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by

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ABSTRACT

The goal of this study is to investigate the current language attitudes of first and second generation Afghan and Iranian-Americans toward the two varieties *Dari* and *Persian* of the Indo-Iranian language Farsi. Research on this subject can facilitate future endeavors toward heritage language maintenance efforts in order to preserve a linguistically diverse America and address an unprecedented need for government professionals who are skilled in languages that are currently in demand such as Dari. Based on the sociopolitical context of both immigrant groups, the hypothesis is that Afghan and Iranian-Americans consider Persian more overtly prestigious and that each ethnic group attributes higher group solidarity traits to their own dialect guise. It is further hypothesized that the second generation from both immigrant groups will hold the same language attitudes as their parents. The primary method of investigation for this study was a modified version of Lambert et al.'s (1960) matched guise design, which collected both quantitative and qualitative data. There is strong evidence to suggest that the Persian variety is considered more covertly and overtly prestigious than Dari by first

and second generation Afghan and Iranian-Americans. Although the biases between the first and second generation aligned similarly, there is an indication that there is a generational difference in language attitudes toward Farsi in general. The overt and covert stigmatization of Dari coupled with the disparity between the first and second generations' language attitudes toward Farsi may partially explain the unsuccessful language maintenance program thus far in the Dari speaking community in Fremont, California. Future language maintenance efforts may benefit by fostering a stronger sense of heritage and pride within the speech community and especially in the youth.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

The goal of this study is to investigate the current language attitudes of first and second generation Afghan and Iranian-Americans toward two varieties of the Indo-Iranian language Farsi. The two varieties considered are Dari, spoken primarily in Afghanistan, and Persian, spoken primarily in Iran. Based on anecdotal evidence and the author's own experiences in the Afghan-American community in the Bay Area, California, it is hypothesized that Persian has more overt prestige than Dari (as opposed to *covert* prestige, as discussed by Labov (1966)), for both the both the Iranian and Afghan-American population. However, each speaker group is expected to attribute group solidarity traits to their own dialects. It is further hypothesized that the possible transmission of language attitudes from the first generation to the second generation and the current U.S. context will yield no significant differences between the first and second generation of Farsi speakers. Thus, the research questions addressed in this study are as follows:

Is the Persian variety of Farsi considered more overtly prestigious than Dari by either Afghan or Iranian-Americans? And do members of each ethnic group attribute higher group solidarity traits to speakers of their own dialect?

Do language attitudes toward Farsi differ between first and second generation Afghan and Iranian-Americans?

Over the past several decades, a substantial amount of research has been completed on attitudes toward language variation. However, most of the language attitude research has focused on English or a handful of other European languages. In order to continue developing theories on language attitudes, it is imperative to further research different language varieties, including heritage languages in the U.S. This latter

is especially an important field of study because language attitudes are an important factor in heritage language maintenance and revitalization/reclamation. Research on this subject can facilitate future endeavors toward heritage language maintenance and language revitalization/reclamation efforts in order to preserve a linguistically diverse America and address an unprecedented need for government professionals who are skilled in languages that are currently in demand such as Dari.

This study begins by reviewing previous research on language attitudes that used a matched guise design. It then reviews the importance of language attitude studies, and particularly the importance of maintaining heritage languages like Dari in the U.S., which will be followed by a brief discussion on current Farsi language maintenance efforts. The next chapter discusses background information on Iranian and Afghan immigrants that may contribute to existing language attitudes including the relationship between Iran and Afghanistan pre-Soviet invasion, the context of immigration to the US, and the current status of both immigrant groups and their respective dialects in the US. Chapter 4 describes the study's methodology, which will be a modified matched guise design from Lambert et al. (1960). Chapter 5 will discuss the results from the study and describe any relevant listener variables that may have been significant. This chapter will then be followed by a discussion of the results and its implications. There is strong evidence to suggest that the Persian variety is considered more covertly and overtly prestigious than Dari by first and second generation Afghan and Iranian-Americans. Although the biases between the first and second generation aligned similarly, there is an indication that there is a generational difference in language attitudes toward Farsi in general.

Chapter 2: Previous Research on Language Attitudes

Although there are a variety of methods to research language attitudes, most language attitude studies focus on the "speaker evaluation paradigm" whose origins can be traced back to Lambert et al. (1960)'s matched guise study. Lambert was interested in the inter-ethnic attitudes in Montreal, specifically how French and English speakers in this community viewed each other. The matched guise study was designed to elicit language attitudes that each speaker held that wouldn't necessarily be found in overt methods like a direct questionnaire. This study is based on the assumption that different speech styles trigger certain social characterizations in the listeners' minds. When listeners in Lambert's task heard Canadian French or Canadian English, Lambert presumed that they were pre-disposed to infer a certain set of personality attributes, depending on their own group memberships. In the methodology of the study, balanced bilinguals were tape recorded reading a standard passage of prose in French and English. These recordings were then interspersed with other recordings, "filler voices", to prevent listeners from recognizing the same speaker. There were often two or more versions of the same speaker in the task. Listener-judges were then asked to listen to a series of supposedly different speakers on the audio tape and form an impression of these speakers on a questionnaire based on personality traits. The fourteen traits presented in Lambert's design were height, good looks, sense of humor, intelligence, religiousness, self-confidence, dependability, entertainingness, kindness, ambition, sociability, character, and general likability. The results of this study were that Anglo listeners favored their own ethnic group on half of the 14 personality traits and, more surprisingly, that French

Canadian listeners also favored English speakers, ranking them more favorably on ten out of 14 traits.

Lambert et al.'s (1960) study was ground breaking for six reasons, as outlined by Giles and Billings (2004). First, Lambert was able to design a study that elicited apparently private attitudes while also controlling for outside variables. Second, it showed how certain individuals can perceive their own language group as less favorable in certain traits as compared to other languages. Third, it established the important role language has in impression formation. Fourth, this study was an important factor in creating the cross-disciplinary field of language attitudes. Fifth, the findings acted as a catalyst for many studies worldwide, including Britain, Australia, the United States, the Netherlands and Denmark (e.g. Jarvella et al. 2001). Finally, the dependent variables used in the study established the difference between "status" (i.e. intelligence, ambition) vs. "solidarity" (i.e. friendly, generous) traits. These two groups of personality traits have been relabeled in the literature several times and are also known as "overt" versus "covert prestige" (Labov 1966).

Usually modified in some way, the matched guise technique is used in most current language attitude studies to generate data about intergroup attitudes in particular sociolinguistic communities. Subsequent work on language attitudes has taken into account other listener variables that could affect judgments, such as age, interactions between speakers, ethnicity, and gender using this methodological paradigm (Lambert 1967). Edwards (1982) hypothesized that language attitudes could be shaped by three possibilities: 1) intrinsic linguistic superiority/inferiority (implying that a language can be inherently "better" than another language) 2) intrinsic aesthetic differences 3) social

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convention and preference. However, the first two options have proven false as sociolinguistically there is no language that is "better" or "worse", and furthermore a series of studies by Giles & Niedzielski (1998) found that listeners did not discriminate between languages they were unfamiliar with based on aesthetic criteria. Therefore, most language attitudes seem to be a result of social convention, which determines the type of status and prestige a particular language or variety is associated with.

Language attitudes are critical to investigate because they have the potential to impact different aspects of people's lives including teacher evaluations (Seligman et al. 1972) , doctor communication (Fielding and Evered 1980), legal and judicial settings (Seggie 1983), and employment (Hopper and Williams 1973). Thus, studies on language attitudes can inform language policy and assist educators in cultivating respect for linguistic variation. Furthermore, linguistic attitudes toward heritage languages provide insight into the nature of its importance to learners and can support language revitalization or maintenance efforts. As defined by Valdes (2001: 38) a heritage language speaker is "someone who is raised in a home where a non-English language is spoken and who speaks or at least understands the language and is to some degree bilingual in the home language and in English". Valdés (1992: 50) points out, "the attitudes of circumstantial bilinguals toward their own group and their ethnic identity will determine their willingness to maintain or abandon their heritage language."

All language maintenance efforts can be improved by a clearer understanding not only of the language attitudes speakers hold toward varieties around them but by how those attitudes fit into the larger picture of ideologies and practices of the communities in question. Not surprisingly, language attitudes are sensitive to the current sociopolitical

context. For example, Bourhis (1983) found that the changing political climate in Quebec has been associated with modifications in attitudes toward the use of Canadian French and English since Lambert et al.'s (1960) initial study. Thus, another incentive for understanding language attitudes in a community is the potential to shift away from certain stigmas associated with a particular variety.

After considering the importance of language attitudes in heritage language maintenance, one might question why it is important to preserve heritage languages in the US, and the Dari language in particular. Losing heritage languages in the US has significant consequences for both heritage language learners as well as for society and government. For heritage language learners, losing their ancestral language means weaker connections with their community, culture, and even their immediate family. It can also lead to loss of self-esteem (Wright and Taylor 1995). Furthermore, the loss of heritage language learners for society translates into a lack of potential language resources needed for trade, diplomacy, and defense. Currently, the U.S. has an unprecedented need for skilled professionals with fluency in foreign languages. Even prior to September 11, 2001, congressional hearings had begun documenting shortages of professionals with foreign language capabilities in the federal government (Brecht & Ingold 2002). Because of the current military involvement in Afghanistan, Dari is a language high on the list of needed foreign languages in the federal government. A 2010 report by the United States Government Accountability office reports that the lack of foreign language capabilities at some agencies, including the department of defense and the state department, has caused "backlogs of translation of intelligence documents and other information, and adversely affected agency operations and hindered U.S. military,

law enforcement, intelligence, counterterrorism and diplomatic efforts" (United States Government Accountability Office 2010: 4).

However, for non-heritage language learners, acquiring Dari can be quite difficult, especially since their first exposure to the language will most likely be at the university level. With less commonly taught languages such as Dari, university programs rarely produce speakers with any proficiency at all, far short of the expectations required for professional fields. Heritage language speakers, on the other hand, have developed their language proficiency since birth and have skills that would take a nonnative speaker hundreds of hours to acquire (Brecht & Ingold 2002). Many heritage language speakers still need explicit instruction in discipline-specific vocabulary and formal registers to work in a professional context, but they require significantly less instruction time than non-heritage learners (Shin 2012:75). Therefore, language attitude studies are an importance facet in maintaining heritage languages and essential to addressing the nation's critical shortage of Dari speakers.

Thus far, language maintenance efforts have been unsuccessful in the Dari speaking community. In the fall of 2012, the Dari Language Institute was established in Fremont, CA, the city with the highest concentration of Dari speakers in the US, according to the 2010-2012 U.S. census. The school was founded in response to a growing sentiment on the part of older members in the community that the youth had lost touch with their language and culture. However, after only six months classes ceased due to a lack of interest. By contrast, Persian maintenance efforts have had far more success. There are currently a number of successful Persian immersion programs centered in highly populated areas of Persian speakers such as the Los Angeles Area and Berkeley, CA.

Although there may be many reasons why language maintenance efforts have failed for the Dari speaking community and succeeded for the Persian speaking community, language attitudes may be a significant factor. These language attitudes are in turn influenced by the sociopolitical context of Afghanistan and Iran as well as by the demographic differences between both speaker groups in the US, crucial aspects this study intends to address in the next chapter.

Chapter 3: Background on Persian and Dari

3.1 Dialects of Farsi

Farsi, also known as Persian, is an Indo-Aryan language spoken primarily in Afghanistan, Iran and Tajikistan. This study examines two different dialects of Farsi: Persian (Iranian-Farsi) and Dari (Afghan-Farsi). Persian is spoken by the majority of Iran's population and is considered the official language of Iran. Other languages spoken in Iran are other Iranian languages, some Turkic languages, and Arabic, which is spoken by a small group of immigrants from Arabic-speaking countries. The standard dialect of Persian is the "Tehran dialect", the dialect spoken in Tehran, the capital. Dari is a dialect of Farsi spoken in Afghanistan and is also considered one of the national languages, alongside Pashto. It is estimated that half of the population speaks Dari as their L1, and 90% of the country speaks it as either their L1 or L2 (Wahab 2006: 1). The "Kabul dialect", spoken in Kabul, the capital of Afghanistan, is considered the standard.

There is, of course, a dialect continuum. As one gets nearer to the border between both countries, the people of the border provinces borrow lexicon and phonology from both dialects. In Afghanistan, this is called the *Herati* dialect, named after the province

Herat. Likewise in Iran, the border dialect is called the *Mashadi* dialect, named after the

border province Mashad.

Linguists have generally considered Persian and Dari distinct dialects of one

language, Farsi, rather than separate languages. This is motivated by both Persian and

Dari's development from Middle Persian in the 9th century. Furthermore, mutual

intelligibility can be high depending on certain domains and registers, which will be

elaborated on later in this section.

The two dialects of Farsi, Dari and Persian, differ in lexicon, phonology, and syntax.

Most lexical differences are apparent in colloquial speech. The table below shows

examples of vocabulary differences.

Table 1

English	Dari	Persian
Plane	[tajɑɾa]	[havɑ pajmɑ]
Cat	[pɪʃak]	[goɾbe]
Boy	[bat͡ʃa]	[pesaɾ]
Nose	[bini]	[damɑɣ]

In terms of phonology, there have been some divergences between the two dialects.

Below are some examples of phonological differences; however this list is not

comprehensive:

1. Vowel merger of [e] and [i] into [i] in Persian. In Dari, these vowels are still kept

   separate. For example, the words for 'lion' and 'milk' are both pronounced as [ʃiɾ]

   in Persian, whereas in Dari 'lion' is [ʃer] and 'milk' is [ʃiɾ].

2. Vowel merger of [o] and [u] into [u] in Persian. In Dari, these vowels are still kept separate. For example, the words for 'quick' and 'strong' are both pronounced with [u] as in [zud] and [zuɾ], whereas in Dari it is pronounced as [zud] and [zoɾ].

3. The Diphthongs [aʊ] and [aj] from Classical Persian has been retained in Dari, but has changed to [ow] and [ej] in Persian. For example 'New Year' is pronounced as [nowɾuz] in Persian and [naʊɾuz] in Dari. 'No' is pronounced as [naxejr] in Persian and [naxajr] in Dari.

4. The Bilabial fricative is pronounced as [w] in Dari but [v] in Persian. For example, 'and' is [wa] in Dari but [va] in Persian.

5. [ɢ] and [ɣ] have merged to [ɣ] in Persian but kept separate in Dari.

6. In Persian, word-final /a/ is realized as [e], but these vowels are not allophones in Dari and [a] can occur in word final position. ('Fresh' in Dari is [tɑza] while in Persian it is [tɑze])

7. High short vowels [i] and [u] tend to be lowered to [e] and [o] in Persian. ('You' in Dari is [tu] while in Persian it is pronounced [to])

Furthermore, an illustrative example that demonstrates a syntactic difference between the two dialects occurs in the comparative construction. Note that these constructions are only relevant to colloquial Dari and colloquial Persian. In colloquial Persian, the comparative is formed with a construction that combines an adjective and the comparative suffix –*tar*. For example:

> (1) *Een   pesaar az   oon dokhtar bozorg-tar-e.*
>   *This   boy   from that girl   big-er-be.3sg*
>   'This boy is bigger/older than that girl'

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The same sentence in colloquial Dari however would use a slightly different construction where a speaker would include *kada* 'than' in addition to the adjective + *-tar* construction. However the comparative marker *–tar* is optional in Dari while it is required in Persian.

> (2) *Ee   bacha az   oo dukhtar kada kalan-(tar) as*
> *This boy   from that girl   than big-(er)   be.3sg*
> 'This boy is bigger/older than that girl'

Note the other lexical and phonological differences apparent between these two examples. Furthermore, this example also demonstrates another important syntactic difference. In formal registers of Farsi, the copula occurring at the end of the sentence would be realized as 'ast'; however, this copula becomes a clitic '-e' in colloquial Persian, except when the word before 'ast' ends in an [e] vowel. This does not happen in Dari, although the word final [t] is usually dropped.

The examples above were chosen to demonstrate some of the particularly salient differences between the two dialects. The lexical differences in particular occur more frequently in colloquial speech or certain domains such as language that would be used in the home. Thus, mutual intelligibility is dependent on factors such as register (formal versus informal), and channel (oral versus written speech). Written speech has much higher mutual intelligibility because both dialects use the same orthography (a modified Arabic alphabet). The Arabic alphabet utilizes many implicit vowels that are never written, thus most of the phonological differences are mitigated through text. Mutual intelligibility can also depend on education and previous exposure to the other dialect. Since formal registers have a high level of mutual intelligibility, those who are educated

would have the knowledge and comprehension of the vocabulary used in these situations. Furthermore, previous exposure to the alternate dialect would increase one's comprehension of the variety. It will be argued later in this chapter that Dari speakers have much more exposure to Persian than Persians speakers do to Dari; thus, in general, Dari speakers have a much higher comprehension of Persian than vice versa.

The terms used here to refer to the dialects of Farsi, Persian and Dari, can be unclear because the terminology is not consistent in the literature. In this paper I propose to call the language that both dialects are varieties of *Farsi* because it is the term that native speakers from both dialects use. There are sources such as the Academy of Persian Language and Literature who reject calling this language *Farsi* in English and instead prefer the term *Persian* because of its historical usage in English. However, this paper will continue to call the language that both dialects are varieties of *Farsi* because *Persian* often specifically refers to Iranian people and the Iranian dialect. Thus, the term Persian will be used to specifically talk about the Iranian dialect of Farsi. The term *Persian* is also used most frequently by Iranian-Americans to describe their ethnicity as well as their language. This presumably has political motivations inspired by the strong anti-Iranian sentiment in the U.S. after the Iranian Islamic Revolution of 1979. Most likely the term *Persian* was adopted by Iranian immigrants to disassociate themselves with the Iranian government and avoid racism and confrontation.

Dari is the term most often used to describe the Afghan dialect in linguistic literature. It should be noted, however, that actual Dari speakers do not typically call their language Dari, but Farsi. Dari was a term adopted by the government of Afghanistan in the constitution of 1964, presumably to distance Farsi speakers from Iran and create a

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stronger notion of Afghan identity (Wahab 2006: 1). However today, the term *Dari* is used only for official purposes. I choose to call this variety *Dari* instead of *Farsi* for clarity purposes. Other terms for Dari in the literature are Afghan-Persian, Afghan-Farsi, and Eastern Persian.

3.2 Persian influence in Afghanistan

Many of the language attitudes Dari speakers hold today have been established through the relationship Iran and Afghanistan held prior to the Soviet Union invasion of Afghanistan in 1979. It is important to look at this context because the Soviet Union invasion was the catalyst for millions of Afghans to seek political asylum in other countries. In the decades prior to the communist invasion, Iran and Afghanistan had very different economies. In the 1970s, Iran was enjoying an economic boom, partly due to an industrialization program that began a decade prior, and an explosion of oil profits (Der-Martirosian 2008). In comparison, Afghanistan had a fragile economy that was disrupted in the 1970s when Zulfakir Bhutto, the president of Pakistan at the time, closed the Afghanistan-Pakistan border crossings (Ziring 1981). Present-day language attitudes of both immigrant groups would be influenced by the economies of both countries at the time of immigration, but also the economies of the countries since.

The economy of Afghanistan has suffered tremendously after three decades of war. After the Soviet Invasion in 1979, Afghanistan became the battleground of the Cold War. Concerned that Russian domination of Afghanistan could threaten US access to the oil resources of Central Asia, the American government helped finance and arm the *mujahideen*, anti-Soviet freedom fighters. The fighting broke out into civil war between communists, religious factions and different ethnic groups inside Afghanistan. This

fighting lasted ten years, ending with the withdrawal of Soviet troops in 1989. Many Afghans escaped the country due to the fighting, but before refugees could go back, civil war broke out again between rival anti-Soviet factions with Iran and Pakistan playing major support roles. In 1996, the Pakistan-backed Taliban faction took support of Kabul which became their base for extending its domination over the rest of Afghanistan. Eventually, Al Qaeda became headquartered in Afghanistan, and after the World Trade Center attack on 9/11, western powers led by the US invaded Afghanistan in 2002 (Takaki 2008: 419).

The Soviet Union and the civil war have since destroyed much of Afghanistan's economy. According to the CIA World Factbook, Afghanistan's GDP in 2012 stood at 34 billion while Iran's was much higher at 988 billion. Because of the economic disparity between both nations, it is not hard to imagine that Persian speakers are more associated with wealth and overt prestige than Dari speakers by both Farsi groups.

Prior to the Soviet Union invasion, Persian influence was also strong in the media. In an interview I conducted with M.F., a former resident of Kabul from 1965-1984, she recounted one theater in the city that played only international movies. This is where one could watch American, European or Turkish movies. These movies were always dubbed in Persian. The other movie theaters in the city played either Indian movies or Iranian movies. Afghan language movies were very rare.

The interviewee also states that "99.9% of all books in Afghanistan at this time came from Iran." This includes books written by Persian speakers and books from other parts of the world that were translated into Persian. Furthermore, the most popular

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magazines in Afghanistan came from Iran. The interviewee recounts, "There were so many nice magazines from Iran. There was *Jawanan* (lit. "The Youth"), *Itlaateh Haftagee* (lit."Weekly Information"), *Zaan-e Rooz* (lit. "Today's Woman") [….] Yes, there were Afghan magazines but no one was interested in them. They didn't have so much information or any of the interesting things the other ones had" (M.F., Personal Communication, December 15, 2013).

Preceding the war that prompted most Afghans to seek political asylum, Persian was often seen and heard daily in different forms of media. The Persian dialect sometimes exclusively dominated certain mediums, such as books or movies, but even in cases such as magazines, where both Dari and Persian mediums existed, Persian was still the preferred option. Language varieties depicted in the media can often shape language attitudes and cause speakers to view that variety as more prestigious or "standard". Thus, it is very plausible that during this time period, many Dari speakers viewed the Persian variety as the more overtly prestigious dialect. The constant exposure to the Persian dialect can also account for the unidirectionality of comprehension in colloquial speech between the two dialects.

After the communist invasion, Iran and Afghanistan's mutual foreign relations became very tense due to the different government ideologies, and thus many of the books and movies being imported into Afghanistan from Iran ceased. A few Dari books were introduced, some Russian, but in the cinema, mostly Indian movies were played (A. Satti, Personal Communication, December 15, 2013).

In more recent times, however, there is a new source of Persian dialect exposure in Afghanistan. After decades in Iran, many refugees who are returning to Afghanistan are returning with Persian accents or children with Persian accents. This is an additional way to account for the unidirectionality of comprehension between the two dialects.

3.3 Context and climate of the Afghan refugee population in Iran

It has thus far been established why first generation Dari speakers in the US may view the Persian dialect as more prestigious than their own. Persian speakers, however, may have a negative perception of Dari due to the current context of the Afghan refugee population in Iran. Millions of Afghans have become refugees since the 1980s. More refugees around the world originate from Afghanistan than any other country (Human Rights Watch, 2013). According to government population figures, as of October 2011, Iran was hosting 840,158 registered Afghan refugees. According to 2012 estimates by Iran's Official Bureau for Aliens and Foreign Immigrants' Affairs, there are 1.4 to 2 million unregistered Afghan refugees who work and live in Iran, totaling between 2.2 to 2.8 million Afghan refugees in Iran. This accounts for 34% of the Afghan refugee population worldwide in 2011, according to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

Because of their refugee status, Afghans are highly stigmatized in Iranian society, as shown by the many human rights abuses refugees face daily including: "No Go Areas", limitations on the right to work, denial of education, failure to prevent child labor, denial of citizenship and marriage rights, and vigilante justice. "No Go Areas" are restrictions on areas where foreigners (registered or unregistered) can live, and thus work or get access to education. Initially these areas were restricted to border provinces, but as of

2013, two thirds of Iran has become a "No Go Area". In more recent years, Iran has also steadily introduced more limitations on where Afghans can work. Registered Afghan refugees must apply for a temporary work permit for employment, which is both expensive and not consistently granted. Those who are able to obtain one are also restricted to employment in fields that usually involve hazardous or heavy manual labor with poor pay such as digging, making acid for batteries, burning garbage, and mining. Any refugee found in a different occupation or living in a "No Go Area" is subject to deportation (Human Rights Watch, 2013).

Furthermore, until 1992, Iran allowed Afghan refugees to register as involuntary migrants, which allowed them to have a work permit, basic healthcare, education for their children, and residency in Iran. After 1992, however, residence rights were not automatically granted to new arrivals and because Iran does not have asylum procedures allowing newly arriving Afghans to lodge refugee claims, the majority of newly arriving Afghans have remained undocumented and are thus subject to deportation. The children who remain unregistered in Iran are barred from education and at risk of taking on exploitive or hazardous forms of labor. Those who are registered refugees and make it to the university level are banned from studying 30 subjects at Iranian universities including: atomic physics, nuclear engineering, chemical engineering, and aerospace engineering. Furthermore, Iran denies citizenship to Afghan refugees, their children, and to the children of an Iranian woman married to an Afghan man. With very few exceptions, citizenship is not an option for Afghans in Iran. Moreover, vigilante justice is a common occurrence in Iran against Afghans. If an Afghan is accused of a crime, it is

not uncommon for local law enforcement to turn a blind eye as angry mobs of Iranian

citizens loot and burn entire Afghan neighborhoods (Human Rights Watch 2013).

In this climate, it would not be surprising for the Afghan dialect to be highly

stigmatized in Iranian society and associated with the poor, working, uneducated class.

These perceptions may persist for Iranian-Americans who have emigrated from Iran

during the refugee influx of Afghans in Iran and those who retain ties to Iran, regardless

of how long they have lived in America. Although language attitudes are not immutable,

there must be a significant catalyst for language attitudes to change. The next section

suggests however that these previous attitudes have only strengthened by the U.S.

context. This raises the question of whether the language attitudes prevalent in first

generation Afghan and Iranian-Americans can be transmitted to the second generation.

3.4 Afghans and Iranians in America

3.4.1   Context for Afghan Immigration

The language attitudes of both Afghan and Iranian Americans are further shaped

by the current socioeconomic status of both immigrant groups in America. As described

above, the context for Afghan immigration is decades of war, starting with the Soviet

Invasion of 1979. The refugees who left Afghanistan escaped through desert and

mountain terrain into either Iran or Pakistan. Since many refugees literally *escaped* from

a country with an already devastated economy, there was little chance to bring things

with them, and thus most refugees came to their host country with very few resources.

Those who successfully trekked across mountains into Pakistan or Iran were often herded

into crowded, dangerous and disease infested camps. In the midst of grinding poverty,

many parents were forced to make their children work in brick and carpet weaving

factories where they were beaten, sexually abused, and given opium to stimulate them to work harder. The lucky ones to escape the camps made it to the US and Europe under refugee status. By 2007, the Afghan population totaled 240,000 in America. Roughly 60,000 Afghan immigrants have settled in the San Francisco Bay Area, mostly in Fremont, dubbing the city to many as "little Kabul" (Takaki 2008: 421).

3.4.2 Context for Iranian immigration to the US

Iranian immigration to America came in two waves. The first wave of immigration was from 1950 to 1977, ending right before the Iranian Revolution. According to INS data, in the 1960's, 369 Iranian immigrants arrived on average each year and steadily increased to 1,253 per year, reaching 2,351 in 1977. In 1979-1980, there were 51,310 Iranian students enrolled in American universities, the highest enrollment of foreign students from a single country (Torbat 2002). There was also a sharp increase of Iranian students and visitors during this time frame. This migration was triggered by Iran's recovering economy from WWII and from U.S. involvement in Iran. The Iranian government began an industrialization program with an emphasis on modern technology. However, Iran lacked the higher institutions to train such skilled workers. Thus, this provided a major incentive for students to study abroad in industrial countries, like the United States (Der-Martirosian 2008).

During this initial phase, Iranian immigration was meant to be temporary since most immigrants were students who aspired to return home after the completion of their degree for business opportunities. Furthermore, there wasn't much of an incentive to stay in America because the U.S. economy was struggling in the 1970's and Iran at the same time had a booming economy and skyrocketing profits from oil revenues. The U.S. was

the preferred destination for Iranian students because of its close ties to Iran at the time and also because of the availability of educational and job opportunities. English was also taught as a standard foreign language in Iranian schools and familiarity with English directed most students to English speaking countries for higher education (Der-Martirosian 2008). However, after the Islamic Revolution, most students studying abroad chose to stay in their host country due to either their own opposition to the new Iranian government or the Iranian government's hostility toward Western educated citizens.

The second wave of migration began with the Iranian Islamic Revolution (1978-1979) which overthrew the Shah's regime and established the Islamic Republic in Iran. Islamic fundamentalism gained popularity among the general population but it did not receive strong support from intellectual circles centered mainly in universities. Only a very small fraction of faculty was in favor of the Islamic system. There was also hostility from the government toward the Western educated professors who often advocated Western style higher educational systems in Iran. Subsequently, Iran's universities were shut down for three years in order to create new curricula for the Islamic university system. Many secular students and professors who were against the Islamization of universities were purged from their positions and consequently, many left Iran to Western countries (Torbat 2002).

The continued political oppression and authoritarian practices further pushed a greater number of Iranians to emigrate. Those that left included the educated elite, political activists, intellectuals, people associated with the previous regime, technocrats, wealthy entrepreneurs, and members of religious minorities, especially Baha'is and Jews (Torbat 2002). Since the mid-1990's, Iranian immigration to the U.S. has slowed down.

Especially after 9/11, acquisition of permanent residency by those from the Middle East has become much more tedious and discouraging (Der-Martirosian 2008).

Although both the Afghan and the Iranian immigration to the US were sparked by a changing government, the unique contexts of each migration led to the overall different socioeconomic statuses of each immigrant group in America, further contributing to the language attitudes held by Farsi speakers.

3.4.3   *Current socio-economic status of Afghan and Iranian-Americans*

The current socioeconomic status of the two immigrant groups in America can further account for the continuing biases in the first generation and provide a basis for the language attitudes of the second generation. The current context in America supports historical language attitudes whereby Persian is regarded as a more overtly prestigious dialect because Iranian-Americans, as a group, seem to be more socioeconomically successful than Afghan-Americans. According to the 2010-2012 U.S. Census, there were 470,227 people who claimed Iranian ancestry living in the United States, the largest number of Iranians outside of Iran and Turkey. Los Angeles has the highest concentration of Iranian immigrants, with about 35% of the U.S. population of Iranians in the Los Angeles Area which includes five counties: LA, San Bernadino, Ventura, Riverside and Orange. Iranians have been very successful as a minority group in America. According to Der-Martirosian (2008), "Iranians are one of the most distinctive groups in the U.S. They constitute one of the most numerous new immigrant groups from the Middle East and one of the highest status foreign born groups in the United States." The 2010-2012 Census also indicates that 59.4% of Iranian-Americans over the age of 25 have a bachelor's degree or higher. This is significantly higher than the 33.2% reported for Afghan-

Americans in the same year. Furthermore, the median family income for Iranian-Americans between 2010-2012 was $83,290, a significantly larger amount than the $50,919 reported for Afghans.

Another indicator of Iranian-Americans' higher socioeconomic status is the various professional associations established in the United States. In Southern California and other areas where Iranians are concentrated, there are dozens of these associations. Included are: The Network of Iranian Professionals of Orange Country, Society of Iranian Engineers and Architects, Iranian Lawyers Association, Society of Iranian Medical Doctors, Association of Iranian Professors and Scholars, Iranian Dental Association of California and many others. Information from these associations indicates that many Iranians are engaged in highly professional jobs. Iranian-Americans have also established the National Iranian American Council which is a non-profit organization "dedicated to advancing the interests of the Iranian-American community" (National Iranian American Council Website). In comparison, the Afghan-American community does not have an equivalent to the Iranian American Council and has only a small handful of associations in America, with virtually none being professional associations.

One can postulate that the higher socio-economic status of Iranian-Americans compared to Afghan-Americans is due to the historical context of immigration. Iranian-Americans came from a much more economically sound country with more resources, whose emigration process did not require them to migrate as refugees. Furthermore, the first wave of immigration happened decades before the first Afghan wave of migration, with most immigrants from this time period being educated, skilled professionals. Additionally, many professional Iranian immigrants were able to acquire employment in

their expertise (as physicians, engineers, professors), whereas immigrants from Afghanistan with the same occupation very rarely were able to continue their former job in America. Der-Martirosian (2008) also theorized that Iranians were able to successfully use their co-ethnic networking ties to be successful in America. A disproportionate amount of religious minorities came from Iran to America (including Jews, Christians, and Bahai's). These religious minorities make up 25% of the Iranian American population, but only 2% of the population of Iran. These religious minorities had a significant and unique advantage since they were able to tap into existing ties in America, which became an advantage for all Iranian immigrants who used their co-ethnic networking ties.

Another factor in American society that may shape language attitudes for both groups is American television. Although neither group is heavily prevalent in the media, the few instances of exposure for both groups are vastly different. There currently exists a reality show *Shahs of the Sunset* which chronicles the wealthy and glamorous lives of Iranian-Americans who live in Beverly Hills. This is the second Iranian-American reality show in America; the first chronicled the life of an Iranian princess from the overthrown Pahlavi dynasty who came to America to become a country singer. This is in stark contrast to images shown in the media of Afghan-Americans, who have never had any reality shows, but are often associated in news outlets with the military involvement in Afghanistan and related topics (i.e. the Taliban, women's rights, etc.) or victims of Islamophobic attacks.

3.5 Persian in America

   Another important aspect to consider that may shape Farsi language attitudes in the U.S. is non-Farsi speakers' approach to the language. In the U.S., Farsi is most often referred to as "Persian", a term meant to describe the language spoken in both Afghanistan and Iran. However, the term "Persian" can be used to exclusively refer to the Iranian dialect and people, while it cannot be used to exclusively describe the Afghan community or dialect. In fact, many people of Iranian descent self-identify as "Persian" or consider themselves "Persian" speakers, while it is extremely rare for someone from the Afghan community to use that term for self-identification, instead preferring the term "Afghan". Furthermore, universities offering "Persian language courses" almost exclusively teach the Persian dialect to their students. According to the "Less Commonly Taught Languages" database from the Center for Advanced Research of Language Acquisition at the University of Minnesota, a Farsi course that teaches the Dari dialect is offered in only 5 post-secondary institutions in the U.S., two of which include military institutes. This is in comparison to 96 U.S universities offering Farsi language courses which exclusively teach the Iranian dialect. Furthermore, the approach that Persian is the "standard" Farsi dialect is very prevalent on major internet websites. For instance, "Google Translate" translates only into the Persian dialect and does not offer any alternate dialect translations. Moreover, translation into Farsi on websites like Wikipedia or BBC news is also only offered in Persian.

3.6 Hypotheses for This Study

   After considering the historical and social contexts of Dari and Persian speakers, the main hypothesis of this study is that the Persian guise will be ranked more favorably

over the Dari guise by all participants. Specifically, I hypothesize that both Afghan and Iranian-Americans will attribute overt prestige to Persian speakers. Thus, one would expect that the rating for personality traits which indicate status, i.e. *educated, intelligent and wealthy,* would clearly favor the Persian guise. Second, I hypothesize that solidarity traits, i.e. *nice, reliable, (less) gossipy* or *(less) annoying,* will favor the participants' own group identity, a trend found in many matched guise studies including Lambert's (1960) original study.

Furthermore, differences between media depictions and motivations for immigration between Dari and Persian speakers may have created prominent differences in the dimensions *feminine, fashionable,* and *religious.* These traits are also very salient in my experiences and knowledge based in the Farsi speaking community. The Persian guise is expected to be favored as more *feminine* and *fashionable*, partly because of current media depictions of Iranian-Americans as fashionable residents of Beverly Hills in the popular reality show *Shahs of the Sunset*, and partly because these traits are often associated with wealth. Moreover, I expect that the Dari guise will be considered more *religious* (in the context of Islam) since Afghan-Americans are usually associated with Islam in the media and because the context of immigration for Afghan-Americans was not secularly motivated as it was for Iranian immigrants. These traits were included for exploratory purposes in order to test this impression empirically, but without using it as a way of testing the hypothesis about prestige. Future research may help us understand how being "fashionable", "feminine", and "religious" aligns with prestige and its role in the context of language maintenance, but until then the aim is to simply document any differences in perception that might exist.

The other research question in this study posed whether the language attitudes between first and second generation Afghan and Iranian-Americans will differ. One might expect that the second generation would have different Farsi language attitudes than the first generation due to vastly dissimilar societal upbringings (growing up in the US versus Afghanistan/Iran). However, I hypothesize that the U.S. context including continued socioeconomic disparities between Afghan and Iranian-Americans, differences in media depictions, and the approach that "Persian" is presented as the standard both in the university classroom as well as on major internet websites have influenced second generation attitudes in the same direction as the first generation's. Furthermore, I hypothesize that these factors coupled with the possible transmission of language attitudes from their parents will yield no difference between the first and second generation, thus the first generation's language attitudes will be no more salient than the second generations.

Chapter 4: Methodology

4.1 Study Design

The primary method of investigation for this study was a modified version of Lambert et al.'s (1960) matched guise design, which collected both quantitative and qualitative data. The quantitative data was collected from an online survey where participants heard and ranked Dari and Persian speakers on a sliding scale from 0-100 on ten personality traits. The qualitative component consisted of an optional response section in a short answer format that was presented after every audio clip and allowed participants to add additional comments about the speaker.

As briefly described in Chapter 2, the matched guise design is meant to elicit language attitudes from participants that would otherwise be difficult to obtain from overt methods such as a direct questionnaire. The matched guise design requires a list of personality traits that will be included in the study design, recordings of a bilingual/bi-dialectal speaker who will act as the "matched guise element", recordings of other speakers to be used as "fillers", controlled semantic content, and a questionnaire. The bilinguals are recorded speaking both languages (or dialects in this case) and interspersed with other recordings, "filler voices," to prevent listeners from recognizing the same speaker. All recordings are then presented as different speakers to the listeners, who will be asked to form an impression of these speakers and complete a questionnaire based on different personality traits. The key variable is the evaluation of the *same* speaker in two different speaker guises.

Thus, the first thing that had to be determined for this study design was the personality traits that should be tested. The personality traits chosen in the questionnaire were: *educated, intelligent, wealthy, nice, fashionable, feminine, religious, reliable, gossipy and annoying*. The reason these variables were chosen are twofold. First, many of these variables fall in categories that represent either 'status' (viz. *intelligent, wealthy*, and *educated*) or 'solidarity' (viz. *reliable*, *gossipy*, *annoying*, and *nice*), a divide that was found significant in Lambert's study. Furthermore, these variables represent personality traits that I hypothesize to be uniquely significant to the two immigrant groups based on the sociopolitical context of Afghan and Iranian-Americans described in Chapter 3 and on my own membership in the Afghan-American community (viz. *feminine, religious,*

and *fashionable*). The trait *religious* is expected to be interpreted in the context of Islam by participants because Islam is the dominant religion in both Iran and Afghanistan.

The next task in designing this experiment was finding a bi-dialectal speaker who sounded native in both dialects. Although ideally it is best in matched guise studies to use a bi-dialectal speaker that is native in both dialects, this proved to be extremely difficult to find. Therefore, I conducted a pilot study with three potential bi-dialectal candidates in order to find the most ideal bi-dialectal speaker. The pilot study consisted of three second generation participants who listened to the speaker and were asked to rank the speakers on the traits listed above and describe the speaker in a short response section. The candidate who was the most successful at seeming native in both dialects in the pilot study was chosen to participate based on the participants' responses. The bi-dialectal speaker that was chosen was a thirty eight year old Afghan-American female who was a native Dari speaker and became fluent in Persian at the age of twenty. To further establish that the "matched guise" excerpts were interpreted as native speakers of each dialect, included above each audio recording was a sentence that prefaced which city each speaker was from in Iran or Afghanistan. The speakers were said to either come from the capital cities Tehran, Iran or Kabul, Afghanistan because each city's variety is considered the "standard" of each respective dialect.

After finding a bi-dialectal speaker, it was necessary to determine the semantic content of the recordings. Because semantic content inevitably influences people's responses (Smyth, Jacobs & Rogers 2003), the goal of the study design was to control the effect the semantic content may have on the perceptions of listeners. Three strategies were used in order to achieve this. First, the audio recordings were extracted from

informal interviews, differing from Lambert et al.'s original matched guise study in which speakers read from a script, in order to account for listeners' ability to differentiate between spontaneous and read speech (Guaïtella 1999). Second, during the informal interviews, I asked questions only about mundane topics such as the weather, movies, or how to make an omelette. Finally, I created two online versions of the survey which varied the semantic content of the speech sample of the bi-dialectal speaker. Essentially, there were a total of four recordings from the bi-dialectal speaker. Two of the recordings were instructions explaining how to make an omelette in Dari and Persian, and in the other two, the speaker discussed the weather in each dialect. Each survey was then "matched" with one of the two recordings from each topic so that each survey had two recordings of the bi-dialectal speaker in each dialect with a different topic. This strategy in particular attempted to control for semantic content while also investigating whether the listeners' language attitudes stayed consistent despite varied content (see 'Appendix A' to compare transcripts of all samples).

The next aspect I addressed in the study design was minimizing the chance that the bi-dialectal speaker would be recognized as the same person since they would be presented twice in each survey as a different speaker. This involved acquiring "filler" speakers who the participants would also hear and judge, but whose evaluations would not count in the results of the study. The "fillers" of this study were two Dari speakers and two Persian speakers who also spoke about mundane topics from informal interviews. These recordings were used in both surveys so that the participant heard a total of six speakers in each version of the survey. The order of presentation was also carefully selected in order to minimize the possibility that the bi-dialectal speaker would

not be recognized twice in the survey. Therefore, the matched guise recordings were

presented as speaker #2 and #6 for an adequate gap between the two recordings. The

order of presentation for both surveys can be seen in the table below:

Table 2

Speaker Number	Dialect spoken	Status
Speaker #1	Persian	Filler
Speaker #2	Persian	Matched Guise
Speaker # 3	Dari	Filler
Speaker #4	Dari	Filler
Speaker #5	Persian	Filler
Speaker #6	Dari	Matched Guise

The final aspect to consider was the actual format of the questionnaire. After

conducting several pilot studies to test the best possible method to elicit language

attitudes from the participants, it was determined that the most effective method to find

clear language attitudes was to employ a sliding scale for each personality trait combined

with a free response question through an online questionnaire. Thus, what participants

saw on each page was a "new" speaker who spoke for roughly twenty seconds about

everyday topics (i.e. weather, movies, food, etc.). The participants were then asked to

judge each speaker on ten personality traits on a sliding scale from 0-100 and answer a

free-response question which asked the listener what was most striking about the speaker

(See 'Appendix B' for a screenshot of a survey page).

4.2 Participants

The participants in this study are adult first and second generation Afghan and

Iranian-Americans who are fluent enough in English to complete the survey and have at

least semi-fluency in Farsi in order to understand the audio clips. Participants were recruited through social and community ties in both communities. The demographic information collected was fluency in Farsi, age, length of residence in the U.S., gender, education background, and ethnicity. It was necessary to determine participants' fluency in Farsi in order to determine their capability to participate in the survey. It was expected that participant age and length of residence in the U.S. would correlate to any potential generational differences between participants. Participant ethnicity was included in order to test for any significant interactions between ethnicity and rankings, especially for solidarity traits. Participants were also asked to provide their education background. Intuitively, one might expect that higher education would diminish language stereotypes since higher education usually teaches people to look at the world with a more objective lens. Participant gender was also expected to correlate to participants' rankings, especially in *status* traits since women are often more aware of language biases (Labov 1966; Labov 2001).

4.3 Predictions

The first research question this study considered is how speaker guise may affect participants' ranking in terms of overt and covert prestige. It is hypothesized that the Persian guise will be considered more overtly prestigious by all Farsi speaking participants, but each ethnic group will rank their own dialect group as more covertly prestigious. For this hypothesis to be supported, guise should not interact with participant ethnicity for the 'status' traits *educated, wealthy* and *intelligent,* but guise should be a main effect for these traits. In order for the hypothesis on 'solidarity' traits to be borne out, guise should interact with participant ethnicity for the traits *gossipy*, *annoying, nice*

and *reliable*, where each ethnicity ranks their own guise more favorably in these dimensions.

The other research question in this study posed whether the language attitudes between first and second generation Farsi speakers will differ. I hypothesize that these factors coupled with the possible transmission of language attitudes from their parents will yield no difference between the first and second generation, thus the first generation's language attitudes will be no more salient than the second generation's. This hypothesis would be supported if there were no pairwise interactions between "age of immigration" and "guise", likewise if there is a pairwise interaction between these two factors then this hypothesis would not be supported.

The final predictions for this study involve the traits *feminine, fashionable,* and *religious,* which were included for exploratory purposes. I hypothesized that there will be a salient difference in rankings between the two guises on these traits based on my experiences in the Farsi speaking community. Thus, for this hypothesis to be supported, these traits should have either the independent variables 'guise' or 'age of immigration' as a significant main effect or interaction effect in order for these dimensions to be relevant to the research questions in this study.

Chapter 5: Results

There were 65 participants who began the study. However, 18 participants did not complete the survey or did not complete it correctly. Thus, the results of 47 participants were used for analysis. Using multiple linear regression, I followed the steps as described by Gries (2009) using the software package R. The responses to each trait were fit into

separate multiple linear regression models. Only the responses specific to the matched guise speaker were used. These responses ranged from 1-100 and served as the dependent variable in the model. Each original model contained all potential main effects and pairwise interactions for the following independent variables: guise, semantic content, gender, education background, participant age, age of immigration, and participant ethnicity. Each non-significant predictor was then eliminated in a stepwise fashion until the model only included at least marginally significant main effects or interactions. In the following sections, the results for each trait are described and only the predictors when $p<.01$ is elaborated on. When $.01<p<.05$, only the graphs displaying the direction of the interactions are presented. Because $p<.1$ is only marginally significant, these results are included in the tables but are not further expanded upon in the text. Graphs for significant main effects are not included in the interest of brevity and because the magnitude and direction of these effects can be seen directly in the coefficient tables.

5.1 Educated

As seen in Table 3 below, 'guise' is the only statistically significant predictor for the trait 'educated'. Participants who hear the speaker in the guise of a Persian woman assigned her an "educated" score that is on average 11.4 higher than the participants who heard her in a Dari guise.

Table 3

Trait: Educated	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(>|t|)
(Intercept)	71.019	7.812	9.091	2.04e-14 ***
Guise(Persian)	11.404	4.301	2.652	0.00945 **
Education Background	-4.401	2.469	-1.783	0.07798 .
Residual standard error: 20.85 on 91 degrees of freedom				
Multiple R-squared: 0.1009, Adjusted R-squared: 0.08112				
F-statistic: 5.105 on 2 and 91 DF, p-value: 0.007921				

5.2 Intelligent

'Guise' is the most significant predictor for evaluating how participants rank the speaker on 'intelligence'. Participants who hear the speaker in the guise of a Persian woman assigned her an "intelligent" score that is 18.68 higher on average than those participants who heard her in a Dari guise. Furthermore, the data demonstrates a less significant effect of the participants' educational background on 'intelligent' in a negative direction whereby the greater the participants' educational background was the lower they scored the speaker on 'intelligence', irrespective of the speaker guise.

Table 4

Trait: Intelligent	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(>|t|)
(Intercept)	69.5602	8.1877	8.496	4.47e-13 ***
Semantic Content(weather)	4.7677	5.8732	0.812	0.41911
Guise(Persian)	18.6818	6.0214	3.103	0.00258 **
Age of Immigration	0.3305	0.192	1.722	0.08862 .
Education Background	-6.1644	2.3702	-2.601	0.01091 *
Semantic Content(weather):Guise(Persian)	-14.8818	8.2561	-1.803	0.07489 .
Residual standard error: 19.97 on 88 degrees of freedom				
Multiple R-squared: 0.1807, Adjusted R-squared: 0.1341				
F-statistic: 3.881 on 5 and 88 DF, p-value: 0.003172				

5.3 Wealthy

The most significant predictor for 'wealth' is the guise of the speaker. Participants who heard the speaker's sentences in the guise of a Persian woman assigned her a "wealthy" score that is 13.91 higher on average than those participants who heard her in a Dari guise. The most significant pairwise interaction is between "gender" and "participant ethnicity".

Table 5

Trait: Wealthy	Estimate	Std. Error	t-value	Pr(>|t|)
(Intercept)	70.939	26.1786	2.71	0.008234 **
Semantic Content (weather)	41.107	18.5973	2.21	0.029936 *
Guise (Persian)	13.9091	0.003601**	3	0.003601 **
Gender (Male)	-3.5192	7.2809	-0.483	0.630171
Participant Ethnicity (Iranian-American)	-12.8949	5.2479	-2.457	0.016167 *
Age of Immigration	1.9955	1.7766	1.123	0.264694
Participant Age	-0.7474	1.1935	-0.626	0.532927
Education Background	-14.3464	6.6619	-2.154	0.034289 *
Semantic Content (weather):Age of Immig.	2.5156	1.1817	2.129	0.036353 *
Semantic Content(weather):Participant Age	-1.9394	0.7992	-2.427	0.017486 *
Guise(Persian):Gender(Male)	-22.2662	8.4956	-2.621	0.010493 *
Gender(Male):Participant Ethn.(Iranian-Am.)	40.5572	9.9575	4.073	0.000108 ***
Age of Immigration: Education Background	-1.2087	0.5302	-2.28	0.025275 *
Participant Age: Education Background	0.6001	0.3165	1.896	0.061540 .
Residual standard error: 18.83 on 80 degrees of freedom				
Multiple R-squared: 0.3517, Adjusted R-squared: 0.2464				
F-statistic: 3.339 on 13 and 80 DF, p-value: 0.0004232				

Figure 1 (below) illustrates the direction of the interaction between "gender" and

"participant ethnicity" in predicting their assessment of the speaker as 'wealthy'.
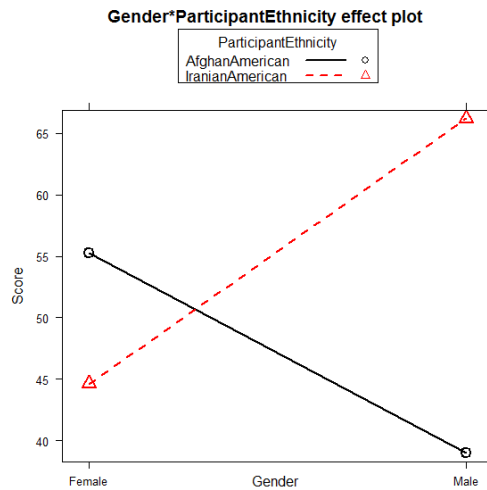

Figure 1

Female Afghan-American participants are more likely to rank the speaker (in

either guise) higher on 'wealth' than female Iranian-Americans. However, male Iranian-

American participants are more likely to rank the speaker higher than male Afghan-
Americans.

Other significant effects in the data (where $.01<p<.05$) indicate that there is a
negative effect on the score for 'wealth' based on the participants' higher educational
background, the participants' ethnicity (when they are Iranian-American) and the
semantic content (when the speaker talks about food, rather than the weather).
Additionally, there are interaction effects between "semantic content" and "age of
immigration", between "semantic content" and "participant age", between "guise" and
"gender", and between "age of immigration" and "education background". These
interaction effects are illustrated in the figures below:

Figure 2

Figure 3

Figure 4

Figure 5
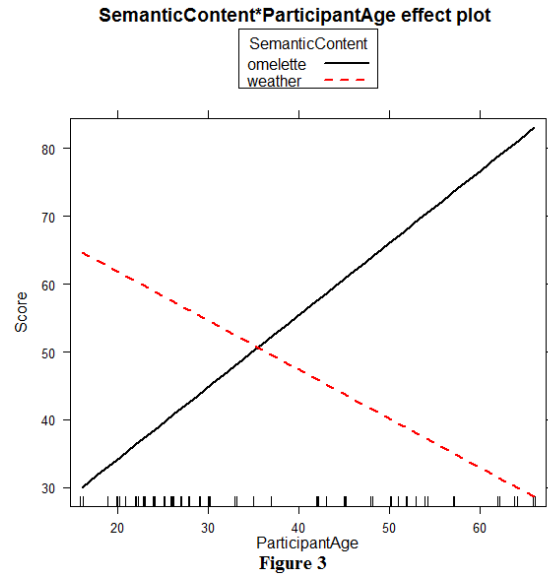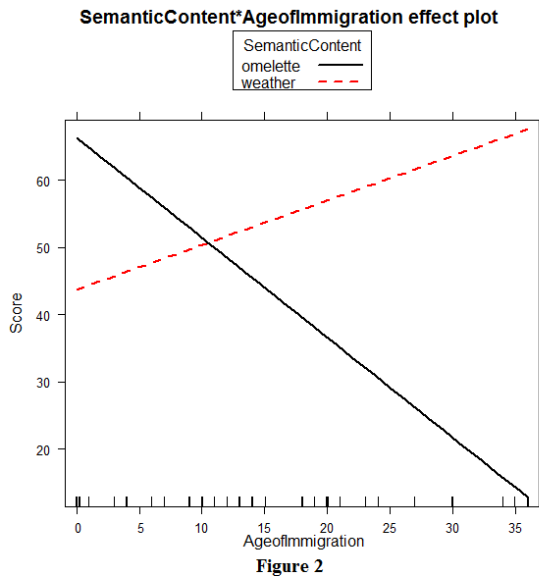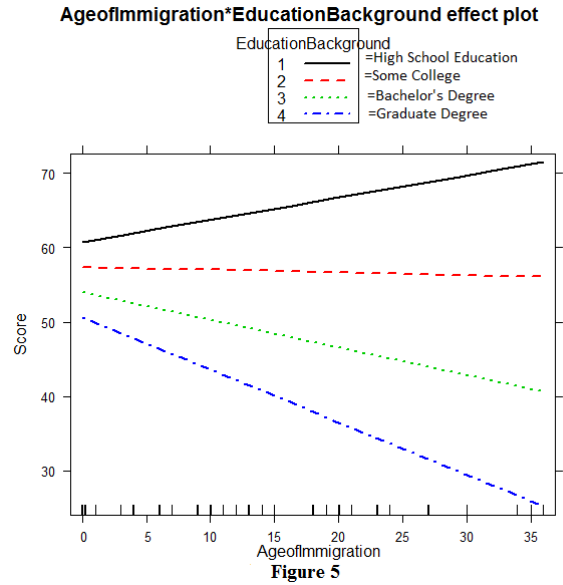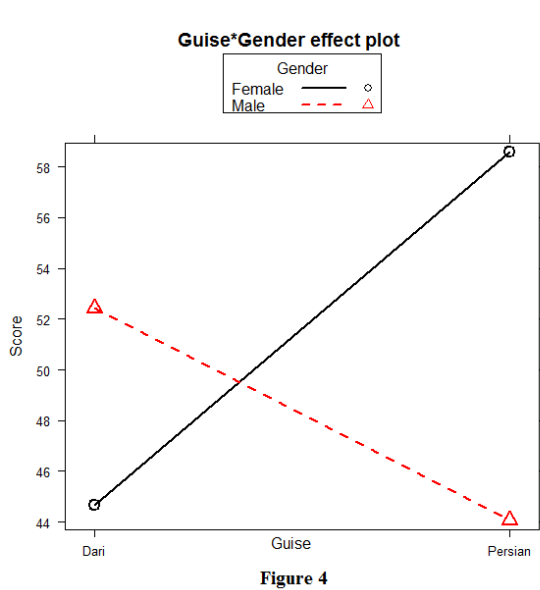
5.4 Nice

The predictors most significant for the trait 'nice' are semantic content and guise. Participants rank the speaker 62.06 points higher on average when she speaks about weather than food. This surprisingly strong main effect has to be understood in the context of the three interaction effects that include 'semantic content', discussed below. Furthermore, participants assigned a score that was 16.82 points higher on average when they heard the speaker in the Persian guise than when they heard her in the Dari guise. The most significant pairwise interaction is between semantic content and participant age.

Table 6

Trait: Nice	Estimate	Std. Error	t-value	Pr(>|t|)
(Intercept)	41.1707	12.3756	3.327	0.00130 **
Semantic Content (weather)	62.0627	13.4736	4.606	1.45e-05 ***
Guise(Persian)	16.8182	6.3798	2.636	0.00999 **
Participant Ethnicity(Iranian-American)	14.7608	7.3544	2.007	0.04796 *
Age of Immigration	0.8083	0.3562	2.269	0.02580 *
Participant Age	0.5368	0.3252	1.651	0.10248
Education Background	-6.6194	2.7024	-2.449	0.01639 *
Semantic	-22.4982	8.7476	-2.572	0.01187 *

Content(weather):Guise(Persian)				
Semantic (weather):Particip. Ethn.(Iran-Am.)	-19.5872	9.4555	-2.072	0.04138 *
Semantic Content(weather):Participant Age	-1.3133	0.3208	-4.094	9.71e-05 ***
Residual standard error: 21.16 on 84 degrees of freedom				
Multiple R-squared: 0.3151, Adjusted R-squared: 0.2417				
F-statistic: 4.293 on 9 and 84 DF, p-value: 0.0001305				

The figure below demonstrates the interaction between semantic content and participant age. The graph indicates that older participants rank the speaker lower on 'nice' when the speaker talks about weather. Conversely, the participants who immigrate later in life to the US are more likely to rank the speaker higher on 'nice' when the speaker talks about food.

Figure 6
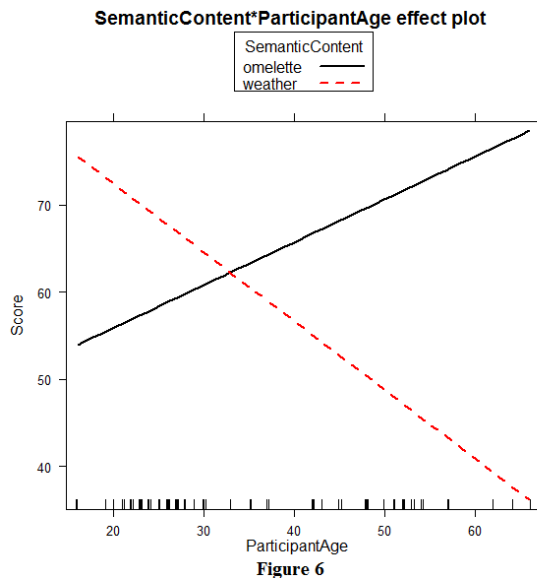
Other main effects that are significant in Table 6, where $.01<p<.05$, are participant ethnicity, age of immigration, and education background. Other significant pairwise interactions are between "semantic content" and "participant ethnicity", and

between "semantic content" and "guise". These interactions can be seen in the figures below.
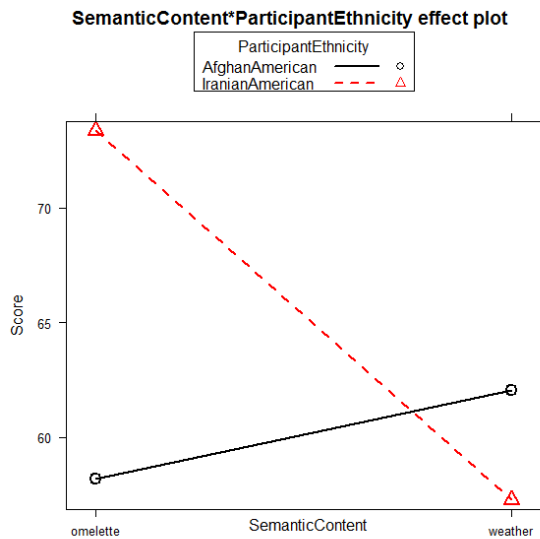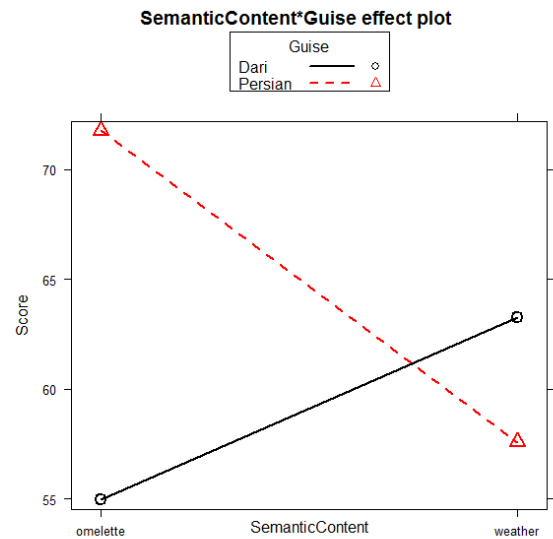

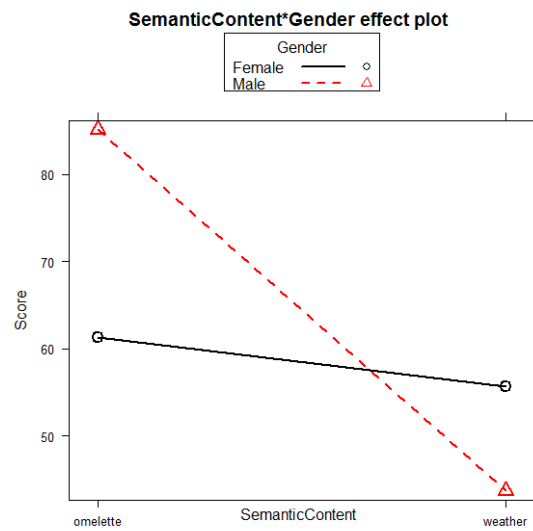Figure 7

Figure 8

5.5 Fashionable

The most significant predictors for 'fashionable' are guise, participant ethnicity and age of immigration. Participants ranked the Persian guise 14.21 points higher on average than the Dari guise. Iranian-American participants ranked the speaker 18.09 points on average lower than Afghan Americans. Moreover, participants ranked the speaker 1.32 points higher on average for every year older they immigrated to the US. The other significant predictor where $.01<p<.05$ is gender, where male has a positive effect on ranking.

Table 7

Trait: Fashionable	Estimate	Std. Error	t-value	Pr(>|t|)
(Intercept)	66.4386	9.0882	7.31	1.43e-10 ***
Semantic Content(weather)	-5.6192	5.6652	-0.992	0.324097
Guise(Persian)	14.2128	4.5197	3.145	0.002299 **

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Gender(Male)	28.8782	12.8001	2.256	0.026663 *
Participant Ethnicity (Iranian-American)	-18.0872	5.745	-3.148	0.002274 **
Age of Immigration	1.3224	0.3849	3.436	0.000921 ***
Participant Age	-0.5782	0.2939	-1.968	0.052402 .
Semantic Content(weather):Gender (Male)	-35.8822	11.2875	-3.179	0.002070 **
Gender(Male):Particip. Ethnicity (Iran-Am.)	25.8909	10.8531	2.386	0.019302 *
Gender(Male):Age of Immigration	-1.2835	0.5481	-2.341	0.021575 *
Residual standard error: 21.91 on 84 degrees of freedom				
Multiple R-squared: 0.3649, Adjusted R-squared: 0.2969				
F-statistic: 5.363 on 9 and 84 DF, p-value: 8.805e-06				

The most significant interaction is between semantic content and gender. As seen in the figure below, when the speaker talks about food, males rank her as more fashionable than females do. However when the speaker talks about weather, females rank the speaker as more fashionable.

Figure 9

Other significant interactions, where .01<p<.05, are between "gender" and "participant ethnicity" and between "gender" and "age of immigration", as seen in the figures below:
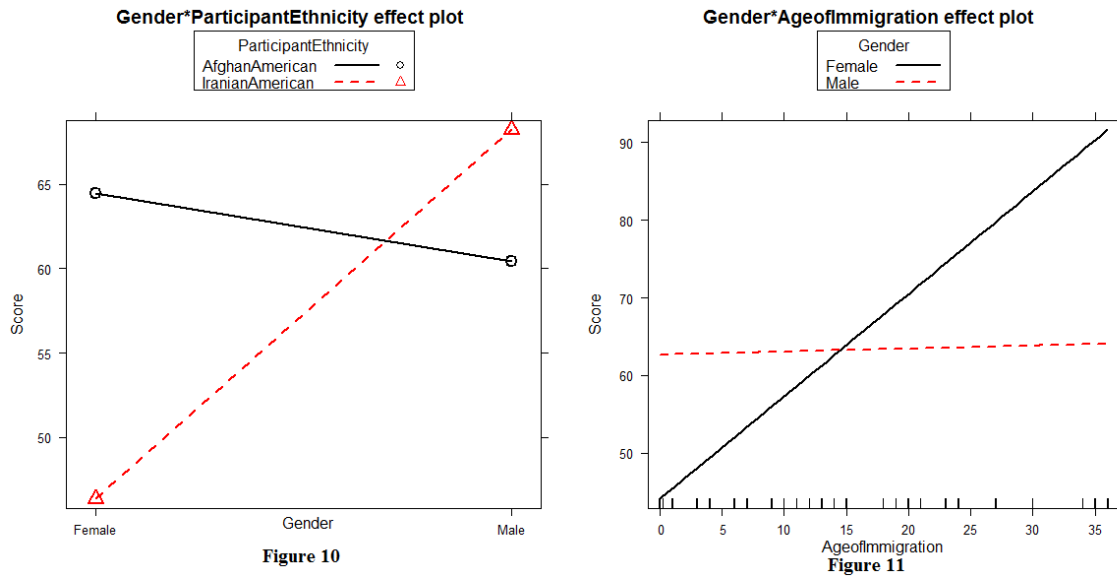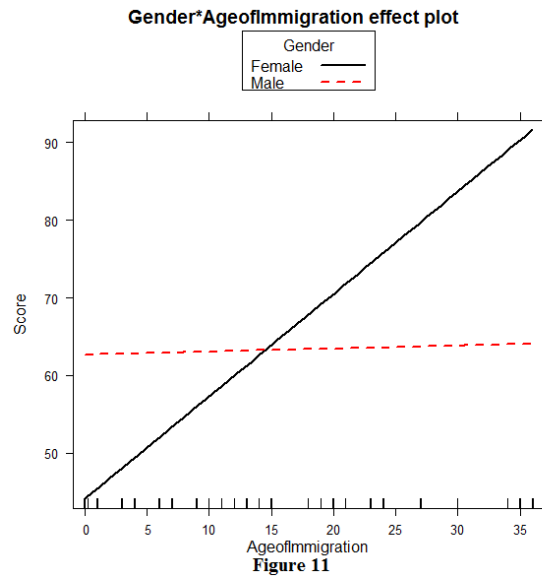

Figure 10

Figure 11

5.6 Feminine

The most significant predictors for this trait are semantic content and participant age. Speaking about the weather had a positive effect on ranking and participants assigned a score to the speaker that was 42.32 points higher on average than when she spoke about food. However, this main effect is qualified by the several interactions 'semantic content' is also involved in, discussed below. Furthermore, the data indicates that for every year older, the participant ranks the speaker 3.72 on average points higher on 'femininity'. A less significant trend showed that males scored the speaker 52.96 points on average lower than females. As discussed below, the independent variable "participant gender" is additionally involved in three interaction effects.

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Table 8

Trait: Feminine	Estimate	Std. Error	t-value	Pr(>|t|)
(Intercept)	2.64553	28.55814	0.093	0.926439
Semantic Content(weather)	42.32593	14.47193	2.925	0.004558 **
Guise(Persian)	5.48387	4.7198	1.162	0.248966
Gender(Male)	-52.96233	20.10311	-2.635	0.010230 *
Participant Ethnicity (Iranian-American)	15.84727	20.02064	0.792	0.431121
Age of Immigration	-2.43018	2.44829	-0.993	0.324095
Participant Age	3.7292	1.30172	2.865	0.005409 **
Education Background	15.76309	9.39363	1.678	0.097498 .
Semantic (weather):Particip. Ethn.(Iran-Am.)	-23.44295	9.69087	-2.419	0.017985 *
Semantic Content(weather):Participant Age	-0.97062	0.35827	-2.709	0.008352 **
Guise(Persian):Participant Ethn.(Iran.-Am.)	13.76613	8.08932	1.702	0.092942 .
Gender(Male):Participant Ethn.(Iran.-Am.)	29.92875	11.82333	2.531	0.013457 *
Gender(Male):Age of Immigration	-1.84168	0.93202	-1.976	0.051832 .
Gender(Male):Participant Age	1.74611	0.67148	2.6	0.011210 *
Participant Ethn.(Iran-Am.):Participant Age	1.60072	0.41837	3.826	0.000268 ***
Particip. Ethn.(Iran-Am.):Edu. Background	-21.79681	6.15525	-3.541	0.000689 ***
Age of Immigration:Participant Age	-0.05621	0.0272	-2.066	0.042250 *
Age of Immigration:Education Background	1.45317	0.67028	2.168	0.033332 *
Participant Age:Education Background	-0.9784	0.43749	-2.236	0.028300 *
Residual standard error: 18.58 on 75 degrees of freedom				
Multiple R-squared: 0.405, Adjusted R-squared: 0.2623				
F-statistic: 2.837 on 18 and 75 DF, p-value: 0.0008439				

The significant interactions are between "semantic content" and "participant age",

between "participant ethnicity" and "participant age", and between "participant ethnicity"

and "education background". Participants who were less than thirty-five years old ranked

the speaker as more "feminine" when she spoke about weather than when she spoke

about food. However speakers over the age of thirty five assigned the speaker a higher

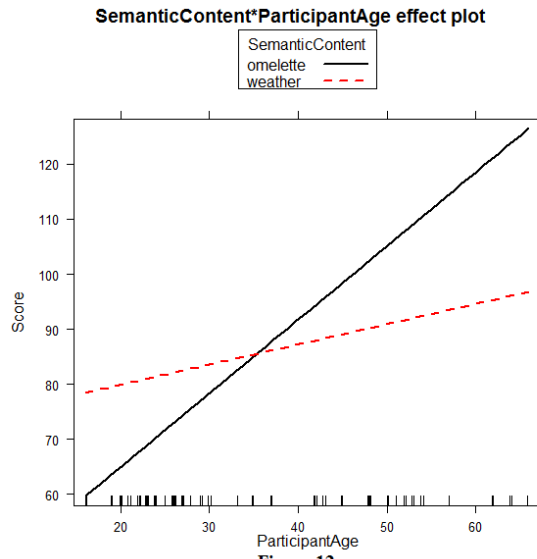score when she spoke about food as opposed to weather.

Figure 12

Afghan American participants who were younger tended to rank the participant as

more feminine than younger Iranian-American participants. However, after the age of

around 28 years, Iranian-Americans ranked the participant as more feminine than
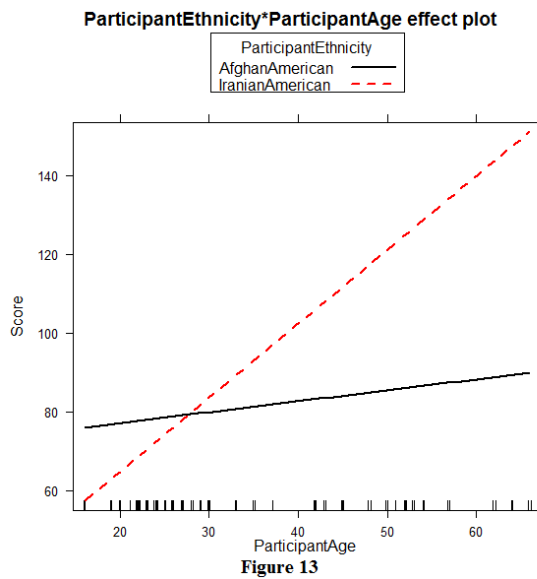
Afghan-Americans.

Figure 13

Iranian-Americans with graduate degrees tended to rank the speaker lower on 'femininity' than Afghan-Americans with the same educational background. However, Iranian-Americans with any other educational background ranked the speaker higher on average than Afghan-Americans with similar educational backgrounds. It seems overall, Afghan-Americans' rankings do not differ much with respect to education background, while education background is much more influential for Iranian-Americans, such that for Iranian-American participants with less education assigned the speaker much higher 'feminine' scores, regardless of guise, than those with more education.
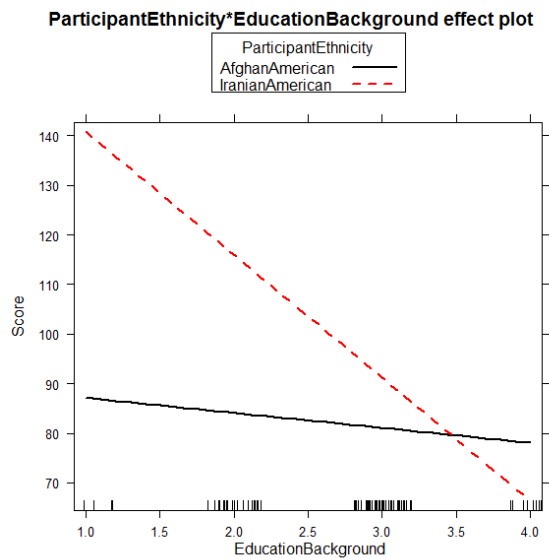
Figure 14

The other significant interactions, where .01<p<.05 are between "semantic content" and "participant ethnicity", between "gender" and "participant ethnicity", between "gender" and "participant age", between "age of immigration and "participant age", between "age of immigration" and "education background", and between "participant age" and "education background". All these interactions can be seen in the six figures below.
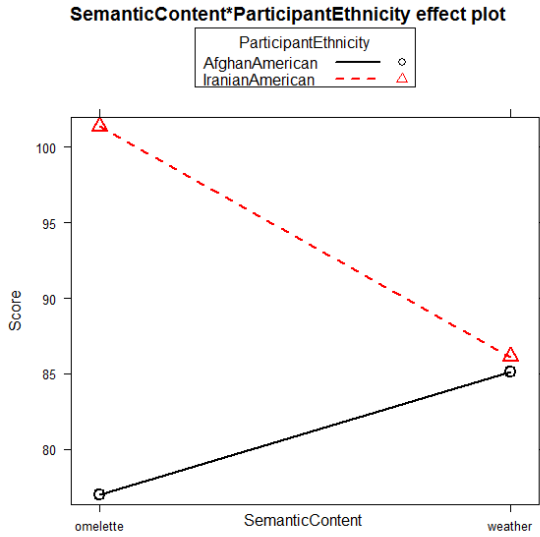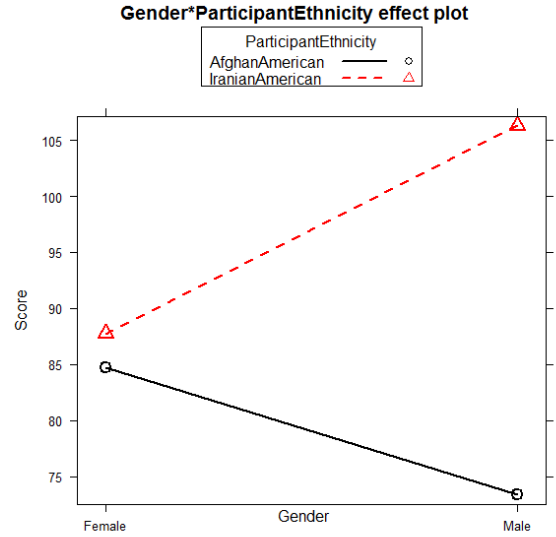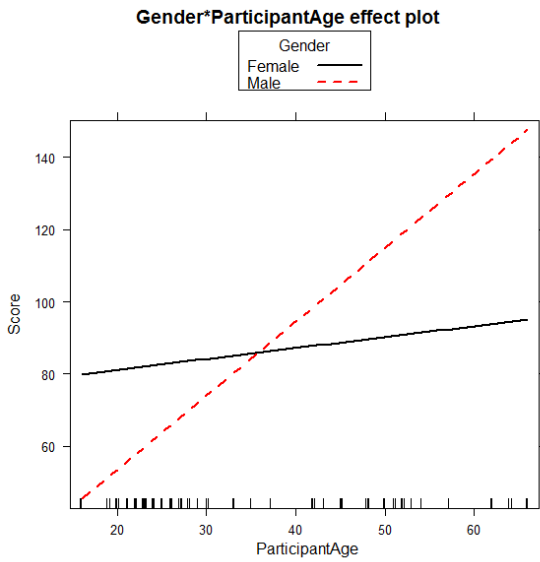
SemanticContent*ParticipantEthnicity effect plot

Figure 15

Gender*ParticipantEthnicity effect plot

Figure 16

Gender*ParticipantAge effect plot

Figure 17

AgeofImmigration*ParticipantAge effect plot

Figure 18

AgeofImmigration*EducationBackground effect plot
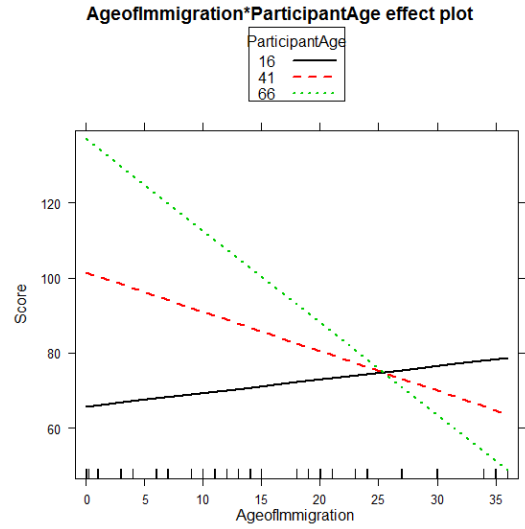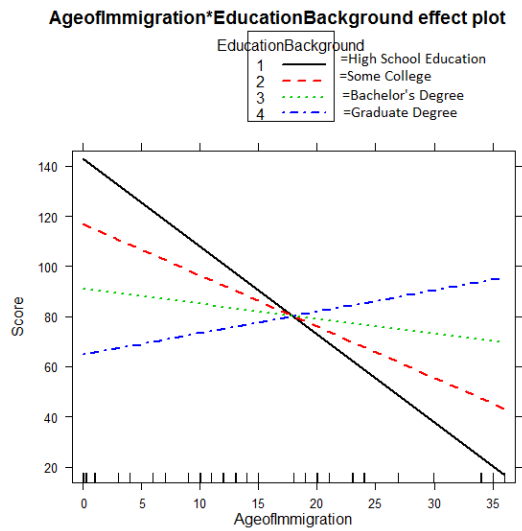
Figure 19
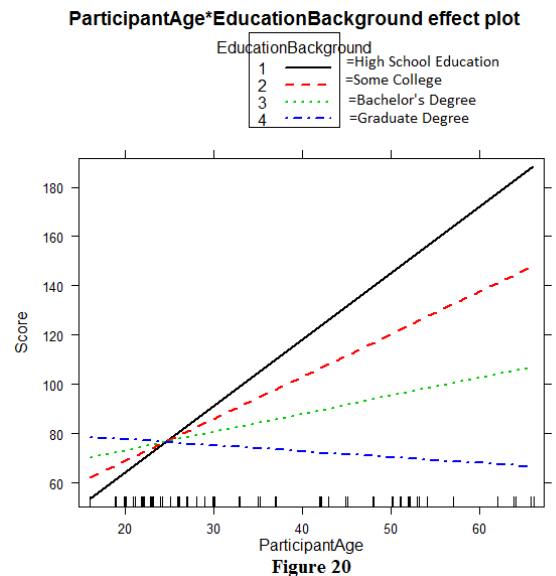

ParticipantAge*EducationBackground effect plot

Figure 20

5.7 Religious

There are no significant predictors for this trait when p<.01. However, there are some less significant predictors when p<.05. The predictors that have a positive main effect on the 'religious' rating are age of immigration and Iranian-American participant ethnicity. The predictors that have a negative main effect on rating are the participants' age and education background.

Table 9

Trait: Religious	Estimate	Std. Error	t-value	Pr(>|t|)
(Intercept)	79.6793	25.2876	3.151	0.00225 **
Semantic Content(weather)	22.7352	12.1269	1.875	0.06426 .
Participant Ethnicity (Iranian-American)	11.6098	5.11	2.272	0.02561 *
Age of Immigration	4.2242	1.7421	2.425	0.01744 *
Participant Age	-2.8092	1.1583	-2.425	0.01742 *
Education Background	-17.8524	7.0895	-2.518	0.01367 *
Semantic Content(weather):Participant Age	-0.6197	0.3222	-1.923	0.05782 .
Age of Immigration:Education Background	-1.0719	0.5248	-2.043	0.04419 *
Participant Age:Education Background	0.8791	0.3335	2.636	0.00997 **
Residual standard error: 20.7 on 85 degrees of freedom				
Multiple R-squared: 0.2577, Adjusted R-squared: 0.1879				
F-statistic: 3.689 on 8 and 85 DF, p-value: 0.0009711				

There was one significant interaction between "participant age" and "education background". The graph below indicates that the participants with differing educational background rank the speaker in opposite directions as the participant's age increases. Thus, for those with lower education, participants rank the speaker as less religious as age increases; while those with higher education (specifically those with graduate degrees) rank the speaker as more religious as the participant age increases.
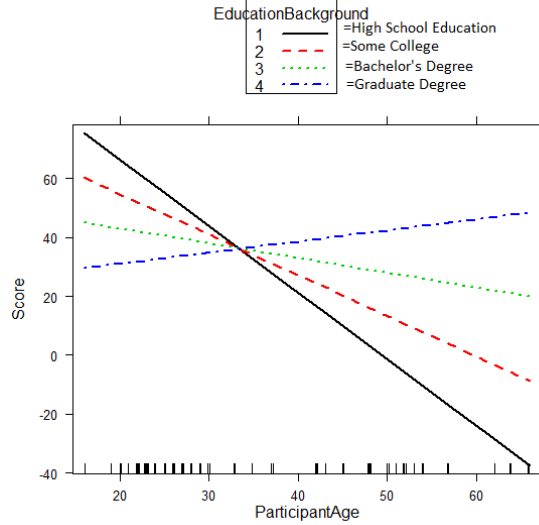
ParticipantAge*EducationBackground effect plot

EducationBackground
1 =High School Education
2 =Some College
3 =Bachelor's Degree
4 =Graduate Degree

Figure 21

A less significant interaction was between "age of immigration" and "education" background:

AgeofImmigration*EducationBackground effect plot

EducationBackground
1 =High School Education
2 =Some College
3 =Bachelor's Degree
4 =Graduate Degree

Figure 22

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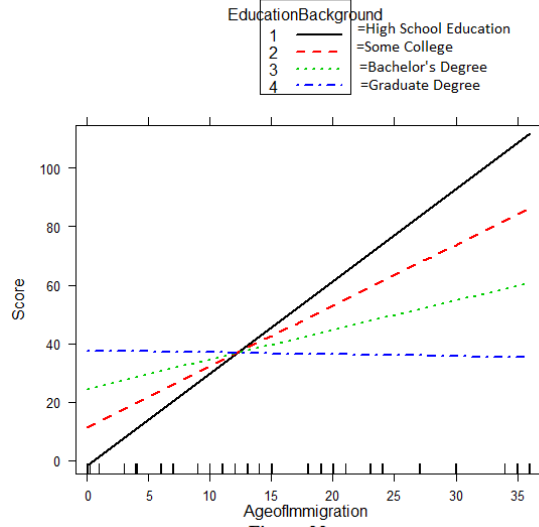*5.8 Reliable*

The main predictors for 'reliable' are guise, semantic content, and age of immigration. The participants who heard the speaker in the Persian guise ranked her 18.7 points more reliable on average than when they heard the speaker in a Dari guise. The participants who heard the speaker talk about 'weather' ranked her 49.4 points higher on reliability on average than when they heard her speak about food (but see below for interaction effects involving both "guise" and "semantic content"). For every year later the participant immigrated to the US, they ranked the speaker 3.9 points higher, in either guise, on average.

Table 10

Trait: Reliable	Estimate	Std. Error	t-value	Pr(>|t|)
(Intercept)	26.17455	15.27055	1.714	0.090391 .
Semantic Content(weather)	49.4339	13.52087	3.656	0.000457 ***
Guise(Persian)	18.68182	5.94691	3.141	0.002357 **
Participant Ethnicity (Iranian-American)	-17.96647	20.7521	-0.866	0.389207
Age of Immigration	3.98473	1.18695	3.357	0.001207 **
Participant Age	0.87675	0.46997	1.866	0.065770 .
Education Background	-4.08401	3.11495	-1.311	0.193575
Semantic Content (weather):Guise (Persian)	-23.16182	8.154	-2.841	0.005710 **
Semantic (weather):Particip. Ethn.(Iran-Am.)	-16.83988	9.55917	-1.762	0.081949 .
Semantic Content(weather):Participant Age	-0.97095	0.32097	-3.025	0.003342 **
Participant Ethn.(Iran-Am.):Age of Immig.	-1.2628	0.73184	-1.726	0.088293 .
Participant Ethn.(Iran-Am.):Participant Age	2.35815	0.68502	3.442	0.000920 ***
Participant Ethn.(Iran-Am.):Edu. Background	-11.74005	6.35417	-1.848	0.068354 .
Age of Immigration:Participant Age	-0.08009	0.02793	-2.868	0.005284 **
Residual standard error: 19.72 on 80 degrees of freedom				
Multiple R-squared: 0.4023, Adjusted R-squared: 0.3051				
F-statistic: 4.142 on 13 and 80 DF, p-value: 3.266e-05				

The significant interactions are between "semantic content" and "guise", between "semantic content" and "participant age", between "participant ethnicity" and "participant age", and between "age of immigration" and "participant age". When the speaker talked about 'food' the participants ranked her higher in the Persian guise than in the Dari guise, however when she spoke about 'weather', participants ranked her higher in the Dari guise than in the Persian guise.
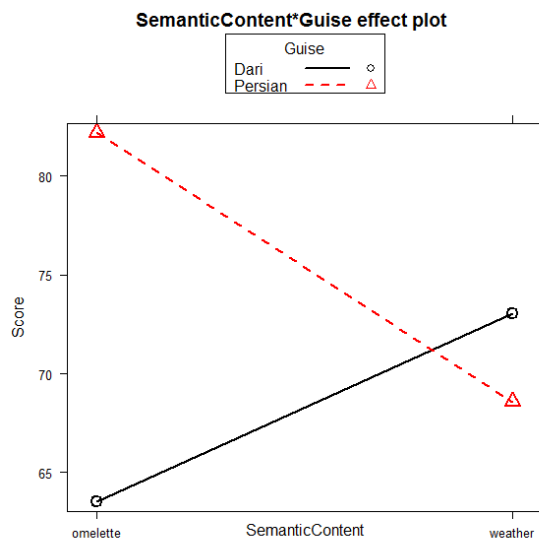

Figure 23

When the speaker talked about "weather", the participants ranked her reasonably consistent across all ages. However, when the participant spoke about "food", the score drastically rose with participant age.

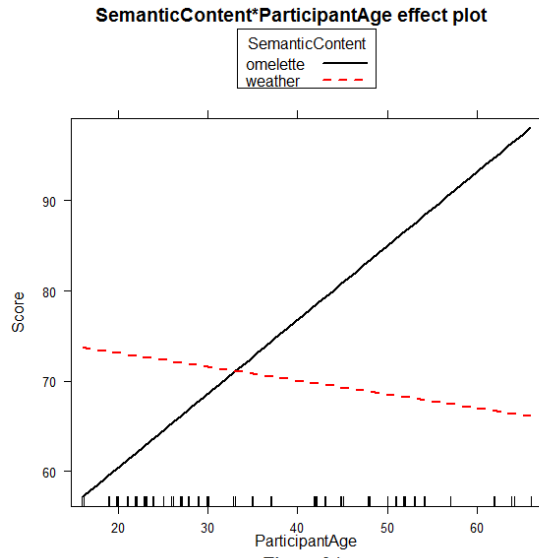**SemanticContent*ParticipantAge effect plot**

Figure 24

For Iranian-Americans, the score increases as the participants' age increases. However, this is not the case for Afghan-Americans. For them, the score decreases as the participants' ages increase.
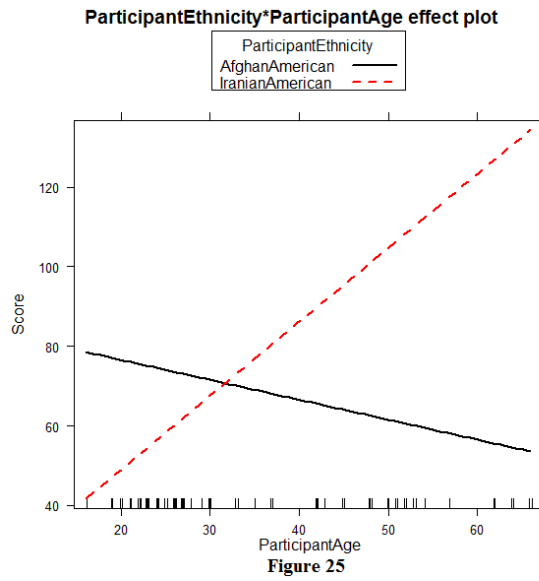

ParticipantEthnicity*ParticipantAge effect plot

Figure 25

Figure 26 indicates that there are opposite trends for the older and younger participants with respect to the effect of age of immigration on 'reliable' scores. For those who are younger today, the more recently they have come to the US, the higher the

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'reliable' score they assign. However, older participants score the speaker as more 'reliable' the longer they have been in the US.

AgeofImmigration*ParticipantAge effect plot

Figure 26
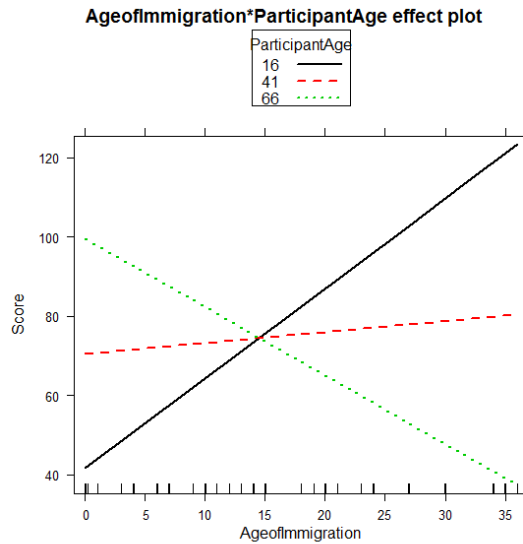
5.9 Gossipy

The most significant main effect for this trait is gender, where males rank the speaker 106.93 points higher on 'gossipy' on average than female participants, regardless of guise. Although the scale only ranges from 1-100, this estimate indicates a drastic difference in ranking between genders. However, this main effect needs to be understood in the context of the interaction effects which "participant gender" enters into, discussed below. Other significant factors are Iranian-Americans' participant ethnicity and age of immigration, both of which have negative main effects on the 'gossipy' ranking.

Table 11

Trait: Gossipy	Estimate	Std. Error	t-value	Pr(>|t|)
(Intercept)	48.8797	22.3124	2.191	0.031384 *
Semantic Content(weather)	-10.6652	8.0983	-1.317	0.191611
Guise(Persian)	-3.4839	6.2191	-0.56	0.576913

	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(>|t|)
Gender(Male)	106.9322	30.3433	3.524	0.000706 ***
Participant Ethnicity (Iranian-American)	-17.3779	8.5679	-2.028	0.045862 *
Age of Immigration	-1.9984	0.8506	-2.349	0.021268 *
Participant Age	-0.1728	0.667	-0.259	0.796235
Education Background	-14.3084	8.0006	-1.788	0.077495 .
Semantic Content(weather):Gender(Male)	-51.199	15.8727	-3.226	0.001822 **
Semantic Content(weather):Age of Immig.	1.4342	0.7299	1.965	0.052907 .
Guise(Persian):Participant Ethn.(Iran-Am.)	31.3589	10.6589	2.942	0.004264 **
Gender(Male):Participant Ethn.(Iranian-Am.)	22.0881	12.1338	1.82	0.072441 .
Gender(Male):Participant Age	-1.8092	0.5624	-3.217	0.001870 **
Participant Age:Education Background	0.508	0.2399	2.117	0.037338 *
Residual standard error: 24.48 on 80 degrees of freedom				
Multiple R-squared: 0.3147, Adjusted R-squared: 0.2033				
F-statistic: 2.826 on 13 and 80 DF, p-value: 0.002235				

The significant interactions are between "semantic content" and "gender", between "guise" and "participant ethnicity", and between "gender" and "participant age". When the speaker talks about food, males rank her much higher on the 'gossipy' scale than female participants. However, when she speaks about the weather, the male and female scores are approximately the same.
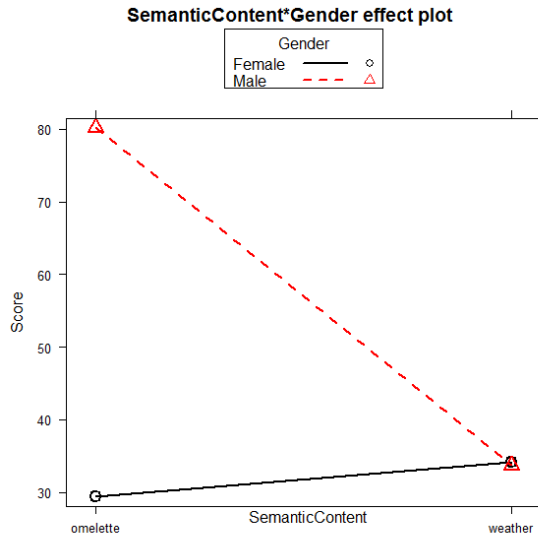
SemanticContent*Gender effect plot

Figure 27

Interestingly, both ethnicities considered the other ethnic group as "less gossipy". The Afghan-American participants considered the Dari guise as more gossipy than the Iranian-American participants and the Iranian-American participants considered the Persian guise as more "gossipy".
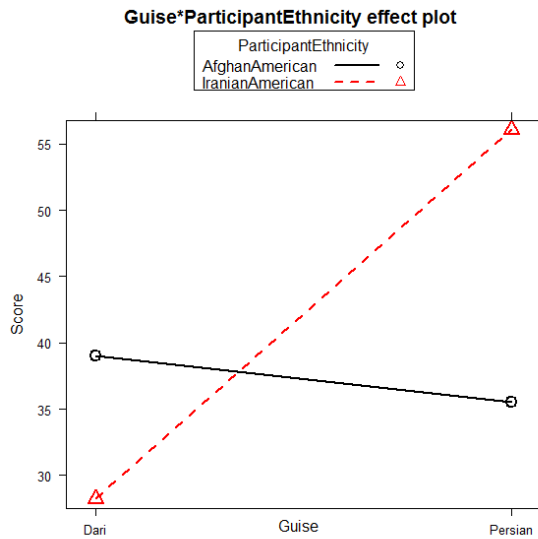

Guise*ParticipantEthnicity effect plot

Figure 28

Furthermore, Figure 29 illustrates that the older male participants assigned a lower 'gossip' score than younger males while the older female participants scored the speaker as more 'gossipy' than younger female participants.
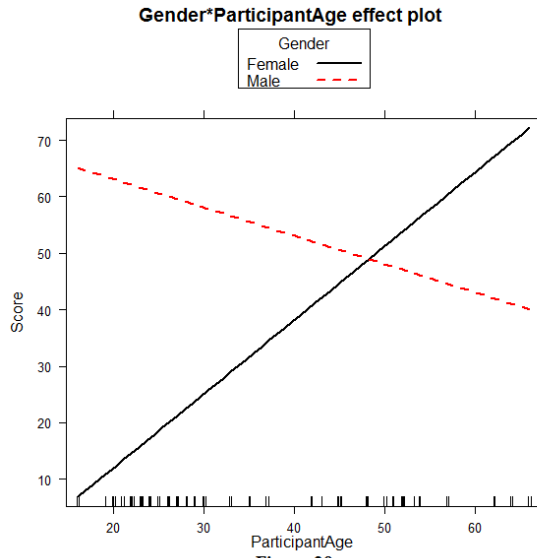
Figure 29

A less significant interaction, demonstrated in the figure below, is between participant age and education background:
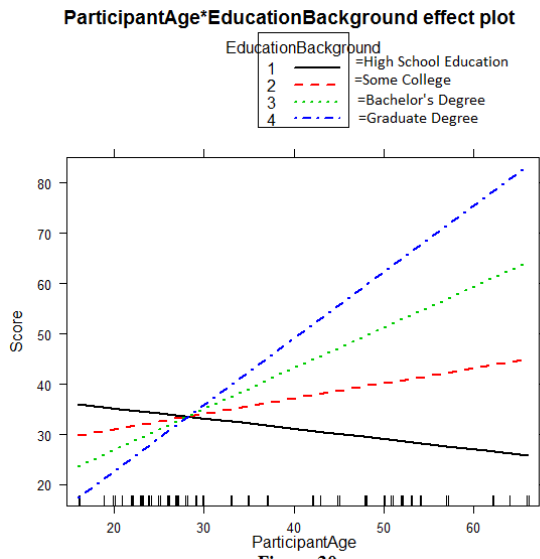

Figure 30

5.10 Annoying

The main predictors for 'annoying' are guise and age of immigration. Participants who heard the speaker in the Persian guise assigned her a score that was 19.67 points less on average than the Dari guise. Furthermore, for every year later participants immigrated,

the participant found the speaker 3.8 points less annoying on average. Gender and participant ethnicity also had negative effects on this trait, although these findings are less significant.

Table 12

Trait: Annoying	Estimate	Std. Error	t-value	Pr(>|t|)
(Intercept)	-8.7216	25.5897	-0.341	0.734151
Semantic Content(weather)	29.1975	20.8047	1.403	0.164464
Guise(Persian)	-19.6769	6.6757	-2.948	0.004223 **
Gender(Male)	-12.5706	6.1736	-2.036	0.045125 *
Participant Ethnicity (Iranian-American)	-17.4387	7.1469	-2.44	0.016954 *
Age of Immigration	-3.8014	1.2192	-3.118	0.002552 **
Participant Age	1.5682	1.017	1.542	0.127119
Education Background	-4.59	5.7149	-0.803	0.424316
Semantic Content(weather):Guise(Persian)	15.124	8.3955	1.801	0.075498 .
Semantic Content(weather):Age of Immig.	3.5849	1.2483	2.872	0.005252 **
Semantic Content(weather):Participant Age	-2.1905	0.8551	-2.562	0.012341 *
Guise(Persian):Participant Ethn.(Iran-Am.)	32.8692	8.9207	3.685	0.000421 ***
Gender(Male):Participant Ethn.(Iranian-Am.)	28.7111	10.5742	2.715	0.008152 **
Participant Age:Education Background	0.3467	0.1665	2.083	0.040519 *
Residual standard error: 19.99 on 78 degrees of freedom				
Multiple R-squared: 0.4502, Adjusted R-squared: 0.3585				
F-statistic: 4.913 on 13 and 78 DF, p-value: 3.313e-06				

The significant interactions are between "semantic content" and "age of immigration", between "guise" and "participant ethnicity", and between "gender" and "participant ethnicity". Age of immigration does not affect the 'annoying' score when the speaker talks about the weather, however it does affect it when she speaks about food.

As seen in Figure 31, the older the participants' age at the time of immigration to the US, the less annoying they find the speaker when she talks about making an omelette.
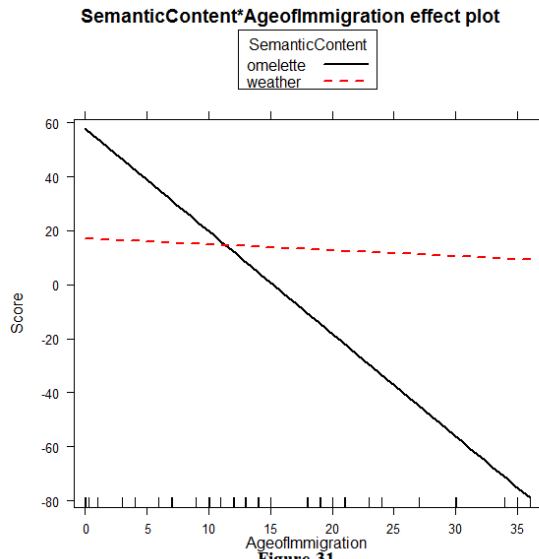

Figure 31

Each ethnic group found the opposite ethnic group less annoying. The Afghan-American participants found the Dari guise more annoying than the Persian guise and the Iranian-American participants found the Persian guise more annoying than the Dari guise.
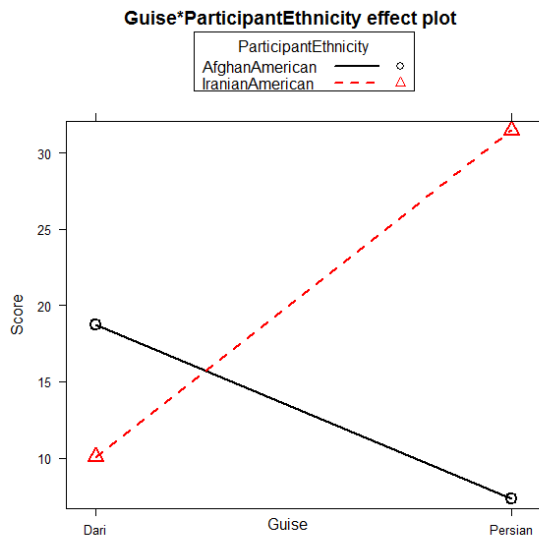

Figure 32

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The female Afghan American and Iranian American participants scored the speaker roughly the same. However, the male Iranian-Americans found the speaker much more annoying than the females of both ethnic groups, and the male Afghan-Americans found the speaker much less annoying than the females.
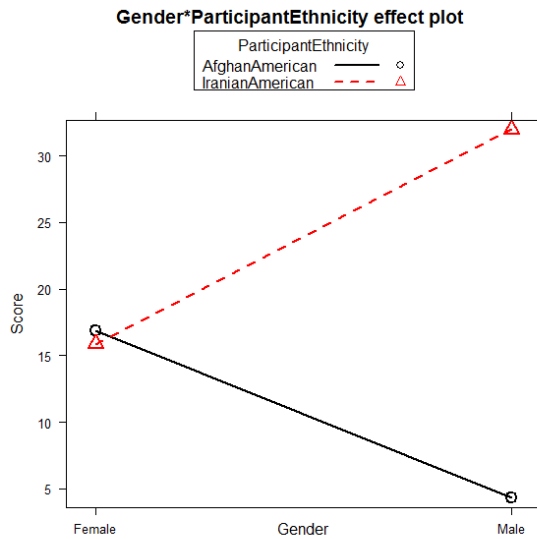

Figure 33

Less significant interactions are between "semantic content" and "participant age" and between "participant age" and "education background":
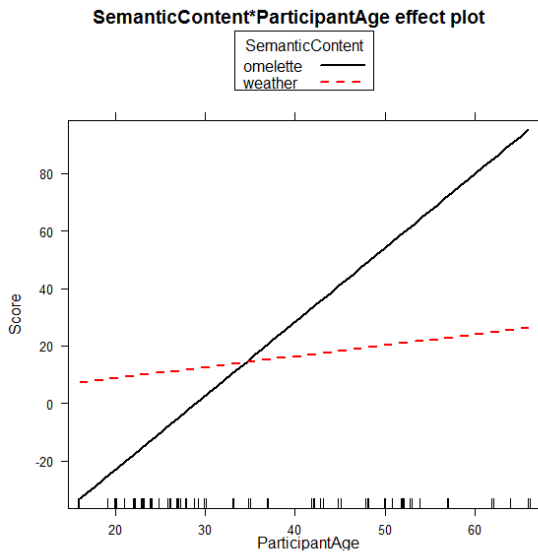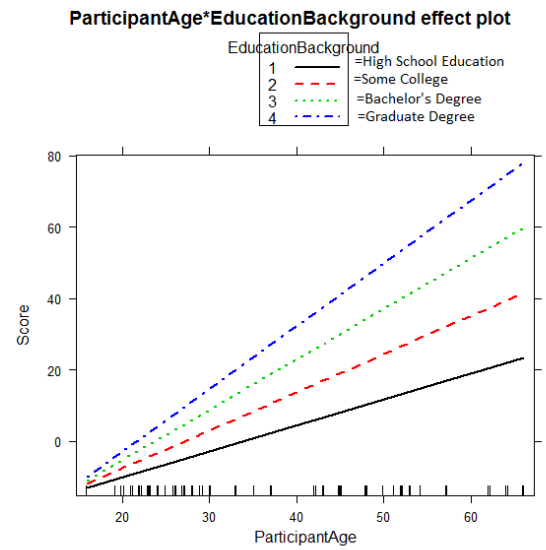

Figure 34

Figure 35

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In summary, one of the most prominent trends presented in this chapter was the main effect for 'guise' where 'guise' was a significant predictor for all status traits (i.e. 'intelligent', 'wealthy', and 'educated'), most solidarity traits (i.e. 'nice', 'reliable', and 'annoying') and for the additional trait 'fashionable'. Guise also interacted with 'participant ethnicity', 'semantic content' and 'gender' on several dimensions. 'Age of immigration' was a main effect for the traits 'nice', 'reliable', 'gossipy', 'annoying', 'fashionable', and 'religious'. The participants who immigrated later to the US tended to rank the speaker more favorably in the first five solidarity traits, and also ranked the speaker more 'religious'. Semantic content was a main effect for the traits 'feminine', 'reliable', 'nice' and 'wealthy'.

5.11 Qualitative Results

This section examines the participants' optional, open-ended comments on the matched guise speaker in both guises. The responses below answer the question, "*What strikes you most about this speaker?*" All comments are considered in this section, even those in studies which the participant did not complete the ranking portion correctly. Participants made roughly an equal amount of comments for both guises. These comments were then categorized as positive, negative, neutral, or "positive and negative". A comment was classified as "positive and negative" if it contained both a positive and a negative remark and classified as "neutral" if had no outright positive or negative connotations. The following table summarizes the raw values and percentages of the comments received:

Table 13

	Persian Guise		Dari Guise	
	Raw Values	Percentage	Raw Value	Percentage
Positive	28	45.1%	20	35.2%
Negative	0	0%	11	19.2%
Neutral	32	51.6%	24	42.1%
"Positive and Negative"	2	3%	2	3.5%

Some of the negative responses received for the Dari guise were directly predicted by the hypotheses of the study. One participant remarked: "*Understood 100% but hard to judge her on anything if she's just talking about weather. Perhaps not as wealthy as wealthy people do not care as much about weather as it affects them less?*"

This comment aligns with the study's predictions because this participant judges the speaker as less wealthy in the Dari guise, but attributes this ranking to the semantic content. This raises the question of whether the semantic content is affecting the ranking on wealth or whether semantic content is being used to justify the ranking. In section 5.3, the data illustrates that semantic content did play a role in participants' rankings, but in the opposite direction that this participant suggests. The topic 'weather' actually had a significant positive effect on ranking by 41 points. Furthermore, the data in this section indicates that guise is a significant predictor and participants ranked the speaker 14 points higher in the Persian guise on 'wealth' than in the Dari guise. Thus, one can assume that this person used semantic content to justify their linguistic biases.

Another participant, who is Iranian-American, remarked on the Dari guise that "*she was not intelligible*". Similar remarks by Afghan-American participants were "*shes not very well spoken and should use better wording for teaching in public*" and

"*elementary vocabulary*". The fact that she's not considered "well spoken" or

"intelligible" implies that the speaker is speaking incorrectly and reinforces the idea that

Persian is considered the standard variety. This also correlates with the remark that she

has "elementary vocabulary" which suggests that the speaker is less educated or

intelligent. These comments echo the results from section 5.1 and 5.2 which illustrate that

guise was an important factor in determining how intelligent or educated the speaker was

ranked.

Section 5.4 illustrated that the speaker's guise was a significant predictor for the

trait 'nice' and that the Persian guise was ranked as 16 points more "nice" than the Dari

guise. Consequently, it is not surprising that a participant found the speaker to be "*mean

and someone who gets annoyed quickly"* when she spoke in a Dari guise.

Other negative comments the speaker received in the Dari guise were "*she is

bossy"* and *"she sounded really boring"*. Although the traits "bossy" and "boring" were

not included in this survey, these comments are still very indicative to other ways Dari

speakers might be stigmatized. It is also worth noting that none of the comments above

appeared for the Persian guise, which again emphasizes the significance of guise.

Overall, the Persian guise received more positive remarks than the Dari guise.

Many participants considered the speaker educated. Some comments received were:

"Educated and Intelligent"
"Younger Iranian woman. Seem's like she at least went to college"
"She seems more educated and upbeat in speech. Her topic gives her more credibility"
*"she sound [**sic**] very educated because she says in her opinion"*
*"her intelegent [**sic**]"*
"She sounds like a very knowledgeable person, very clear speaker about the subject"
"She seems more educated than the previous speaker"

These comments dovetail with the quantitative results in the sections above and support the hypothesis that participants will assign more overt prestige to the speaker in the Persian guise. As stated earlier, guise is an extremely significant predictor for the traits 'educated' and 'intelligent'. The participant who remarked that the "topic gives her more credibility" is using the semantic content to justify his or her ranking, similar to the participant in the Dari guise. However, it is again very indicative that both participants are using semantic content to justify their linguistic biases because both participants are using the same exact semantic content to justify rankings that are in the opposite directions.

Very similarly, one participant remarked that the speaker had "*elementary vocabulary*" in the Dari guise, while a different participant said she had "*detailed, broader vocab*", even in the same semantic content. In both contexts, the participants are using the language of the speaker to insinuate certain traits, most likely from pre-existing language attitudes.

Other participants emphasize how clear the speaker sounds in the Persian guise, directly contrasting with the negative remarks received for the Dari guise:

"She speaks clearly"
"She seems well spoken. She probably had more opportunities than the previous speaker"
"She is conscience [*sic*] *she is giving instructions so she is speaking at a good pace and clearly"*
"loud and more clear, confident"

Some participants considered the speaker 'feminine', 'nice', and 'reliable' in the Persian guise. Guise was a significant predictor for all these traits in the quantitative

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results. Therefore these comments align with the quantitative results in the previous section:

"Feminine tone"
"She seems normal and is speaking clearly. Her voice is much more feminine than the other woman's, she also seems younger"
"she sounded reliable"
"Nice"
"Nice"

Although more negative comments were made in response to the Dari guise and more positive comments were made in response to the Persian guise, there are still many comments that head in the opposite direction. Some positive comments for the Dari guise directly contradicted this study's predictions. For instance, some participants considered the speaker educated or intelligent, as seen in the comments below:

"She seems educated"
"She sounds like a very educated person. she sounds like she follows directions very good [sic]"
"She seemed like a very intelligent woman"
"Intelligent"

However, not all of these comments align with the participants' rankings. Of the two participants who considered the speaker more educated, only one actually ranked the speaker as more 'educated' in the Dari guise than in the Persian guise. The other participant ranked both guises evenly on this trait. The next two participants considered the speaker 'intelligent', yet only one ranked the speaker higher on 'intelligence' in the Dari guise than the Persian guise. The other speaker ranked the Persian guise higher on this trait, despite this remark.

There were also two people who considered the speaker "*nice*". Only one participant ranked the speaker evenly on both guises. However, the second participant ranked the Persian guise 46 points higher on 'niceness' than the Dari guise.

Although there were some participants who considered the speaker 'unclear' in the Dari guise, there were other participants who considered her very clear. However all those that did consider her clear or had positive things to say about her style of speaking were participants who were Dari speakers:

"Good flowing speech"
"Clear explanation of directions"
"Similar to speaker 2, pauses in the appropriate places which make her seem confident"
"She has a nice way of describing all the steps"

The absence of Iranian-American participants among these comments supports the theory that comprehension is somewhat unidirectional, especially since in the 'unclear' comments one Iranian-American participant found the speaker "*unintelligible*".

There were not many responses to the Persian guise that directly contradicted this study's predictions. Although there were not any outright negative comments, there were two 'ambivalent' comments, i.e. comments which contained both a positive and negative remark. One participant says the speaker "*seems a bit full of herself honestly. She talks really confidently and also combined with her tone of voice she sounds like she's the type who thinks she knows everything.*" This participant considers the speaker both arrogant and confident. Another speaker comments that the speaker "*seems hyper and a know it all but happy*". This participant considers the speaker happy, arrogant and overly

energetic. Although 'arrogant' and 'hyper' can be argued as negative traits, they are not traits that are considered in this study.

The most compelling evidence for the idea that the Persian variety is considered more 'standard' comes from comments for the Persian guise where participants did not think that the matched guise speaker was a native Persian speaker. One participant remarked, "*She reminds me a very lovely educated second generation of afghan american friend* [*sic*]" Although this participant did not think that the speaker was a Persian speaker, she still ranked the Persian guise as more favorable in all nine traits. Another participant stated, "*Her accent is not Tehrani. Sounds like she is Afghani trying to do Tehrani accent. Speaker sounds young* [*sic*]" This participant not only ranked the Persian guise higher than the Dari guise on most traits, but her scores for the Dari guise were quite low in comparison to the Persian guise. For instance, she assigned the Persian guise a score of 52 on 'educated' (compared to 7 for the Dari guise), a 52 on 'intelligent' (compared to 6 for the Dari guise), a 51 on 'reliable' (compared to a 5 for the Dari guise), and a 54 on 'wealthy' (compared to an 8 for the Dari guise). She also ranked the Persian guise more favorably on the traits 'nice' and 'fashionable', although the disparities between the traits are not as high as the other traits.

The next participant states that the speaker in the Persian guise "*sounds like she is trying to sound Persian.*" This participant had mixed rankings. He ranked the Persian guise as more favorable in 'fashion' and 'feminine', however he did give the Dari guise a slight advantage in 'intelligence', 'wealth', and 'education'. The rest of the traits were ranked similarly.

Thus far, all participants who realized that the speaker was not a Persian speaker were first generation Iranian-Americans. However there was one first generation Afghan-American who also observed the speaker was not a native Persian speaker. This participant asserts, "*young woman, 27-28, above average wealth and education, sounds like afghan speaking Iranian.*"

Although the participant believed the speaker was an Afghan speaking Persian, she still considered her "above average wealth and education" and ranked the Persian guise more favorable in all nine traits.

Overall, the qualitative results demonstrate that there are more negative comments associated with the Dari guise than the Persian guise and that there are more positive comments associated with the Persian guise than the Dari guise. The negative comments for the Dari guise often directly aligned with notions of overt or covert prestige. Many participants thought that the speaker in the Dari guise was unclear, mean, uneducated and 'not' wealthy. These comments came from both Afghan and Iranian-American participants which furthers the notion that participant ethnicity is not crucial in predicting the attitudes toward covert prestige. The Persian guise had zero outright negative comments, and only two "positive and negative comments" which did not contradict the hypothesis. Most comments for the Persian guise associate the speaker with either a higher 'status' or an extroverted personality. Furthermore, participants who recognized the speaker in the Persian guise as a native Dari speaker still ranked the speaker higher in the Persian guise on both status and solidarity traits than the Dari guise. The qualitative results further supported the trends that were found in the quantitative section that Dari is much more negatively stereotyped in both status and solidary traits.

Chapter 6: Discussion

6.1 Evaluation of results for "status" and "group solidarity" traits

The main research question of this study was to investigate whether the Persian variety of Farsi is considered more overtly prestigious by either Afghan or Iranian-Americans, and whether members of each ethnic group attribute higher group solidarity traits to speakers of their own dialect. The hypothesis is that Afghan and Iranian-Americans consider Persian more overtly prestigious and that each ethnic group attributes higher group solidarity traits to their own dialect guise. As a main effect, guise was a significant predictor (when $p<.01$) for all status traits (i.e. 'intelligent', 'wealthy', and 'educated'), most solidarity traits (i.e. 'nice', 'reliable', and 'annoying') and for the additional trait 'fashionable'. It was not a significant main effect for the solidarity trait gossipy (although it was included in an interaction, discussed below) or the additional traits 'feminine' and 'religious'. In all cases where guise was a significant predictor, the Persian guise was ranked more favorably than the Dari guise by participants. This suggests that after accounting for the variables participant ethnicity, education background, semantic content, participant age, and age of immigration, the Dari variety of Farsi is both overtly and covertly stigmatized by Farsi speakers.

However, in order to answer the main research question further in depth, it is important to consider the interactions between 'guise' and 'participant ethnicity'. The hypothesis does not predict any interactions for status traits, but it does predict them for solidarity traits. As expected, there were no interactions for status traits. For solidarity traits, guise interacted with participant ethnicity for the traits 'annoying' and 'gossipy', but it did not interact with 'nice' and 'reliable'. However, the interactions for 'annoying'

and 'gossipy' went the opposite direction as expected. Each participant ethnic group considered their own dialect guise as more 'annoying' and more 'gossipy'. The finding that Dari speakers consider the Persian guise less annoying and less gossipy contradicts the hypothesis that Dari speakers will rank the Dari guise higher in group solidarity traits. Thus, Dari speakers did not rank the Dari guise preferably for any of the traits (including status and solidarity traits) in this study. Since solidarity traits are crucial for language maintenance of non-standard varieties, which Dari is most likely considered, the outlook for Dari heritage language maintenance in the US does not seem promising.

There are two possible explanations to account for why Persian speakers ranked the Persian guise as more 'annoying' and 'gossipy'. The first is that this reflects the language attitudes that Persian speakers have toward Persian; however if this is the case it is difficult to explain the motivations for why these particular negative language attitudes exist toward these traits. The more plausible explanation is that these results are a consequence of a less-than-perfect matched guise speaker. In the qualitative results, there were several remarks made by Iranian-American participants who expressed that they did not think the matched guise speaker was a native Persian speaker (in the Persian guise). Therefore, these results could reflect the language attitudes of Persian speakers toward an Afghan trying to sound Persian. If this is the case, then Persian participants may have denied the speaker in the Persian guise higher rankings on these solidarity traits since the participants do not consider the speaker to have membership in their ethnic group. Although the matched guise speaker (in the Persian guise) does not have "in group" inclusion, the Persian participants most likely consider her speech more "correct" or standard and thus ranked her higher on the status traits. In order to shed further light on

these theories, it is necessary to conduct additional research with a more ideal bi-dialectal matched guise speaker. It is also important to clarify that there is no evidence to indicate that Dari speakers suspected that the matched guise speaker was not a native Persian speaker in the Persian guise. All comments by Dari speakers indicated that they judged the speaker in the Persian guise based off the assumption she was a native Persian speaker (except one participant whose comment was analyzed in section 5.11).

The qualitative results further supported the trends that were found in the quantitative section. Overall, the Persian guise received more positive comments than the Dari guise and the Dari guise received more negative comments than the Persian guise. The negative comments received for the Dari guise were from both Iranian and Afghan-American participants which further supports the notion that Afghan-Americans may be lacking in 'group solidarity'. There were surprisingly zero outright negative comments for the Persian guise. Even in the comments that included both a negative and positive trait, participants only considered the speaker arrogant in the Persian guise. However, this trait can still be associated with higher status and prestige. Overall, most comments for the Persian guise associate the speaker with either a higher 'status' or an extroverted personality which aligns with the idea that Persian is perceived as overall more capable.

The most surprising comments were from the participants who recognized the speaker in the Persian guise as a native Dari speaker and still ranked the speaker higher in the Persian guise on both status and solidarity traits than the Dari guise. There was only one Afghan-American participant who mentioned that the speaker in the Persian guise sounds "Afghan" and yet also ranked the Persian guise more favorably on all traits. This

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suggests that Persian may indeed be considered a more 'standard' variety, and therefore considered a form of Farsi that is more 'correct'.

6.2 Evaluation of results for 'age of immigration'

The second research question this study aims to address is whether language attitudes toward the varieties Dari and Persian differ between first and second generation Afghan and Iranian-Americans. The prediction is that the factors in the U.S. (described in Section 3.4) coupled with the possible transmission of language attitudes from the first generation will yield no significant difference between the first and second generations' language attitudes. Thus, it was predicted that there would be no interaction between 'guise' and 'age of immigration'. The results from chapter 5 support this hypothesis, which indicated that there were no interactional effects between these two variables and that the second generation indeed has the same language biases as the first generation.

However, the results also indicated an unexpected difference between first and second generation language attitudes toward *Farsi*, irrespective of dialect or speaker guise. 'Age of immigration' was a main effect for the traits 'nice', 'reliable', 'gossipy', 'annoying', 'fashionable', and 'religious'. The participants who immigrated later to the US tended to rank the speaker more favorably in the first five solidarity traits, and also ranked the speaker more 'religious'. These results suggest that second generation participants rank the speaker more negatively in both guises than first generation participants. Since the majority of these traits are 'group solidarity' traits, this might indicate that the second generation is distancing themselves from the Farsi speaking community, which would implicate negative consequences for Farsi language maintenance in the US, regardless of dialect.

An alternate theory to explain this trend is that this could be an age-group solidarity effect. Since the speaker was thirty eight years old, the older speakers might relate to her more positively since she falls closer to their age range. However, the former theory is more plausible than this theory based on the participants' short answer responses. A total of eleven participants mentioned that the speaker sounded "young" in at least one of the guises. One participant even gave an age estimate for the speaker of "18 years old". Conversely, there were no remarks from participants which suggested the participant sounded older. Therefore, this is probably not an age-group solidarity effect since there is much stronger evidence that participants considered this speaker young.

Furthermore, the interaction effects between 'participant age' and 'age of immigration' with the traits 'feminine' and 'reliable' further support the theory that younger second generation speakers are distancing themselves from the Farsi speaking community. Figures 18 and 26 in chapter 5 illustrate that the youth who were born in the US (indicated by the graph as immigrating at "zero" years of age) rank the speaker as less feminine and less reliable than both the youth who were not born in the US and the older participants who are also "second generation". This implies a difference in language attitudes between first and second generation Farsi speakers in the US and between younger and older Farsi speakers, with the younger, second generation emerging as the "harshest" critics of the matched guise speaker, again regardless of which dialect she spoke. This may suggest an adverse consequence for Farsi language maintenance by the subsequent generation of both Afghan and Iranian-Americans alike.

6.3 Analyzing results for the traits "feminine", "fashionable", and "religious"

Thus far, the results have demonstrated that the Dari dialect of Farsi is stigmatized by both Afghan and Iranian-Americans in 'status' and 'group solidarity' traits. However, this study also includes a third set of dimensions that do not easily fall into the dichotomy between status and solidarity traits, namely the traits 'feminine', 'fashionable' and 'religious'. These traits were included for exploratory purposes. Future research may clarify how these traits align with prestige and their role in the context of language maintenance. All significant effects are documented in chapter 5. There are some relevant effects that merit discussion.

The first relevant effect was that 'guise' proved to be a significant main effect for the trait 'fashionable', where participants considered the speaker in the Persian guise as more 'fashionable' than in the Dari guise. This trend aligns in the same direction as the other traits in which 'guise' was also a main effect by favoring the Persian guise over the Dari guise. This suggests that the dimension 'fashionable' has an attached social meaning that is more favorably associated with the Persian variety. The dimension 'fashionable' might also be directly related to the dimension 'wealthy' which would add connotations of 'status' to this trait. Although fashion may vary by individual, often the most prototypical examples of 'fashionable' brands are expensive, designer brands. Thus, one must be able to afford being fashionable. Furthermore, the socio-historical backgrounds presented in chapter three between Dari and Persian speakers support the idea that 'fashion' is more positively associated with Iranian-Americans. American media depictions of Iranian-Americans on 'reality shows' often portray the cast as not only wealthy, but *fashionable* as well where fashion and designer brands are often a salient

topic of conversation. Moreover, it is not surprising that first generation Afghan-Americans may also associate 'fashionable' with the Persian guise because in Pre-Soviet Afghanistan the most popular fashion magazines came from Iran and were thus written in the Persian dialect. Further research may clarify exactly how 'fashion' affects heritage language maintenance. 'Guise' was not a main effect for the dimensions 'religious' and 'feminine' and was not included in any interactions. Therefore, the hypothesis of the significance of 'religious' and 'feminine' on 'guise' was not borne out.

However, these traits were relevant to the study's other research question pertaining to 'age of immigration'. For the traits 'religious' and 'fashionable', 'age of immigration' is a significant main effect in which the first generation ranks the speaker higher on these dimensions (in both guises) than the second generation. The tendency for the second generation participants to rank the Farsi speaker lower on 'fashionable' than the first generation participants echo the trends discussed in the previous section in which second generation participants consistently ranked the speaker lower on 'group solidarity' traits. These effects may indicate that the second generation is distancing themselves from the Farsi-speaking community which may eventually have long term effects for Farsi language maintenance in the US. Although there is not a clear, preferable ranking for 'religious', it is still important to distinguish the difference in score assignment between the two generations on this dimension where the first generation considered the bi-dialectal speaker more religious than the second generation. This may suggest that the younger second generation leads a more 'secular' lifestyle than the first generation since the dimension 'religious' was not a salient dimension for them across all speakers.

Although further research may clarify how this distinction might factor into Farsi heritage language maintenance.

Although 'age of immigration' was not a main effect for 'feminine', it was involved in a significant interaction effect with 'participant age' for this dimension. Figure 18 in chapter 5 illustrates that the youth born in the US (defined as the "second generation") regularly rank the speaker lower in 'feminine' than the first generation and older participants who might also consider themselves "second generation". This dovetails with the previous point that Farsi language maintenance for future generations may be difficult since the youngest generation of Farsi speakers are the 'harshest' participant group in their rankings.

6.4 Other related significant main effects and interactions

The trait 'wealthy' included an interaction effect between "guise" and "gender". The direction of this effect indicated that females ranked the Persian guise higher on the dimension 'wealthy' while the male participants ranked the Dari guise higher. This was surprisingly the only interaction in which the Dari guise was ranked more favorably than the Persian guise by a group of Dari speaking participants. This effect indicates possible gender differences in Farsi language attitudes. In this case, it seems that women are more aware of the Persian variety as more overtly prestigious. This is supported by abundant sociolinguistic work on gender differences in language, including Labov's (1966) experiment on the social stratification of 'r' on the Lower East Side in New York City in which he demonstrated that the women in his study used fewer nonstandard variants than men. Labov asserted that women are more interested in the social advancement of the

family and therefore are more likely to be aware of prestigious variants and adopt them in their own speech.

There were also several instances where "guise" interacted with "semantic content". The study design incorporated two surveys in order to control for semantic content and investigate whether guise was a significant predictor across different topics. Although guise was a significant main effect for most traits, semantic content still interacted with guise for the dimensions 'nice' and 'reliable'. For both traits, the Persian guise was assigned a score that was around 15 points higher than the score assigned for the Dari guise when the topic was 'food'. However, Dari was ranked slightly higher (around 5 points) when the topic was 'weather'. These interactions are not easily explainable when considering the semantic content since these topics should not intuitively portray someone as 'nicer' or more 'reliable'. Thus this trend might be better explained by unknown pragmatic factors.

Semantic content was a main effect for the traits 'feminine', 'reliable', 'nice' and 'wealthy'. This was an unexpected result since the topics 'weather' and 'making an omelette' are considered mundane and should not elicit strong reactions. However this finding supports the assertion made by Smyth, Jacobs & Rogers (2003) that semantic content inevitably influences participants' responses. Nevertheless, this does not pose a major problem for the study as guise was still found to be a main effect in most traits despite the influence of semantic content.

Although semantic content may influence participant responses, chapter 5.11 suggested that it is also possible for participants to use the semantic content to justify

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their own biases. In the open ended comments, several participants used the same semantic content to explain the positive or negative traits they assigned to the speaker in a particular guise. This strategy may also explain the main effect of 'semantic content' on ranking. Participants may be constructing a scenario for themselves that allows them to project their linguistic biases. Overall this strategy shows the active process whereby participants rationalize and apply their biases.

An additional factor worth mentioning is the independent variable 'education background'. It was a significant main effect for the traits 'intelligent', 'wealthy', 'nice' and 'religious' (although it never interacted with 'guise'). For all effects, the higher educational background of the participants negatively affected the scores they assigned the speaker. This is an interesting effect because it suggests that the more education one receives, the more critical they are toward other people. However, these main effects are qualified by the interactions 'educational background' is included in, which were presented in chapter 5.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

This study provides a foundation for understanding the language attitudes of Afghan and Iranian-Americans toward the varieties Dari and Persian in order to provide context for future heritage language maintenance programs for Dari. The results in this study have indicated that Dari speakers in the US do not attribute high positive levels of 'status' or 'group solidarity' traits to their variety. There is strong evidence to suggest that the Persian variety is considered more covertly and overtly prestigious than Dari by first and second generation Afghan and Iranian-Americans. Although the biases between

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the first and second generation aligned similarly, there is an indication that there is a generational difference in language attitudes toward Farsi in general. The second generation consistently ranked the bi-dialectal speaker lower than the first generation participants on many traits, and particularly in 'group solidarity' traits. This suggests that the second generation may not align themselves as closely to the Farsi speaking community as the first generation does, thus lacking overall 'solidarity' with the Farsi speaking community.

The overt and covert stigmatization of Dari coupled with the disparity between the first and second generations' language attitudes toward Farsi may partially explain the unsuccessful language maintenance program thus far in the Dari speaking community in Fremont, California. In contrast, the positive associations for the Persian variety by the Farsi-speaking participants explain the success of several Persian maintenance programs in California. For heritage language programs to be successful, it is important for the community to attribute positive associations in some aspect to the variety in question. If the language attitudes of the Dari speaking community continue in the same trends found in this study, then the prospect of Dari language maintenance seems bleak for the subsequent generation.

Future language maintenance efforts may benefit by fostering a stronger sense of heritage and pride within the speech community and especially in the youth. Although the second generation of Dari speakers may already have set biases, heritage language efforts can focus on the third generation of Afghan-Americans. A community organized program, either after-school or during the weekends, can reverse the negative stigmas

associated with Dari through materials that will both instruct in the language and develop 'solidarity' with the community, culture, and language.

The additional dimensions included in this study, viz. 'feminine', 'fashionable', and 'religious', all significantly correlated with either 'guise' or 'age of immigration'. Future research may shed light on how significant the social meanings attached to these elements may fit into the larger picture of heritage language maintenance. Future research on this topic should also broaden the scope of participants and find a better matched bi-dialectal speaker for other matched guise studies.

Appendix A: Transcripts of Audio Clips in Matched Guise Design

Speaker #1 (Native Persian speaker, "Filler")

Maa shabe aid ke mishe chand-ra ghazaa dorost mikonim: sabzi polo, kuku, mahi…chizhaayeh digeh…tukh murgh rang mikonim, haft sin michinim, baraayeh saale noh, chizaayeh ke.. hamisheh in kar mikonim.. sikeh talaa mizaarim vasateh aab.

"On the night of Eid, we make several types of dishes: *sabzi polo*, *kuku*, fish…other things…we color eggs, we arrange a *haft-seen,* for New Year's, things that..we always do these things..we put gold coins in the middle of the water"

Speaker #2 (Bi-Dialectal Speaker)

Survey Version A: (Persian Guise: Topic "Weather")

Een hafte, havaa   khailey tagheer mikoneh…   avaaleh hafte khailey garm o
This week weather very   change be.3sg.PRES first   week   very   warm and
aaftaabi bud   vali az   diruz   barun shuru shud,   imruz-am aaftaabi

sunny be.3sg.PAST   but from yesterday rain start   happen.3sg.PAST today-also sunny

o   garm   bud   vali alaan khailey abri   o   sard hast.   be nazaram   haalaa

and warm be.3g.past but now   very   cloudy and cold be-3sg.PRES in opinion-1sg now

baarun shuru bisheh

rain   start be.3sg.FUT

 "This week the weather is changing a lot…in the beginning of the week it was very warm and sunny but since yesterday it started raining. Today was also sunny and warm but now it is very cloudy and cold. I think it will rain now."

Survey Version B: (Persian Guise: Topic "How to Make an Omelette")

Baraaye omelette, avaal man pyaaz khord mikonam   va sorkh mikonam   bad sir
For   omelette first I   onion chop do.1sg.PRES and fry   do.1sg.PRES after garlic
o   gojefarangi mirizam   har chize dige   ke mikhaay   mituni
and tomato   drop.1sg.PRES any things other   that want.2sg. PRES able.2sg.PRES
berizi   va   akhar-ash tukhmemurgh mirizam   vakhte ke hamiche
drop.2sg.IMPERATIVE and end-3sg   egg   drop.1sg. PRES when that all
pukht filfil   o   namak mirizam   va omelette aamaada-st
cook pepper and salt   drop.1sg. PRES. and omelette ready-be.3sg. PRES

"For omelettes, I first chop and fry the onions. Then I put (lit. drop) garlic and tomatoes…anything else you want you can put in…at the end, I add the eggs and when everything is cooked I add the salt and pepper and the omelette is ready"

Speaker #3 (Native Dari speaker, "Filler")

Da saal now, maa da khana tajleel mekonem. Ar chiz tayaar mekonem...baadazu

amraayeh awlaadah biroo mebrayem amrayeh famille makhaayem baashem …amraayeh

kulagi maa..awlaada saatesh teyr showa, megardem chakar mezaanem

"On New Years', we celebrate at home. We prepare everything… after we go outside with the children, we want to be with family…with all of us…so the children have fun….we go around the town (to enjoy ourselves)"

Speaker #4 (Native Dari speaker, "Filler")

Film-e ke mah zyaat dost darem film-e indi-sta ba khater ke filme khaanawaadagi-st, bar az ee faamil asta misle faamile khudem ast besyaar khush daarem khwaar byadar astan, ke chuto zindagi mekonan amaa chuto ishtamaayeshan mushkilat peysh meyaraa amaa baazaam sakhti ke mibina ama baazaam yag jay mebashan

"The movie that I really like is an Indian movie because it is a family film, because they are a family like my family. I really like it. They are brother and sister. (It shows) how they live but how society brings them problems but despite the difficulties they face, they stay together."

Speaker #5 (Native Persian Speaker, "Filler")

Mikhaam begam maa sunnat khailey khubi darim raajib-e noruz maqsusan sabz-e sabz kardan ke khailey kaar-e qashangiyeh sabzaayeh khailey khoshgel sabz mikonim baa rumaal qermez mizaarim vasateh hafsin baad chezaayeh digehyeh hafsin ke inshallah ke shomaa-ra ye mogha sareh hafsin bebinin o shomaaham een lawaazem ke mah michinim bebinin

"I want to say we have a very nice tradition regarding *Noruz* (Persian New Years'), especially *sabz-e sabz kardan* (sprouting wheat grass) which is a really nice activity. We sprout really beautiful grasses and place red handkerchiefs in the middle of the *hafsin*.

Then the other things of *hafsin* that *inshallah* (lit. 'God willing') you will see one day

and all the (other) things we arrange"

Speaker #6 (Bi-Dialectal Speaker)

Survey Version A: (Dari guise: Topic "How to Make an Omelette")

Bare omelette awal mah pyaaz rayza mekonum   da roghan surkh meykonum   baaz
For omelette first   I   onion chop do.1sg.PRES in oil   fry   do.1sg. PRES then
sir   o baanjaanrumi-ra gat mekonum   ar chiz   ke mekhayen   meytaanin
garlic and tomatoes-OBJ   mix do.1sg.PRES any thing that want.2sg.PRES able.2sg. PRES
partin   baaz da aakhirish tukhma gat mekonum   wakht-e ke   pukhta
throw.IMPER. then in   end-3sg   egg   mix do.1sg. PRES time-the that cook
shud   murch o namak mindaazum   baad azu tayaar ast
happen.3sg.PAST pepper and salt throw.1sg.PRES after that ready be.3sg.PRES

"For omelettes, I first chop the onions and fry them in oil. Then I mix in garlic and
tomatoes...you can throw in anything you want…then I add eggs at the end. When it's
cooked, I throw on salt and pepper, after that it is ready"

Survey Version B: (Dari guise: Topic "Weather")

Ee afta awaa   besyaar aywaz shuda   awale   afta besyaar garm bud
This week weather very   change happen.PAST beginning week very   warm be.3sg.PAST
baaz pasaantar baaraan shoro shud   imruz subakhi-raam garm   bud
then later   rain   start happen.3sg. PAST today morning-also   warm be.3sg. PAST
mudaa alay besyaar khunuk shud   fikir meykonum   ke   pasaantar baaraan
but   now very   cold   happen.3sg. PAST think do.1sg.PRES that later   rain
bubaara
be.IMPERATIVE

"This week the weather changed a lot. In the beginning of the week it was very warm, but later it started raining. Also this morning it was warm but now it is very cold. I think it will rain later."

Appendix B: Example of Survey Page

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