299

A SOCIOLINGUISTIC STUDY OF TEHRANI PERSIAN

by

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ABSTRACT

This study investigates the social differences of the Persian language in Tehran. It is based on data collected from sixty informants: forty adults balanced equally between the two sexes and four educational groups with university, secondary, primary and no education respectively, and twenty schoolchildren from both sexes equally from families with highest and lowest education. The social parameters are related to fourteen phonological, morphological and syntactic variables. This work is presented in five chapters.

Chapter One gives general background information on the city of Tehran and its social structure. It also discusses the history of the Persian language from early days and gives some comments on the writing system.

Chapter Two is about the research in Tehran. It gives the characteristics of the sample and the method of interview. It also gives a short introduction on sociolinguistic variables as well as the theoretical issues.

In Chapter Three the co-variation of the linguistic variables and the social factors, such as class, sex and age, as well as style, are discussed and shown by means of figures and tables.

Chapter Four is about the politeness system in Persian. Here the pronouns and verbs and their variations are given. The combination of these variations and their application in terms of power and solidarity are also discussed.

Chapter Five gives an overview of the results of the analysis. It discusses the various theoretical issues such as transition probabilities, lexical diffusion, and the sociolinguistic structure of Tehran in detail, and draws the final conclusion.

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LIST OF SYMBOLS AND NOTATIONAL CONVENTIONS

a	front, open vowel
å	back, open vowel
š	voiceless palato-alveolar fricative
ž	voiced palato-alveolar fricative
č	voiceless palato-alveolar affricate
j	voiced palato-alveolar affricate
y	voiced palatal semivowel

The rest of the symbols are those in the Principles of the International Phonetic Association.

:	indicates full duration
.	indicates half duration
ˈ	indicates stress
/ /	indicates phonemic transcription
[ ]	indicates phonetic transcription
~	indicates alternations

CHAPTER ONE

CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND

1. Tehran and its Social Structure .

The capital and the largest city of Iran, Tehran lies on the southern slope of the Alborz mountains, 63 miles from the Caspian Sea, and located at an altitude of about 3,800 feet above sea level. Two rivers, the Jajrud and the Karaj, flow down from the mountain on two sides of the city. Tehran has a warm summer and a relatively cold winter.

A. History

About the etymology of the term / tehrân /, many different interpretations exist, but the idea that it is derived from old Persian / teh / "warm" and / rân / "place", meaning "warm place", in contrast with the mountain town of / šemirân / (ten miles north of Central Tehran), / šem / and / zem / "cool", meaning "cool place", seems the most likely. Nothing is known about Tehran before the advent of Islam. According to historians, it was a small village dependent on the neighbouring city of Rey, which was of great importance in the ancient world. Rey in 1220 A.D. was destroyed by the Mongols. The decline of Rey resulted in the gradual growth of Tehran. From the 13th century until the time of the Safavid dynasty (1501),

this small town is occasionally mentioned in periodicals as Tehran of Rey. The first European to visit Tehran was the King of Castile's ambassador to Iran, Don Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo, who on his way to Samarkand, stayed a short time there in 1404.

The prosperity of Tehran started from the sixteenth century, as the Safavid monarch had a great interest in this small town. In 1553 Shah Tahmasb I of Safavid built a bazaar in the town and a wall around it. The Italian traveller Pietro della Valle visited Tehran in 1618 and called it "the town of plane trees". Sir Thomas Herbert who visited Tehran in 1628, estimated the number of houses at three thousand in his book Travels in Persia. Karim Khan Zand, the founder of the Zandiye dynasty, in 1759 built the first royal palace there, as he intended to make Tehran his capital. However, in 1762 he changed his mind and moved his government to Shiraz.

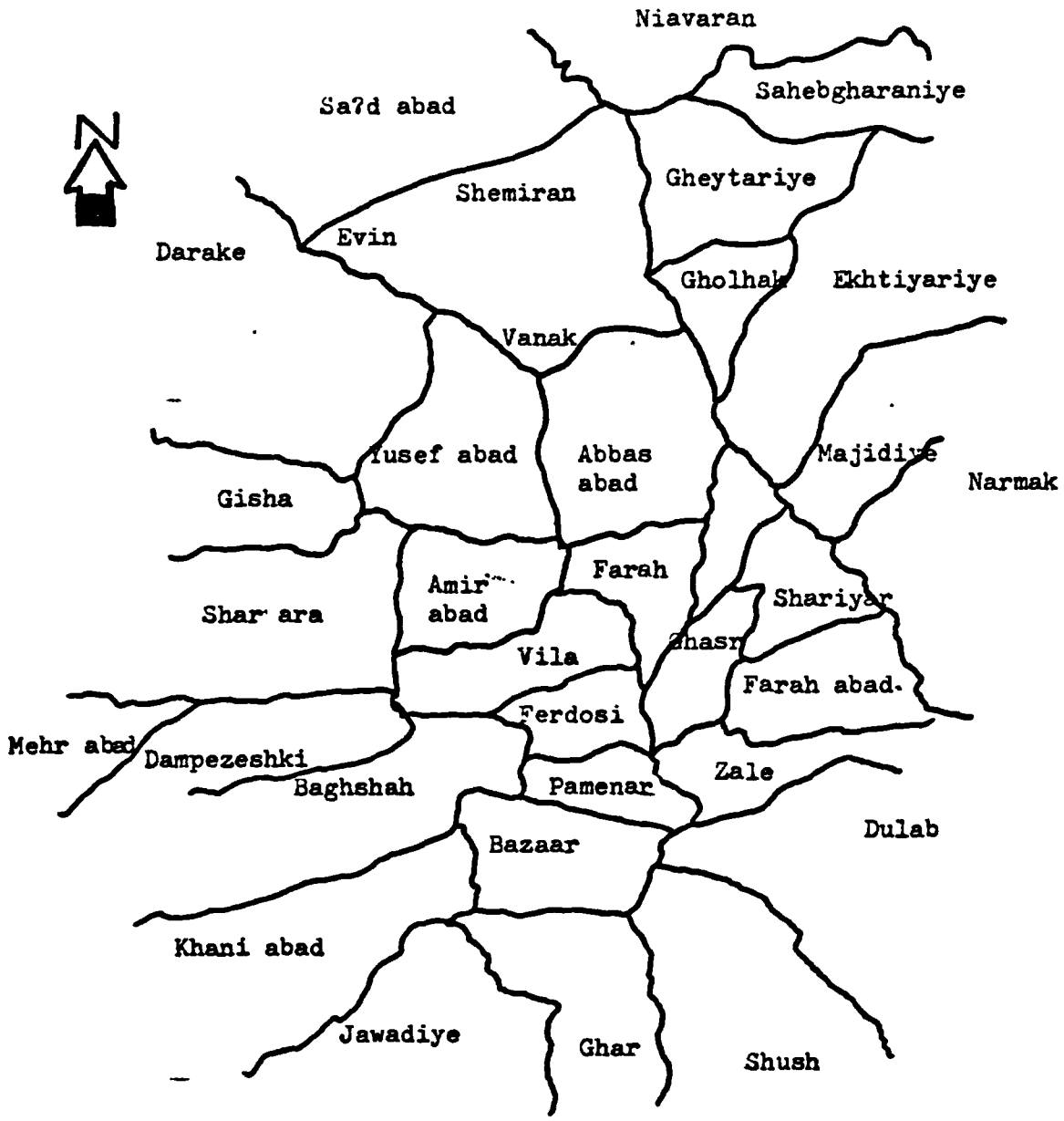
After the death of Karim Khan, Agha Mohammad Khan, later the founder of the Ghajar dynasty, first established his court in Sari, one hundred and seventy-two miles northeast of Tehran. Later, he went south and conquered the province of Fars. Then in 1786, according to many historians, he wisely chose Tehran as his capital, because strategically it was close enough to Fars in the south and enabled him to control the northern frontier of Mazandaran and Gorgan as well as Caucasus. Yet the development of Tehran into a major city started from the time of Fath Ali Shah (1798), who enlarged the city and built two palaces and a mosque. The population of Tehran in 1807, according to the French ambassador General de Gordane who visited Tehran at this time, was fifty thousand.

Nasser aldin Shah of Ghajar, as a result of his observations

on his many visits to foreign capitals, changed the face of Tehran. He ordered the enlargement of the wall. The new wall, designed after the wall of Paris, was octagonal in shape with a circumference of ten miles, with twelve gates and fifty-six towers. This wall remained until 1926, when it was destroyed by Reza Shah (the father of the recently deposed Shah of Iran), as a part of a plan for urban development. In 1883 the population of Tehran was estimated to be 170,000. After the assassination of Nasir aldin Shah in 1896, three other Kings of Ghajar successively ruled Iran until 1922. During this period Tehran did not undergo many changes, yet it witnessed many new social movements. Tehran, which was previously isolated from the provinces, has since the revolution of 1906-10 rapidly become the political and intellectual centre of Iran.

B) The city today

The oldest part of Tehran is the south, and it has developed from south to north. In the nineteenth century it had a municipal area of two square miles, and since then it has expanded to eighty-three square miles, with a density of 39,759 per square mile. As a comparatively newly built city, which has rapidly grown since 1925, it has the least oriental characteristics in comparison to other main cities such as Isfahan. Yet there are some historical heritages, built since 1800, such as Sepahsalar mosque, and the Baharestan and Golestan palaces. The city reflects the sharpest and perhaps the most incredible social class differences,when one compares the over-crowded shanty area of Jawadiye, Darvaze Ghar and Khani Abad in the far south, with the most magnificent buildings in the northern area, such as Niavaran (Map 1.1).



Map 1.1: Tehran

C) Population

Half a century ago, a writer predicted that the 300,000 population of Tehran would gradually disappear in less than two centuries, as the rate of mortality was much higher than the rate of growth. So he concluded that Tehran was not a good place to live in. However, the population of Tehran not only did not start to vanish, but during this fifty years it grew fifteen times. Table 1.1 shows the rapid growth of population from 1925 to the present time.

Year	1925	1939	1956	1966	1976
Population	300,000	540,000	1,512,082	2,719,720	4,654,420

Table 1.1. The growth of population from 1925 to 1976.
(National Census of Population and Housing)

The growth rate in 1970 was 2.6 per cent (Iran Almanac). The main cause for this rapid increase, apart from natural growth, is migration, which will be discussed later. Table 1.2 reveals that the population of Tehran is a young population as the average age is 22.7 years, and 51.4 per cent of the total population of Tehran are under 20 years of age, and 45 per cent under 16 years of age. Yet this is older than the rest of the country, which is 20.2 per cent. From the total population, 1,425,606 are male and 1,294,124 female. This means that for each one hundred females there are 110.3 males. Among the age groups, the males aged 20-44 show the highest increase in comparison to females. This may be due to the attraction of the capital for the 20-44 male age group who migrate to Tehran for further education, better jobs and more facilities (see Migration, section (D)). Also,

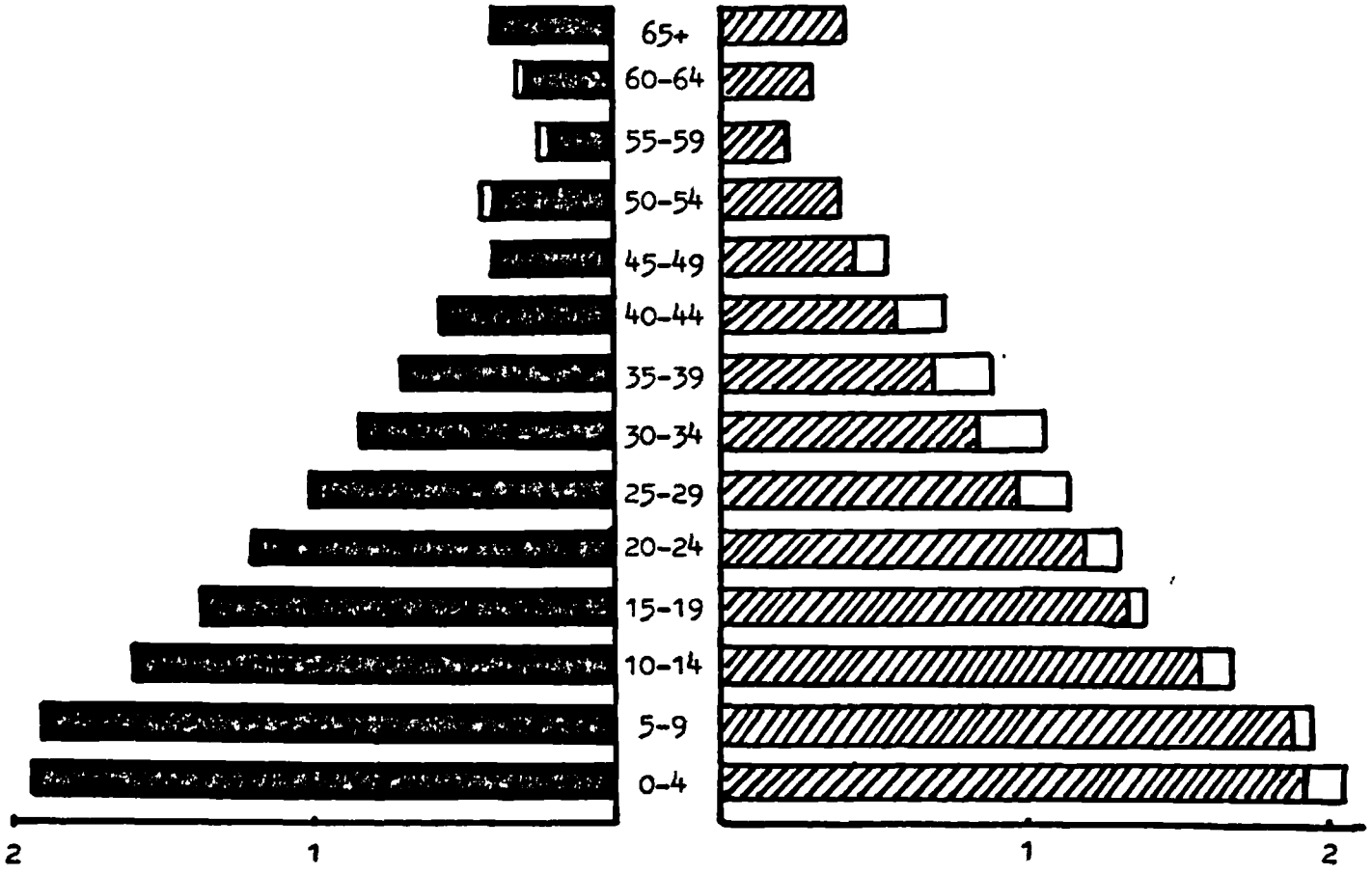


Table 1.2. The age pyramid of Tehran population, based on the 1966 Census: (National Census of Population and Housing)

Female

Male

Differences

from age 55-65, as a demographic factor, the rate of mortality among males is higher than among females. According to the 1966 Census, only 51.1 per cent of the total population were born in Tehran. From the point of view of ethnic characteristics, Tehran is similar to the rest of the country in general. Over 98 per cent of the inhabitants are Muslim, but Christians such as Armenian and Assyrian, as well as Jews and Zoroastrians, live there.

D) Migration

Tehran is the most powerful magnet for rural and urban inhabitants. According to the 1976 Census, Tehran is absorbing an average of 100,000 persons a year. This is of course due to the expansion of Iran's economy, mainly resulting from the rise in the price of oil. Tehran as usual took the lion's share (see section (H) on the industry and economic structure). As a result, new factories, commercial centres and many different institutes were established. This has naturally attracted hundreds of thousands of workers, who came mostly from the north-west, such as Tabriz, Ardabil, the north, like Rasht, the north-east, like Mashhad, as well as central and southern areas such as Isfahan, Shiraz, Yazd, Kerman and so on. Tehran, by having much better services compared to other cities or rural areas, and with the possibility of finding a better, or an extra job, has attracted the professionals such as doctors, engineers, lawyers and other highly qualified people. From the educational point of view (see Education, Section (f)), Tehran has thirty higher education institutes, universities, independent faculties and so on, which attract thousands of students from other areas. Table 1.3 shows the migration by sex and cause in urban areas based on the 1972 Census for all the country, which gives

a clear picture for Tehran, which is the main and by far the most powerful centre for absorbing the migrants (Wilber, 1976, and Iran Almanac).

	Total Migrants	Cause of Migration						
		(i)	(ii)	(iii)	(iv)	(v)	(vi)	(vii)
Both Sexes	3,853	178	622	188	27	278	2,427	135
Male	2,022	165	620	177	24	3	921	112
Female	1,831	13	2	9	3	275	1,506	23

(i) Seeking employment
(ii) Better employment
(iii) Transfer
(iv) Education
(v) Marriage
(vi) Family dependency
(vii) Other

Table 1.3. Migration by sex and cause (1,000 persons), for the entire country, urban areas: (Statistical Year Book of Iran)

Table 1.3 reveals that female migration except for the purpose of marriage or family dependency is very small, which may explain the larger number of males in certain age groups illustrated in table 1.2.

As discussed earlier, employment is the most important motivation for migration. Yet the rapid growth of Tehran is mainly the result of urbanization and the massive exodus of farmers from the villages to the cities, where the market could absorb them all because of its rapid and mushroom type of expansion. As a result of this unhealthy urbanization, Iran has ended up with an inadequate so-called industry and a completely broken and disastrous agriculture. In 1900, the great majority of the economically active outside the home (90 per cent) were either in agriculture or in the nomadic sector, there was

no industry and the remaining ten per cent were in handicraft, trade and services. This pattern changed very little up to the 1940s (Halliday, 1978). Table 1.4 shows the percentage of urbanization from 1955-1970 for the whole country.

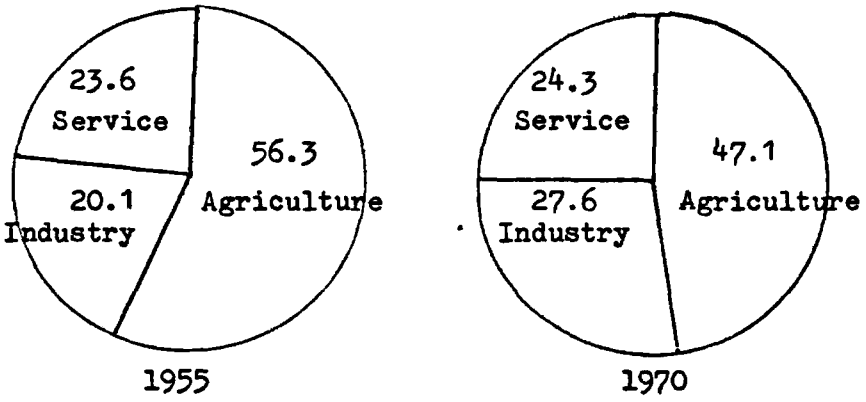


Table 1.4. Urbanization from 1955-1970 for the entire country (Statistical Yearbook of Iran).

E) Housing

Tehran has over 370,000 dwelling units. About forty per cent of the population live in one room units, thirty per cent in two rooms and the remaining thirty per cent in houses with three or more rooms. Almost eighty-five per cent of the houses have piped water and electricity (Iran Almanac).

F) Education

i. General view: Education in Iran has its roots in ancient times. In the seventh century B.C., youngsters, apart from learning the fighting skills, had social training. After the advent of Islam, education was based on learning the Qoran and writing and reading Persian in traditional schools called maktab. The system of maktab did not die immediately even after the establishment of the European

type of education, and was operating up to the last 30-40 years. The maktab system had no official examinations or certificates. Besides the maktab there were many / madrase ye ?olume dini / "theological colleges", where the / tollâb / (religious and only male students) used to study the Qoran, Islamic law, Islamic philosophy, Islamic values and so on. These colleges survived strongly against all the European ideas and culture which were rushing in and were well received in the country in the nineteenth century. These colleges are still operating very strongly in the holy cities, such as Qom and Mashhad. In this system there are no formal examinations, and graduating from the college is confirmed by the recognition of the senior mullah (Muslim clergy). The graduates later teach the Qoran and Islamic principles, or serve as mullah throughout the country. They are normally impressive speakers and their speech is relatively close to "standard" form.

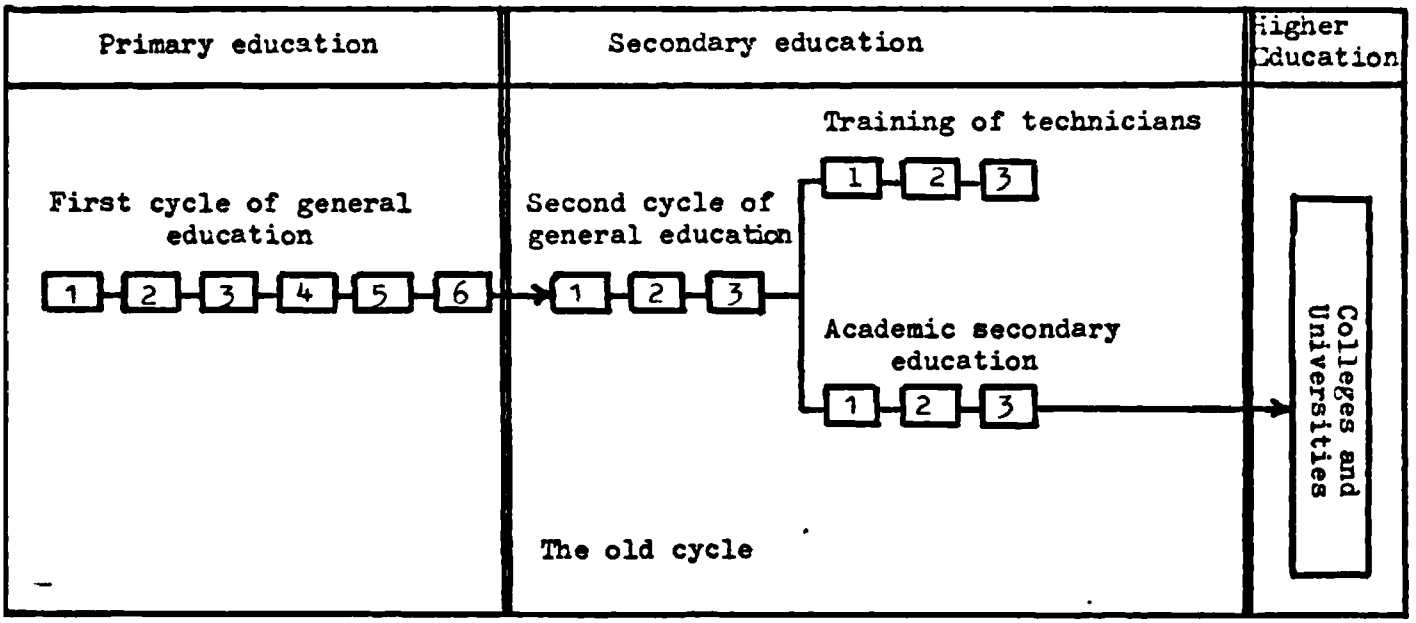
The first European type of school / dâr alfonun / "the house of science" was established in 1852. Later the French system of education was taken as a model. Gradually, the Americans and British established new schools. In 1940 the government took over all the schools which were run by foreigners. Later, in 1943, education became compulsory for all children aged 6-12, although the programme was not successful. Until 1965 the school cycle was as follows: primary school six years, secondary school six years, divided into two parts: the first three years was general education, and the second three years had two main branches, technical education and academic education. The graduates of the academic course could

then continue their higher education. Then in 1965, the new cycle of education was introduced. The new system was designed to provide a direct choice between continuing study in either the technical or academic fields. However, the old system was operating alongside the new cycle, until all those students who started according to the old system finished their courses. Table 1.5 shows the old and new cycle of education.

Tehran has the highest number of educational institutions. In 1974-75 Tehran had 25,000 children in kindergartens, 700,000 students in primary schools, 177,000 students in secondary schools, 15,000 students in business and secretarial schools, 15,000 adults and youngsters in campaign against illiteracy schools and literary corps, and 25,000 students in higher educational institutes such as universities, independent faculties and so on. Tehran has by far the highest number of universities and colleges compared to other cities.

ii. Literacy: Tehran has the highest percentage of literacy. As Table 1.6 reveals, literacy in Tehran province is much higher than in the rest of the country in general; it also shows that literacy among females in all areas is lower than males. Literacy in urban areas is clearly higher than in rural areas. (See page 25)

The distribution of literacy in terms of age groups is given in Table 1.7. Here we see that literacy in the younger age-groups is higher than in the older age-groups. In fact the percentage of literacy steadily decreases as the level of age-groups increases, and it differs from 68.7 per cent for the 7-9 age-group to 26.4 per cent for the 65+ group. Table 1.7 also reveals that in all age-groups, literacy among males is higher than among females.



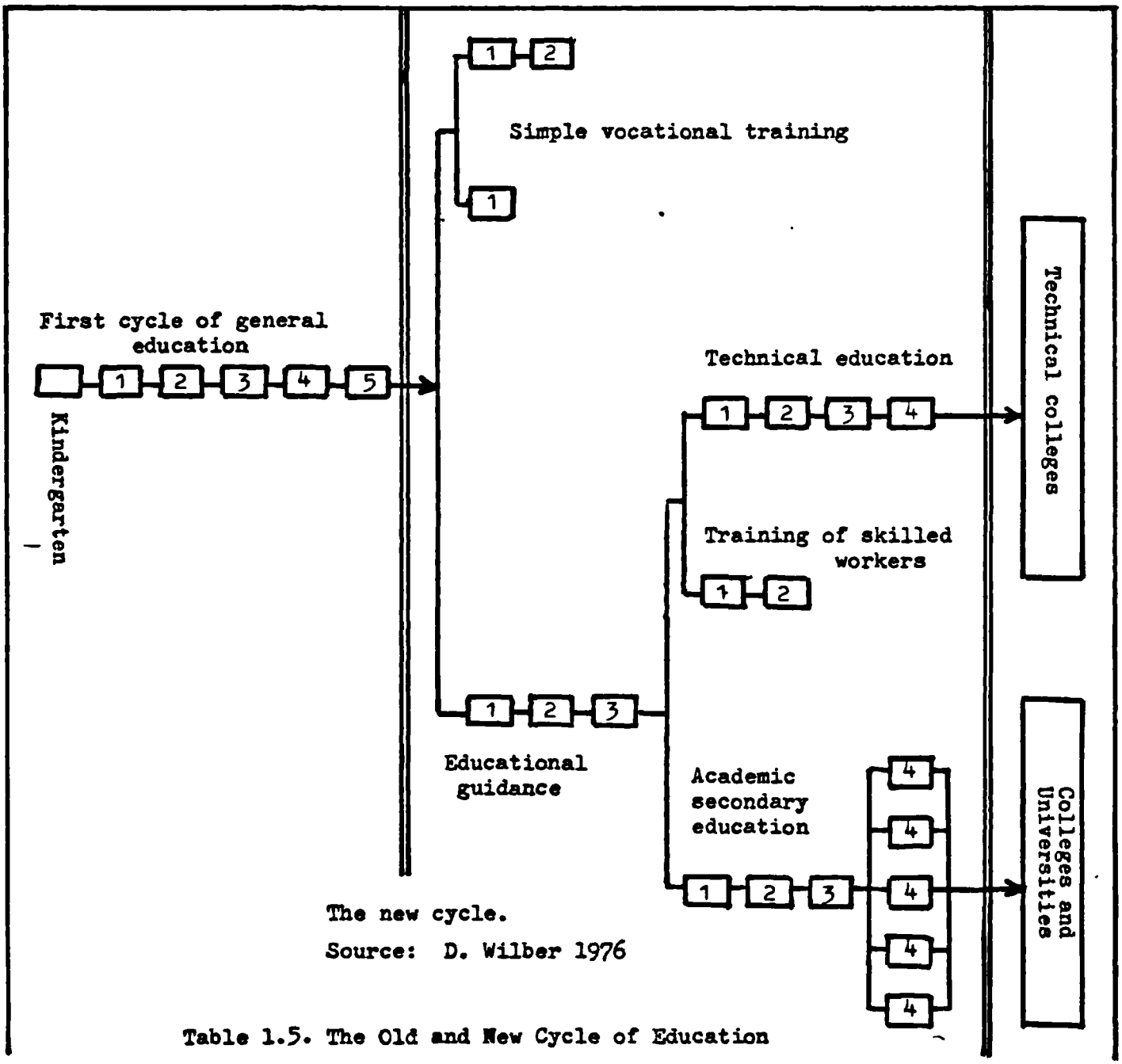


Table 1.5. The Old and New Cycle of Education

	% of Literacy Province of Tehran	% of Literacy for the entire country
	All areas	All areas
Both sexes	56.7	36.9
Male	66.7	47.7
Female	46.3	25.5
	Urban	Urban
Both sexes	65.6	58.6
Male	74.5	68.7
Female	56.3	48.1
	Rural	Rural
Both sexes	30.2	20.4
Male	43.5	31.9
Female	16.1	8.3

Table 1.6. The percentage of literacy in the province of Tehran in comparison to the country in general (Statistical Yearbook of Iran)

* * * * * *

Age groups	Both sexes %	Male %	Female %
Total 7+	62.7	70.9	53.5
7 - 9	68.7	69.7	67.6
10 - 14	91.1	92.7	89.4
15 - 19	80.1	85.7	74.1
20 - 24	67.1	76.0	57.2
25 - 29	58.4	69.3	45.8
30 - 34	51.9	62.6	38.5
35 - 39	51.6	62	38.9
40 - 44	49.6	60.3	34.9
45 - 49	48.2	60.4	31.4
50 - 54	35.7	52.9	19.9
55 - 59	37.2	55.3	19.9
60 - 64	28.9	46.1	12.0
65+	26.4	42.1	10.50

Table 1.7. The distribution of literacy by age and sex. The City of Tehran: (National Census of Population and Housing).

The literate population and the level of their education, as well as the percentage of illiterate population is given in Table 1.8. This categorization, specifically the graduates of each group, plus illiterates, later formed the main basis for our sociolinguistic survey (see the sample p.39).

Total population age 7+ 2,152,941						
	Both sexes		Male		Female	
Level of education	Students and Graduates	Graduates	Students and Graduates	Graduates	Students and Graduates	Graduates
University	13-15 yrs.	16+ yrs.	13-15 yrs.	16+ yrs.	13-15 yrs.	16+ yrs.
	2.87%	1.88%	2.36%	1.49%	0.51%	0.28%
	61,933	40,659	50,940	34,416	10,993	6,243
Secondary school	7-11 yrs.	12 yrs.	7-11 yrs.	12 yrs.	7-11 yrs.	12 yrs.
	17.39%	4.83%	10.53%	2.97%	6.85%	1.85%
	374,458	104,020	226,795	64,143	147,663	39,877
Primary school	1-5 yrs.	6 yrs.	1-5 yrs.	6 yrs.	1-5 yrs.	6 yrs.
	41.74%	13.83%	24.14%	8.06%	17.59%	5.76%
	898,792	297,780	519,878	173,603	378,914	124,177
Illiterate	37.3%		29.3%		46.5%	

Table 1.8. The level of education by sex and years of education and percentage of illiteracy to sex. The City of Tehran: (National Census of Population and Housing)

G) Communication

Tehran is the centre of main roads, rail and air transport. Seven major roads join Tehran to the other important cities; three northward,

one to the west, two to the south and one to the east. The state-owned railway runs to the north, south and east and is linked to the trans-European railway system in Turkey. Tehran is linked by air to the major cities in Europe, Asia, America, and the states in the Persian Gulf. Other major Iranian cities are also linked by air to Tehran. There are three airports in Tehran, of which one is international. Transportation in the city is mostly by car, bus and motorcycle. Tehran has three television channels which cover most of the country, and there are many radio transmitters. There are a dozen daily newspapers, all in Persian.

H) Economic structure.

Industry, commerce and services dominate the city's economy. There are two thousand industrial establishments of different sizes in Tehran and the surrounding areas. As the centre of industry, it has 43.7 per cent of all large Iranian factories, 52.5 per cent of the total labour force, and 45.4 per cent of new industrial establishments. 60.5 per cent of all wages to industrial workers are paid in Tehran. It produces 51 per cent of all Iran's manufactured goods. There are numerous banks, insurance companies and stock exchanges. The old commercial establishments and the traditional small-scale handicraft industries such as leather working, printing and publishing, and paper products are in the central area of the city, mainly in the Bazaar. Textile mills, chemical industries and oil storage facilities are in the southwestern part. Brick furnaces and plants producing construction materials are in the south. Car assembly factories, food production plants, and transport equipment factories are in the west. A dam and reservoir near Karaj (a city near Tehran) provide hydro-electric power and water in the capital.

I) Employment

According to the 1966 Census, 41.1 per cent of the population of Tehran are potentially economically active. Table 1.9 shows the active and inactive population.

Economically inactive		Economically active	
Other	35,195	Percentage	41.1
Unable to work	68,108	Unemployed	37,683
Students	436,716	Employed	755,174
Houseworkers	597,821	Total	792,857
Total	1,138,350		
Total population 10 years +		1,931,207	

Table 1.9. Employment status of the population, 10 years + The City of Tehran: (National Census of Population and Housing)

The employed population in terms of the class of worker is given in Table 1.10. It reveals that private wage earners are the largest group, while the government employees stand in second place. The high number of workers employed by the government may be due to the fact that most government establishments are located in Tehran.

Unpaid apprentice	2,748
Unpaid family workers	2,962
Private wage earners	375,990
Government employees	197,707
Own account workers	139,970
Employers	30,997
Not reported	4,801
Total employed 10+	755,175

Table 1.10. Employed population by class of worker The City of Tehran: (National Census of Population and Housing

The employed population by the major occupations is given in

Table 1.11. This table shows that production workers are by far the largest group, while service and sales workers stand in second and third place. Yet the number of non-productive workers, such as sales workers, clerical and administrative groups, is quite high.

Workers not classified by occupation	57,205
Production workers	307,402
Agricultural workers	8,775
Service workers	115,518
Sales workers	114,215
Clerical workers	82,769
Administration workers	6,815
Professional and technical workers	61,474
Total	755,175

Table 1.11. Employed population by major occupation groups. 10 year +. The City of Tehran: (National Census of Population and Housing)

The employed population by level of education and major occupation groups is shown in Table 1.12. It reveals that illiterates and workers with minimum education are predictably involved in production work, while the graduates of secondary schools and Universities are mostly involved in clerical, administrative and technical occupations.

Level of Education	i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii
University	3,954	352	174	1,777	1,421	6,342	2,698	19,453
Secondary	7,211	3,023	277	1,201	4,070	22,991	1,682	21,127
Primary	11,865	64,769	681	16,151	23,540	15,755	502	4,144
Illiterate	10,741	136,127	5,338	66,885	44,415	3,070	143	1,736

i. Workers not classified by occupation
ii. Production workers
iii. Agricultural workers
iv. Service workers
v. Sales workers
vi. Clerical workers
vii. Administration and management workers
viii. Professional and technical workers

Table 1.12. Employed population by level of education and major occupational group. The City of Tehran: (National Census of Population and Housing)

2. Persian Language (Farsi)

A) History

The Persian language (Farsi) which is spoken today in a wide area in Iran Afghanestan, India, and Tajikestan (south of Russia), is one of the several languages belonging to the Iranian group of languages. This group is a section of the Indo-Iranian languages. The Indo-Iranian group in a wider scope is a branch of the Indo-European languages which were spoken in an area from India to western Europe, and is believed to be derived from one language called Proto-Indo-European.

The Iranian group of languages is divided into three periods: Ancient, Middle, and Modern Iranian. Geographically, there were two major groups: Eastern and Western.

i. Ancient Iranian: There were four languages in this period:

   a) Median. This was from the western group of Iranian languages. Very little is known about this language.

   b) Saka. This was spoken in the eastern part of the Persian empire. Abundant evidence exists of its Middle Iranian form.

   c) Avestan. This was also an eastern language. Avesta, the Zoroastrian holy book, is written in this language.

   d) Old Persian. / fârsi-ye bâstân / As this language was spoken in the province of Pars~Fars, it took its name from the province. The Achamenid kings (550-331 B.C.) wrote their inscriptions in this language. It was spoken until the third century B.C.

All the Ancient Iranian languages were synthetic, so the number

of prepositions and separate items with syntactic functions was small. They had three numbers, singular, dual, and plural, and three genders, feminine, masculine and neuter.

ii. Middle Iranian: (3rd century B.C. - 7th century A.D.).

The languagesin this period were:

a) Partian. It was the official language in the Arsacid period, and later was spoken during the Sassanian era. Many Manichean texts are written in this language.

b) Khwarizmian. An eastern group language. Very little is known about it.

c) Sogdian. An eastern group language, it was spoken in Samarkand. A great deal of Sogdian material is extant.

d) Saka. An eastern group language. Khotanese, one of its variants, was spoken in Khotan. Vahki, one of the Pamir dialects which is used today, is believed to be the closest descendant of Khotonese.

e) Pahlavi (Middle Persian). A western group language, it was the official language of the Sassanians (227-627 A.D.) and was spoken mainly in Fars province. This language is the direct descendant of Old Persian. Yet, like the other Middle Iranian languages, in an evolutionary process it lost its case endings, and prepositions and items with syntactic function were applied in a wider range. So, Pahlavi became an analytic language. Pahlavi during the Sassanian period was called / pârsik / ~ / pârsig /; later / k / ~ / g / were deleted, / pârsi /; then in Arabic, because of the lack of consonant / p /, it became / fârsi /. Sassanian inscriptions and many Manichean and Zoroasterian books are written in this language.

iii. Modern Iranian.

a) North-western dialects. They consist of Caspian sea dialects such as Gilaki and Mazandarani, spoken in the provinces of Gilan and Mazandaran, and many other dialects. Also Kurdish, which is spoken in the province of Kurdestan and is spread over a vast area outside Iran. Baluchi is another north-western dialect which is spoken in the province of Baluchestan.

b) South-western dialects. Persian (see section iv below) and many other dialects.

c) Eastern dialects. Pashtu and various dialects of the Pamir group such as Shughni, Wahki, Munjani, Yaghnobi, as well as Osseti, which is spoken in the south of Russia, are the members of this group.

iv. Persian (Farsi Dari).

It is believed that Dari was a more developed version of Pahlavi (Middle Persian), and existed parallel to Pahlavi at the Sassanian period (226-627 A.D.). While Pahlavi later was used in the court and by religious and educated people, Dari was spoken by the masses. After the fall of the Sassanians and the Zoroasterian faith, Pahlavi lost its application to a great extent. However, it is believed that Dari started to expand its dominance from the beginning of the fifth century A.D. Dari then was called Farsi Dari and later only Farsi.

From the fall of the Sassanians (627 A.D.) to the beginning of the Samanids (875 A.D.), very little is known about this language. The oldest post-Islamic text remaining from Farsi Dari, has a style with short sentences and repetition of verbs and lexical items, and a

very limited number of Arabic loan words. By the further influence of Arabic, more lexical items from this language appeared in Farsi; a descriptive style replaced the short sentences, and the repeated verbs got deleted. Later, stylistic variation appeared. From the fourteenth century to the beginning of the nineteenth century, Farsi came under the extreme influence of Arabic. Technical styles, with complicated and long sentences, were common, and the texts were full of Arabic lexical items. The nineteenth century saw a return to the simple style of the tenth century, and many Arabic words became obsolete or were replaced by Persian words. This process is still very strong. Persian (Farsi), like all Modern Iranian languages, shows a tendency towards an analytic stage. This is by deletion and assimilation on all phonological, morphological and syntactic levels.

Persian has many geographical variations. The Farsi spoken in Afghanestan, India and Tajikistan of Russia are of this kind. Yet geographical differences within the border of Iran also exist. Although the differences are mostly supra-segmental elements, like intonation and some phonological variations; Shirazi, Kermani, Isfahani are some examples of this kind. The Farsi of Tehran, as the dialect of the capital and mass media is the prestige form. Persian has also social class differences, which are the subject of this study.

B. The non-Iranian languages spoken in Iran.

i) Azarbayejani. This is a mixture of the Azari language and Turkish, and is spoken in the north-west province of Azarbayejan.

ii) Arabic. This is spoken in some parts of the south-west province of Khuzestan and the islands in the Persian Gulf.

iii) Turkamani. This is spoken in a part of north-east Iran.

iv) Armenian and Assyrian, which are the languages of the Christian minority in Iran.

However, the majority of non-Farsi speakers are bilingual. As Persian is the only language used in education, all the literate population can read and write Persian. Besides, the mass media, radio, television (except for certain hours in non-Farsi speaking areas) broadcast in Persian. Newspapers and books are written in Persian. Above all, Persian is the dominant and prestige language. The comparison between two studies which have been done on Aftari, a Caspian sea dialect, twenty years apart, reveals the tremendous effect of Persian on this dialect, especially on lexical items. However, some non-Farsi speakers such as Azarbayejanies and Kurds are more conservative about their mother tongue.

Table 1.13 gives the number of major languages spoken in Iran, and their percentages.

Language	Percentage
Persian	50.2
Azarbayejani	20.6
Gilaki	6.1
Luri-Bakhtiari	5.7
Kurdish	5.6
Mazandarani	4.9
Baluchi	2.3
Arabic	2.0
Turkamani	1.7
Armenian	0.6
Assyrian	0.4

Table 1.13. The languages spoken in Iran and their percentages: Marvin Zonis (1971).

C) The language situation in Tehran.

As discussed earlier (see Migration, Section 1.D), the majority of the Tehran population are non-native. Obviously the migration from the different parts of Iran such as Azarbayejan, Gilan, Mazandaran, Kurdestan, Lorestan and Persian-speaking areas such as Isfahan, with their geographical accents, created a multilingual community in Tehran. Regarding the exact population of each speech community, no figures exist. However, Azarbayejani, Gilani and Armenian speakers are more noticeable. In this multilingual society, Persian is the lingua franca, and is used by all speech communities among each other. Yet each speech community mostly use their own language when they are speaking among themselves. So, in our survey (see the Sample, p.39), only those who were born in Tehran and were brought up in a Tehrani family were considered as native speakers.

As far as education is concerned, Persian is the only official language. French, Arabic, and especially English are taught in secondary schools. Higher degrees in English, French, Arabic, German, Italian and Russian can be taken in most of the Universities. English and French text books in different fields are widely used.

D) The writing system.

After the advent of Islam, Arabic orthography replaced the Persian script system (Pahlavi). This system like the previous one (Pahlavi) is written from right to left. As the phonological system of Arabic differed from the Persian system, the adoption of a new script created some problems in indicating the vowels and then identifying them. In the Arabic writing system the traditionally called "long"

vowels / i /, / u / and / â / have separate symbols, while "short" vowels / e /, / o /, / a / and two Persian diphthongs have no sign, and can be shown either by diacritic marks (e ـِ), (o ـُ) and (a ـَ) which except in primary school books are hardly ever used, or with some items they take the same symbols as "long" vowels. This makes the item readable in two or three pronunciations. Table 1.14 shows the Persian vowels and diphthongs and their orthographical symbols in three positions. The bracket round symbols for / o / means that they are used only with certain items. Alternatively / o / can take (ـُ), the diacritic mark.

	Initial		Medial		Final	
Vowels	Joined	Separate	Joined	Separate	Joined	Separate
â	-	آ	ـا	ا	ـا	ا
a	-	ا	ـَ	-	ـَ	-
e	-	ا	ـِ	-	ـِ	-
i	ـیـ	-	ـیـ	-	ـی	ی
ey	ـیـ	ای	ـیـ	-	ـی	ی
u	-	او	ـو	و	ـو	و
o	-	ا	(ـو)	(و)	(ـو)	(و)
ow	-	ا	ـو	و	ـو	و

Table 1.14. The Persian vocalic system and the orthographic symbols.

/ â / is the only vowel with perfect symbols, as it is possible to show it in all positions and it cannot be confused with any other vowel.

/ a / and / e / have a poor position, in that they not only have

insufficient symbols but can be mistaken for each other, so in a construction like (بخر) / bexar / "buy" it can be read: / bexar /, / bexer /, / baxer / or / baxar /.

/ i / and / ey /, although they have sufficient symbols, can be read one instead of the other, as the item (سیر) can be read / sir / "full, garlik", or / seyr / "travelling".

/ u /, / o /, / ow /, with almost full symbols, can have the most problems. For example in (بخور) / bexor / "eat", as (و) can be read / o /, / u /, / ow /, then the item gives a wide range of possible pronunciations. Yet / o / in many items comes without (و), and as the alternative diacritic mark (ـُ) is hardly ever used, it can be mistaken for / a / and / e /: e.g. (گل) can be read / gol / "flower" or / gel / "soil".

This short explanation may help to support the idea that in reading styles (reading sentences and reading words), when the vocalic variables are involved, the ambiguity in the writing system may leave more opportunity for the informant to pronounce his own idiolect, while with consonantal variables, as all letters are written in an unambiguous manner, the chance of deletion or assimilation may be less because of visual contact than with vocalic variables: e.g. / daste / "handle"

(دسته) (دسته)

CHAPTER TWO

CHAPTER TWO

THE RESEARCH

1. The Sample

Sampling took place in two stages: (A) the pilot survey and (B) the main survey in Tehran.

A. The pilot survey.

This small scale survey was applied in order to confirm the relevance of the linguistic variables and their frequency. So four Tehrani students, three male and one female, at the University of London, were interviewed on the basis of a short preliminary questionnaire consisting of free speech, a reading passage, and a word list. The results of the analysis from these interviews were compared with the outcome of analysis from a short recording of the free speech of a working class male, which was completed in Tehran. The small scale survey had the disadvantage of producing only a small number of lexical items for each variable. Yet it indicated the relevance of many variables and provided many new ideas. It also revealed that the variables are stylistically (free speech versus reading style) sensitive. The speed of reading also appeared to have an effect on the linguistic change, e.g. on deletion and assimilation.

B. The main survey in Tehran.

i) The questionnaire. On the basis of the early experience, a

questionnaire was designed which could provide information on four styles: free speech, reading the sentences, reading the word list with pauses, and reading the word list fast (see the Questionnaire in the Appendix).

Free speech.

This is the speech of the informant during the entire recording time, except for when he is reading. The idea of dividing the sections of a contact with an informant (before, during, and after interview) into informal and formal styles (Trudgill, 1974) seemed questionable, at least as far as Persian informants are concerned. Apart from the ambiguity of the definition of formality versus informality, certain circumstances, e.g. asking questions and then recording, versus recording without asking questions, may create formality for one informant but may not necessarily have the same effect on another, as in both cases the informant is confronted by a stranger, who is the interviewer. Similarly, it has been claimed that when an informant is talking to a third person, he is producing 'casual speech', whereas we know that in Iran, the presence of a stranger has an effect on the speech of both speaker and addressee. However, the free speech consisted of general questions about the informant, Tehran, the Persian language, and some specific questions which led the informant to certain lexical items, which made the study of the same lexical items in all four styles possible. There were also some questions about the Persian cultural annual events which all informants, regardless of age, sex or class, could easily answer.

Reading Style

The Reading Sentences: As it was intended to compare the same lexical items in different styles, so the reading passage needed to consist of a large number of items related to different variables. This could prolong the length of the passage enormously. Therefore, instead of one long passage, a number of sentences were introduced.

The Word List with Pauses: This consisted of one hundred and six lexical items. The informant was asked to read the words carefully and with pauses.

The Fast Word List: To see the effect of fast reading, the informants were asked to read the same set of items as fast as they could.

Besides the face to face interviews, some unconscious recording from a group of print-house workers, the speech of a lecturer during a talk, the speech of two men in a market in the south of Tehran, and the speech of a broadcaster while he was reading the news, were recorded (see the Texts in the Appendix).

ii) Sampling. The complicated method of sampling which was applied by some sociolinguists, like the 'quasi-random sample' (Trudgill, 1974) was neither applicable nor desirable for Tehran. First of all, Tehran lacks organisations such as a local register of electors which could provide names, jobs, or the addresses of the members of a speech community. Secondly, Tehran has a multilingual community whose population are mostly migrants from different parts of the country with a different mother tongue. So even if the identity and social characteristics of the members of a community were accessible, many of those people chosen at random were not suitable as informants.

Thirdly, before the revolution, there was a great deal of suspicion and mistrust among the people towards each other. Thus identifying people without their knowledge and calling on them afterwards could result in the absolute refusal of any co-operation. I had the bad experience of contacting two male schoolchildren directly and going to their house for interview. After the completion of the interview, their father arrived home, and after a fiery quarrel, forced me to erase the two hours of precious interview. However, without any doubt, interviewing people without a mediator whom the informant trusted completely, was practically impossible.

As Iranian society has a large amount of social mobility, there is often little harmony among the social factors such as education, income, wealth, social behaviour. So, categorising the Tehran community in a multi-item index could result in a very disunified social grouping. The multi-item index in a society in which social mobility is low and there is very little attempt at changing the traditional values of the social groups, will surely give a better result. However, education seems to be the main stratifying factor in Iranian society which has a very close relation to the language of each group. Therefore, I categorised the Tehran community on the basis of the level of education: Group one, which from now on will be shown as (G1) are the members of society with the highest degree of education. All university graduates with 16+ years of education come into this group.

Group two (G2) are those who have finished secondary school. Group three (G3) are those with primary school education, and Group four (G4) are those who have received no education, the illiterate population of Tehran.

The idea of taking education as a major social factor in measuring the linguistic parameter is not unusual. De Camp (1956) in his research, divided his informants according to the level of their education - elementary school, secondary school and college - into three groups.

To solve the problem of social mobility the effects of the following social factors were isolated.

Occupation. Normally the level of education has a direct effect on the selection of jobs, as informants with only a primary or no education are usually involved in manual work, while those with secondary education and higher education normally have mental work. To avoid the effect of any uncharacteristic job mobility, only those who had this normal pattern of job and education were considered as relevant informants.

The place of birth. A large number of the Tehran population are migrants who have their own mother tongue such as Azarbayejani, Gilaki, and so on. To avoid the effect of the mother tongue on their speech, only those who were born in Tehran and had Persian speaking parents were considered as native speakers.

The locality. Tehran socially has two extreme areas, the far south and the north. The working class people normally live in the southern part of the city - Jawadiye, Darvaze Ghar (see the map of Tehran, p. 16). They communicate among themselves and send their children to school in the same areas, while the G1 group normally live in the northern area, with G2 in the east and west areas. Where possible, all informants belonging to each group came from their typical areas.

Father's social background. To avoid the effect of change of class, the informants where possible came from the same social background as their parents. Thus G1 informants come from the families with at least secondary school education and upper class social characteristics. G3 and G4 informants all come from families with very little or no education, and so on.

The age groups. Two age groups were distinguished: schoolchildren age 14-16, and adults aged 28+. The schoolchildren are only from the two extreme groups of G1 and G4.

Sex. Equal numbers of males and females for each group were chosen.

Total number of informants. There are four social groups for adults and two for youngsters, and two for sex groups, which makes a total of twelve groups. Five informants were interviewed from each group, so there are sixty informants altogether.

iii) Interviews. After deciding about the characteristics and the number of informants, a search for informants with the above mentioned characteristics began with the help of a group of my former colleagues in the Iranian Academy of Language, friends and relations. Although no systematic methods of choosing the informants at random were applied, finding them through a mediator and persuading them to be interviewed was purely by chance. For example, through my brother I met a male bank clerk who, after being interviewed, introduced me to two of his colleagues in the bank. These two bank clerks were out of at least ten people with the same characteristics who happened not to be on holiday that summer, and were working in the afternoon shift. A print-house worker associated with the Academy, who himself was not a native

speaker, introduced me to three print workers, and arranged the interviews in the print-house. He also, at my request, put my small Sony tape-recorder in a corner of the workshop and recorded the natural speech of a group of workers without their awareness. The wife of one of my colleagues who was a teacher in a female school in the south of Tehran got permission from the head master for three interviews. The three Tehrani students who were free that hour and eager to be interviewed, were chosen at random. Yet before the arrangement of these interviews I had no idea that there might be any chance of interviewing the female schoolchildren in their school.

Although access to the informants of G1 and G2 female and male and G3 and G4 male adults was relatively easy, it was extremely difficult to persuade the G3 and G4 female adults and youngsters, because of religious restrictions. Four out of five ladies from G4 agreed to be interviewed and for their voice to be recorded only if a member of the family, the son, would do the interviewing.

However, no informant was interviewed because he or she seemed to be a typical case from the purely linguistic point of view, and no one after agreeing to be interviewed was rejected because he did not seem to be reflecting his or her own class linguistically.

The interviews took place in the Iranian Academy, in the informant's working place, in schools, and in the informants' houses. Those who were suspicious about the interview were deliberately invited to the Academy, where they could see that language research was going on, and could then believe the honesty of my request. After arranging the interview, there was very little problem in dealing with informants.

As a part of my job in the Department of Dialectology in a huge language atlas project, I had done or supervised over six hundred interviews in rural areas.

However, each informant was first informed about the nature of the interview, and after a short, friendly chat in order to reduce the tension created by my presence and my tape-recorder, the actual recording would start. The informant was first asked to answer some general questions about the place he lived in, the school he or she had attended, and so on. Then he was asked to read the sentences. After that, there was a rather long free speech session, in which I was hoping to get the most natural speech. Then the informant was asked to answer some specific questions which were designed to lead the informant to the pronunciation of certain lexical items. After a short free speech, he was asked to read the word list twice, once carefully and with pauses, and then as fast as he could. The rest of the tape was only free speech. The recording was by Uher tape-recorder and on Sony reel tapes. The length of each interview was around fifty minutes, except for female G4 youngsters, which were shorter. However, the fifty-minute interview for each informant produced a large body of information about each variable in all styles.

2. The Linguistic Variables.

The linguistic variables which will be briefly discussed below were selected on the basis of the following factors:

Many of them are well-known elements among scholars who have studied the Persian phonetic and phonological system. These phonological features were described as elements which change from one style to

another, free variations, or features which are common in non-standard form, and so on:

My own experience and close observation:

The result obtained from the small-scale interviews.

The linguistic variables can be divided into two groups: (A) phonological variables and (B) morphological and syntactic variables.

A. Phonological variables.

i) Vocalic variables.

Vowel assimilation: This is a well-known phonological feature which is mentioned by many scholars. Yet as the present work is the first attempt of this kind, this phonological feature, like all other variables, has never been studied as a sociolinguistic variable. However, assimilation occurs in the construction of the prefix / be /and present stem of verb in imperative form, in which / e / in prefix / be / get assimilated by the next vowel in items such as / bebin / ~ / bibin / , / bedo / ~ / bodo / , / bexar / ~ / baxar / and so on. Assimilation of this kind has a very close co-variation with the level of education.

/ e / ~ / i / variable: This variable is the raising of / e / to / i / before a high consonant, in items such as / kuček / ~ / kučik / "small", / negâ / ~ / nigâ / "look", / šekar / ~ / šikar / "sugar" and so on. This variable, in spite of the relatively small number of lexical items which it covers, shows very close co-variation with the social parameters.

/ â / ~ / u / variable: This variable is the raising of / â / to / u / before a nasal, in items such as / xeyâbân / ~ /xeyâbun /

"street", / tehrân / ~ / tehrun / "Tehran", /ʔân / ~ /ʔun / "that" and so on. This phonological feature has been identified from the early stages of phonological analysis of Persian by many scholars. This variable, because of the distinction made in the writing system of Persian between / â / and / u / (see the writing system, Chapter One) differentiates the classes mostly in free speech.

/ ey / ~ / e / variable: This variable is the monophthongisation of / ey / in items such as / seyl / ~ / sel / "flood", / xeyli / ~ / xeli / "plenty", / meyl / ~ /mel / "wish", and so on. The monophthongisation of / ey / in many cases gives a slight length to / e /. This variable divides our social groups in a different pattern in comparison to vowel assimilation.

/ ow / ~ / o / ~ / u / variable: This variable is the monophthongisation of / ow / to / o / and then raising to / u / in items such as / rowšan / ~ / rošan / ~ / rušan / "bright", / rowqan / ~ /roqan / ~ / ruqan / "oil". The monophthongisation, especially raising to / u / is very common among G3 and G4 informants.

ii) Consonantal variables.

/ st / ~ / ss / variable: This variable is the assimilation of / t / to / s / after a / s / in words like / daste / ~ /dasse / "handle; group", / bimârestân / ~ / bimâressân / "hospital", / nešastan / /nešassan / "to sit", and so on. This variable also shows class differences.

/ h / variable: This variable is the deletion of / h / in all but initial position in items such as / šahr / ~ / šar / "city", / sohbat / ~ / sobat / "speech, / lahje / ~ / laje / "accent", and so on. With certain items the deletion of / h / gives a slight length

to the preceding vowel. This variable divides our social stratification almost into two groups.

/ t / variable: This variable is the deletion of / t / consonant in final position, in items such as / mast / ~ / mas / "drunk", / xâst / / xâs / "he wanted" and so on. Some verbs ending in / t / apart from the possibility of losing the final / t / may take an extra element / eš / , e.g. / goft / ~ / gof / ~ / gofteš / "he said". As the percentage of deletion for all social classes is high, the difference among them is relatively small.

/ d / variable: This variable is the deletion of / d / in final and occasionally in medial position, in items such as / čand / ~ / čan / "how much", / dâdâš / ~ / dâš / "brother", / nazdik / ~ / nazik / "near" and so on. / d / in final position with some verbs takes / eš /. / d / deletion, like / t / deletion, occurs frequently at all social levels.

/ r / variable: This variable is the deletion of / r / in a small number of frequent lexical items in different position, in items such as / ro / ~ / o / "a post position", / xorde / ~ / xode / "little", / četor / ~ / četo / "how", and so on. The / r / deletion is common in all classes.

/ ʔ / variable: This variable is the deletion of / ʔ / in different positions. The deletion of / ʔ / in certain construction gives length to the preceding vowel, in items such as / maʔdan / ~ / madan / "mine", / taʔtil / ~ / tatil / "holiday", / defaʔ / ~ / defa / "defence", and so on. This variable shows a certain irregularity in differentiating the female speakers.

B. Morphological and syntactic variables.

/ hâ / ~ / â / variable: This variable is the alteration of

/ hâ / ~ / â / plural marker in items such as / ketâbhâ / ~ / ketâbâ / "books", /inhâ / ~ /inâ / "these", and so on It also differentiates the educational groups.

/ man / ~ / mâ / variable: This variable is the usage of / mâ / first person plural for first person singular. Then the separate personal pronoun shows concord with the subject enclitics at the end of the verb, e.g. / mâ raftim /~/ man raftam / "I went". This variable differentiates between the males and females substantially.

Preposition deletion: This is the deletion of certain prepositions with some verbs in a sentence. The deletion of preposition often changes the word order, e.g. / man be tehrân raftam / ~ / man raftam tehrân / "I went to Tehran", and so on. This variable differentiates the social classes noticeably.

Note.

Beside the fourteen variables which were briefly described above, there are certain elements which seem to vary from the point of view of social classes. However, because of the very small number of occurrences, they have not been taken into account. The following are some of these elements:

/ z / deletion in three items;

/ az / ~ / a / "from", /az kojâʔâmade /~/ʔa kojâʔumade / "from where did he come";

/ʔemruz / ~ /ʔemru / "today, /ʔemruz nemitavânam / ~ /ʔemru nemitunam /, "today, I cannot";

/ hanuz / ~ / hanu / "yet", / hanuz xeyli kučeke / ~ / hanu xeli kučike /, "he is very small yet".

/ k / deletion, in one item which is very frequent;

/ yek / ~ / ye / "one", / yek dafʔe be ruye man parid / ~ / ye dafe

parid ru man / "he suddenly jumped on me".

/ y / deletion in medial position in two items:

/ šâyad / ~ / šâd / "perhaps", / šâyad biyâyad / ~ / šâd biyâd / "perhaps he comes";

/ bâyad / ~ / bâd / "must", / bâyad beguyad / ~ / bâd bege / "he must say".

/b/, /v/ alternation in items like / bardâr / ~ / vardâr / "take", / bardâr biyâr / ~ / vardâ biyâr / "take it and bring it here", and / lebâs / ~ / levâs / "clothes", /lebâse tâze xarid / ~ / levâse tâze xarid / "he bought new clothes".

Metathesis. This is a feature common even in early stages of the Persian language, e.g.

Old Persian	Middle Persian	Modern Persian	Meaning
suxra	surx	sorx	"red"
čaxra	čaxr	čarx	"wheel"
vafra	vafr	barf	"snow"
namra	narm	narm	"soft"

The metathesis now in Modern Persian is common in the working class, as all examples which were found in the entire analysis, have G4 and G3 speakers, e.g.

/ hazrat / ~ / harzat/ "lord, Imam".

/ be hazrate ʔabbâs / ~ / be harzate ʔabbâs / "I swear to Imam Abbas" G4. M.A.

/ nazr / ~ / narz / "vow".

/ nazr kardam bedaham / ~ / narz kardam bedam / "I vow to distribute charity" G4. F.A.

/ befruš / ~ / berfuš / "sell".

/ boro xâne at râ befruš / ~ / boro xunato berfuš / "sell your house" G3. M.A.

/ qofl / ~ / qolf / "lock".

/ dar râ qofl kardam / ~ / dar o qolf kardam / "I locked the door" G4. M.Y.

C. Rhythmic doubling.

Working class speakers rhythmically double some of the nouns. The first phoneme in the doubled form is replaced by the consonant / m /, e.g.

/ kenâr / ~ / kenâr menâr / "side".

/ʔin kenâr menârâ hastim dige / "I am around, here and there".

If the noun becomes plural, then the doubled element takes the plural marker, e.g.

/ʔalaf / ~ /ʔalaf malaf / "grass".

/ tu in alaf malafâ mišinim / "we sit on the grass".

/ bačče / ~ / bačče mačče / "child".

/ bačče mačč am na.rim / "we have no children".

3. Theoretical Issues.

The result of analysis from sixty hours of linguistic material provided a very large amount of information, both in the linguistic and sociolinguistic fields. This data obtained from the analysis enabled me to look not only at the relationship between social factors and linguistic parameters, but to pay some attention to some theoretical issues in general sociolinguistics.

The following theoretical issues will be examined in the next chapters:

A. The co-variation between social class and linguistic variables. Here the degree of this co-relationship among different variables will be studied. I will also compare the individuals within each social group in order to see if some of them are more clearly representative of their group.

B. The effect of age on linguistic change will be studied. This

could lead us to some prediction about the possible direction of a change in progress.

C. The possible sex differences of each sociolinguistic variable will also be studied.

D. Lexical diffusion.

The hypothesis of lexical diffusion: Y. Chen and S-Y. Wang (1975) say that 'a phonological rule gradually extends its scope of operation to a larger and larger portion of the lexicon, until all relevant items have been transformed by the process', and this suggestion has been developed by Milroy (1978) in Belfast. This hypothesis will be examined in this study as well.

E. Transition-probability.

By comparing the successive occurrences of different variables, the possible effect of one selection for a given variable on the next selection made for the same variable will be studied.

F. Polite forms.

Persian has a rather complicated system of politeness, in which almost all syntactic elements present in the sentence have different alternations which must be applied according to the degree of power and solidarity between the speaker, the addressee and the possible other person who may or may not be present.

CHAPTER THREE

CHAPTER THREE

THE CO-VARIATION OF LINGUISTIC AND SOCIAL VARIABLES

In this chapter the correlation between the social parameters and linguistic variable will be measured. This co-variation will be studied at (1) phonological and (2) morphological and syntactic levels.

1. Phonological

Phonological variables are divided into (A) vocalic and (B) consonantal.

A. Vocalic variables.

Vowel Assimilation

Assimilation is one of the significant characteristics of "non-standard" form. Combined with the deletion which occurs in different syntactic, phonological and morphological levels, it plays a major role in the formation of the "lower" social class dialect. Assimilation in Persian can happen with the consonants (see /st/ assimilation, p.99) as well as the vowels.

To form certain tenses, such as Imperative and subjunctive present in Persian, we add the prefix / be/ to the present stem of the verb. In the cases of Imperative plural and subjunctive present, the personal ending should be added to the end of the stem, e.g.

/ didan / "to see"

/ bin / the present stem

Imperative	be + bin	"see" sg.
	be + bin + id	"see" pl.
Subjunctive present	be + bin + am	"I may see"
	be + bin + i	"you may see" sg.
	be + bin + ad	"he, she may see"
	be + bin + im	"we may see"
	be + bin + id	"you may see" pl.
	be + bin + and	"they may see"

In these types of constructions, / e / in the prefix / be / frequently becomes assimilated to the next vowel in the stem. This notion has been mentioned, although not as a sociolinguistic variable but as a phonological fact, by some scholars such as P.L. Elwell-Sutton (1975) and A.M. Haghshenas Lari (1971) who calls the process vowel harmony.

Here, first we show that the assimilation process can differ from:

a) one phonological environment to another;

b) one lexical item to another;

c) one social class to another.

To provide satisfactory data in order to support the above claims, over six thousand occurrences of potential assimilation from sixty informants have been examined.

a) The effeet of phonological environment can be studied in two parts: the effect of the following vowel and the effect of the following consonant.

According to the vowel system of Persian / e / in / be /, in order to be assimilated to the next vowel can have five major movements. It can move back to / o /, rise to / i /, move low to / a /, back and high to / u /, or back and low to / â /.

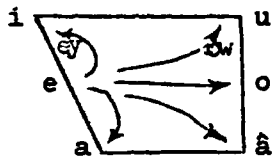


Fig. 3.1 The vowel system of Persian and the possible movements of / e /.

(i) Before / o /, in forms like / bekon / "do", / bexor / "eat" / bekoš / "kill", / bebor / "cut", / bedo / "run", / bero / "go" and so on. The result of the analysis indicates that / o / is the most favourable vowel for assimilation (table 3.1). In this environment not only do G4 and G3 assimilate very frequently, but G2 and G1 also score a high percentage.

Lexical items	Total Number	Assimilated	Percentage
bero	168	168	100%
bexor	351	345	98%
bekon	457	421	92%
bedo	36	25	69%
bekoš	111	62	56%
bebor	200	9	5%
TOTAL	1323	1030	78%

Table 3.1. The percentage of assimilation for individual items and the overall score for all speakers, before / o /.

(ii) Before / a /, in items like / bexar / "buy", / beram / the "non-standard" form of / beravam / "I may go", / bexand / "smile" and so on. Although this environment is also favourable, with some

items such as / bezan / or / beram /, full assimilation normally does not occur. / e / in / bezan / changes to [ɛ], and in / beram / it moves to [ɛ] and [æ], while with some other items with the same linguistic environment such as / bexar / or / bexand / full assimilation normally takes place. However in this study any movements of / e / towards the following vowel are treated as assimilated.

Lexical items	Total number	Assimilated	Percentage
bexar	92	64	70%
beram	153	93	61%
bezan	212	72	34%
TOTAL	457	229	50%

Table 3.2. The percentage of assimilation for individual items and the overall score for all speakers, before / a /.

(iii) Before / i /, in words such as / bešin / "sit", / begir / "take", / bebin / "look", / beriz / "pour" and so on. In this environment full assimilation normally occurs. The G1 have the lowest percentage of assimilation with this vowel (Table39), while G4 have one of the highest.

Lexical items	Total number	Assimilated	Percentage
begir	206	85	41%
bešin	264	36	14%
bebin	287	29	10%
beriz	212	13	6%
TOTAL	969	163	17%

Table 3.3. The percentage for individual items and the overall score for all speakers, before / i /.

(iv) Before / u /, in items like / begu /, "tell", / beduz / "sew", / bekub / "mash", and so on. Full assimilation has not been observed with items of this group. / e / in / begu / can move to [ɤ] in / beduz / to [ø], and in / bekub / to [ø] and [ɤ]. This vowel creates an unfavourable environment for assimilation.

Lexical items	Total number	Assimilated	Percentage
begu	209	54	26%
bekub	198	18	9%
beduz	198	13	7%
TOTAL	605	35	14%

Table 3.4. The percentage of assimilation for individual items and the overall score for all speakers, before / u /.

(v) Before / â /, in items such as / bexân / "read, sing", / bebâz / "lose", / bezâr / "let", / besâz / "make", and so on. / â / is the most unfavourable vowel for assimilation, except before the velar fricative consonant / x / where the percentage is high (45%). In this environment no cases of full assimilation have been observed. / e / in / bexân / moves to [æ], with / besâz / no assimilation takes place, and with / bebâz /, and / bezâr /, the percentage remains extremely low.

See Table 3.5 on next page.

Lexical items	Total number	Assimilated	Percentage
bexân	224	101	45%
bebâz	100	2	2%
bezâr	60	1	2%
besâz	105	0	0
TOTAL	489	104	21%

Table 3.5. Percentage of assimilation for individual items and the overall score for all speakers, before / â /.

The overall percentage of assimilation in different vocalic environments is shown in Table 3.6. The noticeable effect of the following vowel on the assimilation process, which ranges from / â /, (2%), / u / (14%), to / o / (78%), can have certain phonetic explanations, although the suggestions made here are of only limited validity. It may be possible to say that the movement of / e / towards the other vowels can be eased if it is on only one dimension, say, either going back, or closing, or raising, rather than both moving back and raising or moving back and closing. But in some cases the extent of the problem goes beyond the phonetic explanation when we compare / a /50%/457, with / i /17%/969, since according to our claim, closing and raising should equally ease the assimilation. Looking to the group percentage (Table 3.9) we see the effect of the social class, as only group G4 score high percentage for be + Ci construction, since other groups (even G3) score the lowest in this context.

Vowels	o	a	i	u	â	
Overall percentage	78%	50%	17%	14%	21% Inc.	/ bexân /
	1323	457	969	605	2% Ecx. 489	/ bexân /

Table 3.6. The overall percentage of items with different vocalic environments.

The effect of the immediate following consonant: The figures in Table 3.7 show the effect of the immediately following consonant after the prefix / be / on the assimilation process. / x /76%/667, / k,g /54%/1181, / s,z,r /38%/907, / d /16%/234, and / b /7%/587. It seems that back consonants create a better phonetic environment for the change process than front ones, although the phonetic explanation for the effect of a back consonant on an adjacent front vowel in a construction like / bexar /70%/92, is difficult. It is rather interesting that the velar fricative consonant / x / with / â / which is the most unfavourable vowel for assimilation (Table 3.5), creates a reasonably high percentage of assimilation in / bexân /45%/224. One may suggest that the back vowel / â / phonetically can match with the back consonant. But the danger with this type of justification is that it can raise conflict in other areas.

Vowel / Consonant	o	a	i	u	â	TOTAL
Velar fricative / x /	98% / 351	70% / 92			45% / 224	76% / 667
Velar plosive / k,g /	k,92%/457 k,56%/111		g,41%/206	g,26%/209 k, 9%/198		54% / 1181
Alveolar fricative / s,z,r /	r,100%/168	r,61%/153 z,34%/212	r, 6%/209		s, 0/105 z,2%/60	38% / 907
Alveolar plosive / d /	69%/36			7%/198		16% / 234
Bilabial plosive / b /	5%/200		10%/287		2%/100	7% / 587
TOTAL	78%/1323	50%/457	17%/969	14%/605	21%/589	

Table 3.7

Conclusions:

(i) o > a > i > u > â / - velar

(ii) velar > alveolar > bilabial

(iii) fricative > plosive

(iv) / x /, / g / always > average

(v) / r / always > average (except / - i)

(vi) all others always < average

b) Differences between lexical items.

Apart from the effect of the phonological environment, there are certain differences in the behaviour of lexical items with the same phonological structure which can not be explained purely in terms of their phonological context. Items such as / bekon / (92%) and / bekoš / (56%) (Table 3.9), although their following consonant and vowel after prefix / be / have been isolated, still show two clearly different percentages of assimilation. It seems the process of a change can differ from one word to another. However the hypothesis of lexical diffusion (Y. Chen and S-Y. Wang, 1957) that "a phonological rule gradually extends its scope of operation to a larger and larger portion of the lexicon, until all relevant items have been transferred by the process" may give a satisfactory explanation to this type of problem. Here it may be possible to say that although / bekon / and / bekoš / both have competing pronunciation, / bekon / was affected by the rule before / bekoš /, so its assimilated form has wider frequency, not only for a particular social group, but across the social dialects from "non-standard" to "standard" form. It is also possible to suggest that / bekon / will change completely to / bokon / with no competing

pronunciation in the next generation, just as items such as / bero / ~/ boro / assimilated completely and have no competing form whatsoever with any social group, while with items like / besâz / no cases of assimilation were observed in the entire data.

Therefore it is possible to suggest that we are dealing with three sets of items:

i. Those completely covered by the rule without competing pronunciation, such as / boro /;

ii. Those which are in an on-going process of change, with competing forms, such as / bekon /, / bexor /, / bekoš / and so on;

iii. Those which have not been affected by the rule, like / besâz /.

The degree of undergoing the rule can differ from one item to another, such as / bekaš / (55%) in comparison to / bekon / (92%), and it can also differ from one social group to another, as where the percentage of assimilation for / begir / with G1 is 7%, while with G4 it goes as high as 94%. With the other items with / -i / construction, G4 speakers score as high as 100%, while with G1 speakers it never goes beyond 7%.

	% assimilated	Total
/ bekon / "Do!"	91	331
/ bedo / "Run!"	78	23
/ bexân / "Read!"	40	139
/ begu / "Tell!"	22	132
/ bekub / "Hit!"	4	122
/ bebor / "Cut!"	3	124

Table 3.8. Assimilation of six items in free speech by all speakers.

A problem which may arise in these circumstances is the number of occurrences of lexical items which are highly covered by the rule for all social groups, and at the same time are very frequent in free speech. If by chance a speaker during the interview uses fifteen times an item which has the rate of, say, over 90 per cent of change, and another speaker in the same group or in the other group again by chance uses the same item three times, then the result of statistical analysis can be completely misleading. An example of the above case is the imperative form / bakon / in Persian. This form is derived from the infinitive form / kardan / "to do", which not only functions as a simple verb, but also as an auxiliary, joins to a very long list of nouns, and makes compound verbs. To form different tenses in Persian, we only operate on the auxiliary part of compound verbs, so the frequency of this verb is extremely high. Figures in Table 3.9 show that the assimilation percentage for / bekon / is as high as 92 per cent, and it also shows that this item from the point of view of social class differences is irrelevant, as it has more or less the same rate of assimilation for all groups. The example in Table 3.10 is one of the many cases which have been observed during the analysis, and shows the effect of frequent and highly covered items on the statistical results.

Two informants from the same G	Total number of occurrences	Number of assi., including /bekon/	%	Number of assi. excluding /bekon/	
Inf(5)Female G1	50	10	36%	2	6
Inf(16)Female G1	35	3	9%	2	5

Table 3.10

	/ o /					/ ɪ /					/ a /			
	bekon	bexor	bekoš	bebor	TOTAL	bešin	begir	bebin	beriz	TOTAL	bexar	beram	bezan	TOTAL
G1F	85%/47	96%/26	23%/13	0%/20	64%/106	0%/23	0%/13	0%/27	0%/21	0%/84	14%/7	0%/6	0%/15	4%/28
G1M	97%/71	93%/30	45%/11	5%/20	78%/132	0%/26	7%/15	4%/28	0%/20	2%/89	14%/7	0%/6	12%/17	10%/30
G2F	89%/46	92%/26	60%/10	0%/20	70%/102	8%/25	9%/11	0%/30	0%/20	4%/86	67%/12	25%/4	42%/19	49%/35
G2M	100/49	100/26	50%/10	0%/20	76%/105	9%/24	46%/24	4%/27	0%/20	15%/95	71%/7	40%/10	26%/19	39%/36
G3F	83%/40	100/29	50%/11	0%/20	68%/99	5%/21	25%/8	11%/27	15%/20	12%/76	81%/11	60%/20	29%/17	54%/48
G3M	81%/32	100/30	70%/10	0%/20	71%/101	26%/27	62%/24	10%/29	5%/20	26%/100	100/8	80%/10	31%/29	51%/37
G4F	89%/27	100/22	100/3	-	94%/52	67%/9	70%/30	53%/17	100%/2	66%/58	100/3	62%/49	67%/9	66%/61
G4M	100/19	100/28	100/1	75%/4	98%/52	75%/12	94%/17	58%/12	75%/4	78%/45	100/5	92%/12	92%/13	93%/30
G1 YF	97%/33	100/29	60%/10	0%/20	73%/92	4%/25	14%/22	0%/24	0%/21	4%/92	71%/7	58%/12	27%/15	47%/34
GI YM	100/48	97%/36	90%/10	10%/20	82%/112	7%/27	11%/19	0%/31	0%/21	4%/98	44%/9	50%/14	11%/19	31%/42
G4 YF	70%/20	100/23	10%/10	12%/16	58%/69	0%/23	36%/11	0%/16	0%/17	6%/67	80%/5	100/2	38%/16	52%/23
G4 YM	100/27	100/37	85%/13	10%/20	79%/97	27%/22	58%/12	20%/25	17%/23	26%/82	100/11	88%/8	54%/24	72%/43
Total	92%/ 457	98%/ 351	56%/ 111	5%/ 200		14%/ 264	41%/ 206	10%/ 287	6%/ 209		70%/ 92	61%/ 153	34%/ 212	

Table 3.9. Group scores for vowel-assimilation in 18 lexical items.

begu	beduz	bekub	TOTAL	bexân	bebâz	bezâr	besâz	TOTAL	
0%/20	0%/20	0%/20	2%/60	0%/17	0%/10	0%/2	0%/10	0%/39	G1F
5%/20	0%/20	0%/20	2%/60	0%/18	0%/10	0%/8	0%/10	0%/46	G1M
10%/20	5%/20	0%/20	5%/60	45%/22	0%/10	0%/7	0%/12	20%/51	G2F
27%/22	5%/20	0%/20	15%/62	33%/18	0%/10	0%/3	0%/10	15%/41	G2M
15%/20	15%/20	10%/20	13%/60	48%/25	0%/10	0%/1	0%/12	25%/48	G3F
48%/23	0%/20	15%/20	22%/63	43%/14	0%/10	0%/8	0%/8	15%/40	G3M
100/3	-	-	100/3	83%/18	-	0%/12	0%/1	48%/31	G4F
75%/4	0%/2	0%/2	37%/8	100%/7	-	25%/4	-	73%/11	G4M
0%/20	5%/20	10%/20	5%/60	38%/21	0%/10	0%/4	0%/12	17%/47	G1YF
33%/21	0%/20	10%/20	15%/61	44%/27	0%/10	0%/3	0%/10	24%/50	G1YM
40%/15	25%/16	6%/16	23%/47	62%/21	0%/10	0%/2	0%/10	30%/43	G4YF
69%/21	15%/20	50%/20	41%/61	81%/16	20%/10	0%/6	0%/10	36%/42	G4YM
26%/209	7%/198	9%/198		45%/224	2%/100	2%/60	0%/105		Total

Sex	Female				Male			
Style	Free speech	Reading sentences	Fast word list	Word list	Free speech	Reading sentences	Fast word list	Word list
G1 scores	6 /17	8 /12	6 /16	6 /16	13 /39	8 /12	12 /16	6 /16
	5 /20	8	6	6	7 /29	7 /29	12	6
	6 /34	8	6	6	14 /21	14 /21	25	12
	5 /43	8	12	12	18 /38	18 /38	6	6
	6 /32	8	12	6	12 /57	12 /57	12	12
average scores	5 /146	8 /60	9 /80	7 /80	13 /184	12 /60	14 /80	12 /80
G2 scores	28 /18	25 /12	25 /16	12 /16	28 /36	25 /12	25 /16	19 /16
	21 /67	25	19	12	32 /47	33	25	19
	23 /35	33	19	19	41 /39	33	25	19
	29 /31	33	19	19	24 /33	25	19	12
	22 /40	17	12	12	36 /36	25	12	6
average scores	24 /191	27 /60	19 /80	15 /80	32 /191	28 /60	21 /80	15 /80
G3 scores	38 /53	33 /12	25 /16	12 /16	53 /51	50 /12	31 /16	19 /16
	43 /46	42	19	12	57 /28	42	25	12
	48 /52	33	31	25	46 /52	33	31	19
	39 /23	42	25	25	48 /46	50	25	25
average scores	41 /198	37 /60	24 /80	17 /80	53 /247	43 /60	26 /80	17 /80
G4 scores	73 /73	-	-	-	81 /55	-	-	-
	67 /40	-	-	-	82 /45	-	-	-
	60 /78	-	-	-	71 /34	-	-	-
	68 /53				81 /43			
average scores	65 /299	-	-	-	79 /217			

Table 3.11. Vowel assimilation scores for 40 adult informants, by class, sex, and style.

Sex	Female				Male			
Style	Free speech	Reading sentences	Fast Word List	Word List	Free speech	Reading sentences	Fast Word List	Word List
G1 scores	31 /13	33 /12	19 /16	12 /16	39 /41	33 /12	19 /16	12 /16
	38 /39	33	12	6	39 /28	25	31	19
	34 /58	25	25	19	27 /62	33	19	12
	23 /43	17	12	8	35 /48	25	31	25
	26 /42	17	19	12	27 /44	25	19	12
average scores	31 /195	25 /60	17 /80	11 /80	33 /223	28 /60	24 /80	16 /80
G4 scores	36 /11	33 /12	19 /16	19 /16	61 /26	41 /12	37 /16	31 /16
	57 /7	42	25	12	61 /41	50	31	31
	50 /52	33	25	25	63 /41	50	31	19
	62 /8	50	12	25	54 /24	58	31	25
	36 /11	33	19	6	69 /61	50	44	44
average scores	48 /49	38 /60	20 /80	17 /80	63 /193	50 /60	35 /80	30 /80

Table 3.12. Vowel assimilation scores for 20 young informants by class, sex and style

c) The effect of social factors, and the social differences of vowel assimilation.

Obviously the social element has a significant influence on the language change process, as the change starts on a small scale in some phonological, morphological, or syntactic areas and then through a gradual evolution and recycling process through generations and by the members of language community spreads and covers the related items, which ultimately become a marker of that specific social dialect. As Labov (1963) says "One can not understand the development of a language apart from the social life of the community in which it occurs."

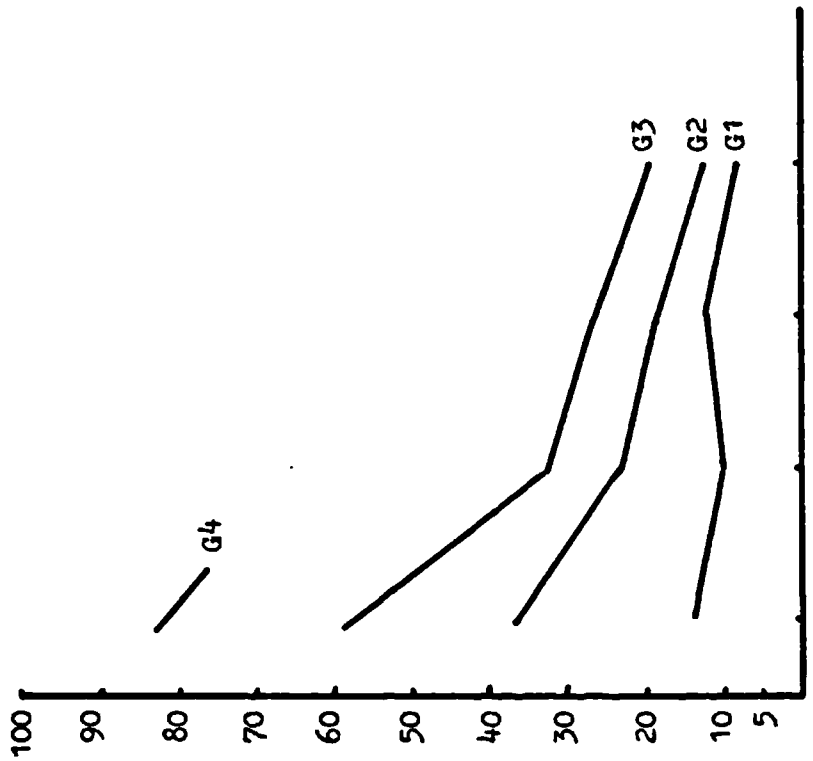


Fig. 3.3. Percentage of vowel assimilation by class and style, male adults.

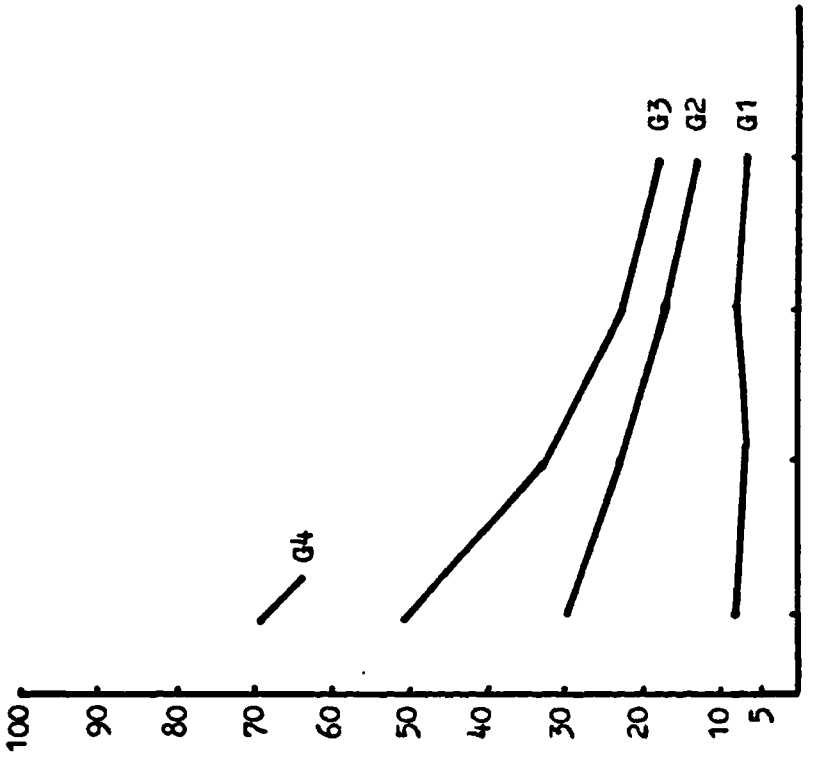


Fig. 3.2. Percentage of vowel assimilation by class and style, female adults.

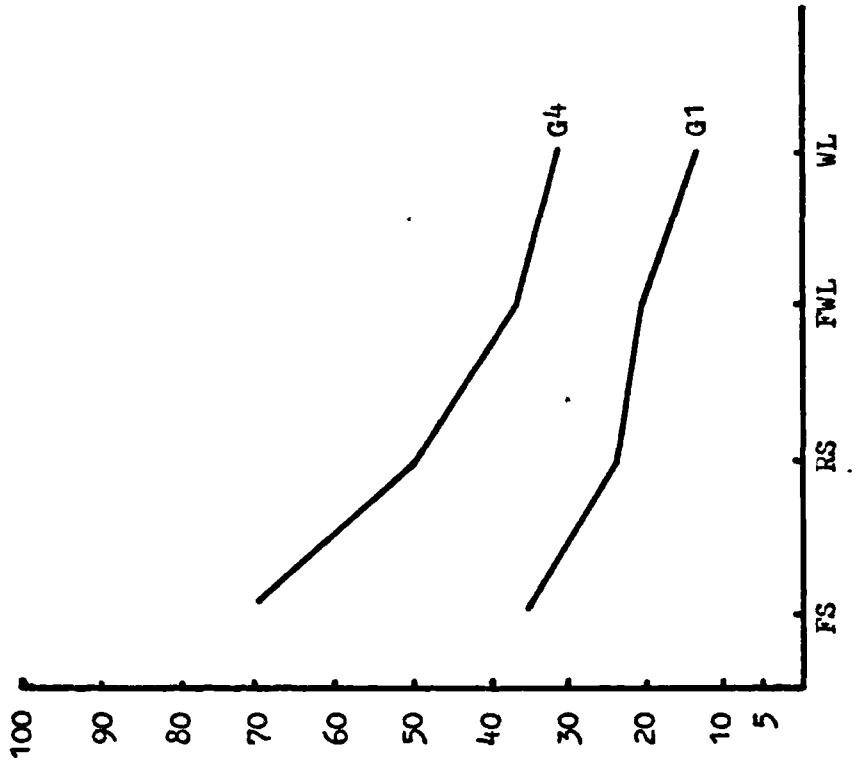


Fig. 3.5. Percentage of vowel assimilation by class and style, male youngsters.

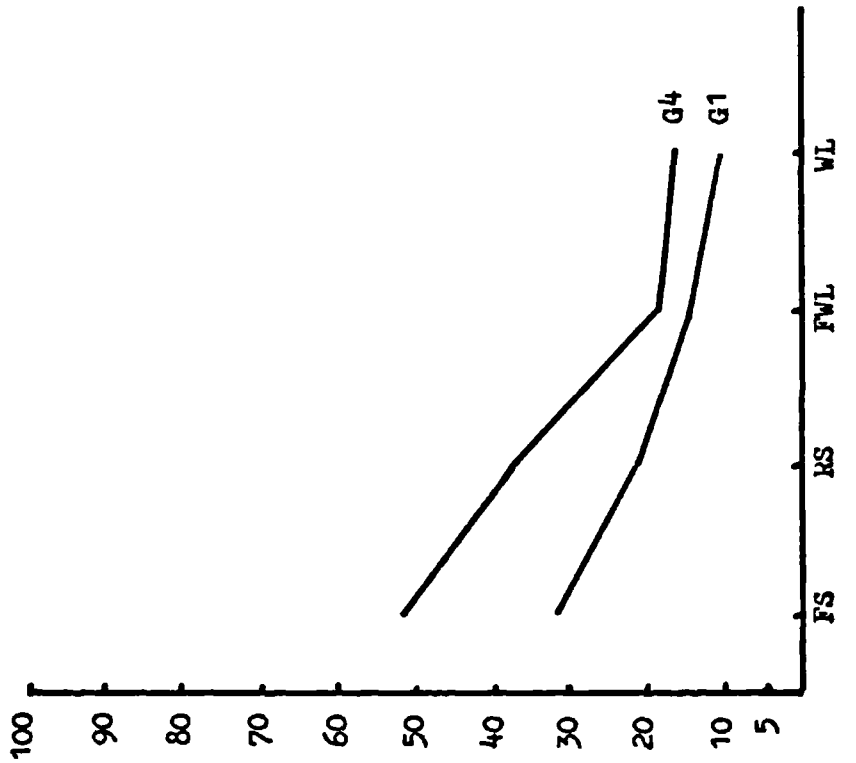


Fig. 3.4. Percentage of vowel assimilation by class and style, female youngsters.

Assimilation in Persian is essentially a "lower" class dialect marker, yet the comparison between two age groups from the two extreme social classes, G1 and G4 adults with youngsters, reveals that a competing pressure is directing the change (Tables 3.11-12 and figs. 2-5), although the pressure from below (Labov, 1966) is more powerful. The pressure from above seems to be the direct effect of education, as youngsters from G4 families score 14 per cent (male) and 28 per cent (female) less than their illiterate parents. Yet youngsters from G1 families show a dramatic increase of three times (males) and four times (females) in comparison to their adults. As a result it seems that the two extreme groups are getting closer to each other, and G1 are moving much faster.

There are sharp and clear distinctions between the four social classes and four styles. The rate of assimilation rises from word list to free speech continuously as the formality of reading gradually changes to a more or less relaxed free speech, except for G1 females, where it is an almost steady process (figs. 2-5). In all styles the females score less than males.

In free speech, there is an incredible homogeneity among the individuals of each group. The total standard deviation for this variable is as low as 32.9 which is an average of only 4.1 per social group (see Chapter Five). This shows the general unity within each social group. This unity especially with G1 females is most noticeable (table 3.11). Taking each sex separately we have no case of overlapping in free speech (figs. 6-7). Yet overlapping in word list and reading the sentences is relatively high.

From the point of view of social class, among the different items involved in vowel assimilation, those with / -i /, / -u / and / - a / constructions seem to have the most sensitive and relevant environment (Table 3.9).

Fig. 3.6. The areas of overlap for vowel assimilation by class, style, sex, and forty individual adults.

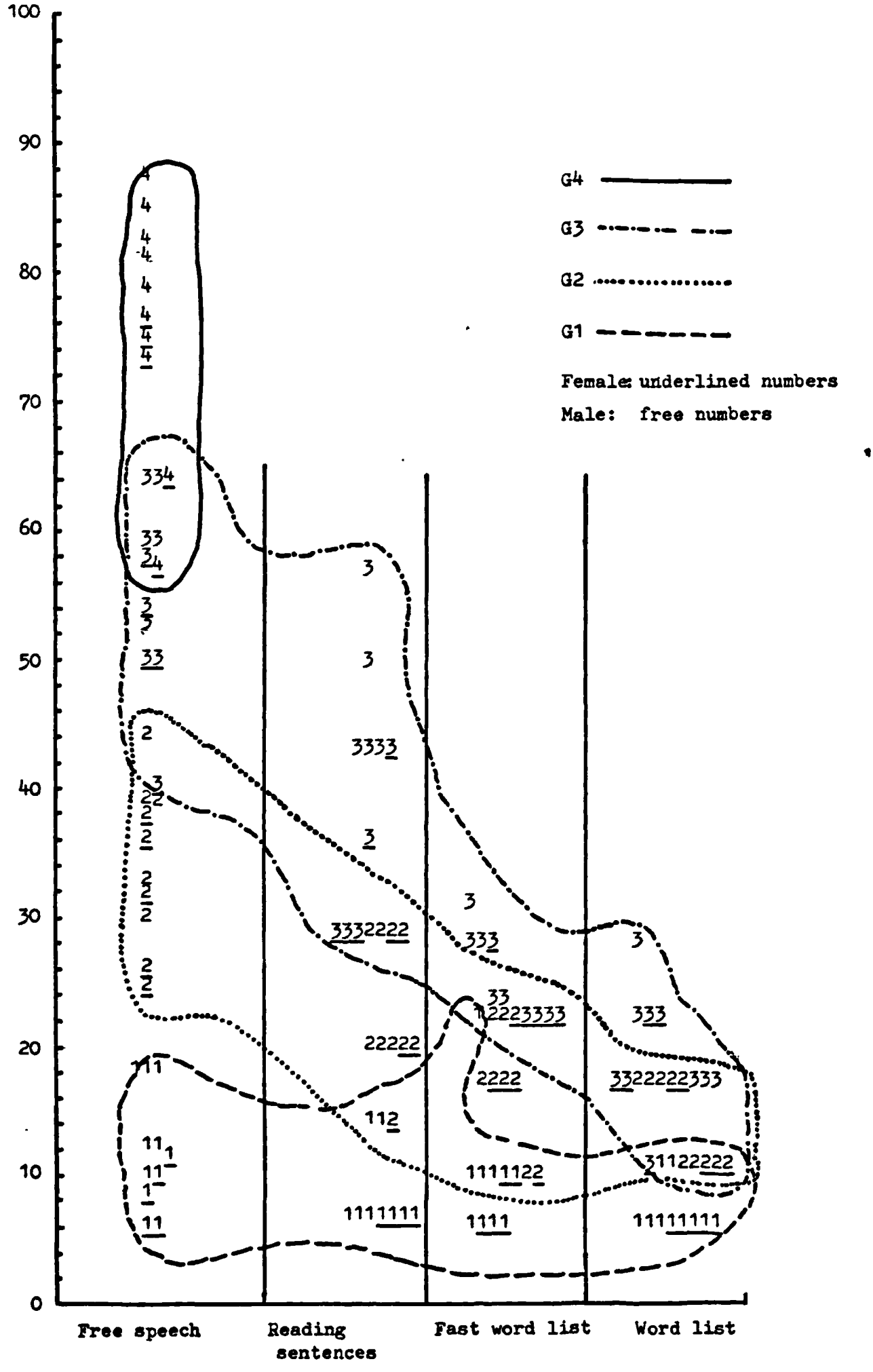
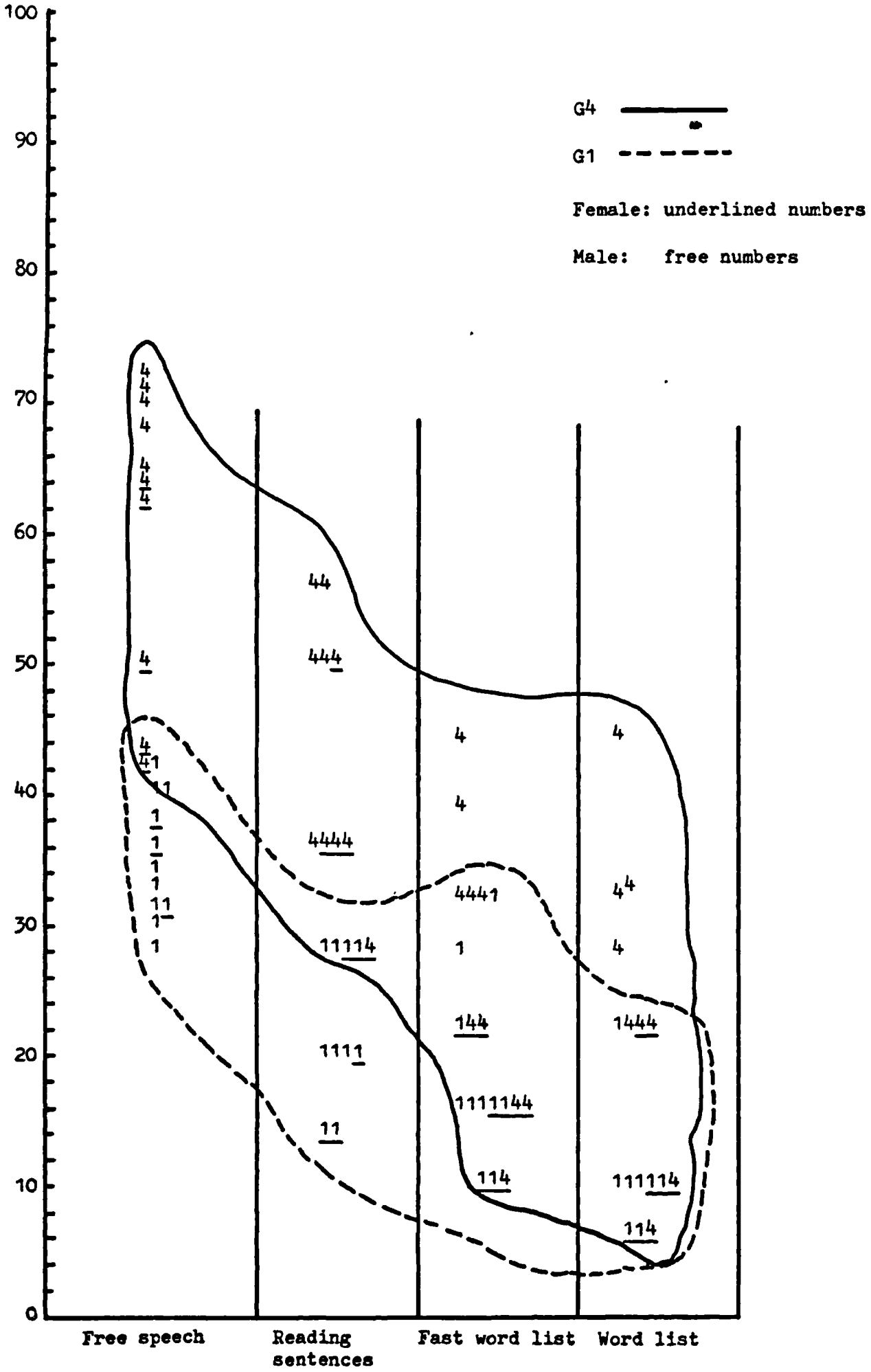


Fig. 3.7. The areas of overlap for vowel assimilation by class, style, sex, and twenty individual youngsters.



/e/ Vowel raising.

This is another case of assimilation in which the half-open vowel / e / raises to / i / before / k, g, š / the high consonants, in items such as / kuček / "small", / šekar / "sugar", / šekast / "broke", / negâ / "look", / šekâr / "hunting", / âteš / "fire".

Lexicon	kuček	šekar	šekast	negâ	âteš	TOTAL
G1 F	50%/8	0%/12	0%/5	0%/1	0%/1	15%/26
G1 M	100%/3	0%/10	0%/5	0%/2	0%/1	14%/21
G2 F	100%/10	21%/14	0%/5	-	100%/9	58%/38
G2 M	100%/10	0%/15	0%/5	8%/11	100%/1	45%/42
G3 F	100%/23	53%/15	33%/6	75%/8	100%/4	77%/56
G3 M	100%/16	85%/13	100%/5	100%/7	-	95%/41
G4 F	100%/22	100%/7	-	100%/13	100%/3	100%/45
G4 M	100%/21	100%/6	100%/2	100%/5	100%/15	100%/49
G1 YF	100%/9	0%/14	0%/5	50%/4	100%/2	38%/34
G1 YM	75%/8	7%/15	0%/6	40%/5	77%/13	40%/47
G4 Y	100%/3	0%/11	60%/5	60%/5	100%/4	42%/24
G4 Y	100%/24	100%/16	57%/7	100%/11	100%/15	96%/73

Table 3.13. Vowel-raising scores for individual items and total percentage of raising by class, sex and age.

Table 3.13 gives more evidence in support of the lexical diffusion hypothesis, as items with almost the same linguistic environment undergo the rule with a degree ranging from nil to 100 per cent. Although the figures here are small, like many other variables they confirm the suggestion. The item / kuček / "small" seems to be / kučik / for all social classes except G1 female which use it only fifty per

cent of the time; so this item, like / bekon / "do"in vowel assimilation is irrelevant from the point of view of social class differences.

The social differences of / e / raising.

Raising / e / before a high consonant, like / -i / construction in vowel assimilation, is very relevant from the point of view of class. Table 3.14 reveals that this variable divides the social classes into four parts in free speech. Yet in reading style the pattern is not as clear. G1 and G2 adults and G1 youngsters score nil in their reading style.

	FS	RS	FWL	WL
G1 F	15	0	0	0
G1 M	14	0	0	0
G2 F	58	0	0	0
G2 M	45	0	0	0
G3 F	77	20	0	0
G3 M	95	70	40	40
G4 F	100	-	-	-
G4 M	100	-	-	-
G1 F.Y	38	0	0	0
G1 M.Y	40	0	0	0
G4 F.Y	42	30	0	0
G4 M.Y	96	50	50	50

Table 3.14. The percentage of vowel raising by class, style, sex and age.

Fig.3.8 (p.75) shows the females, who are noticeably divided into four distinct sections in free speech. In reading style, only G3 from the three literate groups show any difference from the other two groups. Fig. 3.9 shows the male adults. In free speech, G1, G2 and G3 are separated noticeably. G3 score much higher than their

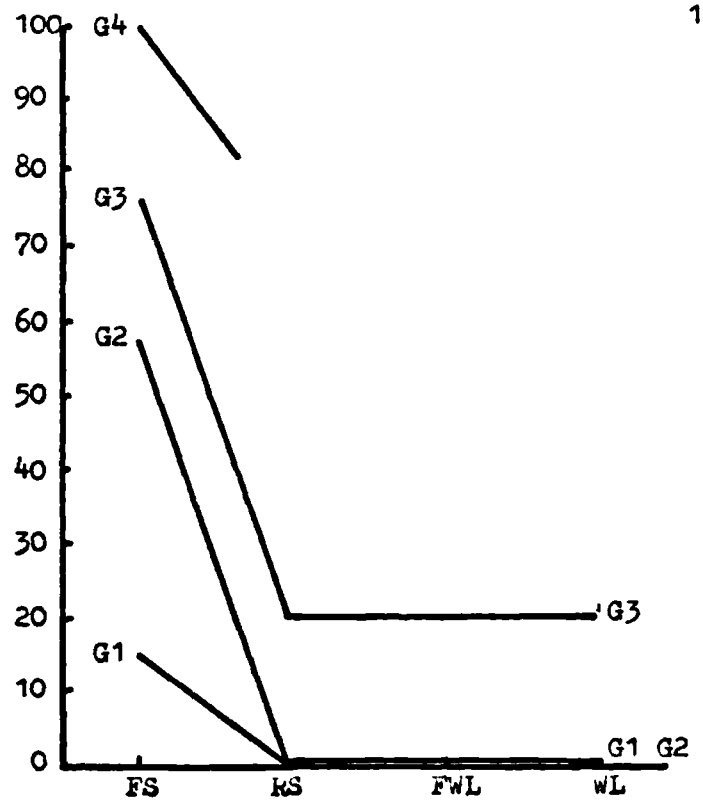


Fig. 3.8. The percentage of raising by class and style, female, adults.

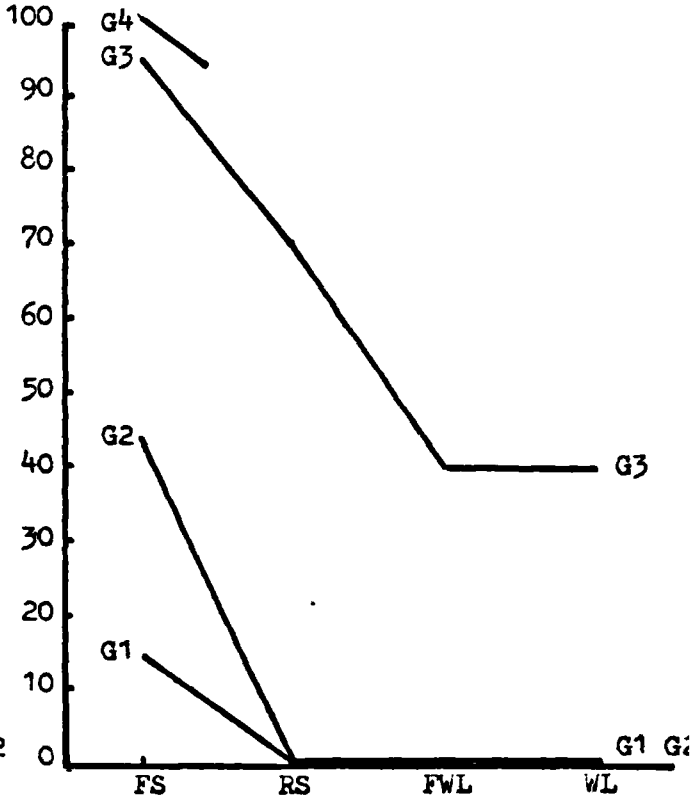


Fig. 3.9. The percentage of raising by class and style, male, adult

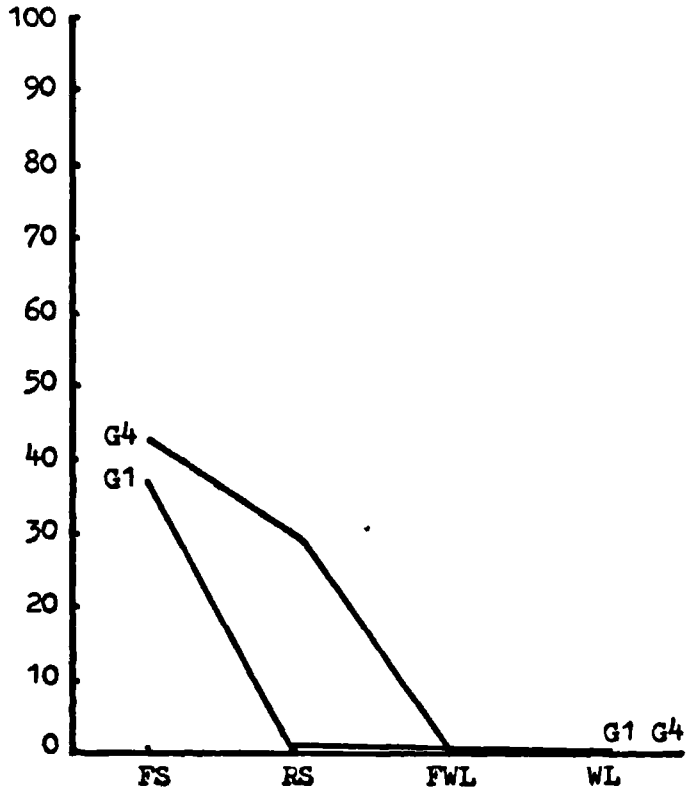


Fig. 3.10. The percentage of raising by class and style, female, youngsters.

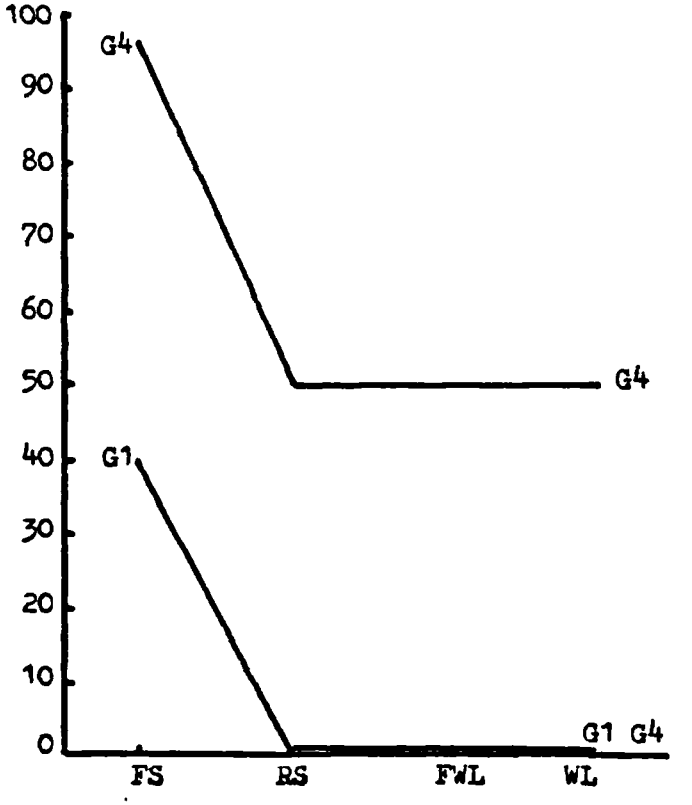


Fig. 3.11. The percentage of raising by class and style, male, youngsters.

female counterpart, but it has almost the same pattern as for females. Here again G3 is the only literate group that differs from the other groups in reading styles.

Fig. 3.10 shows the female youngsters. G4, here, show a remarkable sensitivity to this variable in raising their / e / in the mentioned items. They score dramatically lower than their adults.

Fig. 3.11 shows the male youngsters. They are clearly divided in all styles, but in free speech they are closing the gap.

/â/~/u/ variable.

The raising of / â / to / u / before a nasal consonant / n, m / has been mentioned,here and there, by some scholars such as Ivanow (1930) and Hodge (1957), yet no systematic study has been made of this very frequent aspect of Persian language, and its co-variation with social and stylistic parameters.

Here we look at this process, its implications, and its stylistic and class differences. The extreme frequency of this variable gives us the chance to do a deeper study in the mechanism of a phonological change. In studying this variable, over 11,700 potential cases of a raising by four styles and sixty informants from all social classes have been examined.

First, we look at the possible effect of the phonotactic environment on / â / raising, so the / â / + nasal cluster in two main positions will be examined. (As all the items beginning in a vowel automatically carry a glottal stop, so the / â / + nasal cluster can not occur in initial position.) Not all words containing this cluster, and mentioned below, are necessarily liable to undergo the change as we shall see in

discussion of lexical differences. The figures discussed below represent all the cases from the reading styles, but only approximately the first fifty cases for each speaker in Free speech.

(i) Medial position.

(a) Before / -n /. In items such as / ʔânjâ / "there", / dânestan / "to know", / xâne / "house", / qânun / "law", / tulâni / "long", / šâne / "shoulder, comb", / bâstâni / "ancient", / xândan / " to read , to sing", / čâne / "chin", / dâneš / "knowledge", / ruznâme / "newspaper", / rânande / "driver", / bâng / "bank, shout". The figures below show the percentage of raising in this environment by style for all classes.

Free speech	Reading sentences	Fast word list	Word list
672/1016 66%	65/250 26%	2/40 5%	1/40 3%

(b) Before / -m /. In items such as / ʔâmadan / "to come", / dâman / "skirt", / dâmâd / "groom", / nâme / "letter", / darâmad / "income", / ʔedâme / "continuation", / ʔavâmel / "factors", / kâmel / "complete", / hâmele / "pregnant", / xâme / "cream", / ʔâmâr / "statistic", / ʔâmel / "agent", / šâmel / "consist of", / xânom / "lady", and so on. The figures below show the percentage of / â / raising in this environment.

Free speech	Reading sentences	Fast word list	Word list
80/238 34%	10/100 10%	-	-

(ii) Final position.

(â) Before / -n /. In items such as / ʔân / "that", / tehrân / "Tehran", /ʔalʔân / "now", / xiyâbân / "street", / biyâbân / "desert", / dabestân / "primary school", / dabirestân / "secondary school", / bimârestân / "hospital", / zemestân / "winter", / tâbestân / "summer", / -mân . -tân . -šân / "the possessive accusative enclitics", / meydân / "square", / mehrebân / "kind", / zabân / "language, tongue", / javân /

"young", / ʔarzân / "cheap", /ʔonvân / "title, subject", / qorʔân / "Islamic holy book", / zamân / "time", /ʔemkân / "possibility", /ʔemtehân / "exam." and so on. The figures below show the percentage of / â / raising in this environment.

Free speech	Reading sentences	Fast word list	Word list
916/1138 80%	73/400 18%	16/300 5%	11,300 4%

(b) Before / -m /. In items such as / peyqâm /"message", / tamâm / "all", / nezâm / "order", / kodâm / "which", / harâm / "religiously prohibited", / dâm / "trap, domesticated animal", / ʔârâm / "quiet", / ʔarqâm / "figures", / ʔanjâm / "act", / nâm / "name", / ʔemâm / "Imam, holy man", / miyâm / "I will come", / xâm / "raw, crude", / maqâm / "degree", / šâm / "dinner", / hammâm / "bath", and so on. The figures below show the percentage of / â / raising in this environment.

Free speech	Reading sentences	Fast word list	Word list
64/204 31%	2/100 2%	0/40 0%	0/40 0%

Phonetactic Position	Phonological environment	Free speech	Reading sentences	Fast word list	Word list
Medial	/ -n /	627/1016 66%	65/250 26%	2/40 5%	1/40 3%
	/ -m /	80/238 34%	10/100 10%	-	-
Final	/ -n /	916/1138 80%	73/400 18%	16/300 5%	11/300 4%
	/ -m /	64/204 31%	2/100 2%	0/40 0%	0/40 0%

Table 3.15. The percentage of / â / raising in different phonotactic positions and phonological environments, by style, regardless of class, sex and age distinctions.

Phonological environment	Free speech	Reading sentences	Fast word list	Word list
/ -n /	1543/2154 68%	138/650 21%	18/340 5%	12/340 4%
/ -m /	144/442 33%	12/200 5%	0/40 0%	0/40 0%

Table 3.16. The percentage of / â / raising in different phonological environments in all positions, by style, regardless of class, sex, and age distinctions.

Conclusions:

(i) The location of / â / + nasal in different positions, does not seem to have a noticeable effect on raising. The 14 per cent difference before / -n / and 3 per cent before / -m / may be due to the fact that / â / + nasal cluster in medial position is stressed and also located on the syllable boundary.

(ii) The raising of / â / before / -n / is more favoured than before / -m /.

The following factors seem to have an effect on relevant lexical items exposed to a phonological change.

(1) New items which are recently "made" by the Iranian Academy of Language to replace foreign Arabic loan words, seem to keep their original form, e.g.

/ farhangestân /	~	*/ farhangestun /	"academy"
/ resâne ye goruhi /	~	*/ resune ye goruhi /	"mass media"
/ pežuhâne /	~	*/ pežuhune /	"compiling fee"
/ râyâne /	~	*/ râyune /	"computer"

(2) Learned items which are not so common in informal speech do not change, e.g.

/ navasân /	~	*/ navasun /	"vacillation"
/ kânun /	~	*/ kunun /	"centre"
/ʔonvân /	~	*/ʔonvun /	"title, subject"
/ mânand /	~	*/ munand /	"like"

(3) Items which are not specifically learned, but can be used as a title or a formal name, e.g.

/ xâne / ~ / xune / "house"

This item / xâne / always changes to / xune / in free speech for all speakers regardless of their social class, sex, or age. While two of my informants when talking about a TV series called / xâne kuček / "Small House", always keep it in its original "standard" form, as it is uttered by the TV announcer, yet in the sentence containing this "title", all other elements are strongly changed to "non-standard" form: / bad zorâ filme 'xâne ye kuček' o mibinim / "in the evenings we watch the serial 'Small House'". The same informant in the rest of his interview in twelve ordinary cases always changes his / xâne / to / xune /. The second informant, again in describing a TV serial called / xâne beduš / "Vagabond", keeps the title as / xâne /, /ʔunvaxtâ xâne beduš am midídim / "those days, I used to watch 'Vagabond'." Also, when describing a game called "Monopoly", he says:

/ ye qesmati has beš migan xâne / "there is a part called 'house'". Again, the same informant shifts to / xune / in thirteen ordinary cases in the rest of his interview.

There may be two alternative explanations for the above facts:

(i) / xâne / and / xune / are two forms, learned from two different sources. / xune / is used for any "house", and has a source in a "non-formal base, so it is not learned by reading a book, nor is it taught by a teacher, whereas / xâne / is learned either by hearing it as / xâne / from the TV announcer, or as a written rule in the case of how to play "Monopoly".

(ii) / xâne / carries an additional semantic function, as, apart from having the original meaning of a "house", it represents also / xâne-ye kuček / a TV serial, not another one, so it identifies this particular series from other serials. Then, that additional

function may prevent the item from undergoing the rule and changing to / xune /.

The other example is / zabân / "language, tongue". In a non-formal manner it can easily change to / zabun /, e.g. / zabunam xeyli xub nis / "my 'foreign' language is not so good." While as / baxše zabân / "department of language" or / farhangestân zabân / "academy of language", it never changes to / zabun /.

(4) Foreign loan words seem more likely to keep their original form, e.g.

/ kâmpiyuter / ~ */ kumpiyuter /
/ referâns / ~ */ referuns /
/ ʔâlmân / ~ */ ʔâlmun /
/ kânâdâ / ~ */ kunâdâ /
/ʔotobân / ~ */ʔotobun /
/ ʔestândârd / ~ */ ʔestundârd /
/ ʔâmpul / ~ */ ʔumpul /

(5) Morpheme boundary.

The raising of / â / to / u / before a nasal is a morpheme-bounded process. As we see here, after certain deletions, some of the accusative, possessive, or subject enclitics can be reduced to / -n /, or / -m /, then this shortened morpheme can be added to an item ended in / â /, e.g.

(a) Noun + plural marker + mediator + possessive enclitics
/ dust / + / hâ / + / y / + / am /
/ dusthâyam / ~ / dustâm / ~ */ dustum / "my friends"

(b) /pâ / + / y / + / am /
/ pâyam / ~ / pâm / ~ */pum / "my foot"

(c) prefix + present stem + mediator + subject enclitics
/ be / + / xâ / + / h / / and /
/ bexâhand / ~ / bexând / ~ / bexân / ~ */ bexun / "if they want"

Similarly, adding a prefix ending in / â / to an item beginning in a nasal, e.g.

(a) Negative + noun
/ nâ / + / mard /
/ nâmard / ~ */ numard / "coward"

(b) Noun + plural marker + adverb
/ vaxt / + / hâ / + / ham /
/ vexthâham / ~ / vaxtâm / ~ */ vaxtum / "sometime, also"

(6) Lexical differences.

After excluding the special categories mentioned and restricting the items to the same phonological environment, and even in some cases to homonymous items, we still find some considerable irregularities which cannot be explained by the factors mentioned. Table 3.17 gives some examples of irregularity within items containing the same phonological environment. Information in this table once more supports the hypothesis of lexical diffusion.

/ zemestân / "winter", / tâbestân / "summer"		36/39	92%
/ dabestân / "primary school", / dabirestân / "high school"		0/90	0%
/ ʔân / "that"		216/216	100%
/ -šân /, / -tân /, / -mân /	enclitics possessive, accusative	135/135	100%
/ xiyâbân /	"street"	51/64	80%
/ tehrân /	"Tehran"	89/236	38%
/ ʔalʔân /	"now"	0/79	0%
/ qorʔân /	"Islamic holy book"	0/7	0%

Table 3.17: / â / raising in 6 lexical items.

Similarly, / kâm /, / xâm /, / dâm /, / šâm /, / ʔâm / never raise, while / bâm / ~ / bum / is possible. A particularly clear case of non-phonologically conditioned differences is provided by the following homophones:

(a) / xân /, in items such as

/ mixânam / ~ / mixunam / "I read"
/ bexânam / ~ / bexunam / "may I read" 34/40 90%

(b) / xân / "master" never becomes*/ xun /, so

/ rozexân / ~ / rozexun / "religious singer, narrator"
/ rezâ xân/ ~*/ rezâxun / "master Reza"

(c) / xân /, when the nasal / - n, m / is a morpheme:

/ mixâm /~*/ mixum / "I want
/ mixân /~*/ mixun / "they want" 0/47 0%

Conclusions:

(i) New items, learned items, items with formal source, and borrowed items do not undergo the rule;

(ii) In undergoing the rule, there are lexical differences among the items with the same phonological environment.

The social differences of / â / ~ / u / variable

The / â / variable shows a fine co-variation between social and linguistic parameters. This variable is very sensitive, and youngsters from the two extreme groups seem to be slightly closing the gap between the groups.

Table 3.18 (see p. 86) shows the score for individual adults and the overlapping areas. The overlapping with females is more than with males. The degree of overlapping is small and in four out of eight cases, with female adults, it is only one per cent. Males have only two cases of overlapping. Some of the groups such as G2 and G3 males, and G1 male and female youngsters, show incredible unity in their score pattern.

Fig. 3.12 (see p.85) shows the female adults by class and style. They are clearly and almost equally separated in their free speech.

In reading styles G1 and G2 are separated, while G3 in reading the sentences overlap with G2 and in the word list it is identical to G1. In their reading style G3 is the only group that shows a noticeable sex difference, as G3 females in their reading style are over-conscious and conservative, while G3 males raise their / â / in all styles.

Fig. 3.13 (p. 85) shows the male adults. In their free speech they show almost the same patterns as the females, although the difference between G2 and G3 is bigger. In reading style G3 is completely separated from the two other groups, and G2 in reading the sentences has overlap with G1.

Table 3.19 (see p. 87) shows the percentage for two groups of youngsters individually. The scores among the groups are regular and because of being two extreme groups, they naturally have no overlapping.

Fig. 3.14 (p. 85) shows the female youngsters. The two extreme groups are separated in all styles except in word list with pause. The gap between the two groups is smaller than their adults. However, this is mostly caused by a further move by G1.

Fig. 3.15 (p. 85) shows the male youngsters. They are separated from each other in all styles. The gap here is also closing, but here the male G4 show a tendency to reduce the gap.

Tables 18 and 19 and figs. 12 - 15, show that with all groups there is a dramatic reduction in the percentage of / â / raising from free speech to reading styles as a whole. This may be due to the Persian writing system, in which / â / and / u / have distinctively separated and unambiguous symbols (see Chapter One). The visual contact with these symbols in reading styles may make the original

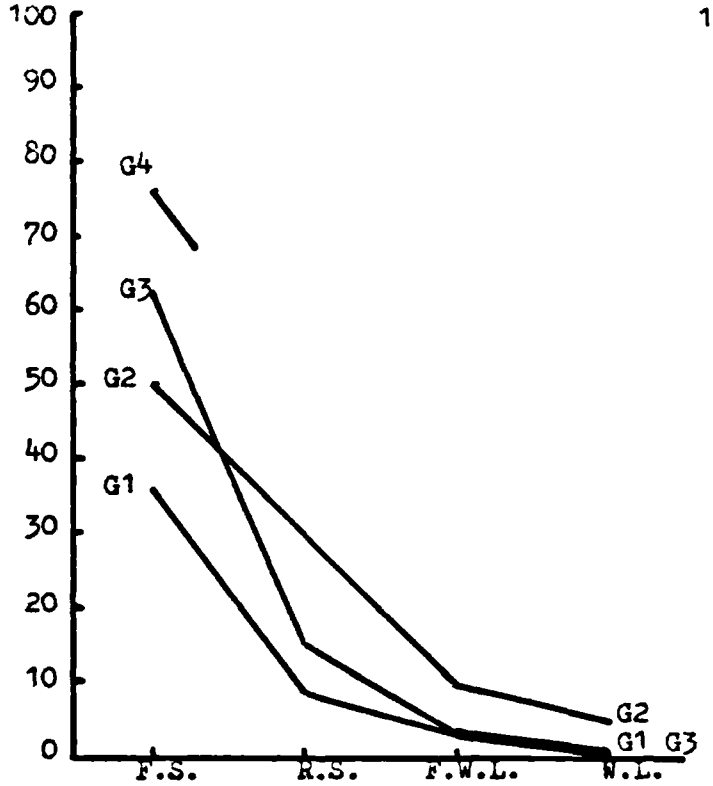


Fig. 3.12. Percentage of (u) by class and style. Female adults.

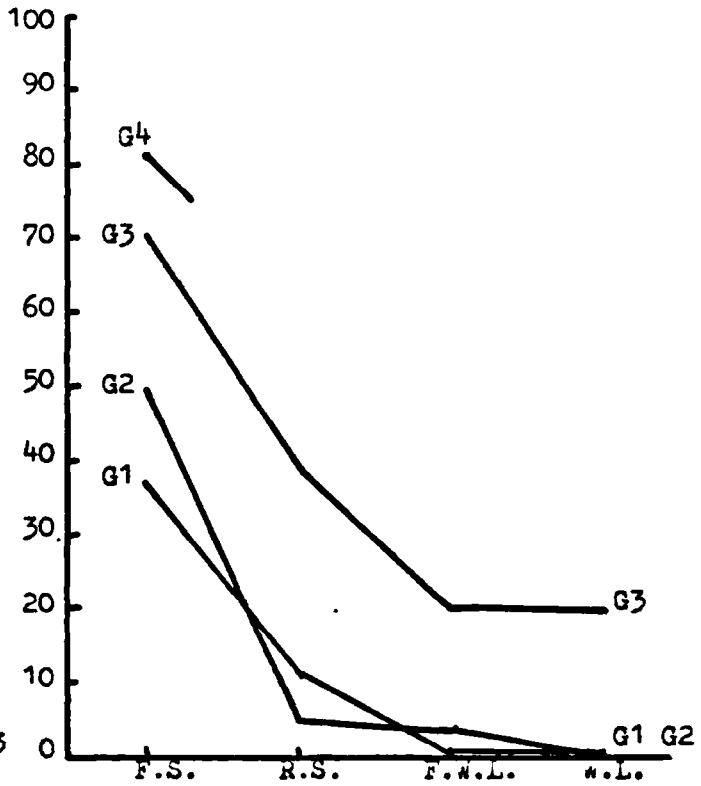


Fig. 3.13. Percentage of (u) by class and style. Male adults.

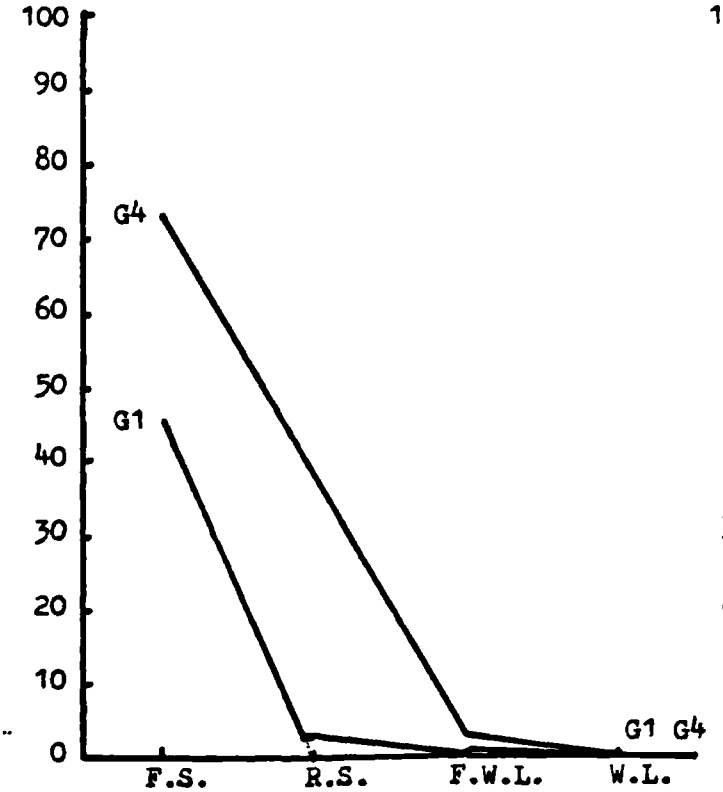


Fig. 14. Percentage of (u) by class and style. Female youngsters.

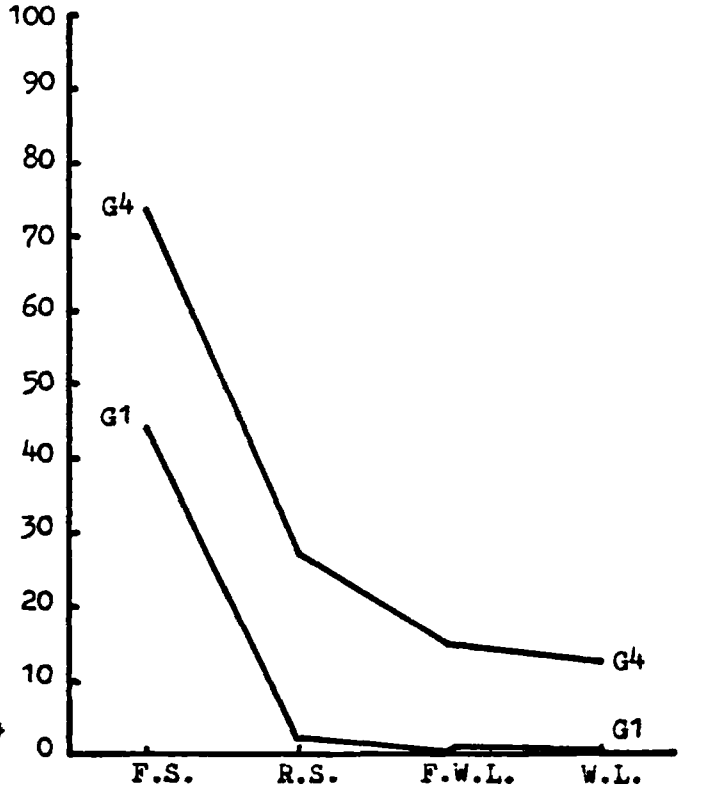


Fig. 15. Percentage of (u) by class and style. Male youngsters.

Table 3.18. Scores for / â / raising for 40 individual adult informants by class and style.

Style	Free speech		reading sentences		fast word list		Word list		Free speech		reading sentences		fast word list		Word list	
G1 scores	17/77	22%	0/17	0%	0/8	0%	0/8	0%	79/136	58%	0	0	0		0	
	55/152	36%	0		0		0		41/121	34%	6/17	40%	0		0	
	40/81	49%	7/17	47%	0		0		32/90	36%	3/17	20%	0		0	
	68/165	41%	0		0		0		47/103	44%	0		0		0	
	47/152	30%	1/17	6%	1/8	12%	0		52/229	23%	0		0		0	
average scores	227/627	36%	8/85	9%	1/40	3%	0/40	0	241/684	37%	9/85	11%	0/40	0	0/40	0
G2 scores	19/47	40%	2/17	12%	0		0		70/148	47%	0		1/8	12%	0	0
	80/150	53%	10/17	58%	4/8	50%	2/8	25%	81/171	47%	0		0		0	
	84/159	53%	9/17	53%	0		0		85/178	48%	1/17	6%	0		0	
	73/154	48%	0		0		0		56/103	54%	3/17	18%	0		0	
	85/166	51%	4/17	25%	0		0		94/193	49%	0		0		0	
average scores	341/676	50%	29/85	29%	4/40	10%	2/40	5%	385/793	49%	4/85	5%	1/40	3%	0/40	0
G3 scores	61/118	52%	0		0		0		109/167	65%	13/17	76%	6/8	75%	6/8	75%
	107/174	61%	1/17	6%	0		0		70/106	66%	6/17	35%	1/8	12%	1/8	12%
	170/277	61%	3	18%	0		0		163/242	67%	4/17	24%	1/8	12%	1/8	23%
	56/82	68%	4	24%	1/8	12%	0		168/225	66%	4/17	24%	0/8	0	0/8	0
	69/115	60%	5	29%	0		0		141/191	74%	6/17	35%	0/8	0	0/8	0
average scores	473/766	62%	13/85	15%	1/40	3%	0/40	0	651/931	70%	33/85	39%	8/40	20%	8/40	20%
G4 scores	251/300	84%	-		-		-		169/227	74%	-		-		-	
	234/306	77%	-		-		-		168/215	78%	-		-		-	
	232/296	78%	-		-		-		246/278	88%	-		-		-	
	217/325	67%	-		-		-		181/244	74%	-		-		-	
	174/241	72%	-		-		-		256/292	88%	-		-		-	
average scores	1109/1468	76%	-		-		-		1020/1256	81%	-		-		-	

Sex	Female								Male							
Style	Free speech		Reading sentences		Fast word list		Word list		Free speech		Reading sentences		Fast word list		Word list	
GI scores	19/62	31%		0		0		0	69/166	42%	1/17	6		0		0
	55/130	42%	1/17	6		0		0	49/118	42%		0		0		0
	84/182	46%		0		0		0	88/182	48%		0		0		0
	69/141	49%		0		0		0	76/192	40%		0		0		0
	88/194	45%		0		0		0	75/155	48%		0		0		0
average scores	315/709	45%	1/85	2%	0/40	0	0/40	0	357/813	44%	1/85	2%	0/40	0	0/40	0
G4 scores	55/76	72%	7/17	41%		0		0	59/75	79%		0		0		0
	65/80	12%		0		0		0	113/167	68%	9/17	53%	3/8	37%	1/8	12%
	137/184	74%	3/17	18%		0		0	131/195	67%	1/17	6%		0		0
	46/74	62%	9/17	53%		0		0	117/152	77%	2/17	12%		0		0
	63/85	74%	12/17	71%	1/8	12%		0	246/316	79%	12/17	71%	3/8	37%	4/8	50%
average scores	366/499	73%	33/85	39%	1/40	3%	0/40	0	666/905	74%	24/85	28%	6/40	15%	5/40	13%

Table 3.19. / â / raising scores for 20 individual young informants by class and styles.

form more retainable.

Conclusions:

(i) The / â / raising variable is sensitive to class and style.

(ii) Except G3 males in their reading styles, there is no noticeable sex difference with this variable.

(iii) Youngsters in comparison to their adults are closing the gap slightly.

(iv) The high range of irregularities in reading styles may be due to the writing system which clearly distinguishes between / â / and / u /.

/ ey / monophthongisation.

Monophthongisation of the diphthong / ey / occurs in all relevant lexical items. It normally causes a slight lengthening of / e. / (., half duration :, full duration). This duration with some items such as / xeyli / ~ / xe:li /, especially with "lower" groups, is full and more noticeable, e.g.

/ xe:li delam mixâs baram marse / "I was very eager to go to school"

The monophthongisation process is common in Persian, and the diphthong / ow / (see / ow / variable, p.93) also becomes monophthongised. As we see later, this process is relevant to both class and style.

/ ey / monophthongisation provides us with some fresh evidence to support the idea that the degree of undergoing a phonological rule for all relevant lexical items is not identical. In table 3.20 (see next page) we see that items with almost the same phonological environment allow different degree of monophthongisation, as the percentage of monophthongisation differs from 84 per cent / pe.qâm /

to 11 per cent / pe.mâne /. The evidence once more supports the idea that a phonological rule does not cover all the relevant items at once.

"Stahdard" form	N.S.F. Monophthonised	Meaning	Total No.	Number of Monophthongs	% Monophthong
peyqâm	pe.q̂am	"message"	64	54	84%
peydâ	pe.dâ	"clear"	61	47	77%
peyvand	pe.vand	"graft"	49	25	51%
xeyli	xe.li	"very"	837	357	43%
seyl	se.l	"flood"	49	13	27%
meydân	me.dân	"square"	96	26	27%
peymâne	pe.mâne	"measure"	85	9	11%

Table 3.20. The percentage of / ey / monophthongisation for 7 items and for all speakers.

Monophthongisation occurs in monosyllable items such as /ʔeyn / "eye, exact", / seyl / "flood", / xeyr / "welfare, blessing, no", / keyf / "pleasure", / qeyd / "bond, obligation", / meyl / "wish", / qeyr / "other"; as well as in polysyllabic items such as / meydân / "square", / peymân / "agreement", / peyvand / "graft", / qeymat / "price", / heykal / "body", / zeyton / "olive", / peyqâm / "message", / xeyli / "very", / peydâ / "clear". Table 21 reveals that polysyllabic items create a slightly better environment for monophthongisation in all styles. Table 3.21 also shows that monophthongisation is a stylistically sensitive process.

Style	F.S.			R.S.			F.W.L.			W.L.		
	Total	Mon. No.	% Mon.	T	Mon. No.	% Mon.	T	Mon. No.	% Mon.	T	Mon. No.	% Mon.
Monosyllable	225	73	32%	200	39	19%	162	28	17%	162	18	11%
Polysyllable	1356	631	47%	450	132	29%	300	70	23%	300	47	16%

Table 3.21. The percentage of / ey / monophthongisation of mono- and polysyllabic items by style for all speakers.

Social differences in / ey / monophthongisation.

Monophthongisation of / ey / provides another case of noticeable class differences, as it differs from 16 per cent to 70 per cent in free speech.

Table 3.22 (p. 91) and Fig. 3.16 (p.92) show that female adults are almost equally divided into two main groups, as the difference between G1 and G2 on the one hand and G3 and G4 on the other is smaller than that from G2 to G3. In reading style, again G1 and G2 are closer to each other than is G2 to G3. In reading the fast word list the difference between G1 and G2 is nil, yet they are clearly separated from G3. Overlapping occurs in all styles. G3 female adults are separated from the other female adults, especially in free speech.

Table 3.22 and Fig. 3.17 show the male adults. In free speech, they show a clearer class difference in comparison to their female counterparts, yet they show almost the same general pattern of a bigger gap between the two "higher" and "lower" groups. In reading style the differences are clear; still we have two "higher" groups closer to each other in comparison to G2 and G3.

Table 3.22 and Fig. 3.18 shows the female youngsters. In their free speech, G1 score higher than their adults, while G4 show almost the same slight difference in comparison to G4 adults. The gap between the two extreme groups with the youngsters is slightly closing, but it is still firm. G1 does not show any stylistic difference between their free speech, reading sentences and fast word list. Yet in reading the sentences and fast word list, they score higher than their adults. G4 female youngsters in their free speech, reading the sentences and word list with pause are noticeably separated from G1, while in fast word list style they overlap with G1. As a result, G1 in all

G1 female adults			G1 male adults		
style	total	% monophths	style	total	% monophths
Free speech	94	16%	F.S.	102	22%
Reading sentences	55	9%	R.S.	55	15%
Fast word list	45	17%	F.W.L.	45	16%
Word list	45	4%	W.L.	45	7%
G2 F.A.			G2 M.A.		
F.S.	148	25%	F.S.	129	34%
R.S.	55	20%	R.S.	55	29%
F.W.L.	45	16%	F.W.L.	45	24%
W.L.	45	11%	W.L.	45	9%
G3 F.A.			G3 M.A.		
F.W.	150	61%	F.S.	101	62%
R.S.	55	49%	R.S.	55	56%
F.W.L.	45	40%	F.W.L.	45	27%
W.L.	45	22%	W.L.	45	20%
G4 F.A.			G4 M.A.		
F.S.	216	65%	F.S.	148	73%
G1 female youngsters			G1 male youngsters		
F.S.	175	21%	F.S.	114	22%
R.S.	55	22%	R.S.	55	15%
F.W.L.	45	22%	F.W.L.	45	18%
W.L.	45	7%	W.L.	45	16%
G4 F.Y.			G4 M.Y.		
F.S.	68	60%	F.S.	92	60%
R.S.	55	40%	R.S.	55	56%
F.W.L.	45	16%	F.W.L.	45	33%
W.L.	45	16%	W.L.	45	29%

Table 3.22. The percentage of / ey / monophthongisation by class, sex, age and style.

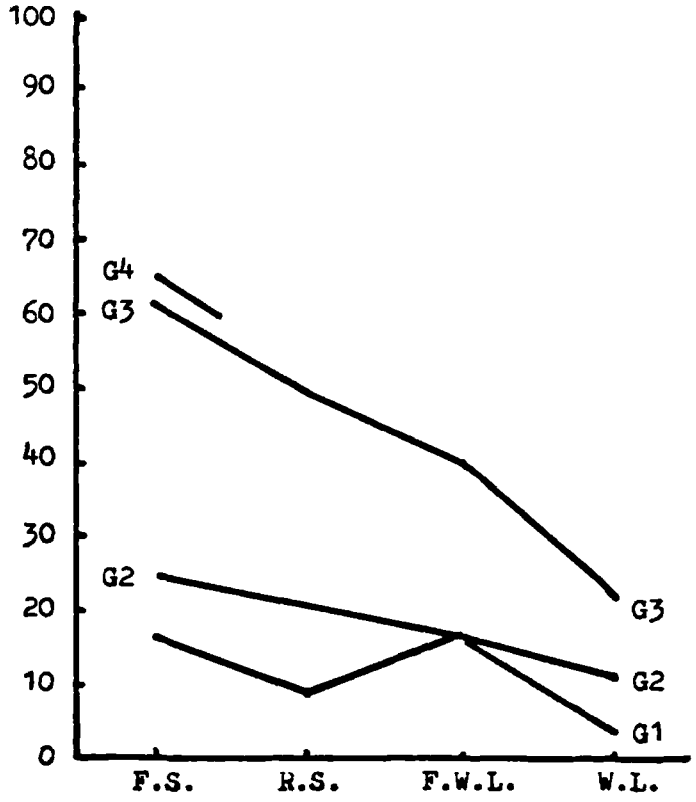


Fig. 3.16. The percentage of / ey / monophthongisation by class and style. Female adults.

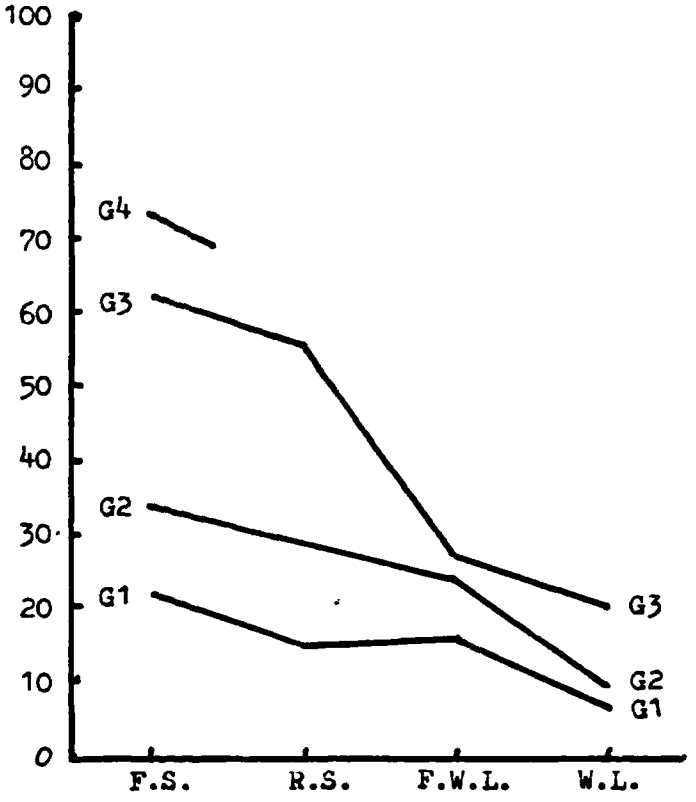


Fig. 3.17. The percentage of / ey / monophthongisation by class and style. Male adults.

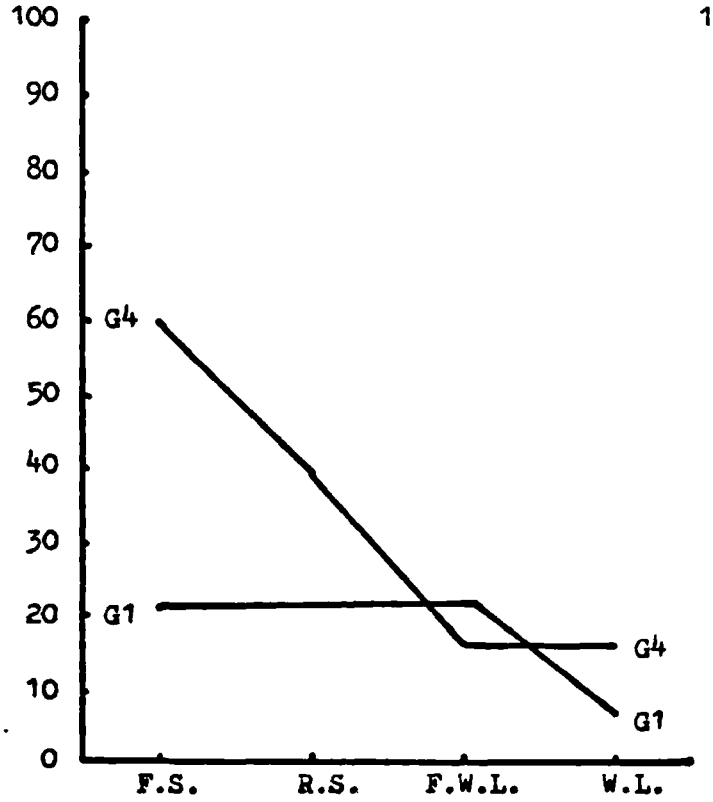


Fig. 3.18. The percentage of / ey / monophthongisation by class and style, female youngsters.

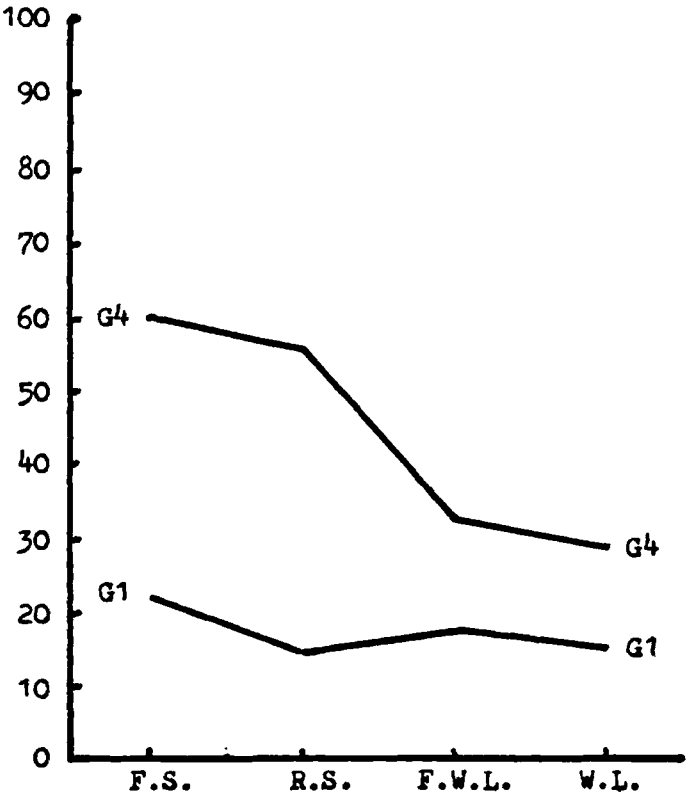


Fig. 3.19. The percentage of / ey / monophthongisation by class and style, male youngsters.

styles scores higher than G1 adults, and G4 in free speech scores lower than G4 adults and in reading style lower than G3.

Table 3.22 and Fig. 3.19 show the male youngsters: the two extreme groups have a clear difference in all styles. G1 males, except in the word list with pause, which has a slight increase in comparison to the adults, do not show any tendency to fill the gap with G4. While in free speech G4 male youngsters show a noticeable reduction in monophthongisation in comparison to their G4 adults, yet in other styles, taking as a basis the G3 adults, the nearest adult group, they do not show any noticeable tendency to closing the gap with G1.

/ ow / variable.

The phoneme has been considered as one of the Persian diphthongs by many scholars such as Lampton (1953), Samareh (1978). It occurs in a number of items, such as / četowr / "how", / rowšan / "bright", / šowhar / "husband", / rowqan / "oil", / nowbat / "turn, time", / sowqât / "present", / mowqe? / "time", / dowre / "course", /mowred / "case, instance".

There is a high tendency to monophthongise the / ow / to / o / by all social groups. But there is another process which occurs after monophthongisation, and that is the raising to / o / to / u /. The process of raising the / o / differentiates the sexes substantially. This variable also divides the female speakers into four distinctive groups in free speech. It is important to mention that only some monophthongised items allow a further process of raising. However, with this variable we are dealing with three variants, which can be treated in two steps.

(i) / ow / ~ / o /

All lexical items with diphthong / ow / have an alternative in / o /. Table 3.23 (p. 95) shows that the percentage of monophthongisation is very high for all, social, sex, age groups, and in all styles, even in word list with pause. The high percentage of monophthongisation in reading styles may be due to the writing system (see Chapter One) in which / ow / has no fixed symbol. However, it seems that / ow / is going to be completely replaced by / o /.

(ii) / o / ~ / u /

In some items such as / šowhar /, / rowqan / and / rowšan /, after the change from / ow / to / o / has taken place, the monophthongised item undergoes the raising rule. It is important to mention here, that the process of raising only applies to the / o /s which are the result of monophthongisation, and not to any items which contain the / o / vowel, e.g.

/ šowhar / ~ / šohar / ~ / šuhar /, in some cases / šuvar /

/ mâdar šuharam xeli bad bud / "My mother-in-law was very bad".

/ rowqan / ~ / roqan / ~ / ruqan /

/ ruqano mirizam tu mâytâbe / "I pour the oil in the pan".

/ rowšan / ~ / rošan / ~ / rušan /

/ʔavval čarâq o rušan mikonam / "First I put the light on".

In table 3.24, we see that for working class speakers especially in their free speech the diphthong / ow / scarcely exists. Table 3.24 and Figs. 3.20-23 show that after monophthongisation, working class speakers apply the process of vowel raising to some of these items. As a sociolinguistic variable only this secondary raising process is relevant. Although the number of items it covers are relatively small, it seems to be significant. (see pages 96 and 97).

Style	Total	/ow/%	/o/%	/u/%	Style	Total	/ow/%	/o/%	/u/%
	G1 female adults					G1 male adults			
Free speech	106	8	92	0	F.S.	105	10	90	0
Reading sentences	65	7	93	0	R.S.	65	14	86	0
Fast word list	60	5	92	3	F.W.L.	60	28	72	0
Word list	60	16	84	0	W.L.	60	43	57	0
	G2 female adults					G2 male adults			
F.S.	127	1	99	0	F.S.	124	2	94	4
R.S.	65	3	97	0	R.S.	65	4	93	3
F.W.L.	60	2	98	0	F.W.L.	60	13	87	0
W.L.	60	5	95	0	W.L.	60	17	83	0
	G3 female adults					G3 male adults			
F.S.	163	0	93	7	F.S.	112	1	92	7
R.S.	65	0	98	2	R.S.	65	2	87	11
F.W.L.	60	5	92	3	F.W.L.	60	5	82	13
W.L.	60	2	95	3	W.L.	60	10	78	12
	G4 female adults					G4 male adults			
F.S.	155	0	87	13	F.W.	110	0	83	17
	G1 female youngsters					G1 male youngsters			
F.S.	109	4	92	4	F.S.	136	3	97	0
R.S.	65	15	77	8	R.S.	65	3	95	2
F.W.L.	60	8	92	0	F.W.L.	60	10	90	0
W.L.	60	25	75	0	W.L.	60	27	73	0
	G4 female youngsters					G4 male youngsters			
F.S.	62	0	98	2	F.S.	89	0	89	11
R.S.	65	1	97	2	R.S.	65	0	98	2
F.W.L.	60	2	98	0	F.W.L.	60	0	97	3
W.L.	60	6	92	2	W.L.	60	5	88	7

Table 3.23. The percentage of / ow / monophthongisation and raising by class, age, sex, and style for all items.

G1. female adults					G1. male adults				
Style	Total	/ow/%	/o/%	/u/%	Style	Total	/ow/%	/o/%	/u/%
Free speech	22	9	91	0	F.S.	23	13	87	0
Reading sentences	15	13	87	0	R.S.	15	0	100	0
Fast word list	15	20	73	7	F.W.L.	15	27	73	0
Word list	15	40	60	0	W.L.	15	53	47	0
		G2. F.A.					G2. M.A.		
F.S.	32	3	97	0	F.S.	15	0	60	40
R.S.	15	7	93	0	R.S.	15	0	93	7
F.W.L.	15	0	100	0	F.W.L.	15	33	67	0
W.L.	15	0	100	0	W.L.	15	27	73	0
		G3. F.A.					G3. M.A.		
F.S.	76	0	83	17	F.S.	11	0	36	64
R.S.	15	0	93	7	R.S.	15	0	67	33
F.W.L.	15	0	93	7	F.W.L.	15	0	60	40
W.L.	15	7	86	7	W.L.	15	0	60	40
		G4 F.A.					G4. M.A.		
F.S.	82	0	78	22	F.S.	20	0	10	90
		G1 F. Youngster					G1 M. Youngster		
F.S.	28	0	89	11	F.S.	18	0	100	0
R.S.	15	0	93	7	R.S.	15	0	87	13
F.W.L.	15	0	100	0	F.W.L.	15	20	80	0
W.L.	15	27	73	0	W.L.	15	47	53	0
		G4 F.Y.					G4 M.Y.		
F.S.	6	0	83	17	F.S.	17	0	35	65
R.S.	15	0	93	7	R.S.	15	0	93	7
F.W.L.	15	7	86	7	F.W.L.	15	0	87	13
W.L.	15	27	73	0	W.L.	15	7	66	27

Table 3.24. The percentage of / ow / monophthongisation and raising, by class, age, sex, and style, for those items which allow raising.

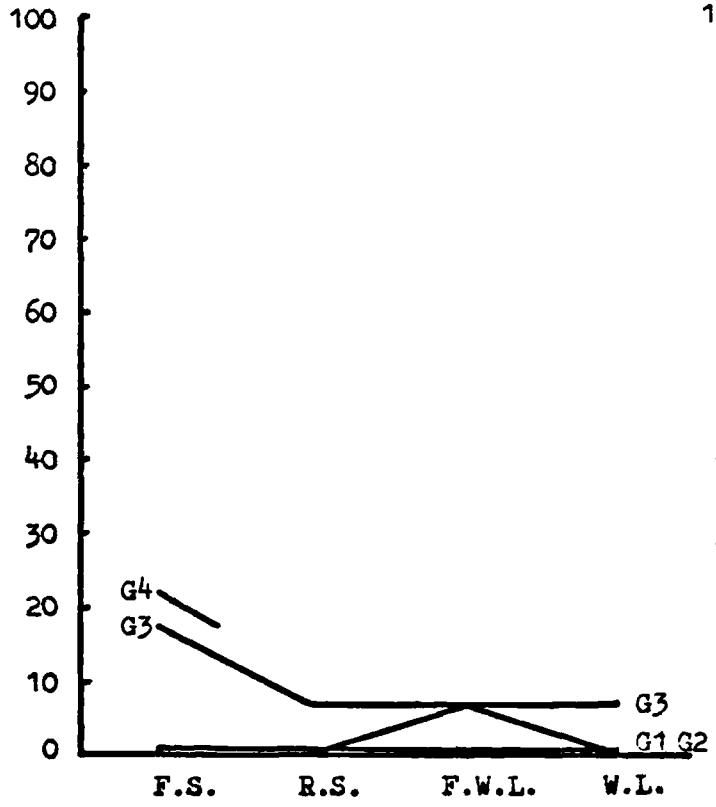


Fig. 3.20. The percentage of / o / raising by class and style. Female adults.

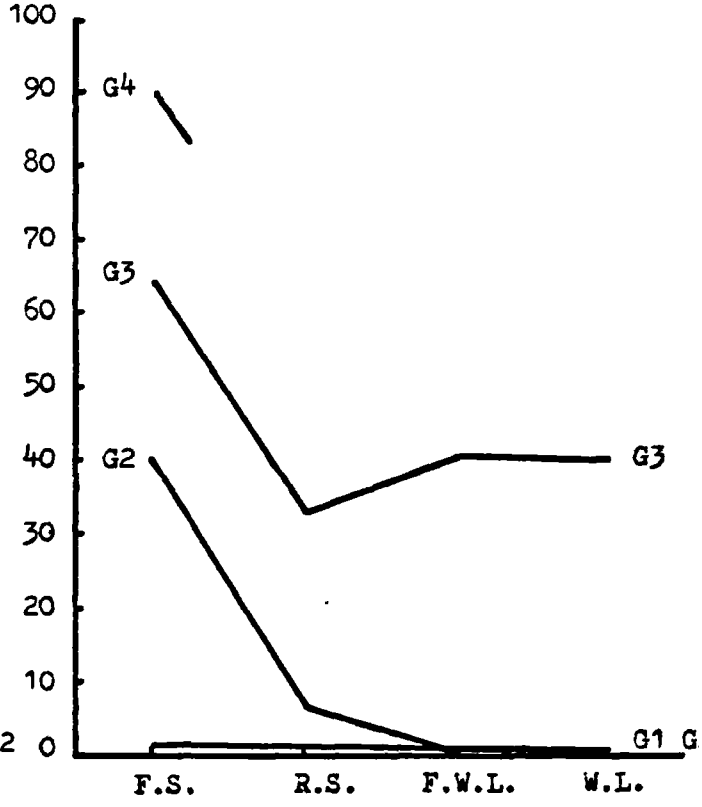


Fig. 3.21. The percentage of / o / raising by class and style. Male adults.

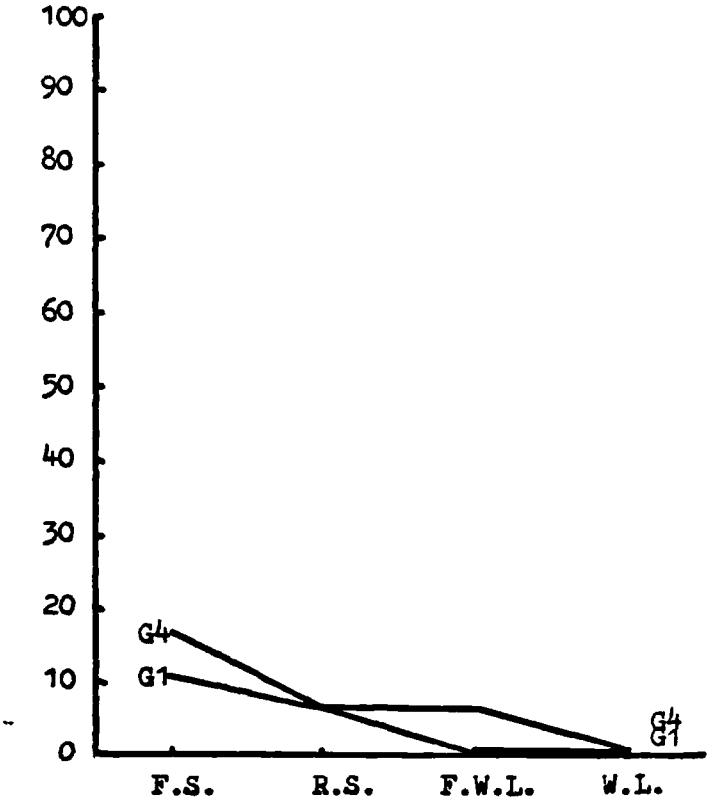


Fig. 3.22. The percentage of / o / raising by class and style. Female youngsters.

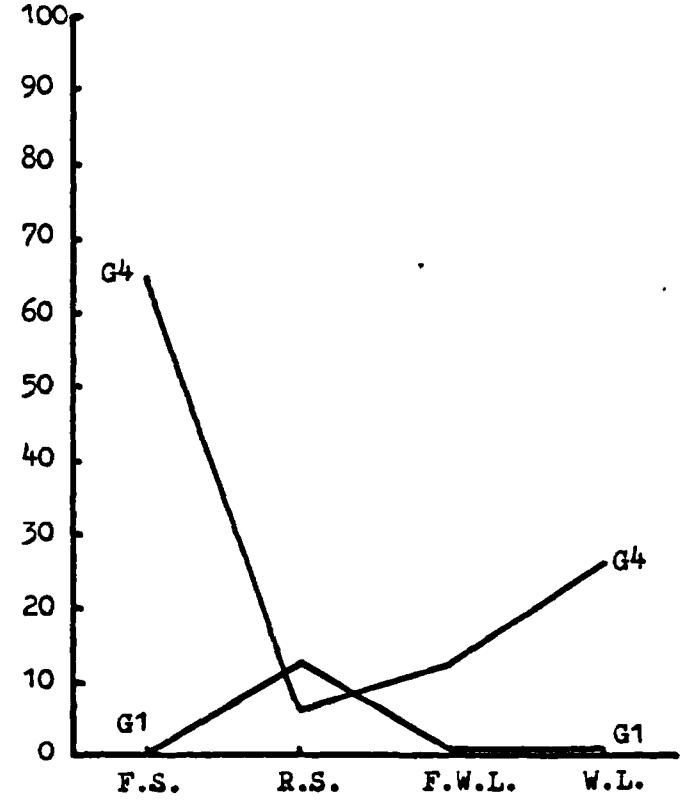


Fig. 3.23. The percentage of / o / raising by class and style Male youngsters.

Social differences in raising the monophthongised / o /.

Table 3.24 and Figs. 3.20-23 first of all show two main facts very clearly. First, raising the monophthongised / o / is mostly a working class dialect marker. Secondly, it is very much a male speaker's characteristic. The comparison between Fig. 22 and Fig. 23 shows that the G4 females' score (22 per cent) rises to ninety per cent for male G4. This is also true with youngsters, as the comparison between Fig. 22 and Fig. 23 reveals, the score for G4 females being seventeen per cent, which rises to sixty-five per cent for their male counterparts.

Table 3.24 and Fig. 20, for female adults, show that in free speech, reading sentences, and word list, there are no differences between G1 and G2. Then G3 in free speech is separated by seventeen per cent from the "higher" groups, although in reading style it is only slightly higher than G1 and G2. G4 females in their only free speech style, score slightly higher than G3. However, the small class differences in female adults seem to be more valid in their free speech.

Table 3.24 and Fig. 21, show that male adults have a perfect class difference with this variable, although G1 and G2 in their reading style are very similar, but the rest are significantly separated in all styles. As mentioned earlier, here we have both class and sex differences in comparison to Fig. 20.

Table 3.24 and Fig. 22 show the female youngsters. Interestingly, like their adults, the percentage of raising is generally low in comparison to their males. Yet the G1 females are the only group that increase its rise of / u /. The gap between the two groups seems to be closing and this is mostly because of the considerable increase by G1.

Table 3.24 and Fig. 23 give the scores for the male youngsters, and it confirms clearly that raising by / u / is a matter of maleness. Yet it is interesting that with G1, it is the females whose scores rise considerably, not the males. However, male youngsters show class differences in all styles except in reading the sentences.

B. Consonantal variables.

/ st / Assimilation.

This is a progressive type of assimilation. Although in Persian, like many other languages, it is not a compulsory procedure, naturally by assimilation less effort is required in the utterance of the words, which will ultimately favour the unconservative members of the speech community.

Apart from the social differences of this variable, the analysis of linguistic material shows the relevance of the following factors:

(a) The difference between native Persian items and Arabic loan words in related lexical items.

(i) Native Persian words, regardless of social class and other factors, are more likely to undergo the rule than Arabic words. To show the difference, all Arabic lexical items used in the interview such as / ʔestefâde / "profit", / ʔesteʔdâd / "talent", / ʔestexdâm / "recruitment", / mostatil / "rectangular", / ʔesterâhat / "rest", / ʔestesnâʔ / "exception" and so on, were compared with the same number of Persian words, like: / daste / "handle", / baste / "closed, tied", / xaste / "tired", / râste / "row", / puste / "crust, scale", / šoste / "washed", etc., in term of assimilation. As the result:

Arabic loan words	21%/72
Persian words	52%/496

(ii) Some of the Arabic words such as / mostahkam / "strong", / ʔestesnâʔ /, / ʔesteʔmâl / "use", which are relatively obsolete (at least for lower social groups in which assimilation is common), were never assimilated in the entire corpus. Although other Arabic items such as / ʔestefâde / which is used frequently, had a relatively high percentage of 18%/28, e.g.

/ ʔage fešâre ziyâd beš vâred beše le miše yani dige qâbele essefâde nis / G4.M.Y. - "It will get smashed with pressure and will be useless" - free speech.

Furthermore, certain western loan words such as / ʔesteyšen /, / ʔestârt / were never assimilated, and the names of places which carry some kind of formality seem to have little chance to assimilate.

(b) The effect of the linguistic environment:

(i) Morpheme boundary:

/ st / assimilation is a morpheme-bounded process. All lexical items ending with / s /, when followed by a morpheme which starts with / t /, such as / tar / or / tarin / (the comparative and superlative markers) will not allow assimilation, e.g.

/ xis / "wet" + / tar / / xistar / ~ */xissar/

/ lus / "spoiled, flat" + / tar / / lustar / ~ */ lussar /

This may be due to the function of / tar / as a comparative marker, which must keep its original form in order to show its identity, while / st / within a morpheme can be changed to / ss /.

(ii) The CVst-C construction goes beyond assimilation, and permits the assimilated / t / to be deleted, e.g.

/ râst / + / gu / / râsgu / "truthful person"

/ dorost / + / kâr / / doroskâr / "honest"

This loss favours the phonotactic preferences of Persian to eliminate CCC sequences.

(iii) The preceding or following vowel appears to have some influence on the likelihood of / st / assimilation, as may be seen from Table B.1. It seems that assimilation is favoured by a preceding / i /, and discouraged by a preceding / â / or a following / u /. Words allowing assimilation are listed below, according to the vowels preceding and following the / st /.

		Second vowel						
		i	o	a	u	o	â	Total
First vowel	i	100% 20	29% 42	61% 59	-	40% 5	87% 5	63% 164
	o	90 10	68 37	65 78	64 78	-	35 337	49% 540
	a	74 150	52 340	56 329	50 6	69 13	39 18	57% 856
	u	37 57	48 44	26 31	100 4	-	19 73	32% 213
	o	75 4	70 10	67 6	-	-	62 13	63% 35
	â	69 84	64 25	57 123	-	-	17 48	54% 281
	Total	68% 325	52% 498	56% 628	57% 88	69% 18	36% 527	

Table B.1. The percentage of / st / assimilation between all vowels.

Vsti

(a) isti, in words like:

	No. of occurrences	Assimilated	
/ nistim /	11	11	"we are not"
/ vâmistim /	9	9	"we stay"
	20	20	100%/20

/ hoqqe bâzi am balad nissim / " G4.M.A. "I am not dishonest"

(b) esti, in items like:

/ midunestim /	4	4		"we knew"
/ tunestim /	6	5		"we could"
	10	9	90%/9	

/ mâ midunessim ke yevâšiki zan gerefte / G4.F.A.
"We knew he had married secretly"

(c) asti, in words like:

/ hastim /	67	43	64%/67	"we are"
/ dasti /	28	19	68%/28	"a hand"
/ mišastim /	47	42	68%/47	"we sat"
/šasti /	1	1		"button
/ hasti /	5	5		"existence"
/ bastim /	2	1		"we closed it"
	150	111	74%/150	

/ čâr sâl nâzi âbâd mišassim ʔalân haf sâl am has ʔinjâ hassim / G3.M.A.
"We lived for four years in Nazi abad, now we have been here for seven years"

(d) usti, in items like:

/ pustin /	41	12	29%/41	"sheepskin"
/ dusti /	12	6	50%/12	"friendship"
/ dustim /	4	3		"we are friends"
	57	21	37%/57	

/ da davâza sâle ke ba:m dussim, yani a bačč̌egi / G4.M.F.
"We have been friends for ten/twelve years, since childhood"

(e) osti, in

/ mišostim /	4	3		"we washed"

/ bačč̌â tu ʔâb bâzi mikardan mâm raxtâ ro mišossim / G4.F.A.
"Children used to play in the river while we washed the clothes"

(e) asti, in words such as:

/ʔâstin /	43	21	40%/43	"sleeves"
/ mixâstim /	39	36	92%/39	"we wanted"
/ râsti /	2	1		"truth"
	84	58	69%/85	

/ ye šab mixâssim berim šâ̌bdolazim / G4.M.Y.
"One night we wanted to go to Shah ʔabdolʔazim"

Vste.

(a) iste, in items like:

/ nisteš /	35	8	22%/35	"it is not"
/ vâmiste /	7	4		"he will stay"
	42	12	29%/42	

/ vali hâlâhâ dige unjâhâ jâ nisseš majburim tu xune bišinim / G4.F.A.
"but now there is no place to go, so we have to stay at home"

(b) este, in items such as

/ nešaste /	35	23	66%/35	"seated"
/ qesteš /	2	2		"its instalment"
	37	25	68%/37	

/ do dasgâ âpârtamân xaride, yekiš dâde?ejâre, bâlâyišo, pâyinišam xodeš nešesse / G4.F.A.
"He bought two apartments, he rented the top floor, and lives in the lower one"

(c) aste, in words like:

/ hasteš /	143	33	23%/143	"it is"
/ daste /	90	75	83%/90	"handle, group"
/ baste /	19	13	68%/19	"closed"
/ bastegi /	35	22	63%/35	"dependency"
/ dasteš /	25	19	76%/25	"his, her hand"
/ xaste /	28	14	50%/38	"tired"
	340	176	52%/340	

/?un moqe hammeye baččâ maharamâ hame siyâ mipušidimo dasse vâse xodemun râ mindâxtim, dasseye baččegune / G3.M.A.
"In the olden days, all the children used to wear black clothes in Moharram (Islamic mourning month), and we had mourning group of our own, children mourning group"

(d) uste, in items such as:

/ duste /	24	8	33%/24	"friend"
/ puste /	7	3		"the skin"
/ dusteš /	13	10		"her, his friend
	44	21	48%/44	

/ košti ram xeli dusseš dâram / G2.M.A.
"I also like wrestling very much"

(e) oste, in words like:

/ dorosteš /	6	5		"the truth"
/ doroste /	4	2		"it is right"
	10	7	70%/10	

/ ye maftul pedâ kardamo tori doresseš kardam ke be qofl esteyšen boxore / G3.M.A.

"I took a piece of wire and shaped it to open the lock of the car"

(f) aste, in words like:

/ mixâsteš /	5	5		"he, she wanted"
/ râste /	10	5		"row"
/ râsteš /	10	6		"the truth"
	25	16	64%/25	

/ hâlâ mixâsseš nemixâsseš har juri bud bâ:d ʔamre pedaro ʔetàʔat kone / G4.M.A.

"Whether she wanted him or not, she had to obey her father's wishes".

Vsta

(a) ista, in terms such as:

/ nistand /	43	28	65%/43	"they are not"
/ mistam /	9	3		"I stay"
/ vâystam /	3	3		"I stay"
/ vâmistam /	4	2		"I stay"
	59	36	61%/59	

/ rasme zurxuneʔine,ʔunâ ke balad nissanʔavval mičarxan,ʔunâ ke betar baladanʔâxar mičarxan, sâdâtʔâxare hame mičarxe / G4.M.A.

"This is the rule of Gymnasium; beginners go first, then experts, and after all the Seyyeds (the descendants of the Prophet)"

(b) esta, in words like:

/ tunestam /	36	28	78%/36	"I could"
/ʔestaxr /	17	0	0%	"pool"
/ midunestam /	16	14	87%/16	"I knew"
/ mišestam /	4	4		"I sat"
/ miferestam /	5	5		"I will send"
	78	51	65%/78	

/ bad âz do hafte se hafte digaš šenâ ro boxubi yâd gereftam va xodam tunessem be tanhâyi tuyeʔâb baram / G1.M.Y.

"Then, after three weeks I learned to swim and could go in the pool by myself"

(c) asta, in items such as:

/ hastand /	152	82	54/152	"they are"
/ hastam /	109	55	49%/109	"I am"
/ dastam /	24	21	87%/24	"my hand"
/ nešestam /	28	16	57%/28	"I sat"
/ bastam /	7	6		"I closed"
/ bastani /	4	2		"ice cream"
/ bastari /	2	0		"confined to bed"
/ mibastam /	2	1		"I was closing"
/ miškastam /	1	0		"I was breaking"
	329	184	56%/329	

/ badan mirim tu god, moršed mizane, varzeškârâ am hassan, varzeš mikonan / G3.M.A.

"Then we go in the Gymnasium, the drummer plays the Tempo, and we exercise"

(d) usta, such as:

/ dustam /	31	8	26%/31	"my friend"

/ mamulan?otomobil yâ mâle dussam has yâ mâle baradaram ke savâr mišam / G2.M.A.

"The car I drive either belongs to my friend or my brother"

(e) osta, in words like:

/ gostareš /	1	0		"spreading"
/ šostan /	5	4		"to wash"
	6	4	67%/6	

/ faršâmuno tamâm feressâdim birun šossan, xis šode bud?otâqâ / G4.F.A.

"The floors were wet, we send all the carpets to be washed"

(f) asta, in items such as:

/ mixâstam /	64	49	77%/64	"I wanted"
/?âstar /	48	12	25%/48	"lining"
/ xâstam /	11	9	82%/11	"I wanted"
	123	70	57%/123	

/ mixâssam bišinam ye jâ hosalam sar miraf, mixâm baram ye kâri bekunam / G4.M.A.

"If I sat somehwere I got bored, I wanted to do something"

The total number of Vsta	Assimilated	Percentage
626	349	56%/626

Vstu. In this environment, all the items except / dastur / "order, grammar", are the result of a previous phonological change:

/ â / ~ / u / / ___ N / e.g.

/ zemestân / ~ / zemestun / "winter"

/ tâbestân / ~ / tâbestun / "summer"

(a) istu, - no item exists.

(b) estu, in items such as:

/ zemestun /	29	15	52%/29	"winter"
/ tâbestun /	37	27	75%/37	"summer"
/ qabrestun /	4	4		"cemetery"
/ pestun /	4	0		"breast"
/ʔârebestun /	2	2		"Arabia"
/ golestun /	2	2		"rose garden"
	78	50	64%/78	

/ dokune čeloyiâ miraftan mišessan čâr zânu ba qame o qaddâre o ʔabâ o šâl o ʔinâ, ʔin mâle zemessun bud, tâbessunam yekke piran râ nemiraftan, bad midunessan / G4.M.A.

"They used to go to the kebab house, armed, dressed with shawl and Aba (a very wide cloak), and sit cross-legged on the ground; this was in the winter, in the summer they didn't go out with a shirt, they consider it as bad"

(c) astu, like:

/ dastur /	6	3	"order, grammar"

/ mâ miraftim ro pošte bum, xodešo mididim dassur midâd / G4.F.A.

"We used to go on the roof, we could see him ordering the workers"

(d) astu, like:

/ vâyestân / ~ / vâyestun / ~ / vâstun /

/ vâstun / 4 4

/ nun vâssun ʔune ke nunoʔaz tu tanur dar miyâre, beš migan nun vâssun / G4.M.A.

"Nun vastun (a job in bakery) is the one who takes the bread out of the oven"

(e) ostu, - No item.

(f) ustu, - No item.

The total number of Vstu	Assimilated	Percentage
88	57	57%/88

Vsto, is a rare sequence. In none of the following examples is / o / after / st / a part of the same word. It functions as an infix and means "and", e.g. / dastopâ / "hand and foot" and so on.

(a) isto, like

/ bisto do / 5 2 "twenty-two"

/ʔun xâharam bisso do saleš bud keʔomrešo be šomâ dâd / G4.M.A.

"My sister was twenty-two, when she died"

(b) esto, - No items.

(c) asto, like:

/ dastopâ /	6	5	
/ hasto /	2	2	"it is, and"

/ šenâ dus dâram, taqriban ye dasso pâyi mizanim / G2.F.A.

"I like swimming and I can swim a bit"

(d) usto, ve, osto, vf, asto, - No item exists.

The total number of Vsto	Assimilated	Percentage
13	9	69%/13

Vstâ

(a) ista, in words like:

/ vâyistâd /	28	28	100%/28	"he stood up"
/ mistâdan /	4	1		"they sat"
/ʔistâde /	2	0		"standing"
/ vâmistâd /	4	4		"he used to stand up"
	38	33	87%/38	

/ raftim labe jâde harči vâyssâdim, das niga dâštim, vâynemissâdan / G4.M.

"We went to the roadside and waved down, no one stopped"

(b) estâ, in items such as:

/ bimârestân /	55	33	60%/55	"hospital"
/ honarestân /	22	6	27%/22	"technical school"
/ dabestân /	84	8	9%/84	"primary school"
/ dabirestân /	94	24	25%/94	"secondary school"
/ farhangestân /	23	6	26%/23	"academy"
/ šahrestân /	122	32	26%/122	"city/
/ ferestâdam /	13	9		"I sent"
/ kudakestân /	4	0		
	337	118	35%/337	

/ hamsâdâ komak kardan bačče ro rodas bordan bimâressân / G4.F.A.
"The neighbours helped, and they took the child to the hospital"

(c) astâ, in items like:

/ parastâr /	17	7	41%/17	"nurse"
/ rastâxiz /	1	0		"resurrection"
	18	7	39%/18	

/ parassâriye ye bačče kučulu, navvamo mikonam / G4.F.A.
"I look after my grandchild"

(d) ustâ, like:

/ dustân /	73	14	19%/73	"friends"

/ har kasi mixâd behtar bâ dussân bâ mardom jur beše / G1.M.Y.
"Everybody wants to have better relationship with others"

(e) ostâ, such as:

/ʔostâd /	12	8		"boss, professor"
/ʔostân/	1	0		"county"
	13	8	62%/13	

/ʔavval har kâri dâš ʔussâmun bemun mide, masan mige qeči kon, mirim sare qeči / G4.M.Y.
"First I carry out my boss's order, for example working on the cutting machine"

(f) âstâ, in words like:

/ dâstân /	32	8	25%/32	"story"
/ bâstâni /	12	0		"ancient"
/ʔâstârâ /	3	0		"the name of a city"
/ xâstâr /	1	0		"asking for"
	48	8	17%/48	

/ dâssâne ʔaslišam ke tarif mikonanʔineke xodeš tu jangal bozorg miše / G4.M.Y.

"According to the true story he was brought up in the jungle"

Stress

The following are some characteristics of stress in Persian:

a) With the nouns, stress normally falls on the last syllable, e.g.

/ xasteˋ / "tired"

/ basteˋ / "closed, tied, parcel"

b) Prefixes to the verb, like / be /, / mi / will carry the stress, e.g.

/ miˊšostam / "I used to wash"

/ beˊšin / "sit"

/ boˊro / "go"

It is important to say that the change of place of strees in many cases can change both the grammatical category and the meaning of the item, e.g.

/ boˊro / "go" imperative

/ boroˋ / "running well" adjective

c) Plural markers / hâ /, / ân /, infinitive marker and participle / e / all take stress, e.g.

/ mâsthâˊ / "yoghurts"

/ dustâˊn / "friends"

/ raftâˊn / "to go"

d) Pronominal suffices and personal endings do not take stress, e.g.

/ dústaš / "his, her friend"

/ tunéstam / "I could"

Table B2 shows the figures for / st / assimilation in different stress environments. It shows that stress inhibits assimilation, especially if the syllable containing the / t / itself is stressed.

(See next page)

unstress /st/			stress on syllable involving /s/ cvs			stress on syllable involving /t/ tvc		
Lexical items	% +	Total	Lexical items	% +	Total	Lexical items	% +	Total
mixâstam	77	64	hastand	54	152	ʔâstar	25	48
midunestan	87	16	hastam	49	109	dabestân	9	84
vâyâtâd	100	28	dastam	87	24	dabirestân	25	94
mixâste	100	5	nistam	65	43	farhangestân	26	23
mišestim	86	47	tunestam	78	36	bimârestân	60	55
vâmistim	100	9	dustam	26	31	honarestân	27	22
midunestim	100	4	nisteš	22	35	dâstân	25	32
mixâstim	92	39	hasteš	23	143	dustân	19	73
			dasteš	76	25	ʔostâd	67	12
Overall	88%	212	dusteš	77	13	nešeste	66	35
			hastim	64	67	daste	90	90
			nistim	100	11	baste	68	19
						xaste	50	28
			Overall	50%	688	šahrestân	26	122
						tâbestun	73	37
						zemestun	52	29
						pustin	29	41
						ʔâstin	49	43
						Overall	39%	887

Table B2. / st / assimilation scores for items with different stress patterns.

The effect of lexical differences.

The following examples support the hypothesis of lexical diffusion:

dabestân	9%/84	"primary school"
dabirestân	25%/94	"high school"
bimârestân	60%/55	"hospital"

OR

daste	83%/55	"handle"
baste	68%/19	"closed, tied, parcel"
xaste	50%/28	"tired"

Conclusions:

(i) Arabic loan words favour assimilation less than Persian words.

(ii) Except Vstâ and ustV which do inhibit the rule, and Vsti which favours it, the adjacent vowels show no significant effect on assimilation.

(iii) Lack of stress creates a better condition for assimilation.

(iv) There are individual unpredictable lexical differences which appear to indicate lexical diffusion.

Social differences in / st / assimilation.

This variable shows clear co-variation with social parameters. Table B3 (p.113) and Fig. B1 (p.115) show the female speakers, indicating a consistent rise in the percentage of assimilation in free speech from 12 per cent, through 40 per cent and 55 per cent to 74 per cent for G1 to G4. In reading styles, G1 is separated considerably but the other two literate groups do not show any significant differences. Table B4 (p.114) and Fig. B2 (p.115) show the males who give a clear and consistent rise in the percentage

of assimilation in all styles except G1 and G2 in word list styles.

From the point of view of sex, G1 female scores in all styles are less than their male counterparts, but G2 females (except in free speech) do not show any noticeable difference. G3 males who are the nearest literate group to G4 show very considerable sex differences with G3 females in all styles. However, as a general pattern so far, females seem to speak a more "standard" form in comparison to the males.

Table B4 (p.114) and Fig. B3 (p.115) show the female youngsters. The two extreme groups are clearly closing the gap between them, and both seem to have changed to the same degree in free speech, compared to their adults. Taking G3 as the nearest literate group to G4, the same closing pattern in reading styles is noticeable.

Table B4 (p.114) and Fig. B4 (p.115) show the male youngsters. In free speech G1 in comparison to their adults have considerable increase (17 per cent) and in reading the sentences (7 per cent). On the other extreme side G4 show less move in order to close the gap which is only 6 per cent in free speech and it is almost nil compared to G3 adults in reading styles. From the point of view of sex, G4 male youngsters in all styles differ substantially from G4 female youngsters.

The relatively high percentage of assimilation in fast word list in comparison to other reading styles shows the effect of rapid speech in easing the assimilation process.

Sex	Female				Male			
Style	Free speech	Reading sentences	Fast word list	Word List	Free speech	Reading sentences	Fast word list	Word list
	18%/35	0%/45	20%/75	0%/75	44%/34	11%/9	22%/15	13%/15
	11 /37	0	7	0	15 /33	22	20	7
G1 scores	19 /27	11	13	0	21 /29	11	27	13
	23 /27	0	13	7	18 /28	0	20	7
	0 /56	0	13	0	23 /64	22	40	13
average scores	12 /180	2 /45	13 /75	1 /75	24 /188	13 /45	28 /75	11 /75
	23 /13	22	20	13	56 /45	44	40	20
	36 /28	11	33	20	34 /58	11	20	7
G2 scores	38 /42	44	33	33	47 /36	44	13	13
	42 /38	44	33	20	43 /49	33	27	13
	47 /51	33	27	27	56 /64	22	7	20
average scores	40 /172	31 /45	29 /75	23 /75	47 /252	29 /45	24 /75	12 /75
	62 /29	22	33	20	83/ 35	78	87	87
	55 /42	22	40	20	65 /37	33	60	20
	47 /60	33	27	20	67 /69	67	73	33
G3 scores	79 /14	33	33	27	89 /54	78	47	40
	56 /34	33	27	7	70 /63	33	40	20
average scores	55 /179	29 /45	32 /75	19 /75	74 /258	62 /45	61 /75	40 /75
	91 /35	-	-	-	81/21	-	-	-
	75 /79	-	-	-	92 /38	-	-	-
	85 /97	-	-	-	82 /34	-	-	-
G4 scores	60 /80	-	-	-	71 /42	-	-	-
	61 /41	-	-	-	97 /63	-	-	-
average scores	74 /322				86 /198			

Table B.3 / st / assimilation scores for 40 adult informants, by class, sex, and style.

Sex	Female				Male			
Style	Free speech	Reading sentences	Fast word list	Word List	Free speech	Reading sentences	Fast word list	Word list
	24%/21	22%/9	13%/15	13%/15	38%/80	22%/9	20%/15	13%/15
	30 /56	22	20	7	33 /33	11	20	13
G1 scores	16 /63	11	40	0	33 /73	22	20	13
	35 /34	33	27	20	66 /65	33	53	13
	42 /48	11	27	7	38 /126	11	13	0
average score	29 /222	20 /45	25 /75	9 /75	41 /377	20 /45	27 /75	11 /75
	60 /10	33	13	0	80 /25	44	33	20
	50 /14	22	33	20	86 /64	89	87	73
G4 scores	55 /44	22	20	13	83 /40	44	47	33
	35 /20	56	47	27	89 /38	56	100	47
	43 /14	44	40	27	70 /80	56	47	27
average score	49 /102	36 /45	31 /75	19 /75	80 /247	58 /45	63 /75	40 /75

Table B.4. / st / assimilation scores for 20 youngsters by class, sex and style.

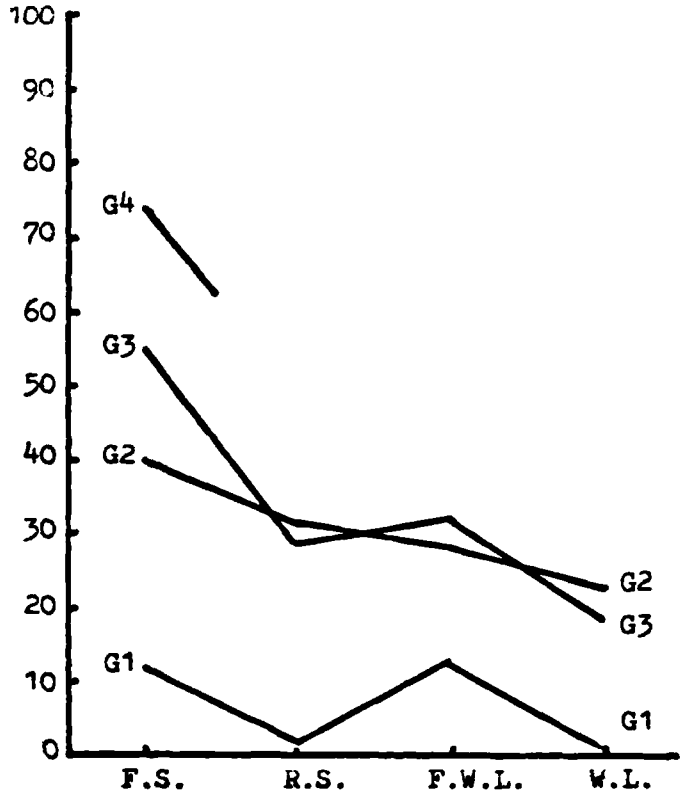


Fig. B.1. The percentage of /st/ assimilation by class and style, female adults.

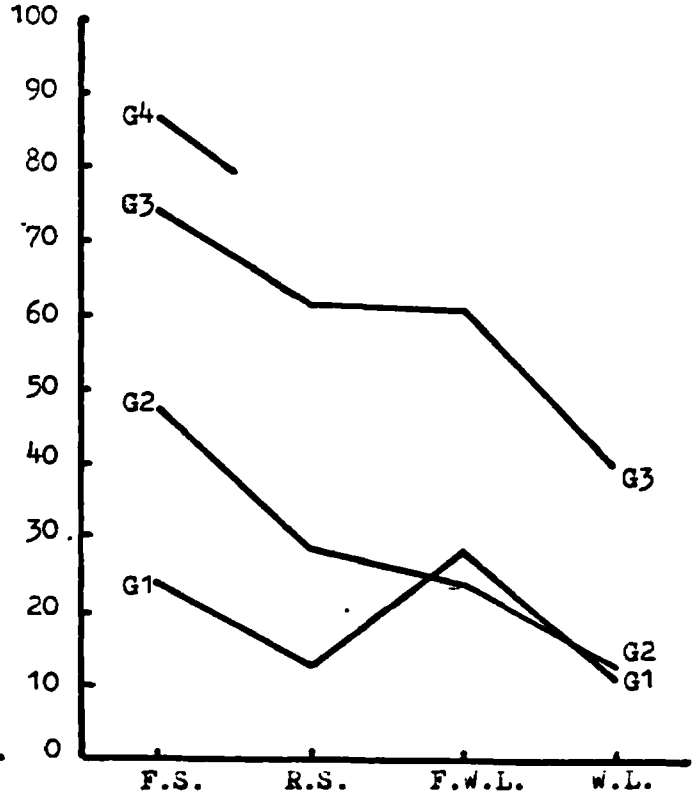


Fig. B.2. The percentage of /st/ assimilation by class and style, male adults.

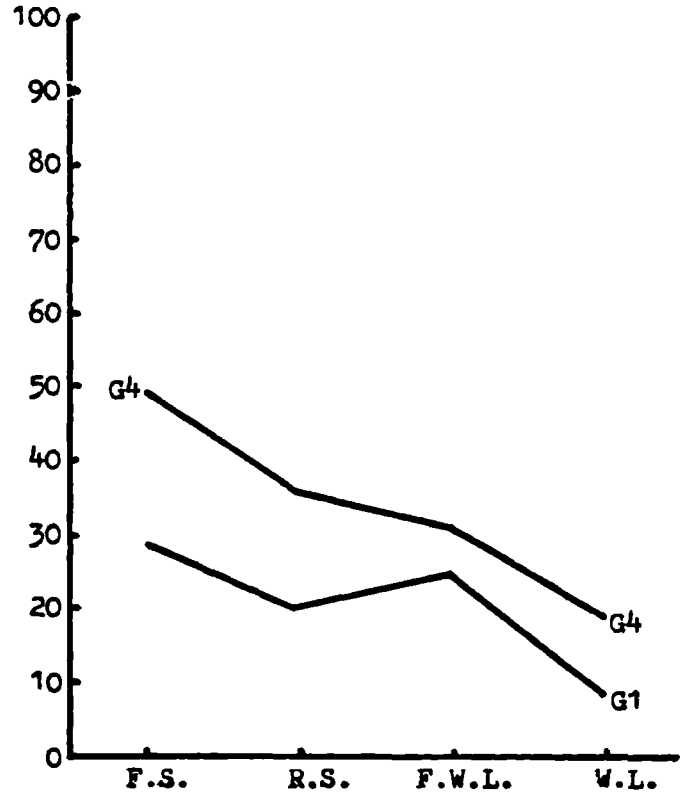


Fig. B.3. The percentage of /st/ assimilation by class and style, female youngsters.

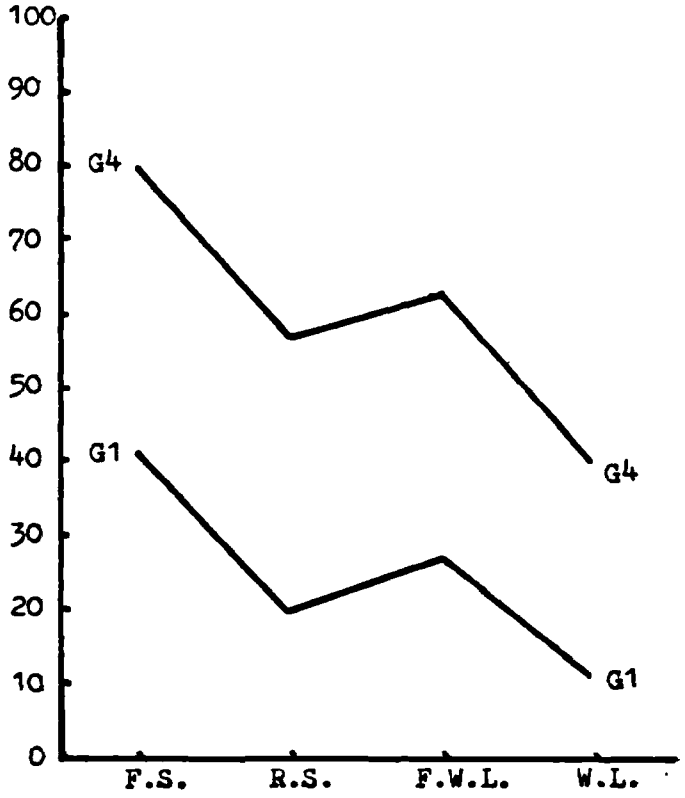


Fig. B.4. The percentage of /st/ assimilation by class and style, male youngsters.

/ h / deletion variable

The possibility of deleting / h / has been observed by many scholars, although some statements are controversial.

Hodge (1957) says:

> "/ h ?/ occur only in formal speech, they are not represented in the informal, and are omitted by both Wilson and Farhadi (1). As I heard both in more formal pronunciation, they are included in the pattern, which is thus deliberately more inclusive with respect to style."

The above quotation has two weaknesses:

(a) It is extremely difficult to define one utterance as absolutely informal and another as formal, in a manner which enables one to consider a phoneme one hundred percent present in one form and not at all in the other

(b) In this part we show evidence which proves many lexical items especially those having / h / initially, do not allow deletion at all, even in the most informal speech. Here we also provide evidence that even in reading the word list with deliberate pause and carefulness which can be considered more "formal", / h / deletion is possible.

Beeman (1977) says "/ h / deletion in all but word initial position is possible", while we provide evidence of items whose / h / in word initial position can be deleted at non phrase-initial placement.

Samareh /1977/ says:

> "In fact the omission of / h, ʔ / or any other segment almost always occurs only in colloquial conversation. Yet it is present in conversation and formal speech. This non-significant reduction of segment at the same time or even a whole syllable is a characteristic of the colloquial variety."

To achieve a systematic analysis of this variable and to investigate the effect of the phonological environment on this process, over 4700 cases of potential / h / deletion in all possible locations have been examined. The following are the situations in each phonological environment:

---

(1) Two scholars who have also worked on Persian.

1. Initial position.

Some items allow their initial / h / in a non phrase-initial position to be deleted. So they can occur in a sentence:

(a) After words ending in a vowel. Items like / hâlâ /(i) "now", / ham /(ii) "also, both", or morphemes such as / hâ / "plural marker" (see / hâ / ~ / â / variable (p.165), and possessive - accusative enclitics after the preposition / be / "to, at" and / bâ / "with", which take a mediating / h / intervocalically, later allow not only the deletion of / h /, but also the following vowel (iii), e.g.

(i) / tâlâ (tâ hâlâ) čâr dafe raftam mašad / G4.F.A.
"Until now I have been four times to Mashhad"

(ii) / mâm (mâ + ham) dige čâre nadâštim qabul kardim / G3.M.A.
"I also had no alternative so I accepted it"

(iii) Possessive-accusative enclitics:

/ am /	/ emân /
/ at /	/ etân /
/ aš /	/ ešân /

The above enclitics after the prepositions / be / and / bâ / are accusative. / be / + / am / takes the mediating / h / giving / beham /, then after vowel assimilation / behem / and finally with loss of the / h / and the following vowel / bem / "to me".

/ bâzpors da toman am bem (behem) dâd gof xarje rât (râhat) kon /
"The prosecutor gave me ten Tomans for my fare"

/ bâ / + / aš / / bâ / + / h / + / aš / / bâhaš / ~ /bâhâš / ~/ bâš /
"with him, her"

/ ʔesme yekišun o balad nabudam tâze bâš(bâhaš) dus šode budam / G4.F.Y.
"I didn't know the name of one of them, I met him recently"

Sometimes / h / deletion occurs after several other rules have been applied to the item. The following are some examples in which the

deletion of three phonemes and the application of three rules are involved:

/ʔân / pronoun

/ hâ / plural marker

/ ham / adverb " also

/ʔânhâ ham / "they also"

R.1. / â / ~ / u / - N / /ʔânhâ ham / ~ / unhâ ham /

R.2. / hâ / ~ / â / - C / / unhâ ham / ~ / unâ ham /

R.3. / h / - V / / Ø / V - / / unâ ham / ~ / unâm / "they also"

/ʔunâm bâz tâ hodude ziyâdi sonnat garâ hastan / G1.F.Y.
"They are also to a great extent traditional"

OR:

/ʔin / pronoun "this"

/ hâ / plural marker

/ râ / direct object marker

/ ham / adverb "also"

/ʔinhâ râ ham / "These also" / ʔinâram /

/ʔinâram šomâ xatâb mikonam / G3.M.A.
"I also address these people 'you'"

Here, we see that the tendency of deletion has forced this package of four elements into their minimum possible shapes, in which any further omission will either cause phonotactic deviance, or create misunderstanding and ambiguity.

After / i / normally only / h / gets deleted, e.g.

/ tehrâni / + / ham / ~ / tehrâniam / "Tehrani people also"

/ʔage da sâl tu terun bemune, teruniam (tehrâni ham) nabâše, beš bagan nasan torke, nârâhat miše / G3.M.A.
"If a person from another city stays say ten years in Tehran and not to be called Tehrani, he certainly will be disappointed"

OR:

/ xeyli / + / ham / ~ / xeyliam / "very much also"

/ raftim ʔunjâ, xeyliam xoš bemun gozaš / G4.F.A.
"We went there, we had a very nice time also"

Note (1). In the above environment sometimes / h / changes to y , e.g.

/ harči xubiyam /xubi ham/ beš kardin fâyde nadâš / G4.F.A.
"Whatever kindness we showed, there was no response"

Note (2). / h / deletion, sometimes give length to the preceding vowel:

/ fardâš ʔumad be:m (be + h + am) gof hanu sare harfat hassi / G3.M.A.
"The day after he said to me, are you still in the same mind?"

Style	Total number of occurrences	/ h / deleted	deletion %
Free speech	192	110	57%
Reading sentences	100	11	11%

Table B.5. The percentage of / h / deletion in the non-phrase-initial position after a vowel by style, for all speakers.

(b) After words ending in a consonant, e.g.

/ manan (man ham) ye mâdar šuvare bad dâštam, nemizâs ye šab baram be bâline bâbâm / G4.F.A.
"I had also a bad mother-in-law who didn't let me visit my father "

OR:

/ čan ruz pišam /piš ham) ye pišnahâdi kard be man / G4.F.A.
"Also a few days ago he suggested something to me"

Style	Total number of occurrences	/ h / deleted	deletion %
Free speech	127	121	95%
Reading sentences	50	15	30%

Table B.6. The percentage of / h / deletion by style in non-phrase-initial position after a consonant, for all speakers.

2. Medial position.

(a) Pre consonantal. In this environment / h / is located after a vowel and before a consonant, in items such as: / tehrân / "Tehran", / lahje / "accent", / behtar / "better", / šahr / "city", / fahmid / "he understood", / sohbat / "talk/, / tahsil / "study, education", / pahn / "wide", / nahsi / "unlucky", etc.

The following are the percentages of some individual items and the overall figures for / h / deletion in this position.

ST	Non-ST	Total	/ h / deleted	Percentage
/ tehrân /~/	terân /~/ ṭerun /	573	278	48%
/ lahje / ~/	laje /	125	22	18%
/ behtar /~/	betar /	117	15	13%
/ šahr / ~/	šar / ~/ ša.r /	335	116	35%
Other pre-consonantal items		1157	522	45%

/ʔâqâ xiyâbune sarčešme lavâzem tarir (tahrir) furuši dâš / G4.F.A.
"My husband had a stationery shop in Sarcheshme avenue"

OR

/ ye dussi dâš mâle mašad (mašhad) bud / G4.F.A.
"He had a friend from Mashad"

Style	Total no. of occurrences	/ h / deleted	Percentage
Free speech	2312	953	41%
Reading sentences	450	97	22%
Word list	400	41	10%

Table B7. The percentage of / h / deletion by style in post-vocalic position for all speakers.

The comparison of the percentage of different lexical items in this environment, say / tehrân /48%/578, and / behtar /13%/117, is further evidence in support of the hypothesis of lexical diffusion.

(b) Intervocalically.

As mentioned before in this environment / h / deletion, if it occurs normally causes the deletion of / h / plus the following vowel. In items such as / čâhâr / "four", / pirâhan / "shirt", / čehel / "forty", / xâhar / "sister", / sâheb / "owner", / mahal / "place", etc.

/ʔamâ hâlâ moharam momkene bis tâʔa in ma:lâ (mahalhâ) beri do tâ dasse râ nayofte /

"But now in Mohharan (a holy month) you may go to twenty places and not find two mourning gatherings" G3.M.A.

/ʔunjâ sâbâš (sâhebhâyaš) varšikas šodan, manʔaz ʔunjâ ʔumadam birun / G4.M.

"The owners went bankrupt, and I left the place"

/ ye dune kunkure vurudi mixâsan, emtân (emtahân) vurudi / G4.M.Y.

"There was an entrance examination"

/ bâbâm hamaš čel (čehel) sâlʔomr kard / G2.M.A.

"My father only lived forty years"

/ har ki mixâs farâr kone ye râs miyumad sorâqe man čon man maruf šode budam tu mal (mahal) / G3.M.A.

"Anybody who wanted to run away from home came to me, as I was famous in the place"

/ mamad (mohammad) âqâ ro zire baqalešo gereftam oʔovordam tuʔotâq / G4.F.

"I helped Mohammad and brought him into the room"

The following are the percentage of some individual items and the overall figures for / h / deletion in this position. It seems that items which have largely undergone the rule, show less significant stylistic differences.

	ST	Non-ST	Total	/ h / deleted	Percentage
Free speech	/ čâhâr /	/ čâr /	358	320	89%
	/ xâhar /	/ xâr /	77	2	3%
	/ mâhi /	/ mâhi /	46	0	0% "fish"
	Other intervocalic items		1221	160	15%

	ST	Non-ST	Total	/ h / deleted	Percentage	
Reading sentences	/ čâhâr /	/ čâr /	50	41	82%	
	/ pirâhan /	/ piran /	50	3	6%	
	/ xâhar /	/ xâr /	50	0	0%	
	/ čâhi /	/ čâi /	50	0	0%	"tea"
Word list	/ čâhâr /	/ čâr /	50	6	12%	
	/ šowhar /	šuvar	50	2	4%	
	/ mâhi /	/ mâi /	50	0	0%	

Table B8. The percentage of / h / deletion intervocalically, for individual lexical items, by style and for all speakers

Style	Total	deleted	percentage
Free speech	1702	482	28%
R.S.	200	44	22%
Word list	150	8	6%

Table B9. The percentage of / h / deletion intervocalically by style and for all speakers.

(c) Post consonantal.

In this environment / h / is located after a consonant and before a vowel, in items such as / farhang / "culture", / xoshâl / "happy", / sobhâne / "breakfast", / sathi / "surface", / ezhâr / "expression", / mazhab / "religion", etc.

/ vaxti pâ mišodim mididim barfʔumade xeyli xošâl (xoshâl) mišodim / G1.M.Y

"When we woke up and saw the snow, we were very glad"

Style	Total	/ h / deleted	Percentage
Free speech	167	27	19%

Table B10. The percentage of / h / deletion in post-consonantal position for all speakers.

(d) Final position

Post vocalic, in items such as / tafrih / "fun", / dah / "ten", / dâneśgâh / "university", / kutâh / "short", / negâh / "look", / râh / "road, way", / panjâh / "fifty", / eftezâh / "scandal", and so on.

/ dore baremuno nigâ (negâh) kardim, didim hiš ki nis / G4.M.Y.
"We looked around and we didn't see anybody"

/ʔaz unjâ tâ emâm zâde dâvud taqriban se sât râ (râh) bud / G4.M.Y.
"It was almost three hours walk to Emamzade Davood from there"

Style	Total	/ h / deleted	Percentage
Free speech	216	150	70%

Table B10A The percentage of / h / deletion in final position after a vowel, for all speakers.

Post consonantal, in items such as / sobh / "morning", / fath / "victory", / tarh / "plan", / solh / "peace", and so on.

/ sob (sobh) raftam maqâze ro vâz kardam didam harči dâštam o nadâštam bordan / G3.M.A.
"I opened the shop in the morning, and I realized that everything was stolen"

Style	Total	/ h / deleted	Percentage
Free speech	81	79	98%

Table B11. The percentage of / h / deletion in final position and after a consonant, for all speakers.

If a vowel suffix is added to a word ending in / h /, this is protected against deletion, e.g.

/ʔaz râhi keʔumade budim do bâre bargaštim / G4.M.Y.
"We return from the same way which we went"

/ hamintori qezâvate sathi nemiše kard / G1.F.A.
"It is no good to judge superficially"

General position	Phonological environment	Total No. of occurrences	Percentage
Initial non phrase-initial	After a vowel	192	57%
	After a consonant	127	95%
Medial	Pre-consonant	2312	41%
	Inter-vocalic	1702	28%
	Post-consonant	167	19%
Final	Post-vocalic	216	70%
	Post-consonant	81	98%

Table B12. The percentage of / h / deletion in different phonological environments, for free speech by all speakers.

Conclusions:

(i) / h / deletion differs in different phonological environments.

(ii) Certain lexical items in non phrase-initial position allow their initial / h / to be deleted.

(iii) / h / deletion is possible in all styles ("formal" or "informal").

Social differences of / h / deletion

/ h / deletion as a phonological variable has been deliberately distinguished from the / hâ / ~ / â / plural marker variable (see / hâ / ~ / â / variable, p. 165). The aim was to study the possible differences in the pattern of deletion of the same phoneme on two different levels, phonological and morphological. However, although some differences between the two variables have been found in certain areas, these differences are relatively irregular and can easily be considered as accidental, so it may be that no specific conclusion can be drawn.

Fig. B5 (p.128) and Table B13 (p.126) show the female adults. In their free speech they have a different score pattern in comparison to the / hâ / ~ / â / variable. Here G1 (18%) and G2 (20%) are close to each other, and then these two groups are clearly separated from G3 (43%), while G4 is differentiated again with 55 per cent. In reading styles, the three literate groups are relatively differentiated.

Fig. B6 (p.128) and Table B13 show the male adults who have a remarkable similarity of score pattern with / hâ / ~ / â / variable in their free speech. Here the social classes are almost divided into two groups. In reading styles they are differentiated almost on the same pattern as in free speech.

Fig. B7 (p.128) and Table B14 (p.127) show the female youngsters. The two extreme groups of young females seem to be closing the gap slightly from both sides (with G1 increasing the deletion by 10 per cent and G4 decreasing by 5 per cent), in comparison to their adults. This procedure of closing the gap is more noticeable in word list styles.

Fig. B8 (p.128) and Table B14 show the male youngsters, who, like their females, are closing the gap between themselves slightly (G1 is increasing 7 per cent and G4 decreasing 11 per cent). Yet the difference between the two young male groups in all styles is substantial. Both female and male young groups show some degree of similarity with the / hâ / ~ / â / variable.

Tables B13 and 14 and Figs. 5-8 show that this variable is stylistically sensitive.

	Free speech	Reading sentences	Fast word list	Word list	Free speech	Reading sentences	Fast word list	Word list
	15%/ 59	17%/ 18	0 / 12	0 / 12	37%/ 98	17%	0	0
	15%/139	11%	0	0	37%/117	33%	8%	0
G1	22%/ 89	22%	8%	0	30%/ 50	17%	0	0
	22%/ 81	17%	0	0	26%/ 84	22%	33%	0
	17%/111	17%	25%	0	33%/153	11%	8%	0
Group average	18%/479	17%/ 90	7%/ 60	0 / 60	33%/502	20%/ 90	10%/ 60	0 / 60
	23%/ 43	17%	25%	8%	45%/111	28%	17%	0
	14%/ 77	28%	8%	0	30%/ 86	17%	8%	0
G2	21%/ 96	39%	25%	8%	41%/ 95	28%	17%	0
	27%/ 62	22%	17%	0	38%/ 55	28%	25%	8%
	16%/ 88	17%	0	0	31%/ 70	28%	8%	0
Group average	19%/366	24%/ 90	15%/ 60	3%/ 60	38%/417	26%/ 90	15%/ 60	2%/ 60
	57%/ 66	28%	25%	25%	73%/ 84	67%	58%	33%
	39%/ 62	39%	8%	8%	66%/105	44%	40%	25%
G3	35%/100	33%	25%	0	76%/ 82	72%	50%	42%
	44%/ 39	33%	17%	17%	73%/ 95	72%	33%	8%
	41%/ 58	36%	25%	17%	74%/ 76	56%	17%	8%
Group average	42%/325	33%/ 90	22%/ 60	13%/ 60	72%/442	62%/ 90	43%/ 56	25%/ 56
	61%/ 56	-	-	-	71%/ 87	-	-	-
	60%/103	-	-	-	86%/ 93	-	-	-
G4	54%/103	-	-	-	84%/118	-	-	-
	49%/114	-	-	-	67%/129	-	-	-
	55%/ 51	-	-	-	75%/112	-	-	-
Group average	55%/427	-	-	-	76%/539	-	-	-

Table B.13

Scores for / h / deletion by class, sex and style for 40 adult informants

	Female				Male			
	Free speech	Reading sentences	Fast word list	Word list	Free speech	Reading sentences	Fast word list	Word list
	26%/ 38	22%	0	0	28%/110	17%	8%	8%
	27%/ 68	22%	8%	8%	24%/ 78	17%	25%	8%
G1	24%/ 82	17%	17%	0	24%/ 91	22%	17%	8%
	34%/ 77	22%	17%	0	31%/122	28%	25%	0
	27%/101	22%	17%	0	22%/132	11%	8%	0
Group average	28%/366	21%/ 90	10%/ 60	3%/ 60	26%/533	19%/ 90	17%/ 58	5%/ 58
	71%/ 24	50%	8%	0	53%/ 40	39%	33%	17%
	77%/ 13	22%	8%	0	57%/130	61%	58%	42%
G4	49%/ 57	28%	25%	8%	66%/ 82	56%	25%	8%
	68%/ 22	67%	8%	8%	82%/ 98	61%	42%	17%
	57%/ 35	44%	25%	0	62%/ 91	67%	25%	25%
Group average	60%/151	42%/ 90	15%/ 60	3%/ 60	65%/441	57%/ 90	38%/ 60	22%/ 60

Table B14. Scores for / h / deletion by class, sex and style for 20 youngsters.

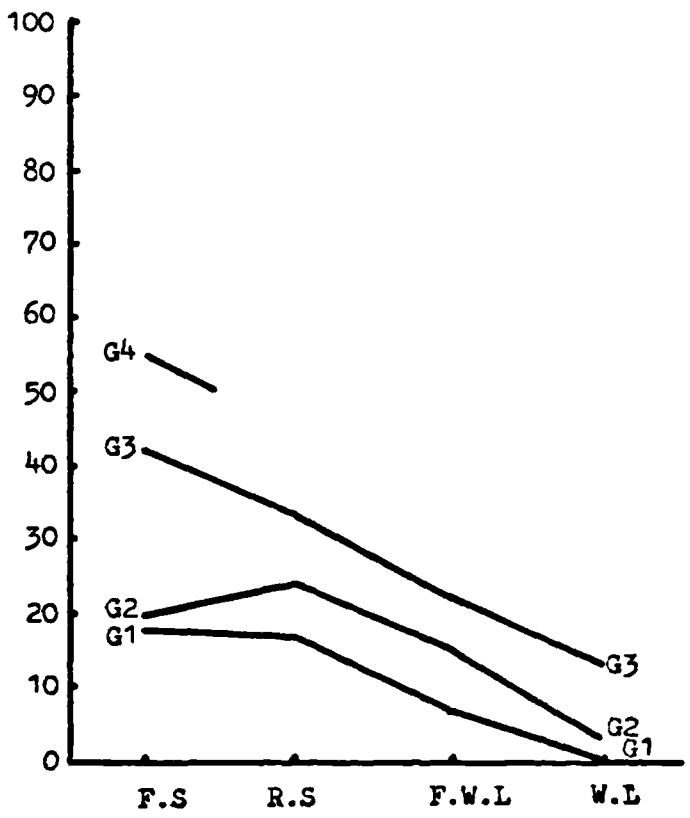


Fig. B5. The percentage of / h / deletion by class and style, female adults.

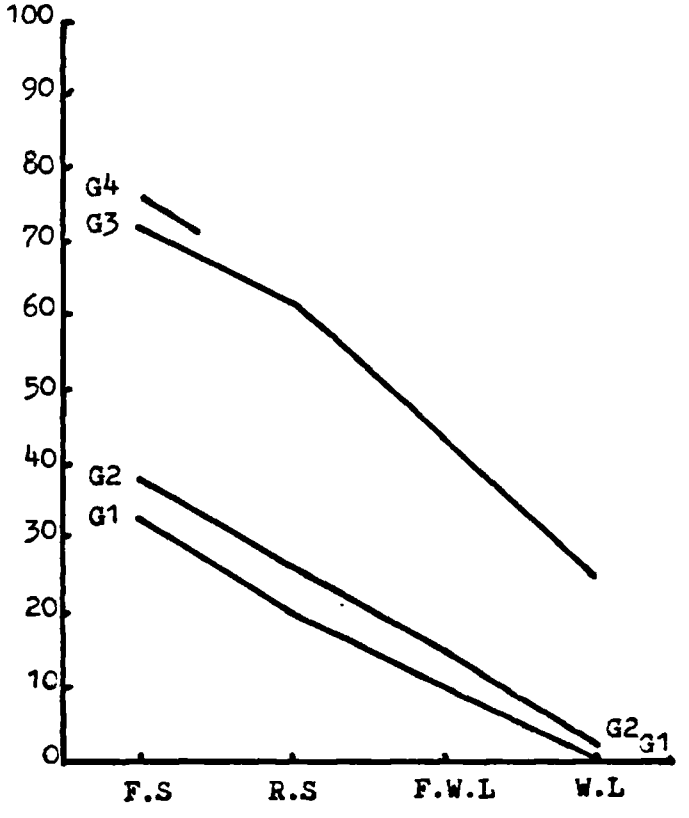


Fig. B6. The percentage of / h / deletion by class and style, male adults.

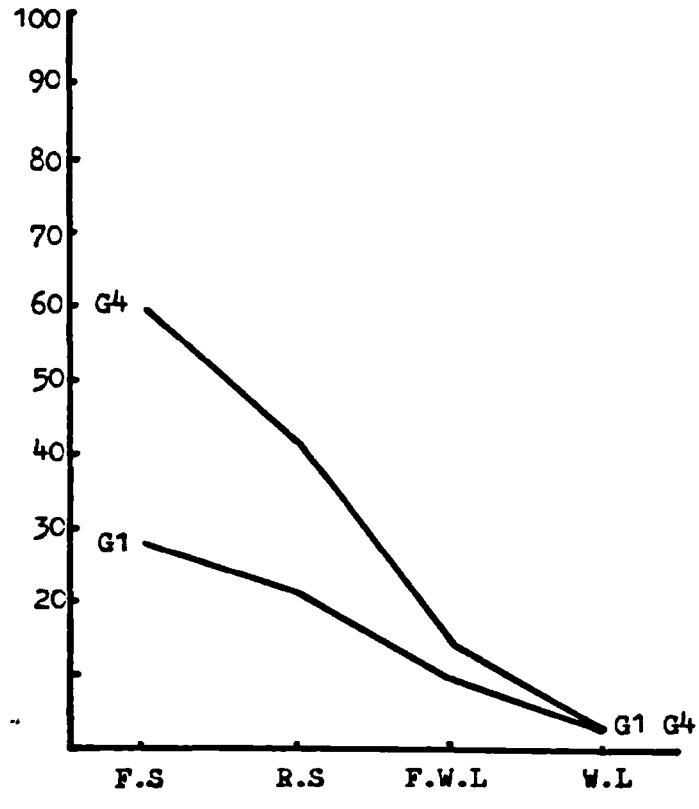


Fig. B7. The percentage of / h / deletion by class and style, female youngsters.

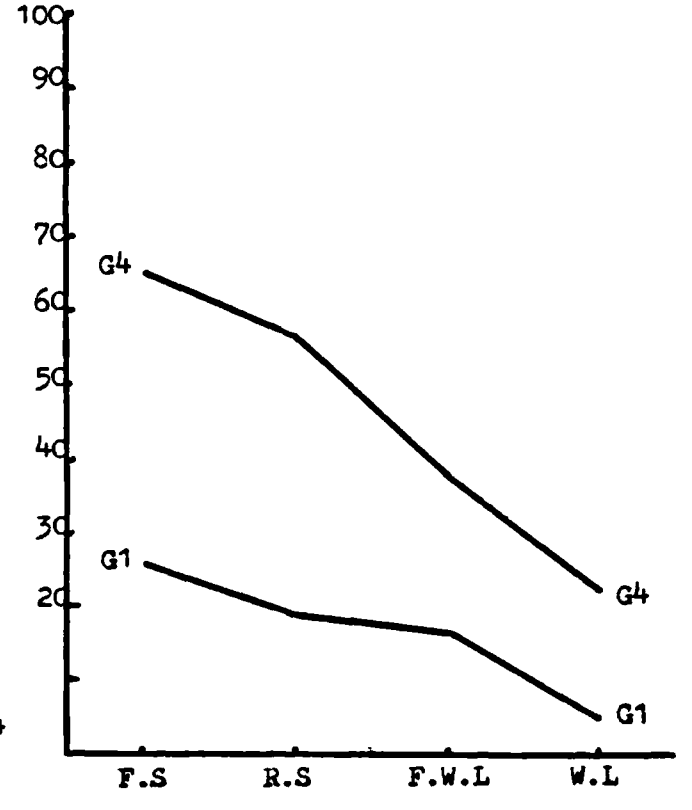


Fig. B8. The percentage of / h / deletion by class and style, male youngsters.

/ t / variable

/ t / shows a high tendency to be deleted at the end of a word after a consonant in all styles, e.g.

/ mast / / mas / "drunk"
/ pošt / / poš / "back"

Apart from deletion, some verbs, ending in / t / (and occasionally in / d /), in the third person singular, take the accusative, possessive enclitics / aš /~/ eš /, to indicate the third person singular subjects. This marker is redundant since the person and number of the subject has already been shown by the subject enclitic / ø /. This creates the third variant / teš / e.g.

/ hast /~/ has /~/ hasteš / "is"
/ raft /~/ raf /~/ rafteš / "he, she went"

The / teš / variant only occurs in free speech, as the unwritten / eš / naturally will not be read in reading styles. To avoid confusion in the measurement of these three variants, their percentages in free speech have been given on two levels:

i) The / t /, / teš / and / ø / variants have all been measured in free speech (the only style in which the / teš / variant occurs).

ii) The / t / and / ø / variants have been calculated for all styles. In free speech the number of / teš / occurrences was deducted from the total number and then the percentage of / t / deletion has been worked out.

To investigate the possible effects of the preceding element on the final / t /, four consonants / s /, / š /, / f / and / x / which frequently occur before / t / have been studied. However, it seems that apart from / ft /~/ f / in reading styles (where deletion is relatively rare) these environments do not show any noticeable differences (see Table B15 p.130). The number of / teš / variant occurrences is relatively small, as it only occurs with verbs. This variable seems to be also stylistically sensitive.

Style	Free speech (i)			Free speech (ii)		Reading Sentences			Last word list			Word list		
Environment	Total	/t/ deleted	/teš/	Total -tes	% deleted	Total	/t/ deleted	%	Total	/t/ deleted	%	Total	/t/ deleted	%
/ st /	1027	80%/ 826	13%/ 134	893	92%	380	276	73%	100	67	67%	100	45	45%
/ št /	185	92%/ 171	2%/ 3	182	94%	48	39	81%	-	-	-	-	-	-
/ ft /	340	81%/ 274	11%/ 36	304	90%	180	95	63%	100	36	36%	100	15	15%
/ xt /	112	87%/ 97	1%/ 1	111	87%	-	-	-	50	34	68%	50	26	52%

Table B15. The percentage of / t / variant in different phonological environments and styles, for all speakers

The following are some examples of final / t / with different preceding consonants:

After / s / in items such as / dorost / "right, just", / dust / "friend", / mâst / "yoghurt", / pust / "skin", / qest / "instalment", / hast / "is", / nist / "is not", / mixâst / "he, she wanted",

e.g. / ʔin doros (dorost) nis (nist) "this is not right" G4.A.M.
/ harči hasteš (hast) hamine / . "this is all it is" G2.A.M.

As table B15 shows, the percentage of / teš / in this environment is the highest, but it is only due to the high frequency of the verb / hast / "is", which ultimately creates more chance for the / teš / variant. The stylistic comparison shows a noticeable decrease from free speech to word lists. The total number of occurrences (1027), shows that final / st / cluster is very common.

After / š /, in items such as / hašt / "eight", / ʔangošt / "finger", / pošt / "back", / mošt / "fist", / mizâšt / "he lets", / bargašt / "he returns", / dâšt / "he had"

e.g. / ye moš (mošt) ʔa in bačča jam mišan / "a group of kids get together" G3.M.A.
/ ʔunam dâšteš (dâšt) nahâr mixord / "he was having his lunch" G4.F.A.

Table B15 shows that the / teš / variant has a low percentage. This is due to the low frequency of verbs with / st / cluster in final position. The percentage of / t / deletion in this environment is high, both in free speech and reading sentences.

After / f /, in items such as / naft / "oil", / joft / "pair, even", / haft / "seven", / seft / "hard", / gereft / "she, he took", / goft / "he, she said."

e.g. / hafsin taškil šodeʔaz haf (haft) čiz ke bâ sin soru beše / G2.F.A.
"Haftsin (a part of new year celebration) consist of seven items starting with (s)"

/ modir am gofteš (goft) har ki tup mixâd bâhâs ʔaz sorâydar ʔejâze begire / G1.M.Y. "The headmaster said, anyone who wants the ball, he must ask the caretaker"

Table B15 shows that / ft / is the only combination which less favoured the / t / deletion, especially in reading styles. But the percentage of / teš / variant is relatively high. This is due to high frequency of the verb / goft / and its very common alternative / gofteš /. The stylistic differences in this environment are very clear, as it differs from 90 per cent to 15 per cent from free speech to word list.

After / x /, in items such as / loxt / "naked", / taxt / "table", /saxt / "difficult", / suxt / "it is burned, / vaxt / "time", /poxt / "it is cooked"

e.g. / barâ ʔin kârâ vax (vaxt) nadâram / "I have no time for this kind of thing" G2.M.A.

/ ʔage poxteš (poxt) vardâr biyâr / "bring it, if it is cooked"

/ xt / cluster like to first combination shows stylistic variation.

The social differences in / t / variation

Here we look at each variant and its possible co-variation with social parameters as well as its stylistic situation.

(i) The / teš / variant. Before looking at this variant and its relation to social parameters, it is important to mention that as table B16 (p. 134) shows, the number of occurrences with this variant, unlike the majority of our variables, is relatively small. Yet this need not prevent us from drawing certain conclusions where the differences are considerable.

A first glance at Figs. B9-12 and table B16 reveals that the / teš / variant is not a characteristic of the working class dialect

except for G4 female youngsters. Secondly, for G1, except the youngsters, it is not a common variant either. The overall figures reveal that the / teš / variant is most common with G2 female and male speakers, and youngsters except G4.M.Y.

Fig. B9 (p.135) shows the female adults. All female speakers except G2 14 per cent, have very low and almost identical scores.

Fig. B10 (p.135) for male adults indicates almost the same pattern as females except that G2 score considerably higher than the others, although the score for G1 is nil, and two other groups' scores are slightly different from the females.

The low percentage with working class speakers of the / teš / variant which is a redundant element may not be too surprising. The analysis of the corpus reveals that as a general rule, working class speakers have a high tendency to reduce the redundant elements by a high degree of deletion and assimilation. So in choosing whether to delete the / t /, to retain it, or to add a redundant element to it, predictably they prefer to delete their final / t /. This leaves the behaviour of working class youngsters to be explained. On the other hand, the very low percentage of the / teš / variant with G1 females and males is rather peculiar, although as we see later G1 retain their final / t / in a higher rate. / teš / seems to be the only variant which separate G2 noticeably from other groups. Youngsters (both female and male except G4) show a very different pattern compared to their adults and score much higher for / teš / than they do (Figs. B11 and 12,p.135). Considering the overall picture, one may suggest that,

(i) / teš / may be also a young speakers' characteristic, except for G4 males.

		Female						Male					
			(i)		(ii)				(i)			(ii)	
	Style	Total	% deleted	% -teš	Total -teš	% deleted		Total	% deleted	% -teš	Total -teš	% deleted
31.A	Free speech	86	64%	5%	82	67%	FS	100	78%	0	100	78%
	Reading sentences	60	-	-	-	43%	RS	60	-	-	-	57%
	Fast word list	25	-	-	-	40%	FWL	25	-	-	-	56%
	Word list	25	-	-	-	20%	WL	25	-	-	-	20%
32.A	FS	176	75%	14%	152	86%	FS	137	72%	18%	113	87%
	RS	60	-	-	-	63%	RS	60	-	-	-	72%
	FWL	25	-	-	-	56%	FWL	25	-	-	-	52%
	WL	25	-	-	-	32%	WL	25	-	-	-	28%
33.A	FS	109	92%	4%	105	95%	FS	155	92%	7%	144	97%
	RS	60	-	-	-	87%	RS	60	-	-	-	92%
	FWL	25	-	-	-	60%	FWL	25	-	-	-	72%
	WL	25	-	-	-	52%	WL	25	-	-	-	68%
34.A	FS	262	90%	5%	244	98%	FS	232	97%	2%	227	99%
31.Y	FS	107	75%	14%	92	87%	FS	130	57%	30%	91	81%
	RS	60	-	-	-	57%	RS	60	-	-	-	65%
	FWL	25	-	-	-	48%	FWL	25	-	-	-	52%
	WL	25	-	-	-	20%	WL	25	-	-	-	28%
34.Y	FS	181	80%	17%	67	97%	FS	121	89%	7%	112	96%
	RS	60	-	-	-	83%	RS	60	-	-	-	90%
	FWL	25	-	-	-	56%	FWL	25	-	-	-	80%
	WL	25	-	-	-	32%	WL	25	-	-	-	52%

Table B16. The percentage of / t / variations by class, sex, age and style.

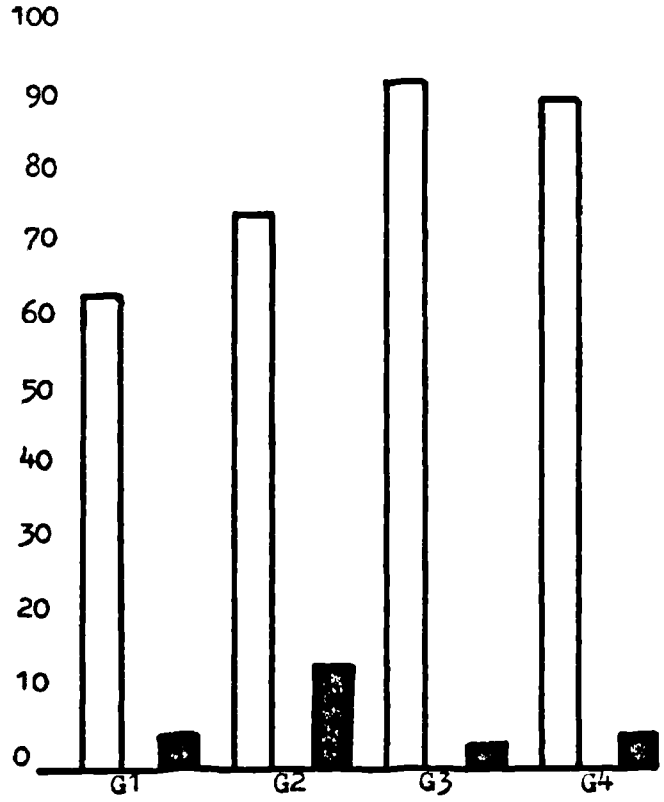


Fig. B9. The percentage of / t / variations, by class and free speech, Female Adults

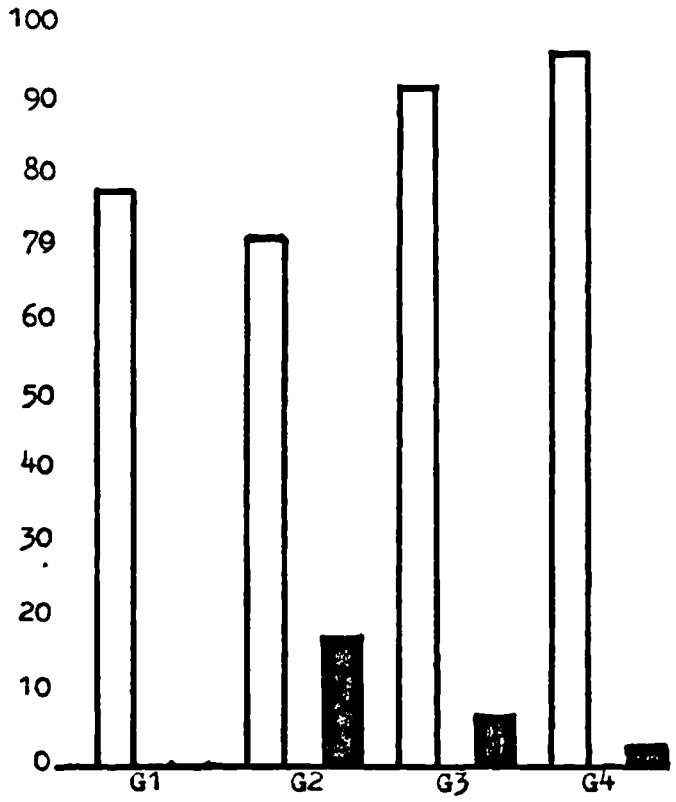


Fig. B10. The percentage of / t / variations, by class and free speech, Male Adults

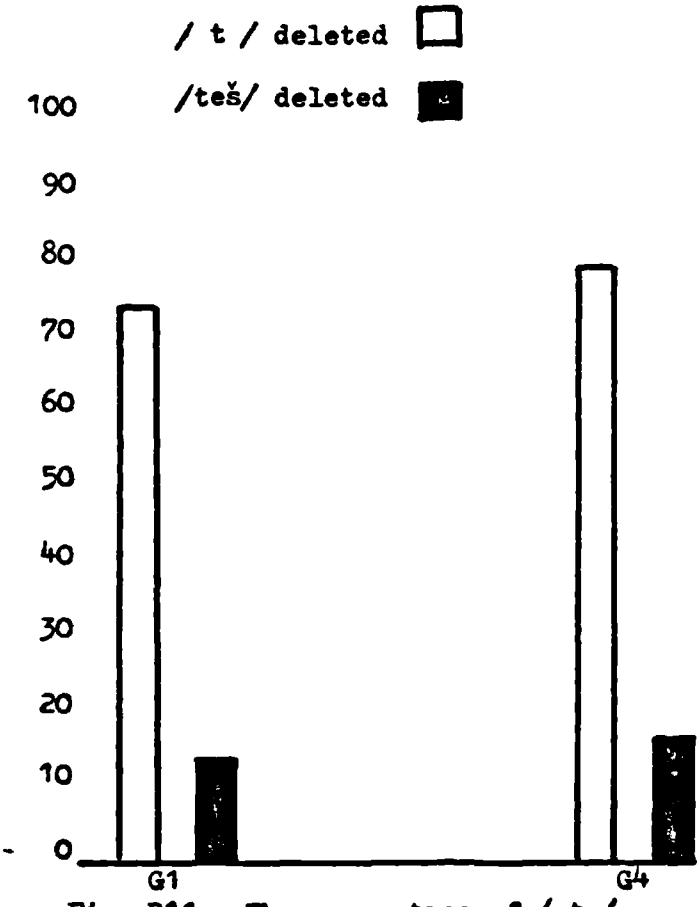


Fig. B11. The percentage of / t / variations, by class and free speech, female youngsters

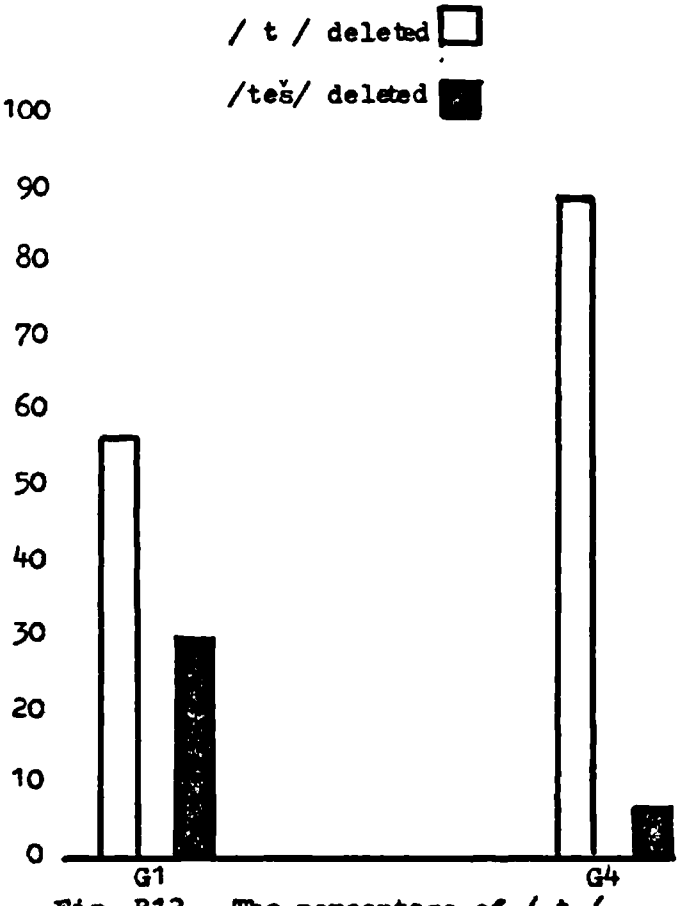


Fig. B12. The percentage of / t / variations, by class and free speech, male youngsters.

(ii) / teš / may be a variant whose use is increasing and may establish itself in future, although it is a redundant element.
(2) The / t / deletion. This gives a much clearer picture, compared to / teš /. Here again, although the number of occurrences is very high, the difference between the lowest and highest score does not go beyond 35 per cent. So with this variant we will be dealing with relatively small differences between the social groups. However, this variant shows a noticeable co-variation with social factors.

Fig. B13 (p.137) shows the female adults. It seems that this variant divides our social groups into three sections, as G3 and G4 are relatively close to each other. In reading styles they are also separated.

Fig. B14 (p.137) shows the male adults, who interestingly score almost the same pattern as the females. In reading styles the three literate groups are separated except in fast word list. Both adult groups stylistically show a steady and noticeable decrease from free speech to word list.

Fig. B15 (p.137) shows the female youngsters, who are predictably closing the gap in all styles. In free speech this closing process is entirely on the part of G1 who are increasing the percentage of deletion compared to that of their adults. Taking G3 as the nearest literate group to G4 adults, we see that the two young groups are closer to each other in reading styles in comparison to their adults.

Fig. B16 (p.137) shows the male youngsters who are separated in all styles, but the gap between them is again less than that for the adults.

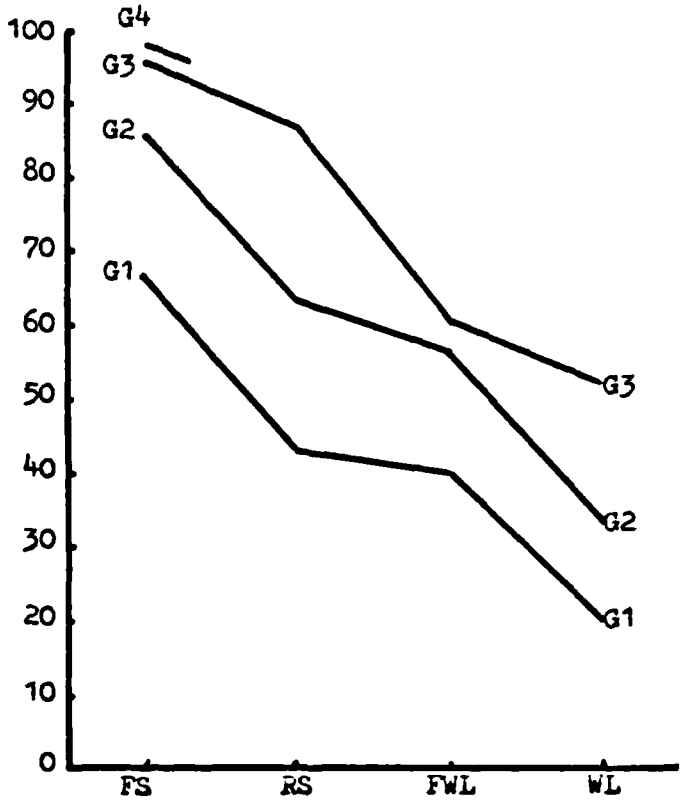


Fig. B13. The percentage of / t / deletion by class and style, female adults (excluding /teš/ variant)

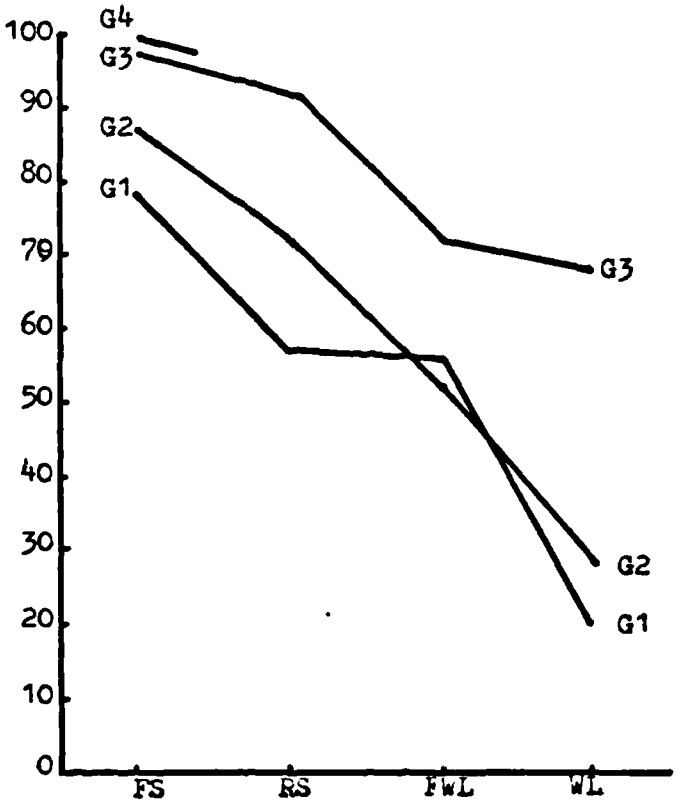


Fig. B14. The percentage of / t / deletion by class and style, male adults (excluding /teš/ variant)

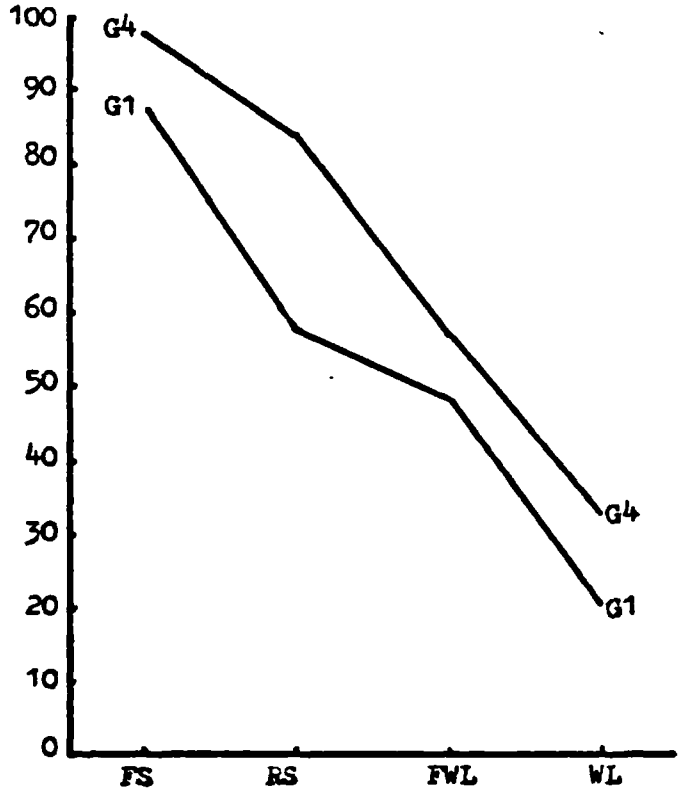


Fig. B15. The percentage of / t / deletion by class and style, female youngsters (excluding /teš/ variant)

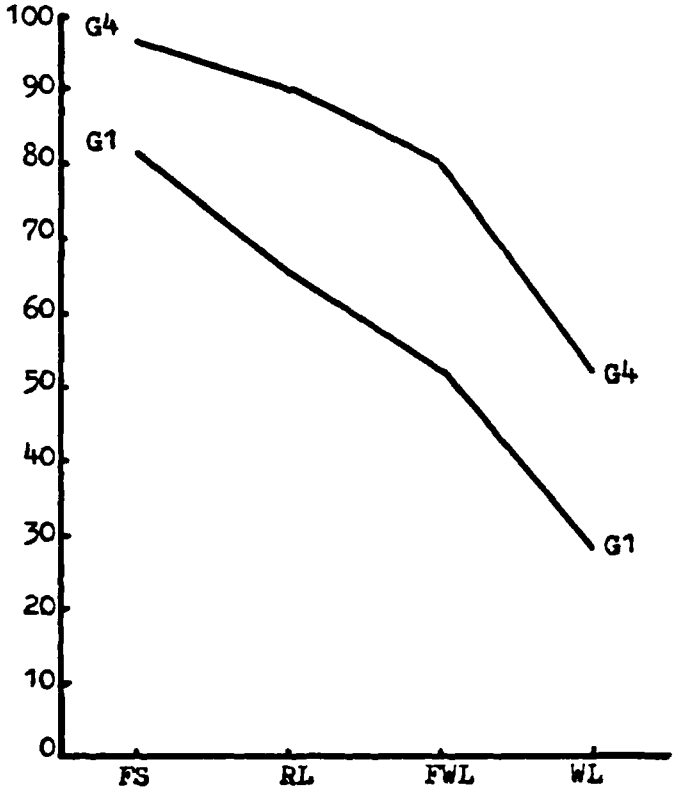


Fig. B16. The percentage of / t / deletion by class and style, male youngsters (excluding /teš/ variant)

Conclusions:

(i) / teš / is most common with G2 adults and all youngsters except G4 males.

(ii) / t / deletion is sensitive to social class, age, sex and style.

(iii) Youngsters in all styles are generally closing the gap compared to their adults.

/ d / variable

/ d / like its voiceless counterpart / t / (see / t / deletion above), shows a strong tendency to be deleted in certain positions. Here we look at the possibility of deletion in different positions.

1. Medial position.

The analysis of material reveals that / d / deletion seems to be starting in this position with a number of items. Deletion in this position occurs mostly in G4 and G3, as in the entire corpus only one case of / d / deletion was observed in the speech of a G1 speaker. However, phonologically, it can be deleted in the following environments.

(a) Intervocalically.

In this environment / d / deletion causes the deletion of a following vowel, and may or may not lengthen the preceding vowel,

e.g. / dâdâš /~ / dâ:š /~ / dâš / "brother"

/ porsid dâ:š či mixây / "he asked, what do you want, brother?" G3.M.A

or / nadâštim /~ / na:štim / ~/ naštim / "we hadn't"

/ savâd ke na:štim ke ye kâre xubi vâse xodemun doros konim /
"We (I) had no education to find a good job" G4.M.A.

If the following vowel is / i /, then after the deletion of intervocalic / d /, / i / may be retained and create a "soft" VV cluster, or it can be replaced by the semi vowel / y / and make a diphthong, e.g.

/ nadidam / ~ / naidam / ~ / naydam / "I didn't see"

/ vâllâ migan has, man naidam / G4.F.A.
"They say it exists, but I didn't see it"

(b) Pre consonental.

The deletion of / d / here sometimes causes the deletion of a following vowel, e.g.

/ madrese / ~ / marse / "school"

/ hamaš ʔa marse farâr mikardam / · "I used to escape from school" G3.M.A.

(c) Pre vocalic.

The deletion of / d / here also can cause the deletion of a following vowel, e.g.

/ ʔandâze / ~ / ʔanze / "size"

/ ʔanzaš (ʔandâze aš) xeli bozorg nabud / "it was not that big" G3.F.A.

or / davâzdah / ~ / davâza / "twelve"

/ nazdik / ~ / nazik / ~ / nizik / "near, almost"

/ ʔin qorsâ re ke mixoram nigike xafe šam / G4.M.A.
"When I have these tablets I feel almost suffocated"

Final position

/ d / deletion in this position is very common. It occurs mostly in post consonantal position especially after / n /, although cases of post vocalic deletion by lower groups have occasionally been observed, e.g. / nabud / ~ / nabu / "it was not"

/ intorâ nabu ke har ki deleš xâs bere / G3.M.A.
"You could not go as you wish"

Post consonantal

First we look at the effect of / d / deletion on the three subject enclitics, which end in / d /.

/ -ad / "third person singular"

/ -id / "second person singular"

/ -and / "third person plural"

/ -ad /, when following a stem ending in a consonant, in free speech can be altered to / e /. The alternative of / -ad / ~ / -e / may be considered as deletion of / d / and raising of / a /, e.g.

Infinitive	stem	St		NST	
/ xordan /	/ xor /	/ mixorad /	~ /	mixore /	"he eats"

When / -ad / follows a stem ending in a vowel it alternates with / d /, e.g. / xâstan / / xâ / / mixâhad / ~ / mixâd / "he wants"

The verb stem in most cases differs from "standard" to "non-standard" form, e.g.

/ goftan / "to say, to tell" / gu / (standard stem)
/ g / (non-standard stem)

The "standard" stem takes "standard" subject enclitics and the "non-standard" form takes "non-standard" subject enclitics.

/ mi / + / gu / + mediating element if the stem is ended in a vowel / ad / / miguyad / "he says"
/ mi / + / g / + / e / / mige / "he says"

For further discussion see the personal pronouns and present tense verb stem (p. 173).

/ - ed / second personal plural

The final / d / in this item very often changes to / n /, especially with "lower" group speakers, e.g.

ST		NST	
/ darid /	~ /	darin /	"you have"
/ begid /	~ /	begin /	"tell"
/ šodid /	~ /	šodin /	"you became"
/ bokonid /	~ /	bokonin /	"do" plural

/ʔage dars boxunin qabuli hatmiye / G4.M.Y.
"If you study, you surely pass the exams."

/ -and / third person plural.

The final / d / of this item is almost always deleted by all social, sex and age groups.

e.g.	ST	NST
	/ miguyand /	/ migan /

/ migan nemiše biʔejâze berin tu / G2.M.A.
"They say: you can't go in without permission"

As a result of / d / deletion we have the following pattern of subject enclitics in "non-standard" Persian in comparison to "standard" forms.

ST		NST	
/ -am /	/ -im /	/ -am /	/ im /
/ -i /	/ -id /	/ -i /	/ in /
/ -ad /	/ -and /	/ -e / after c	/ an /
		/ -d / after v	

/ d / deletion after / n / in final position can apply in many other items apart from the subject enclitics, such as / čand / "how much", / boland / "tall", / band / "rope", / qand / "cube sugar", / peyvand / "graft", / gusfand / "sheep", / tond / "fast".

/ čan (čand) bâr amʔumad injâ / G4.F.A. "he came here several times"

The / d / was deleted in 69 per cent of the 143 cases where it followed / n /.

It also occurs after / r / in items such as / mikard / "he used to do", / šâgerd / "student".

/ ʔavval čâr sâl šâger (šâgerd) qaveči budam / G4.M.A.
"For four years I was teaboy"

The percentage of deletion after / r / (48%/44) is lower than in the

other environment.

Deletion of / d / occurs after / z / in items such as / mozd / "salary", / dozd / "theft".

/ ɣunvax ruzi se toman moz (mozd) migereftam / G4.M.A.
"Those days, my salary was three tomans a day"

/ xâb didam doz (dozd)ʔumade / G1.F.A.
"I dreamed that there is a theft in our house"

The percentage of deletion with items in this environment was 100 per cent.

Another environment where / d / can be deleted is after / š / like / rošd / "growing".

/ ʔin sabze roš (rošd) mikone tâ ruzeʔid / G1.F.A.
"The grass will grow until Nowruz (Persian new year)"

The social differences of / d / deletion.

Figs. B17-20 suggest that / d / deletion is common across the social classes as they all score over 75 per cent in free speech except G1 female adults. However G1 females, as we shall see later, are in other respects the most conservative members of the Tehran community. This variable is the least efficient of all the variables in differentiating the classes. This inefficiency is also due to the large amount of overlapping in scores among the members of different social classes (see Chapter Five).

Table B17 (p.143) and Fig. B17 (p.144) show the female adults. In free speech G1 females are the only group who show a marked difference from the rest of the female adults. The other three groups are very close to each other. In reading sentences, the differences among the three literate groups are clearer, but in word list style they are divided almost into two groups, with a number of irregularities.

Table B17 and Fig. B18 (p.144) give the male adults. In free

		Female			Male	
	Style	Total	% Deletion	Style	Total	% Deletion
G1.A	Free speech	36	53	FS	26	77
	Reading sentences	25	30	RS	25	27
	Fast word list	20	50	FWL	20	25
	Word list	20	15	WL	20	10
G2.A	FS	29	79	FS	37	79
	RS	25	40	RS	25	48
	FWL	20	40	FWL	20	45
	WL	20	20	WL	20	25
G3.A	FS	38	89	FS	61	95
	RS	25	56	RS	31	59
	FWL	20	50	FWL	20	55
	WL	20	35	WL	20	75
G4.A	FS	52	89	FS	83	95
G1.Y	FS	36	78	FS	40	85
	RS	25	28	RS	25	32
	FWL	20	55	FWL	20	50
	WL	20	10	WL	20	20
G4.Y	FS	24	96	FS	62	90
	RS	25	44	RS	25	58
	FWL	20	35	FWL	20	65
	WL	20	25	WL	20	40

Table B17. The percentage of / d / deletion by class, age, sex and style

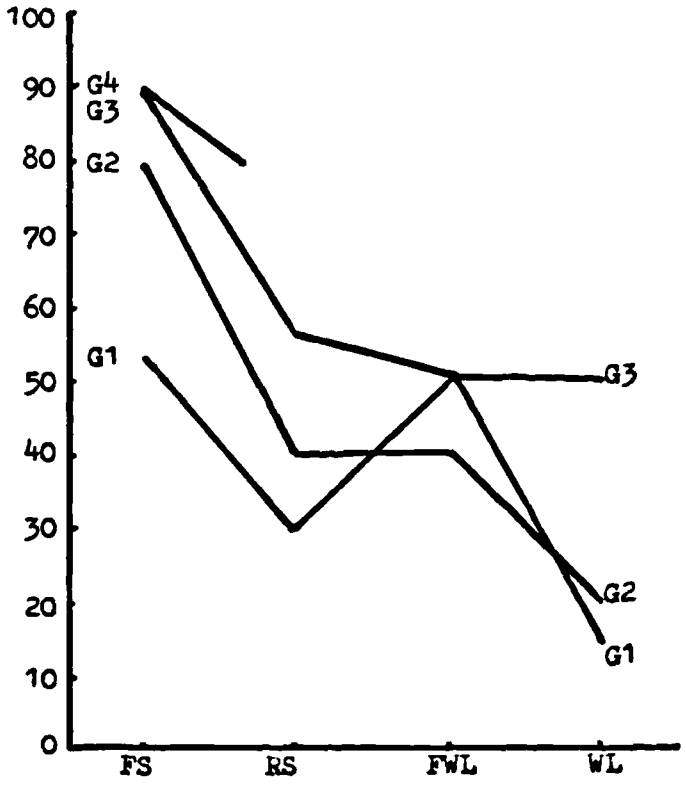


Fig. B17. The percentage of / d / deletion by class and style, Female Adults

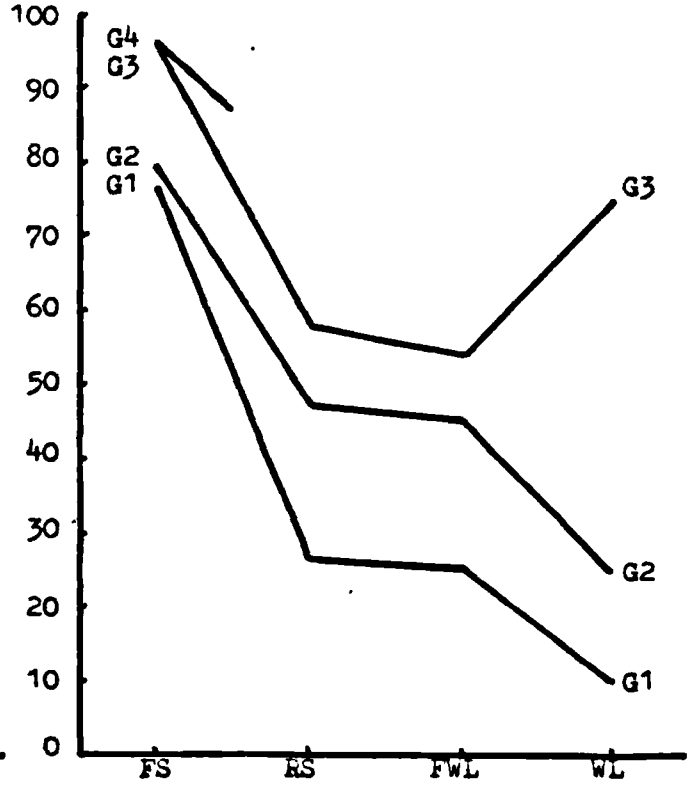


Fig. B18. The percentage of / d / deletion by class and style, Male Adults.

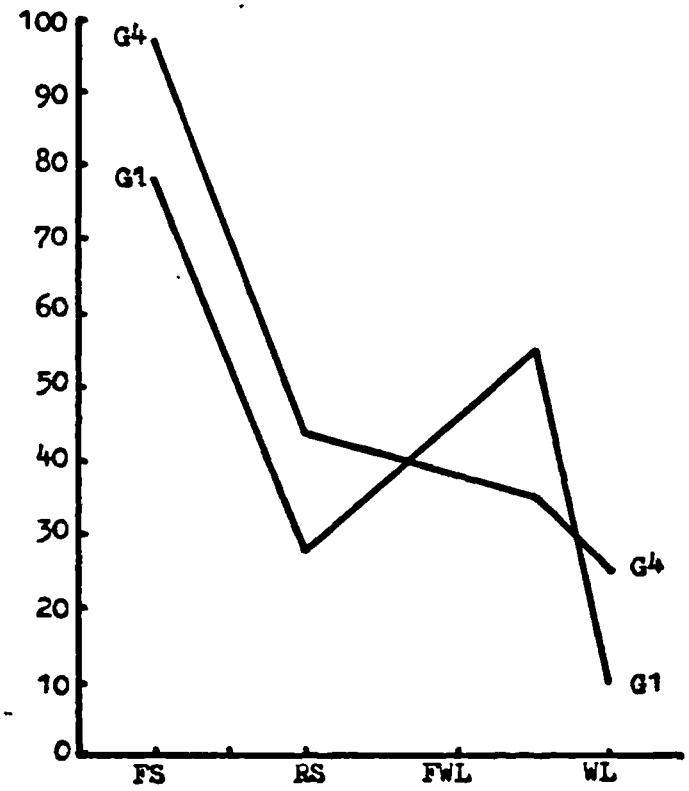


Fig. B19. The percentage of / d / deletion by class and style, Female Youngsters

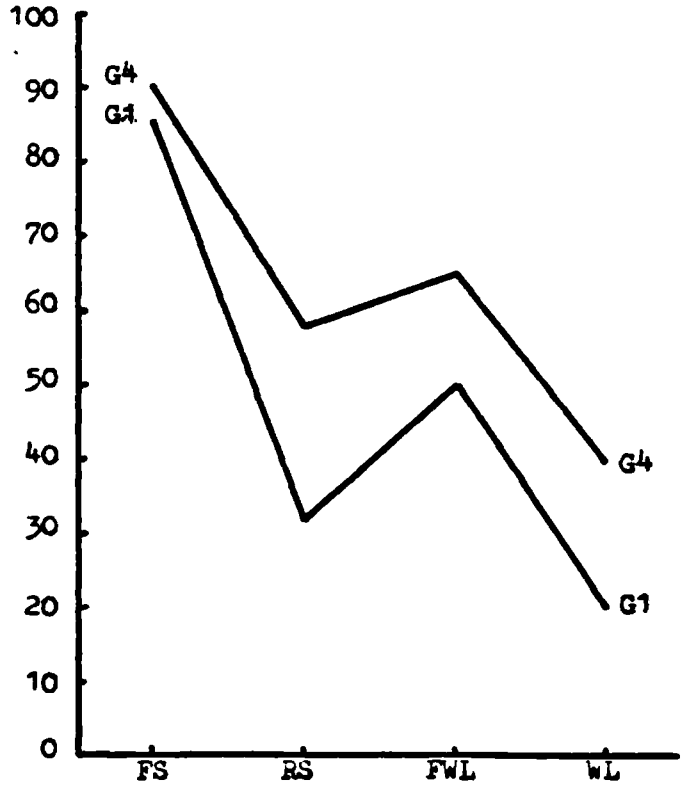


Fig. B20. The percentage of / d / deletion by class and style, Male Youngsters

speech they are divided almost into two groups, with a lot of overlapping (see Chapter Five). In reading styles the three literate groups are divided more clearly.

Table B17 and Fig. B19 (p.144) show the female youngsters. In all styles except fast word list, they are distinct. In free speech, the gap between them is smaller than that for their adults.

Table B17 and Fig. B20 (p.144) show the male youngsters. In free speech, the difference between the two extreme groups is smaller than for their adults, and the social classes can hardly be said to be distinguishable.

/ r / deletion

As the / r / deletion rule is applicable only to a small number of lexical items, very little can be said about it. Yet, in spite of the numbers of lexical items involved in this variable, each item is very frequent (see Table B19, p.149). This may support the idea that a phonological rule first covers the items which are more frequent. However, as / r / deletion play a definite role in characterizing the "non-standard" Persian, here we study the possibility of deletion in different phonological positions and later analyse the co-relation of / r / deletion with social parameters. First we look at the effect of different phonotactic positions on / r / deletion.

1. Initial position

/ r / in the post position / râ / can be deleted in certain contexts.

/ râ /. This element which syntactically functions as a definite objective (see preposition deletion and word order, p.187), is widely believed to be derived from Old Persian / raadi /[1]. So, the present

(1) Horn, Grundriss d. Iran Phil. 1.2.109 and Kent 133 and pp. 205-6.

form is already a shortened form of Old Persian, through Middle Persian to Modern Farsi. However, it shows a strong tendency to lose its first phoneme / r /. But as we shall see later this deletion does not occur unless the second phoneme / â / is changed to / o / or in some cases to / e /. The process of deletion and vocalic changes is stylistically sensitive.

In free speech:

After a vowel it is mostly / ro / or / re /, e.g.

/ ketâbâ ro bede man / "give me the books"

After a consonant it is / (r)o / or / (r)e /, e.g.

/ ketâb o bede man / "give me the book"

In reading style:

After a vowel it is mostly / râ /, but occasionally / ro / or / re / e.g.

/ kabutarhâ râʔâzâd kard / "he released the pigeons"

After a consonant it is / râ / but not / (r)â / or / (r)o / or / (r)e / e.g.

/čerâq râ rošan bokon / "put the light on"

Here, we measure the percentage of / r / deletion in / râ / in two different phonological environments:

(i) / râ / following an item ending in a vowel. As / r / deletion creates the unfavoured (VV) cluster, so the percentage of deletion in this position is very low.

Sometimes when the vowel preceding / râ / is an / i /, then / râ /, after changing to / ro /, permits / r / deletion and makes the / io / cluster possible, e.g.

/ bâftani o pârsâl yâd gereftam / G4.F.Y.
"I learned the knitting last year"

(ii) / râ / following an item ending in a consonant, e.g.

/ ketâb o vardâštam / "I took the book"

The tendency to drop the / r / after a consonant is very high.

2. Medial position

In this position only one item seems to be mostly covered by the rule; the "particle" / xorde / ~ / xode /, e.g.

/ hâlâ age ye xode dir beše nârâhat miše / G4.F.A.
"He will be disappointed if one is a little late"

The / r / deletion in this position is most common in working class speakers.

3. Final position

(i) Post vocalic, which can be divided into two groups:

(a) items whose final / r / deletion cause the raising of the preceding vowel, e.g.

/ʔagar / ~ /ʔage / "if" /ʔage midunessam xub bud /

/ʔagar / ~*/ʔager / "it was good if I knew it"

/ digar / ~ / dige / "any more, other", e.g.

/ goftam dige jâye mâʔinjâ nis / "I said, here is no good for us any mor

/ʔâxar / ~ /ʔâxe / "because, after that, at the end", e.g.

/âxe bazi čizâ ro nemiše gof / "because one cannot discuss some of the thin

It is important to mention that the alternation of /ʔâxar / ~ /ʔâxe / is semantically bounded. If it means "after that" or "at the end", then the alternation does not take place, e.g.

/ʔâxar sâl hesâbâ ro tasfiye mikonim / G3.M.A.
"At the end of each year we work out our accounts"

*/ʔâxe sâl hesâbâ ro tasfiye mikonim/

The deletion of / r / in the above items without the raising of the preceding vowel occurs in some non-Tehrani Persian, like the Persian of Kermanshah, e.g.

/ʔâxar / ~/ʔâxa /

Also, the retained / r / with the raised preceding vowel in the above items can alternate with deleted / r / in some Persian dialects like Isfahani Persian, e.g.

/ʔager / ~ /ʔage /

(b) Items whose final / r / deletion has no effect on the preceding vowel, e.g.

/ četor / ~/ četo / "how"

/ četo šod narafti / G4.F.A. "why did not you go"

/ boxor / ~/ boxo / "eat"

/ boxo, qazâ ziyâde / G4.F.A. "eat, there is plenty of food"

/ čikâr / ~/ čikâ / "what"

/ čikâ mikoni / "what are you doing"

/ begir / ~/ begi / ~/ bigi / "take"

/ʔine bigi dasset / G4.F.A. "take this in your hand"

(ii) Post Consonantal.

In items such as:

/ fekr / ~/ fek / "thought", e.g.

/ fek mikone mohem nis / G2.M.A. "he thinks it is not important"

/ čeqadr / ~/ čeqad / "how much", e.g.

/ čeqad bâ:s bedam / G3.F.A. "how much do I have to pay"

/ʔinqadr / ~/ʔinqad / "this much, so much", e.g.

/ʔinqad tuleš nade / G2.F.A. "don't waste so much time"

/ metr / ~/ met / "meter", e.g.

/ gâyam do se met pârče baraš mixaridam / G3.M.A.
"Sometimes, I used to buy two-three meters material for her"

/ sabr / ~/ sab / "patience, pause, wait", also "sneeze", e.g.

/ beš goftam sab kon tâʔin bâbâš biyâd / G4.F.A.
"I told him to wait until his father is back"

The item / sabr / is also a semantically bounded item from the point of view of change. If it is used to mean "sneeze" then the change to / sab / never takes place, e.g.

/ sabr ʔumad / ~ */ sab ʔumad / "there is a sneeze"

Phonological environment			% deletion	Total
Initial	After vowel		2%	161
	After consonant		88%	384
Medial	Post vocalic		79%	52
Final	Post vocalic	raising the preceding vowel	83%	610
		no raising	50%	74
	Post all consonant		85%	220

Table B18. The percentage of / r / deletion in different phonotactic and phonological environments for all speakers.

Conclusions:

(i) As only a small portion of potentially relevant lexical items are covered by the rule, / r / deletion may be considered a rule in its early stages.

(ii) All lexical items involved in this variable have very high frequency, so one may suggest that a phonological rule first covers the more frequent items.

(iii) As has been found in other cases, intervocalically the deletion of a consonant is disfavoured.

(iv) The final / r / after a vowel and initial / r / following a word ending in a vowel, are less favoured to get deleted.

The social differences of / r / deletion

Table B19 (p.151) and Figs. B21-24 (p.152) reveal that / r / deletion is very common among all social classes, sex and age groups, as they

all delete their / r / in the items mentioned over 60 per cent in their free speech. So here again, we are dealing with relatively small differences among the social classes, and a large amount of overlapping. This variable also shows drastic stylistic differences from free speech to reading styles.

Fig. B21 (p.152) shows the female adults. In their free speech G1 again are more noticeably separated from the other three groups, who although distinguishable, are still relatively close to each other. In reading sentences, G2 score clearly higher than G1, but G3 unexpectedly delete their / r / less than the two other top literate groups. This considerable fall in deletion by G3 may be due to over-consciousness of this phoneme in reading styles. Yet there is nothing to tell us why / r / should have this quality.

Fig. B22 (p.152) gives the male adults. In their free speech the three literate groups are clearly distinguishable, while the illiterate group is very close to G3. In reading sentences, again G3, like females, show some irregularity and score lower than G2. In word list styles they are almost divided into two groups.

Fig. B23 shows the female youngsters who are separated from each other in free speech and reading sentences. In free speech, the gap between them, compared to their adults, is closing slightly. This is mostly due to the higher percentage of deletion by G1 females.

Fig. B24 gives the male youngsters. In all styles, they are separated from each other. Yet the difference in reading sentences is the highest. The two extreme young groups are closing the gap in comparison to their adults in free speech. But clearly this process is mostly by G1 increasing the percentage of their / r / deletion substantially.

	Free speech	Reading sentences	Fast word list	Word list
G1 F.A.	61%/ 81	10%/ 56	5%/ 20	0 / 20
G1.M.A.	64%/110	25%	5%/	0
G2.F.A.	81%/151	29%	10%	0
G2.M.A.	77%/116	4%	0	0
G3.F.A.	88%/ 92	4%	5%	5%
G3.M.A.	94%/108	17%	20%	5%
G4.F.A.	97%/188	-	-	-
G4.M.A.	97%/ 93	-	-	-
G1.F.Y.	69%/121	6%	5%	0
G1.M.Y.	75%/ 88	4%	0	0
G4.F.Y.	92%/ 75	33%	0	0
G4.M.Y.	92%/ 97	26%	15%	5%

Table B19. The scores for / r / deletion by class, style, sex and age

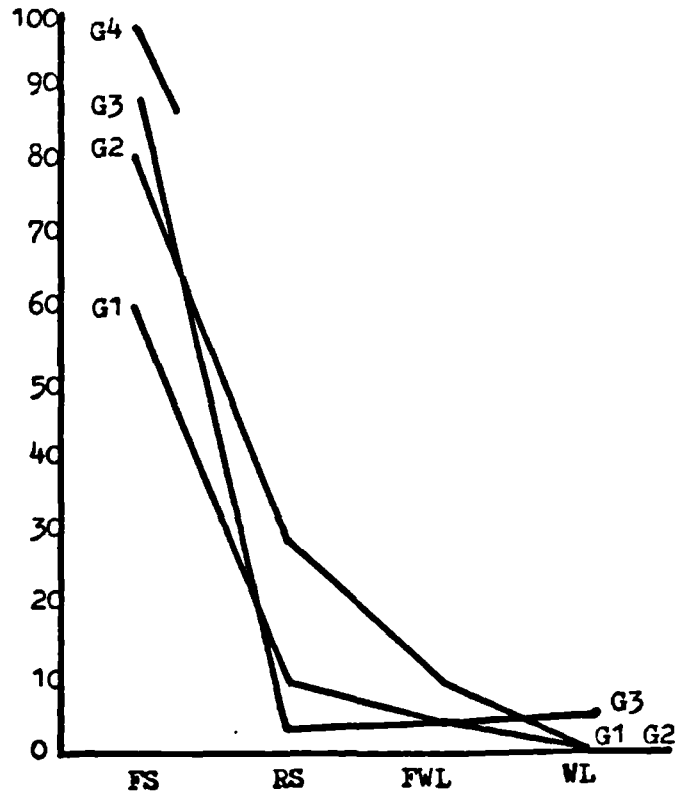


Fig. B21. The percentage of / r / deletion by class and style, female adults

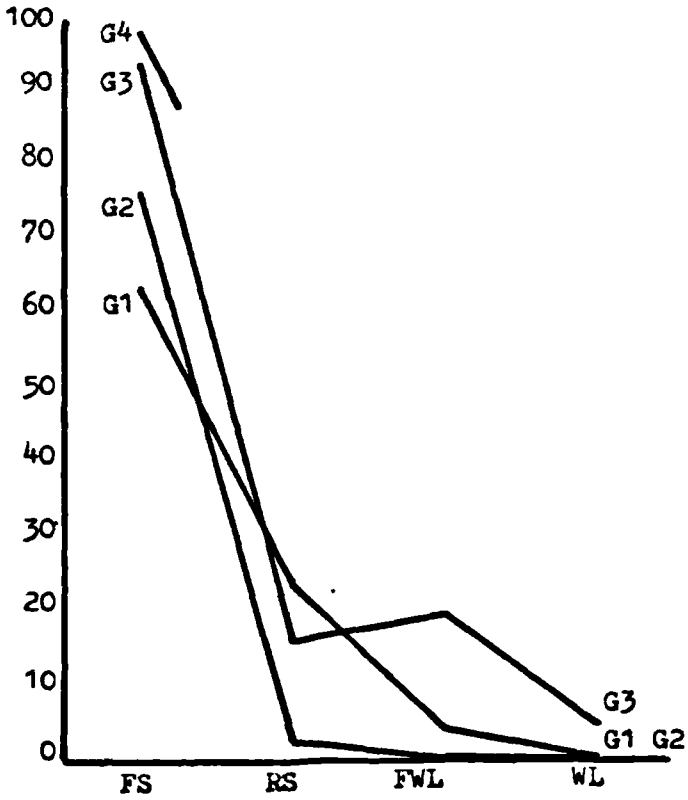


Fig. B22. The percentage of / r / deletion by class and style, male adults

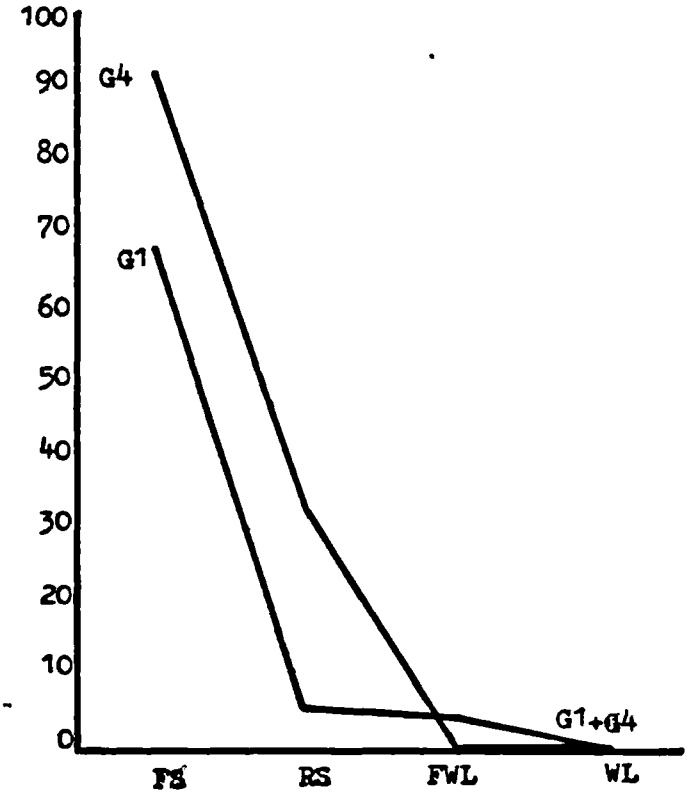


Fig. B23. The percentage of / r / deletion by class and style, female youngsters

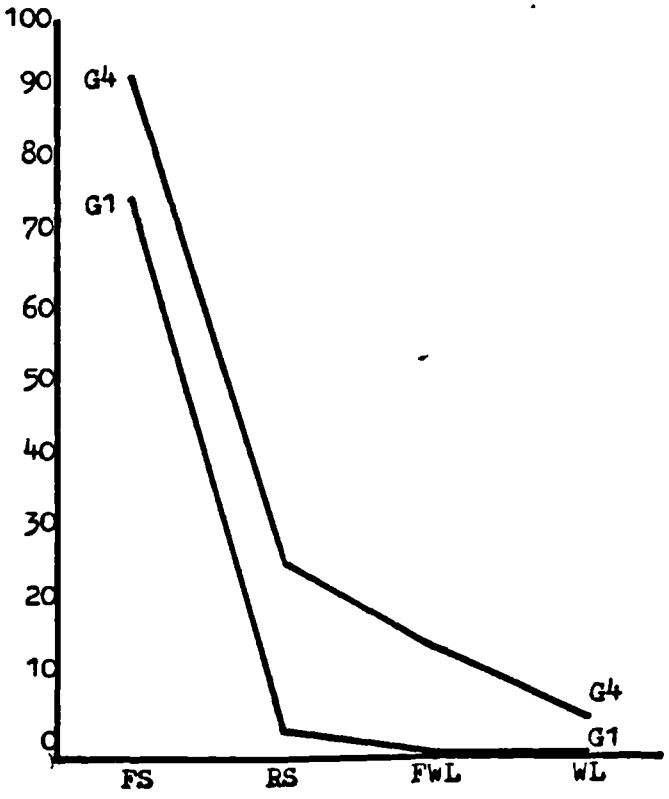


Fig. B24. The percentage of / r / deletion by class and style, male youngsters

Glottal stop deletion

The glottal stop has been studied by some scholars such as Hodge (1957), as a stylistically sensitive element, and by Samareh (1977), as a distinctive feature in the Persian phonemic system.

Hodge (1957) says:

> "/ ʾ / in informal ST (standard Tehrani) is [ʔ] in absolute initial (after pause), [ʾ] (this symbol used for glottal stricture) elsewhere, with lengthening of a preceding vowel in the sequence of / VʾC /. In formal speech the glottal stricture may be replaced by complete closure, with no vowel lengthening."

Samareh (1977) says:

> "Indeed the glottal closure may be reduced to a stricture and is sometimes barely perceptible. This particularly happens in colloquial tehrani, but in conservative speech / ʔ / is always retained."

However, the results of our analysis seems to support some parts of the above ideas and disagrees with other points. Before examining the effect of the phonological environment on /ʔ/ deletion, we look at the phonetic nature of this variable. It is important to mention that almost all lexical items involved in this variable are Arabic loan words. In fact glottal stop does not occur in any native Persian words, except in initial word and phrase position before a vowel. The phonetic nature of this element in Arabic is a complete closure of the glottis, while in Persian this original glottal stop in many cases reduces to more or less a glottal stricture, especially in free speech, unless a particular emphasis on an item is involved. Full glottal stops were mostly observed in reading style, in reading the word list which is a careful reading of lexical items in isolation, and with pause. Hodge believes that when glottal stop / ʔ / is reduced to glottal stricture [ʾ] then it lengthens the preceding vowel, but my finding shows that only the deletion of either / ʔ /

or [ʔ] in some cases with certain lexical item causes lengthening of the preceding vowel.

To achieve a more precise analysis here, we first look at all the phonological environments in which the glottal stop may occur, and see their possible effects on the deletion process.

1. Initial position

(a) Pre-consonantal. It never occurs before another consonant in initial position, because of initial *CC restriction in Persian phonotactics.

(b) Pre-vocalic. A glottal stop is always and automatically present before a vowel in initial position. The nature of the glottal stop (glottal closure or glottal stricture) depends on whether the syllable containing glottal stop is stressed, or the item is located in phrase initial position.

2. Medial position

(a) Post-vocalic position. In this position, over sixty different lexical items in a total number of 1557 occurrences have been studied. The items with /ʔ/ in this position can be divided into two sub-groups:

(i) Items in which the first vowel in the first syllable is followed and preceded by glottal stops, in words such as / ʔeʔterâz / "complain", / ʔeʔteqâd / "belief", / ʔeʔtemâd / "trust", / aʔzâ / "member", / ʔeʔdâm / hanging , / aʔsâb / "nerves"and so on. In this environment the deletion of a glottal stop in some items mostly causes the lengthening of the preceding vowel such as / aʔzâ / ~/ a:zâ /, / aʔsâb / ~/ a:sâb / and in a smaller degree / ʔeʔtemâd / ~/ ʔe:temâd /, while with other items such as / ʔeʔdâm / ~/ ʔedâm /, / ʔeʔterâz / ~ / ʔeterâz / the possibility of vowel lengthening is very small, e.g.

/ beš migoftan medune ʔedâm, har kio mixâssan ʔedâm konan miovordan unjâ / G4.M.A.

"It was called EʔDam square, it was the execution place"

But on the whole the deletion of glottal stop is high, especially in free speech. Table B20 indicates a steady decrease of / ʔ / deletion from free speech to word list.

Style	Percentage of deletion	% lengthening	% /ʔ/ retained
Free speech	82%	8%	10%
Reading sentences	56%	27%	18%
Word list	34%	37%	27%

Table B20. /ʔ/ in context /ʔV ʔ /, for all speakers, by style.

(ii) Items in which the vowel in the first or second syllable is only followed by glottal stop, such as / feʔlan / "just now", / taʔmir / "repair", / daʔvâ / "quarrel", / ʔesteʔmâl / "usage", / maʔruf / "famous", / moʔtaqed / "believer", / taʔsir / "effect", / taʔtil / "closed", / meʔde / "stomach", / saʔy / "try", / baʔzi / "some", / ʔesteʔfâ / "resignation", / maʔdan / "mine", and so on. Like subsection (i) above, some of these items generally lengthen their preceding vowel when their glottal stop is deleted, such as in (iia) while with other items almost no lengthening occurs after deletion, such as in (iib):

(iia) / daʔvâ / ~ / da:vâ/
/ baʔd / ~ / ba:d/
/ baʔzi / ~ / ba:zi /
/ maʔruf / ~ / ma:ruf /

/ bačča ye mâ bâ baččâye hamsâdeâ da:vâ mikardan /
"Our children used to fight with the neighbours' children"

(iib) / ʔesteʔmâl / ~ / ʔestemal /
/ ʔesteʔfâ / ~ / ʔestefâ /
/ maʔdan / ~ / madan /
/ taʔtil / ~ / tatil /

e.g.
/ bâbâm madan gač dâš /
"my father had a chalk mine"
/ tâbessun se mâ tatil dârim /
"In summer we have three months' holiday"

It is obvious that the percentage of lengthening or deletion differs by style and class and from one item to another even in the same group. Here, there is a considerable difference in percentage of deletion in free speech compared to word list style.

Style	percentage of deletion	% lengthening	% retained
Free speech	73	15	12
Reading sentences	69	14	17
Word list	33	22	45

Table B21. /ʔ/ in context / Vʔ /, for all speakers, by style.

(b) Post consonantal. In this environment the glottal stop occurs after a consonant and before a vowel. In items such as / masʔle / "problem", / dafʔe / "time, in two times", / ʔalʔân / "now", / jamʔiyat / "crowd", / marʔus / "inferior", / qorʔân / "Islamic holy book", / vosʔat / "width", / qatʔi / "certain", / ʔanʔâm / "bonus", / sanʔat / "industry", / jomʔe / "Friday", / sorʔat / "speed", and so on. In all the above items, the glottal stop when present is located at a syllable boundary. This is because /VCCV/ must be divided into /VC//CV/ to fit the phonotactics of Persian. Thus the considerable drop in the percentage of deletion in this environment shown in Table B22 (see next page) may be due to the fact that the glottal stop in this position operates as if in initial position. In this environment the deletion of the glottal stop does not create lengthening in any of the three styles.

The deletion of glottal stop in post consonantal position also has the effect of changing the phonotactic and syllable structure of the lexical item:

CVC/CV	CV/CV			
daf/ʔe	da/fe	or	jomʔe	jo/me
			CVCCV	CVCV

Thus, as we see, after the deletion of glottal stop / f / in / daf / (CVC) breaks from first syllable and joins to the sole vowel of the second syllable. Table B22 shows a reduction in the percentage of / ʔ / deletion in all styles, especially word list (which is as low as 10 per cent.

Style	% deletion	% lengthening	% retained
Free speech	52	0	48
Reading sentences	45	0	55
Word list	10	0	90

Table B22. / ʔ / in context /ʔC- / for all speakers by style.

3. Intervocalic position

In this position the glottal stop is located between two vowels and therefore at a syllable boundary, in items such as / moʔasser / "effective", / moʔallem / "teacher", / sâʔat / "time, watch", / bâʔes / "cause, motive", / faʔâliyat / "activity", / taʔârof / "compliment", / roʔasâ / "bosses", / motâleʔe / "reading", / motmaʔen / "sure", / exterâʔât / "discoveries", / dâʔem / "always", / moʔâšerat / "companionship", / ʔetelâʔât / "information", / soʔâl / "question", / šâʔer / "poet", and so on.

Traditionally, phoneticians and phonologists have argued that a cluster of two vowels in any position in a word is impossible in Persian. This present work is perhaps the first attempt to look at the Persian language as a heterogeneous phenomena which considers both different styles and different social classes and their language characteristics.

Thus we can introduce facts which may be of interest not only to the sociologists, but also to scholars who are interested in Persian phonology. In my findings in this particular area, there is evidence to support the idea that the cluster of two vowels is possible with certain words, especially in working class speech, although not as a popular combination.

The lexical items in this environment can be divided into four sub-groups from the point of view of / ʔ / deletion and lengthening of preceding vowel.

(a) Those items whose intervocalic glottal stop is very strong and very rarely gets deleted. The phonetic nature of the glottal stop in these items is normally a complete closure of the glottis, e.g.

/ jamâʔat / "crowd"

/ exterâʔât / "discoveries

/ moʔasser / "effective"

(b) Those items which occur mostly in free speech, whose glottal stop is reduced to an almost imperceptible stricture [ʾ], e.g.

/ soʔâl / ~ [soʾâl] "question"

/ doʔâ / ~ [doʾâ] "pray"

(c) Items whose glottal stop is changeable with / y /, e.g.

/ pâʔin/ ~ / pâyin / "down"

/ zaʔif / ~ / zayif / "weak"

/ raʔis / ~ / rayis / "boss"

/ tabiʔi / ~ / tabiyi / "natural"

/ mowzuʔe / ~ / mowzuye / "the subject"

/ mowqeʔi / ~ / mowqeyi / "when"

/ jafar âqâ ʔalân čâr sâle keʔedârejâtiye, migan rayise, nemidunam vâllâ /

"Jaʔfar is an office emplyee for four years. They say he is a boss, I don't know"

(d) Items which allow the / ʔ/ deletion by dropping the glottal stop plus the deletion of either following or preceding vowel. As far as our data show, open vowels / â / and / a / seem to be retained. This type of deletion sometimes causes lengthening. It also changes the phonotactic structure of the word, e.g.

/ sâʔat / ~ / sâ:t / ~ / sât / "watch, time"

/cv/cvc/ /cv:c/ /cvc/

/ har ru sât panj miyâm dokkuno vâ mikonam /

/ taʔârof / ~ / tâ:rof / ~ / târof / "compliment"
/cv/cv/cvc/ /cv:/cvc/ /cv/cvc/

/ moʔattal / ~ / matal / "waiting"
/cv/cvc/cvc/ /cv/cvc/

/ faʔâliyat / ~ / fâliyat / "activity"

/ moʔâleje / ~ / mâ:leje / / maleje / "cure"

/ moʔâyene / ~ / mâyene / "examining"

/ moʔâmele / ~ / mâmele / "trade"

/ moʔâšerat / ~ / mâ:šerat / ~ / mâšerat / "companionship"

/ saʔâdat / ~ / sâdat / "happiness"

/ moʔarrefi / ~ / marefi / "introduce"

/ mano mâleje, kardan va siyâtikam xob šod / G4.M.A.
"I have been cured, my sciatica disappeared"

or / doktor šarif o marifi kardan / G4.F.A.
"They introduced Dr. Sharif"

Style	% deletion	% lengthening	% retained
Free speech	12%	4%	84%
Reading sentences	11%	0	89%
Word list	0	0	100%

Table B23. / ʔ/ in the context (VʔV) for all four intervocalic types and for all speakers by styles.

4. Post vocalic.

Glottal stop in final position can occur after a vowel or a consonant.

(a) Post vocalic. In this position glottal stop if present is a glottal stricture, especially in free speech. Here, my finding again disagrees with some claims about this particular position, such as Samareh (1977) who says: "Final / ʔ / has also the effect of lengthening the preceding vocoid, and if it follows a non-vocoid it affects the length of the vocoid preceding the non-vocoid". However, in this position, the glottal or its deletion does not give any perceptible length to the preceding vowel in our data.

/ mowzuʔ /~/ mowzu / "topic, subject"

/ʔetelâʔ /~/ʔetelâ / "information, news"

/ mowqeʔ /~/ mowqe / "time"

/ râjeʔ / ~/ râje / "about"

/ šoruʔ / ~/ šoru / "beginning"

/ sariʔ / ~/ sari / "fast"

/ vâqeʔ / ~/ vâqe / "fact"

/ tanavvoʔ / ~/ tanavvo / "variety"

/ bâbâš be kalântari ʔetelâ dâd / G4.F.A.
"His father informed the police station"

/ bazi moqâ mišinam dars mixunam / "I sometimes study"

Style	% deletion	% lengthening	% retained
Free speech	93%	0	7%
Reading sentences	93%	0	7%
Word list	89%	0	11%

Table B24. /ʔ/ in context final (-Vʔ) for all speakers by style

(b) Post consonantal: in items such as:

/ qat? / ~ / qat / "cut"

/ šam? / ~ / šam / "candle"

/ tab? / ~ / tab / "nature"

/ vaz? / ~ / vaz / "situation"

/ jam? / ~ / jam / "adding, total"

/ dišab barq dobâre qat šod / G2.F.A.
"We had power cut again last night"

/ vaz felan xeli xarâbe / G3.M.A.
"At the moment it is a very bad situation"

/ mirim ?emâm zâde čâr tâ šam rošan mikonim / G4.F.A.
"We light some candles in the shrine"

As the table below shows, there is no lengthening involved in this position either.

Style	% deletion	% lengthening	% retained
Free speech	96%	0	4%
Reading sentences	-	-	-
Word list	-	-	-

Table B25. / ? / in context final (-C?) for all speakers

Conclusions:

(i) Glottal stop has different percentages of deletion in different phonological environments.

(ii) Final position is the most favourite and intervocalic the least favourite environment for deletion.

(iii) Lexical items with the same phonological environment are not equally sensitive to a phonological rule.

The social differences in / ʔ / deletion

The comparison between the two main columns in Table B26 (see next page) for females and males reveals that firstly, the two sex groups are not equally sensitive to this variable,and secondly, unlike the majority of variables, the females are less standard than males. In other words, the female speakers are less conservative with this variable. The same pattern can also be seen with female youngsters in comparison to male youngsters.

Fig. B25 (p.164) shows that class differences with female adults are very small and irregular. G1 females who are generally the most conservative members of the community score about the same percentage of deletion as G3 and G4 in free speech, while G2 for some reasons unknown to us, retain their glottal stop more than other groups. Table B26 shows that the percentage of lengthening seems to rise steadily from G1 (3%) to G4 (14%). From the stylistic point of view, in most cases there is no clear difference between free speech and reading styles.

Fig. B26 (p.164) shows the male adults. There is a clear pattern of class differences in comparison with the females. The percentage of deletion differs steadily from 47 per cent to 56 per cent and 65 per cent from G1 to G3. But G4 with 71 per cent is very close to G3, which resembles the females.

Fig. B27 shows the female youngsters. Interestingly, young females in their free speech show the same pattern in comparison to male youngsters as their adults do.

Fig. B28 (p.164) shows the male youngsters. Here again, the male youngsters score almost the same as their adults in free speech. The only groups among whom the change is currently taking place are:

	Female					Male				
	Style	Total	% deletion	% lengthening	% retained	Style	Total	% deletion	% lengthening	% retained
G1.A	Free speech	323	67%	3%	30%	FS	278	47%	5%	48%
	Reading sentences	75	55%	12%	33%	RS	75	49%	8%	43%
	Fast word list	70	47%	11%	42%	FWL	70	47%	16%	37%
	Word list	70	36%	9%	55%	WL	70	31%	14%	55%
G2.A	FS	254	58%	6%	36%	FS	235	56%	9%	45%
	RS	75	61%	15%	24%	RS	75	55%	15%	40%
	FWL	70	50%	14%	36%	FWL	70	41%	19%	40%
	WL	70	46%	21%	33%	WL	70	34%	14%	52%
G3.A	FS	210	69%	11%	20%	FS	228	65%	14%	21%
	RS	75	57%	31%	12%	RS	75	51%	19%	30%
	FWL	70	57%	16%	27%	FWL	70	51%	9%	40%
	WL	70	43%	23%	34%	WL	70	40%	20%	40%
G4.A	FS	205	69%	14%	17%	FS	211	71%	8%	21%
G1.Y	FS	247	66%	5%	29%	FS	328	45%	9%	46%
	RS	75	62%	11%	27%	RS	75	53%	8%	39%
	FWL	70	50%	11%	39%	FWL	70	44%	7%	49%
	WL	70	31%	11%	58%	WL	70	29%	7%	64%
G4.Y	FS	129	76%	5%	19%	FS	291	78%	8%	14%
	RS	75	60%	11%	29%	RS	75	61%	17%	12%
	FWL	70	59%	14%	27%	FWL	70	54%	19%	27%
	WL	70	47%	19%	24%	WL	70	57%	27%	16%

Table B26. Scores for / ʔ / deletion by class, style, sex and age

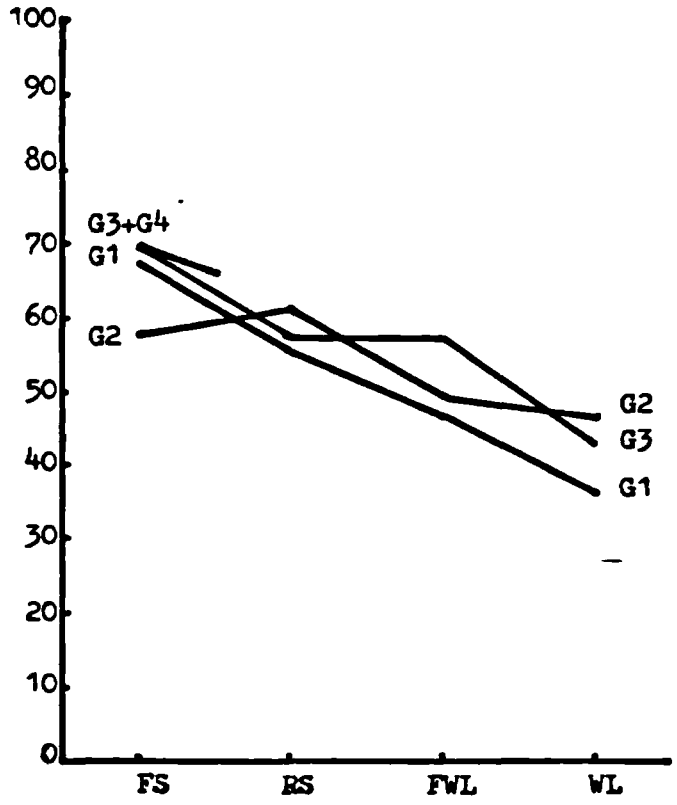
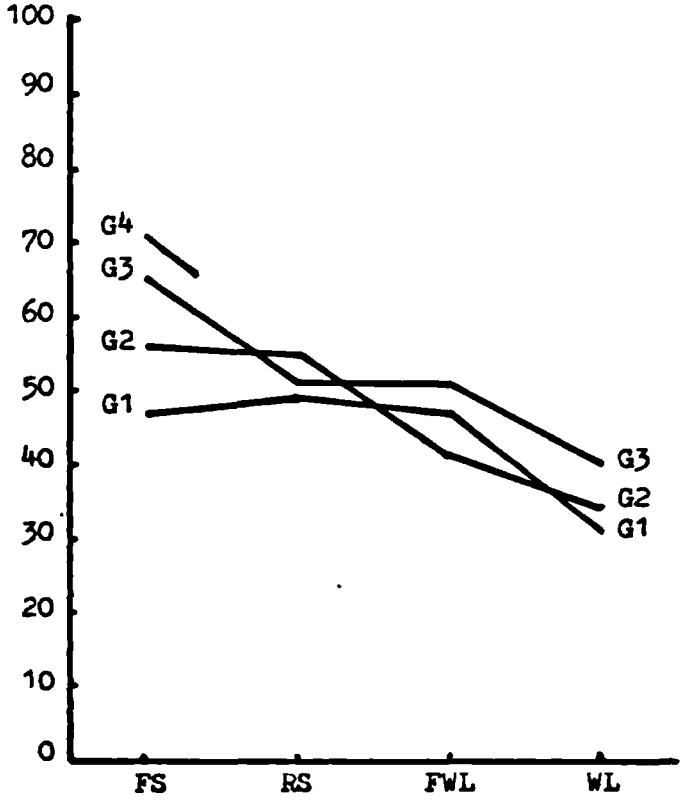


Fig. B25. The percentage of / ʔ / deletion by class and style, female adults.



B26. The percentage of / ʔ / deletion by class and style, male adults.

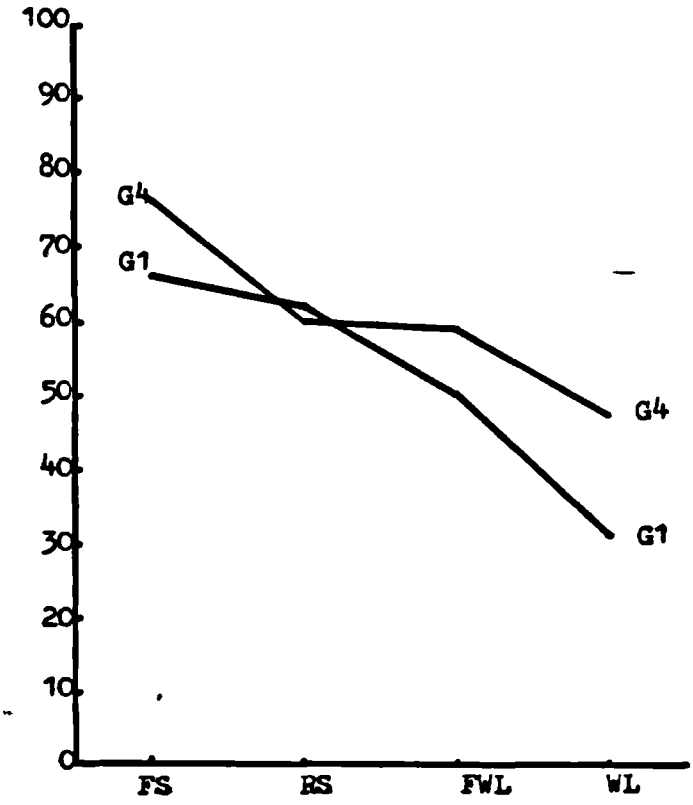
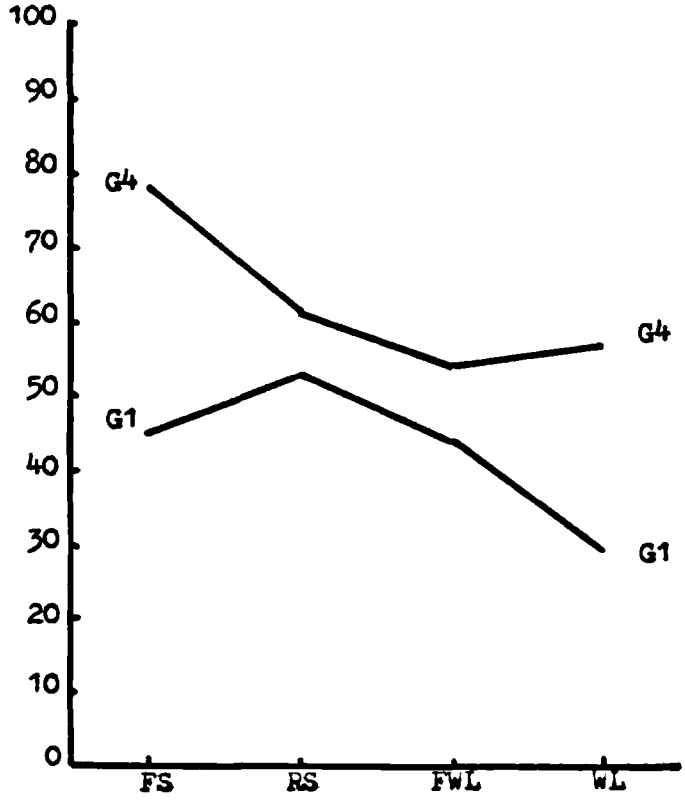


Fig. B27. The percentage of / ʔ / deletion by class and style, female youngsters.



B.28. The percentage of / ʔ / deletion by class and style, male youngsters.

G4.F.Y. by more deletion, less lengthening
(no change in total loss of / ʔ /)
G4.M.Y. by more deletion and more loss of / ʔ /

So, with this variable, unlike the other variables, the young group are not filling the gap found among their adults.

2. Morphological and syntactic

Plural markers, / hâ / ~/ â / variable

Modern Persian has two plural markers / ân / and / hâ /.

/ ân / Originally this comes from the plural marker for the genitive case in Old Persian. As all singular substantives ended in / a / or in a consonant, to become plural, first their last phoneme changed to / â /, and then took the marker / nâm /:

- a/C ⟶ / â / + / nâm /, e.g.

/ baga / $\overset{\text{plural}}{\longrightarrow}$ / bagânâm / "Gods"

Later, in Pahlavi / ânâm / became / ân /.

/ hâ / Comes from the plural marker / ihâ/ in Pahlavi, e.g.

/ dar / / darihâ / "doors"

Later / ihâ / became / hâ /.

These two remain unchanged in the classical form. In modern "standard" Persian, both / ân / and / hâ / exist, but / ân / has less frequency. In "non-standard" form, / ân / is disappearing completely, and / hâ / is gradually changing to / â /. So, the lexical items which correspondingly in "standard" form take / ân / or / hâ /, in "non-standard" Persian, related to social class dialects, only take / â / ~/ hâ / plural marker.

As in Persian the cluster of two vowels in any position is not common, when a substantive ends in a vowel, in front of an / an / plural marker in "standard" form, a glide / y/ is added, e.g.

/ âqâ / plural / âqâyân / "gentlemen"

For items ending in a vowel in "non-standard" form, there are four possibilities when the / â / ~ / hâ / plural marker is added:

(i) The phoneme / h / in / hâ / marker remains unchanged, as intervocalically / h / has its strongest position, e.g.

/ mu / plural / muhâ / "hairs"

(ii) When the stem-final vowel is / â / and sometimes / e /, / h / in / hâ / gets deleted, as does the / e / or / â /, but the plural marker is lengthened, e.g.

/ mâ / plural / mâ: / "we"

/ bačče / pl / baččâ: / "children" Pl.

/ bad miram bâ baččâ: tu kuče bâzi mikonim / G4.F.Y.
"Then, with other children we go into the alley and play there"

(iii) After / i /, sometimes / h / in / hâ / changes to / y /. e.g.

/ ʔin qad ke šahrestâniyâ (šahrestânihâ) miyân terun, teruniyâ (tehrânihâ) nemiran šahrestân / G3.F.A.
"The people who migrate to Tehran are many more than those who leave Tehran for the cities"

(iv) Sometimes the cluster of two vowels, which seemed unlikely, take place, e.g. / xune / plural / xuneâ / "houses"

/ sel varmidâre xuneâ (xunehâ) xarâb miše, maxsusan ʔin payin šar ke hame xuneâš (xunehâš) qadimiye / G3.M.A.
"Flood ruins the houses, especially in the south of Tehran where all houses are old"

However, the pronunciation of the (VV) cluster with no glide element is not very frequent in Persian. Here one may come to this conclusion that the phonotactic restriction (*VV) can stop or slow down the process of a phonological change. As, in Persian, substantives ending in a vowel create an unfavourable linguistic environment for / h / deletion, this makes the change from / hâ / to / â / difficult and causes a residue. The above argument also supports the idea that lexical items do not necessarily behave similarly towards a phonological change. Here, it is obvious that substantives ending in a consonant easily allow / h / deletion and can take / â / plural marker when the vowel ending items have a very small chance.

Plural formation in Persian

1. In "standard" form, substantives can be divided into two groups:

a) Those which optionally take / hâ / or / ân / plural marker: although / hâ / is much more frequent and / ân / is used in formal situations:

i) Animate nouns, e.g. / javân / / javânhâ / "youngsters"
/ javân / / javânân / "youngsters"

ii) The names of plants, e.g. / deraxt / / deraxthâ / "trees"
/ deraxt / / deraxtân / "trees"

iii) The demonstrative pronouns, e.g.

/ʔin / /ʔinhâ / "these" referring to animate and inanimate nouns

/ʔin / /ʔinân / "these" referring only t animate nouns

/ʔân / /ʔânhâ / "those" referring to animate and inanimate nouns

/ʔân / /ʔânân / "those" referring only to animate nouns

b) Substantives which take only / hâ / plural marker:

i) The animate nouns, e.g.

/ šahr / / šahrhâ / "cities"

/ dard / / dardhâ / "pains"

ii) The infinitives, e.g.

/ goftan / / goftanhâ / "sayings"

/ raftan / / raftanhâ / "goings"

iii) The collective nouns, e.g.

/ goru / / goruhâ / "groups"

/ galle / / gallehâ / "cattles"

iv) The interrogative pronouns, e.g.

/ kojâ / / kojâhâ / "where" Pl.

/ key / / keyhâ / "when" Pl.

v) The numerals, e.g.

/ dah / / dahhâ / "tens"

/ sad / / sadhâ / "hundreds"

2. In "non-standard" form, as we have already mentioned, the plural marker for all the above examples is / â / ~ / hâ /.

Arabic plural markers in Persian

Beside the Persian plural markers, there are some Arabic markers which are not productive any more, especially in "non-standard" form. They normally come with Arabic words, and seem to be learned as one unit, as the Arabic plural substantives very often take another Persian plural marker. They consist of:

i) ât . e.g. /ʔettelâʔ / /ʔettelâʔât / "informations"

ii) in . e.g. / moslem / / moslemin / "moslems"

iii) un . e.g. / ruhâni / / ruhâniyun / "clergymen"

iv) jât . e.g. / havâle / / havâlejât / "money orders"

Apart from the above markers, there are some inflexional Arabic plural making, which are obsolete in modern Persian, e.g.

/ šâhed / / šohud / "witnesses"

/ʔasar / /ʔâsâr / double plural /ʔâsâr / + / hâ /

/ʔâsârhâ / ~ /ʔâsârâ / e.g.

/ ʔun vax unʔâsârâ ye qadimiš, mese mâšin dudi, ʔinâ ro gozâštan o rang kardan ke mardom bibinan / G4.M.A.

"Then, the old steam machines were painted and put on exhibition for the public"

From the sociolinguistic point of view, here we are dealing with two types of variables:

i) The substantives group (a): There is a stylistic choice between / ân / and / hâ / ~ / â /, according to social class dialects and social context.

ii) The substantives group (b): Here we deal with the choice between / hâ / and / â /, although the phonetoctic restriction (*VV) should be precisely considered.

It seems, in short, that the alternatives available to the speakers are / ân / ~ / hâ / ~ / â / for group (a) and / hâ / ~ / â / for group (b).

The social differences of / hâ / ~ / â / variable

As mentioned earlier the variable is the deletion of phoneme / h / in plural marker / hâ /, and it was deliberately distinguished from the phonological variable / h / deletion, in order to study the possible effect of different linguistic levels on deletion process. However, no systematic difference has been found (see / h / deletion, p.112). As the number of items in reading sentences and word list

styles are small, no specific conclusion has been drawn from the reading styles.

Fig.B29(p.172) and Table B27(p.171) show the female adults. Here G1 with 33 per cent deletion is considerably separated from the rest of the female speakers, as G2 in second place scores 60 per cent. The difference between G2 and G3 is also noticeable. Yet G3 and G4 both have the identical score, 77 per cent. As a result, the adult female speakers are divided into three groups.

Fig.B30(p.172) and Table B27 give the male adults. They are clearly divided into two groups, as there is no noticeable difference between G1 and G2 on one side and G3 and G4 on the other. So this variable groups the adult male speakers into two.

Fig.B31(p.172) and Table B27 show the female youngsters. G1 female is the only group who show a drastic change. They score twice the percentage of their adults. They are also the only group who reverse the trend of female speakers to score less than males. As a result of this considerable movement by G1 young females, the gap between the two extreme groups in comparison to their adults is closing substantially.

Fig.B32(p.172) and Table B27 show the male youngsters. In comparison to male adults, they score almost the same percentage of deletion, so the gap between the two male young groups remains as wide as for the adults.

It is interesting to note that the plural marker / ân / occurred only fifty times in the entire corpus. Significantly, it came twenty-four times in the speech of G1 adults, sixteen times in G1 youngsters, nine times in G2 and once in the speech of a G3 male. The rest never used this plural marker in their speech.

	Female				Male			
	FS	RS	FWL	WL	FS	RS	FWL	WL
G1.A	33%/213	4%/ 25	20%/ 5	0/5	54%/260	16%/ 25	0/ 5	0/5
G2.A	60%/224	24%	20%	0	57%/169	20%	40%	0
G3.A	77%/230	12%	20%	20%	81%/269	52%	60%	20
G4.A	77%/308	-	-	-	86%/411	-	-	-
G1.Y	68%/279	8%	0	0	56%/376	12%	0	0
G4.Y	82%/165	40%	40%	0	88%/319	56%	80%	40%

Table B27.The scores for / â / plural marker,
by class, style, age and sex.

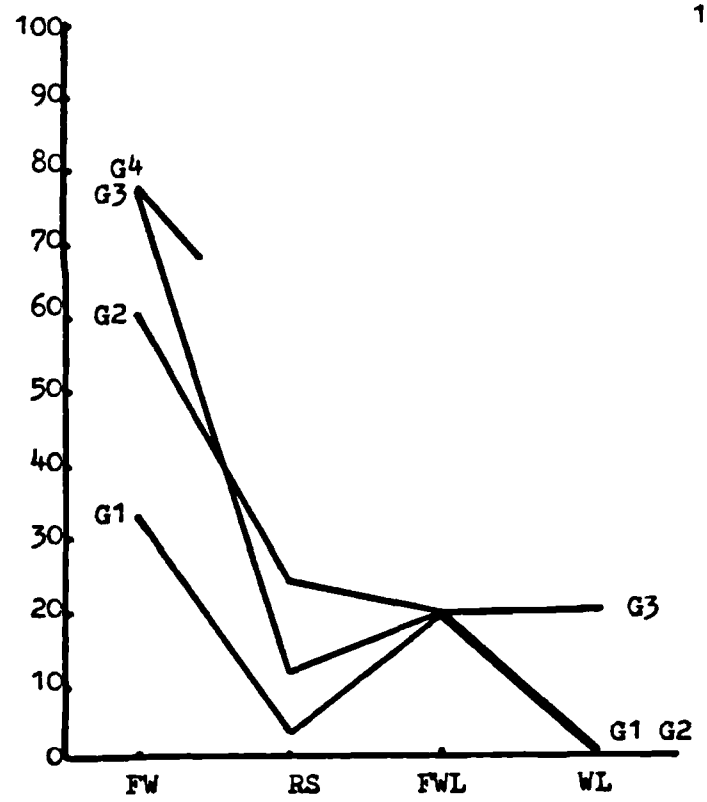


Fig.B29. The percentage of / â / plural marker by class and style, female adults.

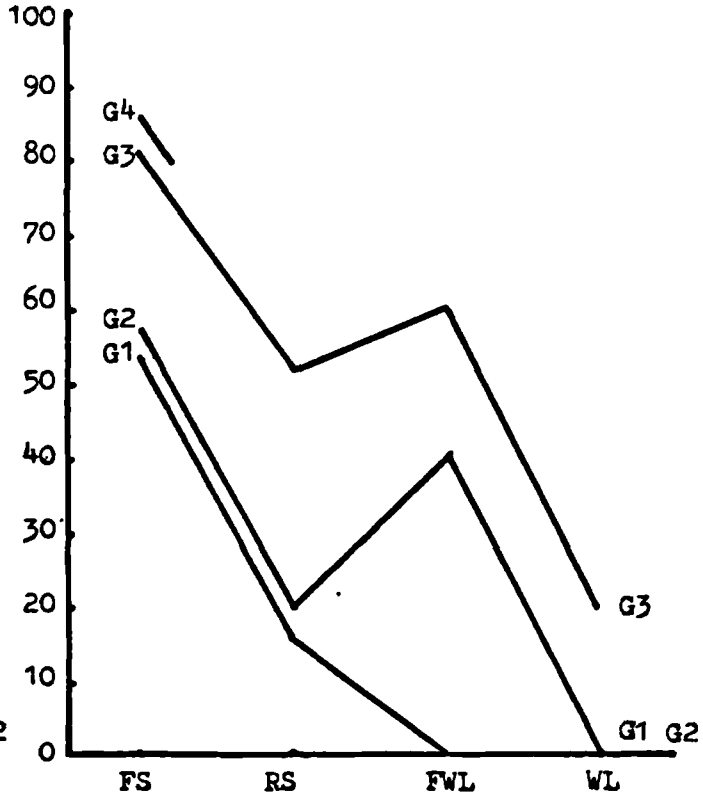


Fig.B30. The percentage of / â / plural marker by class and style, male adults.

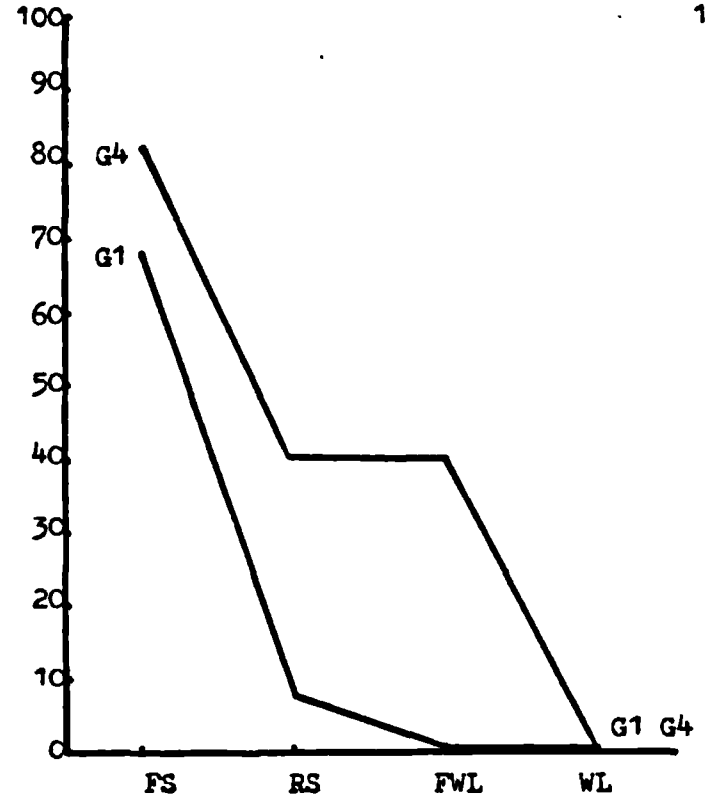


Fig. B31. The percentage of / â / plural by class and style, female youngsters.

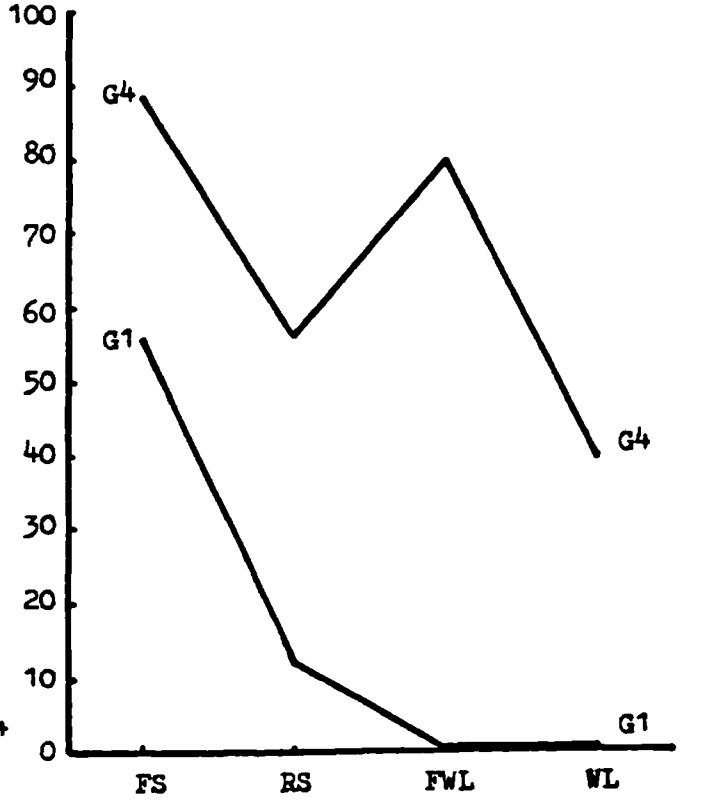


Fig.B.32. The percentage of / â / plural marker by class and style, male youngsters.

/ man / ~ / mâ / variable

The personal pronouns and present tense verb-stem.

There are two types of personal pronouns in Persian:

1. The separate personal pronouns
2. The subject enclitics.

1. The separate personal pronouns can be used as a subject (at the beginning of the sentence), or as an object (with the prepositions and post position / râ /). As the subject, they are syntactically optional and are used when emphasis is required. In the absence of a separate subject pronoun, the subject enclitics (2a) at the end of the verb-stem function as the subject. After the substantives plus / e / ezafe, they have a possessive function. From the classical Persian to the modern form, the separate pronouns have changed, as some of them disappeared, and some became obsolete and now function as an optional stylistic choice (see The polite form, Chapter Four).

1a. The separate personal pronouns in classical Persian are:

	Sg.		Pl.	
1st	/ man /	"I"	/ mâ /	"we"
2nd	/ to /	"you"	/ šomâ /	"you"
3rd	/ vey, ʔu /	"he, she, it"	/ʔišân /	"they"

1b. In modern "standard" Persian:

i - / vey / has almost disappeared.
ii - /ʔišân / is replaced by /ʔânhâ /

So they are:

	Sg.		Pl.	
1st	/ mâ / ~ / man /	"I"	/ mâhâ / ~/ mâ /	"we"
2nd	/ to /	"you	/ šomâ /	"you"
3rd	/ʔun /	"he, she, it"	/ʔunâ /	"they"

From a sociolinguistic point of view, the / man / ~ / mâ / variable is extremely relevant, as there is a great tendency among male "lower" social group speakers to use / mâ / instead of / man /. The usage of / mâ / instead of / man / has been observed by some scholars, although the present work is the first attempt to study this variation systematically. D.C. Plillott, in his Higher Persian Grammar (1919), rather unfair to the / mâ / users, writes: "Vulgarly, / mâ / is used instead of / man /, as / mâ raftim /, compare the English vulgarism, Give us a penny, for Give me a penny." V.S. Rastorgueve is another researcher who was aware of this case.

T. Vahidian, a Persian scholar, has also mentioned this element. However, he has categorised it similarly to the other plural forms which are used instead of their singular counterparts, as polite forms, e.g.

/ šomâ raftid " "you went" Pl., as a polite form referring to 2nd person singular

/ʔišân raftand / "they went", as a polite form for /ʔu raft / "he went".

So he believes:

/ mâ raftim / "we went" is a polite form (being polite to oneself) for saying / man raftam / "I went".

The entire politeness system of Persian (see Chapter Four) reveals that the polite forms are always used for hearer and addressee, and humbler forms for speaker. Even in the case of a superior speaking to an inferior, he may choose a neutral form for himself and then by taking a non-high verb and pronoun show his superiority.

The usage of / mâ / by the representative of people or government (who are normally powerful and influential), in which case they

are referring not only to themselves, but also to the people whom they are representing, may have some sort of power and prestige attached to it. But when an illiterate working class person refers to himself as / mâ /, surely it has a completely different semantic load, from which if anything humbleness is understood, e.g.

/ mâm savâd naštim ke ye kâre xub vâse xodemun taškil bedim, raftim, šodim šâgerd qaveči / G4.M.A.
"(We) had no education to find (ourselves) a good job, then (We) became tea-house waiter"

The other important fact is that the percentage using / mâ / instead of / man / for lower groups is much higher than for upper groups (see table 2, p.185). So if / mâ / was a self-respecting form, then the upper groups had every reason to score higher than the lower groups.

As mentioned earlier, there is agreement between personal pronouns and subject enclitics. So the speaker may optionally delete the personal pronoun, but by choosing the plural subject enclitic / im / can show his selected variant, e.g.

/ savâd ke naštim / "education, that (we) hadn't"

To distinguish between the singular and plural use of / mâ / and the 1st person plural verb forms, there are three criteria:

A) The general context of the paragraph, say if the speaker is talking about his family including himself, or describing an event involving other people, e.g.

/ man oʔâqâ dâvud raftim botte jam konim, tâ biâbuni nazzike kan se sât râ bud, residim ʔunjâ, didim botte xe:li kame / G4.M.Y.
"Davood and I, we went to collect thistle. It was three hours walk to the desert near Kan. When we reached there we saw very little thistle"

B) The use of numerals and adverbs indicating more than one person, as / hame / "all", e.g.

/ hâlâ mâ hame loxt vasate došak vâyssâdim / G3.M.A.
"Now all of us were standing naked in the middle of the sports mattress"

C) By the use of plural marker / hâ / to / mâ /~/ mâhâ / e.g.

/ mâhâ ro hamintor vel mikonan tu hayâte mardase / G4.M.Y.
"They just leave us free in the school playground"

2. The pronominal enclitics, which are two types:

a. The subject enclitics.

b. The possessive-accusative enclitics.

2a. The subject enclitics are obligatory in the sentence. In "standard" Persian they consist of:

	Sg.	Pl.
1st	/ -am /	/ -im /
2nd	/ -i /	/ -id /
3rd	/ -ad /	/ -and /

In "non-standard" form they are:

	Sg.	Pl.
1st	/ -am /	/ -im /
2nd	/ -i /	/ -in / ~ / -id /
3rd	/ -e /~/ -ad /	/-an / ~/ -and /

The third person singular for both forms after past stem is Ø, and after past participle (in "compound verbs") it is / ast /. In "standard" Persian the subject enclitics have agreement in person with separate personal pronouns, as / im / 1st Pl. takes / mâ / "we", or / -id / 2nd person plural takes / šomâ /, except 3rd Pl. subject can take 3rd Sg. enclitic when it is referring to inanimate nouns, e.g.

/ mâ raftim / "we went"

/ šomâ raftid / "you went" Pl.

/ zarfhâ miškane / "the dishes break(s)"

But in "non-standard" form / im / takes / mâ / referring to 1st person singular, e.g.

/ ma raftim / "I went"

Also 2nd Sg. can take / šomâ / 2nd Pl. to refer to 2nd person singular as a form of greeting, e.g.

/ to rafti / "you went" Sg.

/ šomâ rafti / "you went" Sg.

The 3rd person singular enclitics can also take išân (see The polite form, Chapter Four).

If the verb stem ends in a vowel, the following changes in subject enclitics from "standard" to "non-standard" form will occur:

In "standard" Persian, the rule adding / y / or / ʔ / between vowels is applicable, e.g.

/ʔâmadan / infinitive form "to come"

/ â / present tense verb stem

	Sg.			Pl.		
1st	/ -yam /	/ miʔâyam /	"I come"	/ -yim /	/ miʔâyim /	"we come"
2nd	/ -yi /	/ miʔâyi /	"you come"	/ -yid /	/ miʔâyid /	"you come" Pl
3rd	/ -yad /	/ miʔâyad /	"he, she comes"	/ -yand /	/ miʔâyand /	"they come"

In "non-standard" form, we mostly deal with a syllable deletion, e.g.

	Sg.			Pl.		
1st	/ -m /	/ miyâm /	"I come"	/ -ym /	/ miyâym /	"we come"
2nd	/ -y /	/ miyây /	"you come"	/ -yn /	/ miyâyn /	"you come" Pl.
3rd	/ -d /	/ miyâd /	"he, she comes"	/ -n /	/ miyân /	"they come" Pl.

2b. The possessive-accusative enclitics are:

	Sg.	Pl.
1st	/ -am /	/ -emân /
2nd	/ -at /	/ -etân /
3rd	/ -aš /	/ -ešân /

i) After nouns and infinitives, they are possessive, e.g.

/ ketâbam / "my book"
/ raftanaš / "his, her going"

ii) After verb stem plus subject enclitics, and very frequently in "non-standard" form after preposition / be /, they are accusative, e.g.

/ didamat / "I saw you"
/ goftamaš / "I told him"

After preposition / be /:

Sg.

/ be / + / am / : Rule 1 - Ø ⟶ h/V—V═/ so, / beham / / behem / "to me"
/ behem / : Rule 2 - he ⟶ Ø then optionally / bem / "to me"
/ be / + / at / : R1 R2 - / behat /~/ behet / then optionally / bet / "to you"
/ be / + / aš / : R1 R2 - / behaš /~/ beheš / then optionally / beš / "to her"

Pl. Rule 3 - / a / / u / -N

/ be / + / emân /: R1 R2 R3 - / behemân /~/ bemân / (OPT) / bemun / "to us"
/ be / + / etân /: R1 R2 R3 - / behetân /~/ betân / (OPT) / betun / "to you" Pl.
/ be / + / ešân /: R1 R2 R3 - / behešân /~/ bešân / (OPT) / bešun / "to them"

Note 2 - The use of possessive enclitics instead of separate personal pronouns after the preposition / be / as an accusative case is common in the speech of all social classes:

Sg. / be to /~/ behet /~/ bet / "to you"
Pl. / be ʔânhâ /~/ behešân /~/ bešân /~/ bešun / "to them"

3. The present tense verb stem.

With some verbs, the present tense stem differs from the "standard" Persian to "non-standard" form. They differ in three ways:

3a) Morphologically, e.g.

Infinitive	meaning	ST present stem	NST present stem
/ ʔâvordan /	"to bring"	/ âvar /	/ âr /
/ dâdan /	"to give"	/ dah /	/ d /
/ tavânestan /	"to be able"	/ tavân /	/ tun /
/ raftan /	"to go"	/ rav /	/ r /
/ šodan /	"to become"	/ šav /	/ š /
/ goftan /	"to say"	/ gu /	/ g /

3b) Phonotactically.

In "non-standard" form, the present tense marker / mi / causes the deletion of first vowel of the stem with some verbs, which changes the phonetactic arrangement of the phrase, e.g.

/ mi / + / šanav / am / mišanavan / (cvcvcvcvc) / mišnavam / (cvvvcvcv) "I hear"

cv/cv/cv/cvc cvc/cv/cvc

Infinitive	meaning	ST present verb stem	NST verb stem
/ ʔandâxtan /	"to throw"	/ andâz /	/ ndâz /
/ tarâšidan /	"to shave, scrape"	/ tarâš /	/ trâš /
/ šekastan /	"to break"	/ šekan /	/ škun /
/ šomordan /	"to count"	/ šomor /	/ šmor /
/ šenâxtan /	"to know"	/ šenâs /	/ šnâs /

3c) Phonologically,

a u/ N/

/ xândan /	"to read"	/ xân /	/ xun /
/ dânestan /	"to know"	/ dân /	/ dun /
/ mândan /	"to stay"	/ mân /	/ mun /

Note 3. There are some restrictions in using the 3rd Sg. separate

pronoun ʔu ʔum, with the relative subject enclitic -ad -e and the type of the present verb ST NST. The table below shows the possibilities and the restrictions on this occurrence.

/ʔu / / ketâb / / râ / / mi / + / âvar / + / ad / "he brings the book"

Subject	Object	Direct object marker		Present tense marker	Present stem	Subject enclitics		
ST ʔu	ketâb	ST	râ	mi	ST âvar	ST	ad	✓
ST ʔu	"	N.ST	o	"	ST âvar	ST	ad	*
ST ʔu	"	ST	râ	"	N.ST âr	ST	ad	✓ ?
ST ʔu	"	N.ST	o	"	N.ST âr	ST	ad	✓ ?
ST ʔu	"	ST	râ	"	ST âvar	N.ST	e	*
ST ʔu	"	N.ST	o	"	ST âvar	N.ST	e	*
ST ʔu	"	ST	râ	"	N.ST âr	N.ST	e	✓ ?
ST ʔu	"	N.ST	o	"	N.ST âr	N.ST	e	✓ ?
N.ST ʔun	"	ST	râ	"	ST âvar	ST	ad	*
N.ST ʔun	"	N.ST	o	"	ST âvar	ST	ad	*
N.ST ʔun	"	ST	râ	"	N.ST âr	ST	ad	✓ ?
N.ST ʔun	"	N.ST	o	"	N.ST âr	ST	ad	✓ ?
N.ST ʔun	"	ST	râ	"	ST âvar	N.ST	e	*
N.ST ʔun	"	N.ST	o	"	ST âvar	N.ST	e	*
N.ST ʔun	"	ST	râ	"	N.ST âr	N.ST	e	✓ ?
N.ST ʔun	"	N.ST	o	"	N.ST âr	N.ST	e	✓

The occurrence rules:

Rule 1 - A "standard" present stem plus any "non-standard" form is ungrammatical.

Rule 2 - A "non-standard" present stem plus any "standard" form is doubtful.

The social differences of / man / ~ / mâ / variable

This shows a very different pattern from the phonological variables. From the point of view of occurring either as / man / or / mâ /, we see a regular consistency of two variants, say seven occurrences of / mâ /, then five of / man /, and so on. This type of scoring pattern is rare with phonological variables. As a result it creates a higher rate of blocking (see Chapter Five). This, of course, is due to the nature

of the variable. Observation through the analysis of the material shows that when a speaker refers to himself, say five times in a sentence or a set of short sentences in a paragraph, starting either with / man / or / mâ / then there is a strong probability that he will keep the same variant to the end of the sentence or short paragraph, in order not to mislead or confuse the hearer, and to keep the grammatical balance of the sentence, e.g.

/ mâm savâd naštim ke ye kâre xub vâse xodemun taškil
bedim raftim šodim šâgerdqaveči /

"(We) had no education to find (ourselves) a good job then
(we) became a tea-house waiter"

In the entire sixty hours analysis of the material only in one sentence was there a conflict between the form of one verb and that of another verb with the same subject, e.g.

/ miram tuš misinim / "I go, and (we) live in it."
(1st Sg.) (1st Pl.)

The informants seem to be aware of this variable, as one of them during the interview, after frequently referring to himself as / mâ /, said to me: "Sorry, when I say / mâ / (laughing) I can't help it."

The other fact which makes / man / ~ / mâ / a different variable is its manifestation in the sentence which is only by two elements / man / or / mâ /. When with the phonological variables like ST assimilation, hundreds of lexical items are involved, which neither occur closely nor necessarily affect each other, there is also not any grammatical pressure to keep the consistency, when other factors like lexical diffusion may help the more changeable scoring.

The following factors can interrupt the consistency and cause shifting:

1. Long pauses during the utterance of a sentence, or breaking the sentence by giving extra information, e.g.

/ ye čan sâli šâger qaveči budim ba.d raftim tu kâfe nemunxune ʔeram (yeki xiyâbune čerâq gâz bud yek am šemrun "ext.inf.& pause" hivde bižda sâl ʔunjâ kâr kardam ʔunjâ sâ·bâš varšikas šodan man umadam birun /

"For some years (we) were tea-house waiter, then (we) went to hotel Eram, one was in Čeraq gaz avenue, the other in Šemiram + pause, I worked there for 17-18 years, then the owners went bankrupt and I came out."

2. The length of related sentences, e.g.

/ mâ ye zan dâštim tamâme zendegi mâ ro xord harči dâštim o naštim xord o mâ ro veylun kar tu xiyâbunâ šabâ kenâre xiyâbun mixâbidim --- šiš mâ ʔâre šiš mâ be bičâregi ʔoftâdam do ru do ru tu ʔin terun gošne budam mitunessam-kâr konam ʔammâ ʔaz ešq o farâxe ʔun zendegi o inâ messe majnunâ šode budam /

"(We) had a wife who took all (our) properties; whatever (we) had she took, and left (us) homeless and penniless in the streets, (we) slept in the streets in the night --- six months, yes six months I was in terrible condition, in this Tehran I was hungry for days, I could work, but I was driven crazy because of anxiety."

3. The interviewer's interruption, e.g.

/ bande ʔavval xiyâbune ʔesmâl bazzâz budam ba.d yevâš yevâš ʔumadam bâqe vaš, himinjâ xiyâbune ʔekbâtân beš migoftan bâq vaš (My interruption) bâqe vahš migoftan ? - bale bâqe vaš migoftan ʔarz konam[1] čandin sâli am ʔunjâ zendegi kardim o arz konam xedmate janab âli yevâš yevâš šoqlemun, ʔumadim savâd ke naštim ke /

---

(1) The low verb /ʔarz kardan / "to say" in this type of context normally takes / am /, /ʔarz konam ke.. / as an idiomatic pact (see Polite form, Chapter Four).

" I (polite form) first lived in Esmaʔil bazzâz Avenue, then gradually I came to Baqe vahš Avenue, this Ekbatan Avenue was called Baqe vahš. (My interruption .. Was it called Baqe vahš ?) - Yes, it was called Baqe vahš to say (polite form) for some years (we) lived there, to say to you (polite form) gradually for (our) job, (we) came, (we) had no education..."

4. The change of subject (topic)

/ xeyli am xube o xeyli am râziyim o xeyli am dusseš dârim o, hâlâ har jur ke has zendegi mâ migzare, nârâzi nissim, belaxare sarnavešte mâʔine.-- man ye pesar amu dâram xeyli servatmande ʔamma be mola aliʔage man hič etanâyi beʔun bokonam, šad ye vaxt masalan be šomâ ru bendâzam valiʔage gošne bašam bu un hič kâri naram. --ʔin hesâbis ke mâ tu zendegimun tu ʔerun dârim.-- šiš sâl tu bânke rani doyidam, dore Ebtahâj ke dâxel šam unjâ ba.d a šiš sâl ye nâmeʔumad vâse man, man e bordan tu bârbari... /

"It is very good (we) are happy with it, and (we) like it, what ever it is (we) are living, (we) are not unhappy, after all, this is (our) fate.--- I have a cousin who is very rich, but (I) swear to the holy man Ali that I have nothing to do with him, may sometimes say I ask you for help, but if I am hungry, I will never go to him.--- this is a rule which (we) have for (our) living in Tehran. --- six years I worked hard in Bank Rahni, Ebtahaj's time, I wanted to be a permanent employee, after six years I received a letter, they took me to the loading section..."

Generally speaking, it seems that working class speakers use / mâ / in their informal, easy and relaxed speech. The amount of use of / mâ / when they are describing, say, their childhood or a happy event, is higher than when talking about serious topics.

The other interesting fact about this variable is its distribution among the social, sex and age groups. The analysis of over 7400

occurrences of this variable within the twelve mentioned groups reveals:

1) It is a male language feature (Fig. B34, p. 186, and Table B28, p. 185).
   a) The overall percentage of / mâ / for all females, regardless of their education and age do not go over 13%/3305, while with males it rises as high as 44%/4164.
   b) The class differences among literate females are very small, G1 4%/469, G2 6%/335, G3 9%/707, in fact the overall score is under 10%. But the illiterate female group scores higher, 23%/1071, although not very significantly (Table B28).
   c) The female youngsters (Fig. B35, p. 186) do not show any visible tendency in favour of / mâ / variant, G1 4%/433, G4 24%/263.

2) The / mâ / variant is a working class feature.
   a) Compared with vowel assimilation, which shows a steady and regular change from highest to lowest group, / man /~/ mâ / variable gives a different distribution. There is a big gap between G1 12%/355 and G2, 21%/665 on one side and G3 57%/1189 and G4 53%/941 on the other. Although there is a visible class difference between G1 and G2, they are far behind G3 and G4 which are very close to each other.
   b) The male youngsters do not show a significant tendency in favour of / mâ /, although they score slightly higher than adults, G1 16%/351 and G4 61%/674.

3) The overall comparison of two age groups reveals no significant change in progress (Figs. B33-B36, p. 186).

Sex	Female		Male			Female		Male	
Social class	% /mâ/	Total	% /mâ /	Total		% /mâ /	Total	% /mâ /	Total
	15%	26	13%	98		0	32	11%	105
	3%	72	9%	43		2%	65	8%	60
G1.A	6%	105	10%	60	G1.Y	2%	130	9%	53
	3%	146	9%	76		9%	96	20%	80
	3%	147	16%	67		4%	110	32%	53
Group average	4%	496	12%	344	Group average	4%	433	16%	351
	9%	35	20%	74					
	11%	38	26%	147					
G2	0	46	18%	186					
	3%	119	29%	142					
	7%	97	12%	116					
Group average	6%	335	21%	665					
	5%	116	62%	205					
	14%	156	60%	191					
G3	10%	249	60%	139					
	0	98	61%	442					
	10%	88	43%	212					
Group average	9%	707	57%	1189					
	45%	74	61%	271		19%	57	65%	82
	26%	261	68%	137		36%	64	49%	186
G4	34%	278	47%	303	G4.Y	17%	77	49%	92
	12%	329	38%	136	-	26%	19	65%	149
	12%	129	43%	94		24%	46	77%	165
Group average	23%	1071	53%	941	Group average	24%	263	61%	674

Table B28. The scores for / mâ / by class, sex and age, free speech, for 60 speakers

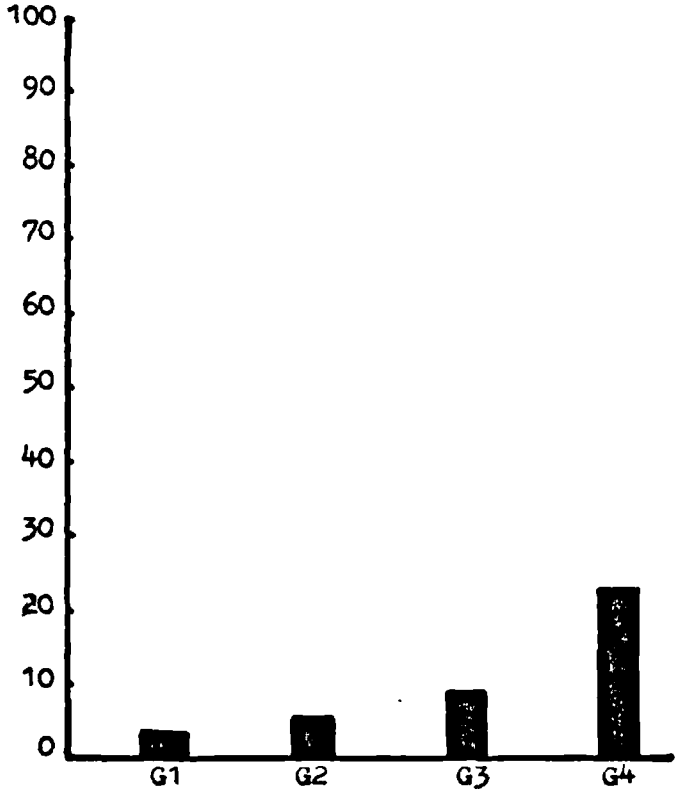


Fig.B33. The percentage of / mâ / variant by class in free speech, female adults.

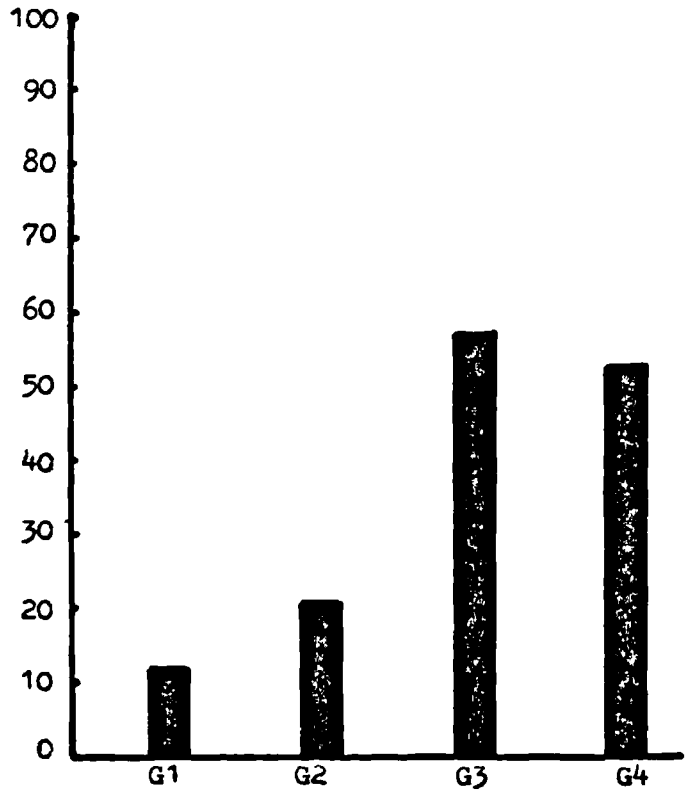


Fig.B34. The percentage of / mâ / variant by class in free speech male adults.

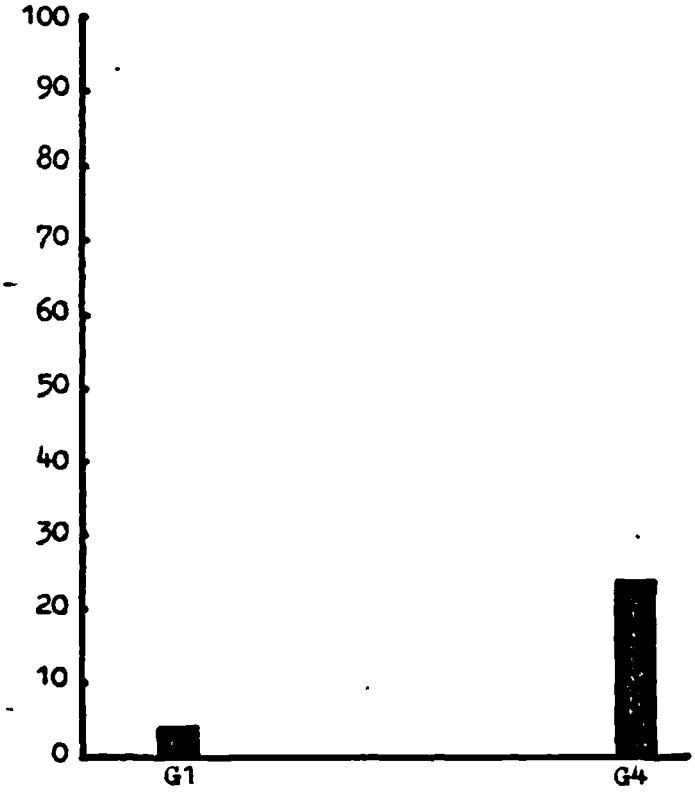


Fig.B35. The percentage of / mâ / variant by class in free speech, female youngsters.

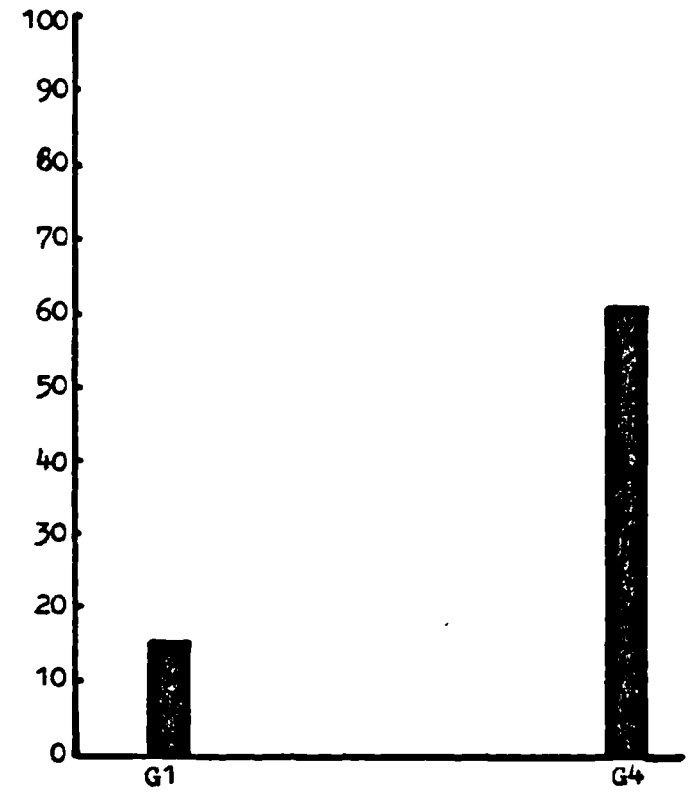


Fig.B36. The percentage of / mâ / by class in free speech, male youngsters.

Syntactic variable

Preposition deletion and word order.

The diachronic study of prepositions from the classical form to modern Persian, shows a reduction of number, change in application and the possibility of deletion of some prepositions with certain groups of verbs and complements.

There are a variety of classical manuscripts written by poets, scientists, historians, etc. but no evidence of the language of ordinary people, although it is obvious that as the result of sharp social class distinction, and the very small chance of promotion in the social hierarchy through generations, there had to be different social class dialects. However, as far as written classical form indicates, prepositions diachronically have gone through three types of changes:

1. Reduction in number

In addition to the present range, there were other prepositions in classical form, which are completely obsolete in modern Persian. Some of them have been joined to their following noun or verb and made into either an adverb or a pre-verb. The obsolete prepositions are:

a) / farâ / "up to, towards", e.g.

/ nâme râ farâ ʔu dâd / "he gave the letter to him"

/ farâ / in this function is replaced by preposition / be / in modern Persian, e.g.

/ nâme râ be ʔu dâd / " he gave the letter to him".

/ farâ / in classical form had an emphatic function, e.g.

/ har yak be guše ʔi farâ raftand / "each one went to a corner"

This extra function of a preposition which was common in classical form, has disappeared in modern Persian.

b) /ʔandar / "in, inside" e.g.

/ʔandar ahvâleʔu nazar ʔendâxt / "he looked at (in) his condition"

/ʔandar / in classical form, could sometimes be replaced by/dar/"in, inside". In modern Persian it is completely obsolete.

2. Different application

a) In the classical form a noun could be both preceded and followed at the same time by two prepositions, but in modern Persian that is not possible, e.g.

/ be daryâ dar manâfeʔ bišomâr ʔast / "there are endless profits in the sea"

b) In the classical form, prepositions could precede the verb, e.g.

/ be šahr dar ʔâmad / "he came into the city"

In modern Persian this use does not exist any more.

3. Preposition deletion

In modern Persian there are nine prepositions. They can also be joined to each other or to some adverbs and make a large group of compound prepositions. The basic and simple prepositions consist of: / be / - / dar / - / ʔaz / - / bar / - bâ / - / bi / - / tâ / - / joz / - / barâye /

They can be divided into three groups:

a) Those which are related to different levels of social class dialects, and which to a large extent can be deleted, namely / be / - / dar /;

b) Those which can rarely be deleted, and then only in special contexts and certain lexical items, / bar / - / ʔaz /;

c) Those which in any condition, never permit deletion: / bâ / - / bi / - / tâ / - / joz / - / barâye /.

The verbs which can take prepositions of group (a) and (b) can

also be categorized into three groups:

i) Verbs which allow certain prepositions to delete with any complements, related to social class dialects.

ii) Verbs which allow certain prepositions to delete with certain types of noun phrase as complement.

iii) Verbs which do not allow preposition deletion in any circumstances with the above categorization of prepositions and verbs.

We now look at the possibility of deletion with each preposition.

Preposition / be / "at, to".

Can be used in a wide variety of contexts, but basically designates the direction of motion.

Verbs which can take the preposition / be / are of three types:

1) Those which allow deletion with any type of noun phrase as complement, e.g. / dâdan / "to give"

/ raftan / "to go"

/ ʔâmadan / "to come"

/ ʔâvordan / "to bring"

/ montaqel šodan / "to be transferred"

As an example we take the verb / dâdan / "to give" and apply it with different complements.

a) With an animate noun:

/ be rezâ dâdam / (S).O.Vs or / dâdam be rezâ / (S).Vs.O. "I gave to Reza"

/ dâdam Ø reza /

Here, when the subject is a pronoun, then it is syntactically optional, as the subject enclitic which follows the verb functions as the subject.

e.g. /(man) be rezâ dâdam / "I gave to Reza"

(S).pp. O . Vs

/ (to) be rezâ dâdi / "You gave to Reza"

When the subject is a noun again it is syntactically optional, but semantically obligatory, e.g.

/ rezâ be man dâd / "Reza gave to me"

/ Ø be man dâd / "He gave to me"

Generally speaking, the "main subject" in a sentence in fact has an emphatic function.

In "standard" form and "correct" Persian, as the prescriptive grammarians, who are strongly under the influence of classical form, recommend, verb should be normally the last element in the sentence, (S).O.Vs. In "non-standard" form, as we shall see later, (S).Vs.O is the most common word order.

The (S).Vs.O order also allows / be / deletion much more easily than (S).O.Vs. e.g.

a) In (S).O.Vs order, when the "main subject" is not present:

/ be dâneŝgâ dâdam / "I gave to the university"

/ Ø dâneŝgâ dâdam / "I gave to the university"

When the "main subject" is present, / be / deletion can be extremely odd. e.g.

/ man be dâneŝgâ dâdam / "I gave to the university"

* / man Ø dâneŝgâ dâdam / "I gave to the university"

b) In (S).Vs.O order, whether the "main subject" is present or absent, / be / deletion related to social class dialects is freely allowed. e.g.

/ dâdam be dâneŝgâ / "I gave to the university"

/ dâdam Ø dâneŝgâ / "I gave to the university"

or:

/ man dâdam be dâneŝgâ / "I gave to the university"

/ man dâdam Ø dâneŝgâ / "I gave to the university"

At the end one may come to this conclusion: that apart from any semantic effect, which we will discuss later, the change from a (S).O.Vs to (S).Vs.O helps the deletion of / be /

c) With an inanimate noun:

/ be dâneŝgâ dâdam / or / dâdam be dâneŝgâ / "I gave to the university"

/ dâdam Ø dâneŝgâ /

d) With a pronoun:

/ be / can hardly ever be deleted before a pronoun, especially in "standard" form and with (S).O.Vs order. But in "non-standard" Persian, with (S).Vs.O order, and in imperatives, / be / can be deleted, e.g.

/ ketâb râ be man bede / or / ketâb râ bede be man / "give the book to me

*/ ketâb râ Ø man bede / / ketâb râ bede Ø man /

/ ketâb râ be mâ bede / / ketâb râ bede be mâ / "give the book to us

*/ ketâb râ Ø mâ bede / / ketâb râ bede Ø mâ /

e) With a demonstrative pronoun:

/ be ʔin ŝobe dâdam / or / dâdam be ʔin ŝobe / "I gave to this branch

/ dâdam Øʔin ŝobe /

e.g. /ʔaz vaxti ʔumadim ʔin xune (beʔin xune) ʔalân bis sâle / G4.F.A.

"It is twenty years since we came to this house"

2) Verbs which allow / be / deletion with certain types of complements, e.g.

a) When the complement is an inanimate noun, the following verbs allow deletion:

	/ residan /	"to reach, to approach"
	/ ʔoftâdan /	"to fall, to happen"
	/ rixtan /	"to shed, to spill, to pour"
	/ ʔendâxtan /	"to throw"

We take the verb / residan / "to reach, to approach" as an example:

i) With an inanimate noun:

/ be tehrân residim / or / residim be tehrân / "We reach Tehran"

/ residim Ø tehrân /

/ be ʔân šahr residim / / residim be ʔân šahr / "We reach that city"

/ residim Ø ʔun šahr /

ii) With an animate noun:

/ be rezâ residim / or / residim be rezâ / "We reach Reza"

*/ residim Ø reza /

/ be ʔu residim / or / residim be ʔu / "We reach him"

*/ residim Ø ʔu /

b) When the verb forms an idiom with an indefinite noun.

/ ʔehtiyâj dâštan / "to need"

i) With an indefinite noun:

/ be kârgar ʔehtiyâj dârim / "We need workers

/ Ø kârgar ʔehtiyâj dârim /

/ be gač ʔehtiyâj dârim / "We need chalk"

/ Ø gač ʔehtiyâj dârim /

ii) With a definite noun:

/ be rezâ ʔehtiyâj dârim / "We need Reza"

*/ Ø rezâ ʔehtiyâj dârim /

/ be in gač ʔehtiyâj dârim / "We need this chalk"

*/ Ø in gač ʔehtiyâj dârim /

3) Verbs which do not allow/be/deletion under any condition, as:

/ nevešTan / "to write"

/ zadan / "to beat"

/ bastan / "to fasten"

/ ʔâmuxtan / "to teach, to learn"

We take the verb / neveštan / as an example:

i) With an animate noun:

/ be rezâ neveštam / or / neveštam be rezâ / "I wrote to Reza"

*/ neveštam Ø rezâ /

ii) With an inanimate noun:

/ be dânešgâ neveštam / or / neveštam be dânešgâ / "I wrote to the university"

*/ neveštam Ø dânešgâ /

iii) With a pronoun:

/ be ʔu neveštam / or / neveštam be ʔu / "I wrote to him"

*/ neveštam Ø ʔu /

iv) With a demonstrative pronoun:

/ be ʔân dânešgâ neveštam / or / neveštam beʔân dânešgâ / "I wrote to that university"

*/ neveštam ØʔunDânešgâ /

The above analysis shows that there is a relationship between preposition deletion and the meaning of the verbs which allow it. As we have already mentioned, preposition / be / basically designates the the direction of motion, and the verbs of group (1):

/ dâdan / "to give" / raftan / "to go"

/ ʔâmadan / "to come" / montaqel šodan / "to be transferred"

all have the notion of movement towards something or somewhere in themselves. In our analysis we have provided enough facts to show the very frequent deletion of the preposition / be / with these verbs.

On the opposite side we have the verbs of group (3):

/ neveštan / "to write" / zadan / "to beat"

/ bastan/ "to fasten" / ʔâmuxtan / "to teach, to learn"

which do not have the concept of movement at all, and we have shown that they never allow / be / deletion.

It seems reasonable to come to the conclusion that the semantic

unity between the verb and the preposition allows the deletion, as the notion of movement towards something can be understood from the verb itself. On the other hand it could equally be claimed that the semantic conditions help a basically syntactic change.

Some remarks on the preposition / be / :

i) When joined to another preposition or to an adverb, to make a compound preposition, it can optionally be deleted, e.g.

/ bejoz?in ketâb hame râ xândam / "except this book I read the rest"

/ be /+/ joz /

/ Ø joz?in ketâb hame râ xândam / "except this book I read the rest"

ii) In "non-standard" varieties, the preposition and the pronoun it governs can be replaced by an accusative enclitic which follows the subject enclitic on the verb, e.g.

/ be to midaham / "I gave (it) to you"

/ midahamat / "I gave (it) to you"

iii) Sometimes it can be replaced by the element / râ /, which is used as the direct object marker, and also shows the definiteness of a complement), e.g. / be rezâ ?ehtiyâj dârim / "We need Reza"

/ rezâ râ ?ehtiyâj dârim / "We need Reza"

Preposition / dar / "in, inside"

/ dar / designates the location in space and time.

It has the following general characteristics:

i) In "non-standard" varieties and in front of an adverb of time, it is always optional, and frequently deleted, e.g.

/ dar tâbestân havâ garm ast / "In summer time the weather is hot"

/ Ø tâbestân havâ garm ast / "In summer time the weather is hot"

/ dar sâʔate šiš be dâneŝgâ raftam / "I went to the university at six o'clock"

/ Ø sâʔate šiš Ø dâneŝgâ raftam / "I went to the university at six o'clock"

ii) In front of an animate noun and personal pronouns / dar / never can be deleted, although the verbs which can take / dar / preposition with an animate complement are rare.

/ dar rezâ šojâʔat bud / "There was bravery in Reza"

*/ Ø rezâ šojâʔat bud / "There was bravery in Reza"

/ dar ɔu xubi bud / "There was honesty in him"

*/ Ø ɔu xubi bud / "There was honesty in him"

iii) In "standard" varieties in front of an adverb of place / dar / is replaced by / tu / "in, inside". e.g.

/ dar xâne ketâb dâram / "I have a book at home"

/ tu xune ketâb dâram / "I have a book at home"

/ dar xeyâbân ɔu râ didam / "I saw him in the street"

/ tu xeyâbun ɔun o didam / "I saw him in the street"

iv) In front of an adverb, it is very often optional, e.g.

/ dar kenâre daryâ / "beside the sea"

/ Ø kenâre daryâ / "beside the sea"

/ dar bâlâye kuh / "on the top of the mountain"

/ Ø bâlâye kuh / "on the top of the mountain"

Verbs which can take the preposition / dar / may again be divided into the three groups, although the majority of verbs which take this preposition allow deletion.

1) Verbs which allow / dar / deletion with any type of complement they can take, except those referred to in (ii) above

/ budan / "to be" / xaridan / "to buy"

/ neveštan / "to write" / bâxtan / "to lose"

/ didan / "to see" / gozaštan / "to put"

As an example we take the verb / budan / "to be":

a) With an animate noun:

/ dar tehrân budam / "I was in Tehran"

/ Ø tehrân budam / "I was in Tehran"

/ dar šahr budam / "I was in the city"

/ Ø šahr budam / "I was in the city"

b) With a demonstrative pronoun:

/ darʔin šahr budam / "I was in this city"

/ Ø in šahr budam / "I was in this city"

/ darʔân jâ budam / "I was in that place"

/ Ø ʔân jâ budam / "I was in that place"

2) Verbs which allow / dar / deletion with definite complement nouns:

/ rixtan / "to pour, to spill"

/ peydâ kardan / "to find"

/ darʔân guše rixtam / "I spilled (it) in that corner"

/ Ø ʔân guše rixtam / "I spilled (it) in that corner"

/ darʔin jâ rixtam / "I spilled (it) in this corner"

/ Ø ʔin jâ rixtam / "I spilled (it) in this corner"

/ dar bâge hamsâye rixtam / "I spilled (it) in the neighbour's garden"

/ Ø bâge hamsâye rixtam / "I spilled (it) in the neighbour's garden"

Compare the following, where the noun is indefinite:

/ dar bâq rixtam / "I spilled (it) in a garden"

*/ Ø bâq rixtam / "I spilled (it) in a garden"

/ dar kuče rixtam / "I spilled (it) in an alley"

*/ Ø kuče rixtam / "I spilled (it) in an alley"

3) Verbs which do not allow / dar / deletion under any circumstances except those in (i)

/ paridan / "to jump"

a) With an indefinite noun:

/ dar rudxâne parid / "he jumped into the river"

*/ Ø rudxâne parid /

b) With a definite noun:

/ dar rudxâneye kârun parid / "He jumped into the Karoon river"

*/ Ø rudxâneye kârun parid /

c) With a demonstrative pronoun:

/ darʔân rudxâne parid / "He jumped into that river"

*/ Ø ʔân rudxane parid /

Preposition Group (2):

Preposition / ʔaz / "from, of" .

/ ʔaz / is a locative preposition, and designates the point of departure and indicates the place of passing.

In front of a noun, when followed by another prepositional phrase with preposition / tâ / (which shows the limit in place and time), /ʔaz / can be deleted:

/ ʔaz hafteye piš tâ hâlâ / "from last week until now"

/ Ø hafteye piš tâ hâlâ /

/ ʔaz tehrân tâ širâz / "from Tehran to Shiraz"

Only one verb / yâd..raftan / "to escape the memory", allows / ʔaz / deletion: e.g.

/ ʔaz yâdam raft / "it escaped from my memory"

/ Ø yâdam raft /

In all other cases / ʔaz / deletion is impossible.

Some remarks on the preposition /ʔaz / :

i) In "non-standard" varieties, / ʔaz / can be replaced by / e / "ezafe":

e.g. / baʔd az rezâ / "after Reza"

/ baʔd e rezâ /

/ baʔd az in hame sâl / "after all these years"

/ baʔd e ʔin hame sâl /

ii) In "non-standard" varieties, the preposition / ʔaz / and the demonstrative pronoun / ʔân / "that" it governs, can be replaced by an accusative possessive enclitic / aš /. e.g.

/ qabl az ʔân / "before that"

/ qablaš / "before that"

/ baʔd az ʔân / "after that"

/ baʔdaš / "after that"

iii) Sometimes / ʔaz / can be replaced by the element / râ /: e.g.

/ ʔaz xeyâbân rad šodam / "I passed through the street"

/ xeyâbân râ rad šodam /

Preposition / bar / "on, upon, beside"

This shows location on things. / bar / seems to be gradually disappearing, as in "non-standard" varieties it is very often replaced by / ruye / "on, upon". e.g.

/ bar miz gozâštam / "I put (it) on the table"

/ ruye miz gozâštam / "I put (it) on the table"

With certain lexical items it can be deleted, though this is rare, e.g.

/ bar zemin ʔoftâd / "it fell on the ground"

/ Ø zemin ʔoftâd /

Prepositions of group (3):

/ bâ / "with, by" shows the possession and association.

/ bi / "without" designates the absence of an object or quality.

/ joz / "except" shows the exception.

/ barâye / "for" can be preceded by / ʔaz /.

/ tâ / "until, as soon as, as far as" shows the destination and limit in space and in time.

None of the prepositions of group (3) can be deleted under any circumstances.

The post-position / râ /

/ râ / is added, as a post-position, to definite direct objects,

e.g. /(man) ketâb râ xaridam / "I bought the book"

/(man) ketâb xaridam / "I bought a book"

If the direct object is inherently definite / râ / is obligatory.

This is the case with proper nouns and personal pronouns:

e.g. /(man) rezâ râ didam / "I saw Reza"

/(man) ʔu râ didam / "I saw him"

Social differences in preposition deletion

Here the results of the linguistic analysis and its co-variations with social factors will be shown in two parts:

1) Preposition deletion and social parameters.

2) Word order and its relationship with social class and preposition deletion.

1) In this part we deal with sentences in which prepositions are optional in both SOV and SVO, regardless of co-relationship between word order and preposition deletion. Of this type, 1505 sentences by 60 informants of all class, sex, and age groups have been analysed. As a result, this variable has divided the community almost into three

distinctive groups (see Table B29 p.201).

Fig.B37 (p.202) shows that with the females the difference between G3 (84%) and G4 (88%) is small, while there are clear differences between G1 (36%), G2 (58%) and G3 (84%).

Fig.B38 (p. 202) shows the male adults. Here the difference between G3 (78%) and G4 (85%) is slightly bigger. The other three literate groups are divided into three groups, as for females.

Fig.B39 (p. 202) shows the female youngsters. G1 females score much higher than their adults, and G4 decrease the percentage of deletion slightly in comparison to G4 female adults. As a result, the gap between the two young extreme groups is relatively small in comparison to their adults, and this is mainly due to a major move by G1 females.

Fig.B40 (p. 202) shows the male youngsters. G1 males score slightly higher than their adults, yet their percentage of deletion is substantially lower than their young female counterparts. G4 also score almost the same as their adults. So the difference between the two young male groups is very much the same as for their adults.

From the point of view of sex, the females, except G1, score equal to or higher than the males.

2. Word order and the relationship with social class and preposition deletion.

a) Word order and social class.

Table B29 shows the scores for the use of SVO word order for each social, sex and age groups. This table reveals that word order is also sensitive to social differences, with the order SVO common among lower groups. The score for SVO ranges from 33 per cent (G1) to 75 per

Class	% SVO word order	% of pp deletion regardless of word order	Total
G1 F.A.	33%	36%	81
G1 M.A.	29%	38%	112
G2.F.A.	44%	58%	102
G2.M.A.	50%	58%	113
G3.F.A.	51%	84%	101
G3.M.A.	65%	78%	181
G4.F.A.	75%	88%	188
G4.M.A.	70%	85%	120
G1.F.Y.	55%	61%	108
G1.M.Y.	31%	41%	160
G4.F.Y.	68%	83%	72
G4.M.Y.	62%	83%	167

Table B29.The scores for SVO word order and preposition deletion by class, sex and age in free speech.

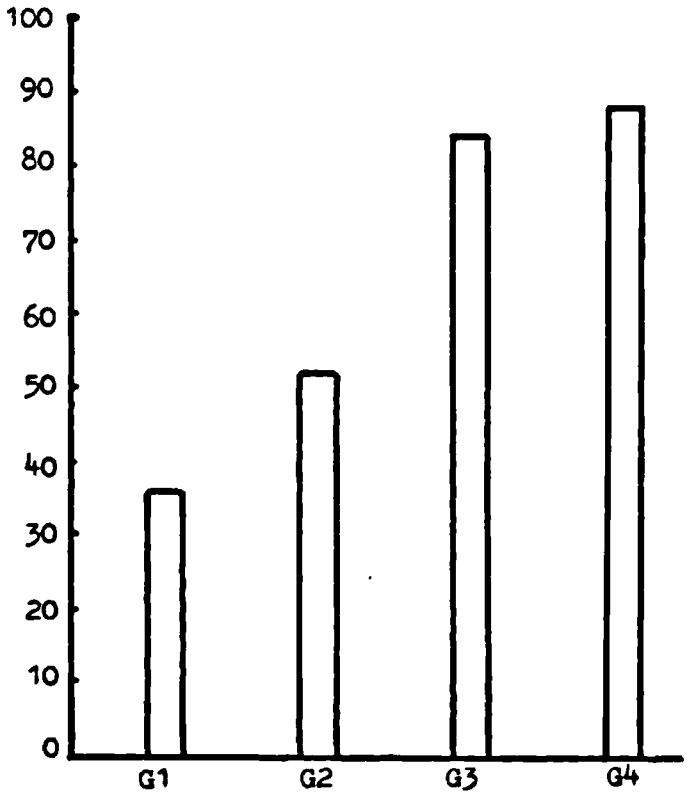


Fig.B37. The percentage of preposition deletion by class, female adults.

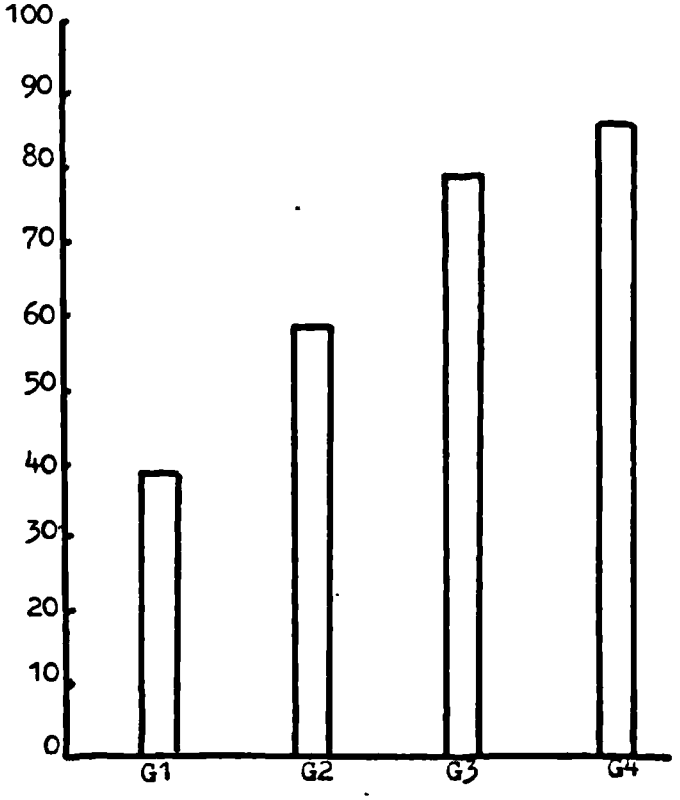


Fig.B38. The percentage of preposition deletion by class, male adults.

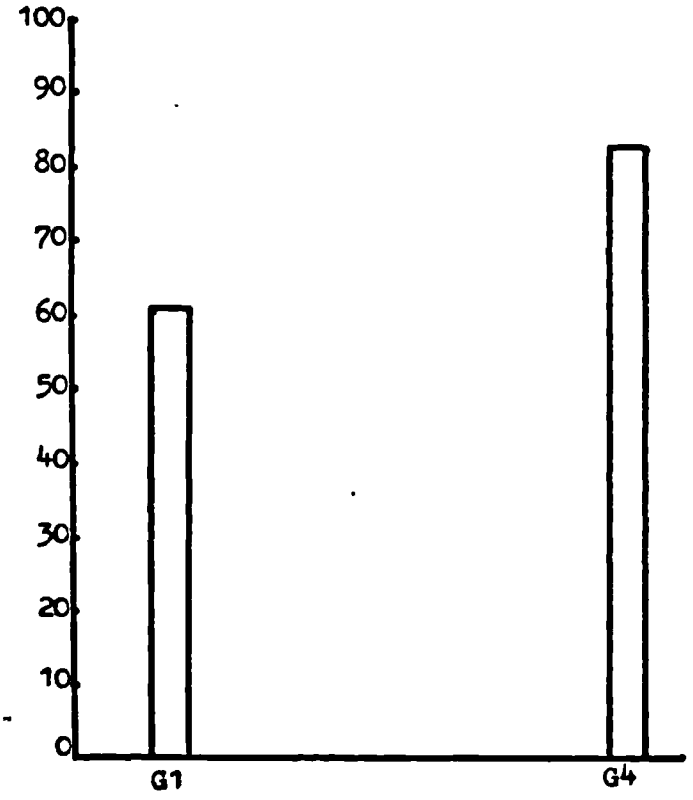


Fig.B.39 The percentage of preposition deletion by class, female youngsters.

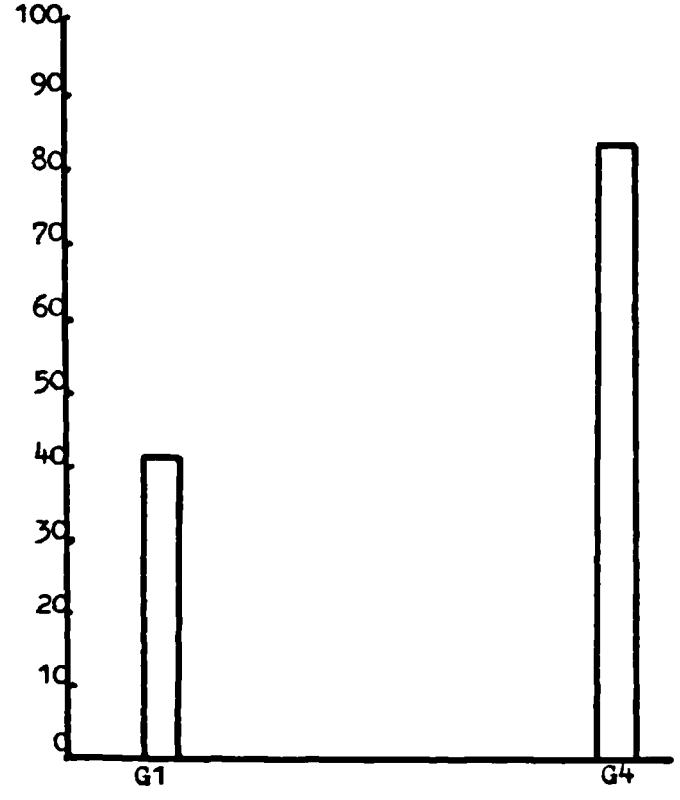


Fig.B40. The percentage of preposition deletion by class, male youngsters.

cent (G4) for females and from 29 per cent (G1) to 70 per cent (G4) for males.

b) The relationship between word order and preposition deletion.

To support the idea that there are connections between preposition deletion and word order, apart from the cases in which preposition deletion was possible, the following types of sentences have been analysed.

i) Those in which preposition deletion was not possible because of semantic restrictions, e.g.

/ mâ ʔaz (OBL) terun raftim / "we went from Tehran - we left Tehran"

ii) Those in which there was no preposition, e.g.

/ man ketâb mixânam / "I read a book"

iii) Sentences with postposition / râ /, e.g.

/ samâvar ro rošan kardam / "I put the samavar (a kind of kettle) on"

iv) Sentences containing no object, e.g.

/ man ziyâd xordam / "I ate too much"

v) Rarely, cases involving only SV~VS, e.g.

/ šoharam mord / ~ / mord šoharam / "my husband died"

By analysing this second category of sentences, it was possible to see generally, either V comes immediately after the subject, or other elements in the sentence stand between subject and verb. However, to find out the percentage of each possible word order in the sentences without optional preposition, five to ten minutes of each type from thirty-five informants was analysed, which gave us a total number of 539 sentences for all speakers (Table B30).

	SVO	SOV	Total
Preposition deleted	70%	30%	1013
Preposition retained	21%	79%	481
Sentences with no preposition involved	29%	71%	539

Table B30. The scores for preposition deletion and word order for all speakers.

Here I shall try to answer two basic questions about preposition deletion:

1) Is there any connection between word order and preposition deletion?
2) Does preposition deletion encourage the SOV order to change to SVO, or does SVO order encourage the process of deletion?

The answer to the first question is definitely yes. There is a clear tendency for sentences with deleted prepositions to have SVO order (70%) and for those with retained prepositions to have SOV order (79%). Thus as predicted in the descriptive discussion, our data supports the idea that there is a connection between preposition deletion and word order, and that in SVO order the percentage of deletion is substantially higher than in SOV.

As for the second question,Table 30 suggests that it is the deletion of a preposition that encourages the SVO order rather than vice versa, as the percentage of SVO sentences is far higher when a preposition is deleted than when no preposition is involved at all. Since preposition deletion is a "lower-class" characteristic, we may see the change to SVO order as a means by which "lower-class" speakers compensated for the loss of the preposition and the consequent threat of ambiguity.

In analysing the syntactic construction related to word order, apart from the alternation of SOV and SVO the "lower" groups produced some interesting forms which surprisingly did not sound "unusual" to me until I started analysing them. The following are some examples:

i) SV direct object with postposition / râ / at the very end. (Traditionally it has been said that the direct object with postposition / râ / always comes before the verb.)

/ yâdam raf ye zarašo (ro) / "I forget some of it" G4.F.Y.

/ beškanim nasi ro / "we have to remove the unluckiness"

/ motaleʔe mikonam ketâb ro / "I read the book"

ii) The place of the main subject (separate personal pronoun) has always been considered at the beginning of the sentence or after the verb and before the object. The following are some examples which show that it can come at the very end.

/ pâybande ʔinjâ nissam man / "I don't want to stay here for long"

/ ʔaz terun asan dur nabudam man / "I have never been out of Tehran"

/ ʔa kučiki ba hamin mâ / G4.M.Y. "We are together from childhood"

/ bâ ham bozorg šodim mâ / G4.M.Y. "We were brought up together"

/ mese baččâye dige nabudam man / G3.F.A. "I was not like other children

Conclusions:

i) This variable divides our social groups almost into three groups in which "lower" groups delete their preposition more than the higher groups.

ii) The SVO word order is more common in working class dialect.

iii) Females, except G1, all score equal to or higher than males. In fact with this variable the females are not the more "conservative" speakers.

iv) Preposition deletion is related to word order.

v) With SVO order the percentage of preposition deletion is higher than with SOV.

vi) Possibly preposition deletion eases the change of word order.

CHAPTER FOUR

CHAPTER FOUR

POLITE FORM IN PERSIAN

The polite form in Persian has been more or less studied by some scholars such as D.C. Phillot (1919), A.K.S. Lambton (1953), C.T. Hodge (1957) and M.R. Bateni (1975). The works that have been produced so far are generally inadequate. For example, none of them has studied this complex aspect of the Persian language and culture in the detail which it deserves because of its very interesting characteristics, nor do the works show the possibilities and restrictions within the system, as they do not include all the variations and their combinations in a sentence. The works also lack the relations of possible forms to different social contexts and to the power relationships involved in them. However, Bateni has a more accurate and systematic approach than the others.

The polite form reflects a part of the cultural identity of the Iranian people and the social structure in which they live. The hierarchical structure within the speech community is clearly and inevitably manifested in their speech, as it is easily possible to suggest the level of power and solidarity between two persons who are interacting.

The system as a whole has two major aspects:

1) General humility;
2) Respect and its relationship to power and solidarity.

1) General humility

A traditionally inherited quality which is highly admired in the community, humility by a superior can go beyond the barrier of the power relationship. While the use of a low form pronoun in addressing an inferior is understandable, a reasonable degree of humility towards the inferior is considered broad-minded and democratic. This humility can be achieved not only by using polite forms to others, especially inferiors, but also by allowing them to use forms which do not show the power relationship. At least from the point of view of social behaviour, this fills the unjust gap created out of the values of a society based on class distinctions. This type of behaviour is not rare among those who are not deceived by the existing dominant values.

2) Respect and its relationship with power and solidarity.

Respect towards others can be motivated in two ways:

a) Accepted social norms. These norms require a reasonable degree of respect towards a superior, equal, or inferior, and are applicable in the house, among the members of a family, in factories, in offices and among people with different social ranks. The application of these norms is obligatory, as ignoring them can be considered a sign of rudeness or of unawareness of social behaviour.

b) Over-norm politeness. This can be used to impress a superior, and if this over-norm respect is for the sake of a favour, then it represents flattery which in the community is considered as the cheapest type of social behaviour. Before the Persian revolution of 1979, flattery was an essential element for reaching a high rank in the social hierarchy. Pre-revolutionary letters, reports, and newspapers

are full of examples of this kind (see section six, the effect of the revolution on polite forms). The over-norm respect can also be applied to the members of the community who are socially admired; religious leaders, writers and University lecturers are some examples of this type.

However, in this chapter I will try to give a complete analysis of the polite form in Persian in six sections:

Section one gives a description of the pronouns and noun-phrases and their variations. These pronouns, and noun-phrases which can replace pronouns, function as subject or (with pre- or post-position) as object.

Section two introduces the verb variations which are a characteristic feature of the Persian polite form.

Section three shows the possibilities offered by the combination of various elements (subject, object and verb) in sentences, and restrictions on such combinations.

Section four shows the co-variation between the pronoun and the verb used on the one hand and, on the other, the objective relationship between not only the speaker and addresses but also a third person involved in the sentence who may or may not be present.

Section five gives the social differences in the use of polite form and honorific titles.

Section six shows the effect of the Persian revolution on polite form.

Section 1. The personal pronouns, noun-phrases and their variations

These function as subject and, with preposition or post-position, as object. They can have three social values:

Low level (which will be shown as "L") are the forms which show humility, politeness, or the speaker's approval of the hearer's or other's power.

Neutral level (shown as "N") are the forms which do not have any particular characteristic and are used when the power relationship is not involved.

High level ("H") are those forms which show the superiority or high status of the person to whom the item refers.

Here we look at each personal pronoun and its noun-phrase variations. There are a range of lexical items, most of them with a literal meaning but each carrying a different level of value in our politeness system.

A) First person singular.

Humility is indicated first by the selection of the first person pronoun. As an obligatory rule in the politeness system of Persian, the speaker, no matter how powerful he or she may be, never takes a high form to refer to himself or herself (except the former Shah of Iran before the revolution). As a result there is no high form for the first person, so here we will be dealing with two levels: Low and Neutral forms.

1) Low forms. Here we have the largest number of nouns with a generally low to very low value which can be divided into three groups, (L1)(L2) and (L3). Each group and their variations will be discussed in detail later. This large variety of alternatives in the first person singular is clearly understandable, as humility in Persian is mostly shown by choosing a low form to refer to the speaker, even if the verb and other NPs in the same sentence are neutral. Thus the

choice of a low form first-person pronoun by any member of society is a general indication of humility. Then the selection of a low verb (see section two) and a high pronoun for the addressee or referent parallel to the first selection of a low pronoun goes beyond general politeness, and indicates a deeper humility, or signals the greater superiority of the addressee or referent, when a power relationship is involved.

The selection of a lower form (L2) and (L3) parallel to the selection of lower verbs, and higher pronoun for addressee or referent, can go so far as to create combinations that for many people may be unacceptable in terms of their pride and principles. One can be considered as a flatterer, by using the low forms to impress those who happen to be powerful. By the above discussion, I am trying to draw attention to a delicate balance between respect, politeness, reasonable approval of the power of a superior, and flattery. However, here I will introduce and discuss items which, although known by the speech community, may never be used by many of them. In the following I discuss each item separately, and its socio-semantic values.

(i) (L1). There is only one item on this level: / bande /. It is a Persian word and literally means "slave", but it does not carry the same semantic load any more, as the majority of people who use it do not know its original meaning and apply it simply as a polite and humble form. This item has the widest application as a polite first person singular. It can be found in the speech of members of society from the 'lowest' almost to the 'highest', as well as in informal letters. Flattery normally is not understood from it. The analysis of materials shows that this item is almost the automatic choice for a polite first

person singular, e.g.

/ bande, ʔalân modate šiš sâle ke injâ kâr mikonam / G4.M.A.

"It is now six years that I am working here"

(ii) (L2). This generally represents a higher degree of humility. Items in this group are less associated with power relationships, although in certain social contexts inferiority of the speaker can be understood from it.

/ haqir /. An Arabic word, it literally means "despised". It has a strong connotation of humility and can be found in the speech of anyone who wants to show deliberate and clear humility. It is also used in informal letters.

/ doʔâgu /. An Arabic-Persian word, literally meaning "one who prays for another, prayer for you". This is a rather old-fashioned term and is used mostly by the older generation with stronger religious background. It also comes as a predicative in a sentence like / doʔâgu hastim / "I say a prayer for you". It can be found in informal letters.

/ fadavi /. An Arabic word, literally means "devoted". It is an old-fashioned and almost obsolete word, especially in the working class community. It can be found in the speech of the older generation.

/ moxles /. An Arabic word, literally meaning "sincere". It is widely used by the working class community and functions purely as a marker of humility. It can come as a predicative with the same socio-semantic function, e.g. / mâ moxles šomâ hastim / "I am your sincerely" As a subject it can also take the third person singular subject enclitic (Ø), e.g. / moxles be šomâ ʔarz kardØ / "I told you".

(iii) (L3). This group of items on some occasions signals a very wide gap between speaker and addressee, and on others reflects pure

flattery. Humility has no function with this group of items except as a predicative among working class people. It can be used by the "lower" groups in a request letter to a very high official, and in this case it does not indicate flattery, because of the real power gap between the writer and the addressee. Interestingly, these terms (except / čâker / as a predicative expressing humility) have no application among middle class members of society. But they had frequent application by many high officials towards the highest 'rank' which reflected pure flattery (see section six). However, as a whole this group of items as the extreme power indicators have almost no application in ordinary daily speech.

/ čâker /. A Persian word. As a predicative it is common among working class speakers and signals solidarity, e.g. / čâkeretam / "I am your devoted". As a subject it was common among the high officials towards the highest rank, as a deliberate indicator of flattery (see section six).

/ qolâm /. An Arabic word, it means "slave". Although it has the same meaning as / bande / it has a much stronger semantic load. As a predicative it can be found in the speech of "lower" groups, e.g. / qolâmetam /, as an indication of deep humility. It has no application in the middle rank. Apart from the above case, as subject it only indicates an extreme power gap, or flattery. As / qolâme jânnesâr / it was used in reports to the former Shah of Iran. It cannot be found as a power indicator or polite form in daily ordinary speech.

/ qolâme xânezâd /. An Arabic-Persian word, it means "homeborn slave". Probably the lowest form, it has no application in the speech of any rank, except some high officials who used to use it to the former Shah (see section six).

/ ʔaqal, ʔaqalle ʔebâd /. An Arabic loan word, meaning "the least, the least worshipper". A rather old-fashioned term which is used in religious contexts. It has no flattery or power indicating function, and is mostly used as / ʔin ʔaqal / "this least" (referring to the speaker) by highly respected religious people, as an extreme case of humility. At the end of a letter or statement, before the signature, it appears as / ʔaqalle ʔebâd /. This term has no application in daily ordinary speech.

/ kamine /. A feminine term, it means "the least". It is not common in speech, but can be found in a request letter from a "low" rank female to a high official. It indicates a deliberate attempt to show the power distance between addresser and addressee.

2) Neutral forms.

There are two neutral forms:

(a) / man /, the first person pronoun. A Persian word, it means "I". It is the most common way of referring to oneself. As it is syntactically optional, the subject enclitic functions as a pronoun (see / man / ~ / mâ / variable, page 165). It does not have any particular characteristics, but can take a range of different verbs (see section three). This form is used in ordinary daily free speech and in informal letters.

(b) / ʔinjâneb /. A Persian-Arabic word which literally means "this side". It is an obsolete formal term, which may be found in written statements. It has no application in free speech. As a neutral and formal item, it will be shown as (NF) in the tables.

B) Second person singular.

There are two levels of forms in the second person singular, (i) low forms and (ii) high forms. Although it lacks the neutral level, by

means of choosing an appropriate verb it is possible to fill this gap (see section four). Here we look at all possible second person pronouns and their noun-phrasal variants.

(i) Low form. There is only one low form:

/ to /. The Persian second person singular pronoun. It is widely used in free speech and in informal letters. It can indicate solidarity, when it is used between two people with the same rank or from a higher rank to lower rank when he or she wants to show friendliness. It also can show power when it is used to an inferior by a superior. So, from the point of view of the hearer this can be ambiguous and create misunderstanding.

(ii) High forms. There are three levels of high forms: (H1), (H2) and (H3).

(H1). There are two (H1) forms:

/ šomâ /. A Persian word, historically the second person plural (which is the most common way for expressing respect in many other languages - see Brown and Gilman (1960), Brown and Levinson (1978)). The use of the second person plural instead of the first person is common in free speech, and in formal and informal letters. It indicates less solidarity and more respect than / to /. The respect that / šomâ / expresses is by no means flattery. It is commonly used in familiar relationships, say by a son to his father.

/ sarkâr /. A Persian word, historically meaning "overseer". It does not carry the original meaning when used as a polite form. This term can be considered as a formal equivalent to / šomâ /, but it is also used before the grade and name of army and police personnel up to colonel. As a formal term, it is used in addressing non-commissioned and junior officers.

(H2). There are two terms on this level.

/ janâb(e)âli /. An Arabic loan word, it means "your excellency". It is widely used among all social groups and can indicate both respect towards the addresses and his or her superiority in power. Like / bande / it can be an automatic choice for showing humility as / ʔarz konam xedmate janâbâli / "saying to you". / janâb / also comes before the first name and family name to show respect when addressing a person, as in / janâbe (ʔâqâye) (rezâ) bahrâmi / "your excellency Mr. Reza Bahrami", or before a professional title such as / janâbeʔostâd / "your excellency professor", or / janâbe raʔis / "your excellency boss". Officially it comes before the official title of high authorities, as / janâbe noxostvazir / "your excellency prime minister". It also comes before the title of officers, as / janâb sarvân / "your excellency captain", and so on.

/ sarkârʔâli /. A Persian-Arabic word it means "your excellency". It is mostly a formal term and can be found in the speech of highly educated speakers. It reflects some kind of formal respect, and can be used by an inferior to a superior, between two people of equal rank, or even by a superior to his high-ranking immediate inferior as a sign of respect and humility.

(H3). There are three items on this level:

/ hazrateʔâli /. An Arabic loan word meaning "your excellency". It shows a higher degree of respect than (H2) towards the addressee. This term is usually used for the very highly respected social groups such as old religious leaders, knowledgeable people and high-ranking officials. It can also be used among high-ranking officials in formal situations. Inappropriate use, especially in circumstances in which a request is involved, can be considered as flattery. As / hazrat /,

it can come before the name of a religious leader, like / hazrat ayetollâ ... /, also before the name of an Imam (Islamic holy man) such as / hazrate ʔemâm hoseyn /. It is always used before the name of the president of a state, as / hazrate raʔise jomhure ʔâlmân / "Your excellency the president of Germany".

/ hazrate ʔajal / and / hazrate ʔašraf /. These are both Arabic loan words meaning "your/his highness". Both the terms are almost obsolete. They were very common during the Ghajar dynasty. The Shah of Ghajar was addressed as / hazrate ʔašraf /. These two noun-phrases can take third person subject enclitics as well as second person.

C) Third person singular.

There are three levels for third person singular forms, low, neutral and high. Here we look at each level and their possible variations.
(i) Low form. There are two terms in this level, both referring to the third person singular but in different manners.

/ ʔun /. A Persian word, it is originally / ʔân /, which after the application of the alternation between / a / and / u / before a nasal changes to / ʔun /. It is originally a demonstrative pronoun meaning 'that', but it is commonly used as an ordinary third person pronoun, e.g. / ʔun mige / "she, he says". / aš /, the possessive and accusative enclitic, with the preposition / be / can function exactly like /ʔun / as an object "to him", after the preposition / be / "to" the relevant forms are / behaš /, / beheš / or / beš / and are very common in all social groups. / ʔin /, another demonstrative pronoun which originally means 'this'. Here it functions as third person e.g. / ʔin mige / "she/he says". It is widely used in all social groups and can be applied when solidarity is involved, regardless of power relationship. It can also be used by a superior

referring to his inferior. Inappropriate use can be considered as rudeness. It can be applied in referring to a person of high rank who is not necessarily a respected person, in his or her absence.

(ii) Neutral form. There is one item on this level:

/ ʔu /. A Persian word, historically the third person singular pronoun meaning "he, she". It has a formal value, and can be found in books, newspapers or in formal speech. It represents a "standard" form for the third person singular, and is not common in free speech.

(iii) High form.

(H1). There is one item on this level:

/ ʔišân /. Historically the Persian third person plural pronoun, now it does not function as a plural pronoun. It is / ʔišun / after the application of the rule changing / â / to / u / before a nasal. It is widely used across the speech community by different social classes. It reflects respect and also can show the superior position of the referent.

(H2) There is also one item on this level:

/ moʔazzamollah /. An Arabic loan word, it means "his honour". It is the highest noun-phrase which can be used to refer to a third person. It has no application in daily casual speech, and is used in formal situations when referring to one of the highest rank, or a most respected person. It is used mostly by the educated group.

D) Plural pronouns.

There are no separate items to create variations for plural pronouns, except that each of them can take different modifiers to make the required distinction. Here we look at these possibilities:

1. First person plural. Two levels may be distinguished:

i) Low form. The original first person plural is / mâ /. It is

possible to borrow low forms from the first person singular, and after adding plural marker join it to the actual first person plural and make a low form. e.g.

/ mâ bandegân / (cf. / bande / "slave")

These types of forms are used only when a collective request or report to a person of the highest rank is involved. It can be spoken or written, but has no application in casual daily speech.

ii) Neutral form. There are two terms in this level:

/ mâ /. Persian pronoun, meaning "we". It has the same characteristics as / man / (first person singular). / mâ / is widely used instead of / man / by male working class speakers (see the discussion of the / man /~ / mâ / variable section). For such speakers / mâ / then takes an additional plural marker / hâ / and becomes / mâhâ /. / mâ / is used by all social groups.

/ ʔinjânebân /. This is a plural version of / ʔinjâneb /, and has the same characteristics. It is a formal term and is not used in casual daily speech. It can be found in collective formal statements or requests.

Like the first person singular, there is no high form for the plural either.

2. Second person plural.

Like the first person plural, there is no specific variation here, yet the original second person plural can take different low and high items.

i) Low form. / šomâ / can take modifiers with 'low' meanings and create low forms, like / šomâ bičârehâ / "you poor fellows".

ii) Neutral form. / šomâ / on its own is a neutral form. As this term is used as a polite second person singular, for these speakers

/ šomâ / then takes the plural marker / hâ /. This term is widely used in daily informal speech and in formal and informal letters by all social classes.

iii) High form. In this level also / šomâ / takes modifiers with 'high' meanings and produces high forms, like / šomâ ʔâqâyân / "you gentlemen", / šomâ dânešmandân / "you learned" or it can show solidarity / šomâ ʔazizân / "you dears", and so on.

3. Third person.

/ʔânhâ /. A Persian pronoun, this is the only form for the third person plural. After the application of two rules / â / ~/ u / before nasal and / h / deletion, it becomes /ʔunâ /. As /ʔânhâ / it can be found in formal statements, books, newspapers and so on, and as /ʔunâ / it is used widely in casual daily speech by all social groups.

Note: The entire range of pronouns and noun-phrases discussed above can take prepositions or the postposition / râ /, and can function as objects as well as functioning as subjects.

Section II Verb system.

One of the characteristics of politeness in Persian which makes it especially interesting is the variation in the verb system. These variations contain a spectrum of items varying from three to sometimes nine possibilities for each verb. They all have the same meaning, but represent different degrees of politeness, "low", "neutral" and "high". The definition of these terms in the verb system is similar to those in the pronouns (section one). Therefore:

Low verbs, are those variations which beside their original meaning show the "low" social status of the subject;

Neutral verbs are those which only carry their original meaning; High verbs are those which besides their actual meaning show the "high" social status of the subject.

Different variations are obtained by:

1. Replacing the neutral form with another new simple verb such as in (a).
2. Replacing the neutral form with a compound verb, whose complement can be replaced later by another term, which may be a higher form, to make another expansion, like in (b). Such compounds normally consist of an Arabic loan word as complement to a Persian auxiliary verb.
3. Replacing the first compound verb and its variation with another set of compound verbs, whose complement may also be changed, such as in (c).

(a) / goftan / "to say, to tell"
/ farmudan / "to say, to tell"

(b) / xordan / "to eat"
/ meyl kardan / "to eat"
/ meyl farmudan / "to eat"

(c) / raftan / "to go"
/ ʔazimat kardan / "to go"
/ ʔazimat farmudan / "to go"
/ tašrif bordan / "to go"
/ tašrif farmâ šodan / "to go"

Expansion type (a) is not common, but it still possible. In (b), we see the verb / farmudan /, which in (a) was an alternative to / goftan /, comes as an auxiliary verb after / meyl /, and after / ʔazimat / in (c). This verb has a dual semantic load, as by itself, it means "to say", while as an auxiliary it carries the notion of the verb "to do", as a high form

in the politeness hierarchy. Yet, these variations within each verb can be almost doubled, as many of them can take either a singular or a plural subject enclitic to refer to a singular second or third person subject, with the plural enclitic showing greater respect for the subject.

Here we take two verbal meanings and study their variations. Later in section three we look at the same verbs and their possible combinations with pronouns. These two verbs are "to go" and "to say, to tell".

A. 'to go'. This meaning has the basic three low, neutral and high forms. Here we look at each form and its variations.

i) Low form. There is one low intransitive form and many low transitive forms. As with this verb we want to give an example of a subject verb sentence, only the intransitive low form will be discussed.

/ moraxxas šodan /. This literally means "to be dismissed", but with first person subject it indicates humble going, e.g. / bande moraxxas mišavam / "I go".

It has the notion of <u>going from</u>, when the rest of the variants have the meaning of <u>going to</u>, unless they take the preposition / ʔaz / "from" instead of / be / "to". This variant has also the notion of <u>going from a person</u>, or <u>leaving a person</u> as in (a), while the other variants in this range have the meaning of <u>going to a place</u>, as in (b). With a second and third person subject it can also carry its original meaning of "be dismissed", as in (c).

(a) / bandeʔaz hozurtân moraxxas mišavam / "I am leaving you" very politely

(b) / ʔišan be širâz tašrif bordand / "he went to Shiraz"

(c) / šomâ moraxxas mišavid / "you will be dismissed"

ii) Neutral form. There are two items on this level.

/ raftan /. A Persian verb, it is widely used in daily free speech and informal letters by all members of the speech community, regardless of their social class.

/ ʔazimat kardan /. A formal equivalent to / raftan /. This form is widely used in formal letters, statements or speeches, and mostly by the "higher" groups. It takes only inanimate objects. This form as a formal neutral verb will be abbreviated to (NF) in the tables.

iii) High form. There are three levels and three items in this form:

(H1). It has one item

/ tašrif bordan /. Widely used by all social classes in their daily speech and informal letters. It shows humility of the speaker and respect for the subject (as mentioned earlier, a first person subject never takes a high verb; for details see section three). Under no circumstances does it indicate flattery. This verb can take inanimate and animate objects.

(H2). On this level we have one item

/ ʔazimat farmudan /. A high version of / ʔazimat kardan / and mostly used in formal situations. It shows the high official position of the subject. It takes only inanimate objects, and is not common in "lower" groups or in informal situations.

(H3). There is one item on this level:

/ tašrif farmâ šodan /. This has almost no application in normal daily speech. It takes only inanimate objects and its subject must be of the highest official rank or the most respected social figure.

B. 'to say'. This meaning has three levels and a large number of variations.

i) Low form. The low form verbs indicate humility of the subject and consequently respect towards the non-subject or addressee. There are five sub-levels of verb within this level. (The fifth sub-level which was used only to the former Shah, has no application any more.)

(L1). There are three items on this sub-level.

/ ʔarz kardan /. Widely used across the speech community, from the "lowest" to "highest" group. It is an automatic choice for showing humility and respect, and is used mostly in casual conversation and informal letters. It is shown as $L1_a$.

/ beʔarz resândan /. A formal equivalent of / ʔarz kardan / and mostly used in formal letters or in a humble statement. It is chiefly used by educated groups. It is shown as $L1_b$.

/ maʔruz dâštan /. This is only used in formal reports, letters and statements, and cannot be found in ordinary conversation. It is shown as $L1_c$.

(L2).

/ be xedmatʔarz kardan /. Used by all social groups. It is a rather informal term, and can be found in casual speech and informal letters.

(L3).

/ be hozur ʔarz kardan /. This is another high form used in rather formal conversations. As a fixed expression in / ʔarz konam hozuretân / "saying to you" "politely", it can be found in informal speech. Although it is not unfamiliar to "lower" people, it is mostly used by educated speakers.

(L4).

/ be ʔestezhâr resândan /. An Arabic-Persian verb, it is not used

in daily free speech, and has a strong formal flavour, and is used in formal circumstances. It shows the very high rank of the addressee or referent, rather than the speaker's humility, and is mostly used by "higher" people.

(L5). For items in this level see section six.

ii) Neutral form. There is one item on this level.

/ goftan /. This Persian verb is the most common word to express the notion "to go". It is widely used in casual conversation, in circumstances in which solidarity is high, or the power relationship is overridden by solidarity. Inappropriate usage can be considered as rudeness. It can be used towards a person of high rank to show deliberate impoliteness.

iii) High form. The high form verbs indicate respect towards the subject or his high rank and consequently the humility or "low" rank of non-subject and addressee.

/ farmudan /. This is an Arabic loan word and is used in informal as well as formal conversations and letters. Except in one case (which is not valid any more - see section six), it never takes the first person subject. This verb is widely used by all social classes and has no characteristics of flattery, but in certain inappropriate circumstances it can give that impression.

Section III The possibilities and restrictions offered by the combination of various syntactic elements.

So far, we have looked at the wide range of variations within the elements in the sentence. In this section we study the possibilities and restrictions on combining these variations. To achieve this, we

will analyse two types of sentences:

(1) Sentences containing only subject and verb;

(2) Sentences containing subject, object and verb.

1. Here, all singular pronouns as subject and all their variations will be examined with the verb "to go" (discussed in section two) and its variations.

i) First person singular.

Table 4.1 (p.227) (based on my own judgments, but supported by the data in my collection) reveals that no first person expression can take high verbs. As mentioned earlier, high form verbs indicate respect towards subject and as a socio-cultural rule, a subject speaker even of high rank cannot give respect to himself as in (a). So, the subject can take a neutral verb (N) or, if he wants to show humility, a low one (L) as in (b). Table 4.1 also shows that (L) and (N) pronouns can take both (L) and (N) verb as in (c). This flexibility is due to the wide range of relationships which may exist between the speaker and the addressee and the situation in which the utterance has taken place. The combination of (NF) subject and (N) verb is the only case which seems to be doubtful, as in (d).

(a)	*/ man tašrif bordam /	"I went"	*S(L) + V(H)
(b)	/ man miram /	"I go"	S(N) + V(N)
	/ bande moraxxas mišavam /	"I go"	S(L) + V(L)
(c)	/ bande raftam /	"I went"	S(L) + V(N)
	/ man moraxxas mišam /	"I go"	S(N) + V(L)
(d)	/ ʔinjâneb raftam /	"I went"	? S(NF) + V(N)
	/ ʔinjâneb ʔazimat kardam /	"I went"	S(NF) + V(NF)

Pronouns		Verb L	N	NF	H1	H2	H3
1st person	L3	✓	✓	✓	*	*	*
	L2	✓	✓	✓	*	*	*
	L1	✓	✓	✓	*	*	*
	N	✓	✓	✓	*	*	*
	NF	✓	?✓	✓	*	*	*
2nd person	L	-✓	-✓	*	*	*	*
	H1	✓	✓	✓	=✓	*	*
	H2	*	=✓	=✓	=✓	=✓	*
	H3	*	*	*	=✓	=✓	=✓
3rd person	L	-✓	-✓	?✓	*	*	*
	N	-✓	-✓	-✓	*	*	*
	H1	✓	✓	✓	=✓	=✓	?=✓
	H2	*	*	*	=✓	=✓	=✓

Key

✓ The combination is possible

?✓ The combination is doubtful

* The combination is not possible

\- Only possible with 2nd or 3rd person singular subject enclitics

= Only possible with 2nd or 3rd person plural subject enclitics

No sign on . Except first person, both 2nd and 3rd person singular, and plural subject enclitics are possible

L Low form

N Neutral form

NF Neutral formal form

H High form

The higher numbers indicate higher degree

Table 4.1. The possibilities and restrictions on singular subject + verb sentences.

ii) Second person.

1. (L) subject. As table 4.1 shows, a (L) subject cannot take any (H) verbs as in (a), because, if the addressee is superior, then the first choice for indicating his superiority will be the choice of a (H) pronoun. As (L) subject on second person is not a formal item, it cannot take a (NF)verb either, such as in (b), but it can take both (L) and (N) verb as in (c). As / to / "you, singular" is originally a singular pronoun it can only take second person singular subject enclitics, as in (c).

(a)	*/ to tašrif bordi /	"you went"	* S(L) + V(H)
(b)	*/ to ʔazimat kardi /	"you went"	* S(L) + V(NF)
(c)	/ to moraxxasi /	"you are dismissed"	S(L) + V(L)
	/ to rafti /	"you went"	S(L) + V(N)

(H1) subject: Table 4.1 shows that (H1) subject can take (L), (N) and (H1) verbs as in (a) below. Again this flexibility is due to the possible degrees of power and solidarity which may exist between the speaker and the referent of the subject. As the (H1) subject is not high enough, it cannot take (H2) and (H3) verbs as in (b) below. Although (H1) / šomâ / "you" is originally a plural pronoun, as it is referring to a singular subject in the polite system, it can take 2nd person singular subject enclitic as well, as in (c) below, but with the (H1) form of the verb, the 2nd person plural subject enclitic is normally required as in (d) below.

(a)	/ šomâ moraxxasid /	"you are dismissed	S(H1) + V(L)
	/ šomâ raftid /	"you went"	S(H1) + V(N)
	/ šomâ ʔazimat kardid /	"you went"	S(H1) + V(NF)
	/ šomâ tašrif bordid /	"you went"	S(H1) + V(H1)
(b)	*/ šomâ tašrif farmâ šodid /	"you went"	* S(H1) + V(H3)
(c)	/ šomâ raftid /	"you went"	S(H1) + V(N) plural
	/ šomâ rafti /	"you went"	S(H1) + V(N) singular
(d)	*/ šomâ tašrif bordi /	"you went"	* S(H1) + V(H1) singular

(H2) subject: As Table 4.1 shows, this does not take either (L) or (H3) verbs, as in (a) below. The rest of the verb forms are possible, but only with plural subject enclitics, as in (b) below.

(a)	*/ janâbeʔâli moraxxasi /	"you are dismissed	* S(H2) + V(L)
	*/ janâbeʔâli tašrif farmâ šodid /	"you went"	* S(H2) + V(H3)
(b)	/ janâbeʔâli tašrif bordid /	"you went"	S(H2) + V(H1)

(H3) subject. This takes only (H1-3) verbs and only with plural subject enclitics as in (a).

(a) / hazrate ʔajal tašrif farmâ mišavid / "you go" S(H3) + V(H3)

Third person

(1) (L) subject. As Table 4.1 shows, this subject cannot have any (H) verb, as in (a) below. With (NF) verb it is rather doubtful as in (b) below, but it can come with (L) and (N) form in (c). As it is originally a singular pronoun it only takes singular subject enclitic.

(a) */ ʔun tašrif bord / "he, she went" * S(L) + (V(H)

(b) / ʔun ʔazimat kard / "he, she went" ? S(L) + V(NF)

(c) / ʔun moraxxase / "he, she is dismissed" S(L) + V(L)
/ ʔun raft / "he went" S(L) + V(N)

(2) (N) subject. This has almost the same characteristics as the (L) subject, except that it carries a certain degree of formality and can be found mostly in books, letters and so on.

(3) (H) subject. As Table 4.1 shows, this pronoun can take almost all verb variations, as in (a) below, except with (H3) verb which is doubtful as in (b) below. With (H) verbs it can only take plural enclitics, as in (c), but with (L) and (N) forms, the singular subject enclitic can also be applied, as in (d).

(a) / ʔišân moraxxasand / "he is dismissed" S(H1) + V(L)
/ ʔišân ʔàzimat farmudand / "he went" S(H1) + V(H2)
/ ʔišân tašrif bordand/ "he went" S(H1) + V(H2)

(b) / ʔišân tašrif farmâ šodand / "he went" ? S(H1) + V(H3)

(c) */ ʔišân tašrif bordØ / "he went" *S(H1) + V(H1) singular

(d) / ʔišân raftand / "he went" S(H1) + V(N) plural
/ ʔišân raft / "he went" S(H1) + V(N) singular

(4) (H2) subject. This takes only (H) verbs and only with plural subject enclitics, as in (a).

(a) / mo?azzamollah tašrif farmâ šodand / "he went" S(H2) + (V(H3)

Subject, object, verb sentences

Here we examine the subject and object pronouns and their variations with the verb / goftan / "to say" and its variations. To do this, we take each time one set of subject pronouns and one set of object pronouns and examine their variations with different verb variants (see table 4.2 p.231 for a summary).

1. 1st person subject and 2nd person subject.

(i) (L2+3) subject cannot take (L) object with any verb as in (a). With (H1-3) object they can take (L1-4) accordingly, as in (b).

(a) */ haqir be to goftam / "I told you" *S(L2+3) + O(L) + V(N

(b) / čâker be?arz janâbe?âli resândam / "I told you" S(L2+3)+O(H2)+V(L2)

(ii) (L1) + (N) subject with (L) object can take (L1) + (N) verbs as in (a) below. With (H1) object, it takes (L1+2) + (N) verb as in (b), and with (H2+3) object they take (L1-4) verbs as in (c).

(a) / bande behet arz kardam ke / "I told you" (from the interview) S(L1)+O(L)+V(L1)

(b) / man be šamâ goftam / "I told you" " S(N)+O(H1)+V(N)

(c) / bande be hozure janâbe?âli ?arz kardam / "I told you" S(L1)+O(H2)+V(L2)

(iii) (NF) subject. This cannot take a (L) object with any verb as in (a) below. With (H1) + (H2) objects it takes the two formal variations of (L1) verb ((b+c)), as in (b) and with an (H3) object, it takes (L1-4) verbs, as in (c).

(a) / ?injâneb be to goftam / "I told you" *S(NF)+O(L)+V(N)

(b) / ?injâneb be ?arz ?ânjanâb resândam / "I told you" S(NF)+O(H2)+V(L1)

(c) / ?injâneb be ?estezhâre hazrat âli resândam / "I told you" S(NF)+O(H3)+V(L3)

		1st person					2nd person				3rd person			
		L3	L2	L1	N	NF	L	H1	H2	H3	L	N	H1	H2
1st person	L3						*	L1-2	L1-3	L1-4	N	N	L1-3	L1-4
	L2						*	L1-2	L1-3	L1-4	N	N	L1-3	L1-4
	L1						L1+N	L1-2 N	L1-3	L1-4	N	N	L1-3	L1-4
	N						L1+N	L1-2 N	L1-3	L1-4	N	N	L1-3	L1-4
	NF						*	L1 b+c	L1 b+c	L1b+c 4	*	N	L1 b+c	L1b+c L4
2nd person	L	*	*	*	$\bar{N}$	*					$\bar{N}$	$\bar{N}$	$\bar{L}$1-3	$\bar{L}$1-4
	H1	H	H	H+N	H+N	H+N					H+N	H+N	L1-3 NH	L1-4
	H2	$\bar{\bar{H}}$	$\bar{\bar{H}}$	$\bar{\bar{H}}$	$\bar{\bar{H}}$+$\bar{N}$	$\bar{\bar{H}}$+$\bar{N}$					$\bar{\bar{H}}$+$\bar{N}$	$\bar{\bar{H}}$+$\bar{N}$	$\bar{\bar{L}}$1-3 N+H	$\bar{\bar{L}}$1-4
	H3	$\bar{\bar{H}}$	$\bar{\bar{H}}$	$\bar{\bar{H}}$	*	$\bar{\bar{H}}$					$\bar{\bar{H}}$	$\bar{\bar{H}}$	$\bar{\bar{H}}$	$\bar{\bar{L}}$1-4 N
3rd person	L	$\bar{N}$	$\bar{N}$	$\bar{N}$	$\bar{N}$	*	$\bar{N}$	$\bar{L}$1-2	$\bar{L}$1-3	$\bar{L}$1-4	$\bar{N}$	$\bar{N}$	$\bar{L}$1-3	$\bar{L}$1-4
	N	$\bar{N}$	$\bar{N}$	$\bar{N}$	$\bar{N}$	$\bar{N}$	$\bar{N}$	$\bar{L}$1-2	$\bar{L}$1-3	$\bar{L}$1-4	$\bar{N}$	$\bar{N}$	$\bar{L}$1-3	$\bar{L}$1-4
	H1	H+N	H+N	H+N	H+N	H+N	H+N	L1-3 N+H	L1-3 N	L1-4	H+N	H+N	H+N	L1-4
	H2	$\bar{\bar{H}}$	$\bar{\bar{H}}$	$\bar{\bar{H}}$	$\bar{\bar{H}}$	$\bar{\bar{H}}$	$\bar{\bar{H}}$	$\bar{\bar{H}}$	$\bar{\bar{H}}$	$\bar{\bar{H}}$+N	$\bar{\bar{H}}$	$\bar{\bar{H}}$	$\bar{\bar{H}}$	-

Key:

* . No form is possible

A-B . From level (A) to level (B

\+ . Level (A) plus level (B)

= . Only plural subject enclitics

\- . Only singular subject enclitics

No sign. Both singular and plural

Table 4.2. The possibilities and restrictions on singular subject + object + verb sentences

2. 1st person subject with 3rd person object.

(i) (L1-3) + (N) subject with (L) + (N) object takes (N) verb as in (a), and with (H1+2) object, it takes (L1-4) verbs, as in (b):

(a) / bande beheš goftam / "I told him" S(L1)+O(L)+V(N)

(b) / haqir hozure ʔišân ʔarz kardam / "I told him" S(L3)+O(H1)+V(L3)

(ii) (NF) does not take (L) objects with any verb as in (a) below, and with (H1) objects it takes two formal variations of (L1) verbs, as in (b) with (H3) objects it takes (L1+4) verbs as in (c):

(a) */ injâneb beʔun goftam / *S(NF)+O(L)+V(N+L+H)

(b) / injâneb be ʔarze ʔišân resândam / "I told him" S(NF)+O(H1)+V(L1)

(c) / injâneb be ʔestezhâre moʔazzamollah resândam / "I told him" S(NF)+O(H2)+V(L4)

3. 2nd person subject with 1st person object.

(i) (L) subject, cannot take (L1-3) + (NF) with any verb as in (a) below, and with (N) object, it takes (N) verb, as in (b).

(a) */ to be bande gofti / "you told me" *S(L) + O(L1) + V(N)

(b) / to be man gofti / "you told me" S(L) + O(N) + V(N)

(ii) (H1+2) subjects, with (L2+3) object, take only (H) verb as in (a) below. With (L1) + (N) + (NF) object, it takes (H) + (N) verbs as in (b). However (H2) subject with (L1) object takes only (H) verbs as in (c), and (H1) subjects can take singular and plural object enclitics.

(a) / janâbeʔâli be bande farmudid / "you told me" S(H2) + O(L1) +V(H)

(b) / šomâ be man goftid / "you told me" S(H1) + O(N) + V(N)

(c) / sarkâreʔâli be čâker farmudid /"you told me" S(H2) + O(L3) +V(H)

(iii) The (H3) subject does not take (N) object with any verb as in (a) below, and with the rest of the 1st person object variants it takes a (H) verb as in (b).

(a) */ hazrate ʔajal be man farmudid / "you told me" *S(H3)+O(N)+V(H)

(b) / hazrate ʔajal be bande farmudid / "you told me" S(H3)+O(L)+V(H)

4. 2nd person subject with 3rd person object

i. (L) subject with (L) + (N) object takes only (N) verb, as in (a) below, and with (H1+2) object it takes (L1-4) verbs, as in (b):

(a) / to be ʔun gofti / "you told him" S(L) + O(L) + V(N)

(b) / to be ʔišân ʔarz kardi / "you told him" S(L) + O(H1) + V(L1)

ii. (H1+2) subjects with a (L+N) object can take (H+N) verbs, as in (a) below, and with a (H1) object they can take (L1-3) + (N) + (H) verbs, as in (b). This flexibility again is due to the wide range of power and solidarity situations, which may obtain between not only the speaker and subject, but also the subject and the object who may or may not be present (see section four). (H1+2) subjects with (H2) objects can take (L1-4) verbs as in (c). Again here (H1) subjects take both singular and plural subject enclitics, while (H2+3) subjects take only plural subject enclitics.

(a) / šomâ be ʔun gofti / "you told him" S(H1) + O(L) + V(N)

(b) / šomâ be ʔišân farmudid / "you told him" S(H1) + O(H1) + V(H)

(c) / janâbe ʔâli be hozur moʔazzamollah ʔarz kardid / S(H2)+O(H3)+V(L3)

iii. (H3) subject with (L) + (N) takes only (H) verbs, as in (a) below, but with (H2) objects they can take (L1-4) + (N) verb, as in (b):

(a) / hazrate ʔâli be ʔišân farmudid / "you told him" S(H3)+O(H1)+V(H)

/ hazrate ʔâli be moʔazzamollah goftid /"you told him" S(H3)+O(H2)+V(N)

5. 3rd person subject with 1st person object.

i. (L) + (N) subjects with (L1-3) + (N) + (NF) objects take (N) verbs as in (a) below, except that (L) subjects with (NF) object is not possible, as in (b):

(a) /ʔun be man goft / "he told me" S(L) + O(N) + V(N)

(b) */ʔun be ʔinjâneb goft / "he told me" *S(L) + O(NF) + V(N)

ii. (H1) subjects with all first person object variations take (H) + (N) verbs, as in (a) below. Although the (H1) subject / ʔišân / is originally a plural pronoun, as a polite form it refers to a singular subject, and thus it can take singular subject enclitics also, as in (b):

(a) / ʔišân beheš farmindand / "he told him" S(H1) + O(L1) + V(H)

/ ʔišân beheš goftØ / "he told him" S(H1) + O(L1) + V(N)

iii. (H2) subjects with all first person object variations take (H) verbs but only with plural enclitics as in (a) below:

(a) / moʔazzamollah be bande farmudand / "he told me" S(H2)+O(L1)+V(N)

6. 3rd person subject with second person object

i. (L1) + (N) subjects with (L) object take (N) verbs as in (a) below. With (H1-3) objects, it takes (L1-4) verbs as in (b). As (L) + (N) are both singular pronouns, they take only singular subject enclitics:

(a) / ʔun be to goft / S(L) + O(L) + V(N)

(b) / ʔun hozur janâbe ʔâli ʔarz kard / S(L) + O(H2) + V(L3)

ii. A (H1) subject with (L) objects takes (H) + (N) verb as in (a) below. With (H1) objects it takes (L1-3) + (N) + (H) verbs as in (b), and with (H2) objects, it can take (L1-3) + (N) verbs as in (c). With (H3) objects it takes (L1-4) verbs as in (d). (H1) subjects can take both singular and plural subject enclitics.

(a) / ʔišân be to farmudand / "he told you" S(H1)+O(L)+V(H)

(b) / ʔišân be šomâ goftand / "he told you" S(H1)+O(H1)+V(N)

(c) / ʔišân be janâbe ʔâli ʔarz kardand / "he told you" S(H1)+O(H2)+V(L)

(d) / ʔišân be hozure hazrat ʔâli resândand / "he told you" S(H1)+O(H3)+V(L3)

iii. A (H2) subject with (L) + (H1+2) objects takes (H) verbs, as in (a) below, but with (H3) objects it can take (N) verb as well, as in (b). (H2) subjects take only plural subject enclitics.

(a) / moʔazzamollah be janâbeʔâli farmudand / S(H2) + O(H2) + V(H)

(b) / moʔazzamollah be hazratʔajal goftand/ S(H2) + O(H3) + V(N)

7. 3rd person subject with 3rd person object

i. (L) + (N) subjects with (L) + (N) object take only (N) verbs, as in (a) below, and with (H1+2) objects they take (L1-4) verbs, as in (b).

(a) / ʔun beheš goft / "he told him" S(L) + O(L) + V(N)

(b) / ʔun be arzeʔišân resând / "he told him" S(L) + O(H1) + V(L1)

ii. The (H1) subject with (L) + (N) +(H1) objects takes (H) + (N) verbs, as in (a) below, and with (H2) objects it takes (L1-4) verbs, as in (b). The (H1) subject can take both singular and plural subject enclitics.

(a) / ʔišân behešân goftand/ "he told him" S(H1)+O(H1) + V(N)

(b) / ʔišân be hozur moʔazzamollahʔarz kard / "he told him" S(H1)+O(H2)+V(L3)

iii. The (H2) subject with (L) + (N) +(H1) object only takes (H) verb as in (a) below. With an (H2) object it does not take any verb. The subject takes only plural subject enclitics.

a. / moʔazzamollah beʔišân farmudand / S(H2) + O(H1) + V(H)

Section Four

This section discusses the pronoun and the verb used, on the one hand, and the speaker, addressee and others which the subject may refer to, on the other hand. As we saw in section three, the wide variation

within each syntactic element in the sentence, and in their combinations, creates an enormous number of possibilities. This wide range of alternatives is delicately woven with the socio-cultural structure, and plays an essential part in everyday communication. All native speakers learn at least those variations which have an application in their environment and apply them in their interactions. Here we look at the use of polite forms and its relationship with social structure in terms of power and solidarity. Table 4.3 shows the elements whose involvements in a three-(or more) part utterance has an effect on the selection of pronoun and verb, and gives examples of each case.

Speaker	Addressee	Other(s)	Example
subject	object	-	/ bande be šomâ ʔarz kardam / "I told you"
subject	-	object	/ bande be ʔišân ʔarz kardam / "I told him"
object	subject	-	/ šomâ be bande farmudid / "you told me"
object	-	subject	/ ʔišân be bande farmudand / "he told me"
-	subject	object	/ šomâ be ʔišân goftid / "you told him"
-	object	subject	/ ʔišân be šomâ goftand / "he told you"
-	-	subject object	/ ʔišân be ʔun goftand / "he told him"

Table 4.3. The elements involved in a three-part utterance with examples for each case.

Here we look at each case in Table 4.3 and study its implications.

1. If the speaker is the subject of the sentence, the object can be:

i. The addressee. In this sentence only two people are involved, who may have one of the following relationships in (a):

(a) (subject) (speaker) talking to (object) (addressee) who may be (superior) (equal) (inferior) to speaker.

ii. The other person(s) who may or may not be present. Then, we are dealing with a complex of relationships between:

The addressee and the speaker - subject
The object - other(s) and the speaker - subject
The addressee and the object - other(s).

The diagram (b) summarises all the possibilities:

(b) (speaker) (subject) talking to addressee (superior) (equal) (inferior) about (object) (other(s)) who may be (superior) (equal) (inferior) to (speaker) (addressee)

In this situation the speaker can easily define his situation in terms of power in relation to two other elements, with certain degrees of humility according to the social context.

But when the power relationships are not very clear, the speaker takes a neutral position. The general rules which cover these relationships are given in Table 4.4.

Subject relative to (a) object, otherwise to (b) addressee	Verb
L	L
H	H
Otherwise	N

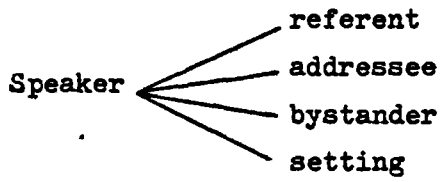
Table 4.4. The general rules for the selection of verb forms in terms of power relationships.

2. The speaker is the object; in this case similar variations apply to those outlined above.

Section Five

The social differences in use of polite forms and honorific titles.

1. In an attempt to study the effects of different social factors on the selection of pronoun and verb variation, I asked a series of questions while gathering the linguistic data in Tehran in 1976. They were designed to involve five major factors: speaker, addressee, the other person who may or may not be present, the social context, and the presence of a person who is not directly involved in the utterance but whose presence has an effect on the utterance. The paper by Penelope Brown and Stephen Levinson (1978) gives all the possible elements which may be involved in an interaction. The diagram below by Brown and Levinson shows the possible relations.



Honorific axes (Brown and Levinson)

The factors which are effective in the selection of pronoun and verb in the Persian politeness system reflect all the honorofic axes introduced by Brown and Levinson. Through the questionnaire (see the appendix), I have asked all informants from four social classes, two age and two sex groups, these questions, which of the three alternatives for second person singular / to /, / šomâ / and / janâbe ʔâli /, they use when talking to the members of their family, their colleagues, their superiors, their inferiors, and the people they deal with outside the house and office, such as taxi drivers or shopkeepers and so on.

Then I asked them, in the case of a close friend who is a colleague and who in ordinary situations would be called / to /, whether a different form would be used if they both went to the boss's office (setting) and talked in his presence and in such a way that he could hear their conversation (bystander). It is important to mention here that as the information was not gathered by direct observation, my presence as addressee may have had some effect on their answer. In particular the lower groups could find themselves embarrassed by saying to me that they addressed their parents with the / to / form instead of / šomâ /. Yet, as all informants had the same conditions in the interview, this possible effect has deliberately been ignored. Also, some informants had not, say, a grandfather, and they were asked what they would have called him if they had. This procedure, of course, could not be followed with youngsters about their future husband or wife. However, for youngsters, teachers were specified as (H1) superior and the headmaster as (H2) superior, and instead of colleagues they were asked about their close and not-so-close friends. Table 4.5 shows all the informants by class, age, and sex, and their claimed usage of different pronoun variations in terms of power and solidarity. This table (p.240) reveals the following results:

(a) The age of the referent is a relevant factor in selecting the polite form. This reflects the traditional view that older people should be respected. The comparison between the forms used for older brother versus younger one, and for grandparents versus parents, indicates this tendency.

(b) Female adults use more polite form than male adults.

(c) The difference between the forms used to close colleagues and

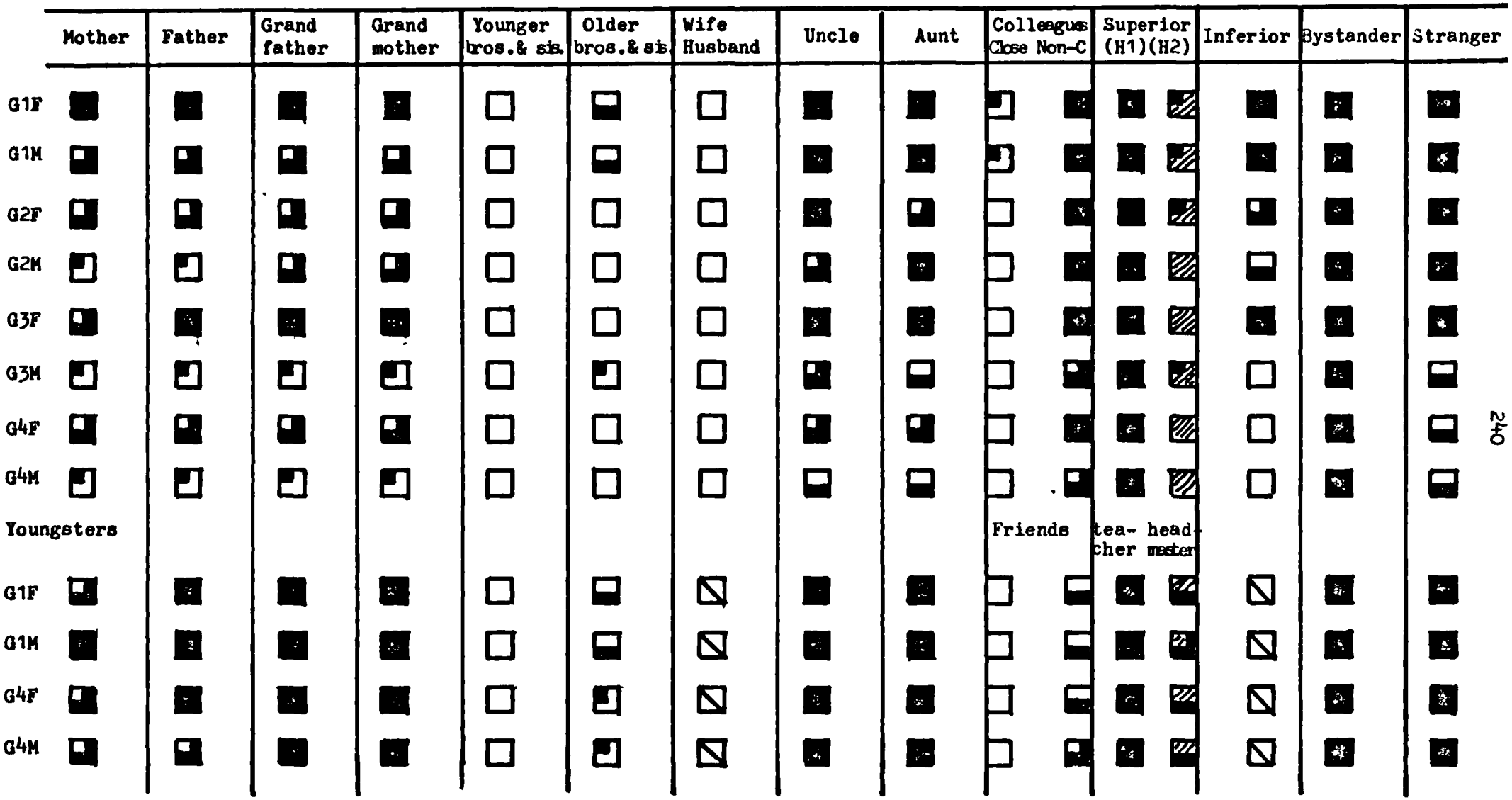


Table 4.5. The usage of pronoun variations in terms of power and solidarity by class, age and sex.

/ to / You
/ šomâ / You
/ janâbe ʔâli / You
no application

non-close, shows that solidarity has an effect on choosing the polite form in order to show distance.

(d) Father and mother traditionally receive the polite form, although they are the closest kin.

(e) A superior unmistakeably receives polite forms in proportion to the degree of power he has.

(f) A superior bystander in a formal setting has a definite effect on pronoun selection.

(g) The use of the polite form by a superior in addressing an inferior can have two alternative meanings:

(i) To show humility;

(ii)To maintain distance, as the use of a low form may show solidarity and consequently the use of a high pronoun can mean "there is no solidarity between us" (this case was observed several times during the interviews, and is presumably the explanation for the choice of / šomâ /, by a "higher" class informant to address an inferior).

2. Honorific titles in the Persian politeness system.

It is important to mention the addressee's sex title, professorial title (if any) and honorific title, as the proper usage of pronoun and verb. The professional titles "doctor" / doktor / and "engineer" / mohandes / are always used before the name of the holder of a title, as it brings strong prestige for him or her, e.g.

(a) / doktor bahrâmi / "doctor Bahrami"

The sex marker title /ʔâqâye / "Mister" and / xânome / "Miss, Mrs.," comes before the professional title, e.g.

(b) /ʔâqâye doktor bahrâmi / "Mr. doctor Bahrami"

To show a higher degree of respect the title / janâb / "excellency" can be joined to /ʔâqâye /, e.g.

(c) / janabeʔâqâye doktor bahrâmi / "your excellency Mr.doctor Bahrami"

but if the situation is more formal, then the first name comes before the family name, e.g.

/ janabeʔâqâye doktor rezâ bahrâmi / "your excellency Mr. doctor Reza Bahrami"

If the name is in written form (e.g. as part of the address on an envelope or at the top of a letter), it can take / hozure / or / hozure mohtarame / "to his honour", so we may find combinations like the following:

(d) / hozure mohtarame janâbe ʔâqâye doktor rezâ bahrâmi / "to his honour excellency Mr. doctor Reza Bahrami"

Perhaps surprisingly, all these honorific titles are very frequently used in everyday formal and informal life. If the person has not got either of these two professional titles, then the rest of the title used will still be relevant. University lecturers have the advantage of yet another title / ʔostâd mohtaram / or / ʔostâde moʔazzam / "the honourable professor", which is additional to the title already mentioned, so we have

(e) / ʔostâde moʔazzam janâbeʔâqâye doktor rezâ bahrâmi / "the honourable professor your excellency Mr. doctor Reza Bahrami"

/ qorbân /, an Arabic loan word, is exactly equivalent to "sir" in English. In formal situations where a strong power relationship exists, it can replace the honorific, professional and sex title and the name, e.g.

/ qorbân ʔejâze mifarmâʔid bande moraxxaš bešavam / "Sir, can I go?"

The improper and frequest usage of this item is considered as flattery:

(/ bale qorbân gu / "the one who always says yes sir", is ironically the name of a flatterer.) It undergoes the rule changing / â / to / u / before a nasal, giving / qorbun /. However, as / qorbun / it has the meaning of "dear", and shows solidarity and respect without the implication of flattery. / qorbun / is very common in all classes. e.g. / na qorbun ʔintori nemiše / "No, dear, it is not possible like this".

Section Six

The effects of the Persian revolution on the politeness system

There is a long range of noun-phrases and verb variations which are associated with the monarchy. The number of these items which were specifically used for members of the royal family is huge, and beyond the scope of this paper. We can therefore take only one example of each case.

1. Noun-phrases.

(a) For the former Shah / ʔalâhazrat /
/ ʔalâhazrate homâhune šahanšah /
/ ʔalâhazrate homâyune šahanšah ʔâryâmehr /
/ ʔalâhazrate homâyune šahanšah bozorg ʔarteštârân /

(b) For his wife / olyâhazrat /

(c) For his brothers, sisters, children / vâlâhazrat /

(d) For his nephews / vâlâgohar /

These terms were restrictedly used.

2. The verb system. As an example we take the verb "to say, to tell":

/ be šarafe ʔarz resândan /
/ be šarafe ʔarz homâyuni resândan /
/ be pišgâhe homâyuni maʔruz dâštan /
/ be xâkpâye homâyuni maʔruz dâštan /

Here is an example, in which a minister wrote a letter to the former

Shah and offered his resignation. This letter also presents an absolute form of flattery.

Keyhan (Persian daily newspaper)

4 August 1976

/ Pišgâhe ʔalâhazrat homâyun šâhanšâh ʔâryâmehr ʔarvâhenâ fedâ čanânke xâtere mobârk molukâne masbuq ʔast . qolam moddati ʔast ke dar hâle nâxoši va naqâhat be sar mibarad, va ʔaz ohdeye ʔanjâme vazâyefe xatir, čanânče šâyad, va bâyed bar nemiʔâyad . banâ bar ʔin ʔaz xâkpâye homâyuni ʔestadʔâ dârad, dar surati ke ʔerâde farmâyand ʔaz ʔin maqâm por ʔeftaxâr kanâre juyad . va dar hame hâl eftexâre qolâmi šâhanšâh râ dar surati ke ʔerâde sineye molukâne taʔaloq dâšte bâšad barâye xod hefz konad

bâ tamâm qalb pâybus ʔast

qolâme xânezâd /

(signature)

"To his imperial majesty the king of kings the light of Aryan may our souls be sacrificed for you, as your blessed memory is aware (L3) the servant is ill for a long time, and cannot fulfill the momentous duties as it deserved, so I request from his majesty if you determine, to resign from this honoured job and in any way have the honour to stay the servant and keep the honour if his imperial majesty's will permit so

I kiss your feet with all my heart

house-born servant"

(signature)

As any radical social change has an effect on language, especially on its lexicon, the Persian revolution of 1978 has also affected the politeness system. It is the writer's privilege to record the effect of this social change and, as a result, to rewrite some parts of this chapter and reduce the variations which were associated with the monarchy.

CHAPTER FIVE

CHAPTER FIVE

PATTERNS OF VARIATION

In this chapter an overall view of the results of the analysis of data will be given and the different theoretical issues will be put in a wider perspective. Section 1 discusses the homogeneity of groups and whether they are all equally homogeneous with regard to the whole range of variables discussed in Chapter Three, and also whether variables differ in homogeneity of groups. In Section 2 we look at the individual speakers in relation to the group norms. In Section 3 we investigate the symbolic function of the variables and their sensitivity towards the social factors such as sex, age and style: here the overlapping of the linguistic variables in locating the speakers socially will also be discussed. Section 4 discusses lexical diffusion and investigates the transition probability between variables in texts. The discussion in this chapter is based in part on Jahangiri and Hudson (1979).

Section 1.

Are all groups equally homogeneous towards the whole range of variables discussed in Chapter Three?

To answer this question the forty adult informants and twelve variables were taken as the basis of our investigation. The speakers were assigned to eight equal groups on each variable, labelled from A, for the most standard group to H, for the least standard group - that

class	Individuals	Vowel Ass	/st/ Ass	/â/~/u/ Va	/ey/ Monop	/h/ Delet	/hâ/~/â/Va	Pren Delet	/t/ Delet	/man/~/nâ/	/d/ Delet	/r/ Delet	/?/ Delet	Individuals' scores A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	Columns with	Groups' scores A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
1)	1	A	A	A	C	A	A	A	B	D	A	B	F	7	2	1	1		1*			2	33	16	5	1	1	2*	1*	1*
	2	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	G	11						1*		1								
.1	3	B	B	C	B	B	B	A	A	B	C	B	H	2	7	2					1*	3								
	4	A	B	B	A	B	A	C	B	A	B	E	F	4	5	1		1	1*			2								
	5	A	A	A	A	A	A	B	B	A	C	A	A	9	2	1						2								
)	6	B	D	D	B	D	D	D	C	D	E	C	A	1	2	2	6	1				3	15	17	12	11	5			
	7	A	A	A	A	D	E	B	B	B	A	C	A	6	3	1	1	1				2								
.1	8	B	B	A	C	C	B	B	B	C	E	C	B	1	6	4		1				2								
f	9	B	A	B	C	C	C	A	D	B	B	A	A	4	4	3	1					3								
	10	B	B	A	D	C	A	A	E	D	E	C	D	3	2	2	3	2				5								
;)	11	C	B	B	A	B	D	B	C	B	A	A	G	3	5	2	1			1*		3	9	13	17	11	5	3	2	
	12	C	C	D	D	A	C	D	D	C	E	F	E	1		4	4	3				3								
.2	13	D	C	D	B	B	C	C	A	A	B	A	B	3	4	3	2					4								
r	14	D	C	C	B	C	D	B	E	A	F	G	E	1	2	3	2	2	1	1		4								
	15	C	D	C	C	A	C	C	D	B	F	F	B	1	2	3	2		2			4								
)	16	C	E	B	B	E	B	D	C	E	D	B	B		5	2	2	3				4	4	11	17	13	10	4	1	
	17	D	C	B	D	C	B	D	E	E	C	F	C		2	4	3	2	1			4								
.2	18	E	D	C	D	E	D	C	E	E	C	G	A	1*		3	3	4		1		3								
f	19	C	C	D	E	D	C	C	A	E	A	B	F	2	1	4	2	1	2			4								
	20	D	D	C	C	B	B	B	A	F	D	C	C	1	3	4	3		1			3								
E)	21	D	E	D	F	F	D	E	F	D	B	F	D		1		5	2	4			3	1	2	3	14	18	11	6	5
	22	E	E	E	E	D	H	F	D	D	E	F	D				4	5	2		1	3								
.3	23	F	D	E	G	D	F	G	G	C	B	D	C		1	2	3	1	2	3		4								
r	24	E	G	F	F	E	E	E	D	A	D	E	H	1			2	5	2	1	1	3								
	25	E	E	E	G	E	E	F	H	C	C	H	H			1		5	1	2	3	3								
F)	26	F	G	E	G	F	E	H	H	H	G	H	C			1*		2	2	3	4	4		2	2	5	12	16	15	8
	27	F	F	E	D	G	D	F	F	G	E	E	B		1*		2	3	4	2		4								
.3	28	E	F	F	E	G	G	E	E	C	B	H	F		1			4	3	3	1	3								
f	29	F	H	E	G	H	G	D	C	G	G	D	F			1	2	1	2	4	2	4								
	30	F	F	F	E	H	G	G	G	F	F	D	E				1	2	5	3	1	3								
)	31	G	H	G	E	G	F	G	G	G	E	D	C			1*	1	2	1	6	1	2			4	6	9	16	18	7
	32	G	G	G	F	F	H	E	G	E	D	D	D				3	2	2	4	1	4								
.4	33	F	H	G	F	F	E	H	F	E	G	H	E					3	4	2	3	4								
r	34	G	E	F	H	F	F	G	C	C	D	G	H			2	1	1	3	3	2	4								
	35	F	F	F	F	E	G	F	F	C	D	G	C			1	1	1	6	3		2								
)	36	H	G	F	H	G	H	E	F	C	G	G	E					2	2	5	3	4		1	1	1	5	12	17	23
	37	H	H	G	H	H	G	G	H	H	E	E	D				1*	2		3	6	3								
.4	38	H	G	G	G	H	H	F	F	G	G	C	G			1			2	6	3	3								
f	39	H	F	F	H	G	F	H	G	F	F	F	C						6	3	3	3								
	40	H	H	H	H	H	F	H	H	F	E	B	H		1			1	2		8	2								
Scre-ncies		0	5	6	8	8	10	9	13	17	21	21	21																	
.n	%	6	10	22	11	14	23	13	52	0	72	25	39																	
.x	%	87	97	88	73	83	95	94	100	68	100	90	87																	

Table 5.1. The ranking of 40 adult speakers on 12 variables.

is, the five most standard-scoring speakers were in group A, the next in group B and so on. Table 5.1* shows the rank groups for forty individual speakers and eight social groups. The relationships between the variables and the social classes is shown from left to right across the table. Circled letters are clear discrepancies between social and linguistic rankings. The gross discrepancies between rankings are given at the bottom of the table. The minimum and maximum percentages are also given. The column labelled 'columns with 2(+)' shows for each speaker how many rank-groups his scores on different variables were assigned to, ignoring rank-groups to which he was assigned on just one variable. This figure may be taken for each variable as an index of a speaker's consistency in ranking.

In further developments, to avoid effects due to small percentage differences among the individuals, we concentrated on the variables with the widest range of percentages, and added together the figures for individual members of the eight social groups, giving Table 5.2.

	rank-groups							
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
University, female	(35)	5	4	1	1	2	1	1
male	(13)	(13)	11	9	4	0	0	0
secondary, female	8	11	(14)	8	4	3	2	0
male	2	10	14	11	8	4	1	0
primary, female	1	2	3	12	(16)	8	4	4
male	0	1	2	4	10	(14)	13	6
no educ., female	0	0	2	6	8	10	(15)	9
male	0	1	1	1	4	9	15	(19)

Table 5.2. The ranking of speakers on ten selected variables by class.

The most striking fact about Table 5.2 is the difference between the group of university-educated females and all the other groups. This group had no fewer than 70 per cent of its assignments of

* See preceding page.

individual speakers for individual variables to the same rank-group, whereas all the other groups had between 26 per cent and 38 per cent of their assignments to their most frequently represented rank-group. Thus the group profile for university-educated women is quite different from that for their male counterparts, for instance, since the latter were well represented in four rank-groups (A to D, with 26 per cent, 26 per cent, 22 per cent and 18 per cent respectively of the male graduates' assignments). We may thus say that the female graduate group was far more homogeneous, with regard to ranking, than any of the other groups. Although there is a clear general tendency for speakers with less education, especially males, to be assigned to lower rank-groups than those with more education, especially females, there is a clear difference in the extent to which rank-groups may be predicted from a speaker's social group: for a female graduate there is a probability of 0.7 of being in the top rank-group on any variable, whereas for other speakers no assignment has a probability better than 0.38 of being right.

Interestingly, the group at the opposite end of the social scale, the male illiterates, have the next largest number of assignments to a single rank-group (19 = 38%), which might be taken as evidence of a tendency for them to act as a norm-setting group at the non-standard end, but this figure is barely above that for any other group, so we must conclude that there are just two sets of social groups in Tehran, from the point of view of ranking-homogeneity. On the other hand, there are the female graduates, speaking almost standard Persian, who are tightly constrained by their group membership to use more standard forms than any other group, including male graduates, and who virtually all conform to this ideal on every relevant variable.

(The sprinkling of assignments to rank-groups below C for this group, which may have struck the reader as unexpected, are all due, with just one exception, to low scores on two linguistic variables which we shall see later not to be relevant for the ranking of females.) On the other hand, we have all the other social groups, which allow their members much more freedom to be ranked high on some variables and low on others, within the general constraint of being higher overall than the lower social groups. (If we work out overall ranking scores for the various social groups, by scoring 1 for each assignment to rank-group A, 2 for a B, and so on, we find a steady rise from 93 for female graduates to 340 for male illiterates, with the other groups arranged in between as expected, with the following scores: 128, 156, 179, 250, 297, 307.)

This conclusion about ranking-homogeneity suggests further questions, in particular the following: Does the unique status of the female graduates that we have just noted carry over into the range of scores that such speakers are allowed to achieve on the individual variables? Apart from requiring its members to score higher than any other group, does this group also demand that they should keep their scores within relatively narrow limits compared with the other groups? There is no reason a priori why this should be so, since their scores may range over the whole of the standard end of the scale for each variable that is left to them by the other groups. For example, it is easy to imagine a variable on which all the other social groups have scores above 50 per cent (i.e. over 50 per cent of their forms are non-standard), so the female graduates could have scores anywhere between 0 and 50 per cent without overlapping with other groups, unless the group norms kept them to a narrower range. In order to

answer this question, we need a measure of score-homogeneity for groups.

The measure which we used is based on the standard deviations for each group on each linguistic variable. The standard deviation for a set of figures is a figure reflecting the extent to which the figures vary around their average, and the figure is higher the more variation there is. The figures with which we are concerned here are scores for individual members of a group on a particular linguistic variable. For example, the members of one group had the following scores for one variable: 24, 28, 32, 36, 41. The average of these figures is 32.2, and the standard deviation is 5.9. This means that the scores recorded suggest that if the group were extended by the addition of new members, the majority of their scores would fall within the range from 5.9 below the average to 5.9 above it; and to be precise, this would be true of all but the top 15.87 per cent and the bottom 15.87 per cent of the group. The formula used for calculating standard deviations by the calculator which we used was:

$$sd = \frac{\sum x^2 - \frac{(\sum x)^2}{n}}{n}$$

where '$\sum x$' means 'the sum of all the figures concerned, and 'n' is the total number of figures. To show that the standard deviation reflects the range of variation, we may compare the figure of 5.9 given for the set of scores just quoted with the one for the following figures, scored by the same group on a different variable: 17, 28, 31, 39, 47. The average for this set of scores is virtually the same as that for the first set (32.4), but the standard deviation this time is 10.1, reflecting the fact that the figures are less closely grouped round the average. It might be thought that it would be much simpler just

to take the difference between the highest and lowest scores as a measure of their spread, giving 17 and 30 respectively in these two cases. However this method is influenced too much by the occurrence of excentric scores; for example, one set of scores was 3, 3, 3, 6, 15, for which it would be misleading to quote 12 as a total range, since most of the figures are so close together. The standard deviation 'irons out' such oddities.

Having calculated the standard deviation for each group on each variable, we can give a crude measure of the total range of variation for each group simply by adding together all the standard deviations from the separate variables. If the female graduates are most closely constrained in their scores, they will have a lower score on this measure than all the other groups; and conversely if they are less constrained. The answer is that they seem to be pretty much the same as other groups, with some groups scoring higher than them, and others lower. The scores for the eight groups in their usual order (female graduates, male graduates ... male illiterates) were as follows: 76.6, 67, 64.3, 75.3, 66.9, 72.6, 90.8, 69.8. If any group stands out in this list, it is the female illiterates, whose score of 90.8 is considerably higher than all the others and suggests that they are particularly prone to wide variation from speaker to speaker on the same variable. Whether anything general should be read into this difference we do not know, but at least it is clear that there is nothing special about the scores of the female graduates.

To summarise this discussion of the homogeneity of social groups, we have seen that there is little difference between groups in their homogeneity, with the major exception of the female graduates who show a very strong tendency to score higher on the majority of variables

than any other group. It seems reasonable to see this group as defining the 'standard' norm for Tehran, in spite of the fact that many non-standard forms are used by its members, and to be precise its members define the standard norm in the sense that there is a very good chance that the figures for any member of the group, on any variable, will be at the limits of standardness for that variable. In other words, any member can be taken as a model of standardness on (almost) any variable. We can not say the same of any other group regarding non-standardness: even the male illiterates cover a wide range of positions on the ranking scales, so it would be dangerous to take any given illiterate male as an example of the maximum of non-standardness on any given variable. Thus it would be misleading to see the whole of Tehran society as anchored between two norm-defining groups, one defining standard Tehrani Persian and the other defining its non-standard equivalent; instead, we should see it anchored only at the 'top', to the female graduate group, with no other norm-defining group holding it together (as it were) at the bottom. At the same time, we must remember that the female graduates were no more or less homogeneous than other groups with respect to the amount of variation between speakers allowed on any given variable. Thus from this point of view we may see Tehran society as consisting of a range of social groups, each of which defines its own norm for each variable.

Homogeneity of groups on individual variables

The measures for overall homogeneity of groups discussed above were based on all the ten variables taken together, but we hinted at important differences between variables in their relations to groups. For example, we pointed out that the high ranking-homogeneity of the

female graduates did not apply to two of the ten variables, on which some female graduates were among the lowest scorers of the whole sample. Such differences in the ranking functions of variables will be discussed in the next section, and here we shall concentrate on the differences between variables in the score-homogeneity of groups.

The score-homogeneity of a group on a particular variable is shown by the standard deviation for the five scores recorded for its members on that variable, as explained above. The question is whether variables differ in the range of standard deviations on them, taking the figures for all groups together, and this question can be answered by simply adding up all the standard deviations for each variable, and comparing the totals for different variables. The answer is that there are dramatic differences between variables.

At one extreme we find vowel assimilation (involving the pronunciation of the verbal / be- / prefix, whose vowel may or may not be assimilated to that of the root). For this variable the total standard deviation was just 32.9, which is an average of 4.1 per social group. The highest standard deviation for this variable was only 6.3 (for female illiterates), while the lowest was the amazing 0.5 for the female graduates, with two scores of 5 per cent and three of 6 per cent! The existence of a variable such as this shows what is within the bounds of social and psychological possibility, and highlights the fact that most variables are (apparently) not as precise as this. The narrow range of standard deviations is all the more impressive considering the wide range of percentages covered by the scores on this variable - from a minimum of 5 per cent to a maximum of 82 per cent. Of course, we should also expect to find a narrow range of standard deviations

where the scores are all within a narrow band of percentages, as with another of the variables, / d /, whose scores ranged only between 87 per cent and 100 per cent (with one excentric individual scoring 75 per cent). Here, too, the total of standard deviations was only 32, but we need not be at all impressed by this figure.

At the other extreme, we have the total standard deviation of 94.6, for the variable / r /. The standard deviations for individual groups on this variable ranged from 4.3 (for male graduates) to 18.7 (for secondary-educated females). The group figures, in the usual order, were as follows: 15.2, 4.3, 18.7, 12.1, 6.2, 9.3, 17.0, 11.8). This figure is just the reverse of the one for vowel assimilation, since the total range of percentages is not large - from 40 per cent to 88 per cent, with an excentric 25 per cent at the bottom. In view of the precision with which groups defined the permitted range of variation on the vowel assimilation, we may doubt whether there is any sense in which groups can be said to define percentage norms for their members to adhere to on this variable. On the other hand, there is a general tendency for higher social groups to use fewer non-standard forms (as witness the group averages: 50.4%, 55.2%, 63.6%, 66.8%, 78.6%, 76.2%, 70.4%, 70.8%), so we have to postulate some mechanism for guaranteeing this tendency. One possible interpretation is that it is left to individual speakers to fix their own personal norms, but there are other possibilities, such as that individuals will vary wildly from one occasion to another in their performance on this variable, and we have no way at present of deciding among the interpretations. What does seem clear, however, is that a variable like / r / demands a very different theoretical interpretation from one like vowel assimilation.

In between these two extremes we find variables with total standard deviations ranging from 47.8 through 84.4, 54.7, 60.6, 61.7 and 72.2, to 75.5. Whether the members of this group are sufficiently similar to each other, and different from the two extreme cases, to be treated as a third type, we cannot tell, but it looks as though there is no clear statistical break between the variables like vowel assimilation and those like / r / variable, and the remaining variables provide a continuum linking the extremes. This fact raises problems for any interpretation of the difference between the extreme cases in terms of categorically distinct mechanisms, and underlines the need for more study of this issue.

Section II. Individual speakers and group norms.

We have said very little so far about individual speakers, apart from taking account of differences between them in calculating standard deviations. It is time to fill this important gap by asking about the relations between individual speakers and the norms of their groups. Is it possible to pick out in each group some speakers who are consistently 'average', others who are consistently above average for standardness, and others again who are consistently below average? Or is the picture more complicated than this, with speakers being above average on some variables, below it on others, and average on the rest?

In order to answer this question we have to find some way of dividing scores into 'average', 'below average' and 'above average'. At the risk of making a distinction which is somewhat arbitrary, we have used the measure of standard deviation as a criterion: scores within one standard deviation of the group average are 'average',

and those outside this limit are above or below average, as the case may be. Taking this criterion means that we at least know what we mean by 'average', and that we can apply the criterion consistently across all the variables. We can then count up for each speaker how many of his scores were above average for his social group (based on education and sex), and how many were below average. If our first guess was right, some speakers would have a number of 'above average' scores, but no 'below average' ones, and vice versa, but it would be at least rare, and perhaps unknown, for one person to be represented at both extremes. Moreover, there would be a fair number of people who were consistently average on all variables.

The actual results do not support this guess at all. Of the forty speakers, only one (a male graduate) was consistently average for his group on all variables, and the majority (22) belonged to the 'mixed' type, with some above-average scores and some below-average scores, which we expected to be rare or non-existent. The remainder were divided equally between those who were sometimes above average but never below (8) and the converse case (9). Moreover, the mixed speakers were by no means typically predominantly on one side rather than the other - no fewer than 12 speakers had two or more above average scores combined with two or more below average ones. These results seem to rule out the possibility of there being individual speakers in Tehran who can be taken by the rest of the community as 'typical', 'defining' members of their particular social groups. Rather, the results suggest very strongly that a person's behaviour on one variable is independent of his behaviour on another. Indeed, the high number of 'mixed' speakers could even be taken as indicating that speakers tend to mix some 'above averages' with some 'below averages' as a

matter of principle, in order to avoid getting too far over-all from the group norm. Beyond such speculations we cannot go at present, but clearly there are some important issues to be investigated here.

The other question is whether there are noticeable differences between social groups in the distribution of the types of speakers just distinguished. Do some groups have more than others of the 'mixed' type of speaker, for example? The answer, based on the rather slender evidence available to us, seems to be that this is indeed so. One group, the secondary-educated males, consists entirely (5 out of 5) of speakers with both above average and below average scores, and the proportion of such speakers decreases towards the extremes of Tehran society - 4, 3, 3 and 2 in the groups with less education, and 2, 2 and 1 in those with more. This steady decrease in the number of mixed speakers as we move in either direction away from the middle of society seems to suggest that the most consistent and constraining groups are those at the extremes. This is not to say that the extreme groups are homogeneous in the speech of their members; on the contrary, we have already seen that there is just as much variation, as reflected by the standard deviations, in the extreme groups as there is in the more central ones. Moreover, we do not find an increase in 'average' speakers as the number of mixed speakers decreases; instead, we find an increase in the numbers of speakers who are classifiable as above average, or below average. The tendency towards greater consistency at the edges of society is more a matter of individual members being more consistent in relation to the norms of the group, locating themselves more consistently either above it, below it, or on it. How we should interpret this trend is hard to say. Could it reflect

a tendency for speakers near the edges of society to be more certain of where the norms of their group lie, compared with members of groups nearer the centre of society? Or is it because the extreme groups are quicker to penalise speakers who, so to speak, deny with one variable what they assert with another? Other possibilities suggest themselves, but once again we have come to the limits of what we can argue for on the basis of the data.

Section III. The symbolic function of variables

If some variables reflect norms set by social groups and others do not, we may conclude that different variables have different social functions as group differentiators. In this section we shall continue the discussion of such differences, starting with the further question: do all linguistic variables reflect the same social variables? As might be expected on the basis of other work in this tradition, the answer for Tehran Persian is clearly 'No'. We can illustrate this answer briefly, with reference to three variables: vowel assimilation, the / man / ~ / mâ / variable and / ʔ / deletion. The social variables to which vowel assimilation is sensitive are sex and education, which it reflects by associating groups with more education with lower scores, and within each such group associating lower scores with females. Table 5.3 (see next page) shows the group averages for vowel assimilation, and it can be seen that there is a steady rise through the groups. In contrast, the figures for / ʔ / in Table 5.3 show that this variable reflects, first, a simple distinction between male and female (females scoring, exceptionally, much higher on non-standardness), and then a further distinction based on education within the male group only, with only the least educated males equalling the females for

non-standardness. Thus, we may say that the difference between vowel assimilation and / ʔ / deletion is that the first gives priority to education while / ʔ / gives priority to sex, so that they may be said to reflect the same social variables only in a very crude sense: one reflects 'education-plus-sex', the other 'sex-plus-education'. The third variable, / man / ~ / mâ /, shows a more complex relation between education and sex, with females all the same (high for standardness), except illiterates, and males distinguished by education, again except for illiterates, who are like males with primary education. That is, on this variable, education is relevant to both sexes, but in quite different ways.

	/ be /	/ ʔ /	/ man / ~ / mâ /
University, female	5.6%	67.8%	6.0%
male	12.8	46.8	11.4
secondary, female	25.2	64.2	6.0
male	32.2	55.2	27.0
primary, female	40.2	68.8	7.8
male	52.0	62.2	57.2
no education, female	64.6	68.8	25.8
male	78.4	73.8	51.4

Table 5.3. Group averages for three variables.

Sex factor and its sociolinguistic value.

As discussed in Chapter One, half of our informants are female. Here we look at the sex difference in all styles and for all variables and four social groups, and try to answer two questions:

(a) Do the females in the Tehran community follow the general rule of being more conservative speakers?

(b) Do variables differ at all in relation to sex?

(a) The answer to the first question is definitely 'Yes'. As Table 5.4 (see next page) reveals, the Persian-speaking females in Tehran follow the general rule and speak a more conservative form in comparison to their male counterparts. Vowel assimilation, / ow / monophthongisation, / man /~/ mâ /, and / h / deletion show that in almost all styles the females speak a more standard form. This is also true with certain overlapping of the rest of the variables (except / ʔ / deletion, which shows a reversed picture in comparison to the rest of the variables).

(b) Table 5.4 also shows that certain variables have a very unfeminine characteristic. The / mâ / variant in / man /~/ mâ / variable is a clear example of this kind. The percentage of / mâ / especially for literate females does not go beyond 9 per cent, while for the male literates it rises to 57 per cent. The percentage of / mâ / even for G4 females is less than half that for the males (23% vs. 53%). The other example is / ow / monophthongisation and raising the monophthongised / o /, which seems to be very unfeminine. The upper female groups never raise their monophthongised / o /, and the lower groups score as low as 17 per cent compared to 64 per cent for the male G3, and the G4 females raise their / o / 22 per cent compared to 90 per cent for the male G4.

The other peculiar variable is / ʔ / deletion. With this variable, the females (especially of the upper group) score substantially higher than their male counterparts. This case is particularly interesting as the G1 females who delete their / ʔ / at a much higher rate than their males (as discussed earlier) are by far the most conservative members of the speech community. Yet here they show the highest tendency to drop their glottal stops.

Class	FS	RS	FWL	WL	Variable	FS	RS	FWL	WL	Variable
G1	5 13	8 12	9 14	7 12	Vowel	67 78	43 57	40 56	20=20	
G2	24 32	27 28	19 21	15=15	Assimilation	86 87	63 72	(56 52)	(32 28)	/ t / deletion
G3	41 53	37 45	24 26	17=17		95 97	87 92	60 72	52 68	
G4	55 77					98 99				
G1	(15 14)	0=0	0=0	0=0		53 77	(30 27)	(50 25)	(15 10)	
G2	(58 45)	0=0	0=0	0=0		79=79	40 48	40 45	20 25	
G3	77 95	20 70	0 40	0 40	/ e / raising	89 95	56 59	50 55	35 75	/ d / deletion
G4	100=100					89 95				
G1	36 37	9 11	(3 0)	0=0		61 64	10 25	5=5	0=0	
G2	(50 49)	(29 5)	(10 3)	5 0		(81 77)	(29 4)	(10 0)	0=0	
G3	62 70	15 39	3 20	0 20	/ â / raising	88 94	4 17	5 20	5=5	/ r / deletion
G4	76 81					97=97				
G1	16 22	9 15	(17 16)	4 7		(67 47)	(55 49)	(47=47)	(36 31)	
G2	25 34	20 29	16 24	(11 9)		(58 56)	(61 65)	(50 41)	(46 34)	
G3	61 62	49 56	(40 29)	(22 20)	/ ey / monoph-thongisation	(69 65)	(57 51)	(57 51)	(43 40)	/ ʔ / deletion
G4	65 73					69 71				
G1	0=0	0=0	(7 0)	0=0		33 54	4 16	(20 0)	0=0	
G2	0 40	0 7	0=0	0=0		(60 57)	(24 20)	20 40	0=0	
G3	17 64	7 33	7 40	7 40	/ ow / monoph-thongisation	77 81	12 52	20 60	20=20	/ hâ /~/ â / variable
G4	22 90					77 86				
G1	12 24	2 13	13 28	1 11		4 12				
G2	40 47	(31 29)	(29 24)	(23 12)	/ st /	6 21				/ man'/~/ mâ /
G3	55 74	29 62	32 61	19 40	assimilation	9 57				variable
G4	74 86					23 53				
G1	18 33	17 20	7 10	0=0		36 38				
G2	19 38	24 26	15=15	(3 2)		58=58				
G3	42 72	33 62	22 43	13 25	/ h / deletion	(84 78)				preposition deletion
G4	55 76					(88 85)				

Table 5.4. Sex differences by class and style for all variables.

(Figures for females precede those for males; circled cases are exceptions to the general pattern of F<M)

Style and its relationship to ... linguistic change.

As mentioned in Chapter One, in our interviews with literate informants four styles were applied: free speech, reading sentences, reading the word list fast, and with pause. Here we try to answer three questions.

(a) Does linguistic change decrease when we move from 'informal' free speech to more 'formal' reading styles?

(b) Does fast reading have any effect on change?

(c) Are some of the variables more sensitive to style than others?

(a) The answer to the first question is 'Yes'. Persian follows the general rule of being more standard when it is used in the more conservative reading style. Table 5.5 (see next page) compares the free speech versus reading sentences, the reading sentences versus fast word list, and the fast word list versus the word list with pause, for three literate groups and two sexes. The results generally confirm this notion. Except the circled figures which are the reversed cases, the table shows an increase in the degree of standardness when we move from the free speech to the word list style. However, the amount of this increase differs from one variable to another. When the degree of non-standardness is generally low, the rule does not seem to be very reliable. G1 females with vowel assimilation show an example of this kind.

(b) Does fast reading have any effect on change?

A comparison of the scores for reading the same set of lexical items twice, once with pause and carefully and once as fast as possible, allows us to answer this: fast reading has a substantial effect on scores. This is more significant especially when deletion or assimilation is involved. This means that the degree of deletion increases when the word list is read fast. Table 5.5 shows scores for six groups of

	Female				Male					Female				Male				
	FS	RS	FWL	WL	FS	RS	FWL	WL	Variables	FS	RS	FWL	WL	FS	RS	FWL	WL	Variables
G1	(5	8	9)	7	(13	12	14)	12	Vowel assimilation	18	17	7	0	33	20	10	0	/ h / deletion
G2	(24	27)	19	15	32	28	21	15		(19	24)	15	3	38	26	15	2	
G3	41	37	24	17	53	43	26	17		42	33	22	13	72	62	43	25	
G1	15	0	0	0	14	0	0	0	/ e / raising	67	43	40	20	78	57	56	20	/ t / deletion
G2	58	0	0	0	45	0	0	0		86	63	56	32	87	72	52	28	
G3	77	20	0	0	95	70	40	40		95	87	60	52	97	92	72	68	
G1	36	9	3	0	37	11	0	0	/ â / raising	57	(30	50)	15	77	27	25	10	/ d / deletion
G2	50	29	10	5	49	5	3	0		79	40	40	20	79	48	45	25	
G3	62	15	15	3	70	39	20	20		89	56	50	35	95	59	(55	75)	
G1	16	(9	17)	4	22	15	16	7	/ ey / monoph-thongisation	60	10	5	0	64	25	5	0	/ r / deletion
G2	25	20	16	11	34	29	24	9		81	29	10	0	77	4	0	0	
G3	61	49	40	22	62	56	27	20		88	(4	5)	5	94	(17	20)	5	
G1	0	(0	7)	0	0	0	0	0	/ ow / monoph-thongisation	67	55	47	36	(47	49)	47	31	/ ? / deletion
G2	0	0	0	0	40	7	0	0		(58	61)	50	46	56	55	4	34	
G3	17	7	7	7	64	(33	40)	40		69	57	57	43	65	51	51	40	
G1	12	(2	13)	1	24	(13	28)	11	/ st / assimilation	33	(4	20)	0	54	16	0	0	/ hâ /~/ â / variable
G2	40	31	29	23	47	29	24	12		60	24	20	0	57	(20	40)	0	
G3	55	(29	32)	19	74	62	61	40		77	(12	20)	20	81	(52	60)	20	

Table 5.5. Style differences by sex and (literate) social groups on 12 variables

(Figures quoted in the order: Free speech - Reading sentences - Fast word-list - Slow word-list)

Circled cases are exceptions to the general pattern of FS > RS > FWL > WL

adult speakers (excluding the illiterate G4) on 12 variables, and the last two figures for each group show scores for fast and slow word-lists respectively. It can be seen that the scores for fast word list were always at least as non-standard as for slow word list (with one exception. which is ringed).

(c) Are some of the variables more sensitive to style than others? The answer to this question is also 'Yes'. For example / â / raising shows a high sensitivity to style. The comparison between free speech and reading styles as a whole indicates a sharp decrease in the percentage of raising; G1, 36>9, G2, 56>29, and G3, 62>15 with the females (the first figure is for free speech and the second figure for reading sentences); and G1, 37>11, G2, 49>5, and G3, 70>39 for males. This trend may well be due to the Persian writing system (see Chapter One, p. 36), as / â / has a completely different and unmistakable sign in comparison to / u /. Thus visual contact may prevent the raising process. / r / deletion is another example in which the percentage of deletion differs substantially from free speech to reading styles: G1, 61>10, G2, 81>29, and G3, 88>4, for females, and G1, 64>25, G2, 77>4, and G3, 94>16, with the males, indicates this sharp distinction. Here, this may be due to the high frequency of the item / râ /, whose / r / in free speech very often gets deleted, while in reading style, especially in word-lists, / r / in / râ / is never deleted. / d / deletion is another case which shows almost the same characteristics.

The age factor and its relationship with the change process.

As discussed in Chapter One, our sample contains twenty schoolchildren aged 14-16, and equally from the two sexes. They come from the families at the two extreme ends of the social hierarchy (ten from each). The first group (G1) comes from families with high education (mostly university

graduates) and living in the northern part of Tehran. The other group (G4) come from the working class families with little or no education, who live in the southern area. Both groups have the same level of education and are in their early secondary school. Thus in comparing the two young groups, the factor of education which was the basic element in differentiating the adults,has no direct function here. In fact, the difference between the two young groups derived from their parents' social background, the area they live in and the school they attended.

Here we first look at (a) the difference between the two young groups, and then in (b) the youngsters will be compared with their adults, which may enable us to predict the direction of change and the possible sociolinguistic situation in the future.

(a) The results of the analysis are shown in Table 5.6 (see next page). It shows the comparison between the four class/sex groups on 14 variables. The figures reveal that G1 youngsters, like their adults, speak a more "standard" form and score lower than G4. The two young groups are clearly and substantially differentiated from each other in all styles. In fact, in one hundred group assignments, only four times did overlapping take place. The degree of overlapping was small (less than 10 per cent) and all occurred in reading styles.

(b) The comparison between the youngsters and their adults (Table 5.7, page 268) reveals that except on one variable the youngsters are filling the gap between them from one or both sides. This means that G1 youngsters very frequently score higher than their adults, and G4 youngsters score lower than G4 adults. Thus as the youngsters score higher than their adults, it may be concluded that the minimum degree of change

Variable	Female				Male			
	FS	RS	FWL	WL	FS	RS	FWL	WL
Vowel assimilation	31 48	25 38	17 20	11 17	33 63	28 50	24 35	16 30
/ e / raising	38 42	0 30	=	=	40 96	0 50	0 50	0 50
/ â / raising	45 73	2 39	0 3	=	44 74	2 28	0 15	0 13
/ ey / monoph thongisation	21 60	22 40	(22 16)	7 16	22 60	15 56	18 33	16 29
/ ow / monoph thongisation	11 17	7=7	0 7	0=0	0 65	(13 7)	0 13	0 27
/ st / assimilation	29 49	20 36	25 31	9 19	41 80	20 58	27 63	11 40
/ h / deletion	28 60	21 42	10 15	3=3	26 65	19 57	17 38	5 22
/ t / deletion	87 97	57 83	48 56	20 32	81 96	65 90	52 80	28 52
/ d / deletion	78 96	28 44	(55 36)	10 25	85 90	32 58	50 65	20 40
/ r / deletion	69 92	6 33	(5 0)	0=0	75 92	4 26	0 15	0 5
/ ʔ / deletion	66 76	62 60	31 47	50 59	45 78	53 61	29 57	44 54
/ hâ / ~ / â / variable	68 82	8 40	0 40	0=0	56 88	12 56	0 80	0 40
/ man / ~ / mâ / variable	4 24	-	-	-	16 61	-	-	-
Preposition deletion	61 83	-	-	-	41 83	-	-	-

NOTE: Circled cases are exceptions to the general pattern of G1 < G4

Table 5.6. The comparison between G1 and G4 youngsters for two sexes and all variables (Scores: G1 - G4)

Variable	Sex	G1Y ≠ G1A		G4Y ≠ G4A	
Vowel assimilation	F	31	5	48	65
	M	33	13	63	79
/ e / raising	F	38	15	42	100
	M	40	14	96	100
/ â / raising	F	45	36	73	76
	M	44	37	74	81
/ ey / monoph-thongisation	F	21	16	60	65
	M	22 =	22	60	73
/ ow / monoph-thongisation	F	11	0	17	22
	M	0 =	0	65	90
/ st / assimilation	F	29	12	49	74
	M	41	24	80	86
/ h / deletion	F	28	18	(60	55)
	M	(26	33)	65	75
/ t / deletion	F	87	67	97	98
	M	81	78	96	99
/ d / deletion	F	78	53	(96	89)
	M	85	77	90	95
/ r / deletion	F	69	61	92	97
	M	75	64	92	93
/ ? / deletion	F	(66	67)	(76	69)
	M	(45	47)	(78	71)
/ hâ /~/ â / variable	F	68	33	(82	77)
	M	56	54	(88	86)
/ man /~/ mâ / variable	F	4 =	4	(24	23)
	M	16	12	(61	53)
Preposition deletion	F	61	36	83	88
	M	41	38	83	85

Table 5.7. The comparison between two age groups by sex, free speech and for all variables (Scores: Young - Adult)

Circled cases are exceptions to the general pattern of

G1 Youngster $\geq$ G1 Adults

G4 Youngster $\leq$ G4 Adults

existing in G1 adult speech is increasing. So from the point of view of time, a change is in progress. On the other side, the decrease in the score of the young G4s, parallel to G1s' increase, may signal a move towards a less heterogeneous language in future.

However, the process discussed above differs from one variable to another and from female to male. For example, on vowel assimilation G1 youngsters of both sexes score much higher than their adults, and the G4 youngsters decrease the percentage of assimilation considerably in comparison to G4 adults, so the minimum degree of vowel assimilation in the younger generation rises to 31 per cent compared to 5 per cent for the adults. The / e / raising variable shows a similar tendency to fill the gap, but here the G4 males show a much smaller decrease than their females do. In / â / raising and / ey / monophthongisation, none of the groups shows a change of more than 13 per cent, whereas / ow /monophthongisation shows a somewhat higher tendency to change, and in fact the minimum raising of the resulting monophthong changes from 0 to 11 per cent with G1 females. / st / assimilation rises from 12 per cent to 29 per cent. Then we have variables like / t / deletion, / r / deletion and preposition deletion which show very small movements, and other variables in which one side seems to be moving slightly away from the other. However, the total result of the moves by the two extreme groups is almost always a smaller difference compared to their adults. The / hâ /~/ â / variable, the / man /~/ mâ / variable and / d / deletion are of this kind.

In contrast, there is just one variable which shows a wider gap between the two young groups, both female and male, than that of their adults. However, it should be noted that the difference between them (1% - 7%) is very small and may perhaps be ignored. This variable

may thus be in a state of no-change, rather than of change in the direction of greater differences between social groups.

Overlapping.

It is clear from the above that linguistic variables do not in fact all reflect the same social variables. A more interesting question about the symbolic function of linguistic variables, because less discussed in the literature, is whether variables are similar in the precision with which they fulfil their social function of locating speakers socially. It may be thought that we have already supplied the answer to this question, in our discussion of the differences between variables in the homogeneity of social groups, where we contrasted vowel assimilation with / r / deletion as variables differing greatly in the amount of variation in scores allowed between members of the same social group. This discussion was indeed highly relevant, but not conclusive, since it is possible that / r / could be just as precise a guide to the speaker's group membership, provided groups spaced their scores out sufficiently to prevent overlap between them. It makes no difference whether we define the score of a typical female graduate as lying with 0.5 of 5.6 (as for vowel assimilation), or as lying within 15.2 of 50.4 (for / r / deletion), so long as the score for a typical member of the next relevant social group lies outside this range. The question, then, is to what extent different variables are similar in the amount of overlap they permit between social groups.

To illustrate the method for measuring overlap, consider a hypothetical variable whose scores ranged from 0% to 80%, and which distinguished eight social groups. Each group could occupy, on average, up to ten points on the percentage scale without overlapping

with the next groups, so we need to compare the total space on the percentage scale available to it with the amount of space it actually occupies. If the average group takes up more space than is available to it, it must overlap with the next group, and the more it takes up, the more it overlaps. A small complication comes in deciding exactly what the total range of the variable is: are we to take the highest and lowest individual scores reported, or can we abstract away from the particularities of these to something more representative? It seems better not to deal in individual speakers' scores, because of the possibility of excentric very high or very low scores, so we use instead the highest and lowest group averages, to define the extremes of the percentage range, and then add on the standard deviations for each of these groups in order to take account of the fact that the extreme groups extend beyond their averages. This gives the corrected total spread for the variable. Next we calculate the corrected total standard deviation, showing how much space the 'normal' members of the group occupy (it will be recalled that all but the top and bottom 15.87 per cent of a group's members may be expected to fall within one standard deviation of the average for the group). This figure will not be the same as the 'total standard deviation' referred to above, for the following reason: standard deviations show the distance on which members deviate from the average in <u>each</u> direction, so the number must be doubled in order to show the total span of each group. We can now compare the corrected total spread (S) with the corrected standard deviation (D) by simply dividing the latter by the former and calling the result the 'overlapping index' (OI):

$$OI = \frac{D}{S}$$

If we apply this formula to the ten variables covered by the present study, we find that variables appear to fall into three clearly distinct classes, according to how efficiently they distinguish members of the eight sex-by-education social groups. First there is just one variable, vowel assimilation, which is an extremely efficient distinguisher and scores 0.84, which means that the space taken up by the eight groups, as defined by their standard deviations, is only 84 per cent of the total available. Putting this another way round, 16 per cent of the range of possible scores for vowel assimilation can be used as gaps between groups, to stop them overlapping. In other words, if we know the score for a speaker on this variable, we are virtually certain to be right in assigning him or her to one of the eight social groups.

Next we find a range of rather inefficient variables, scoring between 1.42 and 1.94, which means that they would need between 42 per cent and 94 per cent more 'elbow-room' than they actually have in order not to overlap, or that between 42 per cent and 94 per cent of speakers could equally well qualify as members of either of two groups on the basis of their performance on these variables. In fact, these figures underestimate the amount of overlap between groups, since they are based on the standard deviation for each group, which it will be recalled represents the range covered by only the most central 70 per cent of the group's members, so 30 per cent of all speakers may be expected to be outside the range of their own group, and therefore encroaching on the territory of another group and adding to the overlap. Consequently we may say that from 72 per cent to 100 per cent of the speakers on these variables may be expected to fall within the ranges of at least two groups, and of these speakers 24 per cent

may even be within the range of three groups. The variables in this second category are the following: / st / assimilation, / â / raising, / ey / monophthongisation, / h / deletion, / hâ /~/ â / variable and / man /~/ mâ / variable.

Finally, there is a group of variables whose scores are between 3.42 and 3.82. (The variables in this group are / ʔ / deletion, / d / deletion and / r / deletion.) Figures such as these suggest that the variables in this group are highly unreliable indicators of a person's sex and education, since every speaker could equally well be assigned to any one of three different groups (and for many speakers, four groups). This is not to say, of course, that the scores on these variables are unrelated to education and sex - the group averages for / r / deletion, the variable with the 'worst' score for overlapping (3.82), rise from 50.4 per cent for female graduates, through 55.2, 63.6, 66.8, to 78.6 and 76.2 for females and males with primary education, though the scores for illiterates are somewhat lower (70.4 and 70.8). The scores for / d / deletion show a similar gradual rise from most to least educated, and we have already seen that / ʔ / deletion is a clear reflector of education for men, though not for women. Thus the difference between these variables and the others is in their reliability, or efficiency, as clues as to any randomly chosen individual's group membership. To summarise the differences, the first group (containing just vowel assimilation) are accurate indicators of both sex and education; the second group are accurate indicators of education (though there is some risk of assigning an individual, on some of the variables, to an adjacent education group), provided the speaker's sex is already known; and this final group allows a speaker's education to be estimated only roughly, with a good chance of putting him or her in the education

group next to the right one.

If a variable is such an unreliable indicator of a person's sex and education, we ought to consider the possibility that it is only incidentally related to these two social distinctions, but is much more closely tied to some other distinctions. Unfortunately, we have no means of testing the relevance of other social distinctions in our sample, but we have the impression that one of the least efficient variables discussed above, / ʔ / deletion, may be a relatively reliable indicator of a speaker's relations to religion, with a low score for deletion of / ʔ / indicating a religious background. (/ ʔ / in Persian tends to occur in Arabic loan-words.) However, we cannot assume that every variable will turn out to be as reliable an indicator as vowel assimilation, provided we can find the social distinctions of which it is an indicator; and until we have evidence for other connections to social structure, we shall have to continue in our belief that some variables are more precisely tied to social structure than others.

There is a shortcoming in the method of calculating the overlapping-index presented above, namely in the assumption that in all cases the social function of the distinction is to distinguish <u>eight</u> social classes. We have already seen that this is unrealistic for some of the variables, as some make less than this number of distinctions. For example, we saw that / ʔ / deletion makes no distinctions at all for education among females, so it distinguishes only five groups (4 male and 1 female). If we take account of this fact, then our overlapping-index for this variable is bound to be different from the one calculated above, as the total range of percentages has to be split among just five groups instead of eight: in other words, the total standard deviation will be the sum of five, not eight, standard deviations, one of which is

the standard deviation for the group containing all the male speakers. And indeed if we recalculate the overlapping-score for / ʔ / deletion on this basis, it comes down from the original astronomical 3.7 to a rather more reasonable figure of 2.08, which brings it almost within the range of the earlier group with scores between 1.4 and 1.9. If we apply the principle that where one group has an average falling within the range of another group (as defined by its average and standard deviation), and vice versa, these groups should be merged into one, then we can merge groups on eight of the ten variables - and indeed, the / d / deletion turns out not to distinguish any groups at all! Even with this revision, however, all the variables except vowel assimilation turn out to be quite inefficient as distinguishers of their social groups, with overlapping-scores between 1.12 (for / h / deletion) and 1.72 (/ st / assimilation), with / ʔ / and / r / deletion particularly inefficient (scoring 2.08 and 2.01 respectively, and / d / deletion a complete failure.

It is not clear to what conclusion this discussion should have led us, but two things are clear. One is that variables are not all equally efficient as markers of social distinctions, and one wonders whether the inhabitants of Tehran are sensitive to the differences between the efficient indicators, notably vowel assimilation, and the inefficient ones. For example, would they pay more attention to the former than to the latter in a subjective reaction test? The second is that some linguistic variables are remarkably unhelpful in giving social information about individual speakers, although they show clear differences between group averages. In this case one wonders how and why the social distinctions persist. If individual speakers are such unreliable sources of evidence on group norms, how are the

norms passed on from generation to generation without disintegrating into chaos?

Section IV. Lexical diffusion.

The hypothesis of lexical diffusion (Wang, 1969, Chen, 1972) that "a phonological rule gradually extends its scope of operation to a larger and larger portion of the lexicon, until all relevant items have been transformed by the process" has been applied to sociolinguistic material for the first time by J. Milroy (1978), whose evidence from the Belfast vernacular provided support for the hypothesis. The Persian data on the study of the mechanism of changes faces some problems to which lexical diffusion seems to give a satisfactory answer. Here we try to answer two questions:

(a) Do words exhibit different behaviour with respect to a change?

(b) Are phonological changes lexically abrupt?

(a) The results of the analysis of the Persian data shows certain differences in the behaviour of lexical items which cannot be explained in terms of the phonological context of the word in question. In other words, after isolating the effect of different phonological environments (and even in some cases reducing these differences to nil, in homogeneous items), we still find some considerable irregularity in the frequency of application of the rule. Thus the answer to our first question is 'Yes'. / â / raising (see p. 76) is an example in support of the idea. The following items all have / ân / in their structure, but they show a completely different tendency in undergoing the raising rule: / ʔân / "that", 100%, / xiyâbân / "street", 80%, / tehrân / "Tehran", 38%, / ʔalân / "now", 0%. A particularly clear case of non-phonologically conditioned differences is provided by

the following homophones:

/ xân / in items:

			Total	
(1)	/ mixânam /~/ mixunam /	90%	40	"I read"
	/ rowzexân /~/ rowzexune /			"religious narrator"
(2)	/ rezâ xân /~*/ rezâ xun /			"Master Reza"
(3)	/ xân / in which the nasal is a separate morpheme.			
	/ mixâm /~/ mixum / }	0%	47	"I want"
	/ mixân /~/ mixun / }			"they want"

(b) Is a phonological change lexically abrupt?

The competing pronunciations of items and words which have undergone a rule completely and items that have not been affected by the rule in our Persian data, support the idea that a phonological change may be phonetically abrupt in certain areas, but it is definitely lexically gradual. Vowel assimilation (see p. 55) provide an example in support of this claim. In the assimilation process there are items completely covered by the rule, such as / boro / "go. This item has no competing pronunciation (*/ bero / in some non-Tehrani Persian dialects is still alive). Then there are a large number of items in an ongoing stage with competing pronunciations. Interestingly, the degree of application of the rule varies in a continuum from over 90 per cent to less than 3 per cent. Table 5.8 shows this continuum of items with varying percentages of change.

	% assimilated	Total
/ bekon /	91	331
/ bedo /	78	23
/ bexân /	40	139
/ begu /	22	132
/ bekub /	4	122
/ bebor /	3	124

Table 5.8. Assimilation of certain words in free speech by all speakers.

There are also items which have not been affected by the rule at all, such as / besâz / "make". / st / assimilation (see p. 99) also provides evidence in support of the idea.

Transition probability

Influence of the previous occurrence of the same variable.

It might seem that it would be easy to tell at a glance whether a sequence of occurrences of a variable were occurring in random alternation or were tending to occur in 'blocks' - a block of standard forms, then a block of non-standard ones, and so on. However, actual examples are not always clear. For instance, the pattern in (1) below looks at first sight like a clear case of a variant occurring in blocks (with S and N representing standard and non-standard forms):

(1) S S S S S S S N N S S S S S S S S N S S S S N S S S S S

A moment's thought will show, however, that we cannot treat (1) as evidence that a standard form is more likely to occur after another standard form than after a non-standard one, as a standard form is much more likely to occur under any circumstances than a non-standard one - only 14 per cent of the variants are non-standard in the total text represented by (1), so each occurrence only has a probability of .14 of being non-standard. Because of the problem of deciding whether or not a variable such as this, where the variants are very unequal in their frequencies, shows the kind of blocking behaviour in which we are interested, we had to develop a numerical measure of the extent to which variants occurred in blocks, which we call the blocking index.

We used two different methods for calculating the blocking index, each leading to a somewhat different figure, but both leading to the same general conclusion. In each case the aim was to arrive at a figure

which would show the proportion of possible or predicted changes from one variant to another that had actually been exploited. A high degree of blocking would be represented by a low figure on this scale, since it would mean that relatively few of the opportunities to switch variants had been taken up. The simpler method for calculating a figure is simply to take the actual changes as a proportion of the number of occurrences of the rarer variant, ignoring the number of occurrences of the more frequent one. Representing the number of changes in the text concerned by C and the number of occurrences of the rarer variant by R, we have the formula in (2) for the blocking index in its first manifestation:

(2) $$BI_1 = \frac{C}{R}$$

This index ranges in principle between 0 and 2, since each occurrence of the rarer variant allows one change before it and another after it, so C is capable of being up to twice as large as R.

This formula has serious shortcomings in that it fails to take account of the number of cases of the more frequent variants. To take two extreme cases, let us assume that we have just two instances of the rarer variant in each of two texts, but in one text there were only three occurrences of the more frequent one, and in the other there were three hundred. In the shorter text it would not be at all surprising if the two instances of the rarer variant occurred together, giving a blocking index of 1 (C = 2, R = 2), and we should not be entitled to conclude that this was due to the influence of one instance of the variable on the next instance, as this pattern could quite easily occur by chance. In the long text, on the other hand, the chances of the two instances of the rarer variant occurring

next to each other are remote, unless there is a causal connection, so we might suspect such a connection. To cope with this problem, pointed out to us by Brian Parkinson, we developed a more complex index, which took into account the number of occurrences of both the variants. In this method, we first calculate the number of changes to be expected by chance, given the numbers of the two variants overall, and we then compare the actual number of changes (C) with this predicted figure (P), in much the same way as in (2):

(3) $BI_2 = \frac{C}{P}$

The number of changes to be expected by chance can be calculated as follows. (This variable and the next one were developed with the help of Brian Parkinson and Barry Blakely.) Let R and F represent respectively the number of occurrences in the text concerned, of the two variants. The probability of any given occurrence of the variable being the rarer variant is simply R as a proportion of the total number of occurrences of the variable (F + R), i.e. $\frac{F}{F + R}$. Now the chances of a <u>change</u> happening after each occurrence of the more frequent variant are the same as the probability of any occurrence being the <u>other</u> variant, namely $\frac{R}{F + R}$. By similar reasoning we can expect the same number of changes after the other variant, so the total number of changes to be predicted in the text, P, is the sum of these two figures, i.e.

(4) $P = \frac{2FR}{F + R}$

By applying formula (3) we can now compare the predicted figure with the number of changes actually found in the text, giving a measure of the extent to which the number of changes found is the same as we

might expect on the assumption that one occurrence of the variable does not influence the choice of variant on the next occasion that the variable occurs. If the figure for the blocking index BI_2 is about 1, this means that the actual and predicted figures are about the same, and there is no need to postulate blocking. If on the other hand the blocking index is much smaller than 1, then we may conclude that variants are tending to occur in blocks throughout the text.

What then did we find by applying these two formulae for calculating blocking indices to our Persian texts? Whichever measure we applied, the linguistic variable fell into two unequal groups. The smaller group contained just one variable, the / man /~/ mâ / variable. The other group contained all the remaining variables: a variety of phonological or morphological variables, affecting individual phonemes in more or less restricted environments (including the vowel assimilation) and also a syntactic variable involving the presence or absence of a preposition in certain syntactic contexts, such as the 'to' in 'He went to Tehran'. The / man /~/ mâ / variable turned out to exploit far fewer of the opportunities for changing from one variant to the other than any of the other variables. In other words, it seems that the / man /~/ mâ / variable, and only this one, occurs in blocks. The easiest way of showing this is to quote the overall average figures for the / man /~/ mâ / variable - that is, the average (mean) of all the individual blocking indices for this variable - compared with the averages for the other variables. By the first formula (given in (2)), the / man /~/ mâ / variable scores an average of 0.86, whereas all the other variables score between 1.08 and 1.86 (the majority being between 1.08 and 1.42). And by the second, more complex but more

significant method of scoring (involving (3) and (4)), / man /~/ mâ / variable receives an average of 0.53 compared with a range between 0.82 and 1.0 for all the others. In other words, there is more difference between the average, on this measure, for / man /~/ mâ / variable than there is among the averages for all the other variables. Moreover, it is possible to calculate a figure for the number of changes to be expected on the assumption that one occurrence does influence the next occurrence, and on the further assumption that this influence is proportional to the frequency of the variant concerned in the text. To get this figure we apply the formula in (5), whose motivation need not detain us here, but which it will be seen predicts precisely half the number of changes predicted by the formula which assumes no influence between successive occurrences.

(5) $$P_x = \frac{FR}{F + R}$$

It will be seen that this predicts rather well the number of changes we actually found in the / man /~/ mâ / variable, whose score by the earlier formula was 0.53, as just mentioned.

The conclusion we have just reached regarding our Persian data is clearly not the end of the matter, since we must now ask whether there is any general linguistic characteristic of the / man /~/ mâ / variable which might allow us to predict what we might find on other variables not yet studied from this point of view, either in Persian or in other languages. It will be recalled that this variable involves the choice between two alternative expressions for a single semantic element, 'I'. This distinguishes it from all the other variables covered in our study, which all cover alternative forms for a wide range of different semantic elements. We may now formulate a hypothesis

concerning variables in any language:

(6) Hypothesis: Any variable tied to a single semantic element will show blocking behaviour - i.e. its variants will tend to occur in blocks rather than being randomly distributed. All other types of variable will show random distribution of variants.

One particularly gratifying aspect of this conclusion is that it receives unexpected confirmation from Montreal French in the short report by David Sankoff and Suzanne Laberge (1978). Sankoff and Laberge take a different approach to the study of influences of successive occurrences on one another. They take it for granted that successive occurrences of a variable may influence one another, and then ask whether the influence varies according to the type of syntactic relation between the successive occurrences - whether they are in the same clause, or in syntactically unrelated clauses, for instance. (They find, not surprisingly, that the syntactic relation does influence the effect of one occurrence on the next.) However, what is interesting about their discussion is that they refer to just three variables from Montreal French, and all three variables involve alternative pronouns for referring to the same person (specifically, on alternating with tu/vous, with ils and with nous, respectively). Clearly, these are precisely the kind of variable which are predicated by our hypothesis to show blocking behaviour, and we should predict that if they had chosen any other variables from their data, they would have found no influence of one occurrence on the next, whatever the syntactic relation between the occurrences.

If our hypothesis turns out to be correct, it clearly leads to

further questions. Why should it be correct? At this point we seem to have entered the territory of the psycholinguist, since any explanation must presumably be in terms of processing strategies or methods, and specifically how the speaker chooses between alternative ways of expressing his meaning. It would appear that he can remember how he chose last time provided the choice presented him was attached directly to a single semantic element such as 'I', whereas he will not be able to remember his last choice if the choice was tied to a form rather than to a meaning. Thus we may imagine another language which is similar to Persian in providing two ways of saying 'I', and where the alternatives are the same as the Persian / man / and / mâ /, but which is different from Persian in that this alternation is just one instance of a general variable allowing the phonological sequence / an / to be replaced by / â /. Now we should predict that in this other language there would be no blocking effect for the / man /~/ mâ / alternation, since the relevant variable is tied to a matter of form, and not to a meaning. Clearly there is little chance of finding a language like this against which we could test the hypothesis, but it does seem to us that the question we have just considered as sociolinguists suggests some interesting questions for investigation by our colleagues in psycholinguistics.

APPENDIX

A. The Questionnaire

1. The general questions about the informant.

1a. How long have you lived in this part of Tehran? Where were you living before?

1b. Have you ever been out of Tehran for a long time?

1c. What is your job?

1d. What is your husband's/wife's job? (for adults)

1e. What were you doing before taking this job?

1f. What is your father's job?

1g. To which schools did you go and for how long?

2. Would you please read these sentences in a natural manner (see II below)

3. Some questions about the Tehrani dialect, national ceremonies and address form.

3a. Do you prefer Tehrani dialect to other dialects such as Isfahani, Shirazi and so on?

3b. When you speak Tehrani dialect, can your non-Tehrani friends recognise your accent?

3c. Can you explain the moharram (Islamic holy month) mourning?

3d. Can you explain the Now ruz (Iranian new year) ceremonies such as Chahar shambe suri, sizde bedar ?

3e. Which of these three terms / to /, / šomâ / and / janâbe?âli / do you use when you are addressing the following people: your mother, father, grandmother, grandfather, older brothers and sisters, younger brothers and sisters, husband, wife (for adults), your close and non-close colleagues, immediate and very high superior (for adults) teacher and schoolmaster (for schoolchildren) and strangers? Suppose you address your colleague who is your close friend as / to /, how do you address him if you both go to your boss's office and talk to each other in his presence?

4. The informant was asked to answer a series of questions which lead him to pronounce certain lexical items (see III)

5. Some further general questions about the informant and his attitudes.

5a. What do you like the most in Tehran, and what do you dislike?

5b. As far as you remember, what kind of changes has Tehran undergone?

5c. What kind of sport do you like?

5d. What do you normally do in your free time?

5e. Can you describe an incident which has happened to you, and which you remember well?

6. Now can you read this list of words carefully and with pause? (see IV)

7. Now will you read it again, but this time as fast as you can?

8. We may have some minutes of tape left, now let's talk about a subject that you are more interested in.

II. Sentences

/ bebin četouri mituni ʔaz xeyreš begozari /
"See how you can get rid of it"

/ begu čerâq râ rowšan bekone va šâmeš râ bexore /
"Tell him to put the light on and have his dinner"

/ mâst râ beriz tu peymâne baʔd bešin bexor /
"Pour the yoghurt in the cup and then eat it"

/ zan be mard peyqâm dâd ke be mowqeʔ behet ʔettelaʔ midaham /
"The woman send a message to the man that I inform you in time"

/ bâ čand fanne xub bekubaš zemin /
"Bring him down with some good techniques"

/ barâye peyvand zadan bâyad šâxe ye ʔasli râ bebori /
"For grafting you have to cut the main branch"

/ ʔetminân dâram ke ʔemruz xâne ye âqâ rowze xâni va mowʔeze ʔast /
"I am sure there is religious narrating in his house today"

/ mowzuʔe mâšin râ xeyli sâde gerefte /
"He considers the car problem very trivial"

/ ʔextiyâr dârid ʔetefâqan mâ hame be šomâ ʔehterâm mizârim /
"Surely we all respect you"

/ mâdare xodâ biyâmorzaš xeyli mowrede ʔehterâm bud /
"His late mother was trustee"

/ seyl ʔâmad hame jâ ʔâb râh ʔoftâd /
"After the flood there was water everywhere"

/ tu meydâne tare bâr forušhâ miʔve ʔarzune /
"In the market fruits are very cheap"

/ yek sowqât xub barât miyâram /
"I will bring you a nice present"

/ yek lebâs beduz ke ʔandâze ye tānat bâše /
"Make a suit which fits you properly"

/ rowqan nabâti ʔaz rowqan heyvâni sâlemtare /
"Vegetable oil is healthier than animal oil"

/ yek howle ye xošk mixâm /
"I want a dry towel"

/ bâ xodam peymân bastam ke hamaš râst begam /
"I promised always to speak the truth"

/ kabutare čâhi râ ʔâzâd kardam /
"I freed the pigeon"

/ ʔâre yek towqe sangin sare xare bičâre ʔendâxtand /
"Yes, they put a heavy bridle on poor donkey"

/ dusti dâram dar yek šahre dur ke sâlhâst ʔu râ nadide ʔam /
"I have a friend in a remote city whom I did not see for a long time"

/ raft be šahre xodaš baʔd digar nadidamaš /
"He went to his town and I have not seen him since"

/ teʔdâdi ʔaz nâmehâ gom šod /
"Some of the letters are lost"

/ pirâhane čâhâr xâne ye ʔâstinkutâh behet miʔâyad /
"The short sleeve check shirt suits you"

/ dust dâšt vaxti mast mikard ʔâvâz bexânad /
"He liked to sing when he was drunk"

/ xâharaš mehri ham sâlhâ dar tehrân bud /
"His sister Mehri was also in Tehran"

/ xeyli râstgu dorastkâr va mehrabân bud /
"She was very truthful, honest and kind"

/ maʔmulan ruzhâye jomʔe miram manzelešân /
"I usually go to his house on Fridays"

/ če dastpoxti dâre maʔreke /
"She is a very good cook"

/ ʔagar šahrzâd raft ʔâstar bexare pas zud miyâd /
"If Sharzad went to buy lining, she will be back soon"

/ goft maʔni nadâre ke ʔâdam berahne biyâd jeloye mardom /
"He said it was not right to stay naked in front of the people"

/ baʔle digar lâbod baʔdaš ham nowbate mâst /
"Yes, I suppose it will be my turn next"

/ dustam mahbubiyate ziyâdi beyne ʔaʔzâ dârad /
"My friend is very popular among the members"

/ ʔoftâd va ʔostaxâne dastaš šekast /
"He fell and broke his hand"

/ gošne nistam va meyli ham be qazâ nadâram /
"I am not hungry and I have no appetite for food"

III. Questions leading to particular answers.

1. What do you do when you want to cook an omelette from the time you get in the kitchen?

Answer: Here the informant says that he first put the cooker on. So he uses the term / rowšan kardan / "to put on", and he pours cooking oil in the pan / rowqan / "cooking oil" and the rest, without being aware of my intentions.

2. What do you bring for your friends when you come back from a journey?

Answer: / souqât / "present"

3. What do you use for drying your face after washing it?

Answer: / howle / "towel"

4. What is the main duty of a clergyman?

Answer: / mowʔeze /, / rowze / "preaching"

5. What is the effect of several days of raining?

Answer: / seyl / "flood"

6. Can you give the imperative form of the following verbs: / didan / "to see", / xordan / "to eat", / goftan / "to say", / nešestan / "to sit", / rixtan / "to pour", / duxtan / "to sew", / raftan / "to go", / davidan / "to run", / kardan / "to do", / kubidan / "to mash", / paridan / "to jump"

7. For writing a composition you first need a ....

Answer: / mowzuʔ / "topic"

8. One of the dairy products.

Answer: / mâst / "yoghurt"

9. The feeling that we always have for elderly people.

Answer: / ʔehtarâm / "respect"

10. The word which mostly comes with / ahd /

Answer: / peymân / "promise"

11. The synonym for / ziyâd /

Answer: / xeyli / "very"

12. What is the procedure of cutting a branch and joining to a branch of another tree from the same origin?

Answer: / peyvand / "graft"

13. The instrument on the neck of a carriage horse.

Answer: / towq / "bridle"

14. The synonym for / xabar dâdan /

Answer: / ʔetelaʔ dâdan / "to inform"

15. The instrument for measuring milk, yoghurt and so on.

Answer: / peymâne / "measure"

16. The synonym for / mowzuʔ /

Answer: / mowred / "case, instance"

17. The synonym for / čegune /

Answer: / četowr / "how"

18. The synonym for / čeqadar /

Answer: / čand / "how much"

19. Where one normally buys fruits and vegetables.

Answer: / meydân / "market"

20. Tehran is a big ....

Answer: / šahr / "city"

21. The number after three.

Answer: / čâhâr / "four"

22. The synonym for / mohabbat /

Answer: / mehrabâni / "kindness"

23. The condition word.

Answer: / ʔagar / "if"

24. The inside part of a coat.

Answer: / ʔâstar / "lining"

25. The coat made of the skin of a sheep.

Answer: / pustin / "sheepskin"

26. It is sweet and you put it in tea.

Answer: / šekar / "sugar"

27. One of the colours.

Answer: / sefid / "white"

28. The antonym for / šar /

Answer: / xeyr / "blessing"

IV. Word List

/ sowqât /	"present"	/ peyvand /	"graft"
/ ʔâzâd /	"free"	/ bezan /	"hit"
/ tan /	"body"	/ baʔle borun /	"wedding ceremony"
/ seyd /	"hunting"	/ pustin /	"sheepskin"
/ mohre /	"nut"	/ bekoš /	"kill"
/ ʔehtarâm /	"respect"	/ peymâne /	"measure"
/ sar /	"head"	/ dustaš /	"his friend"
/ dasterâst /	"right hand"	/ bebâz /	"loose"
/ mâšin /	"car"	/ bexand /	"laugh"
/ čehre /	"face"	/ belis /	"lick"
/ šowhar /	"husband"	/ ʔâstin boland /	"long sleeve"
/ zan /	"woman"	/ mehri /	"a name"
/ mard /	"man"	/ baʔdi /	"the next"
/ bebin /	"look"	/ begu /	"tell"
/ rowqan /	"oil"	/ towq /	"bridle"
/ ʔâre /	"yes"	/ ʔetafâq /	"incident"
/ ʔeʔtamâd /	"trust"	/ xeyli /	"very"
/ mowzuʔ /	"topic"	/ xar /	"donkey"
/ bexor /	"eat"	/ fan /	"trick, technique"
/ rowšan /	"bright"	/ bešin /	"sit"
/ peymân /	"promise"	/ goft /	"he told"
/ mâhi /	"fish"	/ jomʔe /	"Friday"
/ šahr /	"city"	/ ʔaʔzâ /	"members"
/ ʔagar /	"if"	/ maʔreke /	"quarrel"
/ ʔâstar /	"lining"	/ râsti /	"truth"
/ raft /	"he went"	/ ʔetelâʔ /	"news"

/ taʔyin /	"appointment"	/ beriz /	"pour"
/ maʔni /	"meaning"	/ mowred /	"case, instance"
/ šahrzâd /	"a name"	/ seyl /	"flood"
/ xeyr /	"blessing"	/ dastpoxt /	"cooking"
/ meydân /	"market"	/ berehne /	"naked"
/ čâhâr /	"four"	/ baʔle /	"yes"
/ ʔemruz /	"today"	/ digar /	"other"
/ mâst /	"yoghurt"	/ mahbub /	"popular"
/ bekon /	"do"	/ ʔostaxân /	"bone"
/ howle /	"towel"	/ boro /	"go"
/ extiyâr /	"option"	/ rastgu /	"truthful"
/ rowze /	"preaching"	/ mowqeʔ /	"time"
/ bekub /	"mash"	/ biyâmorz /	"may God forgive hi
/ ʔâstin /	"sleeve"	/ ʔâb /	"water"
/ baʔd /	"then, after"	/ mâdar /	"mother"
/ besâz /	"build"	/ sâde /	"simple"
/ ʔestekân /	"cup"	/ ʔâstardâr /	"lined"
/ bešur /	"wash"	/ mâsthâ /	"yoghurts"
/ mowʔeze /	"sermon"	/ dustam /	"my friend"
/ mohtâj /	"needy, poor"	/ dorastkâr /	"honest"
/ bexân /	"read"	/ šekar /	"sugar"
/ sangin /	"heavy"	/ sefid /	"white"
/ četowr /	"how"	/ ʔâtaš /	"fire"
/ bebor /	"cut"	/ ʔeyb /	"defect, fault"
/ peyqâm /	"message"		
/ čand /	"how much"		
/ beduz /	"sew"		
/ ʔetminân /	"confidence"		

B. The Texts

The following are some short transcriptions of different social dialects, recorded without the knowledge of the speakers. They are:

(1) The speech of a radio news reader;

(2) The unwritten speech of a University lecturer during a seminar;

(3) The conversation of a group of workers in a print-house;

(4) The conversation of two men from a fruit market in the south of Tehran.

B1. The News, 3rd September, 1976, Radio Iran, Tehran

/ šerkat konandegân dar konfarânse ʔarzyâbi ye ʔâmuzeši baʔd az zohre ʔemruz bâ šerkat dar panj komite ye jodâgâne pišnahâdhâ ʔi râ barâye behbude šiveye ʔâmuzeš dar kešvar matrah kardand

baʔd az zohre ʔemruz dar ʔedâme ye kâre konfarâns, namâyandegâne kârgarân, kešâvarzân, dânešjuyân va dâneš ʔâmuzân bâ maqâmhâye boland pâye ʔe kešvar va ʔostâdân va pažuhandegân dar nowrede šive ye ʔâmuzeši ye kešvar be bahs va barrasi pardâxtand

vazire ʔolum va ʔâmuzeše ʔâli dar yek gofto šonud bâ xabarnegâre mâ goft namâyandegâne dânešjuyân va dâneš ʔâmuzâne hâzer dar konfarâns barâye šenâxte behtare ʔeste ʔdâdhâ va behtar sâxtane šive ye gozineše dânešju be goftegu va râyzani xâhand pardâxt /

"The participants of the educational assessment conference this afternoon attended in five separate committees. They gave some suggestions about the ways of improving the educational system in the country.

This afternoon in the continuation of the conference, the representatives of workers, farmers, University and high school students met the country's high officials, the professors and the researchers, and discussed the educational system of the country.

The Minister of Science and Higher Education in an interview with our reporter, said that the representatives of University and high school students in the conference discussed the improvement of the methods for selecting the right and talented students."

1, 2, 3, 6, 10, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 27, 28, 30, 33, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 45. / â /~/ u / variable

4, 13, 42. / ʔ / deletion

5, 7, 9, 11, 14, 31, 41, 44. / h / deletion

8, 25a, 43. / hâ /~/ â / variable

12, 26, 32. / d / deletion

29. / ow / monophthongisation

34. / t / deletion.

All sentences have SOV word order.

B2. An unscripted talk by a lecturer in a linguistic seminar in Melli University, Tehran, 1976.

/ man mitarsam ʔagar be ʔin kâr ʔedâme dâde beše va ʔagar
har ruz ʔin jur loqât barâye zabâne fârsi besâzand na faqat ʔertebât
beyn mardom dar valâyâte moxtalef ʔaz beyn mire, balke mâ ʔertebâtemun
ro bâ gozaštemun tadrijan be towre jeddi ʔaz dast midim.
bande fekr konam ke hamân towr ke ʔišân farmudand mâ ʔaz čan jahat
gereftâre ʔavâqebe ʔin masʔle hastim.
yeki ʔin ke ʔagar mâ čenin zabâni ro mowrede qeflat qarâr, bedim
va beheš tavajjo nakonim ʔin xatar hast ke nevisandegâne now pardâz
va now juye mâ be xeyâle ʔinke be yek now reʔâlism gerâyeš dârand
midahand dar dâstânhâšun vaxti ʔašxâse dâstân sohbat mikonand lahjeye mahalli
ro be kâr bebarand, ʔagar in ʔesrâf bešavad va lahjehâye šahrhâ tarvij
bešavad kam kam mardom mesle mardomi xâhand bud ke dar borje bâbel
gereftâr aš šodand va zabâne yekdigar râ naxâhand fahmid /

"I am afraid that if they continue this business and if every day they introduce new terms for the Persian language not only the connection among the people of different geographical areas will disappear, but also our connection with our ancient traditions gradually but seriously will break.

I think, as he said, we are in danger from several directions.

First, if we neglect the language and pay no attention to it, there is the danger of new wave writers who on the supposition that they have realistic tendencies the characters in their stories speak the local dialects.

If this type of style will be used widely and the local accents expand, then gradually the people, like those in the Tower of Babel, will not be able to understand each other."

1,15. / man /~/ mâ / variable
2, 4, 11, 16, 24, 25a, 44a, 47, 58, 58a. / r / deletion /
3, 5, 10, 12, 17, 19, 29, 37, 39, 40, 57. / â /~/ u / variable
6, 27, 45, 53. Vowel assimilation
7, 21, 22, 34, 36, 42, 46, 48, 53, 55, 56, 60. / d / deletion
8, 9. / ey / monophthongisation
13, 18, 25, 29a, 30, 31. / ow / monophthongisation
14, 28. / t / deletion
15, 19, 20. Polite form
23, 32, 22. / ʔ / deletion
27a, 35, 41, 42, 44, 49, 51, 54, 59, 61. / h / deletion
38, 50, 52. / hâ /~/ â / variable

B3. The conversation of a group of workers in a print-shop.
Tehran, 1976.

1 / miri mašad čikâ koni / "Why do you want to go to Mashhad?"
2 / ki / "Who?"
3 / to / "You."
4 / mixâd bere tobe kone / "He is going for repentance."
5 / na bâbâ ʔaraq xordan, didi hâlâ / "Not to repent for drinking alcohol."
6 / dâvud jun har ki bere mašad bâ:d tobe kone / "Dear Davood, anyone who goes to Mashad has to repent."
7 / har či baxây seri avval bet mideâ / "Anything you wish on your first trip will be granted."
8 / ʔâre vâllâ / "Yes, I believe so."
9 / ʔâxe man raftam mašad seri avvalam bud / "I went to Mashhad, it was my first trip."
10 / ʔâqâ davud sâ:tam xarabe / "Davood, my watch is broken."
11 / veleš kon bâbâ veleš kon / "Leave him alone, leave him."
12 / man seri avval bud raftam, guš mikoni / "It was my first trip (to Mashha are you listening?"
13 / hosen beri ʔunjâ či migi / "Hoseyn, what would you wish when you go there?"
14 / či migam / "What would I wish?"
15 / či migi / "What do you wish?"
16 / manzurat čiye / "What do you mean?"
17 / ʔemâm rezâ hajje mâs, hajje mâ foqarâs / "Imam Reza is our Mecca pilgrimag the Mecca of the poor."
18 / nemifami dige / "You do not understand."
19 / taqsire ʔâqâ rezâ šod / "It was Reza's fault."
20 / goftam šomâ čârtâyitun berin / "I said the four of you should go."
21 / vâllâ bo qorʔân / "I swear to the holy Qoran."
22 / ʔasan be qasde da:vaʔumadam pâyin / "I came downstairs to fight."
23 / ʔammâ xeli nâmardi miše / "But it will be cowardliness."
24 / to kojâ rafti / "Where did you go?"
25 / bâ šapur raftim toqi / "With Shahpur we went to see the film Toug

1, 4, 8, 11, 12, 14, 20, 22, 31. / h / deletion: 3,12a,21. / r / deletion
2, 16a, b, c, d. / e / raising: 10, 24, 25. vowel assimilation
5, 9, 32. / ow / monophthongisation: 13,15a,21a /man/~/mâ/ variable
6. / d / deletion: 15b, 29, / ey / monophthongisation
7, 16, 17, 23, 36, 38, 30. / â / ~/ u / variable: 18,19. / t / deletion
15, 25a, 27. / ʔ / deletion.

Sentences 1, 4, 6, 9, 13, 22, 25 have SVO word order and deleted preposition.

B4. The conversation of two men from a fruit market in the south of Tehran.

/ ba ba hosen âqâ, hâlet četore hoseń âqâ /
"Hey, Hoseyn, how are you, Hoseyn?"

/ qorbunet baram /
"Thank you."

/ či šode hosen âqâ /
"What is wrong, Hoseyn?"

/ hičči dâ:s dandunam dard mikone /
"Nothing, really, I have toothache."

/ ?e dandunet dard mikone ?in ke čizi nis bâbâ /
"Oh, do you have toothache? It is simple."

/ boro do tâ sigâr bekeš ye xode nešâst am bezâ ruš /
"Smoke two cigarettes and put some starch on it."

/ doktor moktoro veleš kon /
"Do not go to the dentist."

/ puleto bixod xarj nakon /
"Do not waste your money."

/ yeki ?age nadune mige in guniye /
"Someone may think this is gunny."

/ ?e feluni guni taneš karde /
"Oh, he put on gunny."

/ mige guni nisseš /
"He says it is not gunny."

/ ?in guni nis, guni be ?in surat nis /
"This is not gunny, gunny is not like this."

/ june to man nemixâm /
"I do not want it."

/ mâ kesi xune mâ nabud raftim xune parviz /
"There was no one in our house so we went to Parviz's house."

/ guni re did gof ine ?a kojâ ?ovordi /
"She saw the gunny and said, where did you get it?"

/ ba.d goftež mišę bara manam befresse /
33 34 35 35a 36 37
"She said, may he get some for me?"

/ goftam nemidunam hâlâ bibinam či mišę /
38 39 40 41 42
"I said, I do not know. I will see what I can do."

/ bad qol dadim barâš befressim /
43 44 45
"Then I promised to get it for her."

/ mâ montazer mundim mundim /
46 47 48 49
"I wait and wait."

1, 35a. / h / deletion
2, 4, 8. / ey / monophthongisation
5, 10, 11, 20, 24, 25, 27, 30, 34, 47, 49. / â /~/ u / raising
7, 41. / e / raising
9, 10a, 11a, 20a, 21, 35, 37, 42. / d / deletion
12, 22b, 23, 31, 34. / t / variable
13, 14b, 40. Vowel assimilation
14a, 22a, 36, 45. / st / assimilation
14, 15, 17, 18, 19. / r /deletion
16. Rhythmic doubling
26, 28, 29, 38, 44, 46, 49. / man /~/ mâ / variable
33, 43. / ʔ / deletion

C. The Blocking and Non-Blocking Recording Sheets

As an example, two recording sheets are presented here, one from the / man / ~ / mâ / variable which indicates a case of blocking, and the other from the / h / deletion, a phonological variable that shows a non-blocking score pattern. Both variable recording sheets are from one "G4" male informant. (See Chapter Five, section three).

Tape No. 21 Social class G4 Sex, Male Age, Adult

Variable: / man / ~ / mâ / mâ + man -

-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-
-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-
+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+
+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+
-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+
-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+
-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+
-	-	+	-	+	+	-	+
-	-	+	-	+	+	-	+
-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+
-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+
+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+
+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-
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+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-
+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-
	+	+	+	-	+	+	-
	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
	+	+		+	+	+	-
	+				+	+	-
					+	-	
					+	-	
					+	-	
						-	

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Tape No. 21 Social Class G4 Sex, Male Age, Adult

Variable: / h / deletion h - Ø +

tehran	+	moharram	-	qahve	+
yahya	+	moharram	-	qahve	+
tehran	+	sahhaseyni	+	qahve	+
tehrani	+	sobh	+	baham	-
panjah	+	nahar	-	ahmad	-
esteshad	+	baham	-	ahmad	+
sahrdan	+	dastgahas	+	ahmad	-
yahya	+	dastgahas	+	mohammad	+
sahne	+	rah	+	bedehi	-
sahne	+	qahbe	+	bedehkar	+
marhale	-	ahle	+	bedehi	-
sahr	+	dah	+	ahmad	-
sahr	+	dah	+	cahar	+
sahre	+	maham	+	ehteram	+
sahre	+	dah	-	cahar	+
pahlavi	+	dah	+	cahar	+
pahlavi	+	mohsen	+	sobh	+
pahlavi	-	rahete	+	sahr	+
pahlavi	+	cahete	+		
pahlavi	+	sarhang	-		
jahel	-	sobh	+		
jahel	-	enhesar	-		
mahele	-	enhesar	-		
rah	+	cahar	+		
jahel	-	enhesar	-		
rah	+	tahvil	-		
tahsil	+	sahr	+		
bohran	-	sowhar	-		
sahrebani	+	qahve	+		
pahlavi	+	qahve	+		
moshadham	+	qahve	+		
sahr	+	qahve	+		
sahr	+	qahve	+		
moharram	-	sahab	+		

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