

The Semantics and Pragmatics of Address forms in Persian

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*This thesis is dedicated to my husband Mansour whose
unfailing love and support has made the pursuit of my dream
possible*

Abstract

In Persian, there is a tendency to use plural pronouns instead of singular pronouns in order to show respect and politeness to either the addressee or some other individual referred to (2nd or 3rd person). The choice of such plural or singular forms (called T-V forms by Brown and Gilman 1966) in Persian is a challenging subject that has not been discussed enough so far. Although every native speaker of Persian unconsciously knows when such polite address forms can occur, it has turned out to be an amazingly complicated task to explicitly state the sufficient and necessary conditions for appropriate use of these forms in Persian. This thesis is an attempt to address this issue.

The main objectives in this study are to: 1) Determine the contextual conditions when a plural form (i.e. pronoun, agreement marker or enclitic) is used to refer to a singular entity in contemporary Persian; 2) Investigate the relative influence of sociolinguistic features such as gender difference, age distance, power distance, solidarity, formality (relative distance), and mood shifting in the choice of pronominals in Persian and determine the factors that influence pronoun switching; and 3) Diagnose whether the choice of plural or polite referring forms in Persian is addressee oriented or referent oriented with respect to the T-V distinction.

The present study mainly built on the sociolinguistic methodology of Ervin-Tripp (1976), Keshavarz's study in forms of post-revolutionary Persian address forms (1988 and 2001) and Nanbakhsh (2011) dissertation on Persian address pronouns and politeness in interaction.

The data analysis section is transcribed from a movie called 'A separation' written and directed by Asghar Farhadi (2011). The film data analysis part consists of 8 episodes where each episode has special location, participant (interlocutors) and a topic (situation). I will investigate the choice of pronominal forms in this section with respect to the following six features: Age distance, gender difference, power distance, solidarity, mood and formality (relative distance).

The secondary objectives of this research are based on a quantitative analysis of the film data. The distribution of the social features of the film data indicates that quantitatively, formality with 35% as a mean percentage is the most significant feature of the analysis with the reciprocal V form (plural honorific). The mood shifting with (26.5%) had the second place on converting the expected V to the T form (singular, non-honorific) or vice versa. The age difference feature with (12%) is the third most influential feature that has influence on the

reciprocal T or V forms. The solidarity feature with (17%) has the fourth place in causing the reciprocal T form. The gender difference feature with (7%) has the fifth place on appearance of the reciprocal V form and the power distance feature with (2.5%) has the least influence on the non-reciprocal V form. Therefore I conclude that formality feature is more significant than power distance in the choice of Persian T-V forms. (There could be other hidden features (variables) that I have not considered in this analysis and they might cause errors in my study.) Regarding the T/V mismatching, I have found that the anger mood in order to show sarcasm is one of the reasons for it and the other cause of mismatching is to increase solidarity.

Concerning the third objective of this research, the qualitative analysis indicates that the choice of plurality and politeness in the formal situation was mostly addressee oriented and it was mostly under the superior power of the judge.

The first research objective is an overall question that will be clarified after consideration of the answers to the other two issues mentioned. This work will contribute to a broader understanding of how politeness governs Persian communication and how this interacts with pragmatics.

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“Where there is a will, there is a way”

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Glossing Abbreviations

1 st	first person
2 nd	second person
3 rd	third person
ADD	addressee-oriented
AGR	agreement marker
ANIM	animate
AUX	auxiliary
CL	enclitic
COMP	complement
DEM	demonstrative
DO	direct object
DUR	durative
EZ	Ezafeh
H	honorifics
IMP	imperative
INANIM	inanimate
NEG	negation
OM	object marker
OBJ	object
PART	particle
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
PRED	predicate
PRES	present tense
PST	past tense
REF	referent-oriented
SBJ	subject
SG	singular
SP	separable pronoun
T	<i>Tu</i>
V	<i>Vous</i>

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Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Objective of Study and Main Goals

The Persian pronominal system and the issue of politeness in choosing a suitable addressee (2nd) or referent (3rd) form is one of the challenging parts of the Persian language that has not been discussed enough so far. Consequently, I decided to review the issue of politeness in the choice of Persian pronominals from the point of view of semantics and pragmatics.

The main objectives in this study are to:

1. Determine the contextual conditions when a plural form (i.e. pronoun, agreement marker or enclitic) is used to refer to a singular entity in contemporary Persian;
2. Investigate the relative influence of sociolinguistic features such as gender difference, age distance, power distance, solidarity, formality (relative distance), and mood shifting in the choice of pronominals in Persian and determine the factors that influence pronoun switching; and
3. Diagnose whether the choice of plural or polite referring forms in Persian is addressee oriented or referent oriented with respect to the T-V distinction.

Point 1 is my main objective and points 2 and 3 will contribute toward it. The study will contribute to a broader understanding of how politeness governs Persian communication and how this interacts with pragmatics.

1.2 Persian/Farsi

Persian is the formal language of Iran and it is the spoken language of most parts of Iran. Persian (فارسی, IPA: [fɒ:r'si:]) is an Iranian language within the Indo-Iranian branch of Indo-European languages. There are approximately 110 million Persian speakers worldwide, with the language holding official status in Iran, Afghanistan and Tajikistan. For centuries Persian has also been a prestigious cultural language in Central Asia, South Asia, and Western Asia. Persian is used as a liturgical language of Islam in not only Iran, Afghanistan, and Tajikistan,

but also in Pakistan and North India which historically came under the influence of the Persian Empire.¹

Persian is a pro-drop language with canonical SOV word order. Verbs are marked for tense and aspect and agree with the subject in person and number (Mahootian: 1997: 5). Pro-dropping is also commonly referred to in linguistics as involving zero or null anaphora. It means that the separate subject (2nd and 3rd subject, with same referent) can be dropped or deleted from the sentence, in which case the agreement marker, that is, a post-verbal element, defines the person and number properties of the subject referent. Furthermore, Persian allows for enclitics, which can be of three types: possessive pronoun (inflected on noun), complement of preposition (inflected on preposition), and direct object of the verb (inflected as a suffix to verb). Persian syntax shows that normal declarative sentences are structured as ((S) (PP) (O) V). This means that sentences can comprise optional subjects, prepositional phrases, and objects followed by a required verb. If the object is specific, then it is followed by the word *rā* which precedes prepositional phrases: ((S) (O + *rā*) (PP) V) (ibid. 54).

Concerning the phonology of Persian, "the English letters that have been used in the transliteration have approximately the same values as in English. However, the following differ: [x]: voiceless velar uvular with scrape, which approximates to English *ch*; *s*^h: voiceless post-alveolar fricative, which corresponds to *sh* in *show*; *q*: voiced or voiceless uvular plosive, which, according to phonetic context, is usually pronounced as voiced if between two back vowels; *æ*: as in English *hat*; *a*: as in English *bath* (Koutlaki, 2002:1735)".

1.3 Methodology and Empirical Source

In order to collect data for the present study, I followed the methodology of Ervin-Tripp (1976: 27). She describes that: "The data were obtained by four different methods: (a) systematically writing down all identifiable directives occurring in the chosen setting between different sets of participants, with a focus on varying pairs; (b) selecting all instances from transcripts of tape-recorded natural conversations; (c) eliciting directives by creating special situations and varying the addressees for the speakers; (d) noting naturally occurring instances of misunderstandings." As Holmes(1992:1) asserts, "examining the way people use language in different social contexts provides a wealth of information about the way language

¹ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Persian_language

works, as well as about the social relationships in a community." In this era Keshavarz (2001: 5) mentions that "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".

In my case, observing natural discourse did not yield all the politeness markers I was interested in. Therefore in order to have a complete overview of politeness and its influence of it on pronouns, I decided to analyze film data. This involved transcribing the film data and analyzing the film that has different sequences matching with my objectives. The most important part of the data is transcribed from a movie called 'A separation' by Asghar Farhadi (2011), which is suitable for my purposes. It consists of scenes between different characters in various locations. The scene demonstrates routine and semi-natural conversations of Persian native speakers between family members and also in a formal situation in a law court.

1.4 Existing Approaches to Plurality and Politeness

There is some research conducted in Persian linguistics focusing on the social and linguistic functions of pronominal forms and their variation in conversation. For instance, Koutlaki (2002) and Beeman (1986) investigate Persian politeness rituals, only by focusing on speech acts.

The present study is mostly based on methods of Keshavarz (1988, 2001) in sociolinguistics and Nanbakhsh' (2011) PhD dissertation « Persian address pronouns and politeness in interaction».

Keshavarz'earlier study results on the Persian address system argues that from post-revolutionary Iran, it was shown that plain speech and forms of address marking solidarity have reportedly gained popularity. His later work (2001) focused on the impact of social context, intimacy and distance on the choice of Persian address pronouns by using quantitative questionnaires. This work was, however, inspired by Keshavarz model of 'intimate you' *to* versus 'formal you' *šoma*. He also mentions that: "In Persian, as in many other languages (e.g. French, Italian, Spanish, German, and Russian), speakers have to make

a choice between two forms of address '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, that is, 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 and the addressee, or when the addressee is in a subordinate position. The deferential 'you' in Persian is *šoma* and the familiar 'you' is *to*."

Today, Nanbakhsh (2011: 5) also argues that as the pragmatic meaning of address forms is in the interaction and she argues 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".

1.5 An Outline of the Thesis

This thesis is divided into six chapters. The rest of the thesis is structured as follows: The second chapter consists of an introduction to the Persian pronoun system, agreement markers, and enclitics. Chapter 2 also gives an overview of previous research conducted on Persian honorific pronouns including: Buchler and Freeze (1966), Keshavarz (1988), Keshavarz (2001), Nanbakhsh (2011), Sharifian (2009). Chapter 3 discusses the theoretical background of the T-V hypothesis of Brown and Gilman (1988), politeness terms and the semantics of power and solidarity. The chapter also presents a hypothesis based on previous literature and Persian features compared to previous literature. Chapter 4 contains the main data analysis of data collected from the movie 'A separation'. The data analysis consists of 8 episodes of formal and informal situations. I will discuss the properties of polite pronouns according to all the possible situations that can apply polite or non-polite forms of pronominal. The semantic and pragmatic properties of the polite constructions will be discussed more in this chapter. Finally I will give a summary of my findings in Chapter 5.

Chapter 2 : Persian Pronoun system, Agreement markers and Enclitics

2.1 Introduction

In order to completely investigate the Persian address forms and the use of plural pronoun as a politeness marker, the first step is having an overview of the Persian pronominal system. Keshavarz (2001: 2) mentions that: "the best place to look for a correspondence between language and society in the grammar of a language 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".

2.2 Pronoun System and Agreement Marker in Persian

Persian has at least twelve separable pronouns as illustrated in Table 2.1. As it described in Mahootian (1997: 145), "The subject must be coded on the verb via the personal endings, which agree with the subject NP in person and number".²

This table presents the singular and plural overt pronouns and their corresponding agreement markers.

² "An important exception to subject–verb agreement is with inanimate plural subjects, which can co-occur with a singular verb." Mahootian (1997: 145)

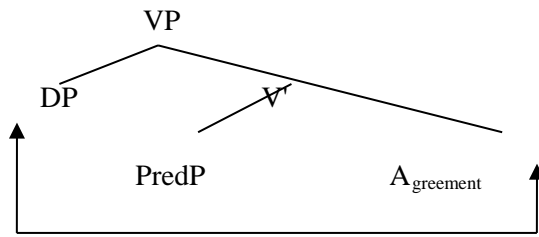
Table 2.1 Persian overt pronouns and agreement markers (Nanbakhsh, 2011:35)

	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
Person	Overt Pronoun	Agreement	Overt Pronoun	Agreement
First	<i>mæn</i> من 'I'	-æm, ام	<i>ma</i> ما 'we'	-im, ایم
Second	<i>to</i> تو 'you'	-I, ی	<i>šoma</i> شما 'you'	-id / -in این 'you'
Third Animate	<i>ou, vey</i> او، وی 'he/she'	past tense: Ø present tense: -æd [e], اد،	<i>anha</i> آنها / آنها [unha] ³ 'those people' <i>inha</i> اینها 'these people' <i>išan</i> [išan] ایشان 'they'	-ænd/-æn اند، آن
Third Inanimate	<i>an</i> [un] آن، اون 'that' or 'it' <i>In</i> این 'this' or 'it'	past tense: Ø present tense: -æd [e]، اد،	<i>anha</i> [unha] آنها / آنها 'those' or 'they' <i>inha</i> اینها 'these'	-ænd/æn اند، آن

As can be observed in Table 2.1, gender is not specified in the Persian pronoun system. The Persian 3.SG pronoun *ou* can be used for both Feminine and Masculine (*he* and *she*) in English. There are different forms of overt pronouns in order to refer to animate and inanimate referents in Persian, for instance *ou* can only be used to refer to humans whereas *un/in* can be used to refer to inanimate referent. There are some exceptions in colloquial usage that *un/in* can also apply for human referent in some cases for instance in case of the angry mood of speaker or sarcasm of the hearer. I will discuss this further in the data analysis.

Karimi (2005:96) shows that the verbal agreement marker has to agree with the subject

³ Both written and colloquial forms are mentioned in the table, for example [unha] is the colloquial form of pronoun *anha*.



The examples below show agreement with respect to number between the second personal pronouns and the corresponding agreement markers on the verb.⁴

(2.1) "تو پیاده به مدرسه رفتی"

(a) *To piade be madrese raft-i*

2SG walk to school went-2SGAGR

'You walked to the school'

2SG → v-2SG.AGR

(b) "شما پیاده به مدرسه رفتید"

šoma piade be madrese raft-id

2PL walk to school went-2SG.AGR

'You walked to the school'

2PL → v-2PL.AGR

In example (2.1) above, an arrow shows that there is agreement with respect to number and person between each separate pronoun and the agreement marker on the verb. In part (a) both the separable pronoun *to* and the post verbal agreement marker *-i* are 2SG. In part (b) there is agreement between the separable pronoun *šoma* and the agreement marker *-id* (both are 2PL).

Notably, some Persian plural pronouns can also be used for singular referents for the purpose of being polite. For instance, the plural pronoun *šoma* can be mentioned in order to refer to a singular addressee; the reason is then to convey politeness and respect. For example in b)

⁴ I use the Leipzig Glossing Rules, and have modified others abbreviations to match the Leipzig Glossing Rules where possible: SG = singular, PL = plural, AGR = agreement.

šoma can be used for a singular referent if the hearer is superior in power or is older than the speaker, or they being unfamiliar with each other i.e. they are non-solidary. I will return to this in more detail in Chapter 3.

There are two pronouns that could be used for politeness purposes in Persian, namely *šoma* and *išan*. The corresponding agreement markers are *-id* and *-ænd*. Table 2.2 below represents Persian polite pronouns and corresponding agreement markers.

Table 2.2 Persian polite pronouns and agreement markers

Person	Pronoun	Agreement
Second	<i>šoma</i> , شما 'you' (PL)	<i>-id</i> , اید
Third	<i>išan</i> , ایشان 'they'	<i>-ænd</i> , اند

Persian is a null subject or pro-drop language. In this case, number and person are encoded on the agreement marker. Mahootian (1997: 206) notes "When the referent is not being contrasted or emphasized, the pronoun is commonly dropped. The phenomenon of pronoun-dropping is also commonly referred to in linguistics as zero or null-anaphora." Example (2.2 a and b) below illustrates this phenomenon.

(2.2a) "من به دانشگاه رفتم."

Mæn be danešgah ræft-æm

I to university went-1SG.AGR

"I went to the university"

(2.2b) "به دانشگاه رفت."

Be dnešhgah ræft-æm

To university went-1SG.AGR

"I went to the university"

Mæn is an overt subject pronoun in (2.a) above. We can keep it in the sentence in order to focus on the role of the pronoun referent, but it can also be left out from the sentence as in (2.b). In this case the subject referent of the sentence is inferable through the agreement marker of the verb *-æm*. The plural agreement markers can be used to signal politeness also in a sentence without overt pronouns.

2.3 Enclitics

Besides using the separate pronominal forms, Persian applies pronominal enclitics that may serve three functions (Nanbakhsh, 2011: 38):

- a. Possessive pronoun (inflected on noun)
- b. Complement of preposition (inflected on preposition)
- c. Direct object of the verb (inflected as a suffix to verb)

Table 2.3 presents the relevant Persian enclitics together with corresponding pronouns (informal forms illustrated in brackets).

Table 2.3 Persian referent pronouns: separable and enclitics (Nanbakhsh2011:37; Mahootian, 1997: 149, 213)

Person	Singular		Plural	
	Pronoun	Enclitic	Pronoun	Enclitic
First	<i>mæn</i> ، من 'my, me'	<i>-æm</i> ، ام	<i>ma</i> ما "our, us"	<i>eman</i> [- <i>emun/mun</i>] امان إمون، مون
Second	<i>to</i> تو 'your, you'	<i>æt</i> [- <i>et/-t</i>]، ات، ایت، ت	<i>šoma</i> شما "your, you"	<i>-etan</i> [- <i>etun/-tun</i>] اتان، اتون، تون
Third Animate	<i>ou</i> او "his/her/its, him/her/it"	<i>-æš</i> [- <i>eš/-š</i>]، اش، اش	<i>išan</i> [<i>išun</i>]، ایشان، ایشان "their, them"	<i>-ešan</i> [- <i>ešun/-šun</i>] ایشان، اشون، شون

Notice that there is no enclitic form for inanimate referents in the table above.

The following three examples in Table 2.4 illustrate the three functions of enclitics mentioned before: possessive pronoun, complement of preposition and direct object of the verb.

Table 2.4 Separate pronouns and corresponding enclitics

Separate Pronoun	Enclitic
<p>2.3.a) <i>Medad-e to ru-ie miz-e</i> pencil-EZ⁵ 2SG on- EZ table-is 'Your pencil is on the table'</p>	<p>2.3.b) <i>Medad-et ru-ie miz-e</i> pencil-2SG.CL on-EZ table-is 'Your pencil is on the table'</p>
<p>2.4.a) <i>Bærai-e šoma an ra aværd-æm.</i> for-EZ 2PL that OM bring-1SG.AGR 'I bring that for you'</p>	<p>2.4.b) <i>Bæra-tun an ra aværd-æm</i> for-2PL.CL that OM⁶ bring-1SG.AGR 'I bring that for you'</p>
<p>2.5.a) <i>Diruz did-æm išun- o</i> yesterday saw-1SG.AGR 3PL-OM 'Yesterday I saw them'</p>	<p>2.5.b) <i>Diruz did-æm-e-šun</i> yesterday saw-1SG.AGR-EZ-3PL.CL 'Yesterday I saw them'</p>

In (2.3.a), for example 2.SG separate pronoun *to* is used and in (2.3.b) the 2.SG enclitic *-et* is attached to the noun. Both the pronoun and the enclitic function as of a possessive modifier. In (2.4.a) 2.SG separate pronoun *šoma* is used. Simultaneously in (2.4.b), the 2.PL enclitic is applied and they function as a complements of the preposition. (2.5.a) and (2.5.b) show the 3.PL separable pronoun *išun* and the 3.pl enclitic *-šun* used as a direct object of the verb.

Just as for plural pronouns one can use plural enclitics, instead of singular pronouns in order to express politeness. The relevant forms that can be used in this way are summarized in Table 2.5.

⁵ EZ: "*Ezafe* literally means 'addition' according to Karimi and Brame (1986). It is derived from the Arabic 'edafa' (t). It refer to an unstressed vowel /-e/ (/ -ye/ or /-ie/ after vowels other than /i/) that links together elements belonging to a single constituent (Ghomeshi, 1997)".

⁶ OM: object marker /ra/ is formal form; /ro/ and /o/ are colloquial forms. OM can also be encliticized as in e.g. (2.5.a).

Table 2.5 Persian politeness pronouns and enclitics

Person	Pronoun	Enclitic
Second	<i>šoma</i> شما 'your,you' (PL)	-etan [-etun/-tun] «تان /تون ،تون» 'your, you' (PL)
Third	<i>Išan</i> ایشان 'their, them'	-ešan [-ešun/šun] «ایشان /شون،شون» 'their,them'

This means that (2.b) and (3.b) can either be used for plural referents or for singular ones while expressing politeness. What it means to express politeness, and to whom, it will be discussed in Chapter 4.

2.4. Previous Research on the Persian Honorific Pronoun

2.4.1 Buchler and Freeze (1966)

Persian pronouns have various distinctive properties. In this part I will review the distinctive features of Persian pronominals from the point of view of Buchler and Freeze (1966).

Concerning the distinctive features, Buchler and Freeze (1966:87) mention that "Linguistic analysis gradually breaks down complex speech units and dissolves these minute semantic vehicles into their ultimate components, capable of differentiating morphemes from each other. These components are termed distinctive features".

B & F applied Jakobson-Halle's theory of the feature choices; a linguistic message confronts the listener with a series of yes/no questions. "In a Jakobson-Halle approach, successive minimal distinctions are marked with a + or a – and each unit either includes (or excludes) any specific feature in its acoustic makeup" (Buchler and Freeze, 1966: 78-79). I have included a table from B &F (1966: 97) in Table 2.6.

Table 2.6 Distinctive features of Persian pronouns (B& F1966: 97)

Lexemes	Translation	Distinctive Features				
		S	H	M ⁷	SL	P
1. <i>mæn</i>	I	+		+		
2. <i>to</i>	you		+	+	+	
3. <i>šomâ</i>	you(PL)		+		-	
4. <i>ou</i>	he, she			+	+	
5. <i>išan</i>	he,she(PL),they(human)			+	-	+
6. <i>ân</i>	It			+		-
7. <i>ma</i>	we	+		-		
8. <i>ânda</i>	they (non-human)			-		-

Table 2.6 presents the feature distribution of 8 Persian pronouns (*mæn*, *to*, *šoma*, *ou*, *išan*, *an*, *ma*, *anha*) defined in terms of five features: S, H, M, SL and P. These features are marked with (+) or (-). The interpretations of the features are listed below:

1. S: -/+ [inclusion of speaker]
2. H: -/+ [inclusion of hearer]
3. M: -/+ [minimal membership]
4. SL: -/+ [solidarity]
5. P: -/+ [person; human]

Given that the pronoun ‘*to*’ in Table 2.6 is marked as [H: +, M: + and SL: +], this means that this pronoun is used to refer to a set that includes the hearer, there is a minimal membership, and there is solidarity signaled. Another example is ‘*šoma*’ that is marked as [H: +, SL: -], this means that this pronoun is used to refer to a set that includes the hearer and there is no solidarity signaled. The minimal membership is not defined because I think *šoma* can be

⁷ Minimal membership is not clearly defined by Buchler and Freeze and I am uncertain about the definition of it. From looking through Table 2.6 it seems that minimal membership means singular or singular/plural. The pronouns that can only be plural are marked as M: -. Other abbreviations of the table: S = speaker, H = hearer, M = minimal membership, SL= solidarity, P = person

applied for both singular (polite form) and plural addressee in Persian (in this case solidarity has both +/- properties). '*išan*' is another example in table 2.6 that is marked as [M: +, SL: +]. *išan* like *šoma* can apply for both singular (polite form) and plural entities.

Contrary to Buchler and Freeze, I think this means that the solidarity feature should vary between + and - in case of plurality (when the plural pronoun used for singular entity). However in non-plurality (regular) cases it should be [solidarity +] when the referent is singular *to* and [solidarity -] when the referent is plural *šoma*. The same holds for *išan*.

It should be noted that Buchler and Freeze do not consider the pragmatic and sociolinguistic effect of the polite forms of these pronouns.

I want to add some points to the explanation of the table. First of all this set of pronouns is incomplete. According to Table 2.1 (Mahoutian 1997 and Nanbakhsh, 2011: 35) the Persian overt pronouns *an* [*un*] 'that' or 'it' and [*in*] 'this' or 'it' are both third inanimate singular pronouns. In Table 4.2 [*an*] is mentioned only, whereas [*in*] should be added also. The second problem is about [*anha*] which is categorized as non-human in Table 2.1, while it applies for both human and non-human plural entities, so the P feature (variable) should be changed to -/+ for [*anha*] in 2.6. Another point is that [*inha*] (non-human plural pronoun) is not mentioned in Table 2.6.

Another important point is about the solidarity feature of [*šoma*] and [*išan*]. Buchler and Freeze set minus solidarity for them, while in my analysis, the solidarity property of [*šoma*] and [*išan*] can vary between +/- . For example, when a speaker says something to his group of friends (PL) [*šoma*] can be used even though there is solidarity between them. I will explain that further in Section 4.3.

The features proposed by Buchler and Freeze (1990: 91) should be distinguished from an ethnographic account which attempts to specify the principles governing the choice between thea honorific and non-honorific pronominal form.

Buchler and Freeze describe not only Persian; they compare the pronominal inventory of several different languages. Table 2.7 summarizes the features that are relevant in the languages they investigate.

Table 2.7 Distribution of features Buchler and Freeze (1966: 97)

Formal Features	Social-Cultural Features
M: \bar{M} (minimal/non-minimal)	SL: $\bar{S}\bar{L}$ (solidarity/non-solidarity)
S: \bar{S} (inclusion/exclusion of speaker)	ML: $\bar{M}\bar{L}$ (male/-non-male)
H: \bar{H} (inclusion/exclusion of hearer)	P: \bar{P} (person/non-person)
MM: $\bar{M}\bar{M}$ (maximal membership/none-maximal membership)	PR: $\bar{P}\bar{R}$ (proximate/non-proximate) ;near/far

Table 2.7 divides the features mentioned in Table 2.6 into two groups, i.e. formal and socio-cultural ones. The formal features in above table are M: \bar{M} (minimal/non-minimal membership), S: \bar{S} (inclusion/exclusion of hearer), H: \bar{H} (inclusion/exclusion of hearer), and MM: $\bar{M}\bar{M}$ (maximal/non-maximal membership). The social-cultural features are SL: $\bar{S}\bar{L}$ (solidarity/non-solidarity), ML: $\bar{M}\bar{L}$ (male/non-male), PR: $\bar{P}\bar{R}$ I (proximate/non-proximate) and P: \bar{P} (person/non-person).

In comparison with other languages, Persian has some specific pronominal semantic features. Table 2.8 illustrates the distribution of semantic components of pronominal forms of 21 languages by Buchler and Freeze (1966, P: 100).

Table 2.8 Distribution of semantic components (Buchler and Freeze, 1966, P: 100)

	No. of Units	M: \bar{M}	S: \bar{S}	H: \bar{H}	SL: $\bar{S}\bar{L}$	ML: $\bar{M}\bar{L}$	P: \bar{P}	PR: $\bar{P}\bar{R}$
Standard English	7	6	6	5	0	0	0	0
S. Texas English	8	8	6	6	0	0	0	0
K'ekchi Maya	6	6	4	4	0	0	0	0
Peninsular Spanish	12	12	7	9	5	8	0	0
Latin Amer. Spanish	10	10	7	7	2	6	0	0
Dutch	9	7	5	7	4	2	0	0
Tzeltal Maya	11	7	5	5	0	0	0	0
Ito	6	6	4	4	0	0	0	0
Mandarin Chinese	6	6	4	4	0	0	0	0
Persian	8	7	2	2	4	0	0	3
Ilocano	7	7	5	6	0	0	0	0
Assinibione Siouan	7	7	5	5	0	0	0	0
Maranao	8	8	8	8	0	0	0	0
Hebrew	10	10	6	8	0	0	0	0
Hindii	8	7	5	6	3	0	0	2
Russian	8	7	6	6	2	2	6	0
Gilyak	7	7	5	6	0	0	0	0
Portuguese	12	12	6	10	6	8	0	0
French	8	7	6	6	2	4	0	0
Totonac	5	4	2	0	0	0	0	0
Nahuatl	7							

According to this table, Persian has 8 pronouns, which of 7 are specified for the $-/+$ [minimal membership] (M/\bar{M}) semantic feature (all of them except *šoma*; it is not defined in the figure), 2 of them have the $-/+$ [inclusion of speaker] S/\bar{S} property (*man*, *ma*), two of them have the $-/+$ [inclusion of hearer] H/\bar{H} (*to*, *šoma*) property, 4 pronouns show the $-/+$ [solidarity] $SL/\bar{S}\bar{L}$ distinction (*to*, *ou*, *šoma*, *išan*) and 3 pronouns are specified for $PR/\bar{P}\bar{R}$ (proximate/non-proximate; near/far) property, which, surprisingly enough, is not shown in any other languages in the list, except Hindi⁸.

Table 2.8 requires modification. In my investigation there are 10 pronouns in Persian (see Table 2.1), where 2 are specified for the feature P/\bar{P} $-/+$ [person]; $-/+$ [animate] (*inha*, *anha*). Beside that Buchler and Freeze do not define minimal membership (M) feature of *šoma*. We could insert minus (-) Minimal feature for *šoma*.

Buchler and Freeze seem to have a rather formal approach and their lack of sociological relevance is clear. I think Buchler and Freeze do not provide an in-depth explanation of the

⁸ This should be noted that Buchler and Freeze do not count the English proximate/non-proximate such as *this* and *that*.

pronominal properties of Persian and their paper lacks of qualitative data analysis. Therefore I want to re-examine the pronominal properties of the Persian pronominal and focus more on solidarity influence on the choice of a polite (respectful) pronoun.

2.4.2 Keshavarz (1988)

Keshavarz (1988) investigates the form of address in post-revolutionary Iranian Persian based on literature reviews of the pronouns and politeness in Persian. This is a sociolinguistic analysis. He reviews the sociolinguistic simplification effects of the Islamic revolution of Iran in 1979. Keshavarz (1988: 565) mentions that: "The sudden shift from power to solidarity in Iran in the face of the sociopolitical upheaval in the country has yielded some interesting changes in the forms of address in Persian. In general, since the Islamic Revolution of 1979, forms of address in Persian have undergone a sociolinguistic simplification. In post-revolutionary Iran plain speech and forms of address marking solidarity has gained popularity, whereas asymmetrical forms reflecting the complex social class structure of pre-revolutionary Iran have gradually declined." He considered that politeness has two dimensions, i.e. a) self-lowering and b) other-rising. Keshavarz (1988: 570) proposes that the 2.SG pronoun /to/ generally speaking is considered a rude form of address to non-intimates. Parents and teachers usually warn children and pupils against the use of this pronoun, particularly when talking to older people, and recommend the polite pronoun *šoma*. However, /to/ is used in the following settings:

- 1.** In a very intimate relationship between close friends and colleagues, peers, classmates, and spouses. This use of /to/ is one of solidarity and intimacy.

- 2.** In a familial situation, it is a common practice for parents to address their children by /to/ until they are about fifteen years of age. This downward use of /to/, however, varies according to parents' attitudes and educational background.

Some educated middle-class parents have been observed to address their children by the polite pronoun *soma* right from the beginning, a practice which is generally found anomalous

and sometimes ridiculous by lower social groups. It should be noted, however, that in the presence of people outside the immediate family there is a general tendency to address children, particularly after the age of puberty, by the polite form /šoma/. Elder siblings also make use of the nonreciprocal /to/ when talking to their younger brothers and sisters.

3. Before the revolution, the nonreciprocal use of /to/ by such superiors as government officials and army officers to their subordinates, masters to their servants, and the like was quite common, but the occurrence of this usage of /to/ has become very rare, if not completely absent, under the present circumstances in Iran.

4. One of the interesting uses of /to/ is in one's soliloquizing address to oneself, and also in one's prayers to God in solitude.

5. And finally, when one wishes to show disrespect or anger to another person, /to/ is deliberately used in an insulting manner. In situations other than these, the polite singular pronoun /šoma/ is used instead of the familiar /to/.

The pronoun /šoma/ can be used reciprocally, but it expresses more respect and distance than *to*. In other words, the reciprocal use of /to/ is normally associated with relative intimacy, whereas the reciprocal use of /šoma/ is associated with relative distance and formality. /šoma/ is frequently heard in the free speech of different social groups in their daily interactions. It is used between acquaintances, colleagues of equal rank, spouses in the presence of others, and strangers. The upward use of /šoma/ is heard in the speech of children to their parents and elder brothers and sisters.

In sum Keshavarz's study investigates the form of address in post-revolutionary Iranian Persian and it defines the application of solidarity /to/ and non-solidarity /šoma/ in Persian contexts. He conducts a study of the forms of address in post-revolutionary Iran from sociolinguistics point of view. He mentions that the revolution in Iran resulted in the choice

of address terms indicating solidarity and the need to express solidarity led to greater use of terms like 'brother' and 'sister'. In this sense his investigation seems plausible. However this study is very abstract overview of pronominals and it cannot go deeply through the politeness properties of Persian pronominal that brings us to his later work.

2.4.3 Keshavarz (2001)

In another sociolinguistic analysis Keshavarz (2001) reviews the role of social context, intimacy and distance in the choice of forms of address. His hypothesis is that variation in the form of address is related not only to the age, sex, and social class characteristic of the interlocutors but also to the setting, intimacy, and social distance. The subjects of Keshavarz's analysis are Persian speakers living in different parts of Tehran (stratified sampled). The subjects were categorized according to three dimensions: They were categorized into three age groups (18-25, 26-35 and 36-over), two sex groups (male vs. female) and three social classes (low, middle, and high). The criterion for establishing the social class membership was based on the subject's education, occupation, and socioeconomic status.

In Keshavarz's study, participants were asked to choose one of the address forms *to* or *šoma* in informal familial contexts and in formal contexts. The result of his data analysis indicates that the use of intimate terms of address is inversely proportional to the social distance and formality of the context. That is, as social distance and the degree of formality of context increase, the frequency of the familiar term of address decreases. He also found that in informal familial situations age is more significant than sex and social class is determining forms of address. However, in formal circumstances, sex is a stronger determiner in the use of address form.

In sum Keshavarz's analysis of the role of social context, intimacy and distance in the choice of addresses (*to* or *šoma*) is only quantitative and the lack of qualitative analysis is evident. My second objective in this thesis is supplementary to Keshavarz's (2001) research. Here I will investigate the relative influence of the sociolinguistic features such as gender, age, power and intimacy on the choice of pronominals form in Persian both qualitatively and quantitatively.

2.4.4 Sharifian (2009)

Sharifian (2009) is also concerned with Persian pronouns, however pointing out that the Persian pronominal and agreement system allows for marking degrees of respect rather than a two-way dichotomy. He says: "conceptualizations are found in entirely different languages, namely Persian, and specifically, in the case of the second-person plural pronoun *šoma*. This pronoun is used as a second person singular honorific and the third person plural pronoun *išan* is also used as an honorific for the third person singular. Plurality as a marker of respect is not only marked in the pronoun system but can also be optionally marked by the verb ending. In fact, the interaction between the choice of pronoun, verb ending and the verb can yield a hierarchical system in terms of the degree of respect that each sentence conveys (Sharifian, 2009: 9)".

Consider the following example 4.4.1 by Sharifian:

(a). "این نکته را او به من گفت."

In nokteh ra ou beh mæn goft.

This point OM he/she.3SG to me told-Ø.3.SG

"He told me this point"

(b). "این نکته را ایشان به من گفت."

In nokteh ra išan beh mæn goft.

This point OM he/she.3.PL (respect) to me told-Ø.3.SG.AGR

"He told me this point"

(c). "این نکته را ایشان به من گفتند."

In nokteh ra išan beh mæn goft-aend

This point OM he/she.3.PL (respect) to me told-3.PL.AGR

"He told me this point"

(d). "این نکته را ایشان به من فرمودند."

In nokteh ra išan beh mæn farmud-ænd

This point OM he/she.3.PL (respect) to me told-3.PL.AGR

"He told me this point."

Notice that the translation of the above set of sentences is the same, but as Sharifian (2009: 9) mentions they differ in terms of the degree of respect one holds for the person being talked about. The degree of respect varies from the lowest degree in sentence (a) raised to the highest respectful version in the sentence (d). The verb *goft* in sentences (a) and (b) (there is a mismatch between SBJ and V ending) changes to the plural form *goft-ænd* in sentence (b) and then into the most respectful version *færmud-ænd* in the last sentence.

Changing the form of the verb *didæn* "to visit" and *molaghat kærdæn* "to visit" from example 4.3.4 is a kind of polite contextualization which is discussed as cultural conceptualization by Sharifian in some articles and books.

Concerning the explanation of cultural cognition Sharifian mentions that: "It is neither totally captured by the cognition of an individual member of the group, nor it is the result of a mere summation of the minds in a group. It is the constant communicative interaction taking place between the members of a group that leads to the emergence of a collective, cultural cognition that is a dynamic, emergent system. It has been negotiated and regenerated across generations and across time and place (Sharifian, 2009: 2, 4)".

I will consider Sharifian's point of views about cultural conceptualization and they will be kept in mind in the rest of this thesis.

2.4.5 Nanbakhsh (2011)

Nanbakhsh (2011) discussed sociolinguistic functions of address pronoun switching and the mismatch construction and tries to answer these two questions by a sociolinguistic data analysis. The main questions he raises are:

a) What are the different social functions served by second person singular and plural pronouns and suffixes in Persian?

b) What are the sociolinguistic and pragmatic functions that pronoun switching and mismatch construction (e.g. *šoma* + 2SG verb agreement) serve?

Regarding the answer to the first question Nanbakhsh mentions 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 (respectful) 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 (organizational task and norm). Two social functions were observed to be associated with the deferential verbal agreement (2h and 2p)⁹ 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 (Nanbakhsh, 2011: 179)".

In order to answer the second question, i.e. *What are the sociolinguistic and pragmatic functions that pronoun switching and mismatch construction serves?*, Nanbakhsh explains: "a) Switching from (\emptyset + 2h/2PL \rightarrow \emptyset + 2SG) is observed to be implicated expressing sycophantic, sarcasm, and solidarity stance, b) the switches from (\emptyset + 2SG \rightarrow \emptyset + 2PL/2) 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 (Nanbakhsh, 2011: 179)".

Furthermore Nanbakhsh points out that: "Switching may initially seem volatile (variable), their functions are systematic and rule governed about mismatch (Nanbakhsh 2011: 178)".

Nanbakhsh (2011:167) also mentions that "in the analysis of communicative functions of address forms, it is important that beside age, gender, social relationship and power dimension (Brown and Gilman 1960, Brown and Ford 1964, Lawther 2004), we consider the interactional (communicational) relationship between the interlocutors in the conversation (Ervin-Tripp 1972 b, Martiny 1996, Sidnell 1999, Osterman 2003)".

⁹ Nanbakhsh (2011) applied the following abbreviations; S: singular, P: plural and H: honorific, \emptyset : no separate subject.

In Section 2.1, I mentioned that there is agreement in person and number between verb endings (enclitic) in Persian but in colloquial conversation this agreement sometimes fades away for some reason. This is illustrated by sentence b.

(b). "این نکته را ایشان به من گفت."

in nokteh ra išan be maæn goft.

This point OM he/she (respect) to me told-SG. AGR

“He told me this point”

In the example above there is mismatch between 2PL subject (*šoma*) and verb ending 2SG agreement marker. It can be also illustrated like this 2 PL (*šoma*) +2 SG

I argue that reviewing a series of a particular conversation may not show a pattern in switching pronouns and agreement markers. Sometimes there is no fixed reason for the presence of mismatch construction rather it is just a matter of simplifying a formal conversation or it decrease the pressure of the formal conversation and it is a step toward increasing the solidarity between the speaker and the hearer. In most cases such changes are not predictable so we can conclude that colloquial mismatch may be caused by the stylistic attitude of speaker not predefined rules or reasons.

In sum Nanbakhsh wants to find some rules that govern the mismatch and shifting between the separate subject and agreement marker in a sentence. In order to find the solution she applied different sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic approaches. Topic shift and contrastive emphasis are some interesting social functions served by second person singular and plural pronouns and suffixes in Persian that I will test on my film data in Chapter 4.

2.5 Summary

To sum up this section Buchler and Freeze (1966) present the distinctive features of Persian pronominal including formal and social-cultural features with a multi-lingual contrastive analysis overview. Keshavarz (1988, 2001) provides a sociolinguistic view of the role of intimacy of Persian pronominala from singular *to* versus differential *soma*. Sharifian's (2009)

notion of cultural conceptualization gives a wider overview of the semantic part of Persian politeness. Nanbakhsh's (2011) work on Persian politeness will be particularly useful in this study. Her focus is on the T/V mismatching and shifting between singular and plural pronominal and agreement markers according to the sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic approaches.

I will consider the findings of the above researchers in my data analysis section and specifically examine the effect of T/V mismatching or pronominal shifting in Persian contexts from both qualitative and quantitative research approaches in order to shed more light on the subject.

Chapter 3 : Theoretical Background

3.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the T-V hypothesis of Brown and Gilman (1960) that is well-known in field of address forms. Section 3.2 explains general and international properties of T-V hypothesis and goes through the tenfold T-V scheme of Russian by Friedrich (1972). Power and solidarity are two important semantic notions that play a crucial role in my data analysis and their semantic notions mentioned in Sections 3.4.1 and 3.4.2. The relationship between these notions is discussed in Section 3.4.3. Section 3.5 is about the relationship between plurality and politeness from Brown and Gilman's (1960) point of view. Finally, Section 3.6 gives a summary and general overview of the chapter.

3.2 The T-V Hypothesis

Brown and Gilman (1960) suggested a two-dimensional scheme of power and solidarity. Power and solidarity is also crucial in the so-called T-V hypothesis. The name 'T-V' came from the Russian, second-person singular pronoun 'ty' and the plural one 'vy' where its distribution is dependent on power and solidarity. Brown and Gilman (1960: 252) mentions that: "In French, German, Italian, Spanish and the languages most nearly related to English there are still active two singular pronouns of address. The interesting thing about such pronouns is their close association with two dimensions of power and solidarity. Semantic and stylistic analysis of these forms takes us well into psychology and sociology as well as into linguistics and the study of literature." They also mention that: "information and documents concerning the other Indo-European languages are not easily accessible to us." About the similarities among the Indo-European pronoun system, Becker and Oka (1974: 230) mention that: "within a language family, across genetic boundaries, and many Indo-European scholars have demonstrated the formal and semantic similarities of Indo-European pronoun systems".

Table 3.1 below, represents the pronominal address forms in a handful of languages around the world from (Wardhaugh, 1992: 258).

Table 3.1 Pronominal address forms in the variety of languages (Source: Wardhaugh, 1992: 258)

Languages	T	V
Latin	<i>tu</i>	<i>vos</i>
Spanish	<i>tu/vos</i>	<i>ud</i>
German	<i>du/ihr</i>	<i>Sie</i>
French	<i>tu</i>	<i>vous</i>
Russian	<i>ty</i>	<i>vy</i>
Swedish	<i>du</i>	<i>ni</i>
Chinese	<i>ni</i>	<i>nin</i>
Persian	<i>to</i>	<i>šoma</i>

As it illustrated in Table 3.1, we can compare *ty/vy* forms (2nd singular/plural) among 8 different languages (Latin, Spanish, German, French, Russian, Swedish, Chinese and Persian) and the T/V system is applicable to all of them. Among them, Persian which is the focus of my study is in the last position in the table.

About the origin of T-V system in Europe, Mühlhäusler, and Harré (1990: 137) mention that "However the simple T-V system of French was no doubt the model for other honorific systems in Europe. Friedrich (1966) takes for granted that it was the adaption of French manners in the Middle Ages that induced a T-V overtly on English pronoun use. In this case it was the dominance of the French language and culture of the eighteenth century in the life of the Russian upper class that was the effective spur".

I now present the tenfold scheme of Russian around four sets of discrimination offered by Friedrich (1966: 288). It was reorganized by Mühlhäusler, and Harré (1990: 139).

A. Content

1. Topic of conversation: a serious matter requires *vy*, non-serious and/or intimate (through not always the latter) requires *ty*.
2. Social context: public/formal requires *vy*, private requires *ty*.

B. Biosocial consideration

3. Age: within generations, marginal influence on *ty/vy* choice.
4. Generation: differences of one or more generation call for *ty/vy* asymmetry.
5. Sex: generally, in according with dominance of A1 or A2, same sex uses *ty*, opposite sex uses *vy*.
6. Genealogical distance: elaborate and liable rules for *ty/vy* with both symmetry and asymmetry.

C. Group membership

7. Relative authority reflected in asymmetrical usage, becoming symmetrical as an authority is weakened.
8. Group membership property: *ty* favored amongst members of the same household (gentry) or the same village (peasants).
9. Dialect: reciprocal *ty* was and is the unmarked pronoun amongst peasants.

D. Emotional expression

10. Complex, but of great importance, because of occasioned uses of *ty* to express both respect and love, as well as the emotional closeness of anger; shifts between *ty* and *vy* being important moves in dynamic structure of conversations.¹⁰

These above 10 features (variables) have key roles on the T-V system. Friedrich uses this system to convert French model of T-V forms presented in the table above to Russian.

3.3 Persian Features Compared to Previous Literature

I will now present a comparative study of the application of the T-V system between Persian and Russian. Some of the issues that Friedrich (1966) proposes as potentially relevant to pronominal systems have already been suggested as relevant to some points in Persian as

¹⁰ A phenomenon quite unlike the Germanic stability of *du/Sie* transformable only by rituals (Mühlhäusler, and Harré: 1990: 140)..

mentioned by Keshavarz (1988). I focus on what is new in this proposal compared to the literature on Persian earlier, this holds for:

- 1. Topic of conversation and social content:** Friedrich (1966: 288) mentions that T uses for non-serious matters in private context, while V applies for serious or intimate matters in formal context in Russian, related to this matter in Persian Keshavarz (2001: 288) proposes that: "degree of formality is useful in assessing the influence of social setting, as an example, form of address may vary according to the formality of the social context".
- 2. Biosocial consideration:** Friedrich (1966: 288) mentions that age, sex and generation have an influence on T/V choice in Russian, same sex uses T, opposite sex uses V. Today in Persian Keshavarz (2001:1, 16) mentions that "the hypothesis is that variations in the forms of address are related not only to age, sex and social class but also to the setting , intimacy , and social distance". Besides that Keshavarz concludes that "In informal situations age is more significant than sex and social class in determining form of address".
- 3. Group membership property:** Friedrich (1966: 288) mentions that in Russian T favored among members of the same household or the same village. In this relation in Persian Keshavarz (2001: 17) indicates that: "The choice of linguistic form is determined by the formality of the context and the relationship between interlocutors in a speech event." Keshavarz (1988:570) also proposes that: "in a familial situation it is common that parents to address their children by /to/ (T) until they are about fifteen years old." Besides that he proposes that: "In very intimate relationships between close friends and colleagues, peers, classmates and spouse. This use of /to/ (T) is a symbol of solidarity and intimacy".
- 4. Emotional expression:** (Friedrich 1966:288) Emotional use of T expresses respect and love, as well as the emotional closeness of anger between T and V and significance dynamic structure of conversation. In this sense Keshavarz (1988:570) has somehow the same idea; "when one wishes to show disrespect or anger to another

person, it is deliberately used in an insulting manner. In situations other than these, the polite singular pronoun /šoma/ is use instead of the familiar /to/".

These are some factors that have been proposed as relevant in Persian in previous literature. Table 3.2 below illustrates the 2nd and 3rd T-V forms of both singular and plural personal pronouns in Persian which are under consideration in this study.

Table 3.2 The 2nd and 3rd T-V forms in Persian

2PR	Singular	Plural	3PR	Singular	Plural
T	to تو	šoma شما	T	ou او	išan ایشان
V	šoma شما	šoma شما	V	išan ایشان	išan ایشان

In order to obtain a better realization of the T-V system some semantic dimensions must be clarified. First, the principle of distance and proximity to the speaker (ego) may be the most fundamental semantic dimension in the pronoun and other deictic systems of language. Number, gender, kinship, social status and markedness are other factors that by no means are universally coded within pronoun systems (Mühlhäusler and Herré 1990: 63). In Persian only person and number is inflected by pronouns. I will use the T-V system in order to analyze my data later. Some other important semantic parts that should be clarified are about the semantics of power, solidarity and status that I will consider in the next section.

3.4 The Semantic Part

3.4.1 The Power Semantic

"Power is a relationship between at least two persons, and it is nonreciprocal in the sense that both cannot have power in the same area of behavior (Brown and Gilman. 1960: 187) ". What has been discussed by Brown and Gilman (1960) as 'power', was replaced later to the term 'status' by Brown and ford (1961) and then by Mühlhäusler and Herré (1990:136).

Brown and Gilman believe that there are many bases of power such as physical strength, wealth, age, sex, the institutionalized role in the church, the state, the army and the family. The power semantics is similarly nonreciprocal: the superior says T and receives V. For

instance in medieval Europe the nobility said T and received V, and within the family parents gave T to their children while they were given V back.

According to Brown and Levinson (1987), Negative politeness regards power, status and politeness. Negative politeness is distance oriented; it pays respect to people and avoids intruding on them. The point is that since power, status and politeness are involved in the selection of pronouns, pronominal forms relate to a negative face.

About the status semantics, Mühlhäusler and Herré (1990:136) mention that different in status, usually in social status, as determined by whatever criteria happen to be relevant, are expressed according to the following rules: the superior (A) address (B), his/her inferior, as T, while receiving V from B. They (M & H) also mention that the status-and-solidarity 'semantics' is thus realized linguistically in the Brown and Gilman 'algebra' of symmetry and asymmetry of use.

3.4.2 The Solidarity Semantic

The term 'solidarity' that was proposed by Brown and Gilman (1960) was later replaced by 'intimacy' by Brown and Ford (1961).

About the difference between solidarity status and power distance variables, B & G (1960: 255) mention that: "the usage of pronouns to express power is asymmetrical and non-reciprocal. Solidarity, on the other hand, is a symmetrical social relationship between people. There is possible to consider power distance and solidarity variable at the same time between two people and these are not mutually exclusive".

The corresponding norms of address are symmetrical or reciprocal and become more probable as solidarity increases. The solidarity (T) reaches the peak of probability in address between twin brothers or in a man's soliloquizing address to himself (B & G 1960:189). They also argue that solidarity comes into the European pronoun systems as a means of differentiating address among equal powers.

About the solidarity semantics Mühlhäusler and Herré (1990:135) explain that: "solidarity semantics distinguish between the attitude of people who feel themselves members of a corporate body and of those who are either strangers to one another or who are socially

distant. The notion of solitary is quite general, but non-intimate groups are non-solidary. For instance a nuclear family is not solidary, since child/parent is usually a status relation and is symmetrical. The rules for the solidarity semantics are that members address one another as T, while status equals who are socially distant uses V to one another".

Concerning the relationship between politeness and solidarity Brown and Levinson (1987) explain that, "positive politeness is solidarity oriented, emphasizes shared attitudes and values". This means that the T-V system is not only oriented towards negative politeness, as argued above, but also positive politeness.

3.4.3 Relationship between Power and Solidarity

Regarding the mutual relationships between power and solidarity Brown and Gilman (1966: 258) propose that "the dimension of solidarity is potentially applicable to all persons addressed. Power superior may be solidary (parents, elder siblings), or not solidary (officials whom one seldom sees). Power inferiors, similarly, may be solidary like the old family retainer and as remote as the waiter in a strange restaurant".

As mentioned before the use of pronouns to express power is asymmetrical and non-reciprocal, however the application of pronouns to express solidarity is either symmetrical or reciprocal.

Figure (3.1) below by B & G (1966: 190) presents the six categories of people defined by their relationships to a speaker. Rules of address are in conflict for people in the upper left and the lower right categories. For the upper left, power indicates V and solidarity T. For the lower right, power indicates T and solidarity V.

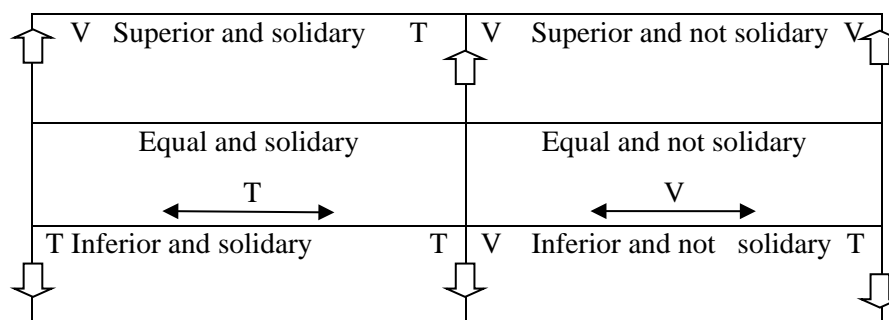


Figure 3.1 The two dimensional semantic of power and solidarity, B & G (1966: 190)

The figure describes the solidarity dimension along the vertical line and creates six categories of people defined by their relationship to a speaker. Looking through B & G (1966: 190) the diagram, indicates that rules of address are in conflict for people in the upper left and lower right categories. For the upper left (superior and solidary) power indicates V and solidarity T. It means that for example in a context between father and child when father is superior to child, solidarity can decide the form of address. This is the same as people in the lower right part of the diagram (inferior and not solidary) for example the family retainer.

According to B & G (1966: 190) all their evidence about Indo-European language consistency indicates that "in the past century the solidarity semantic has gained supremacy. "It means that solidarity in most cases has the stronger effect than power on the choice of pronoun.

I now wish to focus on the effect of solidarity in choosing a suitable pronoun in Persian. In the first stage my aim is to define the relationship between power and solidarity within Persian context and review the circumstances under which these two variables challenge with each other. Look at examples below:

(1. a). Solidary and equal power:

Context: Ali's friend asks him a question

"تو تدریس میکنی علی؟"

to tædris mikon-i Ali?

You 2.SG.SBJ (T) teaching are-2.SG.AGR Ali

“Are you teaching, Ali?”

(2.a) Non-solidary and non-equal power (inferior speaker):

Context: student asks a question to his teacher

"شما تدریس می‌کنید استاد؟"

šoma tædris mikon-id ostad?

You. 2PL.SBJ (V, RESPECT) teach are-2PL.AGR teacher

“Are you teaching, teacher?”

(2.b) Non-solidary and non-equal power (superior speaker):

Context: teacher tells his student

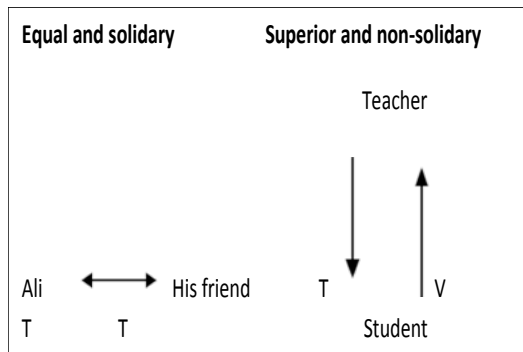
"یک نصیحتی برای تو، شما دارم."

Ye næsihæti baraiæ to/šoma daræm

Some advice for you, 2SG/2PL.OBJ (T or V) give, 1SG.AGR

“I give you some advice!”

In example (1.a) somebody asks a question to his equal (power) and solidary person or his friend (Ali) and accordingly, a singular non-respectful pronoun *to* is used. In (2.a), the teacher is higher status than the student, he has superior power and non-solidary so he gave non-reciprocal V and in this case the lack of solidarity leads the speaker to choose 'šoma'. In (2.b) teacher who is superior and non-solidary could use T or V to the student. Below I represent a two-dimensional simple sketch of mutual relationships between speaker and the addressee of the above conversation.



Notice that the second plural personal pronoun 'šoma' can be used in both cases of solidarity and non-solidarity in Persian when the referent is plural. Example 4.3.2 below sheds more light on this.

(3.a). Solidarity and equal power:

Context: Ali asks a question to his friends

"شما کجا بیید بچه ها؟"

šoma *kojaid* *bæcheha?*

You.2PL.SJ (V) where are guys

"Where are you **guys**?"

(3.b). Non-solidarity and non-equal power (inferior):

Context: Ali asks a question to his doctor

"شما کجا بیید دکتر؟"

šoma *kojaid* *doctor?*

You .2PL.SBJ (V, RESPECT) where are doctor

"Where are you **doctor**?"

Example (3.a) is uttered in a context where there is solidarity between equal power speaker and plural addressees, while example (3.b) is used in a context where there is non-solidarity

between non-equal power speaker and singular addressee, so the respectful pronoun (*šoma*) has been chosen for the doctor who has a non-solidarity non-equal/superior.

Another point is that without defining the context, the use of *šoma* in Persian is ambiguous in a sense that it can be used for both singular and plural addressees. Look at example 4 below:

(4).

"شما کجا هستید؟"

Šoma *koja-id?*

You.2PL.SBJ where- **2PL.AGR?**

"Where are you?"

Thus, generally when using *šoma* without mentioning a proper name as a subject, there is ambiguity between choices of singular or plural addressees in Persian. If we consider plural addressees there is choice of solidarity or non-solidarity between speaker and addressees, however selecting a singular addressee *šoma* signals the existence of the non-solidarity feature.

3.5 Plurality and Politeness

The application of plural pronouns or enclitics in order to refer to a single entity in a formal situation is regular and unavoidable in Persian. It is necessary to use plurality as a marker of respect and politeness to the addressee especially when the addressee is higher ranked in power (status) or age than the speaker in the Persian culture. In Persian, like many other languages, the T pronoun is homophonous with a plural pronoun in the same language. This is presumably not accidental.

Haugen (1975:327) mentions that "The basis for applying the plural of the personal pronouns to individual persons is the ambiguity that is inherent in their so-called plurality. Since people rarely speak in chorus, 'we' does not refer to several speakers, but to the speaker

plus whomever he chooses to include. About the previous literature of the study of honorific pronouns, Haugen refers to the old history of that in Europe, especially in Icelandic and old Norwegian, and he refers to Brown & Ford's (1961) extension of this principle to American addressees, where it turns out that the choice of first name vs. title plus last name has many of the same social dimensions as pronoun usage in those languages which have not like English merged the singular and plural pronouns. Brown and Ford (1961) found that age and occupational or organizational status accounted for non-reciprocal naming (i.e., one person is addressed by first name, the other by last name), with status dominant over age; thus, a young corporate executive would first-name an older janitor, reflecting American emphasis on achievement. In this study they have replaced the words 'power' and 'solidarity' with 'status' and 'intimacy'. Brown and Ford have worked out a graphic chart to show the deferential, condescending, and equality dimensions. This is further developed by Susan Ervin-Tripp (1969) into a series of flow charts which show the possible choices and the kinds of social relations that determine one's choice in a given society".

About the relationship between distance and plurality Becker and Oka (1974: 135) mention that: " Respecting the hearer is to avoid the suggestion that the relationship is dyadic but rather to assume an objective, impersonal structure in which there are one or more intermediaries always potentially present, an inherently triadic and hence plural-situations" They also mention that lots of languages around the world use a plural marker as a marker of politeness probably derived from the relationship between distance and plurality in language."¹¹

As we will see there are several examples in this thesis where there is a tendency in Persian to use the plural pronoun for singular entity and I want to discover the sociolinguistic reason for this.

3.6 Summary

To sum up this section, the explanation of the T-V hypothesis, semantic notions of power and solidarity and relationship between these two variables besides the invented examples in

¹¹ Such as Kawi language, it is mentioned by Peter Muhlhausler and Rom Harre (1990, chapter 4).

Persian introduced here are my starting point to become better familiar with properties of address forms in Persian.

Comparing previous literature on the T-V tool specially tenfold scheme of Russian from Fredrich (1972:72) with Persian previous literature mainly from Keshavarz (1998, 2001) makes collect important features that can be investigated in my data namely: 1: the topic of conversation or social context: formal or informal situation; 2: biosocial consideration: age and sex; 3: group membership property; 4: emotional expression: mood of conversation such as angry mood; 5: solidarity or intimacy; 6: power or status.

This chapter enabled me the way to test challenging forces between power and solidarity and guided me to analyze my data and clarify whether polite pronouns (*šoma*, *išan*) in Persian are addressee-oriented or referent-oriented, and also to test whether solidarity and power is the crucial feature for choosing a suitable pronominal or T-V forms.

Chapter 4 : Film Data

4.1 Introduction

The sources of the data in this section are transcribed from a famous Iranian film Named 'Separation', which is an Iranian dram film written and directed by Asghar Farhadi in 2011. The Separation won the 'Oskar Academy Award' for the best foreign language film in (2012), becoming the first Iranian film to win the award. It also received the 'Golden Bear' for best film, the 'Silver Bears' for the best actress and best actor at the 61st Berlin international film festival and the 'Golden Globe' for the best foreign language film.¹²

The story in the film is about a married couple, Simin and Nader, who are faced with a difficult decision, to improve the life of their daughter by immigrating to Canada or to stay in Iran and look after Nader's father who is sick. In a first part of the film, Simin is angry with her husband (Nader) and wants to divorce him. This will be in court.

My motivation for selecting Separation film is to represent customary Persian film dialogs among different actors (characters or participants) such as households within informal-familial situation and simultaneously illustrate formal dialogs and conversation during the court episodes in the film.

My main research objectivs are the following:

1. Determine the conditions of context under which a plural form (i.e. pronoun, agreement marker or enclitic) is used to refer to a singular entity in contemporary Persian;
2. Investigate the relative influence of sociolinguistic variables such as gender difference, age distance, power distance, solidarity and mood shifting in the choice of pronominals in Persian and determine the factors that influence pronoun switching; and
3. Diagnose whether the choice of plural or polite referring forms in Persian is addressee oriented or referent oriented with respect to the T-V distinction.

¹² Source: en.wikipedia.org/wiki/A_Separation

4.2 Methods of Data Collection

The method of data collection in this section is transcribing the film dialogs. The film data analysis part consists of 8 episodes where each episode has special location, participant (interlocutors) and topic. Each episode consists of the datum that represents the most important T-V forms shifting or mismatching under the influence of the above-mentioned features (variables). For each part of data I mention mood (atmosphere) based on the tone of speaker (rising and falling). The strategy of the data analysis in this section is to attract the reader attention to different Persian addressee (2nd) or referent (3rd) forms by categorization of T-V variation according to the social features (variables) such gender, power and age distance, solidarity under influence of psychological mood (atmosphere). Furthermore since the format of pronouns were repeated a lot among interlocutors. I selected only crucial utterances that cover the purpose of my thesis to save the time and represented minimal pairs; relationships among solidary family member (Nader, Simin, daughter and grandfather) with each other and also with non-solidary new arrivals such as the housemaid and servants regarding to above-mentioned social features (variables). Moreover I collect utterances that better represent the T-V distinction. Categorizations of the episodes are based on different locations and interlocutors. For instance, inside the court is a formal situation, while Nader's house is an informal situation. First episode initially starts with simple informal episode and then it is followed by the other informal episodes.

In this section I also follow Nanbakhsh (2011) and the methodology of collecting media data in her PhD dissertation. Her 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) (Nanbakhsh, 2011: 77). I also reexamine the effect of sociolinguistic variables (age, gender), that was considered in Kaeshavarz (1988, 2001) investigations under the influence of solidarity and power distance variables that proposed by Brown and Gilman (1960).

4.3 The Categorization of the Considered Features

According to Nanbakhsh (2011: 178) "it is important that beside age, gender, social relationship and power dimension, there are other issues (Brown and Gilman 1960, Brown and Ford 1964, Lawther 2004)." Today, Keshavarz (2001) also mentions that "variation in the form of address are related not only to the age, sex, and social class characteristic of the interlocutors but also to the setting, intimacy, and social distance".

I will investigate the choice of pronominal forms in this section with respect to the following six variables:

- **Age distance (AD):** categorization of biosocial consideration such as age in this study divides into 3 approximate groups: 1. Young, 2. middle age, 3. old. Age distance (AD) is a corresponding considered social variable. Age distance in Persian makes the expectation of V form especially for older people, while somehow high age distance (adult and child) could cause the reciprocal T form to be used to increase solidarity.
- **Gender difference (GD):** is another biosocial consideration that is in a natural dichotomy of gender difference between: 1. Masculine 2. Feminine. Age different (AD) is a corresponding considered social variable. Gender difference in Persian is a reciprocally V form especially for feminine where is much respect and regard.
- **Power distance (PD):** power is nonreciprocal social relationship and it is considered as a dichotomy between superior and inferior (higher and lower). People with higher education, economy position or social status considered having a higher power in Persian. My consideration and presupposition is based on semantic definition of power by Brown and Gilman (1960: 187). They believe that "there are many bases of power such as physical strength, wealth, age, sex, institutionalized role in the church, the state, the army and the family. The power semantics is similarly nonreciprocal: the superior says T and receives V." Based on Persian ritual and custom in informal situation parents have higher power ranking and grandparents considered to have the most powerful ranking and in a formal situation higher social position has a higher power ranking for instance inside a court the judge has a superior power than other

participants. In this case power distance (PD) is a corresponding considered social variable.

- **Solidarity:** solidarity is a symmetrical social relationship between people. I use +/- – as an abbreviation for solidarity. In this study the solidarity feature considered in a dichotomy of plus or minus features for instance solidary or intimate people considered +SL and non-solidary or strangers considered –SL. Solidary people in Persian apply reciprocally T form while there is expectation of reciprocally V form for non-solidary people.
- **Mood shifting (tensed atmosphere):** internal and emotional feeling of speaker. I hypothesized that mood shifting of the conversation may have an impact on the choice of T-V form.¹³ I categorize the mood of the data to three rankings: 1. Normal mood (NM), 2. Angry mood (AM), 3. Tender mood (TM). Although Brown and Gilman (1960: 274) in their own study discussed the transitory use of pronouns to express "...some attitude or emotion and mood of the speaker"; they illustrate it as follows: "This kind of variation in language behavior 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." My presupposition is today is that the anger mood (AM) can convert the V to T form under special circumstances. I will investigate these situations in my data analysis section.
- **Formality (relative distance):** formality is a cause of reciprocal V form between interlocutors that it could be the sign of formal situation or context. I presuppose that formality means reciprocal plurality (V) form. Keshavarz (1988: 570) mentions that: "The pronoun *šoma* can be used reciprocally, but it expresses more respect and distance than *to*. In other words the reciprocally use of *to* is normally associated with relative intimacy, whereas the reciprocal use of *šoma* is associated with relative distance and formality". Formality considered between the dichotomy of plus or minus feature. There is expectation of reciprocally V form in formal circumstances in Persian.

¹³ I have used my own intuition as a Persian native speaker to judge whether the mood of the conversation is angry or normal.

4.4 Episodes

Each episode starts initially with the name of participants, their gender and age. Then there is a topic that is a story and the general content of each episode. Furthermore, we look at some selected utterances by considering the interrelationship between 8 interlocutors: (Simin, Nader, their daughter, Nader's father, the servant, the judge, the housemaid and her husband) In choice of addressees (2nd) or referents (3rd) by considering their age different, power different, gender different and solidarity with respect to the mood shifting (atmosphere) of each utterance. There is also a comparison between each utterance with the next one. Each episode also consists of a T-V table that represents a summary of all the referring forms that we have looked at in each section, with an overview of the possibly significant social variables. At the end there is a short discussion and summary of each episode that shows the mutual impact of the social variables on choice of T-V forms in totally 63 cases out of 38 utterances from 8 episodes of the film.

The arrangement of episodes is based on formal and informal locations and contexts however it is not absolute and it depends on interrelationships among interlocutors. For instance the court episode is a formal situation whereas Nader's house is an informal situation (somehow formality of the context increased in informal situation cause of interrelationship between participants for instance between Nader and the housemaid as a result of their gender difference and power distance or as a result of mood shifting).

4.4.1 Episode 1: Conversations among Close Family Members in Informal Situation

Location: Informal situation inside Nader and Simin's apartment

Participants

1. Simin (S): female, middle age
2. Simin's daughter (D): female, young
3. Nader (N): male, middle age
4. Nader's father (F): male, old

Situation: Simin is collecting her luggage to leave the house for ever and at the same time tells her daughter to transfer a message about the housemaid to Nader (her husband).

In the following data Simin is under influence of sadness and anger as a result of divorcing Nader. She gives an order (imperative form) to her daughter in utterance (1). The following data (i.e. utterance (2)) represents the response that the daughter gives to her mother.

(1). (06:52): S to D ref. N (Ad & Ref→ T form), (AM)^{14, 15}

"پاشو به بابات بگو اینها دیرشون شده."

Pašo *be bab-at* *bego* *inha* *dire-šun* *šodeh*
Go. Ø2SG.IMP to dad-2SG.POSS.CL tell.2SG.IMP they-3PL.OBJ_ late-3PL.POSS.CL AUX

"Go; tell your dad that they're late."

(2). (06: 53): D to S (Ad → T), (AM)

"خودت چرا نمی گوی؟"

Xod-et *čera* *ne-mig-i?*
Yourself (REF) - 2SG.SBJ why NEG -tell (IMP)- 2SG.SBJ.AGR

"Why don't you tell him yourself?"

In this case, Simin uses T form when referring to her daughter and the daughter uses a T form back to refer to her mother. Notice that since Simin has higher power than the daughter one might have expected a V form. About the format of pronominal in familial situation Keshavarz (1988: 570) mentions that: "In a familial situation. It is common that parents to address their children by *to* until they are about fifteen years old. This downward use of *to*, however, varies according to the parent's attitude and educational background. Elder siblings also use nonreciprocal *to* when they are talking with a younger brother or sister".

Notably it was common in earlier times in Iran for children to use V form nonreciprocally to refer to their parents. However, in this familial situation (in today's Iran), a T form is used. Example 2 thus does not support Keshavarz's claim. It is common for family members in

¹⁴ I am responsible for all annotations and translations of film data analysis part. Annotation of sentences consists of four lines. Line1: Persian text. Line2: Latin realization of Persian sounds (*Italic*). Line3: Syntactic annotation. Line4: English translation. [Note that highlighted part represents addressee (2nd) and underlined highlighted parts represent referent (3rd) pronominal forms that are under investigation.].

¹⁵ For better representation and summarizing I apply abbreviation instead of full names for instance: Nader: (N), Simin: (S), daughter (D) and father (F). Abbreviation reminder: M: Mood, A: angry, N: normal, T: tender.

modern Iran to use T forms in conversations within the family. The data (1) and (2) also indicate that in such an informal situation solidarity has stronger effect than power.

The next utterance illustrates an example where the daughter is talking to her father, referring to her mother, while the mood is not tensed (angry mood) any more. This example is similar to the previous one, except that there is now a gender difference between the speaker and the addressee, in addition to age and power distance. Furthermore, in this case the pronominal form is a 3rd person pronoun.

Taken together, (2) and (3) illustrate that in this kind of context, T forms are used regardless of whether is used for 2nd or 3rd personal pronominal.

(3). (09: 56): D to N refer to S: (Ad & Ref → T form), (NM)

"داره میره واقعا ببین! معلوم مامان هی رو این شماره گذاشته."

Bebin *!mæloom-e maman* *hei ro in* *šomare*

Look.Ø2.SG.SBJ.IMP! must-AUX mom -SBJ most on this number

gozasht-e. Dare *mir-e* *vaghean.*

use 3SG.SBJ.AGR. DUR going-3SG.SBJ.AGR. really.

“Look! Mom must use this number most. She is really leaving.”

Also in this example the daughter uses a singular form when referring to 3rd referent, while talking to her father. The mood of the conversation is normal, so in this example the T form cannot be due to angry mood.

In the data (4) below we are still in a familial situation with normal mood. This example is uttered by the father when talking to his daughter, referring to his wife.

(4). (09:26): N to D refer to S and then to D: (Ad & Ref → T), (NM)

"معمولا رو چند می گذاره؟ می خواهی ضایع مون کنی هنوز مامانت نرفته"

Mamoolæn roo čænd mizar-e? Mikha-i zaiæ-mon(man)
 Usually on which number put-she.3SG.SBJ.AGR. Want-2SG.SBJ lose face - *koni.*
hanooz maman-et næ-ræfte.
 AUX-2SG.SBJ before mom-your.2SG.POSS.CL. NEG- left-Ø3SG.AGR.

“Usually on which number does she put it? You make us lose the face before your mom leaving.”

As it can be expected from the previous examples, the father uses the T form when he is addressing his daughter as well as when he is referring to his wife.

The continuous part of the episode involves Nader’s father who is ill. He has Alzheimer’s. He holds Simin’s hands and does not want to let her go. Nader comes in and asks him to leave her hands (imperative form).

(5). (10:34): N to F referring S → T, (AM)

"ول کن دستشو بابا!"

Vel kon dæst-eš-o baba!
 Leaves AUX.2SG.(IMP) hands.obj-3SG. POSS-CL-OM dad.SBJ.

“Leave her hands dad!”

As it can be seen, Nader uses a T form when referring to Simin when he is talking to his father. As you can see, they do not use honorific forms neither for each other and nor for 3rd referent (Simin). This evidence again shows that higher age and power of the parents does not necessarily have any effect on the choice of referring form in this informal familial situation. They are having a solidarity-oriented conversation with each other.

Let now look at a contradictory utterance between Nader and her daughter in a same situation when the context changed. The story in the film shows that Nader is stressed and is

angry with the housemaid as a result of her mistake. Nader is helping his father to move his foot and at the same time asks her daughter to leave the room.

(6). (37:06): N to D (Ad: T/V form) (AM)

“شما برو بیرون دخترم.”

<i>šoma</i>	<i>boro biroon</i>	<i>dokhtær-æm.</i>
You. 2PL.SBJ	go out. IMP. Ø2SG.AGR	doughter-my. 1SG.POSS.CL

“Please go out my daughter.”

In the above data, Nader under influence of the mood (angry) gives a T form command (IMP. Ø2SG.AGR) to her daughter with a V form (*šoma*: you. 2PL.SBJ) for her in front of his father. There are some possibilities for such a T/V mismatch. It may be that under influence of a superior power of Nader's father or it may be happens ironically as a result of his angry mood. Mismatch construction in Persian proposed by Nanbakhsh (2001). Surprisingly there is application of such a differential *šoma* by Nader to his daughter in front of his father that is also discussed by (Keshavarz 1988) as: "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".

Table 4.1 represents a summary of all the referring forms that we have looked at in this section, with an overview of the possibly significant social features (variables) of 10 cases out of 6 utterances.

Table 4.1 Summary of the T-V forms

Addressee (2nd)	Referent (3rd)
(1) S ad. D → T (AM) ¹⁶ (SL, AD, PD)	(1) S to D ref. N → T (AM) (SL, PD, GD)
(2) D ad. S → T (SL, AD, PD)	(3) D to N ref. S → T (SL, AD, PD)
(3) D ad. N → T (SL, AD, PD, GD)	(4) N to D ref. S → T (SL, PD, GD)
(4) N ad. D → T (SL, AD, PD, GD)	(5) N to F ref. S → T (SL, PD, GD)
(5) N ad. F → T (SL, AD, PD)	
(6) N ad. D→V/T(mismatch) (AM) (SL,AD, PD)	

Table 4.1 shows that T forms are used in all the observed situations except for data (6) that shows a V/T mismatch in case of close family members are talking to each other in an informal situation. Notably the bold variables considered have a crucial (determiner) role on choice of T-V forms for instance angry mood in utterance 6 can has a more crucial role for the choice of T/V mismatching than the other mentioned variables in each case (utterance).

To sum up, this section shows that in familial situations when close family members are talking to each other, all family members can use T forms when addressing each other and when referring to the others. Since all family members use the same form, this can be seen as an expression of solidarity, which is a reciprocal relation according to 1, 2, 3, 4 & 5. The reciprocal use of T forms takes place in spite of difference in their gender and distance among their age and power status. Thus, solidarity could be higher ranked than the other features in this kind of situation. I also hypothesized that mood may affect the choice of either T or V forms, but the data in this section did not reveal any evidence, since T forms are used in all cases except utterance (6) that shows V/T mismatching used to refer Nader's daughter. Results of this episode do not support Keshavarz's (2001) results that say that "in informal familial situations age is more significant than sex and social class is determining forms of address." Furthermore since there has been seen a reciprocal T form between superior and inferior (Nader and Simin with their daughter), while my findings do support Keshavarz's (1988) claim that says: "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

¹⁶ Notably every utterance divided to two sections 1. Addressee for 2nd and; 2. Referent for 3rd personal pronominals if there is any. Each row has a number that I named it 'case'. For example this table consists of 6 cases for 2nd, versus 4 cases for 3rd. In every case I categorized a summary of interfering social variables. The bold characters show that variable has crucial influence on T-V choice of pronominal.

indication of solidarity and friendliness) or as a sign of power when used to an inferior by a superior. " I will further investigate the mutual impact of the other variables (features) such as gender, age, power and mood in the following episodes.

4.4.2 Episode 2: Quarrel between Simin and Servant in Informal Situation

Location: informal situation in a corridor of Nader and Simin's apartment.

Participants:

1. Simin (S): female, middle age
2. Servant (Ser): female, middle age
3. Buyer: unknown to the audience

Situation: Simin wanted to sell her piano as she is divorcing her husband (Nader). She comes across with two male servants in the corridor of the apartment. Two male servants carrying a piano out of the house, while suddenly one of them started to complaint about stairs of the building in order to get more pay, therefore Simin and the servant start to quarrel.

In following data (1 & 2) I present a short part of the conversation between Simin and the servant. Their genders and the powers ranking are different (Simin is employer and the servant is employee) and they do not meet each other very much (they are not solidarity; strangers). Note that according to Brown and Gilman's semantic of power (1960: 187) there is expectation of V form from inferior power to superior. Utterance (i) by Simin to the servant tensed mood (angry) 1). The following data (i.e. utterance (2)) represents the response that he gives her back with the same mood.

(1). (05:43): Ser to S: (V form), (AM)

"خانم شما گفته بودید طبقه دوم."

<i>Xanom</i>	<i>šoma</i>	<i>gofte bood-id</i>	<i>tabagheie</i>	<i>dovom.</i>
Lady.SBJ	you.2PL.SBJ	said AUX-2PL.SBJ.AGR	floor	second

I will now study the rest of conversation between Simin and the servant that shows referent form the servant for 3rd person (the buyer of the piano who is unfamiliar to audience). Utterance 3 is again tensed mood (ager).

(3). (06:00): Ser to S refer to buyer: (Ad: V & referent: T/V form), (AM)

"زنگ بزنید خوشون بگه ما چی کار کنیم."

Zang *bezan-id* *xod-e-šun(ešan)* *beg-e* *ma*
čikar kon-im

Call.IMP AUX-2PL.SBJ.AGR himself(REFL.)-EZ3PL.compl.cl sais-Ø3SG.OBJ.AGR we
(Mismatch)what do-2PL.SBJ.AGR

"Call him (buyer) to see what we have to do."

Also in this example the servant uses V form for 2nd person (Simin) while he applies 3PL.REF pronoun accompanied with Ø3SG.OBJ.AGR (T/V, mismatching) referring to the 3rd person (buyer of the piano) who is unknown to the audience and it may be due to the anger of the speaker.

Table 4.2 represents a summary of all the referring forms that we have looked at in this section, with an overview of the possibly significant social variables of 3 cases out of 3 utterances.

Table 4.2 Summary of the T-V forms

Addressee (2 nd)		Referent (3 rd)
(2) S to Ser → V (AM)	(GD, FO, PD)	(3) Ser to S ref. buyer → T/V (Mismatch) (AM)
(1) Ser to S → V (AM)	(GD, FO, PD)	

Table 4.2 shows that V forms are used in all the observed situations when Simin and the servant are talking to each other in a formal situation. The referred forms for 3rd personal pronominal shows a mismatch construction under influence of anger.

To sum up this section shows that in such a formal situation, when Simin and the servant talking to each other they choose reciprocal V form i.e. data (1) and (2). The reciprocal V form takes place in spite of the fact that they have different power ranking

(employer, employee) since they are different gender and they are non-solidarity. Thus there is a possibility that gender difference, non-solidarity and formality of the context are more significant features and having higher ranked than other features in this situation. I also hypothesized that mood may affect the choice of either the T or V forms; data in this section support that anger may only cause a mismatch construction for 3rd person however for 2nd person all exchanged pronouns are V form and no shift appeared. The results in this section agree with Keshavarz's (2001) sociolinguistics analysis which proposes that "under formal circumstances, sex is a stronger determiner in the use of address form." At that time, Keshavarz (1988) mentions that "/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. "However today, I am not sure that gender difference is the only interfering determiner or not. I will investigate other features more specifically to find a suitable answer my research question.

4.4.3 Episode 3: Conversation among Households with a new Arrival Housemaid

Location: inside a Nader's apartment

Participants:

1. Nader (N): male, middle age
2. Housemaid (H): female, middle age
3. Simin (S): female, middle age
4. Nader's father (F): male, old

Situation: Household's conversations (Nader, Simin and Nader's father) with a new arrival housemaid. In the continuous part Nader talks to the housemaid about the time and manner of taking care of his old and ill father. Since Nader and the housemaid are different gender and their power rankings also are not the same, there is expectation of nonreciprocal V form between them based on Brown and Gilman's (1988) notion of power.

My goal in this episode mostly is to focus on biosocial consideration: such as: age, sex and generation influence on choice of T-V, today Keshavarz (2001:1, 16) mentions that "the hypothesis is that variations in the forms of address are related not only to age, sex and social class but also to the setting, intimacy, and social distance. " As well as considering emotional expression: "Emotional use of T expresses respect and love, as well as the emotional

closeness of anger between T and V and significance dynamic structure of conversation (Friedrich (1966: 288)).

We can now consider the conversation between Nader and the housemaid. Utterance (1) by Nader to the housemaid does not tense mood (normal mood). The following data (i.e. utterance 2) represents the response that she gives him back. Utterance 2 tense mood (angry).

(1). (07:16): N to H referring F: (Ad →V, Ref →T) (NM)

"شما باید یک جورى بيايند که بسيار مشى به شما."

šoma bayad yekjouri bia-id inja ke besparam-eš be šoma

You.2PL.SBJ should early come-**2PL.SBJ.AGR** here that leave-**3SG.OBJ** to you.2PL

"You should come here early that I leave him with you"

(2). (23:32): H to N referring F: (Ad & Ref → V form) (AM)

"شما هم باید به من مى گفتيد که من باید نظافتشون کنم."

Šoma hæm baiad be mæn migoftid ke mæn bayæd nezafæte-sun kon-æm.

You.2PL.SBJ also should to me.1.SG.OBJ told that I.1.SG have to clean-**3.pl.poss** AUX-1.SG.AGR

"You should also tell me that I have to clean him."

Based on above conversation both Nader and the housemaid reciprocally choose V form referring to each other. Notice that their power levels are different, so nonreciprocal T form for the housemaid could be expected. Formality of the context between gender difference (as it mentioned before by Keshavarz (1988: 570)) "In other words the reciprocally use of *to* is normally associated with relative intimacy, whereas the reciprocal use of *šoma* is associated with relative distance and formality" (Keshavarz, 1988: 570), About the reciprocal V form in such a formal situation he also mentions that " The pronoun /*šoma*/ can be used reciprocally, but it expresses more respect and distance than /*to*/" Therefore relative distance between Nader and the housemaid could be the reason of such a reciprocal V form.

Another point about utterances 1 and 2 is a difference between 3rd person referring forms; Nader uses T form for his father (solidary) in data (1), while the housemaid uses V form referring to Nader's father who is non-solidary to her in data (2). Notably in data (2), tense (anger) mood of the housemaid does not represent any effect neither on the addressee (2nd), nor on the referent (3rd). Gender difference, degree of formality of the context and non-solidarity are other intervening factors that can prevent from such a T/V shifting.

Let us consider the rest of conversation between the housemaid and Nader's father in utterance 3 which is an interrogative sentence that does not tensed mood any more.

(3). (15:32): H to F: (Ad→ V form), (NM)

"جایی میخواهین برین؟"

Jaie mixa-in ber-in?

Somewhere want-2PL.SBJ.AGR go-2PL.SBJ.AGR

"Do you want to go somewhere?"

In utterance 3, the housemaid refers to Nader's father with V form (2PL.SBJ.AGR) as a reason of gender and power distance or lack of solidarity relationship between them. It shows that the housemaid referring to him with V form not only as a 3rd person (i.e.2), but also as a 2nd person (i.e. 3).

The following utterance (i.e. 4) by the housemaid to Nader's father is an imperative sentence that is tensed with mood (angry) and it represents the influence of emotional expression on choice of address forms. The only difference between utterances 3 and 4 is their mood (atmosphere). The story of the film in this section tells us that the housemaid in her first day of working in Nader's house comes across with difficulties in cleaning Nader's father and she becomes angry with him. Notice that V form was expected for Nader's father as a result of his older, superior power status, gender different and non-solidarity relationship between them.

(4). (16:09): H to F. (Ad→ T form), (AM)

"یشین اینجا!"

Bešin *inja!*

Sit. IMP+Ø 2SG.AGR here

“Sit here!”

Based on above datum, even though Nader’s father's gender is different with the housemaid, he has superior power, he is older than her and they are non-solidary, he does not receive V form since the utterance tensed with angry mood. In this sense, Keshavarz (1988:570) has somehow the same idea; "when one wish to show disrespect or anger to another person, /to/ is deliberately used in an insulting manner. In situations other than these, the polite singular pronoun /šoma/ is used instead of the familiar /to/".

Let us consider utterance (5) from another formal situation between the housemaid and the judge when she refers to Nader’s father inside a court. Since the judge and Nader’s father both have a higher power status than the housemaid and situation is also formal, there could be expectation of V form for both 2nd and 3rd person.

(5). (58:18): H to J referring to F: (Ref→ T form), (AM)

"خواب بود من در رو روش بستم بیرون نیاد."

Xab bood *mæn dær-o* *roo-sh* *bæst-æm* *biroon*
na-ya-ad

Asleep was.Ø3SG.AGR *I.SBJ* *door-OM* *on-3SG.COMP.CL* *locked* *out*
NEG-get-3SG.AGR

“He was asleep. I locked the door until he does not get out.”

The above data illustrates that the housemaid is explaining to the judge about the manner of taking care of Nader’s father. As you can see 3SG.COMP.CL and 3SG.AGR shows shifting from expected V to T form as a result of tense or anger mood of the housemaid and she refers to

Nader's father by the T form in front of the judge, while customarily it is expected to apply V form in front of a superior power in such a formal situation. Even though the speaker (the housemaid has different gender from the addressee (the judge) or the referent (Nader's father), it does not affect to choose a respectful (V) form because in this case emotional expression or tense (anger mood) has a heavier influence than the other mentioned features.

The following utterance is a selected part of dialog between Simin and the housemaid by telephone, referring to the Nader's father (3rd). This sentence does not tense mood any more. Since Simin has solidarity relationship with Nader and his father, there is expectation of the T referring form for them, while lack of solidarity relationship between Simin and the housemaid may causes expectation of V form here as same as a minimal pair i.e. utterance 1 (Nader uses the V form for addressing the housemaid and referring to his father in front of her).

(6). (16:33): S to H referring to F: (Ad and Ref →T), (NM)

"دستشویش رو می گفت که ببین بپریش تو حموم. "به شوهرم زنگ زدی؟ شمارش رو داری؟"

*Dəstšoo-iš-o mi-goft ke. **Bebin** bebær-
eš to hæmoom*

Pee-**3SG, POSS** -OM DUR-said.3SG.SBJ that. **Look.2SG.IMP** take.IMP.**3SG.SBJ-3SG**.DO.CL
into bathroom

Be šohær-æm zang zad-i?. Šomar-æš-o dar-i?

To husband.OBJ-1SG.POSS, CL call **AUX-2SG.SBJ.AGR.** Phone number.OBJ**3SG.POSS.CL**-OM
have-**2SG.SBJ.AGR**

"He said if he had to pee. Look, take him into the bathroom. Have you called my husband? Do you have his contact number?"

Simin chooses T form addressing the 2nd person (the housemaid) as well as to referring the 3rd person (Nader's father) when she talks to the housemaid as a reason of solidarity relationship between them (Simin and Nader's father who is Simin's father in law). Since the housemaid

is an inferior power compare to Simin, it is interesting that there is no obligation for Simin to choose V for the 2nd person (the non-solidary housemaid) or for the 3rd person (Nader's father) in front of the housemaid.

In the following part of the episode, the housemaid becomes surprised that Simin does not anymore want to live together with Nader in the same house and she has to work at Nader's house alone. The next utterance (7) by the housemaid to Simin does not have the tensed mood.

(7). (12:28): H to S (Ad →T), (NM)

"من فکر میکردم شا خودتون هم اینجا زندگی میکنید"

Mæn fekr mi-kard-æm šoma xode-tun hæm hæminja zendegi mi-kon-id

I thought.DUR.AUX 1SG.SBJ.AGR you.2PL.OBJ yourself, 2PL.REF too there living
-DUR-AUX.2PL.OBJ.AGR

"I thought that you are living there too"

As it can be seen in utterance 8 the housemaid addresses Simin who is superior power with V form while in utterance (6) Simin wants to be friendly toward the inferior housemaid so she addresses her with non-reciprocal T form and talks to her in patronizing manner¹⁷. A counterpart example in utterances (1 & 2) which is a minimal pair between Nader and the housemaid shows the reciprocal V form, it means that gender difference has a stronger influence than power distance among different gender participants which is against power semantic definition proposed by Brown and Gilman (1960: 187). Keshavarz (1988: 565) mentions that: "The sudden shift from power to solidarity in Iran in the face of the sociopolitical upheaval in the country has yielded some interesting changes in the forms of address in Persian. In general, since the Islamic Revolution of 1979, forms of address in

¹⁷ In other words: to speak to someone in a patronizing manner means treating them with apparent kindness which betrays a feeling of superiority and it also means that when you talk down to someone. Concise Oxford Treasures: condescending, disdainful, supercilious, superior, imperious, scornful, contemptuous; *informal* uppity, high and mighty.

Persian have undergone a sociolinguistic simplification. In post-revolutionary Iran plain speech and forms of address marking solidarity has gained popularity, whereas asymmetrical forms reflecting the complex social class structure of pre-revolutionary Iran have gradually declined".

Table 4.3 below represents a summary of the referring forms that have been looked in this episode with an overview of the possibly significant features of 10 cases out of 7 utterances.

Table 4.3 Summary of the T-V form

Addressee (2 nd)		Referent (3 rd)	
(1) N to H → V	(FO, PD, GD)	(1) N to H ref. F → T	(SL, PD, AD) REF ¹⁸
(2) H to N → V	(FO, PD, GD)	(2) H to N ref. F → V	(FO, PD, GD, AD)
(3) H to F → V	(FO, PD, GD, AD)	(5) H to J ref. F → T	(AM) (FO, PD, AD) REF
(4) H to F → T	(AM) (FO, PD, GD, AD)	(6) S to H ref. F → T	(SL, AD, GD, PD)
(6) S to H → T	(PD)		
(7) H to S → V	(PD)		

Looking through the table illustrates that: formality of the context, non-solidarity, power and gender differences are the most significant features that causes reciprocal V form for both addressee (2nd) and referent (3rd) in (data 1, 2 & 3). Reciprocal V form between Nader and the housemaid in (data 1 & 2) is a sign of formality of the context. On the other hand solidarity relationship caused T form for the referent (3rd) in data (1) when Nader is referring to his father, as well as (data 6) when Simin is referring to Nader's father. However the anger mood counteracts solidarity and age distance and it causes a shift from expected V to T form by the housemaid referring to the Nader's father (3rd), and at home in data (4) or in the court in front of the judge (i.e. data 5). It means that the anger mood can also counteract formality of the context, non-solidarity, gender difference and power distance features. Notably Nader and Simin refer to Nader's father (3rd) by T form under influence of solidarity relationship (i.e. data 1 & 6). Therefore I argue that the solidarity relationship between speaker and referent

¹⁸ REF means referent oriented. In this case I want to show that in the utterance choice of pronominal for 3rd person is referent oriented.

(i.e. data 1) or shifting the mood of conversation (i.e. data 5) can converted the choice of respectful pronominal from addressee-oriented utterance to referent-oriented utterance.

Since the exchanged pronominals between Nader and the housemaid are under the influence of gender difference, formality (reciprocal V form) and non-solidarity (data 1& 2), I argue that the lack of solidarity relationship between Nader and the housemaid and at the same time the gender difference between them cause the appearance of the formal situation and reciprocal V form. Minimal pair of this conversation represents that: T form used by Simin when she is addressing the housemaid who is inferior power, same gender (i.e. data 5 & 6). However the housemaid non-reciprocally applies the V form for superior power Simin in data 7). This evidence shows that my hypothesis about a crucial rule of gender difference in such a formal situation is correct. It means that the reciprocal V form between gender different; Nader and the housemaid (i.e. 1 and 2) is formality oriented, while non-reciprocal V form between same gender participants; Simin and the housemaid (i.e. data 7) is power oriented.

To sum up this section, the fact is that gender difference has a crucial influence in formality of a context and reciprocal V form between Nader and the housemaid. Therefore my findings in this section are somehow in agreement with Keshavarz (2001:16) who says: 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." On the other hand, the reciprocal V form between different gender participants (Nader and the housemaid) contradicts non-reciprocal power semantics of Brown and Gilman (1988) and shows that in this case the gender difference feature could have a stronger influence than the power distance. However analysis of a conversation between Simin and the housemaid shows that power distance can causes non-reciprocal T form by superior to inferior. Regarding the orientation of referent or addressee for 3rd person, data 1 is referent oriented because solidarity between Nader and his father gains supremacy to the non-solidarity between Nader and the housemaid. About the other utterances it is not clear which one is more significant. Moreover I gained useful supporting document that supports my hypothesis about atmosphere (anger mood) in a sense that the anger mood can have a more significant role than age, gender difference, power distance or even formality (relative distance) in this section and it can convert expected V to T form (i.e. 4 & 5).

4.4.4 Episode 4: Formal situation inside a court between power different participants

Location: Formal situation inside a court.

Participants:

1. Nader (N): male, middle age
2. Simin (S): female, middle age
3. Judge (J): male, middle age

Situation: Simin decided to emigrate to Canada while her husband (Nader) and her daughter prefer to stay at home and take care of his old and ill father. Therefore Nader and Simin decided to get official divorce in a court. There Nader quarrels with Simin in front of the judge. In this section, I select some crucial parts of the conversation between Nader, Simin and the judge.

My aim in this episode mostly is to represent referent forms (3rd person) in a formal situation. Since this couple (Nader and Simin) are solidary (intimate) there is expectation of reciprocal T form between them. According to Persian custom, the judge considered having a superior power in the court there could be expectation of non-reciprocal V form for him. The conflict between these two formats will represent an interesting situation.” Keshavarz (2001:7) proposes that: "degree of formality is useful in assessing the influence of social setting, as an example, form of address may vary according to the formality of the social context."

Let us now look at a conversation between the judge, Simin and Nader separately in below data. Utterance 1 is a conversation started by the judge to Simin. The following utterance (i.e. utterance (2)) shows a response from Simin. Simultaneously utterance 3 comes is a response from Nader to the judge back (a minimal pair). All three utterances are tensed with mood (angry).

(1). (01:41): J to S referring N: (Ad and Ref → V form), (AM)

"این دلایلی که می گید برای طلاق کافی نیست خانوم. مثلاً شوهرتون معتاد باشه یا کتکتون بزنه! خانوم ایشون هم باید برای طلاق راضی باشه."

In dalaieli ke mi-g-id baraie talagh kafi ni-st xanoon.
 These reasoning that dur-say-you. **2.PL.AGR** for divorcing enough NEG-is lady-SBJ
Mæsælæn shohar-e-tun motad bashe, kotak-e-tun bezan-e (-æd)...!
 For - instance husband-your. **2.PL.POSS.CL** addicted being, beat-EZ-**2PL.POSS.CLAUX-2SG** (Mismatch)!
Xanoom išun (išan)¹⁹ ham bayæd bæraie tælagh razi bash-e (bešæv-æd). Lady **he, 3PL.SBJ** too should for divorcing agreeing be-AUX.
3.SG.AGR (mismatch).

“Lady what you have been said, is not enough to certify your divorce. For instance your husband is addicted or beating you...! Lady, he should be satisfied for divorcing!”

(2). (01:44): S to J refers to N: (Ref→ T/V form), (AM)

"تخیر ایشون نه معتاد نه مشکلی داره. ایشون نمی خواد با من بیاد. همین الان بگه ایشون می اید"

Næ-xeir išun næ motad-e næ moškeli dar-e (-æd).
 NEG-No **he.3PL.SBJ** neither addicted-AUX. **3SG.AGR** nor problem **has-3SG.**

Hamin alan beg-e (begooy-æd) išun mi-ad (-æd)(Mismatch)
 Right now say. **3SG.SBJ.AGR** **he.3PL.SBJ** come-**3SG.SBJ.AGR**

Išun nemixad ba man bi-ad.SBJ.AGR (Mismatch).
He.3PL.SBJ doesn't want with me.1.SG.COMP come- **3SG.SBJ.AGR.**

“No, he is neither addicted nor does he have any issues. He doesn't want to come with me. If he'd said he comes right now.”

(3). (02:02): N to J refers to S: (Ref→ T/V form), (AM)

"ایشون یک دلیل برای من بیارد."

Išun ye dælif baraie mæn biar-e (-æd). (Mismatch)
She, 3.PL.SBJ a reason. .OBJ for me.1SG.COMP gives-**3SG.SBJ.AGR**

“She gives me a reason.”

¹⁹ The written forms of Persian agreement markers are a little bit different with the spoken colloquial forms sometimes. For better representation I write the written form in parentheses.

In data (1), the judge applies V forms (2.PL.AGR and 2.PL.POSS.CL) for the 2nd singular addressee (Simin) and at the same time V form (him, 3PL) for the 3rd singular referent (Nader). It shows that even though in Persian a judge is customarily supposed to have a superior power, he reciprocally chooses the V form for Simin and Nader (i.e. data 2 & 3), that is against power definition proposed by Brown & Gilman (1960: 187): "Power is a relationship between at least two person, and it is nonreciprocal in the sense that both cannot have power in the same area of behavior." Therefore other factors such as equality seeking or formality of the setting should be the reason of such a reciprocal V form. About the sociolinguistics reason of the reciprocal equal form Keshavarz (1988: 568) mentions that: "The emergence of these two solidary forms in the pronominal system of Persian is inspired by the egalitarian motive of the revolution and the Islamic ideology which maintains that all members of the society are equal, regardless of their race, color, sex, or socioeconomic status." The other point is that since Nader and Simin were a couple there is expectation of reciprocal T form as a solidarity relationship between them (in data 2 and 3) as same as data (1 & 3) from episode 1, however both of them refer each other by V form. It means that formality of the situation and superior power of the judge forces them to choose reciprocal V form.

The other attractive pattern of this section (i.e. utterance 2 and 3) between Nader and Simin is a mismatch between 3rd plural separable referent pronoun (*išun*) and 3rd singular agreement marker (-e) which is regular in colloquial Persian and it represented as a 3rd person agreement marker. I think the reason of it could be having easier pronunciation of agreement marker -e than -æd (phonological process). On the other hand it shows that the speaker intends not to choose a completely polite or V form; plural separable pronoun plus plural agreement marker (V SP + V AGR). In this case divorcing condition or atmosphere of the context (angry mood) could also play a role and motivates a speaker to choose a mismatch construction such as this: Plural separable pronoun plus singular agreement marker (V (PL) SP + T (SG) AGR). Today from sociolinguistics point of view, Nanbakhsh (2011:179) concludes that such a mismatching is observed to be implicated in expressing sycophantic, sarcastic or solidarity stances.

Taken together utterances 1, 2 and 3 illustrate reciprocally illustrate the V form between the judge Nader and Simin as a result of the formality of the context. In this relation Keshavarz (2001: 17) mentions that: "The choice of linguistic form is determined by the formality of the context and the relationship between interlocutors in a speech event." However the solidarity relationship between them can conquer formality of the context and produces reciprocal T form among solidary family members (in next utterance (i.e. utterance 4)).

Let us now consider a situation that shows how Simin talks directly to Nader, there could be expectation of V form under pressure of the superior power of the Judge (addressee). Following data (i.e. utterance (4)) is a conversation between Simin and Nader referring to a 3 their daughter (3rd). The mood still tensed angry.

(4). (01:55): S address N refer to D: (Ad & Ref.→ T form), (AM)

"حاضری بیای؟ دخترت برات مهم نیست؟"

Hazer-i *bia-i?* *Doxtær-et* *bær-at* *mohem ni-st?*

Willing-2SG.SBJ com.2SG.SBJ.AGR? Daughter-your.2.SG.POSS.CL for-2.SG.COMP.CL important
NEG-is.

“Are you willing to come? Your daughter is not important for you?”

Above data represents that not only when Simin directly talks to her husband (2nd) chooses T form for him, but also she chooses T form for her daughter (3rd), according to the group membership property that was mentioned by Friedrich (1972: 72): "T favored among members of the same household or the same village." It is interesting that even though they are inside the court and in front of the superior judge the expected V form does not appear in a direct conversation between Nader and Simin, nor does for that for their daughter (3rd); the reason of it should be solidarity relationship between them that has heavier influence than the other considered features. The tensed atmosphere (angry mood) can also play a role in this situation and it can compensate the effect of superior power of the judge and formality of the context.

Table 4.4 below illustrates a summary of the referring forms that have been looked in this episode with an overview of the possibly significant features of 7 (2nd and 3rd) cases out of 4 utterances.

Table 4.4 Summary of the T-V forms

Addressee (2nd)	Referent (3rd)
(1) J to S → V (AM) (FO, PD,GD)	(1) J to S ref. N → T/V (AM) (FO, PD)
(3) N to J → V (AM) (FO, PD)	(2) S to J ref. N →T/V (AM) (SL, FO, GD ADD ²⁰)
(4) S to N → T (AM) (SL, GD)	(3) N to J ref. S →T/V (AM) (SL, FO, GD) ADD
	(4) S to N ref. D → T (AM) (SL, PD,AD)

According to above table, in such a formal situation, when Simin talks to the judge, she uses V form referring to the Nader (3rd) in utterance 2 and Nader reciprocally gave V form for Simin as a 3rd person when he talks to the judge (i.e. utterance 3). However, when Simin and Nader talk directly to each other or when they referring their daughter in data 4 as a 2nd person, they apply T form. It shows that solidary addressees are not under politeness circumstances.

To sum up this section the significant rule in the whole episode is that formality of the context has stronger influence here and it makes both superior (the Judge) and inferiors (Nader and Simin) to apply the V form for each other in (data 1, 2, 3) which is against the definition of Brown and Gilman's about the semantic of power (1960: 187) that say: " power is non-reciprocal." According to the mentioned arguments of this section choice of plurality and politeness should be addressee oriented (under power of the judge i.e. data 2 and 3). The results in this section have accordance with Keshavarz's (2001:7) point of view the: "degree of formality is useful in assessing the influence of social setting, as an example, form of address may vary according to the formality of the social context." About the topic of conversation and social content Friedrich (1972: 72) also proposes that: "T uses for non-serious matters in private context, while V applies for serious or intimate matters in formal context, related to this matter." As I argued above, solidarity (group membership property) among the family members causes reciprocal T form between them (data 4). My findings in

²⁰ ADD means addressee-oriented. In this case I want to represent that in this utterance choice of pronominal is addressee oriented.

this section are in agreement with Keshavarz's (2001: 14) argument in a sense 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." Therefore solidarity could be more crucial feature than age distance or gender difference within informal familial situation. However the reciprocal V form between the couple should be formality oriented (i.e. data 2 and 3 for 3rd). The other result of this section is that: the anger mood cannot prevent application of V form and honorific titles for superior power in this episode. Regarding the third research objective, the choice of addressee or referent orientation of pronominals in this section, I have found 2 cases (i.e. utterances 2 and 3 for 3rd) that show the choice polite referring forms is addressee-oriented in this episode.

4.4.5 Episode 5: Formal Trial among the Judge, Housemaid and Nader inside a Court

Location: Formal situation inside the court.

Participant:

1. Judge (J): Male, middle age
2. Nader (M): Male, middle age
3. Housemaid (H): female, middle age

Situation: story of the film tells that Nader hits the housemaid and pushed her out of the house and he causes the infant inside her to die, so the housemaid accuses Nader for killing her infant. Then the court summons both of them to come to court.

1). (52: 48) J to N ref. H (Ad & Ref → V form), (NM)

"شما شنیدین شکایت ایشون رو؟ قبول دارین؟"

Šoma *šenid-in* *šekayæte* *išoon-o?* *ghaabool dar-in?*

You-2PL.SBJ Hear.V-2PL.SBJ.AGR complain.OBJ her.3PL.DO.CL-OM? agree- DO-you.2PL.SBJ.AGR?

Išoon-o *hol* *dad-in?*

Her.OBJ.3PL-OM push **did-2PL.SBJ.AGR**

“Did you hear her complaint? Do you agree? Did you push her?”

Even though the judge customarily in Persian is supposed to have a superior power and higher social ranking than the others in the court, he applies V form for both Nader (2nd) and the housemaid (3rd). This contradicts the definition of power by Brown and Gilman but it suggests that the choice of pronoun is not determined by the relationship between the interlocutors. As I mentioned in the last episode since they are non-solidary my argument about the reciprocal V form in such a formal situation could be due to the formality of the context.

The next utterance is Nader about defense against the housemaid’s complaint and it is a conversation between Nader and the judge referring to the housemaid (3rd). In utterance (2) the atmosphere among the interlocutors is neutral, i.e. there is no tensed or angry mood.

(2). (53:13) N to J ref. to H (Ref →V form), (NM)

"نه هلشون ندادم. من فقط سعی کردم از خونه نیبرونشون کنم"

Na hole-šun (šan) næ-dad-æm. Mæn faghæat sai kærdæm az khoone

No push-**3PL.OBJ.CL** NEG. push.V-1SG.AGR just try. V did.1SG.SBJ.AGR from home

Biroone-šun konæm.

Get out. **3PL.OBJ** did.1.SG.SBJ.AGR

“No I didn’t push her. I just tried to get her out of the house.”

Based on utterances (1) and (2), the judge and Nader reciprocally apply the V form for the housemaid (3rd) in the court even though she has inferior power compared to both of them; it means that power would not have the heaviest factor in such a conversation. Here if I presuppose that the choice of pronoun is reference oriented. The power relation to the housemaid should have no effect if the choice of pronoun is addressee oriented. Then it would be the power relation between the judge and Nader that would be crucial. I therefore

think that what this example shows is that the choice of pronoun is neither reference-oriented and nor power-oriented. About a crucial feature in a formal situation Keshavarz (2001) mentions that: "gender has a highest regard in formal situation." It could be also as a result of other features such as power of the judge and formality of the context and non-solidarity that Nader applies the V form for her. Here I refer to the counterpart example from (i.e. data 1 of episode 3) that shows Nader applies the V form for the housemaid (2nd) inside his house; it means that there is no difference in his speech in front of the judge or not. In both cases Nader applies the V form for a different gender housemaid. Rest of this episode also represents the application of V form for the housemaid (3rd).

Utterance (3) below, is between the judge and the housemaid referring to the 3rd person (Nader). In utterance (3) the atmosphere among the interlocutors again is neutral, i.e. there is no tensed or angry mood.

(3). (53:40): J to H referring N: (Ad and Ref → V form), (NM)

"شما حرف ایشون رو قبول دارین خانم؟ خب ایشون می تونن ادعا کنند که از ظاهر شما نفهمیدن."

šoma hærfe išun-o ghabool dar-in xanoom .khob išun
you.2PL.SBJ speech **3PL.DO-OM** agree AUX- **2PL.SBJ.AGR** madam. So *he,3PL.SBJ*
mitoon-ænd edea kon-ænd ke az zahere šoma na-fahmid-c.ænd.
 Could-**3PL.AGR** claim does-**3PL.AGR** that from physical appearance you.2.PL NEG-
 distinguished-**3PL.AGR**

"Do you agree with his speech madam? So he could claim that he did not distinguish from your physical appearance (that you are pregnant)"

Suddenly in data 4, the housemaid becomes angry about Nader and her mood shifts to angry (AM) since the story of the film tells that Nader hit her and caused dying her embryo inside her. There is expectation of reciprocally V form in such a formal situation between different genders (housemaid and Nader).

(4). (53:43) H to J referring to N: (Ref →T form), (AM)

"هل نداد از تو درگاهی اینجامو گرفت پرتم کرد از پله ها پایین."

hol næ-dad az too dærgahi injam-o gereft part-æm

Push NEG-Ø3.SG.AUX from inside door here-OM grabbed throw-me. objDO.CL

kard az peleha paien.

AUX.Ø3SG.AGR from stairs down.

"He did not push me, he grabbed and threw me out the door; I fell down from the stairs"

As you can see suddenly the housemaid in her speech shift from expected V to T form referring to Nader (3rd). The reason of it should be the mood shifting and therefore it means that anger mood can overrule the effect of the formality in this situation.

Surprisingly, the following utterance by the angry judge to Nader is a reaction of the judge to Nader and repetition of Nader's incorrect utterance where he referred to the housemaid and was tensed with the angry mood.

(5). (1:07:34) J to N Ref. H: (Ad. & Ref.: T form), (AM)

"ببین اینکه از خونه بیرونش کردم ولی هولش ندادم رو بگذار کنار."

Bebin agha inke æz xone biroon-eš kærd-æm vali

Look.2SG. IMP sir.SBJ that from house get out-her.3SG.DO AUX-1SG.SBJ.AGR but

hol-esh næ-dad-æm ro bezar کنار.

push-3SG.DO.CL NEG-AUX-1SG.AGR OM leave-2SG.AGR. IMP there.

"Look sir! Don't mention it again that I (Nader) get her out of the house but I did not push her."

Utterance (5) surprisingly shows that under influence of anger mood the judge suddenly shifts from expected V to T form when he is directly talking to Nader. Singular referring

forms for the housemaid are under influence of this anger mood. It means that the anger mood even can causes appearance of T form by the judge while he is addressing Nader. It is an interesting utterance because the judge in most cases reciprocally uses the V form for all participants and it illustrates that the influence of anger mood can cause the appearance of the T form simultaneously referring to the 2nd and 3rd person and removes the plurality marker. (It has been expected in Persian that the reciprocal V forms between the superior and inferior is applied in such a formal context.)

Table 4.5 represents below a summary of all the referring forms that we have looked at in this section, with an overview of the possibly significant social features of 8 cases out of 5 utterances.

Table 4.5 Summary of T-V forms

Addressee (2 nd)	Referent (3 rd)
(1) J ad. N → V (FO, PD)	(1) J to N ref. H → V (FO, GD, PD)
(3) J ad. H → V (FO, GD, PD)	(2) N to J ref. H → V (FO, GD, PD)
(5) J ad. N → T (AM) (FO, PD)	(3) J to H ref. N → V (FO, PD)
	(4) H to J ref. N → T (AM) (FO, GD, PD) REF
	(5) J to N ref. H → T (AM) (FO, GD, PD)ADD

According to the Table 4.5, formality is the most significant feature and it causes reciprocal V form between the judge, housemaid and Nader (i.e. utterances: 1, 2 and 3) so it should have a higher ranked than gender difference or power distance (non-reciprocal). Anger mood is a counterpart force that causes reciprocal T form (i.e. utterances 4 and 5), it means that mood shifting (anger mood) can also overrule formality.

To sum up this section I can conclude that although there is expectation of reciprocal V form between the judge and other participant, under pressure of angry mood it changes to T form (i.e. datum 5). These kinds of customary rules can be broken and in this case there is no necessity to apply the V form in front of the superior power judge. The reason for such a T-V shifting is the anger mood of the speaker that causes sifting from V to T form in this situation. Anger mood can also defeats the influence of gender difference feature (i.e. utterance 5). There is not enough supporting document in this episode that certifies plurality

and politeness is addressee oriented or referent oriented because the reciprocal V form between Nader and the housemaid also has been seen in episode 3 and it is again repeated in front of the judge and it is neither addressee-oriented and nor referent-oriented in the most cases.

4.4.6 Episode 6: Conversation between the Judge and the Teacher inside a Court

Location: Formal situation inside the court.

Participants:

1. Judge (J): male, middle age
2. Teacher (T): female, middle age
3. Housemaid (H): female, middle age
4. Nader (N): male, middle age

Situation: judge asks some questions from teacher as a witness of the accident regarding to find the guilty in the quarrel between Nader and the housemaid. In the rest of conversation the housemaid claims that the teacher of Nader's daughter can confess that Nader heard her pregnancy issue. If the housemaid's claim is correct, Nader will be given a jail sentence as she hit a pregnant woman. In utterance 1 the housemaid asks the judge to call the teacher to testify against Nader in the court. The mood of the utterance is tensed (angry).

(1). (54:55): H to J referring to Te and N: (Ad → V, Ref→ T/V form), (AM)

"معلم دخترشون هست بگید بیاد بگه این آقا نشنیده."

Moælem-e doxtær-e-šun hæst. **Beg-id** bi-ad (mismatch)
 Teacher-EZ daughter-EZ-**3.PL.POSS.CL** present. Tell.-2SG.SBJ.AGR.IMP **come-her. 3SG.AGR.IMP**
 bege in agha næšnid-e.
 testify this man NEG-hear-**3SG.AUX.**

“Her daughter’s teacher is available. Tell her to come and testify that the man didn’t hear.”

As you can see in the above datum the housemaid uses the T form for both the judge and the teacher. However the housemaid has an angry mood and her internal feeling is not so strong to convert the expected V to T form.

Address title forms such as *Moalem*: teacher, which applied a lot in this episode, is among formal titles that based on Nanbakhsh (2011: 43):" [...] among these address forms, form 1 (Mr. /Mrs. + job title) is the most deferential, which is addressing one by the title of their profession." Since the application of this kind of address form is a symbol of the formality of the context, so there is expectation of the V form in such a formal situation. Therefore application of such an address titles is in contrast with the choice of T form in utterance 1.

Utterance 2 shows the applications of the V form by the judge to the teacher when he is talking to Nader and there is no tensed or angry mood anymore. In this case there is expectation of V form for both 2nd and 3rd referring forms.

(2). (55:35): J to N ref. T → T: (Ad & Ref → V form), (NM)

"به هر حال اون خانم معلم باید به عنوان مطلع به دادگاه احضار بشن. یا خودتون زنگ میزنید یا تلفن و مشخصات رو میدین."

*Be hæe hal oun xahnoom moælem bayæd be onvane motæle be dadgah ehzar beš-
ænd.*

any way that madam **teacher.OBJ** should as witness to court summoning-**3PL**.

Ya xode-tun zang mizanin ya telephono moshakhaast ro mi-d-in.

Even self-**2PL.REF** call or telephone number informant, OBJ-OM DUR-give-**2PL.AGR**.

"Any way, the teacher has to be summoned to the court as a witness. Either call her yourself or give us her contact number and information or [...]"

Above conversation between the judge and Nader represents the application of expected V form (2PL.AGR) as well as honorific and job title (*Khanoom moalem*: Mrs. Teacher).

Utterance (3) below is a direct conversation between the judge and the teacher when the atmosphere between interlocutors is neutral or there is no tensed or angry mood. The next utterance (i.e. 4) shows a response that the teacher gives the judge back. Utterance 4 shows a shifting from normal to angry mood.

(3). (1:04: 27): J to T referring to N: (Ad & Ref → V form), (NM)

"ایشون کجا بودند؟ خب هیچ واکنشی، حرفی، عکس العملی به حرف شما نداشتند؟"

Išun *koja* *bood-ænd?* *Khob hich vakoneši, hærfi, akosolæmali* *be hærfæ* *šoma næ-*
dašt-ænd?

Him.3.PL.SBJ where was-he, **3PL.AGR.** Then any reaction response reflection to speech your
NEG-had- she. **3PL.SBJ.AGR**

"Where was him? Had he any reaction, response or reflection to your speech?"

(4). (1:05:01): T to J referring N and H: (Ad and Ref → V form) (AM)

"حالا فکر کنید من از قیافاشون فهمیدم حامله اند. ، فرقی میکنه به حال آقای لواسانی؟"

Hala *fekr kon-id* *mæn az* *ghiafæ-šun* *fahmid-æm*

Then suppose AUX-**2PL.SBJ** I.1.SG.OBJ from appearance-her. **3PL.POSS.OBJ.CL** understand

hamele-ænd, *farghi mi-koneh be* *hale* *aghaie lavasani?*

1SG.AGR. pregnant-is. **3PL.AGR** difference DUR-AUX to situation Mr. Lavasani?

"Then you suppose that I understand it. Does it make any difference for Mr. Lavasani?"

As you can see in utterance (3) both the 2nd and 3rd referents receive the V form as a result of the formality of the context. In utterance (4), the teacher becomes slightly angry with the teacher statements but we cannot see any difference in T-V forms that means angry mood does not automatically lead to the choice of a T form.

In the next utterance, the housemaid, who becomes irritated from confession of the teacher, interrupts the conversation and a T/V mismatch appeared in her speech. Utterance (5) by the housemaid to the teacher tensed (anger mood).

(5). (1:04:40): H to T: (Mismatch; T/V form), (AM)

"شما پرسیدی خانم، من برای چی بگم؟"

šoma porsid-i khanoom. Mæn baraie-chi beg-aem?

You.2PL.SBJ ask-2SG.AGR (Mismatch) madam. I.1.SG.SBJ why tell-1.SG.AGR.

"You asked (me) madam. Why I should tell?"

As you can see, there is a mismatch between (*soma*: you.2PL.SBJ) and (*i*: 2SG.AGR) instead of (*id*: 2PL.AGR). This kind of mismatching can reflect the angry mood of speaker and I argue that there is tendency to decrease the level of respect or politeness. This is a really tiny and smart strategy of shifting between T/V forms in Persian colloquial conversation.

Table 4.6 represents a summary of all the referring forms that we have looked at in this section, with an overview of the possibly significant social features of 10 cases out of 10 utterances.

Table 4.6 Summary of the T-V forms

Addressee (2 nd)	Referent (3 rd)
(1) H to J → V (AM) GD, FO, PD	(1) H to J ref. T → T/V (AM) FO, PD
(2) J to N → V FO, PD	(2) J to N ref. T → V FO, GD, PD
(3) J to T → V GD, FO, PD	(3) J to T ref. N → V FO, PD
(4) T to J → V GD, FO, PD	(4) T to J ref. N → V (AM) GD, FO
(5) H to T → T/V (AM) FO, PD	(4) T to J ref. H → V (AM) FO, PD

As it is presented in the table most cases between participants of this episode show the reciprocal V form between different genders and power (teacher, housemaid and judge) in datum (3 and 4). Notably the anger mood has no crucial influence on these utterances. Conversation between the different genders and same power (teacher and Nader) also shows

reciprocal V form as datum (4). While conversation between same gender, power different (the teacher and the housemaid) shows that under influence of the anger mood there is a possibility of T/V mismatch such as datum (1(referent) and 5).

To sum up this section, the reciprocal exchanged V form between the judge and the teacher (gender and power different) is mostly under influence of formality of the context. However the anger mood does not represent any crucial changes in these forms. Beside that datum (2, 3 and 4) supports the idea that the choice of plural pronoun to signal politeness is mostly under influence of gender difference, power distance and formality. Utterance (1(3rd), 5) is a supporting document between the housemaid and the teacher (same gender) that illustrates T/V mismatch construction. There is not enough supporting document that shows the choice of plurality and politeness is addressee or referent oriented in this episode. My result in this section supports Keshavarz's (2001) finding that mentions: "under formal circumstances, sex is a stronger determiner in the use of address form." As I conclude in the last episode power distance could not be a crucial feature because power means the non-reciprocal V form based on Brown and Gilman's (1960) notion of power. Therefore again it certifies that the formality (FO) of the context could be a better suggestion than power distance (PD) for this kind of reciprocal V form.

4.4.7 Episode 7: Conversation between the Judge and Nader's Daughter

Location: Formal situation inside the court.

Participants:

1. Judge (J): male, middle age
2. Nader's daughter (D): female, young (teenager)

Situation: The judge asks Nader to present his daughter to the court as a witness of the quarrel to answer some questions. Since the judge and Nader's daughter have high age and power difference and they are also gender different and non-solidary there could be expectation of non-reciprocal V form for a superior age and power (the judge) from inferior (daughter). However analyzing of the last episode (in most cases up to now) illustrates the

reciprocal V form between the judge and other participants based on the role of formality of the context. My aim in this section is considering exchanged referring forms between high age different participants. The first utterance between the judge and Nader's daughter is tensed with tender (soft) mood.

(1). (1: 33:25): J to D (Ad → V/T form: mismatch), (TM)

"شما کلاس چندمی؟"

Šoma kelase čandom-i?

You-2PL.SBJ grade which –are.2SG.AGR?

"Which grade you are?"

As it can be seen, there is a mismatch between the separable subject (you-2 PL.SBJ) and the agreement marker (2SG.AGR) in above data and the reason of it could be increasing solidarity between the judge and Nader's daughter. Besides that tender mood of the judge shows that he wants to show a friendly manner to the teenage girl.

The next utterance (i.e. 2) represents the rest of conversation between the judge and Nader's daughter referring to the 3rd person (the teacher and the housemaid). The mood of the speaker still is tender.

(2). (1: 34:25): J to D referring T & H, (Ad → T/V, Ref → T form), (TM)

"اونوقت اون روزی که خانوم معلم اومده بود خونه و با اون خانمی که اومده بود منزلتون برای کار در مورد بارداری صحبت می کرد شما پیششون بودی؟"

Onvæght on roozi ke xanoom moalem-et omæd-e bood khoone va ba
 The the day when teacher-your-2.SG.POSS.SBJ.CL came. 3SG.SBJ.AGR. AUX house and
xanoomi ke omad-e bood manzele-tun baraiæ kar dar morede bardari
 the woman that came-3SG.AGR AUX house- 2pl.poss.cl for work about pregnancy

sohbat mikardan šoma piše-šun bood-i?
 talk AUX-2PL.AGR **you.2PL SBJ** near-**3pl.compl** were-2SG.AGR

“Then the day your teacher came to your house and talked with the housemaid about her pregnancy issue, were you been there?”

There is again a mismatch between T/V forms (2.SG.POSS.SBJ.CL and you.2PL.SBJ) for the daughter. Notably in utterance (2) all the 3rd referring forms are T form and it shows that judge wants to breaks the formality rule of the situation for the girl to make it easier for her to talk.

Taken together utterances (1) and (2) illustrate that the mismatch of T/V construction is a repeated strategy of the judge to talk with the different age and power participant. About this kind of mismatch construction Nanbakhsh (2011, 179) concludes that "switching from (Ø + 2H/2PL→Ø + 2SG) is observed to be implicated expressing sycophantic, sarcastic, and solidarity stances".

The following utterance shows a response from Nader’s daughter to the judge. The sentence also contains the referring form for the 3rd person (the teacher and the housemaid). The mood (atmosphere) among the interlocutor is neutral i.e. there is no tense. There is also expectation of the V form for superior power and age in Persian.

(3). (1:34:30): D to J ref. T & H: (Ref → T form), (NM)

"*خب شماره رو بعد بهش داد. وقتی که داشت میرفت بهش داد.*"

Xob šomaræ-ro bæd beh-eš dad. Vaghti ke

Then number-OM then to-her**3SG.COMP.CL** gave.**3SG.SBJ.AGR**. When that

dašt mi-ræft beh-eš dad.

AUX.went-dur.**3SG.AGR** to-her**3SG.COMP.CL** gave.**3SG.SBJ.AGR**.

“Then she gave her the number later. When she was leaving gave her the number.”

Even though the judge has superior power and he is considerably older than Nader's daughter he receives the T form. It is surprising because as has been indicated it was expected that in such a formal situation, interlocutors use the V form for the judge inside the court (refer to episode 1).

Utterance (4) shows the rest of conversation between the judge and Nader's daughter. The utterance contains referring forms for the 3rd person (the housemaid and Nader). The mood of the utterance is tender (tender mood).

(4). (1:34:32): J to D ref. H & N: (Ad & Ref → T form), (TM)

"جلوی تو شماره رو داد بهش؟" "خب چرا زودتر به بابات نگفتی؟"

Joloie to šomaræ-ro beh-eš dad? Khob pæs

In front of you.2SG number-OM to-her.3SG.COMPL.CL gave-3SG.SBJ(she)? Then

chera zodtær be bab-at na-goft-i?

why sooner to dad-your.2SG.POSS.CL NEG-told-2SG.SBJ.AGR/(you)?

"She gave her the number in front of you? Then why you didn't tell your father sooner?"

In utterance 4, the judge again simply uses the T form for the 3rd person (Nader and the housemaid) in order to strengthen the solidarity relationship with Nader's daughter. The reason of application of tender mood by the judge should be the great age distance between them and in order to increase the relative solidarity (intimacy). In this era Keshavarz, (1988: 570) mentions that: "reciprocally use of *to* is normally associated with relative intimacy, whereas the reciprocal use of *šoma* is associated with relative distance and formality".

Let us consider the other related dialog between the teacher and the judge referring to the housemaid's daughter, under the influence of age distance.

(5). (1:04:44): T to J referring to H: (Ref → T form), (TM)

"دخترشون داشت نقاشی می کشید، گفتم مامانت که انقدر چاق نیست عزیزم. گفت بچه توی شکمشه."

Doxtære-šun *dašt naghaši* *mi-keš-id.* *Goft-æm* *maman-et*

Daughter-**3PL.POSS.SBJ** was painting DUR-AUX.**Ø3SG.AGR**. Told-I, 1SG.AGR.SBJ **mam.2SG.POSS**

ke *enghædr* *čagh* *ni-st azizæm.* *Goft* *bache too* *shekam-esh-e.*

that this much fat NEG-is dear-my.1.SG.POSS. Said-she-**Ø3SG.AGR.SBJ** baby.OBJ inside belly- her.**3.SG.POSS.OBJ**-is

“Her daughter was painting. I told her: my dear, your mom isn’t that much fat. She said: there is a baby inside her belly.”

When there is a considerable different age distance, the teacher also uses T form in order to increase solidarity between herself and Nader’s daughter (3rd). In this case the tender mood of the speaker can be a strategy to decrease the pressure of conversation between the high different age interlocutors.

Table 4.7 represents a summary of all the referring forms that we have looked at in this section, with an overview of the possibly significant features of 7 cases out of 4 utterances.

Table 4.7 Summary of the T-V forms

Addressee (2 nd)	Referent (3 rd)
(1) J to D → (V/T; mismatch) (TM) AD, PD, GD	(2) J to D ref. T → T (TM) AD, PD, GD
(2) J to D → T(V/T; Mismatch)(TM)AD, PD, GD	(3) J to D ref. H → T (TM) AD, PD, GD
	(3) D to J ref. T → T (TM) AD, PD, GD
	(4) J to D ref. H → T (TM) AD, PD, GD
	(4) J to D ref. N → T (TM) AD, PD
	(5) T to J ref to H → T (TM) AD, PD

Table 4.7 illustrates the application of the T/V or mismatch form by the judge to Nader’s teenage girl (i.e. datum 1 and 2) under the influence of the tender mood. The reason could be the tender mood in order to increasing solidarity between age distant interlocutors. In this

episode the judge and Nader's daughter repeatedly use the T form for the 3rd referents such as datum (2, 3, 4 and 5). It is the only episode that the judge does not apply the V forms for both the 2nd and 3rd person as a reason of age distance (note that there is no anger mood also). It means that age distance along with the tender mood are the most significant features of this section.

In sum up this episode, conversations between the daughter and judge have had the reciprocal T or T/V mismatching form that is under influence of tender mood of the superior power and age (the judge). Therefore the age distance should be more crucial than the power distance or formality (relative distance) in this episode. As I have found in the last episodes (i.e. episode 4) the reciprocal V form is a result of formality of the context inside a formal situation. However I argue that the reciprocal T form between high age different participant of this episode (judge and Nader's daughter) is due to increasing solidarity. Today Nanbakhsh (2011: 179) also describes this phenomenon as 'solidarity stance'. Moreover the findings in this section contradict Keshavarz's (2001) findings that mention "under formal circumstances, sex is a stronger determiner in the use of address form." Because in this case regardless of different gender of the daughter does not forces the judge to apply the V form neither for 2nd person (her), nor does for 3rd person be used for the housemaid and the teacher.

4.4.8 Episode 8: Quarrel among Nader, Housemaid and her Husband

Location: formal situation inside the court

Participants:

1. Judge, (J): male, middle age
2. Nader, (N): male, middle age
3. Housemaid, (H): female, middle age
4. Housemaid's husband, (HH): male, middle age

Situation: This episode consists of the rest of quarrel between Nader, the housemaid and her husband about the case of killing her infant. Utterance (1) is a conversation between Nader and the housemaid referring to the housemaid (3rd). The next utterance (i.e. utterance 2) is a

response that housemaid's husband gives Nader back. Both utterances are tensed with the angry mood. Since the situation is formal, there is expectation of reciprocal V form between participants.

(1). (1:05:53): N to J ref. H: (Ref→ T/V form) (AM)

"اصلاً چرا این خانم نباید به من بگه مساله بارداریش رو. چرا پنهان میکنه وقتی اومد پیش من کار کنه. من اگه میدونستم ایشون
بارداره اصلاً قبول نمیکردم بیاد."

*Æslæn čera in **khanoom** na-bayæd be mæn **beg-e** mæsaēleie bardar-**iš-o***
Then why this **woman-SBJ** NEG-should to me tell-**3SG.SBJ.AGR** issue pregnancy aux. **3SG ØAGR-OM**
*Čera penhan mikon-e vaghti omæd-**e** piše mæn kar kon-**e**.*
Why hide came-**3SG.AGR** when came **AUX.3SG.AGR** to me to work **AUX.3SG.AGR**
*Mæn age mi-donest-æm **išun** bardre aslæn ghabool ne-mi-kardam **bi-ad.***

I. 1SG.SBJ if DUR-understood-1SG.AGR **she.3PL** pregnant never accept NEG-DUR-AUX come. **Ø3SG.AGR.**

"Why did this woman not tell me about her pregnancy issue when she came to me for work? Why did she hide it when she came to me for work? If I knew that she is pregnant, I would never let her work."

(2). (1:05:59) HH to N referring H (Ad. and Ref→ T form), (+AM),

"تو چرا وقتی میبینی این خانوم از شوهرش اجازه نگرفته برای کار اومده پیشت قبولش میکنی."

*To čera vaghti mi-bin-i in khanoom az shohær-**esh** mi-*
You.2SG.SBJ why when DUR-see-**2SG.AGR** this woman-OBJ. from husband- **3SG.POSS**
*ejazeh nægerefteh baraie kar omædeh piš-et ghabol-**eš** kon-i.*
permit NEG-AUX-3SG.AGR for work came to-**2SG.COMP.CL** accept-**3SG.DO.CL** DUR-AUX-**2SG.AGR.**

"Why should you accept her when you see this woman was not permitted by her husband to work?"

Utterance (3) shows that even though there is expectation of the V form between different genders in such a formal situation, Nader uses a T/V mismatch construction for the housemaid which it could be a symbol of sarcasm. About the sociolinguists' reason of such a mismatch construction Nanbakhsh (2011: 179) concludes that "Switching from ($\emptyset + 2h/2PL \rightarrow \emptyset + 2SG$) is observed to be implicated expressing sycophantic, sarcasm, and solidarity stance." In this case utterance (2) shows application of *to: you.2SG.SBJ* that rarely has been seen inside a court episodes. Application of a 2nd singular pronoun with the anger mood in Persian is considered rude and insulting. Therefore it should occur as a result of the anger mood of the husband and it illustrates his prejudice feeling to his wife in front of Nader. In this era Keshavarz (1988: 570) also mentions that "when one wishes to show disrespect or anger to another Person, /to/ is deliberately used in an insulting manner".

Taken together utterances (1) and (2), show that there is a quarrel between Nader and the housemaid's husband. In such a formal situation, the existence of the angry mood causes changing the format of addressee (2nd) pronouns to impolite form "*to: you.2SG.SBJ*".

In a continuous part, we are still in a formal situation. Utterance (3) surprisingly shows the shifting in a response of the judge to Nader and the housemaid as a 3rd person under influence of angry mood. Notably this is a quote from Nader that is uttered by the judge.

(3). (1:07:23) J to N Ref. H (Ref \rightarrow T form), (AM)

"دیروز میگه من اصلاً نمیدونستم بارداره. امروز میگه من اصلاً هولش ندادم."

Dirooz mig-e mæn aslæn ne-mi-doonest-æm bardar- e.
Emrooz mig-e mæn aslæn hol-eš na-dad-æm.

Yesterday he-3SG.SBJ.AGR I.1sg ever NEG-DUR-known-1SG.AGR pregnant-AUX.3SG.AGR.

Today sais.he-3SG.SBJ.AGR I.1sg ever push-3SG.DO.CL NEG-AUX-1SG.AGR.

"Yesterday he said I have never known her. Today he says I have never pushed her."

In Utterance 3, the anger mood of the speaker should be the reason for the appearance of the T form (*eš* 3SG.DO.CL.) for the referent (3rd) (i.e. this example supports the datum 5 of episode 5 that shows the anger mood can have an impact in the judge's conversation). In this utterance the judge also became angry about the response of Nader and he applies the same T forms that Nader applied before. In most considered cases in different episodes the judge applies the respectful V form for the other participants however this example supports the idea that the anger mood of the judge here should be the reason for the surprising T forms in his speech.

In the following utterance (i.e. utterance 4), the housemaid's husband is cooled down when he is talking to the judge. Notice that his mood suddenly shifts from intensive angry to less angry mood or normal mood.

(4). (1:08:21) HH to J Ref. N & S: (Add: V, Ref→ T/V form), (NM)

"حاج آقا عنایت بفرمایید خانومشون هم که از شون طلاق گرفته باشده سند برایشون آورده."

*Haj agha enaiæt befærma-id. xanom-e-sun ham ke
æšun*

Judge.SBJ look aux-2pl.agr. wife-EZ-**3PL.POSS.SBJ.CL** also even if from-EZ-him.**3PL.COMP**
tælagh gereft-e pašod-e sænæd bæra-šun avord-e.

divorced AUX-**3SG.SBJ.AGR** came-**3SG.SBJ.AGR** document for-her.**3PL.COMPL** brought-**3SG.SBJ.AGR**.

"Judge please looks! Even if they divorced, her wife brought him document."

Utterance (4) shows that there is another T/V mismatching form for another 3rd person referent (Nader's wife). The housemaid's husband uses both the T/V form referring to Nader and at the same time for different gender (Simin). The reason of such a shifting in T/V form and at the same time mood change (from AM to NM) could be the existence of different gender (Simin) in utterance (4). Notably a verb construction in datum (4) "*enaiæt befærma-id /tavajoh konid*: look" is a kind of cultural conceptualization in Persian that is discussed by Sharifian (2009). He mentions that "Plurality as a marker of respect is not only marked in the pronoun system but can also be optionally marked by the verb ending. In fact, the interaction between the choice of pronoun, verb ending and the verb can yield a hierarchical system in terms of the degree of respect that each sentence conveys (Ibid. 2009: 9)." This kind of polite

conceptualization is regular in contemporary Persian, especially in formal situations and among non-solidary or different gender interlocutors such as datum (4).

Table 4.8 is a summary of all the referring forms that we have looked at in this section, with an overview of the possibly significant social features of 7 cases out of 4 utterances.

Table 4.8 Summary of the T-V forms

Addressee (2nd)	Referent (3rd)
(2) HH to N → T (+AM) FO,PD	(1) N to J ref. H → T/V (Mismatch)(AM)FO, GD, PD
(3) J to N → T (AM) FO, PD	(2) HH to N ref H → T (+AM) SL, GD
	(3) J to N ref. H → T (AM) FO,GD, PD
	(4) HH to J ref S → V FO, GD, PD
	(4) HH to J ref N → V FO, PD

Table 4.8 shows that even though it was expected to see the V form (especially for different genders) in such a formal situation, the V form does not appear among participants of all utterances such as referents (3rd) of datum (2 and 3) under the influence of the anger mood. Moreover the anger mood has an impact on the same gender interlocutors as a 2nd person in such a formal situation and it causes shifting from expected V to T form such as datum (2 and 3). Mismatching (T/V) constructions appeared as a reason of such an angry mood in datum (1) when Nader referring to the housemaid as a 3rd person. In a counterpart example when the mood of conversation shifts from angry to normal, we can see the application of the V form by the housemaid's husband referring to Simin (same gender) and Nader (different gender) as a 3rd person (i.e. utterance 4).

To sum up this section, the anger mood illustrates a significant role on converting the format of referent forms (both 2nd and 3rd) even in the judge's speech, from the expected V to the T form and also to the impolite form (*to*: 2SG.SBJ) such as datum (2) under influence of the intensive anger mood. Therefore mood can represent a stronger influence than other features such as formality, gender different and power different in some cases such as this

formal situation. Datum 4 also certifies that however the mood is angry, choice of plurality and politeness mostly is addressee oriented and it is under rule of the judge in such a formal situation.

4.5 Summary and Discussion

As expected the informal familial situation represents routine and regular application of the T form among interlocutors. This holds in datum (1-5) in episode 1 between family members, and in datum (1 and 6) between Nader, Simin and Nader's father. However entering different non-solidarity characters such as servant and housemaid shows the application of the V form. This holds in datum (1, 2) in episode 2 between Simin and the servant. On the other hand, changing the location of the film from the home to the formal situation court shows interesting T-V switching and somehow complicated manner of the T-V application. For instance datum (1, 2 and 3) from episode 4 shows the reciprocally V form between Nader and Simin (as a 3rd person) inside a court. The respectful address forms and the reciprocal V form have been seen in a number of data from episodes 2-6 and 8, between various participants.²¹ What is common in these cases is that this evidence indicates that formality of the context (relative distance) can dominate the power distance feature in this case and cause the reciprocal V form among mentioned interlocutors in formal situations.

The appearance of the reciprocal T form in the formal situations among distant age and power interlocutors is another interesting finding that has been seen in datum (2, 3 and 4) of episode 7. This holds between the judge and Nader's daughter and also for 3rd person referring forms in their conversation. I conclude that such a reciprocal T form in this formal situation should appeared as a result of high age distance and also under the influence of the tender (gentle) mood of the judge in order to increase the solidarity relationship between them. This kind of shifting from the expected V to T forms is as a result of solidarity stance.

²¹ Holds in (datum (1 and 2) in episode (2) between Simin and the servant), (datum (1, 2, 3 and 7) in episode 3 among Nader, housemaid and Nader's father), (datum (1-3) in episode (4) between Nader, Simin and the judge), (datum (1, 2, 3) in episode 5 between the judge, housemaid and Nader), (datum (1, 2, 3, 4) between the judge, teacher and housemaid in episode (6)), or (datum 4 in episode 8 between the housemaid, Nader and Simin).

In the following, I give a summary of the Persian features of the film data based on the previous literature with comparison to the tenfold scheme of Russian offered by Friedrich (1972: 72), around four sets of discrimination:

1. Topic of conversation: T is used for non-serious matters in private context, while V applies to serious or intimate matters in formal context, Regarding that Keshavarz (2001:7, 17) proposes that: "degree of formality is useful in assessing the influence of social setting, as an example, form of address may vary according to the formality of the social context. That is, as social distance and degree of formality of context increase, the frequency of familiar terms of address decreases. The choice of linguistic forms is determined by the formality of the context and the relationship between interlocutors in a speech event." In my film data the formality of context and formal topics in a work place (such as court episodes and Nader's home as a working place for the private teacher, the servant and the housemaid) play a key role in the reciprocal V form.²² The topic of the conversation and the formality (relative distance) of the context were crucial in most of the examples investigated in the thesis (that has used bold character in the table of every episode in Chapter 4) i.e. in 29 out of totally 37 mention cases among them 18 of considered cases is for 2nd and 19 cases for 3rd person.

The other feature that has been considered in the data analysis section is power distance that contrasts with the formality in that it is used in non-reciprocal T-V form. In the 57 considered cases, power distance was only attractive and crucial between 2 cases between same gender non-solidary (Simin and the housemaid) i.e. datum (6 and 7) of episode 3.

2. Biosocial considerations: such as: age, sex and generation have an influence on T-V choice, Keshavarz (2001:1, 16) mentions that "the hypothesis is that variations in the forms of address are related not only to age, sex and social class but also to the setting, intimacy, and social distance." Besides that Keshavarz (2001: 17) also

²² I.e. datum: 1 and 2 (2nd) in episode 2, datum: 1, 3 (2nd), 2 (2nd and 3rd) episode 3, datum: 1 (2nd and 3rd), 2 (3rd), 3 (2nd and 3rd) episode 4, datum: 1, 3 (2nd and 3rd), 2 (3rd) of episode 5, datum: 1, 2, 3, 4 (2nd) and 2,3,4 (twice, 3rd) of episode 6, datum 4 (twice, 3rd) of episode 8. Totally the formality variable was the determiner in 29 cases (for 2nd or 3rd) out of totally 63 cases (in 37 utterances) that is divided to 2nd: 18 versus 3rd: 19.

concludes that "In informal situations age is more significant than sex and social class in determining form of address. However, under formal circumstances, sex is a stronger determiner in the use of address forms".

In my study gender distance represents a significant role on the reciprocal V from a large amount of data.²³ As for the effect of the gender difference, my data reveal that, there is more probability of the reciprocal V form between different genders. Within them the gender difference only plays a significant role only in 6 cases out of 37 mentioned cases, 4 times in episode 3 and 2 times in episode 6 that is divided to 16 cases considered for 2nd person pronouns, versus 21 cases for 3rd person pronouns.

As for age distance, higher age in Persian is customarily supposed to receive the V form; I have found that it also has a key role in appearance of T form especially in episode 8 between the judge and Nader's daughter. There are totally 22 cases of age difference, out of a total of 83 cases which only 10 out of 22 mentioned cases of gender difference among them 10 are for 2nd person pronouns, whereas 12 are for 3rd personal pronouns.²⁴

3. Group membership property: T was favored among members of the same household or the same village. In this relation Keshavarz (2001: 17) indicates that: "the choice of linguistic form is determined by the formality of the context and the relationship between interlocutors in a speech event." Keshavarz (1988:570) also proposes that: "in a familial situation it is common that parents to address their children by *to* (T) until they are about fifteen years old." Besides that he proposes that: "[...] in very intimate relationships between close friends and colleagues, peers, classmates and spouse. This use of *to* (T) is a symbol of solidarity and intimacy." Solidarity illustrates an impact on the informal-familial situation among Nader's family reciprocally T form.²⁵ There are 14 crucial cases of solidarity out of 17

²³ For instance datum: 1 and 2 (2nd) of episode 2, datum: 1, 3 (2nd), 2(2nd and 3rd) of episode 3, datum: 1(2nd), 3,4 (3rd) of episode 4, datum: 1 and 2 (3rd), datum 3 (2nd) of episode 5, datum: 1 (2nd), 2 (3rd), 3 (2nd), 4 (2nd and 3rd) of episode 6, and datum 4 (3rd) of episode 8. Totally the gender difference was represented in 37 cases out of 63 cases.

²⁴ I.e. datum: 2, 3 and 4 (3rd twice for 3 and 4) of episode 7, datum: 4 (3rd) of episode 4, datum: 3 and 4 (2nd), 2, 5, 6 (3rd) of episode 3, datum: 3(2nd and 3rd), 1, 2, 4, 5,6 (2nd) of episode 1.

²⁵ T form for instance datum: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 (2nd), 1, 3, 4, 5 (3rd) in episode 1. In datum: 1 and 6 (3rd) of episode 3, datum: 4 (2nd and 3rd) of episode 4, datum: 2 (3rd) of episode 8.

mentioned solidarity cases, among them 7 are for 2nd person pronouns, whereas 10 are for 3rd personal pronouns.

4. Emotional expression: The emotional use of T expresses respect and love (it depends too on the tone or mood of speaker), as well as the emotional closeness of anger between T and V and the significance dynamic structure of conversation (Friedrich 1966:288). In this sense Keshavarz (1988:570) has the same idea; "[...] when one wishes to show disrespect or anger to another person, is deliberately used in an insulting manner. In situations other than these, the polite singular pronoun *šoma* is used instead of the familiar *to*".

None of the writers that I have referred to directly point out the mood shifting (atmosphere or tone) in conversation (tender, normal and anger). I consider the effect of mood in each datum and I found some interesting data that supported my hypothesis. Among them, the angry mood represented crucial roles to convert expected V to T form or mismatch T/V forms.²⁶ The angry and tender moods illustrate the crucial role of the choice of pronoun in 22 out of 36 considered cases. Among them 15 out of the 36 cases are for 2nd, whereas 21 are related to 3rd personal pronouns.

Brown and Gilman (1960:274) also elaborate that: "this kind of variation in language behavior 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." I consider how the mood shifting could have an impact on the choice of T-V forms in each episode. Even though most episodes show the appearance of plurality and the V form for singular referent (3rd) and addressee (2nd) in the formal situation and specially in front of the judge it has been seen that the angry mood can cause the use of singular (T) form for the 2nd or the 3rd person such a datum 1-3 of episode 8. Nanbakhsh (2011: 29) also mentions that "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

²⁶ Such as datum: 1 (2nd and 3rd), 6 (2nd) of episode 1, datum: 3 (3rd) of episode 2, datum: 4 (2nd) and 5 (3rd) of episode 3. In datum: 4 for (2nd and 3rd) of episode 4, datum: 4 (3rd) and 5 (2nd and 3rd) of episode 5. In datum: 1 (3rd) and datum 5 (2nd) of episode 6, datum: (2 and 3 (2nd)), (1, 2 and 3 (3rd)) of episode 8. Totally there are 18 cases out of 62 cases in 38 utterances. Tender mood also had an impact mostly on episode 8, datum: 1, 2 (2nd), 2, 3 of episode 8.

temporarily changes from V to T, he/she temporarily regards the addressee as an intimate or inferior." My thesis like her dissertation takes this synthesis further and argues for interactional stance influencing the versatile but systematic use of Persian address and referent forms.

Furthermore in order to quantitative analysis of the social features initially I have counted the frequency of each 6 features separately from 8 episodes of the film based on every section table of T-V forms. For example, when an utterance counts as being a case where 'Formality' is supported, it is a reciprocal V form that has been influenced by formality.

Table 4.9 below is a summary and comparison of the distribution and frequency of the film data features that have been found among 63 crucial cases (an instance of a particular situation; the total altogether amount of cases of 2nd (29) and 3rd (34) cases or utterances)) out of 38 utterances from 8 episodes.

Table 4.9 Distribution and frequency of the sociolinguistic features (variables) of the film data

Features	Cases	Addressee (2nd)	Referent (3rd)	Crucial	Mean percentage
Formality (FO)	37	18	19	29	35%
Gender(GD)	37	16	21	6	7%
Age(AD)	22	10	12	10	12%
Solidarity(SL)	17	7	10	14	17%
Mood (AM /TM)	36	15	21	22	26.5%
Power (PD)	57	28	29	2	2.5%
Totally	206	94	112	83	100%

There are in total 206 occurrences of these 6 mentioned features or cases (i.e. formality (relative distance), gender difference, age distance, solidarity, mood shifting (angry/tender), and power distance²⁷). A way to interpret the mean percentage is that those social features that have deceiving (i.e. crucial) effect than other crucial features for the choice of pronoun.

²⁷ The totally cases number (206) are gathered from counting the variable occurrences of each episode (for 2nd and 3rd person). The total crucial cases (83) are the cases that have a determiner role in choice of pronominals of

According to Table 4.9 about the distribution of social variables in the film data, formality with 35% is the most significant feature of the analysis, mood shifting with (26.5%) had second place. Age distance with (12%) is the third most influential feature, solidarity with (17%) has fourth place and gender difference with (7%) has fifth place. Power distance with (2.5%) has the least influence on the choice of T-V forms, because power distance (non-reciprocal T-V form) was not so strong in comparison with the formality of the context (reciprocal T-V form).

The result of the quantitative analysis is represented in Figure 4.1 below. That is a simple sketch that shows the result of my investigation about the ranking of the sociolinguistic features of the film data.

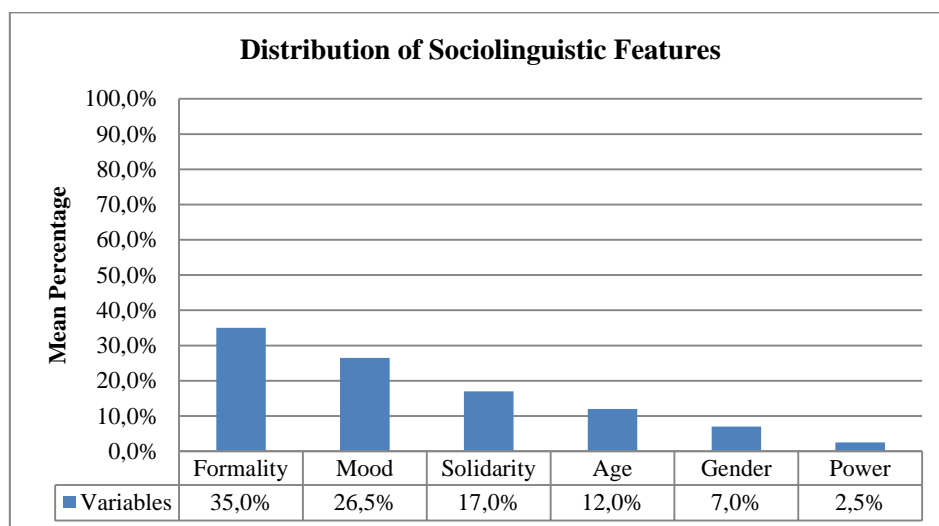


Figure 4.1 Distribution of sociolinguistic features

This figure illustrates that the formality (relative distance) feature with 35% has the highest amount of mean percentage or frequency and power distance has the lowest percentage. The mood shifting, solidarity, age distance and gender difference consequentially have the other rankings. Power distance with 2.5% has the lowest ranking in the figure.

every episode and they represented with bold characters in each table. The mean percentage of cases means where the given feature had more influence than the other variables.

Chapter 5 : Conclusion

My main focus in the film data analysis was to represent and discuss semi-natural real life data from Persian native speakers to obtain a reasonable answer to my research objectives:

1. Determine the contextual conditions when a plural form (i.e. pronoun, agreement marker or enclitic) is used to refer to a singular entity in contemporary Persian;
2. Investigate the relative influence of sociolinguistic features such as gender difference, age distance, power distance, solidarity, formality (relative distance), and mood shifting in the choice of pronominals in Persian and determine the factors that influence pronoun switching; and
3. Diagnose whether the choice of plural or polite referring forms in Persian is addressee oriented or referent oriented with respect to the T-V distinction.

In order to determine the second objective, I have found that the formality of the context has a key role in most cases in the film data in that formal contexts tend to lead to the use of a reciprocal V form. The mood of the conversation (angry, normal or tender) was also a significant variable that was considered in a way that in most considered cases expected V form converts to T under influence of anger mood. Besides that age distance, solidarity and gender difference also play a significant role in the formal situation of the film. Notably solidarity plays more crucial role in the informal familial situation, while formality has the most significant role in the formal situation and it gains more supremacy than the power distance. Based on the quantitative analysis of the film data, about the relative influence of the mentioned sociolinguistic variables on the T-V shifting in the film data, the distribution of the social features indicates that formality with 35% mean percentage is the most significant feature of the analysis that shows the reciprocal V form. The mood shifting (from normal to angry or tender) with (26.5%) had the second place on converting the expected V to T form or the vice versa (or T to V form). The age distance feature with (12%) is the third influential feature that has influence on reciprocally T form (high amount of age distance shows reciprocally T form mostly in my data). The solidarity feature with (17%) has the fourth place

in causing the reciprocal T form. The gender difference feature with (7%) has the fifth place on appearance of the reciprocal V form and the power distance feature with (2.5%) has the least influence on the non-reciprocally V form. Therefore I conclude that formality or the relative distance feature is more significant than power distance in choice of Persian T-V forms. I acknowledge that my finding is only based on a restricted film data. There is lack of study in spontaneous and natural data in my study. Stylistic errors of the writers of the film and my transcription may also have a negative impact on this analysis.

About the pronoun switching (shifting) that is a central part of my thesis, I obtained evidence that shifting occurred between the expected T to V or vice versa especially in formal situations. In order to determine the factors that influence pronoun switching I have found that it is the influence of the anger mood that expected V forms convert to T (such as datum 1-3 of episode 8 in quarreling between Nader, housemaid and her husband inside the court), or somehow in order to increase solidarity and under the influence of a large age distance or tender mood the expected V forms convert to T (such as datum 1-5 between the judge and Nader's daughter in the court.) About the T/V mismatch construction, I did not find enough supporting datum to conclude, however mismatching was influenced by an intensive angry mood and in order to communicate sarcasm. This holds, for instance, datum 1 of episode (8) between Nader and the housemaid), (datum (1 and 5) of episode (6) between the housemaid and teacher.)), (datum (3) of episode 2 between Simin and the servant) or datum 6 in first episode between Nader and his daughter). Another interesting mismatch was between the judge and Nader's daughter in order to increase solidarity and was influenced by the tender mood (i.e. datum (1 and 2 in episode (7)). The mismatch construction in Persian was discussed by Nanbakhsh (2011:48). Nanbakhsh argued that (2011: 48) "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 knowledge to make systematic choices in the selection of the pronominal address forms." In this sense my findings support her argument that Persian interactions may not follow a routine norm of mismatching construction.

Concerning the third objective of the thesis, to diagnose whether the choice of plural or polite referring forms in Persian is addressee oriented or referent oriented with respect to the T-V distinction. I can conclude that in a familial situation between solidary family members (Nader, Simin, Nader's daughter and father) all the referring form for the 3rd person are in the T form and the choice of pronoun is addressee oriented. However I argue that choice of plurality and politeness forms especially for 3rd person in the formal situation mostly is addressee oriented. The choice of T-V forms for 3rd person among family members and new arrival housemaid or servants were mostly addressee oriented, while in some cases there were influenced by the mood about the referent (such as datum (5) of episode 3 between the housemaid and the judge referring to Nader's father as a 3rd person), it could changes to referent oriented. Therefore I argue that the solidarity relationship between speaker and referent (i.e. datum 1 of episode 3) or shifting the mood of conversation (i.e. datum 5 of episode 3) can convert the choice of respectful pronominal from an addressee-oriented utterance to a referent-oriented one. Notably the choice of plurality and politeness in a formal situation was mostly addressee oriented and it was mostly under the superior power of the judge for instance datum (1, 2 and 3 for 3rd) between Simin, Nader and the judge there is apparent shifting from the expected T (between solidary couple) to the V form in front of the superior power addressee (the judge). The influence of the anger mood could be fluctuating in this case. In this case the evidence is not enough to decide (i.e. datum 2 of episode 5 between Nader and the judge referring to the housemaid). In this case the evidence is not enough to decide about the choice of addressee or referent orientation, but it would amply reward further study.

The first research question is an overall question that will be clarified by the findings from my second and third objectives. It will contribute to a broader understanding of how politeness governs contemporary Persian communication and how it simultaneously interacts with pragmatics and semantics and sociolinguistics.

To conclude, the T-V forms are not completely predictable in Persian but some forms as I referred them, are much more suitable or expected according to politeness considerations.

My study introduces a new sample of data analysis of contemporary Persian in a multidisciplinary approach involving semantics, pragmatics and sociolinguistic in a way that has not been tried before. The method of qualitative and quantitative data analysis including the strategy of counting the distribution and frequency of considered sociolinguistic variables within categorized tables and charts is novel, as far as I am aware I have also proposed a new sociolinguistic term 'mood shifting variable' that reflects internal feeling and tensed atmosphere of the situation based on the tone of voice (rising or falling) of a speaker. In this analysis I categorized the variation to three levels: angry, normal and tender mood that has not been specifically considered in this type of analysis before.

I hope that this study can be used as a guideline for teaching Persian learners and also be a useful contribution to English-Persian translation as well as for Persian's movie documentation. Concluding at this stage is not sufficient to do justice to this phenomenon. Finally I wish that my study or other investigations will shed more light on this subject.

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