A Sociolinguistic Study on the Politeness of Modern Persian - The Case of Tehran City -

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The present study is based on the questionnaireing research concerning the politeness of Tehrani Persian, which was conducted in Tehran from October through November of 1996 and on March of 1997. Our informant-subjects are 216 in all, with 100 men and 116 women. They range from 16 to 65 years old; they are divided into five age groups. The age group of 16-25 year-olds are further subgrouped into Tehranis and Non-Tehranis. According to their educational level they are classified into four groups: 1) primary ~ high school, 2) junior college, 3) university, 4) graduate school or above.

The purposes of this study are as follows:

a) To investigate the present conditions and the patterns of the polite forms being used in Tehrani Persian, with the intention to differentiate two components of zabān-e moʻaddabāne and taʻārof, the distinction of which the previous studies have failed to properly recognize.

b) To define the basic function of taʻārof, by means of studying the present usage
of conventional expressions which are a primary marker of ta'ārof.

c) To offer the basic research framework for the politeness of Modern Persian, by explicated the functional and conceptual differences between zabān-e mo'addabāne and ta'ārof.

a) and b) are attained mainly by comparing the characteristics of the afore-mentioned social groups while c) is the synthesis.

Starting with the reference to the problems mainly of the framework of Beeman's study (1986) and to our foregoing, provisional definition of the two components of the politeness pattern, the thesis is organized by the quantitative analysis of each question on the questionnaire which consists of four parts.

Chapter 2(Q1) deals with the thirty-eight conventional ta'ārof expressions. In this chapter, the basic usage condition and pattern of these forms are examined. The frequency of each expression is indicated by the score from 4 (high) to 1(low).

Chapter 3(Q2) is about the impressions on the conversational examples of polite forms. A list of twenty adjectives are given in the questionnaire so that the informant-subject can select from among them an appropriate adjective or adjectives for the three examples which contain zabān-e mo'addabāne and ta'ārof. The conceptual distinction of the two components is specified mainly on the basis of the impressional features obtained from each sample example.

Chapter 4(Q3) gives a result of the investigations on the general usage pattern of polite forms; this section is intended to provide the definition of zabān-e mo'adabāne. Q3 contains two parts with various interactions: 3-1) invitation to the party and 3-2) request to borrow a ball-point pen. For each question the informant-subjects are given a list of verbal forms and are supposed to select the proper form to the addressees with different social status. In this chapter the characteristics of the usage patterns of the polite forms are indicated by
correlating PD(Perceived Distance) and the degree of politeness which each form is to imply. PD is the distance which is determined under the discernment of a variety of contextual factors, such as the social relationship between participants in conversation, the degree of formality of the situation, etc. PD is indicated in the present work by the social status of the addressee; both the degrees of PD and those of politeness implied in each form are computed by the method of Ogino's quantification.

Chapter 5(Q4) is mainly concerned with the actual condition of the usage of basic polite forms which is differentiated in accordance with the social groups.

Chapter 6 offers the further investigation into the relation between zabān-e mo'addabāne and ta'ārof by correlating the degree of politeness of verbal forms given in Q4 and the average frequency of the conventional expressions of Q1.

The final Chapter 7 gives an overview of the results of the analysis. Discussed and presented herein are the tendency of change of the politeness pattern of Tehrani Persian, the basic new framework and the further topics for the future study. The selected six-page bibliography concludes the present thesis.

The outcome of the study are summarized:

1. zabān-e mo'addabāne and ta'ārof are substantiated to be the two components of politeness with different function in Modern Persian. The former is a pattern of politeness for social marking, which is passively used according to the discernment on the social norm including the relationship between the speaker and the addressee. The latter is used, on the contrary, when the temporary relationships are volitionally expressed. As Beeman writes "ta'ārof is the active, ritualized realization of differential perceptions of superiority and inferiority in interaction" (1986:56-7), he focuses only upon the function of the intensification of power relationship of ta'ārof. The result of our analysis shows that the basic pattern of ta'ārof in Tehrani Persian has been shifting from that of intensification
of status difference over to the pattern in which feelings of respect and intimacy are expressed at once. This definition would raise a problem which is not convincingly explained by the politeness theory of Brown and Levinson (1987) in the respect that the different types of strategies are employed in the interaction in which ta'ārof is realized.

2. The results of Q1-Q4 testify that the self-lowering expressions and forms of high honorific level tend to be less used, while of frequent use are the forms expressing intimacy, solidarity and considerateness toward the addressee. Furthermore, the diffusion of the reciprocal use is observed even between the superior and the inferior. These results may lead to the suggestion that the basic politeness pattern in Tehrani Persian is in the process of change. In other words, the traditional pattern based on power structure of interlocutors is gradually shifting over to the pattern which functions as a device for communication with others rather than as an indicator of status difference.

3. There are salient differences on the performance pattern of politeness in concord with sex, age, educational and Tehrani/Non-Tehrani groups:

1) Female speakers generally use the polite forms more frequently than males, except for the casual forms toward the most intimate person. They show, on the other hand, the tendency to behave with an intention to use other-raising forms than to utilise humiliating ones.

2) Younger people select the casual forms more frequently than aged people, and mark low scores especially on the frequency of the conventional ta'ārof expressions. This is apparently reflected on the result of Q2; the impression given by the male younger people are distinctive from those of the other age groups in all cases. This may be due to the gaps there are between sample verbal expressions of the Q2 and those expressions that they actually employ.

3) The pattern of politeness of the high-educated group is somewhat
characteristic. They avoid both the most polite forms and the most casual forms, and tag a negative value on typical examples of ta'ārof. In addition, high-educated speakers, especially those of graduate school level, distinguish the general use of polite forms (zabān-e mo'addabāne) from ta'ārof expressions more distinctly than the other social groups. This is suggestive of their clear consciousness of the norms of their own speech. The lower-educated speakers, on the other hand, show a positive impression toward the conventional ta'ārof expressions and display a tendency to use volitionally more polite forms comprising self-lowering aspects.

4) There are obvious differences between the performance pattern of the Tehrani group and that of the Non-Tehrani group. The latter group employ the polite expressions including humiliating forms more frequently than the former. They also mark higher scores on the ta'ārof expressions. This result points to the fact that the traditional patterns of politeness of Iranian society still persist in the provincial areas.

To conclude, the present study offers the firsthand data upon which any future works are to be based, and, as such, serve as a landmark, if not lofty and impressive enough, in the sociolinguistic research of Modern Persian.