stuart-Smith 2005). The spontaneous interaction in the media data is an excellent resource for observing and examining the social functions indexed with address pronoun use.

#### **4.3.3. Individual and group recordings**

In addition to the recordings of media conversations, I carried out open-ended informal interviews with 20 individual informants to obtain folk views of pronominal address forms usage. I audio-recorded the interviews with members of a family and with some friends. In order to obtain more information from academic sources, I carried out informal talks with 5 university lecturers with a background in Persian linguistics. Notes were taken during the informal interviews with the university lecturers.

These interviews were supplemented by many more on-the-spot conversations with more Persian speakers. The interviews, conducted in Persian, elicited a lot of useful information on views about politeness in the usage of Persian address pronouns. While each question was the starting point of a topic, I made sure that informants felt free to add any points,

comments or anecdotes they thought were appropriate to the topics under discussion. These conversations did not follow the pattern of the question–response sequence of formal interviews. The starting point was the questions I asked, but soon the interaction developed into informal conversation, often among the participants, myself introducing more topics when I thought the previous one had more or less been covered. The motive of the interviews was to seek peoples’ points of view on how they use the pronominal address forms and whether they have observed any variation in the styles of address pronoun usage in society. Thus, the open-ended sociolinguistic interviews elucidate the quantitative and qualitative analysis results on how patterns of address forms are used in the interaction.

Due to socio-political norms, which constrain people from expressing themselves openly on record, collecting spontaneous interview data from Iranians is a challenging task. Despite this fact, because of prior acquaintance and being an insider of the communities where I audio-recorded (Milroy 1987), my role was defined as different from that of a researcher. The recordings of the sociolinguistic interviews are from conversations among my relatives (nuclear and extended), friends and families of my friends in Edinburgh who introduced me to their relatives in Tehran. All the informants had in advance given their permission to be recorded, which was taken to apply to all subsequent recording sessions. In order to ensure the participants’ confidentiality, pseudonyms have been used. Moreover, prior to the data collection, I carried out general talks about my research and assured the participants that the aim of the interviews was solely for linguistic purposes and research.

In order to ensure the ethical reliability and validity of two sets of data (spontaneous media interactions and sociolinguistic interviews), the following procedures were carried out. Prior to transcribing the spontaneous media data, samples of media interactions were collected and after reviewing eight episodes of interactions, I observed that at the end of the interviews relevant to the topic of the hidden camera, the interviewer asks for the permission of the interviewee to broadcast the conversations on TV. In most of the episodes, I observed that the interviewee’s permission for the conversations to be broadcasted was given. In cases where participants had not granted permission for their image to be broadcasted, the participant’s face was not shown to avoid revealing his/her identity. Even further in cases where the participants had not granted permission for their

voices to be broadcasted, some alterations were made to the interviewee’s voice (the alteration was stated in the subtitles) to protect the confidentiality of the participants and in return to meet the ethical requirements of the spontaneous recordings. For the sociolinguistic open-ended interviews, a consent form (see Appendix D1) was distributed to inform them about the research and their role and rights in this context. So the participants were made aware that they could withdraw from the interview or their data could be discarded on request. Only in cases where interviewee permission was granted was the interview recorded.

Previous studies have discussed how consent forms should be distributed to the participants prior to the research being conducted to ensure that the participants are aware that the research is ethical (Labov 1984, Johnstone 2000, and Feagin 2004). However, in this study the participants asked me to distribute the consent forms after the recordings to minimise the chance of the recordings being biased:

Example 4.1

[Setting: Dinner time talk- Speakers: H: female 45 year-old housewife]

1H: *ægær form-hæ ro gæblæn be æfrad bed-i*  
 if form-pl om before to people give-2s  
 ‘if you distribute the forms to the participants beforehand’

2 *ehtemal-e zeyadi hæst ke næ-xan*  
 probability-ez a lot is that neg-want.3p  
 ‘there is a great probability that they might not want’

3 *seda-šun ro zæbt kon-i ya hæta mætaleb tæbii baš-e*  
 voice-3p om record do-2s or even information natural becomes-3s  
 ‘you to record them or the information might not even be natural’

In the conducted interviews, ongoing relationships with the vast majority of the participants had existed for a considerable length of time prior to the recording sessions. This has addressed the “observer’s paradox” (Labov 1972: 209) factor as best as we can. The observer’s paradox is the effect of the observer’s presence on the interactions, making the speech less natural and spontaneous. Wolfson states that long term participant observation of a group to which the researcher belongs is “the very best kind of data collection” (Wolfson 1989: 75) and that some of the best information about language use can be gleaned in this way (Wolfson 1989: 78). She argues that this method has the added

advantage of preventing participants' self-consciousness in the interaction under investigation, thus overcoming the observer's paradox (Labov 1966, 1972, Wolfson 1989: 690). In this thesis, the open-ended sociolinguistic interviews are analysed in order to obtain a clear picture of individuals' perception and attitudes towards address pronoun usage.

#### **4.4. Method of data preparation**

##### **4.4.1. Transcription and conventions**

Following data collection, the data were transcribed by using an Olympus AS2300 transcription kit. This device included a pedal for transcription, which facilitated the transcription within three months. The transcriptions use the Latin alphabet. The Persian phonemes (consonant and vowels) I have used in the transliteration of the Persian text have approximately the same values as in English, apart from the following (descriptions adapted and modified from Mahootian 1997, Sadat Tehrani 2007):

*x*: voiceless velar uvular with scrape (approximating to <ch> in the Scottish word 'loch')

*š*: voiceless post-alveolar fricative (corresponding to <sh> in 'show')

*q*: voiced or voiceless uvular plosive, according to phonetic context usually pronounced as voiced if between two back vowels

*æ*: as in English 'hat'

*ɑ*: as in English 'bath' (for more information on Persian phonemes see Appendix A).

In the collected data, media and interview conversations, distinctions in the paralinguistic speech features (i.e. tone of voice, stress) can be observed, marking variation in the pitch of the sound. Thus, Jefferson's transcript notation rules (Jefferson 2004) will be applied as conversational devices in the talks (see Appendix B).

Initially, the English literal meaning of the transcriptions will be provided which is based on 'The Leipzig Glossing Rules' ([www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php](http://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php)); this will be followed by an English translation of the speech.

#### 4.4.2. Data coding

Prior to the quantitative analysis of media conversations, for the purpose of codification, the pronouns were divided into subject pronouns and non-subject pronouns, namely referent pronouns (See Section 3.5.4). This was to avoid misinterpretation and confusion between address and referent pronouns. Pronouns of address always occur in subject position and co-occur with the subject-referencing suffix inflected on the verb, either agreeing in person and number or a mismatch construction. In the subject position the categories are:

- *to*
- *šoma*
- null subject

It should be noted that in the subject position, we can have also titles or names as an address term. Since the focus of this thesis is the pronominal address forms, address terms are not taken into account as an element of data coding. However, in the qualitative analysis, address terms are considered as an extra-linguistic factor that may co-occur with pronominal address forms in interaction. As mentioned in Section 3.5.5, the overt and verbal inflections categories of address pronouns are singular (2s) or plural with two levels of formality, (2h) the formal written form and (2p) for the informal colloquial verbal inflection. As for the mismatch construction, the overt *šoma* pronoun co-occurs with the (2s) verbal inflection. Table 4.2 provides an overview of six possible variations of the second person address forms with the infinitive *ræftæn* ‘to go’:

Second Person Pronoun	Overt Pronoun + Agreement	Null Subject + Agreement
Informal ( <i>to</i> ) Agreement: 2s (-i)	<i>to miri</i> ‘you go’	<i>koja miri?</i> ‘where are you going?’
Deferential ( <i>šoma</i> ) Agreement: 2h (-id)	<i>šoma diruz koja ræfiid?</i> ‘where did you go yesterday?’	<i>koja mirid?</i> ‘where are you going?’
Deferential ( <i>šoma</i> ) Agreement: 2p (-in)	<i>šoma diruz koja ræfiin?</i> ‘where did you go yesterday?’	<i>koja mirin?</i> ‘where are you going?’

Table 4.2: Persian address pronouns (subject and verb agreement)

In the stage of codification of the pronominal address forms for quantitative analysis, the address pronoun tokens were categorised and counted. These categories were considered

for both the speaker and addressee. The media conversations were dyadic in nature, and the address pronoun tokens were counted based on age and gender of speaker and addressee. The coding technique for the qualitative analysis is as follows. As I am interested in investigating the social functions of address pronouns and the communicative strategies indexed by their variation patterns (i.e. address pronoun switching and the mismatch construction), initially the interlocutor's prescribed use of address pronoun is investigated in the interaction.

The prescribed use of address pronoun is considered as the expected address behaviour appropriate to the interactional setting. This use of address pronoun is established by focusing on the social dimensions of interlocutors (such as age, status and gender). For instance, in service encounters, it is an expected norm in Iranian culture that the salesman uses the deferential address pronoun in addressing the customers, as great deference is expected when no prior social relationship exists between the interlocutors and specifically the salesman is in need of a favour.

On the other hand, the social functions of address pronouns are examined by investigating the deviation of pronominal address forms from their prescribed use in the interaction. As pronominal address forms are conditioned by polite lexical or linguistic features in the interaction, it is important to study the social functions of the pronominal address forms alongside other linguistic features (such as titles, enclitic, speech acts and *ta'arof*)<sup>18</sup>. Having reviewed the context of study and the variants under investigation in the analysis, in the next section I will introduce the study's method of analysis.

#### **4.5. The method of data analysis**

##### **4.5.1. Method of quantitative data analysis**

One of the aims of this thesis is to investigate the proportionate use of the deferential, and informal pronominal address forms and the mismatch construction in Persian in correlation

---

<sup>18</sup> See Chapter 3 for a detailed discussion on pronominal forms and the politeness features.

with gender and age variables in the contemporary society of Iran. For this purpose, I conducted a quantitative sociolinguistic variationist analysis (see Chapter 5).

This work's advantage over other work based on questionnaire data is that the results are an actual representation of how people are using the address pronouns in practice in contemporary Iranian society. Although with questionnaire data (e.g. Lambert and Tucker 1976, Jaramillo 1996, and Keshavarz 2001), it is possible to consider the interactional aspect of pronoun use quantitatively, the results are idealised and may show more about how people think and are trained to talk rather than how they actually use the pronouns in practice. Garfinkel (1967) argues that ethnomethodological approaches to data collection, which are based on people's practices or methods, are the best methods of data collection. The results in this work are based on spontaneous data shedding light on a new aspect of variationist study toward address pronoun use. Furthermore, the quantitative analysis of address pronouns is supported with a qualitative sociolinguistic analysis.

#### **4.5.2. Method of qualitative data analysis**

As the focus of this study is the investigation of variation in the use of pronominal address forms (i.e. address pronoun switching and the mismatch construction), it is essential to consider the unit of analysis, coding of the variants and the methodology used in the qualitative analysis of data. This section also provides a brief overview of how I have coded different instances of politeness (see Chapter 3 for a detailed description of politeness).

Initially, it is important to draw the line between the study's main units of analysis, which are the second person pronominal address forms and the enclitic pronouns (see Chapter 3 for details). To analyse data qualitatively, the methodology is based on interactional sociolinguistics (Gumperz 1982), with discourse analysis of sequences of talk. The study of communicative interactions in sociolinguistics is an approach to analysing discourse pioneered by Gumperz (1982). In addition, sequential analysis is inspired by ethnomethodology (cf. Garfinkel 1967, Goffman 1971, Heritage 1984). For instance, Garfinkel studied people's everyday practices referring to ethnomethodology by the investigation of the rational properties of indexical expressions (Garfinkel 1967: 11).



Interactional sociolinguistics is an approach, which pays particular attention to the clues people use to interpret conversational interaction within its ethnographic context (cf. Holmes 2008: 372). It should be noted that in interactional sociolinguistics researchers make use of communicative strategies in conversational analysis, such as paying careful attention to turn-taking behaviour, hesitations, pauses, and paralinguistic behaviour (for example, sighs, laughter, in-breaths etc.) to interpret what the speaker intended. In contrast to conversational analysis, in studies of interactional sociolinguistics, the wider socio-cultural contexts of the interactions are also considered. Thus in the interpretation of the interaction, the researcher makes use of the community's perceptions and norms of language use. Accordingly, in the study of interpretive sociolinguistic approaches to the analysis of real time processes in face-to-face encounters, Gumperz (1982) notes that:

“Detailed observation of verbal strategies revealed that an individual's choice of speech style has symbolic value and interpretive consequences that cannot be explained simply by correlating the incidence of linguistic variants with independently determined social and contextual categories” (Gumperz 1982: vii).

As a result, interactional sociolinguistics is used to explore the way in which the moment to moment decisions are made (Cook-Gumperz 2006: 277). Thus, in order to investigate the functions of address pronouns in practice, it is essential to observe many interactions between participants from the target community. Consequently, I applied an interactional sociolinguistic approach to explain how Iranian people view and use Persian pronominal address forms in everyday interaction. This method enabled me to elaborate on the social functions of address pronouns, particularly the sociolinguistic functions of address pronoun switching and the mismatch construction.

As a communicative strategy, switching in Persian is an alternation between different ways of addressing someone with address pronouns. The switching can be also observed in Persian kinship terms and titles, which function alongside address pronouns to index Iranian social relations. The mismatch construction interacts with the Persian T/V dichotomy to delineate a hierarchy of dyadic social relationships. In a language with a T/V dichotomy, the address pronouns do not alone serve to differentiate social distinctions. This

is accomplished by a very fine-grained interaction between pronouns and other linguistic features (Baumgardner 1982: 202-203). The linguistic features are also categorised to show different levels of politeness.

In order to investigate the semantic and pragmatic functions of the address pronoun switches and mismatches as politeness markers, it is essential to study the address pronouns alongside other markers of politeness. Therefore, I focused on the interaction of the deferential and informal address pronouns in Persian alongside four other linguistic features. These features are; titles, enclitics, realisations of selected speech acts (requests, apologies, directives, refusals and compliments) (Blum-Kulka 1987, 1989) and with *ta'arof* (see Chapter 3). The ongoing interactions were investigated with the concept of face from politeness theory, and an analytical framework based on stance and indexicality, which demonstrated that pronouns of address (specifically address pronoun switching and the mismatch construction) serve as a communicative strategy in conversation.

Interaction between address pronouns alongside the mentioned linguistic features shows that address pronoun switching and the mismatch construction are being used to minimise the imposition that the negative face acts might have on the hearer's face, and that they function as face enhancing acts. However, linguistic markers other than the address pronouns (such as titles, enclitics, formal and informal speech acts) may influence the meaning of the utterance, which highlight people's idiosyncratic and interpersonal application of politeness norms in interaction. Thus, the coding stage focused on the main variant of the study, the pronominal address forms. The next section will shed light on this study's analytical framework.

#### **4.6. Analytic framework: stancetaking and indexicality**

In the qualitative analysis of this work, I draw on Ochs' (1992) model of indexicality of language use. Indexicality refers to the fact that "the understandability of any utterance, rather than being fixed by some abstract definition, depends upon the circumstances in which it appears" (Maynard and Clayman 1991: 397). In order to account for the hybrid patterns we observe between the deferential and informal pronominal address forms, the

analytical analysis in this study sheds light on how politeness is indirectly indexed (Ochs 1992) in social face-to-face spontaneous conversations.

Address forms are social-indexical devices in interaction. The term ‘index’ rather than marker may be used to refer to a more socially situated analysis of variables (Meyerhoff 2006: 222). Across the world’s speech communities, there are pragmatic universals in the linguistic indexing of stances and acts. Stance has been defined from a varied range of perspectives: individual, social, contextual and interactional or an amalgam of these social and individual roles. For instance, stance may be defined as “taking up a position in discourse with respect to the form of the content of one’s utterance” (Jaffe 2009: 1). Stance may also be defined as a form of contextualization (Gumperz 1982) and footing (Goffman 1974). Within this respect, stance as a form of contextualization (Gumperz 1982) indicates how the speaker’s position with respect to a particular utterance is to be interpreted. In Goffman’s terms, stance may be seen as the category of footings taken in the course of communication (i.e. how the talk configures in interaction). Furthermore, stance is the crucial operator for acts of keying (Goffman 1974). Keying is defined as “a set of conventions by which a given activity is transformed into something patterned on this activity but seen by the participants to be something quite else” (Goffman 1974: 43-44). Keying redefines situations by introducing or laminating latent or potential frames and participant roles onto an interaction. (Jaffe 2009: 10). For instance, a speaker may rekey a presumed authorial role as a “figure”, a serious declaration as humorous, or a joke as serious. In all these cases, what is shifting is speaker stance toward his or her words, the situation, or other social actors. Keying – or shifting stances and frames – signals the multiplicity and complexity of stances and identities: sometimes this very multiplicity can be the outcome or target of stancetaking (Jaffe 2009: 10).

Accordingly, analysts of discourse in interaction (Gumperz 1982, Ochs 1992, Bucholtz 2009) account ‘stance’ for how particular linguistic choices in interaction accomplish social and rhetorical actions. In this line Johnstone (2004: 51) points out that all work on social interaction under stancetaking includes the moment-by-moment choices speakers make that index their relationship to what they say (such as whether they are sure or unsure or happy or sad about what they have said). Example of such stances are an attitudinal and epistemic

stance (Conrad and Biber 2000), an evaluative stance (Hunston and Thompson 2000), an interpersonal stance (Ochs 1992), and an identity stance (Johnstone 2004 and Kiesling 2005). Other scholars take a more context oriented view on stance. Haddington (2007), defines stance as the contextual background and the indexical properties of language (Haddington 2007: 283). For Kiesling (2009) “stancetaking is the main constitutive social activity that speakers engage in when both creating a style and style-shifting” (Kiesling 2009: 314).

Based on these studies of stance, it can be argued that stance and stance styles have begun to be regarded, not as static phenomena residing within individual speakers, but as responsive to interactional requirements and social contexts within which speakers and recipients interact. Thus, the focus has moved from the individual speaker towards a more dialogic approach, and towards the social construction of meaning (Kärkkäinen 2003).

The Persian pronominal address system is dynamic and versatile, and it allows for form and function reconfiguration in spontaneous interactions. The media conversations may be mediated by stances the individuals take in interaction to frame their status and role. This in turn may constrain the politeness indexed with the pronominal address forms. For the purpose of this study, in order to account for how politeness is indexed in interaction, the linguistic variables may be best explained by considering both the interpersonal (Ochs 1992) and interactional (Goffman 1974, Gumperz 1982) properties of stance in conversation. Here stance is not an individual experience or an inner act, but a shared inter-subjective activity accomplished in interaction.

Ochs (1992: 335) discusses two possible indexing strategies: ‘direct’ referential and ‘indirect’ constitutive indexing. In other words, indexicality indicates which cultural contexts, such as social identities (e.g. gender) and social activities (e.g. gossip), are constituted by a particular stance and acts in speech. Silverstein (1993) argues that verbal communication conveys meaning by way of grammatical, semantic and indexical processes through direct association between signs and context.

As Ochs (1992: 341) points out, there are particular linguistic features directly indexing social acts or social activities, such as the imperative mode indexing the act of ordering in English or respect vocabulary terms in Samoan indexing the activity of oratory. These acts in turn may indirectly be associated with speaking like a male or a female, and display different frequencies of use across the two social categories (gender). In this sense, the relation between language and politeness is constituted through a network of socially normative pragmatic meanings. Similar to gender, knowledge of how address forms relate to politeness is not a fixed mapping between forms of address and the attitude of interlocutors. As Eckert (2008) describes, there is a possibility of multiple meanings for a linguistic form, which may constitute its indexical field.

Across the world's speech communities, we see many examples of the same structural features being used to index social stances and acts. However, there is no one-to-one form-function correspondence. That is, a language may index a stance of intimacy or an act such as gossiping by increase in use of null subjects, but there is no a priori reason for this equivalence to hold. It would be just as possible for a language to index intimacy with use of overt address pronouns. The way speakers conventionalise the relationship between stances, acts and pragmatic linguistic forms is culturally constrained. This accounts for why there are some similarities across societies in use of address forms. The deviations in prescribed use of pronominal address forms may be explained in Ochs (1992) terms by considering that:

“each social group has specific ways of organizing the distribution of stance and indexical action across social identities, relationships and activities, with different values associated with each set of indexicals. Cultural competence entails developing knowledge of these more complex indexical systems” (Ochs 1992: 336).

In the course of the following discussion, I will argue that the sociolinguistic functions of address pronoun switching and the mismatch construction is constituted and mediated indirectly by the relation of language to speaker and interactional stances, social activities, and other social dimensions such as power, status and age.

This work shows how polite behaviour is indexed in interactions by investigating spontaneous face-to-face interactions in a variety of stances. Politeness can be indexed indirectly through various social meanings. These meanings build a constitutive relation of language with address forms and politeness. What is being indirectly indexed with pronominal address forms is politeness in various behavioural dynamics. Indexicality is a manifestation of how speech features (e.g. honorific verbs, T/V deixis) are not inherently polite.

The address pronoun switchings and the mismatch construction are systematic and complex, deriving from a range of lexical and morphosyntactic markers such as honorific, humble pronouns and address terms, vocative suffixes, verbal infixes, and honorific lexical items (i.e. nouns, verbs, and case marking particles). Hanks (1992) elaborates that:

“A basic property of the indexical context of interaction is its dynamicity. Namely, interactions move through space, shift topics, exchange information, coordinate their respective orientations, and establish common grounds as well as non-commonalities which result in indexical reference changes. Patterns of deictic usage may reflect these changes” (Hanks 1992: 53).

Conversation dynamics and various themes of social dilemmas in the media interactions show diversity of patterns between the organisational stances of the interactions such as a) affect, b) theme and c) speaker and hearer’s face needs. Address pronoun switching are constructed with individuals’ (re-)assessment of their position in the social relationship. Address pronoun switching and the mismatch construction form a hybrid social meaning that may index various communicative functions in the interaction (Ervin-Tripp 1972a, Agyekum 2006). The versatility of the Persian pronominal address system can be elaborated on with a sociolinguistic approach to stancetaking and indexicality. Individuals in interaction take up stances during conversation and these stances may change in the course of the interaction, as indexed by address pronoun switching and the mismatch construction, which are stance based. The sociolinguistic functions of address pronoun switching and the mismatch construction are indexed indirectly by divergences in prescribed use of the address pronoun that vary in accordance with individuals’ stancetaking in interaction.

It is argued that it is the individual stance repertoire (intra-speaker variation) that maps out patterned variation at the level of the speaker. These patterns of individual variation, compared and contrasted with patterns of collective variation, set the scene for the production and interpretation of specific stance events. An acquaintance of Jaffe (2009: 19) explains how she challenges the normative patterns in use of the French deferential form of address *Vous* with many people with whom she has warm and friendly relations. This pattern of choice is stated to be itself a stance that colours the stance potentials of her uses of *tu*. This divergence of the normative may carry a more affective stance of intimacy than the *tu* of more normative speakers. On the other hand, although normative speaker's use of *tu* with acquaintances would simply be read as friendly, when she does the same thing it constitutes a departure from her preferred usage, and thus may be seen as a more significant act of social alignment with interlocutors who desire a reciprocal *tu* usage with her.

Indexicality views address pronouns as a flexible resource for constructing relationships in interaction and thus I will use it to unravel the question of how address pronouns are being used among people in the public sphere with no prior social relationships, such as is represented in social media data. The use of address pronoun switching and the mismatch construction further suggest that politeness in pronominal address forms should also be defined within a flexible model, which is based on individuals' engagement in negotiating relationships with each other (Meyerhoff and Niedzielski 1994, see also discussion of pronoun switches in Meyerhoff 1998). Hence, in this study, I will be using an interactional sociolinguistics approach, which examines the moment to moment spontaneous interactions of speakers and addressees in the immediate social context. This interactional discourse analytic approach can shed light on the sociolinguistic indexicality of pronominal address forms, address pronoun switches and the mismatch construction in interaction. The analysis reveals that the conceptual meaning of the overt *šoma* address form has evolved from only indexing distance or respect to index casualness. As a result, in contemporary Persian we see an augmentation of the sociolinguistic conceptual baggage of the deferential overt address pronoun by an amalgamation of two pragmatic dichotomies, deference and casualness.

#### 4.7. Concluding remarks

I contend that there is a need to complement studies of Persian address system based primarily on questionnaires, with empirical studies based on spontaneous data using a flexible model of analysis. It is interesting to investigate how address pronouns interact or co-occur (Ervin-Tripp 1972a: 182) with other linguistic features in order to differentiate social relationships. Furthermore, Ferguson (1991: 194) states “if a mismatch in politeness agreement is apparent from qualitative analysis, one can proceed to a carefully focused quantitative analysis to determine whether the mismatch is part of a larger process of change in patterns of address”. As the mismatch construction and the address pronoun switches are stigmatised based on interview data, and at the same time such patterns are observed in interactional data, a combination of quantitative and qualitative analysis is used to document the morphosyntactic variations hypothesised.

Therefore, two sets of quantitative and qualitative research questions are raised to explore variations in the Persian pronominal address system. As stated, in order to address these research questions, two types of data have been collected. Media conversations open a window to speakers’ social practices, and sociolinguistic interview data sheds light on how pronominal address forms are used and perceived in contemporary Iran.

A sociolinguistic variationist approach is proposed in the quantitative analysis to address the quantitative research question. This approach highlights how pronominal address forms are used in terms of age and gender of interactants. In the qualitative analysis, to ascertain the sociolinguistics functions of pronominal address forms, these forms are examined across linguistic features such as realisation of speech acts (request, apologies, commands, refusal and complements), titles, enclitics and *ta‘arof* in conversation by considering indexicality of politeness in the stances.

In sum, this chapter provided an overview of the study’s main research questions, contexts and method of data collection and analyses. Having reviewed the kinds of linguistic features I will be examining in the recordings and how I have identified them for the



purposes of analysis, I now turn to the quantitative (Chapter 5) and qualitative (Chapters 6 and 7) analyses of data.

# Chapter 5

---

## Quantitative analysis of Persian address pronouns

### 5.1. Introduction

This chapter sheds quantitative light on how politeness is indexed with the use of second person pronouns of address in Iranian society among non-familial conversations in modern colloquial Persian. It focuses on the following question:

How does the use of various forms of the second person pronoun correlate with extra-linguistic factors such as speaker, addressee, gender and age?

Previous variationist studies (e.g. Labov 1966, Zilles 2005, Meyerhoff and Walker 2007, Sankoff and Blondeau 2007) have indicated that certain patterns are associated with changes in progress according to age and gender. It is claimed that women are more socially aware of the language they use (Holmes 2001). For example, the work of Keshavarz (1988, 2001) and Ardehali (1990) assert that in Persian, women use more polite pronouns than men to mark their social relations in society. Brown and Gilman (1960) offered a sociolinguistic perspective for the analysis of pronominal systems. According to these authors, speech communities tend to establish and maintain their vertical and horizontal social relationships through the assignment of semantic codes to the pronouns of address. In this way, power and subordination, as well as solidarity, familiarity and intimacy, can be determined by the choice of pronouns, given that their tacit semantics are known by all members of the speech community (Brown and Gilman, 1960: 258). Brown and Gilman analyse the factors involved in the selection of T and V for symmetric or asymmetric use. They speak of the “solidarity semantic” for the symmetric use of T or V, implying equality. Asymmetric use is termed the “power semantic” in that it implies a power-structured relationship, in which the receiver of V is superior to the receiver of T. Although the source of this power is well identified as being bound up with physical strength, wealth, age, sex, or institutionalised role in state, church, army, or the family, the

ultimate choice of pronoun at any given time represents a fusion of far more variables than Brown and Gilman suggest.

Up till now quantitative research on Persian pronouns of address (Baumgardner 1982, Keshavarz 2001) has only focused on the study of address pronouns collected with questionnaire data concerning nuclear and extended family conversations. It has disregarded the importance of variation in address pronoun usage, specifically the use of the mismatch agreement construction, in the larger society (i.e. with non-familial relationships). The questionnaire results in the above studies showed a deterministic two-dimensional model with the use of the deferential pronouns increasing with respondent's age and increasing social distance of the addressee. Finally, the gender of the speaker is ignored; all the attention has been given to the gender of the addressee. However, the quantitative analysis presented in this chapter draws on recorded spontaneous interactional data and shows that address form usage may serve in a multifaceted dimension moving beyond the relative age and gender of the interlocutors.

The analysis draws on 1108 tokens of Persian address pronouns, specifically second person overt and inflected forms *šoma* and *to* (see Chapter 4 for a detailed description of method of data collection). It shows that the young and middle-aged groups behave similarly in the use of *šoma/to* and the mismatch construction. In contrast, a different pattern is observed in how the older generation use the mentioned pronouns. I argue that in contemporary Iranian society, the young and middle-aged groups' perception of the semantics of the *šoma* pronoun differs from the older generation. For the older generation, the use of the *šoma* pronoun is only a marker of social distance and formality.

This chapter is structured as follows: initially an overview of the specific research questions of this part of the thesis is given. This will be followed by a quantitative data analysis in which results will be presented and discussed in Sections 5.3 to 5.6. To close, the main generalisations of the quantitative analysis of this study on pronominal address form usage will be outlined in Section 5.7 alongside the community views adduced from the open-ended sociolinguistic interviews.

## 5.2. Research questions

As mentioned before, this study explores the social correlations of variation in pronominal address form usage by investigating the proportionate use of these address pronouns among Persian interlocutors in public discourses with no pre-existing relationships.

It is hypothesised that address pronouns are interactional in nature. That is the choice of address pronoun is dependent on both speaker and addressee. Therefore, the quantitative analysis in this Chapter, attempts to correlate the linguistic variants (*to*, *šoma* and *šoma* + 2s) with the extra-linguistic features such as age and gender of speaker and addressee. As a result, this Chapter provides an overall interpretation of the quantitative findings in line with the following outlined research questions:

1. Are there any pronominal address forms that are never used by certain speaker groups, or with certain addressee groups?
2. Who is more likely to use which pronominal address form with whom?
3. Is there a balance in the use of pronominal address forms (i.e. no clear preference) in certain speaker-addressee constellations?

The quantitative analysis of the outlined research questions will be based on cell representations that takes into account the linguistic variables and the extra-linguistic factors. The media data corpus per episode is quantified which is represented in 8 tables (See Appendix F). However, the tokens in each episode are not sufficient to make any generalisations of the use of pronominal address forms against the extra-linguistic factors. For this reason, I have analysed the data in terms of pronominal address variables across all episodes. Sections 5.3 and 5.4 present the T and V variables respectively across three age groups (young, middle-aged and old) and gender (female, male). Section 5.5 shows the analysis of the mismatch construction against age, gender, speaker and addressee. Finally, Section 5.6 provides the correlation of all pronominal address variants (T, V, and V + 2s) with the extra-linguistic factors.

The participants are divided into three estimated age groups based on appearance and other physical cues of age. The young category is roughly equal to or under 35 years of age. This

category is important, as it comprises the generation who grew up after the 1979 Iranian revolution. The middle-aged category is roughly between 36-55 years, and participants over approximately 55 are categorised as old generation.

As mentioned before, the media conversations recorded are dyadic in nature. The dialogues are between two people, either between the improvised actor and the pedestrians, or between the interviewer and the pedestrians. The quantitative results are presented in form of cell representations in Tables 5.1, 5.2, 5.3 and 5.4. Table 5.4 presents the overall results of the use of all the pronominal address forms (*to*, *šoma*, *šoma+2s*) with the raw numbers and percentages based on each speaker-addressee constellation. In order to analyse the use of each pronominal address form in correlation with the extra-linguistic factors, the results of Table 5.4 is divided to Tables 5.1, 5.2 and 5.3 to represent the use of T, V and V+2s separately. It should be noted all the percentages in Tables 5.1 to 5.3 are based on the usage of T/V forms and the mismatch construction in each speaker-addressee constellation as in Table 5.4. The percentages of pronominal address form usage are not expected to add up to hundred percent (100%) in each column and row of Tables 5.1 to 5.3. For example, for the speaker address-group of young male speakers and young male addressees (the top left number cell in the tables), Table 5.1 presents 43% for the use of the T form in this speaker-addressee constellation, then Table 5.2 indicates 46% for the use of the V form in the same group, and finally Table 5.3 shows 11% for the use of the mismatch construction. So these percentages of 43%, 46% and 11% (as they add up to 100%) represent the total use of pronominal address forms in this speaker-addressee group, which is presented in Table 5.4. Furthermore, when there is no data for a particular speaker-addressee group, this is signalled in the cells with n/a (i.e. not available) to distinguish them from instances where the 0 means no occurrence. The following sections elaborate the research questions posed in this chapter.

### **5.3. Usage of the T form in correlation with extra-linguistic factors**

Although there is not equal number of male and female interlocutors in different age groups, there are still sufficient interlocutors in most of addressee-speaker groups to analyse their use of T/V pronouns and the mismatch construction in interaction. Table 5.1 shows the use of T pronoun across different age and gender speaker-addressee groups. First

we look at whether in any speaker or addressee group, T pronoun is avoided. Then the identified trends in the use of *to* across age and gender groups are discussed.

Addressee		Young (Y)		Middle (Mid)		Old (O)		Total
		Male (M)	Female (F)	Male (M)	Female (F)	Male (M)	Female (F)	
Speaker		T	T	T	T	T	T	
Y	M	118 (43%) <sup>19</sup>	8 (14%)	47 (31%)	3 (9%)	44 (44%)	0 (0%)	220 (35%)
	F	10 (45%)	1 (7%)	1 (100%)	5 (17%)	n/a	0 (0%)	17 (24%)
Mid	M	74 (34%)	1 (4%)	69 (43%)	7 (54%)	19 (59%)	0 (0%)	170 (38%)
	F	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	n/a	0 (0%)
O	M	11 (85%)	n/a	8 (89%)	0 (0%)	n/a	n/a	19 (73%)
	F	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	0 (0%)
Total		213 (39%)	10 (9%)	125 (39%)	15 (18%)	63 (48%)	0 (0%)	426 (35%)

Table 5.1: Usage of the T form in correlation with extra-linguistic factors of gender, age, speaker and addressee.

Female middle-aged and old speakers do not use *to* form to address any addressees regardless of their age and gender. Moreover, old females are never addressed with the T form by any speakers' group. The T/V dichotomy is more visible in older male generation in terms of age and gender as the old male speakers avoid using the T form to address any female or old groups of addressees while they still address male addressees with *to* form when the addressee is younger than the old speaker. Holmes (1995) notes that seniority in power (older over younger) is culturally constructed. In general, greater power tends to attract deferential behaviour as the need to avoid offending people with higher power is so strong that we strive to express it even in the way we speak to them or address them.

Table 5.1, in most cases, indicates that females are addressed less frequently with the T form compared to males regardless of age and gender of speaker. In total the usage of T increases when the age of addressee increases, and this trend is more considerable between young and middle-aged female addressees (9% to 18%). In particular, middle-aged men are likely to use more the T form to address middle-aged women (54%), while this is not the

<sup>19</sup> As mentioned in Section 5.2, the percentage values of the T form in Table 5.1 are summarised with the V form and the mismatch construction in Table 5.4, which add up to 100%.

case in other different sex speaker-addressee groups. In addition, when the age of speaker increases the usage of T to address middle-aged and old addressee groups increases too, but this cannot be concluded in the younger addressee groups. These trends of T usages are contrary with the expected impact of age factor, however no fixed pattern of T usage can be drawn from the data analysis. In total, young and middle-aged men have similar patterns in terms of using T as speakers and addressee, while the usage of T is more in older male speakers.

#### 5.4. Usage of the V form in correlation with extra-linguistic factors

Table 5.2 shows the use of V pronoun across different age and gender of speaker-addressee groups. Similar to Section 5.3, first we look at whether in any speaker or addressee group, V pronoun is avoided. Then the use of V (*šoma*) across age and gender groups of speaker and addressee is presented.

Addressee		Young (Y)		Middle (Mid)		Old (O)		Total
		Male (M)	Female (F)	Male (M)	Female (F)	Male (M)	Female (F)	
Speaker		V	V	V	V	V	V	
Y	M	128 (46%)	48 (83%)	93 (61%)	32 (91%)	52 (53%)	10 (100%)	363 (58%)
	F	12 (55%) <sup>20</sup>	14 (93%)	0 (0%)	24 (83%)	n/a	3 (100%)	53 (76%)
Mid	M	119 (54%) <sup>20</sup>	25 (96%)	75 (47%)	6 (46%)	9 (28%)	3 (100%)	237 (52%)
	F	9 (100%)	6 (100%)	1 (100%)	2 (100%)	0 (0%)	n/a	18 (100%)
O	M	2 (15%)	n/a	1 (11%)	4 (100%)	n/a	n/a	7 (27%)
	F	2 (100%)	2 (100%)	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	4 (100%)
Total		272 (50%)	95 (89%)	170 (53%)	68 (82%)	61 (47%)	16 (100%)	682 (57%)

Table 5.2: Usage of the V form in correlation with extra-linguistic factors of gender, age, speaker and addressee

Table 5.2 shows that in some cases, V pronoun is not used. This is simply due to the fact that there has not been any interaction in those speaker-addressee groups in the media data, except to one certain group in which a young female speaker prefers to use the T form

<sup>20</sup> As mentioned in Section 5.2, the percentage values of the V form in Table 5.2 are summarised with the T form and the mismatch construction in Table 5.4, which add up to 100%.

instead of V to address a middle-aged male person. Obviously, this is not enough to conclude avoidance of V pronoun in any certain speaker-addressee group.

As can be seen in Table 5.2, young male speakers tend to use more V pronoun to address females as the age of female addressees increases. On the other hand, middle-aged male speakers use less frequently the V form to the male addressees as their age increases. Interestingly, middle-aged female speakers use only the V form to address any interlocutor from any groups of age and gender. The same trend can be seen for old female speakers. In total, males are addressed by the V form in a more balanced way (50%, 53% and 47%), while females are addressed in most cases with the V form (89%, 82% and 100%). Similar to the usage of T, it can be seen that young and middle-aged men use and are addressed by the V form in a similar balance, while older male speakers are less likely to use the V form and female speakers strongly favour the V form.

There has been an ongoing and longstanding discussion in the study of language and gender studies, to account for why women use more formal or polite forms in some cases in comparison with men. Trudgill's (1972) survey of Norwich English shows men and women's use of a stable sociolinguistic variable (ing) such as 'swimming' in which the standard velar variant [ɪŋ] is found in formal pronunciations and the alveolar variant [ɪn] in informal or vernacular forms such as 'swimmin'. He showed that women use more of the standard variant [ɪŋ] and men use more of the informal variant [ɪn]. Trudgill (1972) pointed out that in Western societies, men are evaluated more on what they do and women on how they appear. He suggested that this might make women pay more attention to stylistic markers in speech. Moreover, Eckert (2000: 169) suggests that women generally make greater use of symbolic resources to establish their position and identification with a social group or their opposition to a group.

Labov (1960) investigated the use of (r) in final or pre-consonantal position in New York City. The shift to r-full speech is led overall by higher class speakers and was seen to be more frequent in careful styles of speech, and when respondents were given tasks like reading aloud. However, Labov also found that within each social class, (r) use was usually seen to be more frequent in the speech of women than in the speech of men. The study



showed that in New York City, the innovative [r] was widely perceived as desirable by speakers in the study, and r-less varieties are widely perceived to be non-standard in US society at large.

Sidnell's (1999) study of the pronominal variation observed in an Indo-Guyanese village showed that women, compared to men, use more basilectal variants in the category of 1sg. subject (*mi* vs. *ai*), but fewer in the category of 3sg. objects (*am* vs. *shi/ii/it*). Sidnell (1999: 367) account details that variants must be understood in terms of their contribution to an unfolding interactional engagement. The conclusion remarks on the continuing confusion among sociolinguists regarding the analytical relevance of gender as an external constraint on variation. A more developed understanding of these issues depends on recognising the way in which language variation serves as an indirect and constitutive index of gender.

### **5.5. Usage of the mismatch construction in correlation with extra-linguistic factors**

In this section, the usage of mismatch agreement construction (*šoma*+2s agreement) across different age and gender groups of speaker and addressee is presented. As discussed in Chapter 3, the mismatch construction shows variation in choice of pronominal forms occurring from the overt deferential pronoun *šoma* to the casual singular inflection (*-i*). In this case, V does not necessarily denote formality or distance. It indicates that the V pronoun can be used in formal and casual situations whereas the T pronoun can only be used in casual conversations. During my recorded interviews, I observed that the informants either denied using the mismatch construction or were reluctant in admitting its use. Nevertheless, as we can see in the data, this form of mismatch is actually used in the conversations. Within this line, Ferguson (1991: 193) points out that “mismatching politeness agreements tend to be out of awareness, stigmatised” and are thus more readily discernible by qualitative than quantitative research methods. In this regard, one substantive generalisation which could be drawn is that politeness mismatch patterns of agreement serve communication functions, and perhaps show a change in progress in the pronoun system of a language. As Ferguson (1991) notes such mismatch constructions often function as a long-term change “simplifying” the system. A change increasing the “solidarity force” against the “power semantic” occurs in the pronominal address system

(Ferguson 1991: 193). For instance in Portuguese ‘*on senhor: te*’ mismatch is part of the change from mismatch construction to reciprocal solidarity address patterns for children speaking with parents.

Table 5.3 shows that female speakers never used mismatch construction to address any groups of addressees, and a similar pattern can be seen in old male speakers. Moreover, young speakers tend to use more mismatch construction to address younger generation (11%, 3%) and middle-age group of addressee (8%, 0%) compared to the older generation (3%, 0%). It seems that the mismatch construction is more used in the male linguistic repertoire to flatter the interlocutor in the negotiation once it is used in the public domain.

Addressee		Young (Y)		Middle (Mid)		Old (O)		Total
		Male (M)	Female (F)	Male (M)	Female (F)	Male (M)	Female (F)	
Speaker		V+2s	V+2s	V+2s	V+2s	V+2s	V+2s	
Y	M	31 (11%) <sup>21</sup>	2 (3%)	12 (8%)	0 (0%)	3 (3%)	0 (0%)	48 (8%)
	F	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	n/a	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Mid	M	27 (12%)	0 (0%)	15 (9%)	0 (0%)	4 (13%)	0 (0%)	46 (10%)
	F	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	n/a	0 (0%)
O	M	0 (0%)	n/a	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	n/a	n/a	0 (0%)
	F	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	0 (0%)
Total		58 (11%)	2 (2%)	27 (8%)	0 (0%)	7 (5%)	0 (0%)	94 (8%)

Table 5.3: Usage of V+2s form in correlation with extra-linguistic factors of gender, age, speaker and addressee

In total, females are addressed considerably less with mismatch construction compared to the male addressee groups. It might be due to the fact that women are categorical in the use of the mismatch and agreement form, whereas men show variability in and across the data. Moreover, all the usage of the mismatch construction is by young and middle-aged speakers, which shows a similar pattern of usage by these two groups of speakers. This suggests that the hybrid use of the polite and casual pronouns is more common in the middle-aged and young generation, highlighting that a language transition in terms of the

<sup>21</sup> As mentioned in Section 5.2, the percentage values of the mismatch construction in Table 5.3 are summarised with T/V forms in Table 5.4, which add up to 100%.

semantics of the V and T pronouns and politeness has taken place more among the middle-aged group than the older generation. Interestingly, the middle-aged group are the revolutionary generation, which shows they favour this change in their way of speaking as well.

Two tentative generalisations may be drawn from this set of data: 1) women as speakers have a tendency to use the pronouns in agreement in the public sphere even to address women and 2) their linguistic repertoire only allows for the use of the agreement form as a communicative device in the interaction.

### 5.6. Correlation of T/V variables and the mismatch construction with extra-linguistic factors

In this section, the balance of pronominal address forms usages in each speaker-addressee group is discussed. Table 5.4 presents the use of *to* (T), *šoma* (V), and the mismatch construction (V+2s) in correlation with gender, age, speaker and addressee.

Addressee		Young (Y)						Middle (Mid)						Old (O)					
		Male (M)			Female (F)			Male (M)			Female (F)			Male (M)			Female (F)		
Speaker		T	V	V+2s	T	V	V+2s	T	V	V+2s	T	V	V+2s	T	V	V+2s	T	V	V+2s
Y	M	118 43%	128 46%	31 11%	8 14%	48 83%	2 3%	47 31%	93 61%	12 8%	3 9%	32 91%	0 0%	44 44%	52 53%	3 3%	0 0%	10 100%	0 0%
	F	10 45%	12 55%	0 0%	1 7%	14 93%	0 0%	1 100%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	5 17%	24 83%	0 0%	n/a	n/a	n/a	0 0%	3 100%
Mid	M	74 34%	119 54%	27 12%	1 4%	25 96%	0 0%	69 43%	75 47%	15 9%	7 54%	6 46%	0 0%	19 39%	9 28%	4 13%	0 0%	3 100%	0 0%
	F	0 0%	9 100%	0 0%	0 0%	6 100%	0 0%	0 0%	1 100%	0 0%	0 0%	2 100%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	n/a	n/a
O	M	11 85%	2 15%	0 0%	n/a	n/a	n/a	8 89%	1 11%	0 0%	0 0%	4 100%	0 0%	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
	F	0 0%	2 100%	0 0%	0 0%	2 100%	0 0%	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a

Table 5.4: Usage of pronominal address forms in correlation with extra-linguistic factors of gender, age, speaker and addressee

Younger speakers use T/V forms in a balanced way between T and V to address young male addressees, but they strongly favour using the V form to address young female addressees (83%, 93%). Young male speakers are more likely to use the V form to address middle-aged men, while there was only one instance of a young female speaker addressing a middle-aged male, and on this occasion, the T form was used. On the other hand, young speakers in general strongly favour the V form to address middle-aged women (91%, 83%).

In addressing the older generation, there is little difference (53%, 44%) in the usage of V than T forms by young male speakers to address old male addressees. However, younger speakers used only the V form to address old female addressees.

In middle-aged speaker groups, females tend to use only the V form to address any interlocutor, while males favour using the V form to address younger addressees, and this tendency towards use of the V form is stronger when they address young females (96%) compared to young males (54%). Interestingly, middle-aged men use T and V forms nearly equally to address middle-aged men and women. In contrast, middle-aged men favour the T form addressing older men, and use only the V form to address older women. So it can be noted that middle-aged male speakers have completely different patterns of T/V usage in conversation with different types of addressee.

In the older generation, female speakers similar to middle-aged women only use the V form to address any interlocutor. However, old male speakers tend strongly to use the T form (85%) to address young and middle-aged men, and when there is a gender difference between interlocutors, old men only use the V form to address women.

There does not seem to be a fixed pattern of the deferential and informal pronoun use with speaker age. The observed pronominal variation in form and function is in line with Eckert's (2008) notion of a sociolinguistic "indexical field". With regard to the meaning of linguistic variables, Eckert (2008: 453) argues that:

“...the meanings of variables are not precise or fixed but rather constitute a field of potential meanings, an indexical field, or constellation of ideologically related meanings, any one of which can be activated in the situated use of the variable” (Eckert 2008: 453).

As mentioned before, on average the data shows women use more deferential pronouns compared to men. Conversely, informal pronouns are more used by men than women. This might be due to women's preference to seek social status through language (Trudgill 1972). It can be claimed that the interconnection of gender and social identities might influence the women's stylistic repertoire, including their pronoun usage (Eckert and Rickford 2001). Moreover, there seems to be a great difference between women's formal and informal

pronoun use compared to men's deferential and informal pronoun use. This suggests that women in contrast to men pay attention to and are more conscious of the semantic differences the deferential and informal pronouns may invoke.

As can be observed in Tables 5.3 and 5.4, there seems to be a similar pattern between the young (post-revolutionary) and middle-aged (revolutionary) groups' pronoun agreement and mismatch construction as speaker and addressee. On the other hand, variation in the use of the match and mismatch construction can be seen across the older generation. This highlights that for the older generation (pre-revolutionary) the social meaning of *šoma* and *to* are stable and still based on a binary dichotomy of power and solidarity as suggested by Brown and Gilman (1960).

In order to address the observed variation in the Persian pronominal system, it is important that the quantitative results on pronoun usage be triangulated with the community perspectives. In the next section, we turn to the discussion of these findings with social deixis in terms of age and gender that speakers orient to in sociolinguistic interviews.

### **5.7. Community views**

Based on obtained results from sociolinguistic interviews, this section discusses the findings of the quantitative sociolinguistic analysis on address pronoun usage. It provides Persian speakers' views on how address forms are used in contemporary Iranian society, in terms of age and gender, by considering the relevant socio-cultural norms and practices of address forms and politeness.

In the previous sections of this chapter, the overall usages of the *šoma* 'deferential you' and *to* 'informal you' pronoun use and mismatch construction of speakers and addressees across media data were discussed. Considering the range of averages, the data showed women use more deferential pronouns compared to men. Conversely, informal pronouns were more used by men than women. This suggested that women in contrast to men may pay attention to and are more conscious of the semantic differences that the deferential and informal pronouns may invoke.

Interestingly, the interview data shows that women talk in more detail about differences between the conceptual meaning of *to* and *šoma* compared to men. For example, Mrs. Mani (retired teacher, 80 years) points out:

Example 5.1

*væqti dær ejtema hæst-æm, qæribe hæst-æn ba šoma*  
 when in society be-1s, stranger be-3p with 2p  
 ‘when I am in public where strangers are around’

*sohbæt mi-kon-æm, væqti xodi baš-æn ba form-e xodi*  
 speak dur-1s when familiar be-3p with form-ez informal  
 ‘I speak with *šoma*, but when there are friends and families I speak with intimate forms’

Moreover, as Example 5.2 shows, women pay attention to the pragmatics of *šoma* and *to*. Therefore, their stylistic usage of address forms is different from men (e.g. Stubbe and Holmes 1995, Fuller 2005, Tanka 2009). For example, Mrs. Alavi (teacher, 49 years) indicates:

Example 5.2

*form-ha-ye xætabi level-ha-ye motefaveti ro ejad mi-kon-e*  
 form.pl.ez address level-pl-ez different om make dur-do-3s  
 ‘address forms constitute diverse politeness levels’

*æz sæmimiyæt ta ehteram*  
 prep intimacy until respect  
 ‘from intimacy to respect’

On the other hand, men tend not to see major differences between the pragmatic meaning of *to* and *šoma*. For example, Mr. Hosseini (57 years) claims:

Example 5.3

*to ba šoma ziad færq ne-mi-kon-æd mohem læhn-e sohbæt æst*  
 2s with 2p very differ neg-dur-do-3s important manner-ez conversation is.3s  
 ‘there isn’t much difference between *šoma* and *to*, the manner of conversation is important’

Further, men believe that the address forms have the same functionalities, but they use different forms just to accommodate to the situation and stance of interaction. For example, Mr. Pedram (38 years) points out:

#### Example 5.4

*to* *væ* *šoma karkærd-e yeksani* *dær zæmine-ha-ye moxtælef daræd*  
2s and 2p usage-ez similar in setting-pl-ez different have.3s  
'*to* and *šoma* have similar usages in different settings.'

Overall, the interview data show that men's perception towards the use of *to* and *šoma* address form is consistent, and they believe there is not much difference in the pragmatic meaning of these forms. Women on the other hand are more socially conscious of the pragmatic meaning of address forms and their actual usage. Similarly Holmes (1997) argues:

"the gender distribution and social meanings associated with particular pragmatic particles and interactional devices provide another indication of the ways in which women and men construct and express femininity and masculinity in interaction" (Holmes 1997: 195).

In this section, I will draw on the findings obtained from quantification of address forms across age in the media programmes and compare the results with individuals' perception on use of address forms and politeness according to different generations. Comparison of address forms usage across the three estimated age groups will clarify how Persian address forms and politeness norms have evolved in contemporary Iranian society.

In the quantitative analysis, we observed no monotonic correlation between age groups' pronoun usage. As discussed, there did not seem to be a fixed pattern of the deferential and informal pronoun use according to speaker age. Nevertheless, it should be noted that there appeared to be a turning point in the usage of *šoma/to* pronouns among the middle-aged group compared to the older generation, and one indicator for this was that the middle-age generation have adopted the innovation in the use of the *šoma/to* pronouns and the mismatch construction. More interestingly, middle-aged groups were the mainstream and active generation during the Iranian 1979 revolution, from which it could be construed that they have influenced the address system as well. These findings contrast with the social

norms and expectations of address form usage in society and run counter to discussion of address form usage (Keshavarz 1988, 2001).

The media conversations are conducted in a public setting, and as a social norm in address form usage, we would expect that the older age group to be addressed more frequently with the deferential forms in comparison with the young and middle-aged groups. In contrast, the quantitative analysis results showed that the male speakers between 56 and 80 years of age were addressed more frequently with the casual address form than the middle-aged and young male categories. Consequently, the quantitative analyses shed light on the emergence of variation in the use of address forms in Iranian society. Hence, this identifies the niche for the examination of address forms in the immediate context of interaction, to address the observed but unexpected patterns of address usage among the young and middle-aged groups.

Persian speakers across the three age groups report their awareness of the evolution of address form usage and politeness norms. They all report a perceived increase in the use of the casual address form *to*. Among pre-revolutionary speakers (i.e. c.56-80 age group) there were some stylistic differences observed in how speakers use pronouns and like to be addressed. The data also shows that there is a mixed attitude among some of the younger speakers (especially females) about the new norms of politeness and language use in contemporary Iranian society. In the young age group ( $\leq 35$ ), speakers with 25 years of age or under like to use and be addressed with the casual address forms. According to this age group, the use of casual address forms narrows the gap or social distance between speakers. Therefore, they perceive its use as a facilitative communication strategy.

As the analysis showed, the young and middle-aged male groups behave similarly in the use of deferential and casual address forms. In contrast, the older generation used *šoma* and *to* pronouns differently, which shows a variation of pragmatic meaning of address forms across generations. The strong favour of deferential form by older female speakers is a marker of social distance and formality. For instance, regarding the meaning of *to* and *šoma*, Mrs. Mani (Female, 80 years) states:



Example 5.5

*alan ye juri šode ke ægær be šoma næ-g-æm*  
 now ind. way became that if prep 2p neg-say-1s  
 ‘nowadays, it is a custom that if I don’t address you(2p) with’

*to bæd-et mi-ya-d, in juri a’adi šodeh*  
 2s dislike-2s.cl dur-come-3s this way common became.3s  
 ‘to, you will dislike it, this form of usage has become common’

*bayæd šoma be-g-æm. Ba bæč-e ha dæ’ava-m sær-e in-e,*  
 must 2p subj-say-1s.With child.ez pl fight-1s about.ez this-ez  
 ‘I must address with *šoma* though. This is what I quarrel about with the grandchildren’

*be pedær-e-šun væ madaær-e-šun mi-g-æn to*  
 prep father-ez-3p.cl and mother-ez-3p.cl dur-say-3p 2s  
 ‘they call their parents with *to* form’

This indicates that older speakers still consider the deferential address forms as the overt norm of address in both formal and informal contexts and social relationships. Furthermore, older speakers report that in the pre-revolutionary era the pragmatic meaning of the honorific forms of address indexed and reinforced deferential politeness. However, according to older individuals, the typical use of deferential politeness in contemporary Iranian society is manipulative and crafty; it is used to enhance a favour. Older speakers say that the Iranian politeness ritual *ta’arof* has increased in today’s Iran. In the extract below, Mrs Mani discusses the socio-cultural changes of Iranian rituals:

Example 5.6

*un moqe kar-ha ba sedaqæt bud, niyaz-i*  
 that time job-pl with sincerity was need-ind  
 ‘in those days deeds were sincere’

*be ‘qorbun-et ber-æm’, fædat be-š-æm’, ‘mi-færmud-id’,*  
 to sacrifice-2s.cl go-1s adore subj-be-1s dur-said-2h  
 ‘the use of flattery rituals such as ‘thanks ever so much’, ‘love you’, ‘you were saying’

*‘xaheš mi-kon-æm’ næ-bud*  
 please dur-do-1s neg-was.3s  
 ‘‘you’re most welcome’, were not necessary like nowadays’

Both female and male speakers between 56-80 years of age regard the connotations of *to* as rude. For the older generation, only the deferential address forms index politeness. However, the young generation’s attitude toward the meaning of *šoma* and other 2h/2p

forms varies. They attribute deference depending on how a form is used. For instance, Yasmina, a female 22 year old graduate student, states that:

Example 5.7

*ehteram fæqæt ke be form-ez xætabi ni-st be*  
 respect only emphatic prep form address neg-is prep  
 ‘respect is not just associated with the use of address terms’

*næhvey-e bærxord æst, momkene šoma xætab-ešun kon.im*  
 manner-ez behave is possible 2p address.3p.cl do-1p  
 ‘it may be related to the speech behaviour, it is possible we address somebody with *šoma*’

*væli ræftar-e zæncendeyi dašte baš.im ya bææræks*  
 but manner-ez repulsive had be-3p or contrary.  
 ‘but (we) intend to show a repulsive reaction’

On the other hand, individuals’ perception of address form usage in relation to the 1979 revolution shows that Persian speakers are aware of speech style change as well as the bleaching of social hierarchies in interaction. That is the old linguistic markers of hierarchy make way for new or contemporary ones. For example, Leila (45 years, nurse) points out:

Example 5.8

Golnaz:

*bæd æz enqelab be næzær-e šoma*  
 after prep revolution prep opinion-ez 2p  
 ‘after the revolution in your opinion’

*če tæqirati dær zæban-e farsi pišamædeh?*  
 what changes to language-ez Farsi has occurred?  
 ‘what changes have occurred in Persian?’

Lelia:

*dær ejtema (bazar, tu mohit-ha-ye kari) tærz-e sohbat-e*  
 in society (bazaar in place-pl-ez work)type-ez speech-ez  
 ‘in society (markets and work places) the speech style of’

*saheb-ha-ye kar ba moštæri væ belæks tæfavot kærdeh*  
 owner-pl-ez work with client and contrary change has been  
 ‘businessmen to clients and vice versa has changed’

*ye meqdar bedun-e dænil xodemunitær šode ya halæt-e*  
 ind extent without-ez reason closer has become or mood-ez  
 ‘unconsciously to some extent it has become more intimate or it seems’

*bi-ehterami*    *be*    *næzær*    *jelve*    *mi-kon-e,*    *mæsælæn*    *hærči*  
 neg-respect    prep    appearance    seems    dur-do-3s,    for example    anything  
 ‘to show disrespect, for example,’

*sæmimitær ba*    *hæm sohbæt*    *kon-æn,*    *to*    *begæn*    *enqelabi-tær-æn*  
 closer    with    each other    speak do-3p    2s    say.3p    revolutionary-be.3p  
 ‘if they speak more intimately or use *to* to address each other, they are more revolutionary’

Comparison of the three age groups’ perception of and attitude towards use of Persian address pronouns shows that there is variation in how these three groups use and perceive the use of Persian address forms. This indicates generational change (Labov 1972, 1994) in perceptual politeness norms of Persian address forms. Speakers above 56 years of age show awareness of the evolution of the meaning of these forms. This group favours the deferential address forms to maintain the respect and authority (i.e. social boundary) in the relationship. For this group deviation from the institutional and individuals’ norms of address behaviour is considered, as one speaker said, *šekæste hærim* ‘intrusion of personal/social boundaries’. This is due to the fact that the overt and covert norm of deferential address form is considered the same by older generation. Thus, for older speakers the deferential address forms, even if used in the immediate family setting, index out-group membership for the purpose of maintaining the social and interpersonal boundaries of the relationship. However, the young generation favour the use of casual address forms, which index in-group membership and solidarity. This group argues that politeness of address forms is not associated with the inherent meaning of the forms but is an indexical stance of the speaker and a function of how the pronouns are used in interaction (Ochs 1992, Kiesling 2004, Eckert 2008).

Moreover, in the quantitative analysis, the mismatch construction was observed more in the middle-aged and young groups of speakers. The older speakers did not use the mismatch construction in the media conversations, nor did they show a tendency or favour towards its use in the interviews. The interview data shows that middle-aged or younger Persian speakers conceptualise the meaning of mismatch phenomenon as an amalgamation of generational cultures. This was mentioned in an interview with Niloufar (Female, 40 years, teacher):

### Example 5.9

Golnaz:

*šoma dær estefadeh šoma ba fele mofræd če*  
2p in usage 2p with verb singular what

*tæsire ra mi-bin-id?*  
effect om dur-see-2h?

‘what effect do you see in the use of a deferential pronoun in agreement with a singular verb?’

Niloufar:

*tæfavot-e færhængi o æxlaqi, o goftari*  
difference-ez cultural and moral and speech  
‘cultural, moral and speech style differences between’

*næsl-e jædid o qædim. Næsl-e jædid bištær*  
generation-ez new and old. generation-ez new more  
‘young and old generation is the main reason for the mismatch construction usage.’

*to bekar mi-bær-æn væ in be šekl-e dovom*  
2s use dur-take.3p and this to form-ez second  
‘the young generation use more singular informal *to* pronoun and this is in a form of’

*šæxse mofræd æst. Væ inke tæqirat ijad be-š-e*  
person singular is. and that changes create sub-is-3s  
‘second person singular. And that if changes [cultural, political] occur’

*mærdom ye čizi nahæmgen bekar mi-bær-æn*  
people a thing deviant use dur-take-3p  
‘people use a deviant form’

*mesl-e ‘šoma če kar kærdi’*  
example-ez 2p what job done-2s  
‘such as ‘what did you(2p) do(2s)’.

It can be pointed out that triangulation of the quantitative analysis results with the sociolinguistic interview data shows correlation in how address forms are used and perceived across the three generations. As mentioned before, the quantitative analysis results showed that there is no monotonic pattern in the usage of *šoma/to* address forms in different age groups. Conversely, it revealed that there is a pivot in the usage pattern of address forms from the older generation to the middle-aged group. On the other hand, interview data analysis shows that there is stability in older people’s perception of the meaning of the *šoma* address form. Older speakers’ use and attitude of address form usage

is based on a dichotomy of power and solidarity (Brown and Gilman 1960). However, there is more variation in the middle-aged and younger generation's perspectives of the meaning of *šoma/to* forms.

Therefore, the interview results not only support the quantitative results, but also shed further light on the variation details of pronoun usage and perception in different age and gender groups. It can be stated that in the study of address forms in addition to extra-linguistic factors (e.g. the relative age, status and gender of the interlocutors), internal factors should also be investigated, such as interlocutors' stance taking and conversational speech events (theme and topic of discussion). Consequently, we may move beyond an obdurate perspective in the study of address forms to a multifaceted dimension, which considers the functional aspects of the address forms in interaction.

### **5.8. Concluding remarks**

Keeping in mind the research questions set out in this chapter (See Sections 5.1 and 5.2), the result of the quantitative analysis showed that age and gender are not the major factors in Persian speakers' choice of address pronouns and politeness in conversations outside the family. Moreover, no monotonic correlation in the use of pronominal address forms with age and gender of speaker-addressee groups was observed. Nevertheless, middle-aged and old female speakers tend to use only deferential form to address any interlocutor, and middle-aged male speakers favour using the V form to address younger interlocutors of both gender, and the T form to address older men and the V form to address older women. Interestingly, middle-aged men use T/V forms in a balanced way to the interlocutors of their own age (middle-aged men and women).

It should be noted that there appeared to be a turning point in the usage of T/V pronouns among the young and middle-aged male groups of speaker and addressee compared to the older generation male interlocutors, and one indicator for this was the middle-aged generation having adopted the innovative use of the T/V pronouns and the mismatch construction. More interestingly, middle-aged male groups were the mainstream and active

generation during the 1979 Iranian revolution, from which it could be concluded that they may have triggered new usages in the addressing system as well.

Furthermore, the triangulation of quantitative analysis findings with the sociolinguistic interviews shed light on the normative and conceptual meaning of the Persian address forms. The analysis showed us that for the older generation, usage and perception of the deferential and informal pronouns are based on a dichotomy of power and status (Brown and Gilman 1960, Keshavarz 2001). In particular, the quantitative analysis illuminated the trends of Persian address forms usages in contemporary Iranian society. The sociolinguistic interviews addressed different attitudes towards the social meaning of the deferential and informal address forms. In the next chapter, this work will draw on qualitative evidence to clearly highlight the versatile pronoun use across extra-linguistic factors as well as contextual settings to identify Persian address form and function variation.

# Chapter 6

---

## Social functions of Persian address pronouns

### 6.1. Introduction

Having established the quantitative patterns of pronoun use in the media corpus, this chapter presents an interactional sociolinguistic analysis of address form variation in Persian. It specifically sheds light on two phenomena in relation to address form usage: 1) how Persian speakers, in Tehran, use the pronominal address forms in their daily interaction and 2) what these patterns of address form usage index socially and pragmatically in conversation. Therefore, this analysis will adopt a socially-oriented view of discourse which considers the communicative function of linguistic features (e.g. address forms and politeness) in the social and cultural setting of each interaction.

The generic use of Persian address forms are discussed in previous studies (e.g. Ardehali 1980, Baumgardner 1982, Keshavarz 2001). These studies show a binary and categorical relationship between address forms and their usage. For example, the deferential address form *šoma* is only associated with indexing respect, deference, and social distance. However, *to* is regarded as the intimate or solidary form of address and is used to show intimacy, friendship, or inferiority. In the current Persian pronominal address system, we observe deviations from the standard norms of address usage. The social meaning of the deferential address form, *šoma* seems to have evolved and it may incorporate the functions of *to* (i.e. solidarity, in-groupness, intimacy, inferiority), which gives a hybrid social meaning to the *šoma* address form.

This work aims to extend some existing research that has been conducted on the functionality of pronominal forms (e.g. Paulston 1976, Martiny 1996, Clyne et al. 2003, 2006) and the indexicality of pronouns' social meaning (Sidnell 1999, Silverstein 2003, 2009). Address forms contribute significantly to the marking of social relations and are

thus crucial to the building and maintenance of human relationships. Clyne et al. (2006) argue that on a societal level address practices reflect cultural values. Any variation in the address forms may act as an indicator of major social and political changes affecting human relationships and social networks. The focus of this study is on how the egalitarian ideology of the 1979 Iranian revolution (i.e. the emergence of a solidarity semantic as a state based on Islamic doctrine [Ansari 2003]) and the representation of power and status are indexed alongside each other in the contemporary use of Persian in interaction.

Socio-political constraints have had an impact on the evolution of the pragmatic meaning of the Persian pronominal address forms. The Iranian 1979 revolutionary ideology promoted the use of solidary address terms and pronominal forms. However, as will be discussed in the analysis in this chapter, there is a very limited number of overt singular address forms (*to*) across the data set. This is explained by considering the social baggage the overt deferential address form carries in face-to-face interactions. Instead, it was observed that the informal verbal inflection was used which places less social burden on the hearer's face wants, or that the *šoma* address form was used with the pragmatic meaning traditionally associated with the singular informal address pronoun.

In order to ascertain the social functions of address forms in this chapter and the sociolinguistic functions of pronoun switching and mismatch construction (Chapter 7) the pronominal address forms will be examined with a focus on non-pronominal linguistic features, and by considering the concept of face within politeness theory and interactional sociolinguistics (Goffman 1967, Gumperz 1982, Brown and Levinson 1987). The linguistic features I will focus on in the analysis of conversations in these two chapters are: a) titles, b) enclitics and c) speech acts such as requests, apologies, directives, refusal and compliments, which are occasionally accompanied by d) *ta'arof*. Moreover, to determine how pronouns index social meaning and politeness, Ochs's (1992) notion of direct and indirect indexing will be applied. Thus, by examining the distribution of the second person pronouns *to/šoma* alongside the four non-pronominal linguistic features, a new path in the study of politeness theory in Persian will be introduced.



The current study attempts to show that the use of *šoma* and *to* in Persian is also motivated as a communicative strategy by the interlocutors' attitude and their social relationship. This will account for the divergences observed in the use of the pronominal address paradigm in Persian, thus leading to a discussion of the social functions of T/V pronouns. The view of indexicality employed in this study sheds light on the variations in the use of second person pronominal forms in a coherent manner without marginalising what may be considered 'deviant' practices. This trend is in line with Okamoto's (1997) account for variations observed in the use of Japanese indexical expressions and Meyerhoff's (1998) description of how pronoun switches contribute to the indexing of self and group identity in a Vanuatu community.

At a community level, it is expected that interlocutors address each other based on prescribed patterns of address pronouns in society. However, the results in the analysis will explore whether people adapt to the norms of address behaviour portrayed in society or whether address patterns are formed among individuals based on the interaction (Ochs 1992). In the last chapter (Chapter 5) we saw that women quantitatively use more V address forms of politeness than men do in the interactions. But in this chapter, the focus will be on whether peoples' language use is in line with these prescriptive language norms. The analysis consists of conversations in both the hidden camera and interview programmes. The conversations in the hidden camera programme are from interactions between the actor and public where the nature of talk is casual and represents language use at the community level. It is expected that the nature of talk between the interviewer and the public (in the presence of a camera) is more formal and deferential as participants are socially aware of their speech.

As mentioned in Chapter 4, stance and indexicality are the analytical framework of this study. In the analysis of form and function, indexicality in various situations allows us to understand the meticulous ways, in which individuals serve different communicative needs in the interaction. Similar to naming strategies (Kasanga 2009), pronouns of address are also social indexing devices that highlight the user's cultural ecology (Haugen 1972, Mufwene 2001, Hornberger 2003). Hornberger (2003: 296), for example, uses the phrase "ecology of language" as a metaphor to underscore the fact that languages "evolve, grow,

change, live, and die in an eco-system” through interaction with their “sociopolitical, economic, and cultural environments”.

This chapter is organised in the following way. Section 6.2 outlines the first qualitative research question of the study. This is followed by the data analysis in Section 6.3, in which the qualitative results of social functions of address forms in contemporary Persian will be presented and discussed. Section 6.4 addresses the community’s perception of how they use the address forms and perceive others’ use of these forms, and finally the finding results are concluded in Section 6.5.

## **6.2. First qualitative research question**

In this section, we turn to the discussion of the following qualitative research question:

Q1: What are the different social functions of the second person singular and plural address pronouns and suffixes?

In order to establish the different social functions that the second person address forms may serve, it is important to establish the generic use of these forms in the interactions. Keshavarz (1988, 2001) addressed the participant deixis of the Persian address system (i.e. use of *šoma* and *to*) with questionnaires. However, this study (Chapter 5) provided a quantitative account of how the deferential, informal pronominal address forms and the mismatch construction were used proportionally in the spontaneous media conversations. The results showed inconsistency of address form usage by age and gender. This nonconformity of address form usage is not congruent with previous studies on the use of address forms. These findings opened up a niche for the discussion and elaboration of the use of the pronominal address forms in contemporary Iranian society. Consequently, in this chapter, the contemporary social functions of the pronominal address forms, and how politeness is indexed with these forms, are addressed. In what follows, I discuss the social functions indexed by second person pronominal forms.

### **6.3. Social functions served by second person address forms**

In order to illuminate the social functions served by address forms, it is important to consider the socio-cultural context and the social relations between participants alongside the linguistic features in which these forms occur. In this section of the thesis, I argue that a sociolinguistic variable may index a variety of social and pragmatic functions with a change of speaker and interactional stance in discourse. For example, the deferential overt pronoun *šoma* may indirectly index the following three social functions in discourse: a) contrastive emphasis, b) in-group identity marker (deference), and c) topic shift (organisational task and norm). Two social functions were observed to be associated with the deferential verbal agreement (2h and 2p) respectively: d) deference as attention seeking, and e) balancing the give and take of power. The singular informal verbal agreement marker (2s) was observed to index two social functions: f) creating in-groupness, and g) challenging power and authority. The volatility of the deferential and informal address form functions is a result of various behavioural dynamics in maintaining and enhancing the organisational goal of the interaction. The analysis below will shed light on these findings.

#### **6.3.1. Social functions of the overt deferential pronoun *šoma***

As mentioned before, in Persian spoken interaction, it is common that the subject is indicated by either an address form or an agreement marker on the verb. The analysis in this work shows that when *šoma* is used, its pragmatic meaning is not only constrained to deferential use, but also, *šoma* performs several other communicative functions. In this section, I discuss these social functions indexed by *šoma* in connection with politeness theory.

In its default (normative) uses, *šoma* is considered to be a deferential form and used to mark social distance in interaction. Therefore, it is considered as a negative politeness strategy. However, as a communicative strategy its meaning in practice can evolve and function as a positive politeness strategy. Beeman states “extensions and transformations of the basic morphological system of Persian should reflect the social needs of individuals situated in contexts of the interaction” (Beeman 1986: 139). Thus as the analyses below

will show, *šoma* - depending on sentence construction, intonation and stance - can function as both a positive politeness strategy (attention to the hearer's positive face wants) and a negative politeness strategy (attention to the hearer's negative face wants). This bi-dimensional function of politeness is similar to how an apology is realised by the speech act *sore* 'sorry' in Bislama (Meyerhoff 1999). Meyerhoff found that the act of apology *sore* could index both positive and negative politeness strategies depending on speaker's interactional stance. The next section will address the communicative functions of the overt pronoun *šoma*.

### 6.3.1.1. Contrastive emphasis

From a semantic and pragmatic perspective, the use of *šoma* and *to* as overt subject pronouns are more emphatic than their null subject counterpart. When there is little or no acquaintance between the interlocutors, the use of overt address pronouns tends to be avoided in order to minimise any face threatening act, or are used to emphasise and contrast the discourse topic. The excerpt in Example 6.1 is between the interviewer and pedestrian C.

#### Example 6.1

[Episode: 'Would you arrest a thief if you could?' Setting: Interview – Speakers: C: Pedestrian, M. c.35 – A2: Interviewer, M. c.32]

- 1C: *ængiz-æm fekr kærd-æm ašena-n dar-æn in kar ro ænjam mi-d-æn*  
 intention-1s think did-1s friend-3p have-3p this job om do ur-do-3p  
 'my intention, I thought he was a friend and doing this (stealing)'
- 2 *bæd did-æm æksolæmæl nešun dad-æn*  
 after saw-1s reaction show give-3p  
 'then I saw his reaction'
- 3 *mæn hæm æksolæmæl nešun dad-æm*  
 1s also reaction show give-1s  
 'I reacted too'
- 4A2: *hala ægær in etefaq bæra xod-e-tun etefaq mi-oftrad*  
 now if this incident for self-ez-2p.cl incident dur-happened  
 'now, if this incident had happened to you'
- 5 *æz šæxsi ke ja-ye šoma istad-eh bud*  
 prep person that place-ez 2p stood-had was  
 'from the person who had been standing beside you'
- 6 *če entezari dašt-id?*  
 what expect had-2h?  
 'what would you expect?'

- 7C: *xob, æksolæmæɫ(.) inke etela be-d-eh o*  
 well, reaction (.) that inform subj-give-3s and  
 ‘well, my reaction (.) would be that he informs me and’
- 8 *kif-e mæn ro nejat be-d-eh*  
 bag-ez 1s om save subj-give-3s  
 ‘saves my bag’
- 9A2: *šoma<sup>22</sup> xod-e-tun čera in kar ro næ-kærd-id?*  
 2p self.ez-2p.cl why this job om neg-did-2h?  
 ‘why didn’t you do this you yourself?’
- 10C: *mæn ængiz-æm ro goft-æm mæn fekr kærd-æm*  
 1s intention-1s om said-1s 1s think did-1s  
 ‘I said what my intention was, I thought’
- 11 *ke inha ašena-æn bæd ke motevæjeh šod-æm*  
 that these friends-are after when aware became-1s  
 ‘that they knew each other, when I found out’
- 12 *ke išun dar-e xyle rahæt mi-r-eh*  
 that 3p have-3s very easily dur-go-3s  
 ‘that he is getting away very easily’
- 13A2: *ejaze mi-d-in tæsvir væ seda-tun ro pæxš kon-im?*  
 allow dur-give-2p picture and voice-2p.cl om broadcast do-3p?  
 ‘can we broadcast your voice and image?’
- 14C: *bæle*  
 ‘yes’

The episode in this programme is to judge the individual’s sense of concern when a member of the society is being robbed. C has made no attempt to notify the person next to him whose bag was being stolen. As can be seen in line 1, C is justifying his action of not taking responsibility. We find a deferential pronoun as an enclitic to the reflexive in line 4, as an overt referent pronoun in line 5, which are not used as address pronouns. What is crucial in line 9 is the first use of an overt address pronoun in this part of the discourse and the interviewer contrasts the discourse topic by using *šoma* as an address pronoun alongside the reflexive pronoun *xodetun* ‘yourself’ to emphasise. In this position, *šoma* indexes a contrastive function in conversation to attract the addressee’s attention. Two structural factors highlight this function: the overt pronoun is in subject position and it has occurred before the question word *čera* ‘why’ so it is doubly in focus. This is in line with Martiny’s (1996: 767) approach to the study of French address forms in which they play an important role in the performance of speech acts. First, they can serve to catch the attention

<sup>22</sup> Although a reflexive has followed *šoma* in line 9, it is still considered as the subject (Karimi 2003). The pronoun/full NP subject can be the topic or the focus of the sentence, depending on the intonation. In both cases, it is the subject. In Persian, discourse functions do not change the grammatical functions (Karimi, personal communication April 2009).

of the addressee, or, if there are several persons present at the place and time of speaking, to select the person to whom a particular speech act is directed.

### 6.3.1.2. Deference as an in-group identity marker

Although *šoma* is considered to be a deferential form (i.e. an exclusive form) the analysis below shows that implying overt deference may also be used as an in-group identity marker. Lee and Yonezawa (2008) have compared pragmatic functions of overt first and second person pronouns of address in Japanese. They claim that the frequent overt use of subjects is an effective strategy for the speaker to express his/her attitude of acknowledging a social difference (Lee and Yonezawa 2008: 758). As we can see in Example 6.2 repetition of the address pronoun is the key factor in such situations. The analysis below will further shed light on this issue.

Example 6.2

[Episode: ‘How much do you trust people?’ Setting: Hidden camera – Speakers: B:

Needing a signature, M. c.55 - E: Signatory, M. c.33]

- 1B: *mæn šenasname-æm ro gom kærd-æm*  
 1s birth certificate-1s om lost did-1s  
 ‘I have lost my birth certificate’
- 2E: *dorost-e*  
 correct-is  
 ‘right’
- 3B: *šoma æz æhali-ye in mæhæl hæst-id*  
 2p from residence-ez this region are-2h  
 ‘you are from this neighbourhood’
- 4 *goft-æm mæn hæm tu hæmin xiyabun mi-šest-æm*  
 said-1s 1s also in this street dur-sat-1s  
 ‘I said I have also lived (was living) in this street as well’
- 5 *mi-goft-æm šoma in ro emza bo-kon-id,*  
 dur-said-1s 2p this om sign imp-do-2h  
 ‘I was thinking you sign this’
- 6 *šoma tæyeid be-færma-id, pelak-e-tun ro be-nevis-in*  
 2p confirm imp-do-2h housenumber-ez-2p.cl om imp-write-2p  
 ‘you confirm this (that I have lived here), and write your address as well’
- 7 *mæn hæm rahæt bo-kon-in ke ma hæm be-r-im*  
 1s also relax imp-do-2p that 1p also sub-go-1p  
 ‘so, I get relieved and can go’
- 8 *in šenasnameh-mun ro be-gir-im*  
 this birth certificate-1p om sub-get-1p  
 ‘to get my new birth certificate.’

- 9E: *ozr mi-x-am, ma mal-e enja ni-st-im*  
 apology dur-want-1s 1p belong-ez here neg-is-1p  
 ‘sorry, I am not from this neighbourhood’
- 10B: *koja hæst-in?*  
 where is-2p?  
 ‘which (where) area are you from?’
- 11E: *čahar ta xiyabun bala-tær*  
 four part. street up-comp.  
 ‘four streets further up from here’

The interaction between B and E in Example 6.2 is in the hidden camera programme, where B pretends to be a person who has lost his birth certificate. In Iran in order to obtain a second birth certificate, one needs evidence and the testimony of at least two acquaintances. However, in this interaction E is not an acquaintance of B, he is a passerby in a street. In this context, in requesting a testimony, B shows frequent deference. Various linguistic and politeness features are used to establish in-group membership. As can be seen in lines 3 to 9, B, by repeating frequently the address form *šoma* in agreement with either 2h or 2p agreement, shows deference. Establishment of acquaintance can initially be seen in lines 3-4, where B starts the conversation by addressing E with *šoma*, followed by an assertion that they are neighbours. Another linguistic politeness strategy observed in B’s utterance is shifting tense and aspect (lines 3-5), from *hæst-id* ‘you are’ to *goftæm* ‘I said’, *mišestæm* ‘I was living or had lived’, and *migoftæm*<sup>23</sup> ‘I was thinking’ to indicate a continuous process. In Persian, as can be seen in the above example, the simple past tense and the imperfective tense may be used as strategic politeness devices in interaction. Similarly in English, as a polite strategic device, the past tense of modal verbs (e.g. ‘could’ and ‘would’ which are less direct than ‘can’ and ‘will’) may be used not to refer to a point in time but to indicate politeness by showing deference. Holmes (1995, 2001) points out that this use of the past tense functions as a hedging device. Moreover, researchers found that the past tense is politer than the present tense in interaction, and utterances with a modal verb are politer than those without one (Fraser 1978, Carrell and Konneker 1981).

In line 5, B initiates framing the request of a testimony with the verb *goftæn* ‘to say’ in the imperfect tense *migoftæm*, which epistemically means ‘I was thinking’, marking an indirective evidentiality (Aikhenvald 2004). In linguistics, evidentiality is the indication of

<sup>23</sup> The literal meaning of *migoftæm* is ‘I was saying’, but its contextual meaning here is ‘I was thinking’ or ‘I was wondering’.

the nature of evidence for a given statement. Evidentiality is classified into direct and indirect evidentials. Direct evidentials are used when the speaker has witnessed the action while indirect evidentials are used when the speaker has not witnessed the action personally but has either deduced the action or has heard about it from others (Cornillie 2009: 45).

Furthermore, within the same turn, frequent use of overt deferential address pronouns congruent with 2h agreement can be observed: *šoma in ro emza bokonid* ‘you sign this’ (line 5), *šoma tæyeid befærmaid* ‘you confirm this’ (line 6). However, it should be noted that there is variation in politeness level of the verbs with a change of stance. As can be seen in this turn, B switches between the casual and formal verbal stems<sup>24</sup> in the imperative tense, *bokonid* ‘do’ to ‘*befærmaid* ‘do (honorific)’, and then reiterates the casual verbal stems such as: *benevisin* ‘write’ and *bokonin* ‘relieve’. In the stance of requesting the signatory’s confirmation of his identity in order to redress the negative imposition this request may have on E’s negative face wants, B switches to an honorific verbal stem *tæyeid befærmaid* ‘you confirm this’ (line 6) which is an index of another raising and self lowering strategy.

Thus, as the interaction shows, we can observe that in the part of the discourse (lines 5-6) where there is a need of a request or favour, more deferential pronouns and hedging devices are used (Lee and Yonezawa, 2008, Compennolle 2008). In Example 6.2, by frequent use of deference and positive politeness strategies, B makes an attempt to access E’s signature/testimony. With regard to this type of relationship dynamic, Beeman (1986) points out that one encourages the other to do him a favour, while the other party, may provide a service, or a tribute in return (Beeman 1986: 40).

### **6.3.1.3. Topic shift (organisational and task norm)**

The interaction in Example 6.3, between a homeowner (B) and a repairman (C), clearly shows how management of topic and the conversational floor can be taken by the overt use of *šoma* as an address pronoun. The organisational task of this hidden camera episode is to determine how much the repairman will charge for repairing a faulty doorbell (i.e. the

---

<sup>24</sup> See Chapter 3 section 3.7.3 for detailed discussion on verbal stems and politeness in Persian.



doorbell has been made faulty on purpose). As B and C are strangers in this social setting, it is expected that they use the deferential pronouns. The deferential pronoun is already present in line 5, in the use of the possessive enclitic (-*tun*), however the focus of this study is on the social functions of the “address” pronouns as the social deixis not on referent pronouns and enclitics. The analysis shows that the deferential address pronoun is used. However, considering the capacity for pro-drop in Persian, the presence of the overt address pronoun after a discourse marker *xob* ‘well’ (line 7) intensifies the sense of topic shift. In this case, the repairman takes the floor in the conversation showing his leadership and management in the interaction.

### Example 6.3

[Programme: ‘Fixing the buzzer’ - Setting: Hidden Camera - Speakers B: Landlord, M.c. 45 - C: Repairman, M. c.34]

- 1B: *be-bin-id mæn ke zæng mi-zæn-æm, æz un vær*  
 imp-see-2h 1s that ring dur-hit-1s prep other side  
 ‘see, when I ring the bell (a doorbell with a entry phone), from the other side’
- 2 *dar-æn sohbat mi-kon-æn, xob montæha-e mærateb*  
 are-3p speak dur-do-3p, well end-ez theother  
 ‘they are talking, but’
- 3 *čizi ke hæš seda mi-r-eh bala væ*  
 thing that is sound dur-go-3s up and  
 ‘the problem is, just a voice can be heard upstairs over the phone’
- 4 *xəšoxeš mi-kone*  
 rattle dur-do.3s  
 ‘but it’s very noisy’
- 5C: *seda dæhæni-tun irad dare?*  
 sound microphone-2p.cl faultyhas.3s?  
 ‘is your microphone faulty?’
- 6B: *bæle seda dæhæni-mun irad dare*  
 yes sound microphone-1p.cl faultyhas-3s  
 ‘yes, our microphone is faulty’
- 7C: *xob šoma ye zæhmæt be-keš-id*  
 well 2p ind. please imp-pull-2h  
 ‘so, could you please’
- 8 *be-r-id bala pæs*  
 imp-go-2h up so  
 ‘go upstairs (to check that)?’
- 9B: *be-r-æm bala?*  
 sub-go-1s up?  
 ‘shall I go upstairs?’
- 10C: *šomo boro bala. Mal-e hæme tæbeqat intor-i-ye?*  
 2p go.2s up belong-ez all floors such-ind-is?  
 ‘you go upstairs. Do the bells in all the floors work like this?’

11B: *mal-e hæme-ye tæbeqat hæmin juri-ye*  
 belong-ez all-ez floors such such-is  
 ‘this is the same problem in all flats in the building’

In line 7, it is interesting to consider that the repairman uses an imperative verb to show his authority alongside the use of different off-record politeness strategies to keep the addressee’s face. The use of politeness features such as the hedging device *ye* ‘a’ and an honorific verb *zæhmæt bekešid* ‘do me a favour’ after the overt deferential pronoun *šoma*, and preceding the main imperative verb of the utterance *berid* ‘you go’, to mitigate any possibility of a threat to the addressee’s negative face wants. Thus, in this example, we can observe the communicative function of overt pronoun *šoma*, which is marked by *xob* ‘well’. Linguistically *xob* ‘well’ shifts the topic of discourse (Pomerantz 1984, Schiffrin 2001); in this position the speaker is more likely to use an overt pronoun (*šoma*) to address the hearer.

To sum up, two points are particularly relevant for the relationship between the overt use of address form and politeness: one is the suitability of a particular address form for a given social relationship between the participants, and the other is the impact of the overt address form as an intensifier. As shown in Example 6.3, the overt use of an address form has an effect of intensifying the feeling or tone of the utterance. This effect influences the interpretation of the utterance as being more polite or less polite, depending on the content of the utterance. The overt address form *šoma* is frequently used in utterances that denote the speaker him/herself somewhat negatively. This means that, in the Persian language, the subject pronouns *šoma* and *to* can be considered as ‘indexical devices’ (Ochs 1992). Thus we can conclude from the examples that address pronouns play a great role in: a) indexing social relationships, b) marking the subject of the sentence, and c) functioning as attention seekers in conversation. As there was limited singular overt address pronouns in default position in the data, determining the functions of overt singular address pronouns is not within the scope of this thesis. Therefore, in the next section I turn to explain the social functions served by the verbal agreement forms.

### 6.3.2. Social functions of deferential verb agreement ( $\emptyset$ +2h/2p)

In this section the pragmatic functions of the deferential verbal agreements (i.e. 2h/2p) are addressed. Similar to the analysis of the social functions of the overt deferential address pronoun, this analysis shows that  $\emptyset$ +2h indirectly indexes deference, which in turn may function as an attention seeker in discourse. It was observed that  $\emptyset$ +2p is normally used in interaction alongside  $\emptyset$ +2h, and this hybrid use of deferential address forms balances power in the interactions.

As mentioned earlier in Chapter 3, in Persian there is a possibility of variation in terms of politeness in the second person plural verb endings *-id* (2h) and *-in* (2p), such as *goft-id* ‘you said’ and *goft-in* ‘you said’. Beeman (1986: 148) refers to the Persian plural verb ending *-in* as an “intermediate” form that allows for the use of *šoma* as a pronominal form but with a slightly less formal flavour. He argues that this form neither indicates intimacy nor formal distance. He points out that this is a comfortable form for friendly face-to-face interaction in relaxed settings. It is, furthermore, most often considered as a reciprocal form, rather than an asymmetrical one. However, I argue that this classification is only valid for the prescribed definition of the deferential pronoun agreements, not its social definition. The analysis of the data shows that these two agreement forms have different pragmatic and communicative functions in interaction, as shown when these forms were used in switching and the mismatch construction (see Chapter 7). The 2h verbal agreement is more deferential than 2p verbal agreement in interaction. The interplay of these variants is intriguing to investigate. There are strategic uses of these forms in the interactions. The findings show that the use of 2h and 2p depend on the imposition of the request, such that if the speaker requires a great favour from the hearer, the 2h form is used but when the request is not imposing, the colloquial 2p is used. Therefore, in the next section the communicative role of these forms will be highlighted.

#### 6.3.2.1. Deference as an attention seeker

The overt pronouns of address point to the nature of the relationship between speaker and addressee, revealing the extent to which each party is entitled to signs of deference and/or

intimacy from the other (Morford 1997). Similar to the social function of the overt deferential address pronoun, the deferential verbal marker (*-id*) may also index deference in speech. As can be seen in Example 6.4 in the interaction between a beggar and a female pedestrian, the deference indexed by 2h verbal agreement may function as an attention seeker. The beggar, by using the 2h form, gives power and status to the addressee. Due to the degree of imposition that the request for money and act of begging has on the hearer, facework is undertaken by the use of several politeness strategies in the interaction: a) deferential verbal inflection and b) hedging devices such as the conditional form.

Example 6.4

[Episode: ‘Beggar’, Setting: Hidden Camera, Speakers: B1: Beggar, M. c.45 – Q: Donnar, F. c.30]

- 1B1: *xanum* *sælam* *ærz* *kærd-æm*, *be-bæxs-id* *mæn*  
 lady hello say did-1s, imp-give-2h 1s  
 ‘lady, wanted give you my regards, sorry I’
- 2 *mozahem-e* *oqatetun* *šod-æm* *æz* *šæhrestan* *umæd-im*  
 bother-ez time-2pl.cl was-1s prep small city came-1p  
 ‘have taken your time, we have come from a small city’
- 3 *daru* *bæra bæc-e* *mæn* *nevešte*, *ægær* *lotf* *kon-id*  
 medicine prep child-ez 1s written if kind do-2h  
 ‘my daughter has been given a prescription, if you could kindly’
- 4 *komæke* *kon-id* *mæmnun* *mi-š-æm*  
 help do-2h grateful dur-be-1s  
 ‘help, I would be grateful’
- 5Q: *mædædkari* *inja* *ræft-i?*  
 charity here went-2s?  
 ‘have you been to the charity here?’
- 6B1: *mæn* *bælæd* *ni-est-æm* *æslæn*  
 1s know neg-be-1s at all  
 ‘I am not familiar or know about it at all’
- 7Q: *mædædkari* *dar-e?*  
 charity has-3s  
 ‘is there a charitable organisation here?’
- 8B1: *hæzinæš* *ro* *mi-d-æn?*  
 cost om dur-give-3p?  
 ‘will they pay for it?’

Example 6.4 is a hidden camera programme about a beggar in Tehran city centre. In this interaction, B1 is the beggar (male in his 40s) and Q is the pedestrian (female in her 30s). Due to B1’s social role as a beggar, there is a considerable power and status difference between B1 and Q. The difference in social dimension is linguistically indexed in the asymmetrical use of address forms. B1 is in need of money to pay for his daughter’s

prescription. The act of begging constitutes a great imposition on the hearer's negative face wants and also the speaker's positive face. However, in order to redress any face threats to Q's negative face due to the act of begging, the beggar interestingly initiates the conversation with an honorific greeting: *xanum sælam ærz kærdæm* 'lady I say hello' in line 1. *Ærz kærdæn*<sup>25</sup> 'say' is an honorific speech act, which is used in situations to elevate the hearer's status. This is followed by an apology indexed with a deferential verbal agreement *bebæxšid* 'excuse me', where the beggar apologises for taking the lady's time. In this context, the speech act of apology embedded with a deferential address pronoun is considered as a positive politeness strategy. This is an instance of *ta'arof*, which sociolinguistically is an attempt to focus on the hearer's positive face wants such as establishing a social relationship. This combination of deference with positive facework is in line with Koutlaki's (2001) argument that politeness in the Persian system is similar to two sides of the same coin.

Within the same turn, the beggar indirectly sets the frame of his request for money by using a conditional clause: *ægær lotf konid komæke konid mæmnun mišæm* 'if you are kind enough to help me, I would be grateful'. The conditional clause, which is framing the request, functions as a positive politeness strategy. The deferential verbal agreements are indirectly indexing in-group membership and solidarity with the hearer. The extract in the following section describes the observed social function of the colloquial deferential pronoun (*-in*).

### 6.3.2.2. Hybrid use of deferential address forms (power management)

The casual deferential address form (*-in*) associated with 2p was observed in the data to show deference but in a less formal flavour. Moreover, this casual deferential form (*-in*), unlike the formal deferential form (*-id*), balances the formality of the honorific expressions and consequently moderates the offer of status and power to the addressee. As can be seen in the conversation in Example 6.5, the interviewer uses an address term such as *aqā* 'Mr' with a variety of deferential address form inflections and honorific greetings to attract the

---

<sup>25</sup> Its plain form is *kærdæn* 'say' (lit. 'say do'). *Sælam* 'hello' could also occur without a verb in conversation which is the casual form on the politeness scale.

addressee's attention in the interaction. For example in lines 1 and 2 of this interaction, the address term *aqā* 'Mr' co-occurs with the deferential address forms such as (-*in*) and (-*id*) respectively in the interviewer's speech. The speech act of request (line1) is elicited with an honorific expression and *ta'arof*, such as *tæšif miyarin* 'could you please come?' demonstrating deference. However, the casual deferential address form (-*in*) gives an honorific expression a less formal meaning. These points will be elaborated in the discussion below.

#### Example 6.5

[Episode: 'Bribe', Setting: Interview, Speakers: A2: Interviewer, M. c.32 - D: Interviewee, M, c.48]

- |      |   |                |                  |                   |                   |                          |                   |
|------|---|----------------|------------------|-------------------|-------------------|--------------------------|-------------------|
| 1A2: | <i>aqā</i>  | <i>čænd</i>    | <i>læhze</i>     | <i>tæšif</i>      | <i>mi-yar-in?</i> | <i>sælām æleykom</i>     |                   |
|      | mr  | a few          | minute           | honouring         | dur-come-2p       | hello                    |                   |
|      | 'sir could you come for a few minutes? hello'                 |                |                  |                   |                   |                          |                   |
| 2    | <i>dær xedmæt</i>   | <i>ba-š-im</i> | <i>čænd</i>      | <i>læhze</i> ↑    | <i>Hal-e</i>      | <i>šoma</i>              | <i>xub-e?</i>     |
|      | in  | service        | subj.-be-1p      | afew              | minutes           | manner-ez                | 2p well-is?       |
|      | 'could I talk to you for a few minutes? Are you well?'        |                |                  |                   |                   |                          |                   |
| 3    | <i>væqt-e</i>   | <i>šoma</i>    | <i>bexeyer</i>   | <i>baše. Aqā</i>  | <i>dašt-id</i>    | <i>bæhs mi-kærd-id</i> ↑ |                   |
|      | time-ez   | 2p             | have a good      | Mr                | were-2h           | argue dur-did-2h         |                   |
|      | 'good day. Sir you were arguing'                              |                |                  |                   |                   |                          |                   |
| 4    | <i>či</i>   | <i>šode?</i>   |                  |                   |                   |                          |                   |
|      | what  | has happened?  |                  |                   |                   |                          |                   |
|      | 'what has happened?'  |                |                  |                   |                   |                          |                   |
| 5D:  | <i>hiči</i> (.)   | <i>in</i>      | <i>aqā</i>       | <i>mige pul-e</i> | <i>qæbz-e-to</i>  | <i>beyar</i>             | <i>mæn bær-at</i> |
|      | nothing   | this           | mr               | says money        | bill-ez-2s.cl     | bring.2s                 | 1s for-2s.cl      |
|      | 'nothing, this man says bring your bill (mobile) I'll deduct' |                |                  |                   |                   |                          |                   |
| 6    | <i>kæm kon-æm</i>   | <i>20</i>      | <i>tomæn</i>     | <i>be mæn</i>     | <i>bede,</i>      | <i>axe</i>               |                   |
|      | less do-1s  | 20             | toman            | for 1s            | imp-give(2s)      | because                  |                   |
|      | 'some from it, and you give me 20 tomans, because             |                |                  |                   |                   |                          |                   |
| 7    | <i>in pul-ha</i>  | <i>xordæn</i>  | <i>næ-dar-e.</i> | <i>Dorst</i>      | <i>ni-st</i>      | <i>ke</i>                |                   |
|      | this money-pl   | eat            | neg-have.3s      | right             | neg-is            | emphatic part.           |                   |
|      | 'it is not enjoyable to spend such money. It is not right'    |                |                  |                   |                   |                          |                   |

The analysis of data shows that when honorific verbs were used in the second person form, they occurred more frequently with the colloquial form of the deferential verb (-*in*). The interaction in Example 6.5 between A2 (interviewer) and D (pedestrian) is part of the programme called Bribe, which occurred in the presence of the camera. In this hidden camera episode, the pedestrian had not accepted the bribe offered in return for a discount on his mobile bill. This led to his dispute with the person offering the bribe. The interviewer (line 1) uses various communicative styles such as greetings, honorific

expressions and address forms to initiate the conversation and lay the ground for his inquiry with the pedestrian. The interviewer initiates the conversation with D by asking him to step beside him. This indirect request is framed using an honorific verb *tæšif aværdæn* ‘to come’ in the imperfective tense, viz. *tæšif miyarin* ‘could you come?’ marked with the colloquial deferential verbal marker (*-in*). The alternative deferential form of this verb would be for it to be inflected with deferential pronominal marker (*-id*) for instance in *tæšif miayrid* ‘could you come’. Across the data, it was observed that the function served by 2p (*-in*) is used with other elevating (honorific) verbs to maintain the balance and social status in the interaction.

From the social functions indexed by the verbal agreement and the speech events, we can see that a keeping of balance in terms of giving the other party power and status in discourse is achieved by using different forms of verbal agreements. This is best observed with the more moderate speech acts used with the 2h form and more honorific speech acts used with the 2p form in interaction. Using the pronouns of address depends on the addressee’s attitude in his willingness to contribute to the interaction. Age and status of the speaker does not seem to be as salient as gender. Both the actors and interviewer are very cautious in their use of address forms in addressing female participants. In the next example, I turn to discuss the social functions of the singular informal verbal address form ( $\emptyset + 2s$ ).

### **6.3.3. Social functions of singular informal verb agreement ( $\emptyset + 2s$ )**

The overt singular *to* address pronoun was only observed in one episode of data ‘Needing a signature’, which will be discussed later. Even if a second person singular address form was avoided, pronominal switches occurred from singular informal inflection (2s) to plural formal/informal inflection (2h/2p). Therefore, the interlocutors, by switching at the level of these morphosyntactic features, try to establish their relationship in the interactions.

As there are few tokens of the overt *to* address pronouns, we cannot make a case about the multi-functionality of the overt singular address pronoun in this chapter. The limited use of the overt singular address pronoun may be due to the unfamiliar social relationship between

the interlocutors in the interactions. That is, the social relationship of the individuals in the media context is defined on the basis of the genre of interactions or the activity effect in the hidden camera programme which is similar to a workplace context in some contexts.

Interestingly, the singular informal verbal agreement (2s) seems to be socially and pragmatically more salient in usage than the overt singular pronoun *to*. This is because *to* encodes more explicit intimacy or power of speaker to the addressee in the interaction, in comparison to its verbal inflectional agreement (2s). That is to say positive or negative face attacking strategies are more likely to occur with the use of the overt singular pronoun than its verbal counterpart. Also, in practice, when (2s) is used, it carries a less negative social burden on the hearer's face wants than the overt singular pronoun *to*. The semantic representation of the singular informal agreement form (2s) may function beyond informality.

The generic function of the singular address pronoun is to index solidarity and to establish a relationship; however, in practice, the use of the singular agreement does not necessarily manifest intimacy or solidarity. The pragmatic function of 2s agreement may indirectly index different communicative strategies: on the other hand, it may create in-group membership, and it could also be used to index talking down to somebody, or condemning them (usually co-occurring with an imperative verb). These functions will be elaborated further in the following sections.

#### **6.3.3.1. Creating in-group membership: marking 'in-groupness'**

In the interaction below, a young ticket seller is trying to sell counterfeit bus tickets in the street cheaper than their usual price to an old man. Despite the difference between the interlocutors in terms of social dimensions such as age, status and power, we can see that the ticket seller uses the singular informal verbal agreement (2s) in this trading interaction. In contrast, previous literature (Baumgardner 1982, Beeman 1986, Ardahali 1990, Keshavarz 2001) has stated that the singular informal pronoun is constrained to intimate relationships.



In this interaction, the interlocutors are involved and aware of the unofficial businesses negotiation. The off the record interaction and acceptance of this trade is indexed by the style of language use in such settings. In the Iranian culture *čanneh zædæn* ‘to bargain’ is a ritual in such contexts.

Example 6.6

[Episode: ‘Dodgy ticket seller’, Setting: Hidden Camera, Speakers: B:ticket seller, M. c.20

- Q: ticket buyer, M. c. 67]

1Q: *mæn dar-æm*

1s have-1s

‘I have some’

2B: *hala, ye dæste hæm æz ma be-xær*

now a group also from 1p imp-buy

‘yeah but, buy some also from me’

3Q: *čænd ta?*

how many unit?

‘how many’

4B: *20 ta*

20 units

‘20’

5Q: *čænd be-d-æm↑ 100 be-d-æm bæs-e?*

how much subj-give-1s 100 subj-give-1s enough-is?

‘how much shall I give you? is it enough if I give 100 toman?’

6B: *150 be-de*

150 imp-give-2s

‘give 150 tomans’

7Q: *næ 100 beh-et mi-d-æm, mæn dar-æm ælan*

no 100 for-2s.cl dur-give-1s 1s have-1s now

‘no, I will give you 100 toman, I have (that much money) now’

8B: *100 be-de*

100 imp-give-2s

‘give 100’

9Q: *axeh borj dar-æm*

because owe have-1s

‘but I owe money’

10B: *Haj aqa inja aftar-e bi-ya invær, bi-ya invær*

Haj mr here sunny-is imp.come this side imp-come this side

‘Mr Haji, it is sunny here come to this side, come to this side’

11 *mæn xord-et o beh-et be-d-æm, biya Haj aqa*

1s change-2s.cl om to-2s.cl subj-give-1s come Haj mr

‘I pay your change, here you go Mr Haji’

12Q: *ya Ali*

vocative Ali

‘in Ali’s path’

13B: *merci*

thanks

Although there are age, status and power differences between the interlocutors, address forms are used symmetrically between the parties. In this interaction, 2s agreement is not regarded as a rude, intimate or a face threatening strategy. This feature of solidarity, which functions alongside the agreement form, is indirectly indexed with linguistic and pragmatic cues. For example, the ticket seller uses various discourse markers and a first person plural pronoun respectively (i.e. *hala...hæm* 'yeah...also', *ma* 'we') to refer to himself in line 2. In this stance, these discourse markers function as positive politeness strategies, as they are used to establish common ground and in-group membership with the addressee.

From this example, we can see that B has a different strategy in addressing the issue at hand. He does not frame the request in the interaction with a previous greeting, but instead his use of the solidary informal agreement (2s) helps express a stance of reciprocity indexing in-group membership, as he is trying to establish a relationship with the customer to sell his product. As we can see, the solidary informal agreement (2s) used by the ticket seller is emphasised with the religious address term *Haj aqa* 'Mr Haji' in line 10, giving Q status, where he is using an imperative verb conjugated with the singular informal agreement *bi-ya* 'come.2s', to ask him to move into the shade. The solidarity style of language usage is reciprocal, as the ticket buyer who is initially reluctant to buy the tickets later buys them, and he uses the singular enclitic referent form (*behet* 'to you') in line 7 and accommodates the religious response *ya Ali* 'in Ali's path' (line 12). So as this example clearly shows, although the 2s pronoun is not used between equals in terms of age and authority, its usage is reciprocal and indexes in-group membership with the interlocutor. One might argue that the use of the imperative might not be a good example for the distribution of the forms since other rules might apply for imperative. In this example, other linguistic feature such as the singular enclitics in line 11 show that the speaker used the singular pronominal form regardless of imperatives in the interaction.

#### **6.3.3.2. Condemning strategy: assertion of power and authority**

As the interaction below between the interviewer and a young pedestrian shows, when the relationship between the interlocutors is either on an equal basis or one side claims

authority in the given situation, the singular informal address form may be used to index an assertion of authority and status by the other party. In this example, 2s is indexing power and it is used in an interrogative situation.

Example 6.7

[Episode: ‘Throwing rubbish on the floor’, Setting: Interview, Speakers: A2: Interviewer, M. c.32 - E: Pedestrian, M. c.22

- 1A2: *čera in pust-e moz ro n-ændaxt-i daxel-e*  
 why this rubbish-ez banana om neg-threw-2s inside-ez  
 ‘why didn’t you throw this banana skin in’
- 2 *sætl zæd-i ba pat kenar?*  
 bucket throw-2s with foot.2p.cl aside?  
 ‘the dustbin? you threw it aside with your foot?’
- 3E: *valah, dige kæsif bud <laughs> huhuhu*  
 honestly else dirty was <laughs> huhuhu  
 ‘honestly, it was dirty, huhuhu’
- 4A2: *mi-ræft-i bæ‘ad dæst-et-o mi-šost-i dige↑*  
 dur-went-2s after hand-2s.cl-om dyr-washed-2s hence↑  
 ‘You would have gone and washed your hands after?’
- 5E: *hæmin ke zæd-æm kenar kafī næ-bud?↑*  
 this that hit-1s aside enough neg-was?↑  
 ‘wasn’t it enough that I just threw it aside?’
- 6A2: *hala čī baes šod in kar o kærd-i?*  
 now what reason caused this deed om did-2s?  
 ‘now what caused (reason) you to do this?’
- 7E: *goft-æm hala yek-i mi-xor-e zæmin belæxære dige <laughs>*  
 said-1s now one-ind dur-fall-3s ground after all hence  
 ‘I thought, after all somebody might fall on the floor <laughs>’
- 8A2: *ægær be jaye in pust-e moz ašqal-e dige-i bud*  
 if prep place this skin-ez banana rubbish-ez other-ind was-3s  
 ‘If instead of this banana skin there was another rubbish’
- 9 *mæsælæn kaqæz bud un ro hæm mi-ændaxt-i*  
 for example paper was.3s that om also dur-throw-2s  
 ‘for example if it was paper, would you have also thrown that’
- 10 *tu sætl-e zobale ya næ?*  
 in bucket-ez rubbish or not?  
 ‘in the dustbin or not?’
- 11E: *feker ne-mi-kon-æm*  
 think neg-dur-do-1s  
 ‘I don’t think so’

In the hidden camera, it was observed that pedestrian E did not throw the banana peel in the garbage bin. In this interaction, the interviewer interrogated the pedestrian’s action. So the interviewer addressed him with a singular agreement with the negative question *nændaxti* ‘you didn’t throw’ (line 1). With the examination of linguistic features, we can argue that in

this situation and speech event, E is also challenging the interviewer. Since the interviewer (A2) is older than the pedestrian (E), this gives A2 the power to challenge E in return and use directives. Therefore in this interaction, the singular address form is not being used as an intimacy factor but it indirectly indexes assertion of authority and power. In sum, it may be stated that address pronouns are not stable variables and that the linguistic meaning of these forms can be triggered in the situated use of the variable, more specifically the speaker and interactional stance.

In the sociolinguistic study of address forms and politeness in interaction, it is important to consider the community view on language use and politeness with regard to the socio-cultural constraints in this usage. For this purpose, in the next section we turn to a content analysis of Persian speakers' perceptions of how address forms are used in contemporary Iranian society to index politeness.

#### 6.4. Community views

In this section, the results of the qualitative analysis are further supplemented with sociolinguistic interviews. This allows us to consider individuals' perceptions of prescriptive use as well as the function of pronouns of address. Among the speakers, some individuals comment on how they use the address forms and their experience as an addressee.

Interview data shows speakers' awareness of versatility of Persian address forms. For example, Mr. Tehrani (57 years old, lecturer) characterises the options, which may motivate the use of address forms in very personal terms but as properties that are generalisable:

Example 6.8

*bāstebe*            *no-e*            *rabet-e*            *goyāndeh ba moxatāb,*  
 depending on type-ez relationship-ez speaker with addressee  
 'Depending on type of speaker and addressee relationship'

*moqiyāt-e*            *ejtemai-ye moxatāb, šarayet*            *vā*            *vāziyāt-e*  
 situation.ez            social            addressee, conditions and state-ez  
 'addressees' social status, and the conditions of'

*ruhi*                      *goyāndeh form-ha-ye xātabi*                      *tāqir*                      *mi.yabāed*  
 psychological    speaker    form.pl.ez address    change    dur.come-3s  
 ‘the speaker’s psychology, address forms change’

On the other hand, some people perceive the way of using address forms as an idiosyncratic feature, or perceive it to be associated with upbringing. For instance, Mrs. Shila (45 years, nurse) explains her experience of interacting with a repairman who used the casual address form:

Example 6.9

*bāra mesal*    *ye*    *kargāer*    *umādehbud*                      *be*    *onvane*    *tāmirkar*  
 for example    ind    worker    had.come.3s                      for    instance    repairman  
 ‘for example a worker had come as a repairman’

*xeyli rahāet*                      *be māen dašt*    *To*    *mi-goft,*                      *māenzur-ez bi-ehterami*  
 very comfortable to    1s    was 2s    dur.said                      mean-ez    neg.respect-ind  
 ‘at ease he was addressing me with 2s(overt form), he didn’t even mean to be rude’

*hām nāe-dašt*    *vāeli adāet kāerd-e,*                      *ya injur*                      *tārbiyāet-eš*                      *kāerd-āen*  
 also neg-had-3s but    use did.3s                      or    this way    educate.3s.cl                      did-3p  
 ‘he might have gotten used to this form or been educated with this norm’.

However, Persian speakers are conscious about the social functions of address forms, such as use of the singular informal address form (*to*) to claim authority and status in a conflicting situation. In this regard, Mrs. Shila (45 years, nurse) points to the pragmatic meaning of *to* in addressing children in contested situations:

Example 6.10

*vāqti*                      *ke*    *bāče*                      *bexad*                      *ye*    *hāerf-e*                      *zuri ro*                      *beg-e,*                      *adāem*  
 when                      that    child                      want                      ind    speech-ez                      force om    say-3s                      person  
 ‘when a child wants to show power and force in his speech, people (i.e. the parents)

*mi-g-e*                      *ke*                      *to.*    ‘*to*    *bāče māeni*    *vāe māen*    *madāer-et*                      *hāest-āem*’.  
 dur-say-3s emphasis    2s.    2s    child mine    and 1s    mother-2s.cl                      be-1s  
 ‘use ‘*To*’ emphatically. ‘You (overt *to*) are my child and I am your mother’.

*māenzur*    *bi-āedāeb*                      *ba-hāš*                      *sohbāet*                      *kāerdāen*    *ni-st*  
 purpose    neg-politeness    with-3s    conversation                      do                      neg-is  
 ‘the intention is not to speak with him impolitely’.

Participant observation and sociolinguistic interviews among Persian speakers suggest that the use of overt pronominal form *to* has increased in contemporary Iranian society. Conversely, the qualitative sociolinguistic analyses indicate that the null subject with the

casual verbal agreement (-i) '2s' is used more frequently in conversation than the overt pronominal *to* '2s'. This raises the question about peoples' expectations of address form usage and how these forms are actually realised in contemporary Persian. In order to account for the incongruences observed in perception and actual usage of an address form, we may need to discuss the socio-cultural use of address forms in contemporary Iranian society.

Mühlhäusler (1996) points out pronoun systems are typically dependent on an existing social order and cultural beliefs; therefore cultural changes can have a drastic impact on address forms and their patterns of use (Mühlhäusler 1996: 296). Similar changes have been reported for other languages (see Ostor 1982, Yuan et al. 1990 and Cheshire and Fox 2009), and these studies also claim a gradual variation of traditional distinctions in form and function.

The parallel examination of the qualitative analysis results with sociolinguistics interviews shows variation in both the form and function of the Persian pronominal address system across generations. As mentioned before, in public settings and formal contexts, the benchmark for address form usage is deferential forms of address. Furthermore, for Persian speakers the use of the overt subject address pronoun conveys its power-solidarity meaning more explicitly than its verbal agreement. They perceive that politeness in address form usage is indexed emphatically with the overt deferential form of address. However, in cases where there is a tendency to use the casual address form *to*, it is participant-deixis that the null subject with the casual verbal agreement (i.e.  $\emptyset$  +2s) be used to avoid any occurrence of face threatening acts. In addition, the quantitative sociolinguistic analysis showed there was infrequent use of the overt casual address forms.

The qualitative sociolinguistic analysis of the social functions of address forms shows that the social meaning of the deferential address form, specifically the overt *šoma* address pronoun, was initially constrained to directly index values of respect, status and social distance that were in line with the Iranian pre-revolutionary social norms of hierarchy. Conversely, thirty years after the 1979 Iranian revolution, it may be observed that the social meaning of the deferential address forms has evolved from their primary social meaning

(i.e. deference) to deal with emergence of solidary and etiquette-free culture in contemporary Iranian society. In other words, it seems that use of overt casual address form is avoided. Therefore, in contemporary Iranian society, with the variation of social meaning of the deferential address form, speakers tend to use *šoma* to indirectly index solidarity and in-groupness in interaction. These functions were traditionally associated with the singular informal address form.

## **6.5. Concluding remarks**

In sum, the analysis of eight episodes of media programme shows versatility of Persian address forms and their pragmatic functions. The overt deferential address pronoun indirectly indexes the following pragmatic functions in the interactions: a) contrastive emphasis, b) deference as an in-group identity marker and c) topic shift. It was argued that the deferential verbal agreement 2h was associated with deference as attention seeker, and the hybrid use of deferential agreements 2h/2p indexed an individual's restraint of power and status in interaction. It was also suggested that the singular informal agreement indexed two diverse social functions. Firstly, it created in-group membership, and secondly it was used as a condemning strategy to challenge power and authority.

The findings do not support the research hypothesis that due to the egalitarian 1979 revolutionary ideology, participants will only use the intimate address forms. In the interactions, it was observed that the social functions of 2p and 2s agreements may overlap in a speech event. Across the media corpus, it was observed that even in public interactions with no prior social relationship, interlocutors use address forms beyond the normative default and these non-normative uses seem designed to achieve communicative goals during the interaction. An analysis of data shows that despite the social differences of the interlocutors, in terms of age, status and power, they use the informal agreement strategically. The observed pragmatic functions of the deferential and informal pronouns are in line with McConnell-Ginet's (2008) argument that when words are positioned in social practice they actually perform social and cognitive work. As the Persian address system allows address pronoun switching and mismatch construction, the sociolinguistic functions of these two features will be addressed respectively in the following chapter.

# Chapter 7

---

## Sociolinguistic functions of address pronoun switching and the mismatch construction

### 7.1. Introduction

Having now determined the social functions of the contemporary Persian address pronouns, this chapter focuses on the variation of address forms (address pronoun switching patterns and the mismatch construction). As defined in Chapter 3, in this study switching refers to re-negotiation of the pronominal address form during interaction.

Socio-cultural constraints come into play in the formal and functional reconfiguration of the Persian pronominal address system. After the overthrow of the Shah in 1979, the revolutionary ideology of egalitarianism promoted new norms in the Iranian society's lifestyle. In terms of language use, the 1979 Iranian revolution promoted more new form of egalitarian address, such as the casual address pronoun *to* also referred as the solidarity *to*. Interestingly, individuals in the sociolinguistic interviews in Chapter 5 reported that *to* usage has increased in contemporary Iranian society. However, the qualitative sociolinguistic analysis of Persian pronominal address forms in Chapter 6 showed that the social functions of *to* could not be highlighted as there was only one token of this form in the media corpus. The analysis of the social functions of address forms in Chapter 6 showed that in spoken Persian, informal verbal agreement is more common than its overt form and constitutes less threat to the speaker's face wants. Some of the Persian speakers' interviews confirmed this impression and also pointed out that the use of agreement markers on the verb carries less social burden on the addressee's face wants (i.e. it is less intrusive). This variation in the use of address pronouns allows for versatility of the Persian pronominal address system in spoken face-to-face interactions. We can observe intra-speaker pronominal address switching patterns and the use of *šoma* in concord with 2s agreement forming a mismatch construction.



This chapter casts new light on how the deviating patterns of address usage index politeness in interaction. It shows that address pronoun switching and the mismatch construction are used as communicative strategic devices that mediate an individual or social stance in interaction. More importantly, it highlights that such constellations of deference and informality in speech are expressed in important politeness strategies that elucidate the basic mechanisms of human communication and the merging of socio-cultural norms. Furthermore, content analysis of the sociolinguistic interviews indicates that people are unaware of the pronominal address switching patterns and their usages in interaction. However, an analysis of community views found only one female Persian speaker is aware of the mismatch construction and its socio-cultural functions. The hybridity of form and function in the Persian pronominal address system is presented in a model in the final section of this chapter (Section 7.6). This model illuminates how politeness is indexed with patterns of address pronoun switching and the mismatch construction in communication.

In the next section, I address the second qualitative research question posed at the outset of this study. The second qualitative research question sets the initiative for a sociolinguistic analysis of the functions of address pronoun switching and the mismatch construction, which will be discussed accordingly.

## **7.2. Second qualitative research question**

This section addresses the second research question of this thesis:

Q2: What are the sociolinguistic and pragmatic functions that address pronoun switching and the mismatch construction (*šoma* + 2s verb agreement) serve?

The existing linguistic features in the Persian address system such as address pronoun switching and the mismatch construction allow for a more volatile and flexible relationship between form and function. The qualitative sociolinguistic analysis shows how speakers use the pronominal address system, for example to express a transient attitude, or manipulatively to get the addressee to act in a desired manner which contrasts sharply with previous studies of the Persian address form (Baumgardner 1982, Keshavarz 1988, 2001).

This section will shed light on the indexicality of pronominal address switching and the mismatch construction in the light of interlocutors' stancetaking in the speech event of the interaction. Thus, in the first part, I discuss the sociolinguistic functions indexed by patterns of address pronoun switching. In address pronoun switching, two main patterns are identified: switches that can take place from the deferential to the informal address form (*šoma*/Ø + 2h/2p → *to*/Ø + 2s) and switches that occur from the informal to the deferential form of address (Ø + 2s → Ø + 2p/2h).

Interestingly, in the first pattern, the switch may occur both at the level of overt form of address and agreement. However, as can be observed in the second pattern, the switch from the informal address pronoun to the deferential form is only at the level of agreement. Each of the switching patterns is constrained by the individual's stancetaking and may indirectly index a communicative strategy in the interaction. When interlocutors are involved in flattering, conflicting and solidary stancetaking, the switch from the deferential to the informal address form is observed to indirectly index sweet talk (sycophancy), sarcasm, or in-group membership as communicative strategies in interaction. On the other hand, pronominal address switching patterns from the informal to the deferential address forms may be motivated by the individual's negotiating, conflicting, or rejecting stancetakings and in turn indirectly index communicative strategies such as affect, out-group membership, and self-lowering (by giving authority).

The second part of the qualitative sociolinguistic analysis in this chapter will focus on the sociolinguistic functions indexed by the individual's stancetaking in the mismatch agreement construction (*šoma* + 2s verb agreement). This construction is observed to index assertion of status in a begging stancetaking and lobbying when a speaker takes a bribery stance.

### 7.3. Switching from the deferential address form to the informal form

In the following analysis, three salient patterns of address pronoun configuration in form and function were observed. These patterns are indicated in Table 7.1 and will be elaborated on accordingly.

Pattern	Form	Function Indexed	Stance	Setting: Programme
Pattern 1	<i>Šoma</i> +2h/2p→ <i>to</i> +2s	Sweet talk sycophancy	Flattery	Hidden camera: Signatory
Pattern 2	<i>Šoma</i> +2h/2p→ Ø+2s	Sarcasm	Conflict	Hidden camera: Ticket seller
Pattern 3	Ø+2p/2h→ Ø+2s	In-group membership	Solidarity	Hidden camera: Beggar

Table 7.1: Switching from the deferential address form to the informal form

Pronominal address switching patterns indicated in Table 7.1 demonstrate that address form variation is not based on a static and one dimensional pattern as claimed by previous research (Brown and Gilman 1960, Brown and Ford 1964). As Table 7.1 shows, pronoun switching can occur at three levels: a) switching at the level of overt forms (Pattern 1), b) switching from overt forms to null subject (Pattern 2) and c) switching from one null subject to another null subject (Pattern 3). Switching address forms may index a change of stance or activity in an interaction (Ochs 1992), and a change on the basis of evolution of the interlocutors' social relationship (cf. Meyerhoff 1998, Moreno 2002, Clyne et al. 2006). As a result, switching from the deferential address form to the informal form does not necessarily imply intimacy, but rather the switch indexes a less distant relationship, sweet talk, or even in-group membership in communication.

These communicative strategies performed in different hidden camera speech events (such as Signatory, Ticket seller and Beggar) are discussed below. It should also be noted that as there is no prior relationship between the participants, the context and situation of interaction determines their relative social power and status.

### 7.3.1. *šoma* + 2h/2p → *to*+ 2s (indexing sweet talk)

This switching pattern between overt address pronouns and their congruent agreements occurs in the hidden camera programme episode called Signatory<sup>26</sup>. The interaction in Example 8 between B (Needing a signature) and K (Signatory) is a hidden camera programme, taking place in a residential area of Tehran. B pretends that he has lost his birth certificate and in order to claim for another, he requires at least two signatures verifying his identity. Pedestrian K is a stranger walking by in the street. As the organisational task is illegitimate, various politeness strategies are expected from B in order to convince K to fulfil the task. Here we expect B to use the deferential address form only in addressing K, as B is inferior in social position and due to his illegal action and request. However, as we can see B switches between the deferential and informal overt and agreement forms of address to create flattery.

#### Example 7.1

[Episode: ‘Signatory’, Setting: Hidden Camera, Speakers: B: Needing a signature, M. c.55 – K: Signatory, M. c. 53]

- 1B: *aqā be-bæxš-id šoma mal-e in mæhæl hæst-in?*  
 Mr. subj-give-2h 2p belong-ez this place is-2p?  
 ‘I am sorry sir, are you from this neighbourhood?’
- 2K: (.)
- 3B: *ye læhze tæšrif bi-yar-in qorban, kar rah-ændaz-i*  
 ind moment honouring imp-come-2p sir job path-throw-2s  
 ‘please could you come for a moment your excellency, if you help me with this’
- 4 *ke dige moškel ni-st qorbun-et ber-æm mæn*  
 that no longer problem neg-is sacrifice-2s.cl go-1s 1s  
 ‘so that there is no longer any problem, I am very grateful’
- 5 *hæmin ja tæšrif bi-yar-in šenasnameh mæn gom šodeh*  
 this place honouring imp-come-2p birth certificate 1s lost hasbeen  
 ‘please just come(honorific) here. My birth ceretificate has been lost’
- 6 *mi-xast-æm šoma mohebæt kon-in in ro tayeed be-færma-id*  
 dur-want-1s 2p kind do-2p this om verify imp-do-2h  
 ‘I would appreciate it if you could confirm this’
- <B showing K some documents to sign>
- 7K: *došmæn-et šærmænde*<sup>27</sup>  
 enemy.2s.cl ashamed  
 ‘don’t worry about it.’

<sup>26</sup> The aim of the episode is to ascertain whether the public will give consent in signing legal documents for strangers without having background information about them.

<sup>27</sup> *došmæn-et šærmænde* literally means your enemy should be ashamed or sorry, not you.

- 8B: *čera?*  
 why?  
 ‘why’
- 9K: *ne-mi-šenas-æm čī beg-æm æziz-æm ne-mi-dun-æm*  
 neg-dur-familiar-1s what say-1s dear-1s neg-dur-know-1s  
 ‘I don’t know you what shall I say my dear, I don’t know’
- 10B: *to mæn ro ne-mi-šenas-i?!*  
 2s 1s om neg-dur-familiar-2s?!  
 ‘you don’t know me?!’
- 11K: *næ æziz-æm*  
 no dear-1s  
 ‘no my dear’
- 12B: *eškali næ-dare qorban*  
 problem neg-have honorific  
 ‘no problem sir’

In Example 7.1, B initiates the conversation by inquiring whether K is from the neighbourhood where the conversation happens, to find an excuse for mocking familiarity. In order to reduce the imposition of the request, which is a threat to the addressee’s negative face wants, linguistic politeness devices such as use of the overt deferential address pronoun with 2p agreement, and address term *aqā* ‘sir’ followed by an apologetic speech act are used. It is interesting that there is a switch from 2h agreement to 2p agreement in one turn in B’s utterance. The speaker uses a formal attention seeker expression, *aqā bebæxšid* ‘excuse me sir’, but a more colloquial form of inquiry with a less deferential verbal form (-in) is used: *mal-e in mæhæl hæst-in?* ‘are you from this neighbourhood?’ This is a more slang form in comparison to a plain form *inja zendegi mikonin?* ‘do you live here?’. However, in line 2, B is confronted with the pedestrian’s silence. Certainly this is dispreferred response in an adjacency pair that a question opens. More interestingly, in line 3, B uses more face maintaining strategies in framing his request such as positive politeness hedging devices (*ye læhze* ‘a minute’) and switches to honorific politeness features in terms of speech acts (*tæšrif biyarin* ‘please just come here’) and address forms (*qorban* ‘your Excellency’). However, in line 7 B is confronted with K’s polite rejection to his request: *došmænet šærmænde* ‘don’t worry about it’. From a politeness perspective, it is very ironic for K to use this form as it is not a response, but a reply to a response of the statement *šærmæنده* ‘sorry, I cannot do that’. Moreover, in line 9, K frames his justification of rejecting a testimony by using the endearment term *æzizæm* ‘my dear’, which is not a common term for addressing strangers. This is followed by a switch to the overt address pronoun *to* congruent with the 2s agreement in the interrogative

verb *nemišnai?! ‘you do not know me?!’*, framing the elicitation as if they were acquaintances. This deviation from formal address form usage is marked specifically with the use of the overt singular informal variant. This informal address variant in this flattery stance indexes the manipulative usage of the solidary address form *to* to fake acquaintance. It is interesting that in line 12, in response to K’s persistent rejection, B switches back to the honorific address form *qorban ‘your Excellency’*.

As shown in this example, switching from deferential to informal forms not only occurred between pronouns but also in terms of other politeness features such as titles and verbs. These switches indirectly index the evolutionary process of the interlocutors’ social relationship. This is reminiscent of Meyerhoff’s (1998) work on pronoun alteration between inclusive ‘we’ and exclusive ‘we’ in Bislama. Moreover, as discussed in the example below, switching from the deferential to the intimate form does not always indicate solidarity and positive politeness. The switch may also be associated with negative politeness.

### 7.3.2. *šoma + 2p* → *Ø + 2s* (indexing sarcasm)

The interaction in Example 7.2 is between a dodgy ticket seller (A) and a buyer (H) from a hidden camera programme. The interlocutors are different in terms of social dimensions such as age, gender, power and status. The young male ticket seller has an inferior social role in comparison with the female ticket buyer. This is due to A’s task of selling forged bus tickets lower than normal price. Therefore, it is expected that the interlocutors also use the informal form in addressing the ticket seller. Considering A’s organisational goal in selling dodgy tickets, it may be expected that he uses the informal singular address form to establish solidarity with interlocutors. Interestingly, in this interaction the switching pattern occurs in the ticket buyer’s speech event.

#### Example 7.2

[Episode: ‘Ticket seller’, Setting: Hidden Camera, Speakers A: Dodgy ticket seller, M. c.20  
- H: Ticket Buyer F. c.28]

1H: 20 *ta ro 150 tomæn mi-d-æn?*  
20 *part. om 150 toman dur.give.3p?*  
‘do they sell 20 for 150 tomans?’

- 2A: *xob čænd be-d-im?*  
 ok how much subj-give-1p?  
 ‘ok how much shall I sell it for?’
- 3H: *20 ta 200 tomæn mæge ni-st?*  
 20 part. 200 toman interrogative neg.is?  
 ‘isn’t it 200 tomans for 20?’
- 4A: *xob hala ehtiyaj dar-im ærzuntær mi-fruš-im*  
 well now need have-1p cheaper dur-sell-1p  
 ‘well as I am needy am selling them cheaper’
- 5H: *uhha, šoma adæm-e mohtaj-i hæst-in næ?*  
 aha, 2p person-ez needy-ind is-2p no?  
 ‘aha, you are a poor person then are you?’
- 6A: *bæle*  
 ‘yes’
- 7H: *xeyli adæm-e mohtaj-i hæst-in, areh?*  
 very mæn-ez needy-ind is-2p yes?  
 ‘then, you are a very poor person, yeah?’
- 8A: *motmæen-i <inaudible> (.) ne-mi-xa-y?*  
 sure-be.2s <inaudible> (.) neg-dur-want-2s?  
 ‘are you sure, you don’t want any?’
- 9H: *næ, bæra či in hæme gereft-i ke be-fruš-i?*  
 no for what this much bought-2s conj. sub-sell-2s?  
 ‘no, why have you bought so much that you want to sell them?’
- 10A: *hala pul lazem dar-æm zud mi-fruš-æm*  
 now money need have-1s quickly dur.sell-1s  
 ‘now I need money, will sell them quickly’
- 11H: *xob bæra či gerefte bud-i?*  
 well for what taken was-2s?  
 ‘well why had you bought them?’

As can be seen in lines 1-4, the interlocutors are in constant discussion about the ticket seller’s business. Interestingly, it should be noted that A uses the plural self-referent (lines 2 and 4) in addressing himself, alongside providing a justification for selling the tickets cheaper than their normal price. Stewart (2001) explains that the Spanish first person plural *nosotoros* can represent a first person self-referent pronoun. She also mentions that “Margaret Thatcher’s use of the pronoun ‘we’ was, on many occasions, a thinly veiled disguise for ‘I’ ” (Stewart 2001: 155). In this example, the switching from deferential address form to informal form is used in a sarcastic construction. This is followed by H’s derogatory use of the overt deferential pronoun (line 5), which is initially marked by the discourse marker *Uhha* ‘aha’ and constructed in a negative interrogative clause (Schiffrin 2001). Conversely, the ticket seller uses the singular informal agreement (line 8), in an attempt to elicit whether she would like to purchase some tickets. In turn, H accommodates

to A's style of address usage and switches to the singular agreement form (2s), and condemns the ticket seller for his dodgy action. Moreover, the buyer's prosodic features, such as tone of speech and casual style of address form usage, index the inferior stance or action of the ticket seller. As the analysis shows, switching to casual pronoun usage in H's utterance does not increase intimacy and respect between parties; rather, this switch performs a negative politeness strategy. Therefore, the use of pronouns and the switches in this stance constitutes sarcastic politeness.

### 7.3.3. Ø + 2h/2p → Ø + 2s (indexing in-group membership)

Contrary to the above findings, the interaction in Example 7.3 shows that a switch from the deferential to the informal address may also index solidarity. This feature is frequently seen in interactions, where mutual negotiation takes place between both parties across media data. Previous research has shown that solidarity and face keeping strategies are most frequent in interactions where interlocutors do not consider the social status difference to exist between them (Tracy and Haspel 2004, Spencer-Oatey 2007). The interaction in this example is taken from an episode of the hidden camera programme called Beggar. The aim of this programme is to see whether people pay beggars, and also to highlight the impact of such actions on society. B1 is begging for money from pedestrians to pay for his daughter's<sup>28</sup> medical costs. In this interaction, due to B1's social role, there is great power and status difference between the interlocutors. As a result of this hierarchical social difference between parties (i.e. asymmetrical relationship of interlocutors), it is expected that C is addressed with the deferential pronoun, and in return uses the informal pronoun. However, it is observed that the beggar gradually switches from the deferential to the informal form of address.

#### Example 7.3

[Episode: 'Beggar', Setting: Hidden Camera, Speakers: B1: Beggar, M. c.45 – C: Donor, M. c. 55]

1B1: *aga ye læhze tævæjoh be-færma-yid mæn væqte šoma*  
 Mr. a minute attention imp-order-2h 1s time 2p  
 'sir please pay attention for a minute, I am also taking'

<sup>28</sup> In this interaction, the beggar is accompanied by a young girl (approximately 6 years old) as his daughter.



- 2 *ro hæm mi-gir-æm*  
om also dur-get-1s  
'your time'
- 3C: *be-færma-yin*  
imp-order-2p  
'please go ahead'
- 4B1: *mæn æz šæhrestan amæd-æm bæče mæriz-e bord-æm-eš*  
1s prep town came-1s child sick-is taken-1s-3s.cl  
'I have come from town, the child is sick I have taken her for a test'
- 5 *azmayešgah 2000T pul mi-x-am jævab-e azmayeš-o be-gir-æm*  
laboratory 2000T money dur-want-1s result-ez test-om sub-get-1s  
'I want 2000T (Iranian currency) to get the result of the test'
- 6C: *in dar o næ-dar-æm-e*  
this have and neg-have-1s-is  
'this is all I have'
- 7B1: *dæst-et dærd næ-kon-e<sup>29</sup> hæz čī dar-i dæst-et dærd næ-kon-e*  
hand-2s.cl hurt neg-do-is any thing have-2s hand-2s.cl hurt neg-do-is  
'thanks, whatever you have, thanks'
- 8 *xeyli mæmnun aqa lotf kærđi*  
very thanks sir kind do-2s  
'thanks very much sir, it was very kind of you'

In the first look at this interaction, one might say there is an asymmetrical use of address pronoun between B1 and C (lines 3-8). However, when B1 switches to the informal address pronoun, there is no use of address form by C in the rest of the interaction to show the asymmetrical use of address form.

B1 initiates the conversation by eliciting C's attention with an imperative request (line 1). In order to redress the imposition of the imperative verb on C's negative face wants, three politeness features are used: 1) hedging device *ye læhze* 'a minute', 2) an honorific verb conjugated with a deferential pronoun *tævæjoh befærmayid* 'pay attention' and 3) the beggar's acknowledgement that he is taking C's time (line 1 and 2). As a result, C acknowledges B1's request and gives him the floor in the conversation by accommodating to the same honorific verb usage, conjugated however with a less deferential address form *befærmayin* 'please go ahead' (line 3). This shows a reciprocal pattern of address occurring between the interlocutors. Furthermore, B1 takes the floor and provides a justification for his begging.

<sup>29</sup> The literal meaning of *dæstet dærd nækone* is 'may your hand not ache!', and its actual meaning is 'thank you'.

Interestingly, C provides B1 with a donation, which he comments as ‘this is all I have’. In Iranian culture the expression *dar o nedaræmeh* ‘all I have’ may be regarded as a sign of modesty and solidarity. B1 accommodates with C’s solidary stance and switches to the use of informal singular enclitic (*dæstet* ‘your hand’) and address forms (*dari* ‘you have’ and *lotf kærdi* ‘it was very kind of you’) respectively, in line 7, to show his appreciation towards C’s favour. As illustrated in this example, a switch from the deferential address pronoun to the informal form may index solidarity and in-group membership. Similarly, Ostermann (2003) addresses pronoun alternation in an all female Brazilian police station, where the alternation between the second person formal pronoun *a senhora* to a less formal pronominal form *você* can be interpreted as solidary.

#### 7.3.4. Summary of findings

The analyses in this section resulted in three patterns of pronominal address switching occurring from the deferential to the informal forms of address:

Pattern 7.3.1: *šoma* + 2h/2p → *to* + 2s

As the organisational task was illegal, various politeness strategies were expected from the person in need of a testimony to convince the pedestrian to verify and sign the testimony. The switch from the overt deferential address pronoun to the overt singular address form indexed flattery in this type of stance.

Pattern 7.3.2: *šoma* + 2p →  $\emptyset$  + 2s

The switch from the overt deferential address form to the singular verbal agreement occurred between a dodgy ticket seller (A) and a buyer (H) from a hidden camera programme. H accommodates to A’s style of address usage and switches to the singular agreement form (2s), and condemns the ticket seller for his dodgy action. Lowering of formality by a switch in address pronoun usage did not increase intimacy and respect between parties, but functioned as a negative politeness strategy. Therefore, I argued that the use of overt deferential address pronoun and then switching to singular address pronoun in this stance constitutes sarcastic politeness.

Pattern 7.3.3:  $\emptyset$  + 2h/p →  $\emptyset$  + 2s

The third pattern of address pronoun switching occurred at the level of agreement: from the deferential agreement to the informal form. The interaction in this example is between a

beggar and a pedestrian. The beggar’s switch from the deferential to the informal form of address indexes solidarity and in-group membership, showing a sense of gratitude.

As previously mentioned, the interactions in the media data are between strangers. Thus, it is expected that the deferential address pronoun will be used among parties. In contrast, as observed, the interlocutors used the singular overt address pronoun in the pronominal address switching construction to fulfil communicative tasks. Nickerson and Bargiela-Chiappini’s (1996: 763) comparative study of Dutch and Italian address forms in workplaces shows how interactants in the two languages actively pursue their personal and corporate goals through pronominal manipulation. However, in addition to address pronoun switches occurring from the deferential to informal forms, in this data set, patterns of address pronoun switching from the informal to the deferential agreement are also identified. The following section sheds light on the sociolinguistic functions of these patterns.

#### 7.4. Switching from the informal address form to deferential form

Switching from the informal address pronoun to the deferential form only occurred at the level of verbal agreement as shown in Table 7.2. I argue that switching to the deferential address form not only shows respect (due to the increase of social distance between interlocutors), but may also indirectly index affect, out-group membership and self-lowering as communication strategies in interaction.

Pattern	Form	Function Indexed	Stance	Setting: Episode
Pattern 4a	$\emptyset + 2s \rightarrow \emptyset + 2p$	Affect	Negotiation	Hidden camera: Ticket seller
Pattern 4b	$\emptyset + 2s \rightarrow \emptyset + 2p$	Out-group membership	Conflict	Interview: Bribe
Pattern 5	$\emptyset + 2s \rightarrow \emptyset + 2p \rightarrow \emptyset + 2s$ (intra-speaker variation) $\rightarrow \emptyset + 2p/2h$	Self-lowering (Authority and status)	Rejection	Hidden camera: Beggar

Table 7.2: Switching from the informal address form to the deferential form

Across the data set, it was observed that a pattern of switching construction may index several pragmatic functions in the interaction. For instance, the switching constructions in patterns 4a and 4b (Table 7.2) share the same form but differ in function in two different contexts. In the episode of a hidden camera programme, ‘Ticket seller’, the switch indexes

affect in negotiation of selling tickets (Pattern 4a). In another episode, ‘Bribe’, the switch from the informal to the deferential form indexes out-group membership in a conflicting stance (Pattern 4b). In the ‘Beggar’ episode, the pronominal switch from the informal address form to the deferential (pattern 5) in a stance of rejection indirectly indexes self-lowering. Furthermore, in this pattern of address pronoun switching, intra-speaker pronominal variation was observed. These patterns and their functionality according to the interlocutors’ stance will be highlighted below.

#### 7.4.1. Ø + 2s → Ø+2p (indexing creating affect)

In Example 7.4, switching from the informal address pronoun to the deferential form occurs in the hidden camera programme ‘Ticket seller’. In this example, the interaction displays some of the ways in which Persian encodes affect. There are special affect particles, affect first person pronouns, and affect determiners (Ochs and Schieffelin 1989: 12-13).

In this interaction, the interlocutors are both male and in their 20s. Due to the ticket seller’s spurious transaction, and the proximity in age of the interlocutors, it is expected that reciprocal informal address pronouns would be used between the speakers. In this interaction, the ticket buyer (O) refuses to buy cheap bus tickets (line 1 and line 3) from the ticket seller. In turn, the ticket seller uses various negotiation strategies (line 2 and 4) to raise O’s attention and sympathy in the interaction.

Example 7.4

[Programme: ‘Ticket seller’, Setting: Hidden Camera, Speakers: A: Dodgy ticket seller, M. c. 20 - O: Ticket buyer, M. c. 23]

- 1O: *ne-mi-xa-m*      *narahæt-et*      *kon-æm*      *væli*      *ne-mi-xa-m-eš*  
 neg-dur-want-1s    upset-2s.cl      do-1s      but    neg-dur-want-1s-that  
 ‘don’t want to hurt your feelings, but I don’t want it’
- 2A: ***be-xær***      *100*      *toman*      ***be-deh***  
 imp-buy-2s    100      Iranian currency    imp-give.2s  
 ‘buy it, pay 100 tomans’
- 3O: (.)  
 ‘no response’
- 4A: *hala mæsaælæn*      *ma læng šod-im*      ***ne-mi-xær-in?***  
 now for instance      1p    brokebecome-3s    neg-dur-buy-2p?  
 ‘you don’t buy just because I am broke?’

50:	<i>čera</i>	<i>læng</i>	<i>šod-in?</i>	<i>mašallah</i>	<i>jævun-in,</i>	<i>heykæle</i>
	why	broke	become-2p	touch wood	young-are.2p	figure
	‘why are you broke? touch wood, you are healthy’					
6	<i>værzeši</i>	<i>dar-in</i>				
	sport	have-2p				
	‘you are fit’					

In line 1, to redress the negative imposition of the rejection, the following positive politeness strategies are used: a) a first person singular agreement conjugated with an auxiliary and main verb (*nemixam narahætet koncem* ‘I don’t want to hurt your feelings’) is claimed to designate the responsibility of rejection to himself (Holmes 2001), b) a hedging device such as *væli* ‘but’ and c) a singular enclitic pronoun *narahæt-et* ‘hurt your feelings’. In line 2, the ticket seller negotiates with O by offering him the opportunity to pay less *bexær 100 tomæn bedeh* ‘buy it, pay 100 tomans’. In this stance, the imperative verbs conjugated with an informal agreement (*bexær* ‘buy.2s’, *bedeh* ‘pay.2s’) index establishment of in-group membership and solidarity with the buyer (Koutlaki 2001). However, the ticket seller is confronted with a pause which may signal “reticence” (Edwards 2001: 332) and linguistically function as hesitation (Brown and Yule 1983: 160-164). Interestingly, there is a change in the frame of discussion marked by the discourse marker *hala* ‘now’. The ticket seller shifts the topic of the conversation from negotiation of price (line 2) to framing that he is a needy person, and switches to the casual deferential agreement (-in), *nemixærin* ‘you don’t buy’ (line 4). As a result, topic shift in this context indicates a shift in footing in discourse (Goffman 1981). Accordingly, the ticket buyer accommodates with the use of the casual deferential agreement (*šodin* ‘become.2p’, *jævunin* ‘you are young’, *darin* ‘you have’) and expresses solidarity by addressing the ticket seller as fit *heykæle værzeši darin* ‘you are fit’ (lines 5-6). Therefore, it can be stated that the switch from the informal agreement (line 2) to the casual deferential agreement (line 4) in a stance of negotiation constitutes affect in the interaction.

#### 7.4.2. Ø + 2s → Ø + 2p (indexing out-group membership)

Previous research has shown that speech style is conditioned by the amount of attention speakers pay to speech itself as they converse (Labov 2001, Schilling-Estes 1998). For instance, Labov’s (2001) study in interviews showed that speakers tend to use formal

speech features such as velar realisation of (ing) ING<sup>30</sup> while they are conscious of their speech. Kiesling and Eberhardt (2008) show that an ethno-linguistic variable (word final {-er}) in Australia correlates to a particular stance, while the speakers are aware of their speech style and try to express solidarity. As Example 7.5 shows, switching from the informal address form to the deferential form in the interviewer’s speech is triggered by H’s perceived immorality.

The interaction in Example 7.5 is between an interviewer (A2) and pedestrian (H). The interviewer in this interaction investigates whether people will accept bribery in return for a favour. This interview takes place after the hidden camera programme where H was seen to bribe a clerk to get a reduction on his mobile bill. Although the interviewee is younger than the interviewer, it is expected that the deferential address forms are used in the conversation, as speakers are conscious of their speech due to the presence of the camera.

Example 7.5

[Episode: ‘Bribe’, Setting: Interview, Speakers: A2: Interviewer, M., c.32 – H: Pedestrian, M., c.28]

- 1A2: *aqɑ ægær yek-i bi-yad be šoma*  
 mr if one-ind subj-come.3s prep 2p  
 ‘sir, if somebody comes along and tells you’
- 2 *be-ge in 60 to:mæn mæn nesfeš mi-kon-æm*  
 subj-say.3s this 60 toman 1s half dur-do-1s  
 ‘I’ll half this (bill) price of 60 pounds’
- 3 *ye čiz-i pul-e širini be ma be-deh*  
 ind thing-ind money-ez sweet to 1p subj-give.2s  
 ‘instead give me something,’
- 4 *qæbul mi-kon-i?*  
 agree dur-do-2s?  
 ‘will you accept it’
- 4H: *qæbul ke ehh xob ægær mosæləmæn*  
 agree that ehh well if certainly  
 ‘agree ehh well, certainly if’
- 5 *ke ye čiz-i dorost baše bæle qæbul mi-kon-æm*  
 that ind thing-ind accurate be-3s yes agree dur-do-1s  
 ‘it is something worthy, that is fine, yes I’ll accept it’
- 6A2: *qæbul mi-kon-i?*↑  
 agree dur-do-2s?↑  
 ‘you would accept it?’↑

<sup>30</sup> Alternation of apical and velar consonants for the unstressed syllable, i.e. [ɪn]~[ɪŋ].

7H: *jan*  
 dear  
 ‘sorry’  
 →8A2:*qæbul*            *mi-kon-in?*↑  
 agree                    dur-do-2p?  
 ‘you would accept it?↑’  
 9H: *vaqiyæt-eš*        *ro*    *dar-æm*        *ærz*                    *mi-kon-æm*  
 truth-3s.cl            om    have-1s        say(honorific)    dur-do-1s  
 ‘I am telling you the truth’

As can be seen in line 1, the interviewer addresses H with the title *aqā* ‘Mr’ and an informal agreement *qæbul mi-kon-i?* ‘will you accept?’ to enquire whether he accepts bribery. In line 2, the interviewee is hesitant in replying as indicated by the use of discourse markers *ehh* and *xob* ‘well’, but by providing a justification, he admits that he would accept the deal *bæle qæbul mikonæm* ‘yes I’ll accept it’. It should be mentioned that the acceptance or offering of bribes is illegal in Iran and culturally is forbidden in an Islamic state. Interestingly, the interviewer is surprised with H’s response and reiterates whether H would accept bribery marked with a singular verbal agreement (in line 6). The switch to the deferential verbal agreement *qæbul mikonin* ‘would you accept’ (line 8) in this stance indexes out-group membership and in turn functions as confirmation check. Interestingly, H accommodates with A’s deferential pronoun use and switches to use an honorific verb *ærz mikonæm* ‘say (honorific)’ to acknowledge the honesty in his answer (line 9). Although the interviewer set out to use the informal form of address, showing in-group membership, he switched to the deferential form to index a conflicting situation in discourse.

#### 7.4.3. Ø +2s → Ø +2p → Ø +2s → Ø +2h (indexing self-lowering)

In Persian, a speaker may easily use more than one type of pronoun to address the same person in a single interaction. This feature is highlighted in pattern 5, as can be seen in Excerpt 7.6: the beggar uses the informal (2s), deferential (2h) and casual deferential (2p) forms in the interaction. As a result, a multi-directional pronominal address switching pattern is constructed. This episode is similar in context to Example 7.2, but in this interaction, the beggar (B1) is begging for money from a younger pedestrian (D). Nevertheless, due to the inferior social role of the beggar (i.e. asymmetrical relationship), we would expect asymmetrical address forms to be used between B1 and D.

Example 7.6

[Episode: ‘Beggar’, Setting: Hidden Camera, Speakers: B1: Beggar, M., c.45 – D: Pedestrian, M., c.28]

- 1B1: *aqa səlaməleykom xəste nə-baş-i*  
 mr hello tired neg-be-2s  
 ‘hello sir, don’t be tired’
- 2D: *qorban-e šoma*  
 sacrifice-ez 2p  
 ‘thanks very much’
- 3B1: *šərmənde mæn mozahem-e šoma šod-æm, ye*  
 ashamed 1s bother-ez 2p became-1s one  
 ‘sorry I bothered you’
- 4 *zəhmæt be-keš-in mæn azmayeš-e in bæče-ro*  
 trouble imp-pull-2p 1s test-ez this child-om  
 ‘if you could do me a favour, I want to take this child’s (medical)
- 5 *mi-x-am be-bær-æm nətijæ-š ro be-gir-æm*  
 dur-want-1s subj-take-1s result-3s om subj-get-1s  
 ‘prescription and get its result’
- 6 *pul nə-dar-æm mi-š-e be mæn*  
 money neg-have-1s dur-be-3s prep 1s  
 ‘I don’t have any money, could you’
- 7 *komæk kon-i mæn æz šəhrestan umæd-æm*  
 help do-2s 1s prep township come-1s  
 ‘help me, I have come from a small province’
- 8D: *šərməndeh nə-dar-æm aqa*  
 ashamed neg-have-1s mr  
 ‘I am sorry, I don’t have any (money) sir’
- 9B1: *xob hər çe qədr lotf kon-id məmnun mi-š-æm*  
 ok any amount kind do-2h grateful dur-be-1s  
 ‘ok, anything that you kindly give me I’ll be grateful to’
- 10 *dəst-e-tun dərd nə-kone*  
 hand-ez-2p.cl hurt neg-do.3s  
 ‘thanks very much’

The interviewer initiates the conversation with solidary greetings to establish in-group membership, such as the use of a solidary expression conjugated with a singular address pronoun *xəste nə-baş-i* ‘hope you are not tired’ (line 1). Interestingly in line 3, we can observe intra-speaker variation in B’s pronoun switching construction. Initially, the beggar frames his request for money by an honorific, as well as another elevating expression to show appreciation (line 3), followed by an imperative verb conjugated with a deferential agreement (line 4).

These politeness features are common in Persian and normally categorised as *ta‘arof* to ask for a favour. After some turns, the beggar repeats his request by switching to an informal



verbal agreement *komæk koni* ‘help me’ (line 7). It can be stated that the switch from 2p agreement to 2s agreement indexes the need for sympathy. However, D politely states he does not have any money (line 8). This is followed by the beggar’s switch to the deferential formal agreement *lotf konid* ‘please give me’ (line 9). I argue that the beggar’s instant upgrading in formality (switching from 2s agreement to 2h) indexes status and authority for the other party. Similar to a pendulum, the beggar tries different politeness strategies to keep the flow of conversation going. The switch in this interaction functions as face enhancing, elevating the status of the addressee.

As a result, these address pronoun switching patterns show the unfolding nature of speakers’ interactional relationship. Similarly, research (Smalley 1994: 44-45) shows that standard Thai has pronoun combinations, which express the dimensions of social relationships. However, this does not imply that every particular type of combination of speaker and hearer requires a corresponding particular pronoun. In fact, speakers sometimes switch address pronouns in the same discourse, with the same hearer, for a variety of reasons (Angkap 1972: 29, as cited in Smalley 1994: 45) such as to suggest that the relationship is shifting in actuality or in mood.

#### **7.4.4. Summary of findings**

The analyses showed that switching from the informal address form to the deferential form occurred at the level of verbal agreement and indexed three sociolinguistic functions namely affect, out-group membership and giving of status. Therefore, such switches can have a dual function as positive or negative politeness strategies. Speakers’ pronoun switch from the informal agreement to the deferential form was mainly motivated by addressee’s silence (Example 7.4), hesitation (Example 7.5) or rejection (Example 7.6) in the interactions, so these switches were used to maintain the flow of conversation in the ongoing interaction.

One address pronoun switching pattern may perform different communicative functions in different stances. For instance, the switching construction in patterns (4a) and (4b) were similar in form but not in function. We observed that in a counterfeit business transaction (Example 7.4), the ticket seller switched to the 2s agreement at a point when the addressee was silent, apparently in order to create affect and in-group membership. However, in an

interview programme (Example 7.5) the interviewer's switch to the deferential form indexed distance in a debating stance.

Although address pronoun switchings may initially seem volatile, their functions are systematic and rule governed. It can be stated that pronoun switching is not constrained by age or speaker's conscious state but by three factors: a) speakers' interactional goals, b) their evolving social relationship in discourse, and hence c) stance taking in interaction.

More specifically, pronoun switching indexes the challenging of social hierarchies between the individuals. Similar to Bucholtz and Hall's (2008b) conceptualisation of identity and its construction, pronoun switching indexes different ideological configurations at different moments, thereby switching the indexical meaning of a particular pattern of address form. In addition to address pronoun switching, the agreement mismatch construction also plays a significant role in the co-construction of meaning in interaction, which will be elaborated in the following section.

### 7.5. Agreement mismatch construction

This section addresses the communicative functions of the mismatch construction. One often finds mismatches such as singular verb agreement with *šoma*, apparently to 'soften' the formality. However, the singular agreement is not always used as a solidary social function. Similar to the sociolinguistic functions of the address pronoun switching patterns the analyses show that the sociolinguistic function of the mismatch construction varies according to speaker and interactional stances. In speech, the mismatch agreement has an emphatic role that may indirectly index assertion of status and lobbying when one takes a begging or bribing stance respectively.

Pattern	Form	Indexed Function	Stance	Setting: Episode
Pattern 6	Ø+2h → Ø+2p → <i>šoma</i> + 2s	Asserting status	Begging	Hidden camera: Beggar
Pattern 7	Ø +2h → <i>šoma</i> +2s → Ø +2s → <i>šoma</i> +2s	Lobbying	Bribing	Hidden camera: Bribe

Table 7.3: The mismatch construction patterns

As indicated in Table 7.3, the qualitative sociolinguistic analysis of the media corpus shows that the mismatch construction either occurs after frequent pronominal address switching patterns, as in pattern 6 ( $\emptyset+2h \rightarrow \emptyset+2p \rightarrow \check{s}oma + 2s$ ), or in between pronominal address switching patterns, as in pattern 7 ( $\emptyset +2h \rightarrow \check{s}oma+2s \rightarrow \emptyset +2s \check{s}oma+2s$ ). In what follows, we turn to the discussion of communicative and politeness strategies indexed with the use of the mismatch construction in interaction.

#### **7.5.1. $\emptyset+2h \rightarrow \emptyset+2p \rightarrow \check{s}oma + 2s$ (indexing asserting status)**

Mismatch construction is a communicative tool that indexes the changing nature of speakers' social relationship and stance in conversation. The claim, challenge, or negotiation of power and status between speakers is marked with the hybrid style of the deferential and informal address pronouns in interaction. This phenomenon can clearly be observed in comparison to the pattern of address pronoun switching and use of the mismatch construction (patterns 5 and 6) in the Beggar episode (Examples 7.6 and 7.7). In this episode, the beggar's role is consistent in interaction, while the pedestrians vary in terms of age and gender. Frequent variation in pronoun usage such as use of agreement and mismatch construction was observed in the beggar's interaction with pedestrian G (male, in his 60s). Asymmetrical address patterns and the pedestrian's singular verbal agreement indexed B's inferior social status. This style of speech was also accommodated by the beggar to claim authority and status in the ongoing discussion. However, the beggar's address form patterns with pedestrian Q (female in her 30s) and D (male in his late 20s) showed deference and positive politeness strategies. This can be explained by the way in which the other party (the hearer or participant) reacts in discourse and manages the discourse. Thus, in the analysis of communicative functions of address forms, it is important that besides age, gender, social relationship and power dimension (Brown and Gilman 1960, Brown and Ford 1964, Lowther 2004), we consider the interactional relationship between the interlocutors in the conversation (Ervin-Tripp 1972b, Martiny 1996, Sidnell 1999, Osterman 2003).

In this interaction between the beggar (B1) and the pedestrian (G), power and status difference is indexed with the interlocutor's asymmetrical pronoun use. This pattern is

clearly highlighted in the beggar's speech style, which also includes the mismatch construction.

Example 7.7

[Programme: 'Beggar', Setting: Hidden Camera, Speakers: B1: Beggar, M., c.45 - G: Pedestrian, M., c.65]

- 1B1: *qorban* *sælam* *ærz* *kærd-æm*, *xæste* *næ-baš-id*,  
 sir hello say did-1s (honorific)tired neg-be-2h  
 'sir hello?, don't be tired'
- 2 *mi-xast-æm* *ye* *xaheš-i* *bo-kon-æm*  
 dur-want-1s one desire-ind subj-do-1s  
 'I wanted to ask you a favour'
- 3G: *næ*, *næ-kon* <loud aggressive voice>  
 no neg-do.2s  
 'no, don't'
- 4B1: *ye* *nosxæst*, *lotf* *be-færma-yin*  
 ind prescription please imp-do-2p (honorific)  
 'it is a prescription, if you could kindly'
- 5G: *mi-dun-æm* *či* *mi-xah-i* *be-g-i* *næ-dar-æm*  
 dur-know-1s what dur-want-2s sub-say-2s neg-have-1s  
 'I know what you want to say, I don't have any (money)'
- 6B1: *mæn* *axe* *čiz-i* *næ-goft-æm* *ke* *be* *šoma*,  
 1s but something-ind neg-said-1s that to 2p  
 'but I didn't tell you anything'
- 7 *šoma* *motevæjehe* *hærf-e* *bændeh* *næ-šod-i*  
 2p understand speech-ez servant neg-became-2s  
 'you didn't understand what I said'
- 8G: *xob* *be-go* *be-bin-æm* *či* *mi-g-i*↑  
 ok imp-say.2s subj-see-1s what dur-say-2s↑  
 'ok, say what you want to say'
- 9B1: *nosxæst* *bæra* *in* *bæče,æz* *šæhrestæn* *umæd-æm*  
 prescription for this child from town came-1s  
 'it is a prescription for this child, I have come from town'
- 10G: <inaudible>
- 11B1: *1000 toman* *fæqæt* *mi-x-am*  
 1000 toman only dur-want-1s  
 'I only want 1000 Toman'

The beggar initiates the conversation by greeting the pedestrian, where three honorific linguistic features are used: title *qorban* 'sir', a verb *sælam ærz kærdæm* 'I say hello' and a deferential agreement *næbašid* 'don't be' (line 1). In Persian, these politeness features are considered as *ta'arof* and used frequently between strangers to establish a relationship. However, due to the beggar's inferior social role and his dodgy request, this style of language use may be categorised as *čærb zæbani* 'sweet talk', to flatter the hearer.

Thus in line 1, the beggar used self lowering and other raising linguistic markers and expressions to redress the negative imposition of his request on the hearer's face needs. However, B1 is confronted with G's negative response (lines 3 and 5 respectively), which covertly delineates his inferior social role. In line 3, the informal agreement (2s) conjugated on a negated imperative verb *nækon* 'don't' follows a negation *næ* 'no', forming a double negation, which serves to increase the perceived distance from the addressee. Asymmetrical use of address forms between B1 and G can also be seen in lines 4 and 5 where the pedestrian further delineates the beggar's status by overtly stating he knows what the beggar is after. Interestingly, the beggar switches to the mismatch construction *šoma motevæjehe næšodi* 'you didn't understand' (line 7) to take control in the conversation. He uses the deferential overt pronoun, and a negated imperative verb marked with a singular agreement forming a mismatch construction, which indexes the claiming of status and power in the interaction. Furthermore, the beggar's use of honorific self reference *bændeh* 'I' is evidence of the assertion of power and status in the conversation. So the pedestrian gives him the floor in the conversation (line 8).

According to this example, the mismatch construction is to show contradiction and emphasis toward the begging stance in the interaction. That is, it indexes giving status to the speaker rather than the hearer. With regard to the contrastive social function of *šoma* in interaction, the construction of *šoma* with a singular agreement is to raise the hearer's attention of his irresponsible action. This is further accompanied by the intra-speaker switch between the singular and deferential address forms. It should be noted that these functions of address form usage are limited to the specific stance and context of interaction. In the following interaction, we can see that the mismatch agreement construction functions as a positive politeness strategy.

#### 7.5.2. $\emptyset$ +2h $\rightarrow$ *šoma* +2s $\rightarrow$ $\emptyset$ +2s $\rightarrow$ *šoma* +2s (indexing lobbying)

*Partibazi* 'lobbying' in Iran deals with the representation of individual interests to persons with the power to grant privileges of various sorts: employment, licences and exemptions from certain laws, etc. (Binder 1962: 255). In the following interaction, the bribery is a

form of *partibazi*, which involves exemption from the law of registration in a public school. As bribing somebody in return for a favour is considered a suspect on-record action, it may threaten the addressee's negative face wants. Thus it is expected that deference in speech style is used in order to hedge the imposition of this act. The conversation in Example 7.8 occurs between a parent (C) and a suborner (B) in a school. There are various address pronoun switches and the mismatch construction in B's speech in order to convince C to bribe him. These switches and mismatches can be seen at all levels of pronoun usage (address forms, enclitics and agreement), as well as verb stems.

Example 7.8

[Episode: 'Bribe', Setting: Hidden Camera, Speakers: B: Suborner, M., c.45 - C: Parent, M., c.40]

- 1B: *ærz kon-æm huzur-e-tun mæn mi-tun-æm kari*  
 say do-1s prescence-ez-2p.cl 1s dur-can-1s job-ind  
 'may I say that I can be of help'
- 2 *bæra-tun bo-kon-æminja, ægær mayel hæst-id↑*  
 for-2p.cl subj-do-1s here if like is-2h  
 'here if you like↑'
- 3 *mæn dær xedmæt-e-tun hæst-æm*  
 1s in service-ez-2p.cl is-1s  
 'I am at your service'
- 4C: *xaheš mi-kon-æm, emsal ma næzdiktær hæst-im<inaudible>*  
 please dur-do-1s this year 1s near is-1p  
 'thank you, this year we are closer (to this school)'
- 5B: *čon šoma mayel hæst-i, inke ma dær xedmæt-e-tun-im*  
 beacuse 2p fond is-2s that 1p in service-ez-2p.cl-1p  
 'as you are inclined, I am at your service'
- 6 *ægær æz dæst-e-tun bær mi-yad ye širiniy-e kuček*  
 if from hand-ez-2p.cl prep dur-come ind sweet-ez small  
 'if you can, reward me'
- 7 *be ma be-d-i særi sæbtenam-et mi-kon-æm bar-at*  
 to 1p imp-give-2s quickly register-2s.cl dur-do-1s for-2s.cl  
 'I'll register you quickly'
- 8C: *xaheš mi-kon-æm*  
 please dur-do-1s  
 thank you'
- 9B: *moškeli næ-dar-i?*  
 problem neg-give-2s?  
 'is that OK?'
- 10C: *næ moškel næ-dar-æm*  
 no problem neg-have-1s  
 'no, that's not a problem'
- 11B: *næ moškel næ-dar-i širini mi-d-i?*  
 no problem neg-have-2s sweet dur-give-2s?  
 'don't you have any concern to reward me?'

- 12C: *širini mi-d-æm, hala čeqædr mi-xah-i?*  
 sweet dur-give-1s now how much dur-want-2s?  
 ‘I’ll give you a reward. Now, how much do you want?’
- 13B: *čeqædr dust dar-i, šoma hæm razi ba-š-i dege*  
 how much like have-2s 2p also satisfy imp-be-2s else  
 ‘whatever you like. Well, you should be happy with it too’
- 14C: *xaheš mi-kon-æm*  
 please dur-do-1s  
 ‘thank you’

In this interaction, B is offering to register C’s child in a public school<sup>31</sup> in return for money. Interestingly in lines 1-3, the suborner uses the honorific speech style in greeting C. This includes a) honorific verbs *ærz konæm* ‘I say’, b) deferential agreement *-id* (2h) *mayel hæstid* ‘if you like’, and c) plural enclitics *-tun* (2p). While C welcomes B’s offer with discourse marker *xaheš mikonæm* ‘you are welcome’, in line 5 the suborner avoids the use of the deferential verb agreement and switches to the use of: a) a mismatch construction, and b) informal verbal agreement *bedi* ‘give me’, and enclitics *sæbtenamet* ‘register 2s.cl’. In this informative stance, *šoma* emphasises the addressee’s role and relation in the interaction, to ensure that C is happy to bribe B and take the responsibility of this action; by softening the formal agreement to mismatch, B shows solidarity. Moreover, to accommodate with C’s plural self-referent form *ma* ‘we’, B switches to the first person plural overt pronoun and agreement (line 5) and then he switches back to first person singular agreement in line 7. Within the same utterance, we can see intra-speaker variation of first person agreements: plural *-im* (line 5)/singular *-æm* (line 7), and second person enclitics: singular *xedmæt-et*/plural *xedmæt-etun*. This shows the ambivalent nature of how pronouns may be used to accommodate to the situational needs of the interaction (Ervin-Tripp 1972b).

In colloquial Persian, use of the full form of ‘to be’ verb *hæst*<sup>32</sup> gives a formal flavour to the interaction. It should also be mentioned that 2s occurs with a deferential form of the ‘to be’ verb *hæst* (line 5). This constitutes a mismatch, though a different kind to the pronoun-agreement mismatches that we have mainly discussed until now. These kinds of mismatches between verb stems and inflection show that in general people use mismatches

<sup>31</sup> Registration with public school requires being resident in the catchment area and having a good rapport with the principal.

<sup>32</sup> The infinitive *hæstæn* ‘to be’ has a written form (*hæst*) and in the colloquial form, verbal agreement is used.

to serve different sociolinguistic purposes. In this interaction, establishment of negotiation and solidarity is indexed by use of reciprocal informal agreement forms between both parties. As we observed, the use of mismatch construction may also index intensification of role and relationship between interlocutors, in other words *partibazi* ‘lobbying’.

Qualitative analysis of the mismatch construction in spontaneous interactions revealed that incongruent use of address form and agreement (i.e. use of deferential address forms and a singular informal agreement) may be considered as a communicative strategy to mitigate the power and status differences in face-to-face interaction. This is to protect not only the addressee’s negative and positive face wants, but also those of the speaker. Although the mismatch construction has a significant role in the ongoing flow of communication, Persian speakers did not show considerable awareness of its usage and communicative role in conversation, and this is addressed in the next section.

### 7.5.3 Community views

Content analysis of the sociolinguistic interviews reveals little awareness among individuals of the deviant uses of the Persian pronominal system. The interviewees were asked when and why they use the mismatch construction, or switch between the deferential and informal pronominal address forms in conversation. They either diverged from the question by providing an irrelevant answer or paused in surprise at the idea that they used the address pronouns in such ways. Among all the interviewees I spoke to, only two female speakers showed awareness of the use of the mismatch construction and its sociolinguistic function. In the first case, the interviewee denoted generational change in the use and function of the mismatch construction, and the content analysis of her discussion is elaborated in Chapter 5. In the second case, Shila (45 years, nurse) shows that how the mismatch construction can be used as a tool to reduce distance or to show deference in the following example.

#### Example 7.13

Golnaz:

*estefadeh šoma ba fele mofraed če čizi ro nešun mi-deh?*  
 usage 2p with verb singular what thing om show dur-give.3s?  
 ‘what does the use of a deferential pronoun in agreement with a singular verb show?’



Shila:

*nešun mi-deh ke tæræf ne-mi-dun-e ke ba kes-i ke*  
show dur.give.3s that person neg-dur-know-3s that with person-ind that  
'it shows that the speaker doesn't know whether'

*mi-xad sohbæt bo-kon-e mi-xa-d næzdik be-š-e væ*  
dur.want.3s speak imp-do-3s dur.want-3s close subj-be-3s and  
'to be close to his/her addressee or not'

*ne-mi-dun-e ke næzdiki ro bištær hefz bo-kon-e væqti*  
neg-dur-know-3s that closeness om more keep imp-do-3s when  
'the speaker doesn't know whether to maintain the closeness when'

*ke fele-š o ævæz bo-kon-e mi-g-e bi-y-a*  
that verb-3s om change subj-do.3s dur-say-3s imp-come-2s  
'he/she switches in the verb and says 'come(2s)''

*væqti ke mi-g-e bi-ya-in dur-e-š mi-kon-e æz tæræf*  
when that dur-say-3s imp-come-2p distant-ez-3s dur-do-3s prep person  
'[or] when he/she says 'come(2p)', keeps distance from the addressee'

*væ halæt-e sæmimi æz beyn mi-r-e*  
and state intimate from vanish dur-go-3s  
'and this results in a loss of an intimate mood'

This re-conceptualisation of the deferential form of address in interaction may result in hybrid function, combining deferential and casual indexes. As a result, pronoun switching and the mismatch construction show the versatility of the Persian address system. The syntactic versatility of Persian subject verb concord allows variation in the use of address forms for pragmatic purposes. Similar to other Indo-European languages (e.g. Spanish, Portuguese, and Hindi) with a T/V address system, in Persian there is also a possibility of frequent switches between deferential and casual forms of politeness, and a possibility of incongruent concord of address form and verbal agreement to index multifaceted communicative goals in conversation.

#### 7.5.4. Summary of findings

As the mismatch construction consists of *šoma* and a singular verb agreement, we might expect it to index a hybrid pragmatic function in communication. The communicative function of the mismatched agreement may vary according to the speaker's stancetaking in the conversation and may serve as either a positive or a negative politeness strategy. The

mismatch construction is not only used for attention to the hearer's face wants, but it is also used to meet the speaker's face needs. In the examined interactions, *šoma* has a contrastive and emphatic social function when it occurs after frequent null subject address forms. In a situation where there is a social status difference between interlocutors, the mismatch construction may index a claim of status and authority for the speaker (Example 14), and functions as a negative politeness strategy. Conversely, the mismatch construction may function as a positive politeness strategy as demonstrated in Example 15, where it indexes lobbying and solidarity. Therefore, the mismatch construction in interaction is used as a turning point or a 'transition stage' in the social dimensions of speech such as power or solidarity.

#### **7.6. Modelling of address pronoun switching patterns and the mismatch construction**

In order to explain the discussed forms and functions of the Persian pronominal address system within Brown and Gilman's (1960) T/V dichotomy, a model is proposed. This model targets the ways interlocutors use address pronouns to encode roles and communicative strategies in interaction (Kendall 1981). A deterministic model cannot account for the different pronominal address forms selected, or the indexes of T/V distinction, therefore a more flexible model is required. Consistent with all the modes of analysis – quantitative, qualitative and self report data – there is a need to move beyond a one-dimensional perspective in the study of politeness (in this case Persian pronominal address forms) and focus on a multi-dimensional perspective in politeness theory that includes face, stance and indexicality.

Since it is not possible to model all the stances and indexicalities of pronominal address forms and switching patterns and their associated functions in a graphical multi-dimensional model, I attempt to project the versatility of Persian pronominal address forms and functions in a power and solidarity framework as the universal T/V dichotomy model as proposed by Brown and Gilman (1960).

Previous studies have suggested different models for indicating the hierarchical or solidarity relationship between address forms. Some are based on a dichotomy of power

and solidarity dimensions (Brown and Gilman 1960, Brown and Ford 1964, Ervin-Tripp 1972b and Tannen 1993), while others suggest a more flexible cyclic style of pronouns of address usage (Clyne et al. 2003). However, the models provided in these studies are based on languages, which are not pro-drop, nor have the communicative possibilities of pronominal address switching and the mismatch construction.

Brown and Gilman's model (1960) cannot account for the use of *Sie* (3p) and first name (FN) in German (Clyne et al. 2003), which seems to signal intimacy (FN) and status (*Sie*) simultaneously. Likewise, I argue that the T/V model proposed by Brown and Gilman does not provide a satisfactory means of accounting for the Persian mismatch construction or pronominal address switching patterns.

This research provides a hybrid model, which incorporates the communicative functions indexed by the variation within the T/V paradigm. This model manifests the dynamic nature of Persian agreement concord alongside the systemic resolution of the dynamicity of the variation. Therefore, I have extended Brown and Gilman's (1960) power and solidarity model by introducing more flexibility in different dimensions, to accommodate all the Persian pronominal address forms and functions we have identified. The following figure (Figure 7.1) indicates the Persian pronominal address variation patterns and depicts the dynamics of the address pronoun switching patterns, the mismatch construction and their associated functions. The vertical scale represents solidarity between speaker and addressee, so by moving up along the vertical line the solidarity between the speaker and the addressee increases. The horizontal scale stands for power of addressee over speaker, so by moving right along the horizontal line raises the power of the addressee over the speaker. Similar to Brown and Gilman's model (1960), it should be noted these horizontal and vertical scales cannot be quantified, as the scale of solidarity and power of addressee over speaker in the speaker's use of each pronominal address form and switching pattern depends on the context and stance of interaction. For this reason, this two-dimensional scale is used just as indicative of power of the addressee to the speaker and solidarity between interlocutors. The circles represent the use of address form by the speaker in interaction.

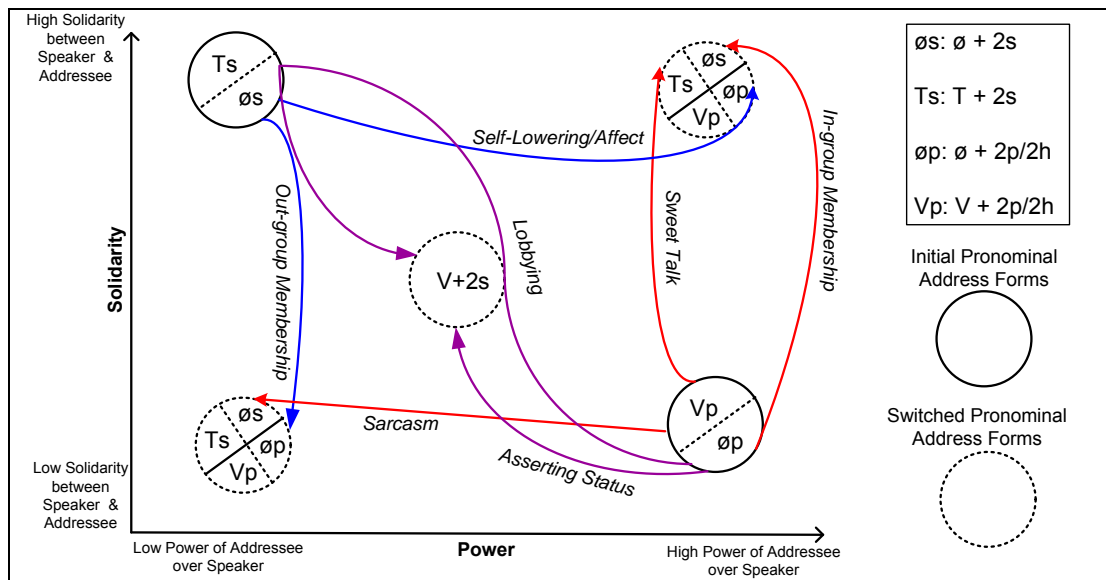


Figure 7.1: Model of form and function for Persian address pronoun switching patterns and the mismatch construction

The deferential and casual pronominal address forms as the initial state of pronominal address form in utterance are represented by solid lined circles in the diagram, which are located at the far end of the solidarity and power spectrums respectively, and the switched pronominal address forms are represented in dotted lined circles. As mentioned in Chapter 6, the *šoma* pronoun indexes three primary social functions: contrastive emphasis, in-group identity marker (deference) and topic shift (organisational and task norm). The following indexical functions were identified for deferential verb 2p/2h (-in/-id) agreement: deference as attention seeking and balancing the giving and taking of power.

Therefore, the functions of the 2p address pronoun may be equivalent to the power and deference parameters, as well as solidarity in face-to-face interactions. As we observed in the qualitative analysis in this chapter, the interlocutors make strategic use of the pronominal address forms. Verbal agreement also plays a potent role in indexing social relationships. Furthermore, the qualitative analysis showed that the singular informal verb agreement may index the following functions: creating in-groupness and challenging power and authority. It should be noted that in Figure 7.1, the aim is depicting a visual representation of form and function of address pronoun switching and the mismatch construction.

Use of 2s represents solidarity and suppression of the addressee's power and authority as shown in the above model. Moreover, the model includes switching positions which are trade-offs of power and solidarity. The coloured transition lines in the model represent the social functions of the different switching patterns identified in Chapter 7. Switching patterns from the deferential address form to the informal are represented by red transition lines in the model. These patterns may serve the following functions:

- Sweet talk
- Sarcasm
- In-group membership

The sweet talk and in-group membership functions boost the solidarity in the analysed interactions. These switching functions are depicted respectively in the transitions from the Vp/Øp state (the lower right position), to the switched address forms Ts/Øs (upper right location). On the other hand, the sarcastic function minimises power as shown by the transition from Vp (the lower right state) to the Øs form in the lower left corner of the diagram.

The patterns of switching from the informal address form to the deferential address form are also represented by blue transition lines in the model. Three social functions are identified for this pattern:

- Affect
- Self-lowering (giving authority)
- Out-group membership

The functions of affect and self-lowering give more power to the addressee, therefore their transition is from upper left corner (Øs: initial form) to the upper right corner (Øp: switched form). On the other hand, the out-group membership function indicates less solidarity with the addressee, so its switched form (Øp) is located in the lower left corner.

When a pronominal address switch occurs, variation is either in power or solidarity. But the mismatch construction is a hybrid variation that includes both power and solidarity. Furthermore, this model includes the mismatch construction functions, which are observed

to occur in switching patterns of deferential address form to informal forms, which are represented by purple transition lines. The mismatch construction may index:

- Asserting status
- Lobbying

Since this construction is a hybrid and transitional form, it is located between the initial states of deferential and casual address forms in the power and solidarity grid. These switching transitions to the mismatch construction index the balancing of the power and solidarity relationship between interlocutors.

This model contributes towards broadening our understanding of the multifaceted sociolinguistic realisations of how politeness may be indexed with the use of a versatile pronominal address system. Moreover, these findings shed light on how power and status are realised or negotiated in contemporary Iranian society. The egalitarian ideology has narrowed the gap between different socio-economic classes. As a result, we see that the linguistic realisation of the deferential address form has evolved to index various pragmatic resolutions of different stances in interaction.

### **7.7. Concluding remarks**

Examining real life social interactions gives us an insight into how social relationships and most importantly communication are established between interlocutors. According to previous research, address forms have predetermined forms and functions (e.g. Brown and Gilman 1960, Ardehali 1990, Keshavarz 2001). However, this study argues that in order to provide a cognitive account of address forms, we need to consider these forms in the context of the interaction, and identify how their sociolinguistic functions may index in different stances.

This chapter provides a qualitative analysis of pronominal address form variation in spontaneous media data. As the media programmes are comprised of different social dilemmas, it projects a diversity of social relationships in terms of age, gender and relative power and status difference between interlocutors in society.

As mentioned earlier, two qualitative research questions raised at the outset of this study are investigated in Chapters 6 and 7: a) What are the different social functions served by second person singular and plural pronouns and suffixes? and b) What are the sociolinguistic and pragmatic functions that pronoun switching and mismatch construction (e.g. *šoma* + 2s verb agreement) serve?

Regarding the first research question, I argue that a sociolinguistic variable may index a variety of social and pragmatic functions with a change of stance in discourse. The analysis shows that the deferential overt pronoun *šoma* may indirectly index the following three social functions in discourse: a) contrastive emphasis, b) in-group identity marker (deference), and c) topic shift (organisational task and norm). Two social functions were observed to be associated with the deferential verbal agreement (2h and 2p) respectively: attention seeking and the balancing of power. The singular informal verbal agreement marker (2s) was observed to index two social functions: creating in-groupness and challenging power and authority.

Considering the second research question, I focus on divergences from the prescriptive use of pronouns and address forms (i.e. switching which occurs between formal and informal address pronouns, and the use of the mismatch construction) in spontaneous interactions. In pronoun switching, two main patterns are identified: a) switches that can take place from deferential to the informal form ( $\emptyset + 2h/2p \rightarrow \emptyset + 2s$ ) and b) switches from the informal to the deferential form ( $\emptyset + 2s \rightarrow \emptyset + 2p/2h$ ). Switching from ( $\emptyset + 2h/2p \rightarrow \emptyset + 2s$ ) is observed to be implicated in expressing sycophantic, sarcastic, and solidarity stances. The switches from ( $\emptyset + 2s \rightarrow \emptyset + 2p/2h$ ) were salient in stances such as affect, out-group membership and self lowering. It can be stated that address pronoun switching is not constrained by age or gender of interlocutors' conscious states but by three factors: a) interlocutors' interactional goals, b) their evolving social relationship in discourse, and hence c) stance taking in interaction.

Moreover, the mismatch construction is observed in different patterns of pronoun switching, which index different functions such as assertion of status and lobbying.

Consequently, the mismatch construction in interaction is used as a turning point or a ‘transition stage’ in the social dimensions of speech such as power or solidarity.

Also, the switching patterns and mismatch construction are represented in a model to demonstrate pragmatic social functions of these forms systematically. This hybrid model complements existing models on address form usage (i.e. Brown and Gilman 1960, Friedrich 1966, Ervin-Tripp 1972a, Silverstien 2003, and Clyne et al. 2006) by examining the pragmatic and interactional meaning of address form usage in the spontaneous stances of speakers.

The interactional analysis of this study sheds light on the communicative goals and roles of individuals in social interactions in terms of pronominal address forms. From an interactional sociolinguistic approach, we see pronouns as indexical devices, and indexing the following social functions: involvement, disagreement, sarcasm, and affect. By looking at linguistic features such as pronominal address forms, politeness formula and gestures in the interaction, this chapter gives us a better understanding of how social relationships are built and negotiated in interaction.



# Chapter 8

---

## Discussion and conclusion

### 8.1. Introduction

This chapter sums up the results of quantitative and qualitative analyses, as well as the sociolinguistic interviews, in order to provide a clear picture of the use of pronominal address forms and politeness in contemporary Iranian society.

This study presents a sociolinguistic analysis of Persian pronominal address forms based on spontaneous interactions from the media data. With the apparent time data, the quantitative analysis shows that there is an ongoing change in the use of address pronouns in contemporary Persian across gender and three different age groups: young (post-1979 generation), middle-aged (revolutionary generation), and older generations (pre-revolutionary generation). The quantitative analysis results illuminate how pronominal address forms are used differently across generations as well as male and female speakers and addressees. The qualitative analysis sheds light on the sociolinguistic functions of pronominal address forms, the address pronoun switching patterns and the mismatch construction. It indicates that Persian pronouns of address are volatile variables, and can index various politeness strategies in different stances. There are various motivations for the hybrid use of deferential and informal features of politeness such as address pronoun switching and the mismatch construction in the interactions. Bourdieu (1991) points the following motivation for such variations in language use: a) to mark yourself off from ‘outsiders’, b) to achieve a feeling of ‘solidarity’ with others, c) to react to the pressures of the ‘linguistic marketplace’.

Bourdieu’s (1991) ‘Linguistic marketplace’ forces may also be at work here: speakers’ use of different options to assert social stances, and accrue social capital in different kinds of interaction. Similarly, in the media corpus, which is a workplace discourse, great

fluctuations and hybrid use of polite and casual pronominal forms of address were observed.

The address pronoun switching and the use of the mismatch construction are communicative strategies which we see being used to unfold the interactional needs of the interactions. The communicative strategies such as address pronoun switching can also be seen across studies of language choice, in which, individuals in bilingual or multilingual situations choose between one or several modes, mediums or codes to negotiate the intention in the conversation. Hence, the key argument, which underlies variation in language use, is observing what communicative purpose the variation pattern is serving in a language and across languages.

## **8.2. Implications of quantitative and qualitative analyses and community views**

The triangulation of data analyses highlighted correlations in how pronominal address forms and politeness are used in each speaker-addressee group across age and gender. The quantitative and qualitative analyses and community interviews provide evidence of generational change in individuals' perception of politeness of pronominal address form usage. Moreover, the results show diachronic variation in the pragmatic meaning of the pronominal address forms. This is in line with the social and cultural changes currently underway in Iranian society, where there is a gradual shift of culture from traditionalism to a more modern or Western culture in comparison to social norms of the 1979 Iranian Revolutionary era (Chapter 2). Accordingly, Mühlhäusler (1996) asserts that "pronoun systems reflect the culture-specific organisation of people, space and its limits with which speakers can create speech situations" (Mühlhäusler 1996: 296). To this end, the quantitative and qualitative analysis findings are elaborated within peoples' accounts of the social and cultural dynamics of contemporary Iranian society.

The results obtained from triangulation of data may provide a fundamental account for this study's quantitative and qualitative sociolinguistic research questions:

1. Are there any pronominal address forms that are never used by certain speaker groups, or with certain addressee groups?
2. Who is more likely to use which pronominal address form with whom?
3. Is there a balance in the use of pronominal address forms (i.e. no clear preference) in certain speaker-addressee constellations?
4. What are the different social functions of second person singular and plural address pronouns and suffixes?
5. What are the sociolinguistic and pragmatic functions that address pronoun switching and the mismatch construction (i.e. *šoma* with 2s verb agreement) serve?

The findings account for the social and internal factors (Labov 1994, 2001) of address pronouns variation in contemporary Persian. Both the quantitative analysis and sociolinguistic interviews provide further evidence for the claim made in Chapter 5 that in Iranian contemporary society the young and middle-aged groups' perception of the meaning of *šoma* differs from the older generation's. However, the young and middle-aged groups use the *šoma* pronoun in the mismatch pronoun construction (i.e. *šoma* with 2s verb agreement), thus broadening the functions of *šoma* to include some politeness properties of deference and solidarity in one construction. As a result, this mismatch construction forms a hybrid pragmatic meaning.

Across the three age groups, the speakers show awareness of the increase in use of the casual address form *to*. This is similar to the increase of vernacular linguistic forms in other studies (Sohn 1981, Meyerhoff and Niedzielski 2003). For example, Sohn's (1981) study of the Korean language reveals the structural and sociolinguistic changes of Korean speech styles, relating them to the fact that in Korean society 'power' and formality have been giving way to 'solidarity' and informality. It is argued that the present Korean society is a mixture of a traditional vertical social structure with a Western horizontal structure superimposed, as reflected in the Korean sociolinguistic dynamic.

However, in this data there is stylistic variation between the age groups in terms of awareness of the use of the informal form *to*. The older generation reported that its use has been extended both in public and private family settings by the young generation. Consistent with this, the young generation reported its use in both types of settings,

especially in public domain. One girl mentioned the emotional motives for the use of the casual address pronoun in general. Bahare (22 years, student) said:

Example 8.1

*engar*      *ælan ehtiaj-e*      *bištær-e*      *jævun-ha*      *bæray-e*  
 seems      now need-ez      more-ez      youngster.pl      for-ez  
 ‘It seems that nowadays youngsters demand more for’

*mohebæt*      *væ dusti*      *væ yeki*      *šodæn*      *æst*  
 kindness      and friendship      and united      become      be.3s  
 ‘peace, friendship and being united.’

This point clearly highlights the egalitarian ideology and norms of politeness in the young generation, which is represented by more casual and egalitarian use of language. According to the young generation, the casual use of language and address pronouns is not equated with disrespect but more of being united and ‘one’. These attitudes and perceptions were borne out in the young speakers’ products of *to/šoma* in the corpus analysis.

In current Iranian society, we can see that the old socio-cultural norms of politeness are still present among the new generation but in a slightly less deferential form. We can see that the sociolinguistic norms of politeness and etiquette have evolved over time to meet the current trend in societal values. For instance, the young Iranian generation report that in the presence of others (non-familiar individuals), they address their parents with the deferential address pronoun *šoma* to maintain respect.

Conversely, for some speakers between 56 and 80 years of age, there is great variation in form and meaning of the deferential and casual address pronouns. For this age group, the conceptual meaning of *to* and *šoma* are not on an equal basis and differ greatly. *Šoma* shows hierarchal deference and *to* is associated with informality.

Moreover, some interesting differences in perception and attitudes emerge at the intersection of gender and age. For example, variation is observed among older women’s attitudes towards the way in which address pronouns index politeness. This contrasts sharply with younger women and men’s perceptions of the indexicality of pronominal address forms within the same category. Men show stability of attitude in both form and

function of pronouns of address, but variation can be observed among women. Some younger men and women recognise the politeness of address pronouns by how they are produced rather than associating the function with the semantic representation of the form. This shows variation of attitude between the grammatical and sociolinguistic competence, which diversifies form and function of pronominal address of the young and middle-aged speakers on the one hand, and the older speakers on the other hand.

The qualitative and interview findings show that the second person plural address pronoun is not necessarily always used to express formality, respect and social distance. *Šoma* can be used to denote appreciation and signal solidarity. I observed that solidarity can also arise from expressions of respect. Thus, *šoma* can be used as an address form among individuals who are intimate. Moreover, T/V pronouns could be categorised not only by contextual factors and the relationship between interactants but also by taking into consideration factors such as interlocutors' personality and the impact of the socio-cultural norms upon the interaction (Beeman 1986). Therefore, the deterministic T/V model in Brown and Gilman (1960) is extended to explain the possibility of multiple meanings for the same form, such as showing affection and intimacy with the V address pronoun (Kendall 1981: 237).

In contrast to previous studies on address pronouns, which have analysed T and V pronouns separately, the present study deals with the combination of V pronoun and 2s-agreement (the mismatch construction), and also points to address pronoun switching patterns. Furthermore, this study extends the investigation of pronominal address forms as politeness strategies in the pronominal system of pro-drop languages. This is important because from a cognitive point of view individuals are accustomed to, and consciously aware of, the overt deferential and casual pronouns *šoma* and *to*, and are less aware of the socio-pragmatic salience that the verbal inflections have in speech.

As the qualitative analysis showed, when interlocutors set out to use Persian address pronouns, it is not guaranteed that the initial pronominal address form will be used until the end of conversation. Address pronoun usage and its variation are constrained by stancetakings of interlocutors in the interaction. Within this line, the community views

indicate similar patterns, for instance, it was reported that pronominal address forms do not have fixed definitions and that their functions may vary according to interactants' social relations and stance.

### **8.3. Future work**

The contribution of this study is broadening our understanding of the communicative functions of T/V system, especially the Persian pronominal address system, and illuminating the dynamicity of a T/V system by examining face-to-face interactions and spontaneous interview data. To achieve this, systematic variation of politeness features and grammatical constructions are better defined.

Future work will shed light on how politeness and impoliteness are constructed by the Persian pronominal address system in spontaneous family interactions. Particularly, in the family data, the impact of the established social relationships of interlocutors on their address form usage should be investigated.

Moreover, the functions of the Persian pronominal address system in family discourse need to be compared with their social functions in public settings. For instance, I hope to investigate how group membership is indexed with the use of T/V system in familial contexts. Furthermore, cross-cultural analysis of address term usage (e.g. titles and endearment terms) among Persian and English speakers can reveal the principles of politeness (or impoliteness) across Western and oriental cultures.

### **8.4. Thesis summary**

In this thesis, I investigated variation in the Persian pronominal address system and politeness in contemporary Iranian society from a quantitative and qualitative sociolinguistic perspective. I focused on Persian speakers' use and perception of pronominal address forms in the light of the socio-cultural norms in contemporary Iran. Three types of spontaneous data were collected for the purpose of analysis: a) participant observation, b) spontaneous media conversations and c) sociolinguistic interviews with

native Persian speakers. In this study, address pronoun use across age and gender in spontaneous media conversations is investigated in the quantitative analysis. The qualitative analysis sheds light on how address forms encode communicative and social goals in the same setting as above. Based on triangulation of quantitative and qualitative results with sociolinguistic interviews, I propose a dynamic model of indexicality for Persian pronominal address forms in interaction, which accommodates different forms and functions of address pronouns according to interactional stances (Chapter 7).

The initial motivation, the research questions and the analytical framework of the study were discussed in Chapter 1. Chapter 2 addressed the socio-cultural and political aspects of language use and lifestyle in three time frames: the pre-revolutionary period, the 1979 revolutionary Iranian society, and in contemporary Iran. It highlighted changes to the hierarchical social norms of the pre-revolutionary era, showing that these norms were substituted with the egalitarian and solidary societal values promoted as part of the revolution. These changes in social values led to the elimination of linguistic markers of hierarchy and status in society, due to the impact of the egalitarian revolutionary ideology. While in modern Iran, these egalitarian and religious attitudes are blended with the technocratic norms and lifestyle, which have influenced the sociolinguistic features of Persian language.

As mentioned in Chapter 2, in Iranian society during the 1990s, a rapid emergence of educational and technological development (e.g. establishment of private universities, global media such as satellite and internet) was observed. For instance, in contemporary Iranian society, the Iranian population's access, specifically that of the young and middle-aged groups, to websites such as 'Facebook' and 'Twitter' may be considered a gambit for communication with other languages and cultures (Seyed-Emami 2008). This communicative development has paved the way for language modernity and cultural globalisation in modern Iran, specifically among those who use such technological resources. We can observe variation in norms of life style and language use in contemporary Iranian society. That is, thirty years on from the Iranian revolution, a gradual shift has occurred from traditional and religious norms of life style and language use, to a versatile use of language, and a more contemporary life style. The new norms have evolved

from the existing norms of the pre-revolutionary and revolutionary era, but accommodate the current and contemporary lifestyle trends. The sociolinguistic analysis showed that the linguistic repertoire of the young and middle-aged generations has evolved with the ongoing socio-cultural changes of Iranian society, allowing for versatile and hybrid patterns of pronominal address form usage, such as address pronoun switching and the mismatch construction. In contrast, the old age group showed a stabilised pattern of address pronoun usage that is determined by the relative power and status between the interlocutors. The comparison of socio-cultural and historical factors across the three time frames deepens our understanding of the current use of pronominal address forms in contemporary Iranian society.

Having reviewed the historical and socio-cultural background of the Persian language, Chapter 3 illuminated the linguistic background of the pronominal address forms in general, as well as the related sociolinguistic literature, focusing on politeness, gender and age. Consequently, Chapter 4 presented fieldwork and methods of data collection for the corpus of this research. In order to analyse the interactional data collected, the methods of analyses were addressed and the analytical framework applied was described.

A quantitative sociolinguistic analysis was conducted in Chapter 5 addressing how the use of various forms of address pronouns correlate with extra-linguistic factors such as speaker, addressee, gender and age. The results did not show monotonic variation in the use of pronominal address forms with age and gender of interlocutors. Females were observed to use and be addressed with the deferential address pronouns more than males and did not use the mismatch construction. It seems that for women, deferential address pronouns in public discourse are still the preferred form. However, variation was observed in how the young, middle-aged, and old male interlocutors used and were addressed by address pronouns and the mismatch construction. A trend was observed in the use of deferential address pronoun in the young and middle-aged groups, which shows a turning point of language use in the middle-aged generation, compared to the older generation.

The qualitative analysis (Chapter 6) showed that the deferential overt pronoun *šoma* may indirectly index the following three social functions in discourse: a) contrastive emphasis



b) in-group identity marker (deference) and c) topic shift (organisational task and norm). Two social functions were observed to be associated with the deferential verbal agreement (2h and 2p) respectively: d) deference as attention seeking and e) balancing the give and take of power. The singular informal verbal agreement marker (2s) was observed to index two social functions: f) creating in group-ness and g) challenging power and authority.

A qualitative analysis of variation in pronominal address forms (address pronoun switching and the mismatch construction) was conducted to investigate the communicative functions of pronominal address forms and how they index politeness in interaction (Chapter 7). The inter-sentential address pronoun switches from deferential to casual form index sweet talk, sarcastic politeness, and in-group membership. Moreover, switching patterns from casual to deferential address form may index affect, out-group membership and self-lowering and finally the mismatches index lobbying and assertion of status. This analysis showed that form and function are not predetermined; rather they are defined in context.

In order to extend previous studies on Persian address system that are relatively old and based on self-reported and questionnaire data (e.g. Baumgardner 1982, Keshavarz 1988, 2001), this study proposed a new analytical approach and a versatile model in the analysis of the Persian address pronoun system. This analytical approach is based on indexicality of an interlocutor's stance in immediate interaction. The proposed sociolinguistic model for the analysis of Persian pronominal address use and its variation "...emerges as simply a function of meaningful social patterns" (Meyerhoff 2001: 61). Form and function amalgamation constitutes hybrid use of address pronouns that is constrained by individuals' stancetaking in interaction.

In this thesis, I have attempted to understand the process of politeness in Persian language by paying close attention to the Persian pronominal address system and its mutual effect on the society. To this end, this study has improved our understanding of how the present situation of Persian pronominal address form came to be, at different levels: quantitative, qualitative and community perceptions. However, people's usage of pronominal address forms is surprising and at times difficult to understand. This marks "the limits of our rationality, and illuminates the many sides of human nature" (Labov 2010: 375).

## Bibliography

- Aalberse, S.P. (2006). Pronoun loss as a form deflection. In A. Eilam, T. Scheffler, and J. Tauberer (eds.) *The University of Pennsylvania Working Papers in Linguistics (PWPL). Proceedings of the 29th Annual Penn Linguistics Colloquium*. Philadelphia, PA: Penn Linguistics Club, 1-13.
- Ager, D. E. (1990). *Sociolinguistics and contemporary French*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Agha, A. (1993). Grammatical and Indexical Convention in Honorific Discourse. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 3, 2:131-163.
- Agha, A. (2007). *Language and Social Relations*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Agyekum, K. (2006). The Sociolinguistic of Akan Personal Names. *Nordic Journal of African Studies* 15, 2: 206-235.
- Aikhenvald, A. Y. (2004). *Evidentiality*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Amouzadeh, M. and Tavangar, M. (2004). Decoding Pictorial Metaphor: Ideologies in Persian Commercial Advertising. *International Journal of Cultural Studies* 7, 2:147-174.
- Angkap, P. (1972). *A Sociolinguistic Study of Pronominal Strategy in Spoken Bangkok Thai*. Unpubl. Ph.D. diss., University of Texas at Austin.
- Ansari, A. (2003). *The History of Modern Iran Since 1921: the Pahlavis and After*. London: Longman.
- Ardehali, P. E. (1990). Pronoun exchange as a barometer of social change. *Dialectical Anthropology* 15, 1: 82-86.
- Ardila, A. J. (2003). (Non-Deictic, Socio-Expressive) T-/V-Pronoun Distinction in Spanish/English Formal Locutionary Acts. *Forum for Modern Language Studies* 39: 74-86.
- Arjomand, S. (1981). Shi'ite Islam and the Revolution in Iran. *Government and Opposition* 16: 293-316.
- Arundale, R. B. (2005). Face as relational and interactional: alternative bases for research on face, facework, and politeness. Paper presented at the 9<sup>th</sup> *International Pragmatics Association Conference*, Riva del Garda, Italy, 10–15 July 2005.
- Austin, J. L. (1962). *How to do things with words*. Oxford, England: Calderon Press.
- Bates, E. and Benigni, L. (1975). Rules of Address in Italy: A sociological culture. *Language in Society* 4: 271-88.

- Baumgardner, R. J. (1982). *Sociolinguistic aspects of Persian pronouns of address: a macro/micro analysis*. Unpubl. Ph.D. diss., University of Southern California.
- Bayer, K. (1979). Die Anredepronomen *Du* und *Sie*: Thesen zu einem semantischen Konflikt im Hochschulbereich. *Deutsche Sprache* 3:212-219.
- Beck L. and Nashat, G. (eds.) (2004). *Women in Iran from 1800 to the Islamic Republic*. Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press.
- Beeman, W. O. (1976). Status, style and strategy in Iranian interaction. *Anthropological Linguistics* 18: 305-322.
- Beeman, W. O. (1986). *Language, status and power in Iran*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Beeman, W. O. (1988). Affectivity in Persian language use. *Culture, Medicine and Psychiatry* 12: 9-30.
- Benjamin, J. and Afful, A. (2006). Address terms among university students in Ghana: a case study. *Language & Intercultural Communication* 6, 1:76-91.
- Benveniste, E. (1971). *Problems in general linguistics*. Coral Gables: University of Miami Press.
- Berteloot, A. (2001). Anredepronomen in Brabant um 1400. In R. Peters, H. Pütz and U. Weber (eds.) *Vulpis Adolatio. Festschrift für Hubertus Menke zum 60 Geburtstag*. Heidelberg: C. Winter, 41-56.
- Besch, W. (1998). *Duzen, Siezen, Titulieren: Zur Anrede im Deutschen heute und gestern* [Use of *du*, *Sie*, titles: on German address today and yesterday] (2nd edition) Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht Göttingen, Germany.
- Besnier, N. (1990). Language and Affect. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 19: 419-451.
- Bierewich, M. (1980). Semantic structure and illocutionary force. In S. F. Kiefer, and M. Bierewich (eds.) *Speech Act Theory and Pragmatics*. Dordrecht, Holland; D. Reidel Publishing Company, 1-37.
- Binder, L. (1962). *Iran: Political Development in a Changing society*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Blom, J. P. and Gumperz, J. J. (1972). Social meaning in linguistic structure: codeswitching in Norway. In J. Gumperz and D. Hymes (eds.) *Directions in Sociolinguistics*. New York: Holt, Rinehard and Winston, 407-434.
- Blum-Kulka, S. (1987). Indirectness and politeness in requests: Same or different?. *Journal of Pragmatics* 11: 131-146.

- Blum-Kulka, S., House, J. and Kasper, G. (1989). Investigating Cross-cultural Pragmatics: An introductory overview. In S. Blum-Kulka, J. House and G. Kasper (eds.) *Cross-Cultural Pragmatics: Requests and Apologies*. Norwood, N.J.: Ablex, 1-34.
- Bourdieu, P. (1991). *Language and Symbolic Power*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Braun, F. (1988). *Terms of Address: Problems of Patterns and Usage in Various Languages and Cultures*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Brewer, M. B. and Gardner, W. (1996). Who is this “we”? Levels of collective identity and self representations. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 71, 1: 83-93.
- Britannica (2009) Aryan. Retrieved online on October 23, 2009 from *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*: <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/37468/Aryan>
- Brown, G. and Yule, G. (1983). *Discourse analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Brown, P. and Levinson, S. (1987). *Politeness: Some universals in language usage*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Brown, R. and Gilman, A. (1960). The pronouns of power and solidarity. In T. A. Sebeok (ed.) *Style in Language*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 253-276.
- Brown, R. and Ford, M. (1964). Address in American English. In D. Hymes. (ed.) *Language in Culture and Society*. New York: Harper and Row, 234-244.
- Bucholtz, M. and Hall, K. (2008a). All of the above: New coalitions in sociocultural linguistics. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 12, 4: 401-431.
- Bucholtz, M. and Hall, K. (2008b). Finding identity: Theory and data. *Journal of Cross-Cultural and Interlanguage Communication* 27, 1.2: 151-163.
- Bucholtz, M. (2009). From Stance to Style: Gender, Interaction, and Indexicality in Mexican Immigrant Youth Slang. In A. Jaffe (ed.) *Stance: Sociolinguistic Perspectives*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 146-170.
- Bühler, K. (1934) [1982]. *Sprachtheorie*. Stuttgart: Fischer.
- Carrell, P. L. and Konneker, B. H. (1981). Politeness: Comparing native and nonnative judgments. *Language Learning* 31: 17-30.
- Cameron, D. (1995). *Verbal Hygiene*. London: Routledge.
- Cameron, D. (2005). Language and gender, and sexuality: current issues and new directions. *Applied Linguistics* 26, 4: 482-502.

- Cheshire, J. and Fox, S. (2009). Was/were variation: A perspective from London. *Language Variation and Change* 21: 1-38.
- CIA. (2009). *The World Factbook*. Retrieved online on October 23, 2009, from <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ir.html>
- Clyne, M., Kretzenbacher, H. L., Norrby, C. and Warren, J. (2003). Address in some Western European languages. *Proceedings of the 2003 Conference of the Australian Linguistics Society*.
- Clyne, M., Kretzenbacher, H. L., Norrby, C. and Schupbach, D. (2006). Perceptions of variation and change in German and Swedish address. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 10, 3: 287-319.
- Coates, J. (1993). *Women, Men and Language* (2nd edn.). London: Longman.
- Compernelle, R A. van (2008). Second-person pronoun use and address strategies in on-line personal ads from Quebec. *Journal of Pragmatics* 40: 2062-2076.
- Comrie, B., Stone, G. and Polinsky M. (1996). *The Russian language in the twentieth century* (2nd edn.). Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Cook-Gumperz, J. (ed.). (2006). *The Social Construction of Literacy* (2nd edn.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Corbett, G. G. (1998). *Agreement in Slavic*. In Proceedings of Comparative Slavic Morphosyntax Workshop, 5-7 June 1998, Bloomington, Indiana.
- Cornillie, B. (2009). Evidentiality and epistemic modality: On the close relationship between two different categories. *Functions of Language* 16, 1: 44-62.
- Coupland, N. (1997). Language, ageing and ageism: a project for applied linguistics? *International Journal of Applied Linguistics* 7: 26-48.
- Covarrubias, P. (2002). *Culture, communication, and cooperation: Interpersonal relations and pronominal address in a Mexican organization*. Lanham, MD: Rowan and Littlefield.
- Cukor-Avila, P. (2000). *The Stability of Individual Vernaculars*. University of North Texas MS.
- Dehkhoda, A. (1966). *Dehkhoda Persian dictionary*. Tehran: Dehkhoda Foundation.
- Dickey, E. (1997). Forms of address and terms of reference. *Journal of Linguistics* 33: 255-274.
- Duranti, A. (1984). The social meaning of subject pronouns in Italian conversation. *Text* 4: 277-311.

- Ebadi, S. (2006). *Iran Awakening: a Memoir of Revolution and Hope*. New York: Random House.
- Eckert, P. and McConnell-Ginet, S. (1992). Think practically and look locally: Language and gender as community-based practice. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 21: 461-490.
- Eckert, P. (1997). Age as a sociolinguistic variable. In F. Coulmas (ed.) *The Handbook of Sociolinguistics*. Oxford: Blackwell, 151-167.
- Eckert, P. and McConnell-Ginet, S. (1998). Communities of practice: Where language, gender, and power all live. In J. Coates (ed.) *Language and Gender: A Reader*. Oxford: Blackwell, 484-494.
- Eckert, P. (2000). *Linguistic Variation as Social Practice*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Eckert, P. and Rickford, J. R. (2001). *Style and Sociolinguistic Variation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Eckert, P. and McConnell-Ginet, S. (2003). *Language and Gender*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Eckert, P. (2008). Variation and the indexical field. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 12, 4: 453-476.
- Edwards, A. J. (2001). The transcription of discourse. In D. Schiffrin, D. Tannen and H. Hamilton (eds.) *Handbook of Discourse Analysis*. Oxford: Blackwell, 321-348.
- Ehteshami, A. and Hinnebusch, R. (1997). *Syria and Iran: Middle Powers in a Penetrated Regional System*. London: Routledge.
- Ervin-Tripp, S. M. (1972a). Alternation and co-occurrence. In J. J. Gumperz and D. Hymes (eds.) *Directions in Sociolinguistics: The Ethnography of Communication*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 218-250.
- Ervin-Tripp, S. M. (1972b). Sociolinguistic rules of address. In J. B. Pride and J. Holmes (ed.) *Sociolinguistics*. England: Penguin books, 225-240.
- Ervin-Tripp, S. M. (1976). Is Sybil there? The structure of some American English directives. *Language in Society* 5, 1: 25-66.
- Fairclough, N. (1992). *Discourse and Social Change*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Fairclough, N. (2003). 'Political correctness': the politics of culture and language. *Discourse and Society* 14, 1: 17-28.
- Fasold, R. (1990). *Sociolinguistics of Language*. Oxford: Blackwell.

- Fathi, N. (2004). *Taarof: Are you being taarofed?! Nazila Fathi on Persia's elusive charms*. Published by Open Democracy Ltd. Retrieved online on July 17, 2008, from <http://www.opendemocracy.net/content/articles/PDF/2117.pdf>
- Feagin, C. (2004). Entering the Community: Fieldwork. In J. Chambers, P. Trudgill, and N. Schilling-Estes (eds.) *The Handbook of Language Variation and Change*. Oxford: Blackwell, 20-39.
- Félix-Brasdefer, J. C. (2006). Linguistic politeness in Mexico: Refusal strategies among male speakers of Mexican Spanish. *Journal of Pragmatics* 38: 2158-2187.
- Ferguson, A. C. (1991). Individual and social in language change: Diachronic changes in politeness agreement in forms of address. In R. L. Cooper and B. Spolsky (eds.) *The Influence of Language on Culture and Thought: Essays in Honour of Joshua A. Fishman's Sixty-fifth Birthday*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 183-197.
- Fillmore, C. J. (1966). Deictic Categories in the Semantics of "Come". *Foundations of Language* 2: 219-227.
- Fillmore, C. J. (1971). *Lectures on Deixis*. Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications (reprinted 1997).
- Fillmore, C. J. (1975). *Santa Cruz Lectures on Deixis*. Bloomington: Indiana University Linguistics Club.
- Finegan, E. (2007). *Language: Its Structure and Use* (5th edn.) Boston, MA: Thomson/Wadsworth.
- Fletcher, J. (1999). *Disappearing Acts. Gender, Power, and Relational Practice at Work*. Cambridge, MA: MIT University Press.
- Fraser, B. (1978). Acquiring social competence in a second language. *RELC Journal* 9, 2: 1-21.
- Friedrich, P. (1966). Structural implications of Russian pronominal usage. In W. Bright (ed.) *Sociolinguistics*. The Hague: Mouton, 214-259.
- Fukada, A. and Asato, N. (2004). Universal politeness theory: application to use of the Japanese honorific. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 36: 1991-2002.
- Fuller, J. M. (2005). The uses and meanings of the female title *MS*. *American Speech* 80, 2: 180-206.
- Garfinkel, H. (1967). *Studies in Ethnomethodology*. Englewood Cliff: Prentice Hall.
- Goffman, E. (1955). On face-work: An analysis of ritual elements in social interaction. *Psychiatry: Journal for the Study of Interpersonal Processes* 18: 213-231.

- Goffman, E. (1967). On facework: an analysis of ritual elements in social interaction. In A. Jaworski and N. Coupland (eds.) *The Discourse Reader*. London: Routledge, 306-321.
- Goffman, E. (1971). *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Goffman, E. (1974). *Frame analysis: An essay on the organization of experience*. Boston: Northeastern University Press.
- Goffman, E. (1981). *Forms of talk*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Grice, H. P. (1975). Logic and conversation. In P. Cole and J. Morgan (eds.) *Syntax and Semantics 3: Speech Acts*. New York: Academic Press, 41-58.
- Gu, Y. (1990). Politeness phenomena in modern Chinese. *Journal of Pragmatics* 14: 237-257.
- Gumperz, J. J. (1978). The conversational analysis of interethnic communication. In E. L. Ross (ed.) *Interethnic Communication*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press.
- Gumperz, J. J. (1982). *Discourse Strategies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Haddington, P. (2007). Positioning and alignment as activities of stancetaking in news interviews. In R. Englebretson (ed.) *Stancetaking in Discourse: Subjectivity, Evaluation, Interaction*. Amsterdam: John Benjamin, 283-318.
- Hanks, W. F. (1990). *Referential Practice: Language and Lived Space among the Maya*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Hanks, W. F. (1992). The indexical ground of deictic reference. In A. Duranti and C. Goodwin (eds.) *Rethinking Context: Language as an Interactive Phenomenon*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 43-76.
- Hartung, W. (1977). Zum Inhalt des Normbegriffs in der Linguistik. In W. Hartung (ed.) *Normen in der sprachlichen Kommunikation*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 9-69.
- Haugen, E. (1972). *The ecology of language*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Head, B. F. (1976). Social factors in the use of pronouns for the addressee in Brazilian Portuguese. In J. Schmit-Radfeldt (ed.) *Readings in Portuguese linguistics*. Amsterdam: North-Holland, 289-348.
- Head, B. F. (1978). Respect degrees in pronominal reference. In J.H. Greenberg, C., A. Ferguson and E. A., Moravcsik (eds.) *Universals of Human Language. Vol. 3: Word Structure*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 151-212.
- Heritage, J. (1984). *Garfinkel and Ethnomethodology*. Cambridge and New York: Polity Press.



- Hillman, M. (2003). *The History of Modern Iran Since 1921: the Pahlavis and After*. London: Pearson Education.
- Hodge, C.T. (1957). Some Aspects of Persian Style. *Language* 33, 3.1: 355-369.
- Holmes, J. (1995). *Women, Men and Politeness*. London: Longman.
- Holmes, J. (1997). Women, language and identity. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 1, 2: 195-223.
- Holmes, J. and Meyerhoff, M. (1999). The community of practice: theories and methodologies in the new language and gender research. *Language in Society* 28, 2: 173-183.
- Holmes, J. (2001). *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics* (2nd edn.). London: Longman.
- Holmes, J. and Marra, M. (2004). Relational practice in the workplace: women's talk or gendered discourse?. *Language in Society* 33: 377-398.
- Holmes, J and S. Schnurr. (2005). Politeness, humour and gender in the workplace: negotiating norms and identifying contestation. *Journal of Politeness Research* 1, 1: 121-149.
- Holmes, J. (2006). Politeness strategies as linguistic variables. In K. Brown (ed.). *Encyclopaedia of Language and Linguistics*, Volume 9. Amsterdam: Elsevier, 684-697.
- Holmes, J. and Schnurr, S. (2006). 'Doing femininity' at work: More than just relational practice. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 10, 1: 31-51.
- Holmes, J. (2008). *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics* (3rd edn.). Harlow: Longman.
- Hopper, J. P. and Traugott, C. E. (1993). *Grammaticalization*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.
- Hornberger, N. H. (2003). Afterword: ecology and ideology in multilingual classrooms. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* 6, 3.4: 296-302.
- Hu, H. (1944). The Chinese concepts of "face." *American Anthropologist* 46: 45-64.
- Hymes, D. (1972). Models of the interaction of language and social life. In J. J. Gumperz and D. Hymes (ed.) *Directions in Sociolinguistics: The Ethnography of Communication*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 35-71.
- Ide, S. (1989). Formal forms and discernment: Two neglected aspects of universals of linguistic politeness. *Multilingua* 8, 2.3: 223-248.

IRIN (2009). *IRAN: Focus on family planning*. Humanitarian news and analysis of a project of the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs. Retrieved on 26 October, 2009, from <http://www.irinnews.org/report.aspx?reportid=19627NB>

Iran Chamber Society (2009). *Cities of Iran: Tehran*. Retrieved on 14 November, 2010, from <http://www.iranchamber.com/cities/tehran/tehran.php>

Jaffe A. (2009) *Stance: Sociolinguistic Perspectives*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Jahani, C. (2007). *Iranian Languages*. Retrieved on 15 October, 2009, from [http://www.iranianlinguistics.org/papers/poster\\_iranian\\_languages.ppt](http://www.iranianlinguistics.org/papers/poster_iranian_languages.ppt)

Jain, D. (1973). *Pronominal usage in Hindi*. Unpubl. Ph.D. diss. University of Pennsylvania.

Jakobson, R. (1971) [1957]. Shifters, Verbal Categories, and the Russian Verb. In *Selected Writings of Roman Jakobson*. Vol. 2, Word and Language. The Hague: Mouton, 130-147.

Jefferson, G. (2004). Glossary of transcript symbols with an Introduction. In G. H. Lerner (ed.) *Conversation Analysis: Studies from the First Generation*. Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 13-23.

Jensen, B. J. (1981). Forms of address in Brazilian Portuguese: Standard European or Oriental honorifics?. In B. H. Bichakjian (ed.) *From Linguistics to Literature: Romance Studies Offered to Francis M. Rogers*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 45-66.

Jespersen, O. (1922) *Language: Its Nature, Development, and Origin*. London: George Allen and Unwin.

Johnstone, B. (2000). *Qualitative Methods in Sociolinguistics*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kagan, J. (1978). On emotion and its development: a working paper. In M. Lewis and L. Rosenblum (ed.) *The Development of Affect*. New York: Plenum, 11-42.

Kany, C. (1951). *American Spanish Syntax* (2nd edn.). Chicago: University of Chicago press.

Karimi, S. (2003). *Word Order and Scrambling*. Malden, MA; Oxford: Blackwell.

Kasanga, A. L. (2009). Language socialization: The naming of non-kin adults by African children and preadolescents in intercultural encounters. *Intercultural Pragmatics* 6, 1: 85-114.

Kasper, G. (1997). 'Linguistic etiquette.' In F. Coulmas (ed.) *The Handbook of Sociolinguistics*. Oxford: Blackwell, 374-382.

- Kasper, G (2000). *Data collection in pragmatics*. In H. Spencer-Oatey (ed.). *Culturally Speaking: Managing Rapport Through Talk Across Cultures*. London: Continuum, 316-341.
- Kärkkäinen, E. (2003). *Epistemic stance in English conversation: a description of its interactional functions, with a focus on I think*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Keddie, R. N. (1978). Class structure and political power in Iran since 1796. *Iranian Studies* 6: 305-30.
- Keddie, R. N. (2003). *Modern Iran: Roots and Results of Revolution*. London: Yale University Press.
- Keenan (Ochs), E. (1974). Norm-makers, norm-breakers: use of speech by men and women in a Malagasy community. In R. Bauman and J. Sherzer (eds.) *Explorations in the Ethnography of Speaking*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 125-143.
- Kendall, M. B. (1981). Toward a semantic approach to terms of address: a critique of deterministic models in sociolinguistics. *Language and Communication* 1: 237-254.
- Keshavarz, M. (1988). Forms of address in post-revolutionary Iranian Persian: a sociolinguistic analysis. *Language in Society* 17: 565-575.
- Keshavarz, M. (2001). The role of social context, intimacy, and distance in the choice of forms of address. *International Journal Social Language* 14, 8: 5-18.
- Khomeini R. (1981a). *Islamic Government: Governance of the Jurist*, (Translated by Hamid Algar). Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imam Khomeini's Works. Tehran.
- Khomeini, R. (1981b). *Islam and Revolution: Writing and Declarations of Imam Khomeini*. (Algar, Hamid, translator and editor). Berkeley: Mizan Press.
- Kiesling, S. F. (1997). Power and the Language of Men. In S. Johnson and U. Meinhof (eds.) *Language and Masculinity*. Oxford: Blackwell, 65-85.
- Kiesling, S. F. (2004). *Dude. American Speech*, 79, 3: 281-305.
- Kiesling, S. F. and Eberhardt, F. M. (2008). Stance and the "baptismal essentializations" of indexicality. Paper presented in *Sociolinguistic Symposium 17: micro and macro connections conference* Amsterdam. Themed Panel (part 1) Indexicality in Interaction Thursday, April 3<sup>rd</sup> 2008.
- Kiesling, S. F. (2009). Style as Stance: Stance as the explanation for patterns of sociolinguistic variation. In A. Jaffe (ed.) *Stance: Sociolinguistic Perspectives*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 171-194.

- Jaramillo, A. J. (1996). Tu and Usted: address etiquette in the Mexican American family. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioural Sciences* 18, 4: 522-532.
- Koutlaki, S.A. (2002) Offers and expressions of thanks as face enhancing acts: *ta'arof* in Persian. *Journal of Pragmatics* 34, 12: 1733-1756.
- Kuo, H. S. (2003). Involvement vs Detachment: Gender differences in the use of personal pronouns in televised sports in Taiwan. *Discourse Studies* 5, 4: 479-494.
- Labov, W. (1963). The social motivation of a sound change. *Word*, 19: 273-309.
- Labov, W. (1966). *The social stratification of English in New York City*. Washington DC: Center for Applied Linguistics. [2nd edn., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.]
- Labov, W. (1972). *Sociolinguistic Patterns*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Labov, W. (1984). Field methods of the project on linguistic change and variation. In J. Baugh and J. Sherzer (eds.) *Language in Use: Readings in Sociolinguistics*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 28-53.
- Labov, W. (1994). *Principles of Linguistic Change. Volume 1: Internal Factors*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Labov, W. (2001). *Principles of Linguistic Change. Volume 2: Social Factors*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell
- Labov, W. (2007). Transmission and diffusion. *Language* 83: 344-387.
- Labov, W. (2010). *Principles of Linguistic Change, Volume 3: Cognitive and Cultural Factors*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Lakoff, R. (1973). Language and Woman's Place. *Language in Society* 2:45-79.
- Lambert, W. E., and Tucker, G. R. (1976). *Tu, Vous, Usted: A Social-Psychological Study of Address Patterns*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.
- Lee, D. and Yonezawa, Y. (2008). The role of the overt expression of first and second person subject in Japanese. *Journal of Pragmatics* 40: 733-767.
- Leech, G. (1983). *Principles of Pragmatics*. London: Longman.
- Levinson, Stephen C. (1983) "*Deixis*" in *Pragmatics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 54-96.
- Library of Congress, Federal Research Division (2008). 'Country Profile: Iran' (pp. 04-21). Retrieved on October 23, 2009, from <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/profiles/Iran.pdf>

- Locher, M. A. (2004). *Power and Politeness in Action: Disagreements in Oral Communication*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Locher, M. A. and Watts, R. J. (2005). Politeness theory and relational work. *Journal of Politeness Research* 1, 1: 9-33.
- Lowther, K. A. (2004). First person subject pronoun expression in the Spanish of Tucson. *Divergencias. Revista de estudios lingüísticos y literarios* 2, 2: 41-50.
- Lyons (1968). *An introduction to theoretical linguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lyons, J. (1977a). *Semantics*, Vols. 1 and 2. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 636-724.
- Lyons, J. (1977b). Deixis and anaphora. In T. Myers (ed.) *The Development of Conversation and Discourse*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 88-103.
- Mace, J. (2003). *Persian Grammar: For Reference and Revision*. London: Routledge.
- Mahootian, S. (1997). *Persian*. London: Routledge.
- Makoni, S. (1997) Gerontolinguistics in South Africa, *International Journal of Applied Linguistics* 7, 49-56.
- Mallory, J. P. (1989). *In Search of the Indo-Europeans: Language, Archaeology and Myth*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Martiny, T. (1996). Forms of address in French and Dutch: a sociopragmatic approach. *Language Sciences* 18, 3.4: 765-775.
- Masood, E. (2006). Islam and Science: An Islamist revolution. *Nature* 444: 22-25.
- Matsumoto, Y. (1989). Politeness and conversational universals: Observations from Japan. *Multilingua* 8, 2.3: 207-221.
- Matthews, P. H. (1997). *Oxford Concise Dictionary OF Linguistics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Maynard, D. W., and Clayman, S. E. (1991). The diversity of ethnomethodology. *Annual Review of Sociology* 17: 385-418.
- McConnell-Ginet, S. (2008). Words in the world: How and why meanings can matter. *Language* 84, 3: 497-527.
- Mesthrie, R., Swann, J., Deumert, A., and Leap, W. (2000). *Introducing Sociolinguistics*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

- Meyerhoff, M. (1996). Dealing with gender identity as a sociolinguistic variable. In V. L. Bergvall, J. M. Bing, and A. F. Freed. (eds.) *Rethinking Language and Gender Research: Theory and Practice*. New York: Addison Wesley Longman, 203-227.
- Meyerhoff, M. (1998). Accommodating your data: the use and misuse of accommodation theory in sociolinguistics. *Language and Communication* 18: 205-225.
- Meyerhoff, M. (1999). Sorry in the Pacific: Defining communities, defining practices. *Language in Society* 28: 225-238.
- Meyerhoff, M. (2001). Dynamics of differentiation: On social psychology and cases of language variation. In N. Coupland, C. Candlin and S. Sarangi (eds.) *Sociolinguistics and Social Theory*. London: Longman, 61-87.
- Meyerhoff, M., and Niedzielski, N. (1994). Resistance to creolization: an interpersonal and intergroup account. *Language and Communication* 14, 4: 313-330.
- Meyerhoff, M. and Niedzielski, N. (2003). The globalisation of vernacular variation. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 7, 4: 534-555.
- Meyerhoff, M. (2006). *Introducing Sociolinguistics*. Routledge, London.
- Meyerhoff, M and Walker, J. A. (2007). The persistence of variation in individual grammars: Copula absence in 'urban sojourners' and their stay-at-home peers, Bequia (St Vincent and the Grenadines). *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 11, 3: 346-366.
- Mills, S. (2003). *Gender and Politeness*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mills, S. (2006). *Third Wave Feminist Linguistics and the Analysis of Sexism*. Retrieved on October 23, 2009, from <http://www.shu.ac.uk/daol>.
- Milroy, L. (1987). *Observing and Analysing Natural Language*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Mir-Hosseini, Z. (2000). *Islam and Gender: The Religious Debate in Contemporary Iran*. London: I.B.Tauris.
- Modarresi-Tehrani, Y. (1978). *A Sociolinguistic Analysis of Modern Persian*. Unpubl. Ph.D. diss., University of Kansas.
- Moreno, M. C. (2002). The address system in the Spanish of the Golden Age. *Journal of Pragmatics* 34, 1: 15-47.
- Morford, J. (1997). Social indexicality in French pronominal address. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 7, 1: 3-37.
- Mufwene, S. S. (2001). *The Ecology of Language Evolution*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Mühlhäusler, P. (1996). *Linguistic ecology: language change and linguistic imperialism in the Pacific region*. London: Routledge.
- Mühlhäusler, P. and Herré, R. (1990) *Pronouns and People: The linguistic construction of social and personal Identity*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Musumeci, D. (1991). Ciao, Professoressa! A study of forms of address in Italian and its implications for the Language Classroom. *Italica* 68, 4: 434-456.
- Nickerson, C. and Bargiela-Chiappini, F. (1996). At the intersection between grammar and pragmatics: a contrastive study of personal pronouns and other forms of address in Dutch and Italian. *Language Sciences* 18, 3: 743-764.
- Nomani, F. and Behdad, S. (2006). *Class and Labor in Iran: Did the Revolution Matter? Modern Intellectual and Political History of the Middle East*. New York: Syracuse University Press.
- Obolensky, S., Yazdan Pahan, K. and Khaje Nouri, F. (1973). *Spoken Persian*. Ithaca: Spoken Language Services.
- Ochs, E. and Schieffelin, B. (1989). "Language has a heart", The pragmatics of affect. *Text* 9, 1: 7-25.
- Ochs, E. (1992). Indexing gender. In A. Duranti and C. Goodwin (eds.) *Rethinking context*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 325-358.
- Okamoto, S. (1995). "Tasteless" Japanese: Less "Feminine" Speech among Young Japanese Women. In K. Hall and M. Bucholtz (ed.) *Gender Articulated: Language and the Socially Constructed Self*. New York: Routledge, 297-325.
- Okamoto, S. (1997). Social context, linguistic ideology, and indexical expressions in Japanese. *Journal of Pragmatics* 28: 795-817.
- Ostermann, A. C. (2003). Localizing power and solidarity: pronoun alteration at an all-female police station and a feminist crisis intervention center in Brazil. *Language in Society* 32: 351-381.
- Ostor, A. (1982). Terms of Address and Hungarian Society. *Language Sciences* 4, 1: 55-69.
- Ota, H., Harwood, J., Williams, A. and Takai, J. (2000) A cross-cultural analysis of age identity in Japan and the United States. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 21: 33-43.
- Paidar, P. (1997). *Women and the Political Process in Twentieth-Century Iran*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Parsa, M. (1989). *Social Origins of the Iranian Revolution*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

- Paulston, C. B. (1976). Pronouns of Address in Swedish: Social Class Semantics and a Changing System. *Language in Society* 5, 3: 359-386.
- Pomerantz, A. (1984). Agreeing and disagreeing with assessments: Some features of preferred/dispreferred turn shapes. In J. M. Atkinson and J. Heritage (eds.) *Structures of Social Action. Studies in Conversation Analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 57-101.
- Quaglio, P. (2009). Television dialogue: the sitcom Friends vs. natural conversation. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Rafiee, A. (2001). *Colloquial Persian: A Complete Course for Beginners*. London: Routledge.
- Ruthven, M. (1997). *Islam: A very short introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Sadat-Tehrani, N. (2007). *The Intonational Grammar of Persian*. Unpubl. Ph.D. diss., University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, Canada.
- Sadeghi, F. (2008). Fundamentalism, Gender, and the Discourses of Veiling (Hijab) in Contemporary Iran. In M. Semati (ed.) *Media, Culture and Society in Iran*. New York: Routledge, 207-222.
- Sankoff, G. and Blondeau, H. (2007). Language Change Across the Lifespan: /r/ in Montreal French. *Language* 83, 3: 560-588.
- Schiffrin, D. (2001). Discourse markers: Language meaning and context. In D. Schiffrin, D. Tannen and H. Hamilton (eds.) *Handbook of Discourse Analysis*. Oxford: Blackwell, 54-75.
- Schilling-Estes, N. (1998). Investigating 'self-conscious' speech: The performance register in Ocracoke English. *Language in Society* 27: 53-83.
- SCI (Statistical Centre of Iran) (2009). Retrieved on October 23, 2009, from [http://www.sci.org.ir/content/userfiles/\\_sci/sci/SEL/baravord/population1.xls](http://www.sci.org.ir/content/userfiles/_sci/sci/SEL/baravord/population1.xls)
- Scollon, R. and Scollon, S. W. (1995). *Intercultural Communication: A Discourse Approach*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Searle, J. (1969). *Speech Acts*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Searle, J. (1975). Indirect speech acts. In P. Cole and J. Morgan (eds.) *Speech Acts*, vol. 3 of Syntax and Semantics. New York: Academic Press, 59-82.
- Seyed-Emami, K. (2008). Youth, politics, and media habits in Iran. In M. Semati (ed.) *Media, Culture and Society in Iran*. New York: Routledge, 57-68.
- Sharapova, E. M. (2000). *Implicit and Explicit Norm in Contemporary Russian*



- Verbal Stress*. Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Studia Slavica Upsaliensia 40. Uppsala.
- Sharifian, F. (2007). Politics and/of translation: Case studies between English and Persian. *Journal of Intercultural Studies* 28, 4: 413-424.
- Sharifian, F. (2009). On collective cognition and language. In H. Pishwa (ed.) *Language and Social Cognition*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 163-182.
- Sidnell, J. (1999). Gender and pronominal variation in an Indo-Guyanese creole-speaking community. *Language in Society* 28: 367-399.
- Sifianou, M. (1992). *Politeness phenomena in England and Greece*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Silverberg, W. V. (1940). On the psychological significance of du and Sie. *Psychoanalytic Quarterly* 9: 509-525.
- Silverstein, M. (1976). Shifters, linguistic categories, and cultural description. In K. H. Basso and H. A. Selby (eds.) *Meaning in Anthropology*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 11-55.
- Silverstein, M. (1993). Metapragmatic discourse and metapragmatic function. In J. A. Lucy (ed.), *Reflexive Language: Reported Speech and Metapragmatics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 33-58.
- Silverstein, M. (2003). Indexical order and the dialectics of sociolinguistic life. *Language and Communication* 23, 3.4: 193-229.
- Silverstein, M. (2004). 'Cultural' concepts and the language-culture nexus. *Current Anthropology* 45, 5: 621-652.
- Silverstein, M. (2010). "Direct" and "indirect" communicative acts in semiotic perspective. *Journal of Pragmatics* 42: 337-353.
- Simon, B. (2004). *Identity in Modern Society. A Social Psychological Perspective*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Smalley, W. (1994). *Linguistic Diversity and National Unity: Language Ecology in Thailand*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Sohn, Ho-min. (1981). Power and solidarity in the Korean language. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, 14, 3: 431-452.
- Spencer-Oatey, H. (1996). Reconsidering power and distance. *Journal of Pragmatics* 26: 1-24.
- Spencer-Oatey, H. (2000). Rapport management: A framework for Analysis. In H. Spencer-Oatey (ed.) *Culturally speaking: Managing rapport through talk across Cultures*. New York: Continuum, 11-46.

- Spencer-Oatey, H. (2007). Theories of identity and the analysis of face. *Journal of Pragmatics* 39: 639-656.
- Stewart, M. (2001). Pronouns of power and solidarity: The case of Spanish first person plural *nosotros*. *Multilingua* 20, 2: 155-169.
- Stilo, D. L. and Clinton, J. W. (1973). *Spoken and Written Modern Persian*. Tehran: Iran Zamin.
- Stilo, D. L., Talattof, K. and Clinton, J. W. (2005a). *Modern Persian Spoken and Written. Volume (1)*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Stilo, D. L., Talattof, K. and Clinton, J. W. (2005b). *Modern Persian Spoken and Written. Volume (2)*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Stokoe, H. E. and Smithson, J. (2001). Making gender relevant: conversation analysis and gender categories in interaction. *Discourse Studies* 12.2: 217-244.
- Strauss, S. and Eun, J. O. (2005). Indexicality and honorific speech level choice in Korean. *Linguistics* 43, 3: 611-651.
- Stuart-Smith, J. (2005). *Is television a contributory factor in accent change in adolescents?* Final project report presented to Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) grant number (R000239757).
- Stubbe, M. and Holmes, J. (1995). You Know, Eh and other 'Exasperating Expressions': An analysis of social and stylistic variation in the use of pragmatic devices in a sample of New Zealand English. *Language and Communication* 15, 1: 63-88.
- Sutinen, J. (2005). Terms of address and their interplay with pronouns of address in a corpus of modern French films. In E.T. Vold, I. G. Lyse and A. M. Gjesdal (eds.) *New Voices in Linguistics*. Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 247-256.
- Tagliamonte, S. (2006). *Analysing Sociolinguistic Variation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Takahara, K. (1992). Second person deixis in Japanese and power semantics. *Intercultural Communication Studies* II 1: 117-128.
- Tanaka, L. (2009). Communicative stances in Japanese interviews: gender differences in formal interactions. *Language and Communication* 29: 366-382.
- Tannen, D. (1993). The relativity of linguistic strategies: rethinking power and solidarity in gender and dominance. In D. Tannen (ed.) *Gender and Conversational interaction*. Oxford: Oxford University, 165-185.

- Ting-Toomey, S. (1994). *The Challenge of Facework: Cross-cultural and Interpersonal Issues*. Albany, NY: University of New York Press.
- Ting-Toomey, S., and Cocroft, B. A. (1994). Face and facework: theoretical and research issues. In S. Ting-Toomey (ed.) *The Challenge of Facework: Cross-cultural and Interpersonal Issues*. New York: State University of New York-Albany Press, 307-340.
- Thomas J. (1995). *Meaning in Interaction. An Introduction to Pragmatics*. London: Longman.
- Tracy, K. and Haspel, K. (2004). Language and social interaction: Its institutional identity, intellectual landscape, and discipline-shifting agenda. *Journal of Communication* 54: 788-816.
- Trudgill, P. (1972). Sex, covert prestige and linguistic change in the urban British English of Norwich. *Language in Society* 1:179-95.
- Trudgill, P. (1995). *Sociolinguistics: an introduction to language and society*. London: Penguin Books.
- UCLA, Language Materials Project. (2009). Persian language. History and Origins of Persian (Parsi or Farsi) and Dari-Persian language. In *Iran Chambers society*, retrieved on 15 December, 2009 from [http://www.iranchamber.com/literature/articles/persian\\_language.php](http://www.iranchamber.com/literature/articles/persian_language.php)
- Van Eeden, J. (1991). *Ageing and seniority in a rural Xhosa community*. SRC/UCT Centre for Gerontology, University of Cape Town.
- Wales, K. (1983). Thou and you in early modern English: Brown and Gilman re-appraised. *Studia Linguistica* 37: 107-125.
- Wardhaugh, R. (1992). *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics*. (2nd edn.). Oxford: Blackwell, 258-281.
- Warrack, J. and West, E. (1992). *The Oxford Dictionary of Opera*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Watts R. J. (2003). *Politeness*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.
- Wolfson, N. (1989). *Perspectives: Sociolinguistics and TESOL*. Cambridge and New York: Newbury House.
- Xie, C., He, Z. and Lin, D. (2005). Politeness: Myth and truth, *Studies in Language* 29, 2: 431-461.
- Yang, M. (2007). Married women's address forms variation in China. *Academic Exchange Quarterly* 11, 1: 56-60.

Yuan, J. F., Kuiper, F., and Shaogu, S. (1990). Language and Revolution: Formulae of the Cultural Revolution. *Language in Society* 19, 1: 61-79.

Zamani, K. (1380). *Sharh-e jame'-e mathnavi-ye ma'navi, daftar-e sevvom*. Tehran.

Zilles, M. A. (2005). The development of a new pronoun: The linguistic and social embedding of *a gente* in Brazilian Portuguese. *Language Variation and Change* 17: 19-53.

Zimmer, D. E. (1986). *Redens Arten: Über Trends und Tollheiten im neudeutschen Sprachgebrauch*. Zürich: Haffmans Verlag.

Zimmerman, D. and West, C. (1975). Sex roles, interruptions and silences in conversation. In Thorne, B. and Henly, N. (eds.) *Language and Sex: Difference and Dominance*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House, 105-129.

## Appendix A

## Persian phonemes

Adapted and modified from Sadat-Tehrani (2007: 219).

### Vowels

	front	back
high	i	u
mid	e	o
low	æ	a
diphthong		ow

### Consonants

	<b>Bilabial</b>	<b>Labiodental</b>	<b>Dental/ Alveolar</b>	<b>Alveopalatal</b>	<b>Prevelar/ Velar</b>	<b>Uvelar</b>	<b>Glottal</b>
Stops	p/b		t/d		k/g	q	ʔ
Affricates				č/j			
Fricatives		f/v	s/z	š/ž	x		h
Liquids			l,r				
Nasals	m		n				
Glides				y			

## Appendix B                      Transcription conventions

### Character Format

<i>Italics</i>	<i>Transcription for Persian utterances</i>
<b>Bold</b>	<b>Emphasis for transcription of Persian utterances</b>
Normal	Syntactic transliteration and English translation of Persian utterances
<u>Underline</u>	To highlight linguistic features other than address form in speech

### Symbols

( )	Indicates unclear speech
(.)	A pause between utterances
=	Continuous utterances
:	Lengthened sound / syllable
[	Overlap
< >	Material that is not part of talk being transcribed (e.g. laughter, loud aggressive voice)
↑	Indication of higher pitch
→	Marking transition point in address form usage

## Appendix C      Abbreviation list

agr	agreement
assoc	associative marker (-ina)
cl	classifier
comp	complementiser (ke)
def	definite marker (-æ)
dur	durative marker (mi-)
ez	the Ezafe vowel (-e)
imp	imperative
ind	indefinite marker (-i)
infl	inflection
neg	negative marker (næ-, ne)
om	object marker (-ro, -o)
part	participle
sg	singular
pl	plural
pres	present
subj	subjunctive marker (be-)
pro	pronoun
1s.cl, 2s.cl	pronominal possessive enclitics
2s	second person singular
2h/(2p)	second person plural
3p	third person plural

## Appendix D1      Participants consent form (English)

School of Psychology, Philosophy and Language Sciences

University of Edinburgh

### *“Language use in Persian”*

#### Information for the Participants

**Description of the study:** This research study is designed to investigate language use in Persian. The research is being carried out as part of my PhD degree at the University of Edinburgh. As I am interested in language use, the participants are required to act as they would in natural conversation. The research involves observation and note taking, audio recording and interview.

**Risks and Benefits:** There are no risks or benefits involved in this research to the participants.

**Anonymity:** Privacy will be maintained in all published and written data resulting from this study. Participants’ names will be omitted from all transcripts and complete confidentiality will be respected at all times.

**Participants’ rights:** Participation in this research study is voluntary and participants have the right to withdraw their consent or discontinue participation at any time without penalty. For any further explanation of the research, please contact my supervisor:

Professor Miriam Meyerhoff      Address: Linguistics & English Language  
University of Edinburgh  
14 Buccleuch Place  
Edinburgh EH8

Telephone: +44 131 651-1836 (direct line); 650-3628 or 651-1842 (main office)  
email: <http://www.ling.ed.ac.uk/~mhoff/>

If you are willing to participate in this research, please sign the attached consent form.



**School of Psychology, Philosophy and Language Sciences**

**University of Edinburgh**

***“Language use in Persian”***

**Consent Form**

1. I agree to participate in this research.
2. I have read the information sheet and this consent form and have been given the opportunity to ask questions about them.
3. I understand I am under no obligation to take part in this study and have the right to decide not to participate.
4. I understand that I cannot expect to derive any benefit from this research.
5. I understand that I have the right to withdraw from this study at any stage.

Name: ----- Date of Birth: ----- Sex: -----

Signature: -----

Date: -----

## رضایتنامه شرکت کنندگان در تحقیق

دانشکده علوم انسانی

دانشگاه ادینبورگ

نحوه استفاده زبان فارسی

### چند نکته

**موضوع تحقیق:** در این تحقیق، مکالمات زبان فارسی، به عنوان بخشی از کار دکترایم، بررسی می شود. شرکت کنندگان این تحقیق بایستی به صورت عادی و روال روزمره صحبت کنند. این مطالعه شامل مشاهده، نت برداری، ضبط کردن و مصاحبه است.

**منافع و مضرات:** هیچ نفع و یا ضرری برای شرکت کننده در این تحقیق نمی باشد.

**محفوظ بودن اسامی:** از هویت کلیه شرکت کنندگان در هیچ مرحله ای از این تحقیق استفاده نمی شود و اسامی آنها محفوظ می ماند و مکتوب نمی شود.

**حقوق شرکت کننده:** شرکت در این تحقیق به صورت داوطلبانه می باشد و شرکت کننده در هر مرحله ای از تحقیق می تواند کناره گیری کند.

اگر با شرکت در این تحقیق مخالفتی ندارید، لطفا فرم زیر را امضا بفرمایید.

دانشکده علوم انسانی  
دانشگاه ادینبورگ  
نحوه استفاده زبان فارسی  
رضایتنامه

۱. من با شرکت در این تحقیق مخالفتی ندارم.
۲. من فرم اطلاعات را خوانده و حق سوال کردن در این مورد را داشته ام.
۳. من می دانم که شرکت در این تحقیق اجباری نیست و حق دارم که در آن شرکت نکنم.
۴. من می دانم که هیچ ضرر و نفعی این تحقیق برای من ندارد.
۵. من می دانم که در هر مرحله ای می توانم از این تحقیق کناره گیری کنم.

اسم: ----- محل تولد: ----- جنسیت: -----  
امضاء: ----- تاریخ: -----

1-Has any aspect changed in Persian language, since the revolution? Could you explain with examples?

1-1: In your opinion what are the factors affecting these changes?

2-Have you observed any changes in usage of address terms in contemporary Persian?

2-1: Why do you think these changes have occurred?

3-How would you explain the usage of different address forms in different situations?

4-In your opinion, what meaning do the address terms *to* and *šoma* entail?

5-Which address term do you use to address your parents, children, brother and sister? Why?

5-1: Which address term do they use to address you?

5-2: Which term would you use to address family members in formal/informal situations? Why?

5-3: In informal/formal situations, how would family members address you?

6-How would you like people to address you in different situations?

7-In your opinion does the use of *to* by children to parents imply impoliteness?

8-How would you define politeness in the use of Persian address forms?

**Last Questions:**

9-Is there anything else you would like to say about this topic that I haven't asked you?

10- Is there anything that you would like to ask me?

Finally, thank you very much for your time. This has been most interesting.

## پرسشنامه

۱- بعد از انقلاب به نظر شما چه تغییراتی در زبان فارسی پیش آمده؟ مثلاً؟

۱-۱ چه عواملی باعث این تغییرات شده؟

۲- شما چه تغییراتی در استفاده فرمهای خطابی درسالهای اخیر دیده اید؟

۲-۱ به نظر شما چرا این تغییرات رخ داده است؟

۲-۲ چرا فرمهای خطابی در موقعیتهای مختلف تغییر می کنند؟ (چرا در موقعیتهای مختلف از فرمهای خطابی متفاوتی استفاده می کنیم؟)

۴- به نظر شما فرمهای خطابی تو و شما چه مفهومی را می رسانند؟

۵- شما چه جوری پدر، مادر، فرزندان، برادر، خواهر و همسران را خطاب می کنید؟ چرا؟

۵-۱ آنها شما را چگونه خطاب می کنند؟

۵-۲ شما از چه فرمهای خطابی در موقعیتهای مختلف (رسمی و غیررسمی) برای خطاب کردن اعضای خانواده تان استفاده می کنید؟ بر عکسش چطور؟

۶- شما چه جوری دوست دارید که صدایتان بزنند؟ چرا؟

۷- به نظر شما وقتی که بچه ها پدر و مادرشان را تو صدا میزنند، بی ادبی است؟

۸- شما در استفاده فرمهای خطابی چه چیزی را نشانه ادب می دانید؟

۹- مورد دیگری در این زمینه به نظرتون میرسد که من نپرسیده باشم؟

## Appendix F Cell representation of quantitative data per episode

### 1. Neighbour Episode

Addressee		Young (Y)						Middle (Mid)						Old (O)					
		Male (M)			Female (F)			Male (M)			Female (F)			Male (M)			Female (F)		
Speaker		T	V	V+2s	T	V	V+2s	T	V	V+2s	T	V	V+2s	T	V	V+2s	T	V	V+2s
Y	M	0	8	0	1	13	0				0	16	0	0	7	0	0	5	0
	F	2	2	0	1	14	0				1	22	0				0	3	0
Mid	M																		
	F	0	6	0	0	6	0				0	2	0						
O	M										0	4	0						
	F	0	1	0	0	2	0												

### 2. Fixing buzzer Episode

Addressee		Young (Y)						Middle (Mid)						Old (O)					
		Male (M)			Female (F)			Male (M)			Female (F)			Male (M)			Female (F)		
Speaker		T	V	V+2s	T	V	V+2s	T	V	V+2s	T	V	V+2s	T	V	V+2s	T	V	V+2s
Y	M	17	38	11				24	27	5									
	F																		
Mid	M	22	19	9				7	13	1									
	F																		
O	M																		
	F																		

### 3. Bribe Episode

Addressee		Young (Y)						Middle (Mid)						Old (O)					
		Male (M)			Female (F)			Male (M)			Female (F)			Male (M)			Female (F)		
Speaker		T	V	V+2s	T	V	V+2s	T	V	V+2s	T	V	V+2s	T	V	V+2s	T	V	V+2s
Y	M	2	2	2	0	10	0	4	15	1	2	10	0	14	14	1			
	F		2								4	2	0						
Mid	M	7	10	0	1	13	0	30	4	8	7	3	0	13	3	0			
	F	0	3	0				0	1	0									
O	M	5	2	0				1	0	0									
	F																		

### 4. Thief Episode

Addressee		Young (Y)						Middle (Mid)						Old (O)					
		Male (M)			Female (F)			Male (M)			Female (F)			Male (M)			Female (F)		
Speaker		T	V	V+2s	T	V	V+2s	T	V	V+2s	T	V	V+2s	T	V	V+2s	T	V	V+2s
Y	M	33	14	6	2	11	0	0	12	2				4	4	0			
	F																		
Mid	M																		
	F																		
O	M																		
	F																		

## 5. Rubbish Episode

Addressee		Young (Y)						Middle (Mid)						Old (O)					
		Male (M)			Female (F)			Male (M)			Female (F)			Male (M)			Female (F)		
Speaker		T	V	V+2s	T	V	V+2s	T	V	V+2s	T	V	V+2s	T	V	V+2s	T	V	V+2s
Y	M	18	20	0	1	7	2	1	5	0	1	5	0	8	14	0	0	3	0
	F																		
Mid	M																		
	F																		
O	M																		
	F																		

## 6. Signature Episode

Addressee		Young (Y)						Middle (Mid)						Old (O)					
		Male (M)			Female (F)			Male (M)			Female (F)			Male (M)			Female (F)		
Speaker		T	V	V+2s	T	V	V+2s	T	V	V+2s	T	V	V+2s	T	V	V+2s	T	V	V+2s
Y	M	21	26	8				5	19	4									
	F																		
Mid	M	39	65	18				28	47	6				5	0	2			
	F																		
O	M							2	0	0									
	F																		

## 7. Beggars Episode

Addressee		Young (Y)						Middle (Mid)						Old (O)					
		Male (M)			Female (F)			Male (M)			Female (F)			Male (M)			Female (F)		
Speaker		T	V	V+2s	T	V	V+2s	T	V	V+2s	T	V	V+2s	T	V	V+2s	T	V	V+2s
Y	M	4	10	2	0	5	0	2	6	0	0	1	0	0	4	2	0	2	0
	F	0	2	0				1											
Mid	M	5	24	0	0	12	0	4	11	0	0	3	0	1	6	2	0	3	0
	F																		
O	M	1	0	0				5	0	0									
	F	0	1	0															

## 8. Ticket Episode

Addressee		Young (Y)						Middle (Mid)						Old (O)					
		Male (M)			Female (F)			Male (M)			Female (F)			Male (M)			Female (F)		
Speaker		T	V	V+2s	T	V	V+2s	T	V	V+2s	T	V	V+2s	T	V	V+2s	T	V	V+2s
Y	M	23	10	2	4	2	0	11	9	0				18	9	0			
	F	8	6	0															
Mid	M	1	1	0															
	F																		
O	M	5	0	0				0	1	0									
	F																		