

A Linguistic Assessment of the Munji Language in Afghanistan

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This paper presents a sociolinguistic assessment of the Munji (ISO: mnj) speech variety based on data collected in the Munjan area of northern Afghanistan. The goal was to determine whether a national language is adequate for primary school education and literature, or whether the Munji people would benefit from language development, including literature development in the vernacular. The survey trip entailed administering questionnaires to village elders, sociolinguistic questionnaires as well as Dari proficiency questionnaires to men and women of various age groups, eliciting word lists, and observing intelligibility of Dari and language use. In this way we aimed to determine the vitality of Munji, the different varieties of Munji, the use of Munji and Dari in the different domains of life, attitudes toward the speaking community's own speech variety and toward Dari, and to investigate their intelligibility of Dari. In this paper we aim to show that the Munji people would benefit from Munji language development as a basis for both primary school material and adult literacy material in the mother tongue. In the long term, this is likely to raise the education level as well as the Munji people's ability to acquire Dari literacy.

1. INTRODUCTION.¹ From April 20 to 25, 2008, we conducted sociolinguistic research in the Munjan language area of northern Afghanistan.² The research was carried out under the auspices of the International Assistance Mission (IAM), a non-governmental organization working in Afghanistan. Questionnaires and word lists provided the following results:

There are two varieties of Munji with a lexical similarity of 92%. Regular sound changes are the most prominent difference between the northern variety and the southern variety. People claim trouble-free mutual intelligibility. The northern variety seems to be the more prestigious one.

Munji is spoken in every home. In looking at all the languages used in the Munjan valley (Munji, Dari, Nuristani), and analyzing their use in various domains, we found that Munji clearly plays the dominant role. In the domains of home and community, Munji is

¹ This paper is published in remembrance of Daniela Beyer, who was killed August 5, 2010, in the Munjan valley while translating for a medical team.

² We would like to thank the provincial and district representatives of the Ministry of Education who supported this linguistic assessment. We are also very grateful to the Shelter Now International (SNI) office and staff members in Faizabad, whose development project in the language area greatly facilitated our survey trip.

used almost exclusively. Dari³ (ISO code: prs), one of the two national languages, is used only with visitors from outside the community, or for travel, trade, and work in Dari-speaking areas—all of which is men’s business. School instruction takes place in Dari, though a little Munji is also used. This is the only domain that exposes girls and young women to Dari. Dari is the language mostly used in the domain of religion, and exclusively in the domain of media, since there are no oral or written materials in Munji.

The community’s attitude toward its own vernacular is very positive. All parents foresee their children and grandchildren speaking Munji in the future. Community members value and cherish their own language, and their ethnolinguistic identity is strong. They also displayed a positive attitude toward Dari, and it is considered beneficial. Several Dari-speaking women are found in every village surveyed.

Generally, bilingualism with Dari is low. Most men speak Dari at least at a level that helps them function well in everyday situations. Women’s proficiency is even lower. Basic conversation is possible, but Dari literature cannot serve the Munji adequately. We recommend that literacy material, easy reading material, and other material for primary school education in Munji be developed, as well as material for adult literacy.

2. BACKGROUND INFORMATION CONCERNING THE COUNTRY OF AFGHANISTAN

2.1 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 shares a very short border with China to the far east. Map 1 shows the country’s borders and its 34 provinces.



MAP 1: Provinces of Afghanistan (afghana! 2008)

³ The language is listed as “Farsi, Eastern” in the Ethnologue, with alternate names “Dari, Parsi, Persian” also listed. However, the Afghan people refer to their national language as “Dari.”

2.2 HISTORY. Afghanistan has been an area of great interest for many centuries, mainly because of its central position in Asia. Marco Polo probably traveled on the Silk Road, through Badakhshan and the Wakhan corridor, to China. During the period of the “Great Game”⁴ (18th and 19th centuries) the Russians and the British fought fiercely over what is now the country of Afghanistan.

In recent history, Afghanistan was occupied by Russia from 1977 until its defeat by the Mujahidin, and the Taliban began to rule the country in 1995. In 2001, the Northern Alliance, supported by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), terminated the reign of the Taliban. Currently, Afghanistan is led by a president and a parliament.

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

2.3 LINGUISTIC SITUATION. The national languages of Afghanistan are Dari and Pashto. Both are Indo-European languages, Dari belonging to the West Iranian group of languages and Pashto to the East Iranian group. The Ethnologue (Gordon 2005) lists 46 languages for Afghanistan. Many of these are also spoken in neighboring countries, as borders were drawn without taking into account the locations and boundaries of ethnolinguistic groups. According to the new Constitution of Afghanistan (in place since 2005), Article 16, the government supports the development and strengthening of minority languages. Even the status of a third national language is ascribed to some languages, in places where the majority speaks them. For example, Pamiri is mentioned as one of them.⁵ Little research has been conducted on the minority languages of Afghanistan, and hardly any information about them is available.

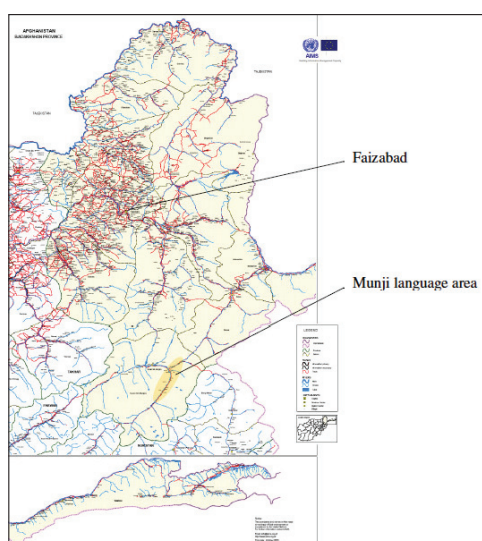
3. GEOGRAPHY, POPULATION, AND LANGUAGE OF MUNJAN.

3.1 GEOGRAPHY. The Munjan valley is part of Badakhshan Province. The province is situated in the northeastern part of Afghanistan, sharing a border with Tajikistan to the north and east, China to the far east, and Pakistan to the south of the Wakhan corridor. The terrain

⁴ 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” (Wikipedia 2008). Following the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, “a second, less intensive phase followed The term ‘The Great Game’ is usually attributed to Arthur Conolly, an intelligence officer of the British East India Company’s Sixth Bengal Light Cavalry. It was introduced into mainstream consciousness by British novelist Rudyard Kipling in his novel *Kim* (1901)” (Wikipedia 2008).

⁵ Linguistic publications do not consider Pamiri as one language; rather, they refer to the Pamir languages as a group of related languages, one of which is Munji (see 2.3, “Language Classification”).

consists mostly of high-altitude mountain ranges, with valleys up to 6,000 meters (20,000 feet). The district of Kuran wa Munjan is located in the south of Badakhshan, bordering the province of Nuristan. The Munjan valley is situated at an altitude of around 3,000 meters (10,000 feet), surrounded by mountains of 5,000 to 6,000 meters (16,000–20,000 feet). Map 2 shows the province of Badakhshan. The Munjan area is indicated in yellow-orange. The Mamalgha valley is also part of Munjan (see map 3), running northeast off the river that delineates the entire Munjan valley. The southeastern part of the district called *Kuran wa Munjan* is made up of the Munjan and Mamalgha valleys. Map 3 is a detail of Map 2.



MAP 2: Province of Badakhshan, with Munji-speaking area (AIMS 2003)



MAP 3: Munjan area, with Mamalgha valley (AIMS 2003)

The villages in the Mamalgha and Munjan valley are listed below, from northeast to south. Those included in the research project described are given in boldface.

Magh Nawul households:	10	3256m	N: 36° 02' 35" E: 070° 57' 48"
Wulf	5		
Tagaw	10	2976m	N: 36° 01' 36" E: 070° 56' 28"
Dasht Parghish (part of Sharān) ⁶			
Sharān	100	2764m	N: 35° 59' 01" E: 070° 54' 03"
Malesheya	12		
Ghomand	10		
Dasht	15		

⁶ The letter *a* with a macron is pronounced [ɔ].

Diambe	15		
Welo	25		
Ghaz	40	2774m	N: 35° 54' 36" E: 070° 53' 28"
Shāhe Pari	23	2844m	N: 35° 54' 22" E: 070° 53' 32"
Sar Jangal	14		
Myāndeh	50	2772m	N: 35° 51' 17" E: 070° 51' 29"
Yeghdak	26		
Panām	10		
Qala-e Shāh	10	2889m	N: 35° 49' 10" E: 070° 50' 02"
Tili	31	2871m	N: 35° 48' 19" E: 070° 49' 26"
Naw	30	2932m	N: 35° 44' 27" E: 070° 45' 50"
Ferāzen	6		

3.2 POPULATION. As reported by the village elders, the total number of households in the villages in the Munjan valley is 406. According to the results of the Village Elder Interview (Appendix B) and the Sociolinguistic Questionnaire (Appendix C), the number of people living in each household varies from 2 to 32. The average of the numbers reported is 13 people per household. That amounts to approximately 5,300 Munji people in the Munjan and Mamalgha valleys. This number is slightly higher than the result of a field survey from 2002, which states a total population of 4,087 people in Munjan (Emadi 2005).

The villages of Naw and Ferāzen are not included, since both are mostly Nuristani-speaking.⁷ We went to Naw and learned that there are some Munji wives in these villages, and a few of them speak Munji with their children. Some families speak Dari at home, but most of them speak Nuristani. The province of Nuristan can be accessed via a mountain pass just south of Ferāzen.

The village of Qala-e Shāh is left out of the calculation as well. The people are Dari-speaking; they understand Munji but do not speak it.⁸

3.2 LANGUAGE CLASSIFICATION. The Munji language is part of the Pamir language group. Pamir languages are spoken in the Pamir Mountains in the countries of Afghanistan, Pakistan, Tajikistan, and China. According to Kreutzmann (1996), the following seven languages are part of the Pamir language group: Yagnobi, Munji-Yidgha, Ishkashimi-Sanglechi, Wakhi, Shughni-Roshani-Bartangi, Yazgolami, and Sariqoli (Kreutzmann 1996). Munji, Shughni-Roshani, Wakhi and Ishkashimi-Sanglechi are spoken in the Badakhshan Province of Afghanistan. They share some grammatical features.

Munji is spoken in the Munjan valley located south of Faizabad, Sanglechi in the San-

⁷ These communities call their language *Nuristani*. It is also called *Kataviri*, according to Strand (2007).

⁸ On our way, we stopped in Qala-e Shah for tea, and the village elder explained to us that about 100 years ago there was a king in Qala-e Shah (the name means *king's castle*). Poor Dari-speaking Afghans came from the north and worked for him to make a living. When the king died, the people stayed and built houses. Some married Munji wives, who learned Dari. A Swiss architect traveling to Qala-e Shah in 1975 analyzed the castle and its rich carvings, and estimated the age of the castle to be 150 to 200 years (Bucherer 1975).

glech valley located northeast of Munjan, Ishkashimi and Shughni-Roshani at the border with Tajikistan located northeast of Faizabad, and Wakhi in the Wakhan corridor located in the far east of Badakhshan.

Munji is a spoken language only. Published written material does not exist. The Ethnologue (Gordon 2005) gives the following information for Munji:
 ISO Code: mnj
 Region: Northeastern Afghanistan in the Munjan and Mamalgha Valleys
 Alternate names: Munjani, Munjhan, Munjiwar
 Dialects: Northern Munji, Central Munji, Southern Munji, Mamalgha Munji
 Classification: Indo-European, Indo-Iranian, Iranian, Eastern, Southeastern, Pamir

3.4 OTHER RESEARCH REGARDING MUNJI. The most detailed analysis is done by Grjunberg in his *Languages of the Eastern Hindukush: The Munji Language* (1972). Morgenstierne mentions Munji in several of his writings about the Pamir languages (1926, 1931, 1938). Snoy (1965) presents ethnographic research entitled “Nuristan and Mundgan.” Skjærvø (1989), in *Compendium Linguarum Iranicum*, gives a detailed analysis of the phonology, morphology, and syntax of Yidgha and Munji. He closely compares the two languages, using the above-mentioned publications of Morgenstierne and Grjunberg. Skjærvø also draws on an article by Sokolova (1973), who examines Munji and Shughni-Yazgulami.

Decker (1992) writes about Munji in *Languages of Chitral*, in *Sociolinguistic Survey of Northern Pakistan* Vol. 5. Decker interviewed Munji-speaking refugees in Pakistan in 1990 during his research on Yidgha, which is closely related to Munji. He also took a Munji word list and found a lexical similarity of less than 60% between Yidgha (on the Pakistani side, with Khovar loan words) and Munji (on the Afghan side, probably with more Persian loan words). The most recent research available about Munji is *A Rapid Appraisal Survey of the Munji Language of Afghanistan*, in which Ring & Miller (2006) discuss two or three different varieties within the Munjan valley. Data was gathered only from men, and they recommended further survey research.

4. BACKGROUND INFORMATION CONCERNING MUNJAN. This section gives background information concerning the people inhabiting the Munjan valley, especially with regard to their living conditions. The information presented is the result of background research conducted in Faizabad during the months prior to the research trip, as well as research conducted during the field trip, in particular the interviews with village elders. Even though sections 4.6–4.9 do not directly relate to Munji as a minority language, the reported facts aim to provide a more thorough picture about the living conditions of the Munji people.

4.1 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND. We were told that during the war,⁹ Mujahidin were about to enter the valley, which caused many of the families from the northern villages (from Magh Nawul, Tagaw from the Mamalgha valley, from Sharān, Shāhe Pari, and Ghaz

⁹ Probably in the late 1990s.

from the Munjan valley) to flee to Ishkashim or Zebak. A few fled to their relatives in southern Munjan or to Nuristan. The Mujahidin occupied the houses they left behind, looted them, and eventually burned many of them down. The time families remained outside of the Munjan valley varies from one to eight years. Some came home because there was peace, then left again. The linguistically interesting consequence of this historic fact is that the Munji people had to speak Dari when they lived in Ishkashim. The women, who usually have very little exposure to Dari, learned it there from their neighbors.

4.2 LIVELIHOOD AND ECONOMICS. The people of Munjan are self-supporting to a great extent. The economy is agro-pastoral. People grow wheat, barley, and broad beans for their own consumption. They keep goats, sheep, and cows for milk and meat, and use oxen for farming. Many people own a donkey or a horse. There are also a few apricot trees.

During the three to four summer months, from June to September, some men from each village take their cattle to summer pastures higher up the mountains, because the narrow river valley does not provide enough pasture for the livestock.

The main component of the diet in Munjan is whole meal bread made mostly from wheat. When people run out of wheat during the winter, they use barley. The other major food item is black tea with milk and salt. Sometimes people also have rice, but it is expensive.

To supplement the basic diet, men purchase supplies in the market in Skazer, Hazrate Saeed, Jurm, Baharak, or Faizabad. Some also go to Ishkashim for shopping or to the neighboring Panjsher Province, to Kunduz, to Taluqan, or to Pakistan; these trips range in frequency from twice a month to once a year. There people obtain rice, tea, salt, oil, shoes, used clothes, fabric, or small luxury items like radios and sewing machines. People also purchase supplies from the traders who come from other parts of Badakhshan to Munjan to sell their wares. Goods brought from these traders are expensive, about five to ten times the price of similar goods in Faizabad. This is due to two factors: the lack of competition and the lack of infrastructure—adequate motor roads in particular.

People earn income by selling cattle. From every village, a number of men also leave the valley to find work, and some go every year for a couple of months. The time spent outside of Munjan varies from a few months to a few years. Quite a number of these men work in Nuristan as cooks or masons, while others go to Faizabad, Ishkashim, Kunduz, Kabul, or Pakistan. Some regularly go to work in the village of Madang, located just north of Munjan, where the semi-precious stone lapis lazuli is mined. (For the language used in this context, see 7.1 “Domains of Language Use,” especially 7.1.2 “Community Domain.”)

4.3 ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE. The district of Kuran wa Munjan consists of two parts. One area comprises the Dari-speaking Kuran in the northwest with the district capital Skazer, which is the seat of the district governor. The other area comprises the Munji-speaking Munjan and Mamalgha valleys in the southeast.

Every village in the Munjan and Mamalgha valleys is administered by a Shora, a village council. The head of the Shora is the village leader. He is responsible for all communal political affairs. The Shora consists of five to ten men. Being a member is an honorary position.

Above the Shora is the district governor. The provincial government appoints the dis-

trict governors, who usually come from another part of the country and are native Dari speakers. Above the district governor is the provincial governor in Faizabad. (For the language used in this context, see 7.1 “Domains of Language Use,” especially 7.1.7 “Administration.”)

4.4 RELIGION. All Pamiri groups belong to the Ismaili branch of Shia Islam. They recognize the Aga Khan as their spiritual leader, who is presently Shah Karim al-Hussayni, The Aga Khan IV, living in Paris.

Shortly after the death of Muhammad (in the year 632), the division of Sunni and Shia took place because of their differing opinions about how Muhammad’s successor should be elected. The Sunnites held the view that he should be elected by a committee on the grounds of his

ability, although a blood relationship to the Prophet would speak in his favor. However, for the Shiites a close blood bond was the foremost criterion for all of Muhammad’s future successors. Although the Shiites did not have an opportunity to overrule the Sunnites, they did not accept the first three Imams elected by the Sunnites: Abu Bakr, Umar, and Utman. The Shiites only recognized the fourth Imam elected by the Sunnites: Ali, Muhammad’s cousin and son-in-law (Schirrmacher 1994).

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

In the past centuries, Afghan Ismaili communities often found themselves caught in the crossfire, partly because of lack of support from Sunni powers. The establishment of new representatives in Kabul in the post-Taliban era has resulted in a greater degree of latitude for the Ismailis, so that they now feel less intimidated to practice their faith. In 2002, the Aga Khan introduced new institutional structures and appointed leaders to the various regions where Afghan Ismaili communities are found, replacing the traditional hereditary system of leadership. These new leaders are there to guide the Ismaili communities in direct contact with the Aga Khan. There is also an Ismaili National Council for Afghanistan, with its headquarters in Kabul (Emadi 2005) .

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

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

Occasionally, tension occurs between the Dari-speaking Sunnis living in Kuran and

the Ismaili in Munjan. The people of Kuran, located at the entrance of the Munjan and Mamalgha valleys, closely observe all movement in and out of the valleys, such as trade or NGO activity. (For the language used in this context, see 7.1 “Domains of Language Use,” especially 7.1.4 “Religious Domain.”)

4.5 EDUCATION. In Afghanistan, children usually start school at the age of seven. Classes are taught for six days a week, with Friday being the holiday. School children attend school for two to six hours a day according to their grade level. They attend school for nine months per year. Schools are closed in winter from mid-December to mid-March due to cold weather.

There are schools in the larger villages, and the children from neighboring villages walk for up to two hours to get there. Tili and Tagaw offer classes up to fifth grade, and Myāndeh to fourth. If students want to continue, they join classes in Sharān or Shāhe Pari (up to eighth grade). Further education is available in Kuran, Hazrate Saeed, or Ishkashim, where schools offer classes up to twelfth grade. At the present time, about 15 boys from Sharān and another 15 from Myāndeh attend school in Ishkashim. From other villages, only one or two boys are in Kuran, Hazrate Saeed, or Ishkashim. After completing twelfth grade, students may go to Faizabad to study thirteenth and fourteenth grades, which make up the official qualification required for teachers. Then, they may study at university.

The teachers are mostly from Munjan, except for one in Sharān who is from Shughnan, and one female teacher from Ishkashim who is in Tagaw. The language of instruction is Dari, and all school books are written in Dari.

Schooling has only been available for about seven years, and in some places for only about five years. The percentage of literate adults is therefore much lower than that of children, and the reported numbers vary greatly. According to a rough estimate, 5% of the men and only a handful of women in both valleys combined may be literate.

4.6 ELECTRICITY AND WATER. In most villages, small water-power projects produce electricity to provide light for all or some of the houses. The people have set them up privately.

Most villages get their water from the river. People collect water there with buckets and carry it to the village. River water is also used to irrigate some of the fields. Only one village reported having a spring.

4.7 INFRASTRUCTURE. An unpaved road runs from Faizabad southeast to Kuran wa Munjan via Baharak and Jurm. It is about a ten-hour drive from Faizabad to Skazer, and another two hours to Sharān. The road through the valley ends in Tili; however, beyond Shāhe Pari it is barely suitable for vehicles. From there, it is a three-hour walk to Tili and another three hours to Naw. People in the valley reported that no one in the entire valley owns a car.

The villages toward the northeast in the Mamalgha valley (Tagaw, Magh Nawul, Wulf) are only accessible on foot. The path leaves the motor road about a 30-minute drive north of Sharān, near the bridge recently built by Shelter Now International (SNI) that crosses the river delineating the Mamalgha valley. From there, it takes three hours to walk to Magh Nawul.

4.8 MEDICAL SITUATION. The Afghan NGO called Care for Afghan Families (CAF) is responsible for implementing health services for the government in the district of Kuran wa Munjan. There is a clinic in the district capital Skazer, located in the Kuran area. CAF pays a community health worker in Sharān, whose job is to see patients, provide some medicine, and write referrals to the clinic in Skazer. It takes four hours to get to the clinic on foot or by horse from Sharān, and about a day from Magh Nawul or Tili. For serious illnesses, patients go to Baharak or Faizabad, which takes a couple of days by public transport (if available), or a week on foot or by horse. When people leave the valley for necessary shopping, they often take those in need of medical attention with them.

The most common diseases are cough and respiratory illnesses, caused by smoke in the houses from the open fires that are used for baking bread, cooking, and heating. In winter, the severe cold causes pneumonia. TB was reported several times. Other common complaints are diarrhea and various stomach problems, as well as general body pain. Badakhshan Province has the highest rate of maternal and infant mortality worldwide; this is certainly one of the biggest health problems in Munjan, as well.

As we were walking through the villages, people often asked us for medicine and said, “Please send us a doctor and an eye doctor. We don’t have a doctor in the valley, and the people just die.”

4.9 AID WORK. The Aga Khan Development Network (AKDN), a group of Ismaili (see 3.4 “Religion”) development agencies, built the schools in several Munji villages under the auspices of the Aga Khan. The people told us that AKDN plans to build a bridge in Shāhe Pari and a road for motor vehicles where there is now only a foot path going through the Munjan valley.

SNI built two large bridges in Kuran wa Munjan in 2007 and implemented fruit tree distribution projects in all the villages in Munjan in 2008.

CAF (see 3.8 “Medical Situation”) is responsible for the medical services in the entire district.

5. RESEARCH GOALS

5.1 ASSUMPTIONS. We assumed the following, based in part on the most recent research by Ring & Miller, and also on information obtained during a meeting with Munji men in Faizabad.

1. The Munji have a strong ethnolinguistic identity, and their language shows a high degree of vitality due to the isolation of the Munjan valley.
2. There are widely varying levels of proficiency in Dari, the language of wider communication. We assume that the proficiency of Dari among women is lower compared to men.
3. There may be two main Munji speech varieties, a southern and a northern variety.

5.2 OBJECTIVE. First, our objective is to investigate whether the Munji people can adequately be served with primary school education and literacy programs in Dari, or whether they would benefit from language development in their own language, including primary school education. Secondly, we aim to investigate, in the case that language development is needed, whether the two Munji speech varieties are close enough for the speaking communities to be adequately served with a joint writing system.

5.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS.¹⁰

1. Living conditions: What basic information can we find out about the groups living in the Munjan valley (location, population, living conditions, education, infrastructure, etc.)?
2. Vitality: What is the ethnolinguistic vitality of the Munji speech variety?
3. Attitudes: What attitudes do the Munji people hold toward their own vernacular and toward Dari?
4. Bilingualism: How proficient are the different demographic groups (men/women, older/younger) of the Munji people in Dari?
5. Intelligibility: To what extent are the two Munji speech varieties intelligible?

6. METHODOLOGY. This section explains the methodology used for researching the Munji language.

6.1 SAMPLING. We decided to conduct research in Sharān since it is the largest village, as well as in Magh Nawul at the northern end of the Mamalgha valley, and in Tili at the southern end of the language area. Myāndeh was also chosen because of its size. For the sampling, we considered Shāhe Pari and Ghaz (one is right across the river from the other) to be one cluster, and Magh Nawul and Tagaw (an hour's walk apart) another. So out of all the villages, we conducted research in the following: Magh Nawul/Tagaw, Sharān, Shāhe, Pari/Ghaz, Myāndeh, and Tili.

In every village we completed the Village Elder Questionnaire (VEQ) with a knowledgeable member of the community. We collected a word list (WL), usually with a group of people. We used Sociolinguistic Questionnaires (SQ) and Proficiency Storying Questionnaires (PSQ) with both men and women. Dari was the language of communication for all interviews.

We used stratified quota sampling, applying the strata of gender and age. We drew the age division at 30, since systematic and regular school education has only started fairly recently in the Munjan valley. Therefore, only the younger generation up to 30 (though often younger) has had the chance to really benefit from formal education. This, besides general maturity, is the main factor that is likely to make a difference in the life of a younger person compared to an older person. The perceived benefit section in the sociolinguistic questionnaire was elicited only from the men because it, too, rarely applies to women in their present living context.

The sample we took was not random; obtaining a random sample would not have

¹⁰ See 8 “Discussion” for how the research questions are related to the overall objective.

been culturally appropriate. However, we were able to interview both men and women of different age groups, which 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.

Interviews across gender were possible only because female foreign researchers interviewed both female and male respondents; for male foreigners to interview local women would not be acceptable in the area surveyed. Greater latitude is afforded to foreign women when it comes to relating to local men, compared to that which the local people afford their own women.

In some villages, we were not able to get the full quota of male interviewees, because during the early spring season the men were busy with plowing and sowing.

Table 1 presents the number of questionnaires completed in the villages by gender and age.

Village	Magh Nawul/Tagaw				Sharān				Ghaz/Shāhe Pari				Myāndeh				Tili				Total
	Male		Fem.		Male		Fem.		Male		Fem.		Male		Fem.						
Age	30 VI	30 A	30 VI	30 A	30 VI	30 A	30 VI	30 A	30 VI	30 A	30 VI	30 A	30 VI	30 A	30 VI	30 A	30 VI	30 A			
VEQ		2			1					1				1				1		6	
WL			1		1					1				1				1		5	
SQ	3	2	3	2	2	3	3	2	2	3	2	3	2	3	2	3	2	1	2	3	48
PSQ	2	2	6	1	2	3	3	2	4	1	2	3	-	4	4	2	2	1	2	3	49
	5	6	9	4	5	7	6	4	6	6	4	6	2	8	6	7	5	3	4	6	108

TABLE 1: Completed Questionnaires by Gender and Age

6.1 VILLAGE ELDER QUESTIONNAIRE. In every village or cluster we visited—Magh Nawul/Tagaw, Sharān, Shāhe Pari/Ghaz, Myāndeh, and Tili—we administered a village elder questionnaire to a knowledgeable member of the community, a member of the Shora, or the headmaster of the school. The questionnaire included basic demographics, language use, education, marriage patterns, living conditions (nutrition, medical situation, water, electricity, etc.), and help provided from outside the community (see Appendix B: Village Elder Questionnaire).

6.3 SOCIOLINGUISTIC QUESTIONNAIRE. Individual sociolinguistic questionnaires were administered to 8 to 10 people in each village we visited. The questionnaire was geared toward gaining information about the domains in which different languages are used, attitudes toward the different languages, and the vitality of Munji. The questions covered demographics, the use of Munji and Dari in the respondents' families, marriage and travel patterns, education, and work. (See Appendix C: Sociolinguistic Questionnaire).

6.4 PROFICIENCY STORYING QUESTIONNAIRE. To research bilingual proficiency in Dari, we used a Proficiency Storying Questionnaire. Interviewees were asked to answer

questions and tell stories about their individual experience in using Dari. The questionnaire inquired about past situations in the lives of respondents, and about their experiences in speaking or trying to speak Dari. This method was also used for sociolinguistic assessment in Tajikistan (Thiessen 2005).

The Proficiency Storying Questionnaire consists of a series of questions, each concerning a situation respondents had likely experienced, and in which they had used Dari (such as talking to a trader or doctor). Interviewees were encouraged to describe the situation and any language-related difficulties and successes they encountered. They were then asked to estimate whether other people they knew would have had more or less difficulty in handling the same situation.

Each task was assigned a level of difficulty on the basis of the Interagency Language Roundtable (ILR, 1985),¹¹ from Level 1 (Elementary Proficiency) to Level 5 (Native or Bilingual Proficiency). The tasks were organized in order of increasing levels of difficulty as the questionnaire progressed. Where respondents indicated that they had carried out all the tasks assigned to a particular level, as well as all those at preceding levels, they were deemed proficient in Dari at that level. The questions were divided according the ILR levels as follows: 1/2, 2+3, 3+4, 4+5.

The questionnaire also included a section about childhood language use to find out the nature of the respondents' first exposure to Dari, and at what age they felt they began to function well in Dari. Another section explored community proficiency in Dari in the past, present, and future, especially the respondents' projection for what their grandchildren's proficiency would be. The respondents were also asked about their language contact with Dari, such as travel patterns into Dari-speaking areas, contact with Dari-speaking guests, and so on. (See Appendix D: Proficiency Storying Questionnaire).

6.5 WORD LIST. To determine the degree of lexical similarity between the two possible northern and southern speech varieties of Munji, we elicited word lists in Magh Nawul, Sharān, Shāhe Pari, Myāndeh, and Tili. We used a 270-item word list composed of the Swadesh 200- word list (Swadesh 1955) and a list that was used earlier for brief linguistic assessments of Pamir languages in Badakhshan (Miller 2006). We omitted several items we knew would be unknown in this remote area. For example, it seemed inappropriate to ask for verbs in the infinitive form from people with very basic or no education. Instead we asked for each verb (46 items) in the third person singular past and non-past tense (see Appendix A: Word List Result).

The elicited word lists were further analysed using the computer program WORDSURV (Wimbish 1998; JAARS 1994). The program performs a count of shared vocabulary between lists based on similarity groupings, classifying apparent cognates based on their appearance rather than historical analysis.¹²

¹¹ “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” (Wikipedia). Thus it is also often called *Foreign Service Levels*. See Appendix E for the description of the levels.

¹² WORDCORR is an alternative program for word list analysis: see <http://www.wordcorr.org/>

6.6 OBSERVATION. Throughout the research trip, we observed people interacting with each other—on the street and in houses, while working together, and, of course, in contact with us as foreign researchers. Because of our own proficiency in Dari, we were able to follow most interactions that took place in Dari. Observation was especially important as an additional, informal means of assessing the bilingual ability of the population.

7. RESULTS. This section presents results, divided into the areas of language domains, language attitudes, and bilingualism with Dari.

7.1 DOMAINS OF LANGUAGE USE. The information presented here is the result of the Sociolinguistic Questionnaires (the total number of respondents was 48) and the six Village Elder Questionnaires. This section analyzes language use by domain, i.e., which languages are used in which domain of life. The domains of language use are divided into primary and secondary domains. Table 2 shows which domains are considered primary and which are considered secondary.

Primary Domains	Secondary Domains
Private Community	Education Religion Travel and Trade Media Administration

TABLE 2: Division of language domains into primary and secondary domains

The vast majority of people's daily interactions occur in the private domain and the community domain; therefore, we consider them primary domains. The private domain refers to family life, that is, language use within the context of family interactions. Community domain refers to village life, i.e., to language use within the neighborhood in daily interactions. From infancy onwards, every child is part of a family and community. These are the domains where the child first acquires language.

In contrast to the primary domains, many people only have limited or no access to the other domains such as education, religion, travel and trade, media, and administration. Therefore, we consider them secondary domains.

7.1.1 PRIVATE DOMAIN. In the primary domain of the home and family, Munji is the dominant language. However, Dari is spoken in some of the homes as well. Table 3 summarizes which languages respondents use within their families.

	Munji	Dari	Nuristani	Total Number of Respondents
L with family members*	48	13	3	48

TABLE 3: Languages used within families

* Some respondents gave multiple answers.

Munji is spoken in every home. Wives from outside the Munjan valley who marry community members at least learn to understand it, and some also speak it. In Myāndeh, one Nuristani-speaking wife from Naw understands Munji, but does not speak it. With her husband and children, she speaks Dari, whereas her husband speaks Munji with them. In Tili, a Nuristani wife from Ferāzen learned Munji and speaks it at home. Another family with a Nuristani wifespeaks Munji as well as Dari and Nuristani. One wife from Sanglech learned to speak Munji as well. The older children of a family in Tagaw, with a Dari-speaking mother from Ishkashim, speak both Dari and Munji; the younger ones do not speak Munji yet, but understand it. Children often mix Munji and Dari, said half of the interviewees.

In Tagaw in the Mamalgha valley, we encountered a much broader use of Dari than elsewhere, even among the children at home. When we informally talked to 7-to-13-year-old children, they all said they speak Dari as well as Munji at home, with brothers and sisters, and with friends. Some 13-year-old boys said they use more Dari among themselves than Munji. Which language the children learn first at home may depend on the family. Some said they use more Munji with small children. Several men in Tagaw said they use Munji with their wives, but Dari with their children who will learn Munji later when they grow up. One reason for the use of Dari might be that a number of interviewees from Tagaw said they lived in Ishkashim and/or Zebak for several years—both places where they would speak Dari. Another reason might be the influence of a woman from Ishkashim, a mother-tongue Dari speaker who married in. Due to her twelfth-grade education, she is one of the teachers in the village. Moreover, she is very well respected and liked by all. However, Munji is still the dominant language in the homes.

7.1.2 COMMUNITY DOMAIN. This domain concerns all interactions between all people who live in or visit the neighborhood and community. In this primary domain of the community, the Munji first and foremost use their vernacular. Those who marry in and the outsiders who visit the village speak Dari.

Table 4 summarizes the languages used in the village community, taking the language use of the village elder, as well as of that of pre-school children and teachers outside class, as representative.

		Munji	Dari	N/A	Total
L of elders	to each other	6	0	0	6
	to elders of other communities*	6	2	0	6
	to other villagers	6	0	0	6
	in speeches	6	0	0	6
L of people in the village*		6	1	0	6
L pre-school children know*		42	14	10	48
L of teachers outside class		5	1	0	6

TABLE 4: Languages used within the village communities

* Some respondents gave multiple answers.

The six village elders we interviewed use Munji with each other, with the people in their village, and in public speeches. They only speak Dari to village elders from other communities who do not know Munji.

Munji is the language of the community that children grow up with in their neighborhood. Parents said only a few pre-school children know a little Dari, if any at all. Outside class during breaks, native Munji teachers usually speak Munji.

The languages used with guests are summarized in table 5. With guests from within Munjan, people use Munji, of course. With guests from elsewhere, including Nuristan, they speak Dari unless they know Nuristani themselves. Respondents said they often have visitors from other places in Badakhshan or from the provinces of Nuristan, Takhar, Panjsher, or Kunduz. Some of the visitors are traders that come through the villages and stay for a couple of days. Most visitors are men, and so it is the Munji men that talk to them, not the women.

	Munji	Dari	Nuristani	N/A	Total
L with guests*	22	34	1	1	48

TABLE 5: Languages used with guests

* Some respondents gave multiple answers.

When we visited, men as well as women used Dari when talking to us. When they turned to speak with another Munji person, they would mostly switch to speaking Munji.

7.1.3 EDUCATION DOMAIN. Dari is the formal language of the secondary domain of education. However, to a considerable extent, Munji is used informally for education as well. Table 6 presents the languages that are used in school by the teachers and the students. The answers given here come from either the village elders or parents who reported their children's language use at school, as well as their children's teachers' language use.

	Munji	Dari	N/A	Total
L of instruction in school	0	6	0	6
L students use during breaks	5	1	0	6
L teachers use during lessons	24*	15**	10	48

TABLE 6: Languages used in school

* Munji for explanations along with Dari

** only Dari, no Munji

Dari is the language of instruction in all schools. The native Munji teachers provide help and explanations in Munji, especially in the lower grades when the students have not fully acquired Dari yet. During the breaks, the students speak almost exclusively Munji to each other and to the Munji-speaking teachers. There are two teachers from Sighnan in Sharān and Shāhe Pari, and one teacher from Ishkashim in Tagaw. All others are from Munjan. Thus, Dari is the formal and principal language in the domain of education, and Munji can be considered the informal language in this domain.

7.1.4 RELIGIOUS DOMAIN. Dari is the formal language of the secondary domain of religion, but Munji is used informally as well. Table 7 shows the languages used by worshippers and the Khalifa (religious teacher) during the observation of their religious duties.

	Munji	Dari	Arabic/Pashto	Total
L Khalifa uses for preaching*	7	44	1	48
L for personal prayer*	23	39	1	48

TABLE 7: Languages used by the Khalifa and for personal prayer

* Some respondents gave multiple answers.

Almost all interviewees said the Khalifa uses Dari for preaching. Some added that this is “because the books are in Dari.” One person commented, “It’s impossible in Munji.” Some others said that their Khalifa also uses some Munji. A few said their Khalifa uses Munji only. So the actual practice in the different villages seems to vary.

The major language in the religious domain is Dari. However, much more Munji is used in personal prayer compared with the amount of Munji used in preaching. Many people said they use both languages. Nonetheless, Dari is used more than Munji.

7.1.5 TRADE AND TRAVEL. Dari is the dominant language used in the secondary domain of travel and trade. Occasionally, Munji is used as well. Table 8 summarizes the languages used when talking to traders who come to the Munji villages.

	Munji	Dari	N/A	Total
L used with traders*	14	42	2	48

TABLE 8: Languages used with traders

* Some respondents gave multiple answers.

There is no permanent market in the Munjan valley. Traders frequently come to the villages to sell their wares. Those who speak to the traders mostly do so in Dari. If the trader is originally from Munjan, they use Munji. It is mostly men’s business to buy the household supplies. Some of the women interviewed do not speak to the traders at all, so they do not have access to this domain.

Table 9 presents the languages used when traveling or living outside the Munjan valley. This concerns mainly men, and the responding women sometimes reported about their male family members.

	Munji	Dari	Chitrali	Pashto	N/A	Total
L used when traveling*	13	36	0	1	3	48
L used while working outside*	2	17	2	1	29	48
L used in military service	2	6	0	0	40	48

TABLE 9: Language used during travel

* Some respondents gave multiple answers.

The 13 people that stated they use Munji when traveling do so when visiting their Munji relatives. Apart from that, all use Dari.

Men frequently travel to places outside Munjan to buy household supplies. The places most frequently traveled to are Faizabad, Jurm, Ishkashim, or Nuristan. Only a few said that they travel to Kabul. Men as well as women travel to the clinic in Skazer (Kuran area), or to the hospital in Baharak or Faizabad, if they can afford it. Eleven of the interviewees (all women) said that they had never left the Munjan valley.

A few men from each village regularly travel to find work for some number of months every year in other parts of the province (usually Baharak or Faizabad, or to work in the lapis mines in Madang), or in Nuristan, Kunduz, Takhar, or Panjsher. Some also travel to Pakistan or Iran. This is due to extremely limited employment opportunities in the Munjan valley. When working in places outside the Munjan valley, people use Dari or Farsi. Some even learn Nuristani when working in Nuristan, or Chitrali in Pakistan. A number of men reported that they had served in the military for several years in Kabul and spoke Dari during that time. A few served with the military in Munjan and used Munji.

7.1.6 MEDIA. Dari is the dominant language in the secondary domain of media, and some respondents claim they read or listen to Pashto as well. There is nothing available in Munji, either on the radio or in written form. Table 10 shows the languages used with the media of books and radio.

	Munji	Dari	Pashto	N/A	Total
L of listening to radio*	0	48	4	0	48
L of books read*	0	10	1	39	48

TABLE 10: Languages used for media

* Some respondents gave multiple answers.

All interviewees reported that they listen to Dari-speaking programs on the radio. Four also listen to the Pashto program.

Only a few interviewees claimed that they read books in Dari, which would be mostly poetry; others include textbooks, history, and medical books. One person, now a teacher in one of the villages, lived in Jalalabad and Kandahar and learned Pashto there. Four out of five people—most of them women—are illiterate, which accounts for the *N/A* column in the table.

The language of the media is almost exclusively Dari.

7.1.7 ADMINISTRATION. In the secondary domain of administration, Dari is the only language used. Table 11 presents the language used with government officials.

	Munji	Dari	Total
L with government officials	0	6	6

TABLE 11: Language used with government officials

All village elders we spoke to said they speak to government officials in Dari. The nearest government post is on the district level located in Skazer. This is part of Kuran and therefore Dari-speaking. Thus, only Dari is used in the domain of administration.

7.1.8 SUMMARY. Table 12 summarizes the language use of Dari and Munji according to the different domains. Other languages such as Nuristani or Pashto that are used occasionally in some domains are not considered here, because they do not influence the vitality of Munji.

	Domain	Munji	Dari
Primary Domains	Private	mostly	very little
	Community	mostly	very little
Secondary Domains	Education	informally	formally
	Religion	informally	formally
	Travel/Trade	occasionally	mostly
	Media	none	exclusively
	Administration	none	exclusively

TABLE 12: Overview of language use in the various domains in Munjan

In the primary domains of family and community, Munji is clearly the dominant language. Dari is used only rarely.

In the secondary domains of education and religion, Dari is used formally. In these domains, Munji is used informally but regularly. In the domain of travel and trade, Dari is used most of the time, and Munji is used only when people visit their Munji-speaking relatives. In media and administration, only Dari is used.

7.2 ATTITUDES. This passage describes attitudes the Munji people hold toward their vernacular and toward Dari, the language of wider communication.

7.2.1 ATTITUDES TOWARD MUNJI. This section shows attitudes toward the speaking community's own vernacular in the areas of its perceived benefit concerning the future and education.

Perceived Benefit and Personal Importance of Munji

Asked about the usefulness of Munji for getting jobs, about a third of the men said it is useful. The others were less optimistic and pointed out that it would be useful only in Munjan. A few did not consider it useful at all for finding work. Opinions were divided about

the use of Munji for higher education. Some said it is useful, while others said it is of no use at all. One man added that it is not useful now, but it would be if there were books in Munji. Most respondents found Munji useful for contacts with other Munji villages. For gaining respect in their own community, they unanimously responded that Munji was very useful.

All of the men and women felt Munji to be very important for them personally, and said, "It is a very good language" or "It is our mother tongue." Many made comments such as, "It is our secret language. It is good to speak Munji so people can't understand us if we don't want them to." One man added, "It would not be good to have books in Munji because then everybody can learn it. Now, we have a secret language."

The Future

Almost all of the interviewees anticipate that their children will speak mostly Munji when they are adults. Two men expect them to speak Dari. One woman said, "Girls will speak mostly Munji, and boys will speak mostly Dari." One person specified that it will depend on where they live. They said the same about their grandchildren, and no one seemed to be concerned about future use of the language.

Reported experiences were divided with regard to whether people had laughed about Munji speakers because of their language. About a third responded in the negative. Two-thirds of the interviewees did recall incidences when Dari speakers, Nuristanis, or people in Pakistan made fun of Munji speakers. Most of them, however, did not seem to be greatly troubled or agitated by such instances.

Literacy and School

Most of the respondents (43 out of 48) held the opinion that it would be best for children to become literate in Munji with a Munji alphabet, if that were possible. Two of 48 people felt that the current practice of Dari literacy is the better option. One was undecided.

With regard to having books in Munji, all but a few held a positive opinion; those who did not said it is not possible. The majority would love to have poetry, stories, textbooks, medical books, and history books in Munji. Almost everyone claimed they would buy Munji books if they were available. Some who cannot read themselves would like to buy such books for their children.

The vast majority of people (40 out of 48) reported interest in attending a Munji literacy class. Most of these 40 indicated willingness to pay for such a class.

When people were asked which village uses the Munji variety most suitable for developing books, Sharān or other villages from the northern dialect region were named 19 times. Of those, Sharān accounts for 13 mentions. Only two people considered the southern dialect to be most suitable for developing books. More than half of the respondents (27 out of 48), however, were not sure.

7.2.2 ATTITUDES TOWARD DARI. This section describes attitudes the Munji hold toward the national language, Dari, in terms of its perceived benefit, for granting permission to marry a Dari-speaking person, its use at home and in education, and as a foreign language to be acquired.

Perceived Benefit of Dari

All interviewees find Dari useful or very useful in every one of the following areas: finding work, higher education, and contact and communication with other communities. Also, concerning the area of respect in their home village, the majority find Dari very useful, and only a few men attributed less value to Dari.

Dari at Home

Almost all of the respondents (40 out of 48) said they are happy when their children speak Dari at home, and made statements such as the following:

“It is good to know two languages.”

“Then they won’t get stuck anywhere, can communicate everywhere.”

“It is necessary to learn Dari.”

Only two of 48 said they should only use their mother tongue.

There are several women from outside Munjan in every village. When wives come from outside, they do not know Munji when they arrive, and the Munji girls and women speak Dari with them—or at least try to do so as well as they can. With their children, the non-Munji women often speak only Dari. Most, but not all of them, learn to understand Munji, and some also learn to speak it.

Permission for Marriage

None of the respondents would resent their sons marrying a Dari-speaking woman. One man said he would only allow a Dari-speaking daughter-in-law if she learns Munji. The majority of the people interviewed (40 out of 48) would also allow their daughter to marry a Dari-speaking man. Only three people would not.

Literacy at School

Only two respondents out of 48 said they would prefer that their children become literate in Dari rather than Munji in school beginning in the first grade, as is current practice. When asking the question, we pointed out that if children were to become literate in Munji, they would still learn Dari at a later stage. Therefore, the low preference for Dari does not indicate a disregard for Dari in general. Rather, it reflects the realization that children struggle in school with the language of instruction, even though teachers help by giving explanations in Munji. This was made obvious by the interviewees’ frequent remarks during the section focusing on school education; for example, “It is difficult for them.”

Dari as a Second Language

Dari is the language in which two-thirds of the respondents would like to improve. Apart from that, one person would like to improve in Munji. Less than a third do not see any need for improvement in a language. A few would like to improve their English.

7.2.3 SUMMARY AND OVERVIEW. The following charts combine the results of the reported attitudes. Above, attitudes toward Munji and Dari were arranged separately according to language. This section presents the same results, rearranged by topic.

Asked about the benefit of Munji or Dari in various areas, the men interviewed chose between very important (3 in the chart), important (2), of little or limited importance (1), or no value (0). Figure 1 shows the averages of all men interviewed in the villages.

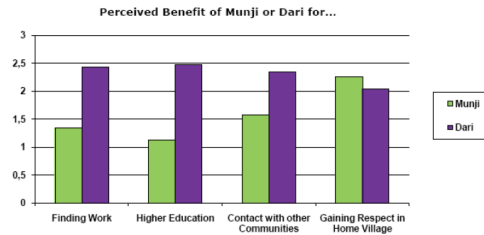


FIGURE 1: Perceived Benefit of Munji or Dari for finding work, higher education, contact with other communities, and for gaining respect in the home village.

Dari is perceived as having great importance in all the areas mentioned. Its reported importance for gaining respect in the home village shows a positive attitude toward Dari. Munji does not seem to be of much value for finding work or for higher education, nor does it seem necessary for communicating with other communities, but it is essential for gaining respect within people’s home villages.

Figures 2 and 3 present the languages interviewees think future generations will use.

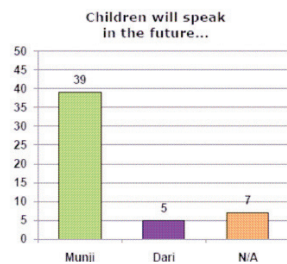


FIGURE 2: Expected language of children in the future, from a total of 48 respondents.*

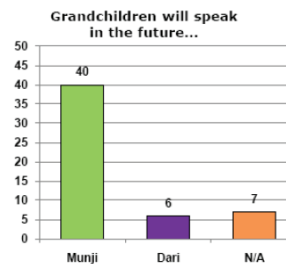


FIGURE 3: Expected language of grandchildren in the future, from a total of 48 respondents.*

* Some respondents gave multiple answers.

Most respondents feel certain that the children of future generations will use Munji when they are grown.

Figure 4 shows the languages in which the respondents wish to improve.

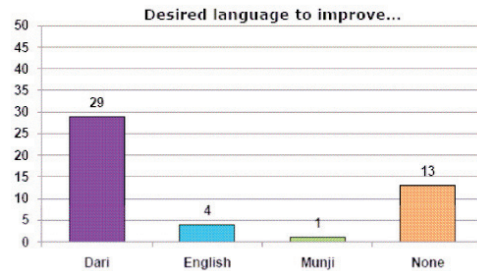


FIGURE 4: Desired language in which to improve, from a total of 48 respondents*
 * Some respondents gave multiple answers.

The wish to improve in or acquire a language is a strong indicator of the attitude one holds toward that particular language. The majority of respondents named Dari. Very few named English. Only one person mentioned Munji. A considerable number of people do not desire to improve in any language at all.

Figure 5 presents how parents reported they would feel about their children speaking some Dari at home.

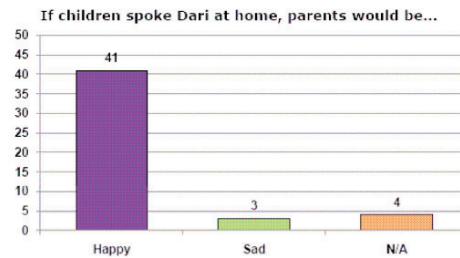


FIGURE 5: Dari at home for children, from a total of 48 respondents.

The majority of parents would be happy if their children spoke some Dari at home. They usually commented with statements like, “It is good to learn Dari,” and “It is necessary and useful.”

Figure 6 shows the languages in which parents would like their children to become literate in primary school.

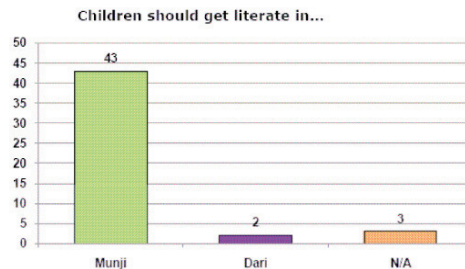


FIGURE 6: Desired language of literacy in primary school, from a total of 48 respondents.

The language parents would choose for their children’s primary education is a strong indicator of a positive attitude toward that language. The vast majority of interviewees chose their mother tongue. Four people of those 43 would choose Munji, but added, “It is not possible.” A few said children should become literate in Dari, stating, “Dari is easy.”

Figures 7 and 8 show interest in a Munji literacy class and respondents’ willingness to pay for it.

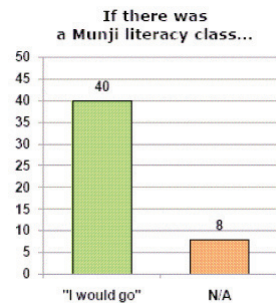


FIGURE 7: Interest in a Munji literacy class, from a total of 48 respondents — attendance

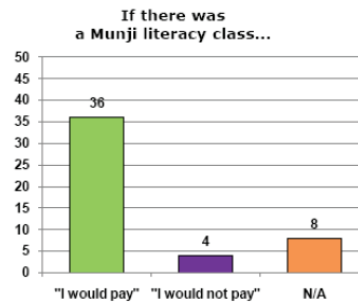


FIGURE 8: Interest in a Munji literacy class, from a total of 48 respondents — payment

The majority would like to attend a Munji literacy class, and most would also pay for it. The *N/A* in both tables represents those people who, when asked if they would like to have books in Munji, said, “It is not possible,” or “There is no need.” Thus, they were not able to answer a question about attending a literacy class.

Figures 9 and 10 show which liaisons parents would give their consent for their children.

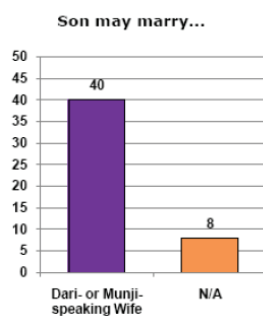


FIGURE 9: Permission for marriage, from a total of 48 respondents — son

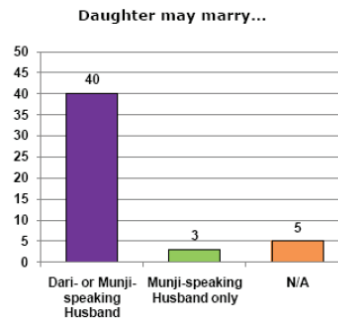


FIGURE 10: Permission for marriage, from a total of 48 respondents — daughter

People's attitudes toward marriages that cross ethnolinguistic boundaries can be an indicator of their attitudes toward the other linguistic group in question. Most parents would agree to a marriage between their son or daughter and a Dari-speaking partner. Only a few said they would resist allowing their daughter to marry a non-Munji-speaking man. Our observations support these figures. There were a number of mother-tongue Dari-speaking wives in every village we visited. Some parents also reported having given their daughters in marriage to Dari-speaking husbands outside Munjan.

7.3 BILINGUALISM WITH DARI. This section describes the varying levels of proficiency in Dari throughout the different population segments in the Munjan valley. Interpretation and reasons will be discussed in 7.3. The overall average proficiency level (see Appendix E: Interagency Language Roundtable Proficiency Scale) of a total of 49 interviewees is 3.1. The men's average is 3.8. The average for the women born in Munjan is 2.1.

Figure 11 presents the results of the Proficiency Storying Questionnaire for men and women born in Munjan, with the average results stratified according to gender and age.

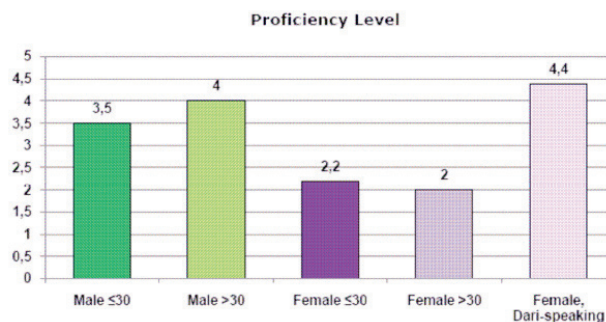


FIGURE 11: Average proficiency levels in Dari for men and women, by age.

Men possess a Dari proficiency level between 3.5 and 4 on average; only a few were far below or high above the average. The women who were born in Munjan mostly scored level 1 or 2. Only six of them scored higher than ILR level 2 (therefore resulting in an overall average of 2). Seven of the 28 women interviewed come from Dari-speaking places like Kuran, Naw, or Skazer. Their average ILR level is 4.4.

7.4 LEXICAL SIMILARITY

7.4.1 LEXICAL SIMILARITY OF THE MUNJI VARIETIES. This section first briefly comments on Munji speakers' relationship with the Yidgha in Pakistan, then presents the lexical similarity of the Munji language in the different Munji villages, and finally analyzes the two varieties of Munji.

Of the people interviewed, almost all the men and a couple of the women had visited the western part of Chitral district in northern Pakistan, close to the Afghan border, where Yidgha is spoken. They went there to work, to buy supplies, or to sell lapis lazuli, which is mined just north of Munjan. Asked about the language there, people offered comments like the following:

- “Just a bit different.”
- “After two days you understand it well.”
- “Very different, we understand it, except some words.”

We elicited word lists in the following five village clusters: Magh Nawul/Tagaw, Sharān, Shāhe Pari/Ghaz, Myāndeh, and Tili. Table 13 presents the lexical similarity within the Munji villages.

Shāhe Pari/Ghaz					
97%	Sharān				
93%	91%	Tili			
91%	93%	91%	Magh Nawul/Tagaw		
90%	90%	90%	91%	Myāndeh	

TABLE 13: Lexical Similarity among Munji varieties

The lexical similarity of the varieties within the Munji villages in the Munjan and Mamalgha valleys is 92% on average. The word lists were usually elicited from a group, and in two cases the groups consisted of people of mixed gender.

Regular sound changes (for examples, see below and Appendix A) verified the hypothesis that there are two Munji varieties. The border between the varieties was confirmed by several interviewees in different locations. Starting from the south and leaving Naw—with its mix of Nuristani, Dari, and Munji—aside, the southern variety stretches from Tili, including Panām, Yeghdak, and Myāndeh, up to Sar Jangal.¹³ The northern variety covers the entire area from Shāhe Pari/Ghaz and Sharān upward to the northeast, including the Mamalgha valley, Tagaw, and Magh Nawul.

In some cases, the word lists elicited in villages with different varieties had a higher similarity (Tili–Shāhe Pari/Ghaz = 93%) than villages with the same variety (Myāndeh–Tili = 90%). Some of the differing words or sounds could be the result of individual idiolects. Sometimes, respondents might have named synonymous Munji words in response to the same Dari elicitation cue. It is very likely that people in both places would understand both words. All respondents unanimously stated that there is some difference between the villages’ varieties, but not much, and that understanding either variety is not difficult. Many people told us, “We say it this way, they say it the other.” This indicates that Munji speakers are aware of these minor differences and are able to understand the other variety.

Examples of the sound changes are listed below. The first word in each pair is the northern variety from the word lists taken in the villages of Shāhe Pari, Sharān, and Tagaw/Magh Nawul in the Mamalgha valley. The second word in each pair is the southern variety from word lists taken in Myāndeh and Tili.

¹³ For the location of these villages, see the list in 2.1

γ – g	'moryka – 'morgika (‘ant’)	'puyə – 'pugə (‘hair’)	'naməlyə – naməlgə (‘salt’)	'jəwγə – jəwγə (‘water’)
	'suyə – ,sugjə (‘sand’)	zə'vi:γ – zə'vu:g (‘tongue’)	'alməyā dri'jej – 'alməgā dri'jej (‘swell’ NP)	
i – u/ū	li: – luj (‘smoke’)	wi:rɜ – wu:rɜ (‘thread’)	zə'vi:γ – zə'vu:g (‘tongue’)	tʃə'fi:r – tʃə'fu:r (‘four’)
	wi: – wu:j (‘wind’)	i'di:r – ji'du:r (‘other’)	ziŋg – zu:g (‘knee’)	piŋgʲ – puŋgʲ (‘feather’)
n/ŋ – Ø	vzenda – vze:di (‘know’ P)	lɔ:nd – 'lɔ:di (‘tooth’)	ziŋg – zu:g (‘knee’)	'γɔ:ndum – 'γɔ:dum (‘wheat’)
	tʃɛ:nd – tʃɛ:d (‘how many’)			

Some words are used in one part of the valley but not the other, which was explicitly mentioned, such as the following:

'awsta – 'wujə (‘tree’)
i:ɜ – mɔ:r (‘snake’).

Again, the first word in each pair is from the northern variety, the second from the southern.

As far as grammar is concerned, the southern variety often seems to use the same verb form for past and non-past tense, in contrast to the northern variety. This became clear when we asked for verb forms with various example sentences. Further research is needed in this area.

7.4.2 LEXICAL SIMILARITY BETWEEN MUNJI AND DARI. The classification of Dari is as follows: Indo-European, Indo-Iranian, Iranian, Western, Southwestern, Persian (Gordon 2005). Therefore, both, Dari and Munji are Iranian languages; however, Dari is classified with the Western Iranian languages and Munji with the Eastern Iranian languages (see 3.3: Language Classification).

The lexical similarity between Munji and Dari is low, between 29% and 33%, which results in a 31% average.

Shāhe Pari/ Ghaz	Sharān	Tili	Magh Nawul/ Tagaw	Myāndeh	
33	30	31	29	30	Dari

TABLE 14: Lexical similarity between Munji and Dari

The low percentage of lexical similarity shows that Dari needs to be acquired as a second language and no inherent intelligibility can be expected.

Dari is a widely known and widely spoken language in Afghanistan, with about 5,600,000 mother-tongue speakers (Gordon 2005). Additionally, the language is spoken by the greater part of the population (30 million) as a second language; however, less so in remote areas than in population centers. (See 7.3: Bilingualism with Dari, for the extent of the Munji people's bilingualism.)

8. DISCUSSION. The following discussion of vitality, attitudes, bilingualism, and intelligibility aims to evaluate the findings described in the Results section in light of the research questions and the objective.

The objective and research questions are restated as follows:

Objective

First, can the Munji people be adequately served with primary school education and literacy programs in Dari, or would they benefit from language development in their own language, including primary school education in their vernacular? Secondly, if language development is needed, are the two Munji speech varieties close enough that the people can be adequately served with a joint writing system, or would they need separate ones?

Research Questions

1. Living conditions: What basic information can we find out about the groups living in the Munjan valley (location, population, living conditions, education, infrastructure, etc.)?
2. Vitality: What is the ethnolinguistic vitality of the Munji speech variety?
3. Attitudes: What attitudes do the Munji people hold toward their own vernacular, and toward Dari?
4. Bilingualism: How proficient are the different demographic groups (men/women, older/younger) of the Munji people in Dari?
5. Intelligibility: To what extent are the two Munji speech varieties intelligible?

The results of the first research question are discussed above, in Section 3.

8.1 VITALITY OF MUNJI. Munji shows a high degree of ethnolinguistic vitality. This becomes clear when we use Landweer's (2000) article "Indicators of Ethnolinguistic Vitality" for analyzing the situation of Munji. Landweer names eight factors that can help assess the vitality of a language (2000):

1. Relative position on the urban-rural continuum
2. Domains in which the language is used
3. Frequency and type of code-switching
4. Population and group dynamics
5. Distribution of speakers within their own social networks
6. Social outlook regarding and within the speech community
7. Language prestige
8. Access to a stable and acceptable economic base

Using these factors will help evaluate the position of Munji on the continuum between language vitality, language maintenance, language shift, and language demise. If several of the factors mentioned above positively affect the continued use of the mother tongue, then its vitality is not in danger. If the factors lead people to shift to another language, causing the mother tongue to fall out of use, it might ultimately end in language demise. The language competing with Munji in the area of Munjan is Dari.

1. Relative position on the urban-rural continuum

Landweer (2000) claims that a language spoken within urban confines would be more affected by other languages and would thus be weaker than a language whose speakers are remote from an urban community of other-language speakers. The Munjan valley is not anywhere near a population center where they would have contact with speakers of other languages. Due to its remoteness, Munji is only slightly affected by other languages. It is almost exclusively the men who travel, for shopping or work. For shopping, they mostly go to Faizabad, and it takes seven days to get there on foot or two days by public transport, if it is available. Most women do not leave the valley at all except for severe medical reasons. The nearest clinic is four hours away, and reaching the hospital in Faizabad requires two days' travel by car. People cannot afford anything beyond the bare necessities of life, which limits their contact with the world outside Munjan. Only very few parents send their children to Dari-speaking places like Kuran or Zebak for education. Thus, the limited access to the nearest urban population center indicates a high degree of vitality.

2. Domains in which the language is used

Landweer (2000) considers the domain of the home to be the foundational social domain, followed by the domain of cultural events, then social events. Landweer claims that the vitality of the vernacular is high if it is not only used at home but also during all cultural and social events. This is the case in Munjan. All children learn Munji, and it is used in all interactions within the community (to varying extents). Even the mothers from Dari-speaking places learn to understand Munji. They speak Dari with their children, but the children still speak Munji with their fathers and friends. The language in the family and in the village is first and foremost Munji. Dari (or, in some places, Nuristani) comes into the picture only when outsiders (visiting, or through marriage) are involved. During an interview that was held in Dari, when another Munji speaker interrupted, they always would speak Munji with each other.

In the secondary domains (see 7.1: Domains of Language Use), Munji is used informally in the education and religion domains, and also occasionally in travel and trade. School takes place in Dari, but teachers use Munji for explanations and during breaks. Although Dari is heavily used in the domains of education and religion, and almost exclusively in travel and trade, media, and administration, this affects the vitality of Munji very little. Many people, especially women, have hardly any access to these domains. They do not travel, nor do they have contact with government officials. For them, the only means of contact with Dari is school, religious preaching, and radio; of these, it is only the domain of education that includes girls and young women. Only a few adult women have a formal education. However, this situation is changing, and currently almost all children attend

school at least through the primary level. All children now acquire Dari to a certain degree. Still, this is not very likely to diminish the vitality of Munji.

3. Frequency and type of code switching

The three languages we encountered in Munjan are Munji, Dari, and Nuristani. The language choices (code switches) the speakers make are bound to domain and situation. According to some interviewees, only children occasionally mix Dari and Munji. Thus, the pattern of language choice in the domains is fairly consistent, predictable, and restricted, not endangering the dominating position of Munji.

4. Population and group dynamics

The questions here involve whether there is a critical mass of speakers and whether immigrants become actively or passively bilingual. In Munjan, the critical mass of speakers amounts to approximately 5,300. For this remote, almost secluded communication environment, this number is probably enough to consider the language viable. As for the language of newcomers and their impact in the communities, the only immigrants are girls who marry Munji husbands. They all learn to understand Munji to some degree after a time, and a few learn to speak it, too. The latter ones become actively bilingual and use Munji all the time, whereas those who merely understand Munji always respond in Dari.

5. Distribution of speakers within their own social networks

This factor analyzes the social networks of the speech community and whether they are supportive of the local language or necessitate the use of another language. In Munjan, the social network in the communities is very dense. It is multiplex, with one person sharing several relational links with another, as one person relates to other individuals in several capacities (for example, being a neighbor, teacher of an interlocutor's children, and a relative at the same time). This strengthens the use of Munji. However, to obtain some goods and services, men regularly have to communicate with outsiders who do not know Munji.

6. Social outlook regarding and within the speech community

Landweer (2000) says, "As language choice can serve as a marker of ethnic identity, so a strong ethnic identity can influence language choice." Therefore, a strong ethnic identity will have a positive impact on language vitality. The Munji, of Ismaili Muslim faith, certainly are strongly aware of their differences with the people living in proximity to their valley: the immediate neighbors all speak Dari or Nuristani. None of the neighbors is Ismaili or Shiite; rather, they are all Sunni Muslims. This different religious adherence implies significant distinction since rivalries in the past often involved fronts along those boundaries. It also implies the use of Pamiri style for building their houses, which is common to all Pamiri (considered synonymous with Ismaili) communities. They share a positive internal identity that shows when they refer to their language as a "secret language, no one understands us." There certainly is internal as well as external recognition of the Munji language community as separate and unique.

7. Language prestige

The higher the prestige among neighboring languages, the greater the potential that the language will continue to be spoken in the foreseeable future. As for Munji, the status that neighboring communities attribute to the Munji language might not be high, but it is recognized. Given the remoteness and seclusion of the area, however, that may not have any great impact on vitality.

8. Access to a stable and acceptable economic base

The question here is whether the people have a sufficient economic base within their own (Munji-speaking) community, or whether they want or need access to non-Munji-speaking places in order to establish an acceptable economic base. Although the Munji are self-supporting to a large degree, their traditional means of subsistence does require access to outside, Dari-speaking sources in order to complement their own economic base. This does have an impact on the vitality of Munji. However, its effect is limited.

In summary, the ethnolinguistic vitality of Munji is high. Access to Dari-speaking areas is difficult, and Munji is the language spoken first and foremost in the primary domains of family and community. There are no domains in which Munji and Dari are competing directly, or where code-switching would take place randomly. To summarize, people newly entering the language community become at least passively bilingual in Munji (that is, they learn to understand it). The social networks of the Munji people are very dense and strong, and they are aware of their ethnolinguistic identity. Dari is used only for some goods and services, or when the men go outside the valley for work. Dari does play a role within the Munji language community, but it is still a limited one, thus not endangering the ethnolinguistic vitality of Munji.

8.2 ATTITUDES TOWARD MUNJI AND DARI. As the data in the results section indicate, the speaking community's attitude toward Munji is highly positive. The Munji people cherish it and view it as their secret language when in the company of others who do not understand it. The majority want their children to become literate in Munji if possible. The respondents were all positive about books in Munji, and they would buy them even if they could not read the books themselves.

Dari is viewed positively as well, because people understand that knowing Dari will help them to communicate everywhere. Parents are pleased when their children speak Dari at home. It is important to note that this does not reflect people's disregard for the mother tongue, since almost all parents foresee their children speaking Munji in the future. Rather, it shows a positive attitude toward Dari and a desire for their children to learn it. When asked about the language in which they want to improve, about two-thirds of the respondents named Dari. The favorable attitude toward Dari is also evidenced by the fact that in order to gain respect in the Munji community, a clear majority finds Dari useful even though it is not needed for communication within the village. The positive attitude of the Munji people toward Dari is also demonstrated by the fact that some families are willing to accept Dari-speaking wives for their sons.

On the whole, the Munji people possess a strong ethnolinguistic identity due to their geographical seclusion and limited influence from the outside. They value and cherish their language, and are united by their common speech variety.

8.3 BILINGUALISM WITH DARI. The average ILR level of women born in Munjan is 2.1, and the men's average is 3.8 (see 7.3: Bilingualism with Dari, and Appendix E: ILR Scale). On the whole, people living in the Munjan valley have little opportunity to learn and practice Dari.

Two factors have advanced Dari proficiency in the Munjan valley, particularly among women. First, many families fled to Ishkashim or Zebak because of the war, probably in the late 1990s (see 3.1: Geography). These families lived there for a couple of years as refugees. Men, as well as women and children, were forced to learn and speak Dari there. This historical factor influenced the Dari proficiency of the people now aged 15 and older.

The other factor, an ongoing one, is the bride price. Girls from outside Munjan cost about half the price of Munji girls. This causes a minor but steady influx of mother-tongue Dari-speaking women into the communities who are then required to use Dari in interacting with them. These women gradually learn to understand Munji, and some of them also learn to speak it after a number of years.

Many of the women born in Munjan acquired Dari during their years spent as refugees in Ishkashim or Zebak. It is important to note that even some of the women who lived in Ishkashim for as many as eight years have a Dari proficiency of only level 1 or 2. This means that had they not been refugees in a Dari-speaking environment; some probably would not even reach level 1. At present, apart from school and communicating with newly arrived brides from outside Munjan, they have no reason to speak Dari. Women rarely travel to areas outside the Munjan valley. As most of the guests are men, it is also the men's job to entertain them. However, our observations showed that the girls and women are happy to use Dari and practice what they know even among themselves.

The men's higher proficiency in Dari is due to their frequent travel to Dari-speaking areas outside Munjan. They travel for various reasons: to buy supplies for their families at markets, to work for several months or years in Afghan cities (most frequently Faizabad), and to serve in the military.

Many men, even after having worked outside the Munjan valley, do not pass level 3 proficiency in Dari because their living environment requires only basic conversations in Dari. These conversations mainly take place at the market, and when talking about livestock and farming with guests. Besides this, men tend to overestimate their ability in Dari because they can cope easily with basic everyday situations, and they are usually not challenged further. If they can function well in all necessary situations, even outside Munjan, they naturally assume their abilities in Dari are almost as good as their abilities in Munji.

There is a connection between age and proficiency in Dari. Compared to younger men, older men usually have had more contact with Dari speakers during their lifetime and are therefore more proficient in Dari. In a few years, younger women probably will become more proficient in Dari than older women because of their education.

Our observations and communication with the people confirmed the results regarding Dari proficiency in the Munjan valley. All interviews were held in Dari, and only a few women had difficulty understanding all of it, as we used simple sentence structures and words. None of the men had problems understanding and answering the questionnaire.

9. RECOMMENDATIONS. As bilingualism with Dari is low, Dari literacy programs would not be sufficient for the Munji people. Generally, if a significant segment of speakers within a community has not achieved level 3 proficiency in a certain language, this language is not considered adequate for literature (Kindell 1991). Although that most Munji men speak Dari at level 3 according to their own estimation, few women have level 3 proficiency. Therefore, the Munji cannot be served adequately with literacy material and literature in Dari.

The UNESCO project *Promoting Literacy in Multilingual Settings* (Kosonen et al. 2006) describes the advantage that people studying in their mother tongue have over students who study in a foreign language. The study states that the learning achievements of the second group may not be as good as they could be, had their mother tongue been used. Many may have to repeat grades or drop out of school, ultimately failing in their education. Kosonen et al. continue (2006):

“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.”

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

We recommend the inception of a language development project for the Munji people in their own speech variety.

APPENDIX A: WORD LIST RESULTS¹⁴

	English	Dari (Written)	Dari (Spoken)	Magh Nawul	Sharān	Shāhe Pari	Myāndeh	Tili
1.	I (1s)	من	ma	zə	zə	zə	zə	zə
2.	you (2s)	تو	tu	tʊ	tʊ	tʊ	tʊ	tʊ
3.	he (3s)	او	u	wə	wa	wan	wə	wə
4.	she (3s)	او	u	wə	wa	wan	wə	wə
5.	we (1p)	ما	mə	məx	məx	məx	məx	məx
6.	you (2p)	شما	ʃʊ'mə	muf	məf	məf	'pəwʒi	məf
7.	they (3p)	آنها	u'nə	waj	waj	waj	waj	waj
8.	who	کی	ki	kə'di	kə'di	kə'di	kə'di	kə'dəg
9.	what	چی	tʃi	ʃti	ʃti	ʃti	ʃti	ʃti
10.	how	چطور	tʃə'tor	tʃirg	tʃirg	tʃirg	tʃirg	tʃirg
11.	where	کجا	ku'dʒə	ko:	ko:	ko:	ko:	ko:
12.	when	چی وقت	tʃi wəxt	kə'la	kə'lə	kə'lə	kə'lə	kə'lə
13.	how many	چند	tʃand	tʃend	tʃɛ:n	tʃɛ:nd	tʃɛ:d	tʃɛ:d
14.	which	کدام	ku'dəm	k'ɛm	k'ɛm	k'am	k'am	k'əm
15.	if	اگر	'aga	'aga	'aga	'agar	'aga	'agar
16.	at	در	da	də	dʊ	də	dʊ	dʊ
17.	with	همراي	am'rəə	qa'te:	qa'tr	qa'tr	qa'te	qə'tə
18.	this (near)	این	i:	mə	ma	ma	mə	mə
19.	that (far)	آن	u:	wə	wa	wa	wə	wə
20.	these (near)	اینها	i'nə	maj	maj	maj	maj	maj
21.	those (far)	آنها	u'nə	waj	waj	waj	waj	waj
22.	here	اینجا	'indʒa	'məla	'mala	'mala	'mələ	'məla
23.	there	آنجا	'undʒa	'wura	'wura	'wura	'wʊrə	'wura
24.	far	دور	dur	'lʊrə	'lʊrə	lʊ'rə	lʊ'rə	lʊ'rə
25.	near	نزدیک	nəz'di:k	qa'rib	qa'rib	qa'rib	qa'rib	qa'rib

¹⁴ Aspiration of plosives [p], [t], [k] before a vowel and in final position is regular and not transcribed.

26.	right side	راست	rɔst	'wurzɔy	'wurzɔx	'ɔrzɔx	'ɔrzɔk	'wurzɔk
27.	left side	چپ	tʃap	tʃap	tʃap	tʃap	tʃap	tʃap
28.	down	پاښن	pɔ'jin	ta	ta	ta	ta	ta
29.	up/above	بالا	bɔ'la	sar	sar	sər	sur	sər
30.	come NP	میآید	'mɔja	jist	jist	jist	a'ɔj	jist
	come P	آمد	ɔ'mad	ɔ'ɣaj	ɔ'ɣej	ɔ'ɣej	jist	ɔye'jaz
31.	sit NP	میشند	'mɔʃna	'niɕa	'njɔst	'njɔst	'niɕa	'niɕa
	sit P	نشست	ʃɔst	'njɔsta	'niɕt	'niɕt	njɔst	njɔst
32.	stand NP	استاد می‌شود	əs'tɔd 'meʃa	'wɔʃki	'wɔʃki	'wɔʃki	'wɔʃki'ɔj	'wɔʃki
	stand P	استاد شد	əs'tɔd ʃud	vɔ'rendɪ	wɔʃ'k'ɔj	wɔʃ'k'ɔj	'vrɪndɔ	wɔʃ'k'ɔj
33.	lie down NP	دراز میکشد	dar'ɔz 'mekaʃa	'vanɟ'xist	'vanɟ'xift	nuld	nu'wɔst	vanɟ'gin nwesti
	lie down P	دراز کشید	dar'ɔz ka'ʃid	'vanɟ'xiʃk'ɔ	nwɔst	nwɔst	nu'wɔst	vanɟ'xiʃk'ɔ
34.	give NP	میدهد	'meta	dild	dild	dild	dald	dild
	give P	داد	dɔd	ljə	lja	ljə	ljɔ	ljə
35.	walk NP	قدم می‌زند	qa'dam 'mezana	qa'dam di:	'zɔɣə	'zɔɣəwɪ	'zɣəwi	zu'ɣəwi
	walk P	قدم زد	qa'dam zad	qa'dam ɟjə	zu'ɣɔvd	zu'ɣɔvd	zə'ɣɔvd	zu'ɣɔvd
36.	go NP	میرود	'mera	i:	i:	bə'darij	ʃəj	bə'darij
	go P	رفت	raft	ʃi:	ʃi:	bə'darʃəj	ʃəj	bə'darʃəj
37.	run NP	میدود	'medawa	'bədawɔj	'bədawi	'bədawi	'bədawi	'bədawi
	run P	دوید	da'wid	'bədawɔj	'bədawɔj	'bədawɔj	'bədawi	'bədawɔj
38.	fly (bird) NP	می‌پرد	'mepara	'bəpri:d	'bəpi:d	'bəpi:d	'bəpri:d	'bəpri
	fly (bird) P	پرید	pa'rid	'bəpri:	'bəpri:	'bəprəj	'bəpri:d	'bəpri:
39.	swim (fish) NP	شنا می‌کند	ʃə'nɔ 'mekuna	ʃə'nɔw kind	ʃə'nɔw kind	ʃə'nɔw kind	'zɣəwi	awbɔ'zi 'mekuna
	swim (fish) P	شنا کرد	ʃə'nɔ kad	ʃə'nɔw kɪr	ʃə'nɔw kɪr	ʃə'nɔw 'ukɪr	'zɣəwi	awbɔ'zi kad
40.	fall NP	می‌فتد	'mefta	tʃiɕt	tʃiɕt	tʃiɕt	tʃiɕt	tʃiɕt
	fall P	افتاد	af'tɔd	tʃɔ:st	tʃɔ:st	tʃɔ:st	tʃɔ:st	tʃɔ:st

41.	throw NP	میندازد	'mendɔza	də'rejt	də'ret	də'rejt	də'rɔ	də'rej
	throw P	انداخت	an'dɔxt	dər'jə	dər'je	dər'je	dɪr'jɔ	dər'je
42.	flow NP	روان هست	ra'wɔn as	bə'da:ri	i:	bə'darij	bə'darəj	bə'darəkəj
	flow P	روان بود	ra'wɔn bud	rə'wɔn ʃi:	ʃi:	bə'darəʃəj	bə'darʃəj	bə'darʃi
43.	pull NP	کش میکند	kaʃ 'mekuna	xɪ:ʃk	xɪ:ʃk	xɪ:ʃk	xɪ:ʃ'k'ə	xɪ:ʃ'k'ə
	pull P	کش کرد	kaʃ kad	xɪ:ʃ'k'ə	xɪ:ʃ'k'ə	xɪ:ʃ'k'ə	xɪ:ʃ'k'ə	xɪ:ʃ'k'ə
44.	push NP	تله میکند	tə'la 'mekuna	və'dɪnɪ	və'dɪnd	və'di:nd	və'dʊst	və'dʊst
	push P	تله کرد	tə'la kad	və'dʊst	və'dʊst	və'dʊst	və'dʊst	və'dʊst
45.	wash NP	میشیود	'meʃɔja	'wʊznɪ	'wʊznɪ	'wʊznɪ	wʊz'nɔj	wʊz'dɔj
	wash P	شست	ʃʊʃt	wʊz'nɔj	wʊz'nɔj	wʊz'nɔj	wʊz'nɔj	wʊz'dɔj
46.	split NP	میده میکند	maj'da 'mekuna	maj'da kind	vər'jevɪd	vər'jevɪd	'tʊkʊr	maj'da kid
	split P	میده کرد	maj'da kad	maj'da kʊr	vər'jevɪda	vər'jevɪda	'tʊkʊr kʊr	maj'da kʊr
47.	tie NP	گره میکوند	gə're 'mekuna	gə're kind	gə'reɪ	gə'ra kind	gə'rə kʊr	gə'reɪ
	tie P	گره کرد	gə're kad	gə're kʊr	gə're kʊr	gə'ra kʊr	gə'rə kʊr	gə're ʒje
48.	hit NP	میزند	'mezana	di:	di:	di:	ʒjɔ	də:
	hit P	زد	zad	ʒje	ʒje	ʒje	ʒjɔ	ʒjə
49.	cut NP	بلک میکوند	bə'lak 'mekuna	'tʊkin	'təkin	'təkin	'tʊkʊr	'vrjevɪdə
	cut P	بلک کرد	bə'lak kad	'tʊkʊr	'tʊkʊr	'tʊkʊr	'tʊkʊr	vrʃkə'gə
50.	rub NP	میماله	'memɔla	me:ŋgʲ	'brɛdi	'brɛdi	mʊg'jɔ	bə'rəst
	rub P	مالید	mɔ'lid	mig'jə	brɛst	brɛst	mʊg'jɔ	bə'rəst
51.	dig NP	بیل میزند	bel 'mezana	'fjɔ:di	'fjɔ:ɪ	'fjɔ:ɪ	'fja:ʒjɔ	'fja:ʒje
	dig P	بیل زد	bel zad	'fjɔ:ʒjə	'fjɔ:ʒje	'fjɔ:ʒje	'fja:ʒjɔ	'fja:ʒje
52.	squeeze NP	پچق میکوند	pə'tʃuq 'mekuna	və'zubi	və'zubi	və'zubi	və'zubi	və'zʊbd
	squeeze P	پچق کرد	pə'tʃuq kad	və'zʊbd	və'zʊbd	və'zʊbd	və'zʊbd	və'zʊbd
53.	night	شب	ʃaw	x'ʃawa	x'ʃawa	x'ʃawa	x'ʃawa	x'ʃawa
54.	day	روز	ro:z	'wi:ʃki	'meçɛn	'meçɛn	'meçɛn	'meçɛn
55.	morning	صبح	so:b	sar	sar	sar	sar	sar

56.	noon	چاشت	tʃɔʃt	'meçɛn	tʃɔʃt	tʃɔʃt	tʃɔʃt	tʃɔʃt
57.	evening	شام	ʃɔm	ʃɔm	ʃɔm	ʃɔm	ʃɔm	ʃɔm
58.	yesterday	دیروز	'diroz	wu'zi:r	wu'zi:r	wu'zi:r	wu'zi:r	wu'zi:r
59.	today	امروز	'əmroz	dʊ:r	dʊ:r	dʊr	dʊ:r	dʊ:r
60.	tomorrow	فردا	far'də	sar:r	sar:r	sar:r	sar:r	sar:r
61.	week	هفته	haf'ta	af'ta	af'ta	af'ta	af'ta	ɔv'də
62.	month	ماه	mə	mə	mə	mə	mə	mə
63.	year	سال	səl	səl	səl	səl	səl	səl
64.	one	یک	jak	ju:	ju:	ju:	ju:	ju:
65.	two	دو	du	lə	lə	lə	lə	lə
66.	three	سه	se	çi'rej	çi'rej	çi'rej	çi'rɔj	çi'rej
67.	four	چهار	tʃɔr	tʃə'fi:r	tʃə'fi:r	tʃə'fi:r	tʃfu:r	tʃə'fur
68.	five	پنج	pandʒ	pəndʒ	pəndʒ	pəndʒ	pəndʒ	pəndʒ
69.	six	شش	ʃaʃ	ɔx'ʃə	'ɔxʃa	ɔx'ʃə	ɔx'ʃə	ɔx'ʃə
70.	seven	هفت	aft	ɔv'də	'ɔvda	ɔv'də	ɔv'də	ɔv'də
71.	eight	هشت	aft	ɔʃ'k'ə	'ɔʃk'ɛ	ɔʃ'k'ɛ	ɔʃ'k'ɛ	ɔʃ'k'ɛ
72.	nine	نو	no	new	naw	nɔw	nɔw	nɔw
73.	ten	ده	da	da	da	da	da	da
74.	eleven	یازده	ɟɔz'da	ɟɔz'da	ɟɔz'da	ɟɔz'da	ɟɔz'da	ɟɔz'da
75.	twelve	دوازده	dwɔz'da	dwɔz'da	dwɔz'da	dwɔz'da	dwɔz'da	dwɔz'da
76.	twenty	بیست	bist	bist	bist	bist	bist	bist
77.	hundred	صد	sad	sad	sad	sad	sad	sad
78.	all	تمام	ta'mɔm	'pɔ:zi	'pɔ:zi	'pɔ:zi	'pɔ:zi	'pɔ:zi
79.	many	زیاد	zɟɔd	dʒɔnd	dʒɔnd	dʒɔn	dʒɔn	dʒɔnd
80.	few	کمی	'kame	kʊb	kʌb	kəb	kʌb	kʌb
81.	big	کلان	ka'lɔn	stʊr	stʊr	stʊr	stʊr	stʊr
82.	small	خورد	xurd	dʊg'dar	dʊg'dar	dʊg'dar	dʊg'dara	dʊg'dara
83.	long	دراز	da'rɔz	va:ŋgʲ	va:ŋgʲ	va:ŋgʲ	va:ŋgʲ	va:ŋgʲ
84.	short	کوتاه	ko'tə	ku'k'ɛ	ko'p'ɛ	ko'p'ɛ	ku't'ɔ	ku't'ɛ

85.	wide	فراخ	fa'rɔx	wa'si:	wa'si:	wa'si:	wa'si:	wa'si:
86.	narrow	تنگ	taŋ	tʊ'gu	ta'ga	tə'gə	tʊ'gu	tə'gə
87.	thick	دېل	da'bal	lʊv'zə	lʊv'zə	lʊv'zə	lʊv'zə	lʊv'zə
88.	thin	نازک	nɔ'zʊk	tʊ'nʊk	tʊ'nʊk	tʊ'nʊk	tʊ'nʊk	tʊ'nʊk
89.	sun	آفتاب	af'taw	'mi:rɔ	'mi:rɔ	'mi:rɔ	'mi:ra	'mi:ra
90.	moon	مهتاب	ma'taw	ju:'mayika	ju:'maya	ju:'mayika	ju:'magikə	ju:'məyikə
91.	star	ستاره	setə'ra	stə'ri:	stə'ri:	stə'ruj	stə'rɪ	stə'ri:
92.	water	آب	aw	'jowɣə	'jowɣə	'jowɣa	'jowgə	'jowgə
93.	rain	باران	bə'rɔn	'nəvi	bə'rɪʃ	bə'rɪʃ	'nəvi	bə'rɪʃ
94.	lightning	آتشک/ الماسک	ɔtə'ʃak/ almɔ'sak	'tʊndəri	'tɔ:ndur	'tɔ:ndur	'livdən	'tɔ:ndurɪ
95.	rainbow	کمان رستم/ رنگین کمان	ka'mɔn res'tam/ raŋ'gɪn ka'mɔn	zə 'alvɔzda	say 'alvɔzda	kam'ɔnə rʊs'tam	ka'mɔn rəs'tam	raŋ'gɪn ka'mɔn
96.	mud	گل	gel	'milyə	'mɪl'ɣə	'mɪlgɪrə	'mʊlga	'mɪl'gə
97.	stone	سنگ	saŋg	'kwɪ:kə	'kwɪ:kə	'kwɪ:kə	'kwɪ:kə	'kwɪ:kə
98.	sand	ریگ	reg	'səɣiə	'suɣiə	'suɣiə	'sʊgɣə	'sʊgɣə
99.	earth	زمین	za'min	'zaxmə	'zaxma	'zaxma	'zaxmə	'zaxma
100.	cloud	ابر	abr	me:'ɣɔn	me:ɣ	me:ɣ	me:ɣ	me:ɣ
101.	smoke	دود	dud	li:	li:	lʊj	lʊj	li:
102.	fire	آتش	ɔ'teʃ	ju:r	ju:r	ju:r	ju:r	ju:r
103.	ash	خاکستر	xɔkəs'tar	'jɔxjə	'jɔxja	'jɔxjə	'jɔxjə	'jɔxjə
104.	mountain	کوه	ko	'ɣa:ri	ɣa:r	ɣa:r	ɣa:r	ɣa:r
105.	sky	آسمان	ɔs'mɔn	'asmina	'asminə	'asmina	'əsmʊnə	'asmɔna
106.	fog	غبار/مبغ	ɣa'bɔr/meɣ	ɣə'bɔr	mud'zayə	man'jɔr	kʊr'dud	ɣə'bɔr
107.	wind	شمال	ʃa'mɔl	wi:	wi:	wi:	wu:j	wu:j
108.	lake	عوض	aws	awd	awd	awd	ɔwd	ɔwd
109.	river	دریا	dar'jɔ	dar'jɔ	dar'jɔ	dar'jɔ	dar'jɔ	dar'jɔ
110.	salt	نمک	na'mak	'namɔɣə	'namɔɣa	'namɔɣa	'namɔlga	'namɔlga

111.	ice	یخ	jax	'jaxsəri	'jaxsuri	'jaxsuri	'jaxsərej	'jaxsuri
112.	snow	برف	barf	'wurfə	'wɔ:rfa	'wɔ:rfa	'wurfə	'wɔ:rfa
113.	dust	خاک	xək	ɣə're	ɣraj	ɣraj	ɣə'rej	ɣrej
114.	tree	درخت	da'raxt	'awsta	'awsta	də'raxt	'wuja	də'raxt
115.	seed	تخم	'tuxum	tuɣm	tuɣm	tuɣm	tuɣm	tuɣm
116.	leaf	برگ	barg	barg	barg	barg	barg	barg
117.	root	ریشه	rɪ'fa	'waxa	'waxa	'waxa	'waxa	'waxa
118.	bark	پوست درخت	'poste da'raxt	pu'sta	pu'sta	pu'stə	pu'stə	pu'stə
119.	thorn	خار	xər	'akundi	'akɔndi	'akɔndi	'akɔduj	'akɔdɪ
120.	fruit	میوه	me'wa	me'wa	me'wa	me'wa	me'wa	me'wa
121.	flower	گل	gul	gul	gul	gul	gul	gul
122.	grass	سبزه	sab'za	sav'zə	sav'zə	sav'zə	sav'zə	sav'zə
123.	wheat	گندم	gan'dum	'ɣɔ:ndum	'ɣɔ:ndum	'ɣɔ:ndum	'ɣɔ:dum	'ɣɔ:də
124.	barley	جو	dʒaw	kɔsk	kɔ:sk	kɔ:sk	kɔ:sk	kɔ:sk
125.	rice	برنج	bə'rendʒ	bə'rendʒ	bə'rendʒ	bə'rendʒ	bə'rendʒ	bə'rendʒ
126.	potato	کچالو	katʃɔ'lu	katʃɔ'lu	katʃɔ'lu	katʃɔ'lu	katʃɔ'luj	katʃɔ'lu
127.	chilli	مرچ	murtʃ	murtʃ	murtʃ	murtʃ	murtʃ	murtʃ
128.	garlic	سیر	sir	sir	sir	sir	sir	sir
129.	onion	پیاز	pjɔz	pjɔz	pjɔz	pjɔz	pjɔz	pjɔz
130.	fish	ماهی	mə'i	kɔb	kɔ:b	kɔ:b	kɔ:b	kɔ:b
131.	bird	پرنده	parən'da	paren'da	paren'da	paren'da	paren'da	paren'da
132.	dog	سگ	sag	ɣɔlf	ɣɔ:lb	ɣɔ:lf	ɣɔ:lf	ɣɔ:lf
133.	snake	مار	mər	i:ʒ	i:ʒ	i:ʒ	mər	mər
134.	worm	کرم	kerm	kürm	kürm	'kürum	'kürum	'kürum
135.	goat	بز	buz	'vuzə	'vuzə	'vuza	'vuzə	'vuzə
136.	mosquito	پشه	pa'fa	pa'fa	'mɔɣzə	'mɔxza	pa'fɔ	pa'fuj
137.	chicken	مرغ	murɣ	'kirjə	'kurjə	'kurjə	'kirjə	'kurjə
138.	spider	عنکبوت / تارتک	aŋka'but/ tərta'nak	gələm- bɔf'tuk	gələm- bɔf'tuk	gələm- bɔf'tuk	gələm- bɔf'tuk	tərta'nuk

139.	cow	گاو	gaw	'ɣo:wa	'ɣo:wa	'ɣo:wa	'ɣo:wa	'ɣo:wa
140.	ant	مورچه	mur'tʃa	'mʊrɣika	'mʊrɣeka	'mʊrɣeka	'mʊrɣika	'mʊrɣeka
141.	woman	زن	zan	'ʒɪnka	'ʒɪnka	'ʒɪnka	'ʒɪnka	'ʒɪnka
142.	man	مرد	mard	me:r	me:r	me:r	me:r	me:r
143.	person	نفر	na'far	na'far	na'far	na'far	na'far	na'far
144.	child/youth	طفل	təfl	zɪŋ'g'ɪɣ	zɪŋ'g'ɪɣ	zɪŋ'g'ɪɣ	duŋ'dara	zɪŋ'g'ɪɣ
145.	boy	بچه	ba'tʃa	zɪŋ'g'ɪɣə	zɪŋ'g'ɪɣ	zɪŋ'g'ɪɣ	zɪŋ'g'ɪɣ	zɪŋ'g'ɪɣ
146.	girl	دختر	dux'tar	'k'ɪɪnk'ɪk'ə	'k'ɪɪnk'ɪk'ə	'k'ɪɪnk'ɪk'ə	'k'ɪɪnɕək'ə	'k'ɪɪnɕək'ə
147.	body	بدن	ba'dan	'tɒna	'tɒna	'tɒna	'tɒna	'tanaj
148.	skin	پوست	post	'kərust	'kərust	'kərust	'kərust	'kərust
149.	flesh/meat	گوشت	goʃt	ɣu:ʃ	ɣu:ʃ	ɣu:ʃ	ɣu:ʃ	ɣu:ʃ
150.	blood	خون	xun	'jina	'jina	'jina	'jina	'jina
151.	bone	استخوان	ustu'xɔn	jas'ti	jas'ti	jas'tuj	jos'tuj	jos'ti
152.	grease/fat	دنبه	dun'ba	dum'ba	dum'ba	dum'ba	dum'ba	dum'ba
153.	oil	روغن	ro'ɣan	'ru:ɣan	'ru:ɣən	'ru:ɣən	'ru:ɣəna	'ru:ɣna
154.	egg	تخم	'tuxum	'arɣuɣ	'arɣuɣ	'arɣuɣ	'əɣuɣ	'əɣuɣ
155.	horn	شاخ	ʃɔx	ʃu:	ʃu	ʃu:	ʃəw	ʃu
156.	tail	دومب	dum	lɔm	lɔm	lɔm	lɔm	lɔm
157.	feather	پر	par	piŋg'	piŋg'	piŋg'	'puŋgi	'puŋgi
158.	hair (on head)	مو	muj	'puɣə	'puɣə	'puɣə	'puɣə	'puɣə
159.	head	سر	sar	'pu:sur	'pu:sur	'pu:sur	'pu:sır	'pu:sur
160.	face	روی	ruj	ru:j	ru:j	ru:j	ru:j	ru:j
161.	ear	گوش	goʃ	ɣu:j	ɣu:j	ɣu:j	ɣu:j	ɣu:j
162.	eye	چشم	tʃəʃm	tʃə:m	tʃə:m	tʃə:m	tʃə:m	tʃə:m
163.	nose	بینی	bi'ni	'fiska	'fuska	'fuska	'fiska	'fuskə
164.	mouth	دن	dan	jɪrf	jɪrf	jɪrf	jərf	jɪrf
165.	tooth	دندان	dan'dɔn	lɔ:nd	lɔ:nd	lɔ:nd	'lɔ:ndɪ	'lɔ:ndɪ
166.	tongue	زبان	zu'bɔn	zə'vi:ɣ	zə'vi:ɣ	zə'vi:ɣ	zə'vu:ɣ	zə'vug
167.	foot	پای	pɔj	'pa:lə	'pa:lə	'pa:lə	'pa:lə	'pa:lə

168.	knee	زانو	zə'nu	ziŋg	ziŋg	ziŋg	zu:g	zug
169.	hand	دست	dest	ləst	ləst	ləst	ləst	ləst
170.	palm	کف دست	'kafɛ dest	'pɛ:na	'pɛ:na	'pɛ:na	'pɛ:na	'pɛ:na
171.	finger	انگشت / پنجه	aŋgʊʃt/ pan'dʒa	'aɡʊʃkʲə	'aɡʊʃkə	'aɡʊʃkʲə	'aɡʊʃk'ə	'aɡʊʃk'ə
172.	finger nail	ناخن	nə'xun	'nəxun	'nəxun	'nə:χun	'nəχun	'nəχun
173.	belly	شکم	ʃəkam	ʃkam'be	ʃkam'bə	ʃkam'bə	da'run	da'run
174.	neck	گردن	gar'dan	ʃki	ʃki:	ʃk'aj	ʃk'əj	ʃki:
175.	heart	قلب	qalb	qalb	qalb	qalb	qalb	qalb
176.	liver	جگر	dʒə'gar	dʒi'gar	dʒi'gar	dʒi'gar	dʒi'gar	dʒi'gar
177.	back	پوشت	puʃt	'mʊlən	mʊ'lən	mʊ'lən	'mʊlən	'mʊlən
178.	leg	لینگ	leŋg	luŋg	'pala	'pala	luŋgi	luŋg
179.	arm	دست	dest	ləst	ləst	ləst	ləst	ləst
180.	elbow	آرنج	ə'rindʒ	'ra:zn	ra:zn	ra:zn	ra:zn	ra:zn
181.	wing	بال	bəl	'və:zʊrɣə	'və:zʊrɣə	'və:zʊrɣə	'və:zʊrɣi	'və:zʊrɣə
182.	fur	پوست	post	'kə:ɾɔst	'kə:ɾɔst	'kə:ɾɔst	'kʊ:ɾɔst	'kə:ɾɔst
183.	lip	لب	lab	kper	kper	k'pere	k'pəri	kpar
184.	navel	ناف	nəf	nif	nif	nif	nu:f	nuf
185.	guts	روده	ro'da	ru'wi	ruj	ru'juj	ru'ji	ru'ji
186.	saliva	لعاب	la'əbe dan	'kəʃpi	'kəʃpi	'kəʃpi	'kəʃpi	'kaʃpi
187.	milk	شیر	ʃir	x'ʃi:rə	x'ʃi:rə	x'ʃi:rə	x'ʃi:ra	x'ʃi:ra
188.	thirsty	تشنه	tuʃ'na	zəɣ'rəjə	zəɣ'rəj	zə'ɣə:ɣəj	'zɣi:rəjəj	zə'ɣə:rəjam
189.	hungry	گشنه	ɡuʃ'na	wʊʃ'jəndə:ɾə	ʊʃ'jənd	ʊʃ'jəndəj	ʊʃ'jəndəjəj	ɡʊʃ'jəndəjam
190.	drink NP	میخورد/ مینوشد	'mexora	ʃend	ʃend	ʃend	ʃend	ʃend
	drink P	خورد / نوشید	xurd	'ʃenda	ʃen'da	ʃen'dəw	ʃen'da	ʃen'da
191.	eat NP	میخورد	'mexora	xud	xud	xud	xu'rə	xud
	eat P	خورد	'xurd	xu'rə	xu'rə	xu'rə	xu'rə	xu'rə

192.	bite <i>NP</i>	قېب ميزند	qab 'mezana	qab di	ɣri:vd	ɣri:vd	'bəqapəj	'bəqape
	bite <i>P</i>	قېب زد	qab zad	qab zje	ɣri:vd	ɣri:vd	'bəqapəj	'bəqapəj
193.	see <i>NP</i>	ميبند	'mibina	wu'zi:d	wɪnd	wɪnd	u'zu:d	wi:d
	see <i>P</i>	ديد	did	wu'zi:r	wu'zɪr	ɫɪjk	u'zɪr	ɫɪjk
194.	hear <i>NP</i>	ميشنود	'mɛʃnawa	nu'ɣujd	nu'ɣujd	nu'ɣujd	nə'ɣujd	nu'ɣujd
	hear <i>P</i>	شنيد	ʃu'nid	nu'ɣɪjk	nu'ɣɒjk	nu'ɣɒjk	nə'ɣɒjk	nu'ɣɒjk
195.	know <i>NP</i>	ميفحمد	'mɛfɒma	və'zɪnd	vzɛnd	vzɛnd	vzɛ:də	vzɛ:d
	know <i>P</i>	فحميد	fə'mid	və'zɪndə	vzɛnda	vzɛnda	vzɛ:da	vzɛ:da
196.	sleep <i>NP</i>	خواب ميکوند	xaw 'mekuna	nuld	nuld	nuld	nwɔst	nuld
	sleep <i>P</i>	خواب کرد	xaw kad	nu'wɔst	nwɔst	nwɔst	nwɔst	nwɔst
197.	die <i>NP</i>	ميرد	'memura	'muri	'muri	'muri	'murə	'muri
	die <i>P</i>	مرد	murd	mʊ'rə	mʊ'rə	mʊ'rə	mʊ'rə	mʊ'rə
198.	think <i>NP</i>	فکر ميکند	'fikər 'mekuna	andi'ʃa kind	fikr kind	fikr kind	fikr kʊr	fikr kid
	think <i>P</i>	فکر کرد	'fikər kad	andi'ʃa kʊr	fikr kʊr	fikr 'ʊkʊr	fikr kʊr	fikr 'jʊkʊr
199.	smell <i>NP</i>	بوی ميکند	buj 'mekuna	buj kind	buj kind	buj kind	buj kʊr	buj kid
	smell <i>P</i>	بوی کرد	buj kad	buj kʊr	buj kʊr	buj kʊr	buj kʊr	buj kʊr
200.	vomit <i>NP</i>	استفراغ ميکند	estəfə'rɔɣ 'mekuna	'kiçmi	'kiçmi	'kiçmi	'kiçməj	'kiçməj
	vomit <i>P</i>	استفراغ کرد	estəfə'rɔɣ kad	kiç'məj	kiç'məj	kiç'məj	kiç'məj	kiç'məj
201.	fear <i>NP</i>	ميترسد	'metarsa	də'rɛwi	də'rɛwi	də'rɛwi	də'rɛwi	də'rɛwi
	fear <i>P</i>	ترسيد	tar'sid	də'ri	dri:	drej	də'rəj	də'rəj
202.	live/be alive <i>NP</i>	زنده هست	zən'da s	zɪn'da astad	zən'da ast	zən'da ast	zɪn'də	zən'də
	live/be alive <i>P</i>	زنده بود	zən'da bud	zɪn'da vjə	zən'da vjə	zən'da vjə	zɪn'də vjə	zən'da vjə
203.	talk <i>NP</i>	گپ ميزند	gap 'mezana	'rɔ:ʒid	'rɔ:ʒɪm	'rɔ:ʒɪm	'rɔ:ʒɪd	'rɔ:ʒɪd
	talk <i>P</i>	گپ زد	gap zad	rɔ:ʒjə	rɔ:ʒjə	rɔ:ʒjə	'rɔ:ʒjə	'rɔ:ʒjə
204.	sing <i>NP</i>	بیت ميخواند	bajt 'mɛxɔna	'naxʃɛ ʒud	'naxʃɛ ʒud	'naxʃɪ ʒud	'naxʃɛ ʒud	'naxʃɛ ʒud
	sing <i>P</i>	بیت خواند	bajt xɔnd	'naxʃɪ ʃtə	'naxʃɪ ʃtə	'naxʃɪ ʃtə	'naxʃɪ ʃtə	'naxʃɪ ʃtə

205.	suck <i>NP</i>	میچوشد	'metʃoʃa	ʃʊvd	ʃu:vd	ʃu:vd	ʃu:vd	ʃu:vd
	suck <i>P</i>	چوشید	tʃoʃid	ʃʊvd	ʃʊvd	ʃʊvd	'ʃʊvdə	'ʃʊvdə
206.	blow (w. mouth) <i>NP</i>	پف می‌کند	puf 'mekuna	pə'fɔj	'pufi	'pufi	pʊ'fɔj	pʊ'fɔj
	blow (w. mouth) <i>P</i>	پف کرد	puf kad	pə'fɔj	pʊ'fɔj	pʊ'fɔj	pʊ'fɔj	pʊ'fɔj
207.	red	سرخ	surx	sʊrx	sʊrx	sʊrx	sʊrx	sʊrx
208.	green	سبز	sabz	sə:vz	sə:vz	sə:vz	sə:vz	sə:vz
209.	yellow	زرد	zard	zi:d	zi:d	zi:d	zi:d	zi:d
210.	white	سفید	sa'fed	spi:	spi:	spi:	spi:	spi:
211.	black	سیاه	sja	n'rəwi	nə'rəwi	nə'rəwuj	nə'rəwi	nə'rəwi
212.	hot/warm	گرم	garm	su'zɔn	su'zɔn	su'zɔn	su'zɔn	su'zɔn
213.	cold	سرد	sard	'ilxə	jəx	'jəxlən	'jəxlən	'jəxlən
214.	full	پور	pur	pʏr	pʊr	pʊr	'pʊrə	pʊr
215.	new	نو	naw	nə'wi	nwi	nə'wuj	nə'wuj	nʊ'wi
216.	old	کهنه	ko'na	ku'na	ku'na	ku'na	ku'nə	ku'nə
217.	round	گرد	gerd/gurd	gʊrd	gʊrd	gʊrd	'gʊrda	gʊrd
218.	dry	خشک	xuʃk	wʊʃk	wʊʃk	wʊʃk	wʊʃk	wʊʃk
219.	wet	تر	tar	tʃal	tʃal	tʃal	tʃal	tʃal
220.	dark	تاریک	tə'rik	'ti:ra	'ti:ra	'ti:ra	'turə	'turikə
221.	heavy	سنگین/ وزمین	saŋ'gin/ waz'min	waz'min	waz'min	waz'min	waz'min	waz'min
222.	light	سبک	su'buk	sa'bʊk	sa'bʊk	sa'bʊk	sa'bʊk	sa'bʊk
223.	dull	خسته کن	xasta'kun	dɛ'qi:n	dɛ'qi:n	dɛ'qi:n	dɛ'qi:n	dɛ'qi:n
224.	sharp	تیز	tez	tʊr'ɣə	tʊr'ɣə	tʊr'ɣə	tʊr'ɣə	tʊr'ɣa
225.	good	خوب	xub	'ɣaʃi	'ɣaʃi	'ɣaʃi	'ɣaʃi	'ɣaʃi
226.	bad	بد	bad	li:w	li:w	li:w	li:w	li:w
227.	dirty	چتل	tʃatal	ɣa:ʒd	ɣa:ʒd	ɣa:ʒd	ɣa:ʒd	ɣa:ʒd
228.	rotten	خراب	xa'rəb	li:w	li:w	li:w	li:w	li:w
229.	smooth	لشم	taʃm/luʃm	riŋ'g'ə	riŋ'g'ə	riŋ'g'ə	riŋ'g'ə	riŋ'g'ə
230.	straight	راست	rɔst	'wuziɾɣ	'wʊɾzʊɣ	'ʊɾzʊx	'wʊɾzʊk	'ʊɾzʊg

231.	correct	درست	du'rust	'ɣa:ʃi	'ɣa:ʃi	mɔ'qul	'ɣa:ʃi	'ɣa:ʃi
232.	ripe	پخته	pux'ta	pʃɔj	pʃɔj	'pʃɔjə	'pʃɔj	'pʃɔjə
233.	broken	شکسته	ʃəkəs'ta	və'rɪʃk	vɪʃk	'vɪʃk'ə	və'rəʃk	'vɪʃk'ɛ
234.	whole	جور	dʒor	dʒu:r	dʒu:r	dʒu:r	dʒu:r	dʒu:r
235.	same	مثل	'məsle	'miləx	'uləx	'uləx	'mi:na	'mi:na
236.	different	فرق	farq	farq	farq	farq	farq	farq
237.	mother	مادر	mɔ'dar	'ne:nə	'ne:na	'ne:n	'ne:nə	'ne:na
238.	father	پدر	pa'dar	tɔ:d	tɔ:d	tɔ:d	tɔ:d	tɔ:d
239.	husband	شوهر	ʃaw'har	ʃfi:	ʃəfi:	ʃfəj	ʃəfuj	ʃəfi:
240.	wife	زن/حانم	zan/xɔ'num	'wulə	'wulə	'wulə	'wulə	'wulə
241.	son	بچه	ba'tʃa	pʊr	pʊr	pʊr	pʊr	pʊr
242.	daughter	دختر	dux'tar	'luɣda	'luɣda	'luɣda	'luɣda	'luɣda
243.	older brother	برادر کلان	bjɔ'dare ka'lɔn	'xuʃkə vrɔj	'xuʃkə vrɔj	'xuʃkə vrɔj	'xuʃkə vrɔj	'xuʃkə vrɔj
244.	younger brother	برادر خورد	bjɔ'dare xurd	'ka:ndɪr vrɔj	'ka:ndɪr vrɔj	'ka:ndɪr vrɔj	'ka:ndɪr vrɔj	'ka:ndɪr vrɔj
245.	older sister	خواهر کلان	'xware ka'lɔn	'xuʃkə 'jixɔ	'xuʃkə 'jixɔ	'xuʃkə 'jixɔ	'xuʃkə 'jixɔ	'xuʃkə 'jixɔ
246.	younger sister	خواهر خورد	'xware xurd	'ka:ndɪr 'jixɔ	'ka:ndɪr 'jixɔ	'ka:ndɪr 'jixɔ	'ka:ndɪr 'jixɔ	'ka:ndɪr 'jixɔ
247.	rope	ریسمان/تتاب	res'mɔn/ ta'naw	'la:sə	'la:sə	'la:sə	'la:sə	'la:sə
248.	village	قریه	qar'ja	'lɔma	'lɔma	'lɔma	'lɔma	'lɔma
249.	house	خانه	xɔ'na	k'ɛj	k'ɛj	k'ɛj	k'ɛj	k'ɛj
250.	roof	بام	bɔm	'a:skig	'a:skiɣ	'a:skiɣ	'i:skig	'i:skig
251.	door	دروازه	darwɔ'za	lə'ver	lə'ver	lə'ver	lə'ver	lə'ver
252.	broom	جاروب	dʒɔ'ru	'rəfə	'rɒfa	'rɒfika	'rəfika	'rəfika
253.	hammer	چکش	ʃa'kuʃ	tʃa'kuʃ	tʃa'kuʃ	tʃa'kuʃ	bɔl'qa	tʃa'kuʃ
254.	knife	چاقو	tʃɔ'qu	tʃɔ'quwə	tʃɔ'qu	tʃɔ'quwə	tʃɔ'quwə	tʃɔ'quwə
255.	axe	تبر	ta'war	tʊ'wər	twər	tʊ'wər	tu'wɒr	tu'wər
256.	thread	تار	tər	wi:rɜ	wi:rɜ	wi:rɜ	wu:rɜ	wu:rɜ
257.	needle	سوزن	su'zan	'ʃɪɜna	'ʃɪɜna	'ʃɪɜna	'ʃɪɜna	'ʃɪɜna

258.	cloth	تکه	te'ka	ɕə'lə	ɕə'lə	ɕə'lə	ɕə'lə	ɕə'lə
259.	gold	طلا	te'lə	tɪ'lə	tɪ'lə	tɪ'lə	tɪ'lə	tɪ'lə
260.	ring	انگشتر	aŋguʃ'tar	'paŋguʃki	'pəŋguʃki	'puŋguʃk'ɕj	'pəŋguʃk'ɕj	'pəŋguʃki
261.	knot	گری	gə're	gə'rə	gə'rɛ	gə'rə	gə'rɛ	gə'rə
262.	path/road	پياده رو	pjɔda'raw	'pɔ:nda	'pɔ:nda	'pɔ:nda	pɔ'dɔj	pjɔ:də
263.	name	نام	nəm	nɔ:m	nɔ:m	nɔ:m	nɔ:m	nɔ:m
264.	other	ديگر	dɪ'ga	i'di:r	i'di:r	i'di:r	ji'du:r	i'du:r
265.	sew	ميدوزه	'medoza	ʒi:d	ʒi:d	ʒi:d	ʒɪ'jɔ	ʒi:d
	sew	دوخت	doxt	ʒjə	ʒjə	ʒjə	ʒɪ'jɔ	ʒjə
266.	kill	ميکشد	'mekuʃa	'muʃkjad	'mɛʃk'ɛ	mɛʃk	təl'jɔ	təl'jɔ
	kill	کشت	kuʃt	'muzad	'mɔʃk	mɔʃk	muʃk'ɕj	təl'jɔ
267.	burn (wood) NP	ميسوزد	'mesoza	'gʊvi	'gəvi	'gəvi	'gʊvi	'gəvi
	burn (wood) P	سوخت	soxt	gʊvd	gʊvd	gʊvd	gʊvd	gʊvd
268.	freeze NP	يخ ميزند	jax 'mezana	'jaxsəri	sə'rɔj	sə'rɔj	'jaxlən ʃʊj	sʊ'ri
	freeze P	يخ زد	jax zad	'jaxsərə ʒjə	sʊ'rɛ	sərəj'ɣə	'jaxsərəj ʃʊj	sʊ'ri
269.	swell NP	می پندد	'mepunda	lə'mɔj	lʊ'mɔj	'almɔyɑ dri'jej	lə'mɔj	'almɔgɑ dri'jej
	swell P	پنديد	pun'did	lə'mɔj	lʊ'mi:st	lumɔj'ɣə	lə'mɔj	'amɔlgɑ dri'jej
270.	blow (wind) NP	شمال ميشود	ʃa'məl 'mɛʃɑ	wi: wʊʃ'k'ɕj	wi: wʊʃ'k'ɕj	wi:	wu:ʒ wʊʃ'k'ɕj	wuj wʊʃ'k'ɕj
	blow (wind) P	شمال شد	ʃa'məl ʃud	wi: wʊʃ'k'ɕj	wi: wʊʃ'k'i	wi: vjə	wu:ʒ wʊʃ'k'ɕj	wuj wʊʃ'k'ɕj

APPENDIX B: VILLAGE ELDER 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 Consultant	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. زبان اصلي پدر
8. Mother's Mother Tongue	۸. زبان اصلي مادر
9. Spouse's Mother Tongue	۹. زبان اصلي شور/زو
10. Education Level	۱۰. درجه تحصيل (چند سال)
11. Profession, where	۱۱. وظيفه (كجا)
12. Marital Status	۱۲. حالت مدني
13. Children	۱۳. اولاد
14. Number of people in the house	۱۴. نمر نفر در خانه
15. ID	۱۵. تذکره
III. Village Data	۳. معلومات قريه
1. How many houses are in the village?	۱. اين قريه چند خانه دارد؟
2. How many people usually live in a house?	۲. در يك خانه چند نفر زندگي ميکنند؟
3. How many people live in the village?	۳. در اين قريه چند نفر زندگي ميکنند؟
4. What language do people speak here in your village?	۴. در اين قريه مردم به کدام زبان گپ ميزند؟
5. What do you call your language? What do other people call your language?	۵. شما زبان شما چي ميناميد؟ مردم زبان شما را چي مينامند؟
6. Are there any people in your village who don't speak Munji? Who? Why? Does their number increase? Their children?	۶. در قريه شما کسي موجود است که با زبان منجي گپ نزنند؟ کي است؟ چرا؟ آنها زياد شده ميروند؟ اطفال شان چطور؟

7. In which other villages do people speak the Munji language? How many people speak your language in those villages? (All – many – some – few)	۷. دیگر در کدام قریه ها مردم به منجی 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 همراه یکدیگر به کدام زبان گپ میزنند؟ ... همراه ریش سفیدان قریه های دیگر؟ ... همراه مردم؟ ... برای مردم (در سخن 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 مکتب
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 – 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 Munji and later in Dari?	۸. به نظر شما خوب میبود که شاگردان اول به منجی خواندن و نوشتن را یاد میگردند 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. چي تعداد شاگردان برای تحصیلات عالی میروند؟
11. Do boys and girls go for further education?	۱۱. بچه ها زیادتیر 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 – few)	۲۱. به فکر شما، 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 are married to speakers of other languages? Which languages?	۱. در این قریه چند مردان با زنی که به زبان تان گپ نه میزند عروسی کدن؟ دختران کدام زبان عروسی کدن؟
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 in marriage to men from other languages? Which languages?	۳. در این قریه چند دختر عروسی کردن به قریه که منجی نیست؟ کدام زبان؟
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. صفر
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 بشترا 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، کلنیک 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 زیادترا دارند؟
2. What do people produce themselves for their living?	۲. مردم برای خدایش چی زندگی پیدا میکنند؟
3. Where do people get things 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 (كجا)
12. Marital Status	۲۱. حالت مدني
13. Children	۳۱. اولاد
14. Number of people in the house	۴۱. نمبر نفر در خانه
15. ID	۵۱. تذکره
III. Language Area	۳. لسان و منطقه
1. Where do people speak your language?	۱. مردم كجا به زبان شما گپ ميزنند؟
2. Where do people speak Munji differently?	۲. مردم كجا با فرق زبان منجي گپ ميزنند؟
3. Do you always understand it well?	۳. آنها را هميشه خوب مي فهميد؟
4. Where do people speak Munji most sweetly/beautifully? Least sweetly/beautifully?	۴. مردم در كجا به زبان منجي خوب و شرين گپ ميزنند؟ و در كجا خراب يا بد گپ ميزنند؟
5. Which other languages do you speak?	۵. ديگر کدام زبان را بلد استيد؟
6. Where did you learn those languages?	۶. از كجا اين زبان ها را ياد گرفتيد؟
7. Which language is easiest for you?	۷. کدام زبان آسانتر است براي شما؟

8. Which language would you like to speak better?	۸. کدام زبان را خوش دارید که بهتر گپ بزنید؟
IV. Language and Family	۴. لسان و فامیل
1. Does anybody speak other languages except your mother tongue in your home? Who? With whom? Why?	۱. در خانه شما کسی است بغیر از زبان اصلی کدام زبان دیگر را گپ میزند؟ کی؟ با کی؟ چرا؟
2. How would you feel if your children spoke in Dari at home among themselves? Why?	۲. اگر اطفال شما در خانه همراهی یک دیگر به دری گپ میزدند برای شما چطور میبود؟ چرا؟
3. Do children sometimes mix Dari and Munji?	۳. اطفال کدام وقت زبان دری و منجی گت میکنند؟
4. When your children grow up, what language will they use the most? Why? Are you happy with that?	۴. وقت که اطفال تان کلان میشوند زیادتر به کدام زبان گپ میزنند؟ چرا؟ خوش هستید؟
5. When your grandchildren grow up, what language will they use the most? Why? Are you happy with that?	۵. وقت که نواسه های تان کلان میشوند زیادتر به کدام زبان گپ میزنند؟ چرا؟ خوش هستید؟
6. Are there any wives in your family who are not Munji? If yes: With what language do husband and wife speak together? Their children?	۶. در فامیل شما کسی زن گرفته که منجی نیست؟ آنها به کدام زبان گپ میزنند؟ اطفال شان چطور؟
7. Would you let your son marry someone who speaks only Shughni/Wakhi/Ishkashimi/Dari/Pashto?	۷. شما به بچه تان اجازه میدهید که زنی بگیرد که تنها زبان شغنی/ واخی/ اشکاشمی/ دری/ پشتو بلد باشد؟
8. Is there a woman from your family given for marriage outside Munjan? If yes: What language does she speak with her husband? Their children?	۸. در فامیل شما دختر عروسی کرده به قریه که منجی نیست؟ هالی به فامیل اش به کدام زبان گپ میزند؟ اطفال اش چطور؟
9. Would you let your daughter marry someone who speaks only Shughni/Wakhi/Ishkashimi/Dari/Pashto?	۹. شما به دختر تان اجازه میدهید که به بچه عروسی کند که تنها زبان شغنی/ واخی/ اشکاشمی/ دری/ پشتو بلد باشد؟
10. Which language do you use at Juma Namoz during prayer? After prayer for preaching?	۱۰. به کدام زبان در نماز جمعه دعا میکنید؟ بعد از نماز جمعه ملا برای مردم به کدام زبان گپ میزند؟
VI. Language, Travel, and Trade	۶. لسان، سفر تجاری
1. Which languages do you speak at the bazaar in Munjan? Which languages do you speak with merchants who come to the village?	۱. به کدام زبان در بازار منجان گپ میزنید؟ به کدام زبان همراهی تجار که به قریه میانند گپ میزنید؟

2. Where do you go to visit? How often? How long? For what occasions? What language do you use there?	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 میکنید؟
4. Do people come from other places to visit you? How often? How long? For what occasions? What language do they use?	۴. مردم از کجا به دیدن شما میآیند؟ چند مرتبه؟ چقدر وقت؟ برای چی؟ کدام زبان ها را بیشتر استفاده میکنند؟
5. Did you travel to the Munji in Pakistan? Or did you meet them here? How well did you understand their language?	۵. پیش منجی در پاکستان رفتید؟ یا آنها را اینجا دیدید؟ زبان اش چی فرق دارد؟
6. Where does Munji come from? Where was it spoken first?	۶. زبان منجی از کجا آمده؟ اول در کجا رواج بود؟
7. Has anyone ever made fun of you because of your language? Who?	۷. کس سر شما خنده کرد از خاطر زبان شما؟ کی بود؟
VII. Language, Children, and Education	۷. لسان، اطفال و تحصیل
1. Do your children go to school? Those who don't go—why don't they go? boys – girls	۱. اطفال شما مکتب میروند؟ کدام صنف؟ آنها که نه میروند – چرا نه میروند؟
2. When your children started school, did they already know Dari?	۲. وقت که اطفال شما نو مکتب رفتن زبان دری را یاد گرفتند؟
3. Does the teacher help your children in Munji in class?	۳. معلم اطفال شما را به زبان منجی 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 grade do your children understand Dari well?	۵. اطفال شما در کدام صنف زبان دری را یاد گرفتند؟
6. Would you prefer your children to learn reading and writing in Dari first, or in Munji first and later in Dari? Why?	۶. خوب بود که اطفال خواندن و نوشتن را اول به زبان دری یاد بگردند ، یا اول به زبان منجی و پسانتر به زبان دری ؟ چرا؟
VIII. Literacy and Media	۸. سواد آموزی
1. Do you like reading books? What kind of books do you usually read? In what language do you read books?	۱. شما خواندن کتاب را خوش دارید؟ عموماً چی نوع کتاب میخوانید؟ شما به کدام زبان کتاب را میخوانید؟

2. Would you like books in Munji? Why? What kind of books would you like: stories, poetry, songs, history, health education, other?	۲. می‌خواهید به زبان منجی کتاب باشد؟ چرا؟ اگر می‌خواهید چه نوع کتاب باشد داستان‌ها، شعر، خواندن‌ها یا آوازها، تاریخ، دربارهٔ صحت کدام یکی؟
3. Would you spend money to buy books in Munji?	۳. اگر کتاب به منجی می‌بود، شما آن را می‌خرید؟
4. What would be the best Munji dialect to produce literature in? Why?	۴. بهترین لهجه منجی برای ساختن ادبیات کدام است؟ چرا؟
5. If there were a literacy class in Munji, would you go?	۵. اگر اینجا درس خواندن و نوشتن به منجی می‌بود، شما رفته بودید؟
6. Would you spend money in order to learn reading and writing in Munji?	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	۹. قدر بررسی
1. How useful is Munji for you in respect of <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ getting jobs ▪ higher education ▪ communication with other communities ▪ gaining respect in your community? 	۱. زبان منجی تا چه اندازه برای تان فایده دارد؟ <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - برای کارایی - برای تحصیلات عالی - ارتباط با دیگر مردم - صاحب احترام شدن در بین مردم خودتان
2. How useful is Dari for you in respect of <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ getting jobs ▪ higher education ▪ communication with other communities ▪ gaining respect in your community? 	۲. زبان دری تا چه اندازه برای تان فایده دارد؟ <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - برای کارایی - برای تحصیلات عالی - ارتباط با دیگر مردم - صاحب احترام شدن در بین مردم خودتان
Researcher's Observation:	

APPENDIX D: PROFICIENCY STORYING QUESTIONNAIRE

Interview Data	
1. Researcher	۱. پژوهشگر
2. Date	۲. تاریخ
3. Location	۳. موقعیت
4. Language of Interview	۴. لسان مصاحبه
Personal Data of Informant	
1. Name of Informant	۱. اسم
2. Gender of Informant	۲. جنس
3. Age	۳. سن
4. Place of Birth	۴. محل تولد
5. Residence (now, others)	۵. محل زندگی فعلی و قبلاً
6. Mother Tongue	۶. لسان مادری
7. Father's Mother Tongue	۷. زبان اصلی پدر
8. Mother's Mother Tongue	۸. زبان اصلی مادر
9. Spouse's Mother Tongue	۹. زبان اصلی 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
Childhood Language Use	
1. When you were a child, which language did you speak with your parents?	۱. وقت که خورد بودید، به کدام زبان همراهی پدر و مادر گپ میزدید؟
2. Whith 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؟

4. When you were a child, how did your friends' Dari levels compare to yours?	۴. وقت که خورد بودید، بیهترین دری یاد داشتید یا دوستانان؟
a) What was the cause of the difference?	چرا همان طور میبود؟
b) How do your friends' Dari levels compare to yours today?	هالی شما بهتر به دری گپ زده میتوانید یا دوستانان؟
c) What is the cause of the difference today?	چرا همان طور هست؟
5. When you were small, did you have any neighbor children who spoke Dari at home?	۵. وقت که شما خورد بودید، اطفال بود که در خانه خود شان به دری گپ میزدند؟
a) Who were they?	کی بود؟
b) How often did you speak with them?	چقدر وقت شما همرايش گپ زدید؟
<i>Level One/Two</i>	
1. When was the last time you bought something from the bazaar/a trader?	۱. دغه گذشته که شما سودا از بازار/ از تجار خریدید، چی وقت بود؟
a) What language did you use to buy things?	به کدام زبان خریدید؟
b) Where was that?	کجا بود؟
c) What did you buy?	چی را خریدید؟
d) Did you do most of the talking, or did someone else?	شما زیادتر همراي تجار گپ زدید یا دیگر نفر؟
e) Was it difficult in any way?	مشکل بود؟
f) Do you know anyone who would have problems using Dari in the same situation?	کس را میشناسید که برای اش به دری مشکل میبود؟
2. Can you give the names of animals and plants, and describe them in Dari?	۲. شما نام حیوانات و نباتات را به دری یاد دارید و میتوانید راجع به آنها گپ بزیند؟
a) Do you know someone who cannot do this as well as you?	شما کس را میشناسید که این کار کمتر میتواند؟
b) Do you know someone who can do this better than you?	شما کس را میشناسید که این کار بهتر میتواند؟
3. Have you ever been to the doctor (Dari-speaking)?	۳. شما پیش داکتر رفته بودید (دری)؟
a) When was this?	چی وقت بود؟

b) Who went with you?	کی همراهی شما رفت؟
c) Were you able to explain everything you needed to in Dari?	شما تانستید هر چیز به دری بگویند؟
d)w What was difficult to explain?	چی مشکل بود؟
e) Do you know someone for whom this would have been more difficult?	شما کس را میشناسید کی برای اش مشکلتر میبود؟
f) Do you know someone for whom this would have been easier?	شما کس را میشناسید کی برای اش آسانتر میبود؟
4. Have you ever had an experience when you spoke Dari with someone and it was difficult?	۴. کدام وقت بود که شما به دری همراهی کس گپ زدید و برای شما مشکل بود؟
a) Why was it difficult?	چرا مشکل بود؟
b) Who were you talking with?	همراهی که گپ زدید؟
c) What were you talking about?	راجع به چی گپ زدید؟
d) Would you have the same problems today?	امروز هم این مشکل هست؟
<i>Level Two-Plus/Three</i>	
5. Have you ever had to argue with someone in Dari?	۵. شما همراهی کس به دری غالمغال کرده بودید؟
a) What did you argue about?	غالمغال راجع به چی بود؟
b) Was it difficult to use Dari for this?	مشکل بود به دری؟
c) Do you know someone for whom this would have been more difficult?	شما کس را میشناسید کی برای اش مشکلتر میبود؟
d) Do you know someone for whom this would have been easier?	شما کس را میشناسید کی برای اش آسانتر میبود؟
6. Have you ever translated for someone from Dari into Munji?	۶. شما برای دیگر نفر ترجمه کرده بودید؟
a) When was this?	چی وقت بود؟
b) For whom did you translate?	برای کی ترجمه کردید؟
c) What was the topic/situation?	ترجمه راجع به چی بود؟
d) Was it difficult in any way?	مشکل بود؟
e) Do you know someone for whom this would be more difficult?	شما کس را میشناسید کی برای اش مشکلتر میبود؟
f) Do you know someone for whom this would be easier?	شما کس را میشناسید کی برای اش آسانتر میبود؟
7. Have you ever told a joke in Dari?	۷. شما کدام دفعه به دری مذاق کردید؟

a) When?	چی وقت؟
b) Who was there?	کی گوش گرفت؟
c) Was it hard (in Dari)?	مشکل بود به دری؟
d) Why was it hard?	چرا مشکل بود؟
e) Do you know someone for whom this would have been more difficult?	شما کس را میشناسید کی برای اش مشکلتر میبود؟
f) Do you know someone for whom this would have been easier?	شما کس را میشناسید کی برای اش آسانتر میبود؟
8. Have you ever talked about politics with someone in Dari?	۸. شما همراهی کس به دری راجع به سیاست گپ زدید؟
a) When was the last time you did?	دفعه گذشته چی وقت بود؟
b) With whom were you talking?	همراهی کی گپ زدید؟
c) What was difficult about this experience?	مشکلات چی بود؟
d) Do you know someone for whom this would be more difficult than for you?	شما کس را میشناسید کی زیادتیر مشکلات داشته باشد؟
e) Do you know someone for whom this would be easier than for you?	شما کس را میشناسید کی کمتر مشکلات ها داشته باشد؟
9. Are there certain topics which are easier for you to speak about in Dari than others, like religion or politics, etc.?	۹. کدام مضمون ها برای شما آسانتر هست که به دری راجع به آن گپ بزیند از دیگر مضمون، مثل دین یا سیاست و غیره؟
a) Which ones?	کدام اش آسانتر هست؟
b) Why are they easier?	چرا اسان تر هست؟
<i>Level Three-Plus/Four</i>	
10. Are you familiar with all the words of the Dari language?	۱۰. شما کلی لغت ها به دری میفهمید؟
a) Do you know someone (else) who isn't familiar with all the words of the Dari language?	شما کس را میشناسید که کلی لغات ها را به دری نه میفهمید؟
b) Do you know someone (else) who is familiar with all the words of the Dari language?	شما کس را میشناسید کی کلی لغات ها را به دری میفهمید؟
11. Are there certain people with whom you would find it hard to speak Dari, like a go-vernment person or other important people?	۱۱. کس هست که برای شما مشکل باشد که همراهی به دری گپ بزیند، مثل نفر حکومت یا دیگر نفر مهم؟

a) Whom?	کی هست؟
b) Why would it be difficult to speak Dari with them?	چرا مشکل هست؟
c) Do you know someone who wouldn't have problems speaking Dari with them?	شما کس را میشناسید که براش مشکل نه باشد؟
12. Have you ever made a mistake speaking Dari?	۲۱. یک وقت در گپ زدن دری غلطی کرده بودید؟
a) Are you still making mistakes?	هنوز غلطی میکنید؟
<i>Level Four-Plus/Five</i>	
13. Do you know more words in Munji or more words in Dari?	۳۱. شما زیا دتر لغت ها را به دری یا به منجی میفهمید؟
14. Can you speak Dari like mother tongue Dari speakers?	۴۱. شما میتوانید به دری گپ بزیند مثل نفر دری زبان؟
a) Do you know someone (else) who can't?	کس را میشناسید که نه میتواند گپ زدن مثل نفر دری زبان؟
15. Is it easier to count quickly in your head in Dari or in Munji?	۵۱. چی برای شما آسانتر هست - حساب کردن زودتر در فکر تان به منجی یا به دری؟
16. Is it easier for you to think in Dari or in Munji?	۶۱. چی برای شما آسانتر هست - فکر کردن به دری یا به منجی؟
Community Proficiency	
1. Are there children in this community who speak Dari very well?	۱. در این قریه اطفالی هستند که به دری بسیار بلدیت دارند؟
2. Are there families in this community in which the parents speak Dari well, but the children don't speak it well?	۲. در این قریه فامیل هستند که پدر و مادر دری را خوب یاد دارند، لکن اطفال نی؟
3. Are there families in this community in which the children speak Dari well, but the parents don't speak it well?	۳. در این قریه فامیل هستند که اطفال دری را خوب یاد دارند، لکن پدر و مادر نی؟
4. In your opinion, why do some children speak Dari well and others don't?	۴. به نظر شما چرا یگان اطفال خوب دری را یاد دارند، لکن دیگران شان نی؟
5. Is the number of children who speak Dari well larger or smaller than 20 years ago?	۵. بست سال پیشتر اطفال دری را خوب یاد میگرفتند یا حالی؟

6. Do you expect your grandchildren will speak Dari as well as you do? What about Munji?	۶. به نظر شما نواسه های شما مثل شما دری را خوب یاد دارند؟ منجی چطور؟
Language Contact	
1. Learned Dari How	۱. یاد گرفتی دری را (چطور)
2. Travel to Dari-Speaking Area (if yes, give details!)	۲. سفر به شهر دری زبان
3. Living in Dari-Speaking Area (if yes, give details!)	۳. زندگی به شهر دری زبان
4. Other Contact with Dari Speakers (if yes, give details!)	۴. دیگر تماس همراهی دری زبان

APPENDIX E: INTERAGENCY LANGUAGE ROUNDTABLE PROFICIENCY SCALE¹⁵

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 level should be able to order a simple meal, ask for shelter or lodging, ask and give simple directions, make purchases, and tell time.

ILR Level 2 - Limited working proficiency

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

ILR Level 3 - Professional working proficiency

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

¹⁵ Grimes (1986)

ILR Level 4 – Full professional proficiency

- Able to use the language fluently and accurately on all levels normally pertinent to professional needs
- Can understand and participate in any conversations within the range of own personal and professional experience with a high degree of fluency and precision of vocabulary
- Would rarely be taken for a native speaker, but can respond appropriately even in unfamiliar situations
- Makes only quite rare and unpatterned errors in 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 at 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 RECORDED IN MUNJAN

Story 1

də 'waxtə zə al'bat ε 'sənfə tʃər mak'tab vjæm' jɔz'da sɔ'la zɪŋ'gɪy vjæm.
I was in fourth grade in school, 11 years old.

ən ba 'jɔdəm ast kɛ tɔ 'tanum ε vɔ vju'bɔjm kɛ mʊfɔ'fin vjat.
I remember my father and uncle were soldiers.

də 'waxtə kɛ dʒaŋg ʃʊ'ru ʃi 'waxtə na'mɔzə sub wa mɔx dʊg'dɛr zɪŋ'gɪy vjæm.
When the fighting started, it was at the time of the morning prayer, and I was a small child.

də dɛm ləl vər ɔ'ɣatu dʊ tɔ də pʊf'kʲɛ nʊ'mɔnad tu'laj am vɔ'dad.
My father and the uncle came, put me on their shoulders and brought me to the soldiers' camp.

'badʒuan dʒaŋg ʃʊ'ru ʃi, ε kə tɔ tʃər bad'zə be'ga ɛdɔ'ma zɛ dʒaŋg am vjɛ.
The fighting started; until four in the afternoon the fighting continued.

'baʒuan kɛ na'farə qwem sar'laʒə ku'rɪman 'mələɣat, ɔ'jajm maʒ'gʊrə ʃjat, fa'rɔy kɛ rat u pas nə wa'tanan nə'ʃɔnə ʃjat.
The soldiers from the district came, but they were forced to retreat again.

ja i ba i mat'lab ɔ'ɣej vjæm mɔx də daw'latə na'dʒibə, 'masalan dawla'ti na'farə vjæm wɔ'jaʒə mʊdʒɔhɛ'dɪn vjæd.
Those who came were Mujahidin, we were people of Najib, the government.

ba i man'zur ɔ'ɣej vjek 'mʊlə 'tʃʊrə tɔ'rɔʃkɪna dʒɪ 'mələ 'zɪnkɛ vnad, dɔrɔʒi ʃat 'vjajə ,dʊzdɪ vjæt o ba dʊz'dɪ ɔ'ɣat bə'darəʃjat.
Their aim was to take our women away, our cattle, and to steal.

Story 2

'ɣsar naw ʃtɛ xajkɔnʊ'ma ast kɛ zɛ ɣɪxt'ja am 'ɔlə nɪ 'zɪnkɛkʲɛm ba'jɔn kɪ'rɔ. 'ene 'zɪmɔŋkə 'dɪyʊ tɔ'rɪxɛ mɔx də mak'tab də kɪrɪm vjam mak'tab bɛxɔnam 'vjekə, ja ne az ta'rafə mʊdʒɔhɛ'dɪna zə ,skɔzɪrɪm sʊrf da uleswo'li am'la ʃi:. ta'rafə ma'sud am da uleswo'li am'la ʃi:.
This is a story about myself that I once told to a woman. It happened when I went to school in Kuran. I was at school when the soldiers from the Mujahidin appeared from Skazer. They were from Massood.

am'la ʃi: də 'waxtə na'mɔzə ɣʃ'kʲɔj am kɛ ba ɛs'lɔə u gam'base mar'mija 'asta tu tu puɔ'wɔrnɔ 'ama 'tʃɪz ast sere'mɔne 'ðɛrɛ ɛtʃ dʒɪz 'dɛstə kur'dudaj ʃtə aj tʃɪ'zɔnam. bɛlɔxə'ra a'la xaj mɔx zɪŋ'gɪy vjam, vɛ'mɪd lɛ'rɔw, vɛ'ðɪd lɛ'rɔw, 'vjekə də ɔ'lezi ... ɔ'gatu va mɔx

bə'ləe jə 'zru vʃand la'zyk ...

At the time of the morning prayer I woke up to the sound of a rocket. I became very afraid. After all, we were just children. I didn't know if should I flee this way or that way.

'ɪzə a'la xaj 'rəem ke 'vaməx peʃan'dəse ke ra tu po te ɖa ɖa'run ɖe alə'qa 'dɔ:ri. te ɖa ɖa'run ɖe alə'qa ɖə'rɪju 'vjeke ɔ'ɣat am 'asʃəm as tu na'farem. məɣ ze mudzə'hedə ran 'dʒənam am u tju xawf'nəke, tars'nəke vjam ke mudzə'hed vi:tʃ lɪ'kjæm. zəŋg me mudzə'hed ɡɪr kjæm wa məx 'xutmən.

The Mujahidin came. They had beards. They took me with them. They gathered us together and brought us to the district capital.

a'la ke mə mudzə'hedə ke pai'dəj ʃjad vjek ma'sud na'farə ɔ'ɣat ɖe mə'bain jaqf va məx dʒən zɪr 'preljat. dʒən zɪr 'preljat ke məx ma'sud nafa're 'astam na'mu fku'dəm kər kur'dəre tʃɪ'ləram 'ɪne ɣa'ras fəjn tʃɪ'ləram.

They came from Massoud. We hadn't seen Mujahidin before. We were afraid. We thought the Mujahidin would eat us. Massoud's men calmed us down and said that they won't touch us.

a'leɣ u te'dəd mar'dumə vjat keɜ təz sʊ'bɪ mənɟ ba es'lə ja ɔ'ɣejew, mazda ɖə dɔ 'xasraxt kʃɪ ke ɖat ɣ te'dəde mar'dumə vjat ke 'rɣstat taw wə'ləw. məx dəst'gɪreʃjam. bas ze dəst'gɪriam tku sa'ləw me'mət naməɣ'bər ke wa məx ba es'lə ba ta'rafə 'skəzɪre kala'pəje ke rat zadn 'skəzɪren.

Some people had killed themselves because of fear, some had fled. They put Mujahidin behind us, and we went to a village, to Skazer.

'juxʃawa 'luxʃaju le dɪs'kəzɪre vjæm u zu'ram am wa məx paz vzad naʃ'tɾɪan. kaltan. 'juxʃawa 'luxʃaj 'ðere. ɖe kalt 'getam. 'zɪrlajə u 'waxte ɡrup an'ðeʃiw ɔ'ɣat list ɣɪr'zat list xə'ne ke ɣat u ara'kad liad wa məx ta'rafə xustu'frɪŋan.

The kept us there for one or two nights, then they took us away. They brought us to Kalt; there we spent one or two nights. They bound us in groups together and brought us to Khustufrin.

ʃjam xaj məx dug'ðere zɪŋ'gɪre məx xus'tu mə 'frɪŋɡu mə fa'lən o tʃɪ'no x'ʃawə 'me:çen 'sʊɣə 'sʊɣə 'sʊɣə tʃɪ qa'dayə bə'da:reʃjam. be'dareʃjam, xaj 'ɔla ɣ ke ba nɔme al'bəb dʒa'mil əxʃən 'dɣeɣe ... a'la ... 'qarerdə 'dʒamera xaw 'ʃənɾə re tə'kunay nel xeave'ru. na məx ljeɣ xu'ram ba'zeam bro'dare a'zɪzəm məx kala'pəjke. kala'pəjke ru vbə'da:reʃjam.

I was small. We went from village to village until we reached Khustufrin. I was hungry and thirsty. Abad Jamil gave me some bread to eat. I ate it and we continued on our way.

e'mə 'vaməx ko və'nad, ko və'nad. ... una ʃɪ're u mɔnd a'le. jə ɛ'ləe mə 'ʃɪre mɔn'daraje ko. xaj kala'pəje bə'da:re ʃjam. ... xaj kala'pəje ʃjam o bə'da:re ʃjam.

The people asked, "Where are you taking us? Where are you taking us?" They answered, "To Sharān Mandara." The people asked, "Where is Sharān Mandara?" They took us there.

fjam ɔ'le brɔ'dare a'zize an al'bɔb dʒa'mil am wa mɔx belɔxə'ra ve dʒyʒe ba nɔme da'rajə a'ʃyl. tɔ da'rajə a'ʃyl va mɔx ba'nɔma 'sirə xaj ura ɣə'rɪvðad tɔ ðyju bɔ'lɔjə takɔ'we aftə'ðad kmɔ fa'sɪrɪ.

At last they brought us to a prison in Dara-e Ashul. They threw us into the cellar in the prison. We were there for some time.

ɣ tʃænd 'gɔwə xaj mɔx 'urə vjæm ɔ nə makta'bi guf'te. ke ðɔd ða're vjæm xaj ɣu 'kasə paj'dɔ ʃɪ ke ʊ tɛmɔtarɔ'nɔ dʒʊr dɛ'num. ɣu tɛmɔtarɔ'nɔ dʒʊr kə'nɔm wa mɔx xɔne u tɛmɔtarɔ'nɔ 'ura dʒʊr u tarɔ'na ɣe bexɔ'na 'menə mudʒɔ'hed avd. paz zjɔ an'zib wa mu eʃte'bɔtam etarɔ'na xɔ'ne 'vane u se mɔ tʃɔr mɔ mɔx ban'di vjæm.

One of us started a group that would recite poems. We, from this group, recited poems for the Mujahidin. This way we were imprisoned for three or four months.

'bazeman ke ba es'lo bandəga'rɪ 'gjetamu jetarɔ'na xɔ'najə awal xaðɔj 'dɣuma ba es'lojə tarɔ'na xɔ'ne wɔ is'ter ʃi:, ke 'mera ɣɔ'na mɔx sa'bab ʃi u ɔ'ɣej bro'dar 'vamɔx 'χura 'nijʊ da pɔnz'da na'far ba es'lo a'lajə mɔŋ 'keru a'rez dɔ tku xaʃtʃɪ'derzɛ, 'sarə 'pula nɔ ruʒ'satəmɔŋ 'keru ɔ'ɣejam.

After three months, all 15 people from this group were freed. Someone came and gave us some money.

wazi wək ɔ'ɣand wa'tan ke ba es'ɔ wa'tan ke ðɪwa tʃeçt, so wa'tan tʃʊ'la ast. ma 'ʃtɪwazɪk ba es'lo watan'dɔr ɔ ʃtɪɣ 'wjeɔ ta'rafe ɪʃɔ'ʃim ɣɔnu'mɔ dʒɪ're ʃi:. mɔx ba es'lojə 'tʃæne a'mu tʊ be sarba'rastə 'mɔla du wa'tan u dzɔəam ɣ tʃæn ðe ɣɔw bad 'zjɔam wane, 'vjekɛ, pa 'zana mɔdʒɔ'hɪdana amla ke vziʃkɔ'ʃim, ɪʃkɔ'ʃim ɔ'zɔd kɔd. 'waxte ke ɪʃkɔ'ʃim ɔ'zɔd kɔd, pa 'zana 'baʃka 'zamo 'ɣɪrɪvðu, qa'tevan 'ʃeama 'ɣezdamam 'baʃkaʒ dɪr'jama ɣezda 'manʊ 'mɔlə dʒɔ 'bareʒ dʒɔ jɪk'ra.

I came back to my village, but there was no one there. The people were all in Ishkashim. When we came back we were alone. The Mujahidin had taken everyone to Ishkashim. Then they took them from Ishkashim and brought them back here.

'jaʒɪ 'vjekə 'sarə gu'zaʃt 'xajkɔnɔmɔ kə'sajkɔnɔm pɔ mundʒi'wɔr.

This was the story I told in Munji.

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