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social distance and degree of formality of context increases the frequency of familiar terms of address decreases. It was also found that in informal situations **age** is more significant than sex and social class in determining forms of address. However, under formal circumstances **sex** is a stronger determiner in the use of address forms.

In second language learning and teaching, too, it is essential to realize that mastery of sounds, words and rules of grammar of the target language is not sufficient. Students also need to be taught the sociolinguistic rules, i.e. rules of appropriateness not just rules of grammatical accuracy. As Cook (1990:11) points out, "the language learner needs to be able to handle language which is not idealized, rather language in use".

As the findings of the present study indicate, the choice of linguistic forms is determined by the formality of the context and the relationship between interlocutors in a speech event. Therefore, such features should be taken into consideration in the preparation and presentation of teaching materials in foreign language situations. Simply presenting the learner with linguistic input would not guarantee that he would be able to express himself appropriately in different situations; he should be taught **when** to say **what** to **whom** and **how**. In other words, he should be made aware of the varying nature of language according to the formality of the context, the relationship between the interlocutors and other sociolinguistic parameters involved in a speech event.

Acknowledgements

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Conclusion and Pedagogical Implications

For long, linguists were only concerned with the forms and structure of language devoid from its social context. This was obviously the case with structural linguistics. Even when Chomsky revolutionized the field of linguistics in the mid fifties and early sixties his theory did not go beyond linguistic forms. He was preoccupied with the notions of grammatical competence, i.e. the ability to produce well formed sentences and to differentiate between grammatical and ungrammatical sentences. Therefore, American structuralists and transformationalists alike concentrated massively on linguistic forms isolated from context. They reiterated that the object of linguistic analysis should be idealized and decontextualized sentences. However, it is not enough just to have grammatical competency in one's native language. One should also know how language is used in society.

As a reaction to such inadequacies of linguistic theories, some sociolinguists lead by Dell Hymes (1966) proposed the notion of **communicative competence**, as opposed to grammatical competence, which enables us to convey and interpret messages and to negotiate meanings interpersonally within specific social contexts.

The findings of the present study support the view that language is sensitive to its social context. As Montgomery (1993:101) asserts, any given instance of language is inextricably bound up with its context of situation. The results of the data analysis in this study indicate that the use of intimate terms of address is inversely proportional to social distance and the formality of context. That is, as

A summary of chi-square values for sociolinguistic variables- age, sex, and social class- in the use of the pronouns /soma/ and/ to/ in formal social contexts is given in Table 2 below. Comparison of the results shows that in formal situations sex is a stronger determiner in the use of forms of address in Persian. This confirms the claim made elsewhere (Keshavarz 1988) that in interaction with members of the opposite sex in the Iranian culture people tend to be more polite and deferential, i.e. greater amount of social distance is maintained.

Table 2
Summary of chi-square values for age, sex, and social class
in the use of /to/ and /soma/ in formal social contexts

Addressee	Variable	Chi-Square	df	P
Father	Age	0	0	0
	Sex	13.4	1	.0000
	SC	0	0	0
Mother	Age	0	0	0
	Sex	23.14	1	.0000
	SC	0	0	0
Spouse	Age	11.13	2	.0000
	Sex	11.84	1	.0003
	SC	0	0	0
Grandmother	Age	3.45	2	.03
	Sex	0	0	0
	SC	0	0	0
Elder Brother	Age	11.33	2	.003
	Sex	0	0	0
	SC	0	0	0
Younger Sister	Age	0	0	0
	Sex	14.76	1	.0000
	SC	0	0	0
Children under 12	Age	0	0	0
	Sex	4.5	1	.039
	SC	0	0	0
Paternal Uncle	Age	0	0	0
	Sex	9.57	1	.003
	SC	0	0	0
Maternal Uncle	Age	0	0	0
	Sex	11.09	1	.0000
	SC	0	0	0
Paternal Aunt	Age	0.1	1	0.01
	Sex	13.64	1	.0000
	SC	0	0	0
Maternal Aunt	Age	1.03	2	.03
	Sex	21.36	1	.0000
	SC	1.84	1	.03

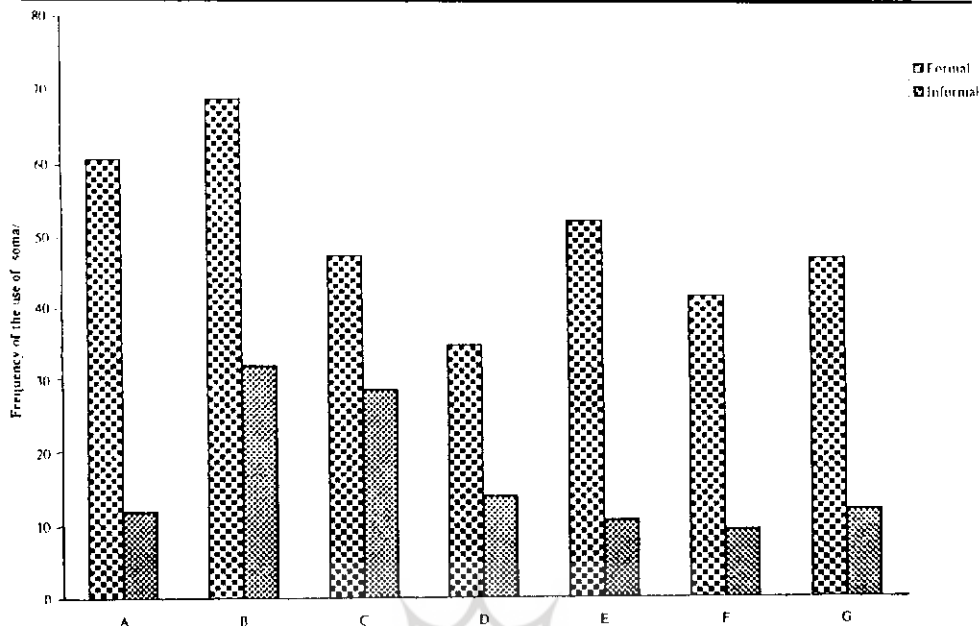


Figure 5. Addressing Kin interacts in formal and informal contexts

key: A= Spouses B= Older Brother C= Older Sister D= Younger Brother
E= Younger Sister F= Children -12 G= Children +12

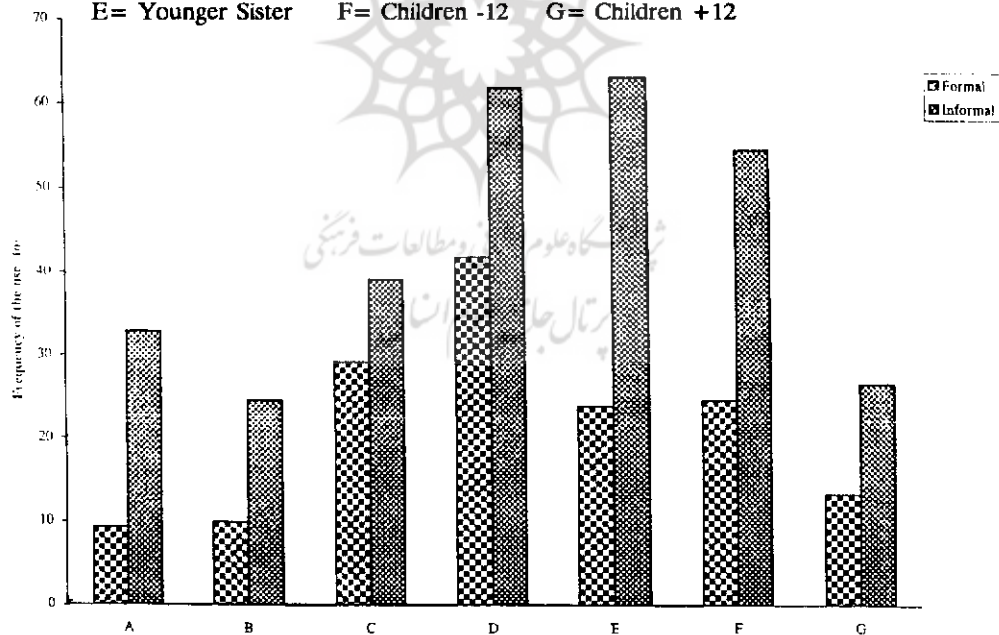


Figure 6. Addressing Kin interacts in formal and informal contexts

key: A= Spouses B= Older Brother C= Older Sister D= Younger Brother
E= Younger Sister F= Children -12 G= Children +12

whereas, this percentage declined to 9.33% in formal contexts. On the other hand, there was a sharp increase in the use of the deferential /šoma/ by spouses (12% to 60.67%) as a result of the formality of the context of situation.

The use of /šoma/ in addressing elder brothers and sisters also increased from 32.00% to 68.67% and from 28.67% to 47.33%, respectively, under the influence of the formality of context. Even in the case of addressing younger brothers and sisters, there was an increase in the use of /šoma/ in formal contexts (14% to 34.67% and 10.67% to 52.00%, respectively).

With regard to addressing younger and older children, the 9.33% of the use of /šoma/ for addressing children under 12 in informal contexts increased to 41.33% in formal situations. Similarly, the percentage of the use of /šoma/ to address children over 12 years of age was 12.00% in informal situations; whereas, this percentage reached 46.67% in formal contexts.

These comparisons, which are graphically illustrated in figures 5 and 6 below, demonstrate the significant role of context as a determining variable affecting the choice and use of pronouns of address in Persian. In fact, it can be argued that one's choice of forms of address depends largely on social context. For instance, close friends and couples may use intimate forms to address each other in private while they may shift to polite forms in the presence of others in a formal setting. Therefore, intimacy may be overruled by the formality of social context.

Table 1

Summary of chi-square for age, sex, and social class in the use of /to/ and /soma/ in informal familial situations

Addressee	Variable	Chi-Square	df	P
Spouse	Age	32.27	2	.0000
	Sex	0	0	0
	SC	19.64	2	0.0002
Grandmother	Age	6.56	2	0.03
	Sex	0	0	0
	SC	6.07	2	0.04
Elder Brother	Age	14.02	2	0.0009
	Sex	0	0	0
	SC	0	0	0
Elder Sister	Age	20.2	2	.0000
	Sex	0	0	0
	SC	0	0	0
Younger Brother	Age	6.31	2	0.04
	Sex	0	0	0
	SC	0	0	0
Younger Sister	Age	0	0	0
	Sex	4.47	1	0.03
	SC	0	0	0
Children under 12	Age	22.71	2	0.001
	Sex	8.27	1	0.02
	SC	0	0	0
Children above 12	Age	13.67	2	0.001
	Sex	0	0	0
	SC	0	0	0

Item 2. The use of /to / and/soma/ in formal contexts

In Item 2 of the questionnaire, the subjects were asked which of the two pronouns /to/and/soma/ they use when addressing members of the kin in formal situations. The objective of this item was to find out whether formality of the context would affect the choice of pronouns of address. Comparisons of interest here include interactions between spouses, younger brothers and sisters, as well as addressing children in formal and informal situations. Comparison of the results in this item with those in Item 1 shows that as the formality of the context increases the frequency of the familiar pronoun/to/decreases. For instance, the frequency of the use of/to/by spouses in informal familial contexts was %33.33;

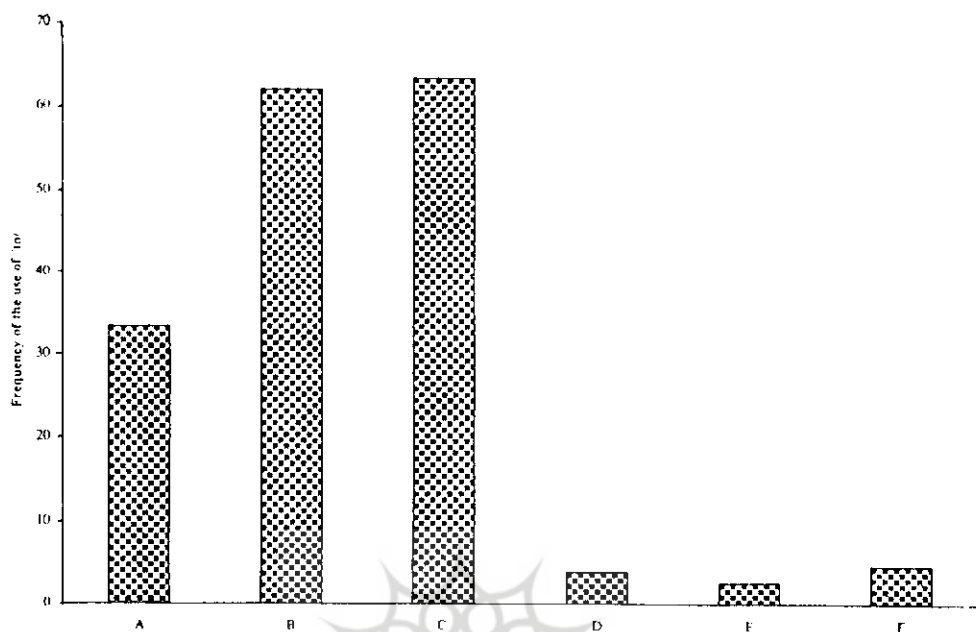


Figure 4. Interaction of intimacy and distance with/ to/ in informal familial contexts

Intimate Kins: A= Spouses

B= Brothers

C= Sisters

Distant Kins: D= Paternal Uncle

E= Maternal Uncle

F= Paternal Aunt

Table 1 gives the summary of chi- square for age, sex, and social class in the use of /to/ and /soma/ in informal familial situations. A general conclusion that can be drawn from this table is that in the Iranian culture **age**, as a sociolinguistic variable, is more significant than **sex** and **social class** in determining forms of address in informal familial situations.

was higher than the deferential /soma/ (33.33 versus 12.00). The reverse of this was true in the case of **distant members of the kin**, such as uncles and aunts. As an example, in interaction with maternal uncle the frequency of the use of /soma/ was 90.67. These findings point to the fact that social distance and intimacy are determining factors in the address system of Persian. Figures 3 and 4 show the interaction of intimacy and distance with the pronouns /soma/ and /to/, respectively.

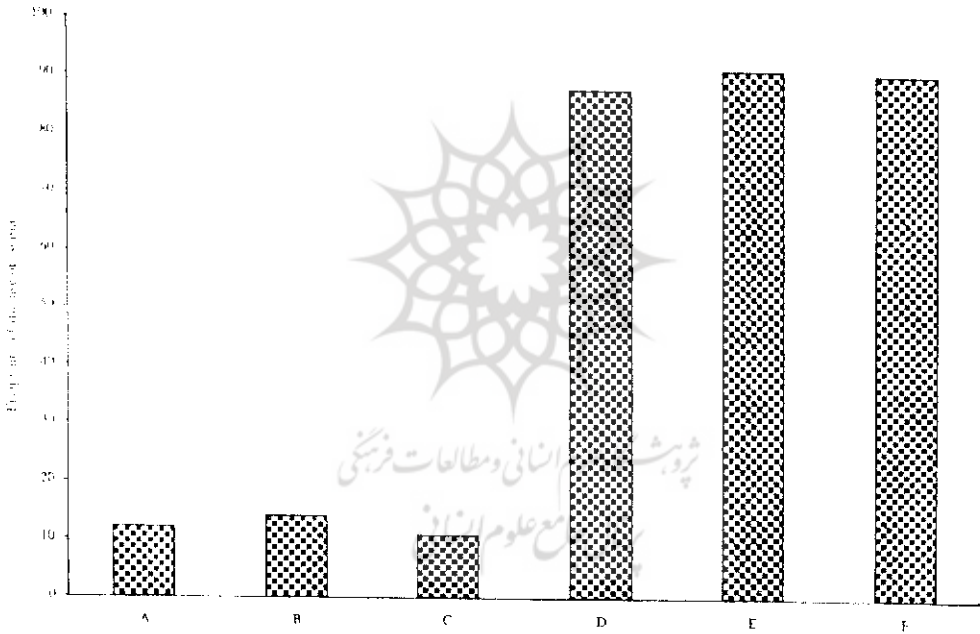


Figure 3. Interaction of intimacy and distance with /soma/ in informal familial contexts

Intimate Kins: A= Spouses

B= Brothers

C= Sisters

Distant Kins: D= Paternal Uncle

E= Maternal Uncle

F= Paternal Aunt

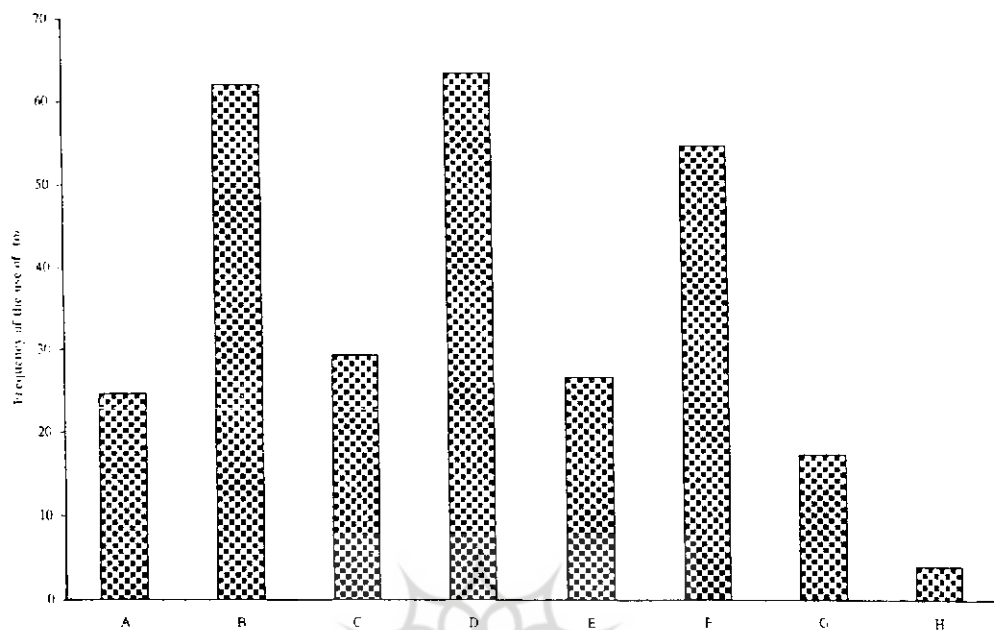


Figure 2. Interaction of AGE with/ to/ in informal familial contexts

key: A= Order Brother B= Younger Brother C= Older Sister D= Younger Sister
E= Children +12 F= Children -12 G= Mother H= Grandmother

An interesting observation here is the frequency of /soma/ in addressing fathers and mothers. As Figure 1 shows, the frequency of the use of the deferential/soma/ in addressing fathers was %80.00 compared to %70.67 in the case of mothers. A possible explanation in this regard may be the fact that mothers usually spend more time with their children at home, with fathers being away at work; therefore, children have a more intimate relationship with their mothers.

Another parameter influencing the choice of pronouns of address is **intimacy and distance**. For instance, in interaction between **spouses** in informal familial contexts the percentage of the occurrence of the intimate/ to/

and sisters (The frequency of /to/ for addressing younger brothers was 62.00; whereas, the frequency of /soma/ was 14.00. For younger sisters, these percentages were 63.33 and 10.67, respectively). This downward use of /to /shows superiority in terms of **age in informal familial contexts**. The interaction of age with the two pronouns/soma/and/to/ in informal familial situations is graphically shown in figures 1 and 2.

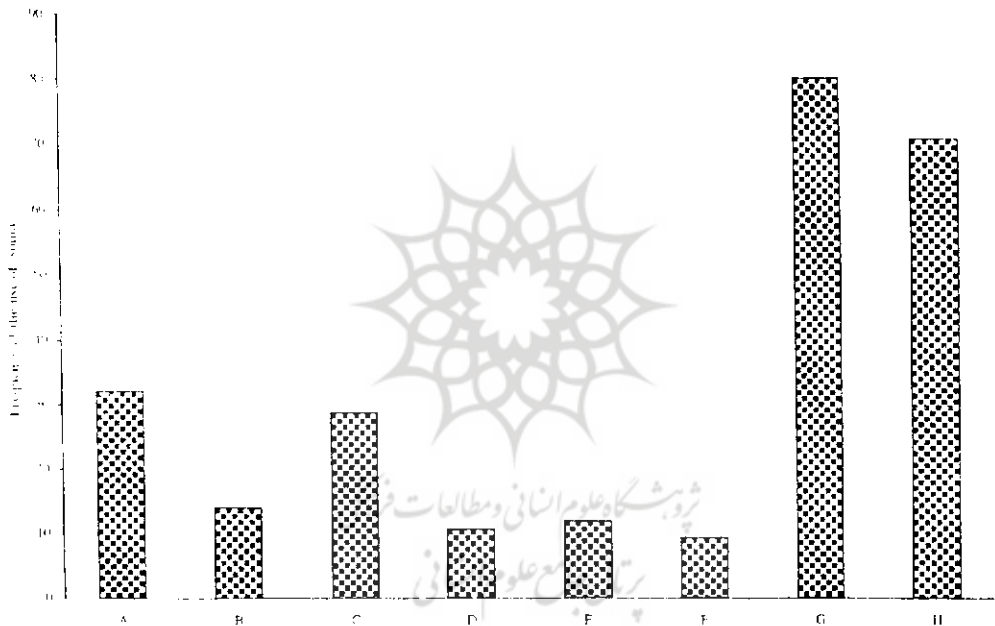


Figure 1. Interaction of AGE with the polite form/ soma/ in informal familial contexts
 key: A= Older Brother B= Younger Brother C= Older Sister D= Younger Sister
 E= Children Over 12 F= Children Under 12

also inferiors in terms of age and authority. The deferential /*soma*/, on the other hand, is reserved for superiors and /or equals in formal situations. The items included in the questionnaire aimed at investigating the effect of the formality of context as well as intimacy and distance on the choice of appropriate forms of address. The results are discussed below.

Item 1. The use of /to/ and /*soma*/ in informal familial contexts

In item 1 of the questionnaire, the subjects were asked which of the two forms /to/ and /*soma*/ they normally use when addressing members of kin in informal familial contexts.

Comparison of the total percentages of the use of /to/ and /*soma*/ shows that in interaction with older kins such as father, mother, grandfather, and the like /*soma*/ is used more often even in informal familial contexts. However, as the age gap between the interlocutors decreases the use of /*soma*/ also declines. For instance, in addressing parents the percentage of the use of /*soma*/ was over 70%; whereas, this percentage decreased to 32% and 28.67% in addressing older brothers and sisters, respectively (see Figure 1). Therefore, it can be concluded that age is a determining factor in the choice of these two pronouns for addressing kin interacts. The fact that /to/ was used far more frequently to address younger children than older ones further supports this statement: the frequency of the use of /to/ in addressing children under 12 years of age was 54.67% compared to 26.67% in the case of children over 12 (See Figure 2). Similarly, the frequency of /to/ was much higher than /*soma*/ in addressing younger brothers

address forms they usually use for interaction with specified addressees in the provided situations.

Procedure

Prior to the administration of the questionnaire, the research assistants were instructed to approach the subjects in a friendly manner and try to gain their cooperation and assistance. They were also asked to explain the goals of the research to the subjects and to assure them that the personal information they provide in the first part of the questionnaire will not be disclosed. In order to ascertain this point, the subjects were not asked to write their names in the questionnaire. Therefore, they felt convenient in responding the questions. In the case of the illiterates, the research assistants had to read the questions to them and register their responses.

After the data were collected, the questionnaires were examined and the incomplete ones were discarded. Then they were classified and codified for the computer analysis.

Results and Discussion

In this study, the subjects were asked to choose one of the two address forms /to/ and /soma/ they usually use for interaction with specified addressees in the provided situations. It needs to be remembered that Persian, unlike English, has two personal pronouns /to/ and /soma/ for a singular addressee. The familiar /to/ is used for addressing intimate friends and colleagues in informal contexts, and

as well as the education and occupation of their parents and their spouses, if they were married. They were also asked questions about their monthly income. However, since some subjects are normally reluctant to provide information about their income, certain indirect questions were included in the questionnaire to arrive at a reliable estimate of their economic status. These indicators included questions about the subjects' monthly expenses, the amount of money they spent on housing in case they did not own a property, the kind of automobiles they drove, and the amount of money they spent on their children's education especially if they sent them to private schools. Therefore, an individual's social class was established by his combined rank on these scales. Accordingly, the subjects were categorized into three social classes: low, middle and high (L,M,H).

It is worth pointing out that private cars and properties can be considered good indicators of one's wealth since only the rich can afford to drive expensive cars and own decent properties. The last question was also included on the assumption that only the affluent can afford to send their children to private schools since the tuition fees in such schools are very high.

Measuring Instrument

The data for this study were collected by means of a questionnaire [a modified version of Braun's (1988) model]. The questionnaire consisted of two main parts. Part one aimed at eliciting personal information about the subjects to make the task of categorization possible as illustrated above.

In part two, items were included which asked the subjects to choose the

couples may use intimate forms to address each other in private while they may shift to polite forms in a formal context. Therefore, it is hypothesized here that one's use of forms of address depends largely on social context.

Based on the foregoing discussion, the present study strives to answer the following **research questions**:

1. Does the formality of context of situation affect the choice of forms of address?
2. What is the role of intimacy and distance in the choice of address forms?
3. Is there any relationship between the extralinguistic variables age, sex, and social class and variation in the use of forms of address?

Method

Subjects

The subjects of this study were 150 Persian speakers living in different districts of Tehran. The subjects were randomly selected from different strata of the society, using stratified sampling.

On the basis of the information elicited in the first part of the questionnaire discussed below, the subjects were categorized into: (a) three age groups (18-25, 26-35, and 36- over); (b) two sex groups (Male vs Female); and (c) three social-class groups (Low, Middle, and High).

The criteria for establishing social class membership were based on the subjects' education, occupation, and socioeconomic status. That is, the informants were asked primarily about their own occupation, education, and residential areas

and the addressee, or when the addressee is in a subordinate position. The deferential "you" in Persian is /soma/ and the familiar "you" is /to/.

Forms of address of diverse languages have been studied from a variationist point of view (see, for example, Bates and Benigni 1975; Brown and Gilman 1960; Brown and Ford 1961; Chandrasekhar 1970; Cintra 1972; Paulston 1976; Ostor 1982; Parkinsen 1982; Philipsen and Huspeck 1985; Braun 1988; Muhlhauster and Harre 1990; Oyetade 1995). However, many investigators have been mainly concerned with variation in the forms of address according to the social characteristics of the language users and the relationship between interlocutors. As an example, Brown and Levinson (1979, cited in Wardhaugh 1993: 332-3), postulate that "T/V usage is tied primarily to kinds of social relationship". The significance of the present study, however, lies in the fact that it deals primarily with the role of social context in the choice of forms of address. In this study, two important variables namely **social distance** and **degree of formality of social context** are investigated. How well we know someone (i.e. intimacy/distance) is crucial in determining our linguistic choices. For instance, the choice of the pronoun /to/ in Persian indicates intimacy; whereas, /soma/ shows distance. As Holmes (1992:247) states, "many factors may contribute in determining the degree of social distance or intimacy between people- relative age, sex, social roles, whether people work together, or are members of the same family and so on". Similarly, degree of formality is useful in assessing the influence of the social setting. As an example, forms of address used by friends and family members may vary according to the formality of the social context, i.e.

Terms of address are linguistic forms which are used in addressing others to attract their attention in the course of a conversation. Address forms, as Murphy (1988) has elegantly put it, are socially driven phenomena. In other words, linguistic forms which are used to address others can mirror the complex social relations of individuals in a speech community (Paulston 1976; Trudgill 1983; Chaika 1990). It is also maintained that the best place in the grammar of a language to look for a correspondence between language and society is in the pronouns and forms of address. Therefore, address forms have been of great interest to sociolinguists, anthropologists, and social psychologists because these forms can conspicuously manifest the relationship between language and society.

Brown and Yule (1989:54) argue that "in different social contexts different terms of address will be used". Consider, for example, the distribution of tu/vous pronouns in French (cf. Brown and Gilman 1960). As Lyons (1977) points out, the terms of address used by a social inferior to a social superior may be different from those between peers, as in vocative terms like "Sir" or "Doctor" or "My Lord" (in the courtroom).

In Persian, like many other languages (e.g. French, Italian, Spanish, German, and Russian), speakers have to make a choice between two forms of "you": (i) the deferential "you", and (ii) the familiar "you". The deferential "you" is used when an asymmetrical relationship exists between the dyads in a speech event, i.e. when the addressee is in a superior social position or when the speaker does not have a sufficiently close personal relationship with the addressee. The familiar "you", on the other hand, is used when an intimate relationship exists between the speaker

Introduction

For several decades, linguistics was only concerned with sentences in isolation. However, since the beginning of the 70s, linguists have become increasingly aware of the importance of context in the interpretation of sentences. In particular, sociolinguists have become interested in explaining why we speak differently in different social contexts. As Holmes (1992:1) asserts, "examining the way people use language in different social contexts provides a wealth of information about the way language works, as well as about the social relationships in a community". We use different styles in different social contexts; therefore, sociolinguistics is concerned with the relationship between language and the contexts in which it is used.

Context in language use is very important for linguistic and social behavior does not only have to be appropriate to the individual and his socioeconomic background, but it also needs to be suitable for particular occasions and situations. In other words, language varies not only according to the social characteristics of the speaker but also according to the **social context** in which he finds himself.

Levinson (1989:54) asserts that "the single most obvious way in which the relationship between language and context is reflected in the structure of languages themselves is through the phenomenon of **deixis**". Among the categories of deixis, one which is directly related to this study is **social deixis** which refers to social roles played by an individual in a speech event. Social deixis includes terms of address and honorifics.

نقش بافت اجتماعی و رابطه صمیمی و غیر صمیمی در کاربرد صورتهای خطاب

دکتر محمد حسین کشاورز

چکیده

هدف اصلی این تحقیق بررسی اثر محیط اجتماعی، وجود روابط صمیمانه یا فاصله میان افراد در انتخاب صورتهای خطاب می باشد. همچنین تغییرات در کاربرد صورتهای خطاب، بر اساس ویژگیهای اجتماعی افراد نیز مورد مطالعه قرار می گیرد. تحقیق حاضر مبتنی بر این فرضیه است که دگرگونی در کاربرد صورتهای خطاب نه تنها ناشی از عواملی چون سن، جنسیت و طبقه اجتماعی است بلکه متأثر از بافت اجتماعی، صمیمیت و فاصله بین افراد نیز می باشد. نتایج آماری تحقیق نشان می دهد که کاربرد صورتهای خطاب صمیمی در ارتباط معکوس با فاصله اجتماعی و رسمی بودن بافت محیطی است. به دیگر سخن، با افزایش فاصله اجتماعی و رسمی بودن موقعیتی که فرد در آن قرار می گیرد بسامد صورتهای صمیمی خطاب کاهش می یابد. داده ها همچنین نشان می دهند که در شرایط غیر رسمی محیط خانوادگی سن در تعیین و انتخاب صورتهای خطاب در قیاس با جنس و طبقه اجتماعی از اهمیت بیشتری برخوردار است ولی در شرایط رسمی جنسیت اهمیت بیشتری پیدا می کند.