

On the Change Route of Address Terms in Persian

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Abstract

The purpose of this study is to investigate the change route of Persian address terms in a period of two hundred years, divided into three distinct historical sessions including Qajar (1170/1791-1304/1925), Pahlavi (1305/1926-1357/1979), and Post Islamic Revolution (1357/ 1979 -up to now). Data was extracted from a corpus of 24 novels and travel notebooks which were selected from the three periods under study. Data analysis indicates that Persian address terms and types have changed through time in line with changes in society. They have shown to change in different ways of deletion, addition and change in frequency, in all three historical periods of Persian language. Increase in the use of three categories of “personal names”, “intimacy terms”, and “zero address terms”; and decrease in the use of “honorifics”, “educational/cultural titles”, and “tekononyms” in all periods reveal that the use of Persian address terms has moved from more formality/less intimacy to less formality/more intimacy. Increase in the use of formal and informal religious titles in Post Islamic Revolution period is the logical result of establishment of an Islamic government. Also, changes in address terms and types are to a large extent affected by different social factors, the most influencing of them are; religion, politics, education, gender-equity, social situations and interpersonal relations.

Keywords: Addition, Address terms, Address types, Deletion, Historical sessions

1. Introduction

As a universal concept in all languages of the world, “address term” is so obvious that there is no question on its meaning and function. Linguistically, Braun (1988, p.7) defines the term as a means of “initiating contact”. He indicates that address terms often designate the interlocutors since their literal and lexical meanings can differ from or even contradict the addressee’s characteristics. For instance, in some cultures, like Iranian and Arabic communities, a girl may address her friend’s mother as ‘aunt’ to show intimacy to her, though there is no blood relation between them. To Afful (2006b), address terms refer to the linguistic expression by which a speaker designates an addressee in a face-to-face encounter. Oyetade (1995) defines address terms as words or expressions used in interactive, dyadic and face-to-face situations to characterize the person being talked to. Keshavarz’s (2001, p.6) defines this set as “...linguistic forms that are used in addressing others to attract their attention or for referring to them in the course of a conversation.”

Dickey (1996) believes that definition of addressing as the speaker’s linguistic reference to his/her interlocutor(s) is clearly a very broad one and needs further divisions. He then gives an obvious linguistic classification of address terms by their parts of speech into: nouns, pronouns, and verbs which are further classified in to ‘bound’ and ‘free’ forms; Bound morphemes are those integrated into the syntax of a sentence, and free forms are those not integrated in this way.

1.2. Social function of address terms

Language as a socially driven phenomenon is believed to reveal people’s world views and values. Most of any other parts, semantic and pragmatic systems reflect the culture of the speakers (Hudson, 2001,p.91). Parkinson (1985) believes that the way people open conversations or address one another in a certain language are important issues in the study of communicative system of that language. Establishing social relationship between individuals is perhaps the first step to every communicative event.

Linguistic items referred to as “address terms/forms” are not neutral in their interpersonal meaning. Although they convey little or no role in the basic grammatical structures in a sentence, they are often crucial in accurately conveying some social kinds of information. All meanings of forms of addressing are interpreted within the socio-cultural context of the community in which

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they are used (Afful, 2006a). Leech (1999) considers terms of address as “important formulaic verbal behaviors well recognized in the sociolinguistics literature to signal transactional, interpersonal and deictic ramifications in human relationships” (cited in Afful, 2006b,p.276). Choice of a certain form inevitably entails the expression of certain feelings and attitudes, and it is the result of the interlocutors’ evaluation of the nature of the relationship holding between the participants.

Also to Brown & Levinson (1978, p.126) these forms are vital linguistic mechanisms by which a speaker's attitude toward, and interpretation of his or her relationship with another speaker is mirrored. Inappropriate selection of the address term hinders good communication between the speaker and the hearer. They function as an indicator of the social relationship between a speaker and a listener in terms of status and social distance.

1.3. Types of address terms in Persian

Address terms have been classified differently in different languages. Mehrotra (1982) elaborates on nine categories of names (i.e. honorifics, titles, situation factors, multiple uses of address forms, greeting, invocation, addressing pets and avoidance of address term) as possible classification of address terms in Hindi. Parkinson (1985) categorizes terms of address in Egyptian Arabic into six categories of the second person pronoun forms, names and labels, family terms, terms of respect, friendly and joking terms and terms of abuse. Oyetade (1995) provides a descriptive classification of system of address in Yoruba (Nigeria) into; pronouns, names, kinship terms, titles and occupational terms. Fitch (1998) identifies five categories of address terms including second-person pronouns, proper names, kinship terms, titles, nicknames and adjectival terms in Columbia. Manjulakshi (2004) considers nine types of address terms as; caste name, names by which the exalted status of individuals are revealed or implied, personal name, kinship term, professional term, professional-names for exaltation, personal name-kinship term, personal name-professional term, and non-respectable term in Kannada (a language spoken in Mysore District in India). And also, Afful (2006b) classifies eight categories including; personal names, titles, catch phrases, zero address forms, descriptive phrases, attention getters, occupational terms and pronouns in Ghana .

In Persian, Aliakbari & Toni (2008,p.6) categorize different type of address terms that Persian interlocutors may use in different contexts, as: 1)Personal names, 2)general titles and

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g) Honorifics or terms of formality: these terms of formality or honorifics are used by the speaker to show great respect and express deference to the addressee. The speaker seems to show that the addressee is of a higher rank or social status. e.g., [jen] ‘sir’, [šāhshāh] ‘your excellency, sir, a title often used in army’, [qorbān] ‘sir’, [šāh] ‘lord’.

h) Terms of intimacy: terms used in situations where intimate interlocutors need to address partners in a conversation with a more friendly and amiable tone. Intimacy here refers to the relationship where the speaker considers the addressee as a member of an in-group, a friend or a person who shares some commonality with the speaker, so they address him using an intimate address term to show this close relationship .e.g., [dām] ‘my soul’, [dām] ‘my dear’, [dām] ‘my beauty’ .

i) Personal pronouns: pronouns, apart from their grammatical functions, having been reported to perform a social function by signaling the disparity in the status of the speaker and addressee. e.g., [mā] ‘I/me’, [to] ‘second person singular ‘you’, [om] ‘second person singular and plural ‘you’.

j) Zero address terms: terms used when the speaker is not certain how to address others. They often avoid the difficulty by not using any address form. Instead, they may use greetings or attention getters, e.g., [ā] ‘hi’, [ā] ‘sorry’, [sā] ‘good morning’.

k) Teknonyms: nominal forms of address which define an addressee as a father, a brother, a wife, or a daughter of someone else by expressing the addressee’s relation to another person. Here, the addressee is known through someone else e.g., [šāhshāh] ‘Mr.Karim’s wife’, [šāhshāh] ‘Mr.Karim’s wife’, [šāhshāh] ‘Mirza Sadeq’s sister’, [xān] ‘Mr.doctor’s wife’.

2. Review of Literature

Since “address set” is a treasure of valuable information about social and interpersonal relationships in any society, it has been studied in many languages; a number of them are reviewed below:

Mehrotra (1982) describes the non-kin forms of address related to socio-cultural setting of dyads using them in Hindi. He notes that address forms embody a crucial stage in a face-to-face interaction and represent a special aspect of relational language, serving not merely as a bridge between the individuals but also as a kind of 'emotional capital' which can be invested and manipulated in order to achieve a specific result. He further asserts that differential usage of address terms has been institutionalized as a means of defining and affirming both identity and status of the speaker and the addressee.

Keshavarz (1988) conducts a study on the forms of address in post Islamic revolution era (after 1979) in Iran. In search for the political function of address terms, he reports that the revolution in Iran leading to overthrow monarchism 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'.

Lee-Wong (1994) studies the relationship between shifting semantics and the changing ideology in the address system of Chinese. The result indicates that Chinese system of addressing is rooted in the social structure attaching great importance to kinship.

In a study on bilingual creativity in Chinese English, Zhang (2002) stresses the importance of studies on address terms and also their importance in conveying the culture, especially power and the status of the interlocutors.

Oyetade (1995) provides a descriptive analysis of the entire system of address in Yoruba, a language spoken in the western part of Nigeria. He gives a classification in which names are the most common forms of address. Also, he finds that reciprocal personal names are used between friends, close relatives and members of the same age group.

In a study on Kashmiri, Koul (1995) concludes that terms of address in any given language plays an important function in socio-linguistic research. He also continues that these terms are affected by certain factors such as social structure, cultural patterns and geographical setting.

Manjulakshi (2004) notes that terms and modes of addressing are important for the purposes of identification and expression of ideas. To her, the use of these terms is affected by the social status, age, and the sex of the interlocutors participated in an interaction.

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Afful (2006a) stresses the discourse analysis of address terms especially in the area of politics and religion. He indicates that westernism and modernism are reflected in the use of personal names and phrases. He also notes that sociolinguistic studies on address terms tend to show that they are contingent on a number of factors such as socio-economic status, age, sex, the relationship between interlocutors and the domains of a communicative encounter.

In another study, Afful (2006b) making a distinction between ‘address terms’ and ‘reference terms’ uses the former as the linguistic expression by which a speaker designates an addressee in a face-to-face encounter with reference to the social functions of address terms.

Furthermore, Akindele (2008) examines the address forms used by the Basotho people. He analyzes and discusses various types of address forms and the determining factors on the use of these items.

3. Methodology

3.1. Purpose and Questions

Social structures and linguistic structures have always shown to have a kind of bidirectional relationship to each other. The consequence is that change in one may change the other. So, changes in the way people behave in interpersonal relationships directly affect the way people address each other. Iran has faced up to many changes through the recent history of two hundred years. The establishment of three distinct governments namely Qajar (1170/1791-1304/1925), Pahlavi (1305/1926-1357/1979) and Islamic Revolution (1357/1979 -up to now) brought about major social and ideological changes to the society.

The present research aims at finding the way Persian address terms have changed in the recent two centuries. Specifically, the following questions are to be answered in this study:

1-What are the most salient changes in the Persian address terms in the two recent centuries divided into three historical periods of Qajar (Q), Pahlavi (P) and Post Islamic Revolution (PIR)?

2-what are the most influencing factors on changing address terms in the history of Persian language?

3.2. Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework used in this study was the classification proposed by Aliakbari & Toni (2008) in Persian which was slightly changed as was explained in part 1.3 (types of address terms in Persian). This classification was taken for the need to follow the change route of address terms and types in Persian, and also because the mentioned study is the only complete classification carried out in Farsi (Persian).

3.3. Corpus and data collection

In order to study the change route of Persian address set in the history of Persian language, a number of 24 novels written in the recent two centuries, 8 in each period of Qajar, Pahlavi and Post Islamic Revolution were selected, from among 1370 address terms were extracted and categorized in types mentioned above. In Qajar period, due to the limited number of published books, nearly all available novels were selected. In the two second periods, the selection was based on the popularity of novels in which the actual and spontaneous language is reflected. So, the most popular novels were randomly selected from among a large number of available novels. In this corpus, 645 (p=47%) were Qajar, 342 (p=25%) were Pahlavi and 383 (p=28%) were Post Islamic Revolution address terms.

The reason to select novels rather than other literary texts such as poetry and short story is the informal style used by the writers and also the sufficient space to express it, making it possible to search for the way people address each other in social interactions. In Persian, novels are distinct from other literary texts for they reflect the actual ordinary style of communication in the social interactions.

The period under study was divided into 3 distinct eras, including Qajar (Q), Pahlavi (P), and Post Islamic Revolution (PIR), which made it possible to follow as well as to compare the change route in the whole set. In Iran, change in governments has proved to be not just a political change; it has directly affected the whole social behaviors and life style of people in the society. In order to offer a clear picture of the historical periods under study, each one will be explained here:

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Qajar dynasty was an Iranian royal family of Turkic origin, who ruled Persia (Iran) from (1170/1791 to 1304/1925), Pahlavi came to power after Qajar . Pahlavi dynasty comprised two Iranian/Persian monarchs, the father and the son (Reza Shah Pahlavi and Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi). They ruled Persia (Iran) from (1305/1926 to 1357/1979). Islamic Revolution (also known as the 1979 Revolution) refers to the events involving the overthrow of Iran's monarchy (Pahlavi dynasty) and its replacement with an Islamic republic under Ayatollah Khomeini, the leader of the revolution. The establishment of three new governments namely Qajar, Pahlavi and Islamic Revolution brought about major social and ideological changes in Iranian life.

3.4. Significance of the study

Address terms are strongly believed to manifest interpersonal relationships, the subject that has attracted many sociolinguists' attention all around the world. Although a few studies have been reported to be done in Iran, this subject seems to be neglected and needs to be more regarded in academic researches.

The findings of this study are expected to be beneficial to linguists in general and to those who are interested in the fields of sociolinguistics and sociology of language.

Moreover, the study of how address terms have changed from past to present may shed light into types of changes in progress.

4. Results and Discussion

This part investigates the most salient changes in address terms as well as the most determinant factors affecting address term changes in the two recent centuries of Persian language, divided into three historical periods of Qajar, Pahlavi and Post Islamic Revolution (PIR).

4.1. Change route of Persian address terms in the recent two centuries (three historical periods)

The data including a number of 1370 address terms, extracted from 24 novels, shows a systematic route of change in different types of deletion, addition and also change in frequency in all three historical periods of Persian history:

A) Deletion

Analyzing the data related to the period of Qajar to Pahlavi shows that, no addressing type or category was deleted but some addressing items of different types were deleted from the list. The most frequent are listed below :

- [shayekh] + N ‘monsieur’ from the general title,
- $\text{job + [bakhsh] + N}$ ‘liege’+job, N + [xan] ‘its refers to the country and its glory ’ from the occupational titles ,
- and also some teknonyms e.g., [madr] + N ‘ mother of+N ’ and [davar] + N ‘daughter of+N’ were deleted.

Moreover, from Pahlavi to Islamic Revolution (during a period of 85 years) no address type was deleted while some items of different address categories were no longer used, as the following items show:

- $\text{[mirz] + N + [xan]}$ ‘leige’ from the general titles,
- N + [shayekh] ‘musician’, N + [shayekh] ‘to be in the job or occupational titles’, [shayekh] + job ‘your Excellency’ from the occupational titles,
- and also, [moll] + N ‘mullah’ from the religious titles were deleted.

B) Addition

The data belonging to the period of Qajar to Pahlavi shows that two address types were added to the list, they are “personal pronouns” e.g., *to* ‘second person singular, you’ and zero address terms” e.g., [sob bexjir] ‘good morning/evening/night’ [sob bexjir] ‘good morning’.

Moreover, items of different types were found to be new in this period:

- the use of kinship nouns [shayekh] ‘dear/lady’ N + [shayekh] ‘great’ and
- also one “teknonym” form of [shayekh] + N (wife of+N) were added to the list

As the table shows, the four categories of “personal names”, “intimacy terms” and “zero address terms” have increased in frequency in all three periods, indicating a movement from more formality/less intimacy to less formality/more intimacy in interpersonal relationships.

The use of four address types of “honorifics”, “educational/cultural titles” and “tekononyms” has decreased in all three periods of Persian language. All being formal in semantic and pragmatic nature, it again reveals that the use of Persian address terms has moved from more formality/less intimacy to less formality/more intimacy.

The use of religious and general titles have decreased from Qajar to Pahlavi but increased in the Post Islamic Revolution period. Increase in religious titles is the logical result of the establishment of a religious government.

The use of “occupational titles” and “pronouns” shows to be increased in frequency from Qajar to Pahlavi but the same types show a decrease route after the Islamic Revolution.

The summary of all changes are shown in figure 1:

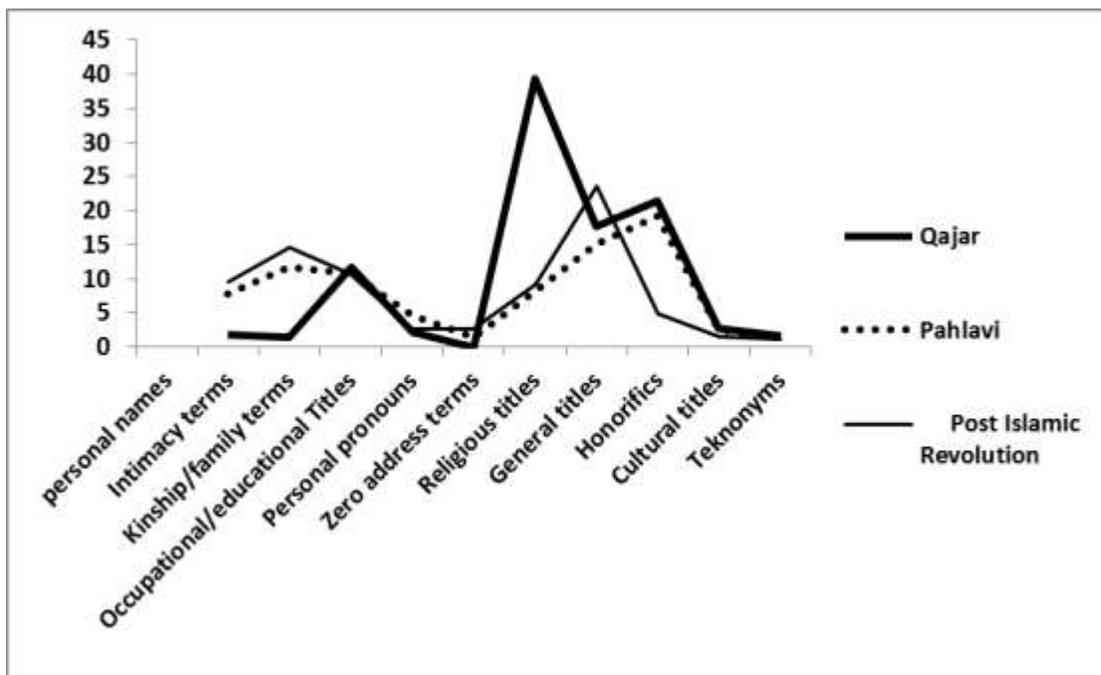


Figure 1. Frequency of address types from Qajar to Islamic Revolution

4.2. Factors affecting changes in address terms

As address terms are socially driven linguistic phenomena, they are inevitably influenced by social and cultural factors in the society. Moreover, as the society changes, change in language and so in address terms is unavoidable. This part deals with the most effective factors on the emergence and change of address terms in the history of Iran.

A) Religion: Persia has always shown to be a religious society through history. The existence of a great number of religious address terms as well as the establishment of a religious Islamic government in 1979 are clear instances. Data analysis reveals that change in some address terms have had religious motivations, as the following items show:

- High frequency of religious address terms of  meaning “to pilgrimages of three holy shrines” in all three historical periods indicates the sacredness of visiting holy places as a pilgrim.

- Appearance of the terms  ‘religious brother’  ‘religious sister’ in PIR implies that all people are considered to be equal in Islam.

- Appearance of the female religious term of  ‘title for a woman who has gone Haj pilgrimage’ is due to the importance of visiting Mecca as a pilgrim for all gender groups.

- Decrease in the use of  ‘a sufi mystic’  ‘mulla’ is due to the change in the meanings of the words into “the poor fellow”.

B) Politics: In Iran change in political systems has shown to create changes in address terms especially the terms related to politics and army, as the following cases show:

- Royal address terms were deleted due to change of monarchism to Republic in PIR .e.g.,  ‘prince’  ‘Most High Majesty in reference to the ‘king/emperor’ was no longer used in PIR period.

- New terms were added due to new jobs and responsibilities in army as well as in political jobs e.g., [kōlōnēl] ‘colonel’

- Since the relation between French and Iran became strained in Pahlavi’s era, [sēr] a word borrowed from French meaning sir was no longer used.

C) Education: Improvement in education is another important cause of change in address terms, as the following cases explain:

- Establishment of the first university in Iran in 1230/1825 (Qajar period) resulted in the need for new terms and titles for university teachers e.g. [dāktor] ‘university instructor’.

- Substitution of new system of education i.e. schools for traditional training places (as called *mādrāsa*) brought about new terms and titles e.g., [*moallim*] ‘teacher’ and [*modir*] ‘head master’.

- Also, as a result of new educational system, some general and unmarked titles disappeared e.g., *hakim* and [*hokmān*] ‘wise man’ as new exact titles for different educational degrees were added to the list.

D) Gender-equity: “Gender equity/bias” as part of the social ideology is reflected in our language. So, language reveals that how gender bias or equate a society is or to what extent it has changed from bias to equity or vice versa in the route of time. Reviewing Persian address terms through three historical periods under study, a gradual movement from gender bias to equity is observed, as the following items explain:

- Use of “teknonyms” shows a gradual decrease in frequency from Qajar (p=1.69%) to Pahlavi (p=1.4%) and also to Post Islamic Revolution (p=1.16 %) periods.

- Some “teknonyms” were changed to be used only in specific contexts with negative meanings e.g., [*no*] +N ‘N’s poor old mother’.

- As a result of new job situations for females, new “occupational titles” were added to the list with the dominant structure of: [*xānom*] +job titles .e.g., [*xānom doktor*] ‘Mrs. doctor’

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- Also, new religious titles for females were added to the list. Independent titles for females rather than being addressed by someone else (most of the time by their brothers', husbands', or fathers') can be interpreted as the sign of relative independent positions females have got in society in the route of time.

E) Social situations: New social responsibilities and jobs result in the need for new address titles in the society. The obvious examples are jobs and favorites such as [barber]. Sometimes, a title is substituted for another one since the existing word pragmatically conveys a negative load of meaning e.g., [musician] was substituted for its synonym [] because the latter was not socially acceptable.

F) Interpersonal Relations: Another important factor influencing the use of address terms is the degree of distance/intimacy between the speaker and the addressee in an interpersonal communication. In formal situations people feel to be less intimate to each other.

Reviewing the types and terms in the recent two centuries, it shows a meaningful change or movement from more formal/distant to more intimate interpersonal communication. The tendency to use more "personal names", "kinship" and "intimate" address terms indicates a growing tendency to be more intimate and less formal to each other in the course of communication.

5. Conclusion

In order to study change route of Persian address terms in the recent two centuries, a number of 1370 address terms were collected from 24 novels belonging to the three important historical periods of Qajar (1170/1791-1304/1925), Pahlavi (1305/1926-1357/1979) and Post Islamic Revolution (1357/ 1979). Analysis of the data showed the following results:

- Persian address terms and address types have changed through time in line with changes in society.
- Persian address terms have shown to change structurally in different ways including; deletion, addition and change in frequency in all three historical periods of Persian language.

- Regarding deletion, no address types was deleted but some address terms were no longer used. Some “religious” and “feudal titles of honorifics” are cases of deletion.

- Regarding addition, two address types of “personal pronoun” and ”zero titles” as well as a number of address terms such as new “kinship items” were added to the list.

- Changes of frequency were observed to be meaningful in the following cases:

The three categories of “personal names”, “intimacy terms” and “zero address terms” have increased in frequency in all three periods, indicating a movement from more to less formality. The use of address types of “honorifics”, “educational/cultural titles” and “teknonyms” shows to have a decreasing route in all three periods of Persian language. All being formal in semantic and pragmatic nature, it reveals that the use of Persian address terms has moved from more formality/distance to less formality/more intimacy.

The use of religious and general titles have decreased from Qajar to Pahlavi but increased after the Islamic Revolution (PIR) period. Increase in religious titles is the logical result of establishment of a religious Islamic government.

-Change in address terms and types to a large extent is affected by different social factors, from among the most influencing factors are; religion, politics, education, gender-equity, social situations and interpersonal relations.

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