LEECH'S POLITENESS MAXIMS AND THEIR HIERARCHY IN HINDI AND PERSIAN: A PRAGMATIC STUDY OF POLITENESS / LES MAXIMES DE POLITESSE DE LEECH ET LE URHIÉRARCHIE EN HINDI ET EN PERSAN: UNE ÉTUDE PRAGMATIQUE DE LA POLITESSE[1]

Abstract:The paper is concerned with some aspects of politeness in the request act by the pragmatic connotations of syntactic structures in Hindi and Persian. Considering the role of politeness as an explanation for the deviation from the Grice's cooperative principle, the main question of the paper is whether Leech's maxims of politeness operate on the syntagmatic and paradigmatic relations and whether there is any hierarchy in their manner of application. To answer the abovementioned question the main hypothesis of the research posits that Leech's maxims of politeness have a structure of hierarchy in both Persian and Hindi. Considering the Pandharipandes' (1979) hierarchy of the degree of politeness proposed for Hindi, this paper aims to develop a similar hierarchy of the degree of politeness for Persian and to analyze the Leech's maxims operating in the respective hierarchies of politeness. The general theoretical framework adopted for the present study is based on Lakoff (1972), and Leech (1980). Whereas the findings of this research indicate a hierarchy in Hindi and Persian at the syntagmatic planewith regard to their respective Leech's maxims,no such hierarchyis detectable for paradigmatic relationwhichholds good for all types of social situations.
Keywords: Hindi, paradigmatic, Persian, politeness, pragmatic

Résumé: Cet article s'intéresse à certains aspects de la politesse dans l'acte de demande par les connotations pragmatiques des structures syntaxiques en hindi et en persan. Considérant le rôle de la politesse comme explication de la déviation par rapport au principe coopératif de Grice, la principale question de l'articleest de savoir si les maximes de politesse de Leech opèrent sur les relations syntagmatiques et paradigmatiques et s'il existe une hiérarchie dans leur mode d'application. Afin d'enquêter sur la question mentionnée, l'hypothèse principale de la recherché postule que les maximes de politesse de Leech ont une structure de hiérarchie à la fois en person et en hindi. Considérant la hiérarchie du degré de politesse proposée par Pandharipandes (1979) pour l'hindi, cet article vise à développer une hiérarchie similaire du degré de politesse pour le persan et à analyser les maximes de Leech opérant dans les hierarchies respectives de politesse. La base théorique générale adoptée pour la présente étude est basée sur Lakoff (1972) et Leech (1980). Alors que les résultats de cette recherche indiquent une hiérarchie en hindi et en persan au plan syntagmatique en ce qui concerne leurs maximes respectives de Leech, pour la relation paradigmatique, aucune hiérarchie n'est détectable qui vaut pour tous les types de situations sociales.
Mots-clés: Hindi, paradigmatique, Persan, politesse, pragmatique

1. Introduction

Cross-cultural studies of politeness and indirect speech acts have gained momentum in recent years.Some studies suggest that "each culture, from pragmatics standpoint, has its own unique interactional style"(Mills, 1992: 65). Regarding the importance of cross-cultural studies and different speech acts, Blum-Kulka states that:

> despite the widespread interest in the cultural variability of interactional styles, when it comes to the performance of specific speech acts, the issue of universality versus culture-specificity is still hotly debated. This is not surprising, considering the relatively meager number of speech acts and

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languages studied from a contrastive pragmatic perspective and the complexity of the issues involved ... (Blum-Kulka, 1989: 18)

As Blum-Kulka states, the two opposing poles of universality and culture-specificity are one of the most important debate topics in pragmatics. This study, by comparing Persian and Hindi in request acts, attempts to investigate the mentioned classic divisionby analyzing the request acts in cultural-specific interactional styles in Persian and Hindi. The main research hypothesis is that politeness follows hierarchy in the syntagmatic plane, whereas it operates freely in the paradigmatic plane. We adopt Leech's Politeness Principle and Lakoff's rules as the framework. In the following sections, we will first contrast deference with politeness, while investigating deferential aspects of Hindi and Persian. Thereafter, we will analyze politeness in Persian and Hindi languages in both paradigmatic and syntagmatic planes.

1.1. Deference in Hindi and Persian

First we will discuss the deference, which is usually confused with politeness in both Hindi and Persian. As Thomas discusses in length the different aspects of interpretation for politeness, readers were asked not to confuse politeness with deference which has lots of commonalities in principle with politeness in pragmatics (Thomas, 1995). Deference is found across languages, from Japanese to French to Persian and we follow the definition proposed by Haugh, Chang, and Kádár in that deference is "submitting to or showing regard to a superior or someone else deserving of respect," to which the response can be a "locally" determined rejection or acceptance (Haugh, Chang, & Kádár, 2015: 81).

In other words, deference is defined as "the expression of respect and social distance," where it can come into the picture in situations where the addresseeis assumed to be of higher status, or when addressee and addressor—regardless of whether their status is unequal—"treat each other with distance" (Conti, 2021:32). While some have subsumed deference under the broader framework of Politeness, others have argued that deference and politeness should be treated "as distinct, albeit overlapping, concepts," since there are occasions when a speech act can be deferential (due to honorifics), while not polite (due to imperative)—it is fairly common in Korean—and even speech loaded with honorifics may be used to "express sarcasm and anger" (Haugh, 2010:274-275). Therefore, in the case of deference, like that of politeness, we can transgress the proper environment (even reversing the situation in regards with greater age/status respect) as it is observable in the case of deferential speech expressing sarcasm. With regard todeference in Hindi and Persian, we find similarities and differences. Whereas deference in Persian (like Russian, French and Spanish)follows a "T/V system"— which means in these languages, there are two choices for the addressee: tu/vous in French, ты/вы in Russian, tu/usted in Spanish—comprising to/shoma (تو/شما) system for second person pronoun, based on the status/greater age, deference in Hindi follows a three-tier system of □□/□□□/□□ (tu/tum/aap) or (you$_1$, you$_2$, you$_3$).

The choice of a particular form is conditioned by the speaker's own perception of his social status vis-a-vis the status of the addressee. Where statuses are equal in their solidary relationship—familiar but still polite—then "you$_2$"*(tum)* is used (Bhatt, 2015:373); however,in the case of unequal perception of their relative position in society, there are two more options: ' you$_1$' (tu),when the addressee is considered to belong to a lower social stratum; ' you$_3$' (aap)is employed when the addressee enjoys a status higher than the addressor (see Figure1) (Srivastava&Pandit, 1987: 193).
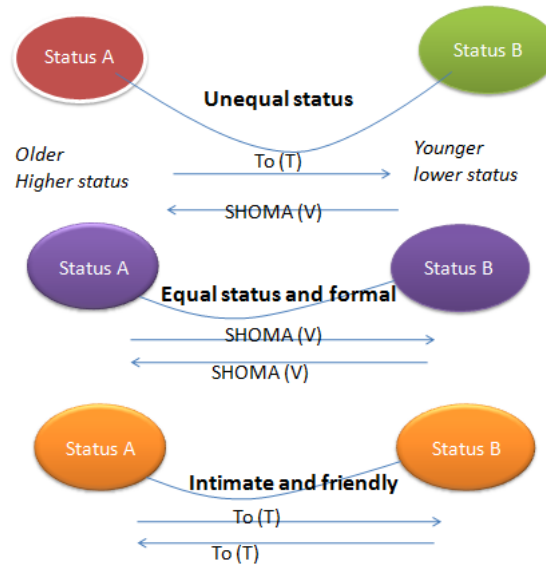
Figure1. Deference in second pronoun in Persian

In Persian, on the other hand, there is two-tier system (to/shoma) or (T/V), where status equal, approximate and formal interlocutors express and receive shoma (V), while in case of unequal status, a superior says to(T) and receivesshoma (V); in case of friendly and intimate status equals, then both addresser and addressee will use to(T) instead(see Figure2) (Samavarchi et al., 2010).
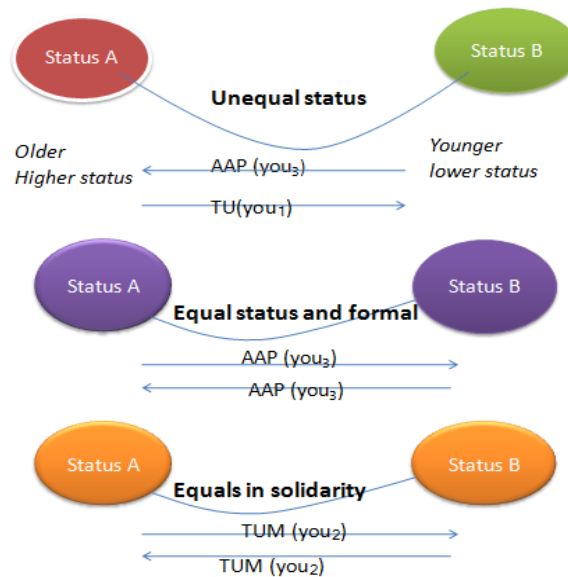
Figure2. Deference in second pronoun in Hindi

2. Politeness in syntagmatic plane

With regard to politeness, Robin Lakoff has formulated rules of politeness which encompass most of the strategies a speaker adopts for neither allowing any encroachment upon him/herself nor appearing to intrude upon the hearer (Lakoff, 1973). For instance, Lakoff's rule 1 states that the addresser should not impose herself upon the addressee and should remain aloof. While the rule 2 suggests that addressee should be provided with options by the addresser. On the other hand, Simmelsuggests that a person's honor places a sphere around her which discourages people from coming too close (Simmel, 1950, p. 321-322). Drawing on what Simmel calls the "ideal sphere", Goffman states that these rules impinge on the individual in two different distinct ways: "directly, as *obligation,* establishing how he is morally constrained to conduct himself" and indirectly, "as expectation establishing how others are morally bound to act in regard to him"(Goffman, 1956:474-476).

In fact, negative politeness and indirect speech acts set in ruins the Grice's maxims of conversational efficiency, for they ignores and trespass Grice's maxims of Cooperative Principles (Jacquet, Baratgin, & Jamet, 2018). Leech finds in politeness an important explanation for behaviors that are contrary to the Grice's Cooperative Principle (CP hereinafter). The CP impinges upon individuals the burden to be clear and to avoid ambiguity (Manner maxim), to be informative enough (Quantity Maxim), to be truthful (Quality Maxim) and to be relevant (Relation Maxim); however, there are many occasions where people intentionally the CP; Grice's Cooperative Principle (CP hereinafter) has been supported or challenged in different fields, ranging from studies in the field of education to connect it with broader rhetoric (Lindblom, 2001); indeed, CP is great to justify the way appropriate and effective communication is done, where effective communication is used to produce relatively valued outcomes or objectives and appropriate communication is defined as theavoidance of violation of valued rules and expectancies (Lustig&Spitzberg, 1993:154).

On the other hand, in effective and appropriate communication, the role of politeness seems to be placed higher than the CP asit has a supportive role for the latter, maintaining friendly and social equilibrium between interlocutors, thus avoiding the violation of the CP in the first place (Leech, 1983:82). In fact, Leech believes that politeness can satisfactorily explain exceptions and deviations from the Cooperative Principle, proposing Politeness Principle under the pragmatic principles, in a way similar to the CP (Thomas, 1995: 158). To put it another way, Leech supplements the CP with his own principle—Politeness Principle—which is based off of the Tact, Generosity, Approbation, Modesty, Agreement, and Sympathy Maxims. Therefore, Leech's Politeness Principle (PP hereinafter) runs as it follows: Minimize (all things being equal) the expression of impolite beliefs; maximize (all things being equal) the expression of polite beliefs. He proposed six maxims of the politeness principle: the tact maxim (The speaker minimizes the cost and correspondingly maximizes the benefit to the listener); the generosity maxim (minimizing the benefit and correspondingly maximizing the cost to self); the approbation maxim (minimizing dispraise and correspondingly maximizing praise of the listener); the modesty maxim(minimizing praise and correspondingly maximizing dispraise of self), the agreement maxim(minimizing disagreement and correspondingly maximizing agreement between the speaker and listener); the sympathy maxim(minimizing antipathy and correspondingly maximizing sympathy between the speaker and listener) (Jiang, 2010:651).

Furthermore, estimates of power, social distance, situational setting, and degree of imposition may be culture specific, which suggest that the proportions in the choices between more direct and more indirect strategies vary across cultures. Indeed, there are suggestions that the value and function of politeness in speech act realization and the

universality of politeness phenomena across languages and cultures have to be analyzed by comparing different languages in politeness aspects (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989:7).

Some scholars such as Robin Lakoff try to get beyond culture-specific notes and attempt to find universal norms for politeness.Based on the Lakoff's rules, politeness impinges upon providing options for addressee, and this can be seen clearly in different ways a simple request can be made. Moreover, Lakoff suggests that the use of passives is suitable for creating distance,for it is believed thatcreated distance between interlocutors—by allowing the space between speaker and hearer—serves as not infringing on addressee's ideal sphere (Lakoff, 1977b).Therefore, the use of passive structure is considered to be a strategy of politeness which may be effectively used when the addresser and addressee are not on intimate terms with each other and when in such a situation the speaker does not wish to intrude upon the privacy of the hearer.

2.1 Hierarchy of politeness in Hindi

Based on the Pandharipande's hierarchy of degree of politeness in Hindi (Pandharipande, 1979), we can identify different structures which convey this sense of politeness, which goes from the most polite to the least polite, i.e., Passive, simple present, V+Past+Karana (to do), Optative, chaahiya/should, Future imperative, Imperative. Figure3 summarizes the scheme of hierarchy structure for politeness in Hindi.

Figure 3. Scheme of hierarchy structure for politeness in Hindi

One important point is that passive is not a homogenous notion in Hindi. To put it another way, passives with and without specified agents occur in Hindi; the former expresses capability of agent, while the latter do not make any reference to the capability of the agent. Consider the following sentences:

(1)   किताब उस व्यक्ति के द्वारा लिखी गई

kitaab us vyaktikedvaaralikheegayee

book person   by   written passive

The book was written by that person.

(2)   □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

yahaanphonkaupayognahinkiyajaatahai

herephone Gen use   not-NEGdone go-passive
        Phones are not used here.

In fact, Passives like (2) are used to convey prescriptive meaning. In Hindi, such agent-less passive structuresexpress a social convention—and prescribe a particular mode of behavior. Consider the following example:

(3)   □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□
        Jootekomandirkeandarnahinpahanajaata
        Shoes   mandirGEN inside not-NEG worn go-passive
        Shoes are not worn inside the mandir.

We will further present the remaining structures used in Hindi with regard topoliteness—from the most to the least polite—hierarchy:

Simple present:

(4)   □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□
        Is tarah se   gendnahinphenkate
        This way   ball NEG verb (plural-imp)
        (People) do not throw ball.

Verb+past+karana structure:

(5)   □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□
        Is tarah se gendennahinphenka karate
        This way   ballNEG throw do
        (People) do not usually throw ball this way.

Chahiyee/should structure:

(6)   □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□
        Is tarah se gendnahinphenkaneechaahie
        This way ball NEG throw   should
        (People) should not throw ball like this.

Optative/subjunctive:

(7)   □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

        Is tarah se gendnaphenke
      This way   ball   NEG throw (plural-subjunctive)
        Please do not throw ball like this.

Imperative form:

(8)   □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

        Is tarah se gendnaphenkiye
        This way   ball NEG throw (honorific)
        Please do not throw ball like this.

We will proceed analyzing the mentioned example by applying the PP. As far as passive structure is concerned, it follows the Tact maxim which minimizes the imposition while maximizing the expression benefiting the addressee. From the perspective of Lakoff's

rules, since there is no mentioning of addressee in passive structure, the pressure on addressee is minimal which leavesthe addressee's ideal sphere theleast affected.

Present simple imperfectiveis mostly being used in Hindi to describe ongoing, habitual, repeated actionswhere there is a desire to educate others or to advise them what they need to do; as a consequence, it follows the sympathy maxim—maximizing sympathy to listener in the form of giving a piece of advice.

From the Lakoff's rules, the use of the verb Karana (to do) in verb+past+karana structure creates a verbal as well as psychological distance between the main verb and the second verb (karana).

From Leech's maxims perspective, the mentioned structure follows the approbation maxim by minimizing dispraise and correspondingly maximizing praise of the listener. In fact, using a much more complicated structure—compared to the one verb structure—to address the listener raises the status of addressee. In a sense, using a complex verb+past+karana structure would make the request rather indirect and implicit.

Regardingchahiyee/should structure, verb chaahanaplays a significant role. Chahiyee/should in Hindi derives from the verb Chahaana (to like/want), which adds a loser sense of obligation. In Hindi, it's more like as if we say" you want this to be done" than" this should be done". Therefore, such structure follows Leech's Agreement maxim which minimizes the expression of disagreement between self and other while maximizing the expression of agreement between self and other.

Since there is an implicit meaning of desiring or wanting in the Hindi verb chahiyee/should, from Lakoff's perspective, it follows Lakoff'srule 2 which states: allow addressee his/her options. Moreover, the complex structure (verb+chahiyee) helps create a psychological distance between the interlocutors.

Coming to optative, we direct attention to the hidden but semantically important structure of optative. In fact, optative structure, in its fullest form, begins with"I wish that/ I hope that," so the full structure of optative is: I wish that/ I hope that + optative form. Afterrewriting the example (7) in its fullest form,we get the following sentence(9):

(9)   मैं चाहता हूँकि लोग इस तरह से गेंदनाफेंके

Main chaahatahoonki log is tarah se gendnaphenke
1st person want   people   ball neg throw (optative)
I wish that people do not throw ball like this.

As it is shown in (9), the second part of the full form of optative structure is the same structure as the optative form in (7). Therefore, it followsboth Agreement maxim and Tact maxim. While the former creates a psychological effect on the listener, mirroringthat of the speaker, the lattermitigates the imposition by assuming the form ofan advice instead, minimizing the cost to listener. From Lakoff's perspective, it follows rule 1 since addresser remains aloof and vague in his expression (considering the reduction of the full form of optative/subjunctive) and satisfies rule 2 as itleaves the addressee withchoices.

Finally, the imperative structure-despite using honorifics in the form of modified verb—is the least polite one among the listed sentences as it is direct, leaving the addressee no choice, in Lakoff's terms. However, since the honorific form of imperative has been used, so still it is more polite than direct imperative without honorific form. Therefore, it is shown that the maxims of the PPon the basis of politeness hierarchy in Hindi occur in the following order:

Tact maxim> Sympathy maxim> Agreement maxim

2.2 Hierarchy of politeness for Persian

Regarding the syntagmatic plane, in general, native speakers of Persian are inclined to use conventionally indirect (CI) strategies in their request speech acts (Nodoushan, 2008:271-272). Indeed, findings of various studies confirm the tendency to use indirect strategies in request act (Eslami-Rasekh et al., 2010; Nodoushan, 2008). Therefore, In Persian, like Hindi, we observe a hierarchy of degree of politeness (see Figure4).

Figure4. Hierarchy of degree of politeness in Persian
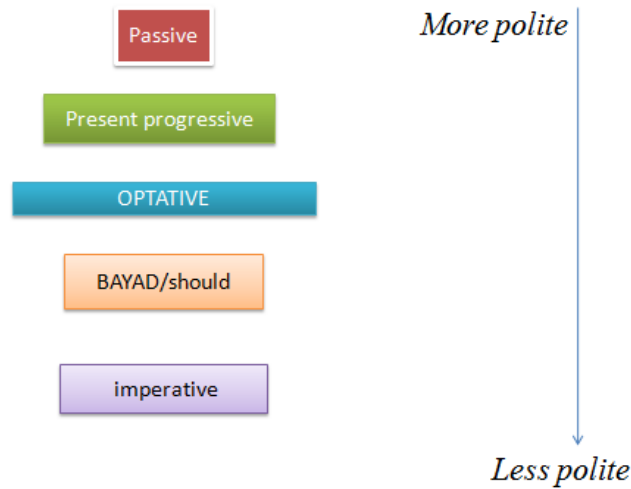
Source: Authors

From Figure 4 it follows that there is a great similarity between Hindi and Persian in thattheir syntax follows similar route in conveying politeness in communicative interaction. Following examples illustrate the hierarchy of politeness in Persian (from the most to the least polite) as it follows:.

Passive structure:

(10)   این کار انجام نمی‌شود

In karanjam ne mishavad

This work   neg passive(to do/fulfill)

This work is not done.

Present progressive:

(11)   این کار را انجام نمی‌دهند

In   karraanjam ne midahand

This work (accusative)   neg verb(plural present progressive)

(People) donot do this work.

Bayad/should:

(12)   این کار را باید انجام بدهند

In karrabayadanjambedahand

This work should (modal)   do (plural)

(People) should not do this.

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Optative:

(13)   خوب این کار را انجام ندهند

KhobIn karraanjamnadahand
Well this work   neg do (plural)
(People) indeed do not do this.

Imperative:

(14)   این کار را انجام ندهید

In karraanjamnadahid
This work neg do (honorific)
Please do not do this.

Further, we will analyze the above sentences drawing on the work of Leech and Lakoff. Passive structure, just as in Hindi, is the preferred form in request actin terms of politeness. It follows Tact maxim of the PP (reducing the cost to other) by not addressing the listener directly and formulating the request without any designated addressee. Lakoff's rule 1 and 2 are observed here: there is no imposition on addressee (Formality); the addressee hasthe choice of not following the request. When it comes to present progressive, there is a hidden structure, though explicit in the request semantics. In fact, we can rewrite (11) as follows:

(15)   بدانید که این کار را اینجوری انجام نمی‌دهند

Bedanidke in karrainjoorianjam ne midahand
Know   this work this way   neg do (plural present progressive)
Remember that they do not do it this way!

As it is illustrated in (15), the present progressive in Persian is used extensively in situations where people want to educate others or to advise them. Therefore, it follows the sympathy maxim—maximizing sympathy to listener in the form of giving a piece of advice.

Regarding Thebayad/should structure, we take note of its etymology. bayad/should derives from bayestan/should, which itself derives from earlier Pahlavi form apayastan; apayastan consists of the prefix apa and the root hastan (to be) (Nourai, 2013). Apa prefix has a cognate in sanskrit (apa/ ava) where apa and ava mean away and down, respectively. Further, ava (down) in Sanskrit has another form, abhya (Macdonell, 2004). From this it follows that apayastan or bayestan means something has fallen upon (and is urgent). Therefore, having the meaning of fallen upon accident (urgent situation), it follows the Tact maxim—where the speaker maximizes the benefit to the listener—and Agreement maxim—as addressor minimizes disagreement and correspondingly maximizes agreement between himself and the listener.

Therefore, there is no direct cost to the listener since there is an implicit acknowledgement that it hasfallen upon like an accident and is not the listener's fault; this acknowledgement is an implicit agreement with the difficulty of the task to whichthe addressee is faced; therefore, it satisfies the Agreement maxim as well. Furthermore, fromLakoff'sperspective, rule 1 applies as there is a clear distancing between speaker and listener as no one is directly called upon; it is pretty vague regardingthe concerned reason and person. Rule 2 also applies as the addressee is left with choices and there is no imposition on her.

The optative structure satisfiesthe sympathy maxim since the remaining optative structure in (13) can be rewritten in the full form (subjunctive structure) as it follows in (16):
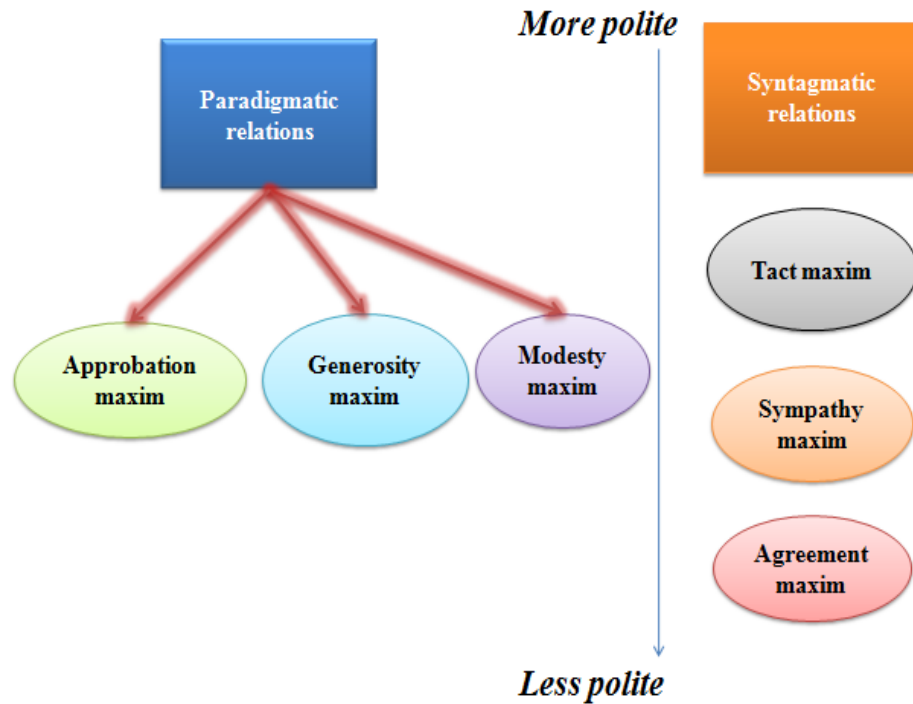
(16)   بهتر است که این کار را انجام بدهند

    Behtarastke in karraanjambedahand

    Better   is   this work   do (plural)

    It is better that they do this.

As it is shown in (16), the speaker maximizes sympathy between herself and the listener by conveying advice as to what is better to be done. Finally, the imperative structure is the least polite one as it is direct, leaving the addressee no choice, in Lakoff's terms. However, since the honorific form of imperative has been used, so still it is more polite than direct imperative without honorific form. Now, arranging Leech's maxims based on politeness hierarchy in Persian, we get the following order:

Tact maxim> Sympathy maxim> Agreement maxim

From this it follows there is almost similar situation when it comes to the level of hierarchy in Leech's maxims in Hindi and Persian. Therefore, the Tact maxim is the most important maxim to convey politeness; this concords with the conclusion Lakoff makes regarding the supremacy of passive forms as the most polite and indirect way (Lakoff, 1977b).

3.   Politeness in paradigmatic plane in Persian and Hindi

Some studieshighlight the importance of negative politeness which emerges as the use of impersonal in the request oriented towards the hearer's negative face, by means of which the speaker tries to reduce the coercive load of a request (Pérez, 2006:168). Persian and Hindi speakers, however, use other Leech's maxims of politeness in paradigmatic plane—instances related to lexicon and words. For example, let's look at the following sentences (17) and (18) in Hindi and Persian, respectively.

(17)   □□
       □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

    mainaphreeka se padhaareaapsabheemantriyonevanpratinidhiyon(part1)

    I   from Africa   coming (participle) all you   ministers and respresentatives

    kahaardiksvaagatkarateehoon (part 2).

    Heartedly welcome do-PRE-1SG

    I welcome you all the Ministers and delegates who have come from Africa.

(18)   من به تمام دولتمردانی که به این جلسه تشریف آوردند، خیر مقدم می‌گویم

    Man   betamamedolatmardanike   be   in
    jalasetashrifavardandkheirmaghfammigooyam

    I to-PRE all statesmen   CONJ to this session came welcome   say-
    PRE-1SG

    I welcome all the statesmen who have come to this session.

In (17), we have the Hindi verb □□□□□ (pardhana) (to come+ honorific) instead of the much more common verb □□□ (aana) to come. in (18), we have the Persian verb تشریف آوردن (tashrifavardan) which is honorific form of the common verb آمدن (amadan: to come). In these cases, honorific verbs are chosen from what Saussure calls "vertical axis" and this type of lexical selection forms what Saussure calls "paradigmatic relations" (Van Marle, 2008). In other words, paradigmatic relations "concern substitution which relates entities that do not co-occur in the text; it is a relation in absentia" (Sahlgren, 2006:60). Such usage of honorific verbs in both Persian and Hindi

follows the approbation maxim—according to which the speaker maximizes praise of the listener. We also observe selection of other lexical elementsin both Hindi and Persianforself-effacement or lowering self, while praising the other. Sentences (19) and (20) illustrate self-effacement in Hindi, while (21) and (22) present the counterpart in Persian:

(19) ☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐?

Aapakaameergharkahahai?
Your-POSS richhouse where be-PRE-3SG?
Where is your house? (+honorific)

(20) ☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐

Meragareebghardilleemeinhai
My-POSS poor house delhi in-PRE   be-PRE-3SG
My poor house is in Delhi

(21) منزل شریف کجا هست؟

Manzel e sharifkoja hast?
House of-GEN wealth where be-PRE-3SG?
Where is (your) wealthy house? (+honorific)

(22) منزل حقیر در فرمانیه هست

Manzel e haghirdarFarmaniyeast.
House of-GEN poor in-PREFarmaniyebe-PRE-3SG
(My) poor house is in Farmaniye.

Indeed, abovementioned sentences (19 to 22) follow the modesty maxim—according to whichthe speaker minimizes praise and correspondingly maximizes dispraise of self—and the generosity maxim—where the speaker minimizes the benefit and correspondingly maximizes the cost to self—in Hindi and Persian.

In all of these cases, the syntactic structure has not been modified; rather we see a different choice of words. Therefore, whereas modesty, approbation, and generosity maxims operate primarily in the vertical axis and are to be found in paradigmatic relations, tact, sympathy, and agreement maxims are primarily operate in the horizontal axis and affect the Syntagmatic relations. Figure5present the order of Leech's maxims of politeness based on their Syntagmatic and Paradigmatic relations.

Figure5. Hierarchy of degree of politeness

From Figure5 it follows that while the paradigmatic relations don't have a hierarchy, the syntagmatic relations have an important hierarchy in Persian and Hindi. Table1 further summarizes the overall order of politeness in Hindi and Persian.

Politeness hierarchy	*Syntagmatic plane*	*Paradigmatic plane*
Structure	Hierarchical-fixed	Free order
Order	Tact maxim> Sympathy maxim> Agreement maxim	None

Table1. Order of Politeness in Hindi and Persian

Conclusions

One of the hot topics in pragmatics revolves around two opposing poles of universality and culture-specificity in politeness. To fill the gap, this study attempted to answer the following question: do Leech's maxims of politeness operate differently on the syntagmatic and paradigmatic plane and is there any hierarchy in their manner of application?The main hypothesis of the research stated that Leech's maxims of politeness have a structure of hierarchy in both Persian and Hindi on the syntagmatic plane.The findings of the paper confirmed the hypothesis by showing there is a hierarchy of politeness in Persian and Hindi on syntagmatic plane, while no such hierarchy was found on the paradigmatic plane. Findings of this paper are promising as they open the door for further cross-cultural research in the field of politeness. Regarding the universality of politeness hierarchy on syntagmatic plane, a note of caution, though, should be sounded since more research is necessary to reach such conclusion. Therefore, future studies can shed light on this aspect of politeness. The findings of this research—indicatingthere is no hierarchy of Leech's maxims of politeness on paradigmatic plane—concur with what Saussure differentiated and

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defined as dialectic opposition of syntagmatic and paradigmatic relations. The fact that different Leech's maxims operate almost exclusively on syntactic and paradigmatic axis as well as the flexibility of paradigmatic relations can be explained by the options each provide. While paradigmatic plane provides many options and is open-ended, the syntagmatic planeis close-ended and grammatically determined. When it comes to cross-cultural differences, we see interesting similarities between Persian and Hindi; this may be explained by belonging to the same Indo-Iranian branch of Indo-European family as well as old cultural connections between the two.

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