

## A Sociolinguistic Assessment of the Roshani Speech Variety in Afghanistan

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This paper presents the results of a sociolinguistic assessment conducted in September 2007 in the Roshan area in Afghanistan, where the vernacular Roshani is spoken (ISO: sgh, for Shughni). The goal of the assessment was to determine whether the Roshani people will benefit from a language development project, opening the possibility for literature development and primary school education in the vernacular. The objectives were to assess whether the national language Dari (ISO: prs, for Persian) or the closely related speech variety Shughni would be adequate to be used in literature and primary school education. This was achieved by administering sociolinguistic questionnaires and village elder questionnaires, eliciting word lists, testing intelligibility of the Shughni speech variety, and observing and asking about bilingualism with Dari. In this way the domains of language use, attitude towards Roshani, Shughni and Dari, and bilingualism with Dari, and intelligibility of Shughni were determined. This paper aims to show that due to low bilingualism with Dari, Dari literature cannot serve the Roshani speech community adequately. Because of high intelligibility with Shughni and a neutral attitude, it will be commendable that Shughni reading material will be tested in Roshan as soon as it is ready.

**1. INTRODUCTION.**<sup>1</sup> This paper presents the results of a sociolinguistic survey conducted between September 9-18, 2007, in the Roshan area in Afghanistan. The research was conducted under the auspices of the *International Assistance Mission*, a Non-Government Organization working exclusively in Afghanistan. The goal of the sociolinguistic survey was to determine whether the Roshani people would benefit from a language development project, opening the possibility for literature development and primary school education in the vernacular. The researchers aimed to find out whether the national language, Dari, or the closely related speech variety, Shughni (with a language development project presently in progress), would be adequate to be used in literature and primary school education.

The research team administered sociolinguistic questionnaires and village elder questionnaires, elicited word lists, tested intelligibility of the Shughni speech variety, and observed and asked about bilingualism with Dari. In this way they aimed to determine the domains of language use, attitude towards the different varieties and languages, bilingualism with Dari, and intelligibility of Shughni.

The results support the original hypothesis that bilingualism with Dari among women is very low. Among men it is a little higher. The inherent intelligibility with Shughni is high. One reason seems to be that most Roshani are regularly exposed to the Shughni speech variety.

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<sup>1</sup> Thank you to the following people from *Shelter Now International* who helped to gather linguistic data during a visit to Roshan: Ursula Bernet, Matty and Jonathan Thurley.

The investigation of the domains of language indicates that Roshani is exclusively used at home and in the village communities, as long as no Dari or Shughni speaker is present. Shughni and Dari are used with guests coming from the Northern and Southern villages, and men use Shughni when going to the bazaar in Shughnan. The Roshani speak Dari with government officials, and Dari is the language of instruction in school; this is the only domain that exposes girls and young women to Dari.

People displayed a positive attitude towards Dari and are somewhat indifferent towards Shughni. In general, it is considered to be beneficial to know as many languages as possible.

Due to low bilingualism with Dari, literature in this language cannot serve the Roshani speech community adequately. Because of high intelligibility with Shughni and a neutral attitude it is recommended that Shughni reading material be tested in Roshan as soon as it is ready.

## **2. COUNTRY BACKGROUND INFORMATION.**

**2.1. HISTORY.** Afghanistan has been a country 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'<sup>2</sup> (mainly 19<sup>th</sup> century) the Russians and the English fought fiercely over what is now the country of Afghanistan. In recent history Afghanistan was occupied by Russia (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), the military defence treaty of the European and North American states, overthrew the Taliban. Although presently a Parliament and a President rule Afghanistan, people still live with the consequences of war and destruction; many are poor and needy. Many people also fear the Taliban coming back into power.

During the time of the Russians and during the time of the Taliban, language development was not promoted in Afghanistan; minority languages were not considered. The Taliban did not view education in general or particularly literacy to be desired; most Taliban themselves were illiterate.

Since the Taliban government was overthrown, International Non-Government-Organizations (INGOs), the United Nations Organisation (UNO), and the governments of other countries have shown great interest in Afghanistan. This includes the initiation of humanitarian programs and application of considerable financial resources. Humanitarian efforts are currently concentrating in Kabul, as well as other major cities and rural areas near major cities. Few resources have been applied to rural and mountainous areas. In fact, very

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<sup>2</sup> 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 1901 novel *Kim* (Walberg 2011, Hopkirk 1992).

little is known about some of the areas. This is especially true in the field of linguistics. The Russians, however, did carry out linguistic research concerning the Pamir languages (see §1.1), but a lot of it has not been published and is not available in the West.

**2.2. 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 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.



MAP 1: Provinces of Afghanistan (Geology.com 2008)

**2.3. 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 languages. The Ethnologue (Lewis et al. 2013) lists 46 languages for Afghanistan. Many of the languages are spoken in neighbouring countries as well: ethno-linguistic groups spread are 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<sup>3</sup> (in place since 2005), Chapter 1, Article 16, the government supports the development and strengthening of minority languages): “The

<sup>3</sup> Constitution of Afghanistan. [http://www.afghan-web.com/politics/current\\_constitution.html](http://www.afghan-web.com/politics/current_constitution.html). (17 April, 2012)

Turkic languages, Baluchi, Pashai, Nuristani and Pamiri are – in addition to Pashto and Dari – the third official language in areas where the majority speaks them. [...] The state adopts and implements effective plans for strengthening, and developing all languages of Afghanistan.” Pamiri is mentioned as one of them<sup>4</sup>. Little research has been conducted so far about the minority languages of Afghanistan and hardly any information is obtainable about most of them.

### 3. LANGUAGE, GEOGRAPHY AND POPULATION OF ROSHAN.

**3.1. LANGUAGE CLASSIFICATION.** The Roshan speech variety is part of the Shughni-Roshani cluster. Shughni-Roshani belongs to the Pamir language group, spoken in the Pamir Mountains in the countries of Afghanistan, Pakistan, Tajikistan and China. According to Kreutzmann, the following seven languages are part of the Pamir language group: Yaghnobi, Munji-Yidgha, Ishkashimi-Sanglechi, Wakhi, Shughni-Roshani-Bartangi, Yazgolami, Sariqoli (Kreutzmann 1996). Four of them are spoken in Afghanistan: Munji, Ishkashimi-Sanglechi, Wakhi and Shughni-Roshani. They are related, but there is no doubt that they represent separate languages. Abbess et al. (2005) state that the Shughni-Roshani cluster of Pamiri languages is made up of Roshani, Khufi, Bartangi, Roshorvi and Shughni. All of them are spoken in Tajikistan (Abbess et al. 2005). Only Shughni and Roshani are also spoken across the border in the Badakhshan province of Afghanistan. Considering the number of speakers and its prestige, Shughni is the dominant variety of the cluster. According to Abbess, there are different opinions whether the five members of the Shughni-Roshani cluster should be considered as different varieties of one language or as different languages. She mentions Sokolova (1959) who holds the opinion that it is one language only and Mirzabdinova (1991) who defends the opposite view. They are definitely linguistically similar, and one of the goals of this research was to find out whether Roshani and Shughni in Afghanistan should be treated as one language in terms of language development and literature. According to the Ethnologue (Gordon 2005), the specifications for Shughni-Roshani are as follows:

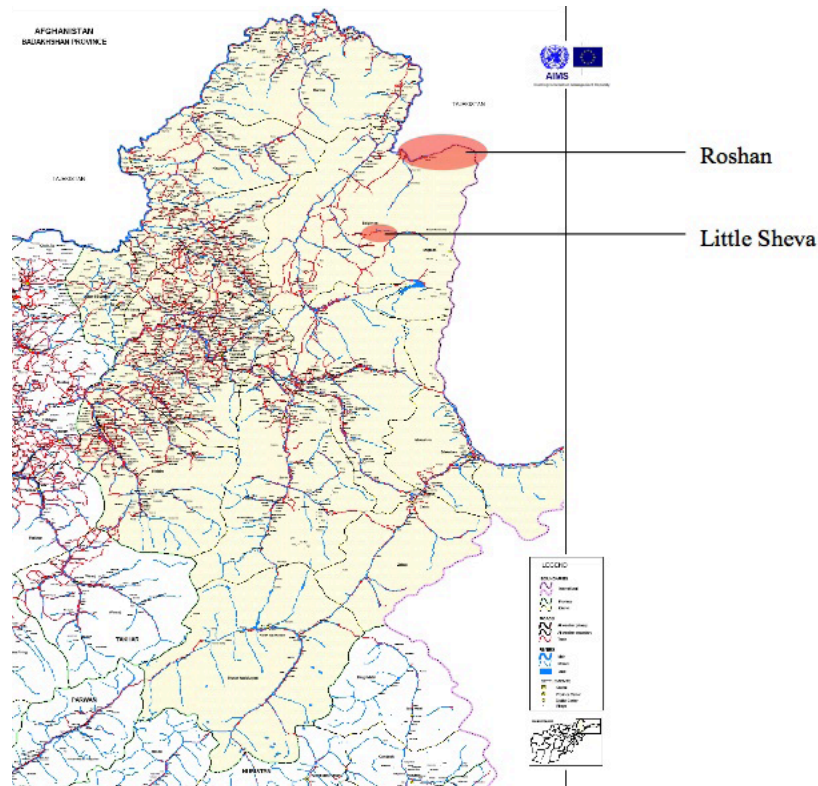
- ISO Code: sgh
- Alternate names: Shugni, Shighni, Shughnani, Shugan, Khugni, Kushani, Saighani, Ghorani Rushani, Rushan and Oroshani.
- Dialects: Roshani, Shughni, Bartangi
- Classification: Indo-European, Indo-Iranian, Iranian, Eastern, Southeastern, Pamir, Shughni-Roshani
- Roshani is a spoken language only. No written material exists in Roshani.

**3.2 GEOGRAPHY.** The Roshan area is located in the Northern part of the Shighnān district. This district is located in Northeast of Badakhshan province, which is the most North-Eastern province of Afghanistan, with Faizabad being its provincial capital. The province borders Tajikistan, China, and Pakistan. Some of the ethnic groups living in Badakhshan overflow into these countries. The terrain consists mostly of mountain ranges and valleys

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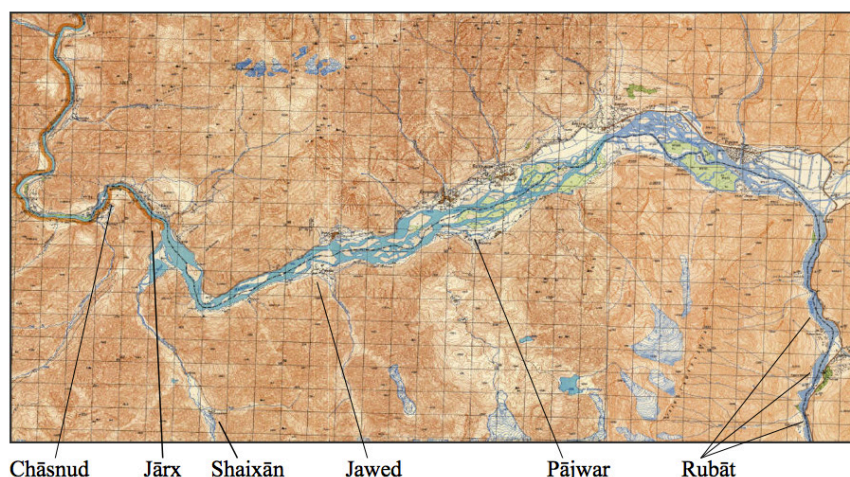
<sup>4</sup> In linguistic publications Pamiri is not considered as one language, rather the Pamir languages as a group of related languages; they are spoken in Badakhshan besides other languages (cf. §3.1).

(altitude between 1000m and 6000m) the highest of which is the Wakhan corridor, including part of the Pamir mountain range. Roshan consists of six villages, five of them located on the bank of the river Panj that forms the border to Tajikistan. To the South of the Roshan area are Shughni speakers; to the North live the Darwāzi people, who speak a variety of Dari. While in Roshan, we were told of a small Roshani population in a side valley of the Plain of Sheva called 'Little Sheva' (between Shighnān and Faizabad). We were informed that 'Little Sheva' has about five settlements with five to ten houses each. People had moved there a long time ago when they were in search of more land for their livestock. Roshani is also spoken in Tajikistan, across the river Panj opposite Afghanistan. Map 2 shows the province of Badakhshan, the most North-Eastern province of the country. The Roshani speaking areas are indicated in yellow. Map 3 gives the Roshani speaking part of the River Panj valley. The Roshani villages are indicated.



MAP 2: Province of Badakhshan, with Roshani speaking areas.  
(Afghanistan Information Management Service 2004)





MAP 3: Area of Roshan (Defence Geographic Centre 2001)

The coordinates of the villages we visited are as follows:

Nawādak (Shughni)	N: 37° 45' 06"	E: 071° 32' 18"	Altitude: 1985m
Rubāt-e Bālā	N: 37° 50' 18"	E: 071° 34' 59"	Altitude: 1948m
Rubāt-e Pāyān	N: 37° 52' 33"	E: 071° 35' 36"	Altitude: 1999m
Pājwar	N: 37° 54' 48"	E: 071° 27' 01"	Altitude: 1966m
Jawed	N: 37° 53' 55"	E: 071° 22' 44"	Altitude: 1993m
Chāsnud	N: 37° 55' 25"	E: 071° 17' 11"	Altitude: 1941m

**3.3 POPULATION.** According to the information village elders gave during interviews, the number of houses in the villages of Roshan is as follows:

Rubāt:	32 houses
Pājwar:	120 houses
Jawed:	101 houses
Jārx:	23 houses
Shaixān:	49 houses
Chāsnud:	110 houses
TOTAL:	435 houses

The number of people living in a house varies. After asking about 50 members of the different communities we found a minimum of three and a maximum of 48 family members living together in a house. The average of all the numbers given is 15 people per household. That amounts to approximately 6,500 people living in the Roshan area. In Little

Sheva, according to the information provided, there are between 30 and 40 houses. If each house has 15 people, it means between 450 and 600 Roshani speakers live in Little Sheva. We therefore estimate that about 7,000 Roshani speakers live in Afghanistan.

In addition to these, there are about 18,000 speakers of the Roshani speech variety living in twelve villages in Tajikistan (Abbess et al. 2005:189).

**4. BACKGROUND INFORMATION CONCERNING THE ROSHAN AREA.** This section gives background information concerning the people inhabiting the Roshan area, especially in regard to their living conditions. The following information is a result of background research conducted in Faizabad, and of research during the field trip, in particular interviews with village elders.

**4.1. LIVELIHOOD AND ECONOMICS.** The people of Roshan are self-supporting to a great extent; the economy is agro-pastoral. People grow wheat, barley, corn, and broad beans for their own supplies. They keep goats, sheep and cows for milk and a bit of meat, as well as oxen for the farming work. Few people own a donkey or a horse. An abundance of mulberry trees grow throughout the valley. People collect the mulberries in summer and dry them to provide a dietary supplement throughout the whole year. There are a number of other trees, like apple, apricot, peach, and walnut. Some families grow potatoes, onions, tomatoes and green vegetables in their garden, but this practice is rather rare.

During the three summer months, between a third and a half of the women of each village take their cattle to summer pastures higher on the mountains because the narrow river valley does not provide enough pasture for their livestock. They take all their household necessities with them, and spend the entire summer there living in animal hide tents. Small children go with their mothers, while school children stay behind at home with other women of the extended family, usually the older women.

The staple part of the diet in Roshan is dark wholemeal bread, mostly made from wheat. When people run out of wheat during the winter they use corn and barley. The other main component is milk tea, which is black tea with milk and salt added. Very common is homemade pasta, with the main ingredient being bean flour.

To supplement the basic diet, men regularly visit the market in Qala, the centre of the Shughnan district (see §4.6). Most families send a family member to Qala, ranging in frequency from an average of once a week to two times a year. People obtain rice, tea, sugar and oil there, as well as material for clothes, shoes or small 'luxury items' like radios, sewing machines etc. A few men travel as far as Faizabad to buy supplies for their families. People also buy supplies from the traders who come from Qala or other parts of Badakhshan to Roshan to sell their wares. These goods are expensive, about five to ten times the price in Faizabad. This is due to the lack of infrastructure, as well as the lack of competition.

People make money by selling cattle, sometimes even their wheat. A few people have found employment as teachers in one of the schools or with the Aga Khan Development Network in order to earn a living. From every village a few young men go to other places to find work, mostly Faizabad or other cities in Badakhshan, sometimes Kabul or even Iran. The time spent there varies between a few months and a few years. They usually send money back regularly to support their family and their village.

**4.2 ADMINISTRATIONAL STRUCTURE.** A so-called *Shorā*, a village council, administers each village. 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 give his/her vote. The *Shorā* consists of five to ten 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, men and women, also elects the members of the women's *Shorā*. The members are elected for four years. Being a member or the head of the *Shorā* is an honorary position and does not involve a salary.

Above the *Shorā* is the district governor of Shighnān, who resides in the town of Qala. He is not elected but appointed by the provincial government. Usually he comes from another part of the country and is a native Dari speaker.

**4.3. RELIGION.** All Pamiri groups belong to the Ismaili branch of Shia Islam. They look to the Aga Khan as their spiritual leader who presently lives in Paris. Shortly after Mohammad's death, the division of Sunni and Shia took place due to their differing opinions about how Mohammad's successor should be elected. The Sunnis held the view that the successor should be elected by a committee on the grounds of his ability—although being a blood relation 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. Shias did not have a real chance to overrule the Sunnis, but 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, which were the first three Imams elected by the Sunni (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 acknowledge 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. Ismailis 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 only 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 leader) 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.

Life in the Roshan area and in other Ismaili communities is far less conservative compared to other Muslim communities. Men and women share meals together, they shake hands, and they talk to each other even if they are not from the same family. 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 Roshan, where men and women have to work together in order to make ends meet. The religious affiliation to the Ismaili community forms a strong bond among the Roshani people group. Ismaili people do distinguish themselves as 'Ismaili' opposed to 'Afghans', meaning Sunni Muslims.



**4.4. EDUCATION.** The Roshan area has four schools, in Rubāt, Pājwar, Shaixān and Chāsnuḍ. The Aga Khan Development Network built the school buildings (see §4.8). Teachers receive their salary from the government. The schools in Rubāt and Shaixān offer classes up to 9<sup>th</sup> grade. The schools in Pājwar and Chāsnuḍ go up to 12<sup>th</sup> grade. The students from Jawed attend school in Pājwar, while the students from Jārḡ go to Chāsnuḍ. The teachers are mainly native Roshani, with only a few Shughni. All lessons are officially taught in Dari. There is a school in Qala, the district capital of Shighnān, that offers 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> grade education, which is the qualification needed to become a teacher. Every year about five to ten students from each village continue their education there. Very few students proceed to study in one of the universities around the country. It is only possible for boys to go away from the Shighnān district for further education, still the great majority finishes at 12<sup>th</sup> grade. Girls can theoretically go to school until 12<sup>th</sup> grade, but in reality they often get married at the age of 12 to 14 and stop their school education then for the sake of housework and to raise children.

Almost every child attends school now, starting at the age of seven. Children go to school for nine months per year. In winter the schools are closed for three months throughout the country due to the cold weather. The school is open for six days a week with Friday being a holiday. Children attend school from two to six hours per day, according to their grade.

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 of the village leaders 20% of the woman may be literate and 50% of the men. Several women state that they had gone to school for some years (up to seven years) as a child, but were not literate as adults. They had never really acquired the skill of reading and writing.

A religious teacher, provided by Aga Khan Development Network, is responsible for the religious education of the children in Pājwar. He visits the village regularly once a week and instructs the children in the beliefs and practices of Ismaili Islam.

**4.5. ELECTRICITY AND WATER.** In most villages the people themselves have set up one or two private hydropower installations. These projects usually produce power to supply two or three houses only with electricity for light bulbs. In Chāsnuḍ, however, the villagers installed enough small projects for every house to have electricity for lights. One household even owns an electric oven and bakes bread there.

Every village, except Rubāt Bālā, has springs very close by, and people get fresh clean water from the water canals that run from the springs through the village. An additional water supply is melted snow from the mountains. Besides this, the river Panj runs close to the villages, although the river water is not very clean.

**4.6. INFRASTRUCTURE.** An unpaved road leads from Faizabad, the provincial capital of Badakhshan, to the Shighnān district. It takes about eight hours from Faizabad (without breaks) to drive to the town of Qala, which is the district capital of Shighnān. The road continues for about three hours driving distance towards the North, to the last Shughni village of Nawāḍak and ends there. From Nawāḍak, it is about five hours walking distance to Rubate Bālā, and another 1.5 hours via Rubate Mābain to Rubate Pāyān, the lowest part of

the same and largest Roshani village. From Rubate Pāyān, it is a six hour walk to Pājwar, and another two hours to Jawed. From there, a traveller needs three hours to get to Jārx, and two more hours to reach Chāsnud. From Jārx to Shaixān it takes about three hours. Locals report it's a four days' walk from the lowest village to the town of Qala.

People from Darwāz frequently travel through the Roshan area to buy supplies in Qala. The normal mode of transportation is walking with a hired donkey carrying the goods, led by a donkey driver. Shughni traders frequently travel in the other direction to sell their wares in the Roshan and Darwāz villages. They also hire donkeys and donkey drivers to transport their goods.

The Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ), a German development organization, is working on a motor road from Nawādak through the Roshan area to Chāsnud. Progress is slow so far, and there is no feasible deadline.

**4.7. MEDICAL SITUATION.** The Aga Khan Health Services runs a small hospital in the town of Qala. Jawed has a clinic, staffed by a Roshani doctor. Once or twice a month this doctor visits the different villages, examines patients, and gives out medicine. If patients suffer from illnesses that cannot be treated in Shighnān, they are sometimes brought to a hospital in Faizabad or even Kabul.

Most common diseases according to people's reports are cough, bronchitis, tuberculosis, pneumonia, rheumatism, and aches and pains like headache, pack pain, body pain, and stomach complaints with diarrhoea.

**4.8. AID WORK.** The Roshani people view road access to Qala (being built by GTZ, see §4.6) and beyond as their most urgent need at the present. They expect this to provide better living conditions because it will improve their access to medical facilities and to the markets.

The Aga Khan Development Network (AKDN), a group of Ismaili (see §4.3) development agencies under the auspices of the Aga Khan, provides most of the humanitarian help for the region. The Aga Khan Development Network has set up a tailoring course for women, and employs a tailoring teacher in Pājwar. During the time of the research, seven women attended the course; they came from the different Roshani villages. The full-time course runs for five months. The AKDN has also set up a micro finance project in Qala. They send their field officers to the Roshan villages and provide loans for Roshani people to start small businesses. The AKDN has its provincial administrative centre in Faizabad.

The medical facilities in Qala and Jawed are provided by Aga Khan Health Services (see §4.7), a part of the ADKN.

**4.9. PREVIOUS RESEARCH REGARDING THE ROSHANI SPEECH VARIETY.** There is little previous research on Roshani. In 1916 a short article by R. Gauthiot was published containing Bartangi and Roshani words. Prior to that, the Roshani were known in Europe only by name. So states the 'The Circle of Ancient Iranian Studies' on its website (2007), where they present a Roshani word list transcription using the English alphabet, and a translation into English. The first textual example—a fairy tale—appeared in a study by W. Lentz (1933:101–105). Adamec (1914:142) estimates the number of Roshani speakers to be 1500 on the Afghan side; D'jakov (1931:87) about 2000 to 3000 speakers.

In his article ‘Pamir Languages’ John Payne (1989:418, ff.) emphasizes that Shughni-Roshani 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, mostly attached to the first major constituent in the sentence. 4. There is a three-way distinction of 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.

Payne states that there is widespread bilingualism throughout the Pamir with Tajik/Dari, which serve as the language of intercommunication between different Pamir nationalities. It is also the language of literature. He guesses that knowledge of Persian in the Pamir dates back at least to the 11<sup>th</sup> century. He writes that many also control a second Pamir language, mostly Shughni.

Payne proceeds to give phonological and grammatical features of the Pamir languages. For some features he distinguishes between Shughni in Roshani, for some he includes Roshani in Shughni. According to the CAIS, Shughni influences on Roshani are almost non-existent and there are only a few Farsi expressions and grammatical structures found in Roshani.

All research mentioned was conducted in Tajikistan. Virtually no research has been conducted about Roshani in Afghanistan, and there is no linguistic work being carried out presently.

## 5. RESEARCH GOALS.

**5.1. ASSUMPTIONS.** We made the following assumptions on the basis of an informal conversation with a Roshani man<sup>5</sup> in Faizabad and with an expatriate researcher<sup>6</sup> who had previously conducted a linguistic assessment trip to the Shighnān area in Afghanistan.

1. The Roshani have a strong ethnolinguistic identity, due to the isolation of the Roshan area.<sup>7</sup>
2. There are widely varying levels of proficiency in Dari, the language of wider communication: The Roshani man said that everyone, including women, speaks Dari well. The researcher and other Dari-speaking expatriates who had visited the area reported that this was not even the case in Shighnān, which is more accessible than Roshan.
3. There is considerable linguistic similarity between the two speech varieties,

<sup>5</sup> Personal conversation with the *Wakil* (village representative) of Roshan (15 August, 2007).

<sup>6</sup> Personal conversation with Katja Müller, Aug. 12<sup>th</sup> 2007

<sup>7</sup> Although, the Atlas of the UNESCO World’s Languages in Danger classifies it as ‘definitely endangered’ (Mosley 2010).

Shughni and Roshani, and there is a high degree of intelligibility: The Roshani informant had told us that the Roshani can understand the Shughni well, but the Shughni cannot understand the Roshani.

**5.2. RESEARCH QUESTION.** Would the Roshani people benefit from language development in their own speech variety and resulting primary school education in their vernacular, or can they be served adequately with primary school education and literacy programs in Dari or in the Shughni speech variety?

**5.2.1. RESEARCH OBJECTIVES.**

1. Living Conditions: Obtain basic information about the people living in the Roshan area (location, population, living conditions, education, infrastructure etc.).
2. Vitality: Evaluate the vitality of the Roshani language variety and its long-term perspectives on vitality, including the domains of language use.
3. Attitude: Find out the attitude the Roshani people hold towards their vernacular, towards Shughni and towards Dari.
4. Bilingualism: Gain information to what extent the different segments of the Roshani people group (men, women, older, younger) are proficient in Dari.
5. Intelligibility: Test to what extent the Roshani variety is inherently intelligible with the Shughni variety.

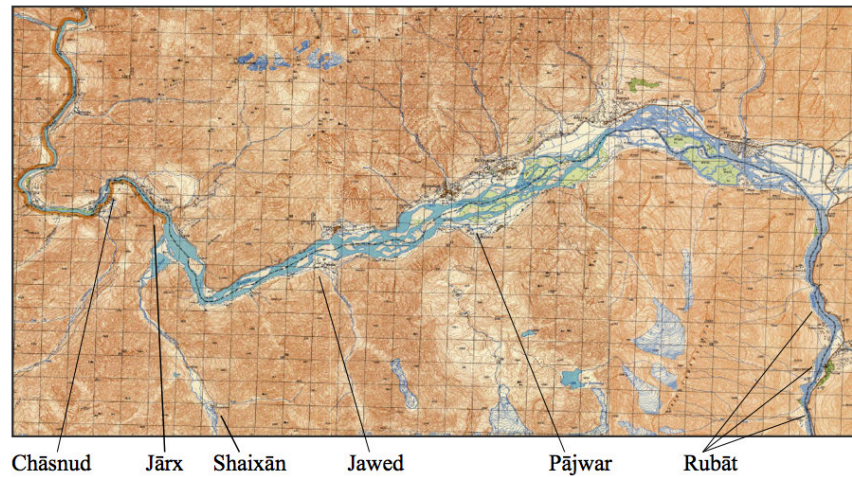
**6. METHODOLOGY.** This section explains the methodology used for the research about the Roshan speech variety to gain viable information concerning the objective and the research questions.

**6.1. SAMPLING.** We chose three village clusters: The first cluster was Rubāt, the first Roshani speaking village down the river coming from the Shughni area. Rubāt is six hours walking distance from the next Roshani village (but it is only two to three hours walking distance between the other villages). Therefore it might be isolated from the other Roshani villages and influenced by Shughni more than the other villages. We combined the three parts of Rubāt—Rubāte Bālā (Upper Rubāt), Rubāte Mābain (Middle Rubāt) and Rubāte Pāyān (Lower Rubāt)—into one cluster. The second cluster was Pājwar and Jawed: Pājwar, the next village down the river, is considered the main village in Roshan; Jawed is very close to Pājwar and about in the middle of the area. The third cluster, a single village, was Chāsnuḍ, which is furthest down the river and therefore closest to Tangshew, an unresearched, supposedly Dari speaking area to the North.

Even though we did not visit Shaixān, the people in the other villages assured us that there is no difference between the Roshani spoken in Shaixān, which is not located in the main valley, and the other villages. Still there is a minor uncertainty left whether there is

any difference in Shaixān concerning linguistic or sociolinguistic factors.

For a better overview Map 3 ‘Area of Roshan’ from §3.2 is repeated here, the names of the villages visited are underlined:



Map 3: Area of Roshan (Defence Geographic Centre 2001)

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

Place	Rubāt				Pājwar/Jawed				Chāsnuḍ				Total
Gender	Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female		
Age	16-29	30+	16-29	30+	16-29	30+	16-29	30+	16-29	30+	16-29	30+	
VEQ	-	1	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	1	-	-	4
SQ	2	3	1	4	1	3	2	3	2	3	3	2	29
PSQ	2	3	3	2	1	4	4	1	3	2	3	2	30
RTT	3	2	3	2	2	3	3	2	2	3	2	3	30
Total	7	9	7	8	4	12	9	6	7	9	8	7	93

TABLE 1: Sampling Table

In every village we administered one Village Elder Questionnaire (VEQ) to a knowledgeable member of the community, a village elder or teacher. We used 10 Sociolinguistic Questionnaires (SQ), 10 Proficiency Storying Questionnaires (PSQ) and 10 Recorded Text Testings (RTT) in every village, respectively. The people interviewed were taken from different strata of gender and age: half men and half women, and from the age range of 16–19 or 30 and over). The age division was made at 30 years because systematic and regular school education has only commenced fairly recently in the valley. Therefore the younger



generation under 30 years of age (or even less) has only had the chance to benefit on a greater scale from school education. This, besides general maturity, is the only factor that is likely to make a difference in the life of a younger or older person in the Roshan area. The perceived benefit section in the sociolinguistic questionnaire we only put before the men because it applies too rarely to women in their present living context.

Upon arrival in each village, we asked people we met to lead us to a local leader. We completed the village elder interview and asked him to help us arrange interviews with the different strata of residents of the village. We additionally interviewed people we met while walking the streets of the villages. Often we were invited into houses where we could question more people, especially women.

The number of questionnaires completed, indicated in table 1, differs with the number of people interviewed. Some male respondents would answer up to two or even three questionnaires. Most women would complete only one questionnaire because of household duties and shorter concentration span.

The resulting sample 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.

Dari was used as the medium while interviewing the men. In most interviews with women we used a Shughni man as translator. He has been living and working as a teacher in the Roshan area for several years previously, therefore he knows the Roshani speech variety.

Interviews across genders were possible only when a female researcher was interviewing a male respondent—the other way around would not have been acceptable in this culture. This is due to the greater latitude that is allowed foreign women as compared with their own women. It was acceptable for the translator to be involved in interviewing female respondents because the female researcher was perceived as the one asking the questions. Besides this, the translator was a man well known in the Roshan area.

**6.2. VILLAGE ELDER QUESTIONNAIRE.** In every village visited—Rubāt, Pājwar, Jawed and Chāsnud—we administered a village elder questionnaire to a knowledgeable member of the community, either a member of the *Shorā* or the headmaster of the school. The questionnaire included basic demographic questions, school data, marriage and travel patterns of the villagers, the living conditions in the village (nutrition, medical situation, water, electricity etc.), and help provided from the outside (Appendix B: Village Elder Questionnaire).

**6.3. SOCIOLINGUISTIC QUESTIONNAIRE.** Individual sociolinguistic questionnaires were administered to nine or ten people in each village or village cluster we visited. The questionnaire is geared towards gaining information about the domains in which different languages are used, the attitude towards them, and about the prospective vitality of Roshani in the future.

The questions covered demographics; language use of Roshani, Shughni and Dari; different language domains of these languages; marriage and travel patterns; education;

and work connected to language in the individual's family. We adapted the methodology of Karan & Stalder (2000), asking respondents to indicate how important they felt Roshani, Shughni and Dari were in four domains: 'finding work', 'higher education', 'communication with other communities', and 'gaining respect in the home community' (Appendix C: Sociolinguistic Questionnaire).

**6.4. PROFICIENCY STORYING QUESTIONNAIRE.** In order to research the bilingual proficiency in Dari we used a Proficiency Storying Questionnaire. Interviewees were asked to answer questions and tell stories about their individual experience using Dari. The questionnaire inquired about real situations that occurred in the past when the respondents used, or tried to use Dari. Compared to a traditional 'Self Evaluation Questionnaire' this was a more appropriate way in this cultural setting: people are not used to thinking about hypothetical situations, which they would be required to do in the 'Self Evaluation Questionnaire'. It promised to be more successful to draw on people's real experience. Furthermore, as guests in a culturally sensitive setting we felt it was not appropriate to carry out any formal testing. This method was also used for sociolinguistic assessment in Tajikistan and described by the Thiessen report (Thiessen 2005).

The Proficiency Storying Questionnaire consisted of a series of questions, each concerning a situation that respondents are likely to have experienced in which they used Dari (like talking to a trader, talking to the doctor etc.). They were encouraged to tell about it and about any encountered difficulties. They estimated whether other people they know would have more or less difficulty handling the same situation.

Each task is assigned a level of difficulty on the basis of the Interagency Language Roundtable (1985)<sup>8</sup>, 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 indicate 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. Indications that they cannot complete any task at a particular level are interpreted to mean that the respondents are not proficient in Dari at that level. The questions are divided according to the ILR levels as follows: 1/2, 2+/3, 3+/4, and 4+/5.

The questionnaire included the section 'Childhood Language Use' of the respondent to find out the nature of their first exposure to Dari and at which age he/she felt to be functioning well in Dari. It also included the section 'Community Proficiency', which explores community proficiency in past, present and future; 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).

**6.5. WORD LISTS.** To determine the degree of lexical similarity between Shughni and Roshani we first took a word list from Nawādak, which is the Shughni village where the motor

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<sup>8</sup> 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.

road ends. We took the Shughni word list in order to have a means of lexical comparison with the different Roshani villages. Then we took a wordlist from each Roshani village or village cluster we visited. We used a 274-item word list, composed of the *Swadesh* 200 Wordlist (Swadesh 1955) and a list that was used earlier for Rapid Appraisals in Badakhshan (Miller 2006). We omitted several words—items we knew would be unknown in such a remote area. We asked for each verb (46 items) the form in the 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular past and non-past tense (see Appendix A: Word List Results).

The elicited word lists were entered into the computer program *WORDSURV* (Wimbish 1998) for further analysis. The program performs a count of shared vocabulary between lists based on similarity groupings, classifying apparent cognates ‘based on their appearance’, not based on historical analysis.

**6.6. RECORDED TEXT TESTING.** We used Recorded Text Testing (RTT), originally developed by Casad (1974). We recorded a personal story (therefore the content is not predictable by the hearer) in the Shughni variety from a Shughni man who had lived in Faizabad for a few months at the time the recording was made. He travels frequently back to Shighnān, where his family lives. The text was a combination of two short stories, one about the storyteller’s schooling, and the other about his wedding. One was played directly after the other.

In each village or village cluster we played the story to ten people. After every few seconds or about two sentences we stopped the recording and asked the test person to retell the story. When the person’s proficiency of Dari was high, he/she retold the story in Dari. If not, he/she retold the story in Roshani and another person translated it into Dari for our sake. We scored the retelling of the story with two points for correct/almost correct retelling, with one point if about half was retold correctly and with zero points if the test person had reproduced nothing or almost nothing of the section in question. Half points were possible as well. 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 that way we could come up with a percentage of each person’s reproduction of the story and of an average for all the test persons.

From the information we gained in Faizabad we assumed that there would be a great amount of contact between the Shughni and the Roshani speaking villages and only few people with no or very little previous contact to Shughni speakers. Therefore we thought it would be hard to test for real inherent intelligibility between the two varieties. For that reason, the RTT result sheet also contains a section about the individual’s travel patterns to the Shighnān area and about other contacts with Shughni speakers.

See Appendix (see Appendix F: Stories for RTT (with Breaks) and Questionnaire) for the transcription and translation of the two stories, with indications of how it was broken up for the RTT and for the questionnaire that was included in each RTT.

**6.7. OBSERVATION.** Throughout the whole journey the researchers observed people interacting with each other: interactions in the street, interactions of people working together, interactions in the house and—of course—interaction with us foreign researchers. As all

researchers possess a Dari proficiency level of at least 2+ they were able to follow most interactions that took place in Dari.

Observation combined with the researchers own ability to speak Dari was an informal means of evaluating people's proficiency in Dari. The surveyor who took the main responsibility for the bilingual proficiency evaluation has herself a Dari proficiency of level 3. Therefore she was able to estimate through observation and conversation whether people's proficiency in Dari was less than, roughly equal to, or higher than our own. When she realized that the test person's Dari was very weak, she only used the questionnaire as a means of starting a conversation but did not actually carry out the formal interview in order not to frustrate the respondent.

**7. RESULTS.** This section contains the results gained through the methodology described in the previous section, which are word lists, sociolinguistic and village elder questionnaires, proficiency storying questionnaires, recorded text testing, and observation.

**7.1. DOMAINS OF LANGUAGES.** This section describes in which domains of life the Roshani people use which language or speech variety for their interactions—Roshani, Shughni or Dari.

**7.1.1. PRIVATE DOMAIN.** Table 2 summarizes how the respondents described the language use within their families towards the different members of the family.

	Roshani	Shughni	Dari	N/A <sup>9</sup>	Total
L with parents	29	0	0	0	29
L with siblings*	29	0	1	0	29
L with spouse*	24	1	1	4	29
L with children	25	0	0	4	29
L with relatives*	29	1	4	0	29

TABLE 2: Languages used within Families

\*Multiple answers given

All interviewees said they speak Roshani with their parents. Everyone we interviewed has a Roshani mother-tongue father and mother. With the spouse, most interviewees speak Roshani. One person speaks a mixture between Dari and Roshani, and another one Shughni. The latter one is married to a wife from Shighnān. One other interviewee is married to a Shughni wife. He speaks Roshani to her and she uses Roshani as well. Everyone, except one person, speaks Roshani with his or her siblings—one exception is a woman who lived in Kabul for several years. Every interviewee who has children raises them speaking only Roshani. To their relatives most people speak Roshani only. A few sometimes use Dari as well, and one person occasionally uses Shughni with relatives. In every family Shughni

<sup>9</sup> The N/A indicates the number of people who did not respond to the question because it did not apply to their situation.

and Dari play a very minor role and are exclusively used with visitors from outside Roshan (see §7.1.2). In the end everyone claims that Roshani is the only language in the home and within the family.

**7.1.2. COMMUNITY DOMAIN.** Table 3 summarizes the languages used in the village community, taking the language of the village elders and of the pre-school children as representative. Table 4 presents the language used with guests visiting the communities.

		Roshani	Shughni	Dari	N/A	Total
L of elders*	To each other	4	0	0	0	4
	To elders of other comm.	4	1	1	0	4
	To village people	4	0	0	0	4
	In public speeches	4	0	0	0	4
L pre-school children know*		20	0	1**	9	29
L of people in the village		4	0	0	0	4

TABLE 3: Languages used within the Village Communities

\*Multiple answers given

\*\*The one family whose children know Dari (besides Roshani)  
before starting school lived in Kabul for several years

	Roshani	Shughni	Dari	N/A	Total
L with guests in the house*	2**	23	17	3	29

TABLE 4: Languages used with Guests coming from outside Roshan

\* Multiple answers given

\*\* The respondents said they speak Roshani with guests from Shughnan

The Roshani people exclusively use Roshani with each other in their own villages. They only switch to Dari or Shughni when Shughni or Dari speakers are present. This is what people explained to us and what we also witnessed on multiple occasions. As soon as a Roshani person turned away from the researcher during a conversation held in Dari to greet another Roshani person, he would revert to speaking Roshani. It is the language of the community. The four village elders interviewed claim that they use Roshani when talking to each other, when talking to the people, and in public speeches. Children grow up with Roshani in their neighbourhood. School teachers, who are mostly from the same village, speak in Roshani to the school children when they meet outside school and even on school grounds during breaks between the lessons.

Traders from Shighnān frequently travel to Roshan to sell their wares there, or they travel through Roshan to sell their wares in Darwāz. In both cases they would stay as guests for one night in two or three Roshani villages on the way. With these guests, the Roshani speak Shughni. From time to time Shughni relatives stay in a Roshani village for several days, especially the relations of the Shughni wives married to Roshani men. The Roshani speak Shughni with them. The Shughni wives themselves usually acquire Roshani and



speak it with the husband and with the children.

Men from Darwāz travel through Roshan to reach the bazaar in Shighnān or bigger cities in Badakhshan. They stay overnight in different Roshani villages. Their hosts speak Dari when entertaining them. These are mostly the men of the family; women usually bring the food into the room where the guest are staying and sometimes remain there for a short time, while men sit and talk with the guests for the entire evening.

It seems that an equal number of men and women are involved with Dari and Shughni speaking visitors to the village. Nevertheless, the quality and depth of these contacts is different.

**7.1.3. EDUCATION DOMAIN.** Table 5 indicates the languages that are used in school by teachers and students.

	Roshani	Shughni	Dari	N/A	Total
Official L of instruction in school	0	0	4	0	4
L teacher uses during lessons*	19	0	20	9	29
L teacher uses during breaks*	4	0	1	0	4

TABLE 5: Languages used by Teachers

\*Multiple answers given

The language of instruction in the schools is Dari, Pashto is taught as one of the subjects in higher grades. All schoolbooks used in the Roshan area are in Dari, but most teachers help their students by giving explanations in Roshani, especially in the lower grades where the students have not fully acquired Dari. One person said the use of Roshani in class would amount to about 50% in the first grades. During the breaks the teachers speak to the students mostly in Roshani. In the light of this it is more correct to say that Dari is the formal language of education in the Roshan area, but Roshani is used for education as well.

The religious teaching about the Ismaili faith that is conducted for the benefit of the children once a week is done in Roshani. It takes place separately from the regular lessons at school.

**7.1.4. RELIGIOUS DOMAIN.** Table 6 shows the language used by the worshipper and by the *Khalifa* during the observation of their religious duties.

	Roshani	Shughni	Dari	Arabic	N/A	Total
L Khalifa uses for preaching*	18	0	17	0	1	29
L for personal prayer	10	0	14	4	1	29

TABLE 6: Languages used by the *Khalifa* and for Personal Prayer

\* Multiple answers given

About half of the people interviewed told us that the *Khalifa* preaches and prays in Dari because the prayers are written down in Dari, as well as the religious instruction about

the Ismaili faith. This is consistent with other Ismaili communities, and opposed to the Sunni communities, which perform ritual prayers in Arabic. 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, is written in Dari. Therefore, Dari is the official language of religion. About half of the people interviewed said that they themselves pray in Dari. These were mostly the men and the educated women. Dari is therefore also the personal language for religion of this people group.

Even though Dari is the official language of religion, people's practice of religion and their prayers are often carried out in Roshani, and sermons are translated from Dari into Roshani for the benefit of those who do not speak Dari well. Thus Roshani is the informal language of religion. The majority of the women use Roshani for their prayers. Especially for women who have none or only basic education, Roshani is the personal language of religion.

**7.1.5. TRAVEL AND TRADE.** Table 7 summarizes the languages used when talking to traders inside and outside Roshan.

	Roshani	Shughni	Dari	N/A	Total
L used with traders*	17	11	19	7	29
L used at the bazaar*	0	16	19	11	29

TABLE 7: Languages used for Trade

\* Multiple answers given

Trade is a mixed domain. Those who speak to the traders coming to the village mostly do so in Dari and Roshani. Roshani is also used with Shughni traders but they reply in Shughni. The choice of language depends on the place where the trader originally comes from, which might be Roshan, Shighnān, or Dari-speaking parts of Badakhshan. Half of the women questioned do not speak to the traders. It is mostly men's business to buy the household supplies. Table 8 presents the languages used when travelling or living outside Roshan.

	Roshani	Shughni	Dari	Chitrali	N/A	Total
L used in travel outside Roshan*	1**	15	13	-	11	29
L used while working outside*	0	0	4	2	24	29
L used in military service	0	0	5	-	24	29

TABLE 8: Language used during Travel

\* Multiple answers given

\*\* The person uses Roshani in the Shughni area

When people go to the bazaar themselves, the language they use depends on the place

to which they are travelling. All of the men and a few of the women interviewed visit the bazaar in Qala (Shighnān) regularly and use Shughni there. Almost half of the interviewees occasionally travel to other parts of the country, mostly Faizabad, where they use Dari. These are almost exclusively men. A third of the interviewees (all women) do not travel to places outside of the Roshan area.

The other major reason for travel to Shighnān is to bring the sick to the hospital. Few Roshani visit relatives in Shighnān, and a few senior students stay for several months at a time in Qala for their higher education (grade 13 and 14). People speak Shughni when they go there.

A few men from each village often work for some years in other parts of the country (mostly Faizabad) or Pakistan in order to earn money for their family because employment is poor in the Roshan area. Within Afghanistan they use Dari and within Pakistan, Chitrali. A few men reported they had served in the military for several years in Faizabad, Kabul or Taloqan and spoke Dari during that time.

**7.1.6. MEDIA.** Table 9 shows the languages used for media of books and radio.

	Dari	Pashto	English	N/A	Total
L of radio listened to*	29	3	1	0	29
L of books read*	16	0	1	13	29

TABLE 9: Languages used for Media

\* Multiple answers given

Every interviewee reported that they listen to the Dari speaking programs on the radio. Three also listen to the Pashto programs and one of those three claimed to listen to English broadcasting as well. Only men claimed to listen to radio broadcasting other than Dari. There are no Shughni or Roshani radio programmes at present.

Slightly more than half of the interviewees reported that they at least occasionally read books in Dari, mostly schoolbooks. One also claimed to read English books. Nearly half of the interviewees were illiterate, all of them were women. Only three women reported that they read books in Dari. Even though three of them formerly had had a school education until the 3<sup>rd</sup>, 7<sup>th</sup>, or 8<sup>th</sup> grade, they still were not able read.

**7.1.7. ADMINISTRATION.** Table 10 summarizes the languages used with government officials.

	Roshani	Shughni	Dari	N/A	Total
L with government officials*	0	1	4	0	4

TABLE 10: Language used with Government Officials

\* The question was asked of the four village elders only. Multiple answers given.

All village elders who answered the village elder questionnaire said they spoke in Dari to government officials in Qala. One added that he occasionally spoke in Shughni

to them. The nearest government post—on the district level—is in Qala. The next higher one—on the provincial level—is in Faizabad. Government workers are usually sent from other provinces by the government to their post, so they are mostly native Dari speakers, or Pashto speakers with a good proficiency of Dari when working in a majority Dari speaking province.

**7.1.8. SUMMARY.** Table 11 summarizes the languages used by the Roshani in the different domains. ‘Primary Language’ refers to the language that is mainly used in the domain concerned. ‘Secondary Language’ refers to the language that is used in the domain concerned only to a limited extent.

Domain	Primary Language	Secondary Languages
Private Domain (Family)	Roshani	
Community Domain	Roshani	Dari (only with guests)
Shughni (only with guests)		
Education Domain	Dari	Roshani
Religious Domain	Dari	Roshani
Travel and Trade	Dari	Roshani
Shughni		
Media	Dari	
Administration	Dari	

TABLE 11: Overview of Domains of Language

In the private domain of the home and family and in the domain of the village community almost only Roshani is used. Roshani is also used as a secondary language in education and religion for the benefit of those who do not understand Dari well. Dari is the primary language in the domains of education, religion, during travel and trade, in media, and administration; men are considerably more concerned with all these domains (besides religion) than women are. In the community domain Dari is used as a secondary language with guests and traders travelling though, it is the men’s task to entertain the guests. Shughni is only used as a secondary language in the community domain with guests, and in travel and trade. In daily life almost only Roshani is spoken, Dari and Shughni are used as soon as the necessity arises, that is, when someone has to deal with a Dari or a Shughni speaker.

**7.2. ATTITUDES.** This section describes which attitudes the Roshani hold towards their vernacular, towards the Shughni speech variety and towards Dari, the language of wider communication.

**7.2.1. TOWARDS ROSHANI.** This section shows the attitudes the Roshani people hold towards their vernacular in the areas of its perceived benefit, concerning education and concerning the future.

**Perceived Benefit and Personal Importance.** Asked about the usefulness of Roshani for getting jobs, men mostly pointed out that it would be useful only in Roshan, and almost a third of the people did not consider it useful at all. Roshani was not considered to be useful for higher education by most interviewees. Some respondents found Roshani useful for contact with other communities exclusively concerning other Roshani villages, or replied with ‘a bit useful’. Most said it was not useful at all. But for gaining respect in their own community, most responded that Roshani was very useful; some found it useful; and only one person answered with ‘little use’. Obviously this does not mirror the absolute usefulness of Roshani, but the personal impression of the interviewees; thus it is an indicator for the attitude towards Roshani.

Almost half of the men and women questioned felt Roshani for them to be ‘very important’ personally; the remainder responded with ‘important’. Only one each said ‘of little importance’, ‘important only in Roshan’ or ‘not important’.

**Concerning Education.** Most of the respondents held the opinion that it would be the best option for children to learn reading and writing in Roshani, with a Roshani alphabet, if that were possible. About half of them would accept Shughni as the second best option. A few feel that Dari is the best option, as is practiced now. One person considered Dari to be the second best option. One person said, Roshani and Dari would have the same benefit; one holds the opinion that Roshani and Shughni would have the same benefit.

All respondents said it would be beneficial to have books in Roshani. Most wished for medical books, some for schoolbooks, for poetry or for story books, a few for history books and for songbooks. Almost everyone claimed they would buy Roshani books if they were available. Only one person responded that he would not. Some of those respondents who cannot read themselves added that they would buy books in Roshani for their children if these were available. Most people claimed interest in attending a Roshani literacy class. And again most of those indicated willingness to pay for such a class. Even though this does not mean everyone who responded in the affirmative would in fact buy Roshani books or attend a literacy class, the responses serve as an indicator for the positive attitude towards Roshani.

Five respondents answered with Roshani, their mother tongue, when asked which language they would like to speak better.

**Concerning the Future.** All interviewees except two anticipate their children will speak mostly Roshani when they are grown up. A few specifically said their children would speak Roshani at home in the future, if they continue to live in Roshan. One person said they would use Roshani and Dari equally. Another person anticipated they would speak Roshani, Dari and English. Everyone said they were happy with this projected prospect.

Most interviewees anticipated the primary language of their grandchildren to be Roshani when they are grown up. A few more added the condition that this would require them to stay in the area. A few expected their grandchildren to use Roshani and Dari equally and one person expected them to speak only English. Again, everyone claimed to be happy with this prospect. Almost no one can imagine that their children will no longer speak Roshani when they will be adults, and only one person said her grandchildren will not use Roshani in the future.

Opinions and experiences were divided regarding whether people laughed about Roshani speakers because of their language. More than half answered with ‘no’. Of those who



have had the experience of someone laughing at them, most explained that it had been a Shughni person. Only a few have had that experience with a Dari person. And one person said that everyone laughs about the Roshani language. But no one seemed to be greatly troubled or agitated by these incidents.

**7.2.2. TOWARDS SHUGHNI.** This section describes the attitude the Roshani hold towards the related speech variety of Shughni in the area of its perceived benefit, permission for marrying a Shughni person, and concerning education.

**Perceived Benefit.** Only a few respondents found Shughni useful for getting a job, and a few others answered with ‘only a bit useful’. About half judged that it was useful only in Shighnān. The rest, about a third, did not find Shughni useful at all. For higher education, the majority did not find Shughni useful; some found it a bit useful. Asked about the use of Shughni for communicating with other communities, half of the men remarked that it was useful only within Shughni communities. Few responded with ‘a little useful’ and the rest, about a third, with ‘not useful’. For gaining respect in their own community, less than half of the men found Shughni to be useful. One person said it would be useful with Shughni visitors, a few found it a little useful, and about a third not useful. The greatest usefulness of Shughni is perceived when people regularly travel to the Shughni district capital Qala. Again the result reflects the personal impression of the interviewees, thus it is an indicator for the attitude towards Roshani.

**Permission for Marriage.** The majority of the interviewees would allow their son to marry a Shughni, and only two would deny permission. Of the people who would permit it, two would only give permission for a Shughni wife, but not for a wife from any other people group. About a third of them would also allow a wife from all other people groups mentioned (Wakhi, Ishkashimi, Dari-speaking, Pashto). No one would resent a Shughni daughter-in-law specifically but the two who answered negatively for Shughni would not allow a daughter-in-law from any other people group either.

For their daughters, three quarters (that is slightly less than for the sons) of the people would allow a Shughni husband. One quarter would not. Of those who answered ‘yes’, two would only give permission to a Shughni liaison, but not to one with a husband from any other group. About half of them said yes to every group mentioned. No one would resent a Shughni son-in-law in particular but those who would not permit a marriage to a Shughni would also not permit it to someone from any other people group.

**Shughni in Education.** Half of the interviewees who held the opinion that it would be good to teach school children reading and writing in Roshani accepted Shughni as the second choice. One even judged Roshani and Shughni to have the same value in this regard.

Asked for the languages the interviewees would like to speak better, no one answered with Shughni. But then, people might perceive Shughni not as a separate language. In fact, almost no one mentioned Shughni (except one person), when asked about the languages they spoke, but the interviewees revealed later in the conversation that they actually spoke Shughni to Shughni people.

**7.2.3. TOWARDS DARI.** This section describes the attitude the Roshani hold towards the national language Dari in terms of its perceived benefit, permission to marry a Dari-speaking person, concerning Dari in education and at home and as a foreign language to be acquired.

**Perceived Benefit.** Half of the interviewees find Dari ‘very useful’ for finding work. The other half replied with ‘useful’. For higher education, the majority (about two thirds) of people think Dari to be very useful; the rest responded with ‘useful’. For communication with other villages the majority (again about two-thirds of the respondents) also found Dari ‘very useful’ and the rest ‘useful’. But for gaining respect in the home village, only a few judged Dari to be ‘very useful’; about two thirds still found it ‘useful’; only one person said, it had ‘little use’; and another one that it had ‘no use’. A positive attitude towards Dari is displayed by the fact that in order to gain respect in the Roshani village, a clear majority finds Dari useful, even though it is not needed for communication within the village. Again the result reflects the subjective impression of the interviewees and thus it is an indicator for the attitude towards Roshani.

**Permission for Marriage.** About a third 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 negatively, would also not allow a daughter-in-law from other groups. Very few people indicated that they resented the fact that Dari speakers are not Ismaili; therefore they would not allow their son to marry a Dari-speaking wife.

Almost a third of the respondents would allow their daughter to get married to a Dari-speaking husband.

It is important to note that the hypothetical question about permission for marriage does not reflect actual marriage practices, however, the answers serve to indicate the attitude towards the languages in question.

**Dari in Education.** Only three respondents preferred their children to learn reading and writing in Dari over Roshani in school right from the first grade as it is presently. One person would take Dari as the second choice after Roshani. When asking the question the researcher pointed out that if children were to learn reading and writing in Roshani, they still would learn Dari at a later stage. So the negative result for Dari does not indicate a disregard for Dari, but rather the realisation that children struggle in school with the language of instruction, even though teachers help and give explanations in Roshani, as was repeatedly confirmed. The interviewees indicated this with frequent remarks during the section about school education, such as ‘it is difficult for them’.

**Dari at Home.** All respondents said that they would be happy if their children spoke Dari at home with each other. When asked further, frequently comments were made like ‘It means they learned it well.’ — ‘They have studied their lesson well.’ — ‘It shows that they are intelligent.’ — ‘It means they can communicate with everyone in the country, as it is the general language in Afghanistan.’ — ‘It means they will get work’, or, more generally that every language is good to learn, in fact, everything children learn is good for them. When asked whether it would still be good if the children spoke only Dari at home instead of Roshani, the respondents could not imagine that situation happening and therefore responded that they would always speak Roshani.

**Dari as a Second Language.** About a third of the people wished to speak Dari better as a second language. The others were not asked whether they were satisfied with the present state of their Dari, but they considered it more important to improve another language.

**7.2.4. SUMMARY.** The responses in the ‘Perceived Benefit’ section were given point values from 0 to 3, whereas 3 indicates ‘very useful’, 2 meant ‘useful’, 1 ‘little useful’ or ‘useful’

only in Roshan/Shighnān' and 0 for 'not useful'. The points for all respondents were then averaged to determine an overall value for perceived benefits according to the different subjects.

Figure 1 shows the average of the benefit the interviewed men perceive the varieties Roshani, Shughni and Dari to have for work, education, communication with other communities, and for gaining respect in the home community.

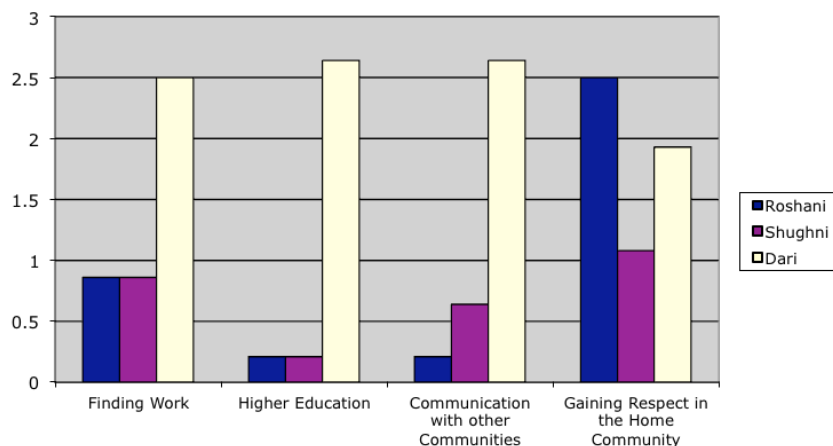


FIGURE 1: Perceived Benefit of Roshani, Shughni and Dari

The chart indicates that Dari is perceived by far as the most useful language in contexts that mostly include interactions taking place outside of Roshan (work, education, other communities). Roshani and Shughni are only partly valued in regard to their usefulness.

Roshani has the most benefit in order to gain respect in the home community. Interestingly, the fact that the sum of all bars is the highest for 'gaining respect in the home community' goes with the frequent statement that the more languages people (especially children) learn, the better.

Table 12 shows which languages the respondents wished to improve or to acquire.

	Roshani	Shughni	Dari	Pashto	English	N/A	Total
L people like to learn*	5	0	11	2	16	3	29

TABLE 12: Desired Language

\* Multiple answers given

The language one would like to acquire is a strong indicator about the attitude one holds towards a certain language. The majority would like to acquire English, still about a third of them answered with Dari, but no one mentioned Shughni. The reason might be that Shughni is not considered as foreign language. The respondents who answered with Roshani did not estimate any other language important enough to acquire.

The following chart shows in what language parents would like their children to acquire literacy at school in primary education.

	Roshani	Shughni	Dari	N/A	Total
1st choice	24	1	3	3	29
2nd choice	1	12	1	-	14

TABLE 13: Desired Language of Literacy in School

The language one would choose for children's primary education is a strong indicator for a very positive attitude towards this language. The vast majority answered with Roshani, only few chose other languages. For most respondents Shughni would be the second choice.

Table 14 shows to which liaisons parents would give their consent for their children, besides a marriage with someone from their own language group.

	Shughni	Ishkash.	Wakhi	Dari	Pashto	N/A	Total
Son (wife ...-speaking)*	23	17	19	19	14	4	29
Daughter (husband ...-speaking)*	23	19	16	18	13	1	29

TABLE 14: Permission for Marriage

\* Multiple answers given

The attitude towards different languages are shown by the fact that most parents would only give their consent for marriage of their children to partners from certain ethnolinguistic groups. Most parents would agree for their son or daughter to get married to a Shughni partner, less would agree to a marriage with an Ishkashimi, Wakhi or Dari-speaking person. Only half of the respondents would be happy about a Pashto son- or daughter-in-law.

Table 15 presents an estimation of what language the children and grandchildren will be using most in the future.

	Roshani	Shughni	Dari	English	N/A	Total
L children will speak*	29	0	2	1	0	29
L grandchildren will speak*	28	0	4	1	0	29

TABLE 15: Concerning the Future

\* Multiple answers given

The vast majority of the respondents hold the opinion that Roshani will continue to be the language used mostly by their children and grandchildren. Only a few assume that it will be Dari or English.

**7.3. BILINGUALISM WITH DARI.** This section describes the varying levels of proficiency in Dari throughout different population segments in the Roshan area, and aims to give reasons for these findings.

**7.3.1. PROFICIENCY IN DARI.** Figure 2 presents the average of the result of the Proficiency Storying Questionnaire; the table indicates the results stratified according to gender and age.

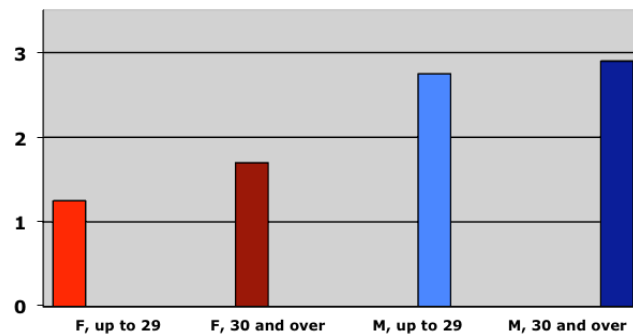


FIGURE 2: Average Proficiency Levels in Dari, comparing Men and Women, in regard to Age

As Figure 2 shows, the women's level of Dari is far lower than that of the men's. The average of the women's level is between 1 and 1+, the average of the men's level is between 2+ and 3. The men's superiority in Dari is explained by their frequent travel to areas outside Roshan, to other parts of Badakhshan, or even to Kabul. They buy supplies for their families at the markets there. Some of the men went for work for several months or years to Afghan cities, mostly Faizabad, or they went for military service and spoke Dari there. Besides this, men usually receive and entertain the guests that visit the village while travelling to other places. Therefore they are far more exposed to Dari speakers. Women are also permitted to talk to guests, especially when the guests stay at their house. They usually bring the food and stay for some time and talk to the guests. Again, it is the wealthy families where women speak Dari better and are more exposed to Dari speakers because usually wealthier families invite travellers; they can afford to feed them and have a bigger house with a separate guest room.

There is no obvious connection between age and proficiency of Dari, except that all male subjects over 30 have at least level 2. Those proficient at the outstanding levels of 3+, 4 and 4+ are only found among these men. Older men who have had more contact with Dari speakers during their lifetime are more proficient in Dari than younger men.

Figure 3 presents the average of the results of the Proficiency Storying Questionnaire, separated between men and women with and without higher education.



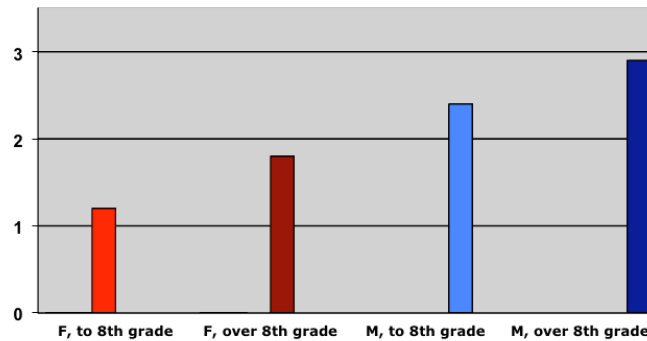


FIGURE 3: Average Proficiency Levels in Dari, comparing Men and Women, in regard to Education

There is a connection between the interviewees' proficiency in Dari and the education the individuals received, but only if the level of education is above 8<sup>th</sup> grade: The average men's level without education or with education under 8<sup>th</sup> grade is level 2+, but with higher education, the average level of Dari reaches level 3. Likewise, the average Dari proficiency of women with no education or education under 8<sup>th</sup> grade is level 1; the average of those with higher education is almost level 2. This seems to be surprising, as the language of instruction in school is Dari, and one would assume that even after a few years of schooling, the students would acquire Dari above level 1. But, then it shows that even though children acquired some Dari at school, they forget it if they do not keep it using, or they might have not learned it in the first place and just have memorized the teachers' instruction without ever acquiring Dari as a second language. The low level of Dari among women with some education is therefore a result of the teaching style commonly used in Afghan schools. Of the three women interviewed with education above 8<sup>th</sup> grade, two were still students and one was a teacher. All three are still constantly in contact with Dari because of the school. In fact, the school is the only domain within the community where the Roshani women are in extended contact with Dari (see §7.1.3).

**7.3.2. LEXICAL SIMILARITY WITH DARI.** Table 16 presents the linguistic similarity between the speech varieties Shughni and Roshani (according to the different villages), and Dari.

	Nawādak (Shughni)	Rubāt (Roshani)	Jawed (Roshani)	Chāsud (Roshani)
Dari	32%	36%	30%	33%

TABLE 16: Linguistic Similarity with Dari

The average percentage of lexical similarity between Shughni and Dari as well as between Roshani and Dari is 33%. The shared vocabulary between Shughni and Roshani with Dari is most likely the result of both historical cognates and loan words taken from Dari into Shughni and Roshani. It is beyond the scope of this paper to further analyze this

subject. As the lexical similarity between Dari and the vernacular is low, people perceive Dari as a language that is difficult to acquire.

**7.3.3. SUMMARY.** Age and proficiency in Dari are connected only in a minor way, that is, older men speak slightly more Dari because they have had more time being exposed to the language. The education level does not have significant effect on Dari proficiency among men or women, noticeable improvement is seen only after completion of grade 8 in school.

Many men do not get to a Dari proficiency level beyond 2+ because their living environment usually requires only basic conversations in Dari, mostly at the market and in talking about livestock and farming with guests. Women's proficiency is far lower, and only few reach a proficiency of Dari higher than level 1. This is a result of limited domains of Dari. Gender is the main issue; men speak much better Dari than women. Since Dari is the only connection to the outside world, it is limited to the male section of the Roshani community.

**7.4. COMPREHENSION OF SHUGHNI.** This section aims to show the lexical similarity of the two speech varieties, and to what degree the Shughni variety is inherently intelligible to Roshani speakers.

**7.4.1. LEXICAL SIMILARITY.** We elicited word lists in four places: the Shughni village of Nawādak and the three Roshani villages of Rubāt, Jawed and Chāsnuḍ. The word lists were elicited from men because most women's proficiency in Dari was not sufficient for elicitation. We used only men, or, whenever possible, a group of men, who were long-term residents in their respective villages.

Table 17 shows the lexical similarity of the Shughni and Roshani speech variety, including all words from the word lists as well as Dari loan words.

Nawādak		
79%	Rubāt	
75%	81%	Jawed
74%	83%	84% Chāsnuḍ

TABLE 17: Lexical Similarity (including loan words from Dari)

Numerous regular sound changes occur, especially concerning the vowels, between Nawādak and the Roshani villages, Rubāt, Jawed, and Chāsnuḍ. Few regular sound changes occur in the latter three villages. The percentage of similarity within the Roshani villages seems to be surprisingly low, just over 80%, considering most people's statement that there is no difference between the varieties in the different villages. However, the low result may be due to the fact that people often use Roshani and Dari words interchangeably. This often results in a Dari word given in one place and a Roshani word in another place. We assume that it could as well have been the other way around and people in both places would understand both words. This observation applies primarily to men, the result would likely have been different had we elicited the word lists from women. The same phenomenon is

found in the relationship between the Roshani villages and Nawādak, the Shughni village. In the recording of the Nawādak word list, the interviewee gave the words for the numbers above nine in Dari and a few seconds later someone started to count in Shughni in the background. As this was the first place we took the word list, we did not identify the Shughni counting. Therefore the percentages were tabulated again, ignoring all the Dari words.

Table 18 presents the lexical similarity of the Shughni and Roshani speech variety, excluding all Dari words.

Nawādak		
90%	Rubāt	
88%	92%	Jawed
87%	90%	92%
Chāsnud		

TABLE 18: Lexical Similarity (excluding potential loan words from Dari)

According to Bergman, when lexical similarity between two speech forms is less than about 70%, it generally indicates that these are different languages. If similarity is more than 70%, dialect intelligibility testing is needed to determine how well people can understand the other speech form. When such tests show intelligibility of less than about 75%, a language development project is generally considered desirable. Higher scores do not necessarily mean that a project is not needed: other kinds of data may be required (Bergman 1990). The Roshani variety in relation to Shughni is between 70% and 80% including the Dari words. But taking into account the before mentioned considerations, the lexical similarity is just under 90%. Nevertheless, to confirm the assumption that Shughni is intelligible to Roshani speakers, intelligibility testing was conducted.

**7.4.2. INTELLIGIBILITY USING RECORDED TEXT TESTING.** For the RTT two stories were used: one about a school and another about a wedding. The stories were played one right after the other. The total time of both stories was three minutes and 22 seconds.

Figure 4 shows the RTT results in relation to the amount of contact the Roshani subjects have with Shughni speakers.

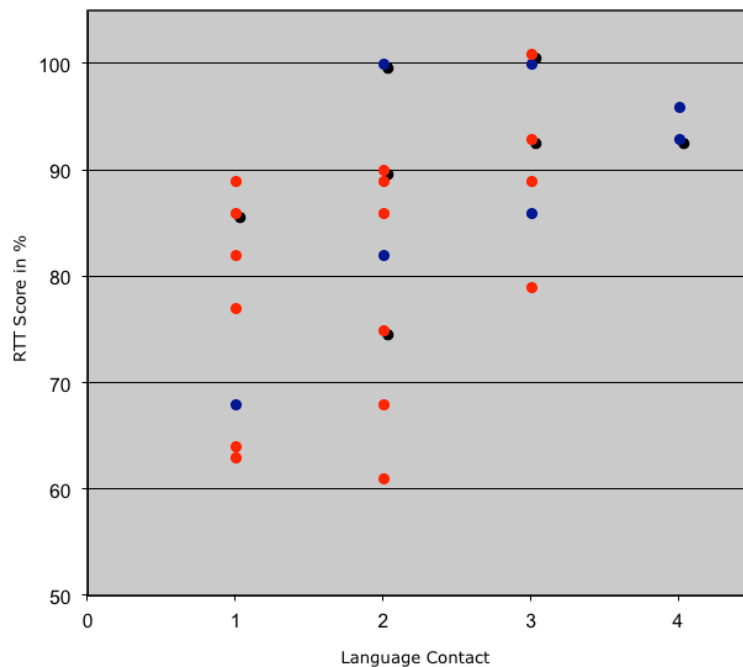


FIGURE 4: RTT-Results in Connection to Language Contact

The average percentage scored for the Recorded Text Testing was 85%, with the lowest score being 61% and the highest 100%.

The RTT interviewees were asked about the amount and kind of their language contact with Shughni people. Numbers were assigned according to their answers: number 1 indicates no contact or almost no contact; number 2 indicates little and irregular contact; number 3 indicates regular contact and number 4 indicates extended contact, or the subject lived in the Shighnān area. As the chart shows, there appears to be a connection between the amount of contact with Shughni speakers and RTT score. The average score of people with contact level 1 is 77%, with contact level 2 is 85%, with contact level 3 is 93%, and with contact level 4 is 94%. When the contact level is high anyway, the improvement in comprehension is not so striking any more. The different scores probably depend on other factors, like aptitude.

Women generally scored lower on the RTT. They tend to have little contact with Shughni people. They very seldom travel to Shighnān and speak less to Shughni guests than men. The average of the women's score is 81% (lowest: 61%, highest: 100%), while the average of the men's score is 90% (lowest: 68%, highest: 100%). We found no one without any previous contact to Shughni people; therefore the result does not show real inherent intelligibility of the two speech varieties.

For women there seems to be a connection between education and RTT scores: women who have attended school for several years had an average score of 85%; women who have not attended school had an average score of 76%. More education probably means more contact with Shughni speakers in the interviewee's youth because at that time most

teachers were Shughni. Education for women is usually connected with family wealth as wealthier families were able send their daughters to school. Wealthier people also often receive more guests, especially traders from Shighnān travelling through, which results in more contact to Shughni speakers.

We found no correlation between the RTT results or the amount of contact and specific villages: On an average people from all villages appear to have equal contact with Shughni people. This is not surprising because Shughni traders travel through the entire Roshan area, and Roshani people from all villages travel to Shighnān to buy supplies. Between the villages there is only a slight difference concerning the number of Shughni wives married into the Roshani community, but this does not seem to have an impact on the RTT results.

Most subjects (25) recognized the language of the story as Shughni, only two people supposed it was Dari, and three thought it was Roshani. They were women with little exposure to other languages. Only one person said that the language was not good. Everyone else considered it good Shughni. Most interviewees (26) stated they understood the entire story. Three said they understood most and one estimated she understood about half. Two interviewees did not observe any difference between the language of the story and their own speech variety, most of the interviewees (22) observed that it was only a little different from their own; two found it somewhat different; five very different.

All this indicates that the Roshani mostly understand the Shughni well. And intelligibility increases quickly, even through limited contact with Shughni.

**7.4.3. SUMMARY.** The lexical similarity indicates that Shughni and Roshani are not separate languages. The percentage is above the intelligibility threshold. The RTT confirms that the Shughni speech variety is intelligible to the Roshani people. The average score of the RTT is 85%, which is well above the 75%-threshold where intelligibility becomes likely, and even people with no contact or hardly any contact with Shughni people still scored an average of 77%. The average percentage of lexical similarity between Shughni and the different Roshani villages is 76% including the Dari words and 88% excluding the Dari words. That agrees nicely with the average score on the RTT for people with contact level 1.

**8. DISCUSSION.** The following discussion of the topics ‘vitality’, ‘attitudes’ and ‘bilingualism and intelligibility’ aims to evaluate the findings as shown in the result section. They relate back to the objective and to the research questions (see §3.2). Following the objective and the research questions are stated again:

**Research Questions:** Would the Roshani people benefit from language development in their own speech variety and resulting primary school education in their vernacular, or can they be served adequately with primary school education and literacy programs in Dari or in the Shughni speech variety?

**Research Objectives:** Living Conditions: Obtain basic information about the people group living in the Roshan area (location, population, living condition, education, infrastructure etc.).

**Vitality:** Evaluate the vitality of the Roshani language variety and its long term perspectives on vitality, including the domains of language use.

**Attitude:** Find out the attitude the Roshani people hold towards their vernacular, towards Shughni and towards Dari.

**Bilingualism:** Gain information to what extend the different segments of the Roshani people group (men, women, older, younger) are proficient in Dari.

**Intelligibility:** Test to what extend the Roshani variety is inherently intelligible with the Shughni variety.

The answer to the first research question ‘Living Conditions’ is found in §4.

**8.1. VITALITY OF ROSHANI.** The vitality of the Roshani speech variety is very high. All the children in the community learn Roshani as their first language and it is their only language until they start school. Roshani is the only language used in the home and in the community. Dari and Shughni are only used when travelling outside Roshan and with outsiders who visit the village. As soon as someone turns away from the Dari or Shughni-speaking visitor in order to greet another Roshani speaker, he switches back to Roshani.

Dari as a national language does not seem to threaten the vitality of Roshani. As women tend to travel less, the only contact areas with Dari are for them radio, religious preaching and school. The education domain only applies to girls and young women—presently only a few adult women have had a school education in the past. However, this situation has changed and presently almost all children attend school, at least primary school. All children now acquire Dari to a certain degree. It is not likely that this will diminish the vitality of Roshani. The reason is that school is still 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 life situations. Especially women, but also some men, tend to lose their ability to speak Dari again after they have left school.

Shughni also does not endanger the vitality of Roshani. Shughni inhabits only the domains of Travel and Trade as a secondary language. Besides this, the attitude towards the Shughni speech variety is not entirely as is discussed in the following section.

**8.2. ATTITUDES TOWARDS DARI, SHUGHNI AND ROSHANI.** As the data in the result section indicates, the attitude towards the vernacular is highly positive, Dari is viewed positively as well, while the attitude towards Shughni is neutral.

Dari is perceived as a highly useful language to find work, to gain education, and to communicate with other communities. People with an adequate proficiency in Dari were also very willing to communicate in Dari with the researchers. It is important to note: the very positive view of Dari that parents indicated when asked how they would feel if their children spoke Dari at home does not show disregard for the mother tongue. Parents cannot imagine that their children would not speak Roshani any more in the future. Rather it shows a positive attitude towards Dari and a desire that the children should learn it.

The attitude towards the Shughni speech variety is neither negative nor positive, but somewhat neutral. The Shughni are accepted as the ‘bigger partner’, the one the Roshani are dependent on, especially for buying food and goods they do not produce themselves. But they do not feel part of the Shughni community. The Shughni speech variety does not carry special respect in the Roshani community but it is found useful when dealing with



Shughni people, which happens especially in the market in the district capital. A certain indifference towards Shughni is shown by the fact that no one mentions Shughni as the language his or her children might use in the future. As there is intermarriage between Shughni and Roshani people, this would seem to be a likely option.

Even though positive perception of Roshani in respect to finding work, education and communication is missing, this does not indicate a negative attitude towards the mother tongue. The result only mirrors the daily experience with school education being in Dari and with neighbouring Dari speaking villages to the North and Shughni speaking villages to the South. On the contrary, the positive attitude towards Roshani is displayed by the fact that the majority feels Roshani to be important for gaining respect in the home village. In addition, it is the only language spoken in most people's families. This is supported by the high interest shown in Roshani educational material. It likewise reflects the high value Ismaili, and among them especially the Shughni and Roshani, traditionally attach to education.

Every language seems to carry respect in itself because knowing more than one language improves one's chances to get ahead in life. There is a positive attitude towards language learning in general, and people speaking more than one language gain respect in their own community in spite of the fact that it is not needed for communication there. These results did not vary in the different locations within Roshan.

In summary, by far the most important language and the one gaining the highest regard is Roshani. The Roshani people possess a strong ethnolinguistic identity, further strengthened by their identity as Ismaili Muslims. When people are asked about their mother tongue, they reply with Roshani and distinguish it from Shughni. They point out that they speak differently. The Roshani people are united by their common speech variety.

**8.3. BILINGUALISM WITH DARI AND INTELLIGIBILITY WITH SHUGHNI.** Most of the Roshani do not have an opportunity to learn Dari well. Accessibility is very limited (see §4.6) due to the extreme remoteness of the Roshan area. 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 everyday requirements in Dari easily, but they are usually not challenged further. If they can function well in all necessary situations, they would naturally assume their abilities in Dari are almost as good as their abilities in Roshani. Women's access to Dari is even more limited; for younger women the only domain is education, most older women have not attended school at all. Some have limited access to guests travelling through. 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 that their children can speak Dari well at 5<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> grade. However, parents might overestimate their children's ability as their own Dari and the domains of Dari are limited. This claim was also not confirmed by the researchers when talking informally to teenage school children. The young people were often not able to answer basic questions in Dari. This indicates that the Roshani people cannot be served adequately with literature in Dari. Kindell states

that a language is not considered adequate for literature if a significant segment of speakers within a community has failed to achieve level 3 proficiency in this language (Kindell 1991). Level 3 is clearly not given in the case of the Roshani concerning Dari.

The UNESCO study 'Promoting Literacy in Multilingual Settings' (Kosonen et al. 2006) describes the advantage students studying in their mother tongue have towards students who study in a foreign language. It 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, drop out of school and fail 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. 2006:7–8)

Taking the UNESCO study into consideration it would be helpful for Roshani children to be taught literacy skills and primary school subjects in their mother tongue. In higher grades they would learn Dari as a foreign language and then 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.

Comparison of the word lists indicates that Roshani and Shughni are closely related varieties. The Roshani reported that they can understand the Shughni speakers easily after a short time of getting used to the difference in their speech. Likewise the result of the Recorded Text Testing indicates intelligibility between the two speech varieties. Even though it seems to be partly acquired intelligibility, it can be acquired quickly only after limited contact with Shughni speakers. This confirms that the Roshani people probably can be served adequately with a literacy program and literature development for the Shughni.

**9. RECOMMENDATIONS.** As pointed out in the discussion section (see §8.3), Dari literacy programs would not be sufficient for the Roshani people. However, it is likely that the Roshani will be able to use Shughni material in literacy programs and literature development. Lexical similarity between the two speech varieties is high as is intelligibility according to the Recorded Text Testing and according to people's reports. The attitude towards Shughni is not negative and most Roshani indicated willingness to have their children use Shughni material in primary school to learn reading and writing.

A current project among the Shughni aims to develop school material for a transfer literacy program from Dari to Shughni among the Shughni in Afghanistan. It is recom-

mended to wait until this material is ready for use or ready for testing. Then it would be adequate to conduct a test of this material in the Roshan area and see how the Roshani people respond to it—whether they will accept it as their language or reject it as not being their own speech variety; and likewise whether they continue to show interest in education and literature in the mother tongue. If the Roshani accept it, they will be able to use the transfer literacy material and also benefit from further literature that will be developed in Shughni. If the Roshani reject the Shughni material, then it might be necessary to reassess the situation and possibly to start an adaptation project for the Roshani speech variety. It is not advisable to start a separate language development project for Roshani at this time.

#### APPENDIX A: WORD LIST RESULTS

	English	Dari	Spoken Dari	Nawadak (Shughni)	Rubat (Roshani)	Jawed (Roshani)	Chasnud (Roshani)
1.	I (1s)	من	ma	wəs	as	as	as
2..	you (2s)	تو	t <sup>h</sup> u	t <sup>h</sup> o	t <sup>h</sup> a	t <sup>h</sup> ɔ	t <sup>h</sup> ɔ
3.	he/ she (3s)	او	u	maɟ	maɟ	maɟ	maɟ
4.	we (1p)	ما	mɔ	t <sup>h</sup> ama'fuk <sup>h</sup> aθ	t <sup>h</sup> ɔ	t <sup>h</sup> a'ma	t <sup>h</sup> a'ma
5.	you (2p)	شما	ʃu'mɔ	ju (she: jet)	ja	ja	ja
6.	they (3p)	آنها	u'nɔ	waθ	waθ	wað	waθ
7.	who	کی	k <sup>h</sup> i	tʃai	tʃai	tʃai	tʃai
8.	what	چی	tʃi	tʃis	tʃis	tʃis	tʃis
9.	how	چطور	tʃɔ't <sup>h</sup> or	'tsarəŋg	'tsarəŋg	'tsarəŋg	'tsarəŋg
10.	where	کجا	ku'dʒɔ	'kadʒa	'k <sup>h</sup> adʒe	t <sup>h</sup> ar'dʒa	'k <sup>h</sup> adʒia
11.	when	چی وقت	tʃi waɣt <sup>h</sup>	'tsawaxt	'tsawaxt	'tsawaxt	'tsawaxt
12.	how many	چند	tʃand	tsənd	tsənd	tsənd <sup>ə</sup>	tsənd
13.	which	کدام	k <sup>h</sup> u'dəm	tʃe'dəm	tʃə'dəm	tʃe'dəm	tʃe'dəm
14.	if	اگر	'aga	'agar	'aga	'agar	'agar
15.	at	در	da	ðis	da	aɾ	t <sup>h</sup> ar
16.	with	همراي	am'rɔə	am'rɔ	am'rɔ	q <sup>h</sup> a't <sup>h</sup> ai	'tʃeq <sup>h</sup> atai
17.	this (near)	این	i	jam	i:	jed <sup>ə</sup>	jed
18.	that (far)	آن	ɔ	jɔ	ja	ja	jed
19.	these (near)	اینها	i'nɔ	mað'fuk <sup>h</sup> aθ	muf	mað	ðau
20.	those (far)	آنها	u'nɔ	wa:θ	uf	wa'ðin	wa'ðau
21.	here	اینجا	in'dʒa	'jədand	'unde	'unde	'undə

22.	there	آنجا	un'dʒa	tʰaram	'amand	'amande	'amandə
23.	far	دور	dur	θar	θar	θar	θar
24.	near	نزدیک	nəz'di:kʰ	qa'ri:b	qa'ri:b	qa'ri:b	qʰa'ri:b
25.	right side	راست	rɔstʰ	rɔst	rɔst	rɔst	rɔst
26.	left side	چپ	tʃapʰ	tʃapʰ	tʃapʰ	tʃapʰ	tʃapʰ
27.	down/ below	پایین	pʰɔ'in	tʰa'gɔf	tʰa'gɔf	tʰa'gɔf	tʰa'gɔf
28.	up/ above	بالا	bə'lə	pʰə'tʰi:r	bə'land	tʰər	pʰa'tʰər
29.	come NP	میآید	'mɔja	'jɔθda	jerθt	jerθ	jirθ
30.	come P	آمد	ɔ'mad	jatʰ	jat	jatʰ	jatʰ
31.	sit NP	میشند	'mɪʃna	niθt	neθt	neθt	neθtʰ
	sit P	نشست	ʃɪʃtʰ	nust	nɔst	nɔst	nɔst
32.	stand NP	استاد	əs'tʰɔd 'meʃa	wə'ru:ft	wə'rafst	en'daut	wə'rafst
	stand P	میشود استاد شد	əs'tʰɔd ʃud	wə'ru:ft	wə'ruft	en'daut	wə'ruftʃ
33.	lie down NP	دراز میکشد	da'rɔz 'mekʰaʃad	dar'ɔs xu'tʰaʃ	da'rɔst keɕt	rɔst 'tʃuʃe	tʃe'damxɔ kʰeɕt
	lie down P	دراز کشید	da'rɔz kʰa'ʃid	dar'ɔs xu'tʰaʃ	da'rɔst tʃu	'rɔstə tʃu	tʃe'damxɔ tʃɔ
34.	give NP	میدهد	'metʰa	mur'dakʰ	da keɕt	daxt	sizt
	give P	داد	dɔd	mur'dakʰ tʃɔ	da 'tʃuʃe	da tʃu'je	da tʃukʰ
35.	walk NP	قدم میزند	qʰa'dam 'mezana	'pʰəntʰim	'pʰantezt	nɔzdʰ	'pʰantʰezt
	walk P	قدم زد	qʰa'dam zad	'pʰəntʰist	'pʰanturt	nɪzdʰ	'pʰantʰurt
36.	go NP	میرود	'mera	tʰim	tʰeɕt	tʰeɕdʰ	tʰeɕt
	go P	رفت	raftʰ	tʰuitʰ	tʰuit	tʰuidʰ	tʰuit
37.	run NP	میدود	'medawa	ʒɔzd	ʒɔzd	ʒɔzdʰ	ʒɔzt
	run P	دوید	da'wid	ʒɔzd	ʒɔzd	'ʒexde	'ʒextə
38.	fly (bird) NP	میپرد	'mepʰara	rə'wuɣt	par'wɔz tʰait	zu'bɔt	zə'bentʰ
	fly (bird) P	پرید	pʰa'rid	rə'waɣt	par'wɔz tʃu	'zubɔdant	zə'but
39.	swim (fish) NP	شنا میکند	ʃɔ'no 'mekʰuna	ɕəno'ware kʰe'nom	ɕəno'wa'rai kʰeɕt	ɕəno'wa'rai kʰeɕt	ɕəno'wa'rai kʰeɕt

	swim (fish) <i>P</i>	شنا کرد	ʃə'no k <sup>h</sup> ad	ɕəno'ware tʃu:t <sup>h</sup>	ɕəno'wa'rai tʃu	ɕəno'wa'rai tʃu	ɕəno'wə'rai tʃuɡ
40.	fall <i>NP</i> fall <i>P</i>	میفتد افتاد	'mef <sup>h</sup> a af <sup>h</sup> t <sup>h</sup> əd	weɕt <sup>h</sup> weɕt <sup>h</sup> um	wəɕt weɕt	wəɕt wɪɕt	wəɕt <sup>h</sup> wɪɕt <sup>h</sup>
41.	throw <i>NP</i> throw <i>P</i>	میندازد انداخت	'mendəzə an'dəɣt <sup>h</sup>	'p <sup>h</sup> at <sup>h</sup> əude 'p <sup>h</sup> at <sup>h</sup> eudum	'p <sup>h</sup> at <sup>h</sup> eut 'p <sup>h</sup> at <sup>h</sup> eut <sup>h</sup> ɛ	'p <sup>h</sup> at <sup>h</sup> it <sup>h</sup> 'p <sup>h</sup> at <sup>h</sup> it <sup>h</sup> an	'p <sup>h</sup> at <sup>h</sup> ivt <sup>h</sup> 'audeθt
42.	flow <i>NP</i> flow <i>P</i>	روان هست روان بود	ra'wən as ra'wən bud	t <sup>h</sup> i:st <sup>h</sup> ra'wən sot <sup>h</sup>	t <sup>h</sup> ezd t <sup>h</sup> aid	ra'wən ra'wən vet <sup>h</sup>	t <sup>h</sup> ezt t <sup>h</sup> ait
43.	pull <i>NP</i> pull <i>P</i>	کش میکنند کش کرد	k <sup>h</sup> af 'mek <sup>h</sup> una k <sup>h</sup> af k <sup>h</sup> ad	t <sup>h</sup> oʒt <sup>h</sup> 't <sup>h</sup> i:ʒde	t <sup>h</sup> aʒd <sup>o</sup> t <sup>h</sup> eʒdə	t <sup>h</sup> aʒd <sup>o</sup> 't <sup>h</sup> eʒde	t <sup>h</sup> al'xu taʒt t <sup>h</sup> al'xu teʒt
44.	push <i>NP</i> push <i>P</i>	تله میکنند تله کرد	t <sup>h</sup> ə'la 'mek <sup>h</sup> una t <sup>h</sup> ə'la k <sup>h</sup> ad	bal'ra k <sup>h</sup> eɕt bal'ra diθ	bar deðd <sup>o</sup> 'barə ðud <sup>o</sup>	bar ðəd bar 'ðudə	te'la k <sup>h</sup> eɕt te'la 'tʃuge
45.	wash <i>NP</i> wash <i>P</i>	میشود شست	'mefɔʒə ʃuʃt <sup>h</sup>	ze'net ze'nɔte	ze'nait <sup>h</sup> ze'nude	ze'nait <sup>h</sup> ze'nudə	ze'nait <sup>h</sup> ze'nudə
46.	split <i>NP</i> split <i>P</i>	میده میکنند میده کرد	maɪ'da 'mek <sup>h</sup> una maɪ'da k <sup>h</sup> ad	wə'ri:ɕt wə'ruɕte	wə'rent wə'ruɕte	wə'rent <sup>h</sup> wə'ruɕtə	wə'rent wə'ruɕtə
47.	tie <i>NP</i> tie <i>P</i>	گره میکنند گره کرد	gə're 'mek <sup>h</sup> una gə're k <sup>h</sup> ad	gə're k <sup>h</sup> eɕt gə're tʃə	tʃə'riɣt k <sup>h</sup> eɕt tʃə'riɣə tʃu	naut <sup>h</sup> niut <sup>h</sup> ə	'naut <sup>h</sup> ia 'niutə
48.	hit <i>NP</i> hit <i>P</i>	میزند زد	'mezana zad	ði:t 'θə:de	ðeðd <sup>o</sup> 'ðudə	ðet <sup>h</sup> ðet <sup>h</sup> ə	'ðiət <sup>h</sup> wai 'ðudə wai
49.	cut <i>NP</i> cut <i>P</i>	میبرد برد	'mebara burd	ɕə'tʃuɣte ɕə'tʃuɣte	'jude jud <sup>o</sup>	k <sup>h</sup> ipt <sup>h</sup> 'k <sup>h</sup> ivdə	k <sup>h</sup> ipt <sup>h</sup> 'k <sup>h</sup> ivdə
50.	rub <i>NP</i> rub <i>P</i>	میمالد مالید	'meməla mə'lid	məlt <sup>h</sup> 'məlt <sup>h</sup> e	məlt <sup>h</sup> 'məlte	məlt <sup>h</sup> 'məltə	'məltai 'məltə
51.	dig <i>NP</i> dig <i>P</i>	بیل میزند بیل زد	bel 'mezana bel zad	bel ði:d bel 'ðə:de	bil ðeðd <sup>o</sup> bil ðud <sup>o</sup>	bil ðud bil 'ðudə	bil θert bil θudə
52.	squeeze <i>NP</i>	پچق میکنند	p <sup>h</sup> ə'tʃuɣ <sup>h</sup> 'mek <sup>h</sup> una	ʒaqt <sup>h</sup>	qu'rəp <sup>h</sup> k <sup>h</sup> eɕt	ʒaqt <sup>h</sup> de	'ʒaqt <sup>h</sup> tədaɪ

53..	squeeze <i>P</i>	پچق کرد	p <sup>h</sup> ə'tʃuq <sup>h</sup> k <sup>h</sup> ad	'zaqte	qu'rəpə tʃu	ʒaq <sup>h</sup> dəwari	'ʒaq <sup>h</sup> dədar tʃuk
54.	night	شب	ʃau	ɕap	ɕab	ɕab <sup>o</sup>	ɕab
55.	day	روز	roz	me:θ	me:θ	mi:θ	mi:θ
56.	morning	صبح	sob	sara'k <sup>h</sup> e	sa'rai	sa'rai	sa'rai
57.	noon	چاشت	tʃɔʃt <sup>h</sup>	ma'θor	ma'ðor	ma'θor	ma'θor
58.	evening	شام	ʃam	ɕəm	ɕom	ɕom	ɕom
59.	yesterday	دیروز	'diroz	br'jor	br'jɔ	br'jɔ	br'jɔ
60.	today	امروز	'emroz	nɔr	nur	nur	nur
61.	tomorrow	فردا	far'do	ɕum'ne	sa'rai	sa'rai	sa'rai
62.	week	هفته	af't <sup>h</sup> a	af't <sup>h</sup> a	af'ta	af'ta	af'ta
63.	month	ماه	mɔ	mɔ	mɔ	mist	mist
64.	year	سال	səl	səl	səl	səl	səl
65.	one	یک	jak <sup>h</sup>	jiw	iw	iw	iw
66.	two	دو	du	'θiən	ðau	θau	θau
67.	three	سه	se	'arai	'arai	'arai	'arai
68.	four	چهار	tʃɔr	tɕa'vɔr	'tsavur	'tsavur	'tsavur
69.	five	پنج	p <sup>h</sup> andʒ	pints	pints	pints	pints
70.	six	شش	ʃaʃ	χɔur	'xuwa	xɔu	xɔu
71.	seven	هفت	aft <sup>h</sup>	wuft	uft	uft	uft
72.	eight	هشت	aft <sup>h</sup>	waɕt	waɕt	waɕt	waɕt
73.	nine	نو	no	nau	nau	nau	nau
74.	ten	ده	da	ðis	ðos	ðɔs	ðɔs
75.	eleven	یازده	joz'da	joz'da	joz'da	ɪðɔsat'iw	ɪðɔsat'iw
76.	twelve	دوازده	dwɔz'da	dwɔz'da	dwɔz'da	ɪðɔsat'θau	ɪðɔsat'θau
77.	twenty	بیست	bist	bist	bist	'θauðɔs	'θauðos
78.	hundred	صد	sad	sad	sat	'ðɔsðɔsak <sup>h</sup>	'ðosðosaik <sup>h</sup>
79.	all	تمام	t <sup>h</sup> a'mɔm	'fuk <sup>h</sup> aθ	'fukaθ	'fuk <sup>h</sup> aθ	ta'jɔrsut <sup>h</sup>
80.	many	زیاد	zjɔd	lap <sup>h</sup>	lap <sup>h</sup>	lap <sup>h</sup>	ɣek <sup>h</sup>
81.	few	کمی	'k <sup>h</sup> amə	k <sup>h</sup> a:m	dus	dus	dus
82.	big	کلان	k <sup>h</sup> a'lɔn	ɣu'la	ɣu'la	ɣu'la	k <sup>h</sup> a't <sup>h</sup> a



83.	small	خورد	χurd	tsu'lek <sup>h</sup>	bu'tsek <sup>h</sup>	bu'tsutʃ	bə'tsik <sup>h</sup>
84.	long	دراز	da'rɔz	da'rɔs	də'rɔs	da'rɔs	da'rɔs
85.	short	کوتاه	k <sup>h</sup> o't <sup>h</sup> ɔ	k <sup>h</sup> ot <sup>h</sup>	k <sup>h</sup> ot <sup>h</sup>	k <sup>h</sup> ut <sup>h</sup>	k <sup>h</sup> ut <sup>h</sup>
86.	wide	فراخ	fa'rɔχ	frɔχ	fə'rɔx	fə'rɔx	k <sup>h</sup> e'ɕɔt <sup>h</sup>
87.	narrow	تنگ	t <sup>h</sup> an	t <sup>h</sup> anɟ	t <sup>h</sup> anɟ	t <sup>h</sup> anɟ	t <sup>h</sup> anɟ
88.	thick	دېل	da'bal	da'bal	ɣafts	ɣafs	ɣafs
89.	thin	نازک	nɔ'zʊk <sup>h</sup>	t <sup>h</sup> an'uk <sup>h</sup>	nɔ'zʊk <sup>h</sup>	t <sup>h</sup> a'nutʃ	nɔ'zʊk <sup>h</sup>
90.	sun	آفتاب	aft <sup>h</sup> au	χi:r	xɔr	xɔr	xɔr
91.	moon	مهتاب	mɔ't <sup>h</sup> au	mest	mest	mest	mest
92.	star	ستاره	set <sup>h</sup> ɔ'ra	ɕɔ't <sup>h</sup> ɛrts	ɕɛt <sup>h</sup> ers	ɕtirts	ɕe'turtʃ
93.	water	آب	au	ɕats	ɕats	ɕats	ɕats
94.	rain	باران	bɔ'rɔn	'denjɔdax	bɔ'rɔn	ðə'jan	bɔ'rɔn
95.	lightning	الماسک	almo'sak <sup>h</sup>	ɔtə'ɕak <sup>h</sup>	'ɔtəɕak <sup>h</sup>	t <sup>h</sup> un'dur	ve'debts
96.	rainbow	رنگین کمان	ran'gin k <sup>h</sup> a'mɔn	k <sup>h</sup> a'mɔn re'stam	k <sup>h</sup> a'mɔn re'stam	za'mar taɟ'udɟ	k <sup>h</sup> a'mɔn re'stam
97.	mud	گل	gel	ʃarθk <sup>h</sup>	ʃap	ʃap <sup>h</sup>	ʃap <sup>h</sup>
98.	stone	سنگ	sang	zi:r	zer	zer	zi:r
99.	sand	ریگ	reg	dɟa:r	reg	reg	reg
100.	earth	زمین	ze'min	zems	zems	zə'mað	zə'mayð
101.	cloud	ابر	abr	abr	'abrə	abr	abr
102.	smoke	دود	dud	θɔd	ðud	θɔd	ðud
103.	fire	آتش	ɔ't <sup>h</sup> ɔʃ	jɔts	juts	juts	juts
104.	ash	خاکستر	χɔk <sup>h</sup> ɔs't <sup>h</sup> ar	θi:r	a'θer	a'θer	a'θi:r
105.	mountain	کوه	k <sup>h</sup> o	k <sup>h</sup> o	k <sup>h</sup> u	t <sup>h</sup> aχ	k <sup>h</sup> u
106.	sky	آسمان	ɔs'mɔn	ɔs'mɔn	ɔs'mɔn	ɔs'mɔn	ɔs'mɔn
107.	fog	غبار	ɣa'bɔr	ɣu'bɔr	ɣu'bɔr	ɣu'bɔr	ɣu'bɔr
108.	wind	شمال	ʃə'mɔl	ɕu:ts	ɕuts	ɕuts	ɕuts
109.	sea	بحر	'bahər	dar'jɔ	bahr	bahr	q <sup>h</sup> u:l
110.	lake	چهیل	tʃa'hil	q <sup>h</sup> əl	tʃɔ	qu:l	tʃa'hil
111.	river	دریا	dar'jɔ	dar'jɔ	dar'jɔ	dar'jɔ	dar'jɔ
112.	salt	نمک	na'mak <sup>h</sup>	na'mak <sup>h</sup>	na'mak <sup>h</sup>	na'mak <sup>h</sup>	na'mak <sup>h</sup>

113.	ice	یخ	jaɣ	jaɣ	jaɣ	jaɣ	jax
114.	snow	برف	barf	ʒe'nedʒ	ʒe'nitʃ	ʒə'nidʒ	ʒe'nitʃ
115.	dust	خاک	χɔkʰ	setʰ	setʰ	setʰ	setʰ
116.	tree	درخت	da'raχtʰ	də'raxtʰ	də'raxtʰ	də'raxtʰ	də'raxtʰ
117.	seed	تخم	tʰuχum	təym	tʰuym	tʰuym	tʰuym
118.	leaf	برگ	pʰarg	pʰarkʰ	pʰarkʰ	pʰarkʰ	pʰarkʰ
119.	root	ریشه	ri'fa	wi'eɟ	wi'ɔɟ	wi'ɔɟ	wi'ɔɟ
120.	bark	پوست درخت	pʰostʰə da'raχtʰ	pʰəst	pʰost	da'raxt pʰost	pʰost
121.	thorn	خار	χɔr	ɟuθ	ɟuθ	ɟuθ	ɟuθ
122.	fruit	میوه	me'wa	me'wa	me'wa	me'wa	me'wa
123.	flower	گل	gul	gul	gul	gul	gul
124.	grass	سبزه	sab'za	sav'za	sab'za	sab'za	sav'za
125.	wheat	گندم	gan'dum	ʒen'dam	ʒən'dam	ʒen'dam	ʒen'dam
126.	barley	جو	dʒau	tɟuɟɟ	tʃɔɟtʃə	tʃɔɟtʃ	tʃɔɟtʃ
127.	rice	برنج	bə'rendʒ	bə'rendʒ	bə'rendʒ	bə'rendʒ	bə'rendʒ
128.	potato	کچالو	kʰatɟɔ'lu	kʰartʰuɟ'ka	kʰatɟɔ'lu	kʰɔtuɟ'ka	kʰɔrtuɟ'kʰa
129.	chilli	مرچ	murtʃ	murtʃ	murtʃ	murtʃ	murtʃ
130.	garlic	سیر	sir	sir	sir	sir	sir
131.	onion	پیاز	pʰjɔs	pʰjɔs	pʰjɔs	pʰjɔs	pʰjɔs
132.	fish	ماهی	mɔ'i	mɔ'i	mɔ'i	mɔ'hɔɪ	mɔ'hɔɪ
133.	bird	پرنده	pʰarən'da	pʰaren'da	pʰaren'da	ve'ðetʃ	pʰaren'da
134.	dog	سگ	sag	kʰotʰ	kʰotʰ	kʰot	kʰotʰ
135.	snake	مار	mɔr	də'vusk	də'vaskʰ	də'vask	də'vask
136.	worm	کرم	kʰərm	tʃə'xirtʃ	tʃerm	tʃerm	tʃerm
137.	goat	بز	buz	was	was	was	was
138.	mosquito	پشه	pʰa'fa	tiv'dakʰ	tevt	tevt	θeu'nekʰ
139.	chicken	مرغ	mury	tʃaɕ	tʃaɕ	tʃaɕ	tʃaɕ
140.	spider	عنکبوت	ankʰa'butʰ	tʰortʰa'nakʰ	'mɔtsakʰ	mɔ'tsakʰ	tʰɔrtʰa'nekʰ
141.	cow	گاو	gau	ɕi:tʃ	zau	ɕɔtʃ	zɔu
142.	buffalo	گاو میش	gao meɟ	gao meɟ	xaɕ gau	gau meɟ	gao meɟ

143.	ant	مورچه	mur'tʃa	mur'tsak <sup>h</sup>	mur'tsak <sup>h</sup>	mur'tʃak <sup>h</sup>	mur'tʃek <sup>h</sup>
144.	woman	زن	zan	ɣe'nek <sup>h</sup>	ɣə'nək <sup>h</sup>	ɣə'nak <sup>h</sup>	ɣa'nek <sup>h</sup>
145.	man	مرد	mard	tʃə'rek <sup>h</sup>	mardi'na	tʃə'rutʃ	tʃə'ruk <sup>h</sup>
146.	person	نفر	na'far	ɔ'dam	ɔ'dam	ɔ'dam	na'far
147.	child/youth	طفل	t <sup>h</sup> əfl	t <sup>h</sup> ef'lak <sup>h</sup>	bo'tsek <sup>h</sup>	xar'vetʃ	xau'retʃ
148.	boy	بچه	ba'tʃa	ɣeða'bots	ɣa'ða	ɣa'ða	ɣa'ða
149.	girl	دختر	duɣ't <sup>h</sup> ar	ɣats	ɣats	ɣats	ɣats
150.	body	بدن	ba'dan	t <sup>h</sup> a'na	t <sup>h</sup> a'na	t <sup>h</sup> a'na	t <sup>h</sup> a'na
151.	skin	پوست	p <sup>h</sup> ost <sup>h</sup>	p <sup>h</sup> ost <sup>h</sup>	p <sup>h</sup> ost	p <sup>h</sup> ost	p <sup>h</sup> ost
152.	flesh/meat	گوشت	goʃt <sup>h</sup>	guɕt	goɕt	goɕt	goɕt
153.	blood	خون	ɣun	xun	xun	xun	xun
154.	bone	استخوان	ust <sup>h</sup> u'χɔn	set <sup>h</sup> χɔn	set <sup>h</sup> xɔn	set <sup>h</sup> xɔn	set <sup>h</sup> xɔn
155.	grease/fat	دنبه	dum'ba	dum'ba	dum'ba	dun'ba	dum'ba
156.	oil	روغن	ru'ɣan	ru'ɣan	ru'ɣan	ru'ɣan	ru'ɣan
157.	egg	تخم	t <sup>h</sup> uχum	tar'murɣ	tar'murɣ	tax'murx	t <sup>h</sup> ax'murx
158.	horn	شاخ	ʃɔχ	χoɕ	xeɕ	xɔɕ	ɕau
159.	tail	دومب	dum	ðum	ðum	ðum	ðum
160.	feather	پر	p <sup>h</sup> ar	p <sup>h</sup> a:r	t <sup>h</sup> iθ	t <sup>h</sup> eθ	t <sup>h</sup> if
161.	hair (on head)	مو	muɪ	ɣu:ndʒ	ɣundʒ	ɣundʒ	ɣundʒ
162.	head	سر	sa:r	k <sup>h</sup> a:l	k <sup>h</sup> ɔl	k <sup>h</sup> a:l	k <sup>h</sup> ɔl
163.	face	روی	ruɪ	pi:ts	pits	pets	p <sup>h</sup> i:ts
164.	ear	گوش	goʃ	ɣoɕ	ɣau	ɣau	ɣɔu
165.	eye	چشم	tʃɔʃəm	tsi:m	tsam	tsa:m	tsa:m
166.	nose	بینی	bi'ni	nets	nets	nidz	ni:ts
167.	mouth	دهن	dan	ɣef	ɣen	ɣe:m	ɣe:m
168.	tooth	دندان	dan'dɔn	ðən'dɔn	ðən'dɔn	ðen'dɔn	ðen'dɔn
169.	tongue	زبان	zu'bɔn	ɣef	zev	zev	zuv
170.	foot	پای	p <sup>h</sup> ɔɪ	p <sup>h</sup> oθ	puð	p <sup>h</sup> oð	puθ
171.	knee	زانو	zɔ'nu	zə:n	zun	zɔ'nu	zun
172.	hand	دست	dest <sup>h</sup>	θost	ðost	θɔst	ðɔst

173.	palm	کف دست	'kʰafə destʰ	bin	kafə ɖost	bin	'kafə ɖost
174.	finger	انگشت	aŋ'guʃtʰ	aŋ'gɪɕt	eŋ'gaɕt	eŋ'gaɕt	iŋ'gaɕt
175.	finger nail	ناخن	nə'χun	nə'χun	nə'xun	nə'xen	nə'xen
176.	belly	شکم	ʃə'kʰam	qʰitʃ	qəʃ	qəʃ	qʰəʃ
177.	neck	گردن	gar'dan	makʰ	makʰ	ma:tʃ	ma:kʰ
178.	heart	قلب	qʰalb	sorθ	qalb	zərθ	del
179.	liver	جگر	dʒə'gar	dʒɪ'gar	dʒe'gar	dʒɪ'gar	dʒe'gar
180.	back	پوشت	pʰuʃtʰ	da:m	dam	dam	da:n
181.	leg	لینگ	leŋ	liŋkʰ	leŋ	pʰoθ	puθ
182.	arm	دست	destʰ	θost	ɖost	θost	ɖost
183.	elbow	آرنج	ə'rɪndʒ	wɪɕ'tʃɛrn	xɛ'tʃɪrn	ɕə'tʃɪrn	ɕi'tʃɪrn
184.	wing	بال	bəl	rə'wost	pʰar	tʰɛθ	tʰɪf
185.	fur	پوست	pʰostʰ	θəxs	pʰost	pʰost	pʰost
186.	lip	لب	lab	ʃant	ʃaunt	ʃandʰ	ʃauntʰ
187.	navel	ناف	nəf	nəf	ne:f	ne:f	ne:f
188.	guts	روده	ro'da	dar'mun	ro'da	rod	rut
189.	saliva	لعاب	la'ɔb	əbe'dan	əbe'dan	əbe'dan	ʃaf
190.	milk	شیر	ʃɪr	ɕuft	ɕuft	ɕuft	ɕuft
191.	thirsty	تشنه	tʰɪʃ'na	tʰuɕ'na	tʰuɕ'na	tʰuɕ'na	tʰuɕ'na
192.	hungry	گشنه	guʃ'na	mau'zəntʃ	mauts	maus	maus
193.	drink NP	میخورد	'meχora	brɛst	brezdʰ	brezt	brɛst
194.	drink P	خورد	χord	'bruɕtə	'bruɕde	'bruɕtə	'bruɕtə
195.	eat NP	میخورد	'meχora	xirt	xert	xərt	xert
	eat P	خورد	χord	'xute	'xuɕe	'xuɕə	'xuɕə
196.	bite NP	چک میزند	tʃakʰ 'mezana	ʒə'ruɕt	dan'dən zə're	dan'dən rə'retʃ	den'dən dert
	bite P	چک زد	tʃakʰ zad	ʒə'ruɕte	dan'dən zə're tʃu	dan'dən rə'retʃuɕə	ye'ɣautʰ
197.	see NP	میبند	'mibɪna	wɪnt	wunt	tʃast	wunt
	see P	دید	did	'winte	'wunte	tʃəɕtə	'wunte
198.	hear NP	میشنود	'mɛfnaua	'ɕintə	ɕent	nə'ruɪtʰ	ɕent

199.	hear <i>P</i>	شنید	ʃu'nid	'cude	'cude	na'ruçtə	'cudə
200.	know <i>NP</i>	میفحمد	'mefɒma	famt	famt <sup>h</sup>	və'sunt <sup>h</sup>	famt <sup>h</sup>
	know <i>P</i>	فحمدید	fɒ'mid	'famte	'famte	və'sint <sup>h</sup> ə	'famtə
201.	sleep <i>NP</i>	خواب میكوند	χau 'mek <sup>h</sup> una	çəft'sum	çəftst	çəfst	çəfst
	sleep <i>P</i>	خواب کرد	χau k <sup>h</sup> ad	çəft	'çufte	çuft	'çufdə
202.	die <i>NP</i>	میمُرد	'memura	mirt	'mirta	mərt	mərt
	die <i>P</i>	مُرد	murd	mut	muk	'mutʃə	muk <sup>h</sup>
203.	think <i>NP</i>	فکر میکنند	'fək <sup>h</sup> ər 'mek <sup>h</sup> una	'tʃɔrtiθ	'fekre k <sup>h</sup> ɛçt	na'ruit <sup>h</sup>	'fekre k <sup>h</sup> ɛçt
	think <i>P</i>	فکر کرد	'fək <sup>h</sup> ər k <sup>h</sup> ad	'tʃɔrtəθɔt	'fekre tʃu	na'ruçtə	'fekre tʃə
204.	smell <i>NP</i>	بوی میکنند	bui 'mek <sup>h</sup> una	bui k <sup>h</sup> ɛçt	bui k <sup>h</sup> ɛçt	bui k <sup>h</sup> ɛçt	bui k <sup>h</sup> ɛçt
	smell <i>P</i>	بوی کرد	bui k <sup>h</sup> ad	bui tʃə	bui tʃu	bui 'tʃujə	bui tʃə
205.	vomit <i>NP</i>	استفراغ میکنند	əst <sup>h</sup> ə'frɔq <sup>h</sup> 'mek <sup>h</sup> una	sa'frɔ k <sup>h</sup> ɛçt	sa'frɔ k <sup>h</sup> ɛçt	qai 'ðud <sup>ə</sup>	sa'frɔ k <sup>h</sup> ɛçt
	vomit <i>P</i>	استفراغ کرد	əst <sup>h</sup> ə'frɔq <sup>h</sup> k <sup>h</sup> ad	sa'frɔ tʃu	sa'frɔ tʃu	qai 'tʃujə	sa'frɔçə tʃə
206.	fear <i>NP</i>	میترسد	'met <sup>h</sup> arsa	çətf ɔert	çəɖʒ ɔert	'çətfed	çətf ɔert
	fear <i>P</i>	ترسید	t <sup>h</sup> ar'sid	çətf ɔurt	çəɖʒ ɔud	'çətfɛat	çətf jat <sup>h</sup>
207.	live/be alive <i>NP</i>	زنده هست	zen'da s	zen'da jɔ	zen'da ja	zen'da jast	zen'da ast
	live/be alive <i>P</i>	زنده بود	zen'da bud	zen'da vɔt	zen'da vet	zen'da vet	zen'da vət <sup>h</sup>
208.	say/speak <i>NP</i>	گپ میزند	gap <sup>h</sup> 'mezana	gap ɔit	gap ɔeɔd <sup>ə</sup>	gap ɔeθt	gap <sup>h</sup> ɔert
	say/speak <i>P</i>	گپ زد	gap <sup>h</sup> zad	gapə ɔɔt	gap ɔud <sup>ə</sup>	gap 'ɔudə	'gape ɔud
209.	sing <i>NP</i>	بیت میخواند	bait <sup>h</sup> 'meχɔna	sɔz livt	sɔz ləvd <sup>ə</sup>	sɔz luvt	sɔz luvt
	sing <i>P</i>	بیت خواند	bait <sup>h</sup> χɔnd	sɔz lɔvt	sɔz luvdə	sɔz 'luvdə	sɔz p <sup>h</sup> ai'luvt
210.	suck <i>NP</i>	میچوشد	'metʃɔfa	sə'p <sup>h</sup> ɔft	se'p <sup>h</sup> aft	se'p <sup>h</sup> aft	se'p <sup>h</sup> aft
	suck <i>P</i>	چوشید	tʃɔ'ʃid	sə'p <sup>h</sup> iftə	se'p <sup>h</sup> iftə	se'p <sup>h</sup> eftə	se'p <sup>h</sup> iftə

211.	blow (w. mouth) <i>NP</i> blow (w. mouth) <i>P</i>	پف میکنند پف کرد	p <sup>h</sup> uf 'mek <sup>h</sup> una p <sup>h</sup> uf k <sup>h</sup> ad	p <sup>h</sup> uf k <sup>h</sup> əɬ <sup>h</sup> 'p <sup>h</sup> ufə tʃə	p <sup>h</sup> uft k <sup>h</sup> əɬ <sup>h</sup> 'p <sup>h</sup> ufte tʃu	p <sup>h</sup> uf ɔet p <sup>h</sup> uf 'tʃue	'p <sup>h</sup> uftə k <sup>h</sup> ɪɬ 'p <sup>h</sup> ufə tʃuk <sup>h</sup>
212.	red	سرخ	sʊrɣ	rʊʃt	rəʃt	rəʃt	rəʃt
213.	green	سبز	sabz	savz	savts	savz	savs
214.	yellow	زرد	zard	zird	zird	zird <sup>ə</sup>	zird
215.	white	سفید	sa'fed	sa'fet	sa'fed	sa'fet	sa'fet
216.	black	سیاه	sja	t <sup>h</sup> er	t <sup>h</sup> er	t <sup>h</sup> ir	t <sup>h</sup> er
217.	hot/warm	گرم	garm	k <sup>h</sup> aʃ	garm	garm	garm
218.	cold	سرد	sard	ʃto	ʃto	ʃə't <sup>h</sup> ə	ʃe't <sup>h</sup> ə
219.	full	پر	p <sup>h</sup> ur	lap	lap <sup>h</sup>	lap <sup>h</sup>	ʎak <sup>h</sup>
220.	new	نو	nau	nau	nau	nau	nau
221.	old	کهنه	k <sup>h</sup> o'na	k <sup>h</sup> ə'na	k <sup>h</sup> ona	k <sup>h</sup> o'na	k <sup>h</sup> o'na
222.	round	گرد	gerd	ala'q <sup>h</sup> a	gerd	gerd	gerd
223.	dry	خشک	ɣʊʃk <sup>h</sup>	q <sup>h</sup> əq <sup>h</sup>	q <sup>h</sup> əq <sup>h</sup>	q <sup>h</sup> əq <sup>h</sup>	q <sup>h</sup> əq <sup>h</sup>
224.	wet	تر	t <sup>h</sup> ar	ɣest <sup>h</sup>	xest <sup>h</sup>	xest <sup>h</sup>	xest <sup>h</sup>
225.	dark	تاریک	t <sup>h</sup> ə'rik <sup>h</sup>	t <sup>h</sup> ə'rik <sup>h</sup>	ɕa'bai	ɕa'bai	ɕa'bai
226.	heavy	سنگین	saŋ'gin	p <sup>h</sup> uɣ't <sup>h</sup> a	waz'min	waz'min	was'min
227.	light	سبک	sa'buk <sup>h</sup>	sə'buk <sup>h</sup>	sa'buk <sup>h</sup>	sa'buk <sup>h</sup>	sa'buk <sup>h</sup>
228.	dull	خسته کن	ɣast <sup>h</sup> a'k <sup>h</sup> un	q <sup>h</sup> in	q <sup>h</sup> in	q <sup>h</sup> in	'mot <sup>h</sup> kɪɬ
229.	sharp	تیز	t <sup>h</sup> ez	t <sup>h</sup> es	t <sup>h</sup> is	dʒald <sup>ə</sup>	t <sup>h</sup> es
230.	good	خوب	ɣub	ba'ʃand	ba'ʃand	ba'ʃand	ba'ʃand
231.	bad	بد	bad	ə'lak <sup>h</sup>	ə'lak <sup>h</sup>	zu'bo	bi'zib
232.	dirty	چتل	tʃa't <sup>h</sup> al	ɣaʒt	ɣaʒd	ɣaʒd	ɣaʒd
233.	rotten	خراب	ɣa'rəb	wɪ'rən	wə'rən	bi'zib	xa'rəb
234.	smooth	لش	laʃm	ɕern	daɕt	laʃm	leʃm
235.	straight	راست	rəst <sup>h</sup>	rəst <sup>h</sup>	rəst <sup>h</sup>	rəst <sup>h</sup>	rəst <sup>h</sup>
236.	correct	درست	du'rɪst <sup>h</sup>	sa'e	səs	sa'e	du'rɪst
237.	ripe	پخته	p <sup>h</sup> uɣ't <sup>h</sup> a	p <sup>h</sup> ɛɣ'tʃen	p <sup>h</sup> əɣ'tʃin	p <sup>h</sup> ux'tʃin	p <sup>h</sup> ux'tʃin
238.	broken	شکسته	ʃək <sup>h</sup> əs't <sup>h</sup> a	vəruɣ'tʃen	vəruɣ'tʃin	vəruɣ'tʃin	vəruɣ'tʃin
239.	whole	کل	k <sup>h</sup> ul	'jəvɾexts	'nəvəruɣ'tʃin	nə'vɾext	'navəruɣ'tʃ



240.	same	مثل	'məsle	mə'nent	'mumtʃenəu	mə'nent	'mesle
241.	different	فرق	farq <sup>h</sup>	vin'təu	farq	farq <sup>h</sup>	farq <sup>h</sup>
242.	mother	مادر	mə'dar	na:n	mə	məd <sup>o</sup>	mot <sup>h</sup>
243.	father	پدر	p <sup>h</sup> a'dar	t <sup>h</sup> at <sup>h</sup>	p <sup>h</sup> ε	p <sup>h</sup> et <sup>h</sup>	p <sup>h</sup> et <sup>h</sup>
244.	husband	شوهر	ʃa'war	tʃər	tʃor	tʃur	tʃur
245.	wife	زن	zan	ʁen	ʁan	ʁan	ʁan
246.	child	طفل	t <sup>h</sup> əfl	au'ləd	bo'tsek <sup>h</sup>	p <sup>h</sup> uts	au'ləd
247.	son	بچه	ba'tʃa	ye'da	ya'da	p <sup>h</sup> uts	p <sup>h</sup> uts
248.	daughter	دختر	duʁ't <sup>h</sup> ar	mənd	ʁats	ʁats	ʁats
249.	older brother	برادر کلان	brə'darə k <sup>h</sup> a'lən	ʁu'la vɾə	ʁu'la vɾə	ʁu'la vɾəd	'vɾəde ʁu'la
250.	younger brother	برادر خورد	brə'darə ʁurd	tsə'lik <sup>h</sup> və'rə	bu'tsek <sup>h</sup> vɾə	vɾə buts	'vɾəde be'tsik <sup>h</sup>
251.	older sister	خواهر کلان	'ʁuərə k <sup>h</sup> a'lən	ʁu'la jaʁ	ʁu'la jax	ʁu'la jax	ʁu'la jax
252.	younger sister	خواهر خورد	'ʁuərə ʁurd	tsə'lik <sup>h</sup> jaʁ	bə'tsek <sup>h</sup> jax	bə'tsik jax	bə'tsik <sup>h</sup> jax
253.	rope	ریسمان	res'p <sup>h</sup> ən	vaç	bant	vaç	vaç
254.	village	قریه	q <sup>h</sup> ar'ja	q <sup>h</sup> əf'ləq <sup>h</sup>	q <sup>h</sup> əf'ləq <sup>h</sup>	q <sup>h</sup> əf'ləq <sup>h</sup>	q <sup>h</sup> əf'ləq <sup>h</sup>
255.	house	خانه	ʁə'na	tʃit <sup>h</sup>	tʃot <sup>h</sup>	tʃot	tʃut <sup>h</sup>
256.	roof	بام	bəm	də'fɪd	də'fad <sup>o</sup>	de'fad	de'fad
257.	door	دروازه	darwə'za	də've	du'və	də'və	də'və
258.	broom	جاروب	dʒə'ru	və'dirm	və'dərm	ve'dərm	və'derm
259.	hammer	چکش	tʃə'k <sup>h</sup> uʃ	bələ'q <sup>h</sup> a	bələ'q <sup>h</sup> a	ʁa'jask	tʃa'k <sup>h</sup> uʃ
260.	knife	چاقو	tʃə'q <sup>h</sup> u	tʃet	tʃə'q <sup>h</sup> u	'tʃi:gə	tʃek <sup>h</sup>
261.	axe	کلند	k <sup>h</sup> ə'land	tʃək <sup>h</sup>	k <sup>h</sup> ə'land	tʃa'q <sup>h</sup> au	tʃa'q <sup>h</sup> au
262.	thread	تار	t <sup>h</sup> ər	p <sup>h</sup> ə'dəts	vəɾç	vəɾz	vəɾç
263.	needle	سوزن	su'zan	səts	sets	sets	sets
264.	cloth	تکه	t <sup>h</sup> e'k <sup>h</sup> a	k <sup>h</sup> ə'la	k <sup>h</sup> ə'la	k <sup>h</sup> ə'la	t <sup>h</sup> e'k <sup>h</sup> a
265.	gold	طلا	t <sup>h</sup> e'lə	t <sup>h</sup> e'lə	t <sup>h</sup> e'lə	t <sup>h</sup> e'lə	t <sup>h</sup> e'lə
266.	ring	انگشت	əŋgəʃ't <sup>h</sup> ar	tʃe'la	tʃe'la	ɪŋgəxt'mui	tʃe'la
267.	knot	گری	gə're	gə're	tʃə'rex	tʃə'rix	tʃə'rix

268.	path/ road	پیاده رو	pjoda'rau	pjoda'p <sup>h</sup> ont	pjoda'p <sup>h</sup> ant	pjoda'rau	pjodapan'tit <sup>h</sup>
269.	name	نام	nɔm	nəm	nɔm	nɔm	nɔm
270.	other	دیگر	de'gar	mɔ'tɔ	je'ge	de'ga	dr'gar
271.	sew	میدوزد	'medoza	an'tsi:vt	en'tsevt	en'tsevt	en'tsuvt
	sew	دوخت	doχt <sup>h</sup>	an'tsuvte	en'tsuvte	en'tsevdə	en'tsuvdə
272.	kill	میکشد	'mek <sup>h</sup> uʃa	k <sup>h</sup> o'ceɕ k <sup>h</sup> ect	k <sup>h</sup> aut <sup>h</sup>	zent	zent <sup>h</sup>
	kill	کشت	k <sup>h</sup> uʃt <sup>h</sup>	'zide	'k <sup>h</sup> oɕte	'zode	'zodə
273.	burn (wood) NP	میسوزد	meso'zad	sɔz k <sup>h</sup> ect	'θejud	θiut <sup>h</sup>	və'rezt
	burn (wood) P	سوخت	soχt <sup>h</sup>	θot <sup>h</sup>	zod	'θiudə	θot
274.	freeze NP	یخ میزند	jax <sup>h</sup> 'mezana	jax ðid	jax k <sup>h</sup> ect	ʃe't <sup>h</sup> ɔ ðut	ʃe't <sup>h</sup> ɔvai ðert
	freeze P	یخ زد	jax <sup>h</sup> zad	'jaxə ðɔd	jax tʃu	ʃe't <sup>h</sup> ɔ ðu'dʒɪm	ʃe't <sup>h</sup> ɔvai 'ðudə
275.	swell NP	می پندد	'mep <sup>h</sup> unda	va'ram k <sup>h</sup> ect	və'ram k <sup>h</sup> ect	və'ram k <sup>h</sup> ect	və'ram tʃutʃ
	swell P	پنیدد	p <sup>h</sup> un'did	va'ram tʃu	və'ram tʃu	və'ram tʃu	və'ram tʃɔ
276.	blow (wind) NP	شمال میشود	ʃə'mɔl 'meʃawa	ɕuts k <sup>h</sup> ect	ɕuts k <sup>h</sup> ect	ɕuts en'daut	ɕuts en'dezt
	blow (wind) P	شمال شد	ʃə'mɔ ʃud	ɕuts tʃɔ	ɕuts tʃu	ɕuts sut	ɕuts sut <sup>h</sup>

## APPENDIX B: VILLAGE ELDER QUESTIONNAIRE

I. Interview Data	۱. معلومات مصاحبه
1. Researcher	۱. پژوهشگر
2. Date	۲. تاریخ
3. Location	۳. موقعیت
4. Language of Interview	۴. لسان مصاحبه
II. Personal Data of Informant	۲. معلومات شخصی جواب دهنده
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 شوهر/ 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. تمبر نفر در خانه
15. ID	۱۵. تذکره
III. Village Data	۳. معلومات قریه
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. What do you call your language? How do other people call your language?	۵. شما زبان شما چی مینامید؟ مردم زبان شما را چی مینامند؟
6. Are there any people in your village who don't speak Roshani? Who? Why? Does their number increase? Their children?	۶. در قریه شما کسی موجود است که با زبان روشانی گپ نزنند؟ کی است؟ چرا؟ آنها زیاد شده میروند؟ اطفال شان چطور؟
7. In which other villages do people speak Roshani language? How many people speak your language in those villages? (All – many – some – few)	۷. دیگر در کدام قریه ها مردم به روشانی گپ میزنند؟ چند نفر از مردم آنجا به روشانی گپ میزنند؟ (کل – زیاد – متوسط – کم)
8. What languages do people speak in other nearby villages?	۸. در دیگر قریه ها نزدیک نزدیک مردم به کدام زبان ها گپ میزنند؟
9. What language do the elders in your community use with each other? With elders of other communities? With the people? In public speeches?	۹. ریش سفیدان قریه شما همراهی یکدیگر به کدام زبان گپ میزنند؟ ... همراهی ریش سفیدان قریه های دیگر؟ ... همراهی مردم؟ ... برای مردم (در صوخان رانی؟
10. Which language(s) do you speak with government officials?	۱۰. با نفر های دولت به کدام زبان گپ میزنید؟

IV School Data	۴. معلومات مکت
1. Where do children go to school? How many years? How often?	۱. اطفال کجا مکتب میروند؟ عموماً چند سال میروند؟ هر روز میروند؟ در یک سال چند ماه میروند؟
2. Do girls attend school, too? How many years? How often?	۲. دختران هم مکتب میروند؟ عموماً چند سال میروند؟ هر روز میروند؟ در یک سال چند ماه میروند؟
3. How many children of your village go to school? (All – many – some – a few)	۳. چند اطفال از این قریه مکتب میروند؟ (کل – زیاد – متوسط – کم)
4. How big is this school? Up to which grade does it go?	۴. این مکتب چند شاگرد دارد؟ و تا کدام صنف هست؟
5. What people do the teachers belong to? What is their mother tongue?	۵. معلمان از کدام مردم هستند؟ یعنی از کدام زبان؟
6. What is the language of instruction in the school?	۶. معلمان به کدام زبان درس میدهند؟
7. What do the children speak among each other during breaks?	۷. در وقت تفریح اطفال به کدام زبان گپ میزنند؟
8. What do you think would it be good if children in school could learn reading and writing first in Roshani or Shughni and later in Dari?	۸. به نظر شما خوب میبود که شاگردان اول به روشانی یا شغنی خواندن و نوشتن را یاد میگیرند و پساًتر به دری؟ یا اول به دری؟
9. Where do children go for further education?	۹. بعد از فارغ شدن از این مکتب شاگردان برای تحصیلات عالی کجا میروند؟
10. How many go for further education?	۱۰. به چی تعداد شاگردان برای تحصیلات عالی میروند؟
11. Do boys and girls go for further education?	۱۱. بچه ها زیادهتر و یا دخترها برای تحصیلات عالی میروند؟
12. How many of the adults are literate in your village? How many adults read books? (All – many – some – a few)	۱۲. به فکر شما، به چی تعداد از مردان و زنان در این قریه باسواد هستند؟ چی تعداد نفر کتاب را میخوانند؟ (کل – زیاد – متوسط – کم)
V Marriage Patterns	۵. عروسی
1. How many men in this village married to speakers of other languages? Which languages? Any Shughni women?	۱. در این قریه چند مردان با زنی که به زبان تان گپ نه میزند عروسی کدن؟ دختران کدام زبان عروسی کدن؟ زنان شغنی چتور؟
2. What language do they speak with each other? With their children?	۲. آنها با یک دیگر به کدام زبان گپ میزنند؟ با اطفال شان؟

3. Are women given into marriage to men from other languages? Which languages? Any Shughni men?	۳. در این قریه چند دختر عروسی کردن عروسی کردن به قریه که رشانی نیست؟ مردان شغنی چطور؟
4. What language do they speak to each other? With their children?	۴. آنها با یک دیگر به کدام زبان گپ میزنند؟ با اطفال شان؟
VI Travel	۶. سفر
1. How many men went to other places for work or military service? Where? How long? What language do they use there?	۱. از قریه شما چند مردان برای کار یا اسکری به جا های دیگر رفتند؟ کجا؟ چقدر وقت؟ کدام زبان ها در آنجا استفاده میکنند؟
2. Where do people come from to visit here? How often? How long? For what occasions? What language do they use?	۲. مردم از کجا به این جا میآند؟ چند مرتبه؟ چقدر وقت؟ برای چی؟ کدام زبان ها را بشتر استفاده میکنند؟
3. Where do people go when they are sick?	۳. مردم که مریض میشوند برای کمک کجا میروند؟
4. Where is the nearest hospital, clinic and pharmacy?	۴. شفا خانه، کلینیک و دواخانه نزدیکترین کجا هست؟
5. How do they go?	۵. مردم که مریض هستند چطور آنجا میروند؟
6. How long does it take?	۶. چقدر وقت را میگرد؟
VII Basic Living Conditions	۷. زندگی
1. What are the most common sicknesses that people suffer from?	۱. کدام مریضی را مردم زیادتد دارند؟
2. What do people produce themselves for their living?	۲. مردم برای خد اش چی زندگی پیدا میکنند؟
3. Where do people get things from they can't produce themselves?	۳. دیگر سودا که کار دارند مردم چطور پیدا میکنند؟
4. How do people make money?	۴. مردم چطور پیسه پیدا میکنند؟
5. What do people eat?	۵. مردم چی را میخورند؟
6. If there is electricity, where does it come from?	۶. اگر برق باشد، چطور پیدا میشود؟
7. Where does the water come from?	۷. آب چطور پیدا میشود؟
8. Are any organizations working here? Which ones?	۸. کدام دفترها اینجا کار و خدمت میکنند؟
9. What kind of work are they doing?	۹. آنها چی خدمت میکنند؟

## APPENDIX C: SOCIOLINGUISTIC QUESTIONNAIRE

I. Interview Data	۱. معلومات مصاحبه
1. Researcher	۱. پژوهشگر
2. Date	۲. تاريخ
3. Location	۳. موقعيت
4. Language of Interview	۴. لسان مصاحبه
II. Personal Data of Informant	۲. معلومات شخصي جواب دهنده
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 زندگي فعلي و قبلاً
6. Mother Tongue	۶. لسان مادري
7. Father's Mother Tongue	۷. لسان اصلي پدر
8. Mother's Mother Tongue	۸. لسان اصلي مادر
9. Spouse's Mother Tongue	۹. لسان اصلي شور/ زن
10. Education Level	۱۰. درجه تحصيل (چند سال)
11. Profession, where	۱۱. وظيفه (کجا)
12. Marital Status	۱۲. حالت مدني
13. Children	۱۳. اولاد
14. Number of people in the house	۱۴. نمبر نفر در خانه
15. ID	۱۵. تذکره
III. Language Area	۳. لسان و منطقه
1. Where do people speak your language?	۱. مردم کجا به زبان شما گپ ميزند؟
2. Where do people speak Roshani differently from you?	۲. مردم کجا با فرق زبان شما گپ ميزند؟
3. <i>If there is a difference:</i> Do you always understand it well? Where do people speak Roshani most sweet/ beautiful? Least sweet/ beautiful?	۳. آنها را هميشه خوب مي فهميد؟ مردم در کجا به زبان روشاني خوب و شرين گپ ميزند؟ و در کجا خراب يا بد گپ ميزند؟
4. Which other languages do you speak?	۴. ديگر کدام زبان را بلد استيد؟



5. Where did you learn those languages?	۵. از کجا این زبان ها را یاد گرفتید؟
6. Which language is easiest for you?	۶. کدام زبان آسانتر است برای شما؟
7. Which language would you like to speak better?	۷. کدام زبان را خوش دارید که بهتر گپ بزنید؟
IV. Language and Family	۴. لسان و فامیل
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 همراهی پدر و مادر تان گپ میزنید؟ همراهی زنان — شوهرتان؟ همراهی خواهر و برادرتان؟ همراهی اولادایتان؟ همراهی 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 همراهی یک دگر به دری گپ میزدند برای شما چطور میبود؟ چرا؟
4. Do children sometimes mix Dari and Roshani?	۴. اطفال کدام وقت زبان دری و روشانی گت میکنند؟
5. When your children grow up, what language will they use the most? Why? Are you happy with that?	۵. وقت که اطفال تان کلان میشوند زیادتر به کدام زبان گپ میزنند؟ چرا؟ خوش هستید؟
6. When your grand children grow up, what language will they use the most? Why? Are you happy with that?	۶. وقت که نواسه های تان کلان میشوند زیادتر به کدام زبان گپ میزنند؟ چرا؟ خوش هستید؟
7. Are there any wives in your family who are not Roshani? If yes: With what language do husband and wife speak together? Their children?	۷. در فامیل شما کسی زن گرفته که روشانی نیست؟ آنها به کدام زبان گپ میزنند؟ اطفال شان چطور؟
8. Would you let your son marry someone who speaks only Shughni/ Wakhi/ Ishkashimi/ Dari/ Pashto?	۸. شما به پسر تان اجازه میدهید که زنی بگیرد که تنها زبان شغنی/ واخی/ اشکاشمی/ دری/ پشتو بلد باشد؟
9. Is a women from your family given for marriage outside Roshan? If yes: What language does she speak with her husband? Their children?	۹. در فامیل شما دختر عروسی کرده به قریه که روشانی نیست؟ هالی به فامیل اش به کدام زبان گپ میزند؟ اطفال اش چطور؟
10. Would you let your daughter marry someone who speaks only Shughni/ Wakhi/ Ishkashimi/ Dari/ Pashto?	۱۰. شما به دختر تان اجازه میدهید که به بچه عروسی کند که تنها زبان شغنی/ واخی/ اشکاشمی/ دری/ پشتو بلد باشد؟

11. Which language do you use at Juma Namoz during prayer? After prayer for preaching?	۱۱. به کدام زبان در نماز جمعه دعا میکنید؟ بعد از نماز جمعه ملا برای مردم به کدام زبان گپ میزنند؟
V. Language, Travel and Trade	۵. لسان، سفر تجاری
1. Which languages do you speak at the bazaar/ with merchants who come to the village?	۱. به کدام زبان در بازار/ همراهی تجار که به قریه میاند گپ میزنید؟
2. Where do you go to visit? How often? How long? For what occasions? What language do you use there? <i>Shighnān</i> ?	۲. شما به کدام جا ها سفر میکنید؟ چند دفعه؟ چقدر وقت؟ برای چی؟ از کدام زبان ها در آنجا استفاده میکنید؟
3. Did you go to other places for work or military service? Where? How long? What language did you use there?	۳. شما برای کار یا اسکری به جا های دیگر رفتید؟ کجا؟ چقدر وقت؟ کدام زبان ها در آنجا استفاده میکردید؟
4. Do people come from other places to visit you? How often? How long? For what occasions? What language do they use? <i>Shighnān</i> ?	۴. مردم از کجا به دیدان شما میایند؟ چند مرتبه؟ چقدر وقت؟ برای چی؟ کدام زبان ها را بشترا استفاده میکنند؟
5. Where does Roshani come from? Where was it spoken first?	۵. زبان روشانی از کجا آمده؟ اول در کجا رواج بود؟
6. Has ever anyone made fun of you because of your language? Who?	۶. کس سر شما خنده کرد از خاطر زبان شما؟ کی بود؟
VI. Language, Children and Education	۶. لسان، اطفال و تحصیل
1. Do your children go to school? Which grade? Those who don't go – why don't they go? <i>boys - girls</i>	۱. اطفال شما مکتب میروند؟ کدام صنف؟ آنها که نه میروند – چرا نه میروند؟
2. When your children started school did they already know the language of instruction?	۲. وقت که اطفال شما نو مکتب رفتن زبان که درس داده میشود، او را یاد گرفتند؟
3. Does the teacher help your children in Roshani in class?	۳. معلم اطفال شما را به زبان روشانی در صنف کمک میکند؟
4. Before starting school which language do/ did your children use among each other?	۴. وقت که اطفال شما خورد استند/ میبودند و مکتب نه میروند/ میرفتند بین خود شان به کدام زبان گپ میزدند/ میزدند؟
5. At what age do your children understand Dari well?	۵. اطفال شما چی وقت زبان دری را یاد گرفتند؟

6. Would you prefer your children to learn reading and writing in Dari first, or in Shughni or in Roshani first and later in Dari? Why?	۶. خوب بود که اطفال خواندن و نوشتن را اول به زبان دری یاد بگیرند، یا اول به زبان شغنی یا روشانی و پساًتر به زبان دری؟ چرا؟
VII. Literacy and Media	۷. سواد آموزی
1. Do you like reading books? What kinds of books do you usually read?	۱. شما خواندن کتاب را خوش دارید؟ عموماً چی نوع کتاب میخوانید؟
2. Would you like books in your language? Why? What kind of books would you like: stories, poetry, songs, history, health education, other?	۲. میخواهید به زبان خود شما کتاب باشد؟ چرا؟ اگر میخواهید چی نوع کتاب باشد داستان ها، شعر، خواندن ها یا آواز ها، تاریخ، دربارهٔ صحت کدام یکی؟
3. Would you spend money to buy books in Roshani?	۳. اگر کتاب به روشانی میبود، شما آن را میخرید؟
4. What would be the best Roshani dialect to produce literature in? Why?	۴. بهترین لهجه روشانی برای ساختن ادبیات کدام است؟ چرا؟
5. If there was a literacy class in Roshani, would you go?	۵. اگر اینجا درس خواندن و نوشتن به روشانی میبود، شما رفته بودید؟
6. Would you spend money in order to learn reading and writing in Roshani?	۶. شما برای این درس پैसे میدادید؟
7. Do you listen to the radio? In what language?	۷. شما رادیو را میشنوید؟ به کدام زبان؟
IX. Personal Importance	۸. قدر بررسی
1. How useful is Roshani for you in respect of – <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>getting jobs</li> <li>higher education</li> <li>communication with other communities</li> <li>gaining respect in your community?</li> </ul>	۱. زبان روشانی تا چی اندازه برای تان فایده دارد؟ <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- برای کاریابی</li> <li>- برای تحصیلات عالی</li> <li>- ارتباط با دیگر مردم</li> <li>- صاحب احترام شدن در بین مردم خودتان</li> </ul>
2. How useful is Shughni for you in respect of – <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>getting jobs</li> <li>higher education</li> <li>communication with other communities</li> <li>gaining respect in your community?</li> </ul>	۲. زبان شغنی تا چی اندازه برای تان فایده دارد؟ <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- برای کاریابی</li> <li>- برای تحصیلات عالی</li> <li>- ارتباط با دیگر مردم</li> <li>- صاحب احترام شدن در بین مردم خودتان</li> </ul>

3. How useful is Dari for you in respect of – <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ getting jobs</li> <li>▪ higher education</li> <li>▪ communication with other communities</li> <li>▪ gaining respect in your community?</li> </ul>	۳. زبان دری تا چی اندازه برای تان فایده دارد؟ <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- برای کاریابی</li> <li>- برای تحصیلات عالی</li> <li>- ارتباط با دیگر مردم</li> <li>- صاحب احترام شدن در بین مردم خودتان</li> </ul>
4. How important is the Roshani language to you?	۴. زبان روشانی برای شما تا چی اندازه مهم است؟

## APPENDIX D: PROFICIENCY STORYING QUESTIONNAIRE

I. Interview Data	
1. Researcher	۱. پژوهشگر
2. Date	۲. تاریخ
3. Location	۳. موقعیت
4. Language of Interview	۴. لسان مصاحبه
II. 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 شوهر/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

III. 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 همراهی پدر و مادر گپ میزدید؟
2. With whom did you first speak Dari?	۲. همراهی کی 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 friend's Dari levels compare to yours?	۴. الف) در مکتب شما بهترین دری یاد داشتید یا دوستان تان؟
4b. What was the cause of the difference?	۴. ب) چرا همان طور میبود؟
4c. How does your friend's 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 neighbour 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 همراهی اش گپ زدید؟
IV. Level of Proficiency Level One/ Two	
6a. When was the last time you bought something from the bazaar/ a trader?	۶. الف) دفعه گذشته 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 زیادتیر همراهی تجار گپ زدید یا دگر نفر؟
6f. Was it difficult in anyway?	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 مشکل 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 نباتات 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 s.o. and it was difficult?	۸. الف) کدام وقت بود که شما به دری همراهی 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) همراهی 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 of Proficiency 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)?	۱۰. الف) شما پیش داکتر رفته بودید؟
10b. When was this?	۱۰. ب) چی وقت بود؟
10c. Who went with you?	۱۰. ت) کی همراهی شما رفت؟
10d. Were you able to explain everything you needed to (in Dari)?	۱۰. پ) شما تانستید هر چیز به دری بگوید؟
10e. What was difficult to explain?	۱۰. ث) چی مشکل بود؟
10f. Do you know someone for whom this situation would have been more difficult?	۱۰. ج) شما کس را میشناسید کی برای اش مشکلات میبود
10g. Do you know someone for whom this situation would have been easier?	۱۰. الف) شما کس را میشناسید کی برای اش آسانتر میبود
11a. Have you ever had to argue with someone in Dari?	۱۱. ب) شما همراهی کس به دری غالمغال کرده بودید؟
11b. What did you argue about?	۱۱. ت) غالمغال راجع به چی بود؟
11c. Was it difficult to use Dari for this?	۱۱. پ) مشکل بود به دری؟
11d. Do you know someone for whom this would have been more difficult?	۱۱. ث) شما کس را میشناسید کی برای اش مشکلات میبود؟
11e. Do you know someone for whom this would have been less difficult?	۱۱. الف) شما کس را میشناسید کی برای اش آسانتر میبود؟

12a. Have you ever translated for someone from Dari into Roshani?	۲۱. ب) شما برای دگر نفر ترجمه کرده بودید؟
12b. When was this?	۲۱. ت) چی وقت بود؟
12c. For whom did you translate?	۲۱. پ) برای کی ترجمه کردید؟
12d. What was the topic/situation?	۲۱. ث) ترجمه راجع به چی بود؟
12e. Was it difficult in anyway?	۲۱. ج) مشکل بود؟
12f. Do you know someone for whom this kind of situation would be more difficult?	۲۱. ح) شما کس را میشناسید کی برای اش مشکلتر میبود؟
12g. Do you know someone for whom this situation would be less difficult?	۲۱. چ) شما کس را میشناسید کی برای اش آسانتر میبود؟
13a. Are there certain topics which are easier for you to speak about in Dari than others?	۳۱. الف) کدام مضمون ها برای شما آسانتر هست که به دری راجع به آن گپ بزنید از دگر مضمون؟
13b. Which ones?	۳۱. ب) کدام اش آسانتر هست؟
13c. Why are they easier?	۳۱. ت) چرا اسان تر هست؟
14a. Have you ever told a joke in Dari?	۴۱. الف) شما کدام دفعه به دری مزاق کردید؟
14b. When?	۴۱. ب) چی وقت؟
14c. Who was there?	۴۱. ت) کی گوش گرفت؟
14d. Was it hard (in Dari)?	۴۱. پ) مشکل بود به دری؟
14e. Why was it hard?	۴۱. ث) چرا مشکل بود؟
14f. Do you know someone for whom this would have been easier?	۴۱. خ) شما کس را میشناسید کی برای اش آسانتر میبود؟
14g. Do you know someone for whom this would have been harder?	۴۱. ح) شما کس را میشناسید کی برای اش مشکلتر میبود؟
15a. Have you ever talked about politics with someone in Dari?	۵۱. الف) شما همراهی کس به دری راجع به سیاست گپ زدید؟
15b. When was the last time you did?	۵۱. ب) دفعه گذشته چی وقت بود؟
15c. With whom were you talking?	۵۱. ت) همراهی کی گپ زدید؟
15d. What was difficult about this experience?	۵۱. پ) مشکلات چی بود؟
15e. Do you know s.o. who would have more difficulties than you in the same situation?	۵۱. ث) شما کس را میشناسید کی زیادتیر مشکلات داشته باشد؟



15f. Do you know s.o. who would have less difficulty than you in the same situation?	۵۱. (ج) شما کس را میشناسید کی کمتر مشکلات ها داشته باشد؟
Level of Proficiency Level Three Plus/ Four	
16a. Are you familiar with all the words of the Dari language?	۶۱. (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?	۶۱. (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?	۶۱. (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?	۷۱. (الف) کس هست که برای شما مشکل باشد که همراهش به دری گپ بزنید؟
17b. Whom?	۷۱. (ب) کی هست؟
17c. Why would it be difficult to speak Dari with them?	۷۱. (ت) چرا مشکل هست؟
17d. Do you know someone who wouldn't have problems speaking Dari with them?	۷۱. (پ) شما کس را میشناسید که براش مشکل نه باشد؟
18a. Have you ever made a mistake speaking Dari?	۸۱. (الف) یک وقت به گپ زدن دری اشتبا کرده بودید؟
18b. Are you still making mistakes?	۸۱. (ب) هنوز اشتبا میکنید؟
Level of Proficiency Level Four Plus/ Five	
19. Do you know more words in Roshani or more Dari words?	۹۱. شما زیاتر لغت ها را به دری یا به روشانی میفهمید؟
20a. Can you speak Dari like mother tongue Dari speakers?	۱۰۲. (الف) شما میتوانید به دری گپ بزنید مثل نفر دری زبان؟
20b. Do you know someone (else) who can't?	۱۰۲. (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 Roshani?	۱۲. چی برای شما آسانتر هست – حساب کردن زودتر در فکر تان به روشانی یا به دری؟
22. Is it s.times easier to think in Dari rather than Roshani or is it the other way around?	۲۲. چی برای شما آسانتر هست – فکر کردن به دری یا به روشانی؟
V. Community Proficiency	

23. Are there children in this community who speak Dari very well?	۳۲. 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?	۴۲. 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?	۵۲. 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?	۶۲. به نظر شما چرا یگان اطفال خوب دری را یاد دارد، لاکن دیگران شان نی؟
27. Is the number of children who speak Dari well larger or smaller than 20 years ago?	۷۲. بست سال پیشتر اطفال دری را خوب یاد میگرفتند یا حالی؟
28. Do you expect your grandchildren will speak Dari as well as you do? What about Roshani?	۸۲. به نظر شما نواسه های شما مثل شما دری را خوب یاد دارند؟ روشانی چطور؟
<b>Language Contact</b>	
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. دیگر تماس همراهی دری زبان

**APPENDIX E: INTERAGENCY LANGUAGE ROUNDTABLE PROFICIENCY SCALE<sup>10</sup>****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.

<sup>10</sup> taken from Grimes (1986)

**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.

**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 RTT (WITH BREAKS) AND QUESTIONNAIRE****A. RTT-Questionnaire**

I. Pre-Testing Data	
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 جواب دهنده
6. Gender of Informant	۶. جنس جواب دهنده
7. Age	۷. سن
8. Place of Birth	۸. محل تولد
9. Residence (now, other)	۹. محل زندگی میکروید (فعلی، قبلاً)
10. Mother Tongue	۱۰. لسان مادری جواب دهنده
11. Fathers' Mother Tongue	۱۱. لسان اصلی پدر
12. Mother's Mother Tongue	۱۲. لسان اصلی مادر
13. Spouse's Mother Tongue	۱۳. لسان اصلی شوهر/ زن
14. Education Level	۱۴. درجه تحصیل
15. Profession	۱۵. وظیفه
16. Marital Status	۱۶. حالت مدنی
17. Children	۱۷. اولاد
18. Number of people in the house	۱۸. نفر در خانه
19. ID	۱۹. تذکره
20. Travel Patterns, general (destination/ frequency/ duration/ language)	۲۰. سفر (به کجا، چند وقت، چقدر وقت، زبان)
II. Post-Testing Questions	
1. Where does the storyteller come from?	۱. نفر که قصه میگوید کجای هست؟
2. Was it good Shughni?	۲. لسان شغنی اش خوب بود؟
3. How much did you understand?	۳. چقدر فهمیدید؟
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؟

**B. First Story: My Schooling**

'dwɔzda sɔ'la am'wədam mo 'tʰatʰ as bain tuit xu 'batam 'detai 'sayiye't. tak'riban waxt 'solum wos 'detʰe be sarpa'ras vɔd.

I was 12 years old when my father died. I was left behind for 8 years.

*Pause*

bad as wem tʃi ʃɔn. 'sotʰom dar mak'tab mak'tab ɕai'dom na var'dot. 'dutamred ji'gɔŋ 'senfe nowm 'ɕai xu 'degam na varm'dos. 'bepul na varm'do mak'tab 'ɕɔjum.

What happened: I could not go to school and I did not have money. I was left without provision. I had studied up to 9<sup>th</sup> grade. But then I could not go to school because I did not have money.

*Pause*

bad as dem tʃi ʃɔm. marde'kɔyan ʃɔt. tʃɔpɔ'nem ʃɔt. darxɔ'nem tʃɔ nawarm'do mak'tab ɕai'dɔ. du tam'red iɣɔn tak'riban waɕt 'solum beko'ra us'red.

What happened: I worked as a shepherd, I worked as a farmer and I could not go to school. For 8 years I was left without work.

*Pause*

bad az wem ɔt pʰas dar mak'tab xɔ mak'tab ɕai'dom de'gam na var'dot 'wɔjum pʰas kʰarvi'at dam dar mak'tab xɔ dar mak'tab am xu'dɔ na 'waram ɔt ɕai'dɔ. ɕai'dɔ am na war'ɔt 'badam pʰas di ɕai'dɔ mise'ji tʃɔ.

Then I was sent back to school, but I was not able to study. I was sent back to school, but I could not study. I was not able to learn, so I gave up.

*Pause*

'ʃetʃum 'ano ak'bɔre tʰa 'kʰɔnem 'ɕɔjum kurs 'vega 'tʃeftam ma'lem kʰɔn jas sɔr'xesem dar kurs 'ɕɔjum. jɔ da'rɔstʰa xub dars mur'ded ba'ʃand ɔ'dam jɔ. 'eda kʰo'ʃef kʰu'num dar 'xesand dars jɔt ku'num.

Now I am studying in a course with a teacher in the evening. He teachers me well and he is a good man. I wish to understand my lessons well.

*Pause*

'dega iŋli'si am 'ɕɔjam mes 'navardot 'weam meseje'tʃɔ. 'felant 'kʰɔlan ʃukʰ ma'lem yesen'tʰa tʃis 'ɕɔjum. 'kurse da'ri ta 'ɕɔjum. (i 'jaki 'ami but. [Dari])

I also studied English, but I could not learn it, so I gave up. Now I am studying with the teacher, here. And what do I study? I am studying a Dari course. (This was my first one.)

**C. Second Story: My Wedding**

a'walem sotʰ tʰar'xɔ 'χesor tʃɔi xu 'xinəm kama'win tɔx.

First, I went to my father-in-law's house. I saw my wife a little bit.

*Pause*

'badem xɔ'na rɔ'mɔt 'wamin 'wamin tʰa'lab murt 'wamin 'θɔtemɔ 'badem jat a'rɔ. 'badem jat a'rɔ tak'riban jakʰ 'solum nus'dare 'pʰasam 'sotʰaram. 'sote 'maram 'wamum tʃɔ sur xer'xɔ 'badem wam tʃɔ 'surxɔ 'wujem tarxɔ'tʃiwam.

I sent my mother there and she asked for her; they agreed and she came back. I waited for about one year, then I went back there. I prepared a wedding for her; then I brought her to my house.

*Pause*

'badan a'zø haki'ma tʃai haki'ma 'səatʰat fere'ʃta at'maθem 'sarmu sure'at. 'bade mu'sur made'at ɣo'stø kʰo'makʰe mesmamu'lap tʃo. ar tʃi dar'ten rəst vud murd. kʰo'makʰe mutʃ'lap ʃo mas'rem. mi'star tʃøn em mas'lap kʰo'makʰ mud tʃud.

Hakima – who? Hakima and Fereshta came to my wedding. They came to my wedding and they helped me a lot. They brought me many things. Their help was enormous. Mr. John helped me a lot, too.

*Pause*

'badem ɣu'suy tʰer tʃe'xo. 'badem bad a'zet pənz'da roz gar tʃis nos xo 'dadem tʃi ʃud 'dadem jat a'rø. 'jatem a'rø xo 'wəjem dar no mɔ rø'ret.

After the wedding I stayed in my house. And after 15 days I came back here. Then I came here and I stayed for 9 month.

*Pause*

no mɔ ma rø'ret xo 'wəjem tʰui arxu'ʃi. 'sətʰe 'maram da 'pənzda 'rozem 'waxən xur'əan ɣet xo 'wəum da 'azəm tʰuit 'tʃisam na famt tsa'rangga rang 'matʃem ma'lum oy nesa'ta.

Then I went back to my house again. I went and stayed for 15 days with my wife. And then I left from there. Now, I have no way of knowing how things are.

*Pause*

vɔ dar jak mɔ bad vɔ'tʰim ar xo ɕin xe savəsa'vum 'arɔ mu'nams baʃ'ɣo 'savum tʃəst ar'xo mu vrɔ'darem este'fəb ba'ʃande mua'dam da tʃi'se.

In one month's time I will go back to my wife. My mother looks after her and my brothers are good to her. They look after her.

*Pause*

ustad'vɔ 'sawo ma'vɔ xo 'aga sət 'səle tʰa'va ama'rəvam. 'wara ma'rəvam xə'gø u'tʰəkem tʃam xo 'badam no ɕa'rø. je'gøn jak səl du səl sət kʰarø us 'neθam bot ɕe'rən kʰata'rø.

I will go again and if it works out, I will bring her here next year. I will take a room and I will live there with her. It could be one year; it could be two years; then I will live with her here.

*Pause*

'deskʰam ʒi ʒəs 'bojəd 'kʰate xuɕem 'kʰate 'neθalum. 'aga xu'dəe barə'bare tsa kʰeɕt 'eskʰata kʰe'nəm. 'dutʰaje ʃən sat fi'sat kʰet'kʰors xət.

I would love to live here with my wife. If God allows it, I will do it like this. 100% it will be like this.

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