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A Critical Discourse Analysis on Terms of Address in Persian

Ferdows Aghagolzadeh, [1] Hiwa Asadpour,[2]

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Abstract

This study aims at ascertaining a framework that would account for the Persian data. We scrutinize all data occurring in the selected corpus, and describe how they usually work on the basis of the two following variables: power and intimacy. According to our investigation, the use of terms of address in Persian is affected by age, sex, occupation, ideology, political and social position of the interlocutors. These variables can be stated as a result of the investigation of older material – such as qualitative analysis of observations followed by unobtrusive note taking of contemporary use, a corpus of several plays, travel accounts, interviews, TV, radio and careful observation terms used to address today. The above-mentioned variables indicate a strong relationship between social structures and address terms in Persian.

Keywords: Address Terms, Critical Discourse Analysis, Historical Sociolinguistics, Politeness, Persian.

1. Associate Professor in Linguistics, Tarbiat Modares University, Tehran, Iran, E-mail: ferdowsg@yahoo.com
2. Science and Research Branch, Islamic Azad University, Tehran, Iran

1. Introduction

Language is a social phenomenon. James Paul Gee (1999: 13) defines the social language as "different styles that we use to enact and recognize different identities in different settings". Halliday (1978) distinguishes three main functions of language: ideational, textual and interpersonal. In this paper, we are dealing with the interpersonal function. The latter is to indicate and establish social relationships between people in a society. It includes terms of address, speech functions, etc. Fasold (1990) believes that in any area of sociolinguistics, this function of language is more highlighted than in address forms.

The study of address terms investigates social attitudes, social structures and group ideology (Lee-Wong, 1994). In addition, cultural norms and values are reflected in the address system. For example, if in a language, a number of variants in the address system refer to religious terms like **'***mollâ'* and *'šeix'*, this shows the high value of religion in the respective culture (Braun, 1988: 3-4).

Hence, address terms are specific instances of language used, and the aim of Critical Discouse Analysis (CDA) is to critically investigate social inequality as it is expressed and constituted by language use. Therefore, we must find the assumptions that legitimized power relations between people (Fasold, 1990: 68; Van Leeuwen 1993: 193; Hodge and Kress 1996: 6; Foley 1997: 315; Fairclaugh 1989: 29; Wodak & Meyer, 2001: 2).

1.1. Significance of the Study

Terms of address have been studied systematically in European languages, but that lacked with suspect to Asian and African languages. Commenting on this situation, Fasold (1990: 30) notes that "indigenous languages of the Western hemisphere and African languages have received much less attention". Fasold dose not refer to Asian languages in this context. Although, in recent years, some studies have been done on Asian languages and in Iran after the Islamic Revolution, Persian has been investigated with regard to address behavior and address system, but it still lacks in-depth qualitative and quantitative research. This work intends to provide a springboard for similar studies in one of the Asian languages i.e. Persian. The main emphasis would be on contemporary usage, but after the Islamic Revolution in Iran, some changes have occurred in Persian address system. These changes are of great importance and are included as innovations in Persian address system which should be studied more.

1.2. Data Collection

Through our field research, we made use of observation of an observant participation (experiencing), interviewing (enquiring) and study materials prepared by others (examining) (Bryman, 1984; Wolcott, 1994: 10). For terms

of address used in the past, we drew on plays, travel accounts, encyclopedias and letters. An informal interview of 50 people was conducted regarding the use of address terms in the past. The inter was balanced between two sexes with three age groups (youth, adults and older generation) them in three different social states (lower, middle and higher social scale) across the province. For contemporary usage, people were observed in different situations ranging from informal (e.g. at home) to formal (e.g. at the office). This was supported by material collected (personally) whenever interlocutors were using address terms in a given situation, e.g. a conversation between a manager of a post office and one of the clerks, or a conversation during a family gathering, which is/was illuminating for the use of kinship terms. The motivation for using them was to collect reliable data in natural situations in other parts of Iran where Persian is spoken. In addition, we used some films and TV sercals, including Gâve Mæšædi Hæssæn, Leili væ Mæjnūn, Næmæki. The choice of these films was motivated by the consideration that they, contain some borrowed terms of address in Persian. Finally, we gathered a corpus of 3000 samples

1.3. Research Questions

The main questions include: What is the relation between power, ideology and the terms of address? How do power and ideology affect the use of address terms? How do the development and the shift from power semantics to solidarity take place? Why is a particular address term used in a specific situation and to whom?

1.4. Delimitations of the Study

This study has some limitations such as:

1. Not being able to go to all parts of Iran, we had to rely on some limited data obtained from TV and radio programs about the use of address terms.

2. Not being able to spend enough time in all parts of Iran in which Persian is spoken, our detailed analysis of address terms is based on its usage in Tehran.

1.5. Review of the Literature

Researchers in the field of sociolinguistics have long been interested in investigating both the process by which people are socialized into cultural practices and the meanings that are associated with such practices. The study of address terms is also associated with Brown & Gilman (1960, 1972), Brown & Ford (1961), and Brown & Levinson (1987), too.

The present study tries to show how cultural practice is to evoke in the Iranian society, and the meanings which the interlocutors link to this practice. It gives an overview of the relevant studies on address systems. The studies on English introduced the symbols T and V from Latin "tu" for the "familiar" 2nd sg. pronoun and "vos" for the "polite" 2nd pl. pronoun.

The scholars found two forces triggering the use of address terms: power and solidarity. Some instances exhibit the FN vs. TLN distribution or the T/V distinction in older AE, that is, "thou" and "you" respectively, but in standard contemporary English, there is only one pronoun of address, namely "you" (Brown and Gilman, 1960, 1972; Brown and Ford, 1961; Ervin-Tripp, 1972; Brown and Levinson, 1987).

For Italian, Bates and Benigni found out that there are three pronouns of address in the system: 'tu' (T), 'voi' (V_1) and 'lei' (V_2). So it has a threefold distinction which is not considered by Brown and Gilman (Bates and Benigni, 1975: 271). Paulston believed that a linguistic description is not possible without considering social and historical aspects of the society, so she highlighted that one can describe the Swedish address system adequately only if one recognizes that the social classes have different rules of use due to different 'semantics' for the pronoun *du* and *ni* (Paulston, 1976: 364).

Mcgivney (1993: 13) found that rules for address in Mijikenda are based on kinship but are extended to affine. According to this study, kin or affine of the same generation and also of alternate generations always use reciprocal singular forms, so pronoun selection is unaffected with regard to relative or absolute age. He also understood that address systems underlie the social norms of respect and dependency between children and their parents' generations and alternative values of non-respectful joking relationships between them.

Lee-Wong (1994: 302-3) studied the relationship between shifting semantics and the changing ideology in the address system of Chinese. Chinese system of address is rooted in a social structure that attaches great impoltance to kinship. Oyetade (1995: 519) provided a descriptive analysis of the entire system of address in Yoruba, a Defoid language of the phylum spoken in the western part of Nigeria and also in the Republics of Benin and Togo. He found that address terms in Yoruba are pronouns, names, kinship terms, titles and occupational terms. Among these variants, names are the most common forms of address, and the reciprocal use of personal names (PN) is the rule between friends, close associatives and members of the same age group.

Saberi (2002: 23) studied the understanding level of non-Persian speakers of the social functions of Persian address terms as a second language. He administered a self-made questionnaire to 30 Tehrani senior university students studying at Razi University in Kermanshah and 30 foreign students studying Persian as a second language at Iman Khomeini International University Qazvin. The foreign students were from Arabs countries such as Iraq, Lebanon, Palestine, Syria and Sudan.

Using a t-test, he discovered that non-Farsi speakers have a low understanding of the social functions of Persian address terms. He also found that Persian has a complicated address system that includes pronouns, names, titles, kinship terms, endearment terms, reproof terms and zero forms (23). Saberi's (2002) case demonstrates that in learning any foreign language, the social behavior of the target culture is more important than the vocabulary and grammar of that language.

2. Power, Ideology and Terms of Address

2.1. "For CDA (critical discourse analysis), language is not powerful on its own - it gains power by the use powerful people make of it" (Wodak, 2001: 10)

Since, we are going to investigate terms of address critically, our study should not be restricted to the description of these linguistic forms, rather we should take into account the purpose and functions these forms serve in society. For Hodge and Kress (1996: 6) "language is an instrument of control as well as a means of communication". Every linguistic unit may be used to exercise power in some way or communicate knowledge, skills and beliefs. Here, we are concerned with the relationship between power, ideology and terms of address. Since address terms are specific instances of language use, to grasp a whole understanding of them, first we discuss this relationship in language, then refer it to address terms. For this discussion, some points should be clarified: the meaning of discourse, its relation to social practice and the aim of CDA since it sees language as a social practice.

Fairclaugh (1989: 29) regards discourse as discoursal action, actual talk or writing. He uses the term "language" in a parallel way to refer to discourse action or to specific instances of talk or writing. Van Leeuwen (1993:193) believes that there are two kinds of relations between discourse and social practice. The first is that discourse itself is social practice. It is a form of action and something people do to, for or with each other. The second is that discourse is a way of presenting social practice. It is a form of knowledge and the things people say about social practice. Since the study of discourse is the study of any aspect of language use (Fasold, 1990: 68) and address terms are specific instances of language use and the aim of CDA is to critically investigate social inequality as it is expressed and constituted by language use (or in discourse) (Wodak, 2001: 2), we must find assumptions that legitimize power relations between people. Here, question arises as how power is exercised in language? According to Fairclaugh (1989: 3, 4) power is exercised in two ways: through coercion of various kinds including physical violence, and through the manufacturing of consent. Ideologies are the prime means of manufacturing consent. In modern societies, people rarely exercise power

through physical coercion, but use language to achieve this end.

When people use language, or behave in a specific manner or interact with each other, they convey implicit conventions or commonsense assumptions of which they are not generally aware. These assumptions are ideologies and are closely associated with power, because these assumptions and conventions make them are dependent on power relations in society. According to Fairclaugh (1989: 1-2), these conventions have a dual relation to power, "on the one hand, they incorporate differences in power and on the other, and they arise out of – and give rise to – particular power relations".

Power relations are inherently asymmetrical because two people cannot exert power upon each other in the same direction or in the same area of behavior. This non- reciprocal power relation only exists between a superior and an inferior, so it calls for a social structure in which every individual has a specific right by his / her conditions of birth, and power relations are so rigid that there is almost no mobility. In such a society, if a person was born in a powerful family, he was superior for the whole of his life and if he was born in a powerless family, he remained inferior for his life and no changes occurred in power positions. Most of the differences in power relation are differences and inequality in economic and political relations, thus, power is largely linked to class or caste positions. Violating power relations implies that a speaker thinks of the other as his inferior, superior or equal.

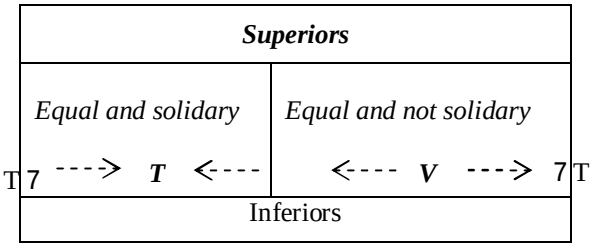
Ideological assumptions are not used only for sustaining unequal power relations. They are also used for establishing and maintaining solidarity relations between members of a community (Fairclaugh, 1989: 84). Solidarity relations are necessarily reciprocal since they imply a sharing between people and a degree of intimacy. The attributes for asserting solidarity are different. According to Foley (1997: 315) the most important of them are: "political party membership, family background, religious affiliation, gender or sexual orientation, roughly equal age, etc". Violating solidarity relations means that a speaker considers other as an outsider or an intimate to him / her.

What we have discussed so far, is a general relation between power, ideology and language as a whole. For our present purposes, we can discuss this relation in address terms, since power and ideology are best embodied in address terms. In the next paragraph, we discuss the shift from V to T.

In ancient Latin, there was only 'tu' to address one person, and 'vous' was used to address more than one. The use of 'vous' to one person was first directed to the emperor. By that time there were only two emperors in the world: the ruler of the eastern empire in Constantinople and the ruler of the west who

had his seat in Rome. The reverential 'vous' was inspired by the power of the emperor and then was extended to other powerful figures. Until about 200 years ago, the European social structure was feudal and approximately a caste-based society. The nobility said 'T' to the common people and received 'V'. With the Industrial Revolution, a social structure began to emerge based on one's economic position and mobility of power occurred widely in society, so the power semantics was not sufficient to underline the address behavior in speech communities. According to Fasold (1990: 4) not all differences between people are differences in power relations. Two people can be equally powerful in the social order, but be from different families or have different professions, so the development of solidary semantics was necessary. If equally powerful people were solidary, they would exchange 'T' and if they were not solidary, they would address each other by the "V" form. Brown and Gilman (1972) illustrate this as in Figure 3.1.

Figure 3.1: Two - dimensional semantic in equilibrium
Source: Brown and Gilman (1972: 259). Figure 1 a

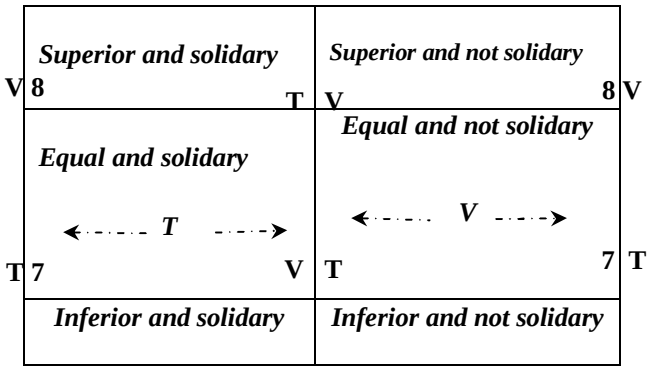


In this figure as well as the following one, the direction of arrows upwards shows that inferiors address superiors with V form and downwards indicates that superiors address inferiors with T form. Bi-directional arrows show reciprocity. It means that those who are equal and solidary use mutual T and those who are equal, but not solidary, address each other by the 'V' form. In Persian, the T/V exists and it is shown by names and titles too. First name (FN) is roughly equivalent to the T form and title + last name (TLN) is similar to the 'V' form.

Fasold (1990) also states that in some cases some conflicts may occur between power and solidarity. For example, in a restaurant, a patron has power over a waiter and power semantics entitles the customer to address the waiter with 'T', but because they are strangers; and so not solidary; the solidarity semantics dictates 'V'. This is also seen between employers and employees. Having power over the employee, the employer can address him with the T form. In these cases, because there is low solidarity, mutual 'V' is exchanged. Parents and children are solidary, so solidarity semantics calls for mutual 'T', but the power semantics would lead a child to address his / her parent with 'V'.

When solidarity takes on greater importance, conflicts of this type arise. Brown and Gilman (1972) summarize the modern usage as in Figure 3.2.

Figure 3.2: Two - dimensional semantic under tension
Source: Brown and Gilman (1972: 259, Fig. - 1b)



In this chart, the problematic cases are the upper left and lower right hand boxes in which power and solidarity semantics conflict. The other boxes like Figure 3.1, in which mutual 'T' or 'V' or the non – reciprocal use of 'V' are used. In the problematic boxes, 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.

In brief, there is a strong relationship between power, ideology and terms of address because the address behavior is based on implicit conventions and assumptions that arise from power relations among people. These assumptions are ideologies and ideological assumptions are used not only for sustaining power relations but also for maintaining solidarity relations between speakers in a speech community.

3. Terms of Address in Persian

The address terms vary according to speakers' age, class, sex, education, religion, etc.

3.1. Kinship terms

According to Braun (1988: 9), "kinship terms are those used for blood relations and for affines". Foley (1997) believes that KTs should be studied from two kinds of perspectives: universalist and relativist. Kinship systems are good domains to show the universals, because marrying and reproduction are necessary features of any society. Murdock (1949: 92-3) considers the nuclear family as a cultural universal, too, and states that the nuclear family is the starting point for the analysis of kinship. Our data on Persian KTs show that when social class and family structure change, the address system changes accordingly, which confirms Brown and Gilman's (1960) predictions concerning the influence of social class and political views on changes in the address system.

Table 3.1 : Kinship terms in Persian

Pre-Rev. Persian KTs	Post-Rev. Persian KTs	English Equivalent
pedær, vâled, ʔæbævi	bâbâ, pedær	daddy, papa, father
bibi, næne	mâdær, mâmân, mâmy	Mother
ʔæxævi, ʔæče/ ʔæči	bærâdær	Brother
hæmšire, ʔâbji	xâhær	Sister
Xætæn	bærâdær zæn	brother-in-law, wife's brother
xâzne, xiyâzne	xâhær zæn	sister-in-law
ʔætâbæk/ ʔætâbeig, pedær bozorg	pedær bozorg, bâbâ bozorg	grandfather, granddaddy
bibi, xânom bozorg, xânom jân	mâdær bozorg, mâdær jân	Grandmother
pesær bærâdær, pesær xâhær	bærâdærzâde	nephew
doxtær bærâdær, doxtær xâhær	xâhærzâde	Niece

Note: There are corpuses of hundreds of address terms for both periods and due to the governmental and political situation of pre-Islamic Revolution there are many copied terms and words from different languages into Persian which gathered from different sources (Beyzâyi 1999; Bloushour, 1949; Dehxodâ 1955; Dowlat Âbâdi 2000; Moin 1971). With the Mongolian invasion in the thirteenth century and their domination in Iran for more than a century and a half, a number of Mongolian and Turkish loans slipped into Persian, as most of the Mongol troops were Turks. The subsequent rulers of Iran were Turks, a fact that contributed to the penetration of Turkish administrative and military words into Persian (Sadeghi 2001: 20).

In the nineteenth century, Iran came into contact with France. A number of Iranian students continued their higher education in France, and cultural relations between Iran and France gradually increased. The linguistic consequence was French cultural dominance and a great number of borrowings from French, most of which are still in use in contemporary Persian. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the idea of replacing foreign words with Persian equivalents grew among some men of letters. This was the starting point of a rudimentary form of language planning in Iran. Nationalism awakened in some learned circles the idea of linguistic purism, the target of which was to coin Persian equivalents for western loan words, and for Arabic and Turkish loans as well. Thus, the center of language planning in Iran was the domain of vocabulary. This vocabulary-based concern for language, has dominated every activity in language planning in Iran up to the present day (Sadeghi

2001: 21)

Based on the etymology of some encyclopedias, it is worth mentioning to note these terms although it sounds that it is not pure Persian but the main concern is that these terms were used and it shows not only the hierarchy social structure of pre-Islamic revolution but also language change and language contact which followed by power. Therefore, we can see how power and ideology can affect a language and political power is the main sources for using and copying different address terms from different languages. Automotive, food, printing, and military terms and a number of civil terms were borrowed from Turkish. Some few examples of Turkish loan words in these domains include the following but for more explanation see next sections of the paper:

For example we can say that ʔætâ is Turkish meaning "father", and beig, bæk means "lord", "master", originally "god". It is originally an Iranian word (though here in Turkish shape), attested in Old Persian bægæ = god, and might be borrowed from Sogdian into Turkish. In the East bagh was used as "lord" (not "god" anymore), of course it is possible that the understanding of -beg is "old" today, but it is not the original meaning.

Military words of Turkish origin: tup, from Tur. Tob 'canon', bârut 'gun-powder', xompâre 'mortar' (c.f. table 5.5. military and political terms for more information and example).

Civil words: næzmiyye 'police office', bælædiyye 'municipality', ʔædliyye 'ministry of justice', tæyyâre, Tur. from Arabic.'airplane' (c.f. Table 5.6. occupational terms for more information and example)

Some of these terms like *xâhær zæn, xâhær šohær, jârí, bærâdærzâde, xâhærzâde* are used alone and never with FN. Terms like *dâdâš, ʔæmū, xâle* can be used on their own or with FN. Others like ***bâbâ, mâmân, dâyi*** are used on their own or along with a title, for example *bâbâ Behzâd*. *bâbâ* "father" and *mâmân* "mother" are the most basic units in all kinship systems and they are the most widely used in Persian. Regarding family structures in the past, the interviewees told me that the structure of most families was extended in that people lived with their parents, aunts, uncles, cousins, nephews, etc.

So the use of terms like *xâhær zæn, xâhær šohær, jârí, bærâdærzâde, xâhærzâde* was common during those days. Today the old structure is only found in villages and, along with the change of extended families to nuclear ones, these terms have gradually disappeared. Instead, other variants like personal names or titles are used. In our observations, we never encountered the use of these terms between speakers in a dyad. In Dari, the Afghan variety of Persian, *læla* "elder brother" was used by speakers of lower social status to male speakers of high social status. This term was used by

higher social class speakers to address lower ones via imitation (Braun, 1988: 33).

Gradually, high class speakers reciprocated this term – not to express superiority, but only as an imitation of what low class speakers did. This is a kind of address inversion. There are two main aspects of social meaning in address inversion: 1. intimacy/grade of affection; 2. difference in authority (Braun, 1988). With regard to Persian, address inversion is visible within KTs in the family, so intimate and affectionate connections of inversion are referred to KTs.

Today, '*bærâdær'* is used not only for family members, but also to express solidarity, e.g. between people having the same religion and a certain level of intimacy. Hence, the family term 'brother' was transferred to informal and semi-formal conversations, concealing differences in age, in the hierarchical social structure. Within the family, terms of address systematically show the relationship between members according to generation, age, sex, patrilineal kin, matrilineal kin, and affinal kin and so on. Regardless of who uses these KTs and to whom they are used, they show a sense of solidarity among speakers. In these patterns solidarity does not necessarily imply equality. These KTs are neutral with regard to power in the sense that they don't show the superiority of one person over another. Non-reciprocal relationships in Persian KTs involve differences in age and sex and the status indicates a powerful age-sex interaction rather than status.

powerful age-sex interaction rather than status.

3.2. Pronouns

Pronouns and polite forms in Persian have been marginally studied by some scholars like Lambton (1953), Hodge (1957), Bateni (1975), Jahangiri (2000), Keshavarz (2001).

Table 3.2: Pronouns of address in Persian

Persian pronouns of address	*English Equivalent*
to	you (singular)
šomâ	you (plural)

For the study of address terms in Persian, the T/V distinction is of major importance. According to Brown and Gilman (1960), The T form shows intimacy between speakers and the V form implies distance and the speaker's politeness. In Persian the T/V distinction is found.

The play: "Otubūs" (Bus) by Mahmoud Dowlat Abâdi

Abdollâh:*to* četor gozær*et* be *bâlâ jæm*ʔ ʔoftâde, ʔ*âqâ modir'*?

Lit: you (sing.) how pass-you (sing.) to high class community come?

Mr. Manager. How did you come to the higher class community, Mr. Manager?

The manager: *mæn* xeili mozâheme *to* mišæm, *Akbær* **jân**.

Lit: I very bother you become I, Akbar dear.

Dear Akbar, I make you in trouble very much

Nehmat xân: bâ*hât* kâr dâræm ʔ*âqâ Mohsen*!

Lit: With-you (sing.) favor need I Mr. Mohsen!

I need a favor Mr. Mohsen.

Nehmat xân: belæxære *to* ʔæz mâyi yâ ʔæz ʔūnâ, *Mohsen xân*?!

Lit: Finally you (sing.) are with us or with them Mohsen xân?!

Finally, are you with us or with them Mohsen xân

The manager: *šomâ* čerâ ʔinqædr tæʔæssob be xærj mid*in, dâyi jân*?!

Lit: You (pl.) why so much bias? do you have, uncle dear?!

Why do you show so much bias dear uncle?!

In these data, like the above-mentioned short conversations, we found different instances in spoken language in which T/V distinctions are used to address one and the same person. Since, in Persian, we have two kinds of pronouns, foreign users should be careful with using such pronouns to avoid impoliteness and misunderstanding.

The pronoun system in Persian has two major aspects:1-General humility:a traditionally inherited quality which is highly admired in the community. Humility by a superior can go beyond the barrier of the power relationship. While the use of a low form pronoun in addressing an inferior is understandable, a reasonable degree of humility in presence of the inferior is considered broad-minded and democratic. This humility can be achieved not only by using polite forms to others, especially inferiors, but also by allowing them to use forms which do not show the power relationship. At least, from the point of view of social behavior, this fills the unjust gap created out of the values of a society based on class distinctions.

2- Respect and its relationship to power and solidarity. In Persian respect towards others can be motivated in two ways: a) accepted social norms, b) over-norm politeness (Jahangiri 2000: 176-177).

Based on the collected data, accepted social norms are going to fade out nowadays in Tehran. Generally, in the social structure of pre-revolutionary Iran, the use of plural pronouns was highly frequent and common because the society was feudal, static and hierarchically organized. Moreover, the use of plural pronouns was a kind of flattery, but not respect or solidarity, because power semantics were dominating solidarity semantics.

3.3 Titles

A conversational exchange in the street:

Mohsen: "*sælâm Ali ʔâqâ***"**

" Hello, Mr. Ali"

Ali: "*mæn Ali hæstæm næ Ali ʔâqâ***"** "I'm Ali, not Mr. Ali"

This conversation indicates that first name (FN) + *ʔâqâ* is marked, because it reminds us of the social structure in the past, in which the *ʔâqâ* considered himself nobler than ordinary people. Today, however, it is not acceptable to address people with FN + *ʔâqâ*. In the above example, Mohsen irritated Ali by addressing him with FN + *ʔâqâ*, and Ali wishes to be addressed with his FN.

Table 5.3: titles in Persian: some titles do not exist for both genders. We tried to exemplify the terms that there are equivalents for both genders. Lacking of balance in terms of address for one of genders shows the hierarchy system and power semantics in a period of time but since we want to show changes in addressing in two periods of time, we tried to mention examples that there are options for them.

Pr-RT	Po-RT	En.Eq.
bozorg, særvær, sâheb,	ʔâqâ	1- sir, lord, chief, leader, master, boss 2- Mr., Mister, Esq., Esquire 3- Mullah, A Moslem cleric 4 - (informal) husband, man of the house 5- gentleman
dūšize	dūšize	1- virgin, maiden, girl, miss, maid 2- mademoiselle, damsel, damozel
xân-sâlâr	kæd-xodâ	Head of the farmers and villages
xâtūn	bânū, kæd-bânū, xânom	matron, lady
særvær, xâje, sâheb, ʔâqâ, ræʔis, kâr-færmâ	ʔarbâb	1- Lord, Master, Sir, Mr. 2- Landowner, Landlord, Proprietor 3- Boss, Manager
xæyš, xodæyš	bânū, kæd-bânū	headwoman of a village, elder, housewife, matron
šâh-pūr	šâh-zâdeh, šâpūr	prince, descendant of a king
šâh-doxt	šâh-zâdeh xânom	princess, infant
šâh	No equivalent	king, šâh, monarch, ruler, sultan, rex
šâh-bânū	No equivalent	Queen

ʔâqâ: This title is used nowadays to express respect and might precede or follow the FN, e.g. ʔâqâ Reza, Mohæmæd ʔâqâ, ʔâqâye modir, ʔâqâye ræʔis jomhūr. In Post-Islamic Revolution it refers to mullâh and ʔâxūnd, too. In colloquial use it refers to husband and is a sign of respect. dūšize is the same as ʔâqâ and it is only used in formal situations and in official rituals. The equivalent term is doxtær xânom, xânom-e mohtæræm. kæd-xodâ nowadays, it is used only in rural areas. Instead of bânū, kæd-bânū and xânom, bibi also is used, but only in lower class and sometimes in middle class esp. in rural areas. ʔarbâb is symbol of power semantics. Šâh-zâdeh: by the Islamic Revolution and some changes in social structure, these terms fade out. Nowadays they are used only for addressing šâh's son and daughter.

These titles are called honorific titles because they show the respect of the addressor for the addressee. Mutual use of *ĵenâbâli* (excellency) marks inequality – because of politeness or unfamiliarity between speakers and emphasizes politeness or unfamiliarity in a dyad. For a T/V distinction in this regard, a non-reciprocal exchange of the pronoun to and the title *ĵenâbâli* is used. In this situation, a person of high class status addresses a person of low class status with **to** and receives *ĵenâbâli* in return.

A mother to her daughter, who has broken a glass:

"*Leilâ xânom, livâno šekæsti***"**

" Mrs. Leila, you broke the glass?"

Comparing the male and female variants of the forms for Mr./Mrs., both *ʔâqâ* and *xânom* can be used with FN and LN: FN + *xânom*, and *xânom-e* + LN. In these patterns, as we saw in the above example, FN + *xânom* is used to show anger of the speaker. *xân* and *xâtūn* are other variants for *xânom*. They are used with FN as FN + *xân* and *xâtūn* without any title. The variants of these for males are FN + *ʔâqâ*, *ʔâqâ* + FN and *ʔâqâ -ye* + LN, but for *xâtūn* there is only *xâtūn*, rarely *xâtūn* + FN is used.

One of our female students told me and of course many of our observations and data show that *ʔâqâ-ye* + LN indicates more politeness and respect than *ʔâye* + LN and it is a preferred form to address men. It seems that for females language is a means of showing respect and politeness, especially in speaking to men, so women tend to address men with *ʔâqâ-ye* + LN in its full form, but men often use it in its abbreviated form as *ʔâye* + LN.

The above-mentioned data show that pronouns and titles make a T/V distinction in Persian belong to bound forms of address,

which is along with nouns.

3.4. Names

A dyad in a **Post Office.**

The Post manager: "*Mædhi nâmehâ râ ʔâvordi?***"**

"Mahdi, did you bring the letters?"

Ahmad:" *bæle ʔâqâye Mohæmædi***"** "yes, Mr. Mohamadi"

The non-reciprocal use of FN and TLN marks inequality between the two speakers. The manager is addressing the clerk by FN. Hence, he considers his position superior to the others. The clerk agrees with this consideration and addresses the manager by TLN. Thus, the relationship concerning the occupational level is a trigger for the choice of address terms.

A name can give us important information about the identity of of people such as to which culture or religion they belong. In Persian, names can be classified as FN, LN and appellations.

Sometimes the titles *ʔâqâ-ye* and *xânom-e* are used with names. The LN alone is rarely used except in cases in which teachers address their students in the classrooms, because it is a mark of formality and inequality of status. Most of the time teachers are addressed with *ʔâqâ-ye* and *xânom-e* depending on the sex of the addressee. There are the following possible patterns of using names:

1. Mutual use of appellations: Appellations are titles which some people give themselves, and these titles are the result of attributes, ideas and prowess of a person which was appointed by others. The use of appellations is the most intimate form between members of the same age or group, and between close friends.

2. Mutual exchange of FN: In the pre-revolutionary Iranian society, a child is given a name some days after its birth. It is often a Muslim name from the Qur'an. Some people have two names, one of them is the name of the identification card and the other is the name by which the person is called in the family, by friends and peers (nickname) which is marked as "familiar". Sometimes people use double names to their child, esp. religious people often choose more than one to link the fate of the child to more than one important figure in their belief; compare Muhammad Reza, Ali Reza etc.

The reciprocal use of appellations and FN is analogous to the T form of pronouns. People in pre-revolutionary Iranian society and even in the post-revolutionary society soon become familiar to each other. We observed instances, in which, after a short conversation, TLN was replaced by FN. When the level of intimacy and solidarity is strong, people have, in addition to FN, other options like using KTs such as *bærâdær,* because both FN and KT terms are signs of closeness and familiarity.

3. Reciprocal exchange of TLN: Generally

and also in Iran, LN is the family name that paternal members of a family have in common. Mutual use of TLN marks equality and in most cases unfamiliarity in a conversational exchange. It is analogous to the V form of pronouns. It means that the children keep their father's LN no matter if they marry or not.

4. Asymmetrical use of FN/TLN: It is the pattern in which one person addresses the other with FN and receives TLN. In this pattern, social differences play a considerable role in non-reciprocal exchange: One speaker sees himself on a social level that is above the one of the other speaker and therefore addresses him with FN and gets back TLN in return. As stated in the beginning, occupational and social statuses are two determining factors for choosing a kind of address term (FN or TLN). Although in such situations the pronoun '*to'* and the title *ĵenâbâli* are often used to mark inequal status, in some situations non-reciprocal FN/TLN is used for the same purpose.

In addition, there are some other options in use. A title like *ʔâqâ-ye, xânom-e, doktor* or a combination of titles like *ʔâqâ-ye doktor* is possible. They occur in very formal situations. Two strangers in the street may call each other *ʔâqâ* and *xânom* based on their sex or employ a kinship term like *bærâdær* and *xâhær*. The use of multiple names is very common in the Persian society esp. among intimate friends and close relatives. Most multiple names are religious names as mentioned before. When people become intimate, they use a variety of forms to address each other. Sometimes they use TLN, sometimes FN or the nickname, sometimes LN alone, or they even create phonetic variants of FN or the nickname. Compare: TLN: *ʔâqâ-ye* Jæhâni**,** FN: Ebrâhim, nickname: Pūyâ, LN: Jæhâni, phonetic variants of FN: Ebi.

In Persian, using different address forms depends on the situation in which "a conversational exchange takes place. In formal situations, intimate friends may call each other with TLN, in semi-formal settings they address one another by *ʔâqâ* + FN, while informally the use of FN or nicknames is common.

3.5. Religious Terms of Address

The ideological assumptions and power relations are especially highlighted in religious and political terms.

Table 5.4: Religious terms of address in Persian

Persian Religious Titles	English Equivalent
ʔâxūnd	Cleric, clergy, clergyman
ʔâyætollâh	A senior cleric (in the Shiiʔe Sect)
ʔemâm	Religious leader, prayer leader
ʔemâm-e jamâʔæt	Chaplain, imam, prayer leader
ʔemâm-e jomʔe	Prayer leader on Fridays
ʔæmirolhâj, særpæræst-e kârvân-e hajj	The leader of the Hajj pilgrims
haji: it is used as TFN, T + âqâ, TFN + âqâ	1- A pilgrim to Mecca 2- (Title for a man who has gone to Hajj pilgrimage)
hâjiye: T + xânom, hâj xânom	(Ttitle for a woman who has gone to Hajj pilgrimage)
seyyed: the descendant of Muhammad	Mister (male)
seyyedeh	Miss (female)
šeyxolʔislâm	A title given to a clergyman on behalf of the Government
mojtæhed	Clergyman
nâyebottavliyeh	Steward of a shrine
velâyæte faqih	Primacy of the top spiritual leader

All of these terms can be used with FN or alone. There are female counterparts for some of them, namely both men and women can be addressed with a specific kind of address term according to their status in religion. As we see in the table, there are no suitable equivalents for some of these terms in English and even in some other Iranian languages, which shows the status of religion in the Iranian society. Although, the meaning and use of some of these titles changed through time in the course of alteration of the social structure, all of them are still used to some extent today. Now we discuss them in turn.

A conversation in a mosque:

A Lay man: "*yâ šeix mâ râ doʔâ kon šâyæd xodâ ʔæz gonâhânemân begzære*"

"oh, šeix, pray for us, hope God will forgive our sins"

Šeix:"*xodâ ʔæz gonâhâne hæmeye mâ begzære*"

"God will forgive the sins of all of us" As, it becomes evident from this conversation, people consider the **šeix** as an intermediator between God and themselves, because he has (otherwise it is the people who have...) great understanding of religious commands and rituals. Irrespective of the level of formality and of the age of the interlocutors, the *šeix* is addressed as such in all situations – even in the family. In Persian, the title '*šeix'* is partly inherited, that is, when a man is *šeix*, the society expects him to pass the title '*šeix'* to his grandson. The latter is expected to follow his father's religion. If a person addresses a *šeix* by his FN, it is considered impolite. This

indicates the high respect for religious figures among Persian people and it shows another kind of hierarchy in the society.

The case of *šeix* is different in some Arabic countries. According to Braun (1988), in Egyptian Arabic, *šeix* is used by non-*šeixs* for addressing friends, neighbors, relatives, etc. as a sign of annoyance. In this pattern it resembles a fictive use of KTs and might be interpreted as an imitation of a superior's inversion behavior in authority of addressing inferiors. In Iranian society although although after the Revolution, this title was used as a honorific title, but nowadays it is as the same as with the Egyptians.

The descendants of Muhammad are addressed *seyyed*. This term seems to be common among all Muslims. Those who are *seyyed* addressed like this in almost all contexts. Among lay people, it is believed that the *seyyed* has a relationship with God and with the prophet and they are called or invoked, especially when people are confronted with problems and formidable situations. Religious people are very careful in addressing *seyyed* lest to irritate seyyed and his tribes, because they are considered of great honor among the Persian people.

Two friends at school:

A:"*Mollâ Abdollâh dærsâtūno xūndin?*"

"Clergyman Abdullah, did you study your lessons?

B: "*ye kæm*" "A little"

The case of mollâ is different from that of other religious terms. Its normal use is to address those who proselyte Islam and serve as an Imam on Fridays. It also has other uses. As we can see in the example above, it is used by a person who is not mollâ for addressing a friend, neighbors, relatives, etc., as a joke (ironic use) and in some cases as a sign of annoyance. Actually people are making fun of the religious people. This resembles *šeix* in Egyptian Arabic. Another use of *mollâ* is when a *mollâ* addresses other people with *mollâ*. In this pattern, it is an interchangeable term and it is like address inversion of KTs (c.f. page 4).

In Persian, *hâjî* serves as a mode of address. As a general rule, it is used to address a person who has undertaken "the Hajj". Whatever the position or status of of people, they might be, when they perform the *hæjj* ceremony, *hâjî* is employed to address them in most situations. In Arabic and in a couple of other languages, for those who performed the hajj ceremony is used among acquaintances for those who performed the *hæjj* ceremony, and among strangers it can be employed as an address term in general. In Iran, after the Islamic Revolution, *hâjî* was used as a term of respect for old people and nowadays *hâjî* is a common term to refer to Pre-Revolutionary Persian speakers.

Another religious term is *dærviš*. Religious

lay people think that the *dærviš* have magical powers and can do extraordinary things like eating glass, cutting their head, etc. In recent years this belief was mainly abolished, and the use of *dærviš* has greatly decreased. Those who believe in the extraordinary power of the *dærviš* still use this term to address them. Nowadays, there is a semantic shift of *dærviš* in that this term is used for poor and deprived people.

From the above explanations, it becomes clear that the Persian language is closed and rigid with respect to religious titles because every person has a specific role in religion and is addressed accordingly. Interestingly enough, religious titles are unaffected by the level of formality, ocial position, education, etc. indicates that religious figures are in great honor in the Iranian society. Of course, titles are just a superficial sign, and the changes occurring in their usage from time to time are not of considerable importance. All these

3.6. Political Terms of Address

"Politics partly consists in the disputes and struggles which occur in language and over language." (Fairclaugh, 1989: 23)

The sources of power are various and the most important kind is political power. Ideological assumptions play a significant role in addressing political figures.

As we see here, there are different terms in both periods. We have some terms which are borrowed or better to say copied from Turkish into Persian which itself shows the contact and changes from one language into another and

Table 5.5: Political terms of address in

Pr-Re	Po-Re	En. Eq.
qâči, qâji, ʔæqji	mobâšer, moʔâven	Counselor
ʔætâbæk, ʔætâbeig	ræʔis dowlæt, ræʔis jomhūr	Chancellor, president
ʔišik, ʔâqâsi	ræʔis dâdgâh	Court official, chamberlain, aster of ceremonies
ʔilči	sæfir, ferestâde-ye siyâsi, næmâyænde-ye siyâsi	Ambassador, envoy, emissary
bârbod	No Eq. Term in Po-Re	Chief of protocol
pâdšâh, šahriyâr, xosro, keihân xædiv, soltan, qeysar, tezâr, and in Arabic kasrâ	ræhbær	King, monarch, ruler, rex
pâdūspân	No Eq. Term in Po-Re	Governor, guler
tægin, tækin	ostândâr	Provincial ruler
hostândârkem	færmândâr, ostândâr, qostândârzi	1- Sovereign, master, suzerain 2- Judge, magistrate
xâqân: it was was used for Chinese and Turkestan Kings and its meaning is king, lord	No Eq. Term in Po-Re	Court

What is important is the religious belief of speakers in a dyad. The use of these titles

the other important issue is that in a period of time the power semantic of one language that dominated on another or other languages. We see that in Pre-Revolutionary we have different terms for different positions which it shows power semantics while after the revolution it shows more solidarity semantics and lack of some positions and ranks.

In the following I will analyze some news and interviews with political leaders:

1. In a news conference:

A correspondent: "*jenâb-e ræʔyis jomhūr, næzæretân dær morede Amrikâ čist?*"

"Excellency leader, what's your opinion about America?"

Ahmadinezhad:"*hæmūntor ke šomâ midūnin Amrikâ ʔestʔmârgære bozorgiye*"

"You know America is a big colonist"

In this conference, the correspondent doesn't suffice with *ræʔis jomhūr* and supplements it with *jenâb-e* to address *Ahmadinezhad*, the president of Iran. It shows the high respect and politeness towards political leaders. The correspondent receives *šomâ* (you, plural) in return. This exchange indicates how solidarity influences the selection of a specific variant of address term.

2. In the news:

"*ʔâqâ-ye Ahmadinezhad be xâtere pirūziye Barak Obamma pæyâme tæbrik ferestâd***".**

"President Ahmadinezad sent a congratulatory message for the occasion of Barack Obama's victory"

We understand from these explanations and term usages that the Persian language is static with regard to political terms but in the pre-revolutionary period it was static because the political structure was like a pyramid in which everyones had a special position and is thus addressed according to their rank. These terms mostly refer to other people, and so they are not concerned with social factors like age, sex, class, level of formality of situation, etc. Although after the Revolution some changes occurred, the data show that after a short time, the same situation hierarchical society again appeared. The significant role of titles is based on the conventions that people make to address political figures. In addition, as we saw earlier, some of the political terms do not exist in post-revolutionary Iran anymore. The reason for this is the entire social change after the Islamic Revolution and the prevalence of solidarity semantics over power semantics.

3.7. Occupational Terms of Address

Occupational terms are also used to address people in Persian. We can recognize the following occupational terms.

Pr-RT	Po-RT	En. Eq.
ʔædæb tærâz	ʔostâd, moʔallem, ʔâmūzegâr	Professor, teacher
bâzjū	bâzjū	Cross-examiner, interrogator, investigator
bâzræs	mofæteš, hesâbræs, momæyez, bâzræs	Inspector, auditor, inquisitor, examiner
Bâzærgân	bâzærgân	Businessman, merchant, trader
bâžbân, bâjbân, beitækči	maʔmūr-e mâliâti, tæhsildâre mâliâti	Tax collector, tax accessor
bâsmæči	čâpči, hurūfčin	Printer, typographer
bâqbân, nâtur	negæhbâne bâq, bâqævân, bâqpirâ, būstânbâr, bostânpirâ	Gardener
bærzegær	kešâværz, zâreʔ, bærzkâr, bærzekâr, værzkâr, bærzegær, bærzigær, værzegær, værzigær	Farmer, agriculturist, husbandman
borid	qâsed, čârpâ, nâmebær, peyk, postči	Postman, mailman, herald, carrier, messenger
Bonækdâr	ʔomde furūš	Wholesaler, wholesale dealer

The term bâzærgân is composed of two morphemes bâzâr + gân (suffix) and instead of maʔmūr-e mâliâti, tæhsildâre mâliâti sometimes bâždâr is used. bâžbân, bâjbân, beitækči are terms which were borrowed in the Mongolian period of the Ilkhans (or Ilkhanat).

ʔūstâ is used to address the practitioners of many jobs, to a skillful and experienced craftsman, to tailors, blacksmiths, painters, carpenters, bakers, repairmen, etc. In other situations, these are addressed with other variants like FN, TLN, KT and so on according to the situation. With the appearance of new jobs, most of the pre-revolutionary terms faded out.

As we see in the chart, most of the titles and terms refer to males not females. It shows that There has not been a place for women. Although after the Revolution social structure changed dramatically, females are not allowed to work in every position. They can have some special occupations, but then, their titles are simply formed from men's titles by adding a feminine suffix.

4. Innovations in the Persian Address System

Several innovations are found in the Persian address system, most of which have occurred after the 1979 Islamic Revolution.

Semantic Changes of Address Terms in Persian

According to Campbell (2004: 254) "Semantic change deals with changes in

meaning understood to be changes in the concepts associated with a word, and has nothing to do with change in the phonetic form of a word". The traditional Persian society had a social structure that was predominantly hierarchical, feudal and egalitarian. In this structure, the non-reciprocal power governed the address behavior, and power was distributed by birthright. *ʔâqâ, ʔærbâb* or "first name + *ʔâqâ, ʔærbâb*" were used to address those noblemen who had a lot of land and employed others to work on their land. They were also the government's representatives in towns and cities. In other words, *ʔâqâ* or *ʔærbâb* had connotations of class, wealth and status. The people who worked on the *ʔâqâ* or *ʔærbâb's* land referred to themselves as *nowkær* "servant".

Solidarity is reciprocal and has grown with social mobility and equalitarian ideology, which would prove that the "new" Iranian society is a hierarchically organized one, too. It is believed that the realization of the agrarian reform changed the Iranian social structure, and it affected the Iranian society. When the Islamic Revolution reached victory, the class distinctions were abolished at the first stages of the era but again, as we saw in the data, a new kind of hierarchy appeared which is completely organized. FN + *ʔâqâ* is not used anymore and is replaced with *ʔâqâ-ye* + LN as a polite form which shows a kind of surface solidarity semantics. *Xân* is nowadays used with the FN as a title of respect for addressing men and women. Some terms like *mirzâ* are nowadays only used to address old people in villages and towns only as a sign of respect. The use of *bærâdær* and *xâhær* was extended. Before the revolution these two terms referred only to blood relationships, while after the revolution all people addressed each other with the titles *bærâdær* and *xâhær.*

Summary and Conclusion

The analysis of our corpus, which is about 3000 and there are many contemporary recorded conversations, suggest that in every period of time, a specific instance of social structure is shown by the address terms. The social groups that attribute most importance to politeness and address forms are the groups in the lower portion of the social scale. The lower class, with or without title, was the one most affected by social differences, which became a genuine obsession for many families. The traditional Iranian society had a social structure that was primarily a caste society, and all people had a specific right of address, i.e. they were addressed according to their position in the society from the time of their birth. In such a society, non-reciprocal power

governed the address behavior, and there was little or no mobility in the address system. With the advent of the Islamic Revolution in 1979 some changes in the social structure occurred, and consistent with these, the address system also changed considerably.

The Persian system of address is rooted in the social structure that gives great importance to KTs. The KTs in Persian are neutral with regard to power, and non-reciprocal relationships in KTs are due to differences in age and sex rather than power. Moreover, the T/V distinction is marked by the social relations of interlocutors. Members of the upper classes began to use solidarity markers in their conversations, terms and titles with one another to distinguish themselves from lower classes. Members of the lowest social strata, though, used solidarity as a means of supporting one another against their strong and powerful social superiors. Those who want to move upwards adopt the upper classes' attitude and behavior and, obviously, their language usages.

in their conversations, terms and titles with one another to distinguish themselves from lower classes. Members of the lowest social strata, though, used solidarity as a means of supporting one another against their strong and powerful social superiors. Those who want to move upwards adopt the upper classes' attitude and behavior and, obviously, their language usages.

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List of Abbreviations

AE (American English), FN (first name), KT (kinship term), LN (last name), PN (personal name), S (subject), T (title), TLN (title and last name), T/V (tu/vos), CDA (critical discourse analysis), Pr-Re (pre-revolutionary term), Po-Re (post-revolutionary term), En.Eq. (English equivalent)

تحلیل انتقادی گفتمان عناوین خطابی در زبان فارسی

دکتر فردوس آقاگل‌زاده[1]، هیوا اسدپور[2]

مقاله حاضر سعی بر ارائه شکل‌گیری چارچوبی در قالب تحلیل گفتمان برای داده‌های عناوین خطابی در زبان فارسی دارد. در این مطالعه تمامی داده‌هایی که در یک پیکره زبانی به دست آمده‌اند را انتخاب و توصیف کرده‌ایم تا دریابیم که چگونه ساختار اجتماعی فارسی‌زبانان تحت عنوان دو مقوله روابط قدرت و همبستگی عمل می‌کند. براساس بررسی‌های به عمل آمده عناوین خطابی درجامعه فارسی-زبانان متأثر از سن، جنس، شغل، جهان‌بینی و موقعیت‌های سیاسی و اجتماعی سخنوران است. این متغیرها ناشی از نتایج به دست آمده از اسناد قدیمی، یادداشت‌های روزمره، پیکره زبانی حاصل از چند فیلم‌نامه و نمایش‌نامه، سفرنامه، مصاحبه، رادیو و تلویزیون و کاربرد روزمره عناوین خطابی می‌باشد. متغیرهای مذکور ارتباط بسیار قوی‌ای را بین ساختار اجتماعی فارسی‌زبانان نشان می‌دهد.

کلیدواژه: عناوین خطابی، تحلیل انتقادی گفتمان، جامعه‌شناسی زبان تاریخی، ادب، زبان فارسی

1. دانشیار زبانشناسی همگانی، دانشگاه تربیت مدرس، تهران،
2. دانشجوی زبانشناسی همگانی، دانشگاه آزاد اسلامی، واحد علوم و تحقیقات تهران،