

SOCIOLINGUISTIC SURVEY OF
NORTHERN PAKISTAN
VOLUME 4
PASHTO, WANECI, ORMURI

Sociolinguistic Survey of Northern Pakistan

- Volume 1 Languages of Kohistan
- Volume 2 Languages of Northern Areas
- Volume 3 Hindko and Gujari
- Volume 4 Pashto, Waneci, Ormuri
- Volume 5 Languages of Chitral

Series Editor

Clare F. O'Leary, Ph.D.

*Sociolinguistic Survey
of
Northern Pakistan
Volume 4*

*Pashto
Waneci
Ormuri*

Daniel G. Hallberg



*National Institute of
Pakistani Studies
Quaid-i-Azam University*



*Summer Institute
of
Linguistics*

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PREFACE

The northern area of Pakistan occupies a unique position on the cultural and historical map of the world. Its cultural diversity and ethnic richness make it one of the most fascinating areas for researchers and scholars. It is, however, its multi-lingual character that concerns the present study.

These five volumes of the Sociolinguistic Survey of Northern Pakistan are devoted to the study of its multi-lingual features. It is slightly more ambitious than the usual studies of this nature: it attempts to study the various languages and dialects of this area from a synchronic descriptive approach with regard to the issue of language versus dialect. In order to verify the diversity and similarity within these languages and dialects, linguistic and sociolinguistic data has been used to throw some light on the relative levels of diversity within and between the identified varieties. This has been done particularly in the cases of Gujari with Hazara Hindko, Indus and Swat varieties of Kohistani and Shina with its linguistic neighbours.

At a macro level, this work is definitely an improvement over Grierson's Linguistic Survey of India and the subsequent studies by various scholars. However, though ambitious in scope, the study does not claim to be exhaustive and comprehensive in every respect. The study also discusses the impact of external linguistic families on the linguistic evolution of this area. The unmistakable imprint of Tibeto-Burman languages, the Iranian languages, the Indo-European family and the Indo-Aryan family testify to the fact that the northern areas of Pakistan serve as a bridge between South Asia, Central Asia, China, and Iran.

Another dimension has also been added to the study of so many languages and dialects in close proximity: degree of proficiency in the neighbouring languages. This has been done through interviews, questionnaires, tests, and observations. The patterns associated with the proficiency of the neighbouring languages and the national language, Urdu, are treated in terms of inter-ethnic contacts, the regional dominance of certain linguistic groups, and the impact of education and media. It is

quite visible that the old generation of these linguistic groups did try to preserve the originality of their culture and civilization. But communication links and the availability of modern techniques and instruments have their own impact upon the people of these areas. The new generation of these areas, showing a trend towards advancement and modernization, may in the long run be affected, and the preservation of centuries old culture and civilizations can become a difficult task.

It is hoped that this survey will inspire some studies of this unique multi-linguistic region of the world. The scholars deserve congratulations for this painstaking work, which could not have been completed without requisite enthusiasm, expertise and skill. This study, of course, will open new avenues for future researchers. The important point to be kept in mind for future researchers is, however, to find ways and means of preserving this centuries old culture and civilization.

Work of such a magnitude is not possible without cooperation and devotion on the part of scholars and experts in this field. The National Institute of Pakistan Studies, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad acknowledges with gratitude the assistance and cooperation of many who helped the team to conduct this survey. The Institute acknowledges the commitment of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (the co-sponsors of this project), the Ministry of Culture — Government of Pakistan, and the National Institute of Folk Heritage for providing all sorts of help to complete this study. The Institute feels honored for having such association with these institutions as well as the scholars of repute who devoted their precious time and expertise in preparing this important study.

The National Institute of Pakistan Studies will feel happy in extending maximum cooperation to the scholars interested in exploring further studies in the field.

Dr. Ghulam Hyder Sindhi
Director
National Institute of Pakistan Studies
Quaid-i-Azam University
Islamabad, Pakistan

MAPS



MAP 1. Pakistan, showing inset for Map 2.



MAP 2. Western Pakistan: reference map for Pashto.

INTRODUCTION

Northern Pakistan is a land of geographic and ethnic diversity, one of the most multilingual places on the face of the earth. Spectacular mountain ranges and mighty rivers segment the area, providing natural barriers which often serve as isoglosses separating linguistic varieties. Centuries of people movements across this crossroad of South and Central Asia have left a complex pattern of languages and dialects, fertile ground for sociolinguistic investigation.

Twenty-five named languages from within northern Pakistan are dealt with in the volumes of the *Sociolinguistic Survey of Northern Pakistan*. Most languages of the region have been classified as part of the large Indo-Aryan (or Indic) family. Two of these have been called members of the "Central Group" according to the scheme established in Grierson's *Linguistic Survey of India*: Gujari, subgrouped with other Rajasthani languages, and Domaaki, not even mentioned by Grierson, but classified as Central by Fussman (1972) and Buddruss (1985). A third named language, Hindko, was originally included within the Northwestern Group of Indo-Aryan, among those varieties which were given the label "Lahnda" (LSI VIII.1). The various forms called Hindko have been particularly difficult to classify (Shackle 1979, 1980), showing a wide geographic range, much linguistic divergence, and some convergence with Panjabi, which has been classified in the Central Group.

The largest number of Indo-Aryan languages dealt with in these volumes belong to the Northwestern Group, Dardic branch: Shina, and its historical relations, Phalura and Ushojo; Indus Kohistani, and its smaller neighbors, Chillisso, Gowro, and, presumably, Bateri (which has not been classified); the Swat Kohistani varieties, Kalami and Torwali; the Chitral group of Khowar and Kalasha; and the Kunar group, including Dameli and Gawar-bati. The Nuristani branch accounts for some languages spoken on the northwestern frontier; within Pakistan that group is represented by Eastern Kativiri and Kamviri/Shekhani. This classification outline for members of the

Dardic and Nuristani branches is based on several scholarly contributions (Fussman 1972, Masica 1991, Morgenstierne 1932), but primarily follows Strand (1973).

There are also members of the larger Iranian family (classification following Payne 1987). Some come from the Southeastern Iranian group, the major example being Pashto, but also including the more divergent Waṇeci. Others are from the Southeastern Iranian Pamir subgroup: Wakhi and Yidgha. Ormuṛi has been classified as a Northwestern Iranian language but shows the influence of being surrounded by Pashto.

Finally, a few linguistic relics remain from outside the larger Indo-European family, notably the westernmost Tibeto-Burman language, Balti, and the isolate, Burushaski.

The distinction between *language* and *dialect* is always a fuzzy one, but particularly so in this part of the world. Scholars have long acknowledged the immense dialect continuum which characterizes the South Asian region, particularly among the Indo-Aryan varieties. The difficulties in drawing language distinctions are compounded by the terminological confusion found when local speakers use identical names to label their very different spoken varieties (e.g., Kohistani) or apply the name of a larger and more prestigious language to cover a very wide range of speech forms (e.g., Panjabi).

Rather than focussing on linguistic classification or on the historical relationships between languages, the Sociolinguistic Survey of Northern Pakistan has taken a synchronic descriptive approach to this issue of language versus dialect. Linguistic and sociolinguistic data to verify the diversity and similarity within the varieties have been collected for all twenty-five named languages. These data include a consistent 210-item word list from several locations within a language group. In addition, oral texts have been recorded and transcribed from many locations; often these texts have been used to assess the intelligibility of spoken forms among speakers of divergent dialectal varieties. Word list comparisons have been made across named languages in some cases (e.g., Gujari with Hazara Hindko, Indus and Swat varieties of Kohistani, Shina with its linguistic neighbors), to

give some perspective on the relative levels of diversity within and between named varieties. These comparisons of linguistic data are balanced by information gathered through interviews and orally-administered questionnaires regarding ethnic identification, dialect group contacts, and perceived linguistic similarity and difference. Although few sharp boundaries are evident, groupings of relatively similar varieties can be demonstrated according to the criteria of lexical similarity, indications of intelligibility, patterns of within-group contact, and dialect perceptions of the speakers themselves.

The investigation of local language names has provided a perspective on the linguistic identification of its speakers. Where it is possible to use the locally preferred name without ambiguity, those local names have been chosen to designate the linguistic varieties described in these volumes. Where further clarification is necessary, language names have included regional designations or have incorporated the labels given by previous scholars even though they were not found to be used by the speakers themselves.

In addition to questions of diversity within languages, there are higher levels of sociolinguistic variation which are evident in the prevalence of multilingualism throughout the area. In general, it seems that members of most language groups in northern Pakistan exhibit pragmatic attitudes toward adoption of languages of wider communication. With so many languages in close proximity, it is commonplace for persons to acquire one or more of their neighboring languages to some degree of proficiency. Some studies included tests of proficiency in the national language, Urdu, or in a regional language of wider communication such as Pashto or Hindko. Other reports have investigated reported proficiency and use of other languages through interviews, orally-administered questionnaires, and observation. The patterns associated with the use of other languages are related to such social phenomena as inter-ethnic contacts, the regional dominance of certain groups, and the promotion of Urdu through education and the media. A few language groups indicate signs of declining linguistic vitality and the preference for more dominant neighboring languages among

the younger generations within those groups (e.g., Domaaki, Chilisso, Gowro, Yidgha). But, for the present, most of the ethnic languages of northern Pakistan are well-maintained by their mother-tongue speakers as the most frequently used and apparently valued means of communication.

A major contribution of the Sociolinguistic Survey of Northern Pakistan is the collection of the standard 210-item word list; combining the lists from all twenty-five languages yields a sum of 127 regional speech forms represented. The phonetically transcribed lists for the reports covered in each volume are presented in the relevant appendices. Story texts for the languages represented are presented as well, with a rough word-for-word gloss and a free translation. In total, there are forty-nine transcribed texts in these volumes. This fieldwork has not undergone thorough grammatical and phonological analysis; it is included to support the conclusions presented in each report and as data for future scholarship.

In terms of methodology, this research makes a contribution as well. A multipronged approach was utilized in each study, combining some or all of the following: participant observation, interviews and orally-administered questionnaires, testing of second language proficiency, testing of comprehension of related varieties, and the comparison of word lists by a standardized method measuring phonetic similarity. Overall, the data show great internal consistency, with many types of self-reports from questionnaires and interviews corresponding well with more objective measures such as test results and lexical similarity counts.

Each report reflects a slightly different focus. Some emphasize interdialectal variation and intelligibility (e.g., Balti, Burushaski, Pashto, Shina, Wakhi); others include this focus, but concentrate more than the rest on assessing the proficiency and use of other languages (e.g., the reports on the languages of Indus and Swat Kohistan, Gujari, Hindko). The high concentration of languages in the Chitral region make multilingualism and ethnolinguistic vitality a primary concern in that volume. Issues of declining vitality are of critical concern for

Domaaki. One language included in this research has not been previously described or reported: Ushojo, a variant of Shina located in the Chail Valley of Swat District.

It has been a privilege to work with representatives of each of these ethnolinguistic groups in carrying out this survey research. These volumes are offered in the hope that they will provide a holistic overview of the sociolinguistic situation in northern Pakistan and will stimulate further such work in the years to come.

Clare F. O'Leary
Series Editor

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Clare F. O'Leary

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Daniel G. Hallberg

July 1992

CHAPTER 1

PASHTO: A SOCIOLINGUISTIC AND DIALECT STUDY

1. FRAMEWORK AND PURPOSE

Data for the Pashto¹ project was collected over a period of about two and a half years from 1988 through 1990. Pashto word lists were collected from thirty-three scattered locations in Pakistan and two locations in Afghanistan. The major focus of this study was Pakistan. In addition, a Waḡeci word list was collected from the Harnai area near Quetta as well as an Ormuṛi word list from the Kaniguram area in South Waziristan. All of these lists were compared with each other in order to obtain a lexical similarity count between each location. Recorded text testing was also carried out between two locations, Peshawar and Quetta, in order to measure levels of comprehension between these two areas. In addition, questionnaires/interview schedules were administered to nearly 140 participants from widely scattered locations within Pashtoon territory. One of the main purposes of this study was to explore the questions of how many Pashto dialect groupings there really are today, and what the criteria are for defining those groupings. A second, and equally important, purpose for this study was to probe the areas of dialect opinion, language use, language attitudes, language vitality, and reported bilingualism within the Pashtoon community.

¹ Generally the spelling *Pashto* [pašto] can be thought of as reflecting the *soft* pronunciation of this language name. It is, however, a widely recognized pronunciation both in the literature and throughout Pashtoon territories. The *hard* pronunciation might be reflected in the spelling *Pakhto* [paxto]. In this document, the spelling *Pashto* is used throughout for uniformity of reference; when the spelling *Pashto* is used it is not necessarily meant to refer to the *soft* pronunciation.

2. GENERAL BACKGROUND

2.1 Pashto Language Classification

Pashto has been classified as an Eastern Iranian language which, according to MacKenzie, came out of the Aryan family of languages that “divided into its distinct Indian and Iranian branches more than three millennia ago” (1969:450). Grierson describes what may have happened after this division:

The Eranian and the Indo-Aryan language each developed on its own line. In the earliest stages of their separate growth they were very similar ...

We have divided the Eranian languages into two groups,— ‘Persic’ and ‘Non-Persic.’ ... The Non-Persic dialects are often classed together under the term ‘Medic,’ a convenient, but inaccurate name. They were spoken in widely separate parts of Eran ... In the presence of literary and official Persian, ‘Medic,’ as a literary language died a natural death, and survived only in local dialects of which we have no mediæval literary records.

In course of time, these ‘Medic’ dialects developed into independent languages, some of which form the subject of the present volume. These are the Ghalchah languages of the Pamirs, Pashto, Ormuṛi, and Balochi ... all those dealt with in the present volume, are spoken in the eastern part of the ancient Eran, they can, for the purposes of this Survey, be conveniently classed together under the name of the ‘Eastern Group’ of the Eranian languages (Grierson 1921:2-3).

2.2 The Geographic Boundaries of Pashtoon Territory

As might be expected, setting precise geographic boundaries within which Pashto is spoken is not an easy task. Some scholars have, however, made an attempt to describe generally where these boundaries lie. Although a bit outdated in terms of naming

political affiliations, the general description of the boundaries of Pashtoon territory given by Grierson seem basically true today:

Pashto is the language of the greater part of Afghanistan. In the North-Western Frontier Province and the adjoining sphere of British influence, i.e. in what we may call British Afghanistan, it is spoken in the Districts of Peshawar, Hazara, Bannu, Kohat, and Dera Ismail Khan, and in the region between them and the Afghan frontier. It is, moreover, the language of the independent Yusufzai country which may conveniently be called the Yaghistan, situated to the north of these British districts, and including the countries of Swat, Buner, and Bajaur. The tract composed of these three countries, — the Afghan portion of Afghanistan, the British district above mentioned, and the Yaghistan — is known as the Roh, that is to say, the Hill Country. The Roh is defined by the historian Firishta as the country extending, from north to south, from Swat and Bajaur to Siwi and Bhakar, and from east to west, from Hasan Abdul to Kabul. It includes Kandahar.

In British territory the eastern boundary of Pashto may be roughly taken as coinciding with the course of the Indus, although there are Pashto-speaking colonies in the Hazara and Attock Districts on the Indian side of the river. After entering the district of Dera Ismail Khan the eastern boundary gradually slopes away from the Indus, leaving the lower parts of the valley in possession of Lahnda, and some thirty miles south of the town of Chaudhwan it meets Balochi. The southern boundary passes south of Quetta and through Shorawak, till it is stopped by the desert of Baluchistan.

... Taking up the southern boundary of Pashto where we left it, after passing through Shorawak, in the desert of Baluchistan, we find that it follows the eastern and northern limits of that desert, with extensive colonies down the rivers which run south through the waste, to nearly the sixty-first degree of east longitude.

It then turns northwards up to about fifty miles south of Herat, where it reaches its limit to the north-west. From here the northern boundary runs nearly due east to the Hazara country, in which tract the majority of the inhabitants do not employ Pashto but speak either Persian or a language of Mongolian origin. Skirting the west, south, and east of the Hazara country, and just avoiding the town of Ghazni, it thence runs northwards to the Hindukush. Thence leaving Laghman and Kafiristan to its east and north, the boundary roughly follows the Kabul river down to Jalalabad, whence it runs up the Kunar so as to include the Yaghistan as already explained. Speaking roughly, we may sum up the above irregularly shaped block of Pashto-speaking territory as including Southern and Eastern Afghanistan, the country to the west of the Indus in British territory, from its southward bend to Dera Ismail Khan, and a strip of Northern Baluchistan (1921:5-6).

A more recent accounting by Penzl is much the same:

In Pakistan Pashto is spoken in the Northwest Frontier Province in the districts of Peshawar, Hazara [Pakistan], Kohat, Bannu, Dera Ismail Khan, also in the territories of Swat, Buner, and Bajaur. It is also spoken in northeastern Baluchistan in the Quetta-Pishin, the Loralai, Zhob, and Sibi areas; in the Punjab it is still spoken in the border areas of Mianwali and Attock. The whole tribal area between Pakistan and Afghanistan is Pashto-speaking.

In Afghanistan the Pashto-speaking area is in the East, the South, and the Southwest. Pashto is spoken in the entire Eastern [mashreqi] Province, which has Jelalabad [Dzhelaalaabaad] as its capital; in the southern [szhinubi] administrative province with Gardez [Gardeez] as the principal city; in the southern and central parts of the province of Kabul outside of the Hazara [Afghanistan] territory; in the entire province of

Kandahar [Qandahaar]; and in most of the administrative province of Farah (1955:1-2).

2.3 Population Estimates

Totally accurate population figures for Pashto are hard to obtain. Concerning the 1981 census of Pakistan, Kluck says:

As with all previous censuses and enumerations, these were estimates. Questions related to a man's sisters, wives, mothers, or daughters are the subject of great sensitivity. Even questions about the number of women in a household are, in the Pakhtun view, an invasion of privacy ... The tendency is for respondents to overstate the number of men in a household ... and undercount the number of women (1984:85).

In spite of this uncertainty about exact figures, one can say with confidence that there are vast numbers of speakers of Pashto in both Pakistan and Afghanistan. Official 1981 total population census figures for the Northwest Frontier Province (NWFP) were 11,061,328. For Baluchistan the total population recorded was 4,332,376 (The Europa World Year Book 1990, 2.1995). To get a better idea of what percentage of this total population might be Pashto speaking, reference can be made to figures reported by Kluck:

The 1981 census enumerates 10.9 million residents — all but 20 or 30 percent Pakhtuns — in the NWFP. There were, in addition, some 2.8 million officially registered Afghan refugees who were overwhelmingly Pakhtun (1984:85).

Comments by Penzl on the 1951 census estimate the total population of Pashto-speakers for both Pakistan and Afghanistan at around 13 million speakers, but again there is recognition of possible inaccuracy in Penzl's statement, "No regular detailed census has been undertaken in Afghanistan. The official estimates all appear high" (1955:3).

With respect to the Pashto-speaking population in Baluchistan, no current figures were obtainable at the time of this writing. However, overall estimates of the total population of Baluchistan in 1981 (4,332,376 people) indicate that the population is considerably smaller than that of the NWFP. A rough estimate may be somewhere between 1,000,000 and 1,500,000 Baluchistan Pashto speakers. If this estimate is at all accurate, it can be said that a relatively small percentage of the total Pashtoon population lives in Baluchistan.

2.4 Education in Pakistan

In general the state of education in Pakistan can best be summed up by a few comments taken from Kluck:

Attendance rates for the school-age population remained low and drop-out rates high. The 1981 census counted less than one quarter of those over 10 years of age as literate; the rate fell to 14 percent for women, 15 percent of the rural populace, and a scant 5.5 percent of rural women ...

Despite substantial growth, female enrollment remained low; in 1982-83 their portion of estimated enrollment was some 28 percent, 30 percent of the primary students. Female enrollments were up from a low of 14 percent in 1947; in the 1960s and 1970s alone they had gained 10 percentage points ...

A variety of problems have dogged the expansion of educational opportunities. Roughly half of primary-school-age children were enrolled in 1982-83. Rates of absenteeism, among students and teachers alike, were high. In the early 1980s half of all students dropped out before finishing the fifth year of their schooling. Drop-out rates for girls in primary school were extremely high. Only two-thirds of girls entering first grade continued on to second, only one in 10 continued through the tenth grade (1984:125-6).

On a more positive note, however, this same source says:

The number of schools grew dramatically, nearly tripling from 1960 through the early 1980s. Unlike the increase in enrollments, the growth in schools was spread relatively evenly among primary, middle, and advanced schools (Kluck 1984:126).

One further point addressed by Kluck is:

The language of instruction, according to 1979 and 1983 decrees, is Urdu. Implementation of instruction in Urdu has been hampered by a lack of adequately trained teachers. Instruction in the private schools frequented by the elite and aspiring middle class remains, de facto, English (1984:125).

One implication that can be drawn from this information is that since the school setting is one of the primary domains where Urdu is learned, and since a relatively small percentage of the total population of Pakistan has had opportunity to attend school to any great degree, there is a large percentage of that total population which has low proficiency in Urdu. This is most poignant amongst the women who appear to have the least opportunities. (This fact is supported by questionnaire responses gathered from Pashtoon participants in the course of this present study.) There is little doubt that the statements above describe the general state of affairs amongst the Pashtoon community as well.

2.5 Comments on the Pashto Alphabet as Expressed in the Literature

Unlike many of the smaller languages in Pakistan, Pashto has had a fairly long literary tradition. Part of this tradition has entailed the development of and subsequent discussion of issues surrounding the Pashto alphabet and the symbols which represent it. Penzl reports, "The Arabic alphabet, usually in the Nashk form, is universally used in Afghanistan for both Persian and Pashto" (1955:5). This would also appear to be true in Pakistan.

A number of authors have made comments about the origin of the Pashto alphabet — speculating on how this written standard, if a standard really exists, came to be. Penzl writes:

The correlation between the Kandahar phonemic pattern and the graphic pattern of the special Pashto symbols of the Arabic alphabet is so close that we must assume that these symbols were created in the area of the Kandahar dialect. Kandahar appears to be the cradle of the Pashto alphabet (1955:10).

In contrast to this point of view, Morgenstierne says:

When the orthography of Psht. was fixed in the 16th century, the distinction between š, ž and x, g seems still to have been preserved even among the north-eastern tribes, who were probably the creators of Psht. literature (1932:17).

Concerning this controversy, MacKenzie says in his 1959 article, *A Standard Pashto*:

It would be rash to decide this question on orthographic evidence alone, but there is this to be said in support of the 'northeastern' hypothesis. An earlier orthographic tradition than that now prevailing once existed ... (1959:233).

Whatever the actual case may be, it does appear that there is a standard written form of sorts in existence today which serves to somewhat overshadow the differences that exist between some of the various dialects mentioned in the literature. This was also the opinion of scholars encountered in this present study who said that the writing system is the same all over, but the verbal pronunciation of words varies in different Pashtoon areas. MacKenzie writes:

The criteria of dialect differentiation in Pashto are primarily phonological. With the use of an alphabet which disguises these phonological differences the language has, therefore, been a literary vehicle, widely understood, for at least four centuries. This literary

language has long been referred to in the west as ‘common’ or ‘standard’ Pashto without, seemingly any real attempt to define it (1959:231).

In his 1959 article entitled *Standard Pashto and the Dialects of Pashto*, Penzl writes:

The standard Pashto orthography follows the phonemic distinctions as found in the Kandahar dialect. Even the speakers of dialects where the number [of] phonemes differs from the Kandahar dialect use this standard orthography when they write. Even in their dialect, e.g., as in Peshawar, zz [ž] has coalesced with g, ss [š] with kh, dz with z, ts with s, they accept the Kandahar orthography as standard and try to make its phonemic distinctions in writing ... (1959:12).

Current efforts to clarify the orthographic conventions further support the idea that there is a standard writing system of sorts. Even today the Pashtoon community as a whole, at least on the academic level, is concerned about further developing a written form of Pashto which is more standardized than in the past. This is evident in the fact that in July of 1990 a symposium on Pashto script was held by the Pashto Academy, University of Peshawar; participants in this symposium sought to arrive at a consensus on some points of controversy concerning differing forms of written Pashto. Scholars and interested people from all segments of Pashtoon society and a wide range of Pashtoon locations participated in the symposium.

3. DIALECTS OF PASHTO

3.1 Pashto Dialect Groupings as Expressed in Existing Literature

A number of sources discuss various dialect divisions within the Pashto language. One distinction which is almost universally mentioned in these sources is the distinction between *hard* and *soft* Pashto. Speakers of hard Pashto can be defined basically as

those who pronounce the letter **ښ** as [x] while speakers of soft Pashto, in contrast, pronounce this same letter as [š]. On this topic Grierson says:

Over the whole area in which it is spoken, the language is essentially the same. This will to some extent be evident from the specimens which follow ... Such as they are they show that, while, as we go from tribe to tribe there are slight differences in pronunciation and grammar, the specimens are all written in various forms of what is one and the same language. Two main dialects are, however, recognised, that of the north-east, and that of the south-west. They mainly differ in pronunciation. The Afghans of the North-east pronounce the letter **ښ** *kḥ* and letter **ك** *g*, while those of the South-west pronounce them *ṣḥ* and *zḥ*, respectively (1921:7).

Another statement determines where Grierson thought these two varieties to be spoken:

The North-Eastern dialect is spoken in the district of Hazara, and over the greater part of the districts of Peshawar and Kohat, but in the two latter the members of the Khatak tribe use the South-Western dialect. In the districts of Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan the South-Western dialect is universal (1921:10).

In yet another statement, when speaking about South-Western Pashto speakers besides the Khataks, Grierson says:

Other speakers of the South-Western dialect are the remaining Pathan tribes of Bannu, among whom the principal are Marwats, the Nyazais, the Bannuchis, and the Wazirs (Grierson 1921:69).

Many other writers have also pointed out this major two-part division between Pashto varieties, but in later writings a finer distinction based on pronunciation is delineated. One such writer is D.N. MacKenzie, who, in his 1959 article entitled *A Standard Pashto*, distinguishes four dialect areas based on five different phonemes. These are: South-west (Kandahar), South-

east (Quetta), North-west (Central Ghilzai), and North-east (Yusufzai). He summarizes the distinctions as presented in (1) (1959:232).²

(1)

	SW (Kandahar)	SE (Quetta)	NW (Central Ghilzai)	NE (Yusufzai)
1.	c [ts]	c	(s)	(s)
2.	j [dz]	j	(z)	(z)
3.	ž [ʒ]	ž	ž	(j)
4.	z [z]	(ž)	ǰ [j]	(g)
5.	š [ʃ]	(š)	ǰ [ç]	(x)

Other writers, Henderson (1983) and Skjærvø (1989), also discuss this basic four-part division of Pashto dialects. Penzl, who divides Afghanistan into the “Eastern” and “Kandahar” varieties, describes a basic three-part division, leaving out any distinction between the dialects of Kandahar and Quetta (1955:8-9).

Although a four-part distinction is helpful for marking out major divisions of Pashto, it is apparent from the literature that this alone does not serve to capture all of the important distinctions. Perhaps the most clear case of this has to do with the variety of Pashto that is spoken in Waziristan. This variety has been singled out by some scholars as being very different from the varieties of Pashto spoken in the north. In reference to J.G. Lorimer’s 1902 work entitled *Grammar and Vocabulary of Waziri Pashto*, Penzl says:

² Symbols in brackets present an alternate phonetic writing system. MacKenzie has also placed some phonetic symbols in parentheses. He says these symbols reflect the fact that “moving away from the south-western dialect, there is a steady depletion in the inventory of consonant phonemes, owing to coincidence with existing phonemes (in parentheses)” (1959:232).

J.G. Lorimer was prompted to write his *Grammar and Vocabulary of Waziri Pashto* (1902), because he felt that nobody who spoke only the dialect of Peshawar could make himself understood in Waziristan (1955:7).

This is further underscored by information about the Pashtoon tribes of Waziristan that J. G. Lorimer related to Grierson:

The dialects spoken by those tribes do not vary greatly from one another, but differ considerably in accent, vocabulary, and even idiom, from the dialects spoken by the Pathans on the Kohat and Peshawar Frontiers, indeed an untraveled Northern Pathan and an untraveled Waziri meeting for the first time are scarcely intelligible to each other, and are certain to misunderstand one another to some extent. Each, however, rapidly becomes able to understand the other's language, but I know of no instance of a northern Pathan who has learned to speak Waziri Pashto (J. G. Lorimer cited in Grierson 1921:96).

The apparent uniqueness of Waziri Pashto, as described by certain authors, can also be seen in some of the particulars of the grammar and phonology. For example, Skjærvø in his article entitled *Pashto* presents one conjugation of the verb "to be" and gives one single listing of verbal endings, both past and present, for what he calls *standard* Pashto, which looks to include at least the somewhat recognized standard Pashto varieties of Kandahar and Peshawar (Yusufzai). For Waziri, however, he gives a separate conjugation and list of verbal endings which when examined seems to differ considerably from that of *standard* Pashto. Although this is but one small example of the unique nature of the Waziri variety of Pashto, it may be an indicator of the overall uniqueness of this variety.

On the matter of Waziri phonology, several scholars point out some of the particular unique vowel shifts that seem to express themselves most uniquely in this variety of Pashto. Morgenstierne says:

In the east central dialects, from Afridi to Waziri there is a tendency towards a change of the vowel system. In those Waziri and Bannu dialects where this tendency is carried through most radically, we find \bar{o} , \bar{e} , \bar{i} for ordinary Psht. \bar{a} , \bar{o} , \bar{u} , and frequently \bar{a} or \bar{e} for a (1932:18).

In section 3.2 below, word list data collected for this present study is presented. Lexical and phonological information gathered and discussed in that section will serve as a further indicator of the uniqueness of Waziri.

In addition to the unique qualities found in Waziri, it also seems that other Pashto varieties exhibit qualities that are not specifically revealed by the simple four-part division mentioned above. Morgenstierne says:

... the dialectal variety of Psht. [Pashto] is far greater than that of Bal.[uchi]. And among the Afghans, the nomadic Ghilzais and the comparatively recent invaders of Peshawar, Swat, etc. show the least amount of dialectal variation, while the central part of Pashto speaking territory is the one which is most split up into different dialects (1932:17).

Following this statement in his *Report on a Linguistic Mission to North-Western India*, Morgenstierne then goes on to spell out specifically some of the peculiarities of the varieties of central-area Pashto.

Likewise, concerning the varieties of Pashto spoken in the province of Baluchistan, earlier in the same volume, Morgenstierne says:

The most important Pathan tribes of the province are the Kakars and Spin (White), and Tor (Black) Tarins ...

Common to both Kakari and Tarin (and also to some Ghilzai dialects such as Pur Khel) is the tendency towards depalatalization of common Psht. (1932:11).

Despite these differences, however, Morgenstierne also says:

On the whole the differences existing between these southernmost dialects of Psht. [Pashto] are not very deepgoing, and do not affect essential parts of the phonological or morphological system of the language. But still the Psht. dialects of Balochistan present several archaic or otherwise interesting forms, some of which have been mentioned in an article in the NTS [Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap] (1932:11-2).

3.2 Word List Findings

In this present study, comparison of Pashto word lists collected in thirty-four different locations indicates that there are at least three clearly identifiable groups of Pashto varieties in Pakistan and perhaps a fourth less distinct grouping as well. These four will be described below. In addition, there is a language variety called Waṇeci which is spoken in Baluchistan, near Quetta, which appears to be set off by itself — because of the uniqueness of Waṇeci, it will be dealt with separately in chapter 2. (See appendix B for a complete display of the word lists collected from thirty-four locations.³)

Percentages of lexical similarity between each pair of locations are displayed in figure (2). The method used for establishing similarity, based on shared phonetic features between lexical items, is described in appendix A.1.

³ It should be noted that in the Pashto word lists and texts which appear in appendices A and B, the symbols Λ and ə do not represent distinctive phonemes. Also, no attempt was made to differentiate between an unstressed a and either Λ or ə . This position concerning Pashto is supported by Skjærnvø who says, “The opposition between /a/ and /ə/ is neutralized in unstressed position...other unstressed vowels as well may be realized as [ə]” (1989:388).

3.2.1 Northern Group

The first group might be called the Northern group. (Others have referred to it as Eastern or Northeastern Pashto.) This group includes the word list locations of Peshawar and Charsadda in District Peshawar, Mardan and Swabi in District Mardan, Madyan and Mingora in District Swat, Batagram, Baffa, and Oghi in District Mansehra, and Dir in District Dir. With only a few exceptions, all of the similarity counts between these locations were 90 percent or above. In addition, within this larger Northern group there were sub-areas of greater similarity. For example, Madyan and Mingora, in District Swat, have 99 percent lexical similarity; Batagram, Baffa, and Oghi share 99 to 100 percent lexical similarity; and Peshawar and Charsadda are 97 percent similar.

In contrast, similarity percentages between Northern locations (including tribal locations) and nearly all of the Southern-group localities (see 3.2.2 below) were in the 70s or low 80s. Many percentages between the two major groups were in the 70s.

It should also be noted that although the locations of Cherat and Jallozai might be thought of as being *soft* varieties of Pashto, and thus more akin to some of the southern varieties of *soft* Pashto, word list counts clearly indicate that in most cases both of these locations share greater than 90 percent lexical similarity with all other Northern locations. In contrast, these two locations generally have similarity percentages in the low 80s with *soft* Pashto varieties farther to the south (i.e., Waziristan, Bannu, Quetta, etc.) This would seem to make Cherat and Jallozai more a part of this Northern Pashto group than any other.

Word lists were also collected from nine northern tribes or northern tribal localities. These nine were: Bajaur, Mohmand, Shinwari, Bar Shilman, Mallagori, Zaxa Khel (Afridi), Jamrud (Afridi), Tirah (Afridi), and one from Ningrahar (in Afghanistan). When comparing these nine word lists with word lists taken from the settled area locations mentioned above, word list similarity counts were, for the most part, 88 percent or above.

The two exceptions were Zaxa Khel Afridi and Tirah Afridi, which had similarity counts in the low 80 percent category with settled area locations. From this, it might be concluded that the northern tribal varieties of Pashto can basically be included in the larger Northern Pashto group as well. It should be noted, however, that there are varying degrees of similarity within this larger group, and some tribal varieties are a bit more divergent.

There is at least one sub-grouping amongst the tribal localities which should be mentioned. This sub-group might be called the Afridi sub-group. Represented in this study are three Afridi Pashto word lists: Zaxa Khel Afridi, Jamrud Afridi, and Tirah Afridi. Similarity counts between these three were all 90 percent or above, while similarity counts between these three and other tribal locations were generally at least a few percentage points lower.

3.2.2 Southern Group / Baluchistan Group

The second distinct grouping of Pashto locations might be called the Baluchistan group. Others have referred to this as Southern Pashto. Word lists were collected from four locations in Baluchistan as well as one from Kandahar in Afghanistan. The four Baluchistan locations were: Quetta, Pishin, Chaman, and Pishin Kakari. All of these four have lexical similarity counts of 90 percent or above. With the exception of the comparison between Chaman and Pishin Kakari, all, in fact, have similarity counts of 95 percent or above. Kandahar in Afghanistan also has a high degree of similarity with the four Baluchistan locations, with similarity counts of 96 percent or above with all except the comparison between Kandahar and Pishin Kakari, which was 92 percent.

It should also be noted here that the similarity counts between the Baluchistan locations and all other locations were, in most cases, below 80 percent. Looking specifically at Northern locations, as compared with Baluchistan, about half of the similarity percentages were below 80 percent while the other half were either 80 percent, or in the very low 80s. In particular, it should be noted that no greater than 72 percent similarity was

calculated between any Baluchistan location and Wana (South Waziristan).

3.2.3 Central Group / Waziristan and Southern N.W.F.P.

A third distinct Pashto location is South Waziristan (Wana word list collection site). Pashto is spoken quite differently there from almost any other place in Pashtoon territory (at least in Pakistan). No Pashto word list has better than 77 percent similarity with Wana (South Waziristan) except for the localities of Miran Shah, Karak, Lakki Marwat, and Bannu, which are all in the same general area as South Waziristan.

Looking specifically at the comparison between Wana and all Peshawar-area and northern tribal locations, it is seen that the highest percentage of similarity is 77 percent, between Wana and Tirah Afridi. Most Northern locations have similarity counts with Wana that are 70 percent or below. Also, as mentioned above, there is no greater than 72 percent similarity between Wana and any of the Baluchistan locations.

Although South Waziristan could be thought of as a Pashto variety set apart by itself, based on relative similarity counts, it might be grouped with North Waziristan (Miran Shah) and perhaps more loosely with other southern settled localities in the N.W.F.P. such as Karak⁴, Lakki Marwat, and Bannu. With only one exception (80 percent between Wana and Bannu), all of these five locations share greater than 80 percent lexical similarity amongst themselves, whereas most similarity counts between this five-location group and other locations are lower. However, if Wana is not considered a part of this lower tribal/Southern N.W.F.P. group, then with only one exception,⁵ all other similarity counts are 86 percent or above.

⁴ It should be recognized that Karak groups rather loosely with this Central Pashto group since it also has a relatively high degree of shared similarity with some word list data collection sites which do not fit well into this group as a whole. For example, the similarity percentage between Karak and Thal is 89 percent. This is not surprising since Thal is relatively close to Karak District.

⁵ The similarity count between Lakki Marwat and Bannu was 83 percent.

The conclusion that might be drawn about this Central Pashto group is that it is a much looser clustering than either the Northern group or the Baluchistan group. Generally there is a higher degree of similarity amongst these five locations than there is between these five and other locations. This higher degree of lexical similarity is, however, not as high as in the other two more distinct groupings previously mentioned (i.e., Northern Group and Baluchistan Group). It is also important to note that South Waziristan could be viewed as a variety of Pashto apart from any other. It does share 87 percent similarity with North Waziristan, but with every other location in the Central group of five, the similarity count is 80 to 82 percent. Many similarity counts between Wana and locations outside of the Central group were 70 percent or below. These results support the distinctive nature of Waziri (especially that of South Waziristan) as was discussed in section 3.1 above.

3.2.4 Middle Settled Area / Middle Tribal Group

A fourth, less distinct, Pashto grouping can also be identified based on word list comparisons. This group might be called the Middle Tribal or Middle Settled Area group. Locations included in this study were Hangu and Thal in District Kohat and Parachinar in the Kurram Tribal Agency. All three locations have similarity counts of 85 percent or above amongst themselves, whereas the majority of lexical similarity counts between these three and all other locations were 80 percent or below.

Although some higher degree of similarity is shown amongst these three locations, there is also a high degree of similarity between some of them and certain northern tribal locations. For example, the similarity percentages between Parachinar and Jamrud Afridi and Parachinar and Shinwari Pashto were both 88 percent. Other comparisons were generally not as high, but this helps to demonstrate that this “Middle Tribal group” is a much looser group than either the Northern group or the Baluchistan group, if in fact it should be classified as a group at all.

3.3 Comprehension of Recorded Speech

In addition to the comparison of word lists, some actual comprehension testing was conducted by means of recorded text tests. (See appendix A.2 for a description of recorded text test methodology.) Because of time constraints, research was limited to testing between two sites, Peshawar and Quetta. The results of this testing shed some helpful light on just how well speakers from these two distant groups understand each other.

In this study two Peshawar stories were prepared for testing, the ‘Electrocution’ story and the ‘Auto Accident’ story. (See appendix C for a transcription and translation of these stories.) Both were hometown tested in Peshawar, and as a result, two or three problem questions were removed from each text. The final form of each test contained twelve questions. For each of the two stories the average extracted hometown score was nearly the same. (The extracted score in this case was figured by removing the problem questions and calculating the results based on the remaining twelve questions.) For the Peshawar ‘Electrocution’ story, the average extracted hometown score for twelve test subjects was 98 percent with a standard deviation of 4. For the ‘Auto Accident’ story the average extracted score was 97 percent with a standard deviation of 6. The median in both cases was 100 percent.

Both of the Peshawar stories were later taken to Quetta, in Baluchistan. A hometown test was also prepared there and subjects were given the hometown Quetta test for screening, after which, they listened to and answered questions about each Peshawar Pashto story.⁶ The fourteen Quetta subjects who were tested scored an average of 98 percent (with a standard deviation of 2) on their own hometown test, after which, each Quetta subject participated in comprehension testing on each of the two Peshawar stories. In comparison with the scores achieved on the

⁶ Due primarily to lack of time, testing was not done in the reverse direction — testing the Quetta story in Yusufzai/Peshawar territory. This is something which probably should be done in the future to verify that Yusufzai really is more widely understood than the Quetta dialect.

hometown test, the scores were significantly lower (according to Wilcoxon t test, $p < .001$) on both of the Peshawar stories. This seems to demonstrate at least some diminished understanding of the Peshawar variety by people who speak the Quetta-Baluchistan variety of Pashto.

Interestingly enough, however, the average score on the Peshawar 'Electrocution' story was significantly lower (according to Wilcoxon t test, $p < .001$) than the average score on the Peshawar 'Auto Accident' story, suggesting that other factors were intervening to cause this discrepancy. It would be easy to list several factors that may have caused this discrepancy, but it is difficult to know which one(s) had the greatest influence here. Subjects scored an average of 72 percent on the 'Electrocution' story and an average of 89 percent on the 'Auto Accident' story. Standard deviations were 14 on the 'Electrocution' story and 7 on the 'Auto Accident' story.

Although the resulting scores on the two Peshawar stories differed significantly, both scores show that people from Quetta (Baluchistan) do not seem to fully understand Peshawar area Pashto speakers. There is most likely a high degree of understanding, but not complete understanding. In examining the two stories more carefully, it can be seen where subjects had the most consistent difficulty, that is, in the area of vocabulary. There seemed to be certain words that subjects from Baluchistan simply did not know. In a number of cases the subject would even say the right word, but would not know the meaning. In other cases the test subject would say some word that was close in sound to the right answer, but in fact was a different word altogether. This consistent problem with certain vocabulary items helps to offer at least one explanation for the difference in scores on the two Peshawar stories. In one Peshawar story there are simply more instances where unfamiliar vocabulary items were answers to questions on the text test. In the Peshawar 'Auto Accident' story there is only one clear instance of a question which asked for this type of problem vocabulary item, whereas in the Peshawar 'Electrocution' story there are at least three of these types of questions. What might be concluded from this is that vocabulary will most likely present a problem for complete

understanding between the two groups. Both scores, however, indicate that most subjects understood much of each story. Further, many of those who did miss the particular questions where vocabulary was a problem were still able to say the answer or some close sounding word, so filling in the particular lexical slot did not seem to be a tremendous problem. This supports the idea that the main problem is vocabulary rather than syntax. The idea that Pashto syntax and morphology is basically the same throughout Pashtoon territory is supported by the scholarly literature (MacKenzie 1959, Penzl 1959, Jahani 1986).

One final note is that the two Peshawar stories were not always played in the same order. Of the total fourteen subjects tested, seven of the subjects heard the 'Auto Accident' story first, and seven heard the 'Electrocution' story first. When analyzed, it was found that there was no significant difference in how people scored based on the order of play.

3.4 Dialect Groupings Based on Native Speaker Opinion

In addition to word list and recorded text test data, interview data were collected regarding perceived dialect differences. On the interview schedule for this study there were a series of three questions which asked how similar or different people thought other-area Pashto varieties were from their own. These three questions were asked of over 130 subjects from fourteen different general areas in Pashtoon territory. The conclusions which can be drawn from this data help to confirm the distinctions discussed above. A summary of the results is as follows:

Responses to interview questions indicate that individuals felt there is a general similarity between Pashto varieties in the settled areas in the north. Pashto is spoken slightly differently from place to place (e.g., Swat, Peshawar, Hazara), but the differences do not appear to be very great. Within this general cluster there were also perceived sub-clusters of greater similarity. Some of these were: Khalil and Mohmand; Mardan, Charsadda, Peshawar, and Buner; Swat and Hazara. The overarching perceived similarity between Northern Pashto varieties corresponds nicely with the word list analysis presented

above in which these locations were generally at least 90 percent similar to each other.

There was also a general consensus that the Pashto varieties spoken in Baluchistan are similar. Quetta, Pishin, and Chaman, all in Baluchistan, were consistently said to be nearly the same by all twenty-six subjects from Baluchistan. Informal conversations with several Pashto speakers from both Baluchistan and Kandahar, also support the idea that the Pashto of Kandahar is very similar to that spoken in Quetta and the surrounding area. This perceived similarity between Southern Pashto locations also corresponds nicely with the word list analysis presented above in which these locations were all at least 90 percent similar to each other.

In tribal territory, just adjacent to Peshawar, the Afridi Pashto of Jamrud, Bara, Dara, and to a lesser extent, Zaxa Khel, were all perceived to be similar. This is supported by the word list analysis described above, where Jamrud Afridi and Zaxa Khel Afridi share 92 percent similarity. Also in tribal territory the Pashto varieties of Shinwari, Shilmani, and Mallagori were all perceived to be similar to each other. Again, these perceptions support the word list analysis where these three were all at least 90 percent similar to each other.

Further to the south in District Kohat, Hangu, Thal, Doaba, and Ustarzai were perceived to be similar. And in District Bannu, Lakki (Marwat) was perceived to be quite similar to Kulachi and Tank, which are both in D.I. Khan. In contrast, the Pashto of Bannu city area was perceived by many as being different from most everything around it.⁷ Also, the Pashto of Wana (South Waziristan) and Mahsood (a particular tribe) were perceived to be similar. Nine out of ten of the subjects from Wana said that the two were only a little different from one another.

⁷ The Pashto of Bannu was named as being quite different by 7 out of 8 of the Lakki and Kulachi subjects. It was also mentioned as being quite different by 7 out of 10 subjects from South Waziristan. On the whole, Bannu was named as being quite different by 70 out of 136 subjects from all over Pashtoon area. Because the question was an open question asking where Pashto is spoken quite differently, those who did not mention Bannu may simply have not thought to mention it.

Also in support of the distinctions described above, most individuals from Northern Pashto areas named Waziristan, Bannu, Kohat, Quetta, Afridi, or Shinwari as varieties of Pashto that are quite different from their own. Of these, Bannu, Waziristan, and Kohat were mentioned most often. Likewise, nine out of the ten subjects from South Waziristan mentioned Peshawar Pashto as being quite different from their own and six mentioned Quetta. As noted above, seven of these ten also said that Bannu was quite different. These overall perceptions also correspond nicely to the word list analysis described above where, in general, localities which are more distant from one another, such as Peshawar, Waziristan, and Baluchistan, have lower shared lexical similarity percentages (generally in the 70s or low 80s) than do locations which are close to one another.

Within tribal territory, five out of six Afridi subjects from Jamrud mentioned Bannu as being quite different. Three also identified Waziristan and four identified Shinwari as being different from their own. This last response is most interesting since the Shinwari and Afridi tribes live relatively close to one another. However, it should be noted that it may not always have been clear to each interviewee what exactly is meant by different.

In Southern Pashto territories, most subjects from Baluchistan identified Peshawar Pashto as being quite different from their own. A number also named Waziristan as being quite different. A still smaller number of interviewees from Baluchistan mentioned Zhob and Bannu Pashto as being different from their own.⁸ The fact that individuals perceived Peshawar and Quetta Pashto to be different further supports the word list and comprehension analyses described above.

⁸ One further point to note about the responses by Baluchistan subjects is that ten people identified Harnai as being a place where Pashto is spoken very differently. Harnai is located some 100 miles or so from Quetta and has been identified as the place where people speak a language/dialect that is a different form of Pashto. The name often given to this variety is Wa,eci. Although this group is reported to be relatively small in comparison to other groups in the area, it would seem that many Pashto speakers from Quetta and the surrounding area are aware of this language. Wa,eci will be dealt with in more detail in chapter 2 of this volume.

Most interviewees were also asked how well they felt they understood varieties of Pashto they thought were quite different from their own. Of those 133 subjects, about half expressed the idea that they could understand them or that they could understand most. A slightly smaller number felt they could understand a little or some. A few said they could understand some varieties well. For those from Northern Pashto areas, the most often specifically mentioned varieties of Pashto named as being hard to understand were those of Waziristan and Bannu.

3.5 Pashto Dialect Groupings — Summary and Conclusions

In summary, current literature concerning dialects of Pashto suggests that there are four dialects which can be differentiated on the basis of the pronunciation of five phonemes. A more basic distinction between *hard* and *soft* Pashto has also been pointed out by a number of authors. Although these distinctions are helpful, it is clear that they are not adequate to describe all of the important differences which exist between the different varieties of Pashto that are spoken today. This is especially clear in the case of the type of Pashto spoken in the area of Waziristan. Existing literature as well as evidence collected in this present study suggest that this variety of Pashto may be somewhat unique.

Although the literature which already exists concerning Pashto dialects is helpful, this present study serves to make a contribution toward clarifying where other important distinctions exist between Pashto varieties. For example, when looking at MacKenzie's four-part distinction, it is seen that the Pashto of Quetta, Pakistan is separated from that spoken in Kandahar, Afghanistan. MacKenzie makes this distinction on the basis of two phonological distinctions, š/š and ž/ž. Although this information is accurate and useful, it can be seen from the word list data collected in this present study that Quetta and Kandahar share 95 percent lexical similarity. This is a fairly high degree of lexical similarity for two varieties of Pashto that MacKenzie and others would put in separate dialect groups. Based on this high degree of lexical similarity, it is perhaps more accurate to view Quetta and Kandahar as members of the same group.

Another important clarification which is made in this study is that the distinction between *hard* and *soft* Pashto is not always the most useful. Examination of existing literature along with the word lists collected in this present study shows that the *soft* variety of Pashto is spoken over a wide area, all the way up into the area of the Khattaks — a relatively short distance from Peshawar. According to MacKenzie's four part distinction, this means that the Khattak variety of Pashto would be in the Southeast group (Quetta). Yet when the word list locations of Jallozai and Cherat (in Khattak territory) are compared with word lists from other Pashto locations, it is seen that Jallozai and Cherat are closer lexically to the varieties of Pashto spoken in the north (Peshawar area) than they are to any of the Southern varieties. This makes sense since Jallozai and Cherat are relatively close to Peshawar.

The distinction between *hard* and *soft* Pashto also lacks some description since there is considerable variation, especially in the *soft* Pashto group. As already mentioned, the locations of Jallozai and Cherat are lexically more similar to certain *hard* varieties than to most other *soft* varieties. Another example of this diversity is found in the variety of Pashto that is spoken in Waziristan and the surrounding area. According to the distinctions made by MacKenzie and other researchers, Waziristan is a part of the *soft* Pashto group. However, as J. G. Lorimer points out and as the evidence in this present study shows, the type of Pashto spoken in Waziristan and some of the adjoining areas is different from almost all other varieties, including others which would also be considered to be *soft* varieties of Pashto, such as Quetta, Kandahar, etc. Under these circumstances it is perhaps better to put the variety of Pashto spoken in Waziristan and certain adjoining areas in a separate category. Thus, in this present study the category of Central Pashto has been used.

In short, the analysis which has been done in previous studies is certainly valuable, but it is important that criteria other than phonological information be given more consideration when drawing conclusions about dialect distinctions. Word list data, for example, take into account both phonological and lexical information. Recorded text testing is designed to measure how

well individuals can actually comprehend other language varieties. When these elements are added, a much fuller picture of important dialect groupings can be seen.

4. BILINGUALISM / SECOND LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY

4.1 Urdu

On the interview schedule used in this study there were several questions asking subjects to give their opinion about their own proficiency in Urdu and English as well as evaluating the proficiency of others in their own households and communities. Although asking someone's opinion about bilingual ability is clearly not the best way to get a precise picture of the situation, these questions serve to give at least a general picture.

From the responses given, most subjects (all were male) claimed to have at least some ability in speaking Urdu. In fact, a large majority claimed to be able to speak it well. Most of these subjects also claimed to be able to read Urdu. Of course it must be recognized that those who have gone to school would most likely have at least some minimal ability in speaking and reading Urdu. Since nearly all subjects questioned in this study had at least some education, it is not surprising that they claim to have at least some ability in Urdu.

As one might expect, interviewees felt that a higher percentage of men in their community were able to speak Urdu than could women and children. Many subjects claimed that no women in their village could speak Urdu. In contrast, a higher percentage of children were said to be able to speak Urdu, but still many subjects said that either no children or an estimated small percentage were actually able to speak it. Speculations about reading ability in Urdu basically fit the same pattern as estimates of speaking ability. Fewer women and children than men were thought to be able to read Urdu.

It is not surprising that women in general are thought to possess low or no ability in Urdu since the place where Urdu is

most commonly learned is in school. Opportunities for women to go to school are fewer than for boys or men. Of those individuals asked, most either said that none of the women and girls in their families attended school, or said that only the girls (presumably younger ones) would attend. In some more urban Pashtoon areas the opportunities for girls seem to be greater than in rural areas, but still less than for boys. District Swat provides a good example where general enrollment and school figures provided by the District Education Office and the Girls' Education Office in Swat show that at present there are far more boys' schools and male students than there are girls' schools and female students.⁹ In general, when subjects were asked to speculate on how many women in their village go to school, the majority either said no girls or just a small percentage.

Aside from the school domain, interview responses indicate that women do not travel much except out of necessity — for death, marriage, or in case of illness. Whether or not they travel at all, their contacts are basically limited to extended family members who probably do not speak Urdu either. Contact with Urdu speakers even among more traveled women is most likely limited.

It should also be noted that reported language use indicates that Pashto is the exclusive language used in four out of six domains specifically mentioned in the interviews (i.e., home, mosque, *jirga*, and speaking to women). As for the remaining two domains, some subjects did claim to use Urdu as well as Pashto in the bazaar, and of course those who go to school are expected in most cases to operate at least partially in Urdu. In the home domain, every subject claimed to speak Pashto exclusively.

⁹ Figures for District Swat which were obtained in late 1990 stated that there are 266 girls primary schools, 11 girls middle schools, and 7 girls high schools. In contrast, there were reported to be 718 boys primary schools, 75 boys middle schools, and 90 boys high schools. In the same way, with regard to total numbers of students, there were reported to be 27,894 girls in primary and middle school in Swat. Figures for girls in high school were not available. By comparison, there were reported to be 159,674 boys in primary through high school. For primary and middle school alone there were reported to be 129,410 male students, almost five times as many as the number reported for female enrolment.

Since women spend most of their time in the home, this probably offers little opportunity for them to actually learn Urdu.

Another potential source for learning Urdu is through television and radio programs. Although it is hard to determine how much women in the home actually listen to the radio or watch television, it should be noted that a large majority of subjects who were asked claimed to have a television in their home. Fewer of those in outlying areas said they had a television in their home. When subjects were asked how much they watch Pashto television programs, only a small percentage said they do not watch them. It is almost sure that those who do watch Pashto programs watch Urdu and other language programs as well, thus providing an opportunity for women and those who travel less to be exposed to Urdu and maybe passively acquire some understanding of it.

The same can also be said about radio programs. When asked whether they listen to Pashto radio programs, only a small percentage said they do not. Again, it is quite likely that if subjects listen to Pashto radio programs, they also listen to Urdu and other language programs. As with television, this also provides at least some exposure to Urdu for those who travel very little.

In general it can be said that although many of the men and boys have at least some proficiency in Urdu, bilingual ability in Urdu is not at all universal in Pashtoon communities. In certain segments of society it is most likely very low. It can also be said that many of those who do possess some ability in Urdu do not have a high degree of skill. On the subject of television and radio programs, the question might be raised as to whether or not this provides enough exposure for someone to really learn and use Urdu. Based on responses mentioned above, the answer is almost certainly “no” in most cases.

4.2 English

On the interview schedule there was one question which asked what other languages each subject could speak. Of the 131

subjects who answered this question, just over half said they could speak at least some English. (Most interviews were conducted by Pashtoons in Pashto, so responses were not biased in favor of English by the presence of an English speaker.) Of those who made any specific comment about how well they could speak it, the majority said they could only speak a little English. In general, it can undoubtedly be said that this depicts reality. Although English is used in higher education and government, a small minority of people in Pakistan receive such high levels of education or attain positions in government service requiring such proficiency.

The fact that most Pashtoon people (and most Pakistanis) possess low skill in English is further supported by the fact that the large majority of those asked mentioned English as a language they wished they did know. It was mentioned twice as many times as any other language. In addition to reflecting a fairly strong positive attitude toward English, this suggests that most people probably feel they do not know English very well, which is most likely accurate for the majority.

5. LANGUAGE USE AND ATTITUDES

5.1 Comments on Language Use and Attitudes as Expressed in Existing Literature

In Pakistan it is quite easy to see that language use is an important issue. Although many different languages are spoken within the borders of Pakistan, Urdu and English definitely play a key role on the national level. Kluck writes:

There are more than twenty spoken languages in Pakistan ... language serves as a major cultural marker and figures in the identity of the various ethnic groups. Language issues have been politically explosive and frequently divisive forces throughout the country's history. According to the 1973 Constitution, Urdu is the official language. It is, however, not indigenous to the area and is the native tongue only of the muhajirs,

perhaps 10 percent of the population. The Panjabi intelligentsia have adopted it, but it is rarely a first language for them.

As a language of prestige, Urdu shares billing with English. English is, of course, part of the legacy of colonial rule, but it continues to be favored by the most elite of the elite, who are frequently more at home in English than in Urdu. It is the choice of those aspiring to upward mobility. Zia's efforts to enhance the role of Urdu in education and government have run afoul of not only the linguistic affinities of various cultural groups but also the aspirations of upper middle-class and upper-class parents wishing their scions to be educated in English (1984:81-2).

The importance of Urdu and English can also be seen in a statement by Penzl in his 1955 work, *A Grammar of Pashto: A descriptive Study of the Dialect of Kandahar, Afghanistan*, where he says, "The two languages that are now almost exclusively used in administration in western Pakistan are Urdu and English" (1955:10).

With respect to Urdu, Kluck says:

Urdu served as a language of national identity in the drive for a Muslim state. Although the native language of only a small minority, it is the major language of literacy. Vehicles for the dissemination of Urdu, such as educational facilities, television, and radio, increased in number in the 1970s (1984:82).

In addition to these two languages of greater national importance, there are a number of languages spoken on the regional and local levels which serve to make the language situation in Pakistan quite complex. Once again Kluck, speaking specifically about Indo-Aryan vernaculars, presents a nice summary statement of the general situation which is also probably more or less true of Iranian varieties at least on the village level:

The Indo-Aryan vernaculars stretch across the northern half of the Indian subcontinent in a vast

continuum of local dialects. Linguistic boundaries blur at the village level; any given locale is surrounded by mutually intelligible neighboring dialects. Dialects from distant villages are typically not mutually understandable. Superimposed on the continuum of local dialects are several types of more standardized, often written, forms usually identified as literary or commercial languages. Although often based on the vernaculars of their representative regions, these standardized languages are not identical with them (Kluck 1984:82).

Although Pashto does not share the same national status that Urdu and English have, it is widely used, especially in the Northwest Frontier Province. As this present study shows, within the Pashtoon community, Pashto is used very heavily in nearly every domain. In fact, it is the only language that subjects reported using in every domain investigated except those of school and the bazaar.

As far as daily language use amongst Pashtoons is concerned, it appears that very little has previously been written. Perhaps the assumption is that Pashto is a strong language, and therefore little doubt exists that it is the language of use in most domains.

One language domain that has been mentioned, at least in some of the literature on Pashto, is that of the school. In this domain, English, and especially Urdu, have a major role, but within Pashtoon territories it is also true that Pashto plays a major role. In Penzl's 1955 work on the Pashto of Kandahar he says:

Pashto is an elective subject from the sixth to the eighth class in the secondary schools of the Northwest Frontier Province of Pakistan ... Urdu, however, is a compulsory subject in elementary and secondary schools up to the eighth class. English is a compulsory subject from the sixth to the tenth class. Since the school year 1952-53, Pashto has been taught as a second language in addition to Urdu in schools located

in the Pashto-speaking areas of the province, but the medium of instruction in all subjects other than Pashto is supposed to be Urdu. A translation project, which previously had been set up to provide textbooks in Pashto, fell through when the state of Pakistan was created (1955:11).

Although this information may be somewhat outdated, it does serve to emphasize the relative importance that was, and still is, placed on various languages in the Pashtoon-area schools of Pakistan. As will be seen in the discussion of information obtained in this present study, Urdu still is one of the most important language components in most schools; however, in some areas within Pashtoon territory, Pashto is now reported to be the medium of instruction in primary schools, a relatively recent phenomenon in these areas.

Another point that will be seen in the data for this present study is the fact that, reportedly, Pashto has only recently been taught as a subject in the Pashtoon-area schools of Baluchistan. In the past, Urdu was the only official language taught. This can clearly be seen in a statement made by Naseem Achakzai of Quetta, Baluchistan in his 1986 book, entitled *Teach Yourself Pushto*, where he says, "The irony of fate is that we do not use this language in our schools, that is why many Pathans cannot read and write Pushto" (1986:preface).

As will be seen in the discussion of data collected in this present study, Pashtoons in general have a favorable attitude toward several languages. Pakistan in general seems to be a country where multilingualism is an accepted fact. As can be seen in the preceding statements about general language use in Pakistan, great importance has been placed on learning Urdu and English in the school setting because of their roles in national identity and upward mobility. At the same time, there is no doubt that great importance is also given to Pashto. It is a language that has a literary tradition which goes back at least several hundred years, and one quickly comes to realize that Pashtoon poets, both past and present, are held in very high regard.

Another area of concern in the investigation of language attitudes amongst the Pashtoon community is how mother tongue speakers feel about different varieties of Pashto — do one or two varieties/dialects have more or less prestige than others? On this point there does not appear to be a great deal of discussion in Pashto literature, but there are at least a few helpful comments which have been made. In the northern part of Pashto-speaking territory, it would appear that Yusufzai/Peshawar Pashto has a certain amount of prestige. Of this northern variety of Pashto, Penzl says, “The type of Pashto considered ‘standard’ in Pakistan’s Northwest Frontier Province is the Yousafzay type, which is spoken in the northeastern part of the district of Peshawar” (Penzl 1955:8). One reason for this greater prestige no doubt lies in the fact that Yusufzai Pashto was strongly promoted by the Wali of Swat and his father, and to this day there is a still a pride in what was accomplished at that time. As Barth (1985:114) records, in the words of the Wali of Swat himself with reference to the occasion of his receiving an honorary law degree from the University of Peshawar:

This recognition was also in part due to the importance my educational developments had for our native language, Pashto. My father, at the very beginning, introduced Pashto as his court language: that was unique for its time — in Afghanistan they used only Persian, and in Dir they continued to use Persian in correspondence till the end of the State. Since very few people knew Urdu at the time, it was easy to change to Pashto, and thereby to promote our language. My father also had some religious books translated into Pashto — because very few people here can read Arabic. He encouraged [the] Pashto language and I continued that.

So it is in the northern part of Pakistan that Yusufzai or Peshawari Pashto seems to have prestige over other varieties, probably due at least in part to an active campaign to promote the language in that dialect. In section 5.2 below, the data on language attitudes for this present study are discussed. In that section it is seen that Yusufzai or Peshawari Pashto has become

the educational standard in the north and does indeed seem to have more overall prestige than other varieties in the north.

In contrast to the above, there are a number of comments in the literature concerning Pashto which strongly suggest that in other Pashtoon areas, varieties other than Yusufzai/Peshawari may have some prestige. On this point Penzl says “The Kandahar type of Pashto ... has enjoyed great prestige inside and outside of Afghanistan” (1955:9). In another comment he gives what he believes is the reason for this prestige:

There is, however, no doubt that one undeniable and very important fact has been responsible for the great prestige of the Kandahar dialect; it is the only dialect which has a phoneme system corresponding to the prevailing orthography (1955:9).

The same sentiment is expressed by Ubaidullah, president of Pashto Academy, Quetta, Baluchistan, where he says:

Pashto is mainly divided into two accents (1) Qandhari or soft accent (2) Yusufzai or harsh accent. From [the] phonetic point of view, the soft accent is considered to be the most perfect accent of Pashto in the sense that all Pashto sounds are found in this accent. On the other hand the harsh accent has lost all the peculiar Pashto sounds under the influence of other languages such as Urdu, Persian, etc. (n.d.:1).

He says further, “My thesis is based on the ‘soft accent’ because it is considered as standard Pashto” (n.d.:3).

5.2 Language Use as Reported by Interview Subjects

In the course of this study, several questions were asked which pertain to language use and attitudes. General responses to these questions indicated that in most domains explored in this study (i.e., bazaar, *jirga*, mosque, school, and home), Pashto is the language used. One exception is the bazaar, where Pashtoons encounter people from many different backgrounds and language groups. At times, Urdu would be almost a necessity in this

domain. Yet, even here a relatively small number of respondents mentioned that they use Urdu. Even though some individuals did say they use Urdu in the bazaar, all said that they also use Pashto in this domain.

Another exception is the school domain, where Pashto is generally not used exclusively. Urdu is most often the reported medium of instruction in the schools, so, of course, Urdu plays a major role here. It should be recognized, however, that in the course of this study, Urdu was not always the reported medium of instruction. Although it is not absolutely clear to what extent Pashto plays a role in the schools of Swat and Batagram Tehsil (in Hazara), official word from the Boys' Education Offices in both places was that Pashto has recently become the medium of instruction in the boys' primary schools in the area.

Although only a small number of interviewees (only 16, all from the Northern Pashto-speaking territories) were asked to identify the language used by teachers to explain things, most only mentioned Pashto. A few also mentioned Urdu. A brief interview with the principal of the high school in Madyan, along with a number of his teachers, helps to underscore the importance of Pashto in the school domain within Pashtoon territory. He reported that Pashto is used by teachers to explain things to students all the way up through tenth class. The idea he was conveying was that students do not really have enough ability in Urdu to operate totally in that language. He also expressed the thought that Pashto-speaking students in the area really do not learn Urdu very well in public school and that they are thus somewhat ill prepared to meet the expectation that they will know how to use Urdu and English when they reach the college level. He likened the education system to a wall that has weak bricks at the bottom.

Another fact which was reported by interviewees is that Pashto is taught as a subject in most Pashtoon-area schools. Most also reported that it is the Yusufzai dialect which is taught. This was true all over the N.W.F.P. and in all of the tribal territory adjacent to the N.W.F.P. Of the 131 subjects who were asked, 100 reported that Pashto was indeed a subject in their schools; a

few did not know. The twenty-six respondents from Baluchistan all said that Pashto is not a subject in their schools, which is consistent with the fact that Pashto has not been taught in Baluchistan-area schools until very recently. It is unclear which variety of Pashto is being taught, but primers are being prepared by individuals in the Quetta area; so it might be assumed that some area-specific characteristics would likely be incorporated. Based on interviews with the president of Pashto Academy, Quetta, only the first alphabet primer was actually in print as of late 1990. Others were in the process of being constructed.

The strength of Pashto can also be seen by its solid use in the home domain. Nearly all interviewees claimed to speak only Pashto in their home, most reporting that they never use any other language in that domain. Clearly this reflects the solid vitality of Pashto as the exclusive language within the family.

Interview subjects also reported that although a number of children know at least some Urdu, a large percentage speak only Pashto. Most of these same interviewees also reported that Pashto is the only language their children speak well. It was also reported by the vast majority of interviewees that they felt their children would use Pashto more than any other language when they become adults. Clearly all evidence suggests the realistic expectation that Pashto is being strongly maintained and will continue to be used by the succeeding generations.

Another aspect of Pashto which falls somewhat under the category of language use is how people view Pashto as a literary language. When interviewees were asked which language they thought is best for written materials, the large majority said they thought Urdu was best. Of those who named Urdu, the most common reasons given were that, "It is easy/easiest.", or, "It is our national language." It is probably true that since Urdu plays such a big part in schools and current literary production in Pakistan, people have had more experience in reading Urdu and therefore simply see it as easiest or best. It is no doubt also true that Pashto speakers and many others recognize that ability in Urdu is necessary for communication throughout Pakistan and is

important for upward mobility. In addition, it may be that nationalistic feelings about Pakistan play at least some part here.

It should be noted, however, that at least some respondents (roughly 15 percent) stated that Pashto would be best for written material, in most cases explaining that they felt Pashto is easy/easiest. Given the idea that ability in Urdu is certainly not universal among Pashtoon peoples and also knowing that there is a literary tradition in Pashto, which is their mother tongue, it is easy to understand why some would respond in this way.

Closely related to the question about written materials were questions which asked about reading ability in both Urdu and Pashto. As mentioned previously, both Urdu and Pashto have a role in the schools within Pashtoon territory. However, the question here is, to what extent do people feel the general population is actually able to read either of these languages; the question specifically asked subjects about their own village. As expected, most respondents felt that reading ability is not universal in either Urdu or Pashto. Further, subjects felt that a smaller percentage of women and children than men are able to read in either language. A number of individuals estimated that no women or children can read either language. In contrast, no one said that there are no men in their village who can read Pashto or Urdu. Estimates of the general lack of reading ability were roughly equal for both languages.

In summary, it seems quite clear that Pashto is the overwhelmingly dominant language of use among Pashtoons. It is used almost exclusively in many domains and plays a major role in others. Beyond this, the move to install Pashto as the medium of instruction in primary schools in certain parts of Pashtoon territory would suggest that Pashto language use is becoming even stronger in the school domain. In addition, although Urdu is seen by many as the best language for written material, many (at least the men) reportedly have at least some skill in reading Pashto. For those who have attended school in Pashtoon territory, this is not surprising since Pashto is reported to be taught as a subject, if not also used as a medium of instruction.

5.3 Language Attitudes as Expressed by Interview Subjects

The topics of language attitudes and language use fit together very closely since one can assume that language use, at least to a certain degree, reflects something about language attitudes. As has already been discussed, there were a number of questions on the general Pashto interview schedule which pertained to language use. In addition, there were a number of questions which asked more directly about people's feelings concerning their own language and other languages around them. Just how do Pashtoon people feel about their own language versus some of the other languages that exist in the multilingual environment of Pakistan? Also, how do Pashtoon peoples from various dialect areas feel about varieties of Pashto that are different from their own?

Responses to one question revealed that a large majority of those asked, named Yusufzai (a large Northern Pashtoon tribal group), or some specific location within Yusufzai territory or in the vicinity of Peshawar, as having the best Pashto. Those responding in this way included subjects from all areas in Pashtoon territory where data were collected. It was clearly the response of most from the North, including nearly all subjects from the tribal territories adjacent to the N.W.F.P. The major exception to this general response was found in Baluchistan, where only six of the twenty-six subjects named Yusufzai or some Northern location. Thirteen of the twenty-six subjects named either Kandahar (Afghanistan) specifically, Afghanistan in general, or some other location inside of Afghanistan. The remainder of the subjects from Baluchistan named some local Baluchistan location (i.e., their own variety of Pashto) as having the best Pashto. Another question asked subjects which type of Pashto they thought was most pure. Responses to this question were much the same as those for the question that asked which type of Pashto they thought was best.

In speculating about why Baluchistan subjects responded differently on the whole from other subjects in Pashtoon territory, several factors come to mind. The first is that Pashto has not been taught as a subject in the schools of Baluchistan

until recently. Secondly, in other parts of Pakistan where Pashto has been a subject in school, Yusufzai or Peshawar Pashto is reportedly the variety that has been taught as a standard. This is true all the way down in South Waziristan, Bannu, and virtually all areas where Pashto data were collected in Pakistan, except Baluchistan. In contrast, Baluchistan has had relatively little formal influence from Yusufzai/Peshawar Pashto; therefore, that variety does not seem to have the same level of prestige as it does elsewhere in Pakistan. Interviews with the president of Pashto Academy, Quetta revealed that he and others have been instrumental in developing a first Pashto primer that is presently being used in the Pashtoon-area schools of Baluchistan. He reported that the script in both the Northern Pashtoon areas and Baluchistan is basically the same, suggesting that the literary form of Pashto in the two areas may not be greatly different. Those in Baluchistan, however, have seen it necessary to produce their own primers rather than use the primers from the North. This would seem to suggest a separation, at least in attitude, between the two areas.

In contrast to the above, when individuals were asked which variety of Pashto they thought was worst, the locations most frequently named were Bannu and Waziristan. Individuals from many Pashtoon locations, both north and south, mentioned at least one of these two locations and often both. The explanation most often given was that these varieties are hard to understand or just difficult. As one might expect, however, most subjects from South Waziristan (ten out of twelve) named some place other than Waziristan as having the worst Pashto. Six of these said they thought Quetta had the worst Pashto. Perhaps the most interesting result, however, is the fact that no subject in all of Pashtoon territory (out of the 131 asked) named Yusufzai, Peshawar, or any other Northern location as having the worst Pashto. It would seem that although Yusufzai/Peshawar (Northern) Pashto is not always seen as the best variety, it appears that very few if any would consider it to be a bad/poor variety of Pashto.

Interview subjects also speculated on the advantages of speaking Pashto as opposed to some other language. The most

often expressed advantages were that it is their “own language” or “mother tongue.” The vast majority named one of these two. Both responses reflect a pride in ownership. For them it is one important mark of identity.¹⁰ Others mentioned things like, “It is easy to understand,” “It is the provincial language”, etc. Several individuals also expressed explicitly that they are proud of it. Nothing in any of the responses reflected any shame or desire to be disassociated from the Pashto language.

On a broader level, interview subjects also speculated on the advantages of speaking Urdu and English. Concerning Urdu, a number of different advantages were named, but the most common was, “It is our national language.” A smaller number said that it allows them to “speak with Urdu speakers” or to communicate in all of Pakistan. A few respondents expressed the idea that it is an advantage to their business for them to know Urdu. Only one subject said that there was no need of Urdu.

The large majority of those interviewed (100 out of 136) also said they would like to learn more Urdu. Some common reasons given were “to improve their own knowledge”, “It is our national language”, or “in order to communicate with Urdu speakers.” In general, one might interpret this to mean that many people, probably the majority of Pashtoons, have a general positive attitude toward Urdu. There is no doubt an acceptance by most that they live in a multilingual setting and that different languages may be used in different domains or with different people. There seems to be the general realization by most that learning more Urdu will only serve to improve their own condition.

When respondents were asked which languages they would like to know, the large majority mentioned English, with approximately half as many mentioning Urdu and Arabic, and a smaller number mentioning Persian. Although this is not necessarily an indicator of the relative importance that Pashtoon

¹⁰ Ahmed says, “Language is jealously preserved by Pathan groups as their language. Pushto is a key criterion defining Pukhtun ethnicity and therefore is necessary for Pathans to maintain in the face of strong extraethnic influences” (1986:109).

people give to these languages, it does seem to show that there are many Pashtoon people who see the advantages of speaking an international language such as English and would therefore be happy to have that skill.¹¹ Many people also named Arabic as a language they wish they knew largely because it is the language of the Quran and is also used heavily in religious ceremonies.

The feeling was also expressed by most interviewees (more than 80 percent) that, in addition to maintaining Pashto, they want their children to learn English. A slightly smaller number, 94, mentioned Urdu; 40 mentioned Arabic; and 9 mentioned Persian. Here again, quite clearly, English is held in high regard most likely because people can easily see the advantages for upward mobility. It should be noted, however, that when subjects were asked which language their children will probably use most when they grow up, three quarters of them mentioned only Pashto. Most seem to feel that although they would like their children to learn English, Urdu, and Arabic, they do not expect that the next generation will shift to speaking any of these other languages the majority of the time. Such expectations are consistent with the strong vitality of Pashto evidenced throughout this survey.

In summary, language use data, as well as more direct comments about attitudes, suggest that Pashto speakers throughout Pashtoon territory have very positive attitudes toward their own language. Not only is it virtually the only language of use in most domains, it also is seen as a strong mark of identity and pride. Alongside Pashto, however, English, Urdu, and Arabic appear to be recognized and valued for the advantages that they potentially offer. In no case does there appear to be a general attitude that is negative toward any of these languages.

¹¹ That the desire to know English is widespread is also confirmed by personal experience and encounters during three and a half years in Pakistan.

6. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In the course of this study, it was apparent that phonological information alone is not sufficient to make decisions about dialect groupings. There are other criteria, such as lexical similarity and actual measurements of comprehension, which should be taken into consideration as well. In this study, it is particularly apparent that the traditional *hard/soft* division of Pashto dialects is not adequate to predict overall differences which exist between different varieties of Pashto. It is also clear that although MacKenzie's four-part distinction between Pashto varieties is helpful, it is not adequate either. Although the further criteria spelled out in this study have their limitations as well, it would seem that a fuller description of the regional dialects of Pashto is obtained through such analysis.

Based on the combined criteria of phonological and lexical similarity, comprehension testing, and perceptions of interviewees throughout the Pashto-speaking area, it would appear that there are at least three clearly identifiable Pashto dialect groups in Pakistan, and perhaps a fourth less distinct variety. The three more clearly defined dialect groups would be the Northern group, the Baluchistan group, and the Waziristan (Central) group; the fourth, less distinct, grouping would represent a middle area in tribal territory. Of all the varieties examined in this study, the type of Pashto spoken in South Waziristan may be the most divergent. This is a fact which seems to be supported by previous literature about Waziri.

It would also seem that at least some of the variation that does exist between spoken varieties of Pashto is overshadowed by a written standard of sorts which exists today. Although even now this "standard" is neither completely, nor clearly, defined, it seems to have facilitated interaction and communication within the Pashtoon community as a whole.

In the multilingual setting of Pakistan, it is not surprising that at least some individuals within the Pashtoon community would have a degree of proficiency in second languages such as Urdu and English. However, from all the evidence at hand, it is

quite clear that there are many who have no opportunity to gain a very high degree of proficiency in any second language. Particularly in the case of Urdu, proficiency is gained mainly through education; since many have little or no education, widespread high proficiency levels for the population as a whole would not be expected. This is particularly the case among the female population where even fewer educational opportunities exist.

One fact about which there is no doubt is that Pashtoons in general have a very positive attitude toward their language. This is reflected both in overtly expressed feelings as well as in language use patterns. Although in many cases positive attitudes were expressed toward other major languages of Pakistan, such as Urdu and English, in no way did this appear to diminish the positive feelings expressed for Pashto. It remains a strong mark of Pashtoon identity as well as the major mode of communication throughout Pashtoon territory.

Concerning the Pashto language itself and the various manifestations of it which exist today, it would appear that there are at least two varieties that have a certain amount of prestige. One is that of Yusufzai, spoken in the greater Peshawar area; the other would be that of Kandahar, Afghanistan. The Yusufzai dialect may have obtained its prestige largely because of past efforts to promote it in the once extant state of Swat. It would appear that this variety continues to be promoted today as the major dialect taught in the schools in northern Pashtoon areas. The dialect of Kandahar may have obtained at least some of its prestige from the fact that the Pashto alphabet which exists today is said to conform more closely to the sounds which actually occur in the Kandahar form of speech. In terms of the total Pashto-speaking population of Pakistan, however, the Yusufzai dialect is more widely recognized and is more strongly promoted in literature and education.

CHAPTER 2

WAÑECI

INTRODUCTION AND PURPOSE

For this brief examination of Wañeci, a word list was collected for comparison with the Pashto data discussed in chapter 1. In addition, one brief interview was conducted with two Wañeci men from Harnai who are now living in Quetta. One of the chief questions which needs to be answered regarding this language is whether or not to simply call it a dialect of Pashto or a separate language. Although there are at least two significant literary works concerning Wañeci in existence today (see below), little information has been offered which allows for a systematic comparison of Wañeci and Pashto. In spite of its brevity, it is hoped that the analysis presented in this chapter will serve to shed some light on this question. Of course, in addition to this dialect question, there are also many other questions about the present state of the Wañeci community. Although one brief interview cannot pretend to answer such questions, it is hoped that the general information contained in this chapter concerning the Wañeci people will give others the desire to explore these people and their language further.

1. DISCUSSION OF EXISTING LITERATURE ON WAÑECI

1.1 The Language

Several articles have been written about a group of people known in the literature by their language name, Wañeci. Other names which have been given to this language are Tarino and Chalgari (Morgenstierne 1973:188-9). Of these names, Elfenbein says:

In the north [of Wañeci territory] the language is universally called Tarino, though some informants

thought Waṇeci a better name, with its reference to the Tanda Wani district where they thought the best Wan[eci] is spoken. The language is also referred to as Calgari [Chalgari] by speakers living in Quetta (who often refer to themselves as Maxyani). (1972:32)

Although this language has much in common with Pashto, scholars have questioned whether to classify it as a dialect of Pashto or as a separate language. In an article entitled *The Waṇetsi Dialect of Pashto*, Morgenstierne says:

Waṇetsi certainly has some claim to be considered a separate language; at any rate it occupies a far more independent position than any other known dialect of Psht. [Pashto] ... The dialect has been overlaid with Psht. words to such an extent that it is frequently difficult to extricate the original Wan.[eci] forms; but a short survey of the main phonetical and morphological forms will suffice to show that Wan.[eci], although being intimately related to Psht., has branched off before some of the characteristics of that language had been fully developed. (1973:189)

Elfenbein echoes this same idea:

Among the many dialects of Ps [Pashto], Waṇeci, which is spoken in Pakistan near the North-West Frontier, occupies a position apart; it is so different from all other Ps [Pashto] dialects that a fair case can be made out for considering it a separate language. (1972:29)

In this present study, Waṇeci word list data were collected and compared with Pashto word lists from thirty-four locations. These comparisons indicate that Waṇeci does share a relatively high degree of similarity with Pashto. Yet it is different enough to raise the question of whether it should be called a separate language.

As for the origin of this language, there are various speculations. Sir Denys Bray, who reported on this group in his 1911 *Report on the Census of Baluchistan*, says that Waṇeci is:

... jarring gibberish; it is less a Pashto dialect than a hotchpotch of execrable pronunciation and still more execrable grammar. It is spoken by the Vanечи and Makhiani of Chairing and Duki, and it looks mighty like proof positive that these so-called Spin and Tor Tarin are not Tarin at all ... but Indians and possibly Jatt ... who have affiliated to the Pathans, but have still to assimilate the language of their adoption. (cited in Grierson 1921:112)

In contrast to this, the prevailing view of more recent scholars (i.e., Morgenstierne, Elfenbein, and Skjærvø) is quite different. Skjærvø says “The Pashto area split into two dialect groups at a pre-literary period, represented today on the one hand by all the dialects of modern Pashto and on the other by Waṇeci and by archaic remains(?) in other Southeast dialects” (1989:386).

Morgenstierne’s words from 1932 are much the same; he says, “ ... Wanetsi must have branched off from Psht. [Pashto] before the characteristics common to all dialects of that language had been completely evolved” (1932:12).

Concerning smaller dialect divisions within Waṇeci, it does not appear that there is much variation. Elfenbein says:

While I do not doubt that dialects exist within Wan[eci], no consistent criteria were found upon which a convincing dialect division could be based. The main differences appear to lie in phonetic variation and in the use of different words; these cannot, however, by themselves form a sufficient basis for e.g. the Northern-Southern dialect division insisted upon by many speakers. (1972:32-3)

1.2 The Waṇeci People

The Waṇeci people themselves are said to come mainly from the Spin Tarin family and, according to Elfenbein, they may only number a few thousand or less (1972:32). One of Morgenstierne’s Waṇeci informants, however, estimated that

there were 25,000 speakers of the language. Individuals interviewed in this present study also estimated that the Waṇeci-speaking population was much larger than just a few thousand.

The Waṇeci people are said to live mainly in an area near Harnai, which is a relatively short distance east of Quetta. Eلفenbein identifies the area more specifically:

The territory in which Wan[eci] is spoken ... is small in extent, and is now even smaller than it was in 1929 when M [Morgenstierne] first visited it. It is still somewhat isolated: access is solely by road, which runs from Quetta to Ziarat (in the north) or from Sibi to Harnai (in the south). As will be seen, it is roughly 20 miles long and 15 miles broad, oblong in shape and, except for the Harnai district, lies entirely in high mountains.

The territory is split by mountains into a northern and southern part, and communication between the parts is necessarily on foot or donkey-back; the only interior road, from Harnai to Samalan, runs in a north-easterly direction. In the north, the main road is that from Quetta to Loralai, which passes through Ziarat ... the largest village in the district and the nearest bazaar to Wan[eci] territory. Wan[eci] villages commence about 6 miles east of it, and all lie in the valley followed by the road. The last Wan[eci] villages are to be found to the east-wards in the Sanjawi tahsil, about 20 miles south-west of Loralai.

The southern part of the territory extends roughly along the railway line ... from Sahrig ... about 40 miles east of Quetta, for about 20 miles up to Spin Tangi. Sahrig itself is now Ps [Pashto]-speaking, and at present Wan[eci] territory begins about 5 miles east of it, though in 1929 Sahrig lay in Wan[eci] territory. (1972:32)

2. WORD LIST FINDINGS

As stated above, there is some question about whether to call Waṇeci a dialect of Pashto or a separate language. In this present study a Waṇeci word list was collected from two speakers who are from Harnai but are now living in Quetta. This word list was then compared with Pashto word lists from thirty-four different locations. (See figure (3).) The Waṇeci word list displays moderately high levels of lexical similarity with all Pashto varieties. In comparison to the word list percentages shared between Waziri Pashto, the most divergent variety, and all other forms of Pashto reported on in chapter 1, Waṇeci shows an average of an additional 4 percentage points difference. The lexical similarity counts between Waṇeci and all varieties of Pashto show rather uniform levels. Similarity counts were between 71 percent and 75 percent with all of the locations within Baluchistan and with Kandahar. For all of the other Pashto locations the lexical similarity count with Waṇeci was between 63 and 72 percent. From these word list similarity counts alone, one could say that if Waṇeci is considered to be a separate language, it, at the very least, seems to share a great amount of lexical similarity with Pashto. It does, however, differ enough in similarity that one might expect some comprehension difficulties for speakers of recognized varieties of Pashto.

Pashto interview data supports the word list findings; ten Pashto-speaking individuals out of twenty-six respondents from Baluchistan identified Harnai as being a place where Pashto is spoken very differently. Although the number of Waṇeci speakers is reported to be relatively small in comparison to other groups around them, many Pashto speakers from Quetta and the surrounding area seemed to be aware that a speech form somewhat different from their own is spoken in Harnai.

3. DISCUSSION OF WANECI (TARINO) INTERVIEW DATA

Very little time was available to pursue information concerning the Waṇeci language. However, in addition to collecting a Waṇeci word list, some information was obtained

through a brief interview with one Waṇeci man who appeared to be in his mid-thirties or perhaps forty. Another Waṇeci speaker was also present at the time. The man who took part in this interview was from the village Tuka, which he said is about ten miles east of Harnai.

The language name that this interviewee preferred was Tarino. He claimed to have spoken it in his home as a child as well as at the present time; it is the language of both his mother and father. He claimed further that there are about 30,000 homes of Tarino speakers and that no other languages besides Tarino are spoken by the local people living in the Harnai area. He also said that the people of Harnai cannot speak Pashto; only those who are living in cities can speak it.

In terms of language attitudes, this individual seemed to be expressing strongly positive feelings toward Tarino. He said he thought that it is the language that his children would use most when they grow up and that it would not cease to be actively used. He said further that no one has ceased to maintain the language. When he was asked what he thought the advantages of Tarino were, he said, "It is sweet to us."

A number of Pashto-speaking individuals who were encountered in Quetta by this researcher were also aware of this Waṇeci/Tarino language and claimed it was hard for them to understand. One among them was the President of Pashto Academy in Quetta, who did not seem very clear about whether he thought this to be a different language or simply a dialect of Pashto. It should also be noted that this language is, in fact, the subject of a book (written in Pashto) entitled simply *Waṇeci*, by Umar Gul Askar, which was published by the Pashto Academy in Quetta, Baluchistan. On the cover of this publication, Waṇeci is identified as a "remote Pushto dialect spoken in Harnai Tehsil of District Sibi and Sinjawi Tehsil of District Loralai of Baluchistan" (Askar n.d.).

4. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

As discussed above, in addition to the more straightforward Pashto varieties, there is one location in Baluchistan where a Pashto-like language called Waṇeci is spoken. Because of limited time and limited availability of speakers, little data was obtained in this study. However, the information which was collected first hand (a word list and some short interview information), along with what has been reported in the literature, seems to indicate that this form of Pashto, if indeed one wants to call it a form of Pashto, is quite different from that spoken in Quetta and all other parts of Baluchistan. Moreover, lexical similarity counts indicate that it is slightly more different from the varieties of Pashto spoken in the north. In addition, interviews with several people (one Waṇeci speaker and several Pashto speakers from Quetta) seemed to indicate that there may be a substantial number of these speakers in an area called Harnai, a relatively short distance east of Quetta.

5. FURTHER STUDY

Although valuable information was collected in this brief look at Waṇeci, more study is obviously needed. In particular, it would be helpful to explore further the differences which exist between Waṇeci and the variety of Pashto spoken in Baluchistan. It would also be interesting to know how many active speakers of Waṇeci there are today. It would also be helpful to know more about patterns of language use and language attitudes within the Waṇeci community. More specifically, since the Waṇeci people live in close proximity to much larger language groups, such as Pashtoons, it would be valuable to investigate how they feel about these larger languages as compared to their own language, and to assess the levels of bilingual proficiency that exist in these second languages within the Waṇeci community.

CHAPTER 3

ORMUṢI

INTRODUCTION AND PURPOSE

For this brief examination of Ormuṣi, a word list was collected from Kaniguram in South Waziristan, Pakistan for comparison with the Pashto data discussed in chapter 1. In addition, five Ormuṣi-speakers from Kaniguram were interviewed. Although there are several significant literary works concerning Ormuṣi in existence today (see below), little information has been offered which allows for a concise and systematic comparison of Ormuṣi and Pashto. It seems quite clear that although related to Pashto, Ormuṣi is very different from it. But the question is, just how different? In spite of the brevity of this present study, it is hoped that the analysis presented in this chapter will serve to shed some light on this question. In addition, there are many other questions about the present state of ethnolinguistic vitality in the Ormuṣi community. Existing sources have served to address such questions, but it is also hoped that new information contained in this chapter will be a helpful addition to what is already known.

1. SETTING

Ormuṣi has been classified as a West Iranian language, which sets it apart from Pashto, an East Iranian language. Grierson (1921:124) says its “nearest relatives are the dialects of western Persia and Kurdish.” Leech (1838:728), the first one known to have recorded samples of the Logar dialect of Ormuṣi, calls this language Baraki after the city of Barak where it is said to be spoken. However, Grierson (1918:VII) says that:

Ormuṣi or Bargista is the language of a tribe which calls itself Baraki; but which its neighbours call Ormuṣ. Similarly, they themselves call their language

Bargista, while among others it is commonly known as Ormuḡi.

It should be noted, however, that Din Muhammad, Morgenstierne's Ormuḡi language informant from Baraki-Barak, did not recognize the name Bargista, but instead called his language Ormuḡi (Morgenstierne 1929:311). Those interviewed in this present study also said they use the name Ormuḡi for their language.

It would seem, then, that the most agreed upon name for this language is Ormuḡi.¹² According to existing literature, it is a language that is presently spoken in only two locations. One is Baraki-Barak in Logar, Afghanistan, where there are reportedly only a few, if any, who still speak the language. The other is Kaniguram in South Waziristan, Pakistan. Concerning Logar, Kieffer (1977:74) reports that "less than about fifty still speak Ormuḡi ..." In a similar way, Morgenstierne (1929:310) says he was told that, "Baraki [Ormuḡi] was no longer spoken in Baraki-Barak, the ancient headquarters of the Ormuḡ tribe. Even a man said to be from this village denied the existence of any other language than Persian and Pashto in his native place."

In contrast to Logar, Kieffer says there are a thousand Ormuḡi speakers in Kaniguram (1977:73). An earlier source, Grierson (1921:123), estimated that there are four to five hundred houses of Ormuḡ in Kaniguram. In this present study, those from Kaniguram who were interviewed estimated a much larger population than one thousand. However, the accuracy of these estimates cannot be determined.¹³

¹² Correspondingly, various sources have labeled the speakers of this language with the name Ormuḡ or Ormuḡs (see Grierson 1921, Morgenstierne 1929, Kieffer 1977). According to Morgenstierne (1929:307):

All traditions agree that they [the Ormuḡ] were introduced into their present seats by Sooltaun Mahmood about the beginning of the eleventh century, and that their lands were once extensive: but their origin is uncertain; they pretend to be sprung from the Arabs, but other[s] say that they are descended from the Kurds or Coords.

¹³ In this present study five individuals from Kaniguram were interviewed. Four of the five gave population estimates of Ormuḡi speakers living in Kaniguram. These estimates ranged between ten and forty thousand. Although

In addition to the two locations mentioned above, members of the Ormuṛ tribe are also reported to live in the Peshawar area. However, according to all sources, these individuals are said to be Pashto-speaking (see Morgenstierne 1929:310 and Grierson 1921:123).

2. DIALECTS OF ORMUṚI

Concerning the question of dialect variation within Ormuṛi, as stated above, there are two locations where Ormuṛi is said to be spoken today.¹⁴ These correspond to two different varieties of Ormuṛi. Grierson (1921) records a rather extensive description of the Kaniguram variety. The only samples of the variety of Ormuṛi spoken in Logar are presented by Leech (1838), Raverty (1864), and Morgenstierne (1929). Concerning this latter variety, Morgenstierne (1929:315) writes:

The dialect of Logar does not seem to have changed very much since Leech published his vocabulary in 1838. The forms found in his vocabulary and collection of sentences, and in the vocabulary published by Raverty, agree very well with those I heard.

Concerning the comparison of the Logar and Kaniguram varieties, Morgenstierne (1926:17) says:

The Logar dialect of Orm. [Ormuṛi] contains several old words not found in the Kaniguram dialect. Regarding phonetics, the chief difference between the two dialects is, that in Logar *š* has been preserved in many cases where it has become *s* in Kaniguram ...

the accuracy of these estimates cannot be determined, this would suggest that there may be more than one thousand Ormuṛi speakers in Kaniguram.

¹⁴ One of the five who were interviewed in this study was aware that Ormuṛi may be spoken in Logar, Afghanistan. However, this same individual stated that he was not sure. The other four interviewees did not express any awareness that Ormuṛi is spoken by people living outside of the Kaniguram area.

The complicated formation of verbal stems has been considerably simplified in the Log. [Logar] dialect, and in many verbs all forms come from one stem only. While the Kan. [Kaniguram] dialect is full of Waziri Psht. [Pashto] words, the Log. [Logar] dialect has chiefly adopted Pers. [Persian] loan-words.

Concerning the question of the mutual comprehension of these two dialects, Kieffer (1977:73) writes:

This dialect Ormuṛi of Kanigram [Kaniguram], more archaic, firmly established in a prosperous community where it dominates the other languages, is not understood in Baraki-Barak, in Afghanistan. Moreover relations of the two linguistic groups established on both sides of the political border which is often contested, are practically non-existent.

3. COMPARISON OF ORMURİ AND PASHTO

Since the Ormuṛ in both Logar and Kaniguram live in close proximity to much larger language groups, such as Pashtoons, it is understandable that they would borrow words from these languages. Morgenstierne (1929:314) writes, “While K. [Kaniguram] has borrowed freely from Waziri Psht. [Pashto], the vocabulary of Log. [Logar] has been influenced by other Psht. [Pashto] dialects, and, to a still greater extent, by Prs. [Persian].” According to Kieffer (1977:86), this has apparently happened to such a great degree in Logar that 90 percent of the vocabulary has been taken over by borrowings. With this in mind, the question is, to what degree has Ormuṛi retained its distinctiveness, especially from the influences of Pashto?

As stated above, the focus of this present study was on the Kaniguram variety of Ormuṛi. In an attempt to systematically compare this variety of Ormuṛi with the language of the much larger Pashtoon community which surrounds it, a 210-item word

list was elicited from a speaker of Ormuṛi in Kaniguram.¹⁵ This word list was then compared with Pashto word lists from thirty-four different locations throughout Pashto-speaking territory.

¹⁵ In analyzing the data for this present study, the word list was spot checked with Kaniguram forms which Morgenstierne lists in his 1929 work on Ormuṛi. The two lists agreed very closely with one another.

(See appendix B for a display of this Ormuṛi word list data along with word list data from 34 different Pashto sites. See also appendix C for an example of one Ormuṛi text.) Figure (4) shows very clearly that when this word list was compared with the Pashto word lists, there was no better than 33 percent lexical similarity between Ormuṛi and any of the Pashto word lists. The similarity percentage with Waziri, the variety of Pashto which neighbors Ormuṛi, was only 30 percent. Clearly these low similarity percentages demonstrate the uniqueness of Ormuṛi. Although there may, in fact, be some degree of borrowing from Pashto, this phenomenon would not appear to be so pronounced as to have eclipsed the Ormuṛi lexicon.

4. SECOND LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY (BILINGUALISM)

According to Kieffer (1977:73), the Ormuṛ men of Kaniguram are all bilingual or trilingual, speaking Ormuṛi, Pashto, and Hindko.¹⁶ This would seem to fit with the responses of those interviewed in this present study; all five interviewees said that they could speak Pashto well. Kieffer (1977:73) also says, “Some girls speak only Ormuṛi, but later they all learn Pašto. Ormuṛi is the maternal and domestic language of a group that is relatively homogeneous ...” This too fits well with the responses elicited from those interviewed in this present study. All said that they speak only Ormuṛi in their homes. This, combined with the fact that the normal pattern for women is infrequent travel outside of their village, suggests that those girls who have had less exposure to the outside world would have lower levels of bilingual proficiency in any second language.

Concerning Urdu proficiency, responses to interview questions in this present study would suggest that, in general, those in the Ormuṛ community of Kaniguram do not have a high degree of proficiency in Urdu even though it is reported to be the

¹⁶ Two of the individuals interviewed in this present study who were more highly educated both said they could speak Siraiki. Siraiki is one variant form of Hindko which is spoken in Dera Ismail Khan, the settled area adjacent to South Waziristan.

medium of instruction in the schools of that area. Four of the five interviewees named it as a language they wish they knew, probably reflecting the fact that they do not feel they know it well. Three of those interviewed, had very little or no education; all related that they had very little or no proficiency in Urdu.

In contrast to Kaniguram, in the community of Baraki-Barak, the pressures of biligualism have served to all but wipe out Ormuṛi. Kieffer (1977:74) reports that:

Ormuṛi has thus reached the last stage of its resistance. All the Ormuṛi-speakers are at least bilingual and for the most part trilingual (Ormuṛi, Pašto, rural Persian or Kaboli) and their tribal language has no more than a weak function.

5. LANGUAGE USE AND ATTITUDES

Language use patterns in Kaniguram, as described by the Ormuṛ men interviewed in this study, suggest that Ormuṛi is a strong language in that area. All said that it is the only language they use in their homes today. They also said that both Ormuṛi and Pashto are spoken in the bazaar and that in a *jirga*, Ormuṛi is used except when Pashto speakers are present. The two more educated interviewees also said that Ormuṛi is also used in the school domain, as well as Pashto¹⁷ and Urdu, presumably for the purposes of explanation. Four of the five, however, said that Pashto is the language used for sermons in the mosque, which might reflect the fact that this domain is more Pashtoon dominated.

All interviewees expressed positive attitudes toward Ormuṛi in responses to questions which asked more directly about feelings concerning their language. Each one felt that the main advantage of speaking Ormuṛi was that it is their “mother language” or “own language.” They also felt that their language

¹⁷ All five of the individuals interviewed in this study reported that Pashto is a subject in the schools of the Kaniguram area. The three interviewees who had at least some education said that Yusufzai is the dialect which is taught.

would never cease to be actively spoken because there are many people who speak it today. They felt further that Ormuṛi is the language their children would speak most often when they become adults. All also said that if schools existed in which their language was taught, they would support attendance at such schools.

It should be noted that those interviewed also expressed positive attitudes toward other languages as well. Four of the five interviewed said that they would like their children to learn Urdu. All five also expressed the desire to know more Urdu themselves. Three individuals said they felt Urdu was the best language for written materials. The fact that no one mentioned Ormuṛi in response to this question no doubt reflects the fact that Ormuṛi is not, at present, a written language. In the same way, Urdu was mentioned because it is the major written language in Pakistan, it is the medium of instruction in most schools, and is the language most often encountered when one is learning to read.

6. LANGUAGE VITALITY

Nothing conclusive can be said about the future viability of Ormuṛi in Kaniguram. At present it would appear that those in Kaniguram are maintaining the language in their homes and in other domains that fall within the confines of the Ormuṛi language community. In addition, as Kieffer relates, it would appear that the Ormuṛ in Kaniguram have a status of relative importance when compared with their neighbors, the Mahsud and Wazir Pashtoons. Kieffer (1977:73) says:

Ormuṛi is the maternal and domestic language of an ethnic group which is relatively homogeneous and more important and richer than that of the Mahsud, which is on an equal footing with its neighbors the Wazir. This dialect [of] Ormuṛi of Kanigram [Kaniguram], more archaic, firmly established in a prosperous community where it dominates the other languages, is not understood in Baraki-Barak.

Morgenstierne (1929:313) relates this same kind of evaluation when he says:

K. [Kaniguram variety of Ormuṛi] is spoken by a comparatively strong community in an isolated part of the rugged Waziristan hills, surrounded only by culturally and socially unimportant Psht. [Pashto] dialects.

The present strength of Ormuṛi in Kaniguram can also be seen in the responses given by interview subjects in this study. All five interviewees said that Ormuṛi is the language of both their mother and their father. They said further that it was the language spoken in their homes when they were children and it is still maintained as the language of use in their homes today. They also said unanimously that they thought their children would use Ormuṛi most when they become adults.

In spite of the fact that Ormuṛi is apparently being maintained in Kaniguram at the present time, there are several factors which call its future viability into question. Perhaps the most important is the fact that Ormuṛi speakers are surrounded by the much larger Pashto-speaking community, with whom they interact frequently. Patterns of language use, discussed above, suggest that in some domains the Ormuṛ must use Pashto or some other second language in order to facilitate communication. It is doubtful that the larger Pashtoon community would see any utilitarian value in learning Ormuṛi. It also seems to be true that the Ormuṛ do not harbor negative feelings toward the use of Pashto, but instead see it as a language they must know in order to function outside of their own language community.

When speculating about what might happen to the Ormuṛi of Kaniguram in the future, it is important to keep in mind the community of Baraki-Barak. Under some of the same factors affecting linguistic vitality, the Ormuṛi language there has all but disappeared. Of the Baraki-Barak community, Kieffer (1977:74) writes:

... of the 300 or 400 Ormuṛ who live there, less than about fifty still speak Ormuṛi, for the most part

adult men or old people who, contrary to the majority, practice strict endogamy. Many middle-aged people spoke it in their youth, but scarcely use it any longer, except occasionally, as a secret language, when they do not want to be understood by the Persian or Paṣṭo speakers. The young people, at least some of them, still understand it, but do not speak it.

7. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In summary, it would seem that the Ormuṛi of Kaniguram may be significantly different than the variety spoken in Logar since Kieffer reports that the Kaniguram variety is not understood in Baraki-Barak (Logar). However, the question of dialect variation may be one of little import today since Ormuṛi has apparently all but disappeared in Logar.

A more important question might be one which asks to what extent other languages, such as Pashto, have had an influence on Ormuṛi, and, in general on the Ormuṛ community. In Logar it would seem that the pressures of much larger languages, such as Pashto and Persian, have virtually eliminated Ormuṛi from the scene. But in Kaniguram, the Ormuṛ seem to have maintained a certain degree of distinctiveness as a language community. Comparative word list data presented in this study demonstrate this fact, since the Ormuṛi of Kaniguram has a low degree of lexical similarity with the Pashto which surrounds it.

Patterns of language use, as reported by interviewees in this present study, would also support the conclusion that Ormuṛi is being maintained in Kaniguram. This also corresponds to expressed feelings of positive attitudes toward Ormuṛi by those from this community. However, patterns of bilingualism within this community would suggest that the environment is one where bilingual proficiency, especially in Pashto, is pervasive.

These facts taken by themselves cannot decide the fate of Ormuṛi, as it is spoken in Kaniguram, but if the influences which have caused the virtual death of Ormuṛi in Logar are also present in Kaniguram, then one must wonder about its future viability

there also. It is with all of these forces in mind that one must reserve judgment about the future of Ormuṛi in Kaniguram. At present, it seems that Ormuṛi is being maintained in the Ormuṛ community of Kaniguram, but there are also powerful influences at work which, even now, may be slowly turning the wheels which will eventually lead to language shift. It would be a valuable contribution if someone were to investigate the Ormuṛi of Kaniguram further to find out more about why the language continues to be maintained in the face of such influences.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

METHODOLOGIES

APPENDIX A.1

PROCEDURE FOR COUNTING LEXICAL SIMILARITY

A standard list of 210 vocabulary items was collected from speakers at key locations for each of the languages studied in the surveys reported in these volumes. This list is presented at the end of this section along with the Urdu and Pashto words used for elicitation. A phonetic chart presenting the transcription conventions used in these reports precedes the elicitation list.

In standard procedure, the 210 words are elicited from a person who has grown up in the target locality. The list is then collected a second time from another speaker. Any differences in responses are examined in order to identify (1) incorrect responses due to misunderstanding of the elicitation cue, (2) loan words offered in response to the language of elicitation when indigenous terms are actually still in use, and (3) terms which are simply at different places along the generic-specific lexical scale. Normally, a single term is recorded for each item of the word list. However, more than one term is recorded for a single item when synonymous terms are apparently in general use or when more than one specific term occupies the semantic area of a more generic item on the word list.

An evaluation of the reliability of each word list is given according to three levels, from A to C. The reliability codes are assigned based on the following criteria: whether the word list was adequately checked through a second independent elicitation and/or through comparison with published data; whether the original elicitation was clearly tape recorded for further checking where necessary; whether the word list informant demonstrated full bilingual proficiency in the language of elicitation and clearly understood the procedure; and whether the list was collected on location from a speaker who unquestionably represented the regional variety.

The word lists are compared to determine the extent to which the vocabulary of each pair of speech forms is similar. No attempt is made to identify genuine cognates based on a network of sound correspondences. Rather, two items are judged to be phonetically similar if at least half of the segments compared are the same (category 1) and of the remaining segments at least half are rather similar (category 2). For example, if two items of eight segments in length are compared, these words are judged to be similar if at least four segments are virtually the same and at least two more are rather similar. The criteria applied are presented in (1).

(1)

Category 1

- a. Contoid (consonant-like) segments which match exactly
- b. Vowels (vowel-like) segments which match exactly or differ by only one articulatory feature
- c. Phonetically similar segments (of the sort which frequently are found as allophones) which are seen to correspond in at least three pairs of words

Category 2

All other phonetically similar pairs of segments which are not, however, supported by at least three pairs of words

Category 3

- a. Pairs of segments which are not phonetically similar
- b. A segment which is matched by no segment in the corresponding item

After pairs of items on two word lists had been determined to be phonetically similar or not, according to the criteria stated above, the percentage of items judged similar was calculated. The procedure was repeated for each pair of dialects thought to be similar enough to warrant comparison.

Occasionally, one or more of the standard 210 lexical items were found to be so problematic in a particular language that consistent elicitation was impossible or evaluation of similarity became anomalous. In those few cases the problematic lexical items were omitted from the data lists presented in the subsequent appendices, and were excluded from the lexical similarity counts.

The pair by pair counting procedure was greatly facilitated by the use of a computer program designed for this purpose: Wimbish, John A. 1989. *WORDSURV: A program for analyzing language survey word lists*. (Occasional Publications in Academic Computing, 13.) Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

It should be noted that the word list data and transcribed texts as included in the subsequent appendices are field transcriptions and have not undergone thorough phonological and grammatical analysis.

A.1.1 Phonetic Chart

Consonants

	Labio-		Alveop./ Retro-		Velar	Uvular	Glottal
	Bilabial	dental	Dental	Palatal	flexed		
Stops	p		t		t̚	k	q
	b		d		ɖ	g	ɢ
Fricatives	ɸ	f	θ			x	ħ
	β	v	ð			ɣ	
Grooved			s	š	ʃ		
Fricatives			z	ž	ʒ		
Affricates			t͡s	č	ć		
			d͡z	ǰ	ǰ̣		
Nasals	m		n	ɲ	ɳ	ŋ	
Laterals			ɭ l		ɮ		
Flaps			r		ɾ		
Trills			rr̄				
Semi-vowels	w			y	ɥ		

Vowels

	Front		Central		Back	
High	i	ü	ɨ	ʉ	ɨ	u
	ɪ				ɨ̃	ʊ
Mid	e	ö	ə		ɛ̃	o
	ɛ		ʌ			
Low	æ	ɔ̃	ɑ		æ̃	ɔ

[t ^h]	aspiration	[i̥]	voicelessness
[t ^w]	labialization	[i:]	extra lengthening
[t ^y]	palatalization	[iː]	lengthening
[zʌˈbʌn]	stress	[i]	shortening
[x̟]	fronting	[í]	rising tone
[ĩ]	nasalized vowel	[ì]	falling tone
[i̠]	retroflexed vowel	[ĩ]	falling then rising tone

A.1.2 Standard Word List Items in English, Urdu, and Pashto

	<i>Urdu</i>	<i>Pashto</i>
1. body	ĵism	badʌn
2. head	sʌr	sʌr
3. hair	bal	wextə
4. face	čehra	mʌx
5. eye	ek āk ^h	stʌrgʌ
6. ear	ek kan	γwʌg
7. nose	nak	pozʌ
8. mouth	mūh	xolə
9. teeth	ek dāt	γʌx
10. tongue	zʌban	ĵibʌ / žibʌ
11. breast	č ^h ati	sina
12. belly	peṭ	xetʌ / geḡʌ
13. arm/hand	bazu	las
14. elbow	kohni	sʌŋgʌl
15. palm	hʌt ^h eli	tʌle
16. finger	uŋgli	gotʌ
17. fingernail	naxun	nuk ^h
18. leg	ṭaŋ	xpʌ
19. skin	ĵild	sʌrman
20. bone	hʌḡi	aḡuke
21. heart	dil	zʌrə
22. blood	xun	wina
23. urine	pešab	tʌše mutiaze
24. feces	pexana	ḡʌke mutiaze
25. village	gaū	kʌle
26. house	g ^h ʌr/mʌkan	kor
27. roof	č ^h ʌt	čʌt ^h
28. door	dʌrwʌzʌ	wʌr / dʌrwʌzʌ
29. firewood	ĵʌlane wali lʌkri	dʌ swʌzedo lʌrgi
30. broom	ĵ ^h aṭu	ĵʌru
31. mortar	masala pisne gol čiz/lʌŋgri	lʌŋgʌre ⁱ
32. pestle	hʌt ^h i/dʌsta/hat ^h ka hisʌ	čotu
33. hammer	hʌt ^h əṭʌ/-i	saṭʌk
34. knife	čaqu/č ^h uri	čaku / čaṭʌ
35. axe	kulhaṭʌ/-i	tʌbʌr
36. rope	rʌsʌi	pʌre
37. thread	d ^h aga	tar
38. needle	sui	stʌn
39. cloth	kʌpṭʌ	kʌpṭʌ
40. ring	ʌŋguṭ ^h i	gotʌ
41. sun	surʌj	nwʌr
42. moon	čʌnd	spogma ⁱ
43. sky	asman	asman
44. star	ek tara/sitara	store
45. rain	bariš	baran
46. water	pani	ubə
47. river	dʌryʌ	sind
48. cloud	badʌl	wʌryʌz

49. lightning	bijli ki čamak	přakigi
50. rainbow	qəsi quzalı	də buđa' təl
51. wind	hawa (tufan nehī)	hawa
52. stone	pat ^h ar	kaņe
53. path	rasta	lar
54. sand	ret	šaga
55. fire	aq	o ^h r
56. smoke	d ^h uā	luge
57. ash	rak ^h	ira
58. mud	kičar	xarfa
59. dust	mit'i	garđ / duřa
60. gold	sona	srə zar
61. tree	daxat/peř	wana
62. leaf	pat'a/-i	paņa
63. root	daxat ka ek jār	jararfe
64. thorn	kā'ta	azye
65. flower	p ^h ul	gwāl
66. fruit	p ^h al	mewa
67. mango	am	am
68. banana	kela	kela
69. wheat (husked)	gehū / gandum	yanam
70. barley	bajra	warbaši
71. rice (husked)	čawal	wrije
72. potato	alu	alu
73. eggplant	bəjan	tor bařingār
74. groundnut	muņ p ^h ali	mumpali
75. chili	mirč	marčake / mrač
76. turmeric	halđi	kurkaman
77. garlic	lehsan	uga
78. onion	piaz	piaz
79. cauliflower	p ^h ul gobi	gobi / gwāl gopi
80. tomato	ťamaťar	sur bařingār
81. cabbage	band gobi	ban gobi
82. oil	tel	tel
83. salt	namak	malga
84. meat	gošt (k ^h ane ke lie)	γwaxa
85. fat (of meat)	čerbi (gošt ka hissa)	wazda
86. fish	mač ^h i	kaḷ
87. chicken	muřyi	čarğa
88. egg	ek aņđa	ho / age
89. cow	gae	γwa
90. buffalo	b ^h es	mexa
91. milk	dud ^h	pe
92. horns	ek siņg	xkar
93. tail	đum	lake
94. goat	bałkri	biza
95. dog	kuťa	spe
96. snake	sāp	mar
97. monkey	bandar	bizo
98. mosquito	mač ^h ar	maše

99. ant	čiči	mege
100. spider	makri	jola
101. name	nam	num
102. man	admi / mard	sarfe
103. woman	arat	xaza
104. child	balca	mašum
105. father	bap	plar
106. mother	ma	mor
107. older brother	bara b ^h ai	mašar ror
108. younger brother	č ^h oča b ^h ai	kašar ror
109. older sister	bara balen / baji	mašra xor
110. younger sister	č ^h oči balen	kašra xor
111. son	beta	zwe
112. daughter	beči	lur
113. husband	šohar / xawand	xawand
114. wife	bivi	xaza
115. boy	larika	halak / alak
116. girl	lariki	jine
117. day	din / roz	wraz
118. night	rat / šab	špa
119. morning	subah / sawera	šhar
120. noon	dopaher	garma
121. evening	šam	maxam
122. yesterday	(guzara) kal	parun
123. today	ač	nan
124. tomorrow	(ainda) kal	saba
125. week	ek haft	haft
126. month	mahina	miašt
127. year	sal / baras	kal
128. old	purana (čiz ke lie)	zoč
129. new	nea (čiz)	nawe
130. good	lač ^h a (čiz)	xə
131. bad	xarab (čiz)	xarab
132. wet	b ^h iga	lund
133. dry	xušk / suk ^h a	wlač ^h
134. long	lambda	ugud
135. short	č ^h oča	lanč / čit
136. hot	garām (čiz)	tod / garām
137. cold	č ^h anča / sardi (čiz)	yax
138. right	daē / daē ^y a	xe
139. left	baē / baē ^y a	gas
140. near	qarib / nazdik	nizde
141. far	dur	lare
142. big	bara	yač
143. small	č ^h oča	warkoče / waruke
144. heavy	b ^h ari / wazni	drund
145. light	halika	spak
146. above	upar	učat / pas
147. below	niče	lande
148. white	sufed	spin

149. black	kala	tor
150. red	lal	sur
151. one	ek	yΛo
152. two	do	dwa
153. three	tin	dre
154. four	čar	salor
155. five	pāč	pinzə
156. six	č ^h ε	špaɡ
157. seven	sat	uwə
158. eight	aɫ ^h	aɫə
159. nine	nΛo	nΛhΛ
160. ten	dΛs	lΛs
161. eleven	gyarΛ	yaolΛs
162. twelve	barΛ	dolΛs
163. twenty	bis	šΛl
164. one hundred	ek so	sΛl
165. who	kən	sok
166. what	kya	sə
167. where	kɪd ^h Λr / kahā	čartΛ
168. when	kΛb	kΛlΛ
169. how many	kitne	somra / so
170. which	kənsΛ	kΛm
171. this	ye	da
172. that	wo	aɣa
173. these	ye (sΛb)	da
174. those	wo (sΛb)	aɣa
175. same	ek hi / bΛrabar	yao šan / yao rΛŋ
176. different	muxtΛlɪf	muxtΛlef / biel kɪsΛm
177. whole	mukΛmːΛl / salɪm	roy / sabat
178. broken	ɫuɫa	mat
179. few	t ^h oɾa / kuč / kΛm	lɑɡ
180. many	ziːdΛ	ɟer / ziat
181. all	sΛb	ɫol
182. to eat / eat!	tum k ^h ao	xoɾΛl / tΛ uxɾΛ
183. to bite / the dog bites / bit	kaɾna / kutːa kaɾa he	čičΛl / spi očičΛlo
184. to be hungry / you are hungry	b ^h uk ^h lɑɡna / tum ko b ^h uk ^h lɑɡta he	oge kedΛl / tə wɑɡe ye
185. to drink / drink!	pina / tum pio / pi lo	skΛl / tə wΛskΛ
186. to be thirsty / you are thirsty	pias lɑɡna / pias lɑɡta he	tɑɡe kedΛl / tɑɡe ⁱ ye
187. to sleep / sleep!	sona / tum so ʃao	udΛ kedΛl / tə udΛ šΛ
188. to lie / lie down!	leɾna / tum leɾ ʃao	sΛmlastΛl / tə sΛmla
189. to sit / sit!	bæɫ ^h na / tum bæɫ ^h ʃao	kenastΛl / tə kena
190. to give / give!	dena / tum de do / do	warkawal / tΛ warkΛ
191. burn (the wood)!	ʃalana / tum lΛkɾi ʃΛlao	tΛ largi oswazΛwΛ
192. to die / he died	mΛrna / vo mΛr gea	mɾΛ kedΛl / haya mΛɾ šo
193. to kill / kill the bird!	marna / tum čiɾia mar do	wΛʃΛl / tΛ marɣΛ ⁱ uwala

194. to fly / the bird flies / flew	uřna / čirja uřti hai	alıwatal / maryΔ ⁱ walwata
195. walk!	čalna / tum čalo	tə piada larša
196. to run / run!	dəřna / tum dəřo	manđa wahlal / ta manđa uwa
197. to go / go!	jana / tum jao	talal / tə larša
198. to come / come!	ana / tum ao	ratlal / tə raša
199. to speak / speak!	bolna / tum bolo	wayal / ta uwaya
200. to hear / hear! / listen!	sona / tum sono	awredal / ta wawra
201. to look / look!	dek ^h na / tum dek ^h o	katal / ta ugora
202. I	mã	zə
203. you (informal)	tum / tu	tə
204. you (formal)	ap	taso
205. he	vo	haya
206. she	vo	haya
207. we (inclusive)	ham (ham ər vo)	muřga
208. we (exclusive)	ham (ham, vo nehī)	muřga
209. you (plural)	tum (tum log)	taso
210. they	vo	haywi

APPENDIX A.2

RECORDED TEXT TESTING

The extent to which speakers of related dialectal varieties understand one another can be studied by means of tape recorded texts. The degree to which speakers of one variety understand a narrative text in another variety and answer questions about the content of that text is taken as an index of their comprehension of that speech form. From this, the amount of intelligibility between related speech forms can be extrapolated. The recorded text test methodology, as used in the present surveys, is based on that described by Casad (1974).¹⁸

Short, personal-experience narratives are deemed to be most suitable for comprehension testing of recorded texts in that the content must be relatively unpredictable and the speech form should be natural. An attempt is made to avoid folklore texts or other material likely to be widely known. A three- to five-minute story is recorded from a speaker of the regional vernacular, and then checked with a group of speakers from the same region to ensure that the spoken forms are truly representative of that area. This story is then transcribed and a set of comprehension questions¹⁹ is constructed based on various semantic domains covered in the text. To ensure that measures of comprehension are based on the subjects' understanding of the text itself and not on a misunderstanding of the test questions, these questions are always recorded in the regional variety of the test subjects; this requires an appropriate dialect version of the questions for each recorded text test (RTT) for each test location.

According to the standard procedure adopted for the recorded text testing in northern Pakistan, test subjects heard the complete story text once, after which the story was repeated with test questions and the opportunities for responses interspersed with necessary pauses in the recorded text. Appropriate and correct responses are directly extractable from the segment of speech immediately preceding the question, such that memory limitations exert a negligible effect and indirect inferencing based on the content is not required.

¹⁸ For more detailed information, the reader is referred to Casad, Eugene H. 1974. *Dialect intelligibility testing*. Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics. For elaboration on the use of recorded text tests in the study of bilingual communities, see Blair, Frank. 1990. *Survey on a shoestring: A manual for small scale language surveys*. Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics and University of Texas at Arlington.

¹⁹ A set of approximately fifteen questions is normally prepared, more than the minimum of ten that will be needed in the final form of the test. Some of the questions will prove unsuitable — perhaps because the answer is not evident or the question is confusing to native speakers of the test variety. Unsuitable questions may then be deleted from the larger set of questions without failing to have at least the needed ten questions.

Thus the RTT aims to be a closer reflection of a subject's comprehension of the language itself, not of his or her memory, intelligence, or reasoning.²⁰

In order to ensure that the text is a fair test of the intelligibility of the linguistic variety in focus, other speakers of the same local variety are asked to listen to the text and answer the questions. If they are able to do that, it is assumed that the story is an adequate sample of local speech, and that the questions are readily answerable by those for whom this speech form is native. This testing of subjects in their native speech form for the purpose of test validation is often referred to as *hometown* testing.

It is possible that a subject may be unable to answer the test questions correctly simply because he does not understand what is expected of him. This is especially true with unsophisticated subjects or those unacquainted with test-taking procedures. Therefore, a very short (pre-test) story with four questions is recorded in the local variety before beginning the actual testing, in order to acquaint the subject with the test procedures. If he is able to answer these pre-test questions correctly, it is assumed that he is capable of functioning as a suitable subject. Each subject then participates in the hometown test in his native speech form before participating in recorded text tests in non-native varieties. Occasionally, even after the pre-test, a subject fails to perform adequately on an already validated hometown test. Performances of such subjects were eliminated from the final evaluation, the assumption being that uncontrollable factors unrelated to the intelligibility of speech forms are skewing such test results.²¹ Thus, validated hometown tests are used for subject screening, in an attempt to ensure that recorded text testing results reflect as closely as possible the relative levels of comprehensibility of the speech forms represented.

Test tapes are prepared for each location where a test is to be administered (test point). The hometown test tape includes (a) a short introduction in the local speech form to explain the purpose of the test, (b) the pre-test to orient and screen test subjects, (c) the hometown test text in its entirety followed by a repeat of the text, in short sections, with the relevant test questions and adequate pauses inserted in appropriate locations.

The non-native test tapes are similar, omitting the screening elements from the hometown test tape. A short introduction in the local speech form reminding subjects of the test procedures precedes each recorded text. Then the recorded narrative in the non-native variety is given in its entirety, followed by the comprehension questions, now translated into the local speech form for that test point and with the relevant part of the non-native text repeated before each question.

When speakers of one linguistic variety have had no previous contact with that represented in the recorded text, the test scores of ten subjects tend to be more similar — especially when scores are in the higher ranges. Such

²⁰ Recorded texts and associated comprehension questions will vary in terms of their relative difficulty and complexity or in terms of the clarity of the recording. Comparisons of RTT results from different texts need to be made cautiously and in the context of other indicators of intelligibility.

²¹ For the purposes of this research, recorded text test subjects performing at levels of less than 80 percent on their hometown test were eliminated from further testing or were excluded from the analysis.

consistent scores are interpreted to be reflections of the inherent intelligibility between the related varieties. Increasing the number of subjects should not significantly increase the range of variation of the scores.

However, when some subjects have had significant previous contact with the speech form recorded on the test, while others have not, the scores should vary considerably, reflecting the degree of learning that has gone on through contact. For this reason it is important to include a measure of dispersion which reflects the extent to which the range of scores varies from the mean — the standard deviation. If the standard deviation is relatively low, say 10 or below on a test with 100 possible points (that is, 100 percent), and the mean score for subjects from the selected test point is high, the implication is that the community as a whole probably understands the test variety rather well simply because the variety represented in the recording is inherently intelligible. If the standard deviation is relatively low and the mean comprehension score is also low, the implication is that the community as a whole understands the test variety rather poorly and that regular contact has not facilitated learning of the test variety to any significant extent. If the standard deviation is high, regardless of the mean score, one implication is that some subjects have learned to comprehend the test variety better than others.²² In this last case, any inherent intelligibility between the related varieties is mixed with acquired comprehension which results from learning through contact.²³

Much care was taken in the recorded text testing in these sociolinguistic surveys, thus the results are discussed with the assumption that the effects from intervening factors were either negligible or were interpreted appropriately. However, in contrast to experimentally controlled testing in a laboratory situation, the results of field administered methods such as the RTT cannot be completely isolated from all potential biases. It is therefore recommended that results from recorded text tests not be interpreted in terms of fixed numerical thresholds, but rather be evaluated in light of other indicators of intelligibility, such as word lists and dialect opinions, and according to patterns of contact and communication.

RTTs in Second Language Testing

The procedures of recorded text testing as used for evaluating comprehension of a second language are similar to those used for dialect comprehension testing. A personal experience text is prepared by a mother tongue speaker of the target language. It is validated to be a clear and

²² High standard deviations can result from other causes, such as inconsistencies in the circumstances of test administration and scoring or differences in attentiveness or intelligence of test subjects. The researchers involved in recorded text testing need to be aware of the potential for skewed results due to such factors, and control for them as much as possible through careful test development and administration.

²³ Questionnaires administered at the time of testing, then, can help discover which factors are significant in promoting such contact. Travel to trade centers, radio broadcasts, and intermarriage are examples of the type of channel through which contact with another dialect can occur. Sample questionnaires are given in the appendices of the different surveys.

representative sample of the targeted variety of the second language by other mother tongue speakers of that language.

Before the recorded text test in the second language is administered, each subject is screened by participating in a hometown test in his own language as described above. In this way, it is ascertained that the subject understands the testing process sufficiently and also that he is indeed a speaker of the language of the community being tested.

Because second language proficiency is usually unevenly distributed in a community, a large sample of subjects is generally tested. To ensure representative sampling, attention must be paid to factors which are expected to potentially affect the comprehension of the second language, such as acquisition through schooling or through contact opportunities which are connected with gender, age, or economic migration patterns. Thus, where such independent variables are hypothesized as having an effect, sufficient numbers of subjects for evaluation of such effects must be included in the test sample. Interpretation and evaluation of test results must take these independent variables into consideration.

APPENDIX B

WORD LISTS

Location code, location, reliability code

PES	Peshawar Pashto, A
CHS	Charsadda Pashto, A
MAR	Mardan Pashto, A
SWA	Swabi Pashto, A
MAD	Madyan Pashto, A
MIN	Saidu Sharif/Mingora Pashto, A
BAT	Batagram Pashto, A
BAF	Baffa Pashto, A
OGI	Oghi Pashto, B
DIR	Dir Pashto, B
BAJ	Bajaur Pashto, B
MOH	Mohmand Pashto, B
NIG	Ningrahar Pashto, A
SHN	Shinwari Pashto, A
BAR	Bar/Loi Shilman Pashto, B
MAL	Mallagori Pashto, B
ZKH	Zakha Khel Afridi Pashto, B
JAM	Jamrud Afridi Pashto, A
TIR	Tirah Afridi Pashto, B
JAL	Jallozai Pashto, B
CHE	Cherat Pashto, B
PAR	Parachinar Pashto, B
HAN	Hangu Pashto, B
TAL	Thal Pashto, B
KRK	Karak Pashto
LAK	Lakki Marwat Pashto, B
BAN	Bannu Pashto, B
MIR	Miran Shah Pashto (North Waziristan), B
WAA	Wana Pashto (South Waziristan), B
QUE	Quetta Pashto, A
CHA	Chaman Pashto, A
PAS	Pishin Pashto, A
KAK	Pashin Kakaři Pashto, A
KHR	Kandahar Pashto, A
WCI	Waņeci, A
ORM	Ormuři, A

Missing numbers indicate lexical items excluded from similarity count.

	1. body	2. head	3. hair
PES	ba'dΔn	sΔr	wextΔ
CHS	badΔn	sΔr	wextΔ
MAR	badΔn	sΔr	wextΔ
SWA	badΔn	sΔr	wextΔ
MAD	badΔn	sΔr	wextΔ
MIN	badΔn	sΔr	wextΔ
BAT	badΔn	sΔr	wextΔ
BAF	badΔn	sΔr	wextΔ
OGI	badΔn	sΔr	wextΔ
DIR	--	sΔr	wextΔ
BAJ	bΔdΔn	sΔr	wextΔ
MOH	badΔn	sΔr	ixtΔ / wixtΔ
NIG	badΔn	sΔr	wex'tΔ
SHN	ba'dΔn	sΔr	ixtΔ
BAR	bΔdΔn	sΔr	ixtΔ
MAL	bΔdΔn	sΔr	ixtΔ
ZKH	badΔn	sΔr	wextΔ
JAM	ba'dΔn	sΔr	wex'tΔ
TIR	ba'dΔn	sΔr	wex'ton
JAL	badΔn	sΔr	weštΔ
CHE	badΔn	sΔr	weštΔ
PAR	bΔdan	sΔr	wextə
HAN	bΔdΔn	sΔr	wextΔ
TAL	badΔn	sΔr	wextə
KRK	badΔn	sΔr	wextā
LAK	badΔn	sΔr	weštΔ
BAN	bΔdΔn	sΔr	wištΔ
MIR	badΔn	sΔr	wištΔ
WAA	--	sΔr	wašti
QUE	bΔdΔn	sΔr	weštan / weštΔ
CHA	bΔdΔn	sΔr	weštan
PAS	bΔdΔn	sΔr	beštan
KAK	bΔdΔn	sΔr	wuštan
KHR	badΔn	sΔr	beštan / wreštΔ
WCI	badΔn	sΔr	weštan
ORM	dzan	sΔr	dre

	4. face	5. eye	6. ear
PES	mλx	'stλrgλ	ɣwλg
CHS	mλx	stλrgλ	ɣwλg
MAR	mλx	stλrgλ	ɣwλg
SWA	mλx	stλrgλ	ɣwλg
MAD	mλx	stλrgλ	ɣwλg
MIN	mλx	stλrgλ	ɣwλg
BAT	mλx	stλrgλ	ɣwλg
BAF	mλx	stλrgλ	ɣwλg
OGI	mλx	stλrgλ	ɣwλg
DIR	mλx	stλrgλ	ɣwλg
BAJ	mλx	stλrgλ	ɣwλg
MOH	mλx	stλrgλ	ɣwλg
NIG	mλx	'stλrgλ	ɣwλg
SHN	mλx	'stλrgλ	ɣwλg
BAR	mλx	stλrgλ	ɣwλg
MAL	mλx	stλrgλ	ɣwλg
ZKH	mλx	stλrgλ	ɣweg
JAM	mλx	'stλrgλ	ɣweg
TIR	mλx	'stλrgλ	ɣweg
JAL	mλx	stλrgλ	ɣwež
CHE	mλx	stλrgλ	ɣwλg
PAR	mλx	stλrgλ	ɣwλg
HAN	mλx	stλrgλ	ɣweg
TAL	mλx	stλrgλ	ɣeg
KRK	mλx	stλrgλ	ɣwλg
LAK	mλx	stλrgλ	ɣwλž
BAN	mλx	stλrgλ	ɣwλž
MIR	mλx	stλrgλ	ɣež
WAA	mλx	stλrgλ	ɣwož
QUE	mλx	stλrgλ	ɣwλž
CHA	mλx	stλrgλ	ɣwλž
PAS	mλx	stλrgλ	ɣwλž
KAK	mλx	stλrgλ	ɣwλž
KHR	mλx	stλrgλ	ɣwλž
WCI	mλx	stλrg	ɣwλž
ORM	mox	tsom / tsλŋe	goi

	7. nose	8. mouth	9. teeth
PES	'poza	xo'la	γax
CHS	poza	xola	γax
MAR	poza	xola	γax
SWA	poza	xola	γax
MAD	poza	xola	γax
MIN	poza	xola	γax
BAT	poza	xola	γax
BAF	poza	xola	γax
OGI	poza	xola	γax
DIR	poza	xola	γax
BAJ	poza	xola	γax
MOH	poza	xola	γax
NIG	'paza	xo'la	γax
SHN	suŋga	xo'la	γax
BAR	poza	xola	γax
MAL	p ^h oza	xola	γax
ZKH	sλŋga	xola	γwax
JAM	'peza	xo'la	γax
TIR	'peza	xo'la	γwax
JAL	poza	xola	γaš
CHE	poza	xola	γwaš
PAR	poza	xola	γox
HAN	suŋga	xola	γax
TAL	peza	xola	γox
KRK	peza	xola	γwoš
LAK	paza	xola	γaš
BAN	peza	xola	γwaš
MIR	peza	xola	γoš / γwoš
WAA	peza	xola	γwoš
QUE	paza	xola	γaš
CHA	poza	xola	γaš
PAS	paza	xola	γaš
KAK	paza	xola	γaš
KHR	paza	xola	γaš
WCI	piza	xola	γaš
ORM	nene	pioz	gas

	10. tongue	11. breast	12. belly
PES	'jib _Δ	'sin _Δ	xet _Δ
CHS	jib _Δ	sina	xet _Δ / geɖ _Δ
MAR	jib _Δ	sina	xet _Δ / geɖ _Δ
SWA	jib _Δ	sina	geɖ _Δ
MAD	ʒeb _Δ / ʒib _Δ	sina	xet _Δ / geɖ _Δ
MIN	ʒeb _Δ / ʒib _Δ	sina	xet _Δ / geɖ _Δ
BAT	ʒib _Δ	sina	xet _Δ / geɖ _Δ
BAF	ʒib _Δ	sina	xet _Δ / geɖ _Δ
OGI	ʒib _Δ	sina	xet _Δ / geɖ _Δ
DIR	ʒib _Δ	sina	xet _Δ
BAJ	ʒiba	sina	xet _Δ
MOH	ʒ _Δ b _Δ	sina	xet _Δ
NIG	ʒ _Δ ba	si'n _Δ	'xet _Δ
SHN	'ʒ _Δ b _Δ	'sin _Δ	geɖ _Δ
BAR	ʒɪba	sina	geɖ _Δ
MAL	ʒ _Δ ba	sina	xet _Δ
ZKH	ʒ _Δ ba	sina	geɖ _Δ
JAM	ʒiba	'sin _Δ	geɖ _Δ
TIR	'j _Δ b _Δ	si'n _Δ	'geɖ _Δ
JAL	ʒiba	sina	xet _Δ / geɖ _Δ
CHE	ʒib _Δ	sina	xet _Δ
PAR	ʒ _Δ b _Δ	sina	xet _Δ
HAN	ʒib _Δ	sina	xet _Δ
TAL	ʒɪba	sina	xet _Δ
KRK	ʒ _Δ b _Δ	sina	xet _Δ
LAK	z _Δ b _Δ	sina	geɖ _Δ
BAN	ʒ _Δ ba	sina	geɖ _Δ
MIR	ʒ _Δ ba	sina	g _Δ d _Δ / xet _Δ
WAA	z _Δ b _Δ	sina / dzig _Δ r	g _Δ d _Δ / nas
QUE	z _Δ b _Δ	sina / dzig _Δ r	nas
CHA	ʒ _Δ b _Δ	sina / dzig _Δ r	nas
PAS	ʒ _Δ b _Δ	sina / dzig _Δ r	nas / xet _Δ
KAK	z _Δ b _Δ	zig _Δ r	nas / xet _Δ
KHR	ʒ _Δ b _Δ	sina / zig _Δ r / dzig _Δ r	nas
WCI	zba	ʒig _Δ r	nas / g _Δ d _Δ
ORM	z _Δ ban	sina	ɖim

	13. arm/hand	14. elbow (forearm)	15. palm
PES	las	sΛŋ'gΔl	tΔle
CHS	las	sΛŋgΔl	tΔle
MAR	las	sΛŋgΔl	tΔle
SWA	las	sΛŋgΔl	tΔle
MAD	las	tsΛŋgΔl	tΔle
MIN	las	sΛŋgΔl	tΔle
BAT	lečΛ / las	sΛŋgΔl	tΔle / warɣΛwai
BAF	lečΛ	sΛŋgΔl	tΔle
OGI	lečΛ	sΛŋgΔl	tΔle
DIR	las	sΛŋgΔl	tΔle
BAJ	las	sΛŋgΔl	tΔle / worɣΛwei
MOH	ɭas	'sΛŋgΔl	tale
NIG	las	tsΛŋ'gΔl	r'ɣΛwa ⁱ
SHN	las	tsΛŋ'gΔl	tala ⁱ
BAR	las	tsΛŋgΔl	tΔle
MAL	las	tsΛŋgΔl	tΔla ⁱ
ZKH	los	tsΛŋgΔl	tΔla ⁱ
JAM	las	tsΛŋ'gΔl	tala ⁱ
TIR	los	tsΛŋ'gΔl	ta'la ⁱ
JAL	las	sΛŋgΔl	tΔle
CHE	las	tΛxnΛ ⁱ	tΔle
PAR	los	tsΛŋgΔΛ	warɣΛwi / tΔlia
HAN	las	terkΛ ⁱ	tΔla ⁱ
TAL	los	tsΛŋgΔΛ	tΔla
KRK	los	tsΛŋgΔl	tΔla ⁱ
LAK	las	sΛŋgΔl	ɣΛrwΛ ⁱ
BAN	los	sΛŋgΔl	tΔla ⁱ
MIR	los	sΛŋ'gΔl	wΛɣΛwΛ ⁱ / tΔla ⁱ
WAA	wΛzΛr	tsΛŋgΔl	wΛrɣΛwΛ ⁱ
QUE	las	žire	warɣΛwΛ ⁱ
CHA	las	žΛrΛ ⁱ	warɣΛwΛ ⁱ
PAS	las	žerΛ ⁱ / tsɛŋgΔl	warɣΛwΛ ⁱ
KAK	lΔč / las / wΛzΛr	sΛŋgΛ ⁱ	warɣΛwΛ ⁱ
KHR	las	žerΛ ⁱ / tsΛŋgΔl / tsɛŋgΔle	warɣΛwΛ ⁱ
WCI	las	tsɛŋgΔle	warɣΛwΛ
ORM	bizer	čɛŋgɭl	tΔla ⁱ

	16. finger	17. fingernail	18. leg / foot
PES	'got Δ	nuk ^h	xpa
CHS	got Δ	nuk ^h	xpa
MAR	gw Δ t Δ	nuk ^h	xpa
SWA	got Δ	nuk ^h	xpa
MAD	gwot Δ / gw Δ t Δ	nuk ^h	xpa
MIN	gwot Δ	nuk ^h	xpa
BAT	got Δ	nuk ^h	xpa
BAF	got Δ	nuk ^h	pa Δ da ⁱ / xpa
OGI	got Δ	nuk ^h	pa Δ da ⁱ
DIR	got Δ	nuk	pa Δ da ⁱ
BAJ	got Δ	nuk ^h	pa Δ da ⁱ
MOH	gw Δ ta	nuk ^h	xpa
NIG	'gw Δ ta	nuk ^h	p [^] xa
SHN	'got Δ / gw Δ ta	nuk ^h	p [^] 'xa
BAR	gw Δ ta	nuk ^h	pxa
MAL	gw Δ ta / got Δ	nuk ^h	xpa
ZKH	gwot Δ	nuk ^h	pxa
JAM	'got Δ / gwot Δ	nuk ^h	p [^] xa
TIR	'got Δ	nuk ^h	pa [^] 'xa
JAL	gota / gwot Δ	nuk ^h	špa
CHE	got Δ	nuk ^h	xpa
PAR	gw Δ ta	nuk ^h	pxa / la η ga ⁱ
HAN	got Δ	nuk	xpa
TAL	got Δ	nuk	xpa
KRK	gwot Δ	nuk ^h	pša
LAK	got Δ / gwot Δ	nuk ^h	pša
BAN	gota	nik	p [^] ša
MIR	gwot Δ	nik ^h	pša / p [^] ša
WAA	gw Δ t Δ	nik ^h	p [^] ša
QUE	got Δ	nuk ^h	p [^] ša / le η ga
CHA	got Δ	nuk ^h	p [^] ša
PAS	gw Δ t Δ	nuk ^h	pša
KAK	gw Δ t Δ	nuk ^h	ɣa Γ a ⁱ / le η ga ⁱ / pša
KHR	gw Δ t Δ / gw Δ ta	nuk ^h	andam / pša
WCI	gwut ^h	nuk ^h	špa / ɣa Δ a ⁱ
ORM	ŋgošt	na Δ xkče	la η ga ⁱ

	19. skin	20. bone	21. heart
PES	sAR'mAN	a'duke	ZΛ'ɽΛ
CHS	sARMAN	aɖuke	ZΛɽΛ
MAR	sARMAN / postΛke	aɖuke	ZɽΛ
SWA	tsARMAN	aɖuke	ZΛɽΛ
MAD	tsARMAN	aɖuke	ZɽΛ
MIN	tsARMAN	aɖuke	ZɽΛ
BAT	tsARMAN	aɖuke	ZɽΛ
BAF	sARMAN	aɖuke	ZɽΛ
OGI	sARMAN	aɖuke	ZɽΛ
DIR	postΛke	aɖuke	ZΛ
BAJ	postΛke	haɖuke	ZɽΛ
MOH	sARMAN	aɖuke / aɽuke	ZɽΛ
NIG	tsAR'mAN	a'duke	ZΛ'ɽΛ
SHN	tsar'man / postΛkΛ ⁱ	a'duka ⁱ	Z ^ʌ 'ɽΛ / ZɽΛ
BAR	tsARMAN	aɖukΛ ⁱ	ZΛɽΛ
MAL	tsARMAN / postΛkΛ ⁱ	aɖukΛ ⁱ	ZɽΛ
ZKH	tsARMAN	aɖukΛ ⁱ	ZɽΛ
JAM	tsar'man	a'duka ⁱ	ZɽΛ
TIR	pe'ɽaqa ⁱ	aɖuka ⁱ	Z ^ʌ 'ɽΛ
JAL	tsARMAN	aɖuke	ZɽΛ
CHE	tsARMAN / čamɽa	aɖuke	ZɽΛ
PAR	postΛke	aɖuke	ZɽΛ
HAN	putΛXΛ ⁱ	Λɖuke	ZɽΛ
TAL	tsARMAN	aɖuki	ZɽΛ
KRK	tsarman	aɖuka	Zɽɽ
LAK	čARMAN	aɖukΛ ⁱ	ZɽΛ
BAN	sARMAN / tsarman	hΛɖikΛ	--
MIR	sARMAN / čamɽa / pišteka	ΛɖikΛ ⁱ	ZɽΛ
WAA	tsarman / čamɽΛ	Λɖika ⁱ	Z ^ʌ 'ɽΛ
QUE	post	aɖuke / Λɖ	ZɽΛ
CHA	post	ΛɖukΛ ⁱ	ZɽΛ
PAS	post / tsARMAN	aɖuke ⁱ / hΛɖ	ZɽΛ
KAK	post	aɖukΛ ⁱ / Λɖ	ZɽΛ
KHR	post / tsARMAN	aɖukΛ ⁱ / hΛɖ	ZɽΛ
WCI	tsARMAN	hΛɖ	ZɽΛ
ORM	tsARmun / čamɽΛ	hΛɖ ^h	Z ^ʌ li

	22. blood	23. urine	25. village
PES	'winΛ	wΛʃe mučiaze	kΛle
CHS	wina	tΛše mičiaze	kΛle
MAR	winΛ	tΛše mitiaze	kΛle
SWA	winΛ	tΛše mitiaze	kΛle
MAD	winΛ	tΛše mitiaze	kΛle
MIN	winΛ	tΛše mitiaze	kΛle
BAT	wina	tΛše mitiaze / waʃuke mitiaze	kΛle
BAF	wina	tΛše mitiaze	kΛle
OGI	wina	tΛše mitiaze / waʃe mitiaze	kΛle
DIR	winΛ	tΛše mityaze	kΛle
BAJ	winΛ	mityΛze	kΛle
MOH	wina	tΛše mityaze	kΛle
NIG	'winΛ	--	kΛle
SHN	inΛ	tΛše mitiaze	kΛla ⁱ
BAR	ina	tΛše mityaze	kΛle
MAL	ina	mityΛze	kΛla ⁱ
ZKH	wina	tΛše mityaze	kΛla ⁱ
JAM	winΛ	tΛše mΛ'tiaze	kΛla ⁱ
TIR	'winΛ	tΛ'se mi'tyaze	kΛla ⁱ
JAL	wina	mΛtiaze / tΛše mitiaze	kΛle
CHE	wina	--	kΛΛΛ
PAR	winΛ	mutiaze (tΛše)	kΛle
HAN	winΛ	tΛše mityaze	kΛle
TAL	winΛ	tΛše mutiaze	kΛΛΛ
KRK	winΛ	wΛʃe mityaze	kΛΛΛ
LAK	winΛ	tΛse mitaze	kΛΛΛ ⁱ
BAN	wina	mutyaze	kΛΛΛ
MIR	winΛ	mΛtyanze	kΛΛΛ ⁱ
WAA	wina	rΛʃe mΛtyaze	kΛla ⁱ
QUE	winΛ	mičyaze	kΛΛΛ ⁱ
CHA	winΛ	mičyāze	kΛle
PAS	winΛ	mutyaze / mityaze	kΛle
KAK	winΛ	--	kΛle
KHR	winΛ	--	kΛle
WCI	winΛ	--	wagΛʃΛ
ORM	sun	miže	kele

	26. house	27. roof	28. door
PES	kor	čΛt ^h	war
CHS	kor	čΛt ^h	war / darwaza
MAR	kor	čΛt ^h	war / darwaza
SWA	kor	čΛt ^h	war / darwaza
MAD	kor	čΛt ^h	war / darwaza
MIN	kor	čΛt ^h	war / darwaza
BAT	kor	čΛt ^h	war / darwaza
BAF	kor	čΛt ^h	war / darwaza
OGI	kor	čΛt ^h	war / darwaza
DIR	kor	čΛt ^h	war
BAJ	kor	koṭe sar	darwaza
MOH	kor _o	čΛt [^]	darwaza
NIG	kor	čΛt ^h	war
SHN	kor	čΛt ^h	war / darwaza / tamba
BAR	kor	čΛt	darwaza
MAL	kor	čΛt ^h	darwaza
ZKH	kor	pas koṭa	darwaza
JAM	kor	čΛt ^h	war / darwaza
TIR	ko _l a	čat ^h	dar ^l woza
JAL	kor	čat	war / darwaza
CHE	kor	čΛt ^h	war / darwaza / war
PAR	--	bam	war / darwaza / war
HAN	kor	čΛt ^h	darwaza
TAL	kor	čΛt ^h	darwaza
KRK	kor	čΛt	war / darwaza
LAK	kor	čΛt	war / darwaza / tamba
BAN	kir	čΛt	dawaza
MIR	ker	čat	darwaza / tamba
WAA	kur / kor	čat	darwaza / tamba
QUE	kor	bam / čΛt ^h	darwaza / darga
CHA	kor	bam	darwaza
PAS	kor	bam	darwaza
KAK	kor	bam / čΛt ^h	war / darwaza
KHR	kor	bam	darwaza
WCI	kor	čΛt ^h	darwaza
ORM	nar	pon / čΛt	bar / darwaza

	30. broom	31. mortar	33. hammer
PES	ǰa'ru	lɒŋ'grɒ ⁱ	saʔɒk
CHS	ǰaru	lɒŋgrɒ ^e ⁱ	saʔɒk
MAR	ǰaru	lɒŋgrɒ ⁱ	saʔɒk
SWA	ǰaru	lɒŋgrɒ ⁱ	saʔɒk
MAD	ǰaru / ǰarugɒ ⁱ	lɒŋgrɒ ⁱ	tsaʔɒk / tsaʔɒke
MIN	ǰarugɒ ⁱ	lɒŋgrɒ ⁱ / nɒŋgrɒ ⁱ / nɒŋgrɒ ⁱ	tsaʔɒke
BAT	ǰaru	lɒŋgrɒ ⁱ	saʔɒke / saʔɒk
BAF	ǰaru	lɒŋgrɒ ⁱ	tsaʔɒke / saʔɒk
OGI	ǰaru	lɒŋgrɒ ⁱ	tsaʔɒke / saʔɒk
DIR	kanʔɒ	nɒŋ'grɒ ⁱ	saʔke
BAJ	ǰaru	lɒŋgrɒ ⁱ	saʔɒke
MOH	ǰaru	lɒŋgarɒ ⁱ	saʔɒk
NIG	ǰa'ru	naŋ'grɒ ⁱ	ʧɒk
SHN	ǰarugɒ ⁱ	lɒŋgrɒ ⁱ	tsuʔɒk
BAR	ǰaru	lɒŋgrɒ ⁱ	tsaʔke
MAL	ǰaru	lɒŋgrɒ ⁱ	saʔ'ɒk
ZKH	rebɒz	lɒŋgre	tsuʔɒk
JAM	ǰaru / rebɒz	lɒŋgrɒ ⁱ	suʔɒk
TIR	'rebɒz	lɒŋ'gre	tsuʔɒk
JAL	ǰaru	lɒŋgrɒ ⁱ	saʔɒk
CHE	ǰaru	lɒŋgrɒ ⁱ	soʔɒk
PAR	ǰare	lɒŋgrɒ ^e	tseʔe / tseʔɒk
HAN	rebɒzɒ	lɒŋgi	tsiti
TAL	rebɒzɒ	lɒŋgri	tseʔe
KRK	rebɒz	lɒŋgrɒ ⁱ	tseʔɒ ⁱ
LAK	rebɒʃ	bɒʔre / baʔɒl	tsaʔɒ ⁱ / tsatɒk
BAN	rebɒz	lɒŋgrɒ ⁱ	setiʔ
MIR	rebɒz / ǰaru	baʔɒl	tseʔɒ ⁱ
WAA	rebɒdz / rebɒz	baʔɒl	ʧuti
QUE	ǰaru	ukle / lɒwɒŋgrɒ	ʧuʔɒk
CHA	ǰaru	ukle / ɒwɒŋgrɒ	ʧɒk
PAS	ǰaru	wɒkli / ɒwɒŋgrɒ	ʧɒk
KAK	ǰaru	wɒkle	ʧuʔɒk
KHR	ǰaru	ɒwɒŋg / ɒwɒŋge	ʧɒk / ʧuʔɒk / suʔɒk
WCI	bahɒri	kwɒl	tsuʔɒk
ORM	ɒrɒwɒk	bɒɒl	ʧeʔtie

	34. knife	35. axe	36. rope
PES	čaku	tɬ'bar	pa'ʔe
CHS	čaku	tɬbar	paʔe
MAR	čaku	tɬbar / tɬbarge	paʔe
SWA	čaku	tɬbar	raʂa ⁱ / paʔe
MAD	čaku	tɬbar / tɬbarga ⁱ	paʔa ⁱ / paʔe
MIN	čaku	tɬbar	raʂe / paʔa ⁱ / paʔe
BAT	čaku	tɬbar / tɬbarga ⁱ	paʔe
BAF	čaku	tɬbar / tɬbarga ⁱ	paʔe
OGI	čaku	tɬbar	paʔe
DIR	čaqu	tɬbarge	sili
BAJ	čaku	tɬbarge	paʔe
MOH	čaku	tɬbarge	paʔe
NIG	čaʔa	tɬ'br	'paʔa ⁱ
SHN	čaku	tɬ'bar	pa'ʔa ⁱ / raʂa ⁱ
BAR	čoku	tɬbar	paʔe
MAL	čaku	tɬbr / tɬbar	paʔa ⁱ
ZKH	čok ^h u	tɬbar	paʔa ⁱ
JAM	čaku	tɬ'bar / tɬbarga ⁱ	pa'ʔa ⁱ / raʂe
TIR	čoku	tɬ'bar	ra'ʂe
JAL	čaku	tɬbar	paʔe ⁱ / raʂe ⁱ
CHE	čaku	tɬbar / tɬbarge	raʂe / paʔe
PAR	čaqu	tɬbar / tɬbarga ⁱ	raʂe
HAN	čaku	tɬrbage	paʔa ⁱ
TAL	čaku	--	paʔa
KRK	čaqu	tɬrbaga ⁱ	paʔa
LAK	čaku	tɬbar / tɬbarga ⁱ	paʔa ⁱ
BAN	čaku	tɬbar	paʔa
MIR	čake	tɬbar	paʔa ⁱ
WAA	čaki	tɬbar	reʂa ⁱ / paʔa ⁱ
QUE	čaku	tobar	raʂe
CHA	čaku	tɬbar	raʂi
PAS	čaku	tɬbar	raʂe
KAK	čaku	tɬbar	raʂe
KHR	čaqu	tɬbar	raʂe
WCI	čaqu	tɬbar	paʔe
ORM	čaku	načaxa ⁱ	paʔa ⁱ

	37. thread	38. needle	39. cloth
PES	tar	stɒn	kɒ'pɾɒ
CHS	tar	stɒn	karɾa
MAR	tar	stɒn	kɒpɾɒ
SWA	tar	stɒn	karɾa
MAD	tar	stɒn	kɒpɾa / ʔuke
MIN	tar	stɒn	kɒpɾa / ʔuke
BAT	tar	stɒn	karɾa / ʔuke
BAF	tar	stɒn	karɾa / ʔuke
OGI	tar	stɒn	ʔuke
DIR	tar	stɒn	---
BAJ	tar	stɒn	kɒpɾa
MOH	tar _o	stɒn	kɒpɾe
NIG	tar	stɒn	rɒxt
SHN	tar	stɒn	rɒxt
BAR	tar	stɒn	ʒame
MAL	goɖ	stɒn	rɒxt
ZKH	'tor	stɒn	rɒxt
JAM	tar	stɒn	rɒxt / kɒpɾa
TIR	tor	stɒn	'late
JAL	tar	stɒn	kɒpɾa
CHE	tar	stɒnɒ	karɾa
PAR	tar	stɒnɒ	rɒxt
HAN	tar	stɒn	kɒpɾɒ
TAL	bagɒ	stɒnɒ	kɒpɾa
KRK	pɒŋsɒ ⁱ	stɒn	kɒpɾa
LAK	spɒŋsɒ ⁱ	stɒn	ʂoe
BAN	muzɒ	stɒn	kɒpɾa
MIR	mɒzɒ ⁱ / pɒnsɒ ⁱ	stɒn	rɒx
WAA	mɒzɒ ⁱ	stɒn	ʂui
QUE	spɒŋsɒ ⁱ	stɒnɒ	tukoɾe
CHA	spɒŋsɒ ⁱ	stɒn	ʔukɒr
PAS	spɒŋsɒ ⁱ	stɒn	kɒpɾɒ / tukor
KAK	spɒŋsɒ ⁱ	stɒn	tuk ^w are
KHR	spɒŋsɒ ⁱ / tar	stɒn	tukɒr / tukwɒr
WCI	spɒŋsɒ	sɒnzɒn	tukurɒ
ORM	taɾ	sɒni	ʒonʒe

	40. ring	41. sun	42. moon
PES	got Δ	nwar	spog'm Δ^i
CHS	gota	nwar	spogm Δ^i
MAR	gwot Δ	nwar	spogm Δ^i
SWA	gota	nwar	spogm Δ^i
MAD	gw Δ te ⁱ / gw Δ to ⁱ	nwar	spoŋm Δ^i / spogm Δ^i
MIN	gw Δ t Δ	nwar	spoŋm Δ^i / spogm Δ^i
BAT	gota ⁱ	nwar	spogm Δ^i
BAF	gota ⁱ	nwar	spogm Δ^i / miaš
OGI	gota ⁱ	nwar	spogm Δ^i
DIR	gut Δ^i	nwar	spogm Δ^i
BAJ	gota	nwar	spogm Δ^i
MOH	gota	d Δ nmar starga	spoŋm Δ^i
NIG	'gw Δ t Δ	lmar	spog'm Δ^i
SHN	got Δ / gw Δ t Δ	mar starga	spoŋg Δ^i
BAR	gote	nmar starga	spogm Δ^i
MAL	g ^h uti	--	m Δ yaš
ZKH	gw Δ tie	mera starga	my Δ št
JAM	gotie	mer / mer Δ starga	spog'me ⁱ / miašt
TIR	'gotie / gw Δ tie	'mier	'miašt
JAL	gw Δ t Δ	nmer	spožm Δ^i / spogm Δ^i
CHE	goti	nwar	spožm Δ^i
PAR	guti	mer Δ starga	miašt Δ
HAN	gwoti	mera starga	uŋgi
TAL	gw Δ t Δ	lmer Δ starga	miašt
KRK	gwote	--	špežm Δ^i
LAK	got Δ	nmar	ošm Δ k Δ^i
BAN	gotie	mir	spežm Δ^i
MIR	gotie	ɣorma 'starga / ɣorma	myašt ^h / spežm Δ^i
WAA	gotye / gw Δ tye	mi Δ starg	myašt
QUE	gotm Δ^i / gotk Δ	lmar	spožm Δ^i
CHA	gotm Δ^i	lmar	spožm Δ^i
PAS	gotke / gw Δ tk Δ / gw Δ tmi	lmar	spožm Δ^i
KAK	gotm Δ^i / gutki	nmar / lmar	spožm Δ^i / špožm Δ^i
KHR	gotm Δ^i / guštari / aŋguštari	lmar	spožm Δ^i
WCI	gwuti	mer	spažme
ORM	luŋgušt Δ re	mier	spožm Δ^i

	43. sky	44. star	45. rain
PES	as'man	'store	ba'ran
CHS	asman	store	baran
MAR	asman	store	baran
SWA	asman	store	baran
MAD	asman	store	baran
MIN	asman	store	baran
BAT	asman	store	baran
BAF	asman	store	baran
OGI	asman	store	baran
DIR	asman	store	baran
BAJ	asman	store	baran
MOH	asman	store	baran
NIG	as'man	'store	ba'ran
SHN	as'man	stora ⁱ	ba'ran
BAR	asman	store	baran
MAL	asman	stora ⁱ	baran
ZKH	asmon	stora ⁱ	baran
JAM	as'man	stora ⁱ	ba'ran
TIR	as'mon	'stora ⁱ	ba'ron
JAL	asman	store	baran
CHE	asman	store	baran
PAR	asmon	store	baran
HAN	asman	stora ⁱ	baran
TAL	asmon	stora	baron
KRK	asmon	stora	baran
LAK	asman	stora ⁱ	baran
BAN	asmon	stera	baron
MIR	asmon	stora ⁱ	wer / baran
WAA	asmon	stora ⁱ	wor
QUE	asman	stora ⁱ	baran
CHA	asman	store	baran
PAS	asman	store	baran
KAK	asman	store	baran
KHR	asman	store / store	baran
WCI	asman	stori	baran
ORM	asman	stora ^k / stora ⁱ	baran

	46. water	47. river	48. cloud
PES	o'ba / uba	sin	wrez
CHS	uba	sin / daryab	waryaz
MAR	uba	sin / daryab	wrez
SWA	uba	sin / daryab	waryaz
MAD	oba	sin / daryab	waryaz
MIN	uba	sin / daryab	waryaz
BAT	uba	sin / daryab	waryaz
BAF	uba	sin / daryab	waryaz
OGI	oba	daryab	waryaz
DIR	uba	sin / daryab	wrez
BAJ	oba	samandar	orez
MOH	oba	sind	warez
NIG	o'ba	sin	u'rez
SHN	u'ba	sind / daryab	waryadz
BAR	uba	sin	warez
MAL	oba ^h	sin	woryaz
ZKH	oba	sind	waryiz
JAM	o'ba	sin / daryab	war'yez
TIR	o'ba	daryab	waryez
JAL	uba	daryab / sin	wraz
CHE	uba	daryab / sin	waryaz
PAR	obə	daryab / sin	oꝛə
HAN	uba	daryab	urā
TAL	obə	samandar	wraz
KRK	oba	daryab / sin	wrez
LAK	uba	daryab	wrej ^ʰ
BAN	eba	samandar	woryez
MIR	eba ^h / abā	daryab / sin	waryez
WAA	yeba	daryab	waryedz
QUE	woba	daryab	waryaz
CHA	oba	daryab	wariez
PAS	ubə	daryab	waryaz
KAK	waba	daryab / sin	waryaz
KHR	ubə	daryab	waryaz
WCI	obə	daryab / lahār	waryaz
ORM	wak ^h	daryab	wriedz

	49. lightning	51. wind	52. stone
PES	pɾʌkʌ / brexna	hʌ'wa	'kaŋe
CHS	pɾʌkigi	hawa / bad	kaŋe
MAR	brexna	hʌwa / bad	kaŋe
SWA	pɾʌk / brexna	hawa	kane / ɣʌʈa
MAD	brexna / pɾʌkigi	hʌwa / sila ⁱ	kaŋe / ɣʌʈa
MIN	pɾʌkigi / brexna	hʌwa / sila ⁱ	ɣʌʈa
BAT	pɾʌk / pɾʌkedʌl	hawa / sila ⁱ	kaŋe / ɣʌʈa
BAF	pɾʌkigi / brexi	hawa / awa / sila ⁱ	kaŋe / ɣʌʈa
OGI	pɾʌkigi	sila ⁱ	ɣʌʈa / ɣiʈa ⁱ
DIR	brex	hʌwa	ɣʌʈʌ
BAJ	brexna	hʌwa	kaŋe
MOH	bɾixna	awa	ɣaʈa
NIG	brexna	hʌ'wa	'tiɣʌ
SHN	pʌʔʌk pʌʔuk / pɾʌkar / brexna	ʌ'wa / bad	tigʌ
BAR	bijli pɾʌkigi	hawa / bad	tiga
MAL	brexna	hawa	tiga
ZKH	pɾʌkigi	bod	tiga
JAM	pʌʔʌk pʌʔuk / pɾʌka	hʌ'wa	'tiɣʌ
TIR	pʌ'ʔak	'awo	tiga
JAL	pɾʌkar / brexna	hʌwa	kaŋe
CHE	pɾʌk	awa	kaŋe
PAR	pɾʌk pɾuk	hawa / bad	tigʌ
HAN	pʌʔkedʌl	hawa / bad	kʌŋe
TAL	pɾʌko	hʌwo	koŋʌ
KRK	brešno	ʌwa / bʌdʌme	koŋʌ
LAK	brešna	hawa / sila ⁱ	kaŋʌ ⁱ
BAN	pʌʔʌkedo	hawa	kōʔa
MIR	brešʌwʌl / pɾʌko	hawa / bod	koŋa / tiʒʌ
WAA	brešʌwʌl	bod	gola
QUE	brešna	hʌwa / bad	kaŋe / dʌbʌʔa
CHA	—	owa / bad	dʌbʌʔa
PAS	brešna	ʌwa / bad	kaŋe / dʌbra / dʌbʌʔa
KAK	brešna	bad	dʌbʌʔa / tiʒʌ
KHR	brešna	bad	kaŋe / dʌbʌʔa
WCI	brešna	wʌga	kʌŋdʌ
ORM	pɾok / čɾik	ʌwa / bad	ɣʌp

	53. path	54. sand	55. fire
PES	lar	ʃʌgʌ	o ^u r
CHS	larʌ	ʃʌgʌ	o ^u r
MAR	lar	ʃʌgʌ	o ^u r
SWA	larʌ	ʃʌga	o ^u r
MAD	lar	ʃʌgʌ	o ^u r
MIN	lar	ʃʌgʌ	o ^u r
BAT	lar	ʃʌga	o ^u r
BAF	lar	ʃʌga	o ^u r
OGI	lar	ʃʌga	o ^u r
DIR	lar	ʃʌgʌ	o ^u r
BAJ	lar	ʃʌga	wor
MOH	lar _o	ʃʌga	wor _o
NIG	lar	ʃʌgʌ	o ^u r
SHN	liar	ʃʌgʌ	o ^u r
BAR	lar	ʃʌga	wor
MAL	lar	ʃʌgʌ	or
ZKH	liar	ʃʌga	wor
JAM	liar	ʃʌgʌ	wor
TIR	liar	ʃʌga	wor
JAL	lar	ʃʌga	wor
CHE	lar	ʃʌga	o ^u r
PAR	liarʌ	reg	o ^u r
HAN	liar	ʃʌgʌ / reg	o ^u r
TAL	liar	ʃʌgʌ	wor
KRK	liar	ʃʌgʌ	o ^u r
LAK	lar	sʌgʌ	o ^u r
BAN	lyar	ʃʌga	yer
MIR	liar	ʃʌgʌ	yer
WAA	liar	ʃʌgʌ	yor
QUE	lar	ʃʌga / reg	o ^u r
CHA	lar	ʃʌgʌ / reg	o ^u r
PAS	lar	ʃʌga / reg	o ^u r / wor
KAK	liar	sʌgʌ / reg	o ^u r
KHR	lar	ʃʌgʌ / reg	awar
WCI	lar	sʌgʌ	awar
ORM	ra ⁱ	si ^g ʌ	rʌwʌ

	56. smoke	57. ash	58. mud
PES	lu'ge	i'ra	'xλʈλ
CHS	luge	ira	xλʈa
MAR	luge	i'ra	xλʈλ
SWA	luge	ira	xλʈe
MAD	luge	ira	xλʈλ / čλkλɽ / čλkλɽe
MIN	luge	ira	xλʈλ / čλkλɽ
BAT	luge	ira	xλʈe / xλʈa
BAF	luge	ira	xλʈa
OGI	luge	ira	xλʈa
DIR	luge	ira	xλʈλ / čλkoɽe
BAJ	luge	ira	xλʈe
MOH	lugya	ira	xλʈe
NIG	duk	ira	'xλʈλ
SHN	luga ⁱ	i'ra	'xλʈλ / kičλɽe
BAR	luge	ira	xλʈa
MAL	luga ⁱ	ira	xλʈe
ZKH	luga ⁱ	ira	k ^h λɽλ
JAM	luga ⁱ	i'ra	'xλʈλ / čikλɽe
TIR	lu'ga ⁱ	i'ra	kagal
JAL	luge	ira	xλʈe
CHE	luge	ira	xλʈe
PAR	luga ⁱ	ere	xičaɽe
HAN	luga ⁱ	ira	čikλɽe
TAL	luga	era	čikλɽe
KRK	luga ⁱ	ire	čikλɽe
LAK	luga ⁱ	ira	čikλɽλ
BAN	liga ⁱ	ira	xλʈa
MIR	liga ⁱ	ira	xλʈa / čikλɽe
WAA	liga ⁱ	ira	čikλɽ
QUE	dut ^h	ira	xλʈa
CHA	dut ^h	ira / ire	xλʈe
PAS	dut ^h	ira	xλte / kičλɽ / čukwλɽ
KAK	dut ^h	ira	xλʈe
KHR	dut ^h	iria / ire / ira	xλʈe / xλʈa
WCI	dud / dut ^h	λɽλ	xλʈλ
ORM	luga ⁱ	yanɽ	čikλɽ

	59. dust	60. gold	61. tree
PES	duṛa	sfa zar	'wana
CHS	gaṛd / duṛa	sfa zar	wona
MAR	gaṛd / duṛa	sfa zar	wana
SWA	garḍa	sfa zar	wana
MAD	duṛa	sfa zar	wana
MIN	duṛa	sfa zar	wana
BAT	duṛa	sfa zar	wana
BAF	duṛa	sfa zar	wana / buṭe
OGI	ganda / duṛa	sfa zar	wana
DIR	duṛa	sfa zar	wana
BAJ	gaṛd / duṛa	--	wana
MOH	gaṛd	sfa zar	wana
NIG	garḍ	sfa'zar	'wana
SHN	gaṛd	sfa zar	'wana
BAR	garḍa	sfa zar	buṭe
MAL	g ^h ṛd	--	buṭa ⁱ
ZKH	gaṛd	sfa zar	wana
JAM	gaṛd / duṛa	sfa zar	'wana
TIR	gaṛd	'sfa zar	'wana
JAL	gaṛḍa / duṛa	sona / sfa zar	wana
CHE	garḍa	sona	wana
PAR	garḍ	sfa zar	wana
HAN	duṛe	sfa zar	wana
TAL	duṛa	sona	wana
KRK	garḍa	sfa zar	wana / buṭa
LAK	gaṛd	sfa zar	wana
BAN	gard	so'na	wona
MIR	gaṛd	sfa zar	wana
WAA	gaṛd	sfa zar	wana
QUE	duṛa	sfa zar	daraḁta / wana
CHA	duṛe	sfa zar	daraḁt / wana
PAS	gaṛḁz / duṛa	sfa zar	draḁta
KAK	gaṛḁz / duṛa	sfa zar	draḁta
KHR	garz / duṛa	sfa zar / sona	draḁta
WCI	garz / duṛa	sfa zar	draḁta
ORM	gaṛd ^h	sur zar	wona

	62. leaf	63. root	64. thorn
PES	'paŋa	'jɑɾɑɾɑ	az'ɣɑ ⁱ
CHS	paŋa	jɑɾɑɾɑ	azɣe
MAR	paŋa	jɑɾɑɾɑ	azɣe
SWA	paŋa	jɑɾɑɾe	azɣe
MAD	paŋa	zela	ɣɑna / azɣɑ ⁱ
MIN	paŋa	zela	ɣɑna
BAT	paŋɑ	zela	ɣɑnɑ
BAF	paŋɑ	zela	ɣɑnɑ
OGI	paŋɑ	zela	ɣɑna
DIR	paŋɑ	zele	ɣɑna / ʌzɣɑ ⁱ
BAJ	paŋa	zela	ɣɑna
MOH	paŋa	jɑɾɑɾɑ	azɣe
NIG	'paŋa	'jɑɾɑɾɑ	azɣɑ ⁱ
SHN	'paŋa	'wɑɫɑ	azɣɑ ⁱ
BAR	pɑŋɑ	wɑɫe / wɑɫe	azɣɑ ⁱ
MAL	paŋi	jɑɾ^ɑɾɑ	azɣɑ ⁱ
ZKH	põŋie	wɑɫye	aɣzɑ ⁱ
JAM	'paŋie	'jɑɾɑɾɑ	azɣɑ ⁱ
TIR	'poŋia	'wɑɫye	az'ɣɑ ⁱ
JAL	pɑŋɑ	jɑɾɑɾe	azɣe
CHE	paŋe	ʂax	azɣe
PAR	pɑxɑ / poŋie	wɑɫyi	azɣɑ ⁱ
HAN	paŋi	wɑɫi	ʌzɣɑ ⁱ
TAL	koŋɑ	wɑɫi	zɣɑ
KRK	poŋe	wɑɫye	ʌɣzɑ ⁱ
LAK	paŋɑ	wɑɫɑ	ʌɣzɑ ⁱ
BAN	põŋie	--	ʌɣzɑ ⁱ
MIR	pɑxɑ / poŋie	wɑɫye	azɣɑ ⁱ
WAA	pɑxɑ	wɑɫye	ʌɣzɑ ⁱ
QUE	paŋɑ	reʂe	ʌzɣɑ ⁱ / ʌɣzɑ ⁱ
CHA	paŋɑ	reʂe	ʌzɣɑ ⁱ
PAS	paŋɑ	reʂe	ʌzɣɑ ⁱ / aɣzɑ ⁱ
KAK	paŋgɑ	wɑɫgɑ	azɣɑ ⁱ
KHR	paŋɑ	reʂʌ / reʂæ	azɣɑ ⁱ
WCI	paŋi	wɑɣɑ	kɑŋɖɑ
ORM	poxɑ ⁱ	wɑɫye	zier

	65. flower	66. fruit	67. mango
PES	gwΔl	me'wΔ	am
CHS	gwΔl	mewa	am
MAR	gwΔl	mewa	am
SWA	gwΔl	mewa	am
MAD	gwΔl	mewa	am
MIN	gwΔl	mewa	am
BAT	gwΔl	mewa	am
BAF	gwΔl	mewa	am
OGI	gwΔl	mewa	am
DIR	gwΔl	mewΔ	am
BAJ	gwΔl	mewa	am
MOH	gwΔl	mewa	am
NIG	gwΔl	me'wa	am
SHN	gwΔl	me'wΔ	am
BAR	gwΔl	mewa	am
MAL	gwΔl	--	am
ZKH	gwΔl	mewa	wam / om
JAM	gwΔl	me'wΔ	am
TIR	gwΔl	me'wΔ	am
JAL	gwΔl	mewa	am
CHE	gwΔl	mewa	am
PAR	gwΔl	mewa	om
HAN	gwΔl	mewΔ	Δm
TAL	gwΔl	mewa	am
KRK	gwΔl	mewΔ	am
LAK	gwol	mewΔ	am
BAN	gul	mewa	am
MIR	gwΔl	mewa	am
WAA	gwΔl	mewΔ	am
QUE	gwΔl	mewΔ	Δm
CHA	gwΔl	mewΔ	Δm
PAS	gwΔl	mewΔ	Δm
KAK	gwΔl	mewa	am
KHR	gwΔl	mewΔ	am
WCI	gwΔl	mewΔ	am
ORM	gwΔl	mewa	am

	68. banana	69. wheat	70. millet
PES	ke'la	ɣa'naɪm	baɟra
CHS	kela	ɣaɪnaɪm	baɟra
MAR	kela	ɣa'naɪm	baɟra
SWA	kela	ɣaɪnaɪm	baɟra
MAD	kela	ɣa'naɪm	baɟra
MIN	kela	ɣa'naɪm	baɟra
BAT	kela	ɣaɪnaɪm	baɟra
BAF	kela	ɣaɪnaɪm	baɟra
OGI	kela	ɣaɪnaɪm	baɟra
DIR	kelɔ	ɣaɪnaɪm	--
BAJ	kela	ɣaɪnaɪm	bɔɟra
MOH	kela	ɣaɪnaɪm	baɟra
NIG	ke'la	ɣa'naɪm	--
SHN	ke'la	ɣa'naɪm	baɟra
BAR	kela	ɣaɪnaɪm	bɔɟra
MAL	'kela	ɣaɪnaɪm	baɟra
ZKH	kela	ɣaɪnaɪm	boɟra
JAM	ke'la	ɣa'naɪm	baɟra
TIR	ke'la	ɣa'naɪm	'boɟra
JAL	kela	ɣaɪnaɪm	baɟra
CHE	kela	ɣaɪnaɪm	baɟra
PAR	kelɔ	ɣaɪnaɪm	--
HAN	kelɔ	ɣaɪnaɪm	baɟra
TAL	kela	ɣaɪnaɪm	boɟra
KRK	kelɔ	ɣaɪnaɪm	bɔɟre
LAK	kelɔ	ɣaɪnaɪm	baɟra / baɟre
BAN	kela	ɣaɪnaɪm	bɔɟra
MIR	kesɔ / kelɔ	ɣaɪnaɪm	baɟra
WAA	kela	ɣaɪnaɪm	baɟra
QUE	kela	ɣaɪnaɪm	bɔɟre / baɟra / baɟra ⁱ
CHA	kelɔ	ɣaɪnaɪm	bɔɟre
PAS	kelɔ	ɣaɪnaɪm	baɟra / baɟre / baɟra ⁱ
KAK	kelɔ	ɣaɪnaɪm	--
KHR	kelɔ	ɣaɪnaɪm	baɟre
WCI	kelɔ	ɣaɪnaɪm	baɟre
ORM	kelɔ	gonom	baɟra

	71. rice	72. potato	73. eggplant
PES	wriža	a'lu	tor baṭiŋ'gālŕ
CHS	wruje	alu	tor baṭiŋgālŕ
MAR	wrije	alu	tor baṭiŋgālŕ
SWA	wrije	alu	tor banjan / tor baṭiŋgar
MAD	wrije / wruje	alu	tor baṭiŋgar
MIN	wrije	alu	tor baṭiŋgālŕ
BAT	wriže / wrije	alu	baṭiŋgaŋa
BAF	wrije	alu	beŋgaŋa / baṭiŋgaŋa / tor baṭiŋgaŋa
OGI	wrije	alu	beŋgaŋa / baṭiŋgaŋa
DIR	wrije	alu	tor batiŋgālŕ
BAJ	wrije	alu	tor baṭiŋgar
MOH	wrije	alu	tor batiŋgar
NIG	warije	a'lu	tor ban'jan
SHN	wriže	a'lu	tor baṭiŋgar / tor baijan
BAR	wriže	alu	tor paṭiŋgar
MAL	wriže	alu	tor paṭiŋgaŋ
ZKH	wriže	alu	tor boṭiŋgar
JAM	wrije	a'lu	tor baṭiŋgar
TIR	warije	a'lu	tor boṭiŋgar
JAL	wrije	alu	tor baṭiŋgar
CHE	wriža	alu	tor baṭiŋgaŋa
PAR	wriže	alu	banjan
HAN	wriže	alu	paṭiŋgar
TAL	wriže	alu	paṭiŋgar
KRK	wriže	alu	paṭiŋgālŕ
LAK	wrije	alu	biŋgālŕ
BAN	wriže	alu	beŋgar
MIR	wriža	alig [^]	biŋ'gālŕ / ter paṭiŋgar
WAA	wriže	alig	biŋ gar
QUE	wridzi	paṭate	banjar
CHA	wrije	paṭata	banjan
PAS	wriže / wrije	paṭata	banjan
KAK	wrizi	paṭata	banjar
KHR	wrije / wraja	paṭata	banjan
WCI	wriže	paṭate	banjan
ORM	rizan	alu	beŋgar

	74. groundnut	75. chili	76. turmeric
PES	pɔli	maɾčɛʎ'ke	kurkaʎ'maŋ
CHS	mumpali	maɾčɛʎke	kurkaŋmaŋ
MAR	mumpɔli	maɾčɛʎke	kurkaŋmaŋ
SWA	mumpali	maɾčɛʎke	kurkaŋmaŋ
MAD	mumpɔli	maɾčɛʎke	kurkaŋmaŋ
MIN	mumpɔli	maɾčɛʎke	kurkaŋmaŋ
BAT	muʈpɔli / mumpɔli	maɾčɛʎke	kurkaŋmaŋ
BAF	moʈpɔli / pɔli	maɾčɛʎke	kurkaŋmaŋ
OGI	mumpali	maɾčɛʎka ⁱ	kurkaŋmaŋ
DIR	mumpɔli	maɾčɛʎke	kurkaŋmaŋ
BAJ	mump ^h ɔli	maɾčɛʎke	kurkaŋmaŋ
MOH	maŋp ^h ɔli	maɾčɛʎki	kurkaŋmaŋ
NIG	moŋpa'li	maɾ'čɛʎk	kurka'ŋmaŋ
SHN	čɛɾɣwozi / čɛɾɛɾɣwozi	maɾčɛʎka ⁱ	kurka'ŋmaŋ
BAR	čɛɾɣwozi	maɾčɛʎke	kurkaŋmaŋ
MAL	čɛɾɣwozi	maɾčɛʎki	kurkaŋmaŋ
ZKH	čɛɾɛɾɣwozi / p ^h ɔli	maɾčɛ	korkaŋmaŋ
JAM	čɛɾɛɾɣwozi	maɾčɛʎka ⁱ	kurka'ŋmaŋ
TIR	mump ^h ɔli	maɾčɛ	'korkaŋmaŋ
JAL	mumpɔli	maɾčɛʎke	korkaŋmaŋ
CHE	mumpali	maɾčɛʎke	kurkaŋmaŋ
PAR	mumpali	maɾčɛ / maɾčɛʎki	kurkaŋmaŋd / kurkaŋmaŋ
HAN	mump ^h ɔli	maɾčɛ / maɾčɛʎke	korkaŋmaŋ
TAL	moŋpɔli	maɾčɛ	kurkaŋmaŋ
KRK	mumpɔli ⁱ	maɾčɛ	korkaŋmaŋ
LAK	ma ⁱ pɔli	maɾčɛ	kurkaŋmaŋ
BAN	moŋpɔli	maɾčɛ	kurkaŋmaŋ
MIR	maŋpɔli	maɾčɛ	kurkaŋmaŋ
WAA	moŋpɔli	maɾčɛ	korkaŋmaŋ
QUE	p ^h ɔli ⁱ / mumpɔli ⁱ	maɾčɛ	kurkoŋmaŋ
CHA	p ^h ɔli	maɾčɛ / maɾčɛʎk	kurkaŋmaŋ
PAS	p ^h ɔli ⁱ	maɾčɛ	kurkoŋmaŋ
KAK	p ^h ɔli ⁱ	maɾčɛ	kurkoŋmaŋ
KHR	pɔli / pɔli ⁱ	maɾčɛ / maɾčɛʎk	korkuŋmaŋ / kurkoŋmaŋ
WCI	maŋpɔli	merjane	kurkawaŋ
ORM	moŋpɔli	maɾɣuč	golis xand

	77. garlic	78. onion	79. cauliflower
PES	'uga	piaz	go'pi
CHS	uga	piaz	gobi
MAR	'uga	piaz	go'pi
SWA	uga	piaz	gopi
MAD	'uga	piaz	go'pi
MIN	'uga	piaz	go'pi
BAT	uga	piaz	gwɒl gopi / gopi
BAF	uga	piaz	gwɒl gopi
OGI	uga	piaz	gwɒl gopi
DIR	uga	piaz	gopi
BAJ	uga	piɒz	gwɒl gopi
MOH	uga	piazɔ	gwɒl goɸi
NIG	'uga	pyaz	gopi
SHN	'uga	piaz	go'pi
BAR	uga	piaz	gopi
MAL	'uga	piaz	gopi
ZKH	uga	pioz /pyoz	gopi
JAM	'uga	piaz	go'pi
TIR	'uga	'pioz	'gwɒl gopi
JAL	uʒɒ	piaz	gopi
CHE	uʒɒ	piaz	gopi
PAR	uga	piaz	gopa ⁱ
HAN	uga	pyaz	gobi
TAL	uga	pioz	gorɒ
KRK	--	pioz	gorɒ
LAK	'uʒɒ	piaz	gorɒ ⁱ
BAN	yeʒa	pyoz	gopi
MIR	iʒɒ	pioz	gorɒ ⁱ
WAA	wiʒɒ	pioz	xolɒsɒ gopɒ ⁱ
QUE	uʒɒ / tum	piaz	gobɒ ⁱ / gol gobɒ ⁱ
CHA	oʒɒ	pyaz	gobɒ ⁱ / gobi
PAS	uʒɒ	pyaz	gobɒ ⁱ / gwɒl gobɒ ⁱ
KAK	uʒɒ	pyaz	gwɒl gobɒ ⁱ
KHR	wɒʒɒ / uʒɒ	piaz	gobɒ ⁱ
WCI	murʒi	piaz	goba
ORM	'uʒa	piaz	gopi

	80. tomato	81. cabbage	82. oil
PES	'sur baʔiŋ'gãɽ	bãnd go'pi	tel
CHS	ʔãmaʔãɽ	bãn gobi	tel
MAR	ʔãmaʔãɽ	bãnd gopi	tel
SWA	ʔãmaʔãɽ	bãnd gopi	tel
MAD	" / sur baʔiŋgãɽ	bãnd gopi	tel
MIN	" / sur baʔiŋgãɽ	nãnd gopi	tel
BAT	ʕiŋ'gãŋã / ʔãmaʔãɽ	bãnd gopi	tel
BAF	ʕiŋ'gãŋã / ʔãmaʔãɽ	bãnd gopi	tel
OGI	ʕiŋ'gãŋã / ʔãmaʔãɽ	bãnd gopi	tel
DIR	baʔiŋgãɽ	gopi	tel
BAJ	ʔãmaʔãɽ	bãn gopi	tel
MOH	ʔãmaʔãɽ	bãn goʔi	tel
NIG	sɾã rumi'an / sɾã ban'jan	bãnd gopi	tel
SHN	'sɾã baiʔãn / ʔãmaʔãɽ	bãnd go'pi	tel
BAR	sɾã paʔiŋgãɽ	bãn gopi	tel
MAL	sɾã paʔiŋgãŋ	paʔ gopi	tel
ZKH	sɾã poʔiŋgãɽ	bãn gopi	tel
JAM	sɾã baʔiŋgãɽ	bãn go'pi	tel
TIR	sɾã bo'ʔiŋgãɽ	bãn gop ^h i	tel
JAL	ʔãmaʔãɽ	bãnd gopi	tel
CHE	" / sur baʔiŋgãŋã	bãnd gopi	tel
PAR	ʔãmaʔãɽ / paʔiŋgãɽ / sɾã paʔiŋgãɽ	gopa ⁱ	tel
HAN	ʔãmaʔãɽ	bãnd gobi	tel
TAL	ʔãmaʔãɽ	bãn gopi	tel
KRK	ʔãmaʔãɽ	bãn gopa	tel
LAK	ʔãmaʔãɽ	bãnd gopa ⁱ	ʔel
BAN	ʔãmaʔãɽ	gopi	tel
MIR	ʔãmaʔãɽ	bãn gopi	tel
WAA	tãmaʔãɽ	bãnd gopa ⁱ	tel
QUE	ʔãmaʔãɽ	bãnd goba ⁱ	tel
CHA	ʔãmaʔãɽ	bãnd goba ⁱ	tel
PAS	ʔãmaʔãɽ	bãnd goba ⁱ	tel
KAK	ʔãmaʔãɽ	bãnd goba ⁱ	tel
KHR	rumian	goba ⁱ	tel
WCI	ʔãmaʔãɽ	bãnd goba	tel
ORM	ʔãmaʔãɽ	gopi	tel

	83. salt	84. meat	85. fat
PES	'malga	'ɣwaxxλ	'wazdλ
CHS	malga	ɣwaxxλ	wazgλ
MAR	malga	ɣwaxxλ	wazgλ
SWA	malga	ɣwaxxλ	wazdλ
MAD	malgλ	ɣwaxxλ	wazdλ
MIN	malgλ	ɣwaxxλ	wazgλ / wazdλ
BAT	malga	ɣwaxxλ	wazdλ
BAF	malga	ɣwaxxλ	wazdλ
OGI	malga	ɣwaxxλ	wazdλ
DIR	malgλ	ɣwaxxλ	wazgλ
BAJ	malga	ɣwaxxλ	wazdλ
MOH	malga	ɣwaxxλ	wazgλ
NIG	'malgλ	'ɣwaxxλ	wazdλ
SHN	'malga	'ɣwaxxλ	'wazdλ
BAR	malga	ɣwaxxλ	wazdλ
MAL	malga	ɣwaxxλ	wazgλ
ZKH	molga	ɣwexxλ	wozdλ
JAM	'malga	'ɣwexxλ	'wazdλ
TIR	'molga	ɣwexxλ	'wozdλ
JAL	malga	ɣwaxšλ	wazgλ
CHE	malga	ɣwaxšλ	wazdλ
PAR	malgλ	ɣwaxxλ	wazdλ
HAN	malgλ	ɣwaxxλ	wazdλ
TAL	molgλ	ɣwaxxλ	wozdλ
KRK	malgλ	ɣwošλ	wozdλ
LAK	malgλ	ɣwaxšλ	wazdλ
BAN	molga	ɣwaxšλ	wozdλ
MIR	molga	ɣešλ	wozdλ
WAA	molga	ɣošλ	wozdλ
QUE	malga	ɣwaxšλ / ɣwaxši	wazgλ
CHA	malga	ɣwaxšλ	wazgλ
PAS	malgλ	ɣwaxšλ	wazgλ
KAK	malgλ	ɣwaxšλ	wazgλ
KHR	malgλ	ɣwaxše	wazgλ
WCI	malgλ	ɣwaxšλ	wazge
ORM	mek	gakλ	ɣweztsɪ

	86. fish	87. chicken	88. egg
PES	kΛb	^l čΛrga	hɔ
CHS	kΛb	čΛrgΛ	age
MAR	mΛye	čΛrga	age
SWA	mΛyi	čΛrgΛ	age
MAD	mahe / mayan	čΛrga	age / aɡΛ ⁱ
MIN	mahe / mahan	čΛrga	age
BAT	mΛye	čΛrgΛ	ɑɡΛ ⁱ
BAF	mΛye	čΛrgΛ	ɑɡΛ ⁱ
OGI	mΛye	čΛrgΛ	ɑɡΛ ⁱ
DIR	mΛye	čΛrgΛ	ɑɡΛ ⁱ
BAJ	mΛye	čΛrga	ɑɡΛ ⁱ
MOH	mΛyan	čΛrga	ɑɡΛ ⁱ
NIG	mahi	^l čɛrga	ɑɡΛ ⁱ
SHN	ma ^l yi	^l čΛrga	weyΛ
BAR	mΛyi	čΛrga	wΛya
MAL	kab	čΛrga	wΛya
ZKH	moyi	čΛrga	woya
JAM	kΛbΛ	^l čΛrga	woyΛ
TIR	kΛbΛ	^l čΛrga	^l woya
JAL	kΛb	čΛrga	Λge
CHE	mΛyi	čΛrgΛ	weyΛ
PAR	mʊše	čΛrgΛ	woyΛ
HAN	mΛši	čΛrgΛ	woya
TAL	meše	čΛrgΛ	woyΛ
KRK	kΛb	čΛrgΛ	wuyΛ
LAK	kΛb	čΛrgΛ	ΛŋɡΛ ⁱ
BAN	kΛb	čΛrga	ɑŋɡΛ ⁱ
MIR	kab	čΛrgΛ	yeyΛ
WAA	kab	čΛrga	yuyΛ
QUE	maye / mΛčΛ ⁱ	čΛrgΛ	ΛɡΛ ⁱ
CHA	mai	čΛrga	Λge
PAS	maye	čΛrgΛ	ɑɡΛ ⁱ
KAK	maye ⁱ	čΛrgΛ	ɑɡΛ ⁱ
KHR	mahΛ ⁱ	čΛrgΛ	age
WCI	maha	čɛrgΛ	hoyΛ
ORM	mayi	kerze	wonk ^h

	89. cow	90. buffalo	91. milk
PES	ɣwa	'mexΛ	pe ⁱ
CHS	ɣwa	mexa	pe
MAR	ɣwa	'mexa	pe ⁱ
SWA	ɣwa	mexa	pe
MAD	ɣwa	'mexa	pΛ ⁱ / šawdΛ
MIN	ɣwa	'mexa	pe
BAT	ɣwa	mexa	pΛ ⁱ / šowdΛ
BAF	ɣwa	mexa	pΛ ⁱ / šowdΛ
OGI	ɣwa	mexa	pΛ ⁱ
DIR	ɣwa	mexΛ	šodΛ
BAJ	ɣwa	mexa	šodΛ
MOH	ɣwa	mexa	šodΛ
NIG	ɣwa	'mexΛ	šaw'dΛ
SHN	ɣwa	mexΛ	šodΛ
BAR	ɣwa	mexa	šodΛ
MAL	ɣwa	mexa	pΛ ⁱ
ZKH	ɣwo	mexΛ	šowdΛ ^h
JAM	ɣwa	mexΛ	šodΛ
TIR	ɣwo	'mexΛ	šo'dΛ
JAL	ɣwa	meša	pa ⁱ / pe
CHE	ɣwa	mexa	pe / šawde
PAR	ɣwa	mΛxΛ	šode
HAN	ɣwa	mΛxa	šode
TAL	ɣo	mΛxΛ	šode
KRK	ɣwo	mΛšΛ	šΛwdΛ
LAK	ɣwa	mΛšΛ	šΛwdΛ
BAN	ɣou	moša	šowdΛ
MIR	ɣwo	mΛšΛ	šode
WAA	ɣo	mΛšΛ	šΛwdΛ
QUE	ɣwa	gΛmešΛ	šede
CHA	ɣwa	gΛmeš	šide
PAS	ɣwa	gΛmešΛ	šide / šode / šude
KAK	ɣwa	gamešΛ	pΛ ⁱ / šode
KHR	ɣwa	gamešΛ	šide
WCI	ɣwa	mΛhΛ	šua
ORM	gıoe	meša	šipi

	92. horns	93. tail	94. goat
PES	xkΛr	lʌ'ke ⁱ	čele ⁱ
CHS	xkΛr	lʌke	čele
MAR	xkΛr	lʌkʌ ⁱ	čele ⁱ
SWA	xkΛr	lʌkʌ ⁱ	biza
MAD	xkΛr	lʌkʌ ⁱ	biza
MIN	xkΛr	lʌke	biza
BAT	xkΛr	lʌkʌ ⁱ	biza
BAF	axkΛr / xkΛr	lʌkʌ ⁱ	biza
OGI	axkΛr	lakʌ ⁱ	biza
DIR	xkΛr	lʌke	biza
BAJ	xkΛr	lʌkʌ ⁱ	biza
MOH	xkΛr	lakʌ ⁱ	biza
NIG	xkΛr	lʌ'ka ⁱ	uza
SHN	xkΛr	lʌ'ka ⁱ	uza
BAR	xkΛr	lʌkʌ ⁱ	uza
MAL	xkΛr	lʌkʌ ⁱ	u'za
ZKH	xkΛr	lʌke	oza
JAM	xkΛr	lʌ'ke ⁱ	wʌ'za
TIR	xkΛr	lʌ'ke	wʌ'za
JAL	škΛruna	lʌkʌ ⁱ	čele ⁱ
CHE	škΛr	lʌke	biza
PAR	xkar	lʌke	oza
HAN	xkΛr	lʌki	bʌza
TAL	xkΛr	lʌke	oza
KRK	škΛr	lʌkʌ ⁱ	oza
LAK	škΛr	lʌkʌ ⁱ	uza
BAN	škΛr	lʌki	oza
MIR	škΛr	lʌkʌ ⁱ	uza
WAA	škar	lʌkʌ ⁱ	uza
QUE	škΛr	lʌkʌ ⁱ	wʌza / bʌza
CHA	škΛr	lʌkʌ ⁱ	wʌza / oza
PAS	škΛr	lʌkʌ ⁱ	wʌza / oza
KAK	škΛr	lʌkʌ ⁱ	uza
KHR	škΛr	lʌkʌ ⁱ	uza / buza
WCI	šukΛr	lʌki	wʌza
ORM	sukΛrɛ	likie	uza

	95. dog	96. snake	97. monkey
PES	spe	mar	bi'zo
CHS	spe	mar	bizo
MAR	spe	mar	šado
SWA	spe	mar	šado
MAD	spe	mar	šado
MIN	spe	mar	šado
BAT	spe	mar	šado
BAF	spe	mar	šado
OGI	spe	mar	šado
DIR	spe	mar	šado
BAJ	spe	mar	šado
MOH	spe	maro	šado
NIG	spa ⁱ / spa ⁱ	mar	bi'zo / ša'di
SHN	spa ⁱ	mar	bi'zo / bizoga ⁱ / bizoga ⁱ
BAR	spe	mar	bizo
MAL	spa ⁱ	mar	bizo
ZKH	spa ⁱ	mor	bizo
JAM	spa ⁱ	maŋ'gor	bi'zo
TIR	spa ⁱ	maŋ'gor	bi'zo
JAL	spe	mar	bizo
CHE	spe	mar	bizo
PAR	spa ⁱ	maŋgor	bizo
HAN	spe	maŋgor	bizo
TAL	spa	maŋgor	bizo
KRK	spa ⁱ	maŋgor	bizo
LAK	spa ⁱ	mar	bizo
BAN	spa ⁱ	manger	bizoga ⁱ
MIR	spa ⁱ	maŋger / maŋgor	bizoga ⁱ
WAA	spa ⁱ	maŋgor	bizo
QUE	spa ⁱ	mar	bizo
CHA	spa ⁱ	mar	bizo
PAS	spa ⁱ	mar	bizo
KAK	spa ⁱ	mar	bizo
KHR	spa ⁱ	mar	bizo
WCI	spa	mar	bižo
ORM	spaκ	maŋgor	bizo / bizogie

	98. mosquito	99. ant	100. spider
PES	'maše	me'ge	jo'la
CHS	maše	mege	jola
MAR	maše	me'ge	jola
SWA	maše	mege	jola
MAD	maše	me'ge	jola
MIN	maše	me'ge	jola
BAT	maša	meŋge	jola
BAF	maše / maša	meŋge	jola
OGI	maše	mege	jola
DIR	maše	mege	--
BAJ	maše	mege	γḷηḷ γḷηake
MOH	maše	mege	jola
NIG	miaše	me'ga ⁱ	γāɾḷ
SHN	miaša ⁱ	me'ga ⁱ	γḷηa
BAR	maše	mege	γḷηe
MAL	maša ⁱ	meɣa ⁱ	γḷɾi
ZKH	miasa	meɣa ⁱ	γḷηye
JAM	mi'ḷasa ⁱ	me'ga ⁱ	γḷηie
TIR	mi'asa ⁱ	me'ga ⁱ	γḷηye / γḷɾye
JAL	maše	meže	jola
CHE	maše	mege	jola
PAR	sage	miɣa ⁱ	jula
HAN	sage ⁱ	mige	dzḷa
TAL	miyosa	menga	γḷηi
KRK	miasa	meži	γḷηe
LAK	miasa ⁱ	meža ⁱ	γḷηḷ
BAN	miasa	meža ⁱ	γḷηye
MIR	maŋgas ⁱ	meža ⁱ	γḷηiexima
WAA	miḷsa ⁱ	meža ⁱ	γḷηye
QUE	mačar	meža ⁱ	moko
CHA	mačar	meža ⁱ	yeŋe
PAS	mačar / yomaš	meža ⁱ	γḷηɣḷ
KAK	yomaš	mažḷ ⁱ	yeŋɣḷ
KHR	yomaš	meža ⁱ	jolaga ⁱ / γḷɾe
WCI	mesi	merža	pešawar
ORM	myasa ⁱ	meža ⁱ / martsoi	buzwa

	101. name	102. man	103. woman
PES	num	sΛfe	^l xΛZA
CHS	num	safe	xΛZA
MAR	num	sΛfe	xΛZA
SWA	num	safe	xΛZA
MAD	num	sΛfe	xΛZA
MIN	num	sΛfe	xΛZA
BAT	num	safe	xΛZA
BAF	num	safe	xΛZA
OGI	num	safe	xΛZA
DIR	num	sΛfe	xΛZA
BAJ	num	sΛfe	xΛZA
MOH	num	sΛfe	xΛZA
NIG	num	sa ^l fa ⁱ	^l xΛZA
SHN	nama / num	sΛfa ⁱ	^l xΛdZA
BAR	nama	sΛfe	xΛZA
MAL	nama	sΛfa ⁱ	xΛZA
ZKH	noma	sΛfa ⁱ	xΛZA
JAM	nama	sa ^l fa ⁱ	^l xΛZA
TIR	noma	sa ^l fa ⁱ	^l xΛZA
JAL	num	sΛfe	xΛZA
CHE	num	safe	xΛZA
PAR	nama	sΛfa ⁱ	xΛZA
HAN	nama	sΛfa ⁱ	xΛZA
TAL	nama	sΛfa	xΛZA
KRK	nama	sa ^l fa ⁱ	šΛZA
LAK	nam	sΛfa ⁱ	šΛja
BAN	nam	sa ^l fa ⁱ	šΛZA
MIR	num	sΛfa ⁱ	šΛZA
WAA	num	sΛfa ⁱ	šΛZA
QUE	num	sΛfa ⁱ	šΛZA
CHA	num	sΛfa ⁱ	šΛdZA / šΛZA
PAS	num	sΛfa ⁱ	šΛZA / šΛdZA
KAK	num	sΛfa ⁱ	šΛZA
KHR	num	ša ^l fa ⁱ	šΛZA
WCI	num	sa ^l fa	šΛZA
ORM	nam	sΛfa ⁱ	dza ^r ka

	104. child	105. father	106. mother
PES	ma'šum	plar	mor
CHS	mašum	plar	mor
MAR	ma'šum	plar	mor
SWA	mašum	plar	mor
MAD	mašum / waʔuke	plar	mor
MIN	mašum / waʔuke	plar	mor
BAT	mašum / bačē	plar	mor
BAF	mašum / jatke / bačē	plar	mor
OGI	jatke	plar	mor
DIR	mašum	plar	abli
BAJ	bačē	plar	mor
MOH	mašum	plaro	morō
NIG	ma'šum	plar	mor
SHN	ma'šum	plar	mor
BAR	bačē	plar	mor
MAL	mašum	plar	mor
ZKH	mošum	plor	mor
JAM	ma'šum	plar	mor
TIR	ba'čai	plor	mor
JAL	mašum	plar	mor
CHE	mašum / bača	plar	mor
PAR	bačai / mašum	plor	mor
HAN	woʔke / bačē	plar	mor
TAL	woʔka	plor	mor
KRK	bačai	plor	mor
LAK	kʔatsai / zaŋakai	plar	mor
BAN	bačai	plor	mer
MIR	žanaka / mašum	plor	mer
WAA	waʔika ⁱ	plor	mor
QUE	kušna ⁱ	plar	mor
CHA	kušna ⁱ	plar	mor
PAS	kušna ⁱ / mašum	plar	mor
KAK	kušna ⁱ	plar	mor / morka ⁱ
KHR	kušna ⁱ / kušna ⁱ / inʒila ⁱ	plar	mor
WCI	wʔakai	piyar	mor
ORM	woʔka ⁱ	pie	mawō

	107. older brother	108. younger brother	109. older sister
PES	'mašar ror	kašar ror	mašra xor
CHS	mašar ror	kašar ror	mašra xor
MAR	mašar ror	wařuke ror	mašra xor
SWA	mašar ror	kašar ror	mašra xor
MAD	mašar ror	kašar ror / wařuke ror	mašra xor
MIN	mašar ror	kašar ror / wařuke ror	mašra xor
BAT	mašar ror	kašar ror	mašra xor
BAF	mašar ror	kašar ror / wařike ror	mašra xor / lueΔ xor
OGI	mašar ror	kašar ror	mašra xor
DIR	mašar ror	warkoṭa ⁱ ror	mašra xor
BAJ	mašar ror	kašar ror	mašra xor
MOH	mašar ror	kašar ror	mašra xor _Q
NIG	'mašar ror	'kašar ror	mašra xor
SHN	'mašar ror	kašar ror	mašra xor
BAR	mašar ror	wařuke wror	mašra xor
MAL	mašar ror	kašar ror	mašra xor
ZKH	mašar wror	kašar wror	mašra xor
JAM	'mašar ror	kašar ror	mašra xor
TIR	'mašar wror	kašar wror	'mašara xor
JAL	mašar ror	wařuka ⁱ ror / kašar ror	mašra xor
CHE	mašar ror	kašar ror	mašra xor
PAR	mašar wror / gaṭ wror	wařuke wror / kašar wror	mašra xor
HAN	mašar wror	wauke wror	mašra xor
TAL	star ror	wařuka ror	stara xor
KRK	mašar wror	wařika wror	stara xor
LAK	star wror / mašar wror	wařuka ⁱ wror / kam wror	stara xor / mašra xor
BAN	star wrer	wařka wrer	stara xer
MIR	star wrer	wařika ⁱ wrer / kašar wrer	stara xer / mašra xer
WAA	star wror	wařika ⁱ wror	stara xor
QUE	mašar ror / lala / lue wror	kašar ror / kušna ⁱ wror	mašra xor
CHA	mašar wror	kušna ⁱ wror / kašar wror	mašra xor
PAS	mašar wror	kušna ⁱ wror / kašar wror	mašra xor / lue xor
KAK	masar ror	kasar ror	masra xor
KHR	mašar wror	kašar wror	mašra xor
WCI	maser ror / aka	wřaka ⁱ ror / kaser ror	maser xur
ORM	stur marza	zari marza / zarikotka ⁱ marza	star xwar

	110. younger sister	111. son	112. daughter
PES	kašra xor	zwe	lur
CHS	kašra xor	zwe	lur
MAR	kašra xor	zwi	lur
SWA	kašra xor	zwe	lur
MAD	kašra / waʔa xor	zwe	lur
MIN	kašra / waʔuke xor	zwe	lur
BAT	kašra / waʔa xor	zwe	lur
BAF	kašra / waʔike xor	zwe	lur
OGI	kašra xor	zwe	lur
DIR	waʔa xor	zwe	lur
BAJ	xoʔa ⁱ	zwe	lur
MOH	kašra xoro	zwi	loro
NIG	kašra xor	zoi	lur
SHN	kašra xor	zo ⁱ	lur
BAR	kašra xor	zwe	lur
MAL	kašra xor	zoi	lur
ZKH	kašra xor	zwa ⁱ	lur
JAM	kašra xor	zwa ⁱ	lur
TIR	kašra xor	zo ⁱ wa ⁱ	lur
JAL	waʔa / kašra xor	zwe	lur
CHE	kašra xor	zwa	lur
PAR	kašra xor	zwa ⁱ	lur
HAN	kašra xor	zwe	lur
TAL	waʔa xor	zwa	lur
KRK	waʔike xor	zwa ⁱ	lur
LAK	waʔuke xor	zoi / zwe	lur
BAN	waʔike xer	zai	lir
MIR	waʔike xer	ziay	lir
WAA	waʔike xor	zya ⁱ	lir
QUE	kušna ⁱ / kašra xor	zwe	lur
CHA	kušna ⁱ / kašra xor	zoi	lur
PAS	kašra xor	zoi	lur
KAK	kašra xor	zoi	lur
KHR	kašra xor	zwe	lur
WCI	waʔake xor / kašer xur	zoya	lur
ORM	zari xwar / zarikotka ⁱ xwar	kolan	duwa

	113. husband	114. wife	115. boy
PES	xa'wΛnd / meɽΛ	'xΛZΛ	hΛ'lΛk
CHS	xawand	xΛZα	halΛk
MAR	xawan	xΛZΛ	alΛk
SWA	xawΛnd	xΛZα	halΛk
MAD	xawΛn	xΛZΛ	alΛk
MIN	xawΛn	xΛZΛ	halΛk
BAT	xawan	xΛZΛ	halΛk
BAF	xawan / xawand	xΛZΛ	alΛk / halΛk
OGI	xawan	xΛZΛ	halΛk
DIR	xawΛn	xΛZΛ	hΛlΛk
BAJ	xawΛn	xΛZα	hΛlΛk
MOH	xΛwΛn	xΛZα	wΛrkɔɽe
NIG	meɽΛ	'xΛZΛ	hΛ'lΛk
SHN	meɽΛ / xawan	'xΛdzΛ	wΛɽΛkΛ ⁱ
BAR	meɽΛ	xΛZα	ΛlΛk
MAL	meɽΛ	'xΛZα	wɔɽkΛ ⁱ
ZKH	meɽΛ	xΛZα	wɛɽkΛ ⁱ
JAM	meɽΛ	'xΛZΛ	wɛɽΛkΛ ⁱ
TIR	meɽΛ	'xΛZΛ	'wɛɽkΛ ⁱ
JAL	xΛwΛn	xΛZα	alΛk
CHE	xawan	xΛZΛ	alΛk
PAR	meɽə	xΛZə	wɔɽke
HAN	meɽΛ	xΛdzα	wɔɽke
TAL	meɽə	xΛZΛ	wɔɽkΛ
KRK	čestΛn	šΛZΛ	wɔɽkΛ
LAK	xΛwΛn / meɽΛ	šΛjΛ	kɽΛčΛ ⁱ / žΛnklΛ ⁱ
BAN	—	šΛZα	wɛɽkΛ ⁱ
MIR	meɽΛ / xawΛn	šΛZΛ	žΛnkΛ ⁱ
WAA	meɽΛ	šΛZΛ	žΛnkΛ ⁱ
QUE	meɽΛ	mΛinΛ / šΛZΛ	ΛlΛk
CHA	meɽΛ	mΛinΛ	ΛlΛk
PAS	meɽΛ	mΛinΛ	ΛlΛk
KAK	meɽə	ZΛ ⁱ pΛ / mΛinΛ	ΛlΛk / ZΛnkΛ ⁱ
KHR	meɽΛ	mΛ ⁱ nΛ	alΛk
WCI	mΛɽΛ	ZΛ ⁱ pΛ	čora
ORM	mali	nak ^h	kolΛk

	116. girl	117. day	118. night
PES	ji'nΛ ⁱ	wɾΛZ	špa
CHS	ji'ne	wɾΛZ	špa
MAR	jinΛ ⁱ	wɾΛZ	špa
SWA	jinΛ ⁱ	ɾawΛZ	špa
MAD	ʃΛnΛ ⁱ	wɾΛZ	špa
MIN	ji'nΛ ⁱ	wɾΛZ	špa
BAT	jinΛ ⁱ	wɾΛZ	špa
BAF	jinΛ ⁱ	wɾΛZ	špa
OGI	jinΛ ⁱ	wɾΛZ	špa
DIR	jinΛ ⁱ	wɾΛZ	špa
BAJ	jinΛ ⁱ	wɾΛZ	špa
MOH	jinΛ ⁱ	wΛɾZQ	špa
NIG	ʃil'kΛ ⁱ	wΛ ^l ɾΛZ	špa
SHN	ʃilΛ ⁱ	wɾΛdz	špa
BAR	ʃilΛ ⁱ	wɾΛZ	špa
MAL	inʃilΛ ⁱ	wɾΛZ	špa
ZKH	wɛɾkie	wɾɛZ	špa
JAM	wɛɾΛkie	wɾɛZ	špa
TIR	^l wɛɾkie	wɾɛZ	špa
JAL	jinΛ ⁱ	wɾΛZ	špa
CHE	wɛɾki	wɾΛZ	špa
PAR	ʃelkΛ ⁱ	wɾɛZ	špa
HAN	wɔɾki	wɾɛdz	špa
TAL	ʃelke	wɾɛZ	špa
KRK	wɔɾke	ɾɛZ	špa
LAK	ʃinkΛ ⁱ	wɾΛʃ	špa
BAN	wɛɾke	wɾɛZ	špa
MIR	ʃelkΛ ⁱ	wɾɛZ	špa
WAA	dzɛlkΛ ⁱ	ɾɛdz	špa
QUE	mʃilΛ ⁱ / ʃilΛ ⁱ	wɾΛdz	špa
CHA	mʃilΛ ⁱ	wɾΛZ	špa
PAS	mʃilΛ ⁱ	wɾΛZ / wɾΛdz	špa
KAK	mʃilΛ ⁱ	wɾΛZ	špa
KHR	mʃilΛ ⁱ	wɾΛZ	špa
WCI	čuwΛɾΛ	wɾɛZ	špa
ORM	duk ^h ɔ	wɾiez / wɾioz	šiyo

	119. morning	120. noon	121. evening/afternoon
PES	sA'hAR	ɣAR'mA	ma'xam
CHS	sAhar	ɣarma	maxam
MAR	sA'hAR	ɣARmA	maxam
SWA	sAhar	ɣARma	maxam
MAD	sA'hAR	ɣARmA	maxam
MIN	sA'hAR	ɣARmA	maxam
BAT	sar	ɣarma	maxam
BAF	sar	ɣarma	maxam
OGI	sar	ɣarma	maxam
DIR	sar	ɣarma	maxam
BAJ	sAhar	ɣARma	--
MOH	sAbA	ɣARma	maxam
NIG	sA'hAR	ɣar'mA	ma'xam
SHN	sAbA'i	ɣAR'mA	ma'xam
BAR	sAbA'i	ɣARma	--
MAL	sAbAi	ɣARma	--
ZKH	sAboi	ɣARma	--
JAM	sAbAi	ɣAR'mA	ma'xam
TIR	sAbO'i	ɣar'mA	lA'maxom
JAL	sAhar	ɣARma	mašam
CHE	sAhar	ɣarma	maxam
PAR	sobel	ɣARma	maxom
HAN	sAbA'i	ɣARma	maxam
TAL	sabo	--	maxom
KRK	sAbA ⁱ	ɣARma	lmašom
LAK	sAbA / sAbA'i	ɣARma	mašam
BAN	sAbA	ɣARma	mašom
MIR	sabo	ɣARma	mašom
WAA	ɣAyidz	ɣARma	lamašom
QUE	sar	ɣARmA	mašam
CHA	sAhar	ɣARmA	mašam
PAS	sAhar	ɣARmA	mašam
KAK	sAhar	ɣARmA / ɣARmAKA ⁱ	mašam
KHR	sAhar / sAʔAR	ɣARmA	mašam
WCI	sAhar	ɣARmA	mašam
ORM	sAXAR	ɣARmA	mašam

	122. yesterday	123. today	124. tomorrow
PES	pʌrun	nʌn	sʌ'ba
CHS	parun	nʌn	sʌba
MAR	pʌrun	nʌn	sʌ'ba
SWA	parun	nʌn	sʌba
MAD	pʌrun	nʌn	sʌ'ba
MIN	pʌrun	nʌn	sʌ'ba
BAT	parun	nʌn	sʌba
BAF	parun	nʌn	sʌba
OGI	parun	nʌn	sʌba
DIR	pʌrun	nʌn	sʌba
BAJ	pʌrun	nʌn	sʌba
MOH	pʌrun	nʌn	sʌba
NIG	pʌ'run	nʌn	sʌ'ba
SHN	pʌrun	nʌn	sʌ'ba
BAR	pʌrun	nʌn	sʌba
MAL	pʌrun	nʌn	sʌba
ZKH	pʌrun	nʌn	sabo
JAM	pʌrun	nʌn	sʌ'ba
TIR	pʌ'run	nʌn	sʌbo'i
JAL	pʌrun	nʌn	sʌba
CHE	parun	nʌn	sʌba
PAR	parun	nʌn	sʌbɔ
HAN	parun	nʌn	sʌba
TAL	pʌrun	nʌn	sʌbai
KRK	pʌrun	nʌn	sabo
LAK	pʌrun	nʌn	sʌba
BAN	parin	nʌn	sʌbo
MIR	pʌrin	nʌn	sʌbo
WAA	parin	nʌn	sabo
QUE	pʌrund	nʌn	sʌba
CHA	pʌrun	nʌn	sʌba
PAS	pʌrun	nʌn	sʌba
KAK	parund	nʌn	sʌba
KHR	parund / parun	nʌn	sʌba
WCI	parʌnd	nʌn	sʌhar
ORM	pran	sʌn	sʌba

	125. week	126. month	127. year
PES	aft Δ	'miaš	kal
CHS	aft Δ	miaš	kal
MAR	aft Δ	miašt	kal
SWA	haft Δ	miašt	kal
MAD	aft Δ	miaš	kal
MIN	haft Δ	miaš	kal
BAT	aft Δ	miaš	kal
BAF	aft Δ	miaš	kal
OGI	aft Δ	miaš	kal
DIR	jumlah	myašt	kal
BAJ	hafta	my Δ št	kal
MOH	apta	myaš	kal _o
NIG	h Δ f Δ ta	miašt	kal
SHN	aft Δ	miašt	kal
BAR	awta	miešt	kal
MAL	aft Δ	miy Δ š	kal
ZKH	awt Δ	my Δ št	kol
JAM	aft Δ	mi Δ št	kal
TIR	afta	'miašt	kol
JAL	afta	miaš	kal
CHE	haft Δ	miašt	kal
PAR	Δ pta	miašt Δ	k Δ l
HAN	h Δ fta / afta	miašt	kal
TAL	haft Δ	miašt	kol
KRK	aft Δ	miašt	kol
LAK	aft Δ	miašt	kal
BAN	jima	miašt	kol
MIR	jima	miašt	kol
WAA	awt Δ	miašt	kol
QUE	Δ fta	myašt Δ / myast Δ	kal
CHA	h Δ fta	myašt	kal
PAS	Δ ft Δ / haft Δ	miašt	kal
KAK	Δ ft Δ	miašt	kal
KHR	haft Δ / awt Δ	miašt	kal
WCI	hapt Δ	māšt	kal
ORM	aft Δ	mail	tsan

	128. old	129. new	130. good
PES	zoṛ	^l nΛwe	xΛ
CHS	zoṛ	nΛwe	xΛ
MAR	zoṛ	nēwe	xΛ
SWA	zoṛ	nΛwe	xΛ
MAD	zoṛ / pΛxwane	nΛwe	xΛ
MIN	zoṛ / pΛxwane	nΛwe	xΛ
BAT	zoṛ	nΛwe / nēwe	xΛ
BAF	zoṛ	nēwe / nΛwe	xΛ
OGI	zoṛ	nΛwe	xΛ
DIR	poxwane	--	xΛ
BAJ	pΛxwane	nΛwe	xΛ
MOH	zoṛ _Q	nΛwe	xΛ
NIG	zoṛ	^l nΛwa ⁱ	xΛ
SHN	zoṛ / pΛxwanΛ ⁱ	nΛ ^l wa ⁱ	xΛ
BAR	zoṛ	nΛwe	xΛ
MAL	zoṛ	nΛwΛ ⁱ	--
ZKH	zoṛ	nΛwΛ ⁱ	xΛ
JAM	zoṛ	nΛ ^l wa ⁱ	xΛ
TIR	zoṛ	nΛ ^l wa ⁱ	xΛ
JAL	zoṛ	nΛwe	xΛ
CHE	zoṛ	nΛwa	šΛ
PAR	zoṛ	nΛwe	xΛ
HAN	zoṛ	nΛwe	xΛ
TAL	zoṛ	nΛwΛ	xΛ
KRK	zoṛ	nΛwΛ	š ^l Λ
LAK	zoṛ	nΛwΛ ⁱ	šΛ
BAN	zeṛ	nΛwa	šΛ
MIR	zeṛ	nΛwa ⁱ	šΛ
WAA	zoṛ	nΛwΛ ⁱ	š ^q Λ
QUE	zoṛ	nΛwΛ ⁱ	šΛ
CHA	zoṛ	nΛwe	šΛ
PAS	zoṛ	nΛwe	š ^l Λ
KAK	zoṛ	nΛwe	š ^l Λ
KHR	zoṛ	nΛwe	š ^l Λ
WCI	zoṛ	newa	šΛ
ORM	zal	niu	siri

	131. bad	132. wet	133. dry
PES	xΛ'rab	lund	wΛč ^h / wuč ^h
CHS	xarab	lund _Δ	wΛč ^h
MAR	xarap	lund	wuč ^h
SWA	xarab	lund	wΛč ^h
MAD	xarap	lund	wΛč ^h
MIN	xarap	lund	wΛč ^h
BAT	xarab / bΛd	lund	wΛč ^h
BAF	xarab / bΛd	lund	wΛč ^h
OGI	xarab / bΛd	lund	wΛč ^a
DIR	xΛrap	lund	wΛč ^h
BAJ	xΛrap	lund	wΛč
MOH	xarab _o	lund _o	wΛč _o
NIG	xΛ'rab / bΛd	lu:nd	wΛč ^h
SHN	xarap / bΛd	lund	wΛč ^h
BAR	bΛd	lund _Δ	xwΛšk
MAL	xΛrap	lun	wΛč
ZKH	xΛrop	nund	wΛč
JAM	xarap / bΛd	lund	wΛč ^h
TIR	xΛ'rop	nund	wΛč ^h
JAL	xΛrap	lund	wΛč
CHE	xarap	lund	wΛč ^h
PAR	xarəp	lund	wΛč
HAN	bad	lund	wΛč
TAL	xΛrop	lund ^h	wΛč
KRK	xΛrop	lund	wΛč ^Λ
LAK	xarap / bΛd	lund	wΛč
BAN	xrop	lind	wuč
MIR	xΛrop	lind	wΛč
WAA	xΛrop	limd	wΛč
QUE	xΛrap / bΛd	lund / nund	wΛč
CHA	xΛrap	lund / nund	wΛč
PAS	xΛrab / bΛd	nund	wΛč
KAK	xarap	nund	wΛč
KHR	xarab / bΛd	lund	wΛč ^Λ
WCI	leř	no ^u / nowu	wΛč ^Λ
ORM	xΛrap	šur	yuk ^h / xwΛšk

	134. long	135. short	136. hot
PES	u'gʌd	lʌŋɖ	'gʌɾʌm / tod
CHS	ugud	lʌŋɖ	tod / gʌɾʌm
MAR	u'gud	lʌŋɖ	tod / gʌɾʌm
SWA	ugud	lʌŋɖ	tod / gʌɾʌm
MAD	ugʌd	lʌŋɖ	tod / gʌɾʌm
MIN	ugʌd	lʌŋɖ	tod / gʌɾʌm
BAT	ugud	lʌŋɖ	tod / gʌɾʌm
BAF	ugud	lʌŋɖ	tod / gʌɾʌm
OGI	ugud	lʌŋɖ	tod / gʌɾʌm
DIR	ugʌd	--	gʌɾʌm
BAJ	ugʌd	--	gʌɾʌm
MOH	oɡʌd _o	lʌŋɖ _o	gʌɾʌm
NIG	'ugʌd	lʌnd / lʌnda ⁱ	tod / gʌɾʌm
SHN	u'gʌd	lʌŋɖ	tod / 'gʌɾʌm
BAR	ugʌd	lʌŋɖ	tod
MAL	ugʌd	lʌŋɖ	gʌɾʌm
ZKH	ugud	lʌŋɖ	tod
JAM	u'gʌd	lʌŋɖ	tod / 'gʌɾʌm
TIR	'ugʌd	--	toda / 'gʌɾʌm
JAL	ugud	lʌŋɖ	tod / gʌɾʌm
CHE	ugud	--	tod / gʌɾʌm
PAR	ugd ^h	--	gʌɾʌm
HAN	ugd ^h	lʌnd	tod / gʌɾʌm
TAL	ugdʌ	--	gʌɾʌm
KRK	uʒdʌ	--	tod ^h
LAK	uʒdʌ	lʌŋɖ	tod ^h / gʌɾʌm
BAN	wiʒdʌ		gʌɾʌm
MIR	wiʒd ^ʌ	lʌŋɖ	gʌɾʌm
WAA	wiʒd ^h	lʌŋɖ	tod
QUE	uʒd ^h	lʌŋɖ	tod ^h
CHA	oʒd ^h	--	tot ^h
PAS	uʒd	lʌŋɖ	tod / gʌɾʌm
KAK	uʒd	lʌŋɖ	tod
KHR	uʒd	lʌŋɖ	tod ^h
WCI	uʒd	lʌŋɖ	towu / to ^u
ORM	dʌɾʌy	lʌnd ^h	tok

	137. cold	138. right	139. left
PES	y Δ x	xe	g Δ s
CHS	y Δ x	xe	g Δ s
MAR	y Δ x	xe	g Δ s
SWA	y Δ x	ts Δ m	g Δ s
MAD	y Δ x / soř	xe	g Δ s / g Δ ts
MIN	y Δ x	xe	g Δ s
BAT	y Δ x	xe	g Δ s
BAF	y Δ x / soř	xe	g Δ s
OGI	y Δ x / soř	xe	g Δ s
DIR	y Δ x	x Δ ⁱ	g Δ s
BAJ	y Δ x	x Δ ⁱ	g Δ s
MOH	y Δ x Ω	xe	g Δ s
NIG	y Δ x	x α ⁱ	č Δ p
SHN	y Δ x / soř	x α ⁱ	g Δ ts / ki η
BAR	y Δ x	x Δ ⁱ	g Δ ts
MAL	y Δ x	x Δ ⁱ	g Δ ts
ZKH	y ϵ x / yex	x Δ ⁱ	g Δ ts
JAM	y ϵ x / soř	x α ⁱ	g Δ ts
TIR	y Δ x	x α ⁱ	g Δ ts / g Δ s
JAL	y Δ x / soř	š Δ ⁱ	g Δ s
CHE	y Δ x	x α	g Δ s
PAR	soř	x α ⁱ	ki η
HAN	y Δ x / soř	xe	g Δ ts
TAL	soř	x α	ki η
KRK	soř	š Δ ⁱ	ki η
LAK	y Δ x / soř	š Δ ⁱ	ki η
BAN	seř	š α ⁱ	g Δ s
MIR	yex / seř	š α ⁱ	g Δ ts
WAA	soř	šil Δ ⁱ	g Δ ts Δ ⁱ
QUE	y Δ x / soř	r Δ st Δ / š Δ ⁱ	č Δ p Δ / ki η
CHA	y Δ x / soř	r Δ st Δ	č Δ p Δ
PAS	y Δ x / soř	r Δ st Δ / š Δ ⁱ	ki η / č Δ p Δ
KAK	y Δ x / soř	š α ⁱ	ki η
KHR	y Δ x / soř	r Δ st Δ	č Δ p Δ
WCI	soř / sař Δ	še	ki η
ORM	tsak	xorents Δ	čel Δ

	140. near	141. far	142. big
PES	nizde	l̥re	lue / ɣʌʔ
CHS	nizde	l̥re	lue / ɣʌʔ
MAR	nizde	l̥re	lui / ɣʌʔ
SWA	nizde	l̥re	lue
MAD	nizde	l̥re	lui / ɣʌʔ
MIN	nizde	l̥re	lui / ɣʌʔ
BAT	nizde	l̥re	lue / ɣʌʔ
BAF	nizde	l̥re	lue / ɣʌʔ
OGI	nizde	l̥re	lue / ɣʌʔ
DIR	nizde	l̥re	ɣʌʔ
BAJ	nizde	l̥re	lwi
MOH	nizde	l̥re	ɣʌʔ
NIG	niz'de	l̥re	ɣʌʔ
SHN	niz'de	l̥re	loi / ɣʌʔ
BAR	nizde	l̥re	lui
MAL	nizde	l̥re	loi
ZKH	--	l̥re	star
JAM	nizde	l̥re	star / ɣʌʔ
TIR	niz'de	l̥re	star
JAL	nizde	l̥re	ɣʌʔ
CHE	niždo	l̥re	star
PAR	niğde	wʌrya	ɣ ^w ʌʔ
HAN	nižde	wʌrya	kʌʔa
TAL	nižde	wrea	star
KRK	nežde	l̥re	star / ɣʌʔ
LAK	nizdo	l̥re	ɣwoʔ
BAN	nʌžde	l̥re	star
MIR	nʌžde	lere	star / ɣʌʔ
WAA	nʌžde	l̥re	ɣwʌʔ
QUE	nizde	lere	lue / ɣʌʔ
CHA	nʌzde	lere	loi / ɣʌʔ
PAS	nizde	l̥re / lire	lue / ɣʌʔ
KAK	nʌzde	lire	lue / ɣʌʔ
KHR	nizde	lere	lue / ɣʌʔ
WCI	nʌzde	l̥re	loyʌ
ORM	boi	pets	stur / ɣʌʔ

	143. small	144. heavy	145. light
PES	wΛr'koṭe / wařukai	drund	spΛk
CHS	wΛrkoṭe / wařuke	drund	spΛk
MAR	wΛrkoṭe / wařuke	drund	spΛk
SWA	wařuke	drund	spΛk
MAD	wařuke / warkoṭe	drun / drund	spΛk
MIN	wΛrkoṭe / wařuke	drun	spΛk
BAT	wařuke / warkoṭe	drund	spΛk
BAF	wařike	drund	spΛk
OGI	wařuke	drund	spΛk
DIR	wΛřuke	drun	spΛk
BAJ	wΛrkoṭe	drun	spΛk
MOH	wΛřuke	drund _o	spΛk _o
NIG	wa'ruka ⁱ / war'koṭe	drund	spΛk
SHN	wařuka ⁱ	drund	spΛk
BAR	wΛřuke	drun	spΛk
MAL	wΛřuka ⁱ	drun	spΛk
ZKH	wΛřuka ⁱ	drund	spΛk
JAM	wařuka ⁱ	drund	spΛk
TIR	wařuka ⁱ	drund	spΛk ^h
JAL	wΛřuke / warkoṭe	drund	spΛk
CHE	warkoṭe	drund	spΛk
PAR	wΛřuke	drund	spΛk
HAN	wΛřuka ⁱ	drun	spΛk
TAL	wΛřuka	drund ^h	alΛk
KRK	wΛřika	drund ^h	alΛk
LAK	wΛřuka ⁱ	drund	alΛk / spΛk
BAN	wařika	drin	alΛk
MIR	wΛřika ⁱ	drind	spΛk
WAA	wΛřika ⁱ	drind ^h	alΛk / alΛk ⁱ
QUE	kušna ⁱ	drund	spΛk
CHA	kušna ⁱ	drund	spΛk
PAS	kušna ⁱ	drund	spΛk
KAK	kušna ⁱ	drund	spΛk
KHR	kušna ⁱ	drund	spΛk
WCI	wřΛka ⁱ	drund	spΛk / spΛk
ORM	zΛri / kΛrikotka ⁱ	gran	alΛk

	146. above	147. below	148. white
PES	u'čΛt / pas	'lande	spin
CHS	učΛt / pas	lande	spin
MAR	učΛt	'lande	spin
SWA	učΛt	lande	spin
MAD	učΛt	lande	spin
MIN	učΛt	lande	spin
BAT	učΛt / lΛpasa	lande	spin
BAF	učΛt / lΛpasa / pasa	lande	spin
OGI	učΛt / lΛpasa	lande	spin
DIR	učΛt	lande	spin
BAJ	učΛt	lande	spin
MOH	učΛt _o	lande	spino / spin
NIG	u'čΛt	'lande	spin
SHN	učΛt / pas	'lande / tɪt	spin
BAR	Λsk	tɪt	spin
MAL	pas	lande	spin
ZKH	luΛɽ	--	spin
JAM	učΛt / pas	'lande	spin
TIR	wi'čΛt	'londe	spin
JAL	učΛt	lande	spin
CHE	učΛt	lande	spin
PAR	pos	londe	spin
HAN	posΛ	lande	spin
TAL	posΛ	londe	spin
KRK	posΛ	londe	spin
LAK	čig	lande	spin
BAN	pos	londe	spin
MIR	učΛt / pos / posΛ	lunde	spin
WAA	eposΛ	elonde	spin
QUE	lwΛɽ / bala	landi	spin
CHA	lwΛɽ / bala	lande	spin
PAS	lwΛɽ / balΛ	lande	spin
KAK	lwΛɽ	lande	spin
KHR	lwΛɽ	lande	spin
WCI	lwΛɽ	lande	spin
ORM	bež	dzem	spio

	149. black	150. red	151. one
PES	tor	sur	yΛu
CHS	tor	sur	yΛo
MAR	tor	sur	yΛu
SWA	tor	sur	yΛo
MAD	tor	sur	yΛu
MIN	tor	sur	yΛu
BAT	tor	sur	yao
BAF	tor	sur	yao
OGI	tor	sur	yao
DIR	tor	sur	yΛo
BAJ	tor	sur	yΛo
MOH	tor _o	sur _o	yΛo
NIG	tor	sur	yau
SHN	tor	sur	yau
BAR	tor	sur	yΛo
MAL	tor	sur	yΛo
ZKH	tor	sur	yo
JAM	tor	sur	yo
TIR	tor	sur	yo
JAL	tor	sur	yo ^u
CHE	tor	sur	yo
PAR	tor	sur	yo
HAN	tor	sur	yo
TAL	tor	sur	yo
KRK	tor	sur	yo
LAK	tor	sur	yo
BAN	ter	sir	yo ^u
MIR	ter	sir	yo
WAA	tur	sir	yo
QUE	tor	sur	yΛo
CHA	tor	sur	yo
PAS	tor	sur	yΛo
KAK	tor	sur	yΛo
KHR	tor	sur	yΛo
WCI	tor	sur	yo
ORM	yras	sur	sΛ

	152. two	153. three	154. four
PES	dwa	dre	sa'lor
CHS	dwa	dre	salor
MAR	dwa	dre	sa'lor
SWA	dwa	dre	tsalor
MAD	dwa	dre	sa'lor
MIN	dwa	dre	sa'lor
BAT	dwa	dre	salor
BAF	dwa	dre	salor / tsalor
OGI	dwa	dre	salor
DIR	dwΛ	dre	sΛlor
BAJ	dwa	dre	sΛlor
MOH	dwa	dre	sΛloro
NIG	dwa	dre	tsa'lor
SHN	dwa	dre	tsa'lor
BAR	dwa	dre	tsalor
MAL	dwa	dre	tsalor
ZKH	dwΛ	dre	tsalwor
JAM	dwa	dra ⁱ	tsal'wor
TIR	dwa	dre	tsarwor
JAL	dwa	dre	sΛlor
CHE	dwa	dre	tsalor
PAR	dwa	dre	tsalor
HAN	dwa	dre	tsalor
TAL	dwa	dre	salor
KRK	dwΛ	dre	tsalor
LAK	dwΛ	dre	čalor
BAN	dwa	dre	saler
MIR	dwa	dre	tsalwer
WAA	dwΛ	dre	tsalwor
QUE	dwa	dre	tsalor
CHA	dwΛ	dre	tsalor
PAS	dwΛ	dre	tsalor
KAK	dwΛ	dre	sΛlor
KHR	dwa	dre	tsalor
WCI	dwa	dre	tsalor
ORM	dio	çi	tsar

	155. five	156. six	157. seven
PES	pin'zΛ	špΛg	u'wΛ
CHS	pinzΛ	špΛg	uwΛ
MAR	pinzΛ	špΛg	u'wΛ
SWA	pinzΛ	špΛg	uwΛ
MAD	pinzΛ	špΛg	u'wΛ
MIN	pinzΛ	špΛg	u'wΛ
BAT	pinzΛ	špΛg	uwΛ
BAF	pinzΛ	špΛg	uwΛ
OGI	pinzΛ	špΛg	uwΛ
DIR	pinzΛ	špΛg	uwΛ
BAJ	pinzΛ	špΛg	uwa
MOH	pinzΛ _o	špΛg _o	uwΛ
NIG	pin'zΛ	špΛg	u'wΛ
SHN	pin'zΛ	špΛg	u'wΛ
BAR	pinzΛ	špΛg	<u>o</u> wΛ
MAL	pinzΛ	špΛg	uwΛ
ZKH	pinzΛ	špeg	owΛ
JAM	pin'zΛ	špeg	a'wΛ
TIR	pin'zΛ	špeg	o'wΛ
JAL	pinzΛ	špΛg	uwΛ
CHE	pinzΛ	špΛg	uwΛ
PAR	pinzΛ	špeg	uwa
HAN	pindzΛ	špeg	uwΛ
TAL	pinzΛ	špeg	"wa
KRK	pinzΛ	špež	uwΛ
LAK	pinjΛ	špΛž	uwΛ
BAN	pinzΛ	špež	o"Λ
MIR	pinzΛ	špež	owΛ
WAA	pinzΛ	spež	wΛwΛ
QUE	pinzΛ	špΛž	uwΛ
CHA	pindzΛ	spež	uwə
PAS	pinzΛ / pindzΛ	špΛž	uwΛ
KAK	pinzΛ	špΛž	uwə
KHR	pindzΛ	špΛž	uwə
WCI	pinzΛ	špož	owə / uwə
ORM	pendz	ša	wo

	158. eight	159. nine	160. ten
PES	a'tΛ	'nΛhΛ	lΛs
CHS	atΛ	nΛhΛ	lΛs
MAR	a'tΛ	'nΛhΛ	lΛs
SWA	atΛ	nΛhα	lΛs
MAD	a'tΛ	'nΛhΛ	lΛs
MIN	a'tΛ	'nΛhΛ	lΛs
BAT	atΛ	nΛhα	lΛs
BAF	atΛ	nΛhα	lΛs
OGI	atΛ	nΛhα	lΛs
DIR	atΛ	nΛhΛ	lΛs
BAJ	atΛ	nΛhα	lΛs
MOH	ΛtΛ _Q	nΛxΛ	lΛs _Q
NIG	a'tΛ	'nΛhα	lΛs
SHN	atΛ	'nΛhΛ	lΛs
BAR	atΛ	nΛhΛ	lΛs
MAL	atΛ	nΛhΛ	lΛs
ZKH	wotΛ	nΛ'hΛ	las
JAM	ΛtΛ	'nΛhΛ	lΛs
TIR	wΛ'tΛ / otΛ	nΛhΛ	las
JAL	ΛtΛ	nΛhΛ	lΛs
CHE	atΛ	nΛhα	lΛs
PAR	atə	anΛ	las
HAN	ΛtΛ	ΛnΛ	lΛs
TAL	atΛ	ΛnΛ	las
KRK	otΛ	ΛnΛ	las
LAK	atΛ	nΛ	lΛs
BAN	otΛ	nΛ ^h	las / lΛs
MIR	wΛtΛ	nΛ	las
WAA	wΛtə	nə	lΛs
QUE	ΛtΛ	nΛ	lΛs
CHA	ΛtΛ	nΛ	lΛs
PAS	Λtə	nΛ	lΛs
KAK	Λtə	nΛ	lΛs
KHR	atΛ	nΛ	lΛs
WCI	otΛ	nΛ	lΛs
ORM	āšt	nə	dΛs

	161. eleven	162. twelve	163. twenty
PES	ya'olΛs	'dolΛs	šΛl
CHS	yaolΛs	dolΛs	šΛl
MAR	yolΛs	dolΛs	šΛl
SWA	yawolΛs	dolΛs	šΛl
MAD	yaolΛs	dolΛs	šΛl
MIN	yaolΛs	dolΛs	šΛl
BAT	yaolΛs	dolΛs	šΛl
BAF	yaolΛs	dolΛs	šΛl
OGI	yaolΛs	dolΛs	šΛl
DIR	yaolΛs	dolΛs	šΛl
BAJ	yolΛs	dolΛs	šΛl
MOH	yaΛwolΛs	dolΛs	šΛl
NIG	ya'o:lΛs	dolΛs	šΛl
SHN	yolΛs	'dolΛs	šΛl
BAR	yaΛolΛs	dolΛs	šΛl
MAL	yolΛs	dolΛs	šΛl
ZKH	yaΛolΛs	dwolΛs	šΛl
JAM	ewolΛs	dwolΛs	šΛl
TIR	ye'wolΛs	d^wolΛs	šΛl
JAL	yawolΛs	dwolΛs	šΛl
CHE	yawolΛs	dolΛs	šΛl
PAR	yeolΛs	dwolΛs	šΛl
HAN	yawolΛs	dolΛs	šΛl
TAL	ewulas	dwΛlΛs	šΛl
KRK	yulas	dulas	šΛl
LAK	yaΛolΛs	dolΛs	šΛl
BAN	ewolΛs	dwelΛs	šΛl
MIR	yewelΛs	dwelΛs	šΛl
WAA	yewolΛs	dolΛs	šΛl
QUE	yaolΛs / yawolΛs	dΛwolΛs	šol / šel
CHA	yaΛolΛs	dwolΛs	šΛl
PAS	yaolΛs / yawolΛs	dolΛs / dwolΛs	šΛl
KAK	yawolΛs	dwolΛs	ušΛl
KHR	yawolΛs	duolΛs	šΛl
WCI	yulas	dulas	šwi
ORM	sΛndΛs	dwΛs	jištu

	164. one hundred	165. who	166. what
PES	s _Δ l	sok	s _Δ
CHS	s _Δ l	sok	s _Δ
MAR	s _Δ l	sok	s _Δ
SWA	s _Δ l	sok	s _Δ
MAD	s _Δ l	sok	s _Δ
MIN	s _Δ l	sok	s _Δ
BAT	s _Δ l	sok	s _Δ
BAF	s _Δ l	sok	s _Δ ⁱ
OGI	s _Δ l	sok	s _Δ
DIR	s _Δ l	sok	s _Δ
BAJ	s _Δ l	sok	s _Δ
MOH	s _Δ l	sok	si
NIG	s _Δ l	tsok	ts _Δ
SHN	s _Δ l	tsok	ts _Δ
BAR	s _Δ l	tsok	ts _Δ
MAL	s _Δ l	tsok	t _Δ
ZKH	s _Δ l	tsok	ts _Δ
JAM	s _Δ l	tsok	ts _Δ
TIR	s _Δ l	tsok	^l ts _Δ
JAL	s _Δ l	sok	s _Δ
CHE	s _Δ l	sok	ts _Δ
PAR	s _Δ l	čok	ts _Δ
HAN	s _Δ l	čok	ts _Δ
TAL	s _Δ l	sok	tsi / či
KRK	s _Δ l	sok	s _Δ
LAK	s _Δ l	čok	ts _Δ
BAN	s _Δ l	sek	s _Δ
MIR	s _Δ l	tsek	ts _Δ
WAA	s _Δ l	tsok	ts _Δ
QUE	s _o l	tsok	ts _Δ
CHA	s _Δ l	tsok	či
PAS	s _Δ l	tsok	ts _Δ
KAK	s _Δ l	sok	s _Δ
KHR	s _Δ l	sok / tsok	ts _Δ / č _Δ
WCI	si	čok	ts _Δ
ORM	so	kok	ts _Δ

	167. where	168. when	169. how many
PES	'čartΛ	'kΛla	'somrΛ / so
CHS	čartΛ	kΛla	somra
MAR	čartΛ	kΛla	somrΛ
SWA	čartΛ	kΛla	tsomra
MAD	čartΛ	kΛla	somra / so
MIN	čartΛ	kΛla	somra / so
BAT	čartΛ	kΛla	tsomra / so
BAF	čartΛ	kΛla	tsomra / so
OGI	čartΛ	kΛla	somra / so
DIR	čΛrtΛ	kΛla	somrΛ
BAJ	čerta	kΛla	sumra
MOH	čerta	kΛja	somra
NIG	'čerta	kΛla	'tsomrΛ / tso
SHN	čartΛ	'kΛla	tsumrΛ / tso
BAR	čΛrtΛ	kΛla	tsumra
MAL	čerta	kΛla	tsomra
ZKH	čertΛ	kΛla	tsomra
JAM	čertΛ	'kΛla	tsΛmrΛ / tso
TIR	'četa	'kΛla	'tsomra
JAL	čartΛ	kΛla	somra
CHE	četa	kΛla	tsomra
PAR	četa	kΛla	tsurΛ
HAN	četa	kΛla	tsora
TAL	četa	kΛla	tsurΛ
KRK	četa	kΛla	tsurΛ / tso
LAK	čerta	kΛla	tsor
BAN	čere	--	semra
MIR	čerta	kΛla	tsena
WAA	čire	kΛla	tsumrΛ
QUE	čere	kΛla	tsuni / tso
CHA	čere	kΛla	tsonΛ / tsor
PAS	čere	kΛla	tsoni / tsunΛ
KAK	čere	kΛla	suni
KHR	čere	kΛla	tsundi / tsonΛ
WCI	čΛre	kΛla	tombe
ORM	gudo	kan	tsun

	170. which	171. this	172. that
PES	'kΛm	da	ΛγΛ
CHS	kΛm	da	haγa
MAR	kΛm	da	aγa
SWA	kΛm	da	aγa
MAD	kΛm	da	haγa
MIN	kΛm	da	aγa
BAT	kum	da	aγa
BAF	kum	da	aγa
OGI	kum	da	aγa
DIR	kΛm	da	aγΛ
BAJ	kΛm	da	hΛγa
MOH	kΛm	da	aγa
NIG	kum	da	ha'γa
SHN	'kum	da	aγΛ
BAR	kΛm	da	aγa
MAL	kΛm	da	aγΛ
ZKH	kum	da	aγΛ
JAM	'kΛm	da	a'γa
TIR	'kΛm	da	aγa
JAL	kΛm	da	aγa
CHE	kum	da	aγa
PAR	kum	da	aγa
HAN	kum	da / dΛγΛ	ΛγΛ
TAL	kum	dΛγΛ	aγΛ
KRK	kum	da	aγΛ
LAK	kum	da	ΛγΛ
BAN	kem	da	aγa
MIR	--	da	aγΛ
WAA	kim	dΛγΛ	ΛγΛ
QUE	kΛm	da	aγΛ
CHA	kΛm	da / dΛγΛ	ΛγΛ
PAS	kəm	da / dΛγΛ	aγΛ
KAK	kΛm	da	aγΛ
KHR	kΛm	da	haγΛ
WCI	kum	da / daγΛ	aγΛ
ORM	'atsen	o	Λwɔ / Λφɔ

	177. whole	178. broken	179. few
PES	sa'bΔt	mat	lΔg
CHS	roy	mat	lΔg
MAR	roy	mat	lΔg
SWA	sabut ^h	mat	lΔg
MAD	roy / sabΔt	mat ^h	lΔg
MIN	roy	mat ^h	lΔg
BAT	roy / pura	mat	lΔg
BAF	sabΔt / pura	mat	lΔg
OGI	roy	mat	lΔg
DIR	roy	mat ^h	lΔg
BAJ	roy	mat	lΔg
MOH	sΔbΔt <u>o</u>	mat <u>o</u>	lΔg <u>o</u>
NIG	sa'līm	mat	lΔg
SHN	roy / sa'bΔt	mat	lΔg
BAR	roy	mat	lΔg
MAL	roy	mat	lΔg
ZKH	roy	mot	lΔg
JAM	roy	mat	lΔg
TIR	roy	mot ^h	--
JAL	roy	mat	lΔg
CHE	pura	mat	lΔg
PAR	roy	mət	lΔg
HAN	roy	mat	lΔg
TAL	roy	mot	lΔg
KRK	roy	mot ^h	lΔž
LAK	roy	maṭ	lΔž / laški
BAN	sabut	mot	laški
MIR	rey	mot ^h	lΔž
WAA	roy	mot ^h	laški
QUE	roy	mat	lΔž
CHA	roy	mat	lΔž
PAS	roy	mat ^h	lΔž
KAK	roy	mat	lΔž
KHR	roy	mat ^h	lΔž
WCI	roy	mat ^h	lΔž
ORM	roy	maštΔk	duški

	180. many	181. all	182. to eat / The man ate the rice.
PES	ḍer / ziat	ṭol	sarī wrīže uxwaḗ
CHS	ḍer / ziat	ṭol	sarī wrūje uxwaḗ
MAR	ḍer	ṭol	sarī wrīje oxwaḗ
SWA	ḍer / ziat	ṭol	sarī wrīje uxwaḗ
MAD	ḍer / ziat	ṭol	sarī wrīje uxwaḗ/oxwaḗ
MIN	ḍer / ziat	tol	sarī wrīje uxwaḗ
BAT	ḍer / ziat	ṭol	sarī wrīje oxwaḗle
BAF	ḍer / ziat	ṭol	sarī wrīje oxwaḗle
OGI	ḍer / ziat	ṭol	sarī wrīje oxwḗ
DIR	ḍer	ṭol	sarī wrīje uxwaḗle
BAJ	ḍer	ṭol	sarī warije xwaḗli di
MOH	ziato	ṭolo	sarī wrīje uxwaḗle
NIG	ḍer / ziat	ṭol	xwaḗl
SHN	ḍer / ziat	ṭol	sarī wrīje uxwaḗ
BAR	ḍer	ṭol	sarī warije uxwaḗ
MAL	ḍer	ṭol	sarī warije uxwaḗ
ZKH	ḍer	ṭol	sarī wrīže oxwaḗ
JAM	ḍer / ziat	ṭol	sarī wrīje oxwaḗ
TIR	ziot	ṭol	sarī wrīje 'oxaḗ
JAL	ḍer / zioṭ	ṭol	sarī wrīje uxwaḗ
CHE	ḍer	ṭol	sarī wrīže oxwaḗ
PAR	ḍer	ṭol	sarī wrīže uxwaḗ
HAN	ḍer	ṭol	sarī wrīže uxwaḗ
TAL	ḍer	lṭol	sarī wrīje uxwaḗ
KRK	ḍer	ṭol / ywand	sarī wrīže oxwaḗ
LAK	ḍer / ziat	ṭol	sarī wrīje uxwaḗ
BAN	zyot	ṭol	sarī warije oxwaḗle
MIR	ḍer	ṭol	sarī wrīže oxwaḗ / oxwaḗle
WAA	ziot	ywand	sarī wrīže waxwaḗle
QUE	ḍer / ziat	garda / ṭola	sarī wrīdzi oxwaḗ
CHA	ḍer / ziat	garda / tol	sarī warije oxwaḗle
PAS	ḍer / zyat	garda / ṭol	sarī wrīje waxwaḗ
KAK	ḍer / zyat	gard	sarī wrīze waxwaḗ
KHR	ḍer	garda / ṭol	sarī wrīje waxaḗ
WCI	tsaṭ	ṭol	sarī wrīze uxwaḗ
ORM	zuṭ ^h	aṭol	a sarā ⁱ di rizan xwalak

	183. to bite / (The dog) bit (the boy)	184. to be hungry / The man was hungry.	185. to drink / The man drank the water.
PES	uxwařo	saře oge řo	saři uba waskale
CHS	oxwařo / očičalo	saře uge řo	saři uba waskale
MAR	uxwařo	saře oge wo	saři uba waskale
SWA	očičalo	saře oge řo	saři uba waskale
MAD	uxwařo / oxwařo / učičo	saře waǵa ⁱ řo / saři ta walaǵa walegeda	saři uba waske
MIN	oxwařo	saře waǵa ⁱ wo	saři uba oskale / wasakale
BAT	uxwařa / učiča	saře uge řa	saři uba waskale
BAF	oxwařo / la uxwařa	saře uge řo / saři la loga walaǵedala	saři uba waskale
OGI	oxwařa / očiča	saře uge de	saři uba waskale
DIR	uxwařo	saře uge řawe wo / wage wo	saři uba waskale
BAJ	xwařale de	saře wage řawe de	saři oba skali di
MOH	uxwařo	saře wage de	saři uba waskale
NIG	xwařal / čičal	waga ⁱ kedal	sxal / čikal
SHN	uxwoř	sařa ⁱ waǵa ⁱ wo	saři uba wačxale
BAR	uxoř	sařa ⁱ wuǵa ⁱ wo	saři oba 'wasxale
MAL	uxwařo	sařa ⁱ waǵa ⁱ o	saři oba waskale
ZKH	woxoř ^h	sařa ⁱ waǵa ⁱ đa ⁱ	saři oba watsxale
JAM	oxwařo	sařa ⁱ waǵa ⁱ wo	saři oba wasxale
TIR	'wachičelo	sařa ⁱ waǵa ⁱ řo	sařa ⁱ oba watsaxale
JAL	oxwařo	saře wuǵa ⁱ wo	saře uba oskale
CHE	uxwařo / očičalo	saře waže de	saři uba waskale
PAR	xwořala ⁱ wo	sařa ⁱ wage řawe wo	saři uba čikale we
HAN	wachičalo	sařa ⁱ waǵa ⁱ wo	saři uba watsxale
TAL	uxwařo	saři ta lwaǵa lagidale wa	saři uba waskale
KRK	oxwařa	sařa ⁱ wažla wō	saři uba wačšale
LAK	uxwařa / uxwařa	sařa ⁱ wažla ⁱ wo	saři uba wačšale
BAN	oxwařa	sařa ⁱ waža da	saři eba wačale
MIR	oxwařa / oxwařalo	sařa ⁱ wažla ⁱ wo	saři eba weč šale
WAA	waxoř	sařa ⁱ wažla ⁱ wa	saři yeba wař šale
QUE	waxwaře / wadaře	sařa ⁱ wažla ⁱ wo	saři uba wačšale
CHA	uxwaře	sařa ⁱ wažla ⁱ řawe wo	saři uba wačšale
PAS	waxwaře / wadaře	sařa ⁱ wažla ⁱ wo	saři uba wačšale
KAK	wadaře	sařa ⁱ wažla ⁱ wo	saři waba wačše
KHR	waxwaře/wadaře	sařa ⁱ wažla ⁱ wō	saři oba wačšale
WCI	uxwoř / wadaře	sařa warža wi	saři oba uřwate
ORM	a spaka kolak xwalak	a sařa ⁱ xornak biuk	a sařa ⁱ di wak totka

	186. to be thirsty / The man was thirsty.	187. to sleep / The man slept.	188. to lay / The man lay.
PES	sarɛ tʌge šo	sarɛ udʌ šo	sarɔ ⁱ sʌmlasto
CHS	sarɛ tʌge šo	sarɛ udʌ šo	sarɛ sʌmlasto
MAR	sarɛ tʌge wo	sarɛ udʌ šo	sarɛ sʌmlast
SWA	sarɔ ⁱ tʌge šo	sarɛ udʌ šo	sarɛ prewato
MAD	sarɛ tʌge šo	sarɛ udʌ šo	sarɛ sʌmlast / sʌmlasto
MIN	sarɛ tʌge wo	sarɛ udʌ šo	sarɛ sʌmlasto
BAT	sarɛ tʌge wo	sarɛ udʌ ša	sarɛ tsʌmlast / prewat
BAF	sarɛ tʌge šo	sarɛ udʌ šo	sarɛ sʌmlast(o) / prewat(o)
OGI	sarɛ tʌge šo	sarɛ udʌ šo	sarɛ prewato
DIR	sarɛ tʌge šʌwe wo	sarɛ udʌ wo	sarɛ sʌmlasto
BAJ	--	sarɛ oda šwe de	sarɛ sʌmlasto
MOH	sarɛ tʌge wo	sarɛ wuda wo	sarɛ sʌmlasto
NIG	'tʌge ke'dal	'wida kedal	tsʌmla'stal
SHN	sarɔ ⁱ tagai wo	sarɔ ⁱ udʌ šo	sarɔ ⁱ tsʌmlasta
BAR	sarɛ tʌge wo	sarɛ udʌ de	sarɛ tsʌmlasta
MAL	sarɔ ⁱ taga ⁱ o	sarɔ ⁱ udʌ šo	sarɔ ⁱ tsʌmlasto
ZKH	sarɔ ⁱ taga ⁱ wo	sarɔ ⁱ wida šʌ	sarɔ ⁱ tsʌmlasta
JAM	sarɔ ⁱ taga ⁱ wo	sarɔ ⁱ wada šo	sarɔ ⁱ tsʌmlasto
TIR	sarɔ ⁱ taga ⁱ šwo	sarɔ ⁱ wida šwo	sarɔ ⁱ tsʌlmosto
JAL	sarɛ tʌge wo	sarɛ udʌ šo	sarɛ sʌmlasto
CHE	sarɛ tʌže de	sarɔ ⁱ udʌ šo	sarɔ ⁱ sʌmlasto
PAR	sarɔ ⁱ taga ⁱ šʌwewo	sarɔ ⁱ xobyawale šo	sarɔ ⁱ tsʌmlasto
HAN	sarɔ ⁱ taga ⁱ wo	sarɛ xobyawala ⁱ šo	sarɛ tsʌmlasto
TAL	--	sarɔ ⁱ xubyawala šo	sarɔ ⁱ tsʌmlasto
KRK	sarɔ ⁱ tʌža šʌwala ⁱ wō	sarɔ ⁱ xobawala šo	sarɔ ⁱ tsʌmlasto
LAK	sarɔ ⁱ tʌža ⁱ wo	sarɔ ⁱ wada sa	sarɔ ⁱ tsʌlmasta
BAN	sarɔ ⁱ tʌža da	sarɔ ⁱ xebya wala da	sarɔ ⁱ sʌlmosta
MIR	sarɔ ⁱ tʌža ⁱ wo	sarɔ ⁱ xebyawala ⁱ wo	sarɔ ⁱ sʌmlasto / tʌmlastalo
WAA	sarɔ ⁱ tʌža ⁱ wa	sarɔ ⁱ wowd ^h šo	sarɔ ⁱ tsʌmlost
QUE	sarɔ ⁱ tʌža ⁱ wo	sarɔ ⁱ wida šu	sarɔ ⁱ prewat
CHA	sarɔ ⁱ tʌže wo	sarɛ wida so	sarɛ prewate
PAS	sarɔ ⁱ tʌža ⁱ wo	sarɔ ⁱ bidə su	sarɔ ⁱ prewata ⁱ
KAK	sarɔ ⁱ tʌža ⁱ wo	sarɔ ⁱ wude su	sarɔ ⁱ prewat
KHR	sarɔ ⁱ tʌža ⁱ wo	sarɔ ⁱ bidə so	sarɔ ⁱ prewata ⁱ
WCI	sarɔ ⁱ tarža wi	sarɔ ⁱ pro su	sarɔ ⁱ tsumlost
ORM	a sarɔ ⁱ tranak biuk	a sarɔ ⁱ la xwalgastak	a sarɔ ⁱ nʌwastak

	189. to sit / The man sat.	190. to give / The man gave the pen to him.	191. to burn / The man burned the wood.
PES	sařa ⁱ kenasto	saři kalam warko	saři large oswazol
CHS	saře kenasto	saři kalam warko	saři largi oswazol
MAR	saře kenast	saři kalam warka	saři largi osezał
SWA	sařa ⁱ kenasto	saři kalam warko	saři largi waswazo
MAD	saře kenast	saři kalam warka / warķro	saři largi osezał/oso
MIN	saře kenasto	saři kalam warko	saři largi osezał
BAT	saře kenast	saři kalam warka	saři largi oslał / osezał
BAF	saře kenasto	saři kalam warko	saři largi osezo / osezał
OGI	saře kenast	saři kalam warka	saři largi osala
DIR	saře kenasto	saři pen warko	saři largi waswazawal
BAJ	sařa ⁱ kenasto	saři kalam warķro	saři largi swazawali di
MOH	saře kenasto	saři pen war ķřalo	saři largi wasezał
NIG	kena ⁱ stał	war ⁱ kawal	swazedał
SHN	sařa ⁱ kenasta	saři kalam warka / warka	saři largi osadzal
BAR	saře nast wo	saři pin warka	saři largi waswo
MAL	sařa ⁱ nast o	saři pin warakara ⁱ o	saři largi sizali o
ZKH	sařa ⁱ kenosta	saři kalam werka	saři largi waswal
JAM	sařa ⁱ kenasto	saři aya la pen werkro	saři largi waswal
TIR	sařa ⁱ kenosto	saři kalam werkro	saři largi waswal
JAL	saře kenasto	saři kalam warko	saři largi oswazol
CHE	sařa kenasto	saři kalam werkro	--
PAR	sařa ⁱ kenasto	saři kalam werkřalo	saři largi waswalu
HAN	saře čenasto	saři pen werkro	saři largi waswedzaw
TAL	sařa kenasto	saři kalam werkřalo	saři largi waswalu
KRK	sařai kšenastal	saři kalam werka	saři largi waswal / waswazawal
LAK	sařa ⁱ čenasta	saři kalam warka	sari largi waswajawal
BAN	sařa ⁱ kšenasta	saři kalam werka	--
MIR	sařa ⁱ kšenasto	saři kalam werkro	saři largi wasezał / wesezawal
WAA	sařa ⁱ kšanost	saři pen werka	saři largi waswal
QUE	sařa ⁱ kšenasta ⁱ	saři kalam warka ⁱ	saři largi wasedzał / waswadzał
CHA	saře kšenaste	saři kalam warke	saři gargi waswazale
PAS	sařa ⁱ kšenasta ⁱ	saři pen warka ⁱ	saři largi waswazal
KAK	sařa ⁱ kšenasta ⁱ	saři pen warka ⁱ	saři largi wasazal
KHR	sařa ⁱ kšenaste	saři kalam warķra ⁱ / warka ⁱ	saři largi waswadzał
WCI	sařa čenost	saři kalam walawra	saři lergi walohi
ORM	a sařa ⁱ nastak	a sařa ⁱ la pen triuk	a sařa ⁱ de diura broška

	192. to die / The man died.	193. to kill / The man killed (shot) the bird.	194. to fly / The bird flew.
PES	saɽa ⁱ maɽ šo	saɽi maɽga ⁱ uwištala	baz 'walwato / maɽa ⁱ walwata
CHS	saɽe maɽ šo	saɽi maɽai uwišta	baz walwata
MAR	saɽe maɽ šo	sai maɽga ⁱ uwišta	maɽa ⁱ waluta
SWA	saɽe maɽ šo	--	baz walwato
MAD	saɽe maɽ šo	saɽi maɽga ⁱ uwišta	baz walwat / walato / wawlat
MIN	saɽe maɽ šo	saɽi mvaɽa ⁱ uwišta	baz wawlato
BAT	saɽe maɽ ša	saɽi maɽa ⁱ uwištala uwišta	baz walut ^h / waluta
BAF	saɽe maɽ šo	saɽi maɽa ⁱ uwištala	baz walwat
OGI	saɽe maɽ šo	saɽi maɽa ⁱ uwišta	baz walwat
DIR	saɽe maɽ šo	saɽi maɽga ⁱ uwišta	maɽa ⁱ walwata
BAJ	saɽe maɽ šo	saɽi čantāɽa wištala	baz walwato
MOH	saɽe maɽ wo	saɽi čirčāɽa wištala	baz waluto
NIG	mɽa kedal	--	alwa'tal
SHN	saɽa ⁱ maɽ šo	saɽi maɽa ⁱ wišta	maɽi paɽwal
BAR	saɽe maɽ šo	saɽi maɽa ⁱ ušta	baz walut ^h Δ
MAL	saɽa ⁱ maɽ šo	--	--
ZKH	saɽa ⁱ maɽ ša	saɽi maɽa ⁱ uwišta	boz warata
JAM	saɽa ⁱ maɽ šo	saɽi maɽga ⁱ uwišto	maɽa ⁱ warato
TIR	saɽa ⁱ maɽ šwo	saɽi čarčāɽa u'wišta	boz warato
JAL	saɽe maɽ šo	saɽi maɽa ⁱ uwišta	baz walwato / maɽa ⁱ walwata
CHE	saɽa maɽ šo	saɽi maɽa ⁱ uwišta	baz walwato
PAR	saɽa ⁱ maɽ šawalo	saɽi maɽa ⁱ uwišta	marge wurata
HAN	saɽa ⁱ maɽ šo	saɽi maɽi uwištala	maɽi uwarzida
TAL	saɽa maɽ šwalo	saɽi moɽa ⁱ uwištala	--
KRK	saɽa ⁱ maɽ šo	saɽi maɽa ⁱ uwašta	maɽa ⁱ orata
LAK	saɽa ⁱ maɽ ša	saɽi maɽa ⁱ uwištala	maɽa ⁱ walwata
BAN	saɽa ⁱ maɽ ša	saɽi maɽi wištala	--
MIR	saɽa ⁱ maɽ šo / šawalo	saɽi maɽa ⁱ uwišta	boz orata / maɽa ⁱ orata
WAA	saɽa ⁱ maɽ so	sari maɽa ⁱ wawištala	maɽa ⁱ wawrata
QUE	saɽa ⁱ muɽ su	saɽi maɽa ⁱ uwišta	maɽa ⁱ wawlata
CHA	saɽe maɽ so	saɽi maɽa ⁱ wowištala	maɽa ⁱ walwata
PAS	saɽa ⁱ maɽ su	saɽi maɽa ⁱ wawištala	maɽa ⁱ walwata
KAK	saɽa ⁱ maɽ su	saɽi maɽa ⁱ wuwistala	maɽa ⁱ wlwuta
KHR	saɽa ⁱ maɽ so / su	saɽi maɽa ⁱ wawišta / wawištala	maɽa ⁱ walwata
WCI	saɽa maɽ su	saɽi tsuɽi usta	tsuɽi walwata
ORM	a saɽa ⁱ mulak	a saɽa ⁱ miɽga dzak	a miɽgi borak

	196. to run / The man ran.	197. to go / The man went.	198. to come / The man came.
PES	saři manḍa kṛa	saṛa ⁱ laṛo	saṛa ⁱ ralo
CHS	saři manḍa kṛa	saṛe laṛo	saṛe raye / ralo
MAR	saři manḍa kṛa	saṛa ⁱ laṛo	saṛe ⁱ raye / rale
SWA	saři manḍa ka	saṛe laṛo	saṛe rayo
MAD	saři manḍa kṛa	saṛe laṛo	saṛe raye / raylo
MIN	saři manḍa kṛa	saṛe laṛo	saṛe raye / raylo
BAT	saři manḍa kṛa	saṛe laṛ	saṛe raye
BAF	saři manḍa kṛa	saṛe laṛ	saṛe raye
OGI	saři manḍa kṛa	saṛe laṛ	saṛe raya
DIR	saṛe manḍa kṛa	saṛe laṛo	saṛe raye
BAJ	saři manḍa kṛa	saṛe laṛo	saṛe raye
MOH	saři manḍa kṛa	saṛe laṛo	saṛe rayale wu
NIG	manḍa wa'hāl	ta'lāl	ra'tlāl
SHN	saři manḍa kṛa	saṛa ⁱ laṛo	saṛa ⁱ raya ⁱ
BAR	saři manḍa kṛa	saṛe laṛo	saṛe raye
MAL	saři manḍa kṛa	saṛa ⁱ laṛo / saṛa ⁱ taḷa ⁱ	saṛa ⁱ raya ⁱ
ZKH	saři manḍa owala	saṛa ⁱ loṛa	saṛa ⁱ roya ⁱ
JAM	saři manḍa kṛa	saṛa ⁱ laṛo	saṛa ⁱ raylo
TIR	saři manḍa kṛa	saṛa ⁱ loṛo	saṛa ⁱ royla
JAL	saři manḍa ka	saṛe laṛo	saṛe rayo
CHE	saři manḍa kṛa	saṛa laṛo	saṛa raylo
PAR	saři manḍa okṛala	saṛa ⁱ loṛo	saṛa ⁱ royla
HAN	--	saṛe laṛo	saṛe raylo
TAL	saři manḍa wakṛa	saṛa loṛalo	saṛa royla
KRK	saři manḍa okṛa	saṛa ⁱ laṛal	--
LAK	saṛa ⁱ traṇ kṛa	saṛa ⁱ laṛa	saṛa ⁱ rala ⁱ
BAN	saṛa ⁱ o ^u dangeda	saṛa ⁱ loṛo	saṛa ⁱ roya ⁱ
MIR	saři manḍa kṛala	saṛa ⁱ loṛo	saṛa ⁱ royla
WAA	saři manḍa kṛal	saṛa ⁱ luṛšo	saṛa ⁱ roya ⁱ
QUE	saři manḍa kṛa	saṛa ⁱ walaṛe	saṛa ⁱ rayle / rale
CHA	saři wazṛastal	saṛe walaṛe	saṛe rayle
PAS	saři manḍa kṛal	saṛa ⁱ walaṛe	saṛa ⁱ rayle / raya ⁱ
KAK	saři manḍa ka	saṛa ⁱ walaṛe	saṛa ⁱ rale
KHR	saři ma'dan kṛal / saři wazṛastal	saṛa ⁱ walaṛe	saṛa ⁱ rayli / raya ⁱ
WCI	saṛa ma'dan su	saṛa ⁱ wiaṛ	saṛa raya
ORM	a saṛa ⁱ traṇ dak	a saṛa ⁱ la tsek	a saṛa ⁱ razok

	199. to speak / The man spoke.	200. to hear / The man heard.	201. to see / The man saw.
PES	safi uwel	safi wawredΛ	safi walidΛ
CHS	safi uwe	safi wawredΛ	safi walidΛl
MAR	safi uwel	safi wawredΛ	safi walidΛl
SWA	safi uwele	safi wawredΛ	safi walidΛ
MAD	safi uwe	safi wawredΛ / safi wawredo	safi walidΛ
MIN	safi uwayΛl	safi wawredΛl	safi walidΛl
BAT	safi uwe	safi wawredΛl	safi walidΛl
BAF	safi uwe	safi wawredΛl	walidΛl
OGI	safi uwe	safi wawredΛl	safi walidΛl
DIR	safi uwelΛ	safi wawredΛl	safi walidΛl
BAJ	safi uwel	safi wawredΛ	--
MOH	safi weli wo	safi wawredΛl	safi walidΛl
NIG	we'yel	awre'dΛl	li'dΛl
SHN	safi uwe	safi wawredΛ	safi walidΛ
BAR	--	safi wawredΛ	safi walidΛ
MAL	--	safi wawredΛ	safi walido
ZKH	--	safi worwedΛl	safi walidΛl
JAM	safi uwel	safi wawredΛl	safi walidΛl
TIR	--	safi wowredΛl	safi walidΛl
JAL	safi uwe	safi wawredΛ	safi walido
CHE	safi uwe	safi wawredo	safi walido
PAR	safi wuwilΛ	safi wawrido	safi walido
HAN	safi uwilu	safi wawridu	safi wakatlΛlu
TAL	safi welu	safi wawridΛlu	safi walidΛlu
KRK	safi uweyΛl	safi wawredΛl	safi walidΛl
LAK	safi uwelΛ	safi wawredΛ	safi walidΛ
BAN	--	safi wawredΛl	safi walidΛl
MIR	safi uwel	safi owredΛl	safi walidΛl
WAA	safi wawel	safi warwedΛl	safi walidΛl
QUE	safi uwΛyel	safi wawredΛl	safi walidΛl
CHA	safi owel	safi wawredΛl	safi walidΛl
PAS	safi wawayΛl	safi warwedΛl	safi walidΛl
KAK	safi wawayΛl	safi warwedΛl	safi walidΛl
KHR	safi wawayel	safi wawredΛl	safi walidΛl
WCI	safi uwe	safi warwi	safi walid
ORM	a safa ⁱ yekεn	a safa ⁱ amaryek	a safa ⁱ diek ^h

	202. I	203. you (informal)	204. you (formal)
PES	zΛ	tΛ	¹ taso
CHS	zΛ	tΛ	taso
MAR	zΛ	tΛ	taso
SWA	zΛ	tΛ	taso
MAD	zΛ	tΛ	taso
MIN	zo / zΛ	to / tΛ	taso
BAT	zΛ	tΛ	taso
BAF	zΛ	tΛ	taso
OGI	zΛ	tΛ	taso
DIR	zΛ	tΛ	taso
BAJ	zΛ	tΛ	taso
MOH	zΛ	tΛ	taso
NIG	zΛ	t ^h Λ	taso
SHN	zΛ	tΛ	¹ taso
BAR	zΛ	tΛ	tΛ
MAL	zΛ	tΛ	tΛ
ZKH	zΛ	tΛ	tose
JAM	zΛ	tΛ	¹ taso
TIR	zΛ	t ^h Λ	¹ tose
JAL	zΛ	tΛ	taso
CHE	zΛ	tΛ	taso
PAR	zΛ	tə	tose
HAN	zΛ	tΛ	taso
TAL	zļ	tə	tose
KRK	zļ	tļ	tose
LAK	zΛ	tΛ	tase
BAN	zΛ	tΛ	tΛ
MIR	zΛ	tΛ	tase
WAA	zΛ	tΛ	tuse
QUE	zΛ	tΛ	tase / tΛ ⁱ
CHA	zΛ	tΛ	tΛ/taso
PAS	zΛ	tə	tase
KAK	zΛ	tə	tΛso / tΛ ⁱ
KHR	zΛ	tΛ	taso / tΛ
WCI	zΛ	tα / tΛ	tas
ORM	az	tu	tyos

	205. he	206. she	207. we
PES	ΛΥΛ	ΛΥΛ	muη
CHS	αγα	αγα	muηg
MAR	ΛΥΛ	ΛΥΛ	muη
SWA	αγα	αγα	muηgΛ
MAD	αΥΛ / haγα	αΥΛ / haγα	mlηgΛ / muηgΛ
MIN	--	αΥΛ	muη / mlη / mlηgΛ
BAT	αγα	αγα	muηga / mlηga
BAF	αγα	αγα	muηga
OGI	αγα	αγα	muηga
DIR	hΛΥΛ	hΛΥΛ	mlη'gΛ
BAJ	hΛγα	hΛγα	mũηga
MOH	αγα	αγα	mlηga
NIG	ha'γα	ha'γε	muηg
SHN	αΥΛ	αΥΛ	muηgΛ / muηg
BAR	αγα	αγα	muηga
MAL	αΥΛ	αΥΛ	muηg
ZKH	αΥΛ	αΥΛ	mũ/mu
JAM	αΥΛ	αΥΛ	muηg
TIR	αγα	'αγα	muηg
JAL	Λγα	Λγα	muža
CHE	αγα	αγα	muža
PAR	αγα	--	mũ
HAN	γα	γα	mũ
TAL	αγα	αγα	mu
KRK	αΥΛ	αΥΛ	mužΛ
LAK	αΥΛ	ΛΥΛ	mužΛ
BAN	αγα	αγα	meža
MIR	Λγα	Λγα	miž
WAA	haγΛ	haγΛ	miž
QUE	αΥΛ	αΥΛ	mlž / muž
CHA	ΛgΛ	ΛgΛ	mož
PAS	αΥΛ	αΥΛ	muž
KAK	αΥΛ / dΛ ⁱ	αΥΛ	muž
KHR	haγΛ	haγε	muž
WCI	αΥΛ	αΥΛ	moš / moř
ORM	afa / awɔ	afa	max

	209. you (plural)	210. they
PES	'taso	aγi
CHS	taso	aγwi
MAR	taso	aγa
SWA	taso	aγΛ ⁱ
MAD	tase	aγo / aγwi
MIN	taso	aγo / aγwi / aγwo
BAT	taso	aγwi
BAF	taso	aγi / aγwo
OGI	taso	aγo / aγi / aγwi / aγwo
DIR	taso	hΛγwi
BAJ	taso	haγa
MOH	taso	aγi
NIG	taso	haγ'wi
SHN	'taso	ΛγΛ ⁱ / Λγo
BAR	taso	haγwi
MAL	--	haγwi
ZKH	tose	eγo / aγo
JAM	'taso	'eγo
TIR	'tose	'aγa
JAL	taso	aγi
CHE	taso	aγΛ ⁱ
PAR	taso	aγa / aγwi
HAN	taso	γwo
TAL	tose	aγa
KRK	tose	aγΛ
LAK	tase	yeγo
BAN	tose	--
MIR	tase	Λγa
WAA	tuse	haγΛ
QUE	tase / tΛ ⁱ	aγwi
CHA	--	tΛ ⁱ
PAS	tase / tΛ ⁱ	aγo / aγa
KAK	taso	aγwi
KHR	tΛ ⁱ / tase	--
WCI	tas	aγo
ORM	tyusa	aγa

APPENDIX C

TEXTS

C.1 PESHAWAR PASHTO, PESHAWAR

Peshawar Electrocuting Story

1. dΛ nehe wɾΛz wΛ špΛ terΛ šwΛ [Question-1] no zə čē
of tuesday day was night passed became * then I that
It was Tuesday, and night had passed. [Question-1] Then I
2. dΛ manzə nΛ rΛləmΛ byΛ dΛ manzə nΛ bΛd mΛ čē
of pray from came then of pray from after I tea
came from doing prayer. Then after prayer I ate breakfast.
3. roɽΛⁱ okə pə kΛlΛr hΛye nΛ bΛd čē kΛm de no zə
bread-(food) did on slow that from after that which is then I
After that, I started to go.
4. čē rarΛwΛnedΛmΛ zəmə yΛo zoe wo dΛ owo kΛlo kΛdΛr xΛn
that start-going-I my one son was of seven years Kadar Khan
I had a son of seven years. Kadar Khan
5. nΛmΛ e wΛ [Question-2] hΛyΛ čē rΛpΛsedo no zə dΛ
name his was * he that got-up then I of
was his name. [Question-2] When he got up, I was
6. rarΛwΛnedo program me kolo čē zə də rusto lΛmΛne nΛ
start-to-go program my doing that I of behind shirt-tail from
planning to go, and he caught my shirt tail from behind and
7. oniwΛm wel dΛji tə čArtΛ ze [Question-3] mΛ wel ɽuɽe lΛ
catch said daddy you where going * I said duty to
said, "Daddy, where are you going?" [Question-3] I said, "I am going to work."
8. zΛm wel tə xo ɽuɽe lΛ ze xo zəmə pə xpo keɽe tΛŋgi di
going said you but duty to going but my on feet shoes tight are
He said, "You are going to work, but my shoes are very tight
9. ao mΛ lΛ bΛ nore Λxle. [Question-4] mΛ e xΛ kΛ xer i
and me to will other buy * I said okay if peace is
and will you buy some new ones for me?" [Question-4] I said, "Okay, I will

10. saba na bal saba tanxa da aw ce za kala tanxa
tomorrow not other tomorrow salary is and that I when salary
take my salary the day after tomorrow, and when I take my salary,
11. walam no ta ba bozlam aw ta la ba kefe alam da pasi
take then you will I-take and you to will shoes buy him after
then I will take you and will buy shoes for you.” There is another
12. alak ce kam de tsaloro kalo ayə wel daji ma la bam diskso
boy that which is four years he said daddy me to will-also disco
boy younger than he, four years old. He said, “Daddy, will you buy shoes
13. kefe ale ma wel na da y da kefe ba ka xer wi ta pa
shoes buy I said no this his of shoes will if peace will you on
for me, too?” I said, “No, you will wear his shoes, and I will
14. xpo ke aw da la ba nawe walam wel na ma la bam nawe ale
feet do and him to will new take said no me to also new buy
buy new shoes for him.” But he said, “No, you will buy new shoes for me, too.”
15. ma wel xa ta la bam nawe walam ce za tsə waxt daltā dewtə
I said okay you to also new buy that I that time here duty
I said, “Okay, I will buy new ones for you, too.” When I came here for work,
16. la raylam de alta yawolas baje tol kor malat ke ogarzedo
to came he there eleven o'clock all home ward in walked
he walked throughout the ward at eleven o'clock.
17. [Question-5] ča ba wartā wel za kor ta arma da ča ba
* someone will to-him said go home to noon is some will
[Question-5] Some people said to him, “Go home; it is noon!”
18. tsə we ayāⁱ ce de kor ta sa waxt ralo [Question-6] no
what said he that he home to what time came * then
Then he came home. [Question-6]
19. mor ta ye we ce mor wartā we rofe oxra ayā we za
mother to he said that mother to-him said bread eat he said I
He spoke to his mother. His mother asked him to eat, but he
20. na xrəm [Question-7] wale na xore oxra der minat e okə wel
not eat * why not eat eat very request her did said
refused. [Question-7] She said, “Why do you not want to eat?” She urged him,
21. na xorām bya mor xor ta owele ce za ha wartā paxā ka
not eat then mother sister to said that go egg to-him cook did
but he did not eat. Then she told his sister to go and cook an egg for him.

22. no xor warla dwa ha pə yao zai paxe ke [Question-8] də
then sister to-him two eggs on one place cook did * He
Then his sister cooked two eggs for him. [Question-8] He
23. ekdam ha oxafe ao bas kenasto biyati ye rawaxəštla ao paki ta
ate eggs quickly and just sat scissor he took and fan to
ate the eggs quickly and sat. He took a scissors and applied it
24. tar te arama ka halanke awa pake de na onadredo ao
wire to to-apply did ? he fan this from not-stopped and
to a fan wire. That fan was running and he was shocked
25. bijle de oniwo če kala da də las bui oko [Question-9]
electricity he caught that when of he hand smell did *
by the electricity. When she smelled his hand (burning), [Question-9]
26. mor ye wel če alak tile olagolo ka sə di [Question-10] če
mother his said that boy stick applied if what is * that
his mother said, "Has that boy lit a match or what?" [Question-10] When she
27. wekatu no de bijle niwəle wo da awə na bad če kam
looked then he electricity catch was of that from after that which
looked, he was being electrocuted. After that,
28. de no mašəran ralə zməka ke xax ko xawro ke dūb ko
is then elders came earth in buried did clay in drown did
the elders came and buried him in the earth and drowned him in clay,
29. [Question-11] hawə sarām sa onə šu hawoi bya we če
* that with what not became they them said that
[Question-11] but they could not save him.
30. yala məf xo de pata da rata xo ze de taso aspatal ta
friends died but is know of to-us but go he you hospital to
They said, "He died, we know, but take him to the hospital."
31. orasawe zə pə dəwfi ke wam ma pəse zoe raylo tsokidar ban
carry I of duty in was I after son came chowkidar stopped
I was on duty. My son came after me, but the chowkidar stopped him
32. kfo če bānde ko no bya xer zə rawərəsedam čuti šəwe
did that out-he did then then last I reached off-work became
(from coming inside). At last, I was off of work. Then he (the chowkidar) said
33. wa no ma ta ye we šamšul haq zoe de rayəle če ma
was then me to he said Shamshul Haq son your came that I
to me, "Shamshul Haq, your son came." I looked and said, "Why, Jagira?"

34. dexwa okəta ma we jagira wale wo kadar xan bijle niwəle
this-side look I said Jagira why said Kadar Khan electricity caught
He said, "Kadar Khan was shocked by electricity."
35. de ma we bač de we na mar de ma we xa bya zə dana
is I said safe is said no dead is I said okay then I that-much
I said, "Is he all right?" He said, "No, he is dead." I said, "All right." Then I
36. prešane ke šoma če ma sekəla baharani sarı ta gozar křo
sadness in became that I cycle outsider man to threw did
became so sad that I threw my bicycle to an unknown man.
37. [Question-12] zə da sekəla xabar nə šoma ao keřwəlaⁱ ta me
* I of cycle-from knew no became and casualty to I
[Question-12] I did not know about my cycle, and I ran to the casualty.
38. mənđə ka pə de ke gađe raorəsedo če gađe raorəsedo ma
ran did on this in vehicle reached that vehicle reached I
Then the vehicle arrived. When the vehicle arrived,
39. yeg ke če de raočat ko no ma məx warwarə ma wel de
? in that he took-up did then I face turned-to-them I said he
I took up my son, then turned to them and said,
40. xo məř de dam səla rawřo xo xer mor am warsara wa
but dead is him why brought but last mother also with-him was
"He is dead. Did you bring him?" His mother and grandmother
41. nəya am aye we če na ramwřo đakřran warla rələ
grandmother also she said that no we-brought doctors to-him came
were with him. She said, "No, we did not bring him. Doctors came
42. ao moane ye okla ayi am wel če məř de bəyan gađi ke
and checked they did they also said that dead is they-we vehicle in
to him and checked him. They also said that he is dead." Then we put him in
43. wačolo bya palose ta raylu palose ta rawarsidu bya ma gađe
put then Palosai to came Palosai to reached then I vehicle
the vehicle and came to Palosai. When we reached Palosai, I stopped the
44. odrolo dəla me kafən waxisto serə me warla waxesta bya me
stopped him-to I coffin bought wreath I him-to buy then I
vehicle, and I bought him a coffin and a wreath. Then I
45. kəli ta orasolo elan-am oko da qabar qabar am tayar šo
village to reached announced did of grave grave we ready became
reached the village and made an announcement. We made the grave ready

46. bya am špaḡ baḡe da də am jənaʒa oka ao kaʃan daʃan
 then we six o'clock of him we pray did and coffin bury
 and at six o'clock we prayed and

47. ošo
 became
 buried him.

Questions for Peshawar Electrocutation Story (English translations)

1. What day was it?
2. How old was Kadar Khan?
3. What did Kadar Khan do?
4. What did Kadar Khan say to his father?
5. Where was he walking at 11 o'clock?
6. What did people tell him?
7. Who told him to eat?
8. What did his sister cook for him?
9. What happened to his hand after the wire was cut?
10. What did his mother say after she smelled something?
11. What did the elders do?
12. Who did he give the cycle to?

C.2 PESHAWAR PASHTO, PESHAWAR

Auto Accident Trip

1. salām ale kom zama num šojat ali de aw da pexwawar
peace upon you my name Shujat Ali is and of Peshawar
My name is Shujat Ali, and I am a resident of Peshawar.
2. osedunke yam aw da kisa zamun da jund yao xas kisa da
resident I-am and this story our of life one important story is
And this story is one of the important stories of my life.
3. nan na salor pinza kala maxke zamun da dostano yao grup
today from four five years before our of friends one group
Four or five years ago we had a group of our friends,
4. wo če pə æ ke emtyaz ataola ayaz nošad jafar da yao so
was that on it in Imtiaz Atullah Ayaz Noshad Jafar this one some
which included Imtiaz, Atullah, Ayaz, Noshad, and Jafar.
5. kasan wu mun ba če har kala pə mun bande sa xošali
persons were we will that ever when on us on what happiness
Whenever something happy happened
6. rayla mun ba pə xpalo margaro ke da ča če sa hesiat wo
came we will on own friends in of who that what capacity was
to any one of our friends, according to our ability
7. da aye motabek ba yao partī mo kola dāya šan yao wraza da
of that according-to will one party we doing this like one day of
we arranged a party. In this way, one day
8. nawšad pa kor ke da ayā zoi ošo no mun ayā ta we če
Noshad on home in of his son born then we him to said that
Noshad's son was born in his home, and we said that we should
9. mun la os partī raka [Question-1] nošad we tik da bas pa
us to now party give * Noshad said okay is then on
now give a party. [Question-1] Noshad agreed and
10. de xabara bande mun gad wayašta [Question-2] aw mun we če
this talk on we sheep bought * and we said that
then we bought a sheep [Question-2] and said that

11. da partī bā muḡ dā lī masjād dā ḡar pā xwa ke kau
this party will we of Ali Masjid of mountain on side in will-do
the party would be at Ali Masjid on the side of the mountain.
12. bās muḡ rarāwan šu ḡāo gaḡe sozuki wo a nošad sarā
then we start-going became one car Suzuki was that Noshad with
And then we began. Noshad was in one car
13. wo aw ḡāo gaḡe jafar sarā wo zā o emtiaz jafar sarā nast
was and one car Jafar with was I and Imtiaz Jafar with set
and Jafar in another car. Imtiaz and I sat with Jafar
14. wu aw baki dwa kasan nošad sarā nast wu har kala če
were and other two man Noshad with set were ever when that
and the other two were with Noshad.
15. muḡ rawan šu dā koḡā xā pā aram bande pā larā ke de
we start became of home good on ease on on way in these
We always start out easy from our homes. On the way,
16. dwo kasano nošad aw jafar xpālo ke zad-zāmi šoru kā aw ḡāo
two men Noshad and Jafar own in obstinacy start did and one
Noshad and Jafar started to race
17. bāl nā ye gaḡe māxke ko [Question-3] muḡ jafar ḡer māne
other from they car before did * we Jafar very prevent
and were trying to go forward. [Question-3] We tried to stop
18. kā če gaḡe ro čalāwā xo aḡā nā māne kedo aw pā jōš
did that car slow drive but he not prevent was and on motion
Jafar from racing, but he would not stop.
19. ke raḡāle wo bās dāḡā šan dwaḡo bā ro ro ḡāo bāl nā
in came was ? this like both will slow slow one other from
And he was in motion. And they were each trying to pass
20. gaḡe māxke ko barān am lag lag šāwe wo sarāk lag lag
car before doing rain also little little became was road little little
the other car. It had rained and the road
21. lund wo [Question-4] muḡ ḡer tez rawan wu pā de ke māxke
wet was * we very fast going were on this in ahead
was wet. [Question-4] We were going very fast. Noshad was ahead
22. nošad zāmuḡ nā māxke wo muḡ warpāse wu če dā ḡar
Noshad us from ahead was we behind were that of mountain
and we were behind. Suddenly some

23. $\text{na yakdam bize rakuze šwe če har kala ay da}$
 from suddenly goats came-down became that every when that of
 goats came down from the mountain. So they came
24. $\text{nošad maxe la rayle nošad xo xpal gađe odrlo yakdam}$
 Noshad front to came Noshad but own car stopped suddenly
 in front of Noshad's car. He stopped the car,
25. [Question-5] $\text{xo jafar če wo aya der tez wo no aya če}$
 * but Jafar that was he very fast was then he that
 [Question-5] but Jafar was going very fast. When he saw that
26. $\text{okala če nošad gađe walař de aya gađe našo kabu kole}$
 looked that Noshad car stopped is he car cannot control do
 Noshad's car was stopped, he could not control the car.
27. $\text{aya yakdam brek olagaw aw če brek ye olagawo gađe xo}$
 he suddenly brake pushed and that brake he pushed car but
 He pushed the brake suddenly. When he pushed the brake,
28. $\text{rařij šo xo gađi xpal max badal ka wapas taraf ta šo}$
 control became but car own face change did back side to became
 the car came under control but spun around.
29. $\text{aw dala ke gađe wawředo [Question-6] če gađe wawředo no}$
 and that in car turn-over * that car turn-over then
 The car turned over. [Question-6] The car turned over
30. $\text{aya řrewar traf ta wawředo no jafar da tolo na lande wo muř}$
 that driver side to turn-over then Jafar of all from down was we
 on the driver's side. Jafar was below and we
31. $\text{dwařa pe da pasa wu sa pa musibat bande nor če rala}$
 both him-on of up were what on trouble on other that came
 both were on top of him. We were pulled out
32. $\text{no gađi na ye jafar am oxko aw muř ye hom rawxku}$
 then car from they Jafar also take-out and us they also pull-out
 by others with great difficulty. They pulled us out.
33. $\text{za aw emtiaz pa muř bande xo mamoli mamoli zaxmuna rayli}$
 Iand Intiaz on we on but little little wounds came
 Intiaz and I were injured very little,
34. $\text{wu xo da jafar las če wo aya der ziat zaxmi wo bas}$
 were but of Jafar hand that was that very much injured was then
 but Jafar's hand was badly injured.

35. muṅḡa nošad tA uwe če šaba de zAṛ aSpatal tA ṛasaWa aw
we Noshad to said that quickly he quick hospital to take and
Then we said to Noshad, "You take him to the hospital quickly,
36. muṅ daṛpase daṛzu nošad aw jafar laṛal haSpatal tA aw muṅ
we after-you coming Noshad and Jafar went hospital to and we
and we are coming after you." Noshad and Jafar went to the hospital.
37. nor xAlaq rAlal muṅ gaḍe učAt kA gaḍe mo ṭik kA gaḍe ḍer
other people came we car above did car we right did car very
Other people came, and we righted the car.
38. ziat xrab šawe wo xo da čaledo kabel wo muṅ pa gaḍi ke
much bad became was but of driving able was we on car in
The car was damaged, but could be driven. We started in the car
39. sa kenastu aw sa pa bas ke ṛawan šu aw laṛu jamrud
some sat-we and some on bus in started became and went Jamrud
and some people in a bus. We went to Jamrud and
40. tA waṛas gaḍe mo prexodo Alta na muṅ bal gaḍe waxašta
to back car we left there from we another car took-we
left the car there. We took another car
41. aw owatu jafar pase če jamrud aḍe tA laṛu Alta rata
and go-out Jafar behind that Jamrud bus-stand to went there to-us
and went for Jafar. We went to the Jamrud bus stand, where
42. pata olageda če aḡa ye aSpatal tA botale de muṅ ralu
information received that him he hospital to carry is we came
we received the information that he took him to hospital. We came
43. xa'bar aSpatal tA Alta mo tapos oko Alta jafar bar walaṛ wo
Khyber hospital to there we asked did there Jafar out-side stand was
to Khyber hospital and asked. Jafar was standing outside
44. paṭe lagole we aw ṭik ṭak wo aw we če zA xo ṭik
bandage put-on was and okay okay was and said that I but okay
with bandages on, and he was all right and said, "I am all right.
45. yaṃ eksre ošwe eksre aṃ saḡi di xo nošad če de aḡa polis
am x-ray did x-ray also right is but Noshad that is he police
An x-ray was done, and it is all right. But Noshad was taken by
46. wala botA [Question-7] muṅ haryan šu če polis wala nošad
wala took * we surprise became that police wala Noshad
the police." [Question-7] We were surprised that the police took Noshad.

47. SAŃA botA da xo mamoli ZAXAM wo aw AŃA ye pA kAMA kATA
 how took this but little wound was and him they on which case
 This was a very little wound, and why did they take Noshad?
48. ke botA jafar uwe če ZA xo hits poe nA šom polis
 in took Jafar said that I but nothing understand not became police
 Jafar said, "I don't understand. The police came
49. wala rala jafar nošad ye botA nošad ma tA we če bAs ZA
 wala came Jafar Noshad they took Noshad me to said that just I
 and took him. Noshad said to me
50. rAZAM tA entezar kAWA muŃA Ńol oWATU aw ze pA ze hARA
 coming you wait do we all go-out and place on place each
 I am coming. Wait for me." We all went out and looked at each police station.
51. taŃa ke sADAR taŃa ke pA yunWARSeŃe ke pə Ńolo taŃo
 police-station in sadar station in on University in in all stations
 We looked for Noshad in Saddar, in University, and in all the police stations,
52. ke muŃ nošad okATO xo nošad melaw nA šo axer pA
 in we Noshad looked but Noshad find not became at-last on
 but we could not find him. At last
53. đera grana bande nošad muŃ tA dA kable taŃa pA pexAWAR ke
 very difficulty on Noshad us to of Kabli Tana on Peshawer in
 we found him in the Kabuli police station in Peshawar.
54. melaw šo AŃA če oRAsedu muŃ tApos oko nošad nA če
 find became there that reached we asked did Noshad from that
 When we reached there, we asked Noshad,
55. tA ye pA kAMA kATA ke niWALE ye [Question-8] we če yAGA
 you they on which case in caught you * said that friend
 "In which case have they arrested you?" [Question-8] He said,
56. mA dA gađi kaYAZUNA nA wU xo ASAL XABARA da da če de
 my of car documents not was but actual talk is this that this
 "I have no documents for my car. But actually,
57. esečo ma tA pARUN dA SA kara weli wU aw kar warla ma
 SHO me to yesterday of some work said was and work for-him I
 yesterday this S.H.O. asked me to do something,
58. onAKO no aŃA-zOR ma nA obasi pA de XABARA ye ZA niWALE
 not-did that power me from take-out on this talk he I arrested
 and I did not do that work. Therefore, he arrested

59. $\gamma\lambda\mu$ [Question-9] $\mu\eta\eta\eta\lambda$ $\text{\textcircled{t}}\text{\textcircled{o}}$ $\text{\textcircled{e}}\text{\textcircled{s}}\text{\textcircled{e}}\text{\textcircled{c}}\text{\textcircled{o}}$ $\lambda\lambda$ $\text{\textcircled{w}}\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{r}}\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{l}}\text{\textcircled{u}}$ $\mu\eta\eta$ $\text{\textcircled{w}}\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{r}}\text{\textcircled{t}}\text{\textcircled{a}}$ $\text{\textcircled{w}}\text{\textcircled{e}}$ $\text{\textcircled{c}}\text{\textcircled{e}}$
 am * we all SHO to went we to-him said that
 me.” [Question-9] Then we all went to the S.H.O. and said
60. $\gamma\lambda\eta\lambda$ $\text{\textcircled{g}}\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{d}}\text{\textcircled{e}}$ $\text{\textcircled{t}}\text{\textcircled{a}}$ $\text{\textcircled{n}}\text{\textcircled{i}}\text{\textcircled{w}}\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{l}}\text{\textcircled{e}}$ $\text{\textcircled{g}}\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{d}}\text{\textcircled{i}}$ $\text{\textcircled{k}}\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{v}}\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{z}}\text{\textcircled{u}}\text{\textcircled{n}}\text{\textcircled{a}}$ $\text{\textcircled{n}}\text{\textcircled{i}}\text{\textcircled{s}}\text{\textcircled{t}}\text{\textcircled{a}}$ $\text{\textcircled{n}}\text{\textcircled{o}}$ $\text{\textcircled{u}}\text{\textcircled{s}}\text{\textcircled{u}}\text{\textcircled{l}}$ $\text{\textcircled{d}}\text{\textcircled{a}}$ $\text{\textcircled{d}}\text{\textcircled{i}}$ $\text{\textcircled{c}}\text{\textcircled{e}}$
 friend car you catch car documents not-are then rule this is that
 “You are already holding the car. If he does not have documents,
61. $\text{\textcircled{t}}\text{\textcircled{a}}$ $\text{\textcircled{g}}\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{d}}\text{\textcircled{e}}$ $\text{\textcircled{i}}\text{\textcircled{s}}\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{r}}$ $\text{\textcircled{k}}\text{\textcircled{a}}$ $\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{w}}$ $\text{\textcircled{n}}\text{\textcircled{o}}\text{\textcircled{s}}\text{\textcircled{h}}\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{d}}$ $\text{\textcircled{p}}\text{\textcircled{r}}\text{\textcircled{e}}$ $\text{\textcircled{d}}\text{\textcircled{a}}$ $\text{\textcircled{h}}\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{r}}$ $\text{\textcircled{k}}\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{l}}\text{\textcircled{a}}$ $\text{\textcircled{c}}\text{\textcircled{e}}$ $\text{\textcircled{a}}$
 you car stop do and Noshad release do ever when that that
 you can keep the car. This is the rule. Release Noshad.
62. $\text{\textcircled{k}}\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{v}}\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{z}}\text{\textcircled{u}}\text{\textcircled{n}}\text{\textcircled{a}}$ $\text{\textcircled{r}}\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{w}}\text{\textcircled{r}}\text{\textcircled{i}}$ $\text{\textcircled{n}}\text{\textcircled{o}}$ $\text{\textcircled{t}}\text{\textcircled{a}}$ $\text{\textcircled{b}}\text{\textcircled{a}}$ $\text{\textcircled{g}}\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{d}}\text{\textcircled{e}}$ $\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{m}}$ $\text{\textcircled{p}}\text{\textcircled{r}}\text{\textcircled{e}}$ $\text{\textcircled{d}}\text{\textcircled{e}}$ $\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{v}}\text{\textcircled{a}}$ $\text{\textcircled{w}}\text{\textcircled{e}}$ $\text{\textcircled{c}}\text{\textcircled{e}}$ $\text{\textcircled{n}}\text{\textcircled{a}}$
 documents bring then you will car also release do he said that no
 When he brings the documents, then you can release the car.” He said, “No,
63. $\text{\textcircled{z}}\text{\textcircled{a}}$ $\text{\textcircled{x}}\text{\textcircled{o}}$ $\text{\textcircled{n}}\text{\textcircled{o}}\text{\textcircled{s}}\text{\textcircled{h}}\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{d}}$ $\text{\textcircled{n}}\text{\textcircled{a}}$ $\text{\textcircled{p}}\text{\textcircled{r}}\text{\textcircled{e}}\text{\textcircled{d}}\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{m}}$ $\text{\textcircled{d}}\text{\textcircled{w}}\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{r}}\text{\textcircled{a}}$ $\text{\textcircled{b}}\text{\textcircled{a}}$ $\text{\textcircled{n}}\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{n}}$ $\text{\textcircled{s}}\text{\textcircled{h}}\text{\textcircled{r}}\text{\textcircled{a}}$ $\text{\textcircled{t}}\text{\textcircled{e}}\text{\textcircled{r}}\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{i}}$ $\text{\textcircled{d}}\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{l}}\text{\textcircled{t}}\text{\textcircled{a}}$
 Ibut Noshad not release both will today night spent here
 I will not release Noshad. Both the car and Noshad will stay here for tonight.”
64. [Question-10] $\mu\eta\eta$ $\text{\textcircled{b}}\text{\textcircled{i}}\text{\textcircled{a}}$ $\text{\textcircled{b}}\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{r}}$ $\text{\textcircled{l}}\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{r}}\text{\textcircled{u}}$ $\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{l}}\text{\textcircled{t}}\text{\textcircled{a}}$ $\text{\textcircled{z}}\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{m}}\text{\textcircled{u}}\text{\textcircled{\eta}}$ $\text{\textcircled{p}}\text{\textcircled{e}}\text{\textcircled{z}}\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{n}}\text{\textcircled{g}}\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{l}}\text{\textcircled{o}}$ $\text{\textcircled{p}}\text{\textcircled{a}}$ $\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{v}}\text{\textcircled{a}}$
 * we then out went there our known-persons on that
 [Question-10] Then we went to the bazaar. There were some
65. $\text{\textcircled{b}}\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{z}}\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{r}}$ $\text{\textcircled{k}}\text{\textcircled{e}}$ $\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{v}}\text{\textcircled{a}}$ $\text{\textcircled{l}}\text{\textcircled{a}}$ $\text{\textcircled{w}}\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{r}}\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{l}}\text{\textcircled{u}}$ $\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{v}}\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{i}}$ $\text{\textcircled{t}}\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{m}}$ $\text{\textcircled{u}}\text{\textcircled{w}}\text{\textcircled{e}}$ $\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{v}}\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{i}}$ $\text{\textcircled{r}}\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{s}}\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{r}}\text{\textcircled{a}}$ $\text{\textcircled{r}}\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{l}}\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{l}}$
 bazar in him to went them to-we said they with-us came
 influential people there, and we told them (the situation). They came with us.
66. [Question-11] $\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{w}}$ $\text{\textcircled{b}}\text{\textcircled{i}}\text{\textcircled{a}}$ $\text{\textcircled{e}}\text{\textcircled{s}}\text{\textcircled{e}}\text{\textcircled{c}}\text{\textcircled{o}}$ $\text{\textcircled{d}}\text{\textcircled{a}}$ $\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{v}}\text{\textcircled{o}}\text{\textcircled{i}}$ $\text{\textcircled{p}}\text{\textcircled{a}}$ $\text{\textcircled{x}}\text{\textcircled{o}}\text{\textcircled{l}}\text{\textcircled{a}}$ $\text{\textcircled{b}}\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{n}}\text{\textcircled{d}}\text{\textcircled{e}}$ $\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{v}}\text{\textcircled{a}}$ $\text{\textcircled{n}}\text{\textcircled{o}}\text{\textcircled{s}}\text{\textcircled{h}}\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{d}}$
 * and then SHO of them on mouth on he Noshad
 [Question-11] Then we went to the S.H.O., and he released Noshad.
67. $\text{\textcircled{p}}\text{\textcircled{r}}\text{\textcircled{e}}\text{\textcircled{x}}\text{\textcircled{o}}\text{\textcircled{d}}\text{\textcircled{o}}$ $\mu\eta\eta$ $\text{\textcircled{w}}\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{p}}\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{s}}$ $\text{\textcircled{r}}\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{l}}\text{\textcircled{u}}$ $\text{\textcircled{w}}\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{p}}\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{s}}$ $\text{\textcircled{c}}\text{\textcircled{e}}$ $\text{\textcircled{r}}\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{l}}\text{\textcircled{u}}$ $\text{\textcircled{b}}\text{\textcircled{i}}\text{\textcircled{a}}$ $\text{\textcircled{p}}\text{\textcircled{a}}$ $\text{\textcircled{s}}\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{b}}\text{\textcircled{a}}$ $\text{\textcircled{b}}\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{n}}\text{\textcircled{d}}\text{\textcircled{e}}$
 released we back came back that came then on tomorrow on
 Then we came back. The next day,
68. $\text{\textcircled{n}}\text{\textcircled{o}}\text{\textcircled{s}}\text{\textcircled{h}}\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{d}}$ $\text{\textcircled{d}}\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{v}}\text{\textcircled{a}}$ $\text{\textcircled{k}}\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{v}}\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{z}}\text{\textcircled{u}}\text{\textcircled{n}}\text{\textcircled{a}}$ $\text{\textcircled{y}}\text{\textcircled{o}}\text{\textcircled{r}}\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{l}}$ $\text{\textcircled{d}}\text{\textcircled{a}}$ $\text{\textcircled{g}}\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{d}}\text{\textcircled{i}}$ $\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{w}}$ $\text{\textcircled{g}}\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{d}}\text{\textcircled{e}}$ $\text{\textcircled{r}}\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{x}}\text{\textcircled{l}}\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{s}}$ $\text{\textcircled{k}}\text{\textcircled{a}}$
 Noshad this documents took of car and car released did
 Noshad brought the documents and the car was released.
69. [Question-12] $\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{w}}$ $\text{\textcircled{b}}\text{\textcircled{i}}\text{\textcircled{a}}$ $\text{\textcircled{d}}\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{v}}\text{\textcircled{a}}$ $\text{\textcircled{p}}\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{r}}\text{\textcircled{t}}\text{\textcircled{i}}$ $\text{\textcircled{x}}\text{\textcircled{o}}$ $\text{\textcircled{z}}\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{m}}\text{\textcircled{u}}\text{\textcircled{\eta}}$ $\text{\textcircled{l}}\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{r}}\text{\textcircled{a}}$ $\text{\textcircled{r}}\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{y}}\text{\textcircled{l}}\text{\textcircled{a}}$ $\text{\textcircled{x}}\text{\textcircled{o}}$ $\text{\textcircled{s}}\text{\textcircled{a}}$
 * and then this party but our went came but some
 [Question-12] Then we did not have the party. But after
70. $\text{\textcircled{m}}\text{\textcircled{u}}\text{\textcircled{d}}\text{\textcircled{a}}$ $\text{\textcircled{p}}\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{s}}$ $\text{\textcircled{m}}\text{\textcircled{i}}\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{s}}\text{\textcircled{t}}$ $\text{\textcircled{p}}\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{s}}$ $\text{\textcircled{b}}\text{\textcircled{i}}\text{\textcircled{a}}$ $\text{\textcircled{j}}\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{f}}\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{r}}$ $\text{\textcircled{c}}\text{\textcircled{e}}$ $\text{\textcircled{h}}\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{r}}$ $\text{\textcircled{k}}\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{l}}\text{\textcircled{a}}$ $\text{\textcircled{t}}\text{\textcircled{i}}\text{\textcircled{k}}$ $\text{\textcircled{s}}\text{\textcircled{o}}$ $\text{\textcircled{d}}\text{\textcircled{a}}$
 time after month after then Jafar that ever when okay became of
 one month, when Jafar became okay

71. لږا لږا ټک شو پا لږا خوښالي که موږ بیا لږا
his disposition okay became on that happiness in we then that
and his disposition became okay, then we arranged a party for the happy
72. پارټي اکره
party did
occasion (of Noshad's son's arrival).

Questions for Khyber Pass Trip Story (English translations)

1. Why did they arrange this party?
2. What did they buy?
3. What did Noshad and Jafar start to do?
4. How was the road?
5. Why did they stop?
6. What happened when Jafar put on the brakes?
7. What did Jafar report to his friends about Noshad?
8. What did they ask Noshad?
9. What did Noshad say was the real reason why he was arrested?
10. What did the S.H.O. say about Noshad?
11. What did they do in the bazaar?
12. When was the vehicle released?

C.3 QUETTA PASHTO, QUETTA

Quetta Story

1. $\widehat{ts\o}$ waxta lamax za pa forest department ke woma. o dore me
some time before I on forest department in was and there my
Some time ago I was working for the forest department.
2. da nokarano pa sar soparwaizar lagedale woma. da xalko ba
of servants on head supervisor appointed was those people will
I was appointed as head supervisor over the servants. Those people were
3. pa yta ke kadan ksal ao pa yta ke ba ye pa da
in mountain in holes doing and on mountain in will ? on of
digging holes on the mountain and putting
4. kadyano ke bedz esawe da de maksad da wo sa pa da
hole in seed put of this purpose this was that on these
seeds in them. The purpose was so that trees might
5. yro ke tsa draxte rasne si za ba ar sar
mountains in some trees grow ? I would every morning
grow on these mountains. So every morning
6. raportasom ao koru sa ba bas stap ta walaram bas stap
get-up and house from would bus stop to go bus stop
I would get up and leave the house and go to the bus stop.
7. sa ba za pa bas ke kashenastam ao pa nima genta ke ba
from would I on bus in sit and on half hour in would
I would sit on the bus and reach Barori in
8. barori ta warasedam [Question-1] barori ta rasedo pasta ma yao
Barori to reach * Barori to reached after I one
about a half an hour. [Question-1] After I reached Barori,
9. pinza minata paida lara tae kta ao dore ba warasedam da
five minute walk path crossed did and there will reached this
I would walk and reach there within about five minutes.
10. ara wraZ mamul me jof sawe wo tsa za ba delta talam ao
every day practice my made did was that I will here go and
It was my practice every day that I would go and come here.
11. ratlam yawa wraZ sar waxti za raporta som [Question-2] ao
come one day morning early I got-up became * and
One day I got up early in the morning [Question-2] and,

12. dΛ mamul motabek pə bΛs ke kšenastΛmΛ nima ganŋΛ bad zə
of routine according-to on bus in sat half hour after I
according to routine, sat on the bus. I reached
13. bΛrori tΛ wΛfΛsedΛm əo pə xwΛrΛ šΛ muđ ke womΛ [Question-3]
Barori to reached and in very good mood in was *
Barori within a half hour and I was in a good mood. [Question-3]
14. zə pΛidΛl rΛwΛn swΛm əo dΛ ŋrΛ pə lure wΛrΛwΛn
Ion-foot started became and of mountain on toward started
I started to go toward the mountain on
15. swΛluma [Question-4] ŋrΛ tΛ t̄sΛ rΛofΛsedΛm no t̄so kušni
became * mountain to what reached then some child
foot. [Question-4] When I reached the mountain,
16. kušni ΛlΛkan me wΛlidΛl dΛ kušnΛno xwΛrΛ buɣare wΛyele
child boys I saw those children very weeping saying
I saw some boys that were weeping.
17. [Question-5] zə dΛ kšnΛno dΛ t̄sΛŋgΛ wΛrΛlΛm əo əl me zəne
* I of children to side went and asked I ?
[Question-5] I went to the children and asked
18. wΛkΛⁱ če t̄sΛ kisΛ dΛ [Question-6] zΛmΛ xyal dΛ wo če
did that what story is * my thought this was that
what the story was. [Question-6] I thought that
19. dΛ čΛ sΛrΛ bΛ ye šayed jΛŋ kΛrēⁱ yΛ bΛ bΛlΛ dase
this someone with will or maybe fight did or will other like-this
they had fought with someone or something
20. kisΛ yi [Question-7] lekΛn kušnyΛn đer gΛbrΛo wo pə dΛ ke
story is * But children very confused were on that in
like this. [Question-7] But they were very confused.
21. yΛo kušni mΛ tΛ jΛwΛb rΛkΛⁱ dΛ rΛtΛ əwΛyl t̄sə zəmə wror
one child me to answer gave he to-me said that my brother
Then one of the children gave me an answer. He said, "My brother
22. mΛr so [Question-8] zə đer ΛirΛnΛ som əo ɔme gΛŋΛl
died became * I very surprised became and I thought
has died." [Question-8] I became very surprised and
23. əo dΛ me xyal əkΛⁱ t̄sə šayed kedΛⁱ sə dΛ də wror
and this me think did that maybe maybe that of this brother
thought that maybe his brother had

24. behošΛ səwΛⁱ [Question-9] ma dΛ de kušni sΛ al okΛⁱ če
unconscious became * I of him child from ask did that
lost consciousness. [Question-9] I asked the child,
25. sta wror čere dΛⁱ [Question-10] no də košni dΛ noro
your brother where is * then this child of other
“Where is your brother?” [Question-10] Then this child and the others
26. košnyano sarΛ zə dΛ lΛk tΛ botlΛm lΛtΛ če wafΛlΛm no pə
children with me this child to took there that went then on
took me to the (dead/injured) child. When I went there, I was very surprised
27. de bande đer ziat a'ranΛ ao parešana som če lΛtΛ
this on very very surprised and worry became because there
and worried because
28. yΛo kušnΛⁱ lΛk pə wino ke sur prot wo [Question-11] zəma pə
one child boy in blood in red lay was * my on
the child was lying there in blood. [Question-11]
29. saməj ke nə rale-dΛⁱ če axer kisa tsΛ dΛ ma dΛ de xalko
thought in not came that ? story what is I of this people
I thought, “What is the story?” I asked the people
30. sΛ al okΛⁱ ma dΛ de nor kušnyano sΛ al wakΛⁱ če
from asked did I of this other children from asked did that
about this. I asked the other children, “Did someone
31. wale de ča owiste [Question-12] no doi owel če ya dΛⁱ
beat this someone shot * then they said that no he
beat him or shoot him?” [Question-12] Then they said, “No,
32. dΛ yΛΛ sə rašΛwe so ra'la so [Question-13] ma dΛ košnΛⁱ
of mountain from fell did fell did * I this child
he fell from the mountain.” [Question-13] I took the child.
33. raportΛ kΛi no dΛ də dΛ sar sarΛ wine raʃaʃsədΛle
took did then of this of head with blood bleeding
Then he was bleeding from the head.
34. [Question-14] ma dΛ kušnyano sΛ dΛ doⁱ dΛ kor al okΛⁱ no
* I this children from of their of home ask did then
[Question-14] I asked the children about his home.
35. doⁱ dΛ bazar oxwa tΛ išara okʃΛ če zəma kor dΛ bazar
they of bazar side to indication did that my house of bazar
They made an indication toward the bazaar that his house was

36. oxwa tλ dλⁱ [Question-15] no moʒ zλr zλr bazar oxwa tλ
side to is * then we quickly quickly bazar side to
toward the bazaar. [Question-15] Then we started to go to the bazaar quickly.
37. warawan swalu pə larλ me da dwaⁱ kawale če xodaⁱ de dλ
started became on way I this pray doing that God ? this
On the way, I was praying that God
38. košni tλ sehalyabi warki dλ ɣrλ sλ pə tsə paselλ bande
child to recovery give this mountain from on some distance on
would revive the child. This mountain was some distance
39. dλ dλyλ xalko kəle wo wλ kali tλ sə kam waxt wardanino
of this people village was ? village to ? which time reached
from those people's village. When I reached the village,
40. swalam no tsə nor kasan me wəlidλl če pə manɖλ manɖλ
became then some more persons I saw that on run run
I saw some people running
41. rarawan wu [Question-16] λyoi če zəma pə las ke da košnaⁱ
coming were * they that my in hand in this child
toward us. [Question-16] When they saw this child
42. wəlidλⁱ ao pə wino ye sur wəlidλⁱ no ɖer λⁱraλ swal ao
saw and in blood he red looked then very surprised became and
full of blood in my hands, they became very excited
43. owayel če da tsə kisa swa ma warta ɖola kisa okrλ doⁱ
said that this what story is I to-them all story did they
and said, "What is the story?" I told them the whole story.
44. zλr zλr yλo bal safi tλ nare kɖe ao yλo jip bandubast ye
quickly quickly one each man to call did and on jeep arranged he
They quickly called each man and arranged a jeep.
45. okaⁱ jep rale ao muʒ ao da kšnaⁱ wλ jip tλ wačawaⁱ dλ də
did jeep came and we and this child ? jeep to put of this
The jeep came and we put the child in the jeep.
46. sarλ dλ nor kasan kəšenastal ao dλ aspatal pə luri rawan
with this other person sat and of hospital on way started
And other people sat with him and started for the hospital,
47. swəl zə wapas rarawan swam ao zərλ me xwara ɣamgina wo
became I back started became and heart my very sad was
and I started back. And my heart was very sad.

48. *če xodaⁱ xAβAr dA košnaⁱ bA pate si kA ya zə bA tAr nimi*
 that God know this child will remain ? or not I will up-to half
 (And I was thinking) “God knows whether this child will live or not.”
49. *rArAsedAle wom če yAθ-dAm dA jip wApəs mA pəse rAle əo*
 reached was that suddenly this jeep back me after came and
 I reached about half way, and suddenly that jeep came back after me
50. *zəmA lAfsAŋA ye brek uwe zə če wArnizde solAm no pə*
 my side-(near) he brake hit I that near-to-it became then on
 and (the driver) hit the brakes. I went near to it.
51. *wAm wAm yAl zəne okAⁱ če kušnaⁱ tsAŋA so doⁱ rAtA*
 ? ? ask from-there did that child how become they to-me
 Then I asked how that child was doing.
52. *owe če a kušnaⁱ xo pə lare mAŋ so dA yAθ dase*
 said that that child, well, on way dead became this one like-this
 They told me that the child had died on the way. This story was like this
53. *wAqyA wA če zə ye tAr nAnA nəsAm heRAWAⁱ zə qer zAyat*
 ? was that I that up-to today nothing forget I very much
 and I have forgotten nothing up to today. I became very sad,
54. *γAmginA som əo dA Aye zAⁱ wApAs kor tA rArAWAn som*
 sad became and of that place return house to started became
 and I started to return from that place to my home.

**Questions for Quetta Story
(English translations)**

1. How long did it usually take him to reach Barori?
2. What time did he get up that day?
3. How was his disposition that day?
4. Where did he go after he got down from the bus?
5. What did he say when he reached the mountain?
6. What did he ask the children?
7. What did he think might have happened to the children?
8. What answer did the children give him?
9. What did he think might have happened to the brother?
10. What did he ask the child?
11. When he saw the child, what condition was he in?
12. What did he ask the children?
13. What did the children say had happened?
14. What place on the child was blood coming from?
15. What direction was his house?
16. What did he see when he entered the village?

C.4 ORMURI (KANIGURAM, SOUTH WAZIRISTAN)

Ormuri Story

1. max o masudi zut^h boen sara max isə jikakzar sara
we and Mahsud very near one-another we one place with
We and the Mahsud live nearby one another. There was a disputed
2. wiran bukyin sagre ye byuk ača masudi kil zakin max ga
dispute was mountain ? was good Mahsud to went we also
place (mountain). We went to the Mahsud. We started shooting
3. masudi ga dazawon di šuri dok dazawō di šuri dok diu tpe
Mahsud also firing to start did firing to start did two three
at each other. The shooting went on for two or
4. šio dazawō dok wala sabad erdi kū max liki marəkzani zakin
nights firing did that after ? to us ? jirga came
three nights. After that a jirga
5. mandznar ača ku max ki nir yekin katius o dazao duo či
in-between good to us they ? said your ? firing two three
came between us and told us, "Stop the firing for 2 or 3 hours."
6. ganča band kawai max ir axer nar kir zakin bandan dok o dazao
hours stop did we ? last home to came stopped did ? firing
We stopped the firing and came back home. After two or
7. ka duo či ganča aldi mayakin walasa bad ir di ku max liki
when two three hours ? passed that after ? ? to us ?
three hours had passed, we received a message
8. xabar zok ka tusal bie xowai jikacikil tsa wai axer max
message came that you again own place-name go became last we
that we should go to our own place. We were compelled
9. gi majbur sukien xowai jikacikil bie tsawakien biendal dazaw
also to-compel became own place-name to went then firing
to go to our own place. Then we started shooting
10. šoru dok a gardie šiu sara tar dak diu šiu limandz nar
start did ? all night with spent did two nights between in
and it went on all night. After 2 nights,
11. nayakin sara ku max ir di bie maydzin ir di zakin ku max
out with to us ? ? then jirga ? ? came to us
a jirga came to us again,

12. kirayekin ka taus sa kawai ka tausye ku max gerad sie
said that you like-this did that you to us with one
and said that you have to come to
13. pesala kawai axer maxal yekin ka max ai zut^h sarā boi yen
decision did at last we-said that we that very with near are
an agreement with us. We said that we live very close to each other,
14. saxar wega sarā dzunyen o sarale turā kiga patā ha ka
morning evening with looked this carefully that also know is that
and can see them in the morning and evening. And we know that
15. najayezar o axta ha xa o bu nak mani ača darmax ye
unfair he shot is but that also not agree okay our our
they are unfair. But they (the jirga) did not agree.
16. majburi suk bieir xoi gri lasir nimaken maragdzoni
compulsion became then own mountain from came-down jirga
Under compulsion, we came down from the mountain and said to the jirga
17. konal yekin ka tik ya max yes fasala kien xi pa haq
from said that okay is we do decision will but on justice
that we want to make an agreement. So with justice
18. margdzini wa nar axta suken zut^h zut^h nuksan nale
jirga that jirga between start-became very very loss that-for
the jirga started. At great cost to us,
19. dok sarweči nal li halal dakin axer o šai suik ka bie
did sheep that for kill did at-last this thing became that then
we killed sheep for the jirga. Later the Mahsud were (again) not
20. ai ya wa nak zar rasaken a xowai markdzini bail tsawakin
they ? ? not that-on agree that own jirga back went
agreeing with us and the jirga went back and
21. ko max ki rayekin ka tausai bie likai maxal bie gri
to us from said that you again climb we again mountain
told us that we should go up the mountain. We climbed up the mountain
22. kil likakien bie sarā axta yen dazedan šuri dal sə waxat
to climbed then with start became firing start did some time
again and started shooting. We spent some time there.
23. le hayot mazedar kačen na ka ziati wa ziat talyg dakien
went out fine ? ? ? remaining we very bothered did
We were very bothered by them.

24. ačΛ tΛšiu hanšt^h bΛzə bΛken kΛ max ye-axeri Λtek dok
good night-to eight o'clock was when we last attack did
It was eight o'clock at night, and we made our last attack.
25. hamla niedak ačΛ sə sΛr yeβiuk dzestΛr sΛr lΛsΛwΛzΛr axtΛ
attack did good one peak was lower top from start
There was a peak. When we reached the other side
26. sukien kΛ beštΛr sΛr zΛr bə niyəkien max zΛr či bΛjΛ
became when upper top from then out-went we on three o'clock
of the peak, the time was 3 o'clock.
27. sukin kΛ šiu ačΛ max ir gə mΛzΛdar a murči
became when night good we then also fine that fortification
And then we conquered that fortification.
28. kΛ tsen bokin aiyΛn wΛaken kΛ wΛakΛnen ku max gi rΛq^hde
which also was that got when got then we also with-us
We had a shortage of cartridges.
29. tə kartusi zut^h ziatΛⁱ kΛmi buk axer o šiuk kΛ max ir saře
? cartridge very ? less was last this became that our ? men
At last one of our group became
30. ye nie dzok šiuk a sařΛi yen mΛlak zut^h šΛštΛ
one our wounded became that man our died very handsome
wounded and died. He was a young and handsome man.
31. dzΛwan ye βiuk aΛΛ nernimek mΛzedar če tsar tΛmΛlΛ di
young he was he came-down fine three four men ?
And also three or four men were wounded.
32. wištΛnai suken ačΛ tΛr max gΛ unduški a tΛβiyΛt xə xΛb
wounded became okay our we also some ? mood very bad
We became very sad that this had happened.
33. sok kΛ xer o ye tsΛ šΛuk xΛ xer ai tΛ xudΛi kari
became but last this also did became but last this ? God works
But this is the nature of things.
34. bokyen ačΛ mΛzedar kə a tsen nΛkΛ nΛr likir zakinyen nΛr
was okay fine ? ? which-is ? home to came home
We went home, and then
35. nΛřΛn a sařΛi šΛx dok ačΛ xə kumax gerΛd bu a
in-home that man to-bury did okay that our with also ?
we buried that man.

36. masudi zut^h zulam kawı zut^h zyatai yen dağırad dok o bie ka
 Mahsud very cruel did very violence our with did but then also
 The Mahsud are very cruel to us. They are doing great violence to us.
37. tsen naka kumax liki irde maraka zak zut^h ziat^h wa fa dakien
 ? is we to ? jirga came very violence we that did
 The jirga came again to us.
38. marakali kin bu mazdar tsarweçin alalawoken xa axer tsə waxt
 jirga for also fine sheep sacrifice but last some time
 And we killed sheep (again) for the jirga,
39. talenayok i waxt lasə bader de ku max liki hets kisam
 went-out that time from ? from to we from some kind
 and some time passed,
40. faisala nak dak o mazedar çe tsar riodzal di nayaken pa
 decision not did ? fine three four up-to-days went out that
 but there was no decision. In the meantime, 3 or 4 days more went by
41. warıngal a dazeda šori buk a maraka bagə šuri buk a
 like that firing start was that jirga also start was that
 peacefully. The shooting started again and the jirga also began.
42. dazeda bagə šuri buk tasi tabi akari bagı šuri buken ta
 firing also start was one another works again start was that
 The shooting at one another started again
43. mazadar tašiu dawas bağa ka sukein max gi wa sar nar
 fine night-to 12 o'clock when became we also that top in
 and at 12 o'clock at night things became peaceful.
44. eyekin axer çe bağa da sukin axer zot^h də wizar nawaxt
 sat-were last three o'clock ? became last very then from late
 One night we were on the peak at three o'clock.
45. šiuk nawaxt irdi sağai ka tsen kana sağai ko max liki sağai
 became late from man is which ? man to we from man
 After awhile it became late. Some people came to us
46. zakın a sağai ko max liki yeken ka pa kisa zariye max yeb
 came that man to we from said that that talks on we we
 and told us that we should make some time for discussion.
47. řem nowien maxal yeken kə yara o řem ye tsə ha o řem
 time keep we said that this-like ? time this did is this time
 We said that we are not happy about this because

48. yetΛ dokΛ hΛ o ɸem ye tarmax xoš nə kΛ o ɸem max
 this hoax is this time this our happy not are this time our
 this is a hoax. They said that
49. xoš nəkΛ bier o ɸeken kΛ xΛ maxΛ des o ɸem gerəð
 happy not-is then they said that but our with this time with
 you should make some time, this is not a hoax.
50. kΛwΛi axer maxΛl ɸeken kΛ o ɸem ye sa^h ɸem hΛ kΛ
 will-do at-last we said that this time this one time is that
 We said that we do not want to make time. This is a hoax.
51. dokə^h we winar hΛ o rΛɸeken kΛ nak kΛwe dokə^h winar hΛ
 hoax that in is that said that not they hoax in is
 We said it was a hoax.
52. maxΛl ɸeken kΛ xΛmaxΛ we dokə wenarΛ hΛ o maxlikien tΛ
 we said that exactly that-in hoax in is that to-us ?
 We did not make time,
53. ɸem zarurat nak hΛ tə ɸem pəpΛ nak gerΛð^h nowΛk kΛ
 time need not is that time therefore not with-them keep that
 so we did not keep that meeting time with them. The Mahsud are like this.
54. a masud sa xΛlak hΛ kə zut^h zulumdar xΛlak hΛ o
 this Mahsud this-like people are that very cruel people are that
 The Mahsud are very cruel.
55. zulumdar xΛlak hΛ kumax gerΛð^h bu zolam kΛwi tΛ xowΛi
 cruel people are with-us with this cruel doing that own
 They are cruel to us.
56. maɸburi lΛsΛbu max ai braki kΛ atsen yen xowΛi maɸburi
 compelled from we this Barki which is-also are own compelled
 And we Barki want an independent life
57. lasə niebqΛ šie azadi ɸorΛwak i xowΛi watan nar axeri
 from also one freedom made but own country in last
 in our own country.
58. sa šiuk kΛ maxΛl korΛliki ɸem nəleciyok ku max liki rə
 this-like became that we to-that time gave to we ? we
 So we divided. They gave us half
59. awΛ ɸakrə kΛ tsen bok awΛ inimΛi dak fesalə radedak o sar
 that piece which also was that half did decision did this top
 and we gave half to them (Mahsud). We had made a decision and

60. ye tɒɾɒi šiuk pə byeli tayas sɒɾɒ xɒs sokɒi
 which them became but and your with finish became
 it was finished.

APPENDIX D

QUESTIONNAIRE

Questions for the individual locations were based on this master questionnaire.

1. Name? Date?
2. Age?
3. Education level?
4. Medium of instruction?
5. Tribe?
6. Where were you born?
 - 6b. Is that where you grew-up?
7. Present village
8. Tehsil / Agency
9. District
10. What is the name of your own language?
 - 10b. What is the name of your father's language?
 - 10c. What is the name of your mother's language?
11. What is the name of your own village?
 - 11b. How often do you visit your own village?
12. Do you travel to other places?
 - 12b. Where?
 - 12c. How often?
 - 12d. For what purpose?
 - 12e. What language do you use there?
 - 12f. How long do you normally stay?
13. Do the women in your home travel to places outside of your village?
 - Where?
 - 13b. How often?
 - 13c. For what purpose?
 - 13d. What language do they use there?
14. What dialect (of Pashto) do you speak in your home now?
 - 14b. With whom?
 - 14c. How much? All time?, some time?, almost never?
 - 14d. Why?

15. What dialect (of Pashto) did you speak in your home as a child with your parents?
16. What other languages do you speak?
 - 16b. Where?
 - 16c. With whom?
 - 16d. How well do you speak it?
 - 16e. How did you learn it?
17. Where do the people speak Pashto the same as in your village?
18. Where do the people speak Pashto a little different than in your village?
 - 18b. Have you gone to these places?
 - 18c. Do those people come here?
19. Where do the people speak Pashto very different from in your village?
 - 19b. Have you gone to these places?
 - 19c. Do those people come here?
 - 19d. How much of it do you understand? Not much, some, most?
20. Where is the best Pashto spoken?
 - 20b. Why do you say that?
 - 20c. Where is the worst Pashto spoken?
 - 20d. Why do you say that?
21. Where is the most pure Pashto spoken?
 - 21b. Why do you say that?
22. Can you read Pashto? How did you learn to read it?
23. Is Pashto a subject in school?
 - 23b. Which dialect?
 - 23c. How many years did you study it?
24. How often do you read Pashto?
 - 24b. What do you read?
25. Can the women and children in your home read Pashto?
 - 25b. Do your children go to school? Both boys and girls?
 - 25c. Do the women in your home go to school?
26. Can you speak/read Urdu?
 - 26b. Where?
 - 26c. With whom?
 - 26d. How often?
 - 26e. How well can you speak/read it?

27. Do your children speak/read Urdu?
 - 27b. Where?
 - 27c. With whom?
 - 27d. How often?
 - 27e. How well can they speak/read it?
28. Can the women in your home speak/read Urdu?
 - 28b. Where are they speaking it?
 - 28c. With whom?
 - 28d. How often?
 - 28e. Can they (your women) speak Urdu well?
 - 28f. How did they learn to speak/read it?
29. Do you want to learn more Urdu? Why or why not?
30. What language is best for written material? Why?
31. Do all people from your tribe speak the same as you?
32. Do other tribes speak the same as you? If so which ones?
33. Where did your tribe come from?
 - 33b. How long ago?
34. How often do you listen to Pashto radio programs?
 - 34b. Is it in your dialect?
 - 34c. What dialect is it in?
 - 34d. From which place is it broadcast?
 - 34e. How much do you understand?
35. How often do you watch Pashto TV programs?
 - 35b. Is it in your dialect?
 - 35c. What dialect is it in?
 - 35d. From which place is it broadcast?
 - 35e. How much of it do you understand?
 - 35f. Do you have a T.V. in your home?
36. Do you speak the same language as your grandparents?
 - 36b. If not, what language do they speak?
37. In what ways is it an advantage to speak Pashto?
 - 37b. In what ways is it an advantage to speak Urdu?
38. What language should be used as a medium in school?
39. What languages do you wish you knew?

40. What language is used:
 - 40b. in the bazaar
 - 40c. in a jirga?
 - 40d. in a sermon in a mosque?
 - 40e. If you want to explain something to women, which language do you use?
41. What other languages do your children speak?
 - 41b. How did they learn them?
 - 41c. Which languages can your children speak well?
42. What languages do you want your children to learn?
43. When your children grow up, what language do you think they'll use most?
44. In your village, how many men can speak Urdu?
 - 44b. In your village, how many children and women can speak Urdu?
 - 44c. Do most speak it well?
45. In your village, how many men read Urdu?
 - 45b. In your village, how many children and women read Urdu?
46. Do people of your tribe marry people from other language groups?
 - 46b. If yes, then who?
 - 46c. Why?
47. Do the women in your home go to school?
48. How many women in your village go to school?
49. In your village how many khels are there?
 - 49b. What are the names of the khels?
50. In your home what other languages (besides Pashto) are spoken?
 - 50b. With whom?
 - 50c. Why?
51. Is Pashto a medium of instruction in the schools here?
 - 51b. Up to which class is Pashto a medium?
 - 51c. What language are textbooks written in in primary school? Middle school? High School?
 - 51d. What language do the teachers explain things in?
52. How many men in your village read Pashto?
 - 52b. How many women read Pashto?
 - 52c. How many children read Pashto?
53. How many people live in your village?

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