

Language Access and Tajik Language Proficiency among the Yazghulami of Tajikistan

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Abstract*

This paper presents the results of sociolinguistic research conducted during the summers of 2003 and 2004 among the Yazghulami people living in the northwestern part of Badakhshan in Tajikistan. The primary goals of the research were to investigate patterns of proficiency in, use of, and access to Tajik in the Yazghulami communities. Of particular interest is the correlation between levels of proficiency in Tajik and access to Tajik, and the implications of this correlation for future changes in language use. Initial data were gathered through interviews and observations, while more in-depth data were gathered through a language access questionnaire and a proficiency storytelling interview.

1. Introduction

The country of Tajikistan is home to a number of languages. This has resulted in widespread bilingualism, providing numerous opportunities for studying the issue of second-language proficiency among speakers of less-widely-spoken languages. One such language in Tajikistan is Yazghulami. In this article, we will lay out the results of sociolinguistic research conducted among the Yazghulami, with particular attention to describing speakers' proficiency in Tajik, the government language. We will show that levels of proficiency in the core Yazghulami area correlate closely with access to Tajik. By examining the relationship between proficiency and access, we can better explain significant sociolinguistic factors operating in this language group. We hope that this will also allow us to predict what the sociolinguistic picture might be like in the future.

After the background section, we outline the expectations we had regarding proficiency in Tajik and access to Tajik within the Yazghulami community, as well as our research goals. This is followed by sections presenting the methodology and results for the two stages of our research. Then we will discuss these results, make hypotheses on the typological makeup of the core Yazghulami communities, and make projections regarding future changes in this typology. Finally, we will summarize the main points of the paper in the conclusion.

2. Background

In order to provide a context for understanding the sociolinguistic situation among the Yazghulami today, it is useful to first look at general information regarding their communities and their language. We will begin by outlining their geography and their history, since both play a role in the areas of language access and proficiency. Also, we will include population figures for the group as a whole, as well as for specific locations. We will conclude this section with information on previous research on this group.

2.1. Geography, History and Population

The traditional homeland of the Yazghulami is the Yazgulom¹ River Valley, located in the Vanj administrative region² within the Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Province (GBAP) in Tajikistan. This narrow valley runs northeast to southwest for 100 kilometres, and is located between two high mountain ranges, the Vanj Mountains to the north and the Yazgulom Mountains to the south.

The early history of the Yazghulami is relatively unknown. We do know that they were controlled by the rulers of Darvaz and the Vanj valleys before the Bukhara Emirs conquered the mountain areas of Badakhshan in 1877, and subjugated the Yazghulami. Like the Vanji people, the Yazghulami converted from the Ismaili branch of Shi'a Islam to Sunni Islam (Edelman 1987).

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¹ We follow Ofaridaev (2001) for the spelling of place names in the Pamir region.

² The political unit to which we refer as an administrative region is a *nohia* in Tajik, or *rajon* in Russian.

According to Gandumov (p.c.), some Yazghulami are said to have originally come from Roghshatud village near Foizobod in Afghanistan. However, at present there are no Yazghulami villages in Afghanistan (Edelman 1987).

The Soviets came to power in Tajikistan in 1924–1925. They established cooperatives in 1932, then collective farms in 1936. By 1948, there were seven collective farms in the Yazgulom Valley (Vahtre 2004).

In the first half of the 1900s, there were between eleven and thirteen permanent settlements in the Yazgulom Valley, in addition to summer pastures (Gandumov p.c.).³ In 1954, the entire population of the valley was resettled to the Vakhsh valley (Küybishev administrative region) in the southwestern part of the country. There they lived dispersed among Tajiks, Uzbeks, Russians, and other ethnic groups. Soon after being moved, as many as half the original population began returning to the Yazgulom Valley. There are currently seven permanent villages in the valley. The Yazgulom Valley is considered one district, whose centre is Budun. The seven villages in the valley are, from lowest to highest, Motravn, Shavud, Budun, Vishkharv, Andarbag, Zhamag, and Zaich. In addition to these villages, there are several summer pastures beyond Zhamag and Andarbag.⁴ Furthermore, the men in Zhamag reported that about ten years ago, three families moved up to Ubagh and are now living there.

Figure 1: Map of the core Yazghulami communities



Since 1937, the Dushanbe-Khorugh road links the Yazgulom Valley with Dushanbe, the capital of the country, and Khorugh, the capital of the GBAP. The road leading up the valley to Motravn was built in 1954 and extended on to Zhamag in 1973. Zhamag is 25 kilometres from the Dushanbe-Khorugh road.

The Yazgulom Valley communities mainly engage in subsistence farming and animal husbandry. In contrast with the valley, the Küybishev area is a flat plain in the southwestern region of Tajikistan. There the main industry is cotton farming.

³ The permanent villages were the seven present villages plus Jafak, Ubagh, Basid, Bughuz, Dasht, Barnawad. The summer pastures were Bdban, Uits-Dasht, Arjwadasht, Klandasht, Raghzow, Navin, Arnawad, Khunyevk, Kyadasht, and Mazordara. According to Rahmon Gandumov, who provided the above names, about 70 years ago even the summer pastures were permanent settlements.

⁴ The names of some of the summer pastures are: Jafak, Mazar, Vzudeh, and Izhog (see figure 1).

Pakhalina (1969) reported there were 2000 Yazghulami speakers. More recently, Edelman (1987, 2000) reported there were 2,500 Yazghulami in the Yazgulom Valley in 1980, and 3,000 later in that decade.

According to the population figures compiled from information from the Statistics Department of the GBAP and officials in the Yazgulom Valley, in 2003 there were 6,061 people living in the valley. Table 1 lists the population figures for the seven villages.

Table 1: Population figures for the Yazgulom Valley in 2003

| Village | Population |
|-------------------------|------------|
| Motravn (both I and II) | 1522 |
| Shavud | 339 |
| Budun | 985 |
| Vishkharv | 713 |
| Andarbag | 1170 |
| Zhamag | 1245 |
| Zaich | 87 |

Village administrators and school officials in Motravn and Zhamag reported that the population in the valley has increased over the past five to ten years, mainly because the birth rate is higher than the death rate. The men in Zhamag reported that in the 1940s there were about eighty families living in the whole valley, compared to 650 families at present. According to one valley official, the population has increased in spite of the fact that some Yazghulami from other parts of Tajikistan who moved to the valley during the civil war (1992–1997) have left the area in recent years.

With regard to distribution of gender, it was reported that women outnumber men in Zhamag. Turning to distribution of age, in Motravn, it was reported there were 490 students in the school and 130 children younger than six, leaving 902 adults (those who have finished grade 11).

Exact numbers for Yazghulami living in other parts of the country are not available. However, one estimate puts the total at 9,000, with just over 6,000 of those living in the Yazgulom Valley. The mayor in Zhamag said there may be around five hundred homes in other locations, with an average of five individuals per home. His estimates for the number of homes in various locations are given in Table 2.⁵ In addition, around one hundred Yazghulami are reported to live in the town of Vanj.

Table 2: Some Yazghulami locations outside the Yazgulom Valley.

| | Settlement | Number of Homes |
|----------------|----------------|-----------------|
| Küybishev area | Moskva | 90 |
| | Azerbajjon | 5–6 |
| | 20 Partsyezd | 4–5 |
| | Komsomol | 10 |
| | Kirov | 2–3 |
| Dushanbe area | Myaskombinat | 80–85 |
| | Hayoti Nav | 20 |
| | Asfaltni zavod | 30 |

2.2. Previous Research

Due to their isolation, the Yazghulami remained unknown to Europeans until recently. Russian traveller G. Arandarenko (1889) was the first to write about this language, listing thirty-four Yazghulami words elicited in Darvaz and Karategin in 1882. In the 1900s, a number of linguists made efforts to study and describe Yazghulami. Gauthiot (1916) presents the first focused description of Yazghulami, the results from an expedition to the Pamirs. Among other things, Gauthiot tried to establish the genetic connection of this language to other Iranian languages. Other noted linguists who have studied the language include A. Grierson, W. Lenz, H. Sköld, and I. Zarubin (Vahtre 2004).

⁵ The list is not intended to be comprehensive.

D. I. Edelman, one of the foremost Iranianists in Russia, wrote several works on the Yazghulami language, beginning in the Soviet period and continuing to the present. She suggests that Yazghulami belongs to the Northern Pamiri subgroup of the South-eastern Iranian languages. Other languages in this subgroup include the Shughni-Rushani group (Shughni, Rushani, Bartangi, Roshori and Khufi) in Tajikistan and Sariqoli in China. More distantly related languages are those in the Southern Pamiri subgroup, which includes the Ishkashimi and Wahki. The two subgroups are collectively called the Pamiri languages.⁶ The Vanji language, a close relation to Yazghulami, has become extinct (Edelman 2000). Sokolova (1967) gives more information on the genetic relationship between Yazghulami and the Shughni-Rushani subgroup.

Edelman (2000) indicates that the name Yazghulami give for themselves is *zgamíg*,⁷ and their language *Yuzdomi zəvég* (literally ‘the language of the Yazgulom River Valley’), *zgamígi zəvég* or *zgamígayi zəvég*. The more common designation of the Yazghulami language comes from the Tajik word *yazghulomi*.

While Tajik is a South-western Iranian language, not a South-eastern language, some influence from Tajik can be seen in the Yazghulami language. Edelman (2000) gives examples of grammatical influences, including changes in some verb endings and analytical constructions, and the appearance of [h] in words borrowed from Tajik. Loans from other languages, especially Arabic and Russian, have also entered Yazghulami through Tajik. In addition, Gandumov (p.c.) indicates that some words have been borrowed directly from Russian and Uzbek. Edelman (1987) reports that dialectal differences within Yazghulami are not pronounced, and are generally limited to a few differences in the lexicon, pronunciation, and preferences in the use of certain morphological forms.

Some information on the sociolinguistic situation of the Yazghulami has been published, although this information is not detailed. Edelman (2000), for example, mentions that residents of the Yazgulom Valley have varying levels of proficiency in Tajik, since it is the language of writing, schooling, and culture. In the Küybishev area, however, Yazghulami are reported to be bilingual, with their speech being heavily influenced by Tajik. Those who travel frequently to Khorugh or have lived there are reported to have learned Shughni. Some young and middle-aged people, especially those who have travelled widely, served in the army, or lived in cities, are reported to know Russian. At the same time, Yazghulami is reported to be the main language of communication both in the Yazgulom Valley, and among the Yazghulami in the Küybishev area.

Although Yazghulami is not used for writing, a Yazghulami alphabet has been recently developed by linguists in Russia and Tajikistan. Several scholars, including linguist Irina Mozulyova and Yazghulami poet Ismoil Rakhimi, worked on five possible variants: two in Latin script, two in Cyrillic script, and one in Arabic script. In the end they produced a proposed first grade reader using one of the Latin alphabets. It should be noted that some symbols from the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA), as well as some Cyrillic letters were included in this alphabet (Mozulyova 1996).

3. Research Expectations and Research Goals

Based on our background research, we developed a number of hypotheses regarding language use patterns among the Yazghulami. We expected to find high levels of proficiency in Tajik among Yazghulami speakers on the basis of two factors. First, they live in the Tajik-speaking Vanj administrative region. Second, the Vanji people, who live in the Vanj Valley just north of the Yazgulom Valley, have already shifted from the Vanji language to Tajik. It could well be that the Vanji language was more susceptible to loss, since the Vanj Valley is closer to the Tajik-speaking areas than is the Yazgulom Valley. At this point in time, however, the Yazgulom Valley borders on a Tajik-speaking area. In addition, both the Vanji and Yazghulami adhere to Sunni Islam, as opposed to the other Pamiri groups, who are Ismaili Shi’a, and so it seemed reasonable that the Yazghulami might well associate more with the Vanji than with other groups in the GBAP. Since Vanji had become extinct, we thought it possible that Yazghulami might follow

⁶ Edelman (1966) also mentions the Sargulyami and the Munjani languages, the latter being a bridge between the Pamiri languages and Pashtu.

⁷ Edelman uses the International Iranian Transcription, which employs Latin letters.

Vanji to extinction. We speculated that in some Yazghulami communities, Tajik might be used in interpersonal communication in the villages and perhaps also in the home.

In communities where the vernacular was still vital, we predicted that those with higher levels of education or with more contact with Tajik speakers would have higher levels of proficiency in Tajik, on the basis that high levels of contact yield higher levels of proficiency. More specifically, we predicted that, in general, men would have higher levels of proficiency in Tajik than women, due to higher levels of education and greater contact with native speakers of Tajik. Similarly, we predicted that residents of more geographically remote communities would have lower levels of proficiency in Tajik than would residents of more accessible communities, due to a lower possibility for the residents of such communities to travel to Tajik-speaking areas, or to receive Tajik-speaking visitors.

With regard to contact patterns, we expected Yazghulami from the valley to have less contact with the town of Khorugh than with the town of Vanj, and even less contact with Dushanbe than with either of these towns. These assumptions were based on the fact that Khorugh is further from the valley than is Vanj, and Dushanbe is further than either Vanj or Khorugh. At the same time, our background research gave no indication as to how much contact the residents of the Yazgulom Valley would have with Yazghulami in the Küybishev area.

Based on our initial hypotheses, we developed the following questions around which our research was focused.⁸

- a. What is the role of Tajik in Yazgulom River Valley communities? Where is it used, and what are the attitudes towards it and the vernacular?
- b. What are the levels of Tajik language proficiency among the Yazghulami, particularly those who live in the Yazgulom River Valley?
- c. In what ways do the Yazghulami have access to Tajik? In other words, how do they acquire their proficiency in this language?
- d. Related to points (b) and (c), what is the relationship between proficiency in and access to Tajik?
- e. What are likely to be the changes and continuities in proficiency in Tajik and access to Tajik among the Yazghulami?

To answer these questions, we conducted research in two stages. In the summer of 2003, we conducted initial research with the aim of obtaining a broad range of information in the areas of language use patterns, access to Tajik, and attitudes towards Tajik and Yazghulami. We followed this up in the summer of 2004 with more detailed research into levels of proficiency in Tajik and access to Tajik. In sections 4 and 5 we present the methodology and results from these stages.

4. Initial Research: Methodology and Results

Although Edelman (2000) indicates that residents of the Yazgulom Valley use Tajik for writing, education, and culture, there appear to be no detailed studies of the patterns of language use in the Yazghulami communities. Furthermore, nothing has been written regarding access to Tajik or regarding attitudes towards Tajik and Yazghulami. Because of this, the primary purpose of our research trip to the Yazgulom Valley in the summer of 2003 was to obtain a broad range of information in these areas. In section 4.1 we outline the methodology used during this research. Then in the remaining sections we present the major findings of this research in the areas of domains of language use (section 4.2), language attitudes (section 4.3), levels of proficiency in Tajik (section 4.4), and access to Tajik (section 4.5). Finally, we close with a summary of our findings.

4.1. Methodology

During our first research visit, we visited two of the seven villages in the Yazgulom Valley: Motravn and Zhamag. We also visited Vanj, the county centre. The villages of Motravn and Zhamag were chosen because of their geographic location. Motravn is the first village in the valley and, therefore, should be an example of a relatively accessible community. We expected that this would affect contact patterns and,

⁸ Due to time constraints, the majority of our research focused on the Yazgulom River Valley communities.

therefore Tajik use and levels of proficiency in Tajik. Zhamag, on the other hand, is the village farthest up the river still accessible by road. While villages that are not on the road could be even more remote, the fact that Zhamag is 25 kilometres from the main road means it is considerably more remote than Motravn.

Our main tools during this stage were interviews and observations. We interviewed three main groups of people: officials, professionals, and groups of residents. First, we spoke with government officials in Vanj, as well as with local officials in Motravn and Zhamag. One official interviewed worked in the administrative office of Budun, which oversees the entire valley. These individuals gave us information on the number and location of Yazghulami communities, as well as population figures. Officials in Motravn and Zhamag also answered questions regarding patterns of language use in their place of work.

The professionals we talked to included the school directors in both villages, the head doctor of the Motravn hospital, and one nurse at the Zhamag clinic. The interviews dealt with patterns of language use and levels of proficiency in their spheres of influence, as well as general information on their places of work. In addition, the school directors and other teachers gave us information on levels of proficiency among school-age children. The religious leaders were not available in either village, but we were able to ask a group of men in Motravn about languages used in the religious life of the village. Also, in most⁹ of the professional interviews, we were able to ask questions about their personal patterns of language use, levels of proficiency, language attitudes, and contact patterns.

Finally, we interviewed groups of residents in both Motravn and Zhamag. In Motravn, we interviewed one group of four women (ages 21, 38, 41, and 46) and one group of three men (ages 22, 37, and 51), while in Zhamag we interviewed one group of three women (ages 19, 45, and 49), and one group of two men (one of whom was from the village Vishkharv). The main purpose of these interviews was to determine patterns of language use, attitudes, levels of proficiency in Tajik, and factors relevant to access to Tajik.¹⁰ In the course of these interviews, we were able to obtain information about levels of proficiency in Tajik both in the two villages and in other Yazghulami communities. The interviews included questions on the level of proficiency of the interviewees as well as on the levels of proficiency of other relatives or neighbours.

We adapted the Perceived Benefit Model of language shift (Karan 1996, Stalder and Karan 2000) to elicit opinions on the importance of Tajik and Yazghulami. The central idea of the model is that people are motivated to speak certain languages, if they perceive these languages to be of benefit to them in some way. We asked the two groups in each village to indicate how important they thought Tajik and Yazghulami were in six areas: earning money, gaining respect, taking part in religious life, gaining information about the world, communicating with others in the village, and being a good member of one's family. Through eliciting these opinions, we hoped to understand which languages were thought to be important for which domains, and therefore what residents' motivations might be for speaking Tajik and Yazghulami.

We also noted our own observations, particularly with regards to patterns of language use. Observations regarding levels of proficiency were especially important in the case of low proficiency levels in Tajik.

Although we only visited two communities in the valley, we were able to obtain information on other villages. For example, we were able to obtain information on Zaich from the mayor in Zhamag, who also oversees Zaich, a village further up the valley which is accessible only by foot. Similarly, the school directors in both villages, as well as the mayor in Zhamag (also a teacher), gave information on the schools in the rest of the valley.

4.2. Domains of Language Use

In order to determine the role of Tajik in the lives of residents of Motravn and Zhamag, we inquired about language use in various domains. The patterns of language use can be grouped into three broad categories: Tajik-only, Mixed, and Yazghulami-only. Table 3 summarizes results in this area.

⁹ Due to lack of time, the exception was the school director in Zhamag.

¹⁰ The information included in section 2.1 regarding locations outside the valley where Yazghulami live was also obtained in these interviews.

Table 3: Domains of language use

| Language(s) Used | Interpersonal Domains | Functional Domains |
|------------------|---|---|
| Tajik only | Official business in government offices, medical seminars and cultural events within the valley With Tajik-speaking wives who recently married in With teachers on school grounds With Tajik-speaking guests | Reading Counting above 10 Listening to radio* Watching TV* Singing Writing letters |
| Mixed | With locals in government offices In the classroom In the mosque Among children on school grounds In homes where one parent is a first-language Tajik speaker | |
| Yazghulami only | With each other on the street and at home Medical staff with local patients With Yazghulami-speaking guests | Arguing. Counting up to 10 |

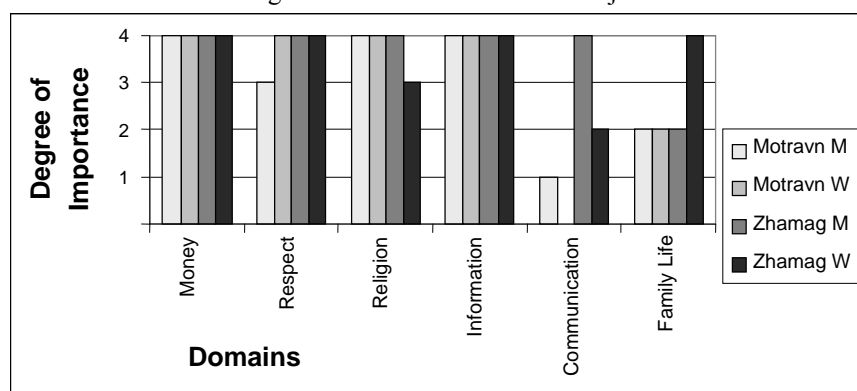
*Some media is also in Russian

It can be seen from table 3 that Yazghulami is the main language used between Yazghulami speakers, regardless of age, and sometimes even in official contexts. For example, while Tajik is the language of instruction, teachers will sometimes use Yazghulami to explain concepts in the beginning grades. Similar behaviour occurs in the mosque: certain concepts may sometimes be explained in the vernacular. Tajik, however, still plays an important role in certain official domains, such as education and government. It is also the language used with non-Yazghulami speakers.

4.3. Language Attitudes

As outlined in section 4.1, we asked groups of men and women in both Motravn and Zhamag to indicate how important they thought Tajik and Yazghulami were for the following purposes: earning money, gaining respect, participating in religious life, gaining news and information about the world, communicating with others in the village, and being a good member of one's family. For each purpose, the interviewees could rate the languages as very important (4), important (3), minimally important (2), or not important (1). Respondents' attitudes towards Tajik are summarised in figure 2.

Figure 2: Perceived benefits of Tajik

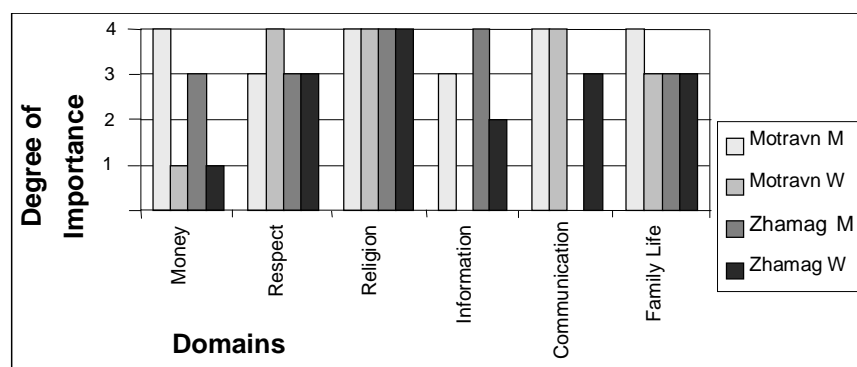


Note: Women in Motravn did not give a rating for communication.

As indicated in figure 2, both men and women in both locations considered Tajik to be important or very important for money, respect, religion and information. For communication and family life, however, there is some variation. While Tajik was most commonly considered to be minimally important or not important, the men in Zhamag thought Tajik was very important for communication, while the women in Zhamag thought it was very important in the area of family life.

Figure 3 summarizes the perceived benefit of Yazghulami as reported by the four groups.

Figure 3: Perceived benefits of Yazghulami



Note: Ratings were not obtained from Motravn women for information, or from Zhamag men for communication.

There was general agreement that Yazghulami was important or very important for respect, religion, communication and family life. There was greater variation in responses with regard to the benefits of Yazghulami for money and information. For money, opinions seem to depend on gender. Women indicated that Yazghulami was unimportant for money, while men felt it was important or very important for this purpose. Similarly, the women in Zhamag indicated that Yazghulami was minimally important for communication, while men in both villages felt it was important or very important for this purpose.

4.4. Levels of Proficiency in Tajik

In response to general inquiries regarding general levels of proficiency in Tajik, Yazghulami respondents claimed that all Yazghulami know Tajik well. Further inquiry, however, revealed that levels of proficiency varied depending on age, gender, and location. Interviews in both Motravn and Zhamag indicated that men generally have higher levels than women, and that the higher one moves up the valley, the lower the levels of Tajik one finds. The reported levels of proficiency of adults and children in these Yazghulami communities are detailed in the following sections.

4.4.1. Adult Proficiencies

It was reported that men generally have higher levels of proficiency in Tajik than do women. According to the men we interviewed in Motravn, men with lower levels of proficiency in Tajik fit into three main categories:

- old, uneducated men who do not travel,
- young men who are unmotivated to study, and
- farm workers who make their livelihood in the valley and who, therefore, have little contact with first-language Tajik speakers since they do not generally travel much out of the valley due to the nature of their work.

The men interviewed estimated that the men in these three categories account for no more than 10 percent of the male population of Motravn.

The same respondents also said that women with lower levels of proficiency in Tajik fit into the following three main categories:

- old, uneducated women who do not travel,
- young, married women who do not travel and do not have contact with first-language Tajik speakers,
- women with many children who spend most of their time at home.

The men interviewed estimated that the women in these three categories account for about 15 percent of the female population of Motravn.

When asked about levels of proficiency in other villages, both the men and the women we interviewed in Motravn reported that residents of higher villages, in particular women, have lower levels of proficiency

in Tajik than do those in lower villages. The women we interviewed in Motravn confirmed reports that women in the lower villages know Tajik better than women in Zhamag, Vishkharv and Andarbag.

These claims were supported by comments from a woman in Zhamag who reported sometimes having difficulties in reading Tajik, and from a Tajik-speaking Yazghulami who had married a man from Zhamag and reported that levels of proficiency in Tajik were low in Zhamag. In addition, the researchers observed that some women had difficulties understanding and answering questions in Tajik, particularly ones from Zhamag in their late teens and early twenties.

Finally, it is worth noting that the group of men interviewed in Motravn said they understand the Vanj variety of Tajik better than they do other varieties of Tajik. This observation would substantiate claims that Yazghulami do not understand standard spoken Tajik as well as they first indicate.

4.4.2. Children's Proficiencies

Interviews with school directors, teachers, and village residents in both villages revealed that children generally do not know Tajik before they begin school. The school director in Motravn reported that children generally learn Tajik by the end of the first or second grade, although perhaps five or six out of twenty cannot speak it well even upon graduation. Furthermore, those that come from families in which one parent is a first-language Tajik speaker learn Tajik faster than those from families in which both parents are first-language Yazghulami speakers.

The school director in Zhamag reported that children know Tajik well after one to three years of schooling. It was estimated that about 80 percent of graduates speak this language 'well,' and the other 20 percent speak it 'a bit.' The director observed that children are studying better now than in the past thanks to help from various nongovernmental organizations who pay the teachers' salaries.

4.5. Access to Tajik

In order to gain an overall picture of what factors might contribute to the levels of proficiency in Tajik among Yazgulom Valley residents, we obtained information on education, marriage patterns, mass media, travel patterns, and visits from Tajik-speakers. Each of these will be discussed below.

4.5.1. Education

There are three types of schools in Tajikistan: schools with grades 1–4, schools with grades 1–9, and schools with grades 1–11.¹¹ In addition, some schools have a preparatory class, which is intended to help students prepare for schooling in the Tajik language, since the language of instruction of all the schools is Tajik. Generally, children start preparatory class at age 6, or grade 1 at age 7. The educational institutions presently available in the villages of the Yazgulom Valley are summarized in Table 4. Each of the schools is reported to also have a preparatory class.

Table 4: Educational facilities in the Yazgulom Valley

| | Grades | Where Education Is Continued |
|-----------|---------------|-------------------------------------|
| Motravn | 1–11 | N/A |
| Shavud | 1–4 | Motravn |
| Budun | 1–11 | N/A |
| Vishkharv | 1–9 | Andarbag |
| Andarbag | 1–11 | N/A |
| Zhamag | 1–11 | N/A |
| Zaich | 1–4 | Zhamag |

The school directors in both Motravn and Zhamag reported that a number of teachers have only a high school level education. In Zhamag, many teachers with higher education have left for Russia. This is a common trend in many parts of Tajikistan because teachers' salaries have dropped drastically in relation to the cost of living since the fall of the Soviet Union.

¹¹ Grade 11 was introduced in 1992.

The educational services of the valley, particularly in Zhamag, were interrupted by the civil war from 1992 to 1997. Although classes have resumed, the school director in Zhamag explained that some students had to resume their schooling in grades lower than the normal grade for their age. In some cases this was because they did not attend school during this period. For example, some students who were living in the Küybishev area did not go to school. In other cases, a lack of documents makes it impossible to determine what schooling children have completed. A teacher in Zhamag reports that many students in the valley were taught at home during this period, and so do not have records for this time.

Although grade 11 was added in 1992, it was offered in some schools before 1992 through evening classes. In Zhamag evening classes were offered even more extensively. Before 1980, grades 1–8 were offered during the day, but grades 9–11 were offered through evening classes. The evening classes were taken primarily by girls, while the boys went to boarding schools.

The opportunity to attend boarding school has been available to all students in the valley, but it has not been taken advantage of equally by students in all villages. For example, few students from Andarbag attended boarding schools. To a certain extent, this can be accounted for by the fact that the school in Andarbag went through grade 10. However, some of the boys from Motravn attended boarding school, even though the school in Motravn also went through grade 10. One individual in Zhamag who studied at a boarding school said none of his classmates at the school were from Andarbag, while approximately 10 percent to 15 percent of the Motravn students in grades 9 and 10 attended the boarding school. Those who did not attend the boarding school finished school in Motravn. At the present time, most students finish school in the valley, although we were told that there were eight students from Motravn who were attending a boarding school in 2003.

After completing grade 11, the most common places for students to go for higher education are in the urban areas of Vanj, Dushanbe and Khorugh. It was reported that eight graduates from Zhamag and ten or eleven graduates from Motravn were studying in universities or technical schools in Vanj, Khorugh, or Dushanbe in 2003. The school director in Motravn reported that, in general, more graduates go on to higher education now than ten years ago and that the majority of those who go now are usually girls. Of the eight from Zhamag, however, six were boys and two were girls.

4.5.2. *Marriage Patterns*

Turning to marriage patterns, only a small number of wives speak Tajik as their first language. The wives who do speak Tajik as their first language are reported to come from Vanj, and the Dushanbe and Küybishev areas. We did not obtain detailed information regarding Tajik-speaking wives in Zhamag on our initial research trip. We did, however, get further information in Motravn. Most Motravn men marry women from Motravn, and most Motravn women marry men from Motravn. Less than 10 percent of the wives in Motravn were reported to be from Vanj, Dushanbe, Rūshon, Shugnon, or other villages in the valley. Tajik seems to be the first language for most of the wives from outside the valley. Six or seven wives are reported to be first-language Tajik speakers from Vanj. Since there are roughly 460 women in the village over the age of seventeen,¹² this represents a small percentage of the women in the village.

Interviews in both villages indicated that wives who do not speak Yazghulami as a first language learn to speak it and their children also speak it. Most of these wives are apparently ethnically Yazghulami, and have had some exposure to the language before marrying a man from the valley. For example, one ethnic Yazghulami woman from Dushanbe who had married into the village of Zhamag could understand some of the language because she listened to her parents. She had begun to acquire an active knowledge of the language since her marriage.

4.5.3. *Mass Media*

While Tajik-language television and radio are technically available to residents of the Yazgulom Valley, in recent years there has been no electricity in the valley. At the time of our visit in the summer of 2003, the mayor of Motravn reported that there had been no electricity for at least one year. When we returned the following summer to Zhamag, residents reported that the hydroelectric station had worked for

¹² As noted in section 2.1, approximately 900 residents in Motravn are over the age of seventeen. If we estimate that roughly 51 percent of those are women, this leaves us with a rough estimate of 460 women in the village.

some time after our first visit, but had again stopped working. For all practical purposes, then, Tajik-language television and radio are not available to residents of the valley.

4.5.4. *Travel Outside the Valley*

Respondents reported there were several main destinations for travel outside of the Yazgulom Valley: Vanj, Rūshon, Khorugh, Dushanbe, the Kūybishev area, and other countries (mainly Russia). Table 5 summarizes the primary reasons why people visit each of the locations within Tajikistan.¹³ The columns indicate the reasons for spending time outside the valley, while the rows indicate the destinations.

Table 5: Travel to locations outside the Yazgulom Valley

| | Education | Work | Medical/ Telephone | Shop | Visit Relatives |
|-----------|------------------|-------------|-------------------------------|-------------|----------------------------|
| Vanj | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| Rūshon | ✓* | | ✓ | | |
| Khorugh | ✓ | | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| Dushanbe | ✓ | ✓ | | ✓ | ✓ |
| Kūybishev | | | | | ✓ |

* Travel to Rūshon for education is now rare.

As shown in table 5, people travel to Vanj for a wide variety of reasons. Kūybishev, on the other hand, seemed to draw visitors from the valley only because of family reasons.

Both the groups of men and women interviewed in both Motravn and Zhamag indicated that travel is most frequent to Vanj. For example, the women in Motravn said that they travelled to Vanj an average of once a month (usually for visiting relatives, using services, or shopping), and an average of once a year to Khorugh (mostly for medical services). Several other people interviewed confirmed this pattern. There were also indications that travel for education or visiting relatives are generally longer (several months to several years), than travel for other purposes.

In both villages, those interviewed reported that women generally travel less than men, and that residents of Zhamag leave the valley less frequently than do residents of Motravn. The women in Motravn commented that, in general, the residents of Budun, Motravn, and Shavud leave the valley more than do those of Vishkharv, Andarbag and Zhamag. They also said that the women in Zaich rarely leave the village. While some men from Zaich travel to Zhamag and on to Motravn, women from Zaich never come to Motravn.

In addition to variation in travel patterns tied to gender and location, there is variation between individuals in a given village. For example, one man interviewed in Motravn said that those with lower education do not travel much. They may travel to Khorugh only once a year, and to Vanj three or four times per year.

One factor reported to influence travel was cost. There is no regular public transportation to or from the Yazgulom Valley. The cost of travelling in private taxis from Motravn to Vanj is five somoni per person, while the cost from Zhamag to Vanj is ten to twelve somoni per person. A taxi from Motravn to Khorugh is forty somoni per person. This is considered to be expensive; for comparison, a teacher's salary is thirty-five somoni per month, or about US\$12. The women in Motravn cited the higher costs of travelling to Khorugh as a primary reason that trips to Vanj are more common than trips to Khorugh.

In many cases, residents of both villages reported using Tajik when travelling to locations within Tajikistan. In addition, some used Rushani or Shughni when visiting Rūshon or Khorugh, especially if they had previously stayed in these centres for a significant period of time. When visiting Yazghulami relatives in Vanj or Khorugh, language use depends on whether or not the relatives know Yazghulami. If they do not, Tajik is used.

¹³ Since this paper focuses on levels of proficiency in Tajik, discussion of travel to other countries will be excluded. It is, however, common for middle-aged men to go to Russia on a seasonal or semi-temporary basis to earn money. It is not clear if they usually live with Yazghulami, Tajik, or Russian speakers.

4.5.5. *Visits from Tajik Speakers*

According to the four groups we interviewed, residents of the Yazgulom Valley receive two types of Tajik-speaking visitors: government officials and relatives. Government officials come mainly from Vanj. For example, the Vice-Director for Vanj County visits the Yazgulom Valley roughly once a week, although it is not clear if he visits any villages other than the administrative centre of Budun. Relatives come mainly from Vanj, Dushanbe and the Küybishev area. Some of these speak Yazghulami, while others speak only Tajik. We did not obtain information on the relative numbers of visitors to Motravn versus Zhamag. The women in Motravn, however, said that no speakers of Tajik as a first language visit Zaich.

4.6. **Summary of Results from Initial Research**

The information obtained in Motravn and Zhamag indicate that Yazghulami is the language of interpersonal communication in the valley. Tajik plays an important role in official domains, such as education and government. In addition, Tajik is viewed as important for earning money, gaining respect, participating in religious life, and obtaining information about the world. Yazghulami, on the other hand, is considered important for gaining respect, participating in religious life, interpersonal communication, and family life.

With regard to proficiency in Tajik, the respondents in Motravn reported that most men and women have high levels of Tajik. The variation that exists is dependent on location, gender, and age. Generally speaking, women are said to have lower levels than men, and those in villages lower down the river are reported to have higher levels than those in the further up the river. Those with lower levels do not travel much and have little or no contact with first-language Tajik speakers. Besides travel, other sources of access to Tajik are education, Tajik-speaking women who have married into the community, and visits from Tajik speakers.

5. **In-Depth Research Methodology and Results**

The data from our initial research trip suggested that there is a correlation between levels of proficiency and access to Tajik. It was not sufficiently detailed, however, to allow us to make definitive statements about the relationship. We needed more details regarding what the levels of proficiency were, and the correlation between these levels and access to Tajik. With this information, we could create a typology of individuals that could be extended to other parts of the Yazgulom Valley. This typology would also allow us to make predictions regarding how levels of proficiency would change in the future depending on changes in access to Tajik.

In section 5.1 we outline the methodology used during this research. Then, in the remaining sections we present the major findings of this research in the areas of reported Tajik proficiency of adults (section 5.2), and access to Tajik (section 5.3). Finally, we close with a summary of our findings.

5.1. **Methodology**

Due to time constraints, we only had three days for our in-depth research, and so we were limited to work in one village. We chose Zhamag as that village since it is the most isolated village on the main road.¹⁴ Given its isolation, we felt that any information obtained there would give us a bottom line for the whole valley. That is, we felt it likely that few other villages would have less access to Tajik than Zhamag. In the next two sections, we will describe the instruments we used to gather information, and the demographic make-up of the respondents with whom we worked.

5.1.1. *Instruments*

We used two main interviews, the Language Access Interview and the Proficiency Storying Interview, for the in-depth research in Zhamag. The purpose of the questions in the Language Access Interview is to elicit detailed demographic information as well as past and present contact with Tajik and Tajik speakers, while the primary purpose of the Proficiency Storying Interview is to determine the respondent's level of

¹⁴ Zaich, further up the valley on a pedestrian road (see figure 1, section 2), is even more isolated. However, we felt that this location would be less representative of other villages given its small size (eighty-seven people).

proficiency in Tajik. Interviews were done either in the respondents' homes, or in the homes of our hosts. In most instances, women were interviewed separately from men.

The Language Access Interview includes questions about places lived; education; army service; work; weekly, monthly and yearly travel; past and desired travel; visitors; and the last time they used Tajik.

The Proficiency Storying Interview contained two sets of questions. The first set, Childhood Language Use, focuses on the languages of respondents' childhood; we basically elicited a short 'story' of their first experiences with Tajik. The second set, Proficiency Questions, asks respondents to indicate whether or not they can perform activities requiring increasing levels of proficiency in Tajik.

The questions in set 2, Proficiency Questions, are the core of the instrument. These questions allow the researcher to determine the level of proficiency for each respondent in terms of the Interagency Language Roundtable (ILR) scale¹⁵ (Interagency Language Roundtable 2004). The ILR scale describes levels of proficiency from 0 to 5, with half-levels between the major levels. The Proficiency Questions consist of four subsets of questions. Subset one distinguishes between levels 1 and 2, subset two distinguishes between levels 2+ and 3, subset three distinguishes between levels 3+ and 4, and subset four distinguishes between levels 4+ and 5. An example of a question from subset two is:

- Have you ever been to the hospital? Were you able to explain everything you needed to (in Tajik)?

While an example of a question from subset four is:

- Do you sometimes feel more at home in Tajik than in Yazghulami?

Respondents were assigned an ILR level on the basis of how many of the tasks they indicated they were able to do.¹⁶

In conducting this interview, we discovered that one of the weaknesses of the tool was that it could not distinguish between levels 1 and 1+, or 1+ and 2. For this reason, we place individuals in three broad categories: limited proficiency (levels 0+ to 2+), working professional proficiency (levels 3 to 3+), and full professional proficiency (levels 4 and above).

We also used the Reported Proficiency Evaluation (Radloff 1991) with three first-language Tajik-speaking women in the village. We asked each woman to evaluate the Tajik ability of first-language Yazghulami speakers in the village to whom they related on a regular basis. The Yazghulami speakers were evaluated in five areas: accent, grammar, vocabulary, fluency and comprehension. We do not consider the results of the Reported Proficiency Evaluations as definitive due to misunderstandings. For example, some of the Tajik-speaking evaluators actually spoke only, or mostly, Yazghulami with a number of the subjects, and so did not have a good basis for evaluating their neighbours' levels of proficiency in Tajik. The results of the Reported Proficiency Evaluation did prove useful, however, as a sampling tool, helping us to obtain names of individuals at different levels of proficiency. For example, if the results of the Reported Proficiency Evaluation indicated that person X had a working professional proficiency in Tajik, we could ask for other people who had the same proficiency as X rather than asking for people with a working professional proficiency.

5.1.2. Sampling for In-Depth Research

We conducted interviews with thirty-five respondents in Zhamag using the Language Access Interview and the Proficiency Storying Interview. Our sampling method was quota sampling: that is, as we conducted interviews, we kept track of how many people of various types we had spoken to. We used three different parameters to categorise the respondents: gender, age group (16–30, 31–50, and over 50), and proficiency level (limited, professional and full), resulting in eighteen types.

¹⁵ This is a further development of the Foreign Service Institute (FSI) scale.

¹⁶ For more details on assigning proficiency levels on the basis of the Proficiency Questions, see Paul, Abbess, Müller, Tiessen and Tiessen (2004).

With regard to the age categories, we chose age 30 as a dividing point because those born in 1974 (30 years old at the time of our research¹⁷) would have graduated from high school in 1991, the year of the break-up of the Soviet Union. Schooling of those 31 and younger would have certainly been affected, particularly, since the break-up was followed closely by the civil war (1992–1997). Those 51 and older, on the other hand, would have been born before the forced migration from the valley to Küybishev and the subsequent return to the valley.

The composition of our sample is shown in table 6.

Table 6: Breakdown of sample, by age category, gender, and proficiency

| | Limited Proficiency (0–2+) | | Professional Proficiency (3–3+) | | Full Professional Proficiency (4–5) | |
|-------|-----------------------------------|--------|--|--------|--|--------|
| | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female |
| 16–30 | 6 | 6 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 0 |
| 31–50 | 0 | 3 | 5 | 2 | 1 | 0 |
| >50 | 0 | 1 | 3 | 0 | 3 | 0 |

We tried to interview at least one person of each type. As our research progressed and we had interviewed individuals representing the most common types, we specifically asked for people representing less common types. For example, in an attempt to find young women with professional or full proficiency, we asked to interview women who were currently studying in university (but at home for summer vacation), hoping that they would have high levels of proficiency. Thus, we believe the holes in table 6 are generally significant.

We were able to interview at least one male respondent of all but two types: middle-aged and older men with limited proficiency. These two categories are said to be very rare or non-existent. In fact, residents could think of only two such men in the village: one was mentally handicapped and the other had a speech impediment.

We interviewed female respondents of five of the nine types; we were not able to interview any women with full professional proficiency, or older women with professional proficiency. Young women with full proficiency are said to be very rare; we spoke to a few young women in this category, but they had grown up elsewhere and considered Tajik to be their first language. Old women with limited proficiency are also said to be rare, although we did interview one woman of this type. While middle-aged and older women with full professional proficiency are also said to be rare, we did interview some middle-aged women who were said to have full professional proficiency. Their responses in the Proficiency Storying Interview, however, indicated they actually had working professional proficiency. A particular problem was interviewing older women. We did interview a total of five older women, but four of these interviews were not complete enough to include in the sample.

One surprising discovery during our in-depth research in 2004 was the high proportion of children to adults in Zhamag as compared to the lower proportion previously reported for Motrav. The numbers and percentages of adults and children are given in table 7.

Table 7: Proportion of children to adults

| | Motrav | | Zhamag | |
|----------------------|---------------|------|---------------|------|
| Adults (over age 17) | 902 | 59% | 321 | 26% |
| Children ages 6–17 | 490 | 32% | 336 | 27% |
| Children ages 0–5 | 130 | 9% | 585 | 47% |
| Total | 1522 | 100% | 1245 | 100% |

¹⁷ Technically, age 31 would have been a better dividing point, but no one in our sample was aged 30. Therefore, we are using 30 as a round number.

The percentage of adults is much lower in Zhamag than in Motravn; conversely, the percentage of children who have not started school is much higher in Zhamag than in Motravn. Given that our sample included thirty-one adults (plus four more who were 16 or 17), we interviewed 10 percent of the adult population.

We also were able to get an idea of the age spread among adults in Zhamag. For both men and women, the largest age group is that from 31 to 50 years of age. The second largest is from 18 to 30 years of age, and the smallest is of those 51 and over.

5.2. Reported Tajik Proficiency of Adults

Our in-depth research in Zhamag produced a clearer picture of the levels of proficiency that exist within that community. As shown in Table 6, most of the men interviewed had professional proficiency in Tajik. While most of the women had limited proficiency, middle-aged women in our sample were almost equally divided between limited and professional proficiency.

In addition to eliciting reports on levels of proficiency, we also asked a group of three teachers to estimate the percentages of adults in each of the proficiency categories. The teachers indicated that up to 95 percent of high school graduates have limited proficiency, with young men often having higher levels of proficiency in Tajik than young women. Also, young women were said to rarely attain more than limited proficiency, while most young men by age 30 have attained professional proficiency. Table 8 gives the overall percentages among men as estimated by the group of teachers.

Table 8: Estimated percentages of men in each proficiency category

| | Limited Proficiency (0–2+) | Professional Proficiency (3–3+) | Full Professional Proficiency (4–5) |
|-------|-----------------------------------|--|--|
| 16–30 | 15% | 70% | 15% |
| 31–50 | 0% | 70% | 30% |
| >50 | 0% | 50% | 50% |

Given that most men attain professional proficiency by the age of 30, the 15 percent of men that have limited proficiency consist primarily of recent high school graduates. This was consistent with our sample: four out of the six young men with limited proficiency were either still in school or had just graduated.

The following table gives the overall percentages among women in Zhamag as estimated by the group of teachers.

Table 9: Estimated percentages of women in each proficiency category

| | Limited Proficiency (0–2+) | Professional Proficiency (3–3+) | Full Professional Proficiency (4–5) |
|-------|-----------------------------------|--|--|
| 16–30 | 85% | 15% | 0% |
| 31–50 | 50% | 40% | 10% |
| >50 | 0% | 85% | 15% |

As can be seen, over three quarters of young women are reported to have limited proficiency. Only half of middle-aged women are reported to have limited proficiency, while the other half have professional or full proficiency. Again, this was consistent with observations. We noted that a greater number of young women had difficulties understanding and answering questions in Tajik, compared to women in other age categories. Old women, on the other hand, were reported to fall mostly in the professional category.

The group of men we interviewed in Zhamag reported that almost all of those women who have full proficiency have lived ten to twenty years elsewhere. In addition, they said that it is rarer for middle-aged women than for older women to have full proficiency.

5.3. Access to Tajik

In this section, we present the results of the access interviews conducted with the thirty-five people who gave self-proficiency reports. Proficiency will be correlated with five access factors: education, marriage patterns, army service, visits from Tajik-speakers, and travel outside the valley.

5.3.1. Education

The educational levels attained by 33 of the 35 respondents in Zhamag are shown in the following table. (We do not know the levels of the two respondents not included in this table, other than that they did not attend technical school or university.)

Table 10: Highest level of schooling finished

| Schooling Level | Men | Women |
|--------------------------------------|-----|-------|
| 7 th or less | 1 | 1 |
| 10 th or 11 th | 9 | 10 |
| Technical | 3 | 1 |
| University | 7 | 1 |

A number of comments are in order regarding this table. First, both individuals who had finished grade 7 or less were over 70 years of age. Second, three of the men with 11th grade education had just graduated from school, while one was just entering 11th grade. Some of these may go on to higher education. Third, the two women with technical and university education, plus one man with university education were still studying at the time of our research.

Table 10 shows that most of the women we interviewed do not have higher education. The educational levels of men are more varied: men are equally divided between those with high school education or lower, and those with higher education.

Levels of education and proficiency in Tajik are correlated in table 11. The four levels of education reported in table 10 are conflated into two categories: Low Education (high school and below) and High Education (technical or university education).

Table 11: Education and proficiency

| | Limited Proficiency | Professional Proficiency | Full Professional Proficiency |
|----------------|---------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Low Education | 16 | 6 | 1 |
| High Education | 0 | 8 | 4 |

Initial inspection of this data seems to indicate that there is a correlation between levels of education and proficiency in Tajik. It is not possible to check this data for statistical significance using the chi-square test, since three of the six cells have expected counts of less than 5. If, however, we collapse the professional and full professional categories, a chi-square test indicates the correlation is highly significant (at the 0.001 level).

According to the data in table 11, all the respondents with higher education had either professional or full proficiency in Tajik. Although most of those with low education, on the other hand, had limited proficiency, there were also some in the other proficiency categories. This would seem to indicate that while higher education appears to be a significant factor accounting for higher levels of proficiency, it is not the only one.

5.3.2. Marriage Patterns

Although some men in Zhamag have married Tajik-speaking women, this is rare. Our research indicated that no more than four wives in the whole village (three of which we spoke to for Reported Proficiency Evaluation information) spoke Tajik as their first language. Fifteen of the twenty men we interviewed were married. As indicated in table 12, eleven of the fifteen wives came from Zhamag or the neighbouring village Andarbag.

Table 12: Origin of wives in Zhamag sample

| Place of Origin | Number of Wives |
|-----------------|-----------------|
| Zhamag | 8 |
| Andarbag | 3 |
| Küybishev | 2 |
| Vanj | 1 |
| Not asked | 1 |

Two of the fifteen wives referred to in table 12, one from Küybishev and one from Vanj, were reported to be Tajik-speakers. There are not enough men in our sample who are married to Tajik-speaking wives to determine if having a Tajik-speaking spouse makes a difference in one's Tajik levels. The fact, however, that there are apparently only four Tajik-speaking wives in the entire community indicates that access to Tajik through marriage patterns is limited.

As reported in section 4.5.2, we were told during our initial research that Tajik-speaking wives learn the vernacular once they move into the village and generally use Yazghulami in the community. As part of our in-depth research we were able to obtain more detailed information regarding language use by three of these women. As indicated in section 5.1.1, we asked these three women to evaluate the levels of proficiency in Tajik of people with whom they had regular contact. As part of this evaluation procedure, they indicated what language they generally used with these people. Of the eighteen people they evaluated, these women indicated they used Tajik with four, Yazghulami with eight, and both languages with six.

The fact that these women use only Yazghulami with eight of the eighteen people, and both languages with another six, seems to generally confirm the claim that Tajik-speaking wives mainly use Yazghulami in the village. At the same time, this data indicates that Tajik-speaking wives do use Tajik with some people. If anything, however, use of Tajik is likely to be lower, in general, than indicated by this data. Since this information was obtained while evaluating proficiency in Tajik, it is likely that these women would have tended to think of people who speak Tajik reasonably well. These are precisely the people with whom they would be more likely to speak Tajik. This predicts that the people with whom these women speak Tajik are not a cross-section of the community as a whole. A closer examination of our data supports this claim. All those with whom the wives speak only the vernacular are women. Of those with whom they spoke both languages, four were men and only two were women. Of those with whom they speak only Tajik, two were men and two were women. Both of these women were studying at institutions of higher learning.

5.3.3. *Army Service*

During the Soviet period, most men served in the Soviet army for two years. The language of the Soviet army was Russian, and so men were not exposed to Tajik through this experience (unless, perhaps, they happened to serve with Tajiks). Since Tajikistan gained its independence, however, the language of army service has become Tajik. Therefore, time in the army has the potential to be a source of contact with the Tajik language for men under 30. Eight of the twenty men in our sample were under 30. Of those eight, three had served in the Tajik army, one was in university, and four had just graduated from high school or were in 11th grade, and so still had army service ahead of them. Two of the three who had served in the Army had limited proficiency, while one had full proficiency. While it seems reasonable to assume that service in the army will be a way to gain at least a professional level of proficiency, our sample is not large enough to make any definitive statements in this area.

5.3.4. *Visits from Tajik-Speakers*

During our in-depth research in Zhamag, we obtained detailed information from thirty-one respondents regarding how frequently they receive visits from Tajik-speaking guests. This information is summarized in table 13. The following categories are used to define frequency: none (no Tajik-speaking guests), occasional (up to once per year), regular (two to four times per year), and frequent (more than four times per year, usually monthly).

Table 13: How frequently individuals receive Tajik-speaking visitors

| Frequency | Men | Women |
|------------------|------------|--------------|
| None | 5 | 4 |
| Occasional | 3 | 3 |
| Regular | 9 | 3 |
| Frequent | 2 | 2 |

There appear to be differences in the patterns between men and women, although they are not statistically significant. Women respondents were relatively evenly distributed between the categories for frequency. Almost 58 percent of the men, however, receive guests at least on a 'regular' basis, that is, they receive Tajik-speaking guests at least two to four times a year.

Our data does not indicate a statistically significant correlation between frequency of visitors and level of proficiency. It may be significant, however, that the respondents in our sample with full proficiency all had at least some Tajik-speaking visitors. Furthermore, none of the respondents with low proficiency had frequent Tajik-speaking visitors.

5.3.5. *Travel Outside the Valley*

We asked questions about regular travel and about immersion experiences to determine if and how travel outside the valley affects levels of proficiency in Tajik. Regular travel was categorised as weekly, monthly, or yearly. Immersion experiences were defined as more than four months outside the village. We obtained this information on thirty-three individuals. In most cases, we also elicited the reason for such travel, especially in the cases where the respondent spent more than several months in a location.

Only three of the thirty-three respondents reported never having left the valley. All three of these individuals were under the age of 30, and had limited proficiency in Tajik. The fact that only three have never left the valley indicates that most of those interviewed have had some opportunity to interact with Tajik-speakers outside of the valley.

Eleven of the thirty people who have travelled outside the valley have limited proficiency in Tajik. Travel, in and of itself, is not sufficient to result in professional proficiency. The question that arises, then, is what kind of exposure to Tajik is significant. That is, the question is what kinds of situations provide opportunities for individuals to increase their Tajik levels.

Three aspects of travel seem to be relevant to this question: length of time spent outside the valley, type of immersion (that is, the purpose of the travel), and language of the place of residence. Examining the experiences of all the respondents in terms of these three aspects, we can construct a typology of access consisting of the following four types.

- 1) None: The respondent has never travelled outside the valley.
- 2) Low: The respondent travels out once a year or less for no more than a month at a time, or has travelled out once for less than four months, regardless of purpose and language of the place of residence.
- 3) Medium: The respondent travels frequently to other places, but time outside the valley does not exceed two months per year; or has spent time living outside the valley, but only for social reasons and spoke Yazghulami at the place of residence.
- 4) High: The respondent has spent six months or more outside the valley for social reasons and spoke either a mixture of Yazghulami and Tajik, or only Tajik at the place of residence; or has spent six months or more outside the valley for other reasons (for example, work, education or army), regardless of the language used in their place of residence.

The correlation between levels of proficiency and access types are shown in table 14.

Table 14: Proficiency levels and access types

| | Limited Proficiency | Professional Proficiency | Full Proficiency |
|--------|----------------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------|
| None | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| Low | 4 | 0 | 0 |
| Medium | 4 | 3 | 0 |
| High | 3 | 11 | 5 |

The correlation between levels of proficiency and access types is statistically highly significant.¹⁸ Individuals with limited proficiency are found to have a range of travel access opportunities; some have never left the valley, while others have lived outside the valley for extended periods of time.¹⁹ Some have lived with Yazghulami speakers, and others with Tajik speakers. All of those with full proficiency, on the other hand, had spent at least two years in a Tajik-speaking area for other than social reasons (education, training or work). Those with professional proficiency had some regular or extended experience in a Tajik-speaking environment.

In table 15, access types and gender are correlated.

Table 15: Gender and access types

| | Men | Women |
|--------|------------|--------------|
| None | 1 | 2 |
| Low | 3 | 1 |
| Medium | 2 | 5 |
| High | 14 | 5 |

It has been previously noted that Yazghulami men generally have higher levels of proficiency in Tajik than do women. The data in table 15 suggests that at least some of the difference may have to do with differences in access patterns, although the correlation is not statistically significant. Almost three quarters of the men in our sample have had high access to Tajik through travel. All but one of the fourteen men who have had high access had been outside the village for education, work, or army. The women, on the other hand, are more evenly distributed between the access types. Two of those with high access grew up outside the valley, two were pursuing higher education, and one had lived with Tajik speakers for six months.²⁰

5.4. Summary of Results from In-depth Research

The information obtained through our in-depth research indicates that the majority of men have professional or full proficiency in Tajik. Most women in our sample, on the other hand, had limited Tajik. The majority of those with limited proficiency are less than 30 years of age.

The respondents in our sample had access to Tajik in several ways. The most significant of these was immersion experiences for educational or work purposes. In particular, we found a high correlation between educational level and proficiency. All the respondents with higher education had either professional or full proficiency in Tajik, whereas most of those with low education had low proficiency. It seems that the experience of studying in a Tajik-speaking environment for extended periods (often four or five years) provides the necessary context for acquiring higher levels of proficiency. It is mostly men who have access to Tajik through such immersion experiences. While some women also have immersion experiences, these are more likely to be of a social nature. We have insufficient data to establish whether marriage patterns or visits from Tajik-speakers have significant effects on levels of proficiency in Tajik.

¹⁸ A chi-square test on the data from table 14 is significant at less than the 0.001 level. It is necessary to collapse the professional and full levels, and the lowest three access levels to ensure that no cells have expected values of less than five.

¹⁹ All but one of the individuals with limited proficiency were under the age of 31.

²⁰ For a more detailed table on respondents' access to Tajik, see the appendix.

6. Discussion

In section 3, we outlined several research questions which guided our research. These were:

- a. What is the role of Tajik in Yazgulom River Valley communities? Where is it used, and what are the attitudes towards it and the vernacular?
- b. What are the levels of Tajik language proficiency among the Yazghulami, particularly those who live in the Yazgulom River Valley?
- c. In what ways do the Yazghulami have access to Tajik? In other words, how do they acquire their proficiency in this language?
- d. Related to points (b) and (c), what is the relationship between proficiency in Tajik and access to Tajik?
- e. What are likely to be the changes and continuities in proficiency in Tajik and access to Tajik among the Yazghulami?

In the following sections, we will relate our findings to each of these questions. First we examine language use and language attitudes to answer question (a) in section 6.1, Next, we examine proficiency and language access in Zhamag in section 6.2 to answer questions (b-d). Finally, in section 6.3 we apply our conclusions to the whole valley, and make predictions on how proficiency and access might change in the future, addressing question (e).

6.1. Language Use and Language Attitudes

It is clear from our research that Yazghulami is the main language of communication in villages of the Yazgulom Valley, while Tajik plays an important role in official contexts and in relating to the world outside the valley. Attitudes are generally positive towards both languages; each is seen as being beneficial in particular domains. Both languages are important for religion and gaining respect, while Tajik is considered especially important for earning a living and obtaining information about the world. Yazghulami is important in interpersonal and family domains.

The vernacular is valued and used in the lives of Yazghulami residents. It shows no signs of being replaced by Tajik. Nonetheless, residents also value Tajik for certain domains. Both languages, then, have a place in Yazghulami society.

6.2. Tajik Proficiency and Language Access

Having established the roles of Tajik and Yazghulami in the Yazgulom Valley, we can examine more closely the interaction between factors affecting access to Tajik and levels of proficiency.

An examination of the data from Zhamag raises the question of why individuals with similar access to Tajik have differing levels of proficiency. This is most clearly seen in the correlation between travel and proficiency (table 14, section 5.3.5), where individuals with high access to Tajik through travel had varying levels of proficiency.

Three of the individuals we interviewed had limited proficiency, in spite of having high access through travel. One had been raised in K ybishev for her first thirteen years. During this time she spoke Yazghulami at home with her parents, but had gone to school with Tajik speakers and spoke Tajik with her neighbours. The other two individuals had limited proficiency, despite having high access through serving in the army with Tajik speakers. All three individuals seem to have had sufficient access to Tajik to attain proficiency, at least at the professional level. Either they never attained this level, or did not maintain it. We assume the reason these individuals do not exhibit a higher level of proficiency lies in the areas of personal motivation, aptitude and social expectations—factors that vary from person to person in the same context.

The distinction that emerges is that between **potential** access and **actual** access. Individuals living in a Tajik location, for example, have the potential to interact in Tajik by relating to Tajik speakers, and thereby raise their proficiency in Tajik. This does not, however, mean that they will do so; their actual access may be different.

The Language Access Interview is a good tool for measuring potential access to Tajik. It is then possible to estimate the actual access by comparing the potential access to the self-reported level of

proficiency. While potential access as measured by the Language Access Interview cannot be used as a predictor for proficiency, it can be used to predict what an individual's highest possible level of proficiency is likely to be. For example, a person who has been studying at an institution of higher education and living with Tajik speakers for several years has the potential to have full proficiency in Tajik. On the other hand, a person who has just graduated from high school and has not been outside the valley has, at most, the potential to have limited proficiency.

The fact that graduates reach only limited proficiency on the basis of education seems to be due in large part to the fact that currently there is a serious shortage in the amount of resources available to schools across the country. Regardless of the reasons, however, young people do not generally achieve more than limited proficiency in Tajik on the basis of schooling. This is reflected in the fact that all the recent graduates we interviewed have limited proficiency (section 5.3.1), and that those graduates were said to be typical with regard to proficiency.

The situation may be different for those over the age of 30. These individuals received their education before the fall of the Soviet Union, and educators around the country shared their observations that the quality of education was significantly better during this time. If this is true, it seems reasonable to assume that people who received their education during this period had a greater opportunity to reach a higher level of proficiency in Tajik than those who have been educated under the current system. Unfortunately, our data from Zhamag is not extensive enough to confirm or deny this. There are so many factors at work in determining proficiency that we cannot determine the effects from education across generations.

It appears that, on their own, marriage patterns and visits from Tajik speakers do not seem to be a significant factor affecting levels of proficiency in Tajik, primarily because access to Tajik through those means is limited. New wives are reported to learn Yazghulami quickly, and then operate for the most part in it. Although they may use Tajik with some individuals in the community (see section 5.3.2), it could be that they use Tajik with people who have already reached a professional or full proficiency level of Tajik. Support for this analysis can be found in the language use patterns of the Tajik-speaking wives we interviewed. All four individuals with whom they used only Tajik apparently had professional proficiency in Tajik.

Potential access to Tajik through travel outside the valley appears to depend on a number of factors, including the length of time outside the valley, the purpose of the travel, and the language of the place of residence. If the travel is for higher education, the potential for attaining professional proficiency in Tajik appears to be very high: all of the individuals we interviewed who had completed technical school or university had at least professional proficiency in Tajik. On the other hand, it seems that situations where the home language is Yazghulami and the visits are for social reasons, do not provide sufficient opportunities for acquiring a high level of Tajik. Several of the individuals we interviewed did not reach professional proficiency even though they had lived outside the valley for several years with Yazghulami speakers (section 5.3.5, table 14).

The claim that only certain types of travel provide the potential for attaining high levels of proficiency is reasonable in light of what is required to reach professional proficiency. Higgs (1984) indicates that for most people, it will take nearly as long to move from level 2+ (high limited) to level 3 (low professional) as from 0+ to 2+. In other words, attaining professional level is a major achievement. In addition to this, the language input required to move to the next level must stretch individuals beyond their current level of proficiency. Individuals at level 2+ can handle most social situations. Therefore, individuals who travel outside the valley for social reasons will probably be able to perform all necessary functions with only limited proficiency. Such individuals would need more stretching experiences in order to reach a professional level of proficiency, experiences that most social travellers would not have.

On the other hand, the fact that all respondents who had completed higher education had a high level of proficiency is also to be expected, since the level of Tajik encountered in higher education stretches people with limited proficiency beyond their current level of proficiency. It also can give them adequate time to do so, especially if they complete four or five years of university. This is especially true if the language of

education is Tajik. At least one of the respondents studied in Russian,²¹ this individual also had at least professional proficiency in Tajik. In all likelihood, student life can offer opportunities to use Tajik regardless of the language of education, since students would be likely to interact with Tajik speakers and have social circles outside of those of their Yazghulami-speaking family.

Another aspect of access is that it affects both the acquisition of a given level of proficiency and the maintenance of proficiency. Some of the teachers we interviewed in Zhamag felt that their level of proficiency had declined since they had graduated from university. In other words, they felt they had not maintained their level of proficiency. All of the teachers are able to maintain professional proficiency due to their work, which requires them to use Tajik on a regular basis. Assuming that they had full proficiency when they graduated from university, however, teaching and interacting with non-native Tajik speakers evidently did not help them maintain this full proficiency. It is possible that in order to maintain full proficiency, these teachers need to travel outside the valley on a regular basis for professional, not merely social, reasons.

Individuals with limited proficiency in Tajik do not face these problems. It is likely that residents of the valley could continue to maintain limited proficiency in Tajik through regular visits from Tajik-speaking guests, or visits to Tajik-speaking relatives outside the valley. Similar visits, on the other hand, would not be enough to maintain higher levels of Tajik proficiency. Thus, the same type of access may have different effects depending on the proficiency levels individuals already have. While entering a program of study will likely raise limited proficiency, it may only serve to maintain professional proficiency.

6.3. Projections and Prospects

On the basis of the previous discussion regarding the levels of proficiency and levels of access of our sample, we can paint a broader picture. In this section, we discuss two issues. In section 6.3.1 we generalize our results to the entire Yazgulom Valley, while in section 6.3.2 we make projections regarding levels of proficiency in the future in the valley communities.

6.3.1. *Tajik Proficiency and Access in the Yazgulom Valley*

The vast majority of middle-aged and older men in Zhamag have at least professional proficiency in Tajik, as shown by the fact that residents of Zhamag could think of only two men with limited proficiency, both of whom were handicapped (section 5.1.2). Young men who stay in the valley, on the other hand, usually do not attain this level of proficiency. These conclusions are born out by the estimates given by the group of teachers in Zhamag. The teachers claimed that among men, limited proficiency was limited to approximately 15 percent of young men. Assuming that young men make up approximately 35 percent of the adult men in Zhamag, this means that only 5 percent of all adult men in Zhamag have limited proficiency in Tajik.

As reported in section 4.4.1, respondents in Motravn estimated that approximately 10 percent of adult men have limited proficiency. This estimate may well be high, especially if we accept the claim that levels of proficiency increase as one moves down the valley. However, it seems possible to say that at least 90 percent of men in the valley have professional or full proficiency. Furthermore, there do not seem to be significant differences between the various communities.

The situation is more complex for women. According to the figures reported for Zhamag in table 9, 85 percent of young women and 50 percent of middle-aged women have limited proficiency. On the other end of the spectrum, 15 percent of older women and 10 percent of middle-aged women have full proficiency. On the basis of these figures, we can estimate that approximately 52 percent of all adult women in Zhamag have limited proficiency, 40 percent have professional proficiency, and only 8 percent have full proficiency.²² This means that just over half of all adult women have limited proficiency, while just under half have professional proficiency.

²¹ We know the language of education for eight of the twelve individuals in our sample with higher education: seven studied in Tajik, and one in Russian.

²² These percentages are based on the assumption that 35 percent of adult women are young, 45 percent are middle-aged, and 20 percent are old. This assumption, in turn, is based on the claim made by respondents in Zhamag that the largest age group is middle-aged, followed by young people, then old people.

Respondents in Motravn estimated that 15 percent of the adult women in the village have limited proficiency. This supports claims from both villages that levels of proficiency decrease as one moves up the valley, especially for women.

It is claimed that there are two groups of villages with respect to proficiency: the villages lower down the river, including Motravn, Shavud, and Budun; and the villages further up the river, including Zhamag, Vishkharv and Andarbag. It seems reasonable that Zaich should group with the upper villages. Extending the percentages of women with limited proficiency in Motravn and Zhamag to all the villages in each group, we estimate that 15 percent of the women in the lower villages and 52 percent of the women in the upper villages have limited proficiency.

Given these figures, we can estimate the overall number of women in the valley with limited proficiency as presented in table 16. The total adult population for each village is based on the percentage of adults in Zhamag and Motravn as given in table 7, using the figure of 59 percent adults in Motravn for the villages lower down the river and the figure of 26 percent adults in Zhamag for the villages further up the river. The number of women with limited proficiency was determined by multiplying the number of women by 15 percent in the lower villages and by 52 percent in the upper villages, as indicated above.

Table 16: Estimated number of women with low proficiency

| Village | Total Population | Total Adult Population | Total Women (51% of adults) | Low Proficiency |
|-----------|------------------|------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------|
| Motravn | 1522 | 900 | 459 | 69 |
| Shavud | 339 | 200 | 102 | 15 |
| Budun | 985 | 581 | 296 | 44 |
| Vishkharv | 713 | 185 | 95 | 49 |
| Andarbag | 1170 | 304 | 155 | 81 |
| Zhamag | 1245 | 321 | 164 | 86 |
| Zaich | 87 | 23 | 12 | 6 |
| Total | 6061 | 2514 | 1283 | 350 |

According to these figures, approximately 28 percent of the women in the valley have limited proficiency in Tajik. Furthermore, nearly two thirds of these women live in the higher villages.

It is rare for women to reach full proficiency in Tajik, since potential access to Tajik is more limited for them. The majority of women do not go on to higher education, which is one of the most significant ways to gain higher levels of proficiency. It is even rare for young women to go on to higher education, as reflected in the fact that only two of the women we interviewed were currently enrolled in institutions of higher education, and none had completed higher education (section 5.3.1). Similarly, while work could be another significant source of access, only men were reported to travel out of the valley for work. Those women with professional or full proficiency presumably achieve it through some experience outside the valley, although it is also possible that middle-aged and older women attained professional proficiency through the Soviet educational system in which Tajik was the language of instruction.

6.3.2. *Future Levels of Proficiency in Tajik*

Currently, then, up to 10 percent of the men and over 25 percent of the women in the valley have limited proficiency in Tajik. Now we turn to a discussion of likely changes in proficiency in the coming years. In particular, we examine the likelihood of changes in access patterns that would affect proficiency.

The claim that young people who graduated from high school since 1991 do not know Tajik as well as previous generations suggests that overall levels of proficiency may well dip as young people reach middle-age. At the same time, all indications are that men will continue to have opportunities to travel outside the valley and improve their Tajik. In fact, since most men now serve in the Tajik military, they have an additional opportunity to use Tajik that previous generations who served in the Soviet military did not have. It seems, then, that men will continue to attain high levels of proficiency in Tajik.

For Yazghulami women, however, there are few indications that access to Tajik will drastically increase. Marriage patterns do not seem to be changing, nor does language use in the village. It is likely that most wives will continue to be from within the valley, while new Tajik-speaking brides are likely to

continue to learn Yazghulami and use it in the community. Similarly, it seems unlikely that significantly more young women will go on to higher education, although this may be slowly changing, as indicated by the two young women currently studying outside the valley.

One significant challenge that the villages further up the river are facing is massive population growth. If, for example, 47 percent of the population of Zhamag has not yet entered school, the number of students in the school will increase dramatically over the next six years. The schools currently do not have the resources needed to adequately cope with such growth. If this does not change, it will affect the quality of education, which will affect levels of proficiency gained through the schools. Since this is one of the major sources of access for women, this means the percentage of women with professional or full proficiency will likely decrease in the coming years.

Improvements in the economy could lead to improvements in the educational system, as well as in the overall feasibility of travel for residents of the valley. While this could potentially allow women to spend more time in Tajik-speaking environments, it is likely that most travel by women will continue to be primarily for social reasons. This would have limited benefits in raising their proficiency in Tajik. There are no indications that an increasing number of women are staying with Tajik-speaking relatives when travelling.

One other change that could affect access is the mass media. If electricity becomes a stable commodity in the valley, young people could have access to Tajik through television and radio. This could contribute to higher levels of proficiency in Tajik.

7. Conclusion

Research in the Yazgulom River Valley indicates that Yazghulami plays the central role in interpersonal communication, while Tajik is used in official domains. Both languages are considered important for certain domains, so residents seem motivated to use both Yazghulami and Tajik, depending on the situation.

With regard to proficiency and access, it seems that most men have professional or full proficiency, while indications are that perhaps three quarters of the female population fit this category. However, percentages of women with higher levels of proficiency decrease as one goes up the valley, so that in the villages further up the river over half have limited proficiency. Higher levels of proficiency are generally attained through time spent outside the valley.

Data gathered from the Language Access Interview describes individuals' potential access, that is, the opportunities they have had to learn and use Tajik. Individuals' actual access – how they have actually used those opportunities – can be determined by comparing the proficiency that individuals would be expected to exhibit on the basis of this potential access with their actual proficiency as reflected in the Storying Proficiency Interview.

It seems that the number of women with higher levels of proficiency in Tajik may decrease in the near future, in particular due to the strain on the educational system. It is anticipated that high school graduates will continue to exhibit limited proficiency, especially as an increasing number of children enter school and stretch the already taxed educational resources. While men will likely still be able to travel outside the valley with a corresponding increase in levels of proficiency in Tajik, this will probably not be the case for women. Women in general do not have the educational or occupational opportunities to attain higher levels of proficiency in Tajik, although some of them do so through living with Tajik speakers outside the valley.

The category of women with limited proficiency in Tajik will increase as long as opportunities for women to achieve professional proficiency remain limited. While improvements in the economic situation could lead to improvements in the educational system and increased opportunities for travel, which would then affect levels of proficiency in Tajik, it does not currently seem that this is a likely scenario in the near future.

Appendix: Raw Data from Zhamag Respondents

The raw data to our questions from the respondents in Zhamag are presented in the following table. The abbreviations used in the table headers are:

| | | | |
|----|-----------------------|----|----------------------|
| ID | Identification number | LI | Living Immersion |
| S | Sex | CT | Current Travel |
| YB | Year of Birth | PT | Past Travel |
| PS | Proficiency Score | G | Guests |
| E | Education | UT | Last time Used Tajik |
| AS | Army Service | | |

Entries in the Notes column give more specific information related to ‘Y’ (yes) indications in other columns.

The proficiency scores given in the table correspond to the ILR proficiency levels as described in this article.

A subscript number under Education indicates number of years at a technical school (‘T’) or university (‘U’); ‘†’ indicates respondent is still in school.

The abbreviation ‘N/A’ for Army Service means “not applicable.” The respondent was either a man under the age of army service or a woman. ‘S’ and ‘T’ indicate service in the Soviet and Tajik armies, respectively. A subscript number indicates years (or months if followed by ‘m’) of service.

The dash ‘-’ indicates that information was not obtained for the category in question.

Information in brackets [...] is information that was either obtained in other parts of the interview (not as a direct answer to the question), or from other individuals close to the respondent.

Where possible, the language used in the place of residence during times outside the valley is indicated by ‘Y’, ‘T’, or ‘mixed’.

Since the focus of the information presented here is access to Tajik, visits to other Yazghulami villages and visits from guests with whom they only use Yazghulami are not indicated.

Raw Data from Zhamag Respondents

| ID | S | YB | PS | E | AS | LI | CT | PT | G | UT | Notes |
|-------|---|----|-----|-----------------|-----|----|----|-----|---|-----|---|
| 01-04 | F | 85 | 0.5 | 11 | N/A | N | N | N | Y | Y | G: Dush: 1x/6-7 years for 1-2 months UT: 3 days previous, for 1 day |
| 16-01 | M | 88 | 0.5 | 10 [†] | N/A | N | N | [N] | Y | Y | G: Vanj and Dush: 1x/yr for 10-20 days each UT: 1 mo previous, at school |
| 32-03 | F | 83 | 1.0 | 11 | N/A | N | N | [N] | Y | Y | G: Dush: 1x/yr for 2-3 mos; Khor: 1x/23 yrs for 10 days; Vanj 1x/23 yrs for 1 wk; Küy: 2x/23 yrs for 1-2 mos UT: Last month w/guests from Khor |
| 22-01 | M | 87 | 0.5 | 11 | N/A | N | Y | - | Y | Y | CT: Vanj 1x/yr for 1 wk G: Dush and Vanj 12x/yr UT: Two mos previous? |
| 01-03 | M | 87 | 1.0 | 11 | N/A | N | Y | - | N | Y | CT: Vanj 1x this yr for 1 day UT: 1 mo previous at school |
| 02-04 | M | 87 | 1.0 | 11 | N/A | N | Y | - | Y | Y | CT: Vanj 1x/yr for 1 day G: Vanj 1-2x/yr for 1-2 days UT: 1 mo previous at school |
| 32-02 | F | 56 | 1.0 | 11? | N/A | N | Y | Y | - | - | CT: Motravn 1x/yr for 1-2 days; speaks T w/sister PT: Dush once 2 yrs ago for 3 mos (maybe spoke Tajik w/brother) |
| 08-02 | F | 77 | 0.5 | 11 | N/A | Y | N | N | N | Y | LI: 12 months in Dush (Y at home/T w/others) UT: Last year when living in Dush |
| 12-01 | F | 72 | 0.5 | 10 | N/A | Y | Y | Y | N | [Y] | LI: 4 yrs in Küy w/Taj speakers CT: (just returned from Küy) PT: Once each to Dush (for 1 wk) and Khor (1 wk) UT: In Küybishev |

Raw Data from Zhamag Respondents (cont.)

| ID | S | YB | PS | E | AS | LJ | CT | PT | G | UT | Notes |
|-------|---|----|-----|----------------|----------------|-----|----|----|---|----|---|
| 02-03 | F | 84 | 1.0 | 11 | N/A | [Y] | N | Y | - | - | Li: 6-7 mos Dush, living w/Y speakers PT: Vanj once for 1 month (a little T outside home) |
| 01-02 | F | 58 | 1.0 | 11 | N/A | Y | N | Y | Y | Y | Li: 8 mos in Küy (Y and T at home), 1 mo in Dush (w/Y speakers) PT: Vanj: twice for approx 2 weeks total G: Küy: 1x/yr (mixed Y and T) UT: Daily with visiting grandchildren |
| 25-01 | M | 35 | 3.5 | 11 | N | Y | Y | - | Y | Y | Li: 1 yr in Küy w/Y speakers CT: Vanj: approx 1x/yr for 3 days; Dush: approx 1x/3yrs for 2 mos G: Vanj: 1-2x/yr for 3-4 days (used to come more often) UT: Day before w/guests from Vanj |
| 35-01 | M | 73 | 3.5 | 10 | N? | N | Y | - | Y | - | CT: Vanj 10x/yr for 1 day; Dush: 1x/yr for 1 mo; Khor: approx 1x/yr a few days G: Dush/Küy: 1-2x/yr for a few days; Vanj: 1x/yr for a day |
| 14-02 | F | 63 | 3.5 | 10 | N/A | Y | N | Y | Y | Y | Li: 8 mos in Khor (used Y all the time) PT: Vanj: once in '95 (T w/sister's husband) G: Dush: 1x/yr; Vanj: 1x/mo UT: Previous night w/visitors from Vanj |
| 08-04 | F | 81 | 0.5 | 11 | N/A | Y | N | - | N | Y | Li: First 13 yrs (Küy); 36 mos in Dush (Y at home in both places) UT: This summer for 5-10 mins with merchant from outside Valley |
| 08-01 | M | 80 | 1.0 | 11 | T ₂ | N | N | - | Y | Y | G: Vanj: once last year for summer UT: 4 mos ago, for 2-3 mins |
| 26-01 | M | 82 | 2.5 | 11 | T ₂ | N | Y | - | N | Y | CT: Vanj on the way back from army for 12 days (recently) UT: last mo w/merchants from Vanj |
| 11-01 | M | 72 | 3.0 | T ₂ | N | [Y] | N | Y | N | Y | Li: 2 yrs Vanj for technical school (T at home) PT: Dush: once for 2 mos (Y w/relatives) UT: Dush: 2 yrs ago, short conversations |

Raw Data from Zhamag Respondents (cont.)

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|-------|---|----|-----|-----------------------------|-----------------|-----|-----|---|---|---|---|
| 24-04 | F | 62 | 3.0 | 10? | N/A | Y | N | Y | Y | – | Li: 6 mos in Dush w/T speakers PT: Vanj: once in 1980 G: Vanj: 1x/yr for 1–2 days; Dush: 1x/6–7 yrs for 1–2 mos |
| 32-01 | M | 48 | 3.0 | U ₄ | N | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Li: 4 yrs uni in Guliyab (mixed T/Y use); 5 yr Küy (w/Y speakers) CT: Vanj: 3–5 x/yr for 2–3 days; Dush: last yr for 3 mos PT: Khor: 3 yrs ago for course; Mosc: 3 yrs ago for 1 mo; Dush: used to go more often G: Vanj: 2–3 x/yr for day; Khor: 1–2x/yr for a few hrs UT: Present day w/Dushanbe guests |
| 14-01 | M | 84 | 3.5 | U ₄ [†] | N | Y | [Y] | Y | N | Y | Li: Presently 4 th yr at Khor SU (Y at home) CT: To and from Khor PT: Vanj last yr for 2 days UT: In Khor 2 mos previously |
| 19-01 | F | 82 | 3.5 | U ₁ [†] | N/A | [Y] | [Y] | Y | N | Y | Li: Presently 1 st yr Uni in Vanj (lives w/T speakers) CT: To and from Vanj PT: Vanj once to hospital [when young] UT: Vanj last mo |
| 24-01 | M | 33 | 3.5 | 5 | S _{2m} | Y | Y | Y | N | Y | Li: Vanj: 4 yrs w/T & Y speakers; Dush: 2 yrs w/Y speakers CT: Khor: when needed for 1–2 wks; Vanj: 1x/2–3 yrs for 2 days (stays w/Y) PT: Vanj: 1–2 days in summers UT: Last yr w/guests |
| 24-03 | M | 58 | 3.5 | T _{6m} | N | Y | N | Y | Y | Y | Li: Dush: technical school for 6 mos (lived w/T speakers) PT: Dush: 9 yrs ago for 1 mo; Vanj: 10 yrs ago G: Vanj: 1x/yr for 2–3 days UT: This spring w/relatives from Vanj [i.e. about 2–3 mos previous] |

Raw Data from Zhamag Respondents (cont.)

| ID | S | YB | PS | E | AS | LI | CT | PT | G | UT | Notes |
|-------|---|----|-----|-----------------------------|----------------|-----|-----|----|---|----|---|
| 17-01 | M | 69 | 3.5 | U ₃ | S ₂ | Y | Y | - | Y | Y | LI: Dush: 3 yrs uni (Y at home), Vanj 2 yrs boarding school in grade school CT: Khor: 1x this year; Vanj: 1-2x/2-3 mos for 2 days; Dush: last yr for 3 mos (mostly Y) G: Vanj 1-2x/yr for 1-2 days; Dush: 1x/yr for 1-2 mos; Küy: 1x/1-2 yrs for 1 mo UT: This week. |
| 18-01 | F | 79 | 3.5 | T ₂ [†] | N/A | Y | [Y] | Y | Y | Y | LI: Vanj: 2 nd yr tech school (lives w/T speakers); Kolkhozobod: 3 & 5 yrs [T area] CT: To and from Vanj for studies PT: Khor: once for 1 mo. G: To Vanj: relatives come 1x/yr; from Khor 'often' UT: 2 weeks ago in Vanj |
| 28-01 | F | 75 | 3.5 | I1 | N/A | Y | N | Y | Y | N | LI: Grew up in Vomar [Rūshor], Y at home PT: Vanj: hospital for 2 wks 1½ yrs ago G: Vanj: 1x/2-3 mos for 1 day UT: Not this year |
| 30-01 | M | 67 | 3.5 | U ₅ | S ₂ | Y | Y | - | Y | Y | LI: Küy: 1 yr (Y at home); Dush: 4 yr uni; Vanj: 1½ yr uni over 9 yr CT: Vanj: 1x/wk for 1 day; Dush: 1x/4yrs for 2-3 mos; Khor: 1x/3yrs for 3-4 days G: Vanj: 1x/2 mos for 3-7 days (T w/some) UT: Last wk w/Vanji guests |
| 21-01 | M | 47 | 4.0 | T? | S ₂ | [Y] | Y | Y | Y | Y | E: Studied at inst of higher education in Leninskii LI: 2 yrs Leninskii admin reg for school (T in dorm) CT: Dush: 1x/4-5 yrs for 40 days; Vanj: 1x/yr PT: Dush: 1x/yr for a mo G: Dush: 1x/yr for 1 mo UT: Now w/brother visiting from Dush |

Raw Data from Zhamag Respondents (cont.)

| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|-------|---|----|-----|----------------|----------------|-----|---|---|---|---|---|--|
| 02-01 | M | 50 | 4.0 | U ₃ | S ₂ | [Y] | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Li: Dush: 5 yrs in dorm (T); 3½ yrs at uni (Y at home) CT: Vanj: 2x/mo for 1-2 days (T&Y at home); Khor: 1x/yr for 1 day; Dush: less than 1x/yr for 1-2 days (Y at home) PT: Vanj: 1x/wk for 1-2 days (mixed at home) G: Vanj: 1-2x/yr for 1 mo (mixed Y/T) UT: 4 days previous, for a few hrs |
| 34-01 | M | 63 | 4.0 | T ₁ | S ₂ | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Li: [Bartushon (Küshon): 2 yrs boarding school; Khor: 1 yr tech school (T at home)]; Dush 2 yrs (wrestling job) CT: Vanj 2-3x/mo for day; Khor: 1-2x/yr for 2-3 days PT: Dush: 1-2x/yr for 10-15 days (until 1992) G: Vanj: 1-2x/yr for 3 days; Dush: 1x/yr for 1 mo (T?) UT: Day before w/wrestler from Vanj |
| 15-01 | M | 36 | 4.0 | U ₅ | N | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Li: [Vanj: 3 yrs boarding school; Samarkand&Dush: 5 yrs university (mixed at home)]; Küy: 3 yrs (worked as teacher) CT: Dush: last yr (Y w/son); Vanj: 3x this yr (mostly Y); Küy: last yr (mostly Y) PT: Dush & Küy: 1-2x/yr; Vanj: 2-3x/mo G: Vanj, Kor, Dush: at least 1x/mo from each UT: previous night w/relatives |
| 20-01 | M | 79 | 4.0 | 11 | T ₂ | Y | Y | - | - | - | - | AS: Dush: training for sports, used T Li: Russia off and on over past 5 yrs CT: In Mosc: most of the yr; Dush: 1 mo/yr |

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