

### **ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE IPA**

# Dari (Afghan Persian)

#### Adam Baker

Academy of Sciences of Afghanistan & University of North Dakota adam.baker@iam-afghanistan.org

Dari, or Afghan Persian (Indo-European, Iranian, Southwestern; ISO 639-3: prs; Lewis, Simons & Fennig 2013), is one of the national languages of Afghanistan, and a language of wider communication in much of the country. It is one of the three major Persian varieties, the others being Farsi (or Iranian Persian) and Tajiki (or Tajik Persian). Afghans refer to Dari either as [de'ri] or [far'si].

An important phonological analysis of Dari is Henderson (1972). Kieffer's (1985) discussion provides a number of insights into dialectal variation around Afghanistan, and the relationship between Afghan Persian and other dialects. A wealth of data is to be found in Glassman (2000), though the focus of the text is pedagogical rather than linguistic. The phonology of Iranian Persian has previously been illustrated in Majidi & Ternes (1999). More detailed phonological studies of the Iranian and Tajik varieties of Persian are Windfuhr (1997) and Windfuhr & Perry (2009).

This Illustration is of the Dari spoken in Kabul, the capital of Afghanistan. Speakers of Dari exhibit a range of speech styles, depending on the formality of the situation. To capture some of this variation, recordings from two speakers are presented. The isolated words and the text so marked represent the formal speech style. The speaker for these recordings is from Kabul, though he has spent much of his adult life in Faizabad, Badakhshan province, and some time in Iran. In spite of these influences, he retains an identifiably Kabuli accent. The text is also presented in informal style. The speaker for the informal version is a lifelong resident of Kabul, educated, and about forty years of age. While not a trained linguist, he has considerable grammatical knowledge and metalinguistic awareness, arising from his position as a teacher of Dari to foreigners.

As the written form of the language is the basis for the formal style, formal pronunciations tend toward fidelity to the orthographic form. For example, the formal text contains ['mekerd-end] 'they were doing' where the informal text has ['me-ked-en]. The [r] and [d] present in the formal pronunciation reflect the written form, ميكر دند. Accordingly, formal Afghan and Iranian Persian are quite similar to one another, though not identical. The phonological analysis cannot merely recapitulate the orthography, however: several of the vowels are not represented orthographically, and orthographic forms often reflect the Arabic rather than the Persian pronunciations of words.

# **Consonants**

			Labio-			Pos	t-					
	Bilal	oial	dental	Alv	eolar	alve	eolar	Palatal	Ve	lar	Uvular	Glottal
Plosive	p	b		t	d				k	g	q	
Nasal		m			n							
Fricative			f	S	Z	ſ	3		X	Y		h
Affricate						$\widehat{\mathfrak{tf}}$	<del>d</del> 3					
Tap or Flap					ſ							
Approximant		W						j				
Lateral approximant					1							

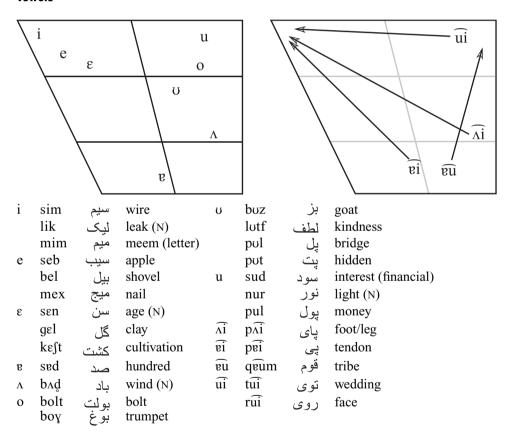
Initial			Medial			Final		
рл	پا( <i>ى</i> )	foot	k <sub>Λ</sub> 'pi	کاپی	copy (N)	t∫∧p	چاپ	print (N)
рvģ	بإد	wind (N)	bΛ'bΛ	بابا حتی	grandfather	t∫ob	چوب	wood
t∧₫͡ʒ	تاج	crown	he'ta	حتى	even	ha'let	حالت	situation
d <sub>Λ</sub> 'xεl	داخل	inside	n'dεl	عادل	righteous	bлф	باد	wind (N)
					person			
$k_{\Lambda}^{\dagger}k_{\Lambda}$	كاكا	father's	k <sub>Λ</sub> 'k <sub>Λ</sub>	كاكا	father's	nлk	ناک	pear
1		brother		<b>.</b>	brother			1
gʌh	<u>گ</u> اه	time	'eger	اگر	if	seg	سگ	dog
qn'zi	قاضىي	judge (N)	$\Lambda' q \Lambda$	آقا	sir	pei red	بيرق	flag
ma'ma	ماما	mother's	ma'ma	ماما	mother's	∫∧m	شام	evening
	1.	brother	1 1		brother			meal
nan Garata:	نان	bread	be'nv	بنا	build	nΛn	نان	bread
far'si sa'lun	فارسى	Farsi	refe	زفع	satisfaction	nAf	ناف	navel
	سالون	parlour	e'sel	عسل ة : أ	honey	dΛs hΛ'fεz	داس	sickle
ZAt	ذات	essence	qn'zi	قاضى	judge (N)	l	جافظ	protector
∫∧m	شام	evening	Λ'∫υq	عاشق	lover	Λ∫	آش	noodle
3v <sub>1</sub> s	ژاله	hail (N)	ne 3vg	نژاد	ethnicity	103	لوژ	balcony
xa'dem	خادم	servant	d <sub>Λ</sub> 'xεl	داخل	inside	jex	يخ	ice
γΛr	غار	hole	be'yel	بغل	side	dΛγ	داغ	hot
hΛ'fεz	حافظ	protector	mote'hem	متهم	accused	koh	کوہ	mountain
$\widehat{t J} \Lambda p$	چاپ	print (N)	lots	لوچ	naked	$n \lambda \widehat{t J} \lambda r$	ناچار	needy
$\widehat{d_3}$ $\Lambda m$	جام	bowl	e'dzel	اجل	fate	$t \wedge \widehat{d_3}$	تاج	crown
rΛ	راه	road	g'rg	اره	saw (N)	γΛr	غار	cave, hole
la'zεm	لازم	necessary	sa'lun	سالون	parlor	sal	سال	year
weswe <sub>1</sub> se	وسوسه	temptation	he'wa	هوا	air			
jʌf'tɐn	بافتن	to find	Ί۸ϳΛ	آیا	interrogative			
-	· ·			*	particle			
			1		-	'		

There is not a great deal of categorical allophonic variation in Dari, though a number of consonant deletions and vowel coalescences occur at morpheme boundaries, as illustrated in the transcribed text below. The stops of Dari are unaspirated or lightly aspirated in all positions, except in careful speech. Voiced stops and affricates are optionally devoiced; in the recordings of isolated words, compare the devoiced allophones in [bʌd] 'wind (N)', [xub]

'good',  $[t\Lambda \widehat{d3}]$  'crown',  $[ne^{i}3\Lambda d]$  'ethnicity' with the voiced voiced allophones in [burd] 'he carried', [sud] 'interest',  $[\widehat{tJob}]$  'wood', and [sug] 'dog'. The phoneme /r/ may be trilled to [r] in emphatic speech, as occurs in the words ['uger] 'if', ['rufu] 'satisfaction',  $[\gamma\Lambda r]$  'cave, hole',  $[r\Lambda]$  'road' in the word list above; compare the flap [r] which occurs in the transcribed text. The phoneme /h/ is frequently lost in everyday speech, though less often in formal contexts. Variation in the (formally produced) word list is illustrated above, with the word-final [h] preserved in  $[g\Lambda h]$  'time' and [koh] 'mountain', but dropped in  $[r\Lambda]$  'road'.

In relation to Iranian Persian, it can be noted that Dari has distinct /q and /v, which are merged in Iranian Persian but similarly distinct in Tajik Persian (Kieffer 1985; Windfuhr & Perry 2009: 427). Dari always has the labiovelar approximant [w] instead of the Iranian or Tajik Persian [v]; [v] is never heard, even in formal speech.

#### Vowels



Dari has a larger inventory of vowels than Iranian Persian (see the six-vowel system indicated by Majidi & Ternes 1999, and also more 'traditional' grammars like Thackston 1993 and Mace 2003). The additional contrasts – reported previously by Henderson (1972) and Glassman (2000) – are between the front round vowels [e] and [ $\epsilon$ ], and the back round vowels [o] and [ $\epsilon$ ]. These contrasts are similar to vowel contrasts present in Middle and Early Modern Persian (Windfuhr 1997) though a more precise statement of the relation awaits further etymological study.

The distinction between the back rounded vowels is illustrated by the words [xub] 'good', [xud] 'self', and [ $\widehat{\mathfrak{tfob}}$ ] 'wood'. The phonemes /e/ and / $\varepsilon$ / are distinguished by the similar pair

Vowel	Duration (ms)						
	25% Quantile	Median	75% Quantile				
e	293	302	312				
i	272	282	296				
Λ	184	282	317				
u	247	263	278				
o	222	246	281				
в	158	222	269				
ε	181	204	241				
υ	169	177	190				

**Table 1** Vowel duration measurements of monophthongal vowels produced in isolation in the present paper.

[bel] 'shovel' and [gɛl] 'mud'. Several examples of each of these vowels are given above. As discussed below, the difference between [e] and [e], and [o] and [o], is reinforced with a length contrast.

The vowels [AI], [vi], [vu], and [ui] are analyzed here as diphthongs, but could alternately be analyzed as a monophthong–glide sequence. There is evidence in favor of both analyses. Although the maximal syllable template of Dari is CVCC, diphthongs do not occur in syllables with two coda consonants. This could be taken as an indication that one consonant position is being taken up by a glide. On the other hand, syllables with two consonants are not so frequent as to rule out the possibility of an accidental gap in the lexicon. Conversely, glides do not occur freely in coda position: a monophthongal analysis would then have to stipulate a list of permissible vowel–consonant sequences (i.e. [Aj], [vj], [vw], [uj]), which in a sense merely recapitulates the diphthongal analysis. Therefore, though the phonological facts do not force one analysis over another, the diphthongal analysis is adopted here.

In the diagram above, the monophthongs are shown in their approximate locations in F2-F1 space. Two measurements are given for the diphthongs, corresponding to steady states towards the beginning and ends of the diphthongs.

Traditional analyses of Persian have distinguished between long vowels (as transcribed here, [i  $\lambda$  u]) and short vowels ([ $\epsilon$  v o]). Dari does not make a length distinction independent of vowel quality, though there are differences in the lengths of vowels. For purposes of this Illustration, duration measurements were made for the monophthongal vowels of the words produced in isolation. The results are shown in Table 1.

An ANOVA shows a general effect of vowel identity on vowel duration: F(7,135) = 3.78, p < .001. The difference in length between traditional long vowels of [i  $\Lambda$  u] and the short vowels [ $\epsilon \nu$  o] is also significant: F(1,141) = 19.20 (p < .001). Finally, the difference is again significant if the Dari long vowel [e] and short vowel [u] are included in the test: F(1,131) = 13.35, p < .001. In summary, then, there are length distinctions in Dari, which are redundant with vowel quality. These correspond to the traditional analysis of Persian short and long vowels.

Syllable structure follows a maximal syllable template of CVCC. The onset is optional; the obligatory epenthetic glottal stop reported by Windfuhr & Perry (2009) is not found in Dari (compare the words  $[\mathfrak{v}'\mathfrak{r}\mathfrak{v}]$  'saw (N)' and  $[\mathfrak{v}'d\mathfrak{z}\mathfrak{v}]$  'fate'). Windfuhr & Perry (2009) note that Arabic loanwords are a source of many complex codas. On nouns, stress is typically syllable-final, including any suffixes and clitics. On verbs, stress falls on the first prefix, or on the last syllable of the root if there is no prefix.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Henderson (1972) suggests the similar pair [sεr] 'riddle' and [ʃer] 'poetry', though the former of these words was unknown to my informants.

## Transcription of recorded passage

The story 'The North Wind and the Sun' was adapted by the language consultant from Majidi & Ternes's (1999) Farsi version, to reflect Afghan word choice and usage.

## Formal speech style

jek roz bad hem'raje af 'tab || 'keti jek de'ger de'wa 'mekerdend ke ku'dames qewi'ter es || der in weqt jek musa'fer re'sid | ke jek pe'tuje de'bel der 'dewre xud petsi'de bud || an'ha gustend ke | her ku'dame ma ke e'wel 'betewanim musa'fer ra meds'bur ku'nim | pe'tujes ra ez 'dsanes dur 'kuned | me'lum 'mesewed ke 'zures zijad est || bad ta tewa'nest we'zid || 'leken 'hertse ke | bes'ter we'zid | musa'fer pe'tujes ra der 'dewre 'xudes dseme kerd || 'belaxere | bad xes'te sud we munse'ref sud || bad ez an | af 'tab ta'bid we he'wa 'inqeder germ sud ke | 'fewren musa'fer pe'tujes ra ez 'dsanes dur kerd || bad ez an | bad meds'bur sud ke eq'rar ku'ned ke ef 'tab 'zures zijad est

## Informal speech style

jek roz bad em'raje ef 'tew 'keti jekide'ge da'wa 'mekeden ke ku'damesan qewi'ter es || de i wext jek musa'fer re'sid | ke jek pe'tuje de'bel de 'dewre xud petsan'de bud || u'na 'goften ke | herku'dame ma ke e'wel 'betanim musa'fere meds'bur ku'nim ke | pe'tujese ez 'dsanes dur 'kune | ma'lum 'mese ke 'zures zijad'ter es || bad ta ke ta'nest | we'zid || 'laken | 'ertse ke bes'ter we'zid | musa'fer pe'tujese de 'dewre 'xudes dsem ked || 'belaxere | bad xes'te sud o munse'ref sud || bad ez u | ef 'tew ta'bid o he'wa 'eqeder germ sud ke 'fewren musa'fer pe'tujese ez 'dsanes dur ked || bad ez u | bad meds'bur sud ke eg'rar ku'ne ke ef 'tew 'zures zijad'ter es

# Orthographic version

یک روز باد همراه آفتاب کتی یکیدیگر دعوا میکردند که کدامشن قویتر است. در این وقت یک مسافر رسید، که یک پتوی دبل در دور خود پیچیده بود. آنها گفتند که، هرکدام ما که اوّل بتوانیم مسافر را مجبور کنیم پتویش را از جانش دور کند، معلوم می شود که زورش زیادتر است. باد تا توانست وزید. لیکن هرچه که بیشتر وزید، مسافر پتویش را در دور خودش جمع کرد. بالاخده، باد خسته شد و منصرف شد. بعد از آن آفتاب تابید، و هوا اینقدر گرم شد که فوراً مسافر پتویش را از جانش دور کرد. بعد از آن باد مجبور شد که اقرار کند که آفتاب زورش زیادتر است.

## **Acknowledgements**

The author gratefully acknowledges the help of Mir Aqa in producing the recordings of the word list and formal version of the text, the anonymous speaker who produced the informal version of the text, and the helpful comments of two anonymous reviewers. The collection of words was made much easier by an otherwise unpublished word list, produced by Ted Feierabend, MD, and made available to me by the Language and Orientation Program of the International Assistance Mission, Kabul, Afghanistan.

### References

Glassman, Eugene. 2000. Conversational Dari: An introductory language course in Dari (Afghan Persian), 5th edn. Peshawar: The Interlit Foundation.

- Henderson, Michael M. T. 1972. Dari (Kabuli Persian) phonology. Ph.D. thesis, The University of Wisconsin.
- Kieffer, Charles M. 1985. Afghanistan v. languages. *Encyclopaedia Iranica* (online edition). http://www.iranica.com/articles/afghanistan-v-languages.
- Lewis, M. Paul, Gary F. Simons & Charles D. Fennig (eds.). 2013. *Ethnologue: Languages of the world*, 17th edn. Dallas, TX: SIL International. Online version: http://www.ethnologue.com.
- Mace, John. 2003. Persian grammar: For reference and revision. New York: RoutledgeCurzon.
- Majidi, Mohammad-Reza & Elmar Ternes. 1999. Persian. In IPA (ed.), Handbook of the International Phonetic Association, 124–125. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Thackston, Wheeler M. 1993. *An introduction to Persian*, revised 3rd edn. Bethesda, MD: IBEX Publishers. Windfuhr, Gernot. 1997. Persian phonology. In Alan S. Kaye & Peter T. Daniels (eds.), *Phonologies of*
- Asia and Africa, 2nd edn., vol. 2, 675–689. London: Routledge.
- Windfuhr, Gernot & John R. Perry. 2009. Persian and Tajik. In Gernot Windfuhr (ed.), *The Iranian languages* (Routledge Language Family Series), 416–544. London: Routledge.