

The Ethnolinguistic Vitality of Yagnobi

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Abstract*

This paper presents the results of sociolinguistic research conducted between May 2003 and September 2004 among the Yaghnobi people living in four distinct regions of western and northwestern Tajikistan. The primary goal of the research was to examine a number of factors which account for the varying levels of ethnolinguistic vitality found in different Yaghnobi villages. Of particular interest is the claim that the current overall ethnolinguistic vitality of Yaghnobi and its best hope for continued vitality are anchored in the degrees of homogeneity and isolation (either geographic or social) manifested by key communities. The primary tools used to gather data were a series of structured interview forms, including a social networks form and an ethnic identity form. In addition, data concerning proficiency in Tajik were gathered using a number of tools including various self-evaluation techniques.

1. Background

Yaghnobi is the last surviving dialect of the Soghdian language, spoken widely across the Zaravshan region through the ninth and tenth centuries. An extensive corpus of literature survives in ancient Soghdian, and this continues to receive much scholarly attention today. However, since the work of Khromov (Khromov 1976, Khromov and Leshereva 1972), modern Yaghnobi or ‘New Soghdian’ has remained little studied, and no general picture of its sociolinguistic situation today exists.

In this article, we present the results of sociolinguistic research carried out amongst the Yaghnobi communities of Tajikistan during 2003 and 2004, with a particular focus on the ethnolinguistic vitality of the Yaghnobi language and the reasons behind this. In the remainder of this section, we present some of the background to the language and to the people who speak it, while in sections 2 and 3, respectively, we explain the goals and methodology behind the research and what kinds of results were expected. In section 4, we present the results obtained from the data collected, while in section 5, we discuss how these results might best be interpreted, in order to shed light as to why Yaghnobi remains so vital in most areas.

1.1. Geography and Summary Population Figures

There are approximately 13,500¹ Yaghnobi speakers scattered across five major locations in Tajikistan. The first two locations are the Yaghnob River Valley and Zafarabad (figures 1 and 2). The Yaghnob River Valley in the northwest of the country is their traditional homeland; individuals from this valley founded all other Yaghnobi communities in the country. Khromov and Leshereva (1972) reported there were twenty-two Yaghnobi-speaking communities in the valley, numbering close to 3,500 inhabitants. However, in the early 1970s, the entire valley population was airlifted out to work on the cotton plantations of Zafarabad, on the northwest border with Uzbekistan. Since then, some have returned to the Yaghnob Valley and today 322 Yaghnobi speakers are there, living in a dozen or so communities. Meanwhile, 6,549 Yaghnobi still live in villages in the Zafarabad region, making it by far the largest centre of Yaghnobi speakers in the country. This community lives intermingled with larger numbers of ethnic Tajik and Uzbek.

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¹ Population figures were established in collaboration with Professor Saiffiddin Mirzoev during 2003/2004.

Figure 1: Yaghnobi villages in the Yaghnob River Valley

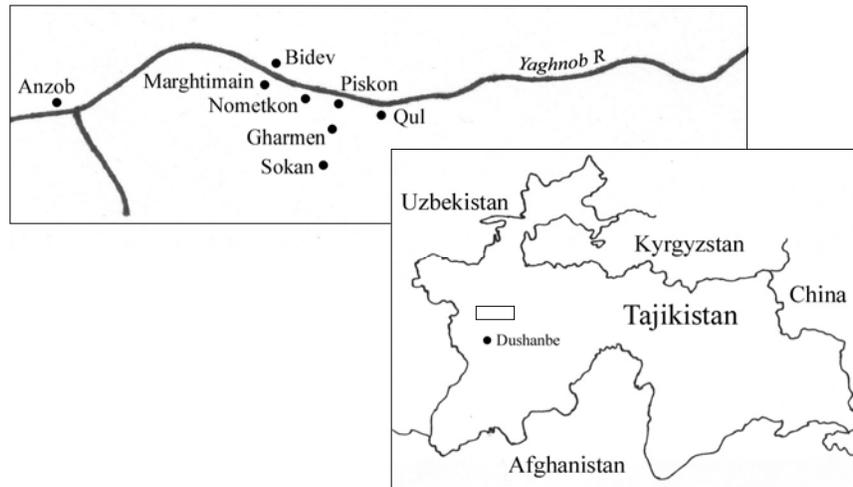
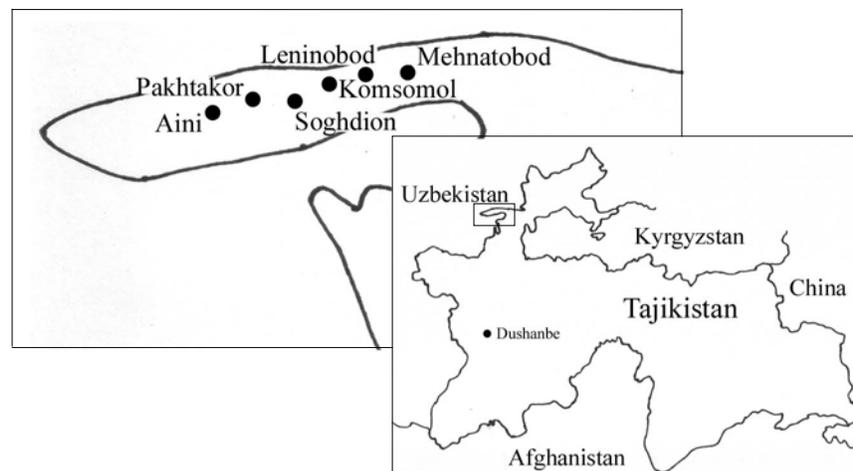
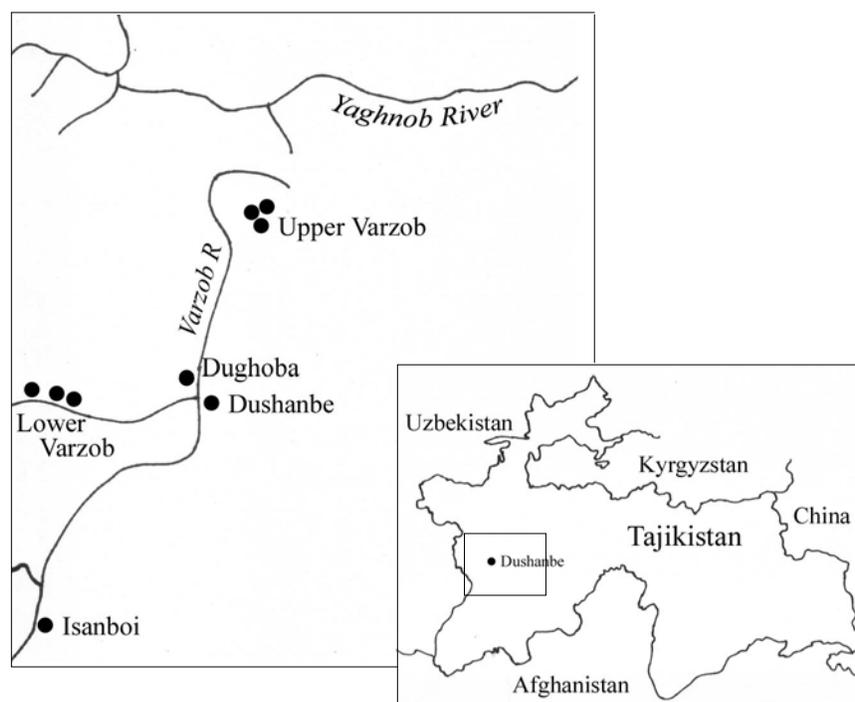


Figure 2: The Zafarabad Region



The third location is the Upper Varzob. There are four Yaghnobi communities in the upper Varzob, three in the Tagob Valley area and one just south of the Anzob Pass. Of all the Yaghnobi communities in Tajikistan, these four communities have been least affected by population movements, since they were founded in the 18th and 19th centuries. The total Yaghnobi population in the upper Varzob is 1,288.

Figure 3: Other Yaghnobi locations in Tajikistan



The communities of the Lower Varzob, including the Hisor Valley, the fourth location where Yaghnobi speakers are living, are not homogeneously Yaghnobi. Most of these communities are linguistically diverse, with Yaghnobi speakers forming a minority. The majority of individuals in these communities are Tajik speaking. Within some of these communities, however, there are significantly compact areas of Yaghnobi speakers. Approximately 220 Yaghnobi speakers live in the Hisor valley.

There are also four or five communities, including the village of Isanboi, in the fifth location in southern Tajikistan. All of these are the result of migration from the Yaghnob River Valley or the North Varzob. Close to 500 Yaghnobi speakers live in these communities.

Finally, a number of Yaghnobi live in Dushanbe and the nearby village of Dughoba. Details of the number of families and inhabitants of each sizeable Yaghnobi community in Tajikistan are given in the appendix.

Climate is a significant factor in the Yaghnobi understanding of their own ethnic identity. The Yaghnob River Valley and Upper Varzob are mountainous areas at high altitude and are effectively cut off from the outside world by snow for half of each year (roughly October to April). This has reinforced their perception of themselves as ‘mountain people.’ In Zafarabad, on the other hand, where the majority of the Yaghnobi now live, the climate is drastically different: it is extremely dry, and summer temperatures can reach the mid-40s centigrade for several months. This was one of the main obstacles to settling that the evacuees from the valley to Zafarabad had to face.

1.2. Linguistic Classification

The Yaghnobi language is one of two languages in the Northeastern Group of Eastern Iranian languages (Grimes 2000). The other language in the group is Ossetian. Although Ossetian is genetically related to Yaghnobi, the two languages began to diverge from each other over 1,500 years ago and have both been heavily influenced by languages from other groups with which they have had contact. Ossetian has been influenced by Caucasian languages, while Yaghnobi has been influenced by Tajik.

Researchers generally identify two dialects of Yaghnobi, representing the eastern (Upper) and western (Lower) ends of the Yaghnob Valley. (See the appendix for more details.) These dialects or speech

varieties exhibit most of their differences at the phonological level and minimally at the lexical level.² The Yaghnobi villages in the Varzob Valley were all populated by speakers of the western dialect.

In addition to the mother-tongue speakers of Yaghnobi, there are also 6,000 to 7,000 other “Yaghnobi” in Tajikistan whose first language is Tajik. They consider themselves ethnically Yaghnobi, usually by reason of their lineage, but do not speak the Yaghnobi language fluently.

1.3. Economy

The traditional economy in the Yaghnob Valley has been, and remains, subsistence agriculture and this is reflected in the practices of the majority of the migrant communities. The notable exception is the lower Varzob, where proximity to the capital city has resulted in diversification of employment to include factory work and other urban activities.

1.4. Religion

The traditional religion of the Yaghnobi is Sunni Islam and observance is high across all the Yaghnobi populations in Tajikistan. Male and female guests are commonly entertained in separate rooms. In addition, the Yaghnob Valley contains a number of *mazars*, or sacred shrines, in which holy men are buried and to which pilgrimages are made.

1.5. Literature Review

Ancient Soghdian grammar and texts have long been the subject of scholarly attention, but publications by Russian scholars on modern Yaghnobi first appeared in the 1950s, when Andreev spent time in the Yaghnob Valley (Andreev 1957, 1970, Andreev, Livshits and Pisarchik 1957) and Sokolova published work showing links between Yaghnobi, Modern Persian, and the Pamiri languages (Sokolova 1953, Sokolova and Grünberg 1962). The best known and most detailed work on the language itself was written by Khromov (Khromov and Leshereva 1972, Khromov 1976), and has been developed more recently by Mirzoev (1998, 2002), an ethnic Yaghnobi scholar, who has published a dictionary and some schoolbooks containing Yaghnobi texts.

Levin (1996) gives an ethnomusicological description of the Yaghnob Valley in English, while a Russian team has described it from an aid and development perspective (Yaghnob Valley 2002).

2. Methodology

In this section, we set out the thinking behind how we conducted this research. We cover the basic foci of the research; why the particular research locations were chosen; the key amenities and research opportunities each location yielded; the various methods used to collect data, and why these methods were chosen; and what measures were taken to ensure an adequate and representative sample for each community studied.

2.1. Theoretical Background and Research Focus

Grenoble and Whaley (1998) present and refine a scheme first laid out by Edwards (1992), which seeks to give an overview of all those factors that have a bearing on ethnolinguistic vitality. The factors in their refined scheme are demography, sociology, linguistics, psychology, history, politics, geography, education, religion, economics, technology and literacy.³ Each of these factors can be analysed on the *micro*-level (that is, with respect to the language itself, or its speakers) or *macro*-level (that is, the broader setting within which the language and its speakers exist).

² The differences are sufficiently small that both dialects will be referred to simply as Yaghnobi in the rest of this paper.

³ ‘Politics’ appeared in Edwards (1992) as ‘Political/law/government’, and ‘Technology’ as ‘The media’ (a category which we prefer here). Meanwhile ‘Literacy’ is a category which Grenoble and Whaley themselves propose adding; here it is considered together with education.

Given the value of understanding the role of each factor in the current sociolinguistic situation of the Yaghnobi, the focus of this research was to fill in the gaps in current knowledge so that just such an understanding could be developed. This involved research in six key areas:

- population and other demographic information (demographic and linguistic factors);
- the people group's self-perceptions of their own ethnic identity (sociology, psychology, history, religion);
- their proficiency in Tajik (sociology, linguistics, education);
- their contact with the Tajik language (linguistics, education, economics);
- the domains in which they used Yaghnobi, Tajik and any other relevant languages (sociology, psychology, education, religion, media, literacy); and
- their attitudes to vernacular literacy (education, religion, media and literacy).

In the remainder of this paper, we show how these factors play out in the Yaghnobi context and the role they can have in language shift. A summary of the results of our research is given in §4.5, while a summary of how Edwards' factors can be combined to give an overall picture of the language's vitality is in §5.1.12.

2.2. Choice of Locations

In the Yaghnob River Valley itself, we visited the villages of Bidev, Marghtimain, Nometkon, Piskon, Gharmen, Sokan and Qul in June 2003. The aim was to get a good representative sample of villages in the valley. The first three are in the lower valley, where the western dialect is spoken; the other four in the upper valley, representing the eastern dialect. In each case, they represent a fair spread of different population sizes. (For a detailed breakdown of population figures, see the appendix; §2.3 provides an overview.) In September 2004, we conducted more focused research in the villages of Marghtimain, Nometkon, Piskon, Gharmen, and Sokan. By this point, we had ascertained that the first of these was closest to the vehicle track coming into the valley and so saw high contact with visitors; the last of these was particularly isolated at the high end of the valley; and the remaining three were fairly populous villages, where a wider variety of people (in terms of contact with Tajiks, and proficiency in Tajik) might, thus, be found. In addition, Yaghnobi in other locations had reported that Nometkon and Piskon were commonly perceived to be the dialect centres for the eastern and western dialects, respectively.

In the northeastern Varzob, we visited the villages of Zumand in May 2003 and May 2004, and Safedorak in May 2003. Information was also obtained about the village of Garob during the visits to Zumand.⁴ These three settlements account for the vast majority (just under 90 percent) of Yaghnobi living in this area.

In the rest of Varzob, we visited the village of Dughoba in both 2003 and 2004. This is by far the most populous Yaghnobi settlement in the southern Varzob. Information was also gathered concerning Kukteppe, the only Yaghnobi village in the Western Varzob.

In the area around Zafarabad, we visited three areas in April 2004: the villages of Soghdion and Aini, where the Yaghnobi population of Zafarabad is mostly concentrated; and Komsomol, the regional centre, where the population is more dispersed. Second-hand information was also collected about the other sizeable Yaghnobi communities in the area.

2.3. Location Descriptions and Amenities

Approximately 70 percent of the entire Yaghnobi population in Tajikistan live in the communities listed in §2.2. From these communities, we were able to identify four key population centres, representing a range of homogeneity and of degrees of isolation from other ethnic groups. These are given in table 1.

⁴ Plans to visit Garob had to be cancelled following a transportation difficulty.

Table 1: Isolation and homogeneity in four Yaghnobi population centres

	Isolation	Homogeneity
Yaghnob River Valley	High	High
Zumand	Medium	High
Dughoba	Low	Medium
Zafarabad	Low	Low

Isolation is calculated in terms of distance from sizeable Tajik settlements, homogeneity in terms of the proportion of the population that is Yaghnobi. In this section, we describe each of these four locations in greater detail.

2.3.1. *The Yaghnob River Valley*

The lower (western) valley contains eight small Yaghnobi-speaking villages, the upper (eastern) valley contains five (of which one, Gharmen, is divided into an upper and a lower part). The names of these villages are listed in the appendix. In addition, there are two Tajik-speaking villages at the far lower end, and seven at the upper end. In total, this gives twenty-two villages, of which thirteen are predominantly Yaghnobi-speaking and nine predominantly Tajik-speaking. The total population of the thirteen Yaghnobi-speaking villages is 322.

The valley contains no hospital or doctor's surgery. There is a doctor at Margheb, ninety minutes' drive east from the base of the valley, and a small hospital in Aini, the regional centre. We visited a school in Piskon: eight pupils from grades one to four are enrolled there, taught by one teacher. This teacher also travels to Gharmen once a week to teach some classes. None of the other Yaghnobi-speaking villages have a school building, although some of the parents provide informal schooling in the home.

2.3.2. *Zumand*

Zumand is one of three Yaghnobi villages in the Upper Varzob and has a population of 655, of which 653 are Yaghnobi. It is a two-hour walk along the mud road from Safedorak, which has a population of 364 and is, again, almost entirely Yaghnobi. Safedorak is on the road leading up to Tagob, a Tajik village and holiday resort; buses pass Safedorak on their way to Dushanbe. One kilometre below Zumand is the village of Garob, population 110. There is no road there.

There is one doctor in Zumand; the nearest hospital is in Dushanbe. We visited the school in Zumand, which includes grades 1–11. In 2003, there were 215 students in the school, including 117 boys and 98 girls. The seventeen teachers are all men from Zumand, but all classes are conducted in Tajik. There are also schools in Safedorak (grades 1–11, some Yaghnobi students) and Garob (grades 1–4, approximately twelve students).

2.3.3. *Dughoba*

Dughoba has a total Yaghnobi population of 361, represented by eighty-one families. Of these, eighteen families are entirely Yaghnobi-speaking, and a further thirty-five contain at least some Yaghnobi-speaking individuals. The Yaghnobi represent around 25 percent of the total population of 350 families in the village. There is a doctor in the village and comprehensive medical facilities are available in Dushanbe, which is twenty minutes away by public transport. There are two local schools, one in Dughoba (with approximately 300 students) and one in neighboring Varzob Ges (with approximately 500 students). Both include grades 1–11, and classes are entirely in Tajik.

2.3.4. *Zafarabad*

The Zafarabad region has a total population of 51,721, of whom 6,549 (13 percent) are Yaghnobi speakers. Around three quarters of the rest are ethnically Tajik and one quarter Uzbek.

The regional centre, Komsomol, has a hospital with 100 doctors and 450 other staff; it includes surgical and maternity wards. We visited this hospital and spoke to the deputy director. Doctors hold medical consultations in each major settlement across the region. We also visited two of the schools in the area that include some Yaghnobi children, both of which include grades 1–11. The first was in Aini-Piskon: it has 1,012 students (544 boys, 468 girls), of whom 30 percent are Yaghnobi, and sixty-six teachers, of whom

thirty are Yaghnobi. The second school was in Soghdion: it has 1,082 students (600 boys, 482 girls), 40 percent of whom are Yaghnobi, and eighty-two teachers, of whom fourteen (including the headmaster) are Yaghnobi.

2.4. Research Methods

We used a number of different tools in conducting this research. The primary tools were a series of structured interview forms that are described in §§2.4.1 and 2.4.2. In addition, we used a number of tools to measure levels of proficiency in Tajik (§2.4.3), unstructured interviews (§2.4.4), second-hand interviews (§2.4.5) and observation (§2.4.6).

2.4.1. Primary Structured Interviews

The primary tools for the majority of our research were a series of structured interview forms, which divide into two sets. The first set was designed to elicit appropriate data from particular types of interviewees: regional and local government officials; schoolteachers; hospital administrators; and religious leaders. The governmental, schoolteacher, and religious leader forms were used in all the key locations visited during 2003 (Dughoba, Safedorak, the Yaghnob Valley and Zumand), and in Zafarabad in 2004. The hospital form was also used in Zafarabad. In addition to collecting population trends and other such statistics, the questionnaires also gave respondents the opportunity to comment on the language proficiency and language use patterns of those who passed through their care.

The second set of structured interview forms were designed for use with individuals who were either mother-tongue Yaghnobi speakers themselves, or who related to such people and were thus able to report on them second-hand. We used four such forms: a location description form, a language use form, a social networks form, and an ethnic identity form.

The location description form was used to collect data about local amenities, transport, the availability of work, local migration patterns, general social interaction, and marriage patterns. We used this form in 2003 in Zumand, Safedorak, and the Yaghnob Valley, and in 2004 in Zafarabad.

The language use form was used to collect data about which languages were used for basic functional (including home, work, reading) and interpersonal domains (including with neighbours, friends, guests, parents). We used it in 2003 in Zumand, Safedorak, and the Yaghnob Valley, and in 2004 in Zafarabad.

The social networks form was used to collect some basic autobiographical information from respondents (including date of birth, level of schooling), and went on to explore their social networks in the family, socially, and at work. It was used in Zafarabad in 2004.

The ethnic identity form consisted of a series of questions designed to elicit respondents' perceptions of their own ethnic identity: to what extent was their ethnic group perceived to be distinct, what were some key elements of this distinctiveness, and whether the level of distinctiveness was perceived to be beneficial. We used this form in 2004 in Zafarabad, Zumand, and the Yaghnob Valley.

2.4.2. Other Structured Interviews

A vernacular literacy form was constructed to elicit information about four key areas: current reading patterns, attitudes towards literature in the vernacular, attitudes towards the idea of literacy classes in the vernacular, and preferences concerning whether literature would be preferable in written or audio-visual format. A short, trial version of this form was used with two groups in Zafarabad in 2004 after which, on the basis of the promising results obtained, a full version was developed and used in Zumand and the Yaghnob Valley.

A dialect form was also used in Zafarabad in 2004. The questions in this form explored how many dialects of the Yaghnobi language respondents believed existed, how different they were, where they were spoken, and which form the respondents believed to be the purest.

2.4.3. Measures of Proficiency in Tajik

Four tools were designed to ascertain both personal and group levels of proficiency in Tajik: a self-evaluation questionnaire, a comparative proficiency form, a proficiency storying form, and reported proficiency evaluations. In some locations, the self-evaluation and comparative proficiency questionnaires were used; in others, the storying form and the reported proficiency evaluation tool.

The basic self-evaluation questionnaire (SEQ) was developed from a questionnaire method proposed by B. Grimes (1986), and contextualized for appropriateness to the Yaghnobi people group in collaboration with a Yaghnobi mother-tongue linguist. It consists of a series of self-evaluation questions, each concerning whether respondents are able to carry out a particular communicative task in Tajik. Each task is assigned a level of difficulty on the basis of the Interagency Language Roundtable (ILR) levels 1 (Elementary Proficiency) to 5 (Functionally Native Proficiency).⁵ The tasks are then organized in increasing order of difficulty as the questionnaire progresses. Most of the questions are to be answered with a simple yes or no response; the other questions also allow for the answers to be interpreted in a binary fashion. Where respondents indicate they can carry out all the tasks assigned to a particular level, and also all tasks at preceding levels, they are deemed to be proficient in Tajik to that level. Indications that they cannot complete any task at a particular level are interpreted to mean that the respondents are not proficient in Tajik at that level. The questionnaire was translated into Tajik and the translated version was pilot-tested with Yaghnobi speakers in Zafarabad in 2004.

The comparative proficiency form opens with two simple questions:

- How well do you speak Tajik?
- Are you typical of your age group?

These are followed by a request that respondents give some personal information and information about five other individuals: someone who speaks Tajik a little better than them, a lot better, a little worse, a lot worse, and equally well. This form was used in Zafarabad alongside the SEQ. We did not use it in Zumand or the Yaghnob Valley because the purposes of the form, to investigate the perceived typicality of the respondent and to find other speakers with different levels of proficiency in Tajik, were subsumed into the proficiency storying and reported proficiency evaluation forms, respectively.

The proficiency storying form consists of questions referring to tasks requiring increasing levels of Tajik proficiency, asking whether respondents have actually performed these tasks. This form contains three main sections:

- *Childhood Language Use*: This section focuses on the languages of respondents' childhood, to find out the nature of their first exposure to Tajik and when the use of Tajik began to feel comfortable.
- *Proficiency Questions*: Like the SEQ, this section consists of questions referring to increasingly difficult tasks. This section is subdivided according to ILR levels as follows: 1/2, 2+3, 3+4, 4+5.
- *Community Proficiency*: This section explores community proficiency in the past and the present, and respondents' projection of what children's proficiency will be like in the future.

The first two sections were used with all respondents. Where time allowed, and respondents were middle-aged or older, the community proficiency questions were also asked.

The storying form was generally used in combination with a language contact form, which explores the respondents' travel history and current travel patterns, along with their experiences of hosting Tajik-speaking guests, in order to develop a picture of how much contact they have had with Tajik in the past and how much they have now. The storying and contact forms were used in Zumand and the Yaghnob Valley in 2004.

Limited use was made of Reported Proficiency Evaluations (RPES), as described in Radloff (1991:127–153). This method involves inviting mother-tongue Tajik speakers to evaluate the Tajik proficiency of a range of individuals whom they know well and speak Tajik with regularly. The Tajik speakers assign scores for the accent, comprehension, fluency, grammatical accuracy, and vocabulary range of these individuals, according to a specific scale with which they are provided. We then apply a formula to the scores to give an indication of each individual's proficiency, roughly correlated with the ILR scale. RPES were carried out twice in Zumand, and twice in abbreviated form in the Yaghnob Valley in 2004. They proved useful mainly as a sampling tool and as a calibration device. As a sampling tool, we used the results of the RPES to identify Yaghnobi individuals whom Tajik speakers believed had a particular level of

⁵ The levels are described in Interagency Language Roundtable (2004).

proficiency. As a calibration device, we used the results of the RPES to help calibrate proficiency scores obtained by means of the storying form.

2.4.4. Unstructured Interviews

During 2003, the only structured interviews conducted were those related to location description, which we used with government officials in Anzob (near the Yaghnob Valley). The rest of the research consisted of relatively informal interviewing (sometimes using the forms mentioned in §2.4.1 as a basis for discussion) with local residents and schoolteachers in Zumand, Safedorak, the Yaghnob Valley, and Dughoba. The data collected during these trips provided the basis for conducting more extensive research in 2004.

2.4.5. Second-Hand Interviews

Reference was made in §2.4.1 to the use of structured interview forms to elicit second-hand information. Use of this technique (except for RPE testing, which is inherently second-hand) was only employed where the sampling methodology required us to collect information on subjects who were not available for interview. For example, following the cancellation of plans to visit Garob in the Upper Varzob, a language contact questionnaire was used twice in nearby Zumand in 2004 with the relatives of people living in Garob. In this way, we were able to gain profiles of their language contact history indirectly.

In addition to second-hand interviews using structured interview forms, we collected extensive second-hand information through demographic interviewing in Zafarabad, Dughoba, and for the villages of the Upper Varzob during 2004. Yaghnobi inhabitants in the first two areas were asked to provide the details of all the Yaghnobi households in their locality: the names of the household heads and their wives; the ethnicity of these people; and the number of children they had. In Dughoba, ages were also collected during 2003, in order to assess how the process of language shift towards Tajik that was evidently occurring mapped onto the village's generational profile. In the third area, the Upper Varzob, it was not considered realistic or necessary to collect the names of every single inhabitant due to the large population of Zumand (655). Instead, more detailed information about eighty-five people was collected in 2004: their name, gender, date of birth, travel patterns (for work, social reasons, education or military service), and whether or not these were individuals who frequently use Tajik.

2.4.6. Observation

The practice of observation was often especially useful for backing up language use data and noticing which languages were used in particular domains. This included noting how language was used in social conversations, and how adults spoke to children. During 2004, we were also able to observe a school class in Zafarabad, and some ceremonies—most notably a Nav Ruz (New Year) celebration—in Dughoba, and the annual school graduation ceremony in Zumand.

2.5. Sampling

Different sampling methods used during the research process reflected the size of each respective community, and the varying research goals in each of these places. In Dughoba, the Yaghnobi households are concentrated within a relatively small area, and the research goal was simply to collect information concerning the age and gender of each family member and what language each spoke in the home. It was, therefore, possible to use a comprehensive sampling approach and collect this information from every household. In the other three key locations, however, a number of obstacles stood in the way of common quantitative approaches to sampling. The three most significant of these were:

- i. no list of all the members of the communities existed from which a random sample could be extracted;
- ii. social solidarity is a core value for Yaghnobi, so that a western approach which seeks to elicit data from and about isolated individuals would have been very foreign; interviewing them within a group context, and within the frame of reference of their own community, was more acceptable; and
- iii. in a culture which emphasizes the importance of the guest-host relationship, visiting a large number of homes in a limited time causes considerable strain and stress, and jeopardizes the value of information gained from respondents with whom insufficient time has been spent building trust.

For these reasons, we used a method of ‘informed sampling’ that had been used in a similar cultural context in Azerbaijan (Tiessen 2003). This involved selecting subjects in each location with a view to producing a sample which represented the widest possible range of sociolinguistic variation, and which provided as much information as possible on the nature and causes of this variation. Reliability was derived, on a qualitative basis, from choosing subjects with the broadest possible variation, and using questionnaires that acknowledged and utilized their self-understanding as members of a social group. Validity was assured from compiling the responses they gave, and arriving at a series of conclusions upon which agreement and consensus were demonstrated.

In Zumand and the Yaghnob Valley, where the highly homogenous nature of these communities risked making people with atypical sociolinguistic backgrounds harder to find, additional reliability was sought by compiling extensive demographic inventories of the local populations, and seeking to ensure that people with a wide range of backgrounds (age, gender, level of education, range of travel, type of work) were included in the sample. Additionally, in the Yaghnob Valley, we aimed to ensure that at least one male and one female representative of every family in each village visited was interviewed. We were successful in this in all but two cases: Sokan, where only male members of the one family there were interviewed,⁶ and Piskon, where data on one family had to be gathered second-hand because the senior family members were too busy with farming work to be interviewed during our visit.

3. Research Expectations

By the beginning of more detailed research in 2004, we were expecting to find:

- strong self-perceptions of ethnic identity,
- varying Tajik proficiency levels,
- a degree of language shift from Yaghnobi to Tajik in at least some communities, and that
- the variety of proficiency levels and degree of language shift could be explained mostly by a combination of the amount of contact with Tajik and the strength and nature of each community’s ethnolinguistic identity.

We also expected to see some kind of Tajik-Yaghnobi diglossia⁷ in any communities where language shift was at an advanced stage since, as noted by Schiffman (1993:115), in many cases of language shift, the language being abandoned and the language being adopted pass through “what is in effect a diglossic relationship. That is, language shift will be shown to take place domain by domain ... until the abandoned language controls no domains at all.”

4. Results

As previewed in §2.1, we present results in five areas in this section:

- ethnic identity
- Tajik language proficiency;
- Tajik language contact;
- domains of language use; and
- attitudes to oral and written literature in the vernacular.

In order to show how these results combine to produce sociolinguistic profiles for each community, their presentation below is by geographical area. To facilitate comparison across the various criteria, a concluding section (§4.5) summarizes the results by concept and also provides some additional miscellaneous information.

⁶ This was due to the fact that no female researcher was available at the time, and interviews across gender would have been unacceptable.

⁷ For a definition of diglossia and more discussion see §5.2.

As was noted in §2.4, the bulk of detailed research in each location was conducted during 2004. Hence, virtually all of the results presented below were obtained on the basis of this research, the only exception being the demographic inventory of Dughoba presented in §4.4. Detailed population statistics for each community are given in the appendix.

4.1. The Yaghnob River Valley

4.1.1. *Ethnic Identity and Basic Demographic Information*

Ten sets of responses to the ethnic identity questionnaire were completed, two from groups (one male, one female) and eight from individuals (six men, two women). Because the questions asked invited open answers, the specific terms of these answers varied widely. However, it was possible to group them according to a limited set of categories, and it is these categories that are listed in table 2 and in subsequent tables presenting data concerning ethnic identity.

Table 2: Ethnic identity questionnaire results for the Yaghnob River Valley

Factor	Common Responses	Other Responses
What does it mean to be Yaghnobi?	To know the Yaghnobi language (4) To be born in the Yaghnob Valley (4)	To be descended from the ancient Soghdians (3)
How important is language to your ethnic identity?	Extremely important (6)	Important, but knowing it is not crucial to being Yaghnobi (2)
What are the good things about being Yaghnobi?	Our kindness & hospitality (5)	The Yaghnobi language (3) Our history and culture (2) Our pure religion (1) The valley itself (1)
What are the bad things about being Yaghnobi?	None (5)	Small population in valley (2) Harsh living conditions (2)
Do the Yaghnobi dialects differ?	There is a small difference (7)	No difference (2)

Complete demographic inventories were compiled for five villages in the Valley: Marghtimain (13 people), Piskon (70), Gharmen (49), Sokan (5) and Nometkon (22), for a total of 159 inhabitants representing twenty-five family units (an average of six or so per family). Five of these people were reported to be mother-tongue Tajik speakers, all of them women who had married into a Yaghnobi community. In other words, in 20 percent of the families inventoried, the Yaghnobi man had married a Tajik-speaking wife.

4.1.2. *Proficiency in Tajik*

Thirty-four individuals responded to the storying proficiency questionnaire. The age group, gender and reported proficiency for these people is given in table 3.

Table 3: Tajik proficiency results for the Yaghnob River Valley

Gender	Age	Levels of Proficiency
Male	<30	1, 2, 3, 3, 4, 4, 4
	30–55	3, 3, 3+, 3+, 3+, 3+, 4, 4+, 4+, 4+, 4+
	>55	2+, 2+, 3+
Female	<30	1, 2+, 4
	30–55	1, 2, 2, 2, 2, 4, 4, 4
	>55	2, 3

The mean proficiency for the data in table 3 is 3.4 for the men (roughly ILR 3+, General Professional Proficiency, plus), and 2.6 for the women (roughly ILR 2+, Limited Working Proficiency, plus).

It was not possible to conduct full RPE questionnaires in the Yaghnob Valley, because although some Tajik mother-tongue speakers who speak Tajik to their Yaghnobi neighbours were available, those Yaghnobi neighbours spoke back to them only in Yaghnobi. However, ‘mini-RPES’ were conducted in both Piskon and Gharmen, focusing exclusively on comprehension. The results of these questions, together with

self-evaluated proficiency data where available, are shown in table 4, where the results from Piskon are shaded grey.

Table 4: A comparison of proficiency data for the Yaghnob River Valley

RPE	A/B	B	B	C	C	E	E	F	F	F
Self-reported	2	–	–	1	2+	–	3+	3+	4	–
Age	33	40	57	22	27	28	68	38	40	24
Gender	F	F	F	F	F	F	M	M	F	F

It was encouraging to see a rough correlation between the results of the two methodologies for testing proficiency. This assists in establishing the reliability, within broad parameters, of the self-reported test. The disparity between the first and second-hand results for the 22 year-old female who received a medium score on the RPE but a low self-reported score may be explained partly by the shyness and probable consequent self-deprecation of the respondent, and possibly partly also by the fact that the RPE questions only asked about comprehension, whereas the self-evaluation questions were balanced between comprehension and production. The age and gender of this particular respondent suggest that she would have far more opportunity to hear than to produce Tajik.

4.1.3. *Contact with Tajik*

Within most age groups, patterns of contact with Tajik speakers were remarkably uniform. Virtually all of the valley's inhabitants were resettled in Zafarabad in 1970 and remained there for between ten and thirty years. (The few who attempted to return to the valley earlier were resettled to the same place a second time in the mid-1970s.) Some families in the Upper Valley (all villages east of Nometkon; see figure 1) had advance warning of these resettlement plans and moved mostly to Dushanbe or Dughoba during the late 1960s. The families who returned to the valley did so between ten and thirty years later, just like those resettled to Zafarabad.

In §4.3.3, we give details of Tajik contact patterns in Zafarabad, a significant factor in explaining the Tajik proficiency of the valley's inhabitants today. For example, schooling there is in Tajik, which is also used to some extent for socializing and is crucial for work. Yaghnobi who had lived in Dushanbe or Dughoba reported that their contact with Tajik there was as high, or higher, than for those Yaghnobi living in Zafarabad; and this was confirmed by our own observations in all three locations. The ramifications of this are that those who spent more than a few years from school-age upwards⁸ in these relatively high-contact locations had sufficient interaction with Tajik speakers to significantly boost their levels of proficiency.

On then returning to the valley, most categories of Tajik contact (for example, travel for work, social or domestic purposes) dropped dramatically. Only six of the men covered by the demographic inventories were reported to have done military service, another common opportunity to interact with Tajik speakers for two to three years. This meant that the only significant remaining contact opportunity lies in the reception of Tajik-speaking guests.⁹ Respondents reported that Tajik-speaking guests are infrequent, with the exception of shepherds who may visit several times a week (almost every day) during the spring and summer months. Being adult men, these guests have a great deal of contact with Yaghnobi men above school-age, but almost no interaction with children or women.

⁸ In fact, a number of respondents reported that although they spoke Yaghnobi in the home, even before school age they felt they had learned Tajik 'well' through playing with Tajik-speaking children in the street.

⁹ As noted in §2.3, schooling in Zafarabad, Zumann, and Dughoba has a significant effect on children's Tajik levels. It has a much lower effect in the Yaghnob Valley, however, since schooling there is either infrequent or non-existent and lessons are taught mainly in Yaghnobi where they do occur.

4.1.4. Domains of Language Use

Information on domains of language use was gathered informally through observation and conversations. In four of the villages visited, it was reported that Yaghnobi is used in all domains of daily life within the village. In the fifth, Gharmen, Tajik is used within the home in three of the six households due to the high proportion of Tajik mother-tongue members in these households. This means that in Gharmen, village social occasions (including all meal conversations at which we were present during a two day period) are also conducted in Tajik.

Respondents' answers about languages used when travelling fall into two broad categories. One is travel for social purposes, to visit relatives. During these trips, respondents use Yaghnobi almost exclusively. The second is travel for work purposes, generally in order to buy and sell at a bazaar. Respondents report using an equal mix of Tajik and Yaghnobi during this kind of travel.

4.1.5. Attitudes to Vernacular Literature

Eleven individuals gave complete responses to the vernacular literacy questionnaire in the Yaghnob Valley. All but two respondents said that they would buy books in the Yaghnobi language and eight of the eleven said that they would attend a vernacular reading class if one were offered in their village or nearby. The topics that they said would interest them for books in any language were children's stories, songs, music, religion, history, the Yaghnobi language, novels, recipes, geography, physics, Persian, Russian and sewing. The first seven topics were also felt to be particularly appropriate subject matter for any book produced in Yaghnobi. When asked if they would prefer literature in book or video form,¹⁰ three expressed a preference for books and five for videos.

4.1.6. Summary of Results for the Yaghnob Valley

We found a strong sense of ethnolinguistic identity in most villages in the Yaghnob Valley, varying levels of proficiency in Tajik, and some language shift in a very few households in the village of Gharmen. Attitudes to literature in the vernacular are overwhelmingly positive.

4.2. The Upper Varzob

The focus of our research in the Upper Varzob was the village of Zumand. We will detail the results of this research in this section. Sufficient data was also collected in the nearby villages of Garob and Safedorak to show to what extent the results for Zumand may also be extrapolated to these locations.

4.2.1. Ethnic Identity

Five individuals gave responses to the ethnic identity questionnaire, four male and one female. These are summarized in table 5.

¹⁰ Audio-tape was not included as an option.

Table 5: Ethnic identity questionnaire results for Zumand

Factor	Common Response	Other Responses
What does it mean to be Yaghnobi?	To know the Yaghnobi language (4)	To have at least one Yaghnobi parent (3) To be descended from the ancient Soghdians (2)
How important is language to your ethnic identity?	Extremely important; Yaghnobi must learn it (3)	Important, but knowing it is not crucial to being Yaghnobi (2)
What are the good things about being Yaghnobi?	The Yaghnobi language (2)	Our traditional hospitality culture (2)
What are the bad things about being Yaghnobi?	None (4)	Lots of snow in the winter (1)
Do the Yaghnobi dialects differ?	There is a small difference (3)	The only difference is in terms of pronunciation (1)

Marriage patterns in the village were consistently Yaghnobi-Yaghnobi and most men took wives from Zumand. (Within our sample, five wives were from Garob, one from Tagob and one from Sokan.) Out of the ninety-eight families in Zumand, only two wives were Tajik.

4.2.2. Proficiency in Tajik

Sixteen individuals responded to the self-reported proficiency questionnaire and second-hand reports were collected from these sixteen for a further ten. The age group, gender, and reported proficiency for these twenty-six people is given in table 6.

Table 6: Tajik proficiency results for the Upper Varzob

Gender	Age	Levels of Proficiency
Male	<30	3, 3, 3, 3+
	30–55	2+, 3, 3, 3+, 4, 4, 4, 4+
	>55	—
Female	<30	1+, 2, 2, 4
	30–55	1, 2, 2+, 2+, 3, 3+
	>55	1+, 3, 3+, 5

Three features are noticeable. One is that there is no great distinction between the age groups. A second is that the mean proficiency for men is 3.4 (roughly an ILR 3+, General Professional Proficiency, plus), while for women it is 2.6 (roughly an ILR 2+, Limited Working Proficiency, plus). The third is that these averages are precisely the same as those obtained during testing in the Yaghnob Valley (§4.1.2). While this testing methodology is not sufficiently fine-grained to give proficiency results to such a high level of detail, we might, nonetheless, note that the two contexts are similar in terms of the opportunities the two populations have had to acquire Tajik proficiency (for example, most have had some schooling in Tajik but have fewer opportunities to use it following graduation), and that such similar results are, thus, thoroughly plausible.

We gathered RPE information on a total of eight individuals, as shown in table 7.

Table 7: A comparison of proficiency data for the Upper Varzob

RPE 1	1	2+	2+	2+	–	3	4+	–
RPE 2	–	–	–	2+	4	3+	–	4+
Self-reported	–	2	3	2+	3+	4	3+	–
Age	<55	<30	30–55	30–55	<30	<30	30–55	30–55
Gender	F	F	M	F	M	F	M	F

With regard to the methodology, it is interesting to note that of the individuals for whom both second-hand and self-reported data is available, three reported their own proficiency slightly lower than their mother-tongue Tajik friend, one at the same level, and two slightly above. This gives some reassurance that there was no general trend of over-reporting when people evaluated their own levels of proficiency, and it adds plausibility to the self-reported data.

A combination of all the proficiency results yields the following numbers for each level, classified only by gender. Where both first (self-evaluated) and second-hand (reported) data yield different levels, the first-hand data is given.

Table 8: A summary of proficiency data for the Upper Varzob

	Low Proficiency				Mid Proficiency		High Proficiency			Total
	1	1+	2	2+	3	3+	4	4+	5	
Male	0	0	0	1	5	2	3	1	0	12
Female	2	2	3	2	2	1	1	2	1	16
Total	2	2	3	3	7	3	4	3	1	28
	(1 man, 9 women)				(7 men, 3 women)		(4 men, 4 women)			

The data presented in table 8 shows that the great majority of those with low levels of proficiency (2+ or below) are women: nine out of sixteen women (56 percent) fall into this category.

4.2.3. *Contact with Tajik*

Sufficiently detailed data was collected concerning thirty-eight individuals to make a confident assessment of their degree of contact with Tajik. The low, medium, and high categories shown in table 9 are based on a weighted score of the extensiveness of the individual's contact, and the length of time for which they had opportunity to be immersed in a Tajik-speaking environment.

Table 9: Tajik contact data for the Upper Varzob

	Low Contact	Medium Contact	High Contact	Total
Male	2	4	9	15
Female	17	0	6	23
Total	19	4	15	38

Note that while most men have medium to high contact, the majority of women (nineteen of twenty-three, or 74 percent) have low contact.

4.2.4. *Domains of Language Use*

The information in this section was gleaned from the language contact and vernacular literacy questionnaires, and also informally through observation and informal interviews with a few individuals. For most adult residents of Zumand, the only time when they might be required to produce Tajik would be to respond to the world outside the village, either when they travel outside Yaghnobi-speaking communities (for example to visit the bazaar in Dushanbe), or when they receive Tajik-speaking visitors. This is because there are only two mother-tongue Tajik speakers in the whole village and although they speak Tajik to others in the village, the villagers respond to them in Yaghnobi. A limited number of adults would also be required to produce Tajik in additional domains: teaching at school, conducting religious ceremonies, and making speeches at important occasions such as wedding parties and New Year celebrations. It follows that for most, passive domains (in which they might understand but not produce Tajik) are limited to attending the events mentioned above, and hearing Tajik on the radio and television.

The domains in which residents of Zumand use Tajik and Yaghnobi are listed in table 10.

Table 10: Domains of Tajik and Yaghnobi use for Zumand

Tajik Domains	Education (school and university) Religious ceremonies Speeches at formal occasions Television and radio broadcasts Written literature Trade
Yaghnobi Domains	Conversation with friends and family in the home Conversation with work colleagues within the local area Oral literature (e.g. spoken poems and stories) Instructions to local workmen, children, and so on

4.2.5. Attitudes to Vernacular Literature

Six individuals gave complete responses to the vernacular literacy questionnaire in Zumand. All six respondents said that they would buy books in the Yaghnobi language and would attend a vernacular reading class, if one were offered in Zumand. The topics that they said would interest them for books in any language were the Yaghnobi language, music, history, religious stories, telecommunications, children's stories, travel, and romantic novels. The first five topics were also felt to be particularly appropriate subject matter for any book produced in Yaghnobi. When asked if they would prefer literature in book or video form, three preferred books and three videos.

4.2.6. Summary of Results for Zumand, and Extrapolation to Garob and Safedorak

In Zumand, the sense of ethnic identity among the Yaghnobi relies heavily on their use of the Yaghnobi language. There are varying levels of proficiency in Tajik and these seem to be tied quite closely to degrees of contact with the language. Language shift is a process and needs to be measured over time, but no sense of language shift was reported, and the similarity of Tajik proficiency levels across age groups gives no indication that the younger generation have overall higher proficiency than their forbears. Both Tajik and Yaghnobi are used in Zumand, each within a number of exclusive domains. Attitudes to literature in the vernacular are overwhelmingly positive.

These results may be extrapolated in more or less their entirety to Garob, which is equally isolated and homogeneous; and the specific data collected on Garob confirms this. However, such certainty is not possible with regard to Safedorak, due to the higher number of Tajiks living there and its location on the main road to Tagob that affords easier access to Tajik-speaking areas. Further research into this village and how it compares with its two neighbouring Yaghnobi villages will be very valuable.

4.3. Zafarabad

4.3.1. Ethnic Identity

Nine sets of responses were collected regarding ethnic identity, six from male individuals (one aged 18, the others middle-aged), two from groups of middle-aged men, and one from a group of women of mixed age:

Table 11: Ethnic identity questionnaire results for Zafarabad

Factor	Common Response	Other Responses
What does it mean to be Yaghnobi?	To know the Yaghnobi language (6)	To be descended from the ancient Soghdians (3) To come from the Yaghnob Valley (2)
How important is language to your ethnic identity?	Extremely important (9)	
What are the good things about being Yaghnobi?	The Yaghnobi language (4)	Our traditional hospitality culture (4) The pride we can take in our identity (3)
What are the bad things about being a Yaghnobi?	There are no bad things. (7)	We have no country of our own (2)
Do the Yaghnobi dialects differ?	No (6)	Lower Valley is purer (2) Upper Valley is purer (1)

Marriage patterns obtained from demographic inventories showed that of seventy-seven married couples, sixty-eight had married Yaghnobi mother-tongue speakers. Four had married Tajik-speaking Yaghnobi; three married Tajiks; and two, Uzbeks.

4.3.2. Proficiency in Tajik

Observation of a number of social situations in Zafarabad over a week-long period confirmed that proficiency in Tajik among Yaghnobi is generally very high, especially for men. On various occasions, groups of men were able and willing to sustain an entire evening's conversation entirely in Tajik, without any apparent difficulty or frustration, in deference to the one guest (the researcher) who did not know Yaghnobi.

On the basis of various reports that levels of proficiency in Tajik were slightly lower among Yaghnobi women than among Yaghnobi men, and that women often received fewer years of schooling in Tajik, seven women from various homes in the area were interviewed using the binary self-evaluation questionnaire (SEQ). We assumed that, in general, the proficiency of men would be equal or higher. The seven women interviewed scored 16, 19, 19, 20, 20, 22, and 22 out of 23. The theory behind the questionnaire would suggest that the first individual had an ILR level 3 (General Professional Proficiency) in Tajik and the rest ILR level 4 (Advanced Professional Proficiency). This conclusion is consistent with our observations. An additional reinforcing factor was the difficulty that respondents had during informal questioning, to think of contacts whose Tajik proficiency differed from theirs.

As for the men, the claim was repeatedly made that men had uniformly high levels of proficiency and that individuals with higher proficiency could be identified as such only by virtue of their ability to handle 'literary' or 'formal' Tajik in the context of making speeches at ceremonies or reading literature as part of a course of higher education.

4.3.3. Contact with Tajik

Detailed social network questionnaires were used with members of eleven families, gaining a picture of their family structure and social contacts. Although every respondent had a mixture of Yaghnobi, Tajik, and Uzbek neighbours, the majority (73 percent) socialized almost exclusively with other Yaghnobi. Two respondents reported very mixed social patterns, visiting the homes of Yaghnobi, Tajik, and Uzbek; while one reported spending time mostly with Tajik speakers (his own mother was a mother-tongue Tajik speaker).

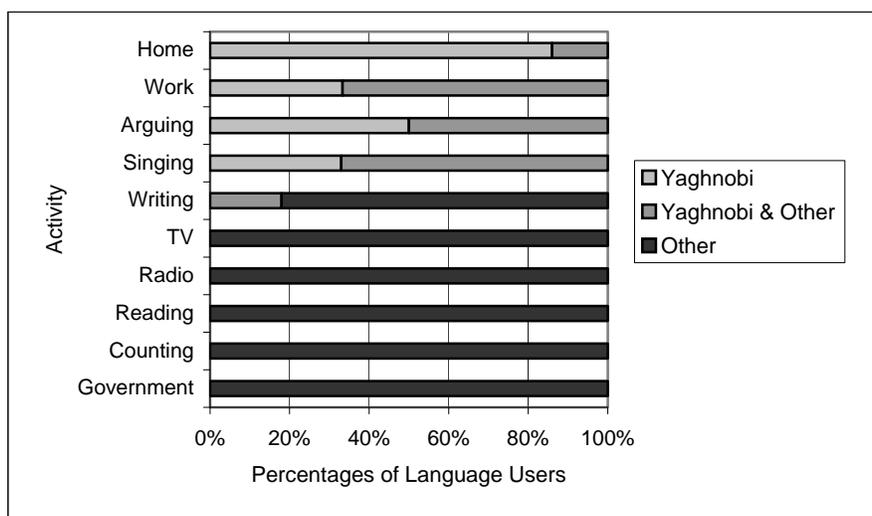
In the realms of education and work, however, contact was very high. All children were reported to have Tajik-speaking friends, made both in the street and at school (where Tajik is the sole medium of communication). Yaghnobi children claimed to use Tajik even outside class time. Good Tajik was also acknowledged to be crucial for finding work.

This suggests that individuals fall into one of two categories with regard to contact: those who stay at home and had low contact with Tajik speakers (including pre-school age children, the unemployed, women who worked in the home, and retired people), and those who attended school or worked outside the home and had high contact with Tajik speakers.

4.3.4. *Domains of Language Use*

Of the fourteen respondents to the language use questionnaire, all said they used Yaghnobi at home; two, additionally, use Tajik. The proportion of respondents who reported functioning in various domains in Yaghnobi, Yaghnobi and another language,¹¹ or entirely in another language, are shown in figure 4. ‘Government’ refers to interaction with government officials, such as police officers and clerks in government offices.

Figure 4: Language use in various domains



4.3.5. *Attitudes to Vernacular Literature*

Forms were completed with two groups of educated men.¹² Both groups reported that they and their families did not generally read books, and preferred to watch television (an option available to almost all households). Topics for television programs or videos which they would enjoy in the Yaghnobi language were all directly related to Yaghnobi culture: Yaghnobi cultural characteristics; moral behavior; and history.

4.4. *Dughoba*

The results of the demographic inventory conducted in Dughoba are shown in table 12. Information was collected on every member within the eighty-one family units, representing 361 individuals, which contain ethnically Yaghnobi members.

¹¹ The ‘other language’ reported was consistently Tajik, except for television (where Russian, Uzbek, and Tajik were equally represented) and radio (where Tajik dominated, but Uzbek was also used).

¹² See §2.4.2 for a description of the shorter form used in Zafarabad.

Table 12: Demographics of Yaghnobi families in Dughoba

		< 30	30–55	> 55	Not known	Total
Yaghnobi speaking families	Male	28	11	4	4	47
	Female	26	9	3	7	45
Tajik speaking families	Male	42	18	1	7	68
	Female	44	16	0	10	70
Yaghnobi/Tajik speaking families	Male	42	13	3	13	71
	Female	36	10	4	10	60
Totals	Male	112	42	8	24	186
	Female	106	35	7	27	175

Of the eighty-one families that contain ethnically Yaghnobi members, eighteen (22 percent) are Yaghnobi speaking, twenty-eight (35 percent) are Tajik speaking, and thirty-five (43 percent) are Yaghnobi/Tajik speaking.

Amongst the families where at least some Yaghnobi is spoken (the Yaghnobi and Yaghnobi/Tajik-speaking families), it is almost exclusively the younger generation who are now speaking Tajik, and the middle-aged and older generations who continue to speak Yaghnobi. More specifically, in 66 percent of them (35 of 53) the younger generation are now speaking Tajik in the home where their parents or grandparents speak or spoke Yaghnobi.

4.5. Summary of Results

A summary of the key findings made on the basis of data from the Yaghnob Valley, Zumand, and Zafarabad is given in table 13. In the case of these three areas, arguments for a strong sense of ethnic identity come from the numerous positive responses made about being Yaghnobi, the emphasis being that there are no negative things, except for the harshness of mountain living conditions, and the link many made between their identity and the Yaghnobi language. Variations in language proficiency are closely tied to contact with Tajik, with the result that levels of proficiency in Tajik are generally lower in the more isolated areas and amongst those (especially women) who travel less. And language shift is occurring to some extent in Dughoba, very little, if at all, in Zafarabad, and not at all in Zumand and the Valley (with the exception of one sub-community in Gharmen).

For completeness, we also note here that many Yaghnobi, especially men, are proficient to some degree in Russian. They learn a little Russian at school and then substantially more during occasional work trips to Russia. Overall levels of proficiency, however, are much lower in Russian than in Tajik.

Table 13: Summary of results for three key Yaghnobi population centres

	Yaghnob Valley	Zumand	Zafarabad
Ethnic Identity	Key factors in being Yaghnobi are the language and Soghdian heritage. All agreed that maintaining the language was extremely important; and many stated that speaking it was one of the best features of belonging to the people group. Being Yaghnobi was deemed “a good thing.”		
Mean Tajik Proficiency	Women: 2+ Men: 3+	Women: 2+ Men: 3+	Women 3–4; Men similar
Contact with Tajik	Medium to high in past; low now (especially for women).	Medium to high for men, mostly low for women.	Low for those who stay at home; high for workers and schoolchildren.
Domains of Use	Yaghnobi for all domains, except with Tajik guests and travel for work.	Tajik for most formal/official domains (e.g. education, media, ceremonies); Yaghnobi for informal ones (e.g. conversation with friends and family).	
Attitudes to Vernacular Literature	Most would buy books and attend literacy classes in Yaghnobi.	All would buy books and attend literacy classes in Yaghnobi.	Strong community preference for audio-visual media over books.

5. Discussion

In §3 we set out four key research expectations. The first three were that the Yaghnobi communities would exhibit a strong sense of ethnic identity, varying proficiency levels in Tajik, and that there would be a degree of language shift from Yaghnobi to Tajik in at least some communities. Our summary of results in the previous section has demonstrated that these expectations were fulfilled, the only surprise being that language shift is not more pronounced in areas with high contact with Tajik (especially Zafarabad). Levels of proficiency in Tajik are uniformly high in Dughoba and, partly because of the language shift in evidence there, Tajik may be used even in the sanctum of the home. Levels of proficiency in Tajik are not much less in Zafarabad, but language shift is occurring much more slowly. That is to say, although respondents reported that children today know better Tajik than their parents did at the same age, Yaghnobi is still consistently the language of the home, and identified by all children with two Yaghnobi-speaking parents as the language which they both speak and understand most easily. In Zumand, and then the Yaghnob Valley (which is both geographically and linguistically more remote still), on the other hand, the situation is very different from that in Dughoba: proficiency in Tajik is sporadic and Yaghnobi enjoys use in a larger number of domains.

The fourth expectation was that the variety of levels of proficiency and degree of language shift could be explained by a combination of the amount of contact with Tajik and the strength and nature of each community’s ethnic (and especially ethnolinguistic) identity. We also stated that one symptom of language shift is diglossia and that we could, hence, expect to see this occurring in some places.

The primary aims of this discussion section are twofold. The first, now that sufficient data is available, is to return to the ethnolinguistic vitality factors first listed in §2.1 and see what a thorough scrutiny of them reveals with regard to Yaghnobi. The other is to explain this state of affairs by exploring the nature of bilingualism and diglossia in these communities. It is hoped that such a discussion will be of some use in considering the future ethnolinguistic vitality of the Yaghnobi language in Tajikistan.

5.1. Factors Influencing Language Shift¹³

In this section, we explore eleven factors that have a bearing on ethnolinguistic vitality: demography, sociology, linguistics, psychology, history, politics, geography, education and literacy, religion, economics, and media. Most are examined both on the micro-level (that is, with respect to the language itself, or its speakers) and macro-level (that is, the broader setting within which the language and its speakers exist).

5.1.1. *Demography*

J. Grimes (1986) sets out a rough guide to the critical population size for a group, below which language shift is most likely to occur. His figures range from 30 for Australia to 10,000 for Africa; for Asia his figure is 3,000, well below the 13,000 or so mother-tongue Yaghnobi speakers in Tajikistan. In terms of distribution, it is significant that most of these speakers are concentrated in a relatively small number of communities, all within the west of the country and often making up the dominant group in their neighbourhood (see §2.2).

These micro-variables are positive indicators of vitality. With regard to a key demographic macro-variable, location on the urban-rural continuum, Landweer (2000) notes that proximity to urban centres can help to undermine the vitality of a minority language. In the situation under consideration here, the Yaghnobi in Zumann and the Yaghnob Valley have a high degree of isolation, as opposed to Zafarabad (an Asian version of suburbia) and Dughoba (served by a regular twenty minute bus service from the national capital of Dushanbe). Of course, this measure must take into account not only geographical proximity, but also the existence of transportation options and the extent to which people actually use them. The truth is that for the two more isolated groups the nearest public transport service is at least two hours' walk away and this is a strong disincentive to travel except out of strict necessity. So, here the vitality indicator divides the four communities.

5.1.2. *Sociology*

The key micro-variable here is how the language is being transmitted, and the answer is very positive: transmission is overwhelmingly by parents to children as the first language of both. Only in Dughoba are there numerous instances of Yaghnobi-speaking parents whose children consider Tajik their first language.

The situation is also positive on the macro-level, as schoolbooks are being produced to support Yaghnobi language classes taught in all four locations. They are mainly in Tajik but contain some Yaghnobi poems, stories and grammatical information. Recently, some other language materials have been printed, including Yaghnobi-Tajik and Yaghnobi-Persian dictionaries, and the publication of a collection of Yaghnobi texts for adult use is also planned.

The Yaghnobi language is respected by ethnic Tajiks, not least for its linguistic roots in Soghdian. This status is further enhanced by the language's documentation by foreign linguists—most notably, Khromov and Leshereva (1972) and Khromov (1976).

5.1.3. *Linguistics*

One key question here is how realistic it is in practice to expect the relevant community to acquire an LWC. In some cases, the LWC may be very different from their first language, and even the most motivated members of the community give up soon after beginning the attempt. For Yaghnobi engaged in learning Tajik, this is definitely not the case. Both languages are members of the Indo-Iranian family and have the same basic word order within the clause. Many simple domains, such as greeting rituals, are almost identical in both languages, and an enormous amount of Tajik vocabulary has entered Yaghnobi in the form of loanwords. Hence at the micro-level, this indicator increases the likelihood of language shift.

¹³ Although our main interest throughout this section is language shift, we do, of course, acknowledge that language and culture are inextricably intertwined. Recognition of this is a notable strength of the model we follow in this section.

Other factors here are the levels of in- and out-migration. These are reported to be low in all communities. The only significant source of in- or out-migration is through marriage,¹⁴ and the Yaghnobi manifest a strong preference for endogamy. In Zumand, a more isolated community, only two men out of ninety-eight families in the village have married non-Yaghnobi women; in Zafarabad, where Yaghnobi live amongst a Tajik majority, only nine men out of the seventy-seven families inventoried have married non-Yaghnobi women. Assuming these two locations are representative, this gives endogamy rates from 88 percent in a high-contact location to 98 percent in a low-contact location. This implies that at the macro-level, language shift is unlikely. This is illustrated by the fact that the two Tajik-speakers in Zumand have learned some Yaghnobi, rather than relying on those around them using Tajik.

5.1.4. Psychology

Communities made up primarily of individuals with dense, multiplex social networks¹⁵ are likely to maintain use of the vernacular for as long as their social networks remain stable (Schooling 1990). Contentment with existing social networks is generally high in the communities studied, although in Dughoba and Zafarabad the situation is not entirely clear-cut in that conflicting indicators were observed for the younger generation. While they reported feeling a strong sense of attachment to and pride in their identity as Yaghnobi, they manifested much greater willingness to socialize outside the group than do their seniors.

Paulston (1994:10ff) notes that there is frequently a difference in attitudes towards the local LWC between migrant communities who have migrated voluntarily and those who have been resettled by force. This helps to explain the difference in attitudes to Tajik between the Yaghnobi of Dughoba and those of Zafarabad. The majority of both populations migrated from the Yaghnob Valley. But in the former case most chose the location to which they moved, and did so largely of their own free will. The move to Zafarabad, on the other hand, was a traumatic and forced resettlement, as evidenced by the repeated attempts many made to return to the Valley throughout the 1970s.

We might conclude that, on balance, this indicator is positive toward language vitality: Yaghnobi tend to be ambivalent about Tajik, but strongly in favour both of using Yaghnobi and of perpetuating social networks which reinforce such use.

5.1.5. History

The socio-historical status of the Yaghnobi as the modern day descendants of the ancient Soghdians, masters of the north-eastern part of the Persian world in the 9th and 10th centuries AD, is a powerful source of self-esteem, giving them pride in their language and in their ethnic identity. In addition, Yaghnobi respondents repeatedly reported a perception that other ethnic groups in Tajikistan respected them for their socio-historical status, and that the wider world, in some way, owed them reparation for the difficulties they experienced during the 1970 resettlement. This factor is a strong positive indicator for vitality.

5.1.6. Politics

The country is host to a number of minority language groups, all of which enjoy the freedom to use their own language in the home. Yaghnobi is no exception: it has received official government recognition as a language that played a significant part in the history of the country, and Yaghnobi is represented on the Presidential Language Committee. It is also worth noting that Yaghnobi children have the same access to schooling as children in any other ethnic group, and that the government has permitted schools to offer Yaghnobi language classes for both them and Tajik children.

¹⁴ A number of young and middle-aged men in each major Yaghnobi population centre make occasional trips to Russia of six months to two years duration, in order to find work. However, these trips are almost always temporary and so cannot be described as emigration, although they may have a beneficial effect on Tajik proficiency. Also, although such men might build social relationships with Tajik co-workers while they are in Russia, these relationships are not reported to endure, for the most part, after the work trip is over.

¹⁵ Social networks are 'dense' when a high proportion of the contacts of any one individual are also in contact with each other. Networks are 'multiplex' when an individual relates to his contacts in more than one role, for example, as a workmate *and* as a neighbour, or as a classmate *and* as a relative.

Aside from the resettlement in 1970 and enforcement of this for a few years afterward, the government has not interfered in decisions as to where Yaghnobi choose to live. This can be seen in the large numbers who have moved to Dushanbe, and in the continued high homogeneity of the Yaghnob Valley and Zumand.

5.1.7. Geography

Grenoble and Whaley (1998) make no distinction between the micro- and macro-levels for this factor. We simply observe that the mountainous terrain and cold winter climate play a major role in the continued isolation of the Yaghnob Valley and Upper Varzob communities, as well as discouraging in-migration.

5.1.8. Education and Literacy

Reference to the teaching of Yaghnobi language and literature in some schools where the Yaghnobi population is concentrated, and to the presence of Yaghnobi teachers there, has already been made in §§2.3, 5.1.2 and 5.1.6. However, in all locations except the Valley, even these classes are conducted in Tajik, and the data collected showed that the effect of schooling on most children is to boost their Tajik proficiency levels considerably and to have no influence on their levels of proficiency in Yaghnobi.

As for the role of literacy, indicators are very mixed. Yaghnobi speakers who are literate in Tajik have no difficulty reading literature in Yaghnobi, and the literary dialect has a fairly high degree of standardization, thanks to recent linguistic work (§1.5). On the other hand, financial resources are not readily available to produce written materials and Yaghnobi do not currently perceive there to be any economic benefit from having literature in their language, though they are enthusiastic about it for cultural reasons.

5.1.9. Religion

The direction of this indicator is in a slightly negative direction. Yaghnobi follow the same essential religion as Tajiks (Sunni Islam), and make no strong associations between this and their language. In fact, the consensus is that the most appropriate language for religious literature is Tajik or Persian, not Yaghnobi, although respondents to the vernacular literacy questionnaire expressed some interest in having Koranic commentaries in Yaghnobi.

5.1.10. Economics

In economic terms, there is nothing in the data collected during our research to suggest that the economic situation of those Yaghnobi living in high-contact communities is any different from that of their Tajik neighbours. Inhabitants of the more isolated communities often farm on a subsistence basis, which gives them ready control over the basic levers of their local economy, but they must interact with Tajiks to trade any surplus they produce. This does not require them to have any higher a proficiency in Tajik than they already possess, nor has it so far been a major incentive for them to migrate to Tajik-speaking areas. Thus, we take this indicator to be relatively neutral.

5.1.11. Media

As a people group, the Yaghnobi enjoy a good representation in the media, sufficient to maintain awareness of their existence and historical significance by other groups. All broadcasting on radio and television is in Tajik (with some Russian), with the exception of songs and poems. In this domain Yaghnobi is quite regularly heard. This factor is unlikely to ever exercise a controlling influence on either micro- or macro-levels, but the influence that it does have has so far been in favour of the Yaghnobi language.

5.1.12. Summary of Language Shift Factors

The positive/negative influence of each factor discussed above is summarized in table 14, at micro- and macro-levels where appropriate. A '0' indicates the absence of relevant data or non-significance/neutrality of the variable; a '±' indicates mixed influence. Two points are noteworthy. The first is that the subsistence farming practices of most Yaghnobi, and the similar practices of the majority of their Tajik neighbours, nullify the impact of economic factors; few make any association between increasing their Tajik proficiency and the possibility of greater economic success. The second is that the presence of twelve positive factors and only three negative ones in the table tells its own story, especially given that of these three negatives, none seems particularly threatening. The current ethnolinguistic vitality of the Yaghnobi language seems strong.

Table 14: Influence of language shift factors at micro- and macro-levels

	Demography	Sociology	Linguistics	Psychology	History	Politics	Geography	Education and Literacy	Religion	Economics	Media
Micro	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	±	-	0	+
Macro	±	+	+	0	+	+	0	-	0	0	+

5.2. Bilingualism and Diglossia amongst the Yagnobi

Having explored the various factors which make up the vitality of Yagnobi, we turn now to an exploration of how this vitality may best be characterized and explained. Hopefully, this will help us understand why language shift is not occurring more rapidly.

An excessive focus on the practices of either the individual or the community at the expense of the other risks losing sight of the very data which has the power to unravel the otherwise impenetrable puzzle of why Yagnobi continues to be vital. One illustration of this is the distinction to be made between diglossia, a community-level phenomenon,¹⁶ and bilingualism, best considered at the level of the individual. Both exist in at least some Yagnobi locations, as we shall see below, and both provide extremely helpful insights into why Yagnobi remains so vital in most communities and is not giving way to Tajik in such key domains as the home.

Subsequent to Ferguson's (1959) presentation of 'classic diglossia',¹⁷ a term whose application he restricted to situations where both of the languages in question were genetically related, Fishman (1967) proposed broadening the term to ignore this restriction. We might then summarize the crucial ingredients necessary for diglossia as follows:¹⁸ Diglossia is the existence of two codes within a community's linguistic repertoire, one of which is acquired earlier and is used for more informal and intimate situations, the second of which is acquired later, more consciously, and is reserved for situations perceived as more formal and guarded. Typically, the first code is described as a 'low' language (L), the second as 'high' (H).

One part of Ferguson's original elucidation of the concept¹⁹ which remains relevant concerns the domains of use for H and L. Typically, H might be used for sermons, letters, speeches, university lectures, news broadcasts, newspaper editorials, and poetry; L for instructions to servants and tradesmen, conversations with family and friends, radio soap operas, captions in political cartoons, and folk literature. The results presented in §§4.2.4 and 4.3.4 show that this is just the kind of relationship that exists between Tajik and Yagnobi in Zafarabad and Zumand. So, we have seen that in the latter village, Tajik dominates in the realms of education, formal religious ceremonies, written literature and the media, while Yagnobi is generally used for socializing and for oral literature. This is a classic case of broad diglossia. In Dughoba and the Yagnob Valley, the situation is less clear-cut, but for different reasons. In Dughoba, those who have chosen to use Tajik in the home speak it across all domains, while those who still use Yagnobi in the home only, hear it in the home. In the Yagnob Valley, conversely, many of the H domains (including

¹⁶ One reason why we have to talk about diglossia in *community* terms is that the concept is fundamentally concerned with the social roles for which the relevant linguistic codes are employed. These roles only make sense in a community context.

¹⁷ "Diglossia is a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes, but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation." (Ferguson 1959: 336)

¹⁸ This wording borrows partly from Fasold (1984: 53).

¹⁹ Described in Kindell (1996).

television, education, and government interaction) do not occur in daily life, and so it is impossible to talk of language use in these domains.

It is important to recall, too, that Tajik proficiency across the various Yaghnobi communities is not uniform. In other words, there are different levels of bilingualism. In fact, broad diglossia is also sometimes termed ‘superposed bilingualism’ (Kindell 1996), not least because it is the collective effect of layers of bilingualism amongst a group of individuals who exist in community. Fishman’s presentation of (broad) diglossia included an investigation of how it connected with bilingualism; he concluded that all four possible combinations (both bilingualism and diglossia; one or the other; or none) were at least theoretically possible, and that the combination of both was the most common in multilingual societies. And this is what we find in, for example, Zafarabad and Zumand.

Romaine (1989) defines bilingualism as referring “to the knowledge and skills acquired by individuals which enable them to use a language other than their mother tongue;” in this case, Tajik. We would like to explain the considerable range of success in acquiring this knowledge and skill, as reflected in the varying levels of proficiency in Tajik (§4.5) both between and within our four key Yaghnobi communities.

The concept of ‘access’ offers one promising perspective: both access to Tajik, and access to societal roles. Diglossia (societal level) and bilingualism (individual level) occur together where 1) the society compartmentalizes the roles each language may have, that is, the domains in which each language may occur, and 2) individuals have different levels of access to ‘H-type’ domains.

‘Access to Tajik’ may also be termed ‘language contact’, by which we mean the opportunity to either speak or hear Tajik. This includes conversation with Tajik speakers and Tajik heard on the television and radio. The language use and contact results set out in §4 show that access to Tajik is much greater in Dughoba and Zafarabad than in the Valley and Zumand. In the first pair, Tajik speakers live in the community in large numbers, there are many travel options to reach Tajik-speaking areas where no Yaghnobi is spoken, and Tajik reaches directly into the home via television. In the Valley and Zumand, on the other hand, Tajik speakers are few and far between, travel options are very limited (extremely so in the winter months), and far fewer homes have television.

Moving to ‘access to roles,’ the question arises of how we can speak of diglossia (the existence of two linguistic codes across the community) in Zumand, when such a sizeable portion of that population has a low level of proficiency in Tajik. The answer is that the section of the population with low proficiency is the same section that does not function actively in the societal roles for which H is appropriate. The domains for which Tajik is used in Zumand are teaching, formal functions, relating to outsiders who visit (aid workers, researchers, government officials), and trade. The people who fill these roles and, therefore, need to be able to produce Tajik in these domains are traders, teachers, and leaders (plus, the latter’s wives), precisely those with high contact and corresponding high proficiency.

Russell (2000) uses a two-dimensional grid-group typology²⁰ to explain why patterns of language shift differ markedly in a set of locations where many of the external variables appear to be the same. The ‘group’ dichotomy reflects the degree of restriction the social environment places on *whom* a person relates to (high/low-group): in high-group locations, the social group has strong in/out boundaries, while in low-group locations, people build relationships that are instrumental in nature (that is, relating freely to people both inside and outside the group, according to their own needs). Not considering Dughoba, the other three key communities seem unambiguously high-group: there are strong in/out boundaries. Most lack both the opportunity and the willingness to enter into significant social relationships with ethnic Tajiks.

The ‘grid’ dichotomy is the degree to which the social environment restricts *how* individuals relate to people: in high-grid locations there are several layers of constraining role distinctions, while in low-grid locations people are known for who they are and their character. Yaghnobi communities seem to be high-grid: there are a number of role specializations and distinctions and these are directly reflected in Zafarabad and Zumand in terms of whether or not any given mature adult will have a high level of proficiency in Tajik.

²⁰ This typology was first proposed by Douglas (1982).

Two key implications of the high-group/high-grid configuration that Russell (2000) proposes are firstly, that group cohesiveness will be high, limiting the need and inclination typical individuals will feel to extend their social relationships beyond the community; and secondly, that the pressure to conform to group norms will also be high, rendering attempts to maintain high contact with Tajik speakers peculiar for individuals whose role in society does not call for this. Yaghnobi communities display both of these characteristics.

In this section, we have seen that the concepts of both bilingualism and diglossia are applicable across the major part of the Yaghnobi population. When the implications of these terms are teased out, the core issues are what kinds of access community members have to Tajik speakers and to the kind of roles that might require them to use Tajik. This is true, whether or not Yaghnobi community members relate to mother-tongue Tajik speakers.

5.3. Conclusion: Degrees of Homogeneity and Isolation

In this concluding section, we argue that the current ethnolinguistic vitality of Yaghnobi and its best hope for continued vitality, are anchored in the high degrees of 1) homogeneity and 2) isolation (either geographic or social) manifested by key communities.

In the search for overarching concepts that can be used to summarize the proliferation of factors that contribute to ethnolinguistic vitality, Lewis (2000) hypothesizes that:

In regards to the non-powerful language in any contact situation, a predominance of individuals with a strong solidarity orientation is more likely to reinforce ELI and language maintenance, while a predominance of individuals with a strong power orientation is likely to motivate language shift towards the language of power.

This view argues that in any community a unique combination of commonly held solidarity and power evaluations are made by a sufficient number of individuals that a societal effect can be recognized. In the case of Yaghnobi, solidarity might be rephrased as homogeneity and power as political and economic power. We have seen above that neither kind of power currently operate as a significant factor in the sociolinguistic realm, whereas homogeneity appears again and again in various guises in our list of factors above: demographics (concentrated settlements); sociology (unanimity in the language parents first teach their children); linguistics (high endogamy, low migration); psychology (dense, multiplex social networks); history (strong attachment to their single heritage); and the single religion with which Yaghnobi associate themselves.

We conclude that three of the key community areas are strongly oriented towards solidarity, and that these are the ones where the Yaghnobi language is least subject to shift, and most determinedly preserved in the home domain. This helps to explain why language maintenance is so strong even in a location such as Zafarabad, where contact with Tajik is extremely high.

With regard to isolation, Laponce (1987) observes that communities using less-widely-spoken languages are often geographically more peripheral than are racial or religious minorities; they are located at the frontiers.²¹ Furthermore, there is a correlation between such peripheral linguistic groups and bodily boundaries. There is a relation between mental health and the perception of bodily boundaries, where those in poor mental or physical health see the external boundaries of their bodies as badly defined, or as easily penetrable from outside. In the same way, we might legitimately expect that communities whose vital centres are sheltered behind rigid frontiers that are not easily penetrated feel more secure and better able to exercise self-regulation.

These ideas provide a system within which to classify the different Yaghnobi communities on which this study has focused. The majority of the country's Yaghnobi population was relocated to the national frontier in the early 1970s, in fact to an area which had previously been a part of Uzbekistan. Turning to the groups' external boundaries, in the Upper Varzob and the Yaghnob Valley, the mountainous terrain and the

²¹ Witness Latvians, Khirgiz, Lithuanians, Moldavians, Ukrainians, Georgians, Armenians, Kazakhs, Uzbeks and Tajiks in the USSR; or Azerbaijani, Kurds, Lurs, Bakhtiars, Arabs, Balochis and Turkomans in Iran.

groups' homogeneity provide strong and obvious physical boundaries. In Zafarabad, the boundaries are social rather than physical, but no less strong: Yaghnobi adults choose to socialize amongst their own, and have maintained a situation of stable diglossia despite forming only a small proportion of the local community. Only in Dughoba are the boundaries much more blurred; and it is here that language shift has been the most rapid.

In closing, we can see how the two preceding sections tie together: the use of Yaghnobi is maintained in key domains, and that of Tajik is limited to others, because the nature of the communities limits access to Tajik and to the roles which require its extended use. Meanwhile, this very community nature, which we characterized as high grid and high group, can be concisely explained as a function of the high degrees of homogeneity and isolation that these societies manifest. Close attention must be paid to the use of Yaghnobi and Tajik in key domains over the next few years to see how long this balance can be preserved.

Appendix: Community List for Yaghnobi

Geographic Locality		Community	Families	Population	
Yaghnob Valley	Upper	Padipast	2	21	
		* Piskon	11	60	
		* Gharmen-i Bolo	4	33	
		* Gharmen-i Poyon	2	18	
		* Sokan	1	4	
		* Qul	8	55	
	SUBTOTAL			28	191
	Lower	Tagechenor	4	23	
		Kashe	2	20	
		Pullarovut	1	12	
		* Nometkon	2	21	
		Vaghinzoi	3	15	
		* Marghtimain	2	12	
		* Bidev	4	20	
SUBTOTAL			19	131	
Yaghnob Valley Total				322	
Upper Varzob	* Zumand	98	655		
	Garob	15	110		
	* Safedorak	77	364		
	Chorbogh [†]	27	159		
Upper Varzob Total				1288	

* We visited this village.

[†] The population was extrapolated on the basis of the number of families.

Lower Varzob	Western	Kukteppa	20	110	
	Southern	* Dughoba ^{††}	81	361	
		Guraha [†]	20	138	
		Chaghatai [†]	35	242	
		Navobod	8	40	
	SUBTOTAL			144	781
	Gissar	Kombinat			25
		Chaghatai (Hisor)			40
		Bagarak			20
		Mavlonjari Bolo			60
		Shahrinav			15
		Kelatosh			15
		Tepai Samarqandi			30
Hoji Qataghan			15		
SUBTOTAL				220	
Lower Varzob Total				1111	
Zafarabad[‡]	Shahrak-i va Nomi Hatid Aliev		382	2161	
	Ravshan		755	2695	
	Shahraki Zafarobod		132	688	
	Mehnatobod		163	1005	
Zafarabad Total			1432	6549	
Southern Tajikistan		Isanboi	60	200	
		Sabzazar	30	100	
		Mis	60	200	
	Rudaki	Kurpai [†]	30	100	
		Chabalai [†]	34	100	
Dushanbe				3500	
GRAND TOTAL				13,470	

* We visited this village.

†† The figures for Dughoba include some Tajik-speaking Yaghnobi.

† The population was extrapolated on the basis of the number of families.

‡ Population figures for the Zafarabad region are for the four local administrative districts, not the individual villages.

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