Volume 10
Issue 2
2012

The Effect of Accessibility on Language Vitality: The Ishkashimi and the Sanglechi Speech Varieties in Afghanistan

Simone Beck

The Effect of Accessibility on Language Vitality:
The Ishkashimi and the Sanglechi Speech Varieties in Afghanistan

Simone Beck

This paper presents a sociolinguistic assessment of the Ishkashimi and Sanglechi speech varieties based on data collected during a survey conducted between July 21st and July 29th 2007 in the Ishkashim area and the Sanglech valley. The research was carried out under the auspices of the International Assistance Mission, a Non-Government Organization working in Afghanistan. The goal was to determine whether Dari, one of the two national languages, is adequate to be used in literature and primary school education, or whether the Ishkashimi and the Sanglechi people would benefit from language development, including literature development and primary school education in the vernacular. It was important to find out how closely the two speech varieties, Ishkashimi and Sanglechi, are related to determine whether one written form would suffice for both varieties, in case language development is deemed to be necessary.

The researchers administered sociolinguistic and village elder questionnaires, elicited word lists, tested mutual intelligibility of Ishkashimi and Sanglechi, and observed and asked about bilingualism in Dari. In this way they aimed to determine the domains of language use, the attitude towards the other speech variety and Dari, to investigate bilingualism in Dari, and intelligibility between Ishkashimi and Sanglechi.

Sanglechi was found to be unintelligible to the Ishkashimi speakers. However, Ishkashimi is more intelligible to Sanglechi speakers.

The Ishkashimi speak Dari and their vernacular at home and in the community; in all other domains they primarily speak Dari. All Sanglechi speak only their vernacular in their homes and in the community. They speak Dari and some Sanglechi with guests, when travelling outside the area, with government officials, in school and in the religious domain. School is the only domain that exposes girls and young women to Dari; older women have virtually no contact with Dari.

In both places, people display a positive attitude towards Dari. Both language groups show a positive attitude towards their own vernacular. However, the Ishkashimi look down on Sanglechi as a rural language, while the Sanglechi consider Ishkashimi to be a good language. There is a growing awareness among the Ishkashimi, especially the educated, that they may lose their language if they continue not speaking it to their children. However, Sanglechi is very vital.

Bilingualism with Dari is high among the Ishkashimi while it is very low in significant segments of the Sanglechi people. Therefore literature in Dari currently cannot serve the Sanglechi adequately, while it does serve the Ishkashimi people at present.

Considering the high vitality of Sanglechi and the speakers' low degree of bilingualism with Dari a language development project for the Sanglechi people is recommended. It should include a contribution to the Ishkashimi speech variety as they develop a growing awareness of the endangerment of their language. Besides this, it might be possible to extend such efforts to the Ishkashimi speakers in Tajikistan as well.

Table of Contents

1. Background Information Concerning the Country

1.1 History

Afghanistan has been an area of great interest for many centuries, mainly because of its central position in Asia. Marco Polo probably travelled on the Silk Road through Afghanistan (that is through Badakhshan and the Wakhan corridor) to China. During the period of the "Great Game"[1] (18th and 19th century) the Russians and the British fought fiercely over what is now the country of Afghanistan. In recent history Afghanistan has been occupied by Russia (since 1977), until they were defeated by the Mujaheddin and the Taliban began to rule the country (1995). In 2001 the Northern Alliance supported by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) terminated the reign of the Taliban. Presently a Parliament and a President rule Afghanistan.

In recent years International Non-Government-Organizations (INGOs), the United Nations Organization (UNO) and governments of other countries have shown great interest in Afghanistan. They have invested considerable financial resources into the country, and initiated many humanitarian programs. Humanitarian efforts are currently concentrated in Kabul, other major cities and rural areas near major cities. In contrast, few resources have been allocated to rural and mountainous areas. In fact, very little is known about some of these areas.

1.2 Geography

Afghanistan is a landlocked country occupying a central position in Asia. It borders Iran to the west, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan (in this order from west to east) to the north, Pakistan to the east and south, and it has a very short common border with China in the far east.

Map 1 shows the borders of the country of Afghanistan with its 34 provinces and the province capitals

---

[1]The Great Game is a British term for what was seen by the British to be a strategic rivalry and conflict between the British Empire and the Russian Empire for supremacy in Central Asia. The classic Great Game period is generally regarded as running approximately from the Russo-Persian Treaty of 1813 to the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907. Following the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 a second, less intensive phase followed.

The term "The Great Game" is usually attributed to Arthur Conolly, an intelligence officer of the British East India Company's Sixth Bengal Light Cavalry. It was introduced into mainstream consciousness by British novelist Rudyard Kipling in his novel Kim (1901). (Wikipedia 2008)

Map 1: Provinces of Afghanistan
Source: afghana! (2008)

1.3 Linguistic Situation

The national languages of Afghanistan are Dari and Pashto. Both are Indo-European languages, Dari belonging to the West Iranian languages and Pashto to the East Iranian. The Ethnologue (Gordon 2005) lists 46 languages for Afghanistan. Many of them are spoken in neighbouring countries as well - these ethnolinguistic groups are spread over country borders, which have been drawn without taking into account the boundaries of the ethnic minority communities. According to the new constitution of Afghanistan (in place since 2005), article 16, the government supports the development and strengthening of minority languages. Even the status of a third national language is ascribed to some in places where the majority speaks it. Pamiri is mentioned as one of them[2]. Little research has been conducted about the minority languages of Afghanistan and hardly any information is obtainable about most of them.

---

[2]In linguistic publication Pamiri is not considered as one language, rather the Pamir languages as a group of related languages; they are spoken in some parts of Badakhshan (2.3 Language Classification).

2. Geography, Population and Language of Ishkashimi and Sanglechi

2.1 Geography

The Ishkashim area and the Sanglech valley are located in the Badakhshan province of Afghanistan. The province, located in the north-east of Afghanistan, borders Tajikistan, China, and Pakistan. The terrain consists mostly of mountain ranges and valleys (altitude between 1000 and 6000m), the highest being the Pamir range in the Wakhan corridor.

    Ishkashim town lies north of the mouth of the Wakhan corridor, near to the Panj river, which marks the border to Tajikistan. A few partly Ishkashimi-speaking villages are located some kilometres north of Ishkashim town. Ishkashimi is also spoken in Tajikistan, in the villages of Ryn and Sumjin, across the border from Ishkashim. The Sanglech valley is located towards the South East of Ishkashim: on the road running from Faizabad to Ishkashim, an hour before reaching Ishkashim is the town of Zebāk. South of Zebāk, after crossing a river, one reaches the secluded Sanglech valley with its six Sanglechi-speaking villages.

    Map 2 shows the province of Badakhshan. Ishkashim and Sanglech are indicated in orange.
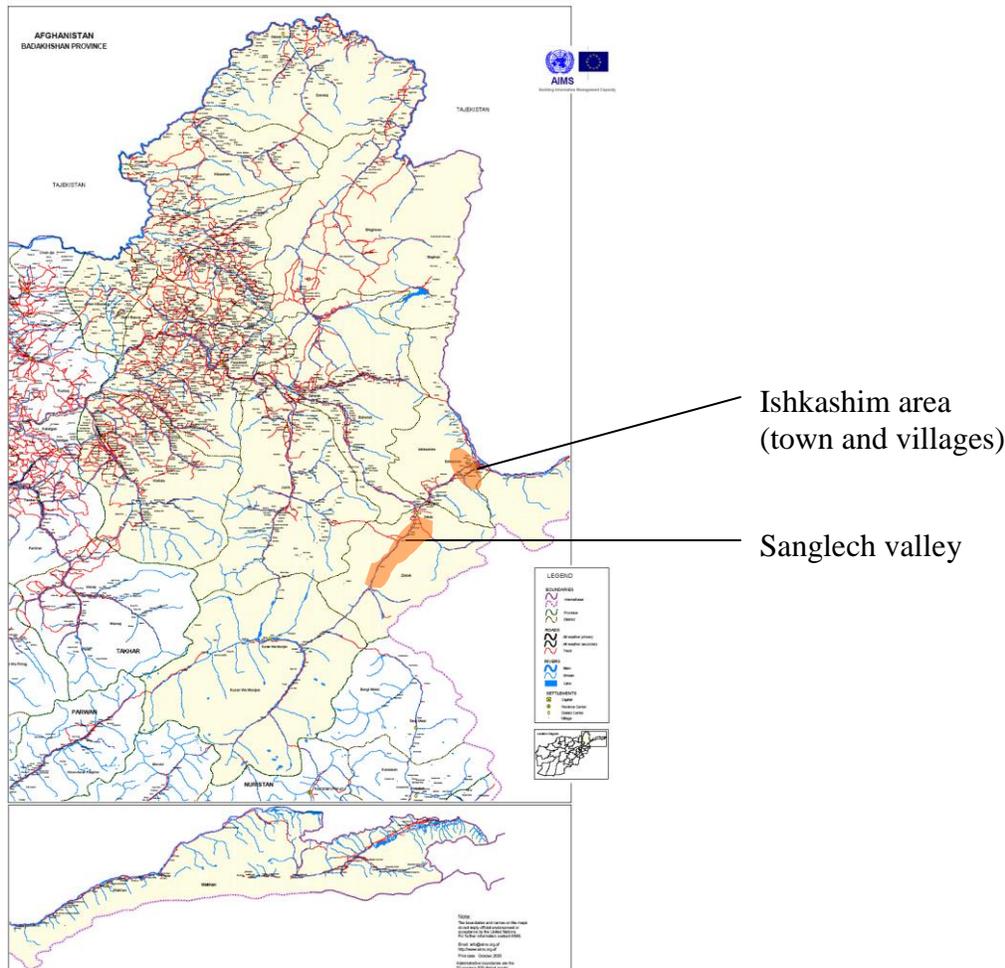
Map 2: Province of Badakhshan, with Ishkashimi- and Sanglechi-speaking areas
Source: AIMS (2004)

Map 3 shows Ishkashim town and the villages to the north where Ishkashimi is spoken.
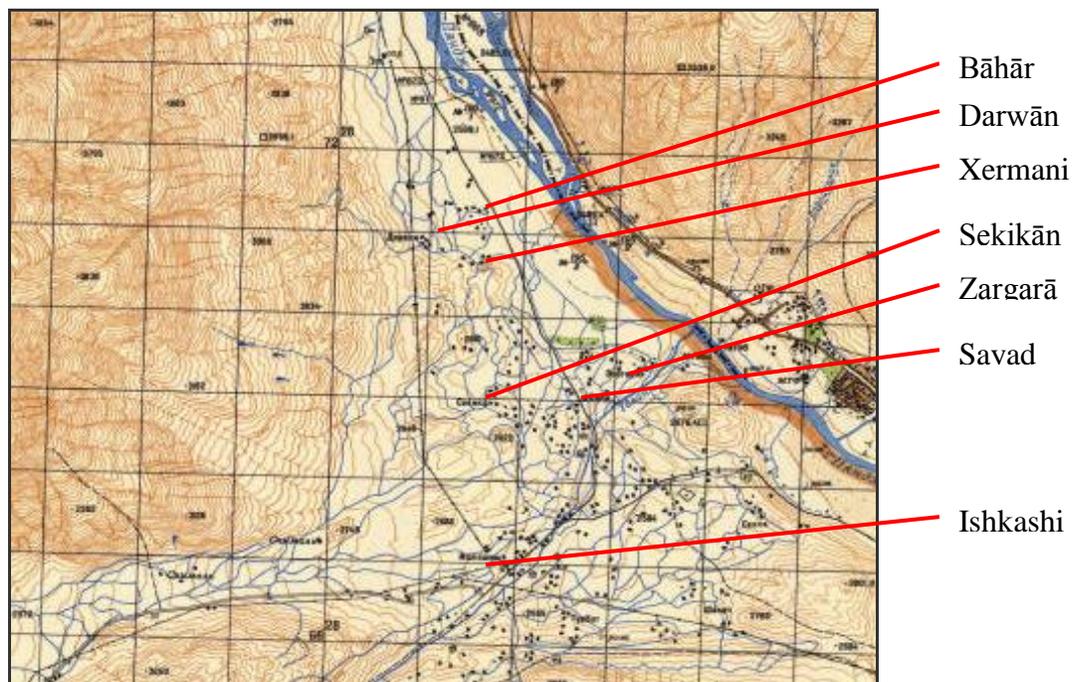
Map 3: Ishkashim town and villages
Sources: DGIA (2001)

The coordinates of the Ishkashimi villages the researchers visited, and of the town of Ishkashim are as follows:

Ishkashim: N: 36° 42' 48"; E: 71° 33' 44"Altitude: 2705m
Bāhār Bāzār: N: 36° 44' 42"; E: 71° 34' 32"Altitude: 2496m
Xermani: N: 36° 44' 31"; E: 71° 33' 56"Altitude: 2515m
Zargarān: N: 36° 44' 70"; E: 71° 35' 18"Altitude: 2532m

Map 4 gives the Sanglech valley and the 6 villages where Sanglechi is spoken.

Dashte Rubāt

Flaxmadek

Faruq
Takva

Esketul
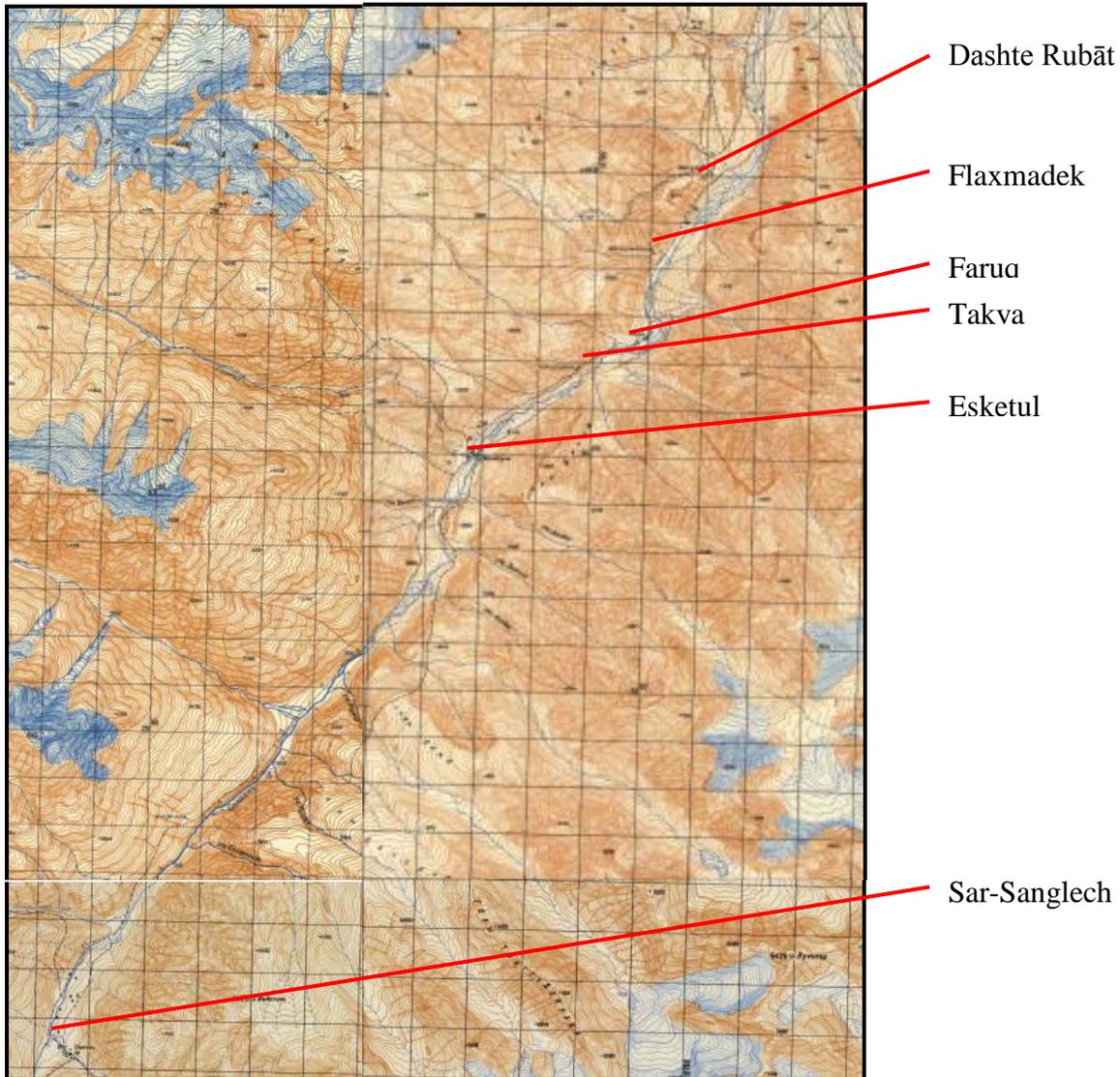
Sar-Sanglech

Map 4: Sanglech valley
Source: DGIA (2001)

The coordinates of the Sanglechi villages the researchers visited, and of Sar-Sanglech are as follows:

Dashte Rubāt:	N: 36° 27' 00"; E: 71° 18' 60"Altitude: 2741m
Faruq:	N: 36° 26' 13"; E: 71° 18' 23"Altitude: 2727m
Eskatul:	N: 36° 24' 01"; E: 71° 15' 56"Altitude: 2976m
Sar-Sanglech:	N: 36° 17' 02"; E: 71° 10' 60"Altitude: 3468m

2.2 Population

2.2.1 Ishkashim

According to the information village elders gave, the number of Ishkashimi-speaking houses in the villages around Ishkashim is as follows:

Xermani:	60 Ishkashimi speaking houses	(60 Dari speaking houses)
Bāhār Bāzār:	40 Ishkashimi speaking houses	(no Dari speaking houses)
Zargarān:	15 Ishkashimi speaking houses	(15 Dari speaking houses)
Darwān:	10 Ishkashimi speaking houses	(28 Dari speaking houses)
Sayad:	10 Ishkashimi speaking houses	(25 Dari speaking houses)
Qaz Deh:	4 Ishkashimi speaking houses	
	139 Ishkashimi speaking houses	

These figures show that in each village, except Bāhār Bāzār, the Ishkashimi-speaking population is only half or less of the total population.

The number of people living in each house varies between 5 and 23 family members. The average of the numbers reported is 11 people per household. That amounts to approximately 1500 Ishkashimi speakers living in the above villages.

Additionally, in Tajikistan approximately 1000 Ishkashimi speakers live in Ryn village, and another 360 live in Sumjin village (Müller et al. 2005).

2.2.2 Sanglech

Sar-Sanglech:	35 houses
Esketul:	63 houses
Takya:	22 houses
Faruq:	26 houses
Flaxmadek:	9 houses
Dashte Rubāt:	16 houses
	181 houses

The average number of people living together in Sanglech households varies between 2 and 30 family members per house. The average of all figures reported is 12 people to each house. That amounts to about 2200 people living in the Sanglech valley.

2.3 Language Classification

The Ishkashimi-Sanglechi speech variety is part of the Pamir language group. Pamir languages are spoken in the Pamir Mountains in the countries of Afghanistan, Pakistan, Tajikistan and China. According to Kreutzmann, the following seven languages are part of to the Pamir language group: Yaghnobi, Munji-Yidgha, Ishkashimi-Sanglechi, Wakhi, Shughni-Roshāni-Bartangi, Yazgolami, Sariqoli (Kreutzmann 1996). Munji, Shughni-Roshāni, Wakhi and Ishkashimi-Sanglechi are spoken in the Badakhshan province of Afghanistan. They share some grammatical features. Munji is spoken in the Munjan valley South of Faizabad, Shughni-Roshāni

at to border to Tajikistan North-East of Faizabad, and Wakhi in the Wakhan corridor in the far east of Badakhshan. Ishkashim is considered the entrance town to the Wakhan area, but is not part of it, the Sanglech valley is located south east of Ishkashim.

Linguists have, so far, considered Ishkashimi and Sanglechi to be one language. They are linguistically similar and one of the goals of this research is to find out whether the varieties of Ishkashimi and Sanglechi spoken in Afghanistan should be treated as one language for the purpose of language and literature development.

The Sanglechi people refer to themselves and to their language as "Dargi". The Dari word "Sanglechi" originates from the word for their home location, the Sanglech valley, which again originates from the Sanglech river flowing through the valley.

Ishkashimi-Sanglechi is a spoken language only. Published written material exists neither in Ishkashimi nor in Sanglechi. But few Sanglechi people have written down stories and poems in their mother tongue.

The Ethnologue (Gordon 2005) gives the following information for Ishkashimi-Sanglechi:

ISO Code:	sgl
Alternate names:	Eshkashimi, Ishkashim, Ishkashmi
Dialects:	Zebāk[3], Sanglechi, Ishkashimi
Classification:	Indo-European, Indo-Iranian, Iranian, Eastern, Southeastern, Pamir, Ishkashimi-Sanglechi

2.4 Previous Research regarding Ishkashimi-Sanglechi

Previous researches conducted and documented about Ishkashimi-Sanglechi is rare. The first data on the Ishkashimi language was published by R. Shaw in his work *"On the Ghalchah Languages (Wakhi and Sarikoli)."* Besides Shaw, Thomashek was one of the first to present data about the Ishkashimi in the late 1800s (Shaw 1876; Thomashek 1880). According to the Circle of Ancient Iranian Studies R. Gauthiot happened to write down some Ishkashimi words he heard from a chance passer-by in 1914 (CIAS 2007). These were published after the linguist's death. Shortly later Grierson published a systematic description of Ishkashimi (Grierson 1920).

More than half a century later Skjærvø compares in his article "Modern East Iranian Languages" (Skjærvø 1989) the phonological and morphological of the modern East Iranian languages, including Ishkashimi and Sanglechi; he describes their linguistic interactions and interference. He also presents a comparative historical survey of the East Iranian languages.

In the same year John Payne states in his article "Pamir Languages", that Ishkashimi, Zebāki and Sanglechi are three closely related dialects of the same language, with Persian having greater influence on Ishkashimi and Zebāki than on the more isolated Sanglechi. He writes that Ishkashimi is spoken in Ishkashim and some neighbouring villages on the Afghan bank of the Panj river, and also in the villages of Ryn and Sumjin in Tajikistan. He estimates that the number of speakers is 2000, with 1500 in Afghanistan and 500 in Ryn and Sumjin. Sanglechi, so Payne, is spoken in three villages in a valley feeding the Warduge river. He estimates that there are a few hundred speakers. About Zebāki, Payne writes that it might not be spoken in the town of Zebāk itself, where Persian is spoken, but somewhere in the district. He does not mention a specific location. He guesses that there might be a few hundred speakers (Payne 1989). Müller

---

[3]Zebāki is extinct (see 2.3 Previous Research regarding Ishkashimi-Sanglechi).

mentions Pakhalina and Kurbanov who report that Zebāki is now extinct (Müller et al. 2005). The researches did not find any Zebāki speakers either when travelling through the Zebāk district.

Payne emphasizes in the above mentioned article that Ishkashimi-Sanglechi is part of the so called "Pamir Sprachbund". He holds the opinion that in spite of their diversity, they share sufficient common features. He gives the following five examples: 1. Vowel alternations show morphological distinctions, like gender, tense and transitivity. 2. Three verb stems exist: present, past and perfect. 3. Verbal endings are used to show person and number in the present tense, but these agreement particles are movable in the past tense; they are mostly attached to the first major constituent in the sentence. 4. There is a three-way distinction in demonstrative pronouns between 'near', 'middle' and 'far'. 5. The basic word-order patterns are Subject-Object-Verb; adjectives and possessive modifiers precede the head, while prepositional phrases and relative clauses follow. The sentence structure is closely linked to the choice of verb form, in particular to tense and transitivity.

Payne states that there is wide spread bilingualism throughout the Pamir with Tajik or Dari, which serve as language of intercommunication between different Pamir groups. He also calls it the language of literature. He guesses that knowledge of Persian in the Pamir dates back at least to the 11th century (Payne 1989).

According to Payne, the presence of a series of retroflex consonants, with the absence of a contrast between velar and uvular fricatives, is distinct for Ishkashimi-Sanglechi among the Pamir languages.

Figure 1 shows Payne's analysis of the sound inventory for Ishkashimi and Sanglechi.
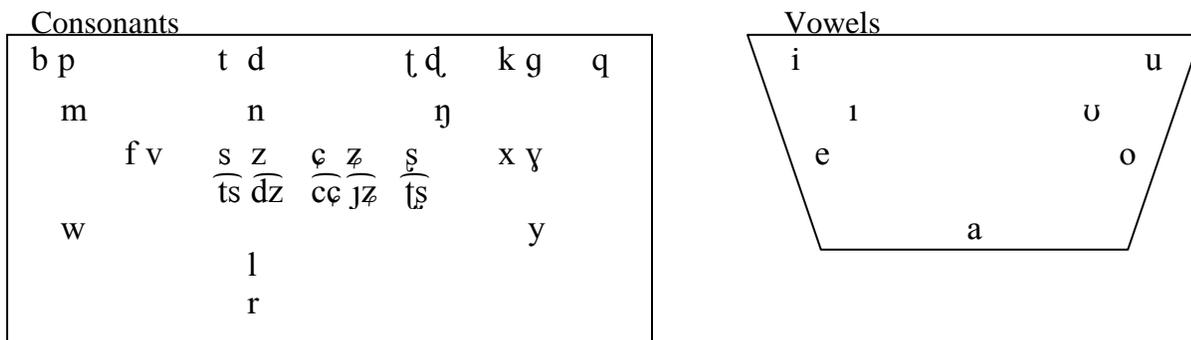
Figure 1: Sound Inventory of Ishkashimi-Sanglechi according to Payne

Yusufbekov in his article "The Sanglechi Language" points out that the language derives its name from the location where it is spoken, which is the Sanglech valley. The valley in turn received its name from the highest village, Sanglech. He states that Sanglechi is closely related to Ishkashimi but gives no opinion on whether they are different languages or varieties of one language. Yusufbekov claims the number of speakers on Oct 1st 1996 was 1312. He also divided the language into two dialects: the upper one, Sanglechi proper, spoken in the upper three villages and the lower one, spoken in the remaining three villages. The lower one includes traces of Zebāki which, according to Yusufbekov, has died out. The main differences between the dialects are lexical and phonetic. He continues that since the Zebāki dialect is completely lost and the speakers of the lower and upper dialects are closely associated with each other, dialectal differences have largely disappeared now. He adds that Sanglechi is only used in everyday speech. Dari is the language of literature, teaching in schools and for communication with neighbouring people groups (Yusufbekov 2000).

The most recent work about Ishkashimi-Sanglechi is a brief linguistic assessment conducted in 2007 by Miller and Backstrom who collected an Ishkashimi and a Sanglechi word list (Miller 2007). The Sanglechi word list was elicited from a Sanglechi man in Zebāk. They found a lexical similarity of 70% between the two speech varieties. They recommend that no language development project should be undertaken for the Ishkashimi, because Dari literature is sufficient to serve the Ishkashimi community. For Sanglechi they recommend that a language development project should be undertaken, starting with a pilot literacy project and basic reading material.

3. Background Information Concerning Ishkashim and Sanglech

This section gives background information concerning the people inhabiting the villages around Ishkashim and the Sanglech valley, especially in regard to their living conditions. The information presented is the result of background research conducted in Faizabad during the months prior to the research trip and of research during the field trip, in particular interviews with village elders.

3.1 Livelihood and Economics

3.1.1 Ishkashim area

Many of the men living in the area have found work in the town of Ishkashim. Some run small shops or other businesses or are working for one of the Aga Khan Development Network's projects (AKDN) (see 3.8 Aid Work). Others are farmers; they are working the fields that belong to the family, mostly growing wheat. Women tend the livestock, which is mostly sheep, with some goats and cows.

All basic products are available in the market in Ishkashim, which is about an hour walking distance from the furthest Ishkashimi village. At least one man from every family travels to Faizabad or other cities to buy additional household supplies that are not available in Ishkashim.

A shared bazaar for Afghans and Tajiks is held weekly in Tajikistan close to the bridge over the Panj river near Ishkashim. Afghans are allowed to visit this bazaar in Tajikistan, but not to enter further into the country. Tajik goods are available for sale there, but also items that are prohibited in Afghanistan, like alcohol.

3.1.2 Sanglech valley

The people of Sanglech are self supporting to a great extent; the economy is agro-pastoral. People grow wheat, barley, corn and broad beans for their own consumption. They keep goats, sheep and cows for milk and meat, as well as oxen which they use for the farming work. Few people own a donkey. There are a few fruit trees, like apples, apricots, peaches, and walnut trees. Some families grow potatoes, onions, tomatoes and greeneries in their garden, but this practice is rather rare.

During the three to four summer months, June to September, a third to half of the women of each village take their livestock to summer pastures higher up the mountains because the narrow river valley does not provide enough pasture for the livestock. They take all their household necessities with them, spend the entire time there and live in animal-hide tents. Small children go

with their mothers. School children stay behind with other (usually older) women of the extended family.

   The main component of the diet in Sanglech is wholemeal bread, mostly baked from wheat. When people run out of wheat during the winter they use corn and barley. The other major food item is black tea with milk and salt. Homemade pasta is very common and contains bean flour as the main ingredient.

   To supplement the basic diet, men regularly visit the market in Zebāk, the centre of the district, or Ishkashim. Most families send a family member there ranging in frequency from once a week to twice a year. There people obtain rice, tea, sugar and oil, but also shoes, material for clothes, or small "luxury items" like radios and sewing machines. Some men travel as far as Faizabad (another day's journey by car) to buy supplies for their families. People also get supplies from the traders who come from other parts of Badakhshan to Sanglech to sell their wares. Goods brought from these traders are expensive, about 5 to 10 times the price of similar goods in Faizabad. This is due to the lack of infrastructure, especially adequate motor roads, and competition.

   People make money by selling cattle, and sometimes even their wheat. From every village a few young men go to other places to find work, mostly to Faizabad and other cities in Badakhshan, but sometimes to Kabul or even Iran. The time spent there varies between a few months and a few years. They regularly send money back to support their family and others in their village.

3.2 Administrational Structure

A *Shorā*, a village council, administers each village around Ishkashim and in the Sanglech valley. The head of the *Shorā* is the village leader. He is responsible for all communal political affairs. The *Shorā* is elected through a secret election when every adult member of the village can cast their vote. The *Shorā* consists of 5 to 10 men. They decide among themselves who will be the head of the *Shorā* and who will be his deputy. Besides this council, a women's *Shorā* exists which takes responsibility for the women's affairs of the village. The whole village also elects the members of the women's *Shorā*. All *Shorā* members are elected for four years. Being a member is an honorary, un-salaried, position.

   Above the *Shorā* is the district governor. He is appointed by the provincial government. Usually he comes from another part of the country and is a native Dari speaker. The district governor resides of Ishkashim town and the surrounding villages resides in Ishkashim. The Sanglech valley is part of the Zebāk district. The district governor for that area resides in the town of Zebāk. Above the governors of both districts is the provincial governor in Faizabad.

3.3 Religion

All Pamiri people groups belong to the Ismaili branch of Shia Islam. They look to the Aga Khan, who presently lives in Paris, as their spiritual leader. Shortly after the death of Mohammad (in the year 632) the division of Sunni and Shia took place because of their differing opinions about how Mohammad's successor should be elected. The Sunnis held the view that he should be elected by a committee on the grounds of his ability, although a blood relationship to the Prophet would speak in his favour. However, for the Shias a close blood bond was the foremost criteria for all of Mohammad's future successors. Although the Shias did not have an opportunity to

overrule the Sunnis, they themselves only recognized the fourth Imam elected by the Sunnites, which was Ali, Mohammad's cousin and son-in-law, after Abu Bakr, Umar and Utman, who were the first three Imams elected by the Sunnis (Schirrmacher 1994).

Shia is further divided into Four-Shia (does not exist any more today), Seven-Shia (Ismaili) and Twelve-Shia, according to the number of Imams they acknowledged as true Imams. They also differ greatly in theological matters. The name "Ismaili" is derived from Ishmael, the seventh and last Imam according to their view.

The Ismaili put great importance on education, practical aid and development work. Ismaili usually do not keep the fast during the month of Ramadan, because, as they argue, a clean heart is more pleasing to God than outward fasting. They pray twice a day, in the morning and in the evening. They do not practice the *Hadj* (pilgrimage to Mecca). Every village has a *Khalifa* (religious teacher) and a *Jumat Khāna* (prayer house) where people gather to pray, and where the *Khalifa* preaches a sermon on Friday, usually about the practices of life according to the Ismaili beliefs.

The Ishkashim area, the Sanglech valley, and other Ismaili communities ar far less conservative compared to other Muslim communities. Men and women share meals together, shake hands, and talk to each other even when they belong to different families. There seems to be a relatively high respect for the role and the work of women in these communities. This might also be due to the rural setting in Sanglech where men and women have to work together to make ends meet.

Occasionally tension occurs between the Ismaili people living in the Sanglech valley and the Sunni living in Zebāk, the district capital. No such tension was witnessed or reported around Ishkashim at the time of the research.

3.4 Education

In Afghanistan children start school at the age of seven. Classes are taught for 6 days a week with Friday being the day of holiday. School children attend school for two to six hours a day according to their grade. They attend school for 9 months per year. Schools are closed for three month in winter due to cold weather.

3.4.1 Ishkashim

The town of Ishkashim has a central school for boys living in the town and the surrounding villages, and one for girls. Both schools offer classes up to 12th grade. About 1150 students were enrolled in both schools together at the time of the research. The children from the villages walk to school every day. It is up to one hour's walk.

Between 80 and 90% of the children of each village begin school education. Although girls start school along with boys, the numbers of female students in the school of Ishkashim decreases in the higher grades. Usually in a given year about 100 girls start in grade 1, but only 17 girls presently study in grade 12. Girls are often married between the ages of 12 to 14, and as a consequence stop their school education after the wedding to work in the house and raise children.

If students want to receive education beyond grade 12 they have to go to Faizabad to study 13th and 14th grade, this is the qualification required to become a teacher. After that, students can

study at the University of Kabul or in any other major city. Every year 5 to 6 students from the Ishkashim area go for further education. This option is only open to boys.

The teachers are from Ishkashim, most of them are native Dari speakers, a few are mother tongue Ishkashimi speakers. The language of instruction is Dari and all school books are in Dari.

Schooling has only been available for about 10 years. The percentage of literate adults is therefore much lower than that of children, and the numbers given vary greatly. According to a rough estimate, 20% of the women might be literate and 50% of the men.

3.4.2 Sanglech

There are two schools in the Sanglech valley: in Faruq and in Sar-Sanglech. The school in Faruq serves the children from all villages except Sar-Sanglech. It offers classes up to 9th grade. About 420 students are presently enrolled. It takes an hour to walk there from the village farthest away. The school in Sar-Sanglech offers classes up to grade 6. If children want to continue their education they could go to Zebāk where classes up to 12th grade is offered. As only rich parents can afford this, no one in recent years continued their education in Zebāk.

Only a few teachers are from Sanglech, most come from Zebāk, Ishkashim or Shughnan. The language of instruction is Dari and the school books are all in Dari. The teachers help the students in Sanglechi if they are able to speak the language themselves. The teachers who are not from Sanglech live in the school during the school term and only return home to their families during the 3-month holiday period. They are provided with food by the villagers, the families taking turns to cook for them.

Very few of the adults are literate. A low proportion of those literate are women. Literacy rate may amount to roughly 10% of the men and 3 to 5% of the women.

3.5 Electricity and Water

3.5.1 Ishkashim

The town of Ishkashim is provided with electricity through water power. In most Ishkashimi villages several small water power projects produce sufficient electricity to provide light for a few houses. The people have set them up privately.

There are different means of getting water. The town of Ishkashim has a canal system to collect the melting water and the water coming down the mountains from springs. In Xermani people have placed pipes from a spring to the village. They are reported to be 150 m long. For Bāhār Bāzār the AKDN has built a system of pipes that draws water from the Panj river. In Zargarān, people collect water from the river with buckets.

3.5.2 Sanglech

Esketul is the only village with electricity. Thanks to a small hydro power project provided by the government. The other villages do not have electricity.

In every village people get water from the Sanglech river, using buckets to collect and carry water back to their houses.

3.6 Infrastructure

3.6.1 Ishkashim

An unpaved road runs from Faizabad to Ishkashim. It takes about 7 to 8 hours to reach Ishkashim from Faizabad. Cars frequently utilise this road, and the public transportation system services the route with mini buses. In Ishkashim the road splits: one road continues into the Wakhan corridor, another runs along the Afghan-Tajik border, and the third crosses the Panj river into Tajikistan. Even though Ishkashim is a remote town it has a certain strategic position. People often travel on these roads through Ishkashim. As a consequence, Ishkashim offers several public guest houses where travellers can spend the night.

3.6.2 Sanglech

About one hour from Ishkashim towards the direction of Faizabad, one has to cross a river delta at Zebāk to enter the Sanglech valley. Although the streams are not very deep, a combination of sandy river beds and rapid currents makes them almost impossible to cross by car apart from in the late summer and early autumn. At other times the crossing may only be made on foot or horseback.

　　By car, it takes about an hour from the river delta to the first village and 20 to 30 minutes more to get from each village to the next one. Using a car, one can only get close to Faruq; there is a bridge across the Sanglech river that cars cannot cross. From there it takes about one hour by foot from each village to the next one. Only it takes five hours to reach Sar-Sanglech from Esketul.

　　This path along the Sanglech River continues after Sar-Sanglech into Pakistan. People report it is a two hours' walk from Sar-Sanglech to the border. Sometimes travellers walk through the Sanglech valley to get to Pakistan; they usually come from the area around Ishkashim. These are traders who buy wares in Pakistan and sell them in Afghanistan. Nevertheless the area is very remote and very seldom visited by people from outside.

3.7 Medical Situation

The Agha Khan Health Services (AKHS) provides the health care for the Ishkashim area and the Sanglech valley. The Badakhshan province has the highest rate worldwide of maternal and infant mortality; this is certainly one of the biggest health problems in Ishkashim and Sanglech as well.

3.7.1 Ishkashim

The AKHS is running a hospital in the town of Ishkashim that also serves the surrounding villages. The other villages do not have additional health facilities. It takes people between 30 minutes and one hour to get to the hospital by foot or on a donkey. If the case is more serious patients are usually taken to Faizabad, Kabul or Tajikistan. Reportedly, the most common diseases are flu, pneumonia, coughs and general aches and pains, like body pain and stomach pain. The people also complained about "women's sicknesses" in general.

3.7.2 Sanglech

The nearest clinic is located in Zebāk; it is run by the AKHS. It takes patients about 1.5 hours from Dashte Rubāt to reach Zebāk by foot or on donkey. It takes longer from the villages further up the valley (see 3.6 Infrastructure). If the sickness is more serious, patients are brought to the hospital in Ishkashim. There are no health facilities in the villages. According to their own reports, people mostly suffer from colds and pneumonia.

3.8 Aid Work

The Aga Khan Development Network (AKDN), a group of Ismaili (see 3.3 Religion) development agencies under the auspices of the Aga Khan, is the only aid organization working in Ishkashim and Sanglech. The AKDN has its provincial administrational centre in Faizabad, and regional offices in Ishkashim and Zebāk. Their work stretches across Badakhshan, operating also in Tajikistan. AKDN provides the medical facilities in Zebāk and Ishkashim (see 3.7 Medical Situation).

3.8.1 Ishkashim

In addition to the health facilities, the AKDN provides adult literacy courses in the Ishkashim region, it runs water and sanitation projects, and provides electricity with hydro power installations. Through their micro finance services, they provide small loans for people who want to start a business.

3.8.2 Sanglech

In the Sanglech valley the AKDN planted fruit trees in Esketul and has built a dam on the river near Dashte Rubāt.

4. Research Goals

4.1 Assumptions

We assumed the following, based on the most recent research by Miller and Backstrom and the linguistic literature mentioned before.

1. The Sanglechi have a strong ethnolinguistic identity and their language shows a high degree of vitality, due to the isolation of the Sanglech area.
2. There are widely varying levels of proficiency in Dari, the language of wider communication, especially in the Sanglech valley. The level of Dari might be lower in the Sanglech valley compared to the Ishkashim area, because of lower accessibility by road. We also assume that the proficiency of Dari among women is lower compared to men.
3. There is considerable linguistic similarity between the two speech varieties Ishkashimi and Sanglechi, but it is not clear whether they are inherently intelligible.

4.2 Objective

The objective of this language survey was, firstly, to find out whether the Ishkashimi and Sanglechi people can be adequately served with primary school education and literacy programs in Dari; or whether they would benefit from language development in their own speech varieties, including primary school education in their vernacular. And secondly, if language development is needed, would the people be adequately served with a joint Ishkashimi and Sanglechi language development programme or would they need separate programmes?

Research Questions

1. Living conditions: What basic information can we find out about the people groups living in the Ishkashim area and the Sanglech valley (location, population, living conditions, education, infrastructure etc.)?
2. Vitality: What is the long term perspective on the vitality of the Ishkashimi and Sanglechi speech varieties?
3. Attitude: What attitudes do the Ishkashimi and Sanglechi people have towards their own vernacular, the other variety, and towards Dari?
4. Bilingualism: How proficient are the different segments (men/women, older/younger) of the Ishkashimi and Sanglechi people in Dari?
5. Intelligibility: To what extend are the Ishkashimi and the Sanglechi speech varieties inherently mutually intelligible? And to what extend is Afghan Ishkashimi intelligible with Tajik Ishkashimi?

5. Methodology

This section explains the methodology used for researching the Sanglechi and the Ishkashimi speech varieties.

5.1 Sampling

5.1.1 General

We used stratified quota sampling broken down by gender and age. We drew the age division at 30. The reason for that age division is that systematic and regular school education has only started fairly recently in both the Ishkashim and the Sanglech areas. Therefore only the younger generation, up to 30 (though often younger), has had the chance to really benefit from school education. This, besides general maturity, is the main factor that is likely to make a difference in the life of a younger person compared to an older person.

While the sample taken was not random, obtaining a random sample would not have been culturally appropriate. The fact that we were able to interview both men and women of different age groups helped to ensure that the information gathered was reasonably representative of the entire community. Furthermore, no list of all the members of the communities existed from which we could have extracted a random sample. A drawback was that during the summer many Ishkashimi and Sanglechi women work in the summer pastures with their animals, and so were

not in the village available for interviews. Therefore, more interviews were completed with men than with women.

Interviews across gender in both locations were possible only when a female researcher was interviewing a male respondent – the other way around would not be acceptable in the area surveyed. This is due to the greater latitude afforded to foreign women when it comes to relating to local men compared to that which the local people show to their own women.

5.1.2 Ishkashim

In order to ascertain in which villages Ishkashimi speakers live, we interviewed the governor of the Ishkashim area, the head of the Ishkashimi district office of the education ministry, and the headmasters of the girls' school and the boys' school in Ishkashim – who are both Ishkashimi themselves. They all isolated the villages of Bāhār Bāzār, Zargarān and Xermani as having most Ishkashimi inhabitants. We made appointments with the respective village elders, usually the head of the *Shorā*, at which time they would assemble the Ishkashimi-speaking people of the village for us to talk to them.

Table 1 shows the number of questionnaires completed in the different villages of the Ishkashim area according to the strata of gender and age.

Village	Xermani				Bāhār Bāzār				Zargarān				Total
Gender	Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female		
Age	up to 30	over 30	up to 30	over 30	up to 30	over 30	up to 30	over 30	up to 30	over 30	up to 30	over 30	
VEQ		1				1				1			3
WL		1				1				1			3
SQ	3	3	2	5	0	3	1	0	1	3	2	3	26
PSQ	3	2	2	2	0	3	1	0	0	5	1	0	19
RTT	3	5	2	3	1	3	0	0	0	5	0	0	22
Total	9	12	6	10	1	11	2	0	1	15	3	3	73

Table 1: Completed questionnaires in the Ishkashim area

In every village we completed the Village Elder Questionnaire (VEQ) with a knowledgeable member of the community, and we took a word list (WL). We used Sociolinguistic Questionnaires (SQ) and Proficiency Storying Questionnaire (PSQ), and we conducted Recorded Text Testing (RTT), with men and women of different ages. If there were not enough people assembled we asked the village elder or someone else, to find more individuals.

Dari was used as the medium for asking the questions to the men and women. A translator from Dari to Ishkashimi was not needed.

5.1.3 Sanglech

We had assumed that there might be differences between the speech in Sar-Sanglech, the highest village in the valley and the other villages, because Sar-Sanglech is five hours walk away from the closest village further down the valley, whereas the other villages are much closer to each

other. Therefore we planned to include Sar-Sanglech in the sample. But when we were in Eskatul a soldier who had just come back from Sar-Sanglech gave reports of an armed conflict there between the villagers, Afghan travellers and Pakistani men crossing the near border. Therefore the sergeant of the three policemen, who the district governor of Zebāk had sent with us, decided that it would not be safe for us to go there. So we visited Dashte Rubāt, the first village in the valley, Faruq, the third village and Esketul, the fifth village. Thus the sample included every second of the six villages along the Sanglech valley, starting at the lower entrance to the valley. The people in the other villages reported that there is no, or a very minor, difference between the Sanglechi spoken in Sar-Sanglech and the other villages. Although all the reported data is consistent, as we were unable to visit Sar-Sanglech in person we remain uncertain about whether any linguistic or sociolinguistic differences between Sar-Sanglech and the other villages exist.

Table 2 presents the number of questionnaires completed in the villages of the Sanglech valley according to the strata of gender and age.

Village	Esketul				Faruq				Dashte Rubāt				Total
Gender	Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female		
Age	up to 30	over 30	up to 30	over 30	up to 30	over 30	up to 30	over 30	up to 30	over 30	up to 30	over 30	
VEQ		1				1				1			3
WL		1				1				1			3
SQ	2	4	3	3	1	2	2	2	2	3	2	1	27
PSQ	2	2	1	2	3	1	1	0	2	2	2	1	19
RTT	6	5	0	3	2	1	3	2	2	3	1	1	29
Total	10	13	4	8	6	6	6	4	6	10	5	3	81

Table 2: Completed questionnaires in the Sanglech valley

In each village we conducted one Village Elder Interview, we took one word list, and we interviewed men and women of different age with the remaining interview forms. The villagers assembled when they realized that foreigners had come to the village. Besides that, the policemen spread the news that we wished to talk to people. Also, we interviewed men we met while walking in the villages, and when we were invited into houses we used the opportunity to question the women.

Dari was used as the language of communication for interviews with the men. For most interviews with women we used a man from each village with a good proficiency of Dari as a translator.

5.2 Village Elder Questionnaire

In every village we visited - Ishkashim, Bāhār Bāzār, Zargarān and Xermani around Ishkashim, and Dashte Rubāt, Faruq and Esketul in Sanglech - we administered a village elder questionnaire to a knowledgeable member of the community, a member of the *Shorā* or the headmaster of the school. The questionnaire included basic demographic and language questions, questions about education, marriage patterns of the villagers, living conditions in the village (nutrition, medical

situation, water, electricity etc.) and help provided from outside (see Appendix B: Village Elder Questionnaire).

5.3 Sociolinguistic Questionnaire

Individual sociolinguistic questionnaires were administered to between 4 and 12 people in each village we visited. The questionnaire was geared towards gaining information about the domains in which different languages are used and, connected with this, about the vitality of Ishkashimi and Sanglechi. Besides this, they were designed to find out the people's attitude towards the different languages. In addition to this, they inquired about mutual intelligibility of Ishkashimi and Sanglechi in Afghanistan, as well as of Afghan and Tajik Ishkashimi.

   The questions covered demographics, language use and language domains of Ishkashimi or Sanglechi and Dari. The respondents were asked about marriage and travel patterns, education and work connected to language in the individual's family. (See Appendix C: Sociolinguistic Questionnaire).

5.4 Proficiency Storying Questionnaire

To research the bilingual proficiency with Dari we used a Proficiency Storying Questionnaire. Interviewees were asked to answer questions and tell stories about their individual experience using Dari. The questionnaire inquires about real situations that occurred in the past when the respondents used, or tried to use, Dari. Compared to the "Self Evaluation Questionnaire" this was more appropriate in this cultural setting: people are not used to thinking about hypothetical situations as they are required to in the "Self Evaluation Questionnaire". Further, as guests we felt it was inappropriate to carry out any formal testing. This method was also used for sociolinguistic assessment in Tajikistan and is described by Thiessen (Thiessen 2005).

   The Proficiency Storying Questionnaire consisted of a series of questions, each concerning a situation likely experiences by respondents which they used Dari (like talking to a trader or doctor). They were encouraged to describe the situation and any language related difficulties they encountered. They then estimated whether other people they know would have had more or less difficulty handling the same situation.

   Each task is assigned a level of difficulty on the basis of the Interagency Language Roundtable (ILR, 1985)[4], from Level 1 (Elementary Proficiency) to Level 5 (Native or Bilingual Proficiency). The tasks are organized in increasing order of difficulty as the questionnaire progresses. Where respondents indicated that they carried out all the tasks assigned to a particular level, and also to all questions at preceding levels, they are deemed to be proficient in Dari to that level. The questions are divided according the ILR levels as follows: 1/2, 2+/3, 3+/4, 4+/5.

   The questionnaire included the section 'Childhood Language Use' to find out the nature of the respondent's first exposure to Dari and at what age they feel they began to function well in Dari. It also includes the section 'Community Proficiency', which explored community proficiency in

---

[4]The Interagency Language Roundtable (ILR) scale is a set of descriptions of abilities to communicate in a language. It was originally developed by the United States Foreign Service Institute, the predecessor of the National Foreign Affairs Training Center. Thus it is also often called Foreign Service Levels. See Appendix E for the description of the levels.

Dari in the past and the present, especially the respondents' projection of what children's proficiency will be like. In addition to that the respondents were asked about their language contact with Dari, like travel patterns into Dari-speaking areas, contact with Dari-speaking guests etc. (see Appendix D: Proficiency Storying Questionnaire).

5.5 Word List

To determine the degree of lexical similarity between Ishkashimi and Sanglechi we elicited Ishkashimi word lists in Xermani, Bāhār Bāzār and Zargarān. We took Sanglechi word lists in Esketul, Faruq and Dashte Rubāt. We used a 274-item word list composed of the *Swadesh* 200 Wordlist (Swadesh 1955) and a list that was used earlier for brief linguistic assessments of Pamir languages in Badakhshan (Miller 2006). We omitted several words which are items we knew would be unknown in this remote area. It seemed to be inappropriate to ask verbs in the infinitive form from people with mostly very basic or no education. Instead we asked for each verb (46 items) in the 3rd person singular past and non-past tense (see Appendix A: Word List Result).

   The elicited word lists were entered into the computer program *WORDSURV* (Wimbish 1998; JAARS 1994) for further analysis. The program performs a count of shared vocabulary between lists based on similarity groupings, classifying apparent cognates "based on their appearance", rather than historical analysis.

5.6 Recorded Text Testing

We used Recorded Text Testing (RTT), originally developed by Casad (1974). We recorded personal stories from individuals (to ensure the content is not predictable by the listeners) in Ishkashimi and Sanglechi. We used a story about an adventure with a wolf from an Ishkashimi man living in Bāshend (part of Zargarān) in the Sanglech valley. We also recorded two very brief Sanglechi stories from a man living in Dashte Rubāt and used them in the Ishkashimi villages. They are tale-like stories which the story teller made up as he told them.

   During each RTT, the subject listened first to the whole story. The second time we paused the recording about after every two sentences, and asked the testee to retell what they had heard. When the person's proficiency in Dari was high, they retold the story in Dari. If not, they retold the story in Sanglechi and another person translated into Dari for our sake. We scored the retelling of the story with 2 points for correct/almost correct retelling, one point if about half was retold correctly and with 0 points if the test person had reproduced nothing or almost nothing of the section in question. We probed for missing information with appropriate questions, in case people had understood but did not remember to retell. We made notes of the items that were missing in spite of the probing to find out any inconsistencies within the story or to find the reason for any reoccurring mistakes. In this way we came up with a percentage of each person's reproduction of the story and of an average for all the test persons.

   Because of the geographic distance and because of the remote location of the Sanglech valley we expected that there would be little contact between people from Ishkashim and Sanglech. We supposed that many people would have had very limited or no previous contact with speakers of the other speech variety. Especially for women we supposed this to be the case because they tend to travel less than men. In view of these factors, we assumed that testing for inherent, as opposed to acquired, intelligibility between the two varieties would be possible. To confirm this, the RTT

result sheet contains a section about the individual's travel patterns, and contact with speakers of the other variety.

See Appendix F (Stories for RTT (with breaks) and questionnaire) for the transcription and translation of the Ishkashimi and Sanglechi stories, with indications about how they were broken up for the RTT and for the questionnaire that was included in the RTT.

5.7 Observation

Throughout the whole journey we observed people interacting with each other: interacting in the street, in the houses, interactions of people working together and, of course, interactions with us as foreign researchers. As all researchers possessed a Dari or Farsi proficiency level of at least 3, we were able to follow most interactions that took place in Dari. Observation was especially important as an additional informal means for assessing the bilingual ability of the population. we were able to estimate through observation and conversation whether people's proficiency in Dari was less than, roughly equal to, or higher than level 3.

6. Results

This section contains the results obtained. The presentation of results is divided into the areas of language domains, language attitudes, bilingualism with Dari, and the intercomprehension of Ishkashimi, Sanglechi and Tajik Ishkashimi.

6.1 Domains of Languages

This section analyses language use by domain.

The domains of language are divided into primary and secondary domains. Table 3 shows which domains are considered primary and which secondary.

Primary Domains	Secondary Domains
Private Domain	Education Domain
Community Domain	Religious Domain
	Travel and Trade
	Media
	Administration

Table 3: Division of language domains in primary and secondary domains

The vast majority of people's daily interactions occur in the private domain and the community domain, therefore we consider them primary domains. The "private domain" refers to family life, that is, language use within the context of family interactions; "community domain" refers to the village life, to the language use within the neighbourhood in daily interactions. From infancy onwards every child is part of the family and the community and these are the domains where the child first acquires its language. Many only have very limited, or no, access to the other domains, like education, religion, travel and trade, media, and administration. Therefore we consider them secondary domains.

The information presented in the following section is the result of the answers given in the Sociolinguistic Questionnaires and the Village Elder Questionnaires.[5]

6.1.1 Ishkashim

<u>Private Domain</u>

The older generation uses mainly Ishkashimi and some Dari within the family. The younger generation uses Ishkashimi and Dari to a similar extent at home. Children tend to speak Dari among each other.

Table 4 summarizes how the respondents describe the language use within their families.

	Ishkashimi	Dari	Wakhi	N/A	Total
L with parents*	23	2	3	0	26
L with siblings*	22	5	2	0	26
L with spouse*	16	9	1	3	26
L with children*	15	11	1	3	26
L with relatives*	18	18	2	2	26

* Some respondents gave multiple answers.

Table 4: Languages used within families

Most people interviewed have Ishkashimi-speaking parents. Only three have a father who does not speak Ishkashimi (2 Dari, 1 Wakhi). Ten interviewees have a mother who does not speak Ishkashimi (4 Dari, 6 Wakhi). Only three of them do not speak exclusively Ishkashimi with their parents, but speak some Dari or Wakhi as well. Most also speak Ishkashimi to their siblings; the others use Dari or Wakhi with them in addition to Ishkashimi.

The situation will present itself differently in the next generation: Only about two thirds of the interviewees are married to an Ishkashimi spouse and they speak Ishkahsimi to each other. Six Ishkashimi men are married to someone other than an Ishkashimi-speaking wife (4 are married to a Dari speaker and 2 to a Wakhi speaker). Three of these speak Dari to their Dari-speaking wife. One of them has learned Ishkashimi well enough to understand it. One man speaks Ishkashimi to his Dari-speaking wife, and she has acquired it. Both men who have a Wakhi wife speak in Dari to her. Two Ishkashimi women are married to Dari-speaking husbands. These couples speak Dari to each other.

One couple speaks Dari to each other, even though both partners consider their mother tongue to be Ishkashimi. In one family the parents speak Ishkashimi to each other but Dari with their children. In another family the father says he speaks Ishkashimi to his children, and they reply in Dari. We observed young children usually speaking Dari to each other.

Most interviewees use Ishkashimi and Dari when they speak to their relatives. Of the 26 interviewees 11 claimed that only Ishkashimi is spoken in their house. However, on average Dari and Ishkashimi are probably used equally within the primary domain of the family.

---

[5]Whenever the total is 26 (for Ishkashim) or 27 (for Sanglech) the information stems from the sociolinguistic questionnaire. When the total is 4 (for Ishkashim) or 3 (for Sanglech) the information stems from the village elder questionnaire.

Community Domain

The Ishkashimi speak Dari and Ishkashimi to a similar extent within the primary domain of the village community.
    Table 5 summarizes the languages used in the village community, taking the language of village elders and of pre-school children as representative.

		Ishkashimi	Dari	N/A	Total
L of elders	to each other*	21	8	3	26
	to elders of other comm.*	21	19	3	26
	to people*	20	9	3	26
	in speeches*	13	13	3	26
L of people in the village*		4	4	0	4
L pre-school children know*		17	17	0	26
L of teachers outside classes*		10	10	7	26

* Some respondents gave multiple answers.
Table 5: Languages used within the village communities

About two thirds of the village elders report they use Ishkashimi with each other. The other third reports using Dari. A similar trend emerges regarding speech between the elders and the people of the village. Village elders report that about half of the conversations between elders of different villages happen in Ishkashimi and half in Dari, it is likewise in public speeches.
    Most Ishkashimi people constantly switch between Ishkashimi and Dari in their own village. The Community domain is split between Dari and Ishkashimi. All village elders agree that the languages spoken in the three villages are Dari and Ishkashimi.
    The majority of the children in the communities grow up bilingual in Dari and Ishkashimi. Only very few know only one of the two languages. Native Ishkashimi teachers often speak Ishkashimi to the Ishkashimi students outside of school, even though classes are held in Dari only.
    Table 6 presents the languages used with guests visiting the Ishkashimi villages.

	Ishkashimi	Dari	Wakhi	N/A	Total
L with guests*	1	16	1	10	26
L with Ishkashimi from Tajikistan	23	0	0	3	26

* Some respondents gave multiple answers.
Table 6: Languages used with guests coming from outside the Ishkashim area

Guests from outside the Ishkashim area are mostly spoken to in Dari, only one person added that sometimes they understand Ishkashimi or Wakhi. Frequently Ishkashimi from Tajikistan visit the Ishkashim area in Afghanistan and most interviewees have contact with them. They come to visit relatives, to buy material or for research. People report that there is no difference between the Ishkashimi language of Afghanistan and Tajikistan. They say that they can understand each other perfectly. One person added: "They speak just like we do".

Within the village community Ishkashimi and Dari are used to an approximately equal extent.

Education Domain

Dari is the language almost exclusively used in the secondary domain of education, but in a few instances Ishkashimi is used for education as well.

Table 7 presents the languages that are used in school by the teachers and students. Most of the answers were given by parents about their own children and their children's teachers.

	Ishkashimi	Dari	N/A	Total
L of instruction in school*	1	22	4	26
L teachers use during lessons*	9**	10***	5	26
L students use during breaks*	7	17	4	26

* Some respondents gave multiple answers.
** Ishkashimi very seldom for explanations along with Dari
*** only Dari, no Ishkashimi

Table 7: Languages used in school

Dari is the language of instruction in the schools, as it is throughout most parts of Afghanistan. All school books used in the school in Ishkashim are in Dari. The Ishkashimi-speaking teachers indicated willingness to help the students in Ishkashimi and give explanations in Ishkashimi, in case they would need it. Some respondents pointed out that there is no need for help in Ishkashimi because the students are fluent in Dari before they enter school. During the breaks some students speak Ishkashimi to each other. It seems that on school grounds Dari is used almost exclusively, because the majority of students in the school in Ishkashim are Dari-speaking.

Religious Domain

Dari is almost exclusively used in the secondary domain of religion in the Ishkashim area, for the *Khalifas'* preaching and people's personal prayers.

Table 8 shows the languages used by the worshippers and by the *Khalifa* performing their religious duties.

	Ishkashimi	Dari	Arabic	N/A	Total
L *Khalifa* uses for preaching*	1	25	0	1	26
L for personal prayer*	2	23	5	1	26

* Some respondents gave multiple answers.
Table 8: Languages used by the Khalifa and for personal prayer

Everyone agreed that the *Khalifa* uses Dari for preaching. One person added that he sometimes uses Ishkashimi as well. When asked, why the *Khalifa* does not preach in Ishkashimi, people explained that not everyone understands Ishkashimi. They also pointed out that the prayers are written down in Dari, as is the religious instruction about the Ismaili faith. Everything concerning the religious edification of the people, like letters from the Aga Khan that are passed

on from higher religious authorities to the *Khalifas* in the villages for reading to the people, are written in Dari.

Almost everyone said that they use Dari for personal prayers. Only few claim to use Arabic. One person explained that the older people use Ishkashimi and the younger ones Dari. In fact the only person who said she only prays in Ishkashimi was an elderly woman. In the domain of religion almost exclusively Dari is used.

Travel and Trade

Dari is the dominant language in the secondary domain of travel and trade, only occasionally Ishkashimi used in some interactions is as well.

Table 9 summarizes the languages used at the market in Ishkashim.

	Ishkashimi	Dari	N/A	Total
L used at the market*	4	22	4	26

* Some respondents gave multiple answers.

Table 9: Languages used at the Market

The only market in the area is in the town of Ishkashim. The people from the surrounding villages walk to Ishkashim to buy their supplies. Dari is spoken almost exclusively there. Ishkashimi shoppers talk only occasionally in Ishkashimi to Ishkashimi-speaking shopkeepers. Sometimes Ishkashimi people speak Ishkashimi to each other so that they cannot be understood by Dari speakers to gain an advantage in bargaining. A few women do not visit the market at all but instead rely on the men of their household to buy the necessary supplies.

Table 10 presents the languages used when travelling or living outside the Ishkashim area.

	Ishk.	Dari	Wakhi	Pashto	N/A	Total
L for travel outs. Ishkashim area*	0	16	2	0	8	26
L used while working outside*	0	22	0	1	5	26
L used in military service	0	2	0	0	24	26
L used in Tajik (with Ishkashimi)	10	0	0	0	16	26

* Some respondents gave multiple answers.

Table 10: Language used during travel

People (mostly men) frequently travel to bigger cities like Bahrak, Faizabad and Kabul. Some travel to Herat, Mazar and Kunduz, a few even to Pakistan. This is to buy household supplies that are not available in Ishkashim, or are cheaper in other places. Another reason for travel is to visit relatives. Some families have relatives in Zebāk, in the Wakhan or in Bahrak. Occasionally people take patients to the hospital in Faizabad or Kabul. Some men travel for work reasons to the Wakhan, to the Shughnan or Faizabad. In all these places the Ishkashimi speak Dari.

Not much employment is offered in the Ishkashim area and so some men from each village work for some years in an Afghan city (like Bahrak, Faizabad or Kabul), or in Pakistan to earn money for their family. In Afghanistan they use Dari, one person acquired Urdu while working in Pakistan. Two men reported they had served in the military for several years in Kabul and spoke Dari there.

Some people have gone to Ryn in Tajikistan, where Ishkashimi is spoken, mostly to visit relatives. They said that in recent years there has been a lot of travelling to Tajikistan, but it has

become difficult, because now a passport is required to travel across the border. People who have been in Tajikistan report that the Ishkashimi used there is the same and very easy to understand. Dari is the dominant language in the domain of travel and trade; Ishkashimi is only used occasionally.

Media

Dari is almost exclusively used in the secondary domain of media, it is the only language with books and primarily with the radio.
    Table 11 shows the languages used in books and on the radio.

	Ishkashimi	Dari	Pashto	N/A	Total
L of listening to radio*	0	25	8	2	26
L of books read	0	12	0	14	26

* Some respondents gave multiple answers.

Table 11: Languages used for media

Almost every interviewee reported that they listen to the Dari-speaking programs on the radio. Some also listen to the Pashto programs. One respondent said he hopes for an Ishkashimi program in the future.
    Almost half of the interviewees reported that they read books in Dari mostly school books and work related books, but also history and poetry books. Nearly a third of the subjects (both men and women) are illiterate because they did not have the chance to go to school. One woman had gone to school until 8th grade, however she says she can hardly read.
    Dari is the exclusive language for the domain of media; Ishkashimi is not used.

Administration

In the secondary domain of government administration only Dari is used.
    Table 12 summarizes the language used with government officials.

	Ishkashimi	Dari	N/A	Total
L with government officials	0	25	1	26

Table 12: Language used with government officials

Everyone said they speak Dari to government officials. Women usually do not speak to government officials so they reported about the male members of their family. The nearest government post, the district level, is in the town of Ishkashim. As government workers are usually is sent from other provinces to their post, the governor of Ishkashim is not an Ishkashimi-speaker but a native Dari-speakers. Therefore exclusively Dari is used in the domain of administration.

6.1.2 Sanglech

<u>Private Domain</u>

Sanglechi is the only language spoken in the primary domain of the home and the family
    Table 13 summarizes how the respondents describe their language use within their families, towards the different members of the family.

	Sanglechi	Dari	N/A	Total
L with parents	27	0	0	27
L with siblings	27	0	0	27
L with spouse	26	1	0	27
L with children	26	0	1	27
L with relatives*	27	6	0	27

* Some respondents gave multiple answers.

Table 13: Languages used within families

All interviewees said they speak Sanglechi with their parents. Everyone we interviewed has a Sanglechi-speaking father and almost everyone has a Sanglechi-speaking mother. We found only two people who have a Dari-speaking mother, but they speak Sanglechi to her. Everyone speaks Sanglechi to his or her siblings. Almost everyone has a Sanglechi-speaking spouse, except two men, who are married to women who are mother tongue Dari speakers. These wives had to acquire Sanglechi after marriage. One of these couples speaks Dari to each other, the other speaks Sanglechi. Every interviewee with children raises them speaking only Sanglechi.
    Of the 27 interviewees most speak only Sanglechi to their relatives, but six people have Dari-speaking relatives and speak Dari with them. Everyone claims that there is only Sanglechi in the house, except in the cases where the wife is a mother tongue Dari speaker, and then the husband speaks at least some Dari to her.
    Exclusively Sanglechi is used in the private domain of family and home.

<u>Community Domain</u>

The Sanglechi almost exclusively use their vernacular in the primary domain of the community. They speak Dari only to the very few outsiders who visit the village.
    Table 14 summarizes the languages used in the village community, taking the language use of the village elder and of the pre-school children as representative.

		Sanglechi	Dari	N/A	Total
L of elders	to each other*	27	0	3	27
	to elders of other comm.*	22	13	3	27
	to people*	27	0	3	27
	in speeches*	27	0	3	27
L of people in the village		3	0	0	3
L pre-school children know		23	0	4	27
L of teachers outside classes*		7	11	10	27

* Some respondents gave multiple answers.
Table 14: Languages used within the village communities

The three village elders use Sanglechi when talking to each other, when talking to the people in their village and in public speeches. They only speak Dari to village elders from other communities who do not know Sanglechi.

Sanglechi is the language of the community that children grow up with in their neighbourhood. All parents said that their pre-school children only know Sanglechi. Native Sanglechi school teachers, speak in Sanglechi to the school children when they meet outside school and even on school grounds during breaks between the lessons. However there are not many of these teachers, as the majority of Sanglechi speakers are not educated enough to find work as a teacher.

Table 15 summarizes the languages used with guests who come from outside to the Sanglech valley.

	Sanglechi	Dari	English	N/A	Total
L with guests*	1	16	1	10	27

* Some respondents gave multiple answers.
Table 15: Languages used with guests from outside the Sanglech valley

The Sanglechi people exclusively use Sanglechi with each other in their own villages. They only switch to Dari when a Dari speaker is present (for example when a traveller from Ishkashim or the Warduge valley travels through Sanglech on their way to Pakistan). This reported data was confirmed by multiple observations. As soon as a Sanglechi person turned away from the researcher, during a conversation held in Dari, to greet another Sanglechi person they would revert to speaking Sanglechi.

Education Domain

Dari is the formal language of the secondary domain of education in the Sanglech valley, but Sanglechi is used informally for education as well to a considerable extent.

Table 16 presents the languages that are used in school by the teachers and the students. The answers given here stem mainly from the parents who reported about their children's language use at school and about their children's teachers' language use.

	Sanglechi	Dari	N/A	Total
L of instruction in school	0	22	5	27
L teachers use during lessons	19*	2**	6	27
L students use during breaks	22	1	4	27

* Sanglechi for explanations along with Dari
** only Dari, no Sanglechi

Table 16: Languages used in school

The language of instruction in the schools is Dari. All school books used in the Sanglech valley are in Dari as well. The teachers who are native Sanglechi speakers help the students in Sanglechi and give explanations in Sanglechi, especially in the lower grades when the students have not fully acquired Dari, yet. During the breaks the students speak almost exclusively Sanglechi to each other and to the Sanglechi-speaking teachers. Even though Dari is the formal language of education, Sanglechi can be considered the informal language of the education domain.

Religious Domain

Dari is the formal language of religion, but Sanglechi is used informally in the secondary domain of religion.

Table 17 shows the languages used by the worshipper and by the *Khalifa* during the observation of their religious duties.

	Sanglechi	Dari	Arabic	N/A	Total
L *Khalifa* uses for preaching*	8	19	0	2	27
L for personal prayer	2	21	2	2	27

* Some respondents gave multiple answers.

Table 17: Languages used by the Khalifa and for personal prayer

About two thirds of the people interviewed told us that the *Khalifa* preaches in Dari, because the prayers and the religious instruction are written down in Dari, and so is the religious instruction about the Ismaili faith. Therefore, Dari is the official language of religion. But the *Khalifa* also preaches in Sanglechi for the benefit of those who do not speak Dari. Some people explained that his readings are in Dari, but when he proceeds with his own preaching, he does so in Sanglechi. Most of the people interviewed said that they themselves pray in Dari. Dari is therefore also the personal language of religion of most people.

Even though Dari is the formal language of religion, people's practice of religion and their prayers are sometimes carried out in Sanglechi and sermons are translated from Dari into Sanglechi for the benefit of those who do not speak Dari or whose Dari is weak. Therefore it can be considered the informal language of religion.

Travel and Trade

Dari is the dominant language used in the secondary domain of travel and trade. Only occasionally Sanglechi is used as well.

Table 18 summarizes the languages used when talking to traders who come to the Sanglech villages.

	Sanglechi	Dari	N/A	Total
L used with traders*	3	22	5	27

* Some respondents gave multiple answers.

Table 18: Languages used with traders

Those who speak to the traders who are coming to the village to sell their wares mostly do so in Dari. In some cases they use Sanglechi; this is with traders who originally come from the Sanglech valley. Some of the women interviewed do not speak to the traders at all, they do not have access to this domain. It is mostly men's business to buy the household supplies. There is no market within the Sanglech valley.

Table 19 presents the languages used when travelling or living outside the Sanglech valley. This concerns mainly men, the responding women reported about their male family members.

	Sanglechi	Dari	Urdu	N/A	Total
L used in travel outside Sanglech	0	15	0	12	27
L used while working outside*	0	21	2	5	27
L used in military service	0	8	0	19	27

* Some respondents gave multiple answers.

Table 19: Language used during travel

People, mostly men, frequently travel to Afghan cities outside the Sanglech valley, mostly to buy household supplies. The places most frequently travelled to are Zebāk, Ishkashim, Bahrak and Faizabad. Only one man said that he travels to Kabul. People also travel outside the Sanglech valley (normally to Zebāk) to visit relatives or to go to the clinic. Seven of the interviewees (all women) said that they had never left the Sanglech valley.

A few men from each village have worked for some years in other parts of the province (usually Zebāk, Bahrak or Faizabad), in Pakistan or Iran to earn money for their family. This is due to extremely low employment opportunities in the Sanglech valley. Those who move for the purpose of finding employment use Dari if they are in Afghanistan, and acquire Urdu if they are in Pakistan. A few men reported they had served in the military for several years in Zebāk. Very few men had served in Bahrak, Ishkashim or Kabul. They all spoke Dari during that time.

Even though Dari is the dominant language used in travel and trade, Sanglechi is used occasionally; this is with traders who originally come from the Sanglech valley.

Media

Dari is used almost exclusively in the secondary domain of media.

Table 20 shows the languages used with the media of books and radio.

	Sanglechi	Dari	Pashto	N/A	Total
L of listening to radio*	0	23	3	4	27
L of books read	0	7	0	20	27

* Some respondents gave multiple answers.

Table 20: Languages used for media

Most interviewees reported that they listen to the Dari-speaking program on the radio. Three also listen to the Pashto program.

Only a few interviewees claimed that they read books in Dari, mostly school books, but also medical books or poetry. Nearly half of the interviewees (most of them women) are illiterate. Three of these women educated 2nd or 3rd grade but are still unable read.

Dari is almost exclusively used in the domain of media; Sanglechi is not used.

Administration

Only Dari is used in the secondary domain of administration.

Table 21 presents the language used with government officials.

	Sanglechi	Dari	N/A	Total
L with government officials	0	24	3	27

Table 21: Language used with government officials

Everyone said they speak to government officials in Dari. The women reported that normally the men speak to government officials. The nearest government post, on the district level, is in Zebāk. As government workers are usually sent from other provinces to their post, the governor of Zebāk is not a Sanglechi-speaker but a Dari-speaker. Therefore exclusively Dari is used in the domain of administration.

6.1.3 Summary

Table 22 summarizes the language use of Dari and Ishkashimi or Sanglechi according to the different domains. Other languages, like Urdu and Pashto, which are used very occasionally in some domains are not considered here, because they do not influence the vitality of Ishkashimi and Sanglechi.

	Domain	**Ishkashim area**		**Sanglech valley**	
		Dari	**Ishkashim**	**Dari**	**Sanglechi**
Primary Domains	Private	equal		none	exclusive
	Community	equal		none	exclusive
Secondary Domains	Education	exclusive	none	formal	informal
	Religion	exclusive	none	formal	informal
	Travel/Trade	dominant	occasional	dominant	occasional
	Media	exclusive	none	exclusive	none
	Administr.	exclusive	none	exclusive	none

Table 22: Overview of domains of language in Ishkashim

In the Ishkashim area Ishkashimi and Dari are used to a similar extent in the primary domains of the family and the community. Ishkashimi is used occasionally in the secondary domain of travel and trade. It is very sporadically spoken in the secondary domains of education and religion, but not enough and not in a structured enough way to be even considered here and to impact the

vitality of the language. People mainly use Dari in the remaining secondary domains of media and administration.

In the Sanglech valley, Sanglechi is used almost exclusively in the two primary domains of the family and community. Sanglechi is used informally, but regularly in the secondary domains of education and religion enough to be considered a secondary language in these domains. Dari is used formally in these domains and is therefore the primary language. Dari is the primary and only language used in the remaining secondary domains of travel and trade, media and administration.

6.2 Attitudes

This passage describes which attitudes the Ishkashimi and the Sanglechi people hold towards their vernacular, towards each other's speech variety and towards Dari, the language of wider communication.

6.2.1 Ishkashim

Towards Ishkashimi

Primary Domain: Concerning the family in respect to the future

About half of the interviewees anticipate their children will speak mostly Ishkashimi when they are adults. A few said their children would speak Ishkashimi at home in the future and Dari outside the home.

A few less people expected the primary language of their grandchildren to be Ishkashimi when they grow up. Five people said that although they would like Ishkashimi to be spoken by their grandchildren, they do not expect this to be the case. One person stated that his grandchildren will speak Ishkashimi if they have not forgotten it. One person expects his grandchildren to speak English.

Opinions and experiences were divided about whether people laugh about Ishkashimi speakers because of their language. More than half answered no. Some people said that others laugh a lot about Ishkashimi. However, no one seemed to be greatly troubled or agitated by these incidences.

Secondary Domain: Concerning education in respect to literacy at school

Most of the respondents were of the opinion that it would be the best option for children to be literate in Ishkashimi with an Ishkashimi alphabet. Three people said that they wanted this to happen because then their mother tongue would be preserved. Some parents do not speak Ishkashimi with their children, but still hold the opinion that they should be taught Ishkashimi in school. Among the Ishkashimi, there is a growing awareness that their language is in danger of dying if their children do not learn it. Few people said that Ishkashimi and Dari should be taught at the same time.

Almost all respondents hold the opinion that it would be beneficial to have books in Ishkashimi. Some remarked with great enthusiasm that this would prevent their language from dying. Most wished for medical books, some for children's books or for story books, a few for

poetry books, for religious books or for dictionaries in Ishkashimi. Almost everyone claimed they would buy Ishkashimi books if they were available. Some men in Xermani explicitly invited us to come back and start an Ishkashimi language development project. Most people claimed interest in attending an Ishkashimi literacy class. And again most of those indicated willingness to pay for classes. Only three people would not be willing to pay for attending an Ishkashimi literacy course.

Asked about which language people would like to speak better themselves, eighteen respondents answered with Ishkashimi, their mother tongue. Two added, "so it will not be forgotten."

<u>Towards Sanglechi</u>

When people were asked about Sanglechi, they said that it is a backward language. They reported that they do not speak Ishkashimi with Sanglechi people when travelling through the Sanglech valley to Pakistan, as it is too great an effort to try to understand the answers in Sanglechi. Rather they speak in Dari to the Sanglechi. People reported that Ishkashimi people would be able to understand Sanglechi if their time in the Sanglechi area exceeded several days. The Ishkashimi do not consider Sanglechi to be the same language and do not want to be identified with what is in their opinion a rural language.

<u>Towards Dari</u>

Primary Domain: Concerning the family in respect to permission for marriage

All interviewees would allow their sons to marry a Dari-speaking wife. The majority would allow a daughter-in-law from the Wakhan or Shughnan as well. Two people would only allow for a Dari-speaking wife beside an Ishkashimi one, but would not allow for one from any other people group. Most respondents would resent a Wardugi or a Pashto-speaking wife marrying their sons.

Primary Domain: Concerning the family in respect to Dari at home

The interviewees were asked if it is all right for their children to speak Dari at home among each other. The replies to this question varied widely: Five people speak Dari to their children and they are happy that their children speak only Dari as well; six people speak only Dari to their children or mix Dari and Ishkashimi, but they are unhappy that their children do not learn Ishkashimi and speak Dari at home; one person added that when he speaks Ishkashimi to his children, they reply in Dari; six people speak Ishkashimi to their children and they would be upset if their children spoke Dari; and five people speak Ishkashimi to their children and would allow them to speak Dari as well. One of the latter ones specified that they should learn both languages.

Secondary Domain: Concerning education in respect to literacy at school

Three interviewees were of the opinion that the best way to teach literacy in schools is Dari, as is currently practised, because it is a common language of Afghanistan. Three interviewees want to speak Dari better.

6.2.2 Sanglech

Towards Sanglechi

Primary Domain: Concerning the family in respect to the future

The majority of the interviewees anticipate their children will speak Sanglechi when they are adults. Only one person expects it to be Dari. Only a few less anticipate that their grandchildren will speak Sanglechi in the future when they have grown up. One person specified that it would depend on where they live. Another thought it will be Sanglechi as well as Dari if they go to school. No one can imagine that in the future people in the Sanglech valley will not speak Sanglechi any more.

Opinions and experiences were divided whether people laughed about Sanglechi speakers because of their language. Most answered no; many people have spent their entire life so far in Sanglech and never left the valley; they did not have this experience. The others did not seem to be greatly troubled or agitated by these incidences.

Secondary Domain: Concerning Education in respect to literacy at school

Most of the respondents held the opinion that it would be the best option for children to become literate in Sanglechi, with a Sanglechi alphabet, if that were possible. One Sanglechi person added that Sanglechi is spoken in such a few villages that it would not be worthwhile developing a separate alphabet.

No one held a negative opinion towards having books in Sanglechi. Although most respondents said it would be beneficial to have books in their language, the rest could not imagine it to be possible. Of the people who specified what kind of books they would like, most wished for medical books or for school books. Some would like to have poetry books, story books or religious books. One person would like to see a book for outsiders to learn Sanglechi. Almost everyone claimed they would buy Sanglechi books if they were available, some who cannot read themselves would like to buy books for their children. Most people claimed interest in attending a Sanglechi literacy class. And again most of those indicated willingness to pay for such a class.

Asked about which language people would like to speak better themselves, more then half of the respondents answered with Sanglechi, their mother tongue.

Towards Ishkashimi

After listening to the Ishkashimi RTT story, people were asked whether it was good language. Nearly everyone considered it to be a good or very good language. People also responded by saying that they found it to be a nice or sweet language. Only one man said that even though it

was a good language, in his area it was spoken in a better way. Most people found it similar to their own language and said they understood all or most of the story.

Towards Dari

Primary Domain: Concerning the family in respect to Dari at home

About half of the respondents said they would be happy if their children spoke Dari at home among each other. When asked why, many gave responses such as: "It means they learned it well." "They have studied their lesson well." "It is the general language in Afghanistan." When asked further whether it would be good if the children spoke only Dari at home instead of Sanglechi, the respondents could not imagine this situation. One person explicitly said that Sanglechi will not die, therefore it is acceptable for the children to speak Dari at home. Because Sanglechi is widely used in the primary domains, and the Sanglechi speakers maintain a positive attitude towards their language, these responses are not evidence of a disregard for the mother tongue, but are rather a positive attitude towards Dari, with a desire for children to learn it.

Primary Domain: Concerning the family in respect to permission for marriage

About two thirds of the respondents would allow their son to marry a Dari-speaking wife. No one would resent a Dari-speaking daughter-in-law specifically, but all those who answered in the negative, would also not allow a daughter-in-law from any other people group. Only one person would permit a Dari-speaking daughter-in-law but not one from another people group.

Secondary Domain: Concerning education in respect to literacy at school

Only five respondents said they would prefer their children to become literate in Dari rather than Sanglechi in school, right from the first grade as is current practise. When asking the question the researcher pointed out that if children were to become literate in Sanglechi they would still learn Dari at a later stage. Therefore, the low result for Dari does not indicate a disregard for Dari, but rather reflects the realisation that children struggle in school with the language of instruction, even though teachers help by giving explanations in Sanglechi. This was made obvious by the inter-viewees' frequent remarks during the section about school education, like "It is difficult for them."

Secondary Domain: Concerning education in respect to Dari as a second language

About a quarter of the respondents wished to speak Dari better as a second language.

6.2.3 Summary

Figure 2 shows which languages the respondents wish to improve.

Ishkashimi   **Sanglechi**

Ishkashimi	Sanglechi
1 3	0 6
1	0
5	1
18	14
3	6

■ Ishkashimi
■ Dari
■ English
□ Shughni
□ Wakhi
□ N/A

■ Sanglechi
■ Dari
■ English
□ Shughni
□ Wakhi
□ N/A
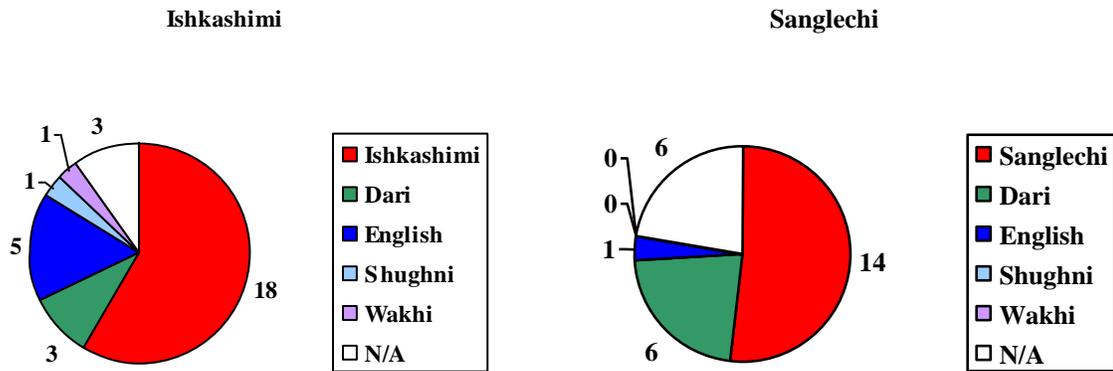
* Some respondents gave multiple answers.

Figure 2: Desired language to improve

The wish to improve or acquire a language is a strong indicator about the attitude one holds towards that language. The majority of both Ishkashimi and Sanglechi people named their own language. Besides this, English was mentioned most often in Ishkashim, and Dari in Sanglech. Most people did not consider it important to acquire Dari; partly because they already know Dari well enough (in case of the Ishkashimi) or they do not need it in their every day life (in case of Sanglechi).

Figure 3 shows what language parents would like their children to become literate, in at primary school.

Ishkashimi   **Sanglechi**

Ishkashimi	Sanglechi
5	0 3
2	5
3	19
16	

■ Ishkashimi
■ Dari
■ both the same
□ N/A

■ Sanglechi
■ Dari
■ both the same
□ N/A
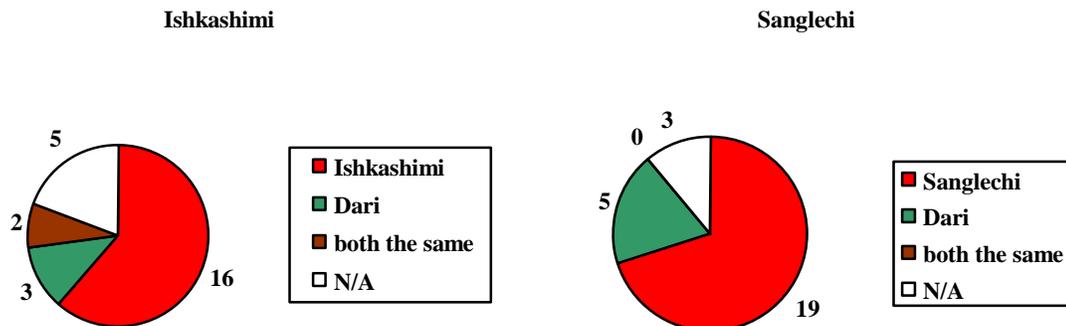
Figure 3: Desired Language of literacy in primary school

The language one would choose for their children's primary education is a strong indicator of a positive attitude towards that language. The vast majority of interviewees in Ishkashim and in Sanglech chose their mother tongue. Only a few chose Dari.

Figure 4 shows to which liaisons parents would give their consent for their children, besides a marriage with someone from their own language group.

Ishkashimi   **Sanglechi**

■ Dari	■ Dari
■ Sanglechi	■ Ishkashimi
■ Shughni	■ Shughni
■ Wakhi	■ Wakhi
□ Pashto	□ Pashto
■ Wardugi	■ Wardugi
□ N/A	□ N/A
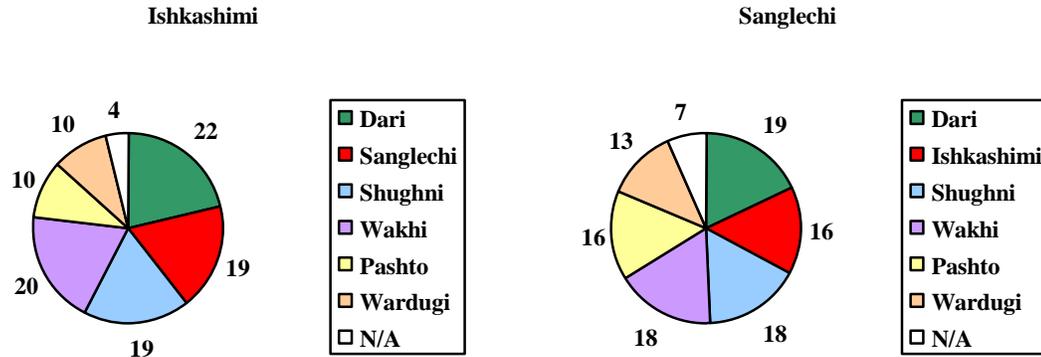
* Some respondents gave multiple answers.

Figure 4: Permission for Marriage

People's attitude towards marriages that cross ethnolinguistic boundaries can be an indicator of their attitude towards the other linguistic group in question. Most parents would agree to a marriage between their son or daughter and a Dari-speaking partner. Only a few less would give permission to marriage with a partner from any other people group.

Figures 5 and 6 present what language interviewees think children and grandchildren will be using most in the future.

Ishkashimi   **Sanglechi**

■ Ishkashimi	■ Sanglechi
■ Dari	■ Dari
□ N/A	□ N/A
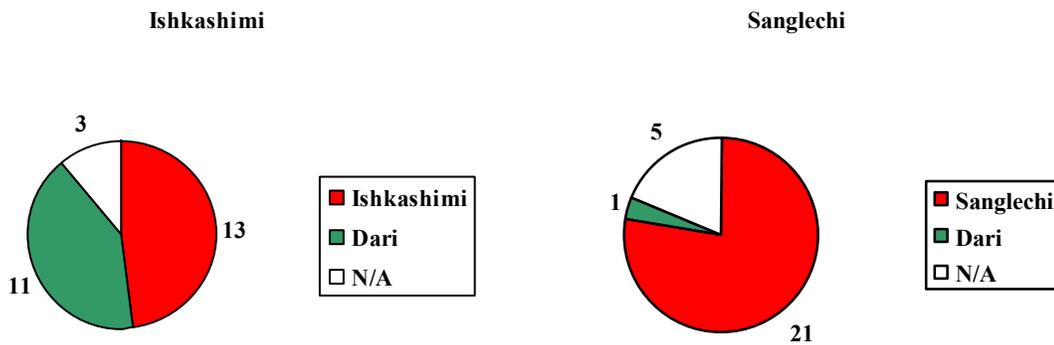
* Some respondents gave multiple answers.

Figure 5: Estimated language of children in the future

Ishkashimi

Sanglechi
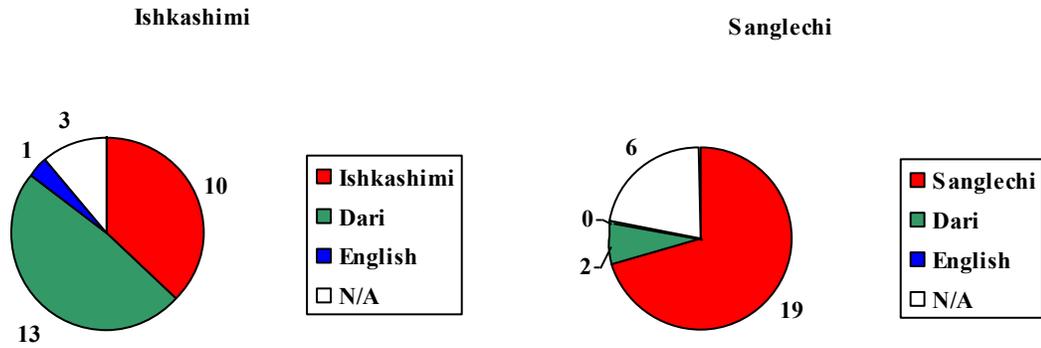
* Some respondents gave multiple answers.
Figure 6: Estimated language of grandchildren in the future

Only about half of the Ishkashimi respondents think that their mother tongue will still be spoken by the next generation. This figure decreases even more for the generation after that. Most of the others assume that it will be Dari. However, the vast majority of the Sanglechi respondents feel certain that future generations will still use the mother tongue.

Figure 7 presents how parents feel about their children speaking Dari at home, in both hypothetical and non-hypothetical cases.

Ishkashimi

Sanglechi
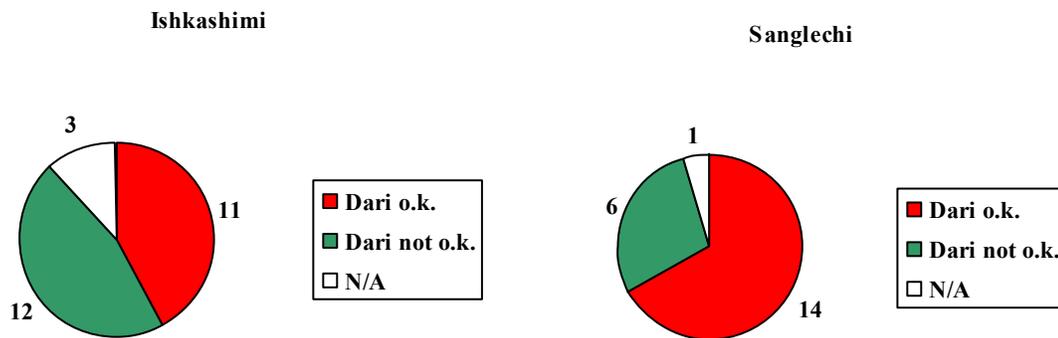
Figure 7: Dari at home for children

The Ishkashimi seem to be somewhat divided about the fact that their children speak Dari in the home. Half of them find it acceptable and the other half do not. It is important to note that for about half of the respondents this is not a hypothetical question – their children do speak Dari at home, at least part of the time (see 6.1.1 Ishkashim area, Private Domain). In Sanglech, no children speak Dari at home, but about half of the respondents would accept it if it were the case.

6.3 Bilingualism with Dari

This section describes the varying levels of proficiency of Dari throughout the different population segments in the Ishkashim area and in the Sanglech valley, and aims to give reasons for these findings.

6.3.1 Ishkashim

Nearly every Ishkashimi speaker has Dari proficiency of at least level 3. Most men possess a Dari proficiency level between 4 and 5.
   Figure 8 presents the result of the Proficiency Storying Questionnaire in the Ishkashim area with the average results stratified according to gender and age.
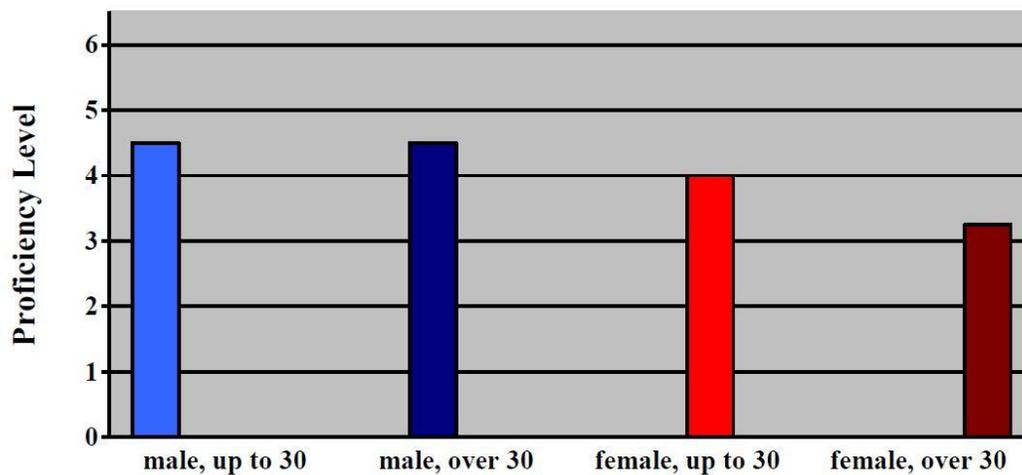
Figure 8: Average Proficiency Levels in Dari in Ishkashim, Men and Women, in regard to Age

Younger and older men have an average bilingual ability in Dari of level 4 to 5 on the ILR scale. Younger women's ILR level in Dari is level 4, on average. Older women's level is slightly over 3. Men's proficiency in Dari is generally higher than women's because men travel more frequently to Dari-speaking areas. Younger women possess a higher Dari proficiency than older women, because more of them have had the chance to benefit from general education. Most children in the Ishkashim area now grow up learning Dari and Ishkashimi.

6.3.2 Sanglech

Most Sanglechi men have Dari proficiency of about level 3, women's Dari proficiency is usually in the range of level 0+ to 1+.
   Figure 9 presents the result of the Proficiency Storying Questionnaire in the Sanglech valley with the average results stratified according to gender and age.
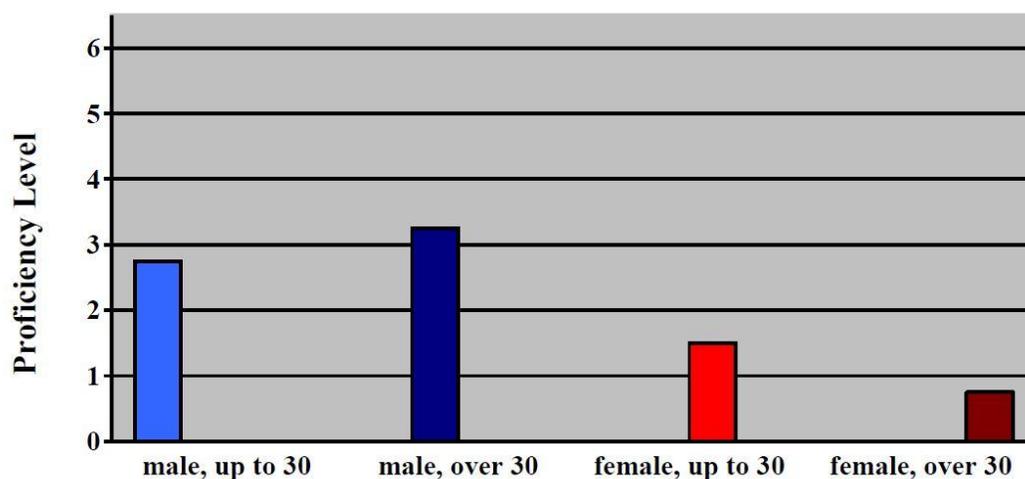
Figure 9: Average Proficiency Levels in Dari in Sanglech, Men and Women, in regard to Age

As the chart shows, the women's level of Dari is far lower than the men's level of Dari. The average of younger women's level is 1+, of older women it is between 0+ and 1. Young men's average proficiency is between 2+ and 3 and older men's is between 3 and 3+. The men's superiority in Dari is due to their frequent travel to Dari-speaking areas outside Sanglech: to other parts of Badakhshan or even to Kabul. They travel for various reasons: to buy supplies for their families at markets, to work (for several months or years) in Afghan cities, most frequently Faizabad, or to serve in the military. Women seldom travel to areas outside the Sanglech valley.

There is a connection between age and proficiency in Dari. Younger women have higher proficiency due to their school education. For men it is the other way around: older men usually have had more contact with Dari speakers during their lifetime and are therefore more proficient in Dari than younger men.

6.3.3 Summary

All Ishkashimi are highly proficient in Dari. They have the opportunity to learn Dari well from their early childhood. They know Dari at least as well as they know Ishkashimi, some probably know it better, because they were educated in Dari.

On the whole, people living in the Sanglech valley do not have the opportunity to learn, and practice, Dari. This is especially true for women. Most men do not pass level 3 proficiency in Dari because their living environment is such that only basic conversations in Dari are required of them. These conversations mainly take place at the market and when talking about livestock and farming with guests. Men tend to overestimate their ability of Dari, because they can easily cope with basic every-day Dari requirements and they are usually not challenged further.

Our observation and our communication with the people confirmed the results given by the Proficiency Storying Questionnaire in both the Ishkashim area and the Sanglech valley.

While Dari literature is sufficient to serve the Ishkashimi people group, the Sanglechi can not be served adequately with literature in Dari. Generally, if a significant segment of speakers within a community has not achieved level 3 proficiency in a certain language, this language is not considered adequate for literature (Kindell, 1991). Even though, according to their own estimation, we found some men speaking Dari at this level, no woman has level 3 proficiency.

6.4 Intercomprehension of Ishkashimi and Sanglechi and Tajik Ishkashimi

This section presents the lexical similarity of the Ishkashimi and Sanglechi speech varieties and analyses to what degree they are inherently intelligible to each other.

6.4.1 Lexical Similarity of Ishkashimi and Sanglechi

The lexical similarity within the Ishkashimi villages is about 90%, as it is within the Sanglechi villages. The lexical similarity of the Ishkashimi and Sanglechi word lists is an average 72%.

   We elicited word lists in six villages: the Ishkashimi villages Xermani, Bāhār Bāzār and Zargarān; and the Sanglechi villages Faruq, Dashte Rubāt and Esketul. The word lists were elicited from men, because most women's proficiency in Dari was not sufficient to be used for the elicitation. We only used men, whenever possible a group of men, who were long-term residents of their respective villages.

   Table 23 presents the lexical similarity within the Ishkashimi villages and within the Sanglechi villages. It also shows the lexical similarity between the Ishkashimi and Sanglechi speech variety.

Xermani					
91%	Bāhār Bāzār				
88%	89%	Zargarān			
73%	72%	73%	Faruq		
73%	72%	71%	91%	Dashte Rubāt	
71%	71%	70%	90%	92%	Esketul

Table 23: Lexical Similarity

The lexical similarity within the Ishkashimi villages is 89% on average. Within the Sanglechi villages it is 91%. Both numbers are slightly lower than expected, considering most people's statements that there are no differences between the varieties spoken in the villages within the Ishkashim and Sanglech areas, respectively. However, the low result can be explained when one considers that people often use their own Ishkashimi or Sanglechi words and Dari loan words interchangeably. The difference often resulted in a Dari word given in one place and a Ishkashimi or Sanglechi word in an other place. We assume that it could easily have been the other way around and people in both places understand both words. This observation applies to men who travel in Dari-speaking areas. It could have been different had we elicited the word lists from women.

   The lexical similarity of the Ishkashimi and Sanglechi word lists is an average 72%. According to Bergman lexical similarity less than about 70% generally indicates the presence of different languages. If the similarity is more than 70%, dialect intelligibility testing is needed to determine how well people can understand the other speech form (Bergman 1990). Therefore, a lexical similarity of 72% makes intelligibility testing necessary. The following section gives the results of intelligibility testing between the Ishkashimi and Sanglechi varieties.

6.4.2 Intelligibility Testing using Recorded Texts

For the RTT in Ishkashim villages a Sanglechi story was used, and for the RTT in the Sanglechi villages an Ishkashimi story was used. After the RTT was administered, interviewees were asked about the amount and kind of their contact with people from the other speech variety. We especially asked whether they had lived in the area of the other speech variety for any lengh of time, whether they travel there regularly or occasionally and for what reason, and whether they receive guests from there. According to their answer, the numbers 1 (no or almost no contact at all), 2 (little contact) or 3 (average, regular contact) were assigned.

Recorded Text Testing in Ishkashim

Two very short Sanglechi stories were used for the RTT in Ishkashim. They were recorded in the Sanglechi village Dashte Rubāt. The two stories were played to the subjects one right after the other. Together they are 2:23 minutes long (see Appendix F: Stories for RTTs).

The average Recorded Text Testing score in Ishkashim was 54%, with the lowest score being 20% and the highest 85%.

Figure 10 presents the result of the Recorded Text Testing conducted in Ishkashim with a Sanglechi story. The red dots represent female respondents and the blue dots represent male respondents. The results are presented according to the amount of contact the subject had had with Sanglechi.
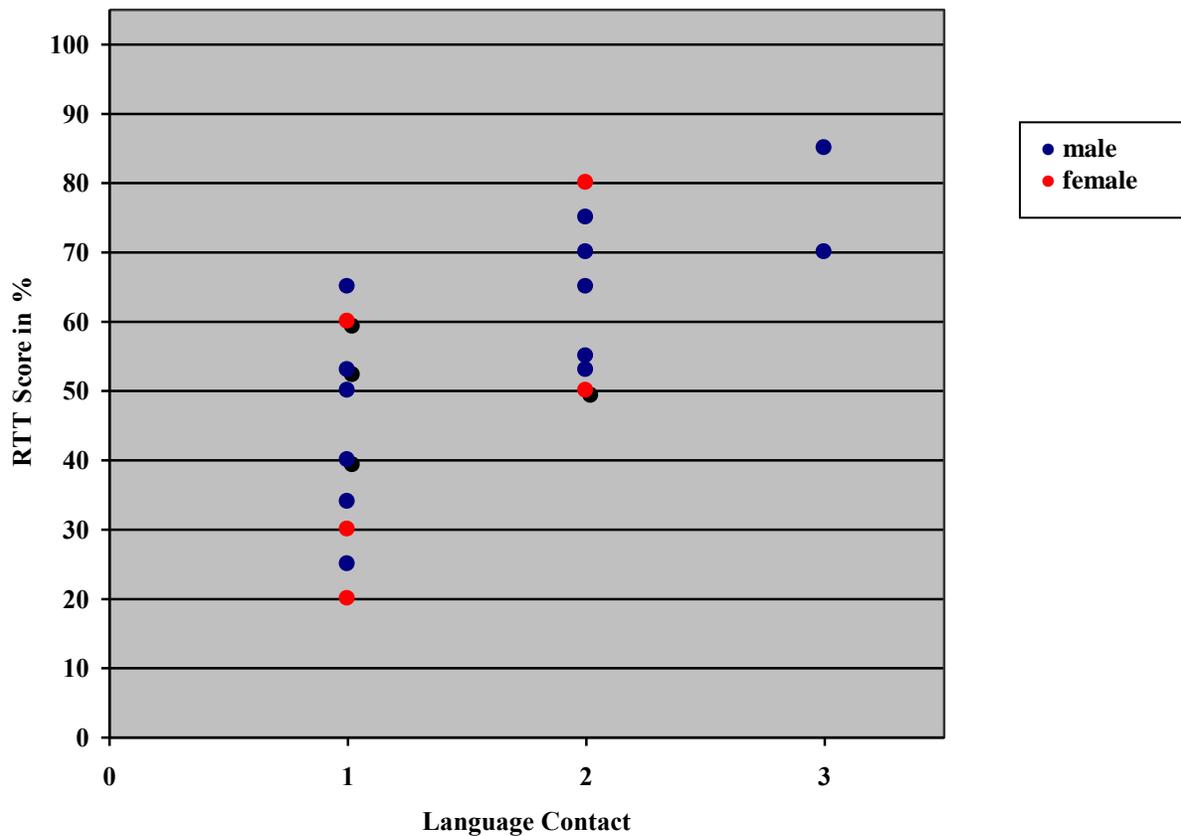
Figure 10: RTT-Results in Ishkashim in relation to language contact

The chart indicates a connection between the RTT score and the amount of contact the Ishkashimi people have with the Sanglechi speech variety. The average score of subjects with contact level 1 is 44%, with contact level 2 it is 61% and with contact level 3 it is 78%. Although a clear trend is seen, there were not enough level 3 testees to achieve a representative result for that level. It should be noted that other factors such as aptitude and the level of testees concentration during the test will have affected the result to some degree.

Recorded Text Testing in Sanglech

The Ishkashimi story used for the RTT in Sanglech was recorded in Bāshend, a part of Zargarān, the Ishkashimi village. The man who told the story was a well known story teller and we were introduced to him by the Ishkashimi-speaking head master of the school in Ishkashim. The story is about how the story teller escaped from a wolf attack. It is 1:49 minutes long (see Appendix F: Stories for RTTs).

The average percentage scored in the Recorded Text Testing in Sanglech with the Ishkashimi story was 71%, with the lowest score being 27% and the highest 100%.

Figure 5 presents the result of the Recorded Text Testing conducted in Sanglech. The red dots represent female respondents, the blue dots male respondents. The results are presented according to the amount of language contact the subject had had with Ishkashimi.
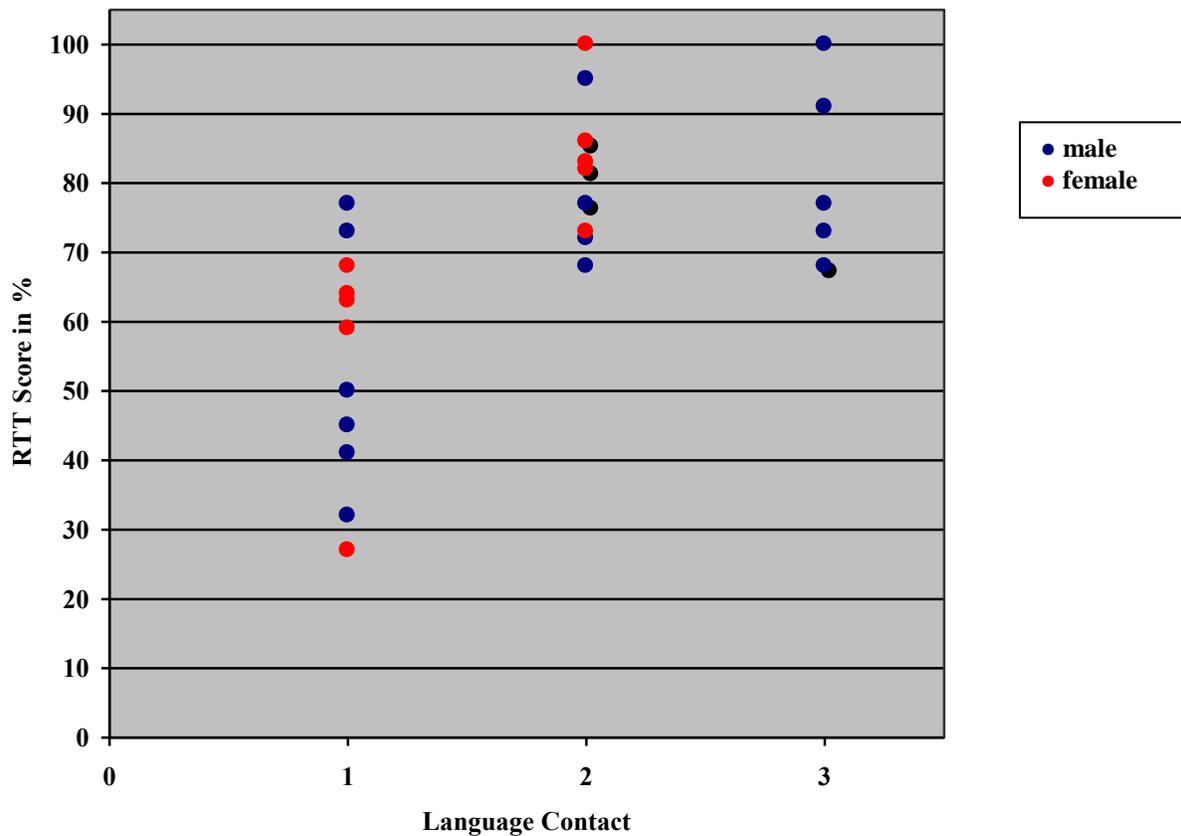
Figure 11: RTT-Results in Sanglech in relation to language contact

As the chart shows, there is some connection between contact with Sanglechi and the RTT score. But this connection is not as clear as one would expect. The average score of the 11 subjects with contact level 1 is 54%, of the 12 people with contact level 2 it is 80% as well and of the 6 subjects with contact level 3 it is 80% as well. The different scores of subject with approximately the same level of contact very likely depend on other factors, like concentration or distraction during the test.

Observations concerning the Ishkashimi and Sanglechi RTT

We found no gender-related pattern in the RTT scores besides the fact that women have less contact with the other group. Ishkashimi women seldom travel to Sanglech and Sanglechi women seldom travel to Ishkashim. Women also usually speak little to guests and travellers from the other speech variety. Therefore we did not meet any women with language contact level 3 among the Ishkashimi or Sanglechi. But among those who have language contact one or two, men and women's scores are, when averaged out, about equal.

Also, on the whole people from all the Ishkashimi villages have equal contact with Sanglechi people and vice versa. This is not surprising, as some Ishkashimi travel all the way through the Sanglech valley to Pakistan and Sanglechi from the whole valley go to Ishkashim to buy supplies and to receive medical treatment.

It is striking to see the difference in the result of the Ishkashimi RTT compared to the Sanglechi RTT. While the Ishkashimi scored an average of 54%, the Sanglechi scored an average of 71%. Taking the average of subjects with contact level 1 the difference is less: the Ishkashimi scored 44%, and the Sanglechi scored 54%. The main reason seems to be the attitude people hold towards the other speech variety: The Ishkashimi look down on the Sanglechi and view their language as inferior to their own language. They consider Sanglechi to be a very rural language and they frequently commented that Ishkashimi is a more beautiful language. When one Ishkashimi was asked whether he considered the storyteller to use good language, he responded that the language was good for the storyteller himself. The Ishkashimi say that Sanglechi is very different from their language; they mentioned grammar, vocabulary and pronunciation to be different. However, the people from Sanglech consider Ishkashimi to be a good language. Every RTT subject commented positively about the language the story teller used. They consider it to be a "good", "very good" or "sweet" language. Only one man said that the language in Sanglech is better. In line with that the Sanglechi consider Ishkashimi only to be a little different from their own language. Some did say it is not different. One man said it is "our language". Only a few found it very different.

6.4.3 Comprehension between Afghan and Tajik Ishkashimi

It is very likely that there is a high degree of intelligibility between Afghan Ishkashimi and Tajik Ishkashimi.

In Ishkashim a third of the respondents to the sociolinguistic questionnaire (all men) had previously visited the Ishkashimi-speaking community in Tajikistan. Ishkashimi from Tajikistan also travel to Afghanistan, and most Afghan Ishkashimi have met visiting Tajik Ishkashimi. They come to buy supplies in the bazaar and to visit relatives. All of those who have had contact with Ishkashimi from Tajikistan claim to understand them without difficulty. People made frequent comments, like "there is no difference in our languages," "we understand them well" and "they speak Ishkashimi just like we do." This positive attitude towards the Ishkashimi speech variety in Tajikistan is also shown by comments like "they keep their language well."

Even though we did not collect a word list in Tajik Ishkashimi for comparison and did not carry out RTT testing with Tajik Ishkashim, the uniform answers about the intelligibility of Tajik Ishkashimi allows the assumption that there is a high degree of intelligibility between Afghan and Tajik Ishkashimi.

6.4.4 Summary

The lexical similarity between the different Ishkashimi and Sanglechi word lists is between 70% and 73%. Because this is slightly above the "different-language threshold" intelligibility testing was crucial. The Recorded Text Testing resulted for subjects with contact level 1 in an average of 44% for the Ishkashimi people retelling the Sanglechi story and of 54% for the Sanglechi people retelling the Ishkashimi story. The results of subjects with contact level 1 indicate inherent intelligibility of the two speech varieties. These numbers are too low for the usage of common literature for both speech varieties. Intelligibility of the two varieties is not mutual. The Sanglechi understand more of the Ishkashim variety than the Ishkashimi understand of Sanglechi. This might be due to the bigger sound inventory that Sanglechi has compared to Ishkashimi, especially retroflex sounds that are not found in Ishkashimi (see Appendix A: Word

list results). However, it seems to be even more important that the Sanglechi hold a very positive attitude towards the Ishkashimi speech variety, whereas this is not the case the other way around (see 6.2 Attitudes).

7. Discussion

The following discussion of vitality, attitude, bilingualism and intelligibility aims to evaluate the findings described in the result section. The discussion relates back to the objective and to the research questions (see 'Objective').
     The objective and the research questions are stated again:

Objective

The objective of this language survey was, firstly, to find out whether the Ishkashimi and Sanglechi people can be adequately served with primary school education and literacy programs in Dari; or whether they would benefit from language development in their own speech varieties, including primary school education in their vernacular. And secondly, if language development is needed, would the people be adequately served with a joint Ishkashimi and Sanglechi language development programme or would they need separate programmes?

Research Questions

1. Living conditions: What basic information can we find out about the people group living in the Ishkashim area and the Sanglech valley (location, population, living conditions, education, infrastructure etc.)?
2. Vitality: What is the long term perspective on the vitality of the Ishkashimi and Sanglechi speech varieties?
3. Attitude: What attitudes do the Ishkashimi and Sanglechi people have towards their own vernacular, the other variety, and towards Dari?
4. Bilingualism: How proficient are the different segments (men/women, older/younger) of the Ishkashimi and Sanglechi people in Dari?
5. Intelligibility: To what extend are the Ishkashimi and the Sanglechi speech varieties inherently mutually intelligible? And to what extend is Afghan Ishkashimi intelligible with Tajik Ishkashimi?

The answer to the first research question 'Living Conditions' is found in '2.3 Background Information concerning Ishkashim and Sanglech'.

7.1 Vitality of Ishkashimi and Sanglechi

The vitality of Ishkashimi is declining; the vitality of the Sanglechi speech variety is very high.
     In the article "Indicators of Ethnolinguistic Vitality" Landweer gives eight factors that indicate the vitality of a language. They are as follows: 1. Relative position on the urban-rural continuum; 2. Domains in which the language is used; 3. Frequency and type of code switching; 4. Population and group dynamics; 5. Distribution of speakers within their own social networks; 6. Social outlook regarding and within the speech community; 7. Language prestige; and 8.

Access to a stable and acceptable economic base (Landweer 2000). In this paper we do not want to discuss all these factors, but will rather use factors 1 and 2 as examples to show differences between Ishkashimi and Sanglechi in terms of their vitality.

Concerning factor 1 "Relative position on the urban-rural continuum" Landweer claims that a language located within urban confines would be more affected by other languages and thus be weak, while a language remote from an urban community of other-language speakers would be far less affected by it, and would therefore be strong. The first applies to Ishkashimi: The Ishkashimi-speaking villages are in close proximity to the town of Ishkashim where Dari is spoken. Many Ishkashimi travel daily from their village to Ishkashim to attend school or to go to work. The latter applies to Sanglechi: The Sanglechi people group is secluded from the outside world. Access to Zebāk, the nearest Dari-speaking town, is difficult. Even though it is not very remote geographically, due to people's very limited financial resources, they cannot afford to travel to Zebāk more often than is absolutely necessary. For the same reason they do not send their children for education outside the Sanglech valley.

Concerning factor 2, "Domains in which the language is used," Landweer claims that the less the vernacular is used at home, the lower its vitality will be. Landweer considers the domain of the home to be the foundational social domain. She claims that the vitality of the vernacular is high if it is used at home, for cultural events, social events, and in other domains. In many Ishkashimi homes children learn Dari along with Ishkashimi when they are small. Some learn it from their parents and everyone else learns it in the home community from neighbours and other adults and children. Ishkashimi and Dari are spoken in an almost equal amount in the two primary domains of the home and the community. New wives who marry Ishkashimi-speaking men do not need to learn Ishkashimi as they can use Dari at home and use it with their children. Nevertheless, a new awareness and concern among the Ishkashimi about the vitality of their mother tongue is growing, especially among the educated. They do not want their mother tongue to die and are aware that if they do not speak it and teach it to their children it is more likely to die. Language shift has already started and is very likely to continue if language use is not altered in the near future. The head master in the school in Ishkashim told us that the Ishkashimi-speaking area used to extend for 25 km in the direction of Bahrak. It no longer does. This is another sign that the vitality of the language is declining.

In the Sanglech valley all children in the community learn Sanglechi as their first and only language until they start school. It is the only language used in the domains of the home and community. Dari is hardly spoken in these two primary domains. The Sanglechi only use Dari with outsiders who visit their villages and when they travel outside the Sanglech valley. As soon as someone turns away from a Dari-speaking visitor to greet another Sanglechi speaker, they switch straight back to Sanglechi.

Although Dari is heavily used in a number of domains where it is spoken as formal language (education and religion) or as almost exclusive language (travel and trade, media and administration), Sanglechi's vitality is not threatened. These are all secondary domains. Many people, especially women, hardly have any access to these domains: they travel little and do not have contact with government officials. For them, school, religious preaching and radio are the only forms of contact with Dari. To girls and young women the education domain only applies – however, only a few adult women have had a school education. However, this situation is changing and presently almost all children attend school, at least primary school. All children now acquire Dari to a certain degree. Nevertheless, it is not likely that this will diminish the vitality of Sanglechi as school is the only domain within the community where Dari is spoken on

a regular basis. Therefore many do not have practice in Dari in every-day situations. Women especially, but also some men, tend to loose their ability to speak Dari after they have leave school.

In summary, using Landweer's criteria, the vitality of Ishkashimi is declining. The Ishkashimi have easy access to the Dari-speaking town of Ishkashim (factor 1) and Ishkashimi is mixed with Dari in the primary domains of family and community (factor 2). The vitality of the Sanglechi speech variety is very high. Access to the Dari-speaking town of Zebāk is difficult (factor 1) and Sanglechi is the only language spoken in the primary domains of family and community (factor 2).

7.2 Attitudes towards Ishkashimi, Sanglechi and Dari

As the data in the results section indicates, the attitude towards the vernacular in both places is highly positive. Dari is viewed positively as well. The Sanglechi hold Ishkashimi in high regard, but the Ishkashimi look down on the Sanglechi speech variety as a rural language.

7.2.1 Ishkashimi attitudes

The attitude of the Ishkashimi towards Dari is divided. While many think that Dari will inevitably take over from Ishkashimi some resent that their children may in the future, or do already, speak Dari at home. They perceive Dari as a threat to their mother tongue. The desire to learn Dari better is not very high as the Ishkashimi know it well already.

The Ishkashimi distance themselves from the Sanglechi as they perceive their language to be a rural one. Even though the Ishkashimi admit that Sanglechi is related to their language, they consider it to be a separate language.

The Ishkashimi claim to hold their mother tongue in high esteem. Nevertheless half of them do not speak it to their children. The reason for this discrepancy might be that they have only just became aware of the danger of losing their mother tongue. Half of those who speak Ishkashimi with the children and half of those who speak Dari with their children are happy with the fact that the next generation will, or does already speak Dari at home. In line with this only half of the interviewees expect their children and grandchildren to use Ishkashimi at home when they are adults.

7.2.2 Sanglechi attitudes

People in the Sanglech valley have a positive attitude towards Dari. Parents indicated that they would be happy if their children spoke Dari at home. It is important to note that this does not reflect people's disregard for the mother tongue. Parents can only foresee their children speaking Sanglechi in the future. Rather it shows a positive attitude towards Dari and a desire for the children to learn it. However, adults' desire to improve their Dari is not very high because they see their proficiency as adequate for the limited situations in which they need to speak it.

The attitude of the Sanglechi towards Ishkashimi is highly positive. They view it as a good language, and in fact see it as the same language as their own. The most important language is the vernacular. The Sanglechi people possess a strong ethnolinguistic identity due to their geographical seclusion and the limited influence from the outside. The Sanglechi people are united by their common speech variety.

7.3 Bilingualism with Dari and Intelligibility between Ishkashimi and Sanglechi

The Ishkashimi possess a high command of Dari. The Sanglechi's proficiency of Dari is limited to every-day situation. The intelligibility between Ishkashimi and Sanglechi is low.

7.3.1 Between Ishkashimi and Dari

In the Ishkashim area most people are almost fully bilingual, speaking Ishkashimi and Dari. Children are proficient in Dari before they enter school and therefore can follow the lessons given in Dari. Children's proficiency is due to the usage of Dari in the primary domains of family and community. Besides this, many people have extended access to the secondary domains, so all children go to school, including girls. These children can be served well with a literacy program and school education in Dari, as is currently in place. However, some parents are unhappy with this situation because they realized that, with school education being entirely in Dari, the children might forget their mother tongue.

7.3.2 Between Sanglechi and Dari

Most of the Sanglechi do not have the opportunity to learn Dari well. Accessibility is very limited (see 3.6 Infrastructure) due to the remoteness of the Sanglech valley.
    Men can handle basic day-to-day situations in Dari. Usually they only need to use Dari in the domains of travel and trade, especially once they have completed their education. For these situations an ILR level of 2 is sufficient (see Appendix D: Proficiency Storying Questionnaire). As men can deal with these basic situations quite well (bargaining at the bazaar, entertaining guests, talking to a doctor etc.) they tend to overestimate their ability to speak Dari. They can cope with every-day requirements in Dari easily, but they are usually not challenged further. If they can function well in all necessary situations, they naturally assume their abilities in Dari are almost as good as their abilities in Sanglechi.
    Women's access to Dari is even more limited. For younger women the only domain it is used in is education. Most older women have not attended school. A very few have limited access to Dari-speaking visitors. Therefore their proficiency of Dari seldom exceeds a very basic level, as indicated by the Storying Proficiency Questionnaire and confirmed by the observation of the researchers.
    Parents claim on an average that their children can speak Dari well when they have completed 4th or 5th grade. However, parents may be overestimating their children's ability as their own Dari is limited. Also, observations by the researchers, when talking informally to teenage school children, did not back up the parents' claims. The young people were often not able to answer basic questions in Dari. This indicates that the Sanglechi people cannot be served adequately with literature in Dari. Kindell states that if a significant segment of speakers within a community has not achieved level 3 proficiency in a language, that language should not be the language of literacy (Kindell 1991). Sanglechi women definitely do not speak Dari at level 3.

7.3.3 Between Ishkashimi and Sanglechi

The Sanglechi do not understand the Ishkashimi speech variety well, and the Ishkashimi understand even less of the Sanglechi variety, if the subjects have not extensively been exposed to the other speech variety. The average score of the RTT for subjects with a low level of previous contact is 44%. The Sanglechi understand Ishkashimi to a slightly higher degree. Their score for a low level of previous contact is on average 54%.

According to Bergman, when intelligibility tests give results of less than about 75%, a language development project is generally considered desirable (Bergman 1990). The result the Sanglechi show concerning the Ishkashimi story could still be considered in the range of what Bergman calls "about 75%". The result of the Ishkashimi concerning the Sanglechi story is clearly under the threshold of 75%. It is therefore unlikely that material developed for one of the two speech varieties will serve the other speech variety equally well.

8. Recommendations

As pointed out in the discussion section (see 7.3 Bilingualism in Dari), Dari literacy programs would not be sufficient for the Sanglechi people, because bilingualism in Dari is very low. The UNESCO study "Promoting Literacy in Multilingual Settings" (Kosonen et al. 2006) describes the advantage students studying in their mother tongue have over students who study in a foreign language. The study states that the second group's learning achievements may not be as good as they could be had their mother tongue been used. Many may have to repeat grades and drop out of school, ultimately failing in their education. The UNESCO study continues:

> For children, a solution to this problem is mother tongue-based multilingual education. For adult members of ethnolinguistic minority communities, a solution is mother tongue-based literacy and adult education programmes. [...] In strong multilingual education programmes, the learners' first language is used as the language of instruction as long as possible, at least at the pre-primary and primary levels. The bottom line is that learning is started with and through something that the learners already know, i.e. their first language, and unfamiliar things, such as the second language, are introduced gradually and learned after a solid foundation in the first language has already been accomplished. International research shows that at least some five years of instruction in the first language – but preferably throughout the education system – is required to provide a solid foundation for further studies. A strong foundation in the mother tongue is also needed for second language acquisition and successful transfer of the literacy skills from the first to the second language. (Kosonen et al. 2006)

Taking the UNESCO study into consideration it would be helpful for Sanglechi children to be taught literacy skills and primary school subjects in their mother tongue. In lower grades they would learn Dari as a foreign language and then in higher grades gradually switch to Dari as the language of instruction for other subjects. Likewise adults would benefit from literacy programs in the mother tongue, after that they would be able to acquire Dari literacy more easily.

The situation showed itself to be entirely different for the Ishkashimi people. As their level of bilingualism is high, they do not depend on the development of their vernacular into a written form for school education. However, although they do benefit from the education offered in Dari

in the school of Ishkashim, it is very likely that the Ishkashimi would very much appreciate it if a project was undertaken for their speech variety, especially if they received help for the preservation of their language. The Ishkashimi grow more and more aware of the fact that someday they might lose their own language.

We recommend the inception of a project for the Sanglechi speech variety, with a possible contribution to the Ishkashimi speech variety. This is because of the obvious need in the Sanglechi valley and the relative urgency compared to Ishkashim. Even though the prestige of the Ishkashim variety is higher and the attitude the Sanglechi hold towards Ishkashimi is better than vice versa, it is not a viable option to begin with Ishkashimi and extent literature to Sanglechi. The lexical similarity and the results of the RTT testing are too low.

Issues that need to be taken into account planning a project include the following: First, the literacy material and the literature people would probably benefit most from are different for the two speech varieties. The Sanglechi people should be served with literacy primers to help them acquire basic literacy skills, which they could transfer to Dari at a later stage. Then they would benefit from easy reading material, stories, medical and hygiene education booklets. For the Ishkashimi in Afghanistan and in Tajikistan, as many of them are literate in Dari or Tajik already, it would be beneficial to offer post literacy material in Ishkashimi. It is very likely that they would be interested in having their local and inherited stories and poetry in written form. Second, the sound inventories of Ishkashimi and Sanglechi are not identical. Different alphabets might be needed for the two speech varieties with the Sanglechi alphabet containing additional letters.

The Ishkashimi in Tajikistan could profit from an Afghan Ishkashimi component of a Sanglechi language development project as well. It might be possible to extend such a component to them. Müller (Müller et al. 2005) states that Ishkashimi in the villages of Ryn and Sumjin in Tajikistan exhibit signs of high language vitality in spite the low number of speakers (see 2.2 Population). Although this group is bilingual in Tajik and does not depend on the development of their vernacular to benefit from general education. However, the script would have to be adapted to a Cyrillic or Latin alphabet.

In summary, we recommend a language development program for the Sanglechi speech variety, starting out with Sanglechi but with a possible contribution to the Ishkashimi speech variety.

Acknowledgements

References

afghana! web directory. 2008. http://www.afghana.com/GetLocal/Afghanistan/Provinces.htm.
AIMS. 2004. *Map of North East Region.* Afghanistan Information Management Service (AIMS). http://www.aims.org.af/maps/national/regions/north_east.pdf. Last accessed November 24, 2006.

Bergman, T.G. (Ed.) 1990. *Language Assessment Criteria.* Survey Reference Manual. Summer Institute of Linguistics: Dallas.

Casad, Eugene H. 1974. *Dialect Intelligibility Testing.* Norman, Oklahoma: Summer Institute of Linguistics of University of Oklahoma.

Circle of Ancient Iranien Studies. 2007. www.cais-soas.com/CAIS/Languages/ishkashmi.htm London. Last accessed December 12, 2007.

Constitution of Afghanistan. 2005. http://arabic.cnn.com/afghanistan/ConstitutionAfghanistan. Last accessed August 11, 2008.

Gordon, Raymond G., Jr. (ed.) 2005. *Ethnologue: Languages of the World.* Fifteenth edition., Tex. SIL International: Dallas. Online version: http://www.ethnologue.com. Last accessed November 26, 2006.

Grimes, Barbara F. 1986. *Evaluating bilingual proficiency in language groups for cross-cultural communication.* Notes on Linguistics. Summer Institute of Linguistics: Dallas.

Grierson, Georg A. 1920. *Ishkashmi, Zebaki and Yazghulami: An account of three Eranian dialects.* Royal Asiatic Society: London.

Interagency Language Roundtable. 1985. http://www.utm.edu/staff/globeg/ilrhome.shtml. Last accessed December 3, 2007.

Kindell, Gloria (ed.) 1991. *Proceedings of the Summer Institute of Linguistics International Language Assessment Conference, 1989.* SIL International: Dallas.

Kosonen, Kimmo, Catherine Young and Susan Malone. 2006. *Promoting Literacy in Multilingual Settings.* UNESCO: Bangkok.

Kreutzmann, Hermann. 1996. *Ethnizität im Entwicklungsprozess. Die Wakhi in Hochasien.* Reimer: Berlin.

Landweer, Lynn. 2000. *Indicators of Ethnolinguistic Vitality.* Notes on Sociolinguistics 5.1. Summer Institute of Linguistics: Dallas.

Maps of Afghanistan. 2001. CD of the Defence Geographic Centre (DGIA). United Kingdom.

Miller, David and Peter Backstrom. 2007. *A Rapid Appraisal Survey of the Ishkashimi-Sanglechi Language of Afghanistan.* Unpublished.

Müller, Katja et al. 2005. *Ishkashimi: A Father's Language: How a Very Small Language Survives.* In: Clifton, John M. (ed.) 2005. *Studies in Languages of Tajikistan.* National State University of Tajikistan; Dushanbe; North Eurasia Group, SIL International: St. Petersburg.

Payne, John. 1989. *Pamir Languages.* In: Rüdiger Schmitt, R. (ed.). Compendium Linguarum Iranicarum. Ludwig Reichert: Wiesbaden. 417-44

Schirrmacher, Christine. 1994. *Der Islam: Geschichte, Lehre, Unterschiede zum Christentum.* Hänssler: Stuttgart.

Shaw, R. 1876. *On the Ghalchah Languages (Wakhi and Sarikoli).* Journal of the Asiatic Society 14.

Skjærvø, Prods O. 1989. *Modern East Iranian Languages.* In: Rüdiger Schmitt (ed.). Compendium Linguarum Iranicarum. Ludwig Reichert: Wiesbaden. 370-83.

Swadesh, M. 1955. *Towards Greater Accuracy in Lexicostatistical Dating.* In: International Journal of American Linguistics, 21.

The Great Game. 2008. Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Great_Game. Last accessed February 18, 2008.

Thiessen, Gabriela et al. 2005. *Language Access and and Tajik Language Proficiency: Yazghulami.* In: Clifton, John M. (ed.) 2005. *Studies in Languages of Tajikistan.* National

State University of Tajikistan: Dushanbe; North Eurasia Group, SIL International: St.
Petersburg.
Tomaschek, Wilhelm. 1880. *Die Pamir-Dialekte.* Centralasiatische Studien II Gerold: Wien.
Wimbish, John. 1989. *WordSurv 6.0.2.* Taylor University and SIL International: Dallas.
Yusufbekov, Sh. P. 2000. *The Sanglechi Language.* In: V.S. Rastorgueva, D.I. Edel'man and
V.V. Moshkalo (eds.). Iranskie iazyki: III Vostochnoiranskie iazyki. [Iranian Languages: III
Eastern Iranian Languages. Article translated by: David Wilkinson. Translation unpublished].
(Series title: Iazyki mira [Languages of the World]). Indrik: Moscow.

Author's Contact Information:
Simone Beck
Simbeck07@aol.com

Appendix A: Word List Results

	English	Dari	Spoken Dari	Xermani (Ishk.)	Bāhār Bāzār (Ishk.)	Zargarān (Ishk.)	Dashte Rubāt (Sangl.)	Esketul (Sangl.)	Fāruq (Sangl.)
1.	I (1s)	من	ma	ʌs	azɪ	as	a'ze	'azə	a'zə
2.	you (2s)	تو	tʰu	tʰə	tʰ ə	tʰu	tʰəʊ	tʰʊ	tʰu
3.	he/ she (3s)	او	ʔu	məx	məx	as	a'ze	'azə	a'zə
4.	we (1p)	ما	mɔ	'tʰəməx	tʰə'məx	'tʰəməx	tʰəʊ	tʰʊ	tʰu
5.	you (2p)	شما	ʃʊ'mɔ	aʊ	aʊ	aʊm	aʊ	'aʊə	'adməs
6.	they (3p)	آنها	ʔʊ'nɔ	aʊ'ɔndɔ	aʊɔn'dɔ	aʊ'ɔnd	a'dande	aʊ'ande	aʊ'wan
7.	who	کی	ki	kɔɪ	kʊɪ	kʊɪ	kʰɔɪ	kɔɪ	kʰɔɪ'a
8.	what	چی	t͡ʃi	tʃəs	tʃis	tʃi	tse	tsets	tse'tsa
9.	how	چطور	t͡ʃə'tʰor	'tseraŋg	'tseraŋg	'tseraŋg	tsə'na	tsə'naɪ	tsenɔ'dɔ
10.	where	کجا	kʊ'd͡ʒɔ	'kʰəndʒɔ	'tsəkəndʒɔ	'kəndʒɔ	'kʰʊndʒaɪ	'kʊndʒaɪ	kʰɔme'ʃɔ
11.	when	چی وقت	t͡ʃi waxt	kʰa'di	kʰa'di	kə'dəm waxt	kʰa'di	kʊ'dam waxt	kat'ʃɔ
12.	how many	چند	t͡ʃand	tsə'mənd	tsə'mand	tsə'mənd	sʊ'mande	'tsəmand	tsə'mand
13.	which	کدام	kʊ'dɔm	kʰə'dəm	kʰə'dɔm	kʰə'dəm	kʰʊda'me	'kʊdam	kʰa'dɪ
14.	if	اگر	ʔaga	'aga	'aga	a'gar	agaʃʊ'wɔɪ	'agar	a'gar
15.	at	در	da	pʰə	pʰə	pʰə	wɔr	wɔr	wɔr
16.	with	همرای	ʔam'rə	'wahɪgɔl	'waɪgʊl	'məŋgɔl	am'ɾaɪ	amɾa'gor	kʰa'tʰi
17.	this (near)	این	ʔi:	ʌm	am	am	a'me	a'me	a'na
18.	that (far)	آن	ʔɔ:	aʊ	aʊ	aʊ	a'we	a'de	a'wa
19.	these (near)	اینها	ʔi'nɔ	a'mɔndɔ	'amɔndɔ	'amɔnd	a'mand	a'mand	a'mɔnd
20.	those (far)	آنها	ʔɔ'nɔ	aʊ'ɔndɔ	'aʊɔndɔ	aʊwɔn'dɔ	a'wand	ada'hand	aʊ'wɔnd
21.	here	اینجا	ʔind͡ʒa	'madakʰ	'madakʰ	'maḏakʰ	mɔd	mɔd	mɔ'dakʰ
22.	there	آنجا	ʔund͡ʒa	'wadakʰ	'wadakʰ	'waḏakʰ	wɔd	wɔd	məwɔ'dakʰ
23.	far	دور	dur	di:r	di:r	di:r	di'rʊɪ	di:r	di:r
24.	near	نزدیک	nəz'di:k	qʰa'ri:b	qʰa'rib	at'maḏakʰ	qʰa'rib	qʰa'rib	qʰa'ri:b
25.	right side	راست	rɔst	rɔst	rɔst	rɔst	rɔstʰ	rast	rɔst
26.	left side	چپ	t͡ʃap	tʃapʰ	tʃapʰ	tʃapʰ	tʃapʰ	tʃap	tʃapʰ
27.	down/below	پایْن	pʰɔ"in	kʰala'pʰɔ	pʰast	pʰa:st	kʰala'pʰa	kala'pʰaɪ	kʰala'pʰɔ
28.	up/above	بالا	bɔ'lɔ	vɾɔ'sɔ	'tʰəskʰə	vɾɔ'sɔ	ruba'la	vras	və'rɔs
29.	come NP	میایه	'mjɔja	'isu	'isu	'ɪsus	i'sʊr	'isu	'isuṣ
	come P	آمد	ʔɔ'mat	'ɔɣad	'ɔɣad	ɔ'ɣat	ɔ'ɣɔd	ɔ'ɣɔd	'ɔɣɔd
30.	sit NP	میشند	'mɪʃɪna	'niḏu	'niḏus	'niḏu	ni'duʂ	'nidu	ni'duʃ
	sit P	نشست	ʃɪʃt	'nəlɔst	'nəlʊstʰ	'nʊlʊst	ne'lɔst	'nəlɔst	nə'lɔst
31.	stand NP	استاد میشود	ʔəs'tɔd 'meʃa	es'tɔd ʃʊ	kʰə'pʰualʊ	kʰə'pʰʊ ɔ'stʰʊkʰ	'tʃʊkia stok	'tʃʊkalɔɪ	es'tɔd ʃʊ'wɔ
	stand P	استاد شد	ʔəs'tɔd ʃʊt	es'tɔd ʃʊt	kʰə'pʰuwust	kʰə'pʰʊ ʃʊ'dɔkʰ	e'stadɪɔ ʃɪ'dɔk	es'tad 'ʃʊəvɔt	es'tɔd ʃi:d
32.	lie down NP	دراز میکشد	dar'ɔz 'mekʰaʃa	da'rɔz xaʃʊ	dar'ɔz 'xaʃʊ	dar'ɔz 'xaʃʊ	'vəʒdugə 'xaʃtʊ	'vəʒdukʰ xa'ʃɔɪ	rəʃ'dukʰ xa'ʃɔ

#	Gloss								
	lie down P	دراز کشید	daɾ'ɔz kʰăʃit	da'ɾɔz 'xaʃʊt	daɾ'ɔz 'xaʃəd	daɾ'ɔz 'xaʃʊt	'vəʒdug xaʃtʰ	'vəʒdukʰ xa'ʃət	ɾəʂ'dukʰ xaʂ'dɔk
33.	give NP / give P	میدهد / داد	'metʰa / dɔt	'ḏajʊ / ḏud	'ḏajʊ / ḏuḏ	'dajus / duḏ	dɾ'jɔx / dud	dɾ'jɔɾ / dud	'dijɔʃ / dud
34.	walk NP / walk P	قدم میزند / قدم زد	qʰa'dam 'mezana / qʰa'dam zat	qʰa'dam dʊ / qʰa'dam ḏeḏ	qʰa'dam ḏʊ / qʰa'dam ḏeḏ	qʰa'dam dus / qʰa'dam ḏeḏ	qʰa'dame dox / qʰa'dam deɾ	qa'dam doʃ / qa'dam ded	qʰa'damə dɔ / qʰa'dam 'dedɔkʰ
35.	go NP / go P	میرود / رفت	'meɾa / ɾaft	ʃʊ / tʰuɣt	sʊs / tʰuɣt	ʃo / toxt	ʃʊ'wɔx / 'ʃide	ʃʊ'wɔɾ / ʃi:d	ʃwɔ / ʃi:d
36.	run NP / run P	میدود / دوید	'medaºa / daºwit	'ɣəzʊ / 'ɣəzət	'ɣəzʊs / 'ɣəzəḏ	'ɣəsʊ / 'ɣəsət	ɣʊ'zʊx / ɣʊ'zeɾ	ɣu'zuʃ / ɣʊ'zət	ɣu'zuʃ / ɣʊ'zəḏ
37.	fly (bird) NP / fly (bird) P	میپرد / پرید	'mepʰaɾa / pʰa'ɾit	'aɾazʊ / 'aɾat	'aɾazʊs / 'aɾaḏ	'aɾazʊ / 'aɾat	a'ɾezux / a'ɾatʰ	aɾa'zoʃ / a'ɾat	'aɾazʃ / 'aɾat
38.	swim (fish) NP / swim (fish) P	شنا میکند / شنا کرد	ʃə'nɔ 'mekʰuna / ʃə'nɔ kʰat	ʃønɔwa'ɾi kʰə'nʊ / ʃønɔwa'ɾi kol	ʃønɔwa'ɾi 'kʰønʊs / ʃønɔwa'ɾi kʰʊl	ʃø'nɔʊ do / ʃø'nɔʊ deḏ	ʃi'naʊ 'xəʃɔɾ / ʃi'naʊ 'xaʃotʰ	ʃi'naʊ dɔɾ / ʃi'naʊ dɔɾ	ɔb bɔ'zɪ kʰə'nʊ / ɔb bɔ'zɪ kʰʊt
39.	fall NP / fall P	میفتد / افتاد	'meftha / ʔaft'ɔt	'wazʊ / watʰ	'wazʊs / watʰ	'wazʊ / wat	wa'zox / watʰ	'wazoʃ / wat	wa'zoʃ / watʰ
40.	throw NP / throw P	میندازد / انداخت	'mendɔza / ʔan'dɔxt	'weḏʊ / wetʰ	'wedʊs / weṭʰ	'fəɾkʰnʊ / 'fəɾkʰɪnt	fəɾ'kʰind / fəɾ'kʰind	'fəɾkind / 'fəɾkind	nu'ʂuʂ / nuʂ'tʰukʰ
41.	flow NP / flow P	روان هست / روان بود	ɾa'wɔn as / ɾa'wɔn bʊt	ɾa'wɔn wust / ɾa'wɔn vət	ʃʊs / ʃʊvi	ɾa'wɔnɪ / ɾa'wɔn ʃʊ'dʊkʰ	ʃʊ'wɔx / ɾa'wa vəḏ	ɾa'wə nɔɪ / ɾa'wə vət	ʃɔ'wɔʃ / ʃə'dɔkʰ
42.	pull NP / pull P	کش میکند / کش کرد	kaʃ 'mekʰuna / kaʃ kʰat	'xaʃʊ / xaʃtʰ	'xaʃʊs / 'xaʃətʰ	'xaʃʊ / 'xaʃət	xa'xox / xa'xel	xa'ʃɔɪ / xa'ʃət	xa'ʃɔʃ / xa'ʃətʰ
43.	push NP / push P	تله میکند / تله کرد	tə'la 'mekʰuna / tə'la kʰat	tʰe'la kʰol / tʰe'la kʰoltʰ	tʰe'la 'kənʊs / tʰe'la kʰul	tʰe'la kʰə'nʊ / tʰe'la kʰul	tʰe'laɪ kʰe'nu / tʰe'la kʰul	te'leɪ ken / te'leɪ 'kovt	te'laɪ kʰə'nʊ / te'laɪ kʰotʰ
44.	wash NP / wash P	میشیود / شست	'meʃoja / ʃuʃt	'zønajʊ / 'zønʊt	'zənajʊ / 'zənʊtʰ	'zənajʊ / 'zənʊḏ	ze'ne jox / ze'nʊd	zen'jɔɪ / zən'ʊd	'zenjɔʃ / 'zənur
45.	split NP / split P	میده میکند / میده کرد	maɪˮda 'mekhʊna / maɪˮda kʰat	və'lelʊ / vrətʰ	və'delʊs / və'ɾəṭʰ	maɪ'da kʰə'nʊ / maɪ'da kʰʊl	ɾe'zeɪ kʰe'nɔɪ / ɾe'zeɪ kʰul	maɪ'da ke'noɪ / maɪ'da kətʰ	maɪ'daə kʰə'nɔ / maɪ'da kʰutʰ
46.	tie NP / tie P	گره میکونه / گره کرد	gə'ɾe 'mekʰuna / gə'ɾe kʰat	gɾe kol / gɾe kʊlt	'gɾesdʊ / 'gɾekʰul	gə'ɾe kʰə'nʊ / gə'ɾe kʰul	ge'ɾe kʰe'nɔɪ / ge'ɾe kʰol	gə'ɾe kə'noɪ / gə'ɾe kətʰ	gə'ɾe kʰə'nɔ / gə'ɾe kʰutʰ
47.	hit NP / hit P	میزند / زد	'mezana / zat	'dɪjʊ / ḏed	dus / deḏ	do / deḏ	dɔx / ded	dɔʃ / ded	ded / de'də kʰɔ
48.	cut NP	میبرد	'mebaɾa	sə'kʰəndʊ	sə'kʰəndʊ	ʃə'kʰəndʊ	wʊ'sux	wu'suʂ	'wusuʃ

	cut *P*	برد	bɔɾt	sə'kʰəʃt	sə'kʰəʃt	ʃə'kʰəʃtʰ	'wude	wʊde	'wuduk
49.	rub *NP*	میماله	'memɔla	'məndʊ	'məndʊs	'məndʊ	'mandox	'mandɔʂ	'mandɔʃ
	rub *P*	مالید	mɔ'lit	'məndət	'məndəd̪	'məndəd̪	'mandetʰ	'mandət	'mandət
50.	dig *NP*	بیل میزند	bel 'mezana	bel djʊ	bel dʊs	bel dʊ	'bele dɔɪ	'bele doi	'belə dɔ
	dig *P*	بیل زد	bel zat	bel d̪ed	bel ded̪	bel ded̪	bel ded	bel ded	bel det
51.	squeeze *NP*	پچق میکوند	pʰə'tʃʊq 'mekʰuna	'trandʒu	paxtʃ kʰə'nʊ	pʰə'tʃʊq kʰə'nʊ	la'gare kʰe'noi	pʰə'tʃʊqʰ kʰə'noi	la'ɣatʰə kʰə'nɔ
	squeeze *P*	پچق کرد	pʰə'tʃʊq kʰat	'trandʒəd	paxtʃ kʰol	pʰə'tʃʊq kʰol	la'gar kʰʊl	pʰə'tʃʊqʰ kʰət	la'ɣatʰ kʰotʰ
52.	night	شب	ʃaᵘ	və'ʒer	ʃau	ʃab	fər'xuk	fər'ʃɔk	fər'ʃɔkʰ
53.	day	روز	rŏz	raʃt	roz	raʃtʰ	fərmo'i	fərmo'i	fərmo'i
54.	morning	صبح	sŏb	pʰɪ'ga	pʰə'ga	pʰə'ga	pʰə'gaɪ	pə'gaɪ	pʰə'gɔ
55.	noon	چاشت	tʃɔʃt	maɪ	maɪ	maɪ'kʰen	tʃaxt	tʃaʂt	tʃɔʃ'tʰi
56.	evening	شام	ʃɔm	ʃɔm	və'ʒer	və'ʒer	ʂə'mi	ʂam	ʃɔm
57.	yesterday	دیروز	'dɪroz	pɔ'rəzt	pɔ'rəzd	pʰə'rʊst	paɾ'ozt	pa'rost	'paroz
58.	today	امروز	'ʔəmroz	ner	ne:ɾ	ner	ner	ner	ner
59.	tomorrow	فردا	faɾ'dɔ	sar	sa:ɾ	sa:ɾ	sa'har	pʰə'ga	a'lʊstʰ
60.	week	هفته	ʔafʰtʰa	af'ta	af'ta	af'ta	af'ta	af'te	'uftmaɪ
61.	month	ماه	mɔ	mɔ	mɔ	mɔ	ma	ma	mɔ
62.	year	سال	sɔl	sɔl	sɔl	sɔl	sal	sal	sɔl
63.	one	یک	jak	wʊkʰ	wɔkʰ	'wɔkʰi	wəkʰ	wəkʰ	wɔkʰ
64.	two	دو	du	deʊ	dəʊ	dəʊ	dəʊ	dəʊ	dəʊ
65.	three	سه	se	ɾɔɪ	ɾuɪ	ɾoɪ	ɾoi	'ɾoi	ɾɔɪ
66.	four	چهار	tʃɔr	tsə'fur	sə'fur	tsə'fur	tsfur	tsfur	ts'fu:r
67.	five	پنج	pʰandʒ	pʰɔndz	pʰɔnz	pʰunts	pʰɔnts	pʰɔnts	pʰɔnts
68.	six	شش	ʃaʃ	xɔl	xɔl	xo:l	xwaḷ	xwaḷ	xwɔḷ
69.	seven	هفت	ʔaft	uft	oft	uftʰ	uft	uft	uft
70.	eight	هشت	ʔaʃt	ɔtʰ	ɔt̪ʰ	otʰ	ɔtʰ	ɔtʰ	ɔtʰ
71.	nine	نو	no	nʊ	no	nəʊ	naʊ	naʊ	nəʊ
72.	ten	ده	da	da	da	da	dɔs	dos	dɔs
73.	eleven	یازده	jɔz'da	jɔz'da	jɔz'da	jɔz'da	kʊ'dɔs	kʊ'dɔz	kʰə'dɔs
74.	twelve	دوازده	dwɔz'da	dʊɔz'da	dʊɔz'da	dwɔz'da	di'dʊs	'didʊz	di'dus
75.	twenty	بیست	bɪst	bɪst	bɪst	bɪst	wɪʃt	wɪʃt	wiʃt
76.	hundred	صد	sad	sad	sad	sad	sad	sad	sad
77.	all	تمام	tʰam'ɔm	tʃək h	tʃəkʰ	tʰə'mɔm	kʊl'tʃid	kul'tag	'kʰʊlagi
78.	many	زیاد	zjɔd	lɪpʰ	lɪpʰ	faɪ	faɪ'ʃid	zja'dan	fai
79.	few	کمی	'kʰame	tʃɔv	tʃov	tʃɔv	tʃo'wakʰ	tʃo'wak	tʃɔf
80.	big	کلان	kʰa'lɔn	kʰa'tʰa	kʰa'tʰa	ka'tʰa	ɣəxd	ʂəʂt	zəʂt
81.	small	خورد	xʊrd	xul	tʃətʰ	kətʰ	'ptsikʰikʰ	ptsɪ'kik	ptsə'kʰikʰ
82.	long	دراز	da'rɔz	də'rɔz	'vəʒdʊkʰ	'vəʒdʊkʰ	vəg'dʊg	'vəʐdʊk	wəʐ'dʊkʰ
83.	short	کوتاه	kʰo'tɔ	kʰə'tʰa	kʰətʰ	kətʰ	kʰurtʰ	kʰo'tʰaɪ	kʰətʰ
84.	wide	فراخ	fa'rɔx	kʰa'tʰa	kʰa'tʰa	kʰa'tʰa	wa'se	wa'se	zəʂt
85.	narrow	تنگ	tʰaŋ	taŋg	tʃətʰ	tʃətʰ	tʰaŋ	tʰaŋ'goɪ	ptsə'kʰikʰ

86.	thick	دبل	daˈbal	ˈvəʒdʊkʰ	ˈvəzʊkʰ	ˈvəsʊkʰ	veˈsɔkʰ	vəˈsɔkʰ	wəˈzokʰ
87.	thin	نازک	nɔˈzʊk	tʰəˈnəkʰ	tʰəˈnəkʰ	tʰəˈnəkʰ	baˈrikʰ	nazuˈkɔɪ	bɔˈrikʰ
88.	sun	آفتاب	ʔafˈtʰaʊ	ˈremʊs	ˈremʊs	ˈremʊs	ɔrˈmɔzd	ɔrˈmɔst	ɔrˈmɔzd
89.	moon	مهتاب	mɔˈtʰaʊ	ˈlemʊkʰ	maˈtɔb	ˈlemʊkʰ	wəlˈmeg	wʊlˈmikʰ	wəlˈmikʰ
90.	star	ستاره	setʰɔˈra	setɔˈra	stɔˈra	stɔˈra	ustʊˈrʊk	uˈstʊrʊk	əstʰuˈrʊkʰ
91.	water	آب	ʔaʊ	veg	veg	veg	veg	veg	veg
92.	rain	باران	bɔˈrɔn	bɔˈreʃ	bɔˈreʃ	bɔˈrɔn	naˈvokʰ	alˈmos	naˈvɔʃ
93.	lightning	الماسک	ʔalmɔˈsak	ɔtəˈʃakʰ	ɔtəˈʃəkʰ	rəʃˈnɪsdʊ	ɔtəˈʃakʰ	ɔtəˈʃak	ɔtaʃukʰdɔr
94.	rainbow	رنگین کمان	raŋˈgɪn kʰaˈmɔn	kʰaˈmɔn røˈstam	kʰamˈɔn rəˈstam	kʰamˈɔne resˈtam	kaˈmane reˈstam	kaˈmɔne rʊˈstam	kʰaˈmɔne rɔˈstam
95.	mud	گل	gel	lɔɪ	lɔɪ	loɪ	tʃal	gəl	tʃal
96.	stone	سنگ	saŋg	sɔŋg	sɔŋg	sʊŋg	sɔŋg	sʊŋg	soŋg
97.	sand	ریگ	reg	reg	reg	reg	reg	reg	reg
98.	earth	زمین	zaˈmin	zəˈmɪn	zəˈmin	zaˈmɪn	zaˈmin	zəˈmin	zaˈmin
99.	cloud	ابر	ʔabr	abr	abr	abr	mɔɪ	mɔɪ	mɔɪ
100.	smoke	دود	dud	diːḍ	diḍ	diːḍ	diːd	did	diːd
101.	fire	آتش	ʔɔˈtʰeʃ	rəʃˈni	rəʃˈni	raʃˈni	ˈxenai	ʂənaˈi	ʃənɔˈi
102.	ash	خاکستر	xɔkʰəsˈtar	usr	wusər	wʊsr	xakʰeˈstar	xɔkʰeˈstar	xɔkʰeˈstar
103.	mountain	کوه	kʰo	ɔˈlax	ɔˈlax	ɔˈlax	kʰʊ	kɔɪ	kʰo
104.	sky	آسمان	ʔɔsˈmɔn	ɔsˈmɔn	ɔsˈmɔn	ɔsˈmɔn	asˈman	asˈman	ɔsˈmɔn
105.	fog	غبار	ɣaˈbɔr	ɣʊˈbɔr	ɣaˈbɔr	ɣaˈbɔr	meˈɣa	mɔɪ	ɣaˈbɔr
106.	wind	شمال	ʃaˈmɔl	ʃaˈmɔl	ʃaˈmɔl	bɔd	ʃaˈmal	ʃaˈmal	ʃaˈmɔl
107.	sea	بحر	bahr	baːr	baˈhar	ˈvege lipʰ	bahr	aʊs	aʊs
108.	lake	چهیل	t͡ʃaˈhil	tʃaˈhil	tʃaˈhil	ˈvege frendʊˈkʰi	tʃar	vezjaˈdɔɪ	aʊs
109.	river	دریا	darˈjɔ	darˈjɔ	xaˈrav	darˈjɔ	darˈjaɪ	darˈja	darˈjɔ
110.	salt	نمک	naˈmak	naˈmakʰ	naˈmakʰ	naˈmakʰ	neˈmekʰ	nəˈmekt	naˈmektʰ
111.	ice	یخ	jax	jax	jax	jax	jex	jex	jix
112.	snow	برف	barf	warf	warf	warf	warf	warf	barf
113.	dust	خاک	xɔk	ʃətʰ	ʃətʰ	ʃiːt	ʃətʰ	ʃətʰ	ʃətʰ
114.	tree	درخت	daˈraxt	dəˈraxt	draxt	daˈraxt	dəˈraxt	dəˈraxt	dəˈraxt
115.	seed	تخم	ˈtʰʊxʊm	tʰeɣm	tʰeɣm	tʰeɣm	tʰeɣm	teɣm	tʰeɣm
116.	leaf	برگ	barg	barg	barg	barg	barg	barg	barg
117.	root	ریشه	riˈʃa	rəʃˈta	rəˈʃtʰa	riˈʃa	reˈxaɪ	rɪˈʃe	riˈʃa
118.	bark	پوست درخت	ˈpʰoste daˈraxt	dəˈraxt kʰrʊst	kʰrʊst	daˈraxt kʰrʊst	pəˈstakʰ	krʊst	kʰrɔstʰ
119.	thorn	خار	xɔr	ˈkʰɔndɔkʰ	ˈkʰɔndɔkʰ	ˈkʰʊndʊkʰ	kʰanˈdakʰ	kʰanˈdakʰ	kʰanˈdɔkʰ
120.	fruit	میوه	meˈwa	meˈwa	meˈwa	meˈwa	meˈwa	meˈwa	meˈwa
121.	flower	گل	gʊl	gʊl	gʊl	gʊl	gel	gʊl	gəl
122.	grass	سبزه	sabˈza	sabˈza	sabˈza	sabˈza	savˈzaɪ	savˈze	savˈza
123.	wheat	گندم	ganˈdʊm	ˈɣɔndʊm	ˈɣɔndʊm	ˈɣɔndʊm	ɣɔnˈdum	ɣɔnˈdum	ɣɔnˈdəm

124.	barley	جو	d͡ʒao	'wɔrvəz	'wɔrvəs	'wʊrvəs	wər'ves	'wərvez	vər'vəz
125.	rice	برنج	bə'rend͡ʒ	'dənɪkʰ	'dɪnɪkʰ	'dənɪkʰ	be'rendʒ	bə'rindʒ	bə'rɪndʒ
126.	potato	کچالو	kʰat͡ʃɔ'lu	'ɔlʊ	kʰat͡ʃɔ'lʊ	kʰat͡ʃɔ'lʊ	kʰat͡ʃɔ'lʊ	ɔ'lʊɪ	kʰat͡ʃɔ'lʊ
127.	chilli	مرچ	mʊrt͡ʃ	mʊrtʃ	mərtʃ	mərtʃ	mərtʃ	mərtʃ	mʊrtʃ
128.	garlic	سیر	sir	sir	sir	sir	sir	sir	sir
129.	onion	پیاز	pʰjɔz	pʰjɔs	pʰjɔs	pʰjɔs	pʰjɔs	pʰjas	pʰjɔz
130.	fish	ماهی	mɔ'i	mɔ'i	mɔ'i	mɔ'i	mɔ'i	mɔ'i	mɔ'i
131.	bird	پرنده	pʰarən'da	pʰaren'da	pʰaren'da	pʰaren'da	pʰaren'da	kʰɔr'jɔs	pʰaren'da
132.	dog	سگ	sag	kʰətʰ	kʰət̪ʰ	kʰət	kʰəd	kʰətʰ	kət
133.	snake	مار	mɔr	wɔxs	mɔr	wɔx	wɔxs	wɔxs	wɔxs
134.	worm	کرم	kʰerm	pʰə'tʃʊkʰ	pʰə'tʃʊkʰ	pʰə'tʃʊkʰ	pʰə'tʃʊkʰ	pʰə'tʃʊkʰ	pʰət'ʃʊkʰ
135.	goat	بز	buz	vəz	vəz	vəz	vəz	vəs	vəz
136.	mosquito	پشه	pʰa'ʃa	pʰa'ʃa	pʰa'ʃa	pʰa'ʃa	pʰa'ʂaɪ	pʰa'ʃa	pʰa'ʃa
137.	chicken	مرغ	mʊrɣ	'kʰərtʃin	'kʰərtʃin	'kʰərtʃin	kʊr'tʃun	kʰər'tʃʊn	kʰərtʃun
138.	spider	عنکبوت	ʔaŋkʰa'bʊt	gelam bɔ'fəkʰ	tʰɔrtʰə'nəkʰ	tʰɔrtʰa'nəkʰ	gelim bo'fəkʰ	gəlim bɔ'fəkʰ	tʰɔrtʰa'nakʰ
139.	cow	گاو	gaᵒ	ɣu:	ɣo:	ɣu	tʃar'waɪ	tʃar'wa	tʃarwa
140.	buffalo	گاو میش	gaᵒ meʃ	gao meʃ	gao meʃ	gəo meʃ	gau meʂ	gau meʃ	gao meʃ
141.	ant	مورچه	mʊr't͡ʃa	mʊr'tʃʊkʰ	mʊr'tʃəkʰ	mʊrtʃa	mar'tsikʰ	mər'tʃəkʰ	mʊr'tʃa
142.	woman	زن	zan	ʒɔndʒ	wə'ʒin dʒɔkʰ	'wʊzen dʒɔkʰ	dʒandʒ	wə'zɪn dʒakʰ	dʒɔndʒ
143.	man	مرد	mard	'mɔlɔkʰ	'mʊlʊkʰ	'mɔlɔkʰ	ma'lɔkʰ	'maɭɔkʰ	mɔɭ
144.	person	نفر	na'far	na'far	na'far	na'far	a'dam	na'far	ɔ'dam
145.	child/youth	طفل	t̪ʰəfl	tʃətʰ	tʃətʰ	tʃətʰ	rezi'akʰ	res'jak	rezjɔk
146.	boy	بچه	ba͡tʃa	zɔ'man	zɔ'man	zɔ'man	'zəmanʊkʰ	zəma'nɔkʰ	səmanɔkʰ
147.	girl	دختر	dʊx'tʰar	ʃtɔkʰ	ʃtɔkʰ	ʃtɔkʰ	əʂ'tsakʰ	'əʂtsakʰ	uʃtsɔkʰ
148.	body	بدن	ba'dan	ba'dan	t̪ʰan	ba'dan	dʒan	dʒɔn	dʒɔn
149.	skin	پوست	pʰost	kʰrɔst	kʰrʊst	kʰrʊst	kʰə'rɔst	krəst	kʰə'rɔst
150.	flesh/meat	گوشت	goʃt	pʰətf	pʰətf	pʰʊtf	pʰədf	pʰədf	pʰərf
151.	blood	خون	xun	wɪn	wɪn	wɪn	win	win	wen
152.	bone	استخوان	ʔʊstʰʊ'xɔn	'ustʰʊkʰ	'wastʊkʰ	'wasdʊkʰ	ɔs'tʰʊkʰ	ʊs'tʊkʰ	ɔstʰɔkʰ
153.	grease/fat	دنبه	dʊn'ba	dum'ba	dʊm'ba	dʊm'ba	dʊm'ba	dʊm'ba	dun'ba
154.	oil	روغن	rɔ'ɣan	reɣn	reɣn	reɣn	ɣeɣn	reɣn	reɣu
155.	egg	تخم	't̪ʰʊxʊm	'ɔkʰɪkʰ	'ɔkʰɪkʰ	'ɔkʰɪkʰ	'akʰikʰ	'akʰikʰ	'ɔkʰɪkʰ
156.	horn	شاخ	ʃɔx	ʃɔx	ʃɔx	ʃɔx	ʂaʊ	ʂax	ʃɔx
157.	tail	دومب	dʊm	dʊm	dʊm	dʊmb	dəm	dəmb	dəm
158.	feather	پر	pʰar	pʰar	pʰar	pʰar	pʰar	pʰar	pʰar
159.	hair (on head)	مو	mu'	'sʊɣʊnt	'səɣʊnt	'səɣənd	ɣe'nɔkʰ	'ɣenɔkʰ	ɣenɔkʰ
160.	head	سر	sar	sʊr	sʊr	sʊr	kʰaɪ'la	sɔr	sɔr
161.	face	روی	ru'	pʰə'ʃər	pʰʃər	pʃər	pʰə'ʃur	pʰə'ʃur	pʃur
162.	ear	گوش	goʃ	ɣɔl	ɣɔl	ɣol	ɣɔl	ɣʊr	gʊɭ
163.	eye	چشم	t͡ʃəʃm	tsɔm	tsɔm	tsɔm	tsam	tsa:m	tsɔm
164.	nose	بینی	bi'ni	nɪts	nɪts	nits	fsəkʰ	fə'sək	fəsəkʰ

165.	mouth	دهن	də'han	fəts	fəts	fəts	fɔts	fʊts	fɔts
166.	tooth	دندان	dan'dɔn	dɔnd	dɔnd	dʊnd	dand	dand	dɔnd
167.	tongue	زبان	zʊ'bɔn	'zʊvʊk	'zəvʊkʰ	'zəvʊkʰ	zə'vuk	'zʊvʊk	zə'vuk
168.	foot	پای	pʰɔ	pʰu	pʰo	pʰʊ	ɾiŋ	pʰud	putʰ
169.	knee	زانو	zɔ'nʊ	zɔ'nʊ	zəŋg	zəŋkʰ	zung	zung	zung
170.	hand	دست	dest	dʊst	dost	dost	dostʰ	dɔst	dɔst
171.	palm	کف دست	'kʰafe dest	kʰaf dʊst	kʰaf	dost kʰaf	'kafe destʰ	'kafe dɔst	'kʰafe dest
172.	finger	انگشت	ʔaŋ'gʊʃt	kʰəlkʰ	'iŋgitʰ	'iŋgɪtʰ	iŋ'gɪtʰ	ɪŋ'gɪtʊkʰ	iŋ'gitʰ
173.	fingernail	ناخن	na'xun	nəɾ'xɔkʰ	'nərxɔkʰ	'nəlxukʰ	naɾ'xukʰ	naɾ'xukʰ	naɾxɔkʰ
174.	belly	شکم	ʃə'kʰam	der	ḍer	der	der	der	der
175.	neck	گردن	gaɾ'dan	gaɾ'dan	gaɾ'dan	gaɾ'dan	ɾə'ɾɔg	'ɾʊɾʊg	ɾə'ɾug
176.	heart	قلب	qʰalb	'avzʊkʰ	'avzɔkʰ	'avzʊkʰ	ɔf'zuɪ	'ɔfzu	ɔv'zu
177.	liver	جگر	d͡ʒəgaɾ	dʒɪ'gaɾ	dʒɪ'gaɾ	dʒɪ'gaɾ	dʒɪ'gaɾ	dʒɪgaɾ	dʒɪ'gaɾ
178.	back	پوشت	pʰʊʃt	'kʰamɔkʰ	'kʰamɔkʰ	'kʰamɔkʰ	kʰa'mak	kʰa'makʰ	kʰa'mɔkʰ
179.	leg	لینگ	leŋ	leŋg	pʰo	pʰu	ɾeŋg	ɾiŋg	leŋg
180.	arm	دست	dest	dʊst	dost	dost	dostʰ	dost	dɔst
181.	elbow	آرنج	ʔɔ'ɾɪnd͡ʒ	ɔ'ɾɪndʒ	ɔ'ɾɪndʒ	ɔ'ɾɪndʒ	vu'zukʰ	bɔ'zu	bɔ'zʊ
182.	wing	بال	bɔl	bal	bɔl	bɔl	bal	bal	bɔl
183.	fur	پوست	pʰost	kʰɾʊst	kʰɾʊst	kʰə'ɾʊst	kʰə'ɾɔst	kɾʊst	kʰə'ɾɔst
184.	lip	لب	lab	lab	lav	lav	lav	lav	lav
185.	navel	ناف	nɔf	nɔf	nɔf	nɔf	naf	naf	nɔf
186.	guts	روده	ɾo'da	ɾe'tʃəkʰ	ɾo'da	ɾo'da	gaŋ'gəg	ɾo'da	ɾo'da
187.	saliva	لعاب	la'ɔb	'fətsveg	'fətsveg	'fətsveg	aveda'han	'vegpʰəvɔ	la'ɔb
188.	milk	شیر	ʃir	xʊm	xəm	xəm	xɔm	xəm	xəm
189.	thirsty	تشنه	tʰʊ'ʃna	tʰʊʃ'na	tʰʊʃ'na	tʊʃ'na	tʰʊʃ'naɪ	tʰʊʃna'mɔ	tʰʊʃna'mɔ
190.	hungry	گشنه	gʊ'ʃna	'ʒɔndɔk	'ʒɔndɔkʰ	'ʒɔndʊkʰ	ɣɔn'dɔkʰ	ɣun'dukʰ	ɣɔn'dɔkʰ
191.	drink NP drink P	میخورد خورد	'mexoɾa xʊɾt	'pʰəvʊ pʰəvtʰ	'pʰəvʊ pʰəvtʰ	'pʰəvʊ pʰəvḍ	pʰə'vɔɪ pʰəvd	pə'vən pəvt	pʰə'vɔ pʰəvt
192.	eat NP eat P	میخورد خورد	'mexoɾa 'xʊɾt	'xaɾʊ xɔl	'xaɾʊ xɔl	'xaɾʊ xʊl	xɔ'ɾɔɪ xɔl	xɔ'ɾan xɔɾ	xesta'xɔɭ xesta'xɔɭ
193.	bite NP bite P	چک میزنه چک زد	tʃak 'mezana tʃak zat	dan'dɔn dʊ dan'dɔn deḍ	'dɔndəs dʊ dɔn deḍ	qʰab dʊ qʰab deḍ	dan dɔɪ dan də'hed	dan'dɔɪ dɔɪ	tʃakʰə dɔ tʃakʰ ded
194.	see NP see P	میبند دید	'mɪbɪna dɪt	'wenʊ wɪnḍ	'wɪnʊ wɪnḍ	'wɪnʊ wɪnḍ	kʰa'sɔɪ wɪntʰ	'wənʊ wɪnt	'wɪnɔʃ wɪntʰ
195.	hear NP hear P	میشنود شنید	'meʃnaᵘa ʃʊ'nɪt	'apəxʃʊ 'apəxt	'apəxʃʊ 'apəxt	'apəxʃʊs 'apəxt	'apʰaxʂɔʂ a'pʰaxtʰ	apʰəxʂɔʂ a'pʰəxt	'apəxʃɔʃ 'apext
196.	know NP know P	میفحمد فحمید	'mefɔma fɔm'ɪt	pʰə'zɪnʊ pʰə'zɪnḍ	pʰə'zɪnʊ pʰə'zɪnt	pʰə'sɪnʊs 'pʰəsɪnd	pə'zɪ nʊɪ pə'zɪntʰ	pʰə'sɪnʊʂ pʰə'sɪnt	pʰə'zɪnuʃ pʰəzɪntʰ
197.	sleep NP sleep P	خواب میکوند خواب کرد	xaᵒ 'mekʰʊna xaᵒ kʰat	'mɪsʊ mɪnḍ	'mɪsʊ mɪnḍ	mɪsʊs mɪnd	mɪ'sʊɪ mɪntʰ	mɪ'sʊʂ mɪnd	'mindukʰ mintʰ

No.	Gloss	Script							
198.	die *NP*	میمُ۪رد	'memʊra	'mərʊ	'mərʊs	'mərʊ	mə'lə kʰoɪ	məl̪aʊ'kʰoɪ	mə'rəʂ
	die *P*	مُ۪رد	mʊrt	məl	məl	məl	'məlʊ vəd	mʊl̪	məl̪
199.	think *NP*	فکر میکند	'fekʰər 'mekʰʊna	fekr kʰə'nʊ	'fɪkrəs kʰə'nʊ	'fəkrəs kʰə'nʊ	ande'ʂeɪ kʰə'noɪ	'rʊlə de'ɽʊɪ	'tʂʊrtʰə də
	think *P*	فکر کرد	'fekʰər kʰat	fekr kʰəl	fikr kʰəl	fəkr kʰol	ande'ʂeɪ kʰʊl	'rʊl deɽd	fekr kʰə'nə
200.	smell *NP*	بوی میکند	bʊ' 'mekʰʊna	bʊɪ kʰə'nʊ	'bʊɪəs kʰə'nʊ	bʊɪs kʰə'nʊ	boɪ 'xaʂoɪ	bʊɪ kʰə'noɪ	'bʊɪə də
	smell *P*	بوی کرد	bʊ' kʰat	bʊɪ kʰəl	bʊɪ kʰəl	bʊɪ kʰol	boɪ 'xaʂelt	bʊɪ kʰətʰ	bʊɪ kʰʊtʰ
201.	vomit *NP*	استفراغ میکند	ʔestʰə'frɔq'mekʰʊna	bəl gə'nʊ	bəl 'gɔnʊs	bəl gə'nʊs	'bɔqə doɪ	'bɔqʰə doɪ	estʰe'frɔq kʰə'nɔʃ
	vomit *P*	استفراغ کرد	ʔestʰə'frɔqkʰat	bəl gɔnd̪	bəl gɔnd	bəl gənd̪	bɔɣ de'hed	bɔqʰ ded	estʰe'frɔq kʰʊt
202.	fear *NP*	میترسد	'metarsa	trɔs kʰə'nʊ	trɔs kʰə'nʊ	'trɔsəs kʰə'nʊ	tʰa'ras kʰe'nu	tra soʂ	'tʰrɔsəʃ
	fear *P*	ترسید	tar'sɪt	trɔs kʰəl	trɔs kʰəl	trɔs kʰol	tʰa'ras kʰʊl	tra skat	tʰrɔs kʰʊtʰ
203.	live/be alive *NP*	زنده هست	zən'da s	zen'da və'dɔkʰ	zen'daɪ	zen'daɪ	'zende oɪ	'zendɪ oɪ	zen'dɪɔ
	live/be alive *P*	زنده بود	zən'da bʊt	zen'da vəd̪	zen'da vəd̪	zen'da və'dʊkʰ	'zenda vəd	zen'da 'vədə	zen'da vətʰ
204.	say/speak *NP*	گپ میزند	gap 'mezana	gapʰ dʊ	'gapʰəs do	'gapəs dʊ	'gapʰe doɪ	'gapʰe dɔɪ	'gapʰe də
	say/speak *P*	گپ زد	gap zat	gapʰ ded̪	gap ded̪	gap ded̪	gapʰ de'hed	gapʰ did	gapʰ ded
205.	sing *NP*	بیت میخواند	ba't 'mexɔna	baɪt 'bəlavʊ	'baɪdəs 'belavʊ	baɪt 'ɣaʒʊ	'baɪte ɣe'ʒoɪ	'baɪte ɣe'ʒoɪ	baɪtʰ 'ɣeʒəʃ
	sing *P*	بیت خواند	ba't xɔnt	baɪt 'bəlavd̪	baɪd 'bəlavd	baɪt ɣaʒd	baɪt 'ɣeʒel	baɪt 'ɣeʒət	baɪtʰ 'ɣeʒɔtʰ
206.	suck *NP*	میچوشد	'metʃoʃa	'avdajʊ	'avdajʊs	'avdajʊ	ma'tʃɔʃ	'matʂɔʂ	ma'tʃɔʃ
	suck *P*	چوشید	tʃo'ʃɪt	'avdʊd̪	'avdʊd	'avdʊd̪	ma'tʃel	'matʂit	ma'tʃətʰ
207.	blow (w. mouth) *NP*	پف میکند	pʰʊf 'mekʰʊna	pʰʊf kʰə'nʊ	'pʰʊfəs kʰə'nʊ	'pʰʊfəs kʰə'nʊ	pʰə'fəkʰ kʰe'noɪ	pʰʊ'fʊkʰ kʰə'noɪ	pʰəf kʰə'nʊ
	blow (w. mouth) *P*	پف کرد	pʰʊf kʰat	pʰʊf kʰəl	pʰʊf kʰəl	pʰʊf kʰol	pʰəf kʰʊl	pʰʊf kʰən	pʰəf kʰʊtʰ
208.	red	سرخ	sʊrx	sərx	sərx	sərx	sərx	sərx	sərx
209.	green	سبز	sabz	sabs	sabs	sabs	savz	sabs	sabz
210.	yellow	زرد	zard	zard	zərd	zard	zal̪	zal̪	sɔl̪
211.	white	سفید	sa'fed	sa'fed	sa'fed	sa'fed	ə'spʰel	əs'pel	sped
212.	black	سیاه	sjɔ	ʃu	ʃʊ	ʃu:	ʂuɪ	ʂuɪ	ʂu
213.	hot/warm	گرم	garm	garm	garm	garm	ɣɔɣm	ɣɔɣm	ɣɔɣm
214.	cold	سرد	sard	xə'nʊkʰ	xə'nəkʰ	sard	ɣə'nʊkʰ	xə'nək	xə'nəkʰ
215.	full	پر	pʰʊr	lɪpʰ	lɪpʰ	lɪpʰ	vən	vən	vənd
216.	new	نو	naᵒ	'nawɔkʰ	'nawɔkʰ	'nawɔkʰ	nə'vɔkʰ	nəʊ'vɔk	nə'wɔkʰ
217.	old	کهنه	kʰo'na	kʰo'na	kʰo'na	kʰo'na	kʰo'naɪ	kʰo'naɪ	kʰə'na
218.	round	گرد	gerd	ɣənd	gərd	gərd	gər'dun	gərt	gərd
219.	dry	خشک	xʊʃk	qʰɔqʰ	qʰɔqʰ	qʰɔqʰ	qʰa:qʰ	qʰa:qʰ	qʰɔqʰ

220.	wet	تر	tʰaɾ	ˈʃələqʰ	ˈʃələqʰ	ˈʃulʊpʰ	ʂʊˈlʊkʰ	ʂʂəˈlɔkʰ	ʃəˈlɔqʰ
221.	dark	تاریک	tʰɔˈɾik	tʰɔˈɾɪkʰ	tʰɔˈrɪkʰ	tʰɔˈrɪkʰ	tʰuɾˈkʰi	tʰuɾˈkʰɪ	tʰuɾˈkʰɪ
222.	heavy	سنگین	saŋˈgin	wasˈmin	wasˈmɪn	saŋˈgɪn	vazˈmin	wazˈmin	ʃɔx
223.	light	سبک	sʊˈbʊk	saˈbʊkʰ	saˈbək	saˈbʊkʰ	saˈbʊkʰ	saˈwʊk	səˈbʊkʰ
224.	dull	خسته کن	xastʰaˈkʰʊn	xəstaˈkʰʊn	dʒegaɾˈxun	xaˈfa	xastʰaˈkʰʊl	xaˈfe	xasˈta ʃəˈdɔkʰ
225.	sharp	تیز	tʰez	tʰes	tʰes	tʰes	tʰez	tʰes	tʰez
226.	good	خوب	xʊb	fri	frɪ	fri	xɔb	xʊp	xʊb
227.	bad	بد	Bad	ʃakʰ	ʃakʰ	ʃakʰ	ganˈda	ganˈda	bad
228.	dirty	چتل	t͡ʃatʰal	ɣaʒd	ɣaʒd	ɣaʒd	ganˈda	t͡ʃaˈtʰal	tʃaˈtʰal
229.	rotten	خراب	xaˈɾɔb	ɔˈlakʰ	ɔˈlakʰ	ʃakʰ	xaˈrab	xaˈɾɔb	xaˈɾɔb
230.	smooth	لشم	laʃm	ləʃm	laʃm	laʃm	leʃm	liʃm	lɪʃˈmʊ
231.	straight	راست	ɾɔst	ɾɔst	ɾɔst	fri	ɾɔskʰ	ɾɔstʰ	ɾɔst
232.	correct	درست	dʊˈɾʊst	dəˈɾʊst	dəˈɾʊst	fri	daˈɾʊst	saˈiː	dəˈɾʊst
233.	ripe	پخته	pʰʊxˈta	pʰəxt	pʰəxtʰɔˈkʰɪ	pʰʊxˈtʊkʰ	pʰəxaʊˈkʰɔɪ	pʰəxɔˈgɪ	pəˈxɔ kʰɔ
234.	broken	شکسته	ʃəkʰəsˈta	vəˈɾətʰ	vəɾtʰɔˈkʰɪ	vəɾˈtʰʊkʰ	vəɾtʰɔˈkʰɔɪ	vəɾtɔˈkʰɔɪ	vəɾəˈtʰɔ kʰɔ
235.	whole	کل	kʰʊl	dʒɔg	ˈnawɔkʰ	fri	vəɾˈtʰakʰ	kʰɔtɔˈkʰɔɪ	kʰəl
236.	same	مثل	ˈməsle	vaˈingənɪg	gɪˈnɪ	ˈimgəni	pʰəˈwəkʰ	mesl	ˈmesle
237.	different	فرق	faɾq	faɾqʰ	faɾq	ˈimgənikʰ nəst	deˈgaɾ	faɾqʰ	faɾqʰ
238.	mother	مادر	mɔˈdaɾ	nɔn	nɔn	nɔn	nan	nan	nɔn
239.	father	پدر	pʰaˈdaɾ	tʰɔ	tʰɔ	tʰɔ	tʰatʰ	tʰatʰ	tʰɔtʰ
240.	husband	شوهر	ʃaˈwaɾ	mɔl	mɔl	mɔl	maɭ	maɭ	mɔl
241.	wife	زن	zan	kʰʊtʃ	kʰʊtʃ	kʰʊtʃ	kotʃ	kɔtʃ	kʰʊtʃ
242.	child	طفل	tʰəfl	tʃətʰ	zɔdˈbud	tʰɪfl	ɾesˈjakʰ	ɾesɪˈjakʰ	ɾesɪjɔkʰ
243.	son	بچه	bat͡ʃa	zɔˈman	zɔˈman	zɔˈman	zemaˈnɔkʰ	zəmaˈnɔkʰ	zɔd
244.	daughter	دختر	dʊxˈtʰaɾ	ˈwʊdɔxt	ʃtɔkʰ	ʃtɔkʰ	uxˈtsakʰ	ɔʃˈtsakʰ	wəˈdəɣ
245.	older brother	برادر کلان	bjɔˈdaɾe kʰaˈlɔn	vɾʊɪ kʰaˈtʰa	ˈvɾue kʰaˈtʰa	vɾʊɪ kʰaˈtʰa	gəx vəˈɾutʰ	ɾəʂt vəˈɾutʰ	ɾəʃtʰ vəˈɾutʰ
246.	younger brother	برادر خورد	bjɔˈdaɾe xuɾd	vɾʊɪ tʃətʰ	ˈvɾue tʃətʰ	vɾʊɪ tʃətʰ	tʃetʰ vəˈɾutʰ	tʃetʰ vəˈɾutʰ	tʂətʰ vəˈɾutʰ
247.	older sister	خواهر کلان	ˈxwɔɾe kʰaˈlɔn	iˈxɔe kʰaˈtʰa	ˈixɔe kʰaˈtʰa	iˈxɔɪ kʰaˈtʰa	gəʂt xɔ	ɾəʂt xwɔɪ	ɾəʃtʰ xwɔ
248.	younger sister	خواهر خورد	ˈxwɔɾe xuɾd	iˈxɔe tʃətʰ	ixɔe tʃətʰ	iˈxɔɪ tʃətʰ	tʃetʰ xɔɪ	tʃətʰ xwɔɪ	tʂətʰ xwɔ
249.	rope	ریسمان	ɾesˈpʰɔn	ˈivdʊkʰ	ivˈdʊkʰ	wʊʃ	waˈzɪn	wazɪn	ivˈdɔkʰ
250.	village	قریه	qʰaɾˈja	ˈmʊndʒɔ	qʰəʃˈlɔqʰ	qʰaɾˈja	veˈlatʰ	wʊˈlatʰ	qʰəʃˈlɔqʰ
251.	house	خانه	χɔˈna	xʊn	xɔn	xɔn	xan	xan	xɔn
252.	roof	بام	bɔm	skʊd̥	skʊd̥	skʊ	kʰʊsˈkʰʊtʰ	kʰɪsˈkʰʊtʰ	kʰɪsˈkʰutʰ
253.	door	دروازه	daɾwɔˈza	vaɾ	vaɾ	vaɾ	daɾwaˈzaɪ	wɔɾ	wɔɾ
254.	broom	جاروب	d͡ʒɔˈɾu	ɾef	ɾef	ɾef	ɾeˈfakʰ	ɾeˈfakʰ	ɾeˈfɔkʰ
255.	hammer	چکش	t͡ʃɔˈkʰʊʃ	bɔleˈqʰa	bɔleˈqʰa	bɔleˈqʰa	baləˈqʰaɪ	tʃaˈkʰuʃ	tʃaˈkʰuʃ
256.	knife	چاقو	t͡ʃɔˈqʰu	kʰel	kʰeːl	kʰel	tʃɔˈqʰuɪ	tʃɔˈqʰʊ	tʃɔˈqʰu
257.	axe	کلند	kʰoˈland	tʃɔkʰ	tʃɔkʰ	tʃɔkʰ	kʰəˈland	kʰaˈland	kʰaˈland

258.	thread	تار	tʰɔɾ	'ivdʊkʰ	'ivdʊkʰ	'ivdʊkʰ	'ɪvdɔkʰ	ɪv'dɔkʰ	iv'dɔkʰ
259.	needle	سوزن	su'zan	ʃtʰən	ʃtʰən	ʃə'tʰən	ɔʂ'tʰan	ɔʂ'tən	əʃ'tʰən
260.	cloth	تکه	tʰe'ka	kʰɔ'la	kʰɔ'la	tʰe'kʰa	kʰa'laɪ	ka'leɪ	kʰɔ'la
261.	gold	طلا	tʰe'lɔ	tʰe'lɔ	tʰe'lɔ	tʰe'lɔ	tʰe'laɪ	tʰɪ'laɪ	tʰe'lɔ
262.	ring	انگشتر	ʔangʊʃ'tʰaɾ	tʃe'lekʰ	tʃe'lekʰ	tʃe'lekʰ	ɪŋgɪ'tʰɔkʰ	ɪŋgɪ'tʰʊkʰ	iŋgi'tʰɔkʰ
263.	knot	گری	gə're	ge're	gre	gə're	gə're	gə're	gə're
264.	path/road	پیاده رو	pʰjɔda'raᵒ	ʃɔ'wal	ʃɔ'wal	ʃɔ'wal	pʰjada'ra	pʰja'deɪ	pʰjɔda'raₒ
265.	name	نام	nɔm	ne:m	nim	ni:m	ni:m	nim	ni:m
266.	other	دیگر	dɪ'gar	dɪ'ga	dɪ'ga	dɪ'ga	a'we	dɪ'gar	dɪ'gaɾ
267.	sew — sew	میدوزه — دوخت	'medoza — 'doxt	'andərvʊ — 'andərvt	'andərvʊ — 'andərvd	'andrvʊs — 'andərvd̥	'andərwɔʂ — an'dərvtʰ	'anderwɔʂ — 'andərvt	andər'wɔʂ — an'dərvtʰ
268.	kill — kill	میکشد — کشت	'mekʰʊʃa — kʰʊʃt	'ʒanʊ — ʒad̥	'ʒanʊs — ʒad	'ʒanʊs — ʒad̥	kʰo'ʂʊ kʰe'nɔɪ — ʒɔd	'zanʊʂ — zɔd	ʒa'noʃ — ʒɔtʰ
269.	burn (wood) NP — burn (wood) P	میسوزد — سوخت	'mesoza — soxt	'sawʊ — səd̥	'sawʊs — səd	'saus — səd̥	tʰa'wɔɪ — tʰed	ta'wɔʂ — təd	'tʰiwuʃ — tʰə'dɔkʰ
270.	freeze NP — freeze P	یخ میزند — یخ زد	jax 'mezana — jax zat	jax kʰə'nʊ — jax kʰɔl	xə'nəkʰəs do — xə'nəkʰ ded̥	jax — jax ded̥	jaxə kʰe'nɔɪ — jax kʰol	'jəxə kʰe'nɔɪ — jəx kʰəd	'jɪxə kʰə'nʊ — jɪx kʰʊtʰ
271.	swell NP — swell P	می پندد — پندید	'mepʰʊnda — pʰʊn'dɪt	wə'ram kʰə'nʊ — wə'ram kʰɔl	wə'ram kʰɔ'lɔk — wə'ram kʰɔl	wa'raməs kʰə'nʊ — wa'ram kʰʊ'lʊkʰ	va'ramə kʰə'nɔɪ — va'ram kʰol	və'ramə kʰe'dɔkʰ — və'ram kʰəd	wə'ramə kʰə'nʊ — wə'ram kʰʊtʰ
272.	blow (wind) NP — blow (wind) P	شمال میشود — شمال شد	ʃə'mɔl 'meʃa — ʃə'mɔl 'ʃʊt	bɔd 'xazʊ — bɔd xət̥	ʃam'ɔl 'xazʊ — ʃam'ɔl xətʰ	bɔd 'xasʊs — bɔd xətʰ	ʃa'mal ʃwɔɪ — ʃa'mal ʃitʰ	ʃa'mal lɔɪ — ʃa'mal ʃɪtʰ	ʃa'mɔlɔ — ʃa'mɔl ʃə'dɔkʰ

Appendix B: Village Elder Questionnaire

I. Interview Data

	English	Persian
1.	Researcher	۱. پژوهشگر
2.	Date	۲. تاریخ
3.	Location	۳. موقعیت
4.	Language of Interview	۴. لسان مصاحبه

II. Personal Data of Informant

	English	Persian
1.	Name of Informant	۱. اسم
2.	Gender of Informant	۲. جنس
3.	Age	۳. سن
4.	Place of Birth	۴. محل تولد
5.	Residence (now/others)	۵. محل زندگی فعلی و قبلاً
6.	Mother Tongue	۶. لسان مادری
7.	Father's Mother Tongue	۷. زبان اصلی پدر
8.	Mother's Mother Tongue	۸. زبان اصلی مادر
9.	Education Level	۹. درجه تحصیل (چند سال)
10.	Profession, where	۱۰. وظیفه (کجا)
11.	Marital Status	۱۱. حالت مدنی
12.	Children	۱۲. اولاد
13.	ID	۱۳. تذکره

III. Village Data

	English	Persian
1.	How many houses are in the village?	۱. در این قریه چند خانه دارد؟
2.	How many people do usually live in a house?	۲. در یک خانه چند نفر زندگی میکنند؟
3.	How many people do live in the village?	۳. در این قریه چند نفر زندگی میکنند؟
4.	What language do people speak here in your village?	۴. در این قریه مردم به کدام زبان گپ میزنند؟
5.	In which other villages do people speak this language?	۵. دیگر در کدام قریه ها مردم به این زبان گپ میزنند؟
6.	What languages do people speak in other villages?	۶. در دیگر قریه ها مردم به کدام زبان ها گپ میزنند؟
7.	How many children of your village go to school?	۷. چند اطفال از این قریه مکتب میروند؟
8.	Do girls attend school, too?	۸. دختران هم مکتب میروند؟
9.	Where do children go to school?	۹. اطفال کجا مکتب میروند؟
10.	How big is this school? Up to which grade does it go?	۱۰. این مکتب چند شاگرد دارد؟ و تا کدام صنف هست؟
11.	What is the language of instruction in the school?	۱۱. معلمان به کدام زبان درس میدهند؟
12.	Would it be good if school children could become literate first in Ishkashimi/Sanglechi and later in Dari?	۱۲. به نظر شما خوب میبود که شاگردان اول به اشکاشیمی/ سنگلیچی خواندن و نوشتن را یاد میگرند و پسانتر به دری؟ یا اول به دری؟
13.	Where do children go for further education?	۱۳. بعد از فارغ شدن از این مکتب شاگردان برای تحصیلات عالی کجا میروند؟
14.	How many go for further education?	۱۴. به چی تعداد شاگردان برای تحصیلات عالی میروند؟
15.	Do boys and girls go for further education?	۱۵. بچه ها زیادتر و یا دختر ها برای تحصیلات عالی میروند؟
16.	How many of the adults are literate in your village? How many adults read books? (All – many – some – a few)	۱۶. به فکر شما، به چی تعداد از مردان و زنان در این قریه باسواد هستند؟ چی تعداد نفر کتاب را میخوانند؟ (کل ـ زیاد – متوسط ـ کم)
17.	Where do men get there brides from?	۱۷. مردان از کجا نامزاد را میگرند؟
18.	Where do people go when they are sick?	۱۸. مردم که مریض میشوند برای کمک کجا میروند؟
19.	Where is the nearest hospital, clinic and pharmacy?	۱۹. شفا خانه، کلنیک و دواخانه نزدیکترین کجا هست؟
20.	How do they go?	۲۰. مردم که مریض هستند چطور آنجا میروند؟
21.	How long does it take?	۲۱. چقدر وقت را میگرد؟
22.	What are the most common sicknesses that people suffer from?	۲۲. کدام مریضی را مردم زیادتر دارند؟
23.	What do people produce themselves for their living?	۲۳. مردم برای خد اش چی زندگی پیدا میکنند؟
24.	Where do people get things from they can't produce themselves?	۲۴. دیگر سودا که کار دارند مردم چطور پیدا میکنند؟
25.	How do people make money?	۲۵. مردم چطور پیسه پیدا میکنند؟

26. What do people eat?	۲۶. مردم چی را میخورند؟
27. If there is electricity, where does it come from?	۲۷. اگر برق باشد، چطور پیدا میشود؟
28. Where does the water come from?	۲۸. آب چطور پیدا میشود؟
29. Are any organizations working here? Which ones?	۲۹. کدام دفترها اینجا کار و خدمت میکنند؟
30. What kind of work are they doing?	۳۰. آنها چی خدمت میکنند؟

Appendix C: Sociolinguistic Questionnaire

I. Statistics

1. Researcher	۱. پژوهشگر
2. Date	۲. تاریخ
3. Location	۳. موقعیت
4. Language of Interview	۴. لسان مصاحبه
5. Name of Informant	۵. اسم
6. Gender of Informant	۶. جنس
7. Age	۷. سن
8. ID	۸. تذکره

II. Demographics

1. Place of Birth	۱. محل تولد
2. Residence (now, others)	۲. محل زندگی فعلی و قبلاً
3. Mother Tongue of Informant	۳. لسان مادری
4. Father's Mother Tongue	۴. لسان اصلی پدر
5. Mother's Mother Tongue	۵.لسان اصلی مادر
6. Mother Tongue of husband/wife	۲. لسان اصلی شور/ زن
7. Education Level	۷. درجه تحصیل (چند سال)
8. Profession, where	۸. وظیفه (کجا)
9. Marital Status	۹. حالت مدنی
10. Children	۱۰. اولاد
11. Number of people in the house	۱۱. نمبر نفر در خانه
12. Number of houses in the village	۱۲. نمبر خانه در قریه

III. Language Area

1. What do you call your language?	۱. زبان شما چیست؟
2. What do other people call your language?	۲. مردم زبان شما را چی مینامند؟
3. In which villages do people speak your language? How many people speak your language in those villages? (All – many - some - few)	۳. مردم کجا به زبان شما گپ میزنند؟ چند نفر از مردم آنجا به زبان تان گپ میزنند؟ (تمام شان – زیادترشان – کمترشان – خیلی کم)
4. Where do people speak Ishkashimi/Sanglechi most sweet/beautiful? Least sweet/beautiful?	۶. مردم در کجا به زبان اشکاشیمی/ سنگلیچی خوب و شرین گپ میزنند؟ و در کجا خراب یا بد گپ میزنند؟
5. Where do people speak Ishkashimi/Sanglechi slightly different/very different/totally different from you?	۵. مردم کجا با کم فرق/ با زیاد فرق/ با بسیار زیاد فرق زبان شما گپ میزنند؟
6. Do you always understand it well?	۶. آنها را همیشه خوب میفهمید؟
7. Which other languages do you speak? Where did you learn those languages?	۷. دیگر کدام زبان را بلد استید؟ از کجا این زبان ها را یاد گرفتید؟
8. Which language is easiest for you?	۸. کدام زبان آسانتر است برای شما؟
9. Which language would you like to speak better?	۹. کدام زبان را خوش دارید که بهتر گپ بزنید؟

IV. Language and Family

| 1. What language do you speak with your parents? With your spouse? With your siblings? With your children? With relatives visiting from other places? | ۱. به کدام زبان همرای پدر و مادر تان گپ میزنید؟ همرای زنتان – شوهرتان؟ همرای خواهر و برادرتان؟ همرای اولادایتان؟ همرای قوم و خوش که به دیدنتان میآند؟ |
| 2. Does anybody speak other languages except your mother tongue in your home? Who? With Whom? Why? | ۲. در خانه شما کسی است بغیر از زبان اصلی کدام زبان دیگر را گپ میزند؟ کی؟ با کی؟ چرا؟ |

3.	How would you feel if your children spoke in Dari at home among themselves? Why?	۳. اگر اطفال شما در خانه همرای یک دگر به دری گپ میزدند برای شما چطور میبود؟ چرا؟
4.	Do children sometimes mix Dari and Ishkashimi/ Sanglechi?	۴. اطفال کدام وقت زبان دری و اشکاشیمی/ سنگلیچی گت میکنند؟
5.	When your children grow up, what language will they use the most? Why?	۵. وقت که اطفال تان کلان میشوند زیاتر به کدام زبان گپ میزنند؟ چرا؟
6.	When your grand children grow up, what language will they use the most?	۶. نواسه های تان به کدام زبان گپ بزنند؟
7.	Do many of your people marry speakers of other languages? Which languages?	۷. مردم تان با زنی که به زبان تان گپ نه میزند عروسی میکنند؟ مردم کدام زبان عروسی میکنند؟
8.	What language do they speak with their children?	۸. آنها با اطفال شان به کدام زبان گپ میزنند؟
9.	From which village should your son take a wife?	۹. انتخاب همسر پسر تان از کدام قریه زن بگیرد خوبتر است؟
10.	Would you let him marry someone who speaks only Dari/Shughni/Wakhi/Ishkashimi/Sanglechi/Wardugi (use the L that are not the interviewees MT) other? Which L would they use in the home after the wedding?	۱۰. شما به پسر تان اجازه میدهید که زنی بگیرد که تنها زبان دری/ شغنی/ واخی/ اشکاشیمی/ سنگلیچی/ وردوجی دیگر بلد باشد؟ بعد از عروسی آنها کدام زبان را در خانه گپ میرنند؟

V. Language and Community

1.	What language do the elders in your community use with each other? With elders of other communities? Talk to you? In public speeches?	۱. ریش سفیدان قریه شما همرای یکدیگر به کدام زبان گپ میزنند؟ ... در وقت ملاقات و دیدار با ریش سفیدان قریه های دیگر؟...همرای شما؟ ...برای مردم؟
2.	Which language do you use at Juma Namoz during prayer? The *Khalifa* after prayer for preaching?	۲. به کدام زبان در نماز جمعه دعا میکنید؟ بعد از نماز جمعه ملا برای مردم به کدام زبان گپ میزند؟
3.	Which language(s) do you speak with government officials?	۳. با نفر های دولت به کدام زبان گپ میزنید؟
4.	Are there any people in your village who don't speak Ishkashimi/Sanglechi? Who? Why? Does their number increase? Their children?	۴. در قریه شما کسی موجود است که با زبان اشکاشیمی/ سنگلیچی گپ نزند؟ کی است؟ چرا؟ آنها زیاد شده میروند؟ اطفال شان چطور؟
5.	Have you ever met a Shughni/Wakhi/Ishkashimi/ Sanglechi/Wardugi (use the language which is not the Interviewees MT) other? Which language do you use with this person?	۵. کدام وقت کسی را از مردم شغنی/ واخی/ اشکاشیمی/ سنگلیچی دیگر دیدید؟ در این وقت از کدام زبان استفاده کردید؟
6.	Has ever anyone made fun of the Ishkashimi/ Sanglechi people because of their language?	۶. کس سر نفر اشکاشیمی/ سنگلیچی زبان خنده کرد از خاطر زبان اش؟

VI. Language, Travel and Trade

1.	Which languages do you speak at the bazaar?	۱. به کدام زبان در بازار گپ میزنید؟
2.	What language do you most often speak with merchants who come to the village?	۲. همرای تجار که به قریه میاند به کدام زبان گپ میزنید؟
3.	Where do you go to visit? How often? How long? For what occasions? What language do you use there?	۳. شما به کدام جا ها سفر میکنید؟ چند دفعه؟ چقدر وقت؟ برای چی؟ از کدام زبان ها در آنجا استفاده میکنید؟
4.	Do people go to other places for work or military service? Where? How long? What language did you use there?	۴. از قریه شما مردم برای کاریا آسکری به جا های دیگر میروند؟ کجا؟ چی مدت زمان؟ کدام زبان ها در آنجا استفاده میکنند؟
5.	Do people ever travel from here to the Ishkashimi living in Tajikistan? Do you understand them well?	۵. مردم از اینجا به مردم اشکاشیمی که در تاجکستان زندگی میکنند، سفر مروند؟ گپ اش فحمده میشود؟
6.	Where do people come from to visit here? How often? How long? For what occasions? What language do they use? Do you note in any differences in their speech?	۶. مردم از کجا به این جا میآند؟ چند مرتبه؟ چی مدت زمان؟ برای چی؟ کدام زبان ها را بشتر استفاده میکنند؟ زبانش فرق دارد؟
7.	Do ever Ishkashimi people from Tajikistan come here to visit? Do you understand them well?	۷. مردم اشکاشیمی که در تاجکشتان زندگی میکنند، بعسی وقت اینجا میآند؟ گپ اش فحمده میشود؟
8.	Where does Ishkashimi/Sanglechi come from? Where was it spoken first?	۸. زبان اشکاشیمی/ سنگلیچی از کجا آمده؟ اول در کجا رواج بود؟

VII. Language, Children and Education

| 1. | Where do your children go to school? How many years? How often? | ۱. اطفال شما کجا مکتب میروند؟ اومون چند سال مروند؟ هر روز مروند؟ تمام سال میرون؟ |
| 2. | How many children of your village go to school? (All – many – some – few) | ۲. چند اطفال از قریه شما مکتب میروند؟ (کل – زیاد – کدام – کم) |

3. Do girls attend school? How many years? How often?	۳. آیا دختر ها به مکتب میروند؟ امومن چند سال میروند؟ هر روز میروند؟ تمام سال میرون؟
4. What people do the teachers belong to? What is their mother tongue?	۴. معلمان از کدام مردم هستند؟ یعنی از کدام زبان؟
5. What language(s) do the teachers use with the students during lessons? after school on the street?	۵. معلمان به کدام زبان درس میدهند؟ معلمان بعد از درس همرای شاگرد ها به کدام زبان گپ میزنند؟
6. When your children started school did they already know the language of instruction?	۶. وقت که اطفال شما نو مکتب رفتن زبان که درس داده میشود، او را یاد گرفتند؟
7. Before starting school which language do/did your children use among each other?	۷. وقت که اطفال شما خورد استند/ میبودند و مکتب نه میروند/ میرفتند بین خود شان به کدام زبان گپ میزنند/ میزدند؟
8. What do the children speak among each other during breaks?	۸. در وقت تفریح اطفال به کدام زبان گپ میزنند؟
9. Does the teacher help the students in Ishkashimi/ Sanglechi?	۹. معلم شاگرد ها را به زبان اشکاشیمی/ سنگلیچی کمک میکند؟
10. At what age do your children understand Dari well?	۱۰. اطفال شما چی وقت زبان دری را یاد گرفتند؟
11. Would you prefer your children to learn reading and writing in Dari or Ishkashimi/Sanglechi? Why?	۱۱. خوب بود که اطفال خواندن و نوشتن را به زبان اشکاشیمی/ سنگلیچی یاد بگرند یا به زبان دری؟ چرا؟
12. How many of the adults are literate? How many adults read books? (All – many – some – a few)	۱۲. به فکر شما، چند فصد از مردان و زن ها در اینجا بسواد هستند؟ چند کتاب را میخوانند؟ (کل – زیاد – کدام – کم)

VIII. Literacy and Media

1. Do you like reading books? What kind of books do you usually read?	۱. شما خواندن کتاب را خوش دارید؟ امومن چی نوع کتاب میخوانید؟
2. Are there books in your language? Have you seen them? Read them?	۲. کتاب ها به زبان خودتان دارد؟ خوانده اید؟ یا دیده اید؟
3. Would you like books in your language? Why? What kind of books would you like: stories, poetry, songs, history, health education, other?	۳. میخواهید به زبان خودشما کتاب باشد؟ چرا؟ اگر میخواهید چی نوع کتاب باشد داستان ها، شعر، خواندن ها یا آواز ها، تاریخ، دربارهٔ صحت کدام یکی؟
4. Would you spend money to buy books in Ishkashimi/ Sanglechi?	۴. اگر کتاب به اشکاشیمی/ سنگلیچی میبود، شما آن را میخرید؟
5. What would be the best dialect to produce literature in? Why?	۵. بهترین لهجه برای ساختن ادبیات کدام است؟ چرا؟
6. Would you like to learn reading and writing in Dari or in Ishkashimi/Sanglechi?	۶. شما میخواهد به کدام زبان خواندن و نوشتن یاد بگرید، به دری یا به اشکاشیمی/ سنگلیچی؟
7. If there where a literacy class in Ishkashimi/Sanglechi, would you go?	۷. اگر اینجا درس خواندن و نوشتن به اشکاشیمی/ سنگلیچی؟ میبود، شما رفته بودید؟
8. Would you spend money in order to learn reading and writing in Ishkashimi/Sanglechi?	۸. شما برای این درس پیسه میدادید؟
9. Do you listen to the radio? In what language?	۹. شما رادیو را میشنوید؟ به کدام زبان؟

IX. Personal Importance

1. How important is the Ishkashimi/Sanglechi language to you?	۱. زبان اشکاشیمی/ سنگلیچی برای شما تا چی اندازه مهم است؟

Appendix D: Proficiency Storying Questionnaire

Interview Data

1.	Date	۲. تاریخ
2.	Location	۳. موقعیت
3.	Language of Interview	۴. لسان مصاحبه

Personal Data of Informant

1.	Name of Informant	۱. اسم
2.	Gender of Informant	۲. جنس
3.	Age	۳. سن
4.	Place of Birth	۴. محل تولد
5.	Residence (now, others)	۵. محل زندگی فعلی و قبلاً
6.	Mother Tongue	۶. لسان مادری
7.	Father's Mother Tongue	۷. زبان اصلی پدر
8.	Mother's Mother Tongue	۸. زبان اصلی مادر
9.	Spouse's Mother Tongue	۹. زبان اصلی شور/ زو
10.	Education Level	۱۰. درجه تحصیل (چند سال)
11.	Profession, where	۱۱. وظیفه (کجا)
12.	Marital Status	۱۲. حالت مدنی
13.	Children	۱۳. اولاد
14.	Number of people in the house	۱۴. نمبر نفر در خانه
15.	ID	۱۵. تذکره

Childhood Language Use

1.	Before you went to school, what language did you speak with your parents?	۱. پیش از این که مکتب میرفتید، به کدام زبان همرای پدر و مادر گپ میزدید؟
2.	With whom did you first speak Dari?	۲. همرای که اول به دری گپ میزدید؟
3.	By what age did you feel you could speak Dari quite well?	۳. چند ساله بودید که دری را خوب یاد گرفته بودید؟
4a.	In school, how did your friends' Dari levels compare to yours?	۴. الف) در مکتب شما بیهترین دری را یاد داشتید یا دوستان تان؟
4b.	What was the cause of the difference?	۴. ب) چرا همان طور میبود؟
4c.	How does your friends' Dari levels compare to yours today?	۴. ت) هالی شما بهتر به دری گپ زده میتوانید یا دوستان تان؟
4d.	What is the cause of the difference today?	۴. پ) چرا همان طور هست؟
5a.	When you were in school, did you have any neighbor children who spoke mostly Dari at home?	۵. الف) وقت که شما مکتب میرفتید، شاگردانی بود که در خانه خود شان به دری گپ میزدند؟
5b.	Who were they?	۵. ب) کی بود؟
5c.	How often did you speak with them?	۵. ت) چقدر وقت شما همرا اش گپ زدید؟

Level of Proficiency

Level One/Two

6a.	When was the last time you bought something from the bazaar/a trader?	۶. الف) دفه گزشته که شما سودا از بازار/ از تجار خریدید، چی وقت بود؟
6b.	What language did you use to buy things?	۶. ب) به کدام زبان خریدید؟
6c.	Where was that?	۶. ت) کجا بود؟
6d.	What did you buy?	۶. پ) چی را خریدید؟
6e.	Did you do most of the talking or someone else?	۶. ث) شما زیادتر همرای تجار گپ زدید یا دگر نفر؟
6f.	Was it difficult in any way?	۶. ج) مشکل بود؟
6g.	Do you know anyone would have problems using Dari in the same situation?	۶. ح) کس را میشناسید که برای اش به دری مشکیل میبود؟
7a.	Can you give the names of different animals and plants and say what they look like in Dari?	۷. الف) شما نام حیوانات و نباتاب را به دری یاد دارید و میتوانید راجع به آنها گپ بزنید؟
7b.	Do you know someone who cannot do this as well as you?	۷. ب) شما کس را میشناسید که این کار کمتر میتواند؟

7c.	Do you know someone who can do this better than you?	۷. ت) شما کس را میشناسید که این کار بهتر میتواند؟
8a.	Have you ever had an experience when you spoke Dari with someone and it was difficult?	۸. الف) کدام وقت بود که شما به دری همرای کس گپ زدید و برای شما مشکل بود؟
8b.	Why was it difficult?	۸. ب) چرا مشکل بود؟
8c.	Whom were you talking with?	۸. ت) همرای که گپ زدید؟
8d.	What were you talking about?	۸. پ) راجع به چی گپ زدید؟
8e.	Would you have the same problems today?	۸. ث) امروز هم این مشکل هست؟

Level Two Plus/Three

9.	If you forget a Dari word while talking, what do you do?	۹. وقت شما گپ میزنید و یک لغت دری از یاد تان میرود، چی میکنید؟
10a.	Have you ever been to the doctor (Dari-speaking)?	۱۱. الف) شما پش داکتر رفته بودید؟
10b.	When was this?	۱۱. ب) چی وقت بود؟
10c.	Who went with you?	۱۱. ت) کی همرای شما رفت؟
10d.	Were you able to explain everything you needed to (in Dari)?	۱۱. پ) شما تانستید هر چیز به دری بگوید؟
10e.	What was difficult to explain?	۱۱. ث) چی مشکل بود؟
10f.	Do you know someone for whom this situation would have been more difficult?	۱۱. ج) شما کس را میشناسید کی برای اش مشکلتر میبود
10g.	Do you know someone for whom this situation would have been easier?	۱۱. الف) شما کس را میشناسید کی برای اش آسانتر میبود
11a.	Have you ever had to argue with someone in Dari?	۱۲. ب) شما همرای کس به دری غالمغال کرده بودید؟
11b.	What did you argue about?	۱۲. ت) غالمغال راجع به چی بود؟
11c.	Was it difficult to use Dari for this?	۱۲. پ) مشکل بود به دری؟
11d.	Do you know someone for whom this would have been more difficult?	۱۲. ث) شما کس را میشناسید کی برای اش مشکلتر میبود؟
11e.	Do you know someone for whom this would have been less difficult?	۱۲. الف) شما کس را میشناسید کی برای اش آسانتر میبود؟
12a.	Have you ever translated for someone from Dari into Ishkashimi/Sanglechi?	۱۳. ب) شما برای دگر نفر ترجمه کرده بودید؟
12b.	When was this?	۱۳. ت) چی وقت بود؟
12c.	For whom did you translate?	۱۳. پ) برای کی ترجمه کردید؟
12d.	What was the topic/situation?	۱۳. ث) ترجمه راجع به چی بود؟
12e.	Was it difficult in any way?	۱۳. ج) مشکل بود؟
12f.	Do you know someone for whom this kind of situation would be more difficult?	۱۳. ح) شما کس را میشناسید کی برای اش مشکلتر میبود؟
12g.	Do you know someone for whom this situation would be less difficult?	۱۳. چ) شما کس را میشناسید کی برای اش آسانتر میبود؟
13a.	Are their certain topics which are easier for you to speak about it Dari than others?	۱۴. الف) کدام مضمون ها برای شما آسانتر هست که به دری راجع به آن گپ بزنید از دگر مضمون؟
13b.	Which ones?	۱۴. ب) کدام اش آسانتر هست؟
13c.	Why are they easier?	۱۴. ت) چرا اسان تر هست؟
14a.	Have you ever told a joke in Dari?	۱۵. الف) شما کدام دفعه به دری مزاق کردید؟
14b.	When?	۱۵. ب) چی وقت؟
14c.	Who was there?	۱۵. ت) کی گوش گرفت؟
14d.	Was it hard (in Dari)?	۱۵. پ) مشکل بود به دری؟
14e.	Why was it hard?	۱۵. ث) چرا مشکل بود؟
14f.	Do you know someone for whom this would have been easier?	۱۵. خ) شما کس را میشناسید کی برای اش آسانتر میبود؟
14g.	Do you know someone for whom this would have been harder?	۱۵. ح) شما کس را میشناسید کی برای اش مشکلتر میبود؟
15a.	Have you ever talked about politics with someone in Dari?	۱۰. الف) شما همرای کس به دری راجع به سیاست گپ زدید؟
15b.	When was the last time you did?	۱۰. ب) دفعه گزشته چی وقت بود؟
15c.	With whom were you talking?	۱۰. ت) همرای کی گپ زدید؟
15d.	What was difficult about this experience?	۱۰. پ) مشکلات چی بود؟
15e.	Do you know someone who would have more difficulties than	۱۰. ث) شما کس را میشناسید کی زیادتر مشکلات داشته باشد؟

you in the same situation?	
15f. Do you know someone who would have less difficulty than you in the same situation?	۱۰. ج) شما کس را میشناسید کی کمتر مشکلات ها داشته باشد؟

Level Three Plus/Four

16a. Are you familiar with all the words of the Dari language?	۱۶. الف) شما کلی لغت ها به دری میفهمید؟
16b. Do you know someone who is not familiar with all the words of the Dari language?	۱۶. ب) شما کس را میشناسید که کلی لغات ها را به دری نه میفهمید؟
16c. Do you know someone who is familiar with all the words of the Dari language?	۱۶. ت) شما کس را میشناسید کی کل لغات ها را به دری میفهمید؟
17a. Are there certain people with whom you would find it hard to speak Dari (because your Dari is not good enough)?	۱۷. الف) کس هست که برای شما مشکل باشد که همرا اش به دری گپ بزنید؟
17b. Whom?	۱۷. ب) کی هست؟
17c. Why would it be difficult to speak Dari with them?	۱۷. ت) چرا مشکل هست؟
17d. Do you know someone who wouldn't have problems speaking Dari with them?	۱۷. پ) شما کس را میشناسید که برا اش مشکل نه باشد؟
18a. Have you ever made a mistake speaking Dari?	۱۸. الف) یک وقت به گپ زدن دری اشتبا کرده بودید؟
18b. Are you still making mistakes?	۱۸. ب) هنوز اشتبا میکنید؟

Level Four Plus/Five

19. Do you know more words in Ishkashimi/Sanglechi or more Dari words?	۱۹. شما زیاتر لغت ها را به دری یا به اشکاشیمی/ سنگلیچی میفهمید؟
20a. Can you speak Dari like mother tongue Dari speakers?	۲۰. الف) شما میتوانید به دری گپ بزنید مثل نفر دری زبان؟
20b. Do you know someone (else) who can't?	۲۰. ب) کس را میشناسید که نه میتواند گپ زدن مثل نفر دری زبان؟
21. Is it easier to count quickly in your head in Dari or in Ishkashimi/Sanglechi?	۲۱. چی برای شما آسانتر هست – حساب کردن زودتر در فکر تان به اشکاشیمی/ سنگلیچی یا به دری؟
22. Is it sometimes easier to think in Dari rather than Ishkashimi/Sanglechi or is it the other way around?	۲۲. چی برای شما آسانتر هست – فکر کردن به دری یا به اشکاشیمی/ سنگلیچی؟

Community Proficiency

23. Are there children in this community who speak Dari very well?	۲۳. در این قریه اطفالی هستند که به دری بسیار بلدیت دارند؟
24. Are there families in this community in which the parents speak Dari well but the children don't speak it well?	۲۴. در این قریه فامیل هستند که پدر و مادر دری را خوب یاد دارند، لاکن اطفال نی؟
25. Are there families in the community in which the children speak Dari well but the parents don't speak it well?	۲۵. در این قریه فامیل هستند که اطفال دری را خوب یاد دارند، لاکن پدر و مادر نی؟
26. In your opinion, why do some children speak Dari well and others don't?	۲۶. به نظر شما چرا یگان اطفال خوب دری را یاد دارد، لاکن دگران شان نی؟
27. Is the number of children who speak Dari well larger or smaller than 20 years ago?	۲۷. بست سال پیشتر اطفال دری را خوب یاد میگرفتید یا حالی؟
28. Do you expect your grandchildren will speak Dari as well as you do? What about Ishkashimi/Sanglechi?	۲۸. به نظر شما نواسات شما مثل شما دری را خوب یاد دارند؟ اشکاشیمی/ سنگلیچی چطور؟

Language Contact

1. Learned Dari how	۱. یاد گرفتن دری را (چطور)
2. Travel to Dari-speaking area	۲. سفر به شهر دری زبان
3. Living in Dari-speaking area	۳. زندگی به شهر دری زبان
4. Other contact to Dari-speakers	۴. دگرتماس همرای دری زبان

Appendix E: Interagency Language Roundtable Proficiency Scale[6]

ILR Level 1 - Elementary proficiency

- able to satisfy routine travel needs and minimum courtesy requirements
- can ask and answer questions on very familiar topics; within the scope of very limited language experience
- can understand simple questions and statements, allowing for slowed speech, repetition or paraphrase
- has a speaking vocabulary which is inadequate to express anything but the most elementary needs; makes frequent errors in pronunciation and grammar, but can be understood by a native speaker used to dealing with foreigners attempting to speak the language
- while topics which are "very familiar" and elementary needs vary considerably from individual to individual, any person at this should be able to order a simple meal, ask for shelter or lodging, ask and give simple directions, make purchases, and tell time.

ILR Level 2 - Limited working proficiency

- able to satisfy routine social demands and limited work requirements
- can handle with confidence, but not with facility, most social situations including introductions and casual conversations about current events, as well as work, family, and autobiographical information
- can handle limited work requirements, needing help in handling any complications or difficulties; can get the gist of most conversations on non-technical subjects (i.e. topics which require no specialized knowledge), and has a speaking vocabulary sufficient to respond simply with some circumlocutions
- has an accent which, though often quite faulty, is intelligible
- can usually handle elementary constructions quite accurately but does not have thorough or confident control of the grammar.

ILR Level 3 - Professional working proficiency

- able to speak the language with sufficient structural accuracy and vocabulary to participate effectively in most formal and informal conversations on practical, social, and professional topics
- can discuss particular interests and special fields of competence with reasonable ease
- has comprehension which is quite complete for a normal rate of speech
- has a general vocabulary which is broad enough that he or she rarely has to grope for a word
- has an accent which may be obviously foreign; has a good control of grammar; and whose errors virtually never interfere with understanding and rarely disturb the native speaker.

---

[6]Grimes (1986)

ILR Level 4 – Full professional proficiency

- able to use the language fluently and accurately on all levels normally pertinent to professional needs
- can understand and participate in any conversations within the range of own personal and professional experience with a high degree of fluency and precision of vocabulary
- would rarely be taken for a native speaker, but can respond appropriately even in unfamiliar situations
- makes only quite rare and unpatterned errors of pronunciation and grammar
- can handle informal interpreting from and into the language.

ILR Level 5 – Native or bilingual proficiency

- has a speaking proficiency equivalent to that of an educated native speaker
- has complete fluency in the language, such that speech on all levels is fully accepted by educated native speakers in all of its features, including breadth of vocabulary and idiom, colloquialisms, and pertinent cultural references.

Appendix F: Stories for RTTs (with Breaks) and Questionnaire

1. RTT-Questionnaire

Pre-Testing Data

1.	Researcher	۱. پژوهشگر
2.	Date	۲. تاریخ
3.	Location	۳. موقعیت
4.	Name of Informant	۴. اسم جواب دهنده
5.	Gender of Informant	۵. جنس جواب دهنده
6.	Age	۶. سن
7.	Mother Tongue	۷. لسان مادری جواب دهنده
8.	Parents' Mother Tongue	۸. لسان اصلی پدر و مادر
9.	Place of Birth	۹. محل تولد
10.	Residence (now/other)	۱۰. محل زندگی میکردید (فعلی، قبلاً)
11.	Education Level	۱۱. درجه تحصیل
12.	Profession	۱۲. وظیفه
13.	Travel Patterns, general (destination/frequency/duration/language)	۱۳. سفر (به کخا، چند وقت، چقدر وقت، زبان)
14.	ID	۱۴. تذکره

Post-Testing Questions

1.	Where does the storyteller come from?	۱. نفر که قصه میگوید کجای هست؟
2.	Was it good Ishkashimi/Sanglechi?	۲. لسان اشکاشیمی/ سگلیچی اش خوب بود؟
3.	How much did you understand?	۳. چقدر فحمدید؟
4.	How different is the language from yours?	۴. از زبان شما چقدر فرق دارد؟
5.	Contact with the people from that area? (travel/extended time/living)	۵. نفر ها را از آنجا میشناسید؟

2. Ishkashimi story

Wolf Attack (Bāshend)

qʰe'sae tʃɔ'lepe iʃkʰaʃɪ'mi tʰʊ mɔ ba'as ɣaʃm za
I will tell you an interesting Ishkashimi story.

waxtʰ qʰeʃlɔq zaɾga'rɔn tʰuɪ 'wədətʰ 'malaqʰ mespʰe bɔ'ʃend tʰuɪ 'vədətʰ
In the villages of Bashend and Zargarān, there was a wedding.

Pause

tʃumatʃɔn tʰuɪ madaqʰ 'wədətʰ rə'uf 'felan kʰɔɾ'mand ɾa'ise daf'tar 'baxʃe hek 'tʃise fo'kʰase pʰə
iʃkʰaʃem akaɾ uɪ tʰuɪ wet
A person called Jumma got married and also Abdul Ra'uf in Zargarān, who was working for the
office "Focus".

Pause

batʰ tso 'wadakʰ matsam neʃt zemnɔ gunɔ faɪʃa laʃf sutʰ tʰə tʰɔ qʰa ʃu ʃabe zemes'tɔn mus
'wədətʰ waɾf mus 'wədətʰ
When I was leaving they told me: "It is winter, do not go home alone." It was winter and there
was snow as well.

Pause

swadəkʰ mɔ wətʰ psɔ aɪs bɔ nɪm mɔlɔ'qʰɔtʰe a'patʰaq mextʰe tsə tsfʊr wʊɾk ɔntsaɾ ɾekʰ ptsətʰ
When I reached an area called Mulaghat suddenly four wolves came up to me from the fields.

'batsawan xaɪ amɔnd nɔn de'ga 'kame suɾ taqʰ'ɾiban gam'la ʃud
There they attacked me.

Pause

bɔxɔɾ sɔns agaɾ mu'suɾ am'la ku'nun etʃ tʃis ne dega mau nɔn nesfetʰ na kʰu'dam tɪ'jɔkʰ wɔtʰ
mɔ'nɔtʰ na zum 'wədətʰ etʃ tʃise nes 'wədətʰ
Unfortunately I did not have anything, no stick and no stone. There was only snow.

fa'kʰatʰ wɔkʰ ɾɔdɪ'o kʰe maɪ'dekʰ pʰɔ man tʰus 'wədətʰ akʰ ɾo'ʃan kʰulum em sa'dɔ sa be'land ʃud
em tʃerɔx a'mɔndɔs diɾ tuɣ'dɔn
I only had a small radio in my hand. When I turned the radio on, the light would go on and the
wolves shrank back.

Pause

'waxte sa'dɔ beswa pʰas kʰu'num a'mɔndos kʰunam suɾ tʰas'mime am'la bud ma'ɪvenɔ
When I turned it off they tried to attack.

akʰsi akʰsitʰ xaɪ xapʰtem kʰalapʰo'i jakʰ si kʰalapʰo'i tʰa sem ma kʰom kʰalapʰo'taɾ xavn jax 'wədətʰ dakʰ'undʒɔ
Bit by bit I was going downhill. The ground was icy.

Pause

mɔn tsɔm pʰɔ mal wɔkʰ 'pʰada watʰ
I looked at the wolves and I fell.

'waxtʰe sa'watʰam a'mɔndɔn 'dega kʰaman suɾə 'xəsətʰ buxɔ sɔnəs makʰ 'zɔnzɔn
When I fell, they wanted to attack me.

a'kʰam 'wəza du'bɔm skʰe tʃɔm xudətʰ tʰa mɔn na xaɪ ze'makʰ diɾtʰaɾ tʰuɣtʰ ɔɣadam kʰe jakʰ tʰek'suɾ
Then I got up and they shrank back.

Pause

'wokʰeat tʰekʰe bes'jɔɾ bɔ'rikʰ wətʰ ɔɣadɔn amɔnda jakʰ pʰɔjatʰ kʰe diwɔn jakʰ tʰkʰsuɾ de dɪjɔnatʰ saman tʃpɔʃ jɔ xudɔ sɔg az ɣulɔ ʃɔ'wand 'dɪjɔna weg kʰa'ma suɾamlakʰa
There was a very narrow bridge, two wolves stood on the far side and two behind me.

Pause

a'aɾtʃɪ fɔʃ nə sə'mənd dəwɪ de'ga aɪɾɔnə fə'ɾen zen kʰəkum
They tried to attack me and I wondered: "What should I do?"

Pause

ag'madəkʰ wəza wɔkʰ maɪ'dakʰ sə maɪ jax sə frətʰ xi pʰuwl tʰakʰ'man am se kʰəkʰ suɾ baha fəɾkʰɪn da paɪ mɔ'baɪn
I loosened a sheet of ice with ma foot. I grabbed it and threw it at the wolves.

a'mɔndɔ pɾeʃ xɔlɪ dijɔnɔ ʃəxs swɔphɔl dɪjɔnɔ tswa pʰɔlɔ az du pʰuwətʰ teɪ dɪga mo'kʰaɾs 'kʰulətʰ bas tʃəɾs tʰaɾkʰɔɾ tʃas wɔ kʰa'dum 'ɔmadum xɔnum
They became frightened and opened a way for me. I fled towards home. I ran and I arrived at home.

Pause

xub saɾpʰɔɾas zɔmzɔm nɔkʰum pʰaɾ aʊlim qʰaɾim
The children came out of the house, but I was speechless because of fear.

evɾu tʃis ɢapʰ tʃis awuɾ qʰɔɪo faɢulɔ aʊ'we duq
They asked: "What happened? What happened?" I said: "I was afraid of the wolves."

3. Sanglechi stories (Dashte Rubāt)

Chasing out the Wolf

'wuwɔmçɪ xu'da ɾe aŋɡɾe'ɢalɪ wuɣ'da mɔe wam ba'tʃɔɪ awuɾ'dan.
In the old days I went to the mill with someone and they brought tea for me.

'amba 'wuɾdawɔn ɣe tʃɔɪ xɔɾo'be am'tʃɔɪ tʃɪ ʃuma kʰɔr dɔ'ɾe e am'tse. tsja'kʰe xɔr ɡuɾ fɾɔts pfɾɔts sʊ.
He said: "What is this: a wolf and a donkey in one place?"

'ɔnɪslaʊ 'kʰote kʰaʊ wəɾɡ.
We looked, it was a wolf.

Pause

'smɔdətʰ 'taʊnuʃ sɪa man ande'wɔle ma 'tʃʊnɪdan no'dut tʰaɣiɾ kʰokʰe na'xutʰ du'wustʰ.
Then I dipped bred in the tea and threw it at the wolf.

Pause

'beʃlaqʰa so wəɾɡ a wəɾɡ 'xudɾa muça'xam wa'du na'faɾa ma pai'sa ɡeʃ'qʰɔr kʰo'əna 'xele dʒaʊ lɔnuʒ'tsɪ nuɣ'da.
When I hit the wolf with the bread it ran away. We threw stones at the wolf and it jumped into a field.

Pause

'axtsedaɣ maxu'da ɣikʰ mɔ'lu wɔtʃin'jɔ pə'nitʰ.
We went back into the mill. The other man had lost his bowl after throwing it at the wolf.

ham 'hɔlɔwa tʃin'jɔ pə'nitʰ 'ewɔ a'lɔ 'detʰe aʊwuɾ'dakʰ.
I told him: "You threw your bowl a the wolf." He said: "No!" I said: "Yes!"

Pause

'hakʰina as'mɔne suɾ psa 'ʃamo wərg tʃa dedi'dɔ kʰo ptʃuni'dakʰ.
Then we went to where the wolves had been hit.

a 'wərgə kʰo 'dido ptʃi'ni.
We saw his bowl there.

   Pause

'hamaɪ 'xele tʃaʊ laʊ 'tsina wərg tʃəsə wɔ qʰeʃ'lɔq weə.
The wolf came to the village.

bə qʰeʃ'lɔq 'qʰəwu wə bə tʃədə no pʰa'daɾa kʰom kʰu xoɣə xab 'kʰunə lɔs.
He got one of the sheep from the farm. He took it and ate it.

Shooting the Leopard

ma'ɾis woe ba ma 'xandem in'du kʰi'mɔ.
I was ill, lying in the house.

'wundʒɔ 'aga wɔn 'niʒdu dekʰ'dan 'ləvə wo 'muʒgəɣa wu me'ʒaʒ.
I was very ill. I made three beds.

'fatə me'za 'vədəkʰ wɔ kʰa'ləmə wɔ'zundə wə'lɔʒɪkʰ.
A head poked through the hole in the ceiling.

   Pause

'waxte ma'ʒoi 'ɖajo və'zema 'ləkʰəma ʒoi la'ʒin. 'fidərɪn kʰokʰo'tʰokʰ 'wudərin ta. 'xotʰun
'kʰotʰun nəʒd'nəkʰə mə 'nəʒən ʒaxam'ba ʂuɣm.
I thought to myself: "What wild animal is that? Is it a wolf?" I went outside to the well.

   Pause

xatʰ 'kʰase kʰam pʰlaŋkᵏ. 'pʰɔle 'ʃəgda kʰəm nə'ʃəd.
I saw it was a leopard. He had gone into a basket.

xe'detʰai 'bɔla 'wɔna mas'fəɾ 'amə ʃax tʰə'gam kʰas ʃfta'ɾon.
The leopard jumped out of the basket into the street.

'hamən 'vɾuda mɔn 'gaɣos 'vɾɔda 'vəda və'ɣasen ʃə'kʰam moskʰ 'ʃawa wə 'xaɣɔ.
My brother raised his voice: "This is a leopard! It will eat me up now!"

   Pause

pʰe'laŋ tse'moda kʰə'rat maɣreɡa'li ks'kʰudakʰ wɔ'kəskəwi ʃə'ɣɔ ma detʃapʰe'la tʃde moi kʰu'tʃadakʰ 'xada 'ɣolma tsexɔ'wiʃ.
When the leopard jumped into the street, a dog was standing in its way. The leopard struck the dog. The dog ran off and the leopard went down to the village.

Pause

'nodum wa'moltʰe 'ɣɔzəm tskʰe skə'woɡ maɣ'min ded ma'lem sket deɡ'aɾ maɣ'min de ma'ɾɪŋɡe da 'kʰoitʰukʰ. '
I fired twice, the second time at the leopard's leg. It was night time. I was anxious through the night to know what had happened.

xelakʰe ma u'lanuʂte fa'raʂk ma'lem nə'ʂin. ba pʰe'ɡa 'xutkʰetʰukʰu ma'ɾeŋɡe dakʰ.
I got up in the morning and I saw that the bullet had hit the leopard's leg.