

SOCIOLINGUISTIC SURVEY OF  
NORTHERN PAKISTAN  
VOLUME 3  
HINDKO AND GUJARI

## Sociolinguistic Survey of Northern Pakistan

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

*Series Editor*

*Clare F. O'Leary, Ph.D.*

*Sociolinguistic Survey  
of  
Northern Pakistan  
Volume 3*

*Hindko  
and  
Gujari*

Calvin R. Rensch  
Calinda E. Hallberg  
Clare F. O'Leary



*National Institute of  
Pakistani Studies  
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*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.

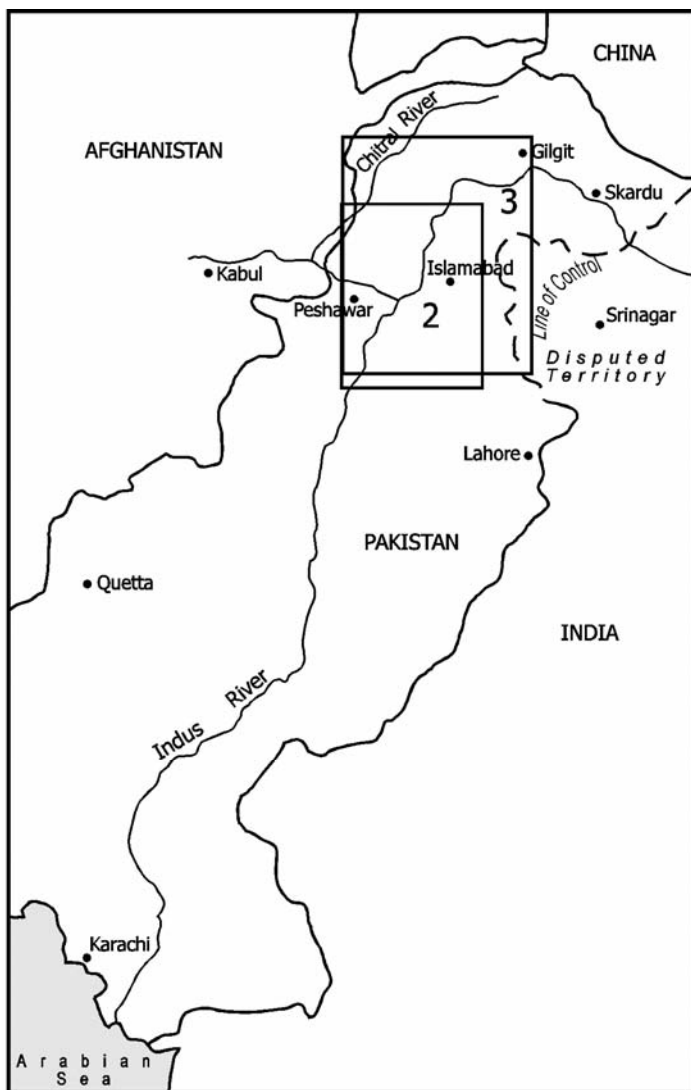
Work of such a magnitude is not possible without cooperation and devotion on the part of scholars and experts in this field. The National Institute of Pakistan Studies, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad acknowledges with gratitude the assistance and cooperation of many who helped the team to conduct 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.

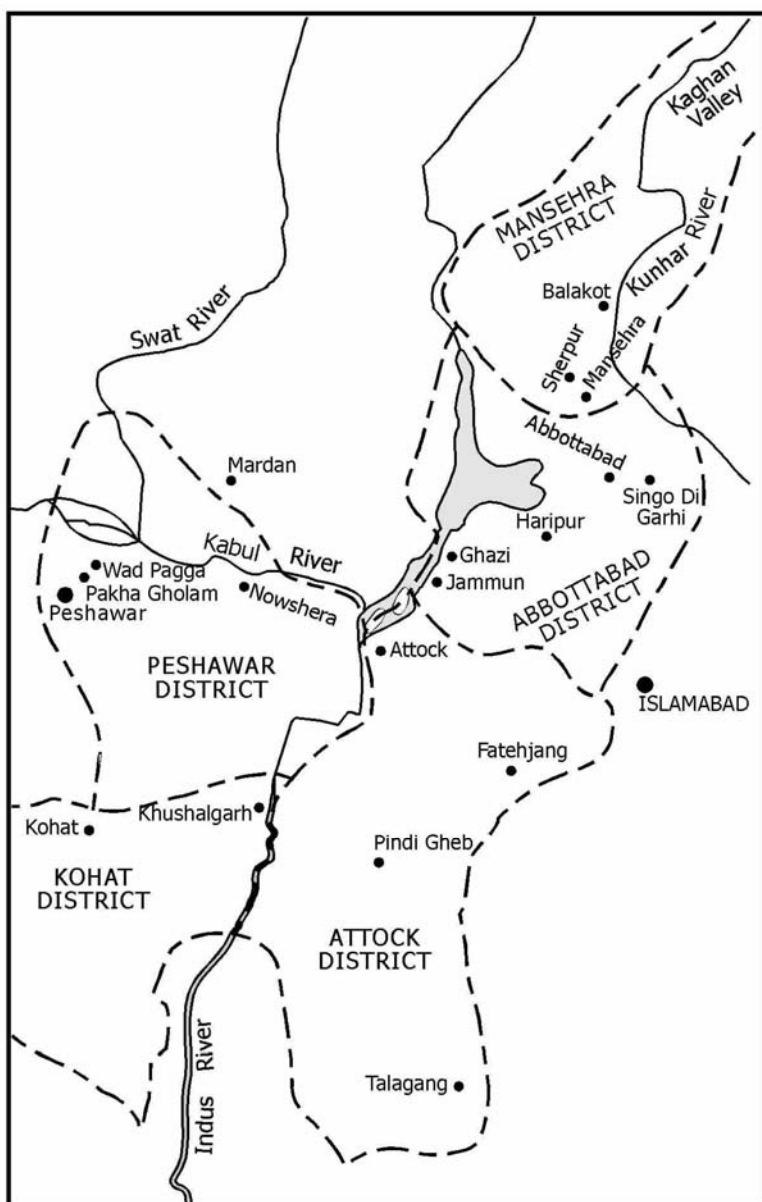
*Dr. Ghulam Hyder Sindhi*  
*Director*  
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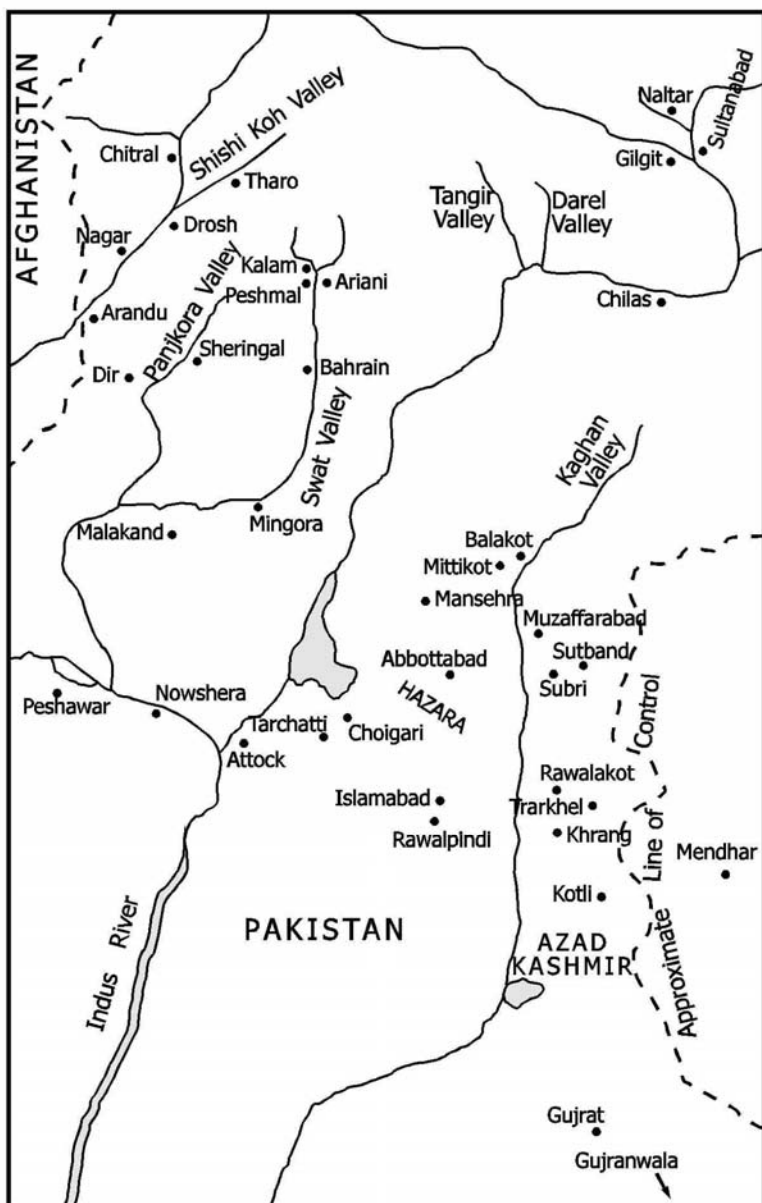
## MAPS



MAP 1. Pakistan showing insets for maps in this volume.



MAP 2. Districts of NWFP and Panjab: reference map for Hindko.



MAP 3. Northern Pakistan: reference map for Gujari.



## 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*: Gujarī, 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, Chilisso, 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 north-western frontier; within Pakistan that group is represented by Eastern Katiwiri and Kamwiri/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, Gujar, 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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Ken and Sandy Decker and Amjad Afridi, with assistance from Muhammad Arif, prepared the many charts as well as the information included in the several appendices. Calinda Hallberg, Carla Radloff, and Carolyn Rensch worked especially closely with David Marshall and the author in the interpretation of the data and in the presentation of the report in its present form.

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Calvin R. Rensch

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More than most other projects included in these volumes, the Gujarī research involved the efforts of many people over a long period of time. Fieldwork extended over a period of several years, from mid 1986 through late 1989. David Marshall began the investigation as the principal researcher; he collected a large portion of the data and lived for a time as a participant observer in Peshmal, Swat. Ken Decker and Peter Backstrom built upon the foundations laid by Mr. Marshall, particularly in the collection of data from Azad Kashmir. These researchers were ably assisted by Amjad Afridi and Muhammad Arif whose many months of committed efforts were greatly appreciated. Much-valued assistance was also rendered by Imtiaz Afridi, Ilyas Bhatti, Rahmanullah Shinwari, Sandy Decker, Calvin Rensch, and Carolyn Rensch. Carla Radloff deserves special thanks, especially for her involvement in the research among Gujar women. The analysis and presentation of results were the responsibility of the authors, who worked closely with these researchers.

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people. More than 120 Gujars from twelve different communities contributed to the evaluation of the dialects of Gujarati by giving word lists or listening to recorded texts; over a hundred more from Peshmal and Mittikot participated in the study of multilingualism. To all these contributors we owe a debt of gratitude.

Calinda E. Hallberg  
Clare F. O'Leary

*July 1992*

THE LANGUAGE ENVIRONMENT OF  
HINDKO-SPEAKING PEOPLE





# THE LANGUAGE ENVIRONMENT OF HINDKO-SPEAKING PEOPLE

*Calvin R. Rensch*

## 1. SETTING

### 1.1 Geographic and Linguistic Setting of Hindko

The people of north central Pakistan who speak Hindko are generally people of the plains and low hills. Apart from those who live in the Kaghan Valley, the highest part of the area, they live in the valley of the Indus, often on the east side of the river but sometimes on the west, and in the valleys of its tributaries. Their territory extends from the point where the Indus emerges from the gorges of Indus Kohistan downstream to the south and west for more than two hundred kilometers. (See map 2.)

More than one interpretation has been offered for the term *Hindko*. Some associate it with India, others with Hindu people, and still others with the Indus River, which is, of course, the etymological source of all these terms. Long before Partition, Grierson understood it to mean “the language of Hindus” (LSI VIII.1:234), an interpretation also reflected in Bahri’s 1941 study.<sup>1</sup> However, the language use patterns since his day have shown the language to be firmly established among non-Hindu people. Shackle suggests that Hindko refers to “the Indian language” (1980:482), i.e., an Indic language, in sociolinguistic contrast to Pashto, the Iranian language of the area.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> “In Peshawar they [the Awans] are always reckoned as Hindki which shows that they were Hindus first.” (Bahri 1962:xi)

<sup>2</sup> Shackle questions the usefulness of “Hindko” as a term for linguistic classification because it “embraces dialects of very different groups, not all of which are even geographically contiguous” (1980:482).

The term *Hindki* is often used to refer to a speaker of the Hindko language (Shackle 1980:482),<sup>3</sup> but in popular usage it may refer to the language as well. In older literature it was frequently used for the language — for example, in the Imperial Gazetteer of NWFP, which regularly calls it Hindki (1905:130,172,186 ff.). Grierson uses it to designate certain dialects of his *Lahnda* grouping, some others being called *Hindko* (LSI VIII.1:554,565 ff.).

It seems clear that the term Hindko/Hindki has developed as a label to distinguish far western forms of Indic speech from the Iranian dialects called Pashto, largely spoken even farther west.

### 1.1.1 Linguistic *fault line*

The speakers of Hindko, a member of the Indic language family,<sup>4</sup> live along the east side of the linguistic *fault line* that separates Indic from Iranian languages. In most Hindko-speaking areas speakers of Pashto live in neighboring communities and often in the same communities as Hindko speakers, although this is less true in the vicinity of Abbottabad and in the Kaghan Valley than elsewhere. In the mixed areas many people speak both languages.

The relationship between Hindko and Pashto does not seem to be one of stable bilingualism. In the northeast Hindko is dominant in some areas and even seems to be advancing, both in domains of usage and in numbers of speakers,<sup>5</sup> whereas in the

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<sup>3</sup> Note that the Imperial Gazetteer of India for NWFP (1905:150) mentions a slightly broader usage of the term “Hindki”: “In the popular phraseology of the District [i.e., Peshawar] all tribes who are not Pashtoons are Hindkis ...”

<sup>4</sup> Grierson (LSI I:135; VIII.1:134-5) suggests a strong Dardic influence in the formation of Hindko as well as other “Lahnda” dialects. This does not deny, however, the fundamentally Indic nature of Hindko in contrast to the Iranian languages.

<sup>5</sup> Many speakers of Hindko in Hazara Division are Pashtoons, largely Swati Pathans, who have shifted in recent centuries from being speakers of Pashto to being speakers of both Pashto and Hindko and now, in many cases, to being speakers of Hindko but not Pashto. As evidence that this process is an ongoing one, three respondents from Sherpur stated their belief that Hindko is replacing Pashto in that area.

southwest Pashto seems to be advancing in those same ways.<sup>6</sup> However, Addleton, viewing trends over the past forty years, sees a strengthening of the position of Pashto overall in the Hindko-speaking areas: “The influence of Pushto on Hazara appears to have become more pronounced, due in part to an influx of Pashtuns replacing the Hindko-speaking Sikhs and Hindus who formerly held key trading positions and who departed at independence. Moreover, the proportion of Hindko speakers who also use Pushto seems to be on the increase” (1986:59). Such patterns of shifting language affiliation are hardly surprising in a multilingual environment of this sort.<sup>7</sup>

### 1.1.2 Population centers of Hindko speakers

Speakers of Hindko live primarily in five districts. Four of these are in the North-West Frontier Province — Mansehra, Abbottabad, Peshawar and Kohat — while one district, Attock, is in the Panjab. (See map 2.)

According to 1981 census figures (reported in Addleton 1986:70), 305,505 households of the nation (2.4 percent of the total) speak Hindko as their mother tongue. Its predominance in rural areas is reflected in the fact that 2.8 percent of rural households report Hindko as their household language as compared with only 1.5 percent of urban households.

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<sup>6</sup> Note the statement of Shackle (1980:486-7), reporting on Hindko speakers in Kohat: “The position of Kohati seems to have been seriously weakened since 1947, as the result of the departure of non-Muslim Kohati-speakers and their replacement by speakers of Pashto. Pashto also seems to be spreading amongst long-settled Pashtoon families whose first language was formerly Kohati. There are still fair numbers of Kohati-speakers ... but bilingualism with Pashto appears to be general.”

From an earlier period we also note a statement of the Gazetteer of NWFP regarding Kohat: “The language commonly spoken is Pashtu. The Awans and Hindus talk Hindki ... but know Pashto as well” (1905:172).

<sup>7</sup> This situation contrasts with the picture of greater stability presented by Grierson (LSI I:29) during the early years of this century: “It is ... rare for one Aryan-speaking nationality to abandon its language in favour of another Aryan tongue. We continually find tracts of country on the borderland between two languages which are inhabited by both communities, living side by side and each speaking its own language.”

Reflecting these census figures, Addleton states that, "Hindko is the most significant linguistic minority in the NWFP, represented in nearly one-fifth (18.7 percent) of the province's total households." In Abbottabad District 92.3 percent of the households reported speaking Hindko, in Mansehra District 46.8 percent, in Peshawar District 6.9 percent, and in Kohat District 10.4 percent (1986:58-59).

### 1.1.3 Hindko-speaking areas included in the study

Word lists were collected from villages throughout the Hindko-speaking area in order to study lexical differences that distinguish one dialect from another, and levels of intelligibility among dialects were tested in representative dialects from the various areas of the Hindko region.

Abbottabad and Mansehra districts within the Hazara Division of the North-West Frontier Province account for three-fourths of all Hindko-speaking households. Abbottabad district includes over half of them and Mansehra district accounts for an additional one-fourth (Addleton 1986:70).

It was in this area, where the Hindko population is concentrated, that studies were carried out in four communities to determine levels of second language proficiency of Hindko speakers and those social factors which favor or inhibit their learning a second language.

Although Hindko is also spoken by significant numbers of people in Attock District of the Panjab, Addleton (1986:78) reports only 1260 households (0.6 percent of those in the district) who give Hindko as their mother tongue in the census returns. There may be a significant distortion here due to the local use of more than one name for the same language (see below), or this may in part reflect the way the census questions were asked. (For a discussion of the way the language questions of the 1981 census were framed, see Addleton 1986:56.)

The scope of this study is defined largely as those communities where the people call their speech Hindko. In other words, the subjects were largely self-defined. In the southern part

of the area, however, are two dialects that require further comment — one is a dialect included in this study which is not called Hindko by its speakers and the other, a dialect not included in this study which is called Hindko by some of its speakers.

The dialect spoken in Talagang, Attock District, has been included in this study. Shackle states that the speech of Talagang tehsil is “most commonly called Avankari.” He includes it, along with the dialects of Pindi Gheb (in Attock tehsil) and of Kohat, in a grouping which he calls *Hindko proper* (1980:484-5). Bahri (1962:xviii) says that the speech of Talagang is a dialect of Avankari. However, during our field research in Talagang we found no one who used the name *Avankari* to refer to the local speech variety. Nor, for that matter, do the people themselves use the term *Hindko* for that purpose. They call it simply Panjabi,<sup>8</sup> stating, however, that they recognize that their speech is more similar to Hindko than it is to the Panjabi of Lahore and Gujranwala. A speaker of Lahore Panjabi, interviewed in Talagang, stated that the local speech is Hindko and not Panjabi, and that he can understand but not speak the language of Talagang. In spite of the terminological confusion surrounding the name of the language of Talagang, this dialect was originally included in this study because it was understood to be similar to the Hindko of Attock tehsil to its north. Our studies of lexical similarity and dialect intelligibility have subsequently confirmed the appropriateness of this decision.

In Dera Ismail Khan District (NWFP) many people identify themselves as speakers of Hindko. The man who provided the word list for that locality said that the entire area is Hindko-speaking. Several of his neighbors in his village, Himat, near the town of Dera Ismail Khan, also stated that their language is called Hindko. However, others in their area indicated that they speak Siraiiki and that there are no Hindko speakers in that area.

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<sup>8</sup> Viewing this language as (a dialect of) Panjabi appears to be a long-standing tradition. Note a comment included in the Imperial Gazetteer for NWFP (1905:172) concerning the neighboring NWFP district of Kohat, “... the Awans and Hindus talk Hindki, a dialect of Panjabi, among themselves ...”

Some added that a generation ago the language was called Hindko. It seems clear that these differences of opinion indicate not a linguistic difference but a difference in language naming. On the whole, it appears that the speakers of this dialect who are more influenced by the social movements of the region call it Siraiki and relate their speech to Multani, at the same time recognizing that their dialect is different from that of Multan, which is generally recognized as the standard dialect of Siraiki.<sup>9</sup> Therefore, the speech of Dera Ismail Khan, even though called Hindko by some, has not been systematically included in the present study.<sup>10</sup>

The relationship of the Hindko dialects to other Indic dialects of northeastern Pakistan needs to be investigated, especially from the standpoint of inherent and acquired intelligibility. Such a study of "Greater Panjabi" would include dialects called Panjabi, Siraiki, Pothohari and Pahari. An investigation of the position of the dialect of Dera Ismail Khan would naturally find its place in such a study. It is, of course, possible that such a study could also refine our current understanding of the internal and external relationships of the dialects included in this study.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> In commenting on matters of language identification in Dera Ismail Khan, Addleton (1986:61) writes, "The situation in Dera Ismail Khan is more problematic. According to the census figures, Hindko is limited to 3,200 (3.3 percent) of the households, while Siraiki represents a clear majority (64.9 percent)." Shackle (1985:327-8) provides further information and indicates a more complicated scenario: "The 'Hindko' of Dera Ismail Khan is in fact a northern variety of Siraiki, and — as a result of initiatives from Multan — is now increasingly referred to as such locally." The 1981 figures certainly support this view and indicate that the majority of people in Dera Ismail Khan identify with Siraiki rather than Hindko.

<sup>10</sup> However, a comparison of lexical similarity between the language of Dera Ismail Khan and Hindko dialects included in this study is presented in section 4.1.

<sup>11</sup> Although Grierson treated the so-called Lahnda dialects separately from those he labeled Panjabi, he recognized the difficulty of making a clear separation of the two groups: "Lahnda is the language of the Western Panjab. To its east it has Panjabi ... and it merges so gradually into that form of speech that it is impossible to fix any clear dividing line between the two" (LSI VIII.1:233). Commenting further on closely related dialects of this group which have different names, he writes, "Pothwari is spoken over the whole of the district of Rawalpindi except in the hill country to the north, where we find a closely related dialect locally called Pahari ..." (LSI VIII.1:477)

## 1.2 Genetic Relationships of the Hindko Dialects

In Grierson's study (LSI VIII.1:239) the Hindko dialects were included within an extensive grouping which he called *Lahnda*, a term he coined to designate various languages of Western Panjab and adjoining territories.<sup>12</sup> He distinguished three divisions of Lahnda — southern, north-western and north-eastern — and assigned the dialects in the following manner (although specifics vary slightly in his various presentations):

### A. Southern Lahnda

1. Standard (Shahpur)
2. Multani (including Siraiki)
3. Khetrani and Jafiri
4. Thali (Thal Desert east of the Indus)

### B. North-Western Lahnda

1. Dhanni (W. Jhelum)
2. Sawain (E. Attock)
3. Hindko (N. Attock, Peshawar, Hazara)

### C. North-Eastern Lahnda

1. Pothohari
2. Pahari
3. Chibhali, including Punchi (Kashmir)

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Addleton (1986:66), quoting a Panjabi proverb which says "The language changes every 15 miles", gives some indication of the scope which an investigation into all the dialects of "Greater Panjabi" might have when he says "The number of Panjabi dialects has never been properly catalogued, but would clearly amount to several dozen, some of which have come to be regarded as languages in their own right. Two other 'dialects' — Siraiki and Hindko — were ... reorganized as separate languages in the 1981 census and other possible candidates such as Potwari ... may emerge in the future."

<sup>12</sup> Shackle (1980:483) calls Grierson's Lahnda "the awkward construct which he developed for the collective classification as a separate linguistic unit of the disparate dialects of the western Panjab and the regions adjacent to it". He adds that "a further terminological complication is thus introduced into what is already a complicated enough situation ..." Siddheshwar Varma (1936:47) does not particularly dispute Grierson's classification, but rejects the name itself on other grounds: "As regards 'Lahnda', it may be doubted if the ... speakers of the language would understand the term if it refers to their mother tongue ... But what really makes the term inappropriate is the fact that 'Lahnda' is only a relative term, signifying a direction from the standpoint of Panjabi speakers ..."

4. Western Salt Range (N. Shahpur)
5. Avankari (Attock & Kohat)
6. Ghebi (Attock)

Shackle finds the assignment of Avankari and Ghebi to “North-Eastern Lahnda”, which separates them from the other Hindko dialects, “clumsy and misleading” (1980:485).<sup>13</sup> Leaving aside the Hindko of northern Hazara Division for reasons not made clear, he proposes a classification which includes six speech varieties, grouped by the fact that they exhibit a set of common features, which he labels “Common Panjabi.” His classification is displayed as follows:

- A. Hindko Proper
  - a. Avankari (with three sub-varieties)
  - b. Ghebi
  - c. Attock-Haripur Hindko
  - d. Kohat Hindko
- B. Peshawar Hindko
- C. Dhanni
- D. Pothohari
- E. Siraikei (Multan)
- F. Central Panjabi (Lahore)

### 1.3 Ethnic Affiliations of Hindko Speakers

Members of a variety of ethnic groups speak the language called Hindko. A large number of Hindko speakers in Hazara Division (Mansehra and Abbottabad Districts) are Pashtoons. Some of those speak Hindko as a second language; many others speak it as their mother tongue. These include the *Tahir Kheli* Pashtoons, who claim to have migrated to Hazara Division from Afghanistan during the eighteenth century. Many other mother-tongue speakers of Hindko are *Swati Pathans*, who are said to have formerly spoken Pashto while living in the lower Swat

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<sup>13</sup> cf. Bahri (1962:xvi): “Grierson’s wedge is arbitrary and it is absurd to couple Awankari and Ghebi with Pothowari. Every dialect of Lahnda is connected with its neighbours, and each shades into the surrounding dialects.”



valley. After migrating across the Indus River into Hazara Division, which Ahmed (1976:xv) dates around A.D. 1515, the Swatis adopted the Hindko language.<sup>14</sup> There are also Pashtoos belonging to three other groups, the *Yusufzai*, the *Jadun* and the *Tarin*, who have replaced Pashto with Hindko (Caroe 1958:339).

Many speakers of Hindko belong to groups other than the Pashtoos: Some of these are *Saiyids*, said to have come to the area in the early centuries of Islamic history (Caroe 1958:102), many of whom live in the Peshawar area. Large numbers of Hindko speakers are *Avans*, particularly in Attock District and Hazara Division. Still others belong to groups of *Moughals*, *Bulghadris*, *Turks* and *Qureshis*. In Jammun significant numbers of Gujars have adopted Hindko as their first language.

#### 1.4 Social Features of Hindko-Speaking Communities

The social features relevant for defining sociolinguistic sub-groups of Hindko-speaking communities were studied in four localities:

Jammun, near the town of Ghazi, on the Indus River in Haripur tehsil of southern Abbottabad District;

Singo Di Garhi, a comparatively isolated community in northern Abbottabad District, about eight kilometers from the district center;

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<sup>14</sup> Ahmed (1986:109) comments on the relationship between language and ethnicity in Hazara, especially among Pashtoos: "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. But it is significant to note that the younger Swati generations are forgetting Pushto, which creates certain dilemmas and tensions in their society. Although less than 50 percent of Swatis speak Pushto, there remains a high awareness of the language as a diacritical feature. Only 7 percent of Sayyeds ... speak Pushto and the dominated groups do not speak Pushto at all. Hindko — akin to Punjabi — is spoken by the dominated group. Urdu is commonly understood and spoken throughout Hazara."

Sherpur, a more accessible community in southern Mansehra District, about ten kilometers northwest of the district center;<sup>15</sup> and

Balakot, a large community at the southern end of the Kaghan Valley in eastern Mansehra District.

In these communities representatives of various households were interviewed in order to learn the (approximate) age of each of the males and females of that household and the level of education that each has attained. In two communities, Jammun and Singo Di Garhi, it was possible to interview a representative of every household. In Sherpur it was possible to collect such information for many, but not all, households. In Balakot information was gathered from and about only a selected sampling of men.

Whenever information is collected about only part of a community, a question arises concerning the extent to which the data sample is truly representative of that entire community. Fortunately, data about the age categories of all men and women of voting age, collected by the central government of Pakistan, are available for the village of Sherpur (Sherpur Election List, 1979-80). This body of data is presumably exhaustive for the entire adult population of Sherpur. Therefore, the percentage of people in each age category found there was considered representative and was extended for predicting the percentage of people in each such category in other communities. The percentages of the total adult population who are in each of the age and gender subgroups of Sherpur are presented in figure (1.1).

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<sup>15</sup> It should be noted that this study embraced only the upper section of Sherpur, in which Hindko is used as the language of the home. It did not include interviewing or testing in the homes in which Pashto is the home language.

**(1.1) Voting-Age Population of Sherpur:  
Distribution of Men and Women in Age Groups  
According to Government Registration Figures**

<i>Age Group</i>	<i>Men</i>		<i>Women</i>	
	<i>n</i>	Percentage of men	<i>n</i>	Percentage of women
20-29	113	30.7	127	39.3
30-39	115	31.3	79	24.5
40-49	61	16.6	50	15.5
50+	77	20.9	66	20.4
age unknown	2	0.5	1	0.3
<i>Total</i>	368	100.0	323	100.0

The profiles of the four communities developed in this study from data collected through interviews have been compared with the Sherpur profile developed from government registration figures as a check on how representative our data are. Interestingly enough, the profiles for Jammun and Singo Di Garhi, the communities in which data were collected on every household, most closely fit the Sherpur profile given in figure (1.1). The profile developed from interviews conducted in only some of the households of Sherpur as a part of this study fits the government profile less well, while the profile developed from a selected sampling of men in Balakot fits least well.

#### 1.4.1 Jammun

The number of adults in Jammun twenty years and older, arranged by age groups in the same way as the government registration data for Sherpur, is displayed in figure (1.2).

**(1.2) Adult Population of Jammun:  
Distribution of Men and Women  
in Age Groups**

<i>Age Group</i>	<i>Men</i>		<i>Women</i>	
	<i>n</i>	Percentage of men	<i>n</i>	Percentage of women
20-29	51	29.8	57	39.0
30-39	50	29.2	35	24.1
40-49	28	16.4	24	16.4
50+	42	24.6	30	20.5
<i>Total</i>	171	100.0	146	100.0

When the percentages of men and women in the various age groups of Jammun are compared with those of the registration figures for Sherpur (figure 1.1), it can be seen that the distribution of the population of Jammun approximates very closely that of Sherpur. This observation leads one to believe that the profile developed for Jammun is an accurate reflection of that community.

During the course of interviewing in Jammun, information was collected concerning the educational level attained by the males and females in all age groups. The distribution of the population of Jammun into the various age and education groups is displayed in figure (1.3).

From figure (1.3) it can be seen that women in Jammun have received considerably less education than men. The percentage of women with no education is more than twice as large as the percentage of men with no education. The percentage of all women with education, much or little, is smaller than the percentage of men with only one to five years of education.

**(1.3) Population of Jammun:**  
**Distribution of Men and Women**  
**in Education Groups**

<i>Level of Education</i>	<i>Men</i>		<i>Women</i>	
	<i>n</i>	Percentage of males	<i>n</i>	Percentage of females
Below age	47	14.2	34	11.4
No education	95	28.6	174	58.6
1-5 years	107	32.2	65	21.9
6-10 years	69	20.8	19	6.4
11-12 years	7	2.1	3	1.0
13 + years	7	2.1	1	0.3
Unknown			1	0.3
<i>Total all educ. groups</i>	332	100.0	297	99.9

The categories of age and education for Jammun are combined in figure (1.4) to give a more complete picture. The number of adult males and females in each age/education group and the percentage of the total at each education level and in each age group are presented. As can be seen, the distribution of the levels of education among the various age categories in Jammun is uneven. Only the percentages of men and women of Jammun thirteen years and older who belong to each age-education group are presented. For the purposes of this study thirteen was set as the lower age limit. Below that age it is unlikely that a person's linguistic proficiency is developed enough for him to provide reliable responses in the testing situations of the present study. Figure (1.4), then, presents the profile of the population in Jammun upon which this study has been based.

**(1.4) Adult Population of Jammun: Number and Percentage of Men and Women in Each Age and Education Group**

**Men**

<i>Age Group</i>	No	1-5	6-10	11-12	13+	<i>Total by age groups</i>
	Educ.	years	years	years	years	
13-19 yrs.	9	19	23	0	0	51
percentage	4.1	8.6	10.4	0	0	23.0%
20-29 yrs.	17	13	16	4	1	51
percentage	7.7	5.9	7.2	1.8	0.5	23.0%
30-39 yrs.	16	8	20	1	5	50
percentage	7.2	3.6	9.0	0.5	2.3	22.5%
40-49 yrs.	19	2	6	1	0	28
percentage	8.6	0.9	2.7	0.5	0	12.6%
50+ yrs.	31	7	2	1	1	42
percentage	14.0	3.2	0.9	0.5	0.5	18.9%
<i>Total by ed. groups</i>	92	49	67	7	7	222
Percentage	41.4%	22.1%	30.2%	3.2%	3.2%	100%

**Women**

<i>Age Group</i>	No	1-5	6-10	11-12	13+	<i>Total by age groups</i>
	Educ.	years	years	years	years	
13-19 yrs.	28	10	9	2	0	49
percentage	14.4	5.2	4.6	1	0	25.3%
20-29 yrs.	44	5	6	1	1	57
percentage	22.7	2.6	3.1	0.5	0.5	29.4%
30-39 yrs.	30	1	4	0	0	35
percentage	15.5	0.5	2.1	0	0	18.0%
40-49 yrs.	22	2	0	0	0	24
percentage	11.3	1.0	0	0	0	12.4%
50+ yrs.	28	1	0	0	0	29
percentage	14.4	0.5	0	0	0	14.9%
<i>Total by ed. groups</i>	152	19	19	3	1	194
Percentage	78.4%	9.8%	9.8%	1.5%	0.5%	100%

As is commonly the case, the younger age groups in Jammun have been educated to a greater extent than the older groups. The percentage of teenage men with some education is more than three times as great as the percentage of educated men fifty years and older. The situation is even more dramatic for women. The percentage of teenage women with some education is more than twelve times as great as the percentage of educated women fifty years and older.

#### 1.4.2 Singo Di Garhi

Information concerning age and education level of men and women was gathered through interviews in Singo Di Garhi also. This village is also in Abbottabad District, but in the north of the district, whereas Jammun is in the southwest. The number of Singo Di Garhi men and women in each age/education category and the percentage of the sample distributed in each category are displayed in figure (1.5).

**(1.5) Adult Population of Singo Di Garhi:**  
**Number and Percentage of Men and Women**  
**in Each Age and Education Group**

**Men**

<i>Age Group</i>	No	1-5	6-10	11-12	13+	<i>Total by age groups</i>
	Educ.	years	years	years	years	
13-19 yrs.	1	1	10	0	0	12
percentage	1.9	1.9	19.2	0	0	23.0%
20-29 yrs.	4	4	4	1	0	13
percentage	7.7	7.7	7.7	1.9	0	25.0%
30-39 yrs.	5	4	3	0	0	12
percentage	9.6	7.7	5.8	0	0	23.1%
40-49 yrs.	4	2	2	0	0	8
percentage	7.7	3.8	3.8	0	0	15.3%
50+ yrs.	6	0	1	0	0	7
percentage	11.5	0	1.9	0	0	13.4%
<i>Total by educ. groups</i>	20	11	20	1	0	52
Percentage	38.4%	21.1%	38.4%	1.9%	0%	99.8%

**Women**

<i>Age Group</i>	No	1-5	6-10	11-12	13+	<i>Total by age groups</i>
	Educ.	years	years	years	years	
13-19 yrs.	12	1	0	0	0	13
percentage	27.3	2.3	0	0	0	29.6%
20-29 yrs.	15	0	0	0	0	15
percentage	34.1	0	0	0	0	34.1%
30-39 yrs.	6	0	0	0	0	6
percentage	13.6	0	0	0	0	13.6%
40-49 yrs.	3	0	0	0	0	3
percentage	6.8	0	0	0	0	6.8%
50+ yrs.	7	0	0	0	0	7
percentage	15.9	0	0	0	0	15.9%
<i>Total by educ. groups</i>	43	1	0	0	0	44
Percentage	97.7%	2.3%	0%	0%	0%	100.0%



For men, the correspondence between education and the younger age group is even more extreme in Singo Di Garhi than in Jammun. Eleven of the twelve teenage males, 92 percent, have received some education. The proportion of educated to uneducated men in each older age group declines steadily as age increases. Only one female was reported with any education, a teenager with primary level schooling.

#### 1.4.3 Sherpur

Interviewing was also conducted in Hindko-speaking households of Sherpur, which is northwest of the district center of Mansehra. The sample of 109 men and 66 women is not exhaustive for that sizeable community, nor is it random. It is, however, of sufficient size and broad enough distribution to show with reasonable confidence that education has been more widely available there than in Singo Di Garhi, especially among men. The number and percentage of Hindko-speaking men and women of Sherpur in each age and education group are displayed in figure (1.6).

**(1.6) Hindko-Speaking Adult Population of Sherpur:**  
**Number and Percentage of Men and Women**  
**in Each Age and Education Group**

**Men**

<i>Age Group</i>	No	1-5	6-10	11-12	13+	<i>Total by age groups</i>
	Educ.	years	years	years	years	
13-19 yrs.	4	4	17	1	0	26
percentage	3.7	3.7	15.6	0.9	0	23.9%
20-29 yrs.	6	1	9	7	7	30
percentage	5.5	0.9	8.3	6.4	6.4	27.5%
30-39 yrs.	2	1	9	4	4	20
percentage	1.8	0.9	8.3	3.7	3.7	18.4%
40-49 yrs.	4	0	3	1	0	8
percentage	3.7	0	2.8	0.9	0	7.4%
50+ yrs.	15	1	8	1	0	25
percentage	13.8	1	7.3	0.9	0	23%
<i>Total by educ. groups</i>	31	7	46	14	11	109
Percentage	28.5%	6.5%	42.3%	12.8%	10.1%	100.2%

**Women**

<i>Age Group</i>	No	1-5	6-10	11-12	13+	<i>Total by age groups</i>
	Educ.	years	years	years	years	
13-19 yrs.	9	3	2	1	0	15
percentage	13.6	4.5	3.0	1.5	0	22.6%
20-29 yrs.	14	1	2	0	0	17
percentage	21.2	1.5	3.0	0	0	25.7%
30-39 yrs.	8	0	0	0	0	8
percentage	12.1	0	0	0	0	12.1%
40-49 yrs.	11	1	0	0	0	12
percentage	16.7	1.5	0	0	0	18.2%
50+ yrs.	14	0	0	0	0	14
percentage	21.2	0	0	0	0	21.2%
<i>Total by educ. groups</i>	56	5	4	1	0	66
Percentage	84.8%	7.5%	6%	1.5%	0	99.8%

The percentage of Sherpur men who have received some education remains high through the older age groups to an extent not seen in either Jammun or Singo Di Garhi. This suggests that education has been available in Sherpur for a longer period than in Jammun or Singo Di Garhi. It should be noted that there are two primary schools and one high school in Sherpur, whereas there is one primary school but no high school in both Singo Di Garhi and Jammun.

#### 1.4.4 Balakot

The fourth community in which interviews were conducted is Balakot, which is located in the eastern part of Mansehra District at the southern end of the Kaghan Valley. Information was gathered from men in the community who participated in interviews in order to determine the relative strength of the various subgroups as distinguished by age and level of education they represent. The resulting profile of these men is presented in figure (1.7).

**(1.7) Sampling of Male Population of Balakot:  
Number and Percentage of Men Who are  
in Each Age and Education Group**

**Men**

<i>Age Group</i>	No	1-5	6-10	11-12	13+	<i>Total by age groups</i>
	Educ.	years	years	years	years	
13-19 yrs.	0	0	2	1	0	3
percentage	0	0	4.2	2.1	0	6.3%
20-29 yrs.	5	3	7	4	1	20
percentage	10.4	6.3	14.6	8.3	2.1	41.7%
30-39 yrs.	4	2	1	2	0	9
percentage	8.3	4.2	2.1	4.2	0	18.8%
40-49 yrs.	8	1	3	1	0	13
percentage	16.7	2.1	6.3	2.1	0	27.1%
50+ yrs.	2	1	0	0	0	3
percentage	4.2	2.1	0	0	0	6.3%
<i>Total by</i>	19	7	13	8	1	48
<i>educ. groups</i>						
Percentage	39.6%	14.7%	27.2%	16.7%	2.1%	100.3%

(Women were not included in the sample for Balakot.)

## **2. LANGUAGE USE IN THE HINDKO-SPEAKING AREA**

Patterns of language use were studied in five communities – the two communities of Mansehra District, the two of Abbottabad District described above (§1.4), and an additional community in Peshawar District. Interviews were conducted in each of these to probe the extent and domains of use of the languages in their repertoires as well as the factors which promote multilingualism.

In all five communities studied, Hindko is the only, or almost only, language used in the home. Yet, even while it is the unchallenged mother tongue, respondents in every locality report vigorous use of at least one other language. The people of some communities use up to four languages, the choice depending on the context.

### **2.1 Language Use in Jammun**

The village of Jammun is located on the Indus River just below the Tarbela Dam, near Ghazi, in Haripur Tehsil of Abbottabad District. There, representatives of forty households were asked to state which languages they use when communicating with speakers of the various languages found in their area. They were asked for the language(s) they use (a) in the home and with fellow speakers of Hindko, (b) with people recognized as speakers of Pashto, and (c) with people recognized as speakers of Urdu. The responses were framed in terms of one language or a combination of languages.

The percentage of respondents from Jammun who gave each of the various responses is presented in figure (2.1).

**(2.1) Languages Used by Jammun Residents with Speakers of Other Languages, In Percentages of Respondents (n = 40)**

<i>Language Used by Respondent</i>	<i>with Hindko speakers</i>	<i>with Pashto speakers</i>	<i>with Urdu speakers</i>
Hindko	100	30	25
Pashto		40	
Urdu			60
Pashto/Hindko		25	
Urdu/Hindko		2.5	15
Pashto/Urdu/Hindko		2.5	

It is significant that all respondents report using only Hindko in their homes. Although many are no doubt able to speak Pashto, Urdu and Panjabi to varying extents, they prefer not to use any of these when speaking with family members or with others who can speak Hindko.

Forty percent of the respondents report using Pashto with speakers of Pashto and an additional twenty-five percent report using Pashto in combination with Hindko. The fact that nearly two-thirds of the respondents report using at least some Pashto with speakers of that language suggests considerable use of Pashto in the community in certain domains (sociolinguistic environments). It may also indicate considerable proficiency in Pashto, but this was not verified through Pashto proficiency testing.

The position of Urdu in Jammun seems to be even stronger than that of Pashto. Sixty percent report using only Urdu with speakers of that language, while only 40 percent report using only Pashto with Pashto speakers. As a corollary to this, only 25 percent report using Hindko with Urdu speakers, whereas 30 percent report using Hindko with Pashto speakers. The results of Urdu recorded text testing in Jammun (average score of 86 percent for the 37 men tested, with a standard deviation of 13 – see §3.3) seem to suggest that the high percentage of respondents

who report using Urdu with Urdu speakers is linked with some ability to speak Urdu on the part of many.

Education and travel are factors that can affect one's ability to speak languages which predominate outside the home area. Education has a special effect on proficiency in Urdu, while travel affects the ability to speak other languages as well.

As can be seen from figure (1.4), 58.6 percent of the men of Jammun have received some education. More than half the men who were interviewed concerning language-use practices are from the 13-29 year age group, and about three-fourths of this age group have had some education. Therefore, it is to be expected that their level of Urdu would enable them to communicate well in Urdu with speakers of that language.

More than half the respondents from Jammun report having traveled to the following localities:

Rawalpindi, Abbottabad, Haripur (88% each)  
Peshawar (68%)  
Lahore, Karachi (59% each)

Jammun is situated near the Tarbela Dam and is connected with the Grand Trunk Road by a paved road. Thus, of the four localities in Hazara Division in which information was gathered about travel, it has the best access to the large non-Hindko speaking cities of Rawalpindi, Lahore and Karachi. Therefore, it is not surprising that 88 percent of the respondents report having visited Rawalpindi, with about half of that group having visited it more than twenty times. However, two-thirds of those who have visited Rawalpindi have never stayed there for as long as one week. Thus, for a majority of the respondents the visits to Rawalpindi have been short even though for many they have been frequent.

Most of the Jammun respondents also report frequent but short visits to Haripur and Abbottabad, nearby communities in Hazara, where there are many Hindko speakers. A high 88 percent have visited Haripur, and the same percentage have

visited Abbottabad; 82 percent have visited both. It is surprising that only 26 percent have visited Mansehra, a Hindko-speaking community just north of Abbottabad. Nevertheless, more than two-thirds of those who have visited Mansehra have done so more than twenty times. Judging from this information we may expect to find in Jammun a small group that has become well acquainted with the Hindko dialects of Mansehra District and a larger group that has not. As a matter of fact, the Jammun subjects scored an average of 83 percent on the Hindko test from Balakot, a town in Mansehra District, but with the high standard deviation of 16. This gives evidence that indeed some of the subjects understood the Balakot text considerably better than others. (See §4.2.)

A majority of the Jammun respondents (68 percent) have visited Peshawar more than once and nearly half of these have been there more than twenty times. These visits have presumably promoted facility in Pashto, although for some they may also have provided familiarity with Peshawari Hindko. Travel to Peshawar may have been occasioned by business relating to the provincial capital or it may have been purely for visiting.

A slight majority of the Jammun respondents also report having visited Lahore and Karachi. These visits were on the whole less frequent than those to Rawalpindi, Peshawar and nearer communities. Visits to Lahore were also short, but nearly half of those who have traveled to Karachi remained there for more than six months. Thus, travel to Karachi, although not common, probably has had a significant effect on second-language learning for those who traveled because of its duration.<sup>16</sup> (Since the collection of data on travel outside Jammun was not carried out at the same time as the bilingualism testing and since the sources of the two kinds of information are not necessarily the same individuals, it is not possible at this point to demonstrate whether there is a relationship between frequent travel and higher levels of second language proficiency.)

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<sup>16</sup> It appears that Karachi is a city where many go for employment; hence, the long stays reported by respondents from Jammun and the other communities of this study.



## 2.2 Language Use in Singo Di Garhi

Near the town of Abbottabad a study was carried out in the village of Singo Di Garhi. Representatives of all twenty households of this village participated in the study.

This community is clearly less advantaged materially than the others studied. There is no electricity in the village. Slightly more than one-fourth of the respondents report having a radio; naturally, none reports having a television set. This situation contrasts with that in Sherpur, for example, where electricity is available and there are thirty television sets and 112 radios.

Hindko is the language of all the homes in Singo Di Garhi. The only other language in common use in the community is Urdu. The languages used by Singo Di Garhi residents with people recognized as speakers of other languages are presented in figure (2.2) in terms of percentages of respondents.

(2.2) Languages Used by Singo Di Garhi Residents with Speakers of Other Languages, In Percentages of Respondents (n = 15)

<i>Language Used by Respondent</i>	<i>with Hindko speakers</i>	<i>with Pashto speakers</i>	<i>with Urdu speakers</i>	<i>with Panjabi speakers</i>	<i>with Gujari speakers</i>
Hindko	100	53	40	86	100
Urdu		27	47		
Pashto		7			
Panjabi				7	
Hindko/Urdu		13	13		
Hindko/Panjabi			7		

The use of Hindko by Singo Di Garhi residents is clearly very vigorous, apparently more so than in any of the other communities studied, in that they use Hindko more with non-Hindko speaking people than do respondents from the other communities. Hindko is the only language used in communicating with family members or in occasional encounters with Gujari-speaking people. Hindko is also the principal

language used with speakers of Panjabi. The fact that Hindko speakers from Singo Di Garhi generally speak Hindko with speakers of either Gujarati or Panjabi is, of course, feasible only because the three languages are relatively similar – by contrast, for example, with Pashto. A majority of respondents also report using Hindko with Pashto speakers, although slightly more than one-fourth use Urdu. Only one person reports using Pashto with Pashto speakers. It is only in communicating with Urdu speakers that Singo Di Garhi residents use another language more than Hindko. Even so, more than half the respondents use at least some Hindko when speaking with speakers of Urdu.

From these responses it is clear that the Hindko speakers of Singo Di Garhi, even though ethnically Swati Pathans and, hence, descended from Pashto-speakers, have little opportunity or necessity to speak Pashto. There are few Pashto speakers living in their vicinity. In this respect their situation is more like that of Balakot, another area where Pashto is only rarely used, than that of Jammun and Sherpur, where Pashto is prevalent.

The apparently lower use of Urdu by Singo Di Garhi residents as compared with Jammun residents cannot be related to amount of education, which is the factor that most commonly promotes Urdu proficiency. Neither community has a high school; each has a primary school. Furthermore, the level of education attained by men in the two communities seems to be about the same. In Jammun 58.7 percent of the men were reported to have had some education (see figure 1.4) and in Singo Di Garhi the percentage is 61.4 percent (see figure 1.5). However, Singo Di Garhi residents report traveling outside their village a bit less and for shorter periods than Jammun residents (see also §2.1). It may be that less travel gives them less contact with Urdu and less opportunity to use the Urdu that they have learned.

In Jammun 21.6 percent of the women have had some education as compared with 2.3 percent in Singo Di Garhi. The difference in women's education, however, is unlikely to account for different language use patterns reported by male respondents. It does correlate well, however, with the fact that women from

Singo Di Garhi travel very little. Among the thirteen women interviewed in connection with bilingualism studies, who may be more educated and well traveled than the women of the community as a whole, two have accompanied their husbands to live in the Karachi area for a year or more and one has lived in Rawalpindi for three months. Travel for the rest of the women interviewed is limited to nearby Abbottabad.

Since Singo Di Garhi is situated close to the town of Abbottabad, its location is more favorable for travel to the cities of the Panjab or to Peshawar than that of either Sherpur or Balakot. It appears that the Hindko speakers of Singo Di Garhi take advantage of their location and do travel, although their travel patterns present some contrasts with those reported for Jammun. More than half the respondents report having traveled to the following localities outside the Abbottabad area:

Mansehra, Rawalpindi (93% each)

Lahore, Karachi (60% each)

The high level of travel to Mansehra is interesting because that town has fewer commercial opportunities than does Abbottabad, which is much closer — just a few kilometers away. It should be noted that the residents of Singo Di Garhi are Swati Pathans and that the majority of Swati Pathans reside in the district of Mansehra. It is possible, therefore, that they visit with people in the Mansehra area with whom they are linked by kinship ties.

Travel to Rawalpindi is similarly high, although the frequency of trips is less than that for residents of Jammun. Only fourteen percent of those who have visited Rawalpindi have done so more than twenty times, whereas in Jammun the figure is forty-seven percent. Again, not even a third of those who have visited Rawalpindi have stayed there for as long as one week on their longest stay. Therefore, we can assume that these short, infrequent visits to Rawalpindi have not had a significant impact on levels of fluency in, or use of, Urdu.

Patterns of travel to Lahore and Karachi are similar in Singo Di Garhi to those of Jammun: about three-fifths of the respondents have traveled to these cities. They have stayed for short periods (1-6 days) in Lahore, but some have remained for six months or more in Karachi.

It is of interest that few respondents in Singo Di Garhi (only one third) report travel to Peshawar. A larger percentage of respondents from Sherpur have visited Peshawar. The lack of travel to Peshawar on the part of Singo Di Garhi residents may correlate with their low use of Pashto, which in turn seems to be related to infrequent contact with Pashto speakers in their home area.

### **2.3 Language Use in Sherpur**

Representatives of forty Hindko-speaking households participated in a study of language-use patterns in Sherpur, a community located ten kilometers northwest of the town of Mansehra.

Respondents from Sherpur report using Pashto, Urdu, Panjabi and Gujarati in addition to Hindko. The languages used with those whom they recognize as speakers of other languages are presented in figure (2.3).

**(2.3) Languages Used by Sherpur Respondents With Speakers of Other Languages, In Percentages of Respondents (n = 30)**

<i>Language Used by Respondent</i>	<i>with Hindko speakers</i>	<i>with Pashto speakers</i>	<i>with Urdu speakers</i>	<i>with Panjabi speakers</i>	<i>with Gujari speakers</i>
Hindko	97		10	57	93
Pashto		87			
Urdu		3	87		
Panjabi				20	
Gujari					7
Hindko/Pashto	3				
Hindko/Urdu			3	10	
Hindko/Panjabi				13	
Pashto/Urdu		10			

In its language-use patterns Sherpur is the most multilingual of the communities studied as viewed from several standpoints: First, it is the only community in which less than 100 percent of the respondents report using only Hindko in the home domain. Presumably, this results from intermarriage.

Of greater significance is the fact that eighty-seven percent of the Hindko-speaking respondents report using Pashto with Pashto speakers. This indicates a more widespread use of Pashto than for any of the other communities studied. It is doubtless a result of frequent contact with Pashto speakers in the village itself, including intermarriage, and of travel to Pashto-speaking areas. A large number, perhaps half, of the residents of Sherpur, largely in the lower part of the village, speak Pashto as their first language; among these, cousin marriage is widely practiced. The Pashtoons in the upper part of the town, by contrast, use Hindko as the language of the home and do not regularly practice cousin marriage. In spite of these differences in marriage patterns and home languages, the Hindko speakers report considerable intermarriage with Pashto speakers.

A high eighty-seven percent of the respondents report using Urdu with those recognized as speakers of Urdu. Again, this

figure is higher than for any of the other communities studied and is doubtless reflective of access to education and of frequent travel. The proportion of men receiving some education is ten percent higher for Sherpur than for the other three communities. Also, they have, on the whole, completed more years of education, as indicated by the fact that the median point of education among Sherpur men falls in the 6-10 years category whereas it falls in the 1-5 years category in the other three communities. It should be noted that there are two primary schools and one high school in Sherpur, whereas there is one primary school but no high school in Singo Di Garhi and in Jammun. Balakot, on the other hand, has education through college level.

Sherpur residents — both those in the Hindko-speaking households of this study and those in the Pashto-speaking households — also have opportunities to improve at least their passive ability in Urdu through access to radio and television. Fifteen percent of all the households of Sherpur report having a television set and fifty-six percent report having a radio. By contrast, only twenty-seven percent of the respondents in Singo Di Garhi report having radios and none has a television set, the latter situation due to the fact that Singo Di Garhi does not have access to electricity, whatever other factors may be involved.

Travel may well be an additional contributor to the use of Urdu by residents of Sherpur. Large percentages of the respondents report having traveled to the following localities:

Abbottabad	(93%)
Rawalpindi	(90%)
Peshawar, Lahore	(77% each)
Karachi	(64%)

Most of those who have traveled to Abbottabad report that they have visited there more than twenty times but have never stayed as long as one week. This is due largely to the fact that residents of Sherpur must pass through Abbottabad on their way to the Grand Trunk Road en route to the other cities which they

visit. Another contributing factor is the larger bazaar area of Abbottabad as compared with the nearer town of Mansehra.

Repeated travel by Sherpur residents to Rawalpindi, Lahore and Karachi doubtless enhances their use of Urdu. However, only small percentages of the respondents have gone to these cities as many as twenty times and in general their stays have been brief. Once again, we find the pattern that those who have traveled as far as Karachi have remained longer. Forty percent of those who have traveled to Karachi have remained for more than three months whereas that is true of only eight percent of those who have traveled to Lahore and of none who have traveled to Rawalpindi.

The common use of Pashto in their home area probably is at least a partial explanation for why Hindko-speaking residents of Sherpur travel frequently to Peshawar. One-third of those who report having visited there have gone more than twenty times. Twenty-one percent of those who have gone report that they have stayed for more than six months on their longest visit. Again, this contrasts with the infrequency of visits which residents of Singo Di Garhi make to Peshawar. Even though both groups identify themselves as Swati Pathans, the more widespread use of Pashto in Sherpur seems to correlate with the more frequent and longer visits which Sherpur residents make to Peshawar.

The sample of Sherpur women interviewed in connection with bilingualism testing suggests that they, like men from Sherpur, have lived and traveled extensively outside their area. Eight of the twenty-six women interviewed (31 percent) have lived for long periods in cities outside the area. These eight have lived an average of 4 years in Lahore, 5.4 years in Rawalpindi and 12 years in Karachi. Eighteen of the twenty-six women (69 percent) report having traveled, sometimes for months, to Rawalpindi, Lahore, Peshawar and Karachi.

## **2.4 Language Use in Balakot**

Balakot is located in the hills of eastern Mansehra District at the base of the Kaghan Valley. In that community forty-eight

residents were interviewed concerning the languages which they use in various contexts and the factors which affect their language choices. The percentage of respondents from Balakot giving the various responses is presented in figure (2.4).

**(2.4) Languages Used by Balakot Respondents with Speakers of Other Languages, in Percentages of Respondents (n = 48)**

<i>Language Used by Respondent</i>	<i>with Hindko speakers</i>	<i>with Pashto speakers</i>	<i>with Urdu speakers</i>	<i>with Panjabi speakers</i>	<i>with Gujari speakers</i>
Hindko	100	42	29	67	81
Urdu		58	71	21	
Panjabi				12	
Gujari					19

Once more, the respondents report complete loyalty to Hindko in the family domain and with fellow speakers of Hindko.

The Hindko-speaking people of Balakot are in frequent contact with Gujari-speaking people since many Gujars are found in that vicinity. Some Gujars come to the markets of Balakot daily. Others are storekeepers. Still others come to sell wood in Balakot or to work in the homes of Hindko speakers. Nineteen percent of the respondents report having learned Gujari to the point where they use it in their communication with Gujari speakers. This contrasts with Jammun and Sherpur, where Pashto speakers are the principal other language group with whom Hindko speakers are in frequent contact. Although a large portion of the residents of Balakot identify themselves as Swati Pathans, not one of the respondents reported ever speaking Pashto. Thus, it appears that they have very little contact with Pashto speakers.

Hindko is the principal language used for communicating with those who speak Gujari and Panjabi, while Urdu is more commonly used when communicating with speakers of Pashto and Urdu. In some respects, the language-use patterns of Balakot are similar to those of Singo Di Garhi in that Urdu is the



principal second language and Pashto virtually absent. However, the Balakot respondents seem to have greater access to Urdu and less dependence on Hindko than Singo Di Garhi residents. A higher percentage of the Balakot respondents report using Urdu with speakers of Pashto and Urdu, and a correspondingly lower percentage use Hindko with them. Some also report using Urdu in communicating with speakers of Panjabi, which no one reports in Singo Di Garhi.

It is interesting to note that the Hindko speakers of Balakot seem to use Urdu more frequently than do those of Singo Di Garhi. Usually, more frequent use of a second language is linked to greater proficiency in it. However, differences between Balakot and Singo Di Garhi in frequency of use — and perhaps proficiency — do not seem to be explained in terms of differing levels of education. The percentages of men who have had some education in Singo di Garhi (61.4 percent) and Balakot (60.7 percent) are almost the same. The median number of years of education for both groups is between one and five years, and about 80 percent of the younger (under 30) men of both localities have had some education.

More than half the Balakot respondents report having traveled to the following localities:

Mansehra (98%)

Abbottabad (94%)

Rawalpindi (90%)

Peshawar (52%)

The frequent visits to Mansehra and Abbottabad are not surprising in view of the fact that Balakot residents normally pass through those towns en route to the Grand Trunk Road and on to the cities farther south.

Although many respondents (90 percent) report having visited Rawalpindi, their visits on the whole have been neither frequent nor prolonged. Of those who have visited Rawalpindi, about half have visited fewer than ten times and 70 percent have never stayed as long as one week.

Fewer respondents from Balakot, as compared to the other three communities studied, report having traveled to Lahore and Karachi; in fact, this was the only community in which not even half the respondents have traveled to Karachi.

Barely half the Balakot respondents (52 percent) report having visited Peshawar. Sixty percent of those who have visited there have been there fewer than five times, and no one has visited there twenty times. On eighty percent of the visits they stayed for less than one week.

## 2.5 Language Use in Wad Pagga

The village of Wad Pagga lies close to Peshawar, slightly to the north and east. It is part of a large group of Hindko-speaking villages east of Peshawar which Shackle (1980:497-498) refers to as *Tappa Khalsa*. Information about language use was collected in Wad Pagga not through interviews with many household representatives but through two interviews with a mother of adult children who has lived in that village all her life. This woman is able to read the Urdu, Panjabi, Pashto and Arabic scripts and can write letters in Urdu. Two daughters and a son, who were present at times during the interviews, also made comments. The daughters can read and write Urdu and some English; they write letters in Urdu. They report that they find it difficult, even with effort, to write Hindko because of some difficulty in symbolizing certain sounds.

When conversing with other Hindko speakers, the respondent always uses Hindko. If there is a dialect difference, adjustments are made, perhaps on the part of both speakers. If the other person is an Urdu speaker, the conversation is in Urdu. If the other person speaks Panjabi, she uses a mixture of Hindko and Urdu. If the other person speaks Pashto, she uses Pashto.

The main population of the village of Wad Pagga is Hindko-speaking Saiyids. The girls marry only Saiyid boys; the boys sometimes marry girls from other groups. It is considered preferable to marry relatives. The mother tongue of the marriage partner is not an important consideration when marriages are

arranged since it is assumed that the girl will learn the language of her husband's family. The important consideration is whether the partner is a Saiyid.

In Wad Pagga there are also Hindko-speaking people of other ethnic origins, as well as some Pashto-speaking Mohmand Pashtoons and Pashto-speaking "Kabuli", or Afghan, Pashtoon refugees. There is some intermarriage between Hindko- and Pashto-speaking people in this area.

Six villages in the area, including nearby Pakha Gholam, are said by the respondent to be entirely Hindko-speaking, but others include both Hindko and Pashto mother-tongue speakers. There are also many villages in the vicinity where the residents speak only Pashto. The respondent commented that the Hindko of Wad Pagga incorporates some Urdu vocabulary, whereas the speech of some other villages retains a higher percentage of authentic Hindko vocabulary.

Most of the Hindko-speaking men and women of Wad Pagga can speak some Pashto, and apparently many local Pashtoons have learned to speak some Hindko. The woman who was interviewed says that her ability in Pashto is limited to only basic conversation. In both cases, learning of the other language comes about through social interaction in the village. In addition, sometimes a girl who speaks a different language marries into a home, with the result that others in the home learn some of her language. Also, women at times gather on the roof tops for visiting. When a Pashto-speaking woman is present, the conversation is in Pashto; otherwise it is in Hindko.

In Wad Pagga there is a school for girls which offers education through grade five. If the teacher can speak and explain well in Urdu, she does that. If not, she gives the explanation in Hindko. Since there are no Pashtoon or Afghan girls reported in the school, there is no language problem. Girls can continue their schooling by attending higher schools in Peshawar. However, the girls of the home where the interviews were conducted continue their study at home, citing the convention that Saiyids practice strict *purdah*.

In the home the respondent watches Urdu and Hindko programs on television while the children watch these and English programs as well. The girls also listen to Urdu songs, but not Pashto songs, on a tape recorder.

Although the respondent has lived in Wad Pagga all her life, she has visited various localities in the North-West Frontier Province and the Panjab. Each visit has been limited to two or three days. When visiting during her travels, she speaks Hindko, Pashto and Urdu with those who speak those languages. With speakers of Panjabi she uses a mixture of Hindko and Urdu.

### **3. BILINGUAL PROFICIENCY OF HINDKO SPEAKERS**

As seen in the preceding chapter, there are some Hindko-speaking people who in the course of their regular activities speak Urdu, Pashto, Panjabi or Gujarati in addition to Hindko in dealing with other-language speakers in their areas. Urdu is spoken by some people in each of the four communities studied. Pashto is used by many in Jammun and Sherpur, by few in Singo Di Garhi and by none of the Balakot sample. Panjabi is used by a few in Singo Di Garhi and Balakot and by a larger group, though a minority, in Sherpur. Gujarati is used by a few in Balakot and by very few in Sherpur. In general, of course, the language repertoires and choices relate to contact and opportunities found in the communities studied.

That many Hindko-speaking people of a community use a second language when conversing with speakers of that language suggests a high level of societal bilingualism, but it does not directly provide information about the proficiency with which the Hindko speakers use the second language. Therefore, the proficiency of Hindko speakers in speaking Urdu, Pashto and Panjabi was tested in several communities.

#### **3.1 Tests of Bilingual Proficiency**

Two kinds of tests were used to evaluate bilingual proficiency: sentence repetition tests (SRTs) and recorded text tests (RTTs). The first type of test was used for testing proficiency in Urdu and Pashto. The second type was used for Urdu and Panjabi.

##### **3.1.1 Sentence Repetition Test**

Sentence repetition tests are based on the premise that a person cannot repeat sentences of any linguistic complexity in another language beyond the level of his control – or at least comprehension – of that language. An SRT consists of a set of sentences in a second language which the subject is asked to listen to and repeat. The accuracy with which he is able to repeat

the sentences is taken as an indication of his proficiency in that language.

The scores resulting from subjects' performances on an SRT are expressed in terms of descriptive evaluations of second language proficiency called Reported Proficiency Evaluation (RPE) levels. These range from RPE level 0+ (very minimal proficiency) to RPE level 4+ (approaching the proficiency of a native speaker). (See appendix A.3 for a summary of the procedures for developing and interpreting a sentence repetition test.)

### 3.1.2 Recorded Text Test

The second type of test used in this study for evaluating levels of second language proficiency is a recorded text test (RTT). The form of the RTT is essentially the same as that used for testing intelligibility among related dialects. A tape-recorded text in the test language is played for people who have learned it as a second language. They are asked to answer ten questions, presented in their mother tongue, about its content, thus showing their level of comprehension of the text. (See appendix A.2 for a summary of procedures used in constructing an RTT.)

## 3.2 Urdu Bilingualism Testing in Singo Di Garhi

The second-language proficiency in Urdu of residents of Singo Di Garhi was assessed through the administration of both the Urdu Sentence Repetition Test and the Urdu Recorded Text Test.

### 3.2.1 Urdu Sentence Repetition Test

The Urdu Sentence Repetition Test was administered to twenty-eight men and nine women in Singo Di Garhi. The scores of the men and women in the various age and education groups are displayed in figure (3.1).

### (3.1) Scores of Singo Di Garhi Subjects on Urdu Sentence Repetition Test

#### Men

Age group	No education			1-5 years			6-10 years			11+ years			Total by age group		
	n	ave	RPE	n	ave	RPE	n	ave	RPE	n	ave	RPE	n	ave	RPE
13-19	3	23	2	0			7	37	3+	0			10	33	3
20-29	1	18	1+	1	42	3+	1	45	3+	1	44	3+	4	37	3+
30-39	2	33	3	1	39	3+	4	42	3+	0			7	39	3+
40-49	2	19	2	1	38	3+	1	43	3+	0			4	30	2+
50+	2	21	2	0			1	41	3+	0			3	27	2+
Total	10	23	2	3	40	3+	14	40	3+	1	44	3+	28		

by ed. groups

<b>Women<sup>17</sup></b>		No education		
age groups	n	ave	RPE	
13-19	3	11	1	
20-29	4	6	0+	
30-39	0			
40-49	2	5	0+	
50+	0			
Total	9	7	0+	

n = number of subjects tested from that group

RPE = RPE level equivalent to average score

ave = average SRT score

3+ = RPE level 3+ and above

From figure (3.1) it can be seen that education plays a very important role in Urdu proficiency in Singo Di Garhi. All the groups of educated men, regardless of age, averaged RPE level 3+ and above. None of the groups of uneducated men, whatever their age, averaged higher than RPE level 3. Also, we see a much greater range of Urdu proficiency in the various groups of uneducated men than in the groups of educated men. This is even more clear in figure (3.2), which shows the percentage of men at each of the RPE levels within the educated and uneducated groups.

<sup>17</sup> None of the women in Singo Di Garhi had any formal education.

**(3.2) Percentage of Educated and Uneducated Singo Di Garhi Men Scoring at each RPE Level of Urdu Proficiency**

RPE Level	With education n = 18	Without education n = 10
3+	89%	10%
3	5.5	20
2+	0	20
2	5.5	10
1+	0	20
1	0	10
0+	0	10

The results of Urdu sentence repetition testing in Singo Di Garhi show that proficiency is generally high among educated men (61.5 percent of the male population) but not among uneducated men (38.5 percent of the male population) nor among women, all of whom are also uneducated. All but two of the eighteen educated men scored at the highest RPE level, 3+ or above; whereas only three of the ten uneducated men scored so highly.

Travel to distant locations is also a factor in Urdu proficiency among the men of Singo Di Garhi. Men who have not attended school but have traveled to cities of the Panjab and Karachi scored higher than those uneducated men who have not traveled. Presumably this is because travel to non-Hindko areas increases the frequency with which they are compelled to communicate in Urdu. For example, one uneducated man who has been to Karachi more than ten times scored at RPE level 3, while a second uneducated man who has rarely been outside Hazara Division scored at RPE level 0+. Amounts of informal Urdu learning will, of course, vary between the extremes represented by these two men.

None of the females tested in Singo Di Garhi has been to school. Not surprisingly, their command of Urdu seems to be minimal as reflected in their performance on the Urdu SRT.



It is interesting to note that three of the women tested have traveled outside their village. One lived in Karachi for five years, one lived near Karachi for a year, and one lived in Rawalpindi for three months. The other six women have not traveled outside the area. Nevertheless, the outside travel/living of the three women does not seem to have caused them to perform better on the Urdu SRT than the untraveled women. It is probable that the time spent outside their village was spent with others with whom they could communicate in Hindko or that for some other reason they had no need to speak Urdu or any other language of wider communication.

3.2.2 Urdu Recorded Text Test

The Urdu Recorded Text Test was administered in Singo Di Garhi to eighteen men. Their scores range from 80 to 100 percent, with an average of 95 percent. The standard deviation is 6.2.

Information about age and education level is available for eleven of the subjects. Even though the number of subjects is small, their scores, distributed in the age and education groups, are presented in figure (3.3).

(3.3) Scores of Singo Di Garhi Men on Urdu Recorded Text Test

<i>Age groups</i>	<i>No education</i>		<i>1-5 years</i>		<i>6-10 years</i>		<i>11+ years</i>		<i>Total by age groups</i>	
	<i>n</i>	<i>ave.</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ave.</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ave.</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ave.</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ave.</i>
13-19	0		0		3	97	0		3	97
20-29	0		1	90	1	90	0		2	90
30-39	2	90	1	100	2	95	0		5	94
40-49	0		0		1	100			1	100
50+	0		0		0		0		0	
<i>Total</i>	2	90	2	95	7	96	0		11	
<i>by educ. groups</i>										

n = number of subjects tested from that group  
ave. = average score on RTT for that group

Although the number of subjects is few, scores on the Urdu Recorded Text Test corroborate the importance of education and its effect on Urdu proficiency as shown by the Urdu SRT. It appears that in Singo Di Garhi the men with education (RTT average scores of 95 percent and 96 percent) are probably more proficient in Urdu than those without education (RTT average 90 percent). (It should be noted that the Urdu RTT is a much easier test than the Urdu SRT, which explains why the difference between the educated and uneducated groups on the RTT is not so great as that on the SRT.)

### 3.3 Urdu Bilingualism Testing in Jammun

The Urdu Recorded Text Test was administered to thirty-seven men in Jammun. The average score of this sample was 86 percent, with a standard deviation of 13. As a group these men can understand Urdu; however, there is considerable range in their abilities: Nearly one-third of the subjects performed perfectly on the test, while others were unable to answer more than half the questions correctly.

Information about age and education levels is available for thirty-six of the thirty-seven men in Jammun. The scores of these subjects as distributed in the age and education groups are presented in figure (3.4).

#### (3.4) Scores of Jammun Men on Urdu Recorded Text Test

<i>Age groups</i>	<i>No education</i>		<i>1-5 years</i>		<i>6-10 years</i>		<i>11+ years</i>		<i>Total by age groups</i>	
	<i>n</i>	<i>ave.</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ave.</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ave.</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ave.</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ave.</i>
13-19	2	90	4	90	6	93	0		12	92
20-29	3	80	3	80	0		4	85	10	81
30-39	2	85	2	90	4	93	0		8	90
40-49	2	70	1	70	0		0		3	70
50+	2	75	0		0		1	100	3	83
<i>Total all age groups</i>	11	80	10	85	10	93	5	86	36	

*n* = number of subjects tested from that group

*ave.* = average score on RTT for that group

Once again, the role of education in Urdu proficiency can be observed. Uneducated men scored an average of 80 percent while educated men scored an average of 88 percent. The average score increased with the progression from 1-5 to 6-10 years of schooling, but, surprisingly, the smallest group, consisting of the most educated men, dipped below the average for all educated men. This may be a misleading result due to the small sample size or some other unidentified factor.

### **3.4 Bilingualism Testing in Sherpur**

The second language proficiency in Urdu of Sherpur men and women was assessed through administration of the Urdu SRT. Pashto second language proficiency was assessed through administration of the Pashto SRT.

#### **3.4.1 Urdu Sentence Repetition Test**

The Urdu Sentence Repetition Test was administered in Sherpur to fifty-five men and twenty-three women. The scores of the men and women in the various age and education groups are displayed in figure (3.5).

Again in Sherpur, the effect of education on proficiency in Urdu is evident. The uneducated men, who averaged RPE 2+, are the only education group of men not to attain RPE 3+ and above. The uneducated women, who averaged RPE 2, perform at levels below the women with 1-5 years of education, who averaged RPE 2+, and those with six or more years of education, whose average is RPE 3+ and above.

Thus, with both men and women there proved to be a difference in Urdu proficiency between those who are educated and those who are not. In addition, the differences in level of education seem to be significant, in particular for the women. Those women with higher levels of education scored on the average higher than those with less education. The groups of women in order of increasing levels of education scored on the average 29, 38 and 40 points. So, not surprisingly, it appears that

in Sherpur, at least, women continue to improve their proficiency in Urdu as they progress in level of education.

### (3.5) Scores of Sherpur Subjects on Urdu Sentence Repetition Test

#### Men

Age group	No education			1-5 years			6-10 years			11+ years			Total by age group		
	n	ave	RPE	n	ave	RPE	n	ave	RPE	n	ave	RPE	n	ave	RPE
13-19	3	23	2	0			24	41	3+	2	45	3+	29	39	3+
20-29	1	38	3+	1	41	3+	4	43	3+	11	43	3+	17	42	3+
30-39	1	39	3+	0			1	44	3+	5	40	3+	7	41	3+
40-49	1	24	2	0			0			0			1	24	2
50+	0			0			1	40	3+	0			1	40	3+
Total	6	29	2+	1	41	3+	30	41	3+	18	42	3+	55		

by educ. groups

#### Women

Age group	No education			1-5 years			6-10 years			11+ years			Total by age group		
	n	ave	RPE	n	ave	RPE	n	ave	RPE	n	ave	RPE	n	ave	RPE
13-19	1	28	2+	0			4	36	3	1	40	3+	6	35	3
20-29	3	25	2+	2	38	3+	2	41	3+	0			7	33	3
30-39	1	26	2+	0			1	35	3	0			2	31	3
40-49	1	10	1	0			1	40	3+	0			2	25	2+
50+	3	21	2	3	23	2	0			0			6	22	2
Total	9	22	2	5	29	2+	8	38	3+	1	40	3+	23		

by educ. groups

n = number of subjects tested from that group

ave = average score on SRT for that group

RPE = RPE level equivalent to average score

3+ = RPE level 3+ and above

The scores of educated Sherpur men cluster at the highest levels of Urdu proficiency while the scores of uneducated men are more evenly distributed throughout the various levels of proficiency, a phenomenon that is repeated with the women. Figure (3.6) displays the percentage of educated and uneducated men and women scoring at each RPE level.

**(3.6) Percentage of Educated and Uneducated Sherpur Adults  
Scoring at Each RPE Level of Urdu Proficiency**

<b>Men</b>			<b>Women</b>		
<i>RPE Level</i>	<i>With Education</i>	<i>Without Education</i>	<i>RPE Level</i>	<i>With Education</i>	<i>Without Education</i>
	n = 49	n = 6		n = 13	n = 10
3+	87.8%	50%	3+	61%	0%
3	10.2	0	3	8	20
2+	2.0	0	2+	15	40
2	0	33	2	8	0
1	0	17	1	0	30
0+	0	0	0+	0	0
0	0	0	0	0	10

It is interesting to note that half the six uneducated men in Sherpur made scores on the Urdu SRT equivalent to the highest RPE level. These three subjects are, in fact, brothers, who are involved in the same business. They collect firewood from forests outside Sherpur and frequently take it to the district center and elsewhere to sell. They also frequently travel to Lahore. By contrast, another uneducated man, who scored at the much lower RPE level of 1, makes mattresses in Sherpur itself. He travels away from Sherpur much less frequently and has never been to Lahore.

For educated people, education has been a powerful vehicle for learning Urdu. For uneducated men, outside travel and employment which takes them away from Sherpur apparently also have an important role to play in the development of Urdu proficiency.

It is also evident that the uneducated women of Sherpur have succeeded in learning Urdu to an extent not matched by the uneducated women of Singo Di Garhi. Sixty percent of the uneducated women of Sherpur scored at RPE level 2+ or better; while in Singo Di Garhi, none of the (all uneducated) women scored at those levels. This higher level of proficiency in Urdu among the women of Sherpur cannot be explained by appealing

to travel outside the area, as there seems to be little difference between the scores of those who have traveled and those who have not. Certain factors within each village appear to be at work:

First, the women of Sherpur have regular contact with Urdu through radio and television. A household survey shows that thirty Sherpur households have television sets and 112 have radios. At times, members of households without television sets spend time in households that have them, so the impact of the thirty television sets in the community is not limited to just those thirty households. This contrasts with the absence of television and near absence of radios in Singo Di Garhi.

There is another factor within Sherpur which seems to promote the learning of Urdu, a secondary effect of education. Mothers and other women hear the school-going children recite their lessons in Urdu day after day and, apparently as a result, learn some of the Urdu of those lessons. The widespread and longstanding availability of education in Sherpur apparently has had an impact beyond its school-going population.

### 3.4.2 Pashto Sentence Repetition Test

The extent to which the men of Sherpur are proficient in Pashto was tested by administering the Pashto Sentence Repetition Test to thirty-four men. The scores from that testing as distributed in the various age and education groups are displayed in figure (3.7).

## (3.7) Scores of Sherpur Men on Pashto Sentence Repetition Test

**Men**

<i>Age group</i>	<i>No education</i>			<i>1-5 years</i>			<i>6-10 years</i>			<i>11+ years</i>			<i>Total by age groups</i>		
	<i>n</i>	<i>ave</i>	<i>RPE</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ave</i>	<i>RPE</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ave</i>	<i>RPE</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ave</i>	<i>RPE</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ave</i>	<i>RPE</i>
13-19	1	16	1+	0			18	30	2+	2	33	3	21	30	2+
20-29	0			1	28	2+	3	31	3	6	36	3	10	34	3
30-39	0			0			1	28	2+	2	41	3+	3	37	3+
40-49	0			0			0			0			0		
<i>Total</i>	1	16	1+	1	28	2+	22	30	2+	10	36	3	34		

*by educ. groups*

When the results of Pashto bilingualism testing in Sherpur are compared with those of Urdu bilingualism testing, several factors become evident: First, it is clear that the Hindko-speaking men of Sherpur, in spite of their regular interaction with Pashto mother-tongue speakers in the community, do not have the same level of proficiency in Pashto that they have in Urdu. There are many more men with low scores in Pashto; even the group with the highest score in Pashto, RPE 3, is lower than most of the groups in Urdu which averaged at RPE 3+.

Also, the average scores in Pashto increase as the age group of the subjects increases. This is to be expected when a language is learned informally, as is the case with Pashto in Sherpur. It is interesting to note that the average scores also increase as the average educational level of the subjects increases. This might not hold true if the testing were to be extended to include larger numbers of subjects at the lower educational levels. However, if it were to prove true that those subjects with higher educational levels consistently have higher Pashto SRT scores, it may be that their increased Pashto proficiency actually results from other contact opportunities, such as interactions with Pashto-speaking classmates, or occupation-related travel, which are only an indirect consequence of education.

The percentage of Sherpur men in each age group who scored at each RPE level of Pashto proficiency is displayed in figure (3.8).

**(3.8) Percentage of Sherpur Men in Various Age Groups  
Scoring at each RPE Level of Pashto Proficiency  
According to Age Groups**

RPE level	13-19 n=19	20-29 n=10	30-39 n=3
3+ & above	14.3%	30%	66.7%
3	19.0	10	0
2+	33.3	50	33.3
2	23.8	0	0
1+	4.7	10	0
1	4.7	0	0
0+	0	0	0
0	0	0	0

It can be observed in figure (3.8) that there are more younger men at the lower RPE levels of 2 or below and none of the three oldest age group subjects at that level. Furthermore, the median score in the 13-19 and 20-29 year age groups is RPE 2+, whereas the median score in the 30-39 year age group is RPE 3+-and-above. Thus, from various perspectives it seems that proficiency in Pashto among Sherpur men increases with age, i.e., with exposure to Pashto.

### 3.5 Panjabi Bilingualism Testing

Second-language proficiency in (Lahore) Panjabi was investigated in a modest way by administering a Panjabi Recorded Text Test to three small groups of subjects: eleven Peshawar men<sup>18</sup> and three Sherpur women. The scores of these three groups are displayed in figure (3.9).

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<sup>18</sup> As is easily observed, the principal focus of this bilingualism study has been Hazara Division, where the majority of Hindko speakers live. Other areas



### (3.9) Scores of Subjects from Peshawar and Sherpur on Panjabi Recorded Text Test

	n	ave.	s.d.
Peshawar men	11	91%	9.2
Sherpur women	3	93	4.7

ave. = average RTT score

s.d. = standard deviation

The comparatively high scores of the Sherpur women and the Peshawar men indicate some comprehension of Panjabi. Two young women from Sherpur each scored ninety percent on the Panjabi RTT. One of these has passed matriculation and has traveled to the Panjab. The other attended school for six years and is now studying privately in order to pass matriculation; she

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have been touched on, but less studied. This was the only bilingualism testing done in the Peshawar vicinity. To complete the picture of multilingualism in that cosmopolitan area, Pashto and Urdu bilingualism at least should also be tested.

Some statements of Shackle can amplify the Peshawar picture and help to demonstrate its importance in the total Hindko picture, as well as explain the relatively high performance of Peshawar subjects on the Panjabi test.

“Pe. [Peshawari] is only to be understood as a member of this category [urban languages]... [It] certainly demonstrates the magnetism of urban languages, the process by which common features are passed along major lines of communication and cause the language of one city to resemble that of another while each is surrounded by markedly different rural dialects. The frequently noted instances of agreement by Pe. and P. [Panjabi] are only to be explained by the linkage of Peshawar along the line of the Grand Trunk Road with Lahore and the towns of northern Panjab. The supposition is supported by the instances that have been cited of the current intrusion of further P. features into the speech of younger Pe.-speakers... Since Pe. is the last outpost of NIA to the north-west, the pattern of influence is simpler than for most cities, from which lines of communication radiate in all directions. Pe. is also of course peculiar in being isolated in the non-IA linguistic territory of Pashto” (1980:509).

“The language of the city... has better [than Kohati] withstood the effects of the creation of Pakistan in 1947, which led to the departure of non-Muslim speakers of Pe. and their replacement by Pashto speakers... Although Pashto has certainly gained ground at the expense of Pe. in recent years, it has been well said of the latter that ‘it is only through this speech that you enter into the real life of the city’... There can be few monolingual speakers... Command of Pashto is increasingly general, while all educated speakers are increasingly fluent in U. [Urdu]. The Pe. of younger speakers, especially those with higher education, tends to contain a marked proportion of partially assimilated elements, especially from U. and P. [Panjabi]” (1980:497).

once lived in the Lahore area for six months. Surprisingly, though, it was a woman above fifty who had four years of education many years ago and who has never traveled even as far as Mansehra who scored 100 percent on the Panjabi RTT. This fragmentary evidence, including the rather low (less than 10) standard deviations in the scores, seems to suggest that Hindko has a fair amount of inherent intelligibility with Panjabi, based on close genetic relationship, quite apart from any comprehension derived from contact.

## 4. DIALECTS OF HINDKO

The Hindko language is spoken over a rather large geographic area, especially in its north-south dimension. Some enclaves of Hindko speakers are not geographically contiguous to others. Therefore, it is not surprising to find that there is significant dialect differentiation among the varieties of speech called Hindko.

Two approaches were taken to the study of Hindko dialects. The similarity of the lexicon was examined as the first index of overall linguistic similarity and, presumably, genetic proximity.<sup>19</sup> Secondly, the extent to which speakers of each geographical dialect understand the speech of other such dialects was measured by means of testing the comprehension of tape recorded speech samples consisting of personal-experience narratives.

### 4.1 Lexical Similarity

Hindko equivalents to the items on a 210-item standard word list were elicited in eleven Hindko-speaking communities. In each case a Hindko speaker who had lived since birth in the locality where the list was collected was asked to provide the most natural Hindko equivalent to each item of the list. The list was normally presented in Urdu, occasionally in Panjabi. Later, the same list was elicited from a second speaker in order to find any items which might differ. Divergent responses were investigated with the second – or a third – speaker. This checking procedure is intended to bring to light any misunderstandings of the Urdu cue words and to identify any items for which there is more than one Hindko equivalent or for which Urdu loan words were given instead of Hindko terms in common use.

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<sup>19</sup> This dialect study, involving the comparison of many basic lexical items, is more broadly based than those of Grierson and others, in which a small set of function and content morphemes and certain phonological differences are used as an index of linguistic similarity.

Word lists were collected in this way from the following localities (with the abbreviation for each locality shown to the right):

Balakot (Mansehra Dist.)	BA
Sherpur (Mansehra Dist.)	SH
Mansehra City	MA
Singo Di Garhi (Abbottabad Dist.)	SI
Jammun (near Ghazi) (Abbottabad Dist.)	JA
Attock City	AT
Talagang (Attock Dist.)	TA
Kohat City	KO
Wad Pagga (Peshawar Dist.)	WA
Pakha Gholam (Peshawar Dist.)	PA
Peshawar City	PE

Each word list was compared with all the others pair by pair in order to determine the extent to which the corresponding Hindko lexical items are similar. In this procedure no attempt is made to identify true cognates based on consistent sound correspondences. Rather, the items are compared only for obvious phonetic similarity. (See appendix A.1 for a summary of this procedure.)

After all pairs of items on two word lists have been determined to be phonetically similar or not according to the criteria, the percentage of similar items is calculated. This procedure is repeated for each pair of dialects.

The percentage of phonetically similar lexical items for each pair of Hindko dialects compared is displayed in figure (4.1).

BA	Balakot									
SH	89	Sherpur								
MA	87	92	Mansehra							
SI	87	89	90	Singo Di Garhi						
JA	82	85	84	89	Jammun					
AT	71	76	77	79	82	Attock				
TA	67	70	73	77	75	85	Talagang			
KO	69	70	68	70	76	79	76	Kohat		
WA	70	75	74	74	76	81	73	76	Wad Pagga	
PA	73	76	76	77	78	81	75	76	93	Pakha Gholam
PE	70	73	74	71	73	70	66	71	79	81 Peshawar

<sup>20</sup> “The language of Pe. [Peshawari]-speaking villages near the city, where many of the villagers commute to work, shows minor differences only from the less sophisticated varieties of urban speech. There is, however, at least one important rural dialect of Pe. which does show significant differences from the city standard ... spoken in a large group of Pe.-speaking villages known as Tappa Khalsa ... along the Grand Trunk Road east of Peshawar” [e.g., Wad Paggā] (Shackle 1980:497).

“Such rural base as it [Peshawari] can be said to possess is itself apparently the product of relatively recent immigration, (fn: The settlement of the important Tappa Khalsa area is . . . dated by its inhabitants to the time of the emperor Aurangzeb.) and it is not to be compared straightforwardly with the usual NIA pattern of an urban speech surrounded by quite closely related village dialects” (Shackle 1980:509).

city dialects has revealed that in 63 percent of cases the city dialect uses an Urdu or Panjabi word not used in the rural dialect.<sup>21</sup>

There is also considerable lexical homogeneity among the Hindko dialects of Hazara Division (Mansehra and Abbottabad Districts). Some of the highest lexical similarity percentages in the entire Hindko-speaking area are found there. All five of the Hazara dialects compared — Balakot, Sherpur, Mansehra, Singo Di Garhi and Jammun — show at least 82 percent similarity in the word lists.

The two dialects in Attock District — Attock City and Talagang — are also rather similar (85 percent).

Both Kohat City<sup>22</sup> and Peshawar City appear to stand alone as distinctive dialects. Kohat is less than 80 percent similar to any other dialect, and Peshawar City reaches the 80 percent similarity mark only with nearby Pakha Gholam (81 percent).

On the basis of lexical similarity counts we can recognize five dialect areas for Hindko: Hazara, Attock, Kohat, rural Peshawar and Peshawar city. The range of lexical similarity scores among these five Hindko dialect areas may be seen in figure (4.2). For each comparison there is a range of scores when

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<sup>21</sup> Grierson (LSI VIII.1:554) comments on the many sources of influence on Peshawar city Hindko as follows: "The great city of Peshawar contains a further mixture of peoples. Here not only are Pashto and Hindko spoken, but also Hindostani, Panjabi and other languages ... all these have contributed to corrupt Hindko, and we therefore find not only a very free use of Persian and Arabic words, but even of Hindostani idioms. This is especially the case ... in Peshawar City itself. Here the mixture of languages is so great that some ... describe Peshawari [Hindko] as a mongrel product of city life."

More recently Shackle has commented on Peshawar-city Hindko in the following terms: "Pe. [Peshawari] displays the typical features of a city-speech. The most prominent characteristic of its internal composition is the width of its dialectal base." He refers to Grierson's statement, reproduced above, adding that "The city dwellers themselves naturally regard their Pe. as the most evolved and sophisticated form of 'Hindko'. City Pe. is nevertheless a fairly uniform standard, variations within which are the product of differences in status, principally of age and education."

<sup>22</sup> Grierson (LSI VIII.1:458) states that "Hindko of Kohat", which he describes as "a mixture of various Lahnda dialects", in its vocabulary "freely borrows from Pashto ..."

dialect areas consisting of more than one (sub-)dialect are compared.

#### (4.2) Ranges of Lexical Similarity Percentages Among the Principal Hindko Dialect Areas

Hazara	Hazara				
Attock	67-82	Attock			
Kohat	68-76	76-79	Kohat		
Peshawar rural	70-78	73-81	76	Peshawar rural	
Peshawar city	70-74	66-70	71	79-81	Peshawar city

From these percentage ranges it can be seen that each of the five areas is rather distinct from the others. With just two exceptions, each dialect area is linked with every other by no more than 80 percent lexical similarity. The lexical similarity between Hazara and Attock areas is at its lowest 67 percent; that between Peshawar city and Attock an even lower 66 percent. Attock, Kohat and rural Peshawar seem to constitute a central area united by a minimum of 73 percent lexical similarity, while Hazara and Peshawar city are the ends of the dialect string, connected to dialects of the central group by percentages of similarity as low as the sixties.

The fact that the speech of Dera Ismail Khan is called Hindko by some of its speakers and Siraiki by others has been mentioned earlier (see §1.1.3).<sup>23</sup> The relative lexical distance between the speech of Dera Ismail Khan and the dialects treated in this study may be seen from figure (4.3), in which its lexical similarity scores are presented. Note that the highest similarity count for D.I. Khan is 70 percent and that this is at the low end of the range for the other lexical similarity comparisons. Thus, the decision not to include D.I. Khan in the study is confirmed.

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<sup>23</sup> A similar situation seems to prevail in the Mianwali area, but this matter has been less checked for Mianwali than it has for the area of Dera Ismail Khan.

### (4.3) Lexical Similarity Percentages Between the Speech of D.I. Khan and the Dialects of This Study

	BA	SH	MA	SI	JA	AT	TA	KO	WA	PA	PE
D.I. Khan	64	65	64	67	67	70	65	68	67	66	65

## 4.2 Comprehension of Oral Speech

The factors which cause speakers of one dialect to understand a related dialect are both linguistic and social. Obviously, similarity in lexicon, grammatical patterns and phonological structure facilitates understanding. There are, however, additional factors which may favor understanding, such as previous contact with that dialect or other related dialects, a need to understand the other dialect, or positive attitudes toward speakers of the other dialect. This complex interplay of linguistic and social factors, often difficult to distinguish, results in differing levels of intelligibility among related dialects. (See chapter 5 for discussion of some attitude factors.)

### 4.2.1 Recorded Text Test

Intelligibility among dialects of Hindko was studied by using tape-recorded texts, which was also one of the methods used for testing bilingual proficiency. A text which is a personal-experience narrative is tape-recorded in one village or area and played for speakers of another dialect in another village or area in order to infer patterns of intelligibility. (See appendix A.2 for a summary of procedures used in constructing a recorded text test, or RTT).

### 4.2.2 Dialect Intelligibility

Recorded text tests were developed in Balakot, Jammun, Talagang, Kohat and Wad Pagga. Each test was first validated by administering it in the locality in which it had been prepared. It was then administered in all the other localities mentioned. Additional recorded text tests were developed in Sherpur and



Singo Di Garhi. These tests were administered elsewhere in Hazara Division and in two or three other localities, but not so extensively as the first five. All the tests were administered in Peshawar city. The test from Peshawar city was also administered in a few locations.

The results of recorded-text intelligibility testing among Hindko dialects are shown in figure (4.4). The standard deviations are given below the average scores. The number of subjects in each case was at least ten unless otherwise indicated.

From these scores we can observe the community of comprehension within the northern dialects (in Hazara Division), as evidenced by the scores for Balakot, Sherpur, Singo Di Garhi and Jammun. Nearly all scores are in the ninety-two percent range or better; most are ninety-five percent or better. The lone exception is the poorer understanding (83 percent) that the people of Jammun had of the Balakot text. The higher standard deviation here (16) also suggests that some of the Jammun people tested understand the Balakot dialect better than others because of having learned it through contact.

The southern dialects of Talagang, Kohat, Wad Pagga and Peshawar city also exhibit a community of comprehension, with nearly all scores at ninety percent or higher. The only exception is the lower comprehension that Wad Pagga people demonstrated of the Kohat dialect (85 percent).

Comprehension between the northern and southern areas is markedly less. Speakers of northern dialects understood Talagang (93 percent and 91 percent) and Wad Pagga (95 percent and 88 percent) reasonably well but Kohat (83 percent) less well. Speakers of southern dialects understood the northern dialects even less well, with more than half of the scores less than eighty percent.

## (4.4) Recorded Text Testing Scores Among Hindko Dialects

<i>Location of Testing</i>	<i>Place Tape Was Made</i>						
	Balakot	Sherpur	Singo di Garhi	Jammun	Talagang	Kohat	Wad Pagga
Balakot	92% 8.3	95% 8.5	93% 6.7	94% 5.9	93% 7.2	83% 6.2	88% 10
Sherpur	98% 4.2	98% 4.7	96% 7	97% 7.5			
Singo di Garhi	97% 4.8	95% 5.3	94% 12	96% 7.8			
Jammun	83% 16	94% 8.4	97% 4.8	96% 7.2	91% 9	83% 12.7	95% 5.9
Talagang	78% 11.4			94% 4.9	98% 3.7	96% 6.5	96% 6.6
Kohat	71% 14.3	60%*		71% 13.7	92% 7.5	98% 4.9	91% 8.3
Wad Pagga	74% 11.1		89% 9.7	87% 10.9	90% 6.3	85% 5	96% 6.8
Peshawar city	78%** 10.3	55%** 14.2	82% 7.5	81% 8.3	96%*** 4.9	86%*** 4.9	100%***

\* only one subject tested

\*\* only nine subjects tested

\*\*\* only five subjects tested

Standard deviation on second line

As stated above, in five communities (Balakot, Jammun, Talagang, Kohat and Wad Pagga), representing the geographic extremes of the area, intelligibility testing was carried out in each community for each of the other four dialects. The scores from these representative dialects are re-displayed in figure (4.5) in order to facilitate comparison.

(4.5) Intelligibility Scores Among Five Geographically Spread Hindko Dialects

<i>Location of Testing</i>	<i>Place Tape Was Made</i>				
	Balakot	Jammun	Talagang	Kohat	Wad Pagga
Balakot	(92)	94	93	83	88
Jammun	83	(96)	91	83	95
Talagang	78	94	(98)	96	96
Kohat	71	71	92	(98)	91
Wad Pagga	74	87	90	85	(96)

(Scores in percent correct)

Ignoring the score made on each test when it was administered in the locality where it was developed (i.e., the hometown test, shown in parentheses in the chart), it is possible to explore the extent to which each dialect is understood in the other localities. For each test the scores on that text of the other four test points have been averaged to find the average degree to which the text was understood in the other areas. Those averages are displayed in figure (4.6).

(4.6) Average of Intelligibility Scores in Other Test Points for Five Hindko Dialects

	Balakot	Jammun	Talagang	Kohat	Wad Pagga
ave. score	76.4%	86.5%	91.4%	86.6%	92.4%

From the scores displayed in figure (4.6) it may be seen that Talagang and Wad Pagga were understood best, on the average, by speakers of the other dialects in this five-dialect network. The Balakot subjects understood Talagang (93 percent) better than they did Wad Pagga (88 percent), while Jammun subjects understood Wad Pagga (95 percent) better than they did Talagang (91 percent).

It is interesting to note that Wad Pagga and Jammun dialects are the only ones of these five whose lexical similarity count with any of the other four representative dialects does not fall

below seventy percent (figure 4.1). However, even though Jammun shows high lexical similarity with all the other four representative dialects, it is not well understood in Kohat, as shown by intelligibility testing scores (71 percent). Perhaps lexical similarity is a significant factor in explaining why, on the average, Wad Pagga is understood best, by a slight margin, in the other four dialect areas.

The dialects of Jammun and Kohat were also understood over a wide area, but noticeably less well than those of Talagang and Wad Pagga. The dialect of Balakot was, on the average, considerably less well understood by speakers of other dialects than any other.

### **4.3 Comparison of Lexical Similarity and Dialect Intelligibility Results**

Lexical similarity counts suggest five Hindko dialect areas: Hazara, Attock, Kohat city, Peshawar rural and Peshawar city. Dialect intelligibility testing also clearly indicates the separation of the northern (Hazara) group of dialects from the group of dialects farther south and west. Somewhat lower scores on the northern dialect tests by Peshawar city subjects may suggest the existence of a separate Peshawar city area. However, since the Peshawar city test was not administered in many test points, the evidence from dialect intelligibility testing for a separate Peshawar city area is not clear.

Lexical counts show Jammun to be lexically the most central of the five dialects. That is, it has the highest average percentage of lexical similarity with the other four dialects. Intelligibility testing, however, shows the dialects a bit farther south and west, i.e., Talagang and Wad Pagga, to be more central in terms of intelligibility.<sup>24</sup> From both standpoints the northern Hazara dialect of Balakot is the most peripheral.

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<sup>24</sup> At one point in the field work sixteen respondents from four communities in Hazara Division were asked to listen to a recorded text from Wad Pagga (not the recorded text used for the RTT) and one from Talagang. The respondents were asked whether they understood the texts. All respondents stated that they understood the text from Wad Pagga. With the exception of four respondents from Sherpur, who said that they did not understand

## **5. ATTITUDES OF HINDKO SPEAKERS TOWARD OTHER LANGUAGES AND DIALECTS**

As has been discussed in previous chapters, a complex interplay of linguistic and social factors, often difficult to distinguish, results in differing levels of intelligibility among related dialects and in different levels of second language proficiency in speakers of those dialects. This chapter will discuss attitudes expressed by Hindko-speakers that may affect their proficiency in and use of other languages and dialects.

Interviews were conducted in Jammun, Singo Di Garhi, Sherpur and Balakot in order to attempt to learn what attitudes the respondents have toward their own language and other languages used in their communities or areas. Some of the interview questions were designed to discover which language is preferred in various contexts. Others were designed to elicit attitudes toward specific languages or dialects.

### **5.1 Language Preference**

During the course of the study it became evident that listening to the radio is a common practice in Hindko-speaking communities and that radio is a common source of exposure to languages other than Hindko. In Sherpur 56 percent of the households have radios, but in Singo Di Garhi only 27 percent have them. (In Balakot 71 percent of the small group of 48 men interviewed report having radios, and 27 percent of that group report having a television. In Jammun this topic was not investigated.)

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everything in the Talagang text, they also said that they understood the text from Wad Pagga.

Respondents in Singo Di Garhi, Sherpur and Balakot were asked to name the language(s) of radio broadcasts to which they customarily listen. Responses are summarized in figure (5.1).<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> After these language use data were collected, the following information was obtained which affects the interpretation of the data relating to Hindko radio-listening in Hazara:

According to information given by officials at Radio Pakistan in Peshawar on 2 June 1988, one and one-half hours of community service programming in Hindko is broadcast each day covering topics such as health, education, music, etc. At present these programs are mainly broadcast for the people of Peshawar because broadcasts from the radio station in Peshawar are not able to reach Hazara easily. There was no other radio station in June 1988 that was broadcasting Hindko programs. One official at Radio Pakistan said that there would be a new station in Abbottabad which would be operational in two to three months time. It was his opinion that Hindko programs would then be broadcast from there into the Hazara area. In answer to a question about which dialects of Hindko are used in broadcasting, this same official said that they have broadcasters from both Hazara and Peshawar. Any dialect differences between the two did not appear to him to be significant for broadcasting purposes.

It is not known whether those respondents who say that they listen to Hindko radio broadcasts do so only when they visit in the Peshawar area or whether some broadcasts emanating from Peshawar do indeed reach (some parts of) Hazara.

According to television program listings in the Frontier Post newspaper in 1988, Pakistan television dedicated approximately 25 to 50 minutes of broadcast time each week to Hindko programming. An official at Pakistan Television said that these programs are mainly dramas and community service broadcasts. He said further that these programs are first broadcast from Peshawar and then two or three days later are broadcast again from Islamabad. Presently, Peshawar and Islamabad are the only places that broadcast Hindko programs. When asked which dialects of Hindko are used for television, this same official said that the actors/speakers on the programs are from Hazara, Peshawar, and D.I. Khan.

**(5.1) Language(s) Preferred for Radio Listening in  
Three Hindko-Speaking Villages**

<i>Preferred Language(s) For Radio</i>	Singo Di Garhi n = 20	Sherpur n = 31	Balakot n = 48
Urdu	100%	55%	81%
Urdu/Pashto	0	24	0
Urdu/Pashto/ Panjabi	0	3	0
Urdu/Panjabi	0	0	8
Urdu/English	0	3	2
Urdu/Hindko	0	3	2
Urdu/Gujari	0	0	2
Pashto/Hindko	0	6	0
Panjabi	0	0	2
Panjabi/Hindko	0	0	2

Although various languages and combinations of languages appeal to the respondents in these villages, it is evident that Urdu is the overwhelming favorite for radio listening. In Singo Di Garhi it is the only radio language for which a preference was expressed. Hindko was mentioned only in combination with other languages and then by few respondents: nine percent in Sherpur, four percent in Balakot and no one in Singo Di Garhi. It must be noted, of course, that the majority of radio programming is in Urdu. Hindko speakers may prefer listening to Urdu programs for their quality or in order to learn more Urdu. It may also be difficult for Hindko speakers to develop a practice of listening to radio programs in Hindko when they are aired quite infrequently. On the other hand, these responses may indicate that for Hindko speakers radio is thought to be a public function, similar to other official settings in which Urdu is considered appropriate. If that were the case, Hindko, which is very strong in the home setting, would not be expected for use in official roles.

The fact that thirty-three percent of the Sherpur respondents report listening to Pashto on the radio, while no one in Singo Di

Garhi or Balakot mentions it, is further confirmation of the importance that people of Sherpur attach to Pashto, something not found in the other two towns.

## **5.2 Attitudes Toward Specific Languages**

Respondents were also asked to answer a set of questions which approach the matter of language attitudes indirectly. These questions deal with specifically named languages: Hindko itself, including some of its dialects, and also Urdu, Pashto, Panjabi and Gujarati.

### **5.2.1 Attitudes Toward Languages Other than Hindko**

Each respondent was asked to demonstrate language attitudes by indicating whether he would be willing for his son to marry a girl who speaks certain languages other than his own. The languages mentioned were Urdu, Pashto, Panjabi and Gujarati. The premise underlying this type of question is that a positive response to the question indicates a positive attitude toward the language mentioned.<sup>26</sup>

Although these questions were asked in all four communities, the responses from Jammun and Singo Di Garhi did not reveal anything about language attitudes. The respondents from Jammun replied that they marry, at least ideally, only within their own ethnic group. Those from Singo Di Garhi said that they marry only their cousins. Those from Sherpur and Balakot, however, were prepared to consider intermarriage with others and gave a variety of responses.

Respondents from Sherpur and Balakot were asked whether they would want their sons to marry Urdu-speaking girls. Their responses are summarized in figure (5.2).

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<sup>26</sup> The responses may also reflect attitudes toward speakers of a given language, since attitudes toward a language and its speakers are often intertwined. This may be true less often with regard to attitudes toward Urdu, since village people may not in fact know any people who speak Urdu as their first language.



**(5.2) Responses from Two Hindko Villages to the Question:**  
 “Would you want your son to marry an Urdu-speaking girl?”

<i>Community</i>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>
Sherpur n = 27	63%	33%
Balakot n = 48	58	42

The responses from the two locations are similar and indicate that respondents in both communities have favorable attitudes toward Urdu speakers. An examination of the reasons given by those who gave a positive response shows that the most commonly mentioned reason is that Urdu speakers are “civilized” people. Such responses indicate that the Urdu language holds a high degree of prestige due to its role in education and literature and its association with social and economic advancement.

Many of those who replied that they would not favor intermarriage with Urdu speakers said that they do not understand Urdu or that the bride would not understand them. This response indicates that they believe they have low proficiency in Urdu but does not necessarily reveal a negative attitude toward the language.

Respondents were also asked whether they would be willing for their sons to marry Pashto-speaking girls, Panjabi-speaking girls, or Gujarati-speaking girls. Their responses are summarized in figure (5.3).

**(5.3) Responses from Two Hindko Villages to the Question:**  
 “Would you want your son to marry a Pashto-, a Panjabi-, or a  
 Gujarati-speaking girl?”

<i>Community</i>	<i>Pashto</i>		<i>Panjabi</i>		<i>Gujari</i>	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Sherpur n = 27	78%	22%	26%	74%	11%	89%
Balakot n = 48	2	96	29	69	10	90

From these responses it is evident that respondents from Sherpur have much more favorable attitudes toward Pashto than do respondents from Balakot. The reasons Sherpur residents gave for their positive responses show that they welcome their sons' marrying Pashto-speaking girls because they themselves speak and understand Pashto. Curiously, one person commented that Pashtoons speak Hindko. Another mentioned that he already has other Pashto speakers in his family. Another said that Pashto is the language of their forefathers, i.e., they were Swati Pathans.

The Balakot respondents mentioned the fact that they do not know Pashto as a reason for not wanting their sons to marry Pashto-speaking girls. Presumably communication would be too difficult. Others expressed the belief that a Pashto-speaking girl would be “dirty”.

Responses from both localities show a markedly negative attitude toward intermarriage with Panjabi speakers. This fits with the fact that only about one-third of the respondents from Sherpur and twelve percent of those from Balakot report that they ever use Panjabi with speakers of Panjabi. The response, however, contrasts with the more favorable attitude toward Urdu speakers exhibited in both of these communities.

In explaining their responses most of the Balakot respondents said that they have no relatives who are Panjabis and that they marry only within their own group. Several of the Sherpur respondents said that Panjabi is a different language and, therefore, intermarriage is not desirable.

Responses concerning intermarriage with Gujar speakers exhibit sharply negative attitudes in both Sherpur and Balakot. Each location produced greater than eighty-five percent negative responses. It should be noted, however, that in Balakot the prospect of a Gujar-speaking daughter-in-law was more welcome than that of a Pashto-speaking daughter-in-law.

Several respondents from Sherpur indicate that they believe the Gujar people to be “crude and uncivilized”. This contrasts sharply with the attitude also expressed in Sherpur, that Urdu-speaking people are “educated and civilized”.

Respondents were also asked their opinions regarding the usefulness of being able to speak various languages. Their responses are summarized in figure (5.4).

**(5.4a) Responses from Four Hindko Communities to the Question: “Are there advantages to speaking Hindko, Urdu?”<sup>27</sup>**

<i>Community</i>	<i>Hindko</i>		<i>Urdu</i>	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
Jammun n = 40	88%	7%	88%	0%
Singo Di Garhi n = 14	100	0	100	0
Sherpur n = 30	97	3	90	3
Balakot n = 48	98	2	98	2

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<sup>27</sup> The reader will note that in some figures the responses, stated in percentages, do not total 100 percent since some respondents did not reply to certain questions.

**(5.4b) Responses from Three Hindko Communities to the Question: “Are there advantages to speaking Pashto, Panjabi, Gujar?”**

<i>Community</i>	<i>Pashto</i>		<i>Panjabi</i>		<i>Gujari</i>	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Singo Di Garhi	30%	70%	75%	25%	37.5%	62.5%
	n = 10		n = 8		n = 8	
Sherpur	76	21	55	41	16.6	80
	n = 29		n = 29		n = 30	
Balakot	20	80	70	30	30	70
	n = 46		n = 47		n = 46	

Clearly, Hindko and Urdu are widely viewed by Hindko speakers as languages that carry advantages. In every community, at least 88 percent of the respondents viewed it as advantageous to speak both. As might be expected, nearly all the reasons stating the advantages of Hindko were affective — “It feels easy,” “it is a good language,” “I like Hindko,” “it is our mother tongue.” On the other hand, the reasons given as advantages for Urdu were largely effective or instrumental — “it is understood all over Pakistan,” “useful in cities, offices and bazaars,” “it is used in schools,” “it is easy to write,” “with it we can speak with people who have different mother tongues.” Counter to this generalization, however, a few respondents when speaking of Urdu said, “it is sweet,” “I like the language,” while a few when speaking of Hindko said, “with it we can easily communicate our message,” “with it we can communicate with Panjabis.”

There was much less agreement about whether it is advantageous to speak Pashto, Panjabi, or Gujar. Respondents in Sherpur were much more in favor of speaking Pashto than were those in Singo Di Garhi and Balakot, where there are few Pashto-speaking people. The positive respondents in Sherpur see an advantage in being able to communicate with Pashto-speaking people. Two respondents also mentioned that it is the language of their ancestors, Swati Pathans, revealing a factor of ethnolinguistic loyalty.

Conversely, Panjabi and Gujarati are viewed as advantageous by many in Singo Di Garhi and Balakot but by fewer in Sherpur. For Balakot at least, this may reflect the frequent need for communication with Gujaratis. The percentage of positive replies was considerably lower for Gujarati than for Panjabi, perhaps reflecting generally less positive attitudes toward Gujaratis than toward Panjabis. One of the advantages of speaking Panjabi was said to be its usefulness when traveling in the Panjab.

### 5.2.2 Attitudes Toward the Hindko Language

Three questions were asked to elicit attitudes toward Hindko, two of them regarding the language in written form and one regarding the language in oral form.

In the first question the respondent was asked, "Would you like books and newspapers in the Hindko language?" The responses from the four communities are summarized in figure (5.5).

#### (5.5) Responses from Four Hindko Communities to the Question: "Would you like to have books and newspapers in the Hindko language?"

<i>Community</i>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>
Jammun n = 40	45%	35%
Singo Di Garhi n = 14	93	7
Sherpur n = 30	63	33
Balakot n = 47	81	19

The highest percentage of positive responses came from the village of Singo Di Garhi (93 percent), followed by Balakot (81 percent), Sherpur (63 percent) and Jammun (45 percent). The positive attitude of the people of Singo Di Garhi may be related

to the fact that higher percentages of the respondents from Singo Di Garhi state that they use Hindko with speakers of other languages. They are apparently more dependent on their own language and perhaps more loyal to it. It is interesting to note that Jammun and Sherpur, the localities in which many respondents report using Pashto, are less enthusiastic about books and magazines in their own language. It is perhaps even more significant that both of those communities report rather frequent use of Urdu.

Reasons stated for favoring the development of books and magazines in Hindko include the following:

- so that the language will develop
- they would be easier to understand (than in other languages)
- our children would read them
- they would provide information for people who know Hindko
- it's our language
- we love our language.

Another response, “so that we can learn Hindko”, highlights the frequently encountered opinion that languages are written so that other people can learn them. This opinion is probably related to the fact that, for many linguistic groups, written materials are often not in the mother tongue of the readers. The result is that reading is associated with school, where learning the literary language and learning the skills of reading usually go hand in hand.

Respondents were also asked, “Would you like your children to learn to read and write in the Hindko language?”. The responses from the four localities are summarized in figure (5.6).

(5.6) Responses from Four Hindko Communities to the Question  
 “Would you like your children to learn to read and write in the  
 Hindko language?”

<i>Community</i>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>
Jammun n = 40	47.5%	42.5%
Singo Di Garhi n = 14	57	43
Sherpur n = 30	47	53
Balakot n = 47	62	38

Interestingly enough, the respondents were considerably less enthusiastic about having their children learn to read and write in Hindko than they were about having books and magazines available in that language. They also seem to be less interested in having their children learn to read and write in Hindko than they are in their learning to speak other languages (see §5.2.1). This is perhaps due to the fact that people who become bilingual by informal means often view learning to speak additional languages as a natural thing but learning to read more than one language as difficult. In other words, they believe it is normal to read just one language, but normal to speak more than one. If such is their view, learning to read and write in Hindko could imply to them not learning to read and write in Urdu, the accepted language of literacy. It would be interesting to investigate what the responses would have been if the question had introduced reading and writing as skills which are possible and useful in the mother tongue in addition to the language of wider communication.

One respondent, replying in the negative, explained his lack of enthusiasm for written Hindko by saying that books are all in Urdu. Some of the negative responses may reflect the fact that respondents could not conceive of having reading material available in Hindko. It would be interesting to ask the same question after showing the respondents the books of Hindko

poetry and perhaps other writings which have been produced in the Peshawar and Abbottabad areas.<sup>28</sup>

Other negative responses were based on the fact that reading and writing in Hindko do not bring employment benefits. These responses seem to indicate that the respondents are unacquainted with other benefits of literacy, such as gaining knowledge, pleasure, communication through letters, etc.

### 5.3 Attitudes Toward Other Hindko Dialects

The study of language attitudes is intrinsically one of the most subjective areas of inquiry in the field of sociolinguistics. Directly questioning subjects through the use of questionnaires is often ineffective in revealing attitudes of which the subjects themselves are only vaguely aware and usually not accustomed to verbalizing. Consequently, more indirect techniques must be brought to bear, and the results of these are frequently expressed in qualitative rather than quantitative terms.

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<sup>28</sup> In the course of these investigations it was learned that there are increasing numbers of Hindko publications being produced, most of which are poetry.

Some are produced in Hazara, and the following samples were obtained there, all published by the *Hindko Adabi Sangat* (Hindko Literature Society) in Abbottabad:

Asif Saqib. n.d. *Au Hale Khawab Khealan*. Asif Saqib and Ehea Khalid, editors. 1983. *Dukh Sanjhe*. Ehea Khalid. 1986. *Piar Pahleskhe*. Mohammad Farid. 1987. *Sanjh Sawel*.

There also seems to be a literary movement among Hindko speakers of Peshawar city, likely more extensive than that of Hazara.

Shackle (1980:482, fn) speaks of "the literary circles of Peshawar". He further states (1980:509): "Pe. [Peshawari] itself furnish[es] an incipient literary standard for the different varieties of NWFP 'Hindko'."

The only specimen of Peshawar literary production which has reached our hands, generously provided by the author, is:

Fariq Hussain Sahir. 1986. *Ulare*. Peshawar: Writers' Equity.

According to a number of people who were asked, as of 1988, there were no Hindko newspapers. Several people said, however, that they think that small portions of certain magazines are printed in Hindko. Apparently the university in Abbottabad produces a regular publication containing writings in Hindko as well as other languages of the region.



Since the dialects spoken in the southern part of the Hindko-speaking area seem to be more widely understood than those of the northern part (see §4.3), it is of considerable interest to learn what the more numerous group in the north (i.e., Hazara) feel about the more widely understood dialects of rural Peshawar and Talagang.

On an experimental basis a small sampling of sixteen Hindko speakers from Balakot, Sherpur, Singo Di Garhi and Abbottabad were interviewed for the purpose of discovering something of their attitudes toward more southerly dialects of Hindko. Each respondent was asked to listen to a pair of tape recorded texts. One was spoken by an educated young man from Wad Pagga and the other by a somewhat less educated young man from Talagang. The names of the source communities of the texts were not divulged. The respondent was asked several questions designed to reveal his attitudes about each speaker and the speaker's text.<sup>29</sup> He was asked whether he thought that the speaker is educated or not, whether the place where the speaker comes from is a good place, and whether the people in that place are good, friendly people. The responses from each community are presented in figure (5.7).

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<sup>29</sup> One text from each of the two communities was used in this pilot project. Both the speakers of the texts were male, young and somewhat educated. However, the texts were not uniform as to subject matter. More insightful results might be gained in future projects if several texts from each community were used and an effort were made to keep the subject matter as uniform as possible. In this way the attitudes expressed would be less dependent on the text and personality of a single speaker.

**(5.7) Responses from Four Hindko Communities to Recorded Speech Samples from Wad Pagga and Talagang**

	<i>Is speaker educated?</i>		<i>Come from good place?</i>		<i>Good, friendly people in that place?</i>	
	Wad Pagga	Tala- gang	Wad Pagga	Tala- gang	Wad Pagga	Tala- gang
Balakot	5+	2+	3+	3+	5+	2+
n = 6	1-	4-	0-	2-	1-	2-
Sherpur	2+	1+	6+	4+	6+	2+
n = 6	4-	5-	0-	2-	0-	2-
Singo di Garhi	1+	0+	2+	1+	1+	
n = 2	1-	2-	0-	1-	1-	
Abbottabad	0+	0+	1+	1+	1+	
n = 2	1-	1-	0-	0-	1-	

+ = positive comment (educated, good place, friendly people, etc.)

- = negative comment (uneducated, not good place, not friendly people, etc.)

The response of any individual to any one question is not significant. Certainly the questions may have different connotations to different respondents. The questions may appear to be overlapping to some respondents and not to others. However, the cumulative effect of the responses may well indicate attitudes.

The responses to the Wad Pagga speech sample were generally positive (33+ and 10-) while the responses to the Talagang speech sample were more mixed, with negative responses outnumbering positive (16+ and 21-). From this pilot study we may draw the tentative conclusions that attitudes of Hindko speakers in Hazara Division are not negative toward the two southern dialects sampled and that attitudes toward the Wad Pagga dialect (rural Peshawar) are more favorable than those toward Talagang (Attock District).

Respondents were also asked to state where the best Hindko is spoken. Since all fourteen respondents are from Hazara Division, it is perhaps not surprising that five of them said

“Abbottabad” and four said “Mansehra”. More surprisingly, seven named Peshawar as the place where the best Hindko is spoken. This may reflect the prestige of a city dialect and may be further evidence that the Peshawar dialect is acquiring the status of the standard, prestige dialect.<sup>30</sup>

5.4 The Vitality of Hindko

Finally, the respondents in the four communities where most of the interviewing was conducted were asked whether they believe that the day will come when Hindko will no longer be spoken. Their responses are presented in figure (5.8).

(5.8) Responses from Four Hindko Communities to the Question:  
“Will the Hindko language ever cease to be spoken?”

<i>Community</i>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>
Jammun n = 40	17%	83%
Singo Di Garhi n = 15	0	100
Sherpur n = 30	3	97
Balakot n = 47	9	91

These figures show that nearly all respondents from three of the communities view Hindko as vital and its continuation as assured. The respondents from Jammun were a bit less sure of its vitality. Since their village is on the border of the Panjab and also close to many Pashto-speaking communities, they may feel more keenly the language competition from Panjabi and Pashto. In contrast, Sherpur appears to be characterized by a situation of

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<sup>30</sup> “Peshawar Hindko has been cultivated as a vehicle for literature to a greater degree than the other northern dialects so far considered, and it is beginning to be promoted as a NWFP Standard Hindko” (Shackle 1980:486).

stable bilingualism and Singo Di Garhi by low bilingualism and single-minded commitment to the mother tongue.

Thus, in spite of a few doubts on the part of some respondents from Jammun, it appears that Hindko speakers in general exhibit great loyalty to their mother tongue and that they expect their language to continue being spoken. Most, it appears, would like to see it developed in written form even though they do not want it to be the language of (beginning) education.

When faced with the question of whether Hindko will be replaced by other languages in the future, one man from Singo Di Garhi flatly stated that it “can’t be replaced.” Another, from the same town, said it won’t happen, “not even after one hundred years”. Another, from Balakot, said simply, “Never!”

## 6. SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Hindko, a member of the Indic family of languages, is spoken in north central Pakistan in the most northerly plains of the Indus Valley. The language is spoken generally to the east of the Pashto-speaking area and in some cases in the same communities with Pashto. Hindko speakers belong to a variety of ethnic groups. Many identify themselves as Pashtoons, especially Swati Pathans. Others, especially in the Peshawar area are Saiyids. Other ethnic identifications include Avans and Gujars.

### 6.1 Use of Multiple Languages

Studies of multilingualism were carried out in four Hindko-speaking communities in the northern (Hazara Division) section of the area, where the largest concentration of Hindko speakers is found. In each of the four communities studied, Hindko is the unchallenged language of the home. In addition, Urdu is widely used by the men of these communities to communicate with speakers of other languages. In two of the communities Pashto is also used with outsiders.

The percentage of respondents who report speaking other languages with speakers of those languages is displayed in figure (6.1).

#### (6.1) Percentages of Respondents Who Report Speaking Urdu, Pashto, Panjabi or Gujari with Speakers of Those Languages

<i>Respondents from</i>	<i>with Urdu speakers</i>	<i>with Pashto speakers</i>	<i>with Punjabi speakers</i>	<i>with Gujari speakers</i>
Jammun	60%	40%		
Singo Di Garhi	47	7	7	
Sherpur	87	87	20	7
Balakot	71		12	19

From figure (6.1) it can be seen that the vast majority of Sherpur men speak Urdu and Pashto with speakers of those languages. A majority of Balakot and Jammun men also report speaking Urdu with Urdu speakers. A sizable minority of Jammun men also speak Pashto with Pashto speakers. Nearly half the Singo Di Garhi men report using Urdu with Urdu speakers.

However, multilingualism is not universal in these Hindko-speaking communities. Some respondents in each community report using Hindko when communicating with speakers of Urdu and Pashto. The percentage of respondents in each community who report using Hindko in such encounters is displayed in figure (6.2).

**(6.2) Percentage of Respondents Who Report Speaking Hindko  
With Urdu and Pashto Speakers**

	<i>Speak Hindko With Urdu and Pashto Speakers</i>
Jammun	27.5%
Singo Di Garhi	46.5
Sherpur	5.0
Balakot	35.5

From these data it is evident that Singo Di Garhi respondents are much more dependent on Hindko than are Sherpur respondents. Respondents from the other two villages occupy an intermediate position.

In the Hindko-speaking communities studied, Urdu is the most common second language, followed by Pashto. The principal source of proficiency in Urdu seems clearly to be formal education. Travel outside the home area apparently contributes to proficiency in both Urdu and Pashto, but this connection is more difficult to demonstrate. In Sherpur in particular, radio and television also seem to contribute to proficiency in Urdu. This may be an especially significant factor for women.

Access to education clearly varies from one community to another. The percentage of men and women who have received at least some education is displayed in figure (6.3).

**(6.3) Percentage of Men and Women With Some Education**

	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>
Jammun	58.7%	21.6%
Singo Di Garhi	61.4	2.3
Sherpur	71.7	15.0
Balakot	60.7	not known

From figure (6.3) it is evident that the highest percentage of educated men is found in Sherpur, with each of the other three communities having about ten percent fewer educated men. Furthermore, in Sherpur the median of the male population falls in the six to ten years of education group, whereas in the other three communities the median falls in the one to five years of education group.

The women of Singo Di Garhi have had the least access to education. It is interesting to observe that the percentage of women in Jammun with education is ten times as great, even surpassing the percentage for women in the educationally advantaged community of Sherpur.

The percentage of educated men in each of five age groups is displayed in figure (6.4).

**(6.4) Percentage of Educated Men In Each Age Group in  
Four Hindko Communities**

	<i>Age Groups</i>				
	13-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50+
	years	years	years	years	years
Jammun	82.4%	66.7%	68.0%	32.1%	26.2%
Singo Di Garhi	91.7	69.2	58.3	50.0	14.3
Sherpur	84.6	80.0	90.0	50.0	40.0
Balakot	100.0	75.0	55.6	38.5	33.3

From figure (6.4) we can observe that the percentage of men who have received some education decreases as age increases, as one might expect. Only in Sherpur is there an older group of men (30-39 years) who have a higher education percentage than the teenage men. It is interesting to observe that in Jammun and Singo Di Garhi there is a rather sharp drop at the point where the percentage falls below about 50 percent. From these figures one can guess that the 30-39 year old men in Jammun are the first generation to have general access to education, since fewer than one-third of the 40-49 year old men have any education. Similarly, one can guess that the 40-49 year old men in Singo Di Garhi are the first generation to have general access to education, since only 14 percent of the oldest age group have education. By contrast, there does not seem to be a point where there is a single sharp drop in the figures for Sherpur. Presumably education has been available in that community for a longer period, with the result that even many of the oldest group of men have had access to it. The situation is similar in Balakot.

Nearly all respondents from the four communities report having traveled to Rawalpindi. A much smaller percentage have traveled to the much more distant city of Karachi, and an intermediate percentage (in most localities) to the provincial capital of Peshawar. In general, longer periods of time were spent in the more distant cities of Karachi and Lahore. These longer stays have probably had a greater impact on the learning of Urdu than have the shorter but much more frequent visits to Rawalpindi/Islamabad.



## 6.2 Measuring Bilingual Proficiency

In Singo Di Garhi levels of proficiency in Urdu were studied while in Sherpur levels of proficiency in both Urdu and Pashto were studied. The highest level of proficiency which the Sentence Repetition Tests that were used are capable of measuring is RPE level 3+-and-above, which covers a range between high functional control and near mother-tongue proficiency. The percentage of the subjects from these two communities who demonstrated proficiency at this highest level is displayed in figure (6.5).

**(6.5) Percentage of Educated and Uneducated Subjects in Sherpur and Singo Di Garhi Scoring at the Highest Level in Urdu SRT**

	<i>educated</i>	<i>uneducated</i>
Sherpur	87.8%	50.0%
Singo Di Garhi	89.0%	10.0%

From figure (6.5) it can be observed that the men of Singo Di Garhi who have not had access to education have not in general found other means of learning Urdu. Few of them have attained the higher levels of Urdu proficiency. On the other hand, half the uneducated men of Sherpur have found other, informal means for learning.

The average scores on the Urdu SRT (expressed in RPE levels) for educated and uneducated men and women are displayed in figure (6.6).

**(6.6) Average RPE Scores of Educated and Uneducated Men and Women in Two Hindko Villages**

	<i>men</i>		<i>women</i>	
	educated	uneducated	educated	uneducated
Singo Di Garhi	3	2	none	0+
Sherpur	3+	2+	2+ to 3+	2

From figure (6.6) it can be observed that educated men in both communities have attained a high level of proficiency in Urdu. Almost half the educated women of Sherpur have also attained that level, but more than half have not. Neither uneducated men nor uneducated women have been able to achieve those same levels, although men scored higher than women.

Pashto is learned in Hindko-speaking communities through informal means. That learning continues over the years. Therefore, it is not surprising to see that in each progressively older group of Sherpur men the percentage of those who have attained the highest level of Pashto proficiency is larger. The percentages of Sherpur men in the various age groups who have attained the RPE 3+-or-above level are indicated in figure (6.7).

**(6.7) Percentages of Each Age Group of Sherpur Men Who Have Attained the RPE 3+-or-above Level**

	13-19	20-29	30-39	40+
	years	years	years	years
RPE 3+ or above	14.3%	30.0%	66.7%	none tested

The second languages most commonly encountered in the Hindko-speaking area are Urdu and Pashto. The former is learned primarily in a formal way, while the latter is learned informally.

### **6.3 Hindko Dialects**

The Hindko dialect question was examined by comparing word lists and by dialect intelligibility testing. On the basis of lexical similarity counts, five major dialect areas have emerged: Hazara, Attock, Kohat, Peshawar rural and Peshawar city. The second, third and fourth seem to constitute a central dialect area. Especially in some of their sub-areas these are rather different from both Hazara and Peshawar-city dialects.

Testing of inherent intelligibility among Hindko dialects through the use of recorded text tests has shown that there is a northern (Hazara) dialect group and a southern dialect group. The southern dialects are more widely understood throughout the dialect network than are the northern dialects. The dialects of rural Peshawar and Talagang are the most widely understood of the dialects tested; Balakot is the least widely understood.

### **6.4 Attitudes Toward Hindko and Other Languages**

Attitudes of Hindko speakers toward other languages were probed through interviews conducted in several villages. Respondents were asked whether they would be willing for their sons to marry Urdu-speaking or Pashto-speaking women. Their attitudes toward a possible Urdu-speaking daughter-in-law were positive in both Sherpur and Balakot. (The responses in the other two villages did not reveal language attitudes.) The attitudes toward a Pashto-speaking daughter-in-law were positive in Sherpur, but quite negative in Balakot.

The respondents were asked to state whether there are advantages to speaking several possible second languages. Their responses are indicated in figure (6.8).

**(6.8) Attitudes Expressed About the Value of Speaking Urdu,  
Pashto, Panjabi and Gujarati**

	<i>Urdu</i>	<i>Pashto</i>	<i>Panjabi</i>	<i>Gujari</i>
Singo Di Garhi	high	low	high	low
Sherpur	high	high	moderate	low
Balakot	high	low	high	low

Each community views Urdu as a useful language. Pashto is valued only in Sherpur. Conversely, Panjabi is valued highly in Singo Di Garhi and Balakot but only moderately in Sherpur. No community sees great value in learning Gujarati.

Attitudes toward the Hindko speakers' own language were also studied. Respondents were asked whether they see advantages in speaking Hindko. In every community the responses were positive. They were asked whether they would like to have books and newspapers in Hindko. The responses in Singo Di Garhi and Balakot were highly positive but in Sherpur and Jammun were mildly positive to mildly negative. When asked whether they would like their children to learn to read and write in Hindko, respondents in Singo Di Garhi and Balakot were mildly positive, but those in Sherpur and Jammun were mildly negative. In general, attitudes toward Hindko are uniformly high in Singo Di Garhi and Balakot, where Hindko is relatively unchallenged (except to some degree by Urdu, especially in Balakot). Attitudes toward Hindko are less strong in Sherpur and weaker yet in Jammun, the two communities where Pashto is a stronger challenge to Hindko.

When respondents were asked to listen to tape recordings of speech samples from Wad Pagga and Talagang, the two dialects most widely understood throughout the Hindko-speaking region, and to comment about their impressions of the speaker and the place from which he comes, attitudes expressed toward Wad Pagga were quite positive, while those toward Talagang were mildly negative.

Finally, respondents were asked for their opinions as to whether the Hindko language will continue to be spoken. In

every community there was a positive outlook concerning the vitality of the language, especially in Singo Di Garhi and Sherpur.

### 6.5 Directions for Future Research

From this study a picture has emerged of how various languages are used in the lives of Hindko speakers as well as some information about the distribution of bilingual proficiency in Urdu and Pashto among the various segments of the Hindko-speaking communities. The study has also pointed out some areas for future research that merit mention:

The Hindko dialects, while seeming to form a cohesive dialect grouping, are clearly only one part of an extensive string of dialects that are called by various names, such as Panjabi, Siraiki, Pothohari, Pahari and perhaps others. The linguistic relationships of these dialects and especially the levels of intelligibility that unite – or separate – them are urgent topics for investigation. In this dialect network, which may be termed *Greater Panjabi*, there have emerged and are emerging recognized standard dialects. Attitudes toward these standard dialects and the degree to which each standard is understood throughout the area which it is thought to serve are matters which should be studied, as is the question of the extent to which there is movement in the direction of standardization resulting from increasing communication, travel and media development. It also remains to be seen whether dialect clusters within Greater Panjabi which bear the same name are internally any closer in terms of linguistic similarity and intelligibility than are adjacent dialects of neighboring clusters which bear different names.

Returning, finally, to Hindko itself, there is a need for further study of the Peshawar dialect, which is coming to be recognized for some purposes as a standard for Hindko. The intelligibility studies presented here suggest that the conservative dialect of the Khalisa villages (Shackle's *Tappa Khalsa*) near Peshawar (e.g., Wad Pagga) is more widely understood than the more eclectic dialect of the city. In view of the move to establish the dialect of the city as a standard, it would be of considerable interest to determine whether the city dialect of Peshawar, ideally

of a rather conservative variety, can be widely understood throughout the Hindko-speaking region to an extent equal to that of the rural Peshawar dialects.

DIALECT VARIATION AND  
MULTILINGUALISM AMONG GUJARS OF  
PAKISTAN





# **DIALECT VARIATION AND MULTILINGUALISM AMONG GUJARS OF PAKISTAN**

*Calinda E. Hallberg and Clare F. O'Leary*

## **CHAPTER 1**

### **INTRODUCTION**

#### **1.1 Scope of the Study**

The Gujar people are spread from northwestern and central India, across northern Pakistan, and into northeastern Afghanistan. Their language, Gujar, belongs to the Indo-Aryan branch of the Indo-European family.<sup>1</sup> Gujar-speaking communities in Pakistan are generally located in areas where other languages are more dominant. There are other Indo-Aryan languages in the eastern end of their range, including varieties of Hindko and of Panjabi, as well as some from the Dardic branch: Kashmiri, Shina, and several forms called Kohistani. In the west, Gujar communities are located in areas dominated by the Iranian language, Pashto. Thus, a sociolinguistic survey of Gujar in Pakistan should encompass both the variation within Gujar itself and the patterns of multilingualism that are exhibited within Gujar communities.

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<sup>1</sup> Scholars have referred to the Gujar people and their language by various names and spellings, (e.g., Gujar, Gujuri, Gujjari, Gujri, Gojri, Gojari). We have chosen to refer to the people as Gujars, reflecting the pronunciation encountered most commonly in field research [guʃʌr], and the language as Gujar. Pronunciation of the language name in the east may have more of an [o] quality, e.g., [goʃri], but for consistency with the people name and to cover the broad spectrum of Gujar groups east to west, and also noting that the English spelling *u* is often pronounced [o] in proper nouns in Pakistan, we have chosen to refer to the language name as Gujar.

Data for this survey were gathered between 1986 and 1989, involving the participation of several researchers. Word lists in Gujarati varieties were collected from twelve locations. Narrative texts in the local Gujarati variety were tape-recorded in five locations. These recorded texts were used to evaluate the patterns of intelligibility within Gujarati, by testing members of these five Gujarati communities as to how well they understood texts from other regions. In addition, interviews were accomplished with respondents from these communities, regarding perceived dialect differences and similarities.

Multilingualism was investigated by focussing on patterns of second language proficiency and use in two communities. Although there are different variables which affect multilingualism in the many regions where Gujarati is spoken, the investigations in these two areas permit comparison between levels of proficiency and reported use of Urdu, the national language of Pakistan, and of the respective local languages of wider communication. A census of each community was taken to construct demographic profiles for these two locations. These profiles uncovered significant social factors, such as gender roles, access to education, patterns of travel, and types of contacts with non-Gujaratis; such factors help explain the differing multilingual situations for these two communities. Spoken language proficiency was tested in two languages in each community and orally-administered questionnaires were given regarding use of these other languages.

The underlying questions which motivated this research center on effective communication, both within the wider community of Gujaratis in Pakistan and between Gujaratis and those from other language backgrounds. Are there identifiable dialect areas within Gujarati? How well can Gujaratis within Pakistan understand the varieties of Gujarati spoken in regions remote from their own? Is there widespread proficiency in one or more other languages which is exhibited by major portions of the Gujarati population? Is there evidence of language shift from the use of Gujarati toward the dominant use of another language? These sociolinguistic issues frame this study and have implications for the future directions of the Gujarati-speaking people in Pakistan.

## 1.2 Language Classification

Grierson (LSI IX:10,925) describes Gujari as closely related to the Rajasthani dialects spoken mainly in northwestern India. Bailey (1903) pointed out the similarity of Gujari to Mewari. Grierson (LSI IX:925) states that the grammar is almost identical to another Rajasthani dialect, Mewati, differing in only one or two details and at those points it agrees with Mewari. He notes that Gujari appears to be a more archaic form than Mewari; many Gujari words are at an older stage of development. Grierson also notes (LSI IX:10) that one clan of the Gujars in Swat Valley, northwestern Pakistan, is called Chauhan; the dominant race in Mewar also belongs to the Chauhan clan of Rajputs. This affinity between two language groups, separated by hundreds of miles and several different languages, raises a number of historical questions as to who the Gujars are and where they came from.<sup>2</sup>

Before turning to historical origins of Gujars, however, the relationship between Gujari and some of the other Indo-Aryan languages of Pakistan needs to be addressed. Scholars have had difficulty classifying Northern Hindko, Western Panjabi, and Gujari. Some classifications have followed Grierson in labeling Northern Hindko as part of the Lahnda family although the usefulness of the term “Lahnda” has been disputed. (See Rensch this volume. Also Shackle 1980, Varma 1936.)

The linguistic boundaries between Western Panjabi and Northern Hindko have not been fully established by clear comparative evidence. Many scholars, beginning with Grierson, have noted the inappropriateness of assuming that they are as distinct as is implied by their assignments to separate sub-branches of Indo-Aryan.<sup>3</sup> Although Gujari has been classified as

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<sup>2</sup> These questions of historical origin were recorded in Grierson (LSI IX:10ff) who quotes long passages from Smith on this point.

<sup>3</sup> Grierson himself states that the Lahnda group of dialects to the west of Panjabi “merges so gradually into that form of speech [Panjabi] that it is impossible to fix any clear dividing line between the two” (LSI VIII.1:233). However, even in his revised classification (1931), he places Panjabi in the Central group of Indo-Aryan, while Lahnda is in the Northwestern group. In

a Rajasthani variety, similar problems exist in marking it as if it were clearly differentiated from Western Panjabi and Lahnda varieties. J. C. Sharma (1982:7-8) notes that Gojri/Gujari

...shares certain common retentions with Panjabi within [the] Central group of [the] Inner-sub-branch and Lahnda and Sindhi of [the] North-Western group. Besides it has some shared innovation exclusively with Panjabi and its dialects.

He goes on to outline some of the shared features, especially noting that it “shares most of the phonological features with various geographically contiguous languages” although the morphology is more similar to Rajasthani (1982:8). Sharma (1982:9) concludes by suggesting, “If we take the total features in view, then we may place it [Gujari/Gojri] between Panjabi and Rajasthani.”

Thus, Panjabi, Hindko, and Gujari pose classification problems; however, they are known to share some phonological and morphological features and vocabulary common among Indo-Aryan languages from the Central and Northwest Indic Zones (Grierson LSI VIII & IX, J. C. Sharma 1982, Masica 1991).<sup>4</sup>

### 1.3 Historical Background of Gujars

There is much controversy over the origin of the Gujars. Many scholars support the theory of a Central Asian origin. (See Ibbetson et al., 1911; Grierson LSI IX; Caroe 1958.) Caroe (1958:83) describes the ancestors of the Gujars, the Gurjaras, as “a sort of vassal or helot group of tribes” which accompanied the

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Chatterji's model of classification (1926), Panjabi varieties are subclassified along with Lahnda in the Northwestern group. Although he seems to implicitly accept that there is validity in separately classifying Panjabi and Lahnda, Bahri (1962:xvi) says, “Every dialect of Lahnda is connected with its neighbors, and each shades into the surrounding dialects.” The most cogent discussion of the issues involved in distinguishing Panjabi from those varieties labelled as “Lahnda” is presented in Shackle (1979), *Problems of classification in Pakistan Panjab*.

<sup>4</sup> In an appendix following his comprehensive work, Masica (1991) does a masterful job of outlining these problems and comparing the various systems of classification posed by Indo-Aryan scholars.

Ephthalites (or White Huns) on their invasion of India in the fifth century. (Grierson dates it sixth century, LSI IX:6.) The Ephthalites came from Mongolia where they served as vassals and auxiliaries to the Avars in the fourth century. "The Avars probably spoke a Mongol language and their ruler assumed the title of Khagan or Khan, a title which the Ephthalites brought with them on their travels from Central Asia" (Caroe 1958:82). These invading tribes were very powerful. They made their primary settlements in Rajputana and the Panjab (Smith quoted in Caroe 1958:85). The ruling families were identified with the Kshatriyas and were called Rajputs by the Brahmins. The subordinate agricultural castes were called Jats, and the pastoral castes were called Gurjaras or, in more modern terms, Gujars (Grierson LSI IX:9, Smith in Grierson LSI IX:11, Smith in Caroe 1958:86).

Manku (1986:3) cites several authors who oppose the theory of Central Asian origin. They argue that Gurjaras were of Indian origin and Aryan stock. They inhabited the area around Mount Abu in Rajasthan and migrated out from there. For an in-depth presentation of this point of view, see Temple and Bhandarkar 1914.

Grierson presents two theories to explain the presence of a Rajasthani dialect similar to Mewati in such a distant place as Swat Valley. One theory is that some of the Gurjaras, who came into India with the Huns, stayed behind in the Swat region where they retained their language. The others continued on into Rajputana, bringing this same language with them (LSI IX:10). The other theory, espoused by Smith and Grierson, is that the Gujars emigrated west from Rajputana, probably during the ninth century when the Gurjara-Rajput rule extended across northern and northwestern India. They carried with them the Rajasthani language which was the language of the court and capital (Smith in Grierson LSI IX:12). Grierson (LSI IX:15) proposes how this language developed:

The Gurjaras settled among a people speaking an Indo-Aryan language of the Inner Group akin to Western Hindi. They adopted this language, retaining at the same time many forms of their own speech. The result was

Rajasthani, a mixed language in which, as has been shown elsewhere, the influence of the Inner Group of Indo-Aryan languages weakens as we go westwards. In the north-east of Rajputana, in Alwar and Mewat, the influence of the Inner Group is strongest.

Grierson (LSI IX:16) proposes that some Mewat Gujars moved up the Jamna Valley and settled in the Panjab plains, mixing with the local people and losing their local language. Others settled in the submontane area of Gujrat, Gujranwala, and Kangra. They retained some of their own language resulting in a broken mixture of Panjabi and Hindostani. And still others went further into the mountains of Kashmir and westward.

#### **1.4 Population**

Official population figures for Gujars in Pakistan are not available, particularly for Gujars who have maintained the Gujar language, as opposed to those who have not. There is a large number and high concentration of Gujar-speakers in the eastern area of north Pakistan, particularly in Azad Jammu and Kashmir and also in the Kaghan Valley in Hazara. J.C. Sharma (1982) guessed that there may be around 200,000 Gujar speakers in Azad Jammu and Kashmir. In 1989, a Pakistani Gujar writer and radio-broadcaster interviewed for this study estimated the population to be around 700,000 for that same area. The 1981 census figure for Azad Jammu and Kashmir is 1,980,000, representing all language groups in the region. In the western region of Pakistan (Swat, Dir, Chitral) and also in Indus Kohistan and Gilgit Agency, Gujars tend to be fewer in number, living in scattered pockets. The issue of Gujar speakers versus ethnic Gujars who no longer maintain the Gujar language seems to be especially significant in areas of the Panjab and southern Azad Jammu and Kashmir.

Gujars are known to live beyond the borders of Pakistan, both to the east and west. Hasan (1986) explains that there are Muslim, Hindu, and Sikh Gujars widely spread over northern and central India. Muslim Gujars are primarily located in Jammu and

Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh, and Uttar Pradesh. The Gujar population in Jammu and Kashmir is known to be sizeable.

Population estimates for Gujars in India are more available but are sometimes the subject of some amount of dispute. The 1961 Indian census reported Bakarwali speakers (nomadic Gujars) separately from Gujari speakers, listing approximately 6,000 and 209,000 respectively for these language groups. J.C. Sharma (1979) considers Bakarwali a form of Gojri (Gujari) with little variation. The 1971 Indian census figures (quoted in J.C. Sharma 1982) indicate approximately 330,000. D. Sharma (1988:36) says the 1971 figures are not reliable but that rough estimates can be made based on the 1981 census. He cites dissertation research by Bisaria, who estimates that the Gujar population is about ten per cent of the total population, which comes to about 598,000. He says transhumant (nomadic) Gujars are approximately one fourth of the total Gujar population, yielding a figure of approximately 115,000. Breaking things down by states, J.C. Sharma reported that the 1961 census listed approximately 5,000 Gujari-speaking nomads in Himachal Pradesh, 1,450 in Uttar Pradesh, and 450 in Madhya Pradesh. Hasan (1986:7) cites *The Centre for Research, Planning and Action*, New Delhi, which estimates the Gujar population of Himachal Pradesh to be approximately 47,000, approximately 18,000 of which are migratory, most of these being Muslims. According to Hasan, forest officials in Uttar Pradesh say that Muslim Gujars from Himachal Pradesh started coming to the area no more than seventy or eighty years ago. The forest officials' figure for Jammu Gujars in Uttar Pradesh is 7,278. Hasan says the actual population is probably higher but not higher than 10,000.<sup>5</sup> The Gujari spoken by these Indian Gujars may be somewhat different from the Gujari data presented in this study.

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<sup>5</sup> For in-depth studies of Gujars in India, see Khatana (1976) and D. Sharma (1988) on transhumant (nomadic) Gujars in Kashmir; Hasan (1986) on Muslim Jammu Gujars in Uttar Pradesh (according to Hasan, there are other "non-Jammu Muslim Gujars" and Hindu Gujars there as well); and Manku (1986) on Hindu Gujar settlements in the Panjab Kandi.

Preliminary evidence indicates that there are surely fewer Gujarars in Afghanistan than in India or Pakistan, perhaps only a small community. The war in Afghanistan has undoubtedly affected this population. Afghan Gujar interview subjects have reported that Gujarars were located in Nuristan, Kunar Province, and Badakhshan. In general, less concrete data are available about the population and distribution of Afghan Gujarars than about Indian or Pakistani Gujarars. Edelberg and Jones (1979:100-101) discuss the competition for resources between Nuristanis and Gujarars in Nuristan, stating that by 1964, Gujarars were to be found utilizing the high pastures as far as central Nuristan. These authors mention that some of these Gujarars came from the Swat region through northern Chitral. Unfortunately, the turmoil in Afghanistan has prohibited access to these communities and has made it impossible to evaluate the current population there.

### 1.5 Gujar Ways of Life

Gujarars in northern Pakistan traditionally have been pastoralists, moving with their herds of goats and sheep or buffalo. Today, however, there is a spectrum of lifestyles among the Gujarars of Pakistan, ranging from nomadic shepherds found among the *Bakarwals* in the east and the *Ajars* in the west to completely settled Gujarars.<sup>6</sup> Many Gujarars are agriculturalists, some with small land holdings; others work as tenant farmers. Many practice traditional transhumance patterns, living in a lower elevation settlement with their crops and animals during the winter months, and moving to higher mountain pastures in the summer. The focus of this study is primarily on communities of settled and semi-settled Gujarars scattered across the rural areas of northern Pakistan.

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<sup>6</sup> Not all Bakarwals and Ajars lead a nomadic lifestyle. These labels primarily serve to separate the groups by occupation (herder) and the type of animal tended. In the east, Bakarwals tend sheep and goats and deal in raw wool; Dodhi or Baniara Gujarars tend buffalo and sell milk and milk products. In the west, Ajars tend sheep and goats. (Khatana 1976, J.C. Sharma 1982, Barth 1956a)



## 1.6 Socioeconomic Status of Gujars

One impression gained through the course of this study is that the socioeconomic situation of Gujars in Azad Kashmir is considerably different from that of Gujari-speaking Gujars in the rest of Pakistan. Gujars are generally considered to have low socioeconomic status in relation to other ethnic groups around them (Ahmed 1986). They often work as tenants or servants to these other groups. Many of the settled Gujars own land, but only a minority of the men are educated, and few hold high positions in the larger community (outside their own village). Gujars seem to take pride in their language and ethnicity, but outsiders tend to devalue them and their language. One Pashtoon school teacher in the Gujar town of Peshmal told the principal field researcher that he should learn a significant language such as Pashto or Urdu, not an “insignificant” language like Gujari. Another Pashtoon told him that the Gujari language has no grammar.

Evidence from informal interviews and personal observation of field researchers indicates that Gujars in Azad Kashmir enjoy much higher status than Gujari speakers in the rest of Pakistan. Gujars in Azad Kashmir are found in every level of society, from servants to government leaders. Many are landed and educated. Indications are that more people are being educated and are achieving higher levels of education in Azad Kashmir than in areas to the west. In Azad Kashmir there are reported to be many schools, and it appears that most of the children among the settled Gujars are attending school, girls as well as boys. The evidence from the western areas indicates that the majority of Gujars there are uneducated. There are fewer schools in Gujar communities, and hardly any girls are educated at all.

Researchers asked one young Gujar man from Patikha in Azad Kashmir why he thought Gujari is prestigious in his area. He responded:

Because Gujars are in the majority; the Gujars are doing much business; they own much land; they are richer than many of the other people in the area. Other ethnic groups even want to call themselves Gujars.

This man reported that he had read in a book that Gujars were backward and poor, but that it is not true in his area. He also reported having seen and read materials written in Gujar. The significance of having written materials in Gujar is seen in the comment of another young man from Trarkhel. He said that Gujar has more prestige in the area than Pahari because Gujar is written and Pahari is not.

### **1.7 Language Maintenance**

Gujars throughout northern Pakistan, regardless of their status, appear to take pride in their identity as Gujars and in their history, culture and language. The primary example to the contrary is in the Panjab where Gujars are reportedly embarrassed to speak Gujar. It is also reported that most Gujars who migrated to that area at partition are no longer speaking Gujar. Scholars from the turn of the century have mentioned the loss of the Gujar language by Panjab Gujars who have lived in that area for many years (Bailey 1903, Grierson LSI IX). Areas of reported language shift are in the Panjab, Mirpur, and some villages near Muzaffarabad. In general, though, the language is being used and well maintained in many communities throughout the North-West Frontier Province, Azad Kashmir, and the Northern Areas.

The general impression from the interviews in Azad Kashmir is that in the more rural areas where Gujars are concentrated or are in a majority, the language is being maintained. In the western areas, however, it seems that Gujar is being maintained even though Gujars live in more scattered communities and are in the minority relative to the dominant groups in those regions.

### **1.8 Development and Promotion of Gujar**

Gujar ethnic identity is encouraged in various ways in Pakistan. The Gujar Association based in Lahore and their publication, *The Gujar Gazette*, serve to help promote and unite Gujars as a people. Gujar men from as far away as Chitral reported attending Gujar conventions. Gujar radio programs

help to promote Gujar language, literature, and music. Gujars and even some non-Gujars are writing poems and stories in Gujar for radio. Gujar is broadcast in northern Pakistan from Peshawar, Rawalpindi (one half hour daily), and Muzaffarabad (one half hour daily). It is also reportedly broadcast from Srinagar and Jammu on the Indian side of the line of control. A Gujar radio broadcaster in Rawalpindi reported that a Gujar television program is broadcast from Srinagar and can be received in Mirpur. The radio programs are popular among the Gujar people. Generally, people across northern Pakistan reported no difficulty understanding the programs from the various Pakistan stations.

There is an expressed interest among some members of the wider Gujar community of northern Pakistan in promoting more written materials in Gujar. There is a small number of authors who are writing and publishing Gujar poetry and stories in a modified Urdu script. Many Gujars in the east, particularly in Azad Kashmir, are aware of these writings and have read them. Two men from Trarkhel who are writing speeches in Gujar said they would like to see more publications in Gujar. They are trying to get more published themselves. Another young man said he writes poetry and stories in Gujar and would like to write more. A sixty-year-old man from Subri said books and poetry are available and he gets them and reads them; so do other educated people.

Although Gujar literature has made a beginning in Pakistan, it appears that more work in developing and promoting Gujar is taking place further east in Srinagar. Interviewees reported that the Academy of Culture and Language in Srinagar is publishing many works in Gujar. Awareness of these language development efforts across the line of control have undoubtedly encouraged the aspiring writers and educated Gujars who are interested in promoting Gujar in Pakistan. The literary efforts of these members of the Gujar-speaking community in Pakistan are significant and should be monitored to evaluate the possible development of a standardized form of Gujar.

### **1.9 Outline of Present Research**

The present chapter sets the stage for the subsequent ones by providing initial background information on the Gujar language and the Gujar people. The analysis of the data regarding dialect variation is presented in chapter 2. Chapter 3 displays the profiles of two Gujar communities: Peshmal in Swat Valley, and Mittikot in the Kaghan Valley, Hazara. The types of multilingualism and the levels of proficiency exhibited in these communities are discussed in chapter 4.

## CHAPTER 2

### DIALECTS OF GUJARI

#### 2.1 Introduction

The Gujar people are spread throughout northern Pakistan, from concentrations in the easternmost areas of Azad Jammu and Kashmir to scattered pockets throughout the north and west including villages in the Chitral area along the north-western frontier. In addition, there are Gujar speakers in India, in Jammu and Kashmir, and in Afghanistan, extending beyond the borders of Pakistan both to the east and to the west. With such widespread dispersion in the population, dialectal differentiation in Gujar would be somewhat expected.

This study of dialect variation within Gujar utilized three distinct approaches. First, lexical similarities and differences were evaluated to get an initial index of overall linguistic similarity. The primary motivation for these word list comparisons was to discover evidence of synchronic similarity in lexical usage, rather than of historical relatedness. The second approach was the investigation of the extent to which speakers of selected regional varieties understand the speech of Gujars from other regions. This was measured by testing Gujar men from selected regions on their comprehension of tape recorded speech samples consisting of personal-experience narratives. Third, small samples of speakers from various regions were interviewed regarding dialect opinions. Most interviews were given after participants had listened to the taped narratives; respondents were asked to try to identify the location from which the taped speaker might come, to give their personal opinion as to the quality of the Gujar spoken, and to rate how similar or different the Gujar on the taped sample is from their own variety. Evidence from these three types of indicators is combined in order to infer patterns of dialect intelligibility for the Gujar language as spoken in Pakistan.

## 2.2 Lexical Similarity

### 2.2.1 Word List Collection and Principles of Analysis

Local Gujarati equivalents to the items on a 210-item standard word list were elicited from participants representing twelve Gujarati-speaking communities. A speaker from each community was asked to provide the most natural Gujarati equivalent to each item on the list. These elicitations were later independently checked with another Gujarati speaker from the same location. A listing of the items and the general elicitation procedure is presented in appendix A.1.

The methodology for comparison of the word lists is also detailed in appendix A.1. Principles for consistent comparison are based on phonetic similarity of elicited lexical items currently in common use in that location. A synchronic perspective was chosen in order to better understand current patterns of dialect intelligibility in Gujarati. The results of this analysis, then, differ somewhat from the more common diachronic picture expressed in a historical cognate count.<sup>7</sup>

### 2.2.2 Locations of Word List Collection

Word lists were collected from the following localities. The word lists are presented in the general order of their west to east geographic location. See map 3.

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<sup>7</sup> In this process, lexical borrowings which have been integrated into Gujarati, especially those from closely related neighboring languages, were sometimes given as the forms in current use. The influence of such borrowings is seen as one variable related to linguistic divergence or convergence in varieties of Gujarati.

1. Kunar Gujar (Kunar Province, Afghanistan)
2. Chitral Gujar (Ashriki)
3. Dir Gujar (near Sheringal)
4. Settled Swat Gujar (Peshmal)
5. Transhumant Swat Gujar (Ragushu)
6. Gilgit Gujar (Naltar Bala)
7. Kaghan Gujar (Mittikot)
8. Southern Hazara Gujar (Tarchatti)
9. Northern Azad Kashmir Gujar (Subri)
10. Central Azad Kashmir Gujar (Trarkhel)
11. Southern Azad Kashmir Gujar (Kotli)
12. Gujranwala Gujar (immigrants from Agra area, India)
13. Poonch Gojri (Mendhar, Poonch District, Indian-held Kashmir)

All of these lists come from settled Gujar communities; however, many of them are from locations where the inhabitants practice some sort of seasonal migration. For some communities, seasonal migration involves moving to nearby higher altitudes, perhaps only a few miles above their winter villages. One list, which has been labelled as *Transhumant* Swat Gujar, was collected from a Gujar group which could be called semi-nomadic since their seasonal migration takes them from one end of the Swat Valley to the other.

The Kunar word list was elicited from a refugee from Kunar Province in Afghanistan. He had been living in Chitral, outside his homeland, for two years. The man seemed language-aware and stated his opinion that there is very little difference between his language and the Gujar spoken in the Chitral area and in Peshmal, Swat Valley.<sup>8</sup>

The Chitral word list was elicited and checked in Ashriki village near the roadside town of Tharo in Shishi Koh Valley,

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<sup>8</sup> This subject scored 100 percent on the recorded text testing of taped speech samples from Chitral and Peshmal, performances that support the indicators that Gujar in Afghanistan may be very similar to these Western varieties. Although he was tested while the Chitral-area subjects were participating in the recorded text testing, his score was not included in the Chitral sample since he was not native to that dialect area. The recorded text testing procedure and results are described in the last half of this chapter.

approximately twenty kilometers northeast of Drosh. These Gujars are said to have migrated around 1947 from Peshmal and Kalam in Swat Kohistan and from Arandu in the lower Chitral River Valley. There are a few thousand Gujars located in southern Chitral, in the area bordering Afghanistan, especially near Arandu, but this area was inaccessible for research at the time data were collected.

The Dir word list was elicited and checked in the town of Dir with Gujars who live just a few hours traveling time up the Panjkora Valley in the hills near Sheringal.

Two lists were collected from Swat District. The Settled Swat word list was elicited and checked in Peshmal, a Gujar town two kilometers south of Kalam in Swat Kohistan. The Transhumant Swat word list, discussed above, was elicited from Gujar herders, referred to as *Ajars*, who live in Ragushu village in Lower Swat Valley during the winter months and shift to northern Swat during the summer months in search of pastures for their sheep and goats. The original elicited Transhumant Swat list and the check were taken in Peshmal while these herders were passing through scouting out pastures.

The Gilgit word list was elicited and checked in Naltar Bala, a village in Naltar Valley, which opens into the Hunza River valley, approximately forty kilometers north of Gilgit. The village headman claims that the forefathers of the Naltar Bala Gujars came from Swat Valley and from the Indus River valley, from such places as Chilas, Komela, Darel, and Tangir. Every winter about half the community of approximately 400 people travels down to Sultanabad, about six kilometers from Gilgit; in the summer, all but a few families go back to Naltar where they have small farms.

The Kaghan word list was elicited and checked in Mittikot, a village three hours walking distance up into the mountains above Balakot, a town in northern Hazara at the mouth of the Kaghan Valley. The Southern Hazara list was elicited from an elderly man in the village of Tarchatti, located in the Haripur *tehsil* of Abbottabad District. It was checked in the village of Choigari, in the same *tehsil* and district.



Three word lists were elicited from Gujar communities within Azad Kashmir. The Northern Azad Kashmir word list was elicited in Muzaffarabad from a Gujar man from Sutband village, approximately sixteen kilometers south of Muzaffarabad. It was checked with a man from Subri village, approximately six kilometers south of Muzaffarabad. The Central Azad Kashmir word list was first given in Rawalakot, the district headquarters of Poonch District, by an educated man from Khrang, twenty-three kilometers south of Rawalakot. The list was then checked with a group of five educated men in Trarkhel, a Gujar village approximately eighteen kilometers south of Rawalakot. The Southern Azad Kashmir word list was given by a man from Kotli, the district headquarters of Kotli District.

One word list comes from an area not contiguous to the other Gujar-speaking communities; as might be expected, it shows the greatest amount of lexical deviation. The Gujranwala word list was elicited and checked with post-partition immigrants who had come from the Jamna River area, near Agra, India, south of Delhi. These people now reside in Kotshera village on the outskirts of the Panjab city of Gujranwala. There are many people of Gujar ethnicity in this province. Some immigrated from East Panjab (Amritsar, Ludhiana) and Jammu and Kashmir during the time that Pakistan was founded; others have lived in the area for hundreds of years. Unlike the Gujranwala community of Gujar from the Agra area, however, the majority of Gujar in the Panjab are reported to speak Panjabi as their first language.<sup>9</sup>

The elicitation and checking procedure described above was accomplished for each of the lists with two exceptions: the lists from Kunar and from Southern Azad Kashmir. Neither list was elicited on location, nor were there opportunities to check either

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<sup>9</sup> While collecting these data the researchers had opportunities to interview several men active in Gujar affairs (e.g., members of the Lahore-based *Union for the Gujar Gazette*, the *Gujar Association*, and the *Gujar Union of Gujranwala*). Two of these men identified the Gujranwala community as one of two locations where Gujars are still speaking Gujar, although they labelled the variety spoken there as *Purbi*. A third man, vice-president of the local Gujar Union, did not know of any other Gujars in the vicinity still speaking Gujar, saying that they all speak Panjabi. All of these men mentioned the similarity between Gujar and Panjabi, one of them explicitly stating that Gujar is a dialect of Panjabi.

one. For these reasons, these lists may be less reliable than the others included in this study.

One additional word list was gleaned from publications of the Central Institute of Indian Languages written by J. C. Sharma (1979, 1982). Sharma describes the Poonch variety of *Gojri* (according to the author's spelling), as spoken in several villages in the Suran Valley area across the line of control in disputed Jammu and Kashmir. He notes that, according to his local sources, the Gujar spoken in the Poonch District, particularly in the Suran Valley, was considered to be "more acceptable" (1982:6), being "the purest" (1979:3) form of the language. He explains that this perception of purity is based on the belief that in Poonch District, Gujar/Gojri "has lesser influence of other languages such as Urdu, Dogri and Kashmiri" (1979:3). The villages from which Sharma's data were collected are in Haveli and Mendhar *tehsils*, within Poonch District of Indian-held Jammu and Kashmir. Because this list was compiled from published analyses of the grammar and phonology of Gujar/Gojri, only 160 Poonch word list forms were available for comparison, rather than the full 210-item set.

It should be noted that this is not intended to be an exhaustive listing of significant locations where Gujar is spoken, even within Pakistan. As mentioned before, Gujar communities are scattered throughout the northern part of the country; a complete sampling of locations where Gujars are known to live would be an unrealistic research goal. There are known to be landless Gujars continuing to pursue a nomadic herding lifestyle, particularly the *Bakarwals* in Azad Kashmir. The general opinion of settled Gujars in Azad Kashmir was that the Bakarwal Gujar was only slightly different from their own, the lifestyle being the main difference between the peoples. However no linguistic evidence has been collected to substantiate these opinions.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> *Bakarwali* as an identified language is mentioned in J. C. Sharma (1982:2) as a variety which is considered by Gujars as a form of Gujar "with hardly any variation". Sharma specifies that the distinction between Bakarwals and Gujars is based on the type of herds each group keeps and further states that the Bakarwals are mostly landless.

### 2.2.3 Other Linguistic Varieties included in the Lexical Similarity Comparisons

Four additional word lists from related or significant languages were included in the final lexical similarity comparison with Gujari. Two lists were collected in the process of other research projects undertaken by the Sociolinguistic Survey of Northern Pakistan: Balakot Hindko and Lahore Panjabi. Balakot Hindko represents the northernmost Hindko variety as is spoken in the Kaghan Valley, Hazara region; Balakot is a neighboring major town near Mittikot, where the Kaghan Gujari list was collected. Hindko is an important language of wider communication in the Hazara region.

The commonality due to shared genetic history between Western Panjabi, Hindko, and Gujari is overlaid with a very long history of mutual borrowings, creating patterns of divergence and convergence that many scholars have noted as being extremely difficult to sort out. Therefore the Lahore Panjabi and the Balakot Hindko word lists were included in the analysis in order to assess the relative levels of similarity between the collected Gujari varieties and these two lists which are labelled as distinct languages.<sup>11</sup> Again, the purpose is to evaluate synchronic lexical similarity according to the phonetic similarities between word list items sampled, not to provide support for historical classification based on cognicity.

Two lists represent major, standardized languages in northern Pakistan, Urdu and Yusufzai Pashto. Both of these languages are used for communication with non-Gujari speakers by certain segments of the Gujar communities in some locations. In addition to being the national language and the language of education in Pakistan, Urdu was used for cueing bilingual respondents when eliciting lexical items in Gujari. Like Western Panjabi, Hindko, and Gujari, Urdu is also part of the

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<sup>11</sup> The similarity between Gujari and neighboring varieties locally labelled as *Pahari* should also be evaluated but is beyond the scope of this current report. One difficulty in doing such a comparison is that a preliminary step should come first: a foundational analysis of *Pahari* varieties in Pakistan. At this stage, to identify one *Pahari* word list for comparison with Gujari could yield misleading results.

Indo-Aryan or Indic branch of the Indo-European family. Several Gujar respondents spoke of the similarity between Urdu and Gujar during interviews, mentioning such opinions as Urdu being easier to learn and understand because it is similar to Gujar.

In contrast, Pashto is classified as part of the Iranian branch, and is clearly more distinct from Gujar than the other varieties being compared. Being the major language of wider communication in the North-West Frontier Province of Pakistan, Pashto is spoken as a second language by many Gujars from the western word list locations. Grierson (LSI IX.4:941) and others (e.g., Varma 1978) have suggested that Pashto borrowings intrude on the Gujar spoken in some of these Western locations, particularly in Swat District. In support of such borrowings, several interview subjects in this study from non-Pashto speaking areas mentioned the use of Pashto words in the recorded text from Swat.

#### 2.2.4 Lexical Similarity Counts

After the word list data were gathered, each list was compared with each of the others, pair by pair, in order to determine the similarity between corresponding lexical items. The similarity decisions were made according to the synchronic principles mentioned above, using the method for ensuring consistency which is described in appendix A.1. After all pairs of items on two word lists were compared, the percentage of similar items was calculated. This procedure was repeated for each pair of word list locations. The percentage of phonetically similar items for each pair of Gujar word list locations is displayed in figure (1).<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> The complete word lists for all the Gujar elicitation locations are found in appendix C.1.

**Figure (1)** Lexical similarity percentages for Gujari word lists

Kunar, Afghanistan

88 Chitral

93 92 Dir *Western cluster*

84 85 89 Peshmal Swat

85 88 90 94 Transhumant Swat

85 90 87 87 92 Gilgit

74 79 76 81 83 81 Kaghan

70 73 73 74 75 73 85 Southern Hazara *Eastern cluster*

69 72 72 71 74 73 88 83 Northern Azad Kashmir

71 74 74 75 80 75 83 85 86 Central Azad Kashmir

64 66 66 65 69 66 73 78 79 91 Southern Azad Kashmir

67 71 70 69 74 71 77 75 81 91 81 Poonch Gojri, India

54 58 56 58 58 57 61 60 60 68 61 61 Gujranwala62 65 63 66 71 67 79 81 80 77 71 71 53 Balakot Hindko *Other*51 56 55 57 61 56 64 71 64 73 67 63 58 70 Panjabi *Languages*

47 52 50 54 56 53 62 59 57 71 63 64 65 56 56 Urdu

10 11 11 11 12 10 11 13 10 12 10 8 9 11 9 13 Yusufzai Pashto

## 2.2.5 Evidence of Gujari Dialect Groupings: East-West Continuum

The lexical similarity counts suggest that there is a continuum of similarity between varieties of Gujari ranging in a general east to west direction across northern Pakistan. The Gujranwala list deviates from this pattern and will be discussed separately. The east-west word list continuum can be analyzed in terms of two dialect clusters although the percentages are not as neatly separable as such a division might suggest. Nonetheless, with the exception of the Kaghan word list discussed as a border area below, the range of similarity percentages for each location shows higher counts for comparisons within its dialect cluster than are shown between that location and those locations outside that cluster. Thus *Western* locations display higher similarity to other Western locations than they display to any *Eastern* locations, and vice versa. The lexical similarity percentages within each tentative dialect cluster are generally between 80 and

100 percent. In contrast, the range of percentages between all Western and Eastern locations is 64 to 83 percent.

These tentative clusters can be outlined as follows. The Western dialect group includes the sampled varieties of Gujarati spoken in Chitral, Dir, Swat (two lists), and Gilgit. The Kunar list from Afghanistan also falls into this Western grouping. The range of similarity between the Western lists, including the Kunar list, is 94 to 84 percent, with the average within-group similarity at 89 percent.

The Eastern group clusters less tightly than the Western group. Sampled Gujarati varieties from Northern, Central, and Southern Azad Kashmir, and Southern Hazara group together to form an *Eastern* dialect cluster. The range of similarity between these lists is 91 to 78 percent, with an average similarity of 83 percent. The lowest similarity counts within this group are from comparisons with the Southern Azad Kashmir list, which was noted above as possibly less reliable since it was neither elicited on location, nor checked. If the Southern Azad Kashmir list were excluded on the basis of being less reliable, the range within the Eastern group is narrower, 83 to 86 percent, and the average similarity is slightly higher at 85 percent. Even so, word list comparisons indicate more lexical variation among the Eastern Gujarati varieties.

The Gujarati spoken in the Kaghan Valley and represented in the list from Mittikot could be viewed as a border variety between the Western and Eastern clusters.<sup>13</sup> The lexical similarity percentages are slightly higher between Kaghan Gujarati and Eastern varieties (88 to 73 percent range, 82 percent average) than between Kaghan Gujarati and Western varieties (83 to 74 percent range, 79 percent average). This slight tendency towards greater similarity between the Kaghan list and the Eastern lists is supported by other types of evidence which indicate that the Kaghan variety may be viewed as a member of that cluster.

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<sup>13</sup> Northern Hazara is recognized as a border area in other ways as well; in terms of the history of ethnic group contacts, Ahmed has pointed out ways that this region represents a "cultural and geographical 'transition zone' or 'shatter zone'" (1986:102).

These indicators include the dialect opinions expressed by both Eastern and Western variety speakers, and those of the interviewed participants from Mittikot itself. Mittikot subjects evaluated the text from Azad Kashmir as “pure” Gujar, identical to their own speech. While Eastern area participants from Azad Kashmir evaluated the Kaghan text as very similar to their own speech, Gujar from the Western areas said that the Kaghan text mixes forms from Hindko or Panjabi. As is discussed in a subsequent section, the word list comparisons between Kaghan Gujar and other related Indo-Aryan languages (Urdu, Hindko, and Lahore Panjabi) display similar patterns to those of other Eastern group varieties. In addition, the language of wider communication of the Kaghan area is Hindko, an Indo-Aryan language which falls on the eastward direction of the linguistic “fault line” separating Indic from Iranian languages (see Rensch this volume). In contrast, Pashto, which fills the *lingua franca* role for much of the Western dialect area, falls on the western side of the linguistic divide as an Iranian language.<sup>14</sup> These facts indicate that in various ways the sociolinguistic situation of Kaghan Gujar is more similar to that of the Eastern dialect cluster than to the Western.

The *Gojri* list from Poonch District in Indian-held Kashmir is quite similar to the word lists from Azad Kashmir, particularly the Central Azad Kashmir list with which it shares 91 percent similarity; the Northern and Southern Azad Kashmir lists are both at 81 percent similarity with Poonch District Gojri. The comparisons with the two Hazara lists, Kaghan and Southern Hazara, drop to 77 and 75 percent respectively. The range of

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<sup>14</sup> The sampled Gujar-speaking communities from Naltar Bala, Gilgit District, and Shishi Koh Valley, Chitral area are apparent exceptions in that Dardic languages of the Indo-Aryan family, Shina and Khowar respectively, fill the current role of *lingua franca* in their areas. In both these cases, however, there is a link to Pashto as a language of wider communication. The Naltar Bala Gujar trace their migration from the Swat Valley, the heart of Yusufzai Pashto. The Shishi Koh Valley Gujar also are reported to have migrated from areas where Pashto is the *lingua franca* and now live slightly north of the Pashto-speaking frontier in southern Chitral. Pashto has been moving northeast up the Kunar/Chitral River Valley, and is more dominant around Arandu, where other Chitral Gujar communities are found. Some informants from Shishi Koh reported that the Gujar there speak better Pashto than Khowar.

similarity percentages between the Gojri list and the Western lists falls to between 67 and 74 percent. Thus, the published Poonch Gojri list also follows the general pattern of higher similarity with Eastern than with Western varieties of Gujar.

The one elicited Gujar word list that has been excluded from this Western and Eastern cluster analysis is the list from Gujranwala. As noted above, Gujranwala is not contiguous to the rest of the communities, and represents a different sociolinguistic situation, especially since this is a fairly recent settlement of Gujars originating from India. This list is perhaps more representative of the Gujar spoken in the Agra area from which this community came. Panjabi is the language of wider communication in the Gujranwala area, and most ethnic Gujars throughout the Panjab have Panjabi as their first language. Gujranwala Gujars are completely settled, and practice lifestyles similar to those of their surrounding Panjabi neighbors. The lexical similarity count indicates that the Gujranwala list is most similar to the Central Azad Kashmir list, with a moderately low percentage of 68 percent similarity. It is slightly more similar to the Eastern cluster than to the Western one. Gujranwala with all the Eastern lists excluding Central Azad Kashmir falls at 60 or 61 percent, and there is a range of 54 to 58 percent between it and all the Western lists. These percentages are considerably lower than those from comparisons between the other Gujar lists, and thus it stands outside the east-west continuum of dialects proposed above. Comments from Gujranwala Gujars in response to the Western recorded text from Peshmal, Swat support the conclusion that the Gujar spoken in their community is markedly different from that of Swat.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> These immigrants from the Jamna River area thought that the Swat text was similar to Jammu Gujar. A few said that they could not understand it, although one man attempted to retell the story. Two of those interviewed mentioned the mixing of Pashto words into the recorded story from Swat.



### 2.2.6 Additional Comparisons with Related and Neighboring Languages

Although borrowings and inherently related forms are not distinguished when doing word list similarity counts, consistent patterns in phonetic similarity counts are observable when the Eastern and Western dialect clusters of Gujari are compared with lists in Balakot Hindko, Lahore Panjabi, and Urdu. Gujari word lists from Eastern and Western locations both displayed low percentages of similarity with Yusufzai Pashto, a range of 10 to 13 percent.<sup>16</sup>

The most surprising result of this comparison with other named languages is the relatively high similarity between Eastern Gujari varieties and Balakot Hindko. The lexical similarity counts between Balakot Hindko and Gujari varieties in the Eastern cluster range between 71 and 81 percent, with an average of 78 percent. In contrast, similarity percentages between Balakot Hindko and the Western Gujari varieties range between 62 and 71 percent, with an average similarity of 66 percent. This east-west contrast is explainable since Hindko is a widely spoken language in parts of the eastern region, which is not the case in the areas of the west where there are Gujar communities.

It is interesting to note that the percentages between many Eastern Gujari varieties and Balakot Hindko are higher than those between these same Eastern varieties and many of the Western Gujari varieties. The Balakot Hindko list with those of the Eastern group ranges between 72 and 81 percent similarity, with an average similarity of 78 percent. Western Gujari varieties compare with Eastern varieties with a range of 64 to 83 percent

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<sup>16</sup> This lack of increased similarity between Pashto and Western Gujari may be a by-product of word list elicitation, since respondents are asked to give equivalent Gujari forms for the Urdu cue words. Pashto forms are easier to distinguish from Gujari than forms from other Indo-Aryan languages. Even when Pashto borrowings are the more commonly used terms in everyday speech, Gujari equivalents may have been elicited. The expectation that Pashto forms are mixed into the Gujari as it is spoken in the Western dialect area is supported by reports in the literature (e.g., LSI IX.4:941, Varma 1978) and various comments in response to the taped narratives recorded in Peshmal and Chitral voiced by Eastern Gujari speakers and respondents from Gujranwala.

and an average similarity of 73 percent. These figures indicate that the lexical inventories of some Eastern varieties of Gujarati may be slightly more similar to that of Balakot Hindko than they are to those of Western varieties of Gujarati.

A likely explanation is that borrowings from Hindko have made their way into the lexicon of Gujarati communities in close proximity to Hindko speakers, contributing to the divergence of Eastern and Western dialects of Gujarati. However, since Hindko and Gujarati are also related languages, there is a foundation of similarity between them because of their genetic relatedness. In their effects on the moderately high similarity counts between Eastern Gujarati and Balakot Hindko, the contribution of the magnitude of borrowings is not separable from that of historical relatedness.

Similar patterns of higher similarity with the Eastern cluster are seen when comparisons are made with Lahore Panjabi and Urdu. Lahore Panjabi word list percentages indicate more similarity with Eastern Gujarati varieties than with Western Gujarati varieties. The lexical similarity percentages with the Eastern group range between 64 and 73 percent, with an average similarity of 68 percent. The comparisons with the Western group are approximately 10 percent lower, ranging from 51 to 61 percent, and averaging at 56 percent.

Percentages from the comparison of Gujarati and Urdu word lists show somewhat less similarity than was shown by the comparison with Panjabi. However there is a replication of the pattern of an approximate 10 percent increase in lexical similarity between Urdu and Eastern Gujarati varieties than between Urdu and Western Gujarati varieties. Urdu with the Eastern group ranges between 57 and 71 percent similarity, with an average at 62 percent. Urdu with the Western group falls to a range of 47 to 56 percent and an average of 52 percent.

The word list evidence presented here is insufficient for the definite identification of processes of linguistic divergence and convergence. There remain questions related to differing tendencies toward maintenance of traditional forms which have brought about these east-west dialect patterns. However, there is

definite lexical evidence for the increased similarity between Eastern varieties of Gujarī and their related linguistic neighbors on the east side of the Iranian-Indic fault line.

## 2.3 Comprehension of Recorded Speech

Both linguistic and extralinguistic factors affect a hearer's comprehension of the spoken forms of related linguistic varieties. Shared linguistic features in the lexicon, phonology, and grammar contribute to the ability to decode meaning from oral texts. Social factors influence patterns of intelligibility as well, such as frequency and depth of contact with members of the speech community represented, the necessity or motivation to communicate with such speakers, and the social prestige or stigmatization associated with certain speech forms. A combination of these linguistic and social factors serve to differentiate spoken forms of Gujarī.

### 2.3.1 Recorded Text Testing of Regional Varieties of Gujarī

In order to evaluate the intelligibility of varieties of Gujarī spoken in different locations, tape-recorded texts were collected from five locations and constructed into simple, orally-administered comprehension tests. In each case, a short, personal-experience narrative was elicited from a speaker of the target speech variety and tape recorded. A set of comprehension questions was then constructed based on various semantic areas covered in the text. The averaged scores on this *recorded text test* (RTT) from the speakers of other varieties of Gujarī represent their ability to comprehend the test variety. From this, extrapolations could be made regarding intelligibility between the varieties. A more detailed description of the methodology is given in appendix A.2 of this volume.

These recorded text tests were developed in the regional varieties of Gujarī spoken in specific sites in Chitral, Swat, Gilgit, Kaghan, and Azad Kashmir. Each test was first administered in the area where it was developed in order to verify that the text represents a good, natural sample of local

speech and that the test questions are clear and can be easily answered by local speakers. The RTTs were then administered in the other regions. The Chitral, Swat, Gilgit, and Kaghan RTTs were all administered in each of these four locations; thus, there is a complete four-way comparison between these locations with four RTTs administered in each. The Azad Kashmir testing was limited in that only two texts were tested in the Central Azad Kashmir location; these were the Swat and the Kaghan RTTs. The Azad Kashmir text was tested in three of the other regions, Chitral, Swat, and Kaghan, in addition to the initial validation testing in the Central Azad Kashmir area. In terms of the dialect continuum tentatively proposed on the basis of the word lists, three of the RTT sites are in the Western region (Chitral, Swat, and Gilgit) and the remaining two are in the Eastern region (Kaghan, Azad Kashmir).

### 2.3.2 Mean Comprehension Scores on Recorded Text Tests

The results of recorded text testing in the five Gujarati locations are shown in figure (2). The mean comprehension score is listed for each recorded text test (RTT) given in each test location. In addition, a 95 percent confidence interval is given as an estimate of the range within which the comprehension score for the total population would fall, based on the distribution of scores in the sample. The number of test subjects per sample and the standard deviation are indicated for each mean score. The RTT means are given as percentages of correct answers. Standard deviations for each mean indicate the amount of variation within each sample.

**Figure (2)** Mean Scores on Gujari Recorded Text Tests

TEST LOCATIONS: <sup>17</sup>					
	<i>Chitral</i>	<i>Swat</i>	<i>Gilgit</i>	<i>Kaghan</i>	<i>Central Azad Kashmir</i>
TEXTS:					
<i>Chitral</i>	m = 95 CI 92-99 sd = 8 n = 24	m = 94 CI 89-99 sd = 7 n = 10	m = 83 CI 72-94 sd = 16 n = 10	m = 73 CI 60-86 sd = 18 n = 10	
<i>Swat</i>	m = 97 CI 93-100 sd = 5 n = 9	m = 96 CI 94-99 sd = 7 n = 33	m = 96 CI 92-100 sd = 5 n = 10	m = 88 CI 81-95 sd = 9 n = 10	m = 53 CI 42-63 sd = 13 n = 8
<i>Gilgit</i>	m = 93 CI 87-99 sd = 8 n = 10	m = 95 CI 91-98 sd = 5 n = 10	m = 97 CI 94-100 sd = 5 n = 11	m = 86 CI 81-91 sd = 7 n = 10	
<i>Kaghan</i>	m = 82 CI 73-91 sd = 13 n = 10	m = 95 CI 90-100 sd = 7 n = 10	m = 93 CI 86-100 sd = 11 n = 11	m = 97 CI 95-99 sd = 5 n = 29	m = 86 CI 77-95 sd = 11 n = 8
<i>Central Azad Kashmir</i>	m = 80 CI 72-87 sd = 8 n = 7	m = 85 CI 77-93 sd = 12 n = 10		m = 87 CI 81-93 sd = 8 n = 10	m = 100 CI 100 sd = 0 n = 8

m = RTT mean      sd = standard deviation      n = number of test subjects

CI = 95% confidence interval — range estimate based on RTT mean

<sup>17</sup> Location Key for Texts and Test Points: *Central Azad Kashmir*, Trarkhel; *Chitral*, Shishi Koh Valley and Drosh; *Kaghan*, Mittikot and Balakot; *Gilgit*, Naltar Bala; *Swat*, Peshmal

### 2.3.3 Recorded Text Test Analysis

The RTT analysis shows the same general continuum of East-West variation as shown in the analysis of the Gujarati word lists. Mean scores from Western texts tested in Western locations (Chitral, Swat, Gilgit) are higher than the mean scores from Eastern texts tested in Western locations. Excluding the hometown RTTs used as validation tests in the locations from which that spoken form was recorded, the Western texts tested in Western locations display means ranging from 93 to 97 percent in all but one case. The performance of Gilgit Gujaratis on the Chitral text, both within the posited Western region, is somewhat lower with a mean of 83 percent; the Chitral Gujaratis perform well on the Gilgit Gujarati text, however, with a mean score of 93 percent. Overall these Western RTT results seem to indicate fairly high intelligibility of spoken forms of Gujarati within the Western region, with a tentative indication of some comprehension loss between Gilgit and Chitral varieties of Gujarati.

In comparison to the scores on RTTs within the Western region, the range of RTT means for Eastern texts tested in Western locations is still high overall, but shows a slight drop, between 80 percent and 95 percent. The high mean scores within this range are seen in the results of the Kaghan RTT tested in the Gilgit and Swat regions, with means of 93 percent and 95 percent respectively. Such results support the position of Kaghan Gujarati as a border variety between Eastern and Western dialect clusters. The Kaghan RTT mean dips to 82 percent in the far western test site of Chitral. The Azad Kashmir RTT shows lower results in both the Chitral and Swat test sites, at 80 and 85 percent. These means tentatively indicate moderate to fairly high comprehension by Western Gujaratis listening to the speech forms exemplified in the Eastern Gujarati texts.

Eastern texts tested in Eastern locations (Kaghan, Central Azad Kashmir) show higher means than Western texts in Eastern locations. Within-group means for the Eastern regional texts are 86 percent for Central Azad Kashmir subjects on the Kaghan text and 87 percent for Kaghan subjects on the Central Azad Kashmir text. These means are not as high as the within-region RTT

means for the Western dialect cluster (93 to 97 percent); however, they also point to moderate to fairly high intelligibility among the Eastern varieties tested. Thus, means and ranges based on confidence intervals on RTTs from within the region tend to be higher than those on RTTs from the other region.

In comparing the two regions by their scores on texts from outside their dialect cluster, it appears that the subjects living in Western regions had relatively less trouble on the Eastern texts (means ranging from 80 to 95 percent), than the opposite case. In other words, the subjects living in Eastern regions had quite a bit of trouble understanding some of the Western texts (means ranging from 53 to 88 percent). The Chitral text was not well understood in the only Eastern location where it was tested, Kaghan.

The striking indicator of Eastern subjects' limited understanding of Western varieties was the 53 percent mean on the Swat text tested in the farthest Eastern area, Central Azad Kashmir. The Swat text shows the highest mean scores within the Western group (96 to 97 percent), drops to 88 percent in the Eastern border area of Kaghan, then to 53 percent in Central Azad Kashmir. The presence of certain unfamiliar lexical items in this Swat Gujari text is a partial explanation for the sharp drop in comprehension scores. As is discussed in the following section, the importance of these lexical items in causing a loss of comprehension is supported by the performance of RTT subjects and by the opinions expressed by these subjects and others who listened to the text.

The other two Western texts (Chitral, Gilgit) were tested only in Kaghan and not in the farther east location of Central Azad Kashmir. However the means for these two Western texts in the Eastern-border area of Kaghan are lower as well. In Kaghan, the Chitral RTT mean was 73 percent, versus 83 and 94 percent for the other Western locations. In Kaghan, the Gilgit RTT mean was 86 percent, in contrast to 93 and 95 percent for the Gilgit test in other Western locations.

The Kaghan text displays higher scores in the Western region than the further Eastern text, Central Azad Kashmir, does.

This supports the indicators that Kaghan Gujarī is a border variety between the Eastern and Western regions. Less testing of Western varieties in the Eastern region was accomplished, so it is difficult to say which Western variety may be better understood in the East.

There is tentative evidence of variation in intelligibility indicated by different means on RTTs in different regional varieties of Gujarī; but since there is some amount of variation in the levels of difficulty between these texts, it is difficult to interpret the significance of such comparisons between comprehension scores. Nevertheless, the overall pattern of an east-west dialect continuum is consistent with the pattern of recorded text test scores.

#### **2.4 Dialect Opinions in Reference to Recorded Texts**

As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, recorded text test participants were also asked to give their opinions of the texts they heard. Open ended questions were presented to elicit attitudes and perceptions after the testing was completed; in a few cases, these same questions were asked of Gujar men who had not fully participated in the comprehension testing, but who had listened to the story texts as part of a more informal interview. The questions focussed on the following areas: Was the recorded story “good Gujarī”? Why or why not? Where did the respondent think the storyteller was from? Is the Gujarī in the story the same or different from the way the respondent speaks? Which story represented the most different variety of Gujarī? How well did the respondents feel that they understood the variety of Gujarī in the story? These dialect perceptions and attitudes round out the patterns of intelligibility indicated by the more quantitative evidence presented above.

Comments expressed by subjects regarding RTT texts and general opinions given regarding perceived Gujarī dialects support the word list and RTT results. Although these comments undoubtedly have some bearing in linguistic reality, the specific frequencies of divergent versus shared linguistic forms between spoken forms of Gujarī and related or surrounding linguistic



varieties have not been fully investigated. Thus these comments are included as supportive evidence of perceived dialect differences.

The general pattern was that interviewees from the East felt that Gujarati spoken in the West was somewhat different from their own and likewise, those from the West recognized differences in the Gujarati spoken in the East. The few individuals tested from the extreme ends of the East-West continuum (coming from regions outside the scope of the formal study, from Afghanistan or from Indian-held Kashmir) expressed even greater difficulty understanding the Gujarati from the opposite side. In addition to these perceptions of difference, the respondents' perceptions of similarity support the clustering of Eastern varieties and the clustering of Western ones. Subjects' comments regarding Kaghan Gujarati support the grouping of this borderline variety with the Eastern rather than the Western dialect cluster.

Respondents who listened to the recorded texts from various areas often compared them by giving opinions on the relative purity, correctness, or overall goodness of the Gujarati represented in the recording. There were no expressions by those interviewed of negative attitudes toward their own local variety of Gujarati in comparison to some prestige associated with another regional variety. Instead, many respondents specified that their own regional variety was the best Gujarati. The most frequent comment about the recorded texts from outside the participant's dialect cluster was that these forms of Gujarati were a little different or perhaps very different. Interestingly, the perceptions of most subjects who listened to the recordings were relatively accurate with regards to their identification of the general region from which these texts came. Western recordings were generally recognized as similar to other texts from the Western dialect cluster and vice versa.

Some Western dialect speakers explained that the Gujarati spoken in the East was a different variety, in contrast to the similarity they perceived with speech forms between Swat, Dir and Chitral. This support for the East-West difference is also seen in the reverse direction, in responses of Eastern speakers

toward Western forms of Gujarī. Two of the men interviewed independently in Azad Kashmir spoke of “two dialects” of Gujarī within Pakistan, separating the Gujarī spoken in Swat and Chitral (one included Gilgit in this dialect group as well) from that spoken in Hazara and Azad Jammu and Kashmir.<sup>18</sup>

The issue of “pure” versus “mixed” Gujarī was often mentioned by RTT subjects and interviewees, lending further support to the East-West split hypothesis described in the word list analysis. RTT subjects repeatedly commented regarding code-mixing in the recorded texts. Several subjects from the West described the Gujarī in the Eastern recorded texts as mixing Hindko, Pahari, Panjabi, or Urdu. As mentioned above, the Eastern word lists do display higher similarity counts with these other languages than do the Western ones. Two respondents also mentioned the influence of Kashmiri in the Trarkhel text. Some subjects in the East describe the Peshmal text as mixing Pashto, though the word list counts do not support this pattern.<sup>19</sup> Some subjects also mentioned the influence of Swat Kohistani words in the Peshmal text, and one subject mentioned some Khowar words in the Chitral Gujarī text. Lexical borrowing from regional languages is to be expected, but we have no measure as to the extent that borrowed forms actually occur in the recorded texts to compare with the perceptions mentioned by some subjects. It is likely that even a few unfamiliar loan words would stand out and provoke comment by listeners from regions where the loaning language is not spoken.

Lexical influence on some Gujarī varieties from the national language, Urdu, and from the widely spoken Panjabi could improve the comprehension of such varieties by those Gujarīs with education or greater contact with those languages. The

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<sup>18</sup> One of these men mentioned that the Gujarī spoken in “Occupied Kashmir” made up a third dialect.

<sup>19</sup> As mentioned previously, this may be due to the relatively more obvious contrast between Gujarī and Pashto, than between Gujarī and Hindko, Panjabi, or Urdu. Perhaps it was easier for the Western Gujarī speakers to identify and eliminate any apparent Pashto loans from these Western word lists than it would be for Eastern Gujarī speakers to do the same for loans from more closely related languages.

exposure to Urdu was mentioned by one respondent from Chitral as boosting his comprehension of the recorded text from Central Azad Kashmir. Another interview respondent stated that the Gujarati radio broadcasts from Muzaffarabad and from Rawalpindi are mixed with some Urdu because the announcers are literate; but that these Urdu loans make “only one percent difference” from the dialect spoken by the Gujarats in Azad Kashmir. There were several supporting comments from other Gujarats interviewed who gave opinions such as the belief of widespread ability to understand Urdu, even among the uneducated Gujarats, because their languages are similar, or the comment that Urdu-speaking girls would make suitable wives for their sons because Urdu is similar to their language. The opinion that Gujarati is similar to Panjabi was widely voiced as well, with one of the Gujarats interviewed in the Panjab stating that Gujarati was really a “dialect of Panjabi”.

“Pure” Gujarati was identified by various Eastern interviewees as coming from areas within the posited Eastern region, or further east into Jammu and Kashmir. One man, a radio announcer for Gujarati broadcasts from Rawalpindi, mentioned that the Gujarati spoken in the Kaghan area, Upper Hazara, was the purest form of Gujarati within Pakistan. Other Eastern dialect speakers pinpointed the spoken forms from locations in Jammu and Kashmir, or identified the speech of the Bakarwals as the purest form of their language. Some more sophisticated and educated Gujarats from the Panjab or from Azad Kashmir were aware of Gujarati language promotion in Srinagar or other locations across the eastern frontier. The historical ties tracing Pakistani Gujarats as migrating from areas south and east were acknowledged by some interviewees from both the east and the west. Thus there is some evidence for the perceptions of more traditional Gujarati being centered toward the easterly direction, rather than the west.

Overarching this attention to the differences between varieties of Gujarati, there appeared to be a common perception of shared ethnic identity between Gujarats and the assertion that they speak their own Gujarati language. Many respondents commented on the texts from other areas by stating that the speech on the

tape was “my language, but different”. Gujars from various locations mentioned listening to the radio broadcasts; one man reported that these broadcasts originate in Peshawar, in Muzaffarabad, in Srinagar, and in Jammu, and that he can understand the Gujar from all these place because the language is essentially the same everywhere. The importance of Gujar unity is supported by the existence of organizations, such as the *Union for the Gujar Gazette* and the *Gujar Association*. These associations hold regular conventions; attendance at such conventions was reported by participants even from the farthest extremes of dialect areas represented in this study, from Chitral to Gujranwala. Thus the perception of a unifying Gujar language and identity seems to be significant to the Gujar community.

## **2.5 Indications of Dialect Intelligibility Patterns and Directions for Future Research**

Overall, both the word list analysis and the recorded text test results support the pattern of declining comprehension as distance between regional varieties of Gujar increases. This pattern of increasing difficulty in comprehension of more distant Gujar varieties is supported by opinions and perceptions of interview participants as well. However, Gujars are distinguished by a strong and unified ethnic identity, and they seem to regard the language spoken by various Gujar communities as one unifying and distinguishing feature of their common ethnicity. It seems apparent that Gujar speakers regard their language as having regional variance, but as one common tongue.

A common view regarding the distinction between different languages versus dialects of the same language is based on the premise that dialects of the same language are intelligible to the speakers of variant dialects, whereas different languages are not sufficiently intelligible for speakers to understand each other without the opportunity for acquisition or learning. Although the evidence gathered on linguistic varieties labeled as Gujar cannot uncontrovertably prove that the investigated spoken forms are merely different dialects, i.e., sufficiently intelligible not to be labeled as Gujar languages, it appears that this is the case. There

is clearly some loss of comprehension between the more distant varieties of Gujari within Pakistan. How much adjustment Gujari speakers must make to accomodate to dialectal differences is an avenue for further research.

Although both the Eastern and Western Gujari spoken varieties show some divergence and are undoubtedly affected by their surrounding languages, there is tentative evidence that Western Gujari speakers better understand the speech forms of Eastern Gujars, than the Easterners understand the Western varieties. One possible explanation could be that if the Eastern Gujari varieties are closer to the historical form from which all forms of Gujari have derived, then perhaps Western Gujars retain some level of receptive competence to comprehend such varieties though their productive competence may reflect more divergence. Another explanation might be that since the Eastern varieties of Gujari are more similar to Urdu and Panjabi, any knowlege of Urdu or exposure to Panjabi among Western Gujars is likely to improve their understanding of Eastern Gujari. Whether these language contact factors have significantly impacted the investigation of intelligibility is difficult to say. Verification of such speculation requires further research.

Being that the Kaghan variety of Gujari shows evidence of being a border dialect in the East-West continuum of Gujari varieties, it may represent the most central and widely understood form of the Gujari language as spoken within Pakistan. However, the Gujari variety spoken to the east of Kaghan in Azad Kashmir is significant for two reasons. Speakers there are more numerous and concentrated. In addition, some educated Gujars from Azad Jammu and Kashmir are aware of the development efforts in Srinagar where some Gujari literature is being produced, and they are committed to the development and promotion of Gujari in Pakistan.

As has been noted, Gujari is spoken by a significant number of speakers outside of Pakistan, particularly towards the east in the disputed area of Jammu and Kashmir, and in India. A more complete picture of the extent of intelligiblity for the full range

of Gujarati varieties requires investigation beyond the borders of Pakistan.

## CHAPTER 3

### PROFILES OF TWO GUJAR COMMUNITIES

#### 3.1 Introduction

Two Gujar communities were studied in depth in order to examine social features relevant to sociolinguistic patterns in these communities. The first community was Peshmal, a small Gujar town in northern Swat Valley near Kalam. The second was Mittikot, a village in the mountains above Balakot, near the mouth of the Kaghan Valley. For the purposes of this study, the Peshmal community, in the proposed Western dialect area, represents Gujars living in a small town which is easily accessible and is set in a dominant Pashtoon region with Pashto as the language of wider communication. The Mittikot community, in the proposed Eastern dialect area, represents Gujars in a small, more isolated village set in a region where Hindko is the dominant language of wider communication.

#### 3.2 Methodology

The purpose of this chapter is to present a general description of each Gujar community and a profile of social factors, such as gender, age, and education which are relevant to the sociolinguistic patterns seen in these communities. In each community, a census was taken, second language proficiency was tested, and interviews were conducted regarding language use and attitudes and travel experience.<sup>20</sup>

The census for Peshmal does not include the entire Peshmal area. Rather, census data was gathered in Gush, a settlement in larger Peshmal, as representative of the Peshmal area in general. The Gush census information is complete in that every household is included. A Gujari-speaking, middle school teacher and lifelong resident of the community provided all the data on each

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<sup>20</sup> For a full presentation of the language and travel data, see chapter 4.

household, giving information for each member as to age, gender, education level, khel, and relationship to the head of the household. In Mittikot, a representative from each household was interviewed regarding each household member. The census counted all the residents, including those residing in the lower village of Mittikot, as well as those in the high summer settlement.

### 3.3 Peshmal

Peshmal is a small Gujar town located approximately two kilometers south of Kalam along the Swat River. It is situated on the main road into northern Swat and is frequented by tourists and others passing through on their way to Kalam. The regional language spoken in the area is Pashto. The village immediately across the river from Peshmal, called Ariani, has a majority Pashtoon population. Kohistani people also live in the area and speak their own Kohistani language. The nearby town of Kalam is predominantly Kohistani speaking.<sup>21</sup>

#### 3.3.1 Peshmal Population

An estimate of the population of greater Peshmal is approximately 3,500. According to the 1987 census taken by the Sociolinguistic Survey of Northern Pakistan, Gush has a total population of 268: 150 males and 118 females, with 43 households, averaging 6.2 people per household. Similarly, the 1981 government census lists the Gush population as 210 people with 37 households. The distribution of the 1987 Gush population by age and gender is displayed in figure (1).

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<sup>21</sup> This variety of Kohistani has been called *Garwi* by Grierson (LSI VII.2:3). It is referred to as *Kalami Kohistani* in this series (see Rensch 1992).



(1) Population of Gush settlement, Peshmal (1987):  
Distribution of Males and Females in Age Groups

Age in Years	<i>Males</i>		<i>Females</i>	
	<i>n</i>	Percentage of Males	<i>n</i>	Percentage of Females
1- 9	42	28%	39	33%
10-19	41	27	22	19
20-29	25	17	23	20
30-39	13	9	9	8
40+	29	19	21	18
Unknown			4	3
<i>Total</i>	150		118	

### 3.3.2 General Background on Peshmal Gujars

One leading Gujar family in Gush, managers and partial owners of the Peshmal Hotel, traces their ancestral migration into the area from Gujarat, Rajasthan, and the Panjab. Another man, the young middle school teacher, explains that the Peshmal Gujars have been settled in the area for hundreds of years. Two or three Gujars came and settled in the area from the Kana *khel*. According to the teacher, the people do not have a tradition as nomadic herdsman.<sup>22</sup> The Gujars in the Peshmal area today are farmers of small land holdings. The crops are primarily maize, potatoes, and turnips. The people also grow smaller amounts of other vegetables. Gujar men travel to Lahore and Rawalpindi to sell potatoes. Beans, turnips, and walnuts are also sold. Peshmal Gujars do not have herds of goats or sheep; generally there is only one or two per family. The people have cows and buffaloes for milk and for plowing.

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<sup>22</sup> Barth (1956a) states that Gujars probably first entered the Swat Valley approximately 400 years ago. In another article, he interviewed Gujars from Peshmal and Laikot. They said their people came “‘long ago’ from Alai, across the Indus. The land was then empty; they claimed it, cleared the jungle, and settled as agriculturalists” (1956b:77).

Peshmal Gujars own land in the upper regions above Peshmal. Transhumant or semi-nomadic Gujars, referred to by locals as *Ajris* or in the literature as *Ajars*, come up into the area from Lower Swat during the summer months and pay the settled Peshmal Gujars for permission to graze their herds on the land.<sup>23</sup> Peshmal Gujars also own forest land. They cut the timber and sell it to people from Bahrain, Mingora, and other places further down the valley. The government also buys timber directly from the Gujars.

Many Peshmal Gujars (preliminary questionnaire data indicate approximately half the population) leave Peshmal for about six months in the winter to escape the cold and snow and to seek employment. They travel to lower areas such as Malakand, Peshawar, Nowshera, and Rawalpindi. Often whole families travel south.<sup>24</sup>

Peshmal has a small bazaar with seven shops where basic supplies can be purchased. Many items, such as fresh meat and medicine, must be obtained from the larger bazaar in Kalam. There is a hotel and restaurant in Peshmal, also a police station and power house. The middle school (classes one through eight) where Gujar children are educated, is located across the river in Ariani. A mosque school (classes one through three) is located in Peshmal. There are eight small mosques located throughout the area for prayer. The local people report that Gujar is generally spoken in the mosque. Friday prayers, however, are given in Pashto because people come from other areas who do not speak Gujar.

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<sup>23</sup> Barth (1956b:76) divides the Gujars of Swat Kohistan into two categories:

(1) large numbers of nomadic herders utilizing the high valley and mountain pastures in the summer season and spending the winter in Buner or Peshawar District, and (2) scattered permanent settlements of Gujar agriculturalists, either associated with Kohistani villages, or in separate communities. These latter communities are found mainly above Utror in the tributaries to the main valley, and between Kalam and the Torwal area, along the Swat river.

<sup>24</sup> Similar winter migration patterns to cities further south are also practiced by other ethnic groups in the area such as Kalam Kohistanis. (See Stahl 1988.)

There is electricity in Peshmal in the summer months when there is sufficient snow melt for hydro-electric power. There is no television; however, radio broadcasts are received from Peshawar, Rawalpindi, and also Muzaffarabad. The people listen to Urdu, Pashto, and Gujari broadcasts. Generally, they report no trouble understanding the Gujari broadcasts from these locations. Many of the homes also have tape players; people listen to Urdu and Pashto songs.

Additional services are available in nearby Kalam. There are two primary schools there, one for boys and one for girls, and a high school for boys only.

### 3.3.3 Education in Peshmal

In the 1987 language survey census of Gush, 40 percent of the total male population was reported to have received some form of formal education (approximately half of those school age and older). Only one female, thirteen years old, was reported to have received any formal education (five years). Figure (2) below presents the distribution of the Gush population according to gender and education level. The majority of educated men received one to five years education. Only 12 percent of the male population received more than five years; more than ten years was rare, comprising only 1 percent of the population.

(2) Population of Gush settlement, Peshmal (1987):  
Distribution of Males and Females in Education Groups

<i>Level of Education</i>	<i>Males</i>		<i>Females</i>	
	<i>n</i>	Percentage of Males	<i>n</i>	Percentage of Females
Under age	20	13%	26	22%
No formal ed.	63	42	84	71
1-5 yrs. ed.	42	28	1	1
6-10 yrs. ed.	16	11	—	—
11-12 yrs.ed.	2	1	—	—
Unknown	7	5	7	6
<i>Total</i>	150		118	

Figure (3) presents the distribution of the population by sex, age, and education level. As might be expected, the data indicate that more young Gujar males are receiving education now than in the past. In 1987, only three Gush men over thirty years of age had received any formal education.

**(3) Population of Gush settlement, Peshmal (1987): Distribution of Males and Females in Age and Education Groups**

<b>Men</b> <i>Age Groups</i>	Under age	No formal education	<i>Years of formal education</i>				<i>Total</i>
			1- 5	6-10	11-12	Unknown	
1- 5	20						20
6- 9		9	12			1	22
10-19		8	23	7	1	2	41
20-29		10	6	7	1	1	25
30-39		11		2			13
40+		25	1			3	29
<i>Total</i>	20	63	42	16	2	7	150

<b>Women</b> <i>Age Groups</i>	Under age	No formal education	<i>Years of formal education</i>				<i>Total</i>
			1- 5	6-10	11-12	Unknown	
1- 5	26						26
6- 9		13					13
10-19		20	1			1	22
20-29		21				2	23
30-39		9					9
40+		20				1	21
Unknown		1				3	4
<i>Total</i>	26	84	1			7	118

In 1989, the middle school teacher who gave the census information estimated that there were approximately 400 boys enrolled in the middle school in Peshmal, approximately 300 of which were Gujar. Other students were Pashtoons and Kohistanis. Enrollment gradually decreased from an estimate of approximately eighty students in class one, to fifteen in class

eight. The medium of instruction is Pashto in classes one through five. Urdu is taught as a subject, as well as Pashto. Many of the teachers are Pashtoons and communicate with their students in Pashto. If the first class teacher is a Gujar, he will use some Gujar to explain new or difficult concepts. Urdu is the medium of instruction in classes six through eight. Urdu and Pashto are also taught as subjects. The teacher estimated that there were approximately sixty Gujar boys in ninth and tenth class in Kalam. There were four or five boys enrolled in Mingora High School and another four or five in Mingora College.

The mosque school teaches classes one through three. Pashto is the medium of instruction. Subjects such as Islamic studies, Pakistan studies, English, math, and Urdu are taught.

Quranic education is provided at the mosque for boys beginning at age five or six with some continuing until age thirteen or fourteen. The boys receive religious instruction. They learn some Arabic and learn to read and recite the Quran. The medium of instruction is Gujar. Girls receive Quranic education at home. Some boys also are trained at home.

### **3.4 Mittikot**

Mittikot is a Gujar village located approximately six kilometers west of Balakot in the mountains near the mouth of the Kaghan Valley in Mansehra District, Hazara. It is a more isolated village than Peshmal. There is no road and no transport, except by donkey, to the village which is a two to three-hour walk up a steep mountain path from Balakot. Mittikot is one of many Gujar villages in the area. Balakot is the main town, stretching along the Kunhar River at the mouth of the steep valley. The majority of people in Balakot are Hindko speakers. Hindko is the regional language of the area.

The Mittikot Gujars are transhumant pastoralists and agriculturalists. They are settled in Mittikot in the winter months when the snows are heavy and move to their summer settlement, called Danna or Mali, about eight kilometers further up the mountain during the summer months. In the past, the whole

village moved with the herds. Now only 50 percent of the population moves up the mountain in the summer. Arif (1987:3) reported a "decrease in the upward migration and some changes in their subsistence patterns due to adopting occupations other than agriculture and animal husbandry, such as labour, service, woodcutting and selling."<sup>25</sup> The winter village covers an area of approximately eight square kilometers and the summer settlement covers approximately 8 to 10 square kilometers with a total area of 18 to 25 square kilometers. The stone and mud houses in Mittikot are scattered over the hilly land in an area surrounded by forests. Only small tracts of land are arable. This land is terraced and used primarily to grow corn, and also fodder, wheat, rice, and vegetables. The winter settlement is rather congested and once the maize crop is growing, there is little room for grazing. The buffalo, sheep, and goats are taken up to the summer settlement where there are fields but also a wide open grazing area. On the other side of the mountain is a Swati village called Shinkiari. The people there are Hindko speakers. There is a jeep road from Shinkiari leading up to the Mittikot summer settlement. In the summer, some Mittikot Gujars take the road to Shinkiari for Friday prayers, errands in the bazaar, or for work.

### 3.4.1 Mittikot Population

The total number of households in Arif's 1986 census was 141; 71 households stayed in the main village of Mittikot and 70 migrated to the summer site. The total population was 742: 377 males and 365 females with an average of 5.3 people per household. These figures are very similar to those obtained two years later by the Sociolinguistic Survey of Northern Pakistan. In the 1988 language survey census, there was a total population of 734: 374 males and 360 females. Figure (4) presents the distribution of the population by gender and age group.

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<sup>25</sup> The majority of social and economic data about Mittikot was collected by Muhammad Arif. He conducted his own research in Mittikot in 1986 and completed a master's thesis on Mittikot Gujars in 1987. He then assisted the Sociolinguistic Survey of Northern Pakistan in collecting data in Mittikot in 1988.

**(4) Population of Mittikot (1988)**  
**Distribution of Males and Females in Age Groups**

Age Group	<i>Males</i>		<i>Females</i>	
	<i>n</i>	Percentage of Males	<i>n</i>	Percentage of Females
1- 9 yrs.	81	22%	108	30%
10-19	83	22	76	21
20-29	68	18	62	17
30-39	48	13	54	15
40+	94	25	60	17
<i>Total</i>	374		360	

### 3.4.2 General Background on Mittikot Gujars

The Gujars claim to be the oldest inhabitants in the Hazara area (Imperial Gazetteer of India, NWFP, circa 1905). Some of the older Gujar villagers informed Arif (1987:13) that Mittikot is approximately 200 years old. They say that when the famous Syed Ahmad Shaheed and Shah Ismail Shaheed came to Balakot in 1831, there were three households settled in the place called Mittikot, which means “place of clay and mud”. Balakot is well known as the burial place of these men.<sup>26</sup> According to the older villagers, Baba Ransi Ullah of the Bakarwals was the first person to settle in Mittikot. Later the Bakarwals brought in Dedar Gujars for defense purposes. Then later, Khatana, Chechi, Kohli and Thekri Gujars came and settled in Mittikot. When the Swatis moved into the area, they took over almost all the land. The Gujars became tenants to the Swatis.<sup>27</sup> Not until the land reforms

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<sup>26</sup> Watson (1908:130) refers to Khalifa Said Ahmad, leader of the “Hindustani fanatics” from trans-Indus. “In 1830 the Hindustanis reappeared in Hazara, and made themselves masters of the Konsh and Bhogarmang glens, and of the valley of the Kunhar down to Balakot, the Swathis and Katan Saiads siding with them”. They were defeated and their leader killed in battle against the Sikhs at Balakot.

<sup>27</sup> Watson (1908:122-23) describes how the Swatis were driven out of Swat Valley by Pathan tribes. The Swatis made several incursions into the Hazara area during the seventeenth or the beginning of the eighteenth century. He gives examples of how incoming tribes gained control over the region:

of Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan, former Chief Minister of the North-West Frontier Province, were the Gujars given rights to land and forest. At that time, the Mittikot Gujars obtained the land near their winter settlement. The land and forest in the upper area, however, are still owned by Swati landlords from Balakot. In exchange for the use of the land, the Gujars must give a certain amount of livestock, produce, field labor, and household service to the landlords each year (Arif 1987).<sup>28</sup>

The Gujars were traditionally nomadic herdsman of goats and sheep. When they settled in Mittikot, they took up agriculture. They have also since shifted toward raising buffaloes. In 1986, only nine families had flocks of goats and sheep. Most families have just a few animals. Arif (1987) explains that the population in Mittikot is growing and the Gujars there are not able to subsist on just their crops and livestock. Therefore, most families are engaged in wood cutting. Both adults and children, male and female, collect wood and carry it

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... the Pathan tribe of Tarins acquired a large portion of the rights of the elder Gujar families in the Hazara plain; and the Urmanzais, whom the remaining Gujars called across the Indus to Tarbela in order to strengthen their position, obtained possession by mortgage and sale of much of the land belonging to those who invited their aid (1908:123).

A weak tribe would find its territory the subject of harassing demands and attacks from some poor but braver tribe in the vicinity. Unable to defend itself unaided, it would call its neighbours to help. To them it would give land in payment for their arms, and on a service tenure subordinate to the old lords. But in the course of time the latter would become more effete, while their retainers would grow more numerous and exacting in their demands, and so gradually the original tribe would be entirely supplanted (1908:123).

<sup>28</sup> Ahmed (1986:108-9) in his description of Hazara ethnicity explains that the Swat Pathans pushed the Gujars from the forests and fertile valleys up to the less arable hilltops. The Swatis as well as the Sayyeds became dominant, and groups such as the Awans and Gujars became the dominated. "Hazara society has created stereotypes for each group, and the individual is expected to behave accordingly ... a Swati Pathan must be aggressive, a Sayyed must be gentle, and an Awan or Gujar must 'know his place' (i.e., be humble) ... Gujars are considered the most lowly ..." (1986:108).



down to Balakot where they sell it to local people.<sup>29</sup> In addition to woodcutting, many people sell the by-products of their livestock, such as milk and ghee. Many men are working outside of Mittikot, primarily in Balakot and Mansehra, as laborers and some as skilled workers. Some Gujars, including women, also are working in the homes of Swati landlords. All of these outside activities, in addition to interaction with the Balakot landlords, bring most Mittikot Gujars into regular contact with Hindko speakers.<sup>30</sup> Some men are working as laborers in the main cities in Pakistan, such as Rawalpindi, Lahore, and Karachi, where they are undoubtedly exposed to Urdu. A few work as laborers in the Middle East.<sup>31</sup>

There are very limited public services available in Mittikot. Mittikot has no electricity and, therefore, no television. A few families are reported to have tape recorders and some have radios. The people listen to Gujar radio programs broadcasted from Muzaffarabad in Azad Kashmir. They report clear understanding of the Gujar programs. The villagers have access to general public services in Balakot. Arif reports that there are two mosques in Mittikot where the men gather for daily prayers. Most men travel to Balakot for Friday prayers. Gujar is spoken

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<sup>29</sup> Arif (1987) comments that this practice of wood selling has affected not only the traditional means of obtaining and managing family income (i.e., the head of household controlling family finances), but also the patterns of interaction between men and women resulting in a number of elopements and divorces.

<sup>30</sup> Some of the Swatis in Hazara speak Pashto (Ahmed 1986:109 estimates less than 50 percent), but this was not found to be a major factor in the Mittikot Gujar situation.

<sup>31</sup> Arif (1987) reports that in 1986, 64 people (Mittikot Gujars) were working as laborers in Balakot and Mansehra. An unspecified number of seasonal field laborers also worked in Balakot Valley. Thirty-one people (29 laborers and 2 in service jobs) were working in cities in Pakistan (22 working in Karachi). Three men were working abroad in the Middle East as laborers.

Ahmed describes how ethnicity is changing in Hazara due to changing political and economic factors. One factor he cites is labor migration to the Arab States. It has "opened new sources of income for them [the dominated group] and provided them with an escape from the traditional structure" (1986:112). Ahmed also describes significant incidents which mark change such as the potato crop revolt in 1974 in Kaghan Valley in which "Swati tenants of Kaghan mobilized the Gujars and led the revolt against the Sayyeds", and another incident, the fielding of a Gujar candidate in the "last elections". The candidate lost the seat but won the entire Gujar vote of about 10,000 (1986:114-15).

in the Mittikot mosques, and Urdu and Hindko are spoken in the Balakot mosques.

### 3.4.3 Education in Mittikot

There is one primary school in the village. Arif (1987) reports that in 1986 there was one male teacher teaching preschool through fifth class. The teacher is a Hindko speaker from Balakot. The medium of instruction in the school is Urdu with some explanation provided by the teacher in Gujari (Arif 1989, personal communication). The school enrollment figures for 1986 are presented in figure (5) below:

(5) Student Enrollment in the  
Mittikot Primary School in 1986

<i>Class</i>	<i>Number of Students</i>
Preschool	22
1st class	16
2nd	10
3rd	4
4th	4
5th	8
<i>1st-5th Total</i>	42

The total primary school-age population was 150. Only 42 students, 28 percent of the school-age population, were enrolled. Of those enrolled, 62 percent were in first and second class. Enrollment figures dropped off sharply at the third and fourth class level.

In Balakot there is a middle school (classes six through eight), a high school (through class ten), and an intermediate school (two-year college) for boys. There is one school (classes one through ten) for girls. The medium of instruction in Balakot is Urdu with some explanation provided in Hindko. The majority of the students are Hindko speakers. In 1986, seven Mittikot

students were enrolled in sixth class, four in ninth class, and two in intermediate. The Mittikot students attending school in Balakot were boys from the families of *muqaddams* (village leaders).

Figure (6) presents the distribution of the Mittikot population by education groups according to the 1988 language survey census. The data indicate that the majority of the population has received no formal education. Of the males, 27 percent have received one to ten years of education, contrasted with 5 percent of the females. Only two males (brothers and sons of the *muqaddam*) have completed eleven to twelve years of education.

**(6) Population of Mittikot (1988):**  
Distribution of Males and Females in Education Groups

<i>Level of Education</i>	<i>Males</i>		<i>Females</i>	
	<i>n</i>	Percentage of Males	<i>n</i>	Percentage of Females
Under age	33	9%	56	16%
No formal ed.	236	63	284	79
1-5 yrs. ed	68	19	14	4
6-10 yrs.	32	9	2	1
11-12 yrs.	2	1	—	—
Unknown	3	1	4	1
<i>Total</i>	374		360	

Figure (7) presents the distribution of the Mittikot population in both age and education groups. Again, as was seen in Peshmal, more young Mittikot males are receiving education now and to higher levels. Interestingly, more females are also being educated although they still represent only a small fraction of the population.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Ahmed (1986:110-11) examines four socioeconomic factors in Hazara and demonstrates how they correlate with the status of four ethnic groups: Swatis, Sayyeds, Awans, and Gujars. One factor was education. Swatis had the highest percentage of people (20 percent) who had secondary school level education and above. Gujars had the lowest (7 percent). Other factors were

## (7) Population of Mittikot (1988):

## Distribution of Males and Females in Age and Education Groups

<b>Men</b> <i>Age Groups</i>	Under age	No formal education	<i>Years of formal education</i>				<i>Total</i>
			1- 5	6-10	11-12	Unknown	
1- 5	33						33
6- 9		29	19				48
10-19		35	34	13		1	83
20-29		39	12	16	1		68
30-39		42	2	3	1		48
40+		91	1			2	94
<i>Total</i>	33	236	68	32	2	3	374

<b>Women</b> <i>Age Groups</i>	Under age	No formal education	<i>Years of formal education</i>				<i>Total</i>
			1- 5	6-10	11-12	Unknown	
1- 5	56						56
6- 9		43	6			3	52
10-19		67	6	2		1	76
20-29		60	2				62
30-39		54					54
40+		60					60
<i>Total</i>	56	284	14	2		4	360

Arif (1987) explains that there is economic incentive to keep children out of school. At approximately nine years of age, they can help with household duties and with collecting wood. The wood provides not only income for the family but also direct cash to the children themselves.

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housing materials. Gujarars had the lowest percentage of housing with some cement construction. They also ranked lowest in landownership. Both Gujarars and Awans figured low (zero) in geneological memory (the ability to name male ascendants up to four generations back).

### 3.5 Summary

In this examination of two Gujar communities, many similarities and differences are seen. In both areas, the Gujar people are a low socioeconomic status minority in a region with a more dominant culture and language. Both groups maintain their Gujar identity and language and see themselves as part of a larger Gujar community. Both groups are settled, yet their lifestyles involve certain migratory aspects. Many Peshmal Gujars move their families south in the winter for economic reasons and to get out of the cold and snow. Mittikot Gujars practice more traditional transhumance patterns in a seasonal shift up and down the mountain. Neither are nomadic pastoralists such as some of the Ajars of Swat or the Bakarwals of Kashmir.

Both the Peshmal and Mittikot communities have large segments of the population which are uneducated. In Peshmal there is more of an even split between educated and uneducated males than there is in Mittikot where fewer males are formally educated. In both groups more males are receiving education now than in the past. Women remain the markedly uneducated population in both communities, although in Mittikot a small percentage of girls are beginning to receive education.

The most far-reaching difference between the two Gujar communities is the nature of the dominant ethnic group in each region. As the principal researcher in this study points out, the Gujars have conformed to the surrounding culture. Peshmal Gujars live in the west in the midst of a more conservative, Pashtoon culture. They are relatively less economically dependent on the Pashtoons. For example, Peshmal Gujars own their own land, in contrast to Mittikot Gujars whose summer settlement belongs to Swati landlords. While some Mittikot Gujars are employed in landlords' homes, Pashtoon culture discourages outsiders from working for Pashtoons in their homes. Because of this independence, then, the Peshmal Gujars seem to be better off. They are more economically self-sufficient and see themselves as more or less equal to the Pashtoons. Another effect of the conservative Pashtoon culture is that Peshmal Gujar women observe rather strict *purdah*. It is

viewed as improper for Peshmal Gujar females to attend school or to be employed outside the home. So even though more males are educated in Peshmal than in Mittikot, fewer females, virtually none, are educated.

Another difference is the language of each dominant group. Peshmal Gujars live alongside Pashto, an Iranian language, which is quite a linguistic contrast from their own. Gujar stands out as markedly different from the surrounding regional language. Peshmal Gujars have developed a strong ethnicity, perhaps partially in response to this contrastiveness. They feel that their Gujar is more pure and that Hazara Gujars are "mixing" their Gujar with other languages.

Mittikot Gujars, in contrast, live in the east in an area where Hindko-speaking people are dominant. In this cultural setting, there is a more clear-cut socioeconomic hierarchy with the dominated groups doing "low" work for higher groups. There is more economic dependence by the low-status Gujars on the dominant majority. The Hindko speakers, particularly Swatis, are the landlords so Mittikot Gujars must pay fees in cash and services. It is very difficult for them to move up in this system. The cultural milieu is more open, however, in the sense that women take more public roles and are active in earning income outside the home. There is also a greater openness to the idea of females receiving education.

Mittikot Gujars are much more similar in physical appearance to the dominant group and, as discussed in chapter two on dialects, their language is much more linguistically similar to Hindko, the regional language, than it is to Pashto, the dominant language in the west. The development of a distinct Gujar identity, however, is becoming more of a social and political issue in the Hazara region (see Ahmed 1986).

In the following chapter the subject of multilingualism is explored. Social factors in the community profiles are examined to demonstrate how such factors as gender, education, and age are related to patterns of language use and proficiency.

## CHAPTER 4

### MULTILINGUALISM IN TWO GUJAR COMMUNITIES

#### 4.1 Introduction

An examination of the language situation of the Gujar people would be incomplete without some investigation of the other languages in use by them in addition to their own. To this end, two Gujar communities were selected for conducting more focussed bilingualism research: Peshmal, in northern Swat Valley, and Mittikot, at the mouth of the Kaghan Valley in Hazara. The motivating questions for this research center on discovering the extent of proficiency in and use of Urdu, the national language, and Pashto or Hindko, the languages of wider communication in the respective communities. This research investigates patterns of language proficiency according to such factors as gender, education, and age. In addition, levels of proficiency in each community were evaluated in light of subjects' reports of travel to non-Gujari speaking areas and frequencies of speaking and hearing other languages.

Underlying the analysis of the data are questions relating to effective communication within the large Gujar ethnolinguistic community and to issues of language maintenance or shift. How widespread are the abilities to comprehend and use these languages? Does widespread bilingualism threaten the future maintenance of Gujar in these communities? Or, are Urdu and the local languages of wider communication used exclusively with non-Gujar 'outsiders'? If this is the case, proficiency in these other languages should pattern according to the extent of contact that community members have with non-Gujars in situations where these languages must be used. These underlying questions are broad in scope and thus require longer-term and more in-depth research than was accomplished in this limited study. However, available evidence points to the conclusion that there are large segments of the Gujar population that are not

proficient in any language other than their own, and that Gujarati language vitality is not yet threatened by encroaching widespread use of more widely spoken languages.

A sample of people from each community was tested for second language proficiency in Urdu and in the local language of wider communication. Urdu and Pashto were tested by means of a *sentence repetition test* (Radloff 1991). Hindko was tested by means of a *recorded text test* (Casad 1974). These tests are described in more detail in appendices A.2 and A.3.<sup>33</sup> To the extent that the available data allow, scores on these proficiency tests are treated as dependent variables in assessing the effects on second language proficiency of the following independent variables: gender, education, and age.<sup>34</sup> Where relevant, there is discussion of observed patterning in proficiency test results and subjects' reports of travel, and of frequency of second language use. The analysis of bilingualism in the Peshmal Gujar community will be presented first, then a similar order will be followed for the Mittikot data analysis. For each community, variables related to Urdu proficiency will be discussed first; subsequently, these same variables will be presented as they relate to proficiency in the local language of wider communication. In Peshmal, gender-related differences in second language proficiency are the most clearly marked, and thus for the purposes of presentation, the patterns observed among men

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<sup>33</sup> The Pashto Sentence Repetition Test that was used in the studies of these Gujar communities was the *original* Pashto SRT. The interpretation of the original Pashto SRT scores, in terms of calibrated Reported Proficiency Evaluation levels, is explained in appendix A.3.

<sup>34</sup> To determine the statistical significance of these independent variables in their effect on the proficiency test scores, one-way Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) tests were performed. Where significant, the resulting F ratio and the accompanying probability of a type I error are included in parentheses following the report of a statistically significant conclusion. In cases where ANOVA yields significant results and where there are more than two levels of an independent variable (i.e., more than two groups are being compared, as in the case of three groups defined by levels of education), post-hoc comparisons using the Scheffe test were made to determine where specified group differences were found. The Scheffe tests were performed using the 95 percent confidence level as a threshold for significance. Conclusions stating significant differences between specified groups as defined by levels of an independent variable are based on significant Scheffe results.



and women will be discussed separately. The data from Mittikot are from males only; it was not possible to collect data from women in that community. After each community has been analyzed separately, the patterns in the two communities will be compared.

## **4.2 Multilingualism in Peshmal**

### **4.2.1 Distribution of Test Subjects in Peshmal Sample**

In order to obtain a general assessment of Urdu and Pashto bilingualism among Gujars in Peshmal, sentence repetition tests (SRTs) in these languages were administered to a sample of forty-eight males from the Peshmal community. Because random sampling was impossible in these field work situations, judgment (or quota) sampling was used. The demographic characteristics of age and education define the sampling cells. In order to obtain sufficient data for statistical analysis, at least five subjects were included in each age and education cell wherever possible.

As was presented in chapter three, a complete census of Gush, a settlement within Peshmal, was collected and has been taken to be representative of the wider Peshmal area. In figure (8) the distribution of the male test subjects according to various age and education categories, by percentage and number, is compared with the distribution of the Gush population as a whole, shown in percents. From this chart it is evident that the stratification of subjects in the test sample generally parallels that of the general Gush population.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Because test subjects were fourteen years of age or above, the population figures in (8) include only males that age or older. The total of 98 excludes 47 males who were under age and five men with unknown levels of education.

## (8) Gush settlement, Peshmal

Distribution of male population compared with test subjects  
in percentages<sup>36</sup>

Age Groups	Years of formal education									Totals by age group		
	Uneducated			1-5 years			6-12 years					
	Pop.	Sample		Pop.	Sample		Pop.	Sample				
	%	%	n	%	%	n	%	%	n	%	%	n
14-19	4	10	5	23	10	5	8	10	5	36	30	15
20-29	10	15	7	6	13	6	8	10	5	24	38	18
30-39	11	15	7	0	0	0	1	2	1	13	17	8
40 & older	26	13	6	1	0	0	1	2	1	27	15	7
Total by ed. group	51	52	25	30	23	11	18	25	12			48

Population n=98

According to the community profile of Gush, approximately half of the men school age and above have received some education. Likewise, the test sample of forty-eight males contains a similar division: twenty-five uneducated and twenty-three educated men. Subdividing the educated men according to age, the chart shows that there are very few older men with education in the Gush population; thus, few such subjects were available to be included in the test sample. Because of such limitations in the actual features of the population, it is difficult to assess the possible interaction of age with education and their combined influence on the patterns of second language proficiency. Consequently, the effect of age as an independent variable is undertaken with uneducated male subjects only.

Collecting data among women was much more difficult than among men, since cultural constraints require such testing to take place in the home using female researchers only. Building trust to enable such access takes time; and once inside the home, it is

<sup>36</sup> On this and all subsequent charts, all percents are calculated by dividing the number for each cell by the total for either the community population or the sample population. Since percents in all charts are rounded to the nearest whole, there are sometimes one or two point discrepancies between calculated percents and the sums of rounded subcell percents.

much more difficult to control the testing situation and to ensure that sampling quotas are appropriately filled. Thus the data for women are limited and the distribution is skewed, including mostly young women in their twenties. In all, twenty Peshmal women participated in the Pashto sentence repetition testing; only eleven of these felt they knew any Urdu and were willing to participate in the Urdu SRT. Only one female in the Gush population was reported to have received any education. All female test subjects were uneducated. The sample distributions are compared to those in the Gush population, as shown in figure (9) below.

### (9) Gush settlement, Peshmal

Distribution of female population compared with test subjects for Pashto and Urdu SRTs

<i>Age Groups</i>	Pop. %	Pashto SRT Sample		Urdu SRT Sample	
		%	n	%	n
14-19	16%	15%	3	0	0
20-29	37	60	12	73	8
30-39	14	15	3	9	1
40 & older	33	10	2	18	2
<i>Total</i>			20		11

Population n=63 (above 14 years of age)

### 4.2.2 Peshmal Urdu Proficiency

Figure (10) presents the mean scores of the Peshmal male subjects on the Urdu sentence repetition test, grouped according to age groups and education levels. Groups are presented in terms of number of subjects (n), mean SRT score (m), and standard deviation (sd). The range and median Reported Proficiency Evaluation (RPE) levels which correspond to the SRT scores are provided for each education group. SRT scores range from zero to forty-five, and can be interpreted on the basis

of the corresponding RPE levels. The RPE levels range from 0+ (very minimal proficiency, inadequate for even basic conversation) to 4+ (approaching native speaker proficiency). See appendix A.3 for further description of both the Sentence Repetition Test and the Reported Proficiency Evaluation.

### (10) Scores of Peshmal male subjects on Urdu SRT

Age Groups	Uneducated			Years of formal education						Totals by age group		
				1-5 years			6 or more years					
	n	m	sd	n	m	sd	n	m	sd	n	m	sd
14-19	5	22	12.4	5	27	5.8	5	38	6.8	15	29	10.8
20-29	7	18	8.6	6	26	9.8	5	36	5.8	18	25	10.9
30-39	7	29	11.9	0			1	36		8	30	11.3
40 & older	6	25	8.2	0			1	35		7	26	8.5
Total by ed. group	25	23	10.7	11	26	7.9	12	37	5.5	48	27	10.5
RPE Range:	0+ to 3+			0+ to 3			2+ to 3+					
Median:	2/2+			2+			3/3+					

n=number of subjects, m=mean SRT score, sd=standard deviation

RPE Range and Median=RPE levels corresponding to SRT scores

### *Education and Urdu Proficiency*

From figure (10) it is evident that education is an important factor in the distribution of Urdu SRT scores. The average scores in all age groups consistently increase with education. The one-way analysis of variance test was applied to this data revealing education as having a statistically significant effect on Urdu SRT proficiency scores ( $F=8.83$ ,  $p<.01$ ). This significant effect is displayed in the comparison of the scores of those with 6 to 10 years education with both the lesser educated groups; the mean score for the group with only 1 to 5 years education is not significantly greater than that of the uneducated group. These data indicate a threshold between primary level (1 to 5 years) and middle and high school level (6 to 10 years) education.

The significant effect of education is not surprising, since schooling is the principal means for learning Urdu. In Peshmal, it was reported that Pashto is used as the medium for instruction in the earlier grades, classes 1 through 5, while Urdu is taught as a subject in those years. In contrast, Urdu is used as the principal medium in class 6 and above. These patterns of language use in schools support the threshold of higher proficiency in Urdu at six years or more as demonstrated in the Peshmal data.

This highest education group shows the greatest within-group consistency in their scores, with a standard deviation of only 5.5; no one in this group scored below 26 on the SRT, which is equivalent to RPE level 2+, indicating good, basic proficiency. Thus, those with substantial education tend to have similarly high levels of proficiency in Urdu.

The lesser educated group and the uneducated group show higher standard deviations: 7.9 for the primary level education group, and 10.7 for the uneducated group. These higher measures of dispersion indicate greater variability in the Urdu proficiency levels of subjects within each of these groups; a few men with little or no schooling do succeed in acquiring good Urdu. Only 28 percent of the uneducated and lesser-educated subjects' performances on the Urdu SRT indicate RPE levels of 3 or above, while 83 percent of the highly educated group do so. These results correspond with expectations that the less educated groups would not reflect the relatively uniform influence of exposure to Urdu through years of education, but that their Urdu proficiency is more seriously affected by their varied amounts of language contact and use as a result of employment, travel, etc.

### *Age and Urdu Proficiency*

Although one might expect Urdu proficiency to be affected by age, the Peshmal data indicate no clear age patterning. In order to overcome these limitations in the data distribution (in that there are fewer older test subjects, especially in the educated groups) and to control for the effect of education, the scores for the uneducated subjects were isolated and evaluated according to age groups, but no statistically significant differences between

the mean Urdu SRT scores were found for these age groups. The standard deviations ranging from 8.2 to 12.4 indicate relatively great variability of SRT scores within each age group of uneducated subjects. It is possible that factors reflecting levels of language contact and use are acting as uncontrolled intervening variables and obscuring any age patterning that might exist. However, on the basis of these data, there is no indication that Urdu proficiency is affected by age, and thus no evidence of a shift toward increased use of Urdu among the younger generation.

### *Travel and Urdu Proficiency*

In order to investigate potential contact with languages of wider communication while they were away from Peshmal, subjects were asked questions about their travel to areas where these languages are widely spoken. Subjects were asked to list where they had traveled outside of their home area. For each location mentioned they were asked to report the length of stay and the frequency of travel to this place. The selected locations where a subject could have come into frequent contact with Urdu speakers were Rawalpindi, Lahore, and Karachi, all of which were reported as places of temporary employment by some Peshmal men.

It was hypothesized that travel contact might explain the variation in Urdu proficiency scores, particularly among uneducated subjects. Thus, the responses of the uneducated subjects were isolated and their travel reports were examined. These were then separated into two groups: those subjects reporting little or no travel, meaning less than two week stays in any of the cities mentioned above, and those reporting more extensive travel to any of these same locations. Although the mean Urdu SRT score was slightly higher for the relatively well-traveled group (25 rather than 21), the difference between the two groups was not statistically significant. A simple examination of the scores for the individuals in each group reveals too much within-group variation, as is reflected in standard deviations of 10.6 for both the traveled and the

untraveled groups. In and of itself, travel to areas where Urdu is more widely spoken does not significantly influence measured proficiency. Further investigation of language use while staying in such an area should reveal more definite patterns.

#### 4.2.3 Reported Use of Urdu by Peshmal Men

In addition to straightforward proficiency testing, Peshmal subjects were asked to answer questions which would indicate their exposure to and use of Urdu. These questions are given below in (11). As the subject answered the numbered questions in his own words, the interviewer chose the frequency level which best fit his response. The seven frequency levels used by the interviewer are listed below the questions regarding frequency of hearing and speaking Urdu. Similarly, the five levels of conversation length are listed below the appropriate question.

These questions approach Urdu use from two angles, one more quantitative and the other qualitative. The quantitative angle is an attempt to measure the relative frequency of hearing and speaking Urdu reported by these subjects. Included in this general approach to quantifying the frequency of Urdu use is the question regarding the approximate duration of the longest Urdu conversation for each subject. The duration of the conversation tells us something frequency does not: it gives an indication of the quality of the interaction. For example, if the subject is speaking Urdu many times per day but only for five minutes while shopping in the bazaar, the domain and time involved are quite limited and not much skill is required.

## (11) Questions about Urdu use

1. How much do you hear Urdu?
2. How much do you speak Urdu?
  - i. never
  - ii. one time per month
  - iii. one time per two weeks
  - iv. one time per week
  - v. 2 or 3 times per week
  - vi. one time per day
  - vii. many times per day

Think about the person you've had the longest conversation with in Urdu in Peshmal:

1. What is the occupation of the person you speak Urdu with?
2. What relation do you have with this person?  
Is he your *khan*? Your teacher? Your relative?
3. What did you talk about with this man?  
About local politics? Sports? What?
4. How much time did you talk with this man in Urdu at one time?
  - i. never
  - ii. less than 5 minutes
  - iii. between 5 and 20 minutes
  - iv. between 20 and 60 minutes
  - v. more than 60 minutes

*Frequencies of Speaking and Hearing Urdu*

Figure (12) presents the tabulation of reported frequency of hearing and speaking Urdu in the sample of forty-eight Peshmal males.



**(12)** Peshmal men:  
reported frequencies for hearing and speaking Urdu  
*percent and number responding at each level*

	Hear Urdu		Speak Urdu	
	<i>Percent</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>n</i>
never	0%	0	6%	3
1x/month	6	3	6	3
1x/2wks.	2	1	2	1
1x/wk.	13	6	13	6
2-3x/wk.	10	5	27	13
1x/day	29	14	33	16
many x/day	40	19	13	6
<i>Total</i>		48		48

Consistent with general expectations, subjects reported hearing Urdu more frequently than actually speaking it; 69 percent reported hearing Urdu at least once per day, while only 46 percent reported speaking Urdu so frequently. The fact that less than half of the subjects report speaking any amount of Urdu on a daily or more frequent basis is in stark contrast to their reported frequency of speaking Pashto. The relative importance of Pashto will be discussed in the next section. Figure (13) compares their reported frequency of speaking Urdu with their scores on the Urdu SRT.

**(13)** Mean Urdu SRT for Peshmal male subjects  
grouped by reported frequency of speaking Urdu

<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>USRT m</i>	<i>sd</i>
never to 1x/2wks.	14%	7	14	9.1
1x/wk.	13	6	23	10.9
2-3x/wk.	27	13	29	6.0
1x/day	33	16	29	9.3
many x/day	13	6	39	4.0
<i>Total</i>		48	27	10.5

The mean Urdu SRT scores show a general rise as reported frequency of speaking and hearing Urdu increase. The mean SRT scores for each of the three highest frequency of speaking groups are significantly higher than the mean for those who claim to speak Urdu either never, or not more than once every two weeks ( $F=8.29$ ,  $p<.001$ ). These consistent results indicate that the self-reported estimates of frequency of speaking and hearing Urdu are valuable indicators of the relative amounts of Urdu used; in general, those who report infrequent use of Urdu do not seem to have sufficient proficiency to get beyond the level of basic communication in that language.

#### *Urdu Conversation Duration*

The Urdu conversation duration data substantiate this limitation in proficiency. Figure (14) shows the distribution of responses regarding the longest Urdu conversation reported by Peshmal subjects. These data are compared with the mean Urdu SRT score for subjects responding at each level of conversation duration.

(14) Percent of Peshmal men:  
length of longest reported Urdu conversation  
with Urdu SRT means

<i>Longest Urdu</i>			<i>Urdu SRT</i>	
<i>Conversation</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>sd</i>
never	10%	5		—
<5 min.	8	4	16*	8.4
5-20 min.	29	14	29	8.8
20-60 min.	25	12	27	9.9
>60 min.	27	13	33	7.8
<i>Total</i>		48	27	10.5

\*combined mean for two shortest conversation length groups

According to these reports, few subjects have had long conversations in Urdu; only 27 percent report having an Urdu

conversation which extended over one hour. Eighteen percent reported that their longest Urdu conversation lasted less than five minutes. Again — as will be seen in (18), below — these figures are striking in relation to the comparable ones for Pashto, and substantiate the role of Pashto, not the national language Urdu, as the commonly used *lingua franca* in the area.

The mean scores on the Urdu SRT for those who responded that they never had conversations in Urdu or that their longest Urdu conversation was less than five minutes duration are significantly lower than those who reported longer conversations ( $F=7.74$ ,  $p<.001$ ). Such quantitative comparisons indicate the consistency of the data: subjects reporting more frequent and more lengthy conversations in Urdu also perform better on the Urdu SRT. Thus, the differences between subgroups in terms of their reported use of Urdu can be more confidently interpreted as reflecting the sociolinguistic reality of differing levels of bilingual proficiency within the Peshmal community.

### *Conversational Domains for Urdu*

The issue of conversational domain provides a qualitative angle on the data regarding reported Urdu use: with whom is Urdu spoken and for which kinds of topics is it considered appropriate. Among the Peshmal Gujars, Urdu is an 'outsider' language, spoken with non-Gujars, in dealing with topics that imply contact with the outside world. When asked with whom they spoke Urdu the most while in Peshmal, subjects uniformly listed persons outside the Peshmal community: guests or friends from other areas, or teachers. The most commonly reported topic mentioned by these subjects concerned the Peshmal or general Kalam area and the people living there, obviously some kind of explanation to people unfamiliar with these things. Another similar kind of outsider-directed topic is the next most commonly reported: hotels or renting of rooms. Those who reported speaking Urdu with teachers gave topics such as lessons in school or discussions concerning meanings of words. The fact that Urdu is the medium of instruction in class 6 and above makes it the obvious choice for many such conversations. From

these data, it is apparent that Urdu is not making inroads into the domains of family and peer usage; Gujars maintain the use of Gujarati except when they are forced to use a more widely spoken language in order to communicate with non-Gujars.

#### 4.2.4 Urdu Proficiency of Peshmal Women

Testing of Gujar women in Peshmal was restricted to the home environment. Thus, it was possible to test only half as many women as men. Twenty Peshmal women participated in bilingualism testing there, working with female researchers in a home setting. However, only eleven of these twenty were willing to attempt the Urdu SRT; the others claimed that they had no knowledge of Urdu and did not wish to participate. The distribution of these subjects according to age consequently does not represent the wider female population: there are no teenage subjects, eight women are in their twenties, one in her thirties and two older women over forty. All of the women are uneducated, which is consistent with the census reports for this area.<sup>37</sup> Thus, the potential effect of education or age on women's Urdu SRT scores could not be investigated.

The scores range from a low of 0, below even minimal proficiency, to a high of 22, representing level 2 RPE proficiency, adequate for basic needs when projected on the RPE scale. The distribution of Peshmal women's Urdu SRT scores are listed below in figure (15).

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<sup>37</sup> According to the Gush census of 1987, only one female was reported to have any education, a thirteen-year-old with five years of schooling.

**(15) Peshmal female subjects on Urdu SRT  
with equivalent RPE levels**

Urdu RPE level	<i>n</i>	
0	5	*****
0+	4	****
1	0	
1+	1	*
2	1	*

Total *n* = 11  
Mean Urdu SRT = 4.7  
sd = 6.9  
Median RPE = 0+

Four of the eleven female subjects scored at RPE level 0+, very minimal proficiency; five were below the minimum on the RPE scale, testing at zero or one on the Urdu SRT. Only two women scored higher than 0+; they each gave different explanations for their knowledge of Urdu. The subject with limited basic proficiency at RPE level 1+, stressed that although Peshmal women are uneducated, they are able to communicate a bit in Urdu because Urdu and Gujari are closely related languages. Other women also made this comment.<sup>38</sup> The low scores of these women indicate, however, that the linguistic affinity that exists between the languages does not by itself enable a speaker of Gujari to function in Urdu, even at an elementary level. The most proficient female subject, with an RPE level of 2, indicating adequate basic proficiency for simple, everyday communication, mentioned radio broadcasting as a major opportunity for exposure to Urdu. She stated that she listens to Pashto and Urdu radio all day.<sup>39</sup> This subject is also relatively well-traveled, although the locations she has visited are primarily Pashto-speaking areas. Some other ladies also mentioned listening to the radio while performing their household duties. Another stated that her sons recite their Urdu

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<sup>38</sup> In one household, the women thought the field researchers should understand some Gujari because they spoke Urdu.

<sup>39</sup> She also mentioned that her family listens to a Gujari radio program broadcast from Peshawar, but that, contrary to the reports by other Gujars, she finds the Gujari different and difficult to understand.

lessons aloud and so she has learned some Urdu that way. One other mentioned having an uncle who had taught her a little Urdu.

Clearly, Peshmal Gujar women have little exposure to Urdu and little skill in the language. This situation is unlikely to change in the near future, because of the prevailing attitude that it is undesirable for women to be educated.<sup>40</sup> However, lack of education alone does not account for the extremely low Urdu SRT scores. The mean score for the Peshmal women can be compared to that of the uneducated Peshmal men to emphasize this point. The mean score for female subjects is 4.7 or a level of 0+, very minimal proficiency on the RPE scale; the mean for uneducated male subjects is 23.3, representing RPE level 2, knowledge of Urdu sufficient for basic, everyday communication. The difference between these scores is highly significant, as is demonstrated by the results of the analysis of variance ( $F=27.87$ ,  $p<.001$ ). Differences in opportunities for exposure to Urdu and the corresponding differences in informal language learning that such opportunities provide must account for the disparate Urdu proficiency scores of uneducated men and women in Peshmal. (See chapter 3 for more discussion of cultural parameters for women in Peshmal.)

#### 4.2.5 Peshmal Pashto Proficiency

In order to assess the general ability of Peshmal Gujar in Pashto, the regional language of the area, a sample of forty-eight males and twenty females was tested on the Pashto sentence repetition test (PSRT). The males are the same subjects who were tested on the Urdu SRT, thus a comparison can be made of their relative proficiency in each language by looking at the RPE levels attained.<sup>41</sup> Since the USRT and PSRT subjects are

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<sup>40</sup> One Peshmal man stated that it is a "shame" for women to get education.

<sup>41</sup> Urdu SRT scores and Pashto SRT scores are not directly comparable because the SRT technique produces a range of scores which are interpretable only by their calibration with another proficiency measure, in this case the RPE. Thus each SRT test has a unique range of scores which correspond only to the calibrated proficiency levels for that language using that particular set of sentences for repetition testing. The RPE levels are standard across languages

identical, there is no change in the distribution of the sample population for Peshmal male subjects in relation to the Gush census population; this information was previously presented in figure (8), showing the general correspondence between population and sample in terms of age and education groups.

As with the Urdu SRT, the Pashto SRT scores are evaluated according to education levels and age groups. The distribution of mean Pashto SRT scores and corresponding RPE levels are displayed according to these age and education subgroups in figure (16) below.

(16) Peshmal male subjects on Pashto SRT

<i>Age</i> <i>Groups</i>	<i>Years of formal education</i>									<i>Totals by</i> <i>age group</i>		
	<i>Uneducated</i>			<i>1-5 years</i>			<i>6-12 years</i>					
	<i>n</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>sd</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>sd</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>sd</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>sd</i>
14-19	5	29	8.1	5	30	4.1	5	37	5.9	15	32	6.8
20-29	7	30	2.8	6	30	5.5	5	39	1.5	18	33	5.3
30-39	7	32	3.8	0			1	36		8	33	3.8
40 +	6	30	7.2	0			1	35		7	31	6.8
<i>Total by</i> <i>ed. group</i>	25	30	5.3	11	30	4.7	12	38	3.8	48	32	5.7
RPE Range:	1 to 3+			2 to 3+			2 to 3+					
Median:	2+			2+			3+					

n=number of subjects, m=mean SRT score, sd=standard deviation  
RPE range and median=RPE levels corresponding to SRT scores

*Education and Pashto Proficiency*

An examination of the mean Pashto SRT scores indicates that education is the major factor influencing Pashto proficiency. The mean PSRT score for those with six to ten years education is significantly higher than the means for the lesser educated group and the uneducated group (F=9.90, p<.001). As was the case with Urdu proficiency, the Pashto proficiency scores indicate a

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and are therefore comparable. Further details and the ranges of scores equivalent to each level are in appendix A.3.

threshold between primary level education or less and middle school level education or more, with those having higher education attaining good to very good levels of general proficiency in Pashto, RPE levels 3 to 3+ and above. Although some of those with little or no education achieve very good levels of Pashto proficiency, the vast majority of the more educated men do so. Forty-two percent of the uneducated and lesser educated group performed at level 3 or above, while 92 percent (all but one) of the more educated subjects did so. Those with no education and those with primary level education (one to five years) averaged the same on the Pashto SRT: the median RPE level for both the less educated and the uneducated group reflect competence in Pashto sufficient for basic, everyday communication. Again, the correspondence between Pashto proficiency and education is not surprising since Pashto is used as the medium of instruction in Peshmal through class five, and is taught as a subject in school in classes six through eight. After class eight, Peshmal boys attend school in Kalam, a Kohistani-speaking town where Pashto is the language of wider communication.

For each education group, there is less dispersion in Pashto proficiency scores than was shown in the Urdu scores. The standard deviations range from 5.3 for the uneducated subjects, to 3.8 for the more educated subjects. Only two of the total of 48 subjects, both uneducated, performed below the RPE level of 2 in Pashto, in contrast with nine performing below that level on the Urdu SRT. These indicators are consistent with the interpretation that, generally, Peshmal men achieve at least adequate basic proficiency in Pashto, and many men achieve good to very good proficiency.

### *Age and Pashto Proficiency*

Again as with the Urdu SRT scores, there is no age patterning shown in the distribution of Pashto SRT scores. The absence of age patterning supports the interpretation that Pashto proficiency has not become more widespread in the Peshmal community over the past few generations. It does not seem to be



the case that younger men are increasing in their use of Pashto as a result of increased contact with and possible integration into the Pashto-speaking mainstream. Rather, the use of Pashto appears to be stable across age groups, arguing against any indication of language shift among Peshmal Gujars away from Gujari towards Pashto.

### *Travel and Pashto Proficiency*

The influence of extended language contact due to traveling and/or prolonged stays in Pashto-speaking areas away from Peshmal was investigated in light of potential effects on Pashto SRT scores. As was mentioned in the discussion of travel to Urdu-speaking areas, subjects were asked to tell the researcher where they had traveled and the length of stay in that location. Travel reports to six locations were examined, all places where Pashto is the *lingua franca*. Two were close to Peshmal, the neighboring village of Ariani (which virtually all subjects have visited), and Bahrain, the *tehsil* headquarters two hours away. Mingora is the district headquarters and the largest town in the Swat valley, providing employment opportunities for Gujars. Malakand and Mardan are south of Swat, locations where Peshmal Gujars reported traveling for seasonal employment during the months that Peshmal is snowbound. Peshawar is the closest major city to Peshmal, and is the most important Pashto-dominant metropolis in Pakistan. The Peshmal Gujars have easy access to the road and to means of transportation; they are generally well-traveled, both to these towns in the Swat region and to the frontier city of Peshawar.

As in the case of Urdu, it was hypothesized that travel contact might explain the variation in Pashto proficiency scores, particularly among the uneducated subjects. However, when the PSRT scores for the uneducated subjects were isolated, and their travel reports were examined, there was no evidence to support the expected pattern of higher proficiency levels linked to reports of more frequent and lengthy travel. Thus, the simple fact that some subjects have traveled rather extensively to Pashto-speaking areas does not affect their Pashto SRT scores; more

detailed questioning regarding their language use patterns while they were in these locations might reveal some significant but currently obscured factors. However, since Pashto is the local language of wider communication in Swat, Peshmal subjects have many more opportunities to come in contact with that language than with Urdu.

#### 4.2.6 Reported Use of Pashto by Peshmal Men

Peshmal male subjects were asked the same set of language use questions for Pashto as those recounted in the above section on frequency of use and contact for Urdu. (Listed above in figure (11).) Subjects reported how frequently they hear and speak Pashto, the approximate duration of their longest Pashto conversation, and the interlocutor and topic involved in this conversation.

##### *Frequencies of Speaking and Hearing Pashto*

Patterns of language contact and use are quite different for Pashto than Urdu, with Pashto being reported at much higher frequencies of use than Urdu. Figure (17) presents the reported frequencies of hearing and speaking Pashto for the Peshmal male sample.

(17) Peshmal male subjects:  
reported frequencies for hearing and speaking Pashto  
*percent and number responding at each level*

	Hear Pashto		Speak Pashto	
	<i>Percent</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>n</i>
never	0%	0	0%	0
1x/month	0	0	0	0
1x/2wks.	0	0	0	0
1x/wk.	0	0	0	0
2-3x/wk.	2	1	0	0
1x/day	13	6	2	1
many x/day	85	41	98	47
<i>Total</i>		48		48

Whereas with Urdu, presented above in (12), the sample is spread out among the various categories of frequency of use, with Pashto the entire sample reports frequent exposure and use. Every subject except one reported hearing Pashto at least once a day; all but one also reported speaking Pashto many times a day.<sup>42</sup> Subjects use their Pashto whether it is very proficient or not, because they are living in a Pashto-dominant region. In any case, Peshmal men generally achieve at least adequate proficiency in Pashto for basic conversation.

*Pashto Conversation Duration*

The conversation duration data for Pashto shows a similar skewing, with virtually all subjects reporting conversations of longer than sixty minutes. The distribution is shown in figure (18) below. It provides a striking contrast to the spread shown for Urdu conversation length reported above in figure (14). Again, with only two subjects reporting that their longest Pashto conversation lasted less than one hour, no relationship can be shown between PSRT scores and reported conversation length.

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<sup>42</sup> With such a skewed distribution, there are obviously no significant differences between mean Pashto SRT scores for groups separated according to reported frequency of hearing or speaking Pashto.

**(18)** Percent of Peshmal men:  
length of longest reported Pashto conversation

Longest Pashto Conversation	<i>Percent</i>	<i>n</i>
never	0%	0
<5 min.	0	0
5-20 min.	2	1
20-60 min.	2	1
>60 min.	96	46
<i>Total</i>		48

The contrast between the reported conversation length for Pashto versus Urdu is most noticeable in the comparison between the percentages of subjects reporting conversations of over one hour in length. Recall that these reports come from the same set of Peshmal males, giving their estimates for each of their two non-mother tongue languages; 98 percent report these lengthy conversations in Pashto, while only 27 percent report such in Urdu.

These self-reported estimates of frequency of use and conversation length conform to the sociolinguistic realities of living in a Pashto-dominant area. Peshmal Gujars live along the main road and have frequent contact with Pashtoons traveling through their area. Pashto is also the language of communication between Gujars and neighboring Kohistanis.

*Conversational Domains for Pashto*

This widespread and frequent use of Pashto is corroborated in the data on conversational domains. Peshmal males reported speaking Pashto to a much greater variety of interlocutors: guests, neighbors from Ariani, friends, relatives, local Pashtoons, police, teachers, school fellows, contacts in the bazaar, etc. Topics discussed also showed a much wider variety, including many issues relating to daily life and personal interests. Reported topics include daily and local problems; home, families, and marriage; school lessons and education; land, crops, food, and

water; business, jobs, and work; the people and culture of this area; religion; weather; and sports. Thus, in contrast to Urdu use, Pashto use is not restricted to contact with outsiders from other areas nor to topics which relate local life to those unfamiliar with it. However, there is no evidence suggesting that the interlocutors are fellow Gujars; rather they are mostly 'local outsiders', non-Gujars whose lives are in close contact with these Peshmal residents. On the basis of this evidence, there appears to be no indication of any threat to the maintenance of Gujari as the exclusive, in-group language among the Gujar residents of Peshmal.

#### 4.2.7 Pashto Proficiency of Peshmal Women

Twenty Gujar women residing in Peshmal participated in Pashto bilingualism testing, including informal interviews with female researchers. These women displayed a greater readiness to undergo proficiency testing in Pashto than in Urdu, and indeed their Pashto SRT scores show much higher competence in Pashto than in Urdu. The overall mean for Pashto proficiency and the median RPE level of 2, indicate adequate proficiency for basic, everyday conversation; the median level for Urdu, based only on the scores of those few who did not exclude themselves from taking the Urdu SRT by claiming lack of skill, was level 0+, the minimal proficiency level. The distribution of PSRT scores for female subjects in Peshmal is displayed in figure (19).

**(19) Peshmal female subjects on Pashto SRT  
with equivalent RPE levels**

Pashto		
RPE level	n	
0+	1 *	
1	4 ****	Total n = 20
1+	9 *****	Mean Urdu SRT = 26
2	3 ***	sd = 6.5
2+	1 *	Median RPE = 2
3	0	
3+	2 **	

As mentioned above, none of the female subjects in Peshmal have received any education, as is typical of the women there. Thus the role of education in the acquisition of Pashto is not explanatory in terms of the variation of women's proficiency scores. The distribution in terms of women's ages is skewed and therefore it is difficult to assess the possible effect of age on PSRT scores. However there appears to be no more indication of age patterning here than there was in the proficiency scores of the male subjects. Thus other factors must be considered in interpreting the variation in Pashto proficiency of female subjects. During informal discussions with Peshmal women concerning their knowledge and use of Pashto, two potentially important factors became apparent: intermarriage with Pashtoons among the subject's close kin and employment-related travel to Pashto-speaking areas for several months.

Intermarriage between Peshmal Gujars and Pashtoons is quite common: eight of the twenty female subjects reported having Pashtoon relatives. This presence of a Pashto mother tongue relative in a subject's close kin does not have a statistically significant effect on PSRT scores in this sample, however. The eight women with Pashtoon relatives show a full range of proficiency levels, from RPE level 1 to level 3+. Thus although some women explained their knowledge of Pashto by referring to the presence of Pashtoons in their families, this factor

did not exhibit a uniformly beneficial effect on proficiency.<sup>43</sup> It is interesting to note these ladies' reports that in cases of intermarriage between a Gujar man and a Pashtoon woman, the language of the father tends to be dominant in the home. It is reported that new Pashto-speaking daughters-in-law usually learn to communicate in Gujar; preference is not given to the higher status Pashto. These reports seem to indicate that the Gujars take pride in their language and help explain why the simple presence of Pashtoon relatives does not consistently correspond with higher PSRT scores. The dominance of Gujar over Pashto in these cases of intermarriage also argues for the maintenance of the Gujar language over time.

There is a significant trend indicated in the PSRT scores when they are grouped according to travel to Pashto-speaking areas. Eleven women migrate south with their families during winter months, accompanying their husbands as they seek employment in Pashto-dominant locations.<sup>44</sup> Of these eleven, seven reported going to Nowshera (or nearby Risalpur), where they reported a sizeable Gujar community gathers. The other four women spent winter months in Lower Swat or in Peshawar. The women were divided into three groups: those who do not travel to Pashto-speaking areas, those traveling to Nowshera area, and those traveling to Lower Swat or Peshawar. The mean PSRT scores show an upward trend from a low for the untraveled group of 23 (sd=4.6), and a slightly higher 26 (sd=5.0) for those going to Nowshera, to a high of 33 (sd=8.5) for those going to Lower Swat or Peshawar. Although the sample size is small, the difference between the Pashto SRT scores of the untraveled group and those of the women traveling to Peshawar and Lower Swat is statistically significant ( $F=4.18$ ,  $p<.05$ ). These results indicate that periods of residence in Pashto-dominant areas can have a significant influence on the acquisition of Pashto by Gujar women.

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<sup>43</sup> However, of the six women who scored at RPE level 3 or above, three reported that their mothers were Pashtoos.

<sup>44</sup> Two additional female subjects reported going to Rawalpindi during the winter months, however, since this area is not Pashto-dominant, they were excluded from the traveled group.

A comparison of women's Pashto SRT scores with those of the uneducated men in Peshmal shows that women tend to have slightly lower proficiency in Pashto, though the gap between men's and women's scores is not nearly as wide in Pashto as it is in Urdu. The overall PSRT mean for Peshmal female subjects is 26, in contrast to a mean of 31 for uneducated male subjects ( $F=6.75$ ,  $p<.05$ ). This corresponds to a median Pashto RPE level of 2 for the women, versus between 2 and 2+ for the uneducated men.<sup>45</sup> Again, lack of education alone cannot account for the difference between the proficiency levels of men and women since uneducated men as a group perform significantly better than uneducated women on the Pashto SRT. As compared to that of the men, the lifestyle of Peshmal Gujar women limits their exposure to any language of wider communication. They live most of their lives at home, tending to household duties, children, and field work. It is likely that a woman's role also limits the range of topics commonly discussed which, in turn, may limit the breadth of proficiency attained in Pashto or any second language. Keeping these language contact limitations in mind, it is interesting that the women achieved as high levels in Pashto as their PSRT results indicate. Although Peshmal women are restricted in comparison to men, they do have considerable contact with Pashto through neighbors, relatives and travel; the majority of women sampled seem to acquire sufficient command of Pashto to carry on basic conversations about everyday topics.

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<sup>45</sup> It is possible that the sample of Peshmal women taking the Pashto SRT is not truly representative of the overall female population, and that a different sample would show proficiency levels even more distinct from those shown by the men's sample.



### 4.3 Multilingualism in Mittikot

#### 4.3.1 Distribution of Test Subjects in Mittikot Sample

In order to obtain a general assessment of Urdu ability among Gujars living in Mittikot, proficiency testing was conducted with a sample of forty-two males from that community. As mentioned above, no women were tested. The demographic distribution of the Mittikot male population according to age and education groups was presented in chapter two. Figure (20) below presents a comparison between the percentages for each age and education cell for the male population and for the sample of Urdu SRT subjects.<sup>46</sup> From this chart it is evident that the stratification of subjects in the test sample generally parallels that of the Mittikot male population.

(20) Mittikot: distribution of  
male population compared with test subjects  
in percentages

<i>Age Groups</i>	<i>Uneducated</i>			<i>Years of formal education</i>						<i>Total by age group</i>		
	<i>Pop. Sample</i>			<i>1-5 years</i>			<i>6-12 years</i>			<i>Pop. Sample</i>		
	%	%	n	%	%	n	%	%	n	%	%	n
14-19	8	5	2	7	10	4	3	10	4	18	24	10
20-29	15	14	6	5	2	1	7	5	2	27	21	9
30-39	17	24	10	1	2	1	2	2	1	19	29	12
40 & older	36	26	11	0	0	0	0	0	0	36	26	11
<i>Total by ed. group</i>	75	69	29	13	14	6	12	17	7			42

Population n = 253

There were 52 men included in the Hindko recorded text test (RTT) sample; unfortunately these samples of subjects for

<sup>46</sup> Only 253 of the 374 Mittikot males are included in the comparison with the distribution of test subjects since 118 are below 14 years of age and 3 have missing demographic information regarding level of education.

Hindko and Urdu proficiency testing are not exactly equivalent. Fourteen men who participated in the Hindko RTT did not participate in the Urdu testing; four men who were included in the Urdu testing were not included in the Hindko testing. The distribution of Hindko RTT testing according to age and education cells is quite similar to that of the Urdu test subjects, and generally corresponds to that in the Mittikot male population: 75 percent uneducated (the same as in the total Mittikot population); 12 percent with one to five years education (versus 13 percent in the population); and 13 percent with six or more years education (versus 12 percent in the population). The age distribution for the Hindko test subjects is quite even, yielding between 23 and 27 percent of the sample in each of the four age subgroups.

4.3.2 Mittikot Urdu Proficiency

Figure (21) presents the mean scores (m) of the Mittikot subjects on the Urdu sentence repetition test of bilingual proficiency, according to age and education subgroups. Figure (21) also records the number of subjects (n), and standard deviation of mean Urdu SRT scores (sd). In addition, median and range of corresponding Reported Proficiency Evaluation (RPE) levels are included for each education subgroup.

(21) Mean scores of Mittikot subjects on Urdu SRT

<i>Age Groups</i>	<i>Years of formal education</i>									<i>Totals by age group</i>		
	<i>Uneducated</i>			<i>1-5 years</i>			<i>6 or more years</i>			<i>n</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>sd</i>
10-19	2	20	14.8	4	19	5.5	4	29	3.1	10	23	7.9
20-29	6	12	9.9	1	18		2	37	2.8	9	18	13.3
30-39	10	12	9.4	1	40		1	41		12	17	13.9
40 +	11	11	7.2	0			0			11	11	7.2
<i>Total by ed. group</i>	29	12	8.8	6	23	9.7	7	33	5.8	42	17	11.5
RPE Range:	0 to 2+			1+ to 3+			2+ to 3+					
Median:	1			1+/2			2+/3					

n=number of subjects, m=mean SRT score, sd=standard deviation,  
RPE range and median=corresponding RPE levels

*Education and Urdu Proficiency*

From figure (21) it is evident that education is the key factor in explaining the distribution of the Mittikot Urdu SRT scores; mean SRT scores consistently increase with education. The importance of education is demonstrated by the the one-way analysis of variance test which yields highly significant results ( $F=18.1$ ,  $p<.001$ ). The major difference in Urdu proficiency as measured by the SRT is seen in the comparison of the scores of the highest education group with those of the uneducated subjects. The highest education group has a mean Urdu SRT score of 33, and a corresponding RPE median of between 2+ and 3. In contrast, the primary education group mean is 23, median RPE level between 1+ and 2, and the uneducated group mean is 12, with a median RPE level 1. The large gap between the mean SRT scores for the primary education group and for the more highly educated group support the threshold posited in the discussion of the Peshmal Urdu SRT results: available data indicate that moderate or better proficiency in Urdu is only occasionally attained by those with a primary level education or less, but generally attained by those with more education. The importance of higher levels of education is not surprising since schooling is the primary means for males to learn Urdu in Mittikot. Since Mittikot is a more isolated village than Peshmal, there are very few contacts with Urdu-speaking outsiders and no tourists passing through. Thus education has even more of an impact on Urdu proficiency in Mittikot.

The higher education group, although small in number of subjects, shows more internal consistency in Urdu proficiency, with a standard deviation of 5.8, lower than the standard deviation of 8.8 for the uneducated group. This relative reduction of within-group variation supports the role of schooling in producing consistently higher levels of Urdu proficiency. The greater variation in Urdu ability among the uneducated and lesser educated subjects must be explained by other more individual factors, such as periods of residence in or travel to Urdu-speaking areas, or differing exposure to Urdu through occupational contacts.

*Age and Urdu Proficiency*

Age does not have a significant effect on Urdu ability in Mittikot, which is consistent with the data in Peshmal. There is no apparent age pattern in the Mittikot bilingualism data, thus no evidence that there is any increase in use of Urdu by the younger generations. From these data, we have no indication of a shift away from the use of Gujari toward the use of Urdu in the Mittikot speech community, nor any trend indicating that men gain Urdu skill with age and experience.

*Travel and Urdu Proficiency*

As in the case of the Peshmal data, the Urdu proficiency of Mittikot subjects was examined to uncover measurable effects of language contact through exposure during travel to Urdu-speaking areas. Mittikot men were asked about the locations to which they had traveled, the longest stay in that place, and the frequency of travel to that location. Trips to Rawalpindi, Lahore, and Karachi were considered as potentially affecting a subject's Urdu exposure; trips to these same three cities were examined in the Peshmal data.

In order to control for the effect of education in improving a subject's Urdu proficiency, the Urdu SRT scores of uneducated subjects only were examined. Subjects were divided into two groups according to their reports of travel duration: those who had been to any of the three cities for less than one month were put in the relatively untraveled group ( $n=17$ ), and those who had stayed for three months or more in one of these locations were put in the more traveled group ( $n=12$ ). There was a statistically significant difference between the Urdu proficiency scores of these two groups as measured by one-way analysis of variance ( $F=4.84$ ,  $p<.05$ ). The mean Urdu SRT score for the more traveled group (16,  $sd=9.5$ ) is higher than that of the untraveled group (9,  $sd=7.2$ ). These mean scores correspond with a full level difference in median RPE levels between the two groups, from level 0+ (very minimal proficiency) to level 1+ (limited basic proficiency).

### 4.3.3 Reported Use of Urdu by Mittikot Men

Parallel to the sections in the Peshmal questionnaire dealing with language use, questions were included in the Mittikot questionnaire concerning a subject's use of Urdu. The actual questions concerning frequency of speaking and hearing Urdu and a subject's longest conversation in Urdu were the same as those listed for Peshmal in the preceding figure (11). However when investigating the longest reported conversations in Urdu, Mittikot subjects were asked specifically to report about their longest duration Urdu conversations held in three different locations: in Mittikot itself, in the nearby and larger town of Balakot, and in locations outside of those two specified places. As stated above, the frequencies of speaking and hearing Urdu and the reported durations of the longest Urdu conversations were included as more quantitative angles on the language use data. More qualitative information was also gathered by asking subjects to report their Urdu-speaking interlocutors, and the topics which were discussed in these Urdu conversations.

#### *Frequencies of Speaking and Hearing Urdu*

Figure (22) presents the frequencies of hearing and speaking Urdu in the sample of fifty-eight Mittikot male subjects. Of these fifty-eight subjects, forty-two participated in the Urdu SRT testing; thus the second part of this figure displays the frequency distribution of these forty-two subjects and the mean Urdu SRT scores of these subjects separated into three groups according to relative frequency of speaking Urdu. The mean Urdu SRT score for the subjects reporting relatively higher frequency of speaking Urdu is significantly higher than the mean scores of the two groups reporting lower Urdu speaking frequency ( $F=6.75$ ,  $p<.01$ ).

(22) Mittikot men: reported frequencies  
for hearing and speaking Urdu  
*percent and number responding at each level*  
compared to Urdu SRT means

	Hear Urdu		Speak Urdu	
	<i>Percent</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>n</i>
never	31%	18	48%	28
1x/month	28	16	14	8
1x/2wks.	9	5	3	2
1x/wk.	7	4	3	2
2-3x/wk.	14	8	12	7
1x/day	2	1	7	4
many x/day	10	6	12	7
<i>Total</i>		58		58

Reported frequency of Speaking Urdu	Urdu SRT		
	<i>n</i>	<i>SRT m</i>	<i>sd</i>
never	19	13	10.1
1 or 2x/month	9	14	10.0
2x/week to many x/day	14	25	10.4
<i>Total</i>	42		

Notice that the reports of Urdu use are much less frequent for Mittikot men than for Peshmal men. Almost half report that they never speak Urdu, in contrast to only 6 percent who reported no use of Urdu among the Peshmal men. Considering only those who participated in the Urdu SRT testing as shown in the second half of this figure, the highest frequency group consists of all those who reported speaking Urdu twice or three times a week combined with those few reporting that they speak it once or many times a day, since all such reports were relatively infrequent; there were no patterned differences between those combined into this group. It is only this group which shows a significantly higher Urdu SRT mean. Again this reflects the paucity of subjects reporting frequent use of Urdu in Mittikot.

As in the Peshmal data, the significant differences between the measures of Urdu proficiency for those who report using

Urdu more often, in contrast to those who report using it less often, substantiate the consistency of the Mittikot data. Although these results are not strong enough to indicate that self-reported frequency of use can be taken as a predictor of Urdu proficiency, they indicate that these two measures are positively related and that the generally low frequency of Urdu use of most Mittikot subjects reflects very limited skill in Urdu for the majority of the Gujar male population. In general, those who report that they speak Urdu infrequently do not seem to have proficiency adequate for conversations beyond the level of basic needs.

### *Urdu Conversation Duration*

The conversation duration data for Urdu conversations in Mittikot, Balakot, or outside locations reveal that most subjects report only very short conversations in Urdu. For all three locations, a majority of subjects reported never using Urdu in conversation; the percentages reporting that they never use Urdu in conversation range from 56 in the two out-of-town locations to 62 in Mittikot. Only one subject in one location reported using Urdu for a conversation of more than one hour in length. The most commonly reported duration of the remainder who reported any Urdu conversations was between five and twenty minutes. There is no consistent relationship between Urdu SRT scores and reported conversation length, but since so few reported Urdu conversations of more than twenty-minute duration, this result is hardly surprising. The frequencies and percentages of Urdu conversation duration data for Mittikot men are listed in figure (23); the data listed here reflects answers to questions specifying Urdu use in the nearby town of Balakot, to which Mittikot men regularly go for economic reasons.

**(23)** Percent of Mittikot men:  
length of longest reported Urdu conversation

Longest Urdu Conversation	<i>Percent</i>	<i>n</i>
never	57%	33
<5 min.	14	8
5-20 min.	21	12
20-60 min.	9	5
>60 min.	0	0
<i>Total</i>		58

*Conversational Domains for Urdu*

Since Urdu is rarely used in Mittikot, it fits with expectations to discover that the reported domains where it is spoken are with interlocutors who are higher status 'outsiders'. Among those who reported Urdu conversations, the most frequently mentioned interlocutor was the school teacher; others included forestry workers, visitors, landlords, employers, lawyers, and shopkeepers in Balakot or more distant locations. Most often, the topics were appropriate to conversations with such interlocutors, not ones which would be discussed among family and peers within the Gujar community: schoolwork, employment, court cases, etc.

#### 4.3.4 Mittikot Hindko Proficiency

In addition to limited use of Urdu, a second language of wider communication used by the Gujars in Mittikot is the regional language widely spoken in the Hazara area, Hindko. Hindko is the dominant language in the nearby town of Balakot, where many Mittikot Gujars have regular contacts. In order to test the bilingual ability of Mittikot Gujar men in Hindko, a



sample of fifty-two men were tested by means of a Hindko recorded text test (RTT).<sup>47</sup>

The text, a simple narrative, was collected from a native Hindko speaker from the town of Balakot. Recorded text testing procedure involves playing the taped text to each subject; after listening to the text, the subject is asked a series of questions in his own native language or dialect. These questions are presented while the subject hears the story again, interspersed within the recorded text at appropriate places with pauses for answering. Thus a standardized presentation is used for all subjects. A subject's responses to those questions, which may be given in his own native language, are taken as indicators of his level of comprehension of the text, and thus a reflection of his level of proficiency in the taped language variety.<sup>48</sup> In comparison with the sentence repetition tests used to measure Urdu and Pashto proficiency as discussed in the previous sections of this chapter, the Hindko RTT is less sensitive; it measures comprehension of a text, and does not require a subject to speak the test language as part of test performance. Its results are more difficult to interpret since they have not been calibrated with a direct measure of proficiency such as the Reported Proficiency Evaluation. Therefore statistical evaluation of the RTT results must be

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<sup>47</sup> The Hindko RTT was actually given to a larger pool of Mittikot men, a total of 58. However, only 52 of these are included in the final sample, due to a screening procedure which aims to eliminate subjects who cannot perform adequately on such a test because of factors other than comprehension of the test language. All subjects are also given a RTT in their hometown dialect, and those who perform poorly on this "hometown RTT" are eliminated from the final sample.

<sup>48</sup> The procedure for recorded text testing was originally developed to assess intelligibility between variant dialects rather than second language proficiency (Casad 1974). However, in situations where no more discriminating bilingual proficiency measure is available or practical, a procedure such as the RTT is utilized to get a general indication of levels of comprehension of the given second language within the community. The case of Hindko proficiency testing in Mittikot is one of these situations. Hindko and Gujar, particularly the varieties spoken in Mittikot, are closely related with a high percentage of similar lexical items. (See chapter 3.) No clear dividing line exists in this case, separating questions of intelligibility between related linguistic varieties from those of acquired comprehension of different languages. The results of the Hindko RTT are thus taken as general indicators of approximate levels of Hindko proficiency within the Mittikot community.

cautiously interpreted and the resulting conclusions are necessarily weaker. More details regarding recorded text testing are in appendix A.2. The specific text from Balakot used to measure Hindko proficiency is included in appendix B.2.2.

Figure (24) shows the distribution of mean Hindko RTT scores according to age and education subgroups. For each subgroup the number of subjects (n), mean RTT score (m), and standard deviation (sd) are given. RTT scores are given in terms of percent of responses correct, thus 80 indicates eight out of ten questions answered correctly.

#### (24) Mean scores of Mittikot subjects on Hindko RTT

<i>Age Groups</i>	<i>Years of formal education</i>									<i>Totals by age group</i>		
	<i>Uneducated</i>			<i>1-5 years</i>			<i>6-12years</i>			<i>n</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>sd</i>
	<i>n</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>sd</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>sd</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>sd</i>			
10-19	5	90	7.1	4	88	18.9	4	93	5.0	13	90	10.8
20-29	9	86	11.4	1	90		2	100	0	12	89	11.1
30-39	11	79	12.2	1	90		1	100		13	82	12.8
40 +	14	77	17.7	0			0			14	77	17.7
<i>Total by ed. group</i>	39	81	14.2	6	88	14.7	7	96	5.3	<i>Overall Total</i>		
										52	84	14.2

n=number of subjects, m=mean RTT score, sd=standard deviation

In general, the scores for the Hindko RTT are quite high, with an overall mean of 84. A 95 percent confidence interval based on the distribution of Hindko RTT scores indicates that a true population mean would fall between 80 and 88 percent. These figures can be compared with the mean score of 93 on the Gujarati hometown recorded text test (with a 95 percent confidence interval of 91 to 95) to evaluate the approximate level of Hindko proficiency relative to the average of these subjects' performances on a similar test in their native variety of Gujarati.

Each Hindko RTT score was compared with the paired Gujarati RTT score from the same subject using a dependent sample t-test. The results showed a significant difference between Hindko and Gujarati RTT scores, with the Gujarati score

showing a mean increase of 9.1 points ( $t=5.4$ ,  $p<.001$ ). Clearly, Mittikot Gujar men are less proficient in Hindko than they are in their native Gujar, but the average decrease as measured by the RTT is not great.

Of the 52 Mittikot subjects taking the Hindko test, 24 performed at the 100 percent correct level on their Gujar *hometown* screening test; the remainder performed at 90 or 80 percent correct. For the 24 who had perfect hometown test scores, the mean on the Hindko RTT was significantly higher than the overall mean: 90 percent with a standard deviation of 9.5; the corresponding 95 percent confidence interval is 86 to 94 percent. These results give further confirmation to the conclusion that good ability in comprehending Hindko is quite widespread in the Mittikot Gujar community.

### *Education and Hindko Proficiency*

To be consistent with the evaluations of Urdu and Pashto proficiency discussed in previous sections of this chapter, the Hindko RTT was analyzed with analysis of variance tests to look for significant effects for the independent variables of education and age.<sup>49</sup> Again, education revealed a significant effect on Hindko RTT scores ( $F=3.6$ ,  $p<.05$ ). As noted in figure (24), the distribution of subjects is heavily skewed in favor of the uneducated subjects, and there are rather large standard deviations for the uneducated and the less educated groups. Nevertheless, there is a consistent rise in mean Hindko RTT scores as education increases: 81 for the uneducated subjects, 88 for the lesser educated subjects, and 96 for the more highly educated subjects. Post-hoc comparisons between each pair of education groups using the Scheffe's procedure reveals that the highest education group has a significantly higher mean Hindko RTT score than the uneducated group, but that their mean score

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<sup>49</sup> As mentioned above in the discussion of Urdu SRT results in Mittikot, the same caveats regarding interpretation of results based on the few scores from educated subjects hold true in the Hindko RTT data. This skewing is due to the nature of the Mittikot Gujar population, and is thus unavoidable if a representative sample of the community is taken.

is not significantly different than that of the primary education group.

It may not seem intuitively obvious why there is a relationship between education and Hindko proficiency, but a look at the particular circumstances of schooling for Mittikot boys yields some clarification. Hindko is not officially taught in school; however, it is often used by Hindko-speaking teachers to explain new or difficult concepts. The only middle and high schools available for Mittikot students are located in Balakot, a Hindko-speaking town. Most of the students at Balakot schools are Hindko speakers. Thus, schooling provides an environment where Hindko is acquired by regular exposure, not by direct teaching.<sup>50</sup>

### *Age and Hindko Proficiency*

The evaluation of the effect of age on Hindko RTT scores is based on relatively balanced numbers of subjects in each age group. The mean Hindko RTT scores decrease as age increases; from a high of 90 for the teenage group to a low of 77 for those 40 and over. However the standard deviations for each group are quite large, between 10.8 and 17.7, indicating sizeable intra-group variation in scores within each age group. An analysis of variance on the differences between the means for these age groups indicates a probability level barely outside the minimum necessary to establish a significant relationship between age and Hindko RTT scores ( $p=0.053$ ). Using a more sensitive proficiency test, or controlling for possible interaction between age and education effects, significant results might be indicated.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> One college-educated Hindko speaker who lives in Balakot was asked whether Gujaris can speak Hindko. His reply was that "only those Gujaris who have attended school with Hindko speakers can speak Hindko".

<sup>51</sup> In an attempt to control for the effect of education, and isolate the effect of age on Hindko RTT scores, the scores of the uneducated subjects only were examined by the analysis of variance procedure. Since the large majority of younger subjects had received some education, this drastically reduced the numbers of subjects in the subgroups of the teenage and the twenty to twenty-nine year old age range. The mean Hindko RTT scores still steadily decrease as

On the basis of the Hindko RTT data available, there is weak evidence for increasing Hindko proficiency among the young. If this trend were observed over time, in combination with an observed and reported increase in the use of Hindko among fellow Gujars, such data could be interpreted as indicating that Hindko use and proficiency are in a transitional stage, perhaps moving in the direction of a shift towards use of Hindko and the loss of Gujari among some Kaghan Gujars. At this point the Hindko proficiency data are inconclusive, and the reports of frequency of Hindko use in conversation do not pattern in a way that would support this suggestion.

### *Travel and Hindko Proficiency*

Since Mittikot Gujars are surrounded by a Hindko-dominant environment, effects of travel to and lengthy stays in Hindko-speaking towns are rather difficult to evaluate. However for the sake of parallelism with the evaluation of the other situations of second language use and travel, a comparison between untraveled and more traveled Mittikot subjects was done. Again, this analysis used only Hindko RTT scores of the uneducated subjects, to eliminate the interference of the effect of education. Those thirteen Mittikot Gujar men reporting at least one month or more residence in either Balakot, Mansehra, or Abbotabad were placed into the more traveled group. Those remaining twenty-six uneducated men were placed into the untraveled group. The mean Hindko RTT score of the traveled group was slightly higher than that of the untraveled group, 85 versus 80. However, the standard deviations for these groups were both quite high, with 10.5 for the traveled group and 15.8 for the untraveled group. The differences between group means was not statistically significant. Therefore, there is no conclusive evidence that travel to or relatively longer stays in these Hindko-speaking towns consistently affects Hindko proficiency. Again, more detailed questioning regarding language use while in a Hindko-dominant environment should reveal the factors of

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age increases, however these differences are not statistically significant. Again, this is likely to be due to the unbalanced numbers of subjects in the four age subgroups.

language contact that would explain some of the variation within the scores of the more traveled group.

#### 4.3.5 Reported Use of Hindko by Mittikot Men

Similar to the reports of language use for Urdu and Pashto discussed above, Mittikot subjects also reported their frequencies of speaking and hearing Hindko. They were also asked about conversations in which they reported to use Hindko, the approximate duration of their longest conversation, the topic of the conversation, and the person with whom they spoke.

##### *Frequencies of Speaking and Hearing Hindko*

In contrast to the consistent links between language use and proficiency as measured by the Urdu and Pashto SRT tests, these data do not show any significant relationships with Hindko ability as measured with the Hindko RTT. Such a result is not surprising given the fact that the Hindko RTT is a less sensitive and less discriminating proficiency measure. The reports of frequency of speaking and of hearing Hindko are presented below for all 58 Mittikot subjects in figure (25).

(25) Mittikot men: reported frequencies  
for hearing and speaking Hindko  
*percent and number responding at each level*

	Hear Hindko		Speak Hindko	
	<i>Percent</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>n</i>
never	0%	0	2%	1
1x/month	12	7	10	6
1x/2wks.	5	3	5	3
1x/wk.	14	8	16	9
2-3x/wk.	22	13	22	13
1x/day	21	12	19	11
many x/day	26	15	26	15
<i>Total</i>		58		58

The frequency reports given here indicate that Mittikot men use Hindko much more frequently than Urdu. In contrast to 6 or 7 percent who report using Urdu many times a day, 26 percent report speaking and hearing Hindko many times a day. Almost half of the subjects report using Hindko at least once a day, versus between 12 and 19 percent for Urdu. Whereas only two percent report never speaking Hindko, almost half these same subjects report never speaking Urdu. Since the regional language is Hindko and the majority of Mittikot Gujar men have regular contact with Hindko speakers in nearby Balakot, Hindko is clearly a well-used language for these Hazara Gujar men.

### *Hindko Conversation Duration*

The reported Hindko conversation length data also do not stratify consistently with the Hindko RTT proficiency measure. However, the tallies and accompanying percentages for reported Hindko conversation length in Balakot do indicate greater use of Hindko than of Urdu. These tallies are listed below in figure (26).

(26) Percent of Mittikot men:  
length of longest reported Hindko conversation

Longest Hindko		
Conversation	Percent	<i>n</i>
never	2%	1
<5 min.	12	7
5-20 min.	38	22
20-60 min.	41	24
>60 min.	7	4
<i>Total</i>		58

The largest number of Mittikot subjects report that their longest Hindko conversations are of 20 to 60 minutes duration; almost half report Hindko conversation of at least twenty minutes to over one hour. These conversation lengths contrast sharply with the reports for Urdu conversations; only 9 percent of these same Mittikot men report conversations in Urdu of 20 minutes or

longer duration, the rest reporting shorter Urdu conversations or none at all. Only one subject reported never using Hindko for conversations in Balakot, while 57 percent report none in Urdu.

### *Conversational Domains for Hindko*

The domains of use for Hindko pattern similarly to those discussed for Urdu: Hindko is not reported to be used within the Gujar community, but is used between Gujars and non-Gujars in the Hazara area. Thirteen percent reported never using Hindko in Mittikot, whereas all but one reported using it for conversations in Balakot. The large majority report that their longest Hindko conversations were with shopkeepers in Balakot, many also reporting that they use Hindko with their landlord. Three reported long conversations with the local *imam* in Hindko. The topics reported were appropriate to the interlocutors listed, and reflect the need to use Hindko as a local *lingua franca*.

## **4.4 Comparative Patterns of Multilingualism in Peshmal and Mittikot**

### **4.4.1 Relative Urdu Proficiency and Use**

In both Gujar communities under investigation, evidence indicates that, compared to the local languages of wider communication, Urdu proficiency was generally lower and Urdu use was less frequent. Neither the Peshmal data, nor the Mittikot data indicate widespread high levels of proficiency in Urdu. However in both communities, Urdu proficiency was significantly affected by education, with only those subjects in the highest education group attaining consistently higher scores on the Urdu sentence repetition test.

The levels of Urdu proficiency for each community are displayed in figure (27), according to percents of more educated subjects versus lesser educated and uneducated subjects at each projected Reported Proficiency Evaluation level. Because no significant differences were found between Urdu proficiency levels of uneducated subjects and lesser educated subjects (with



one to five years education), these two education groups are combined on this figure.

**(27) Peshmal and Mittikot men:**  
comparison of Urdu proficiency levels for  
uneducated and lesser educated versus more educated group

Reported Proficiency Evaluation Levels	<b>Peshmal</b>		<b>Mittikot</b>	
	% of subjects by level		% of subjects by level	
	Uned. & Less ed.	More educated	Uned. & Less ed.	More educated
<b>0</b> ( <i>below minimal</i> )	0%	0%	6%	0%
<b>0+</b> ( <i>very minimal</i> )	11	0	29	0
<b>1</b> ( <i>minimal, limited</i> )	6	0	17	0
<b>1+</b> ( <i>limited, basic</i> )	8	0	17	0
<b>2</b> ( <i>adequate, basic</i> )	19	0	17	0
<b>2+</b> ( <i>good, basic</i> )	28	17	11	43
<b>3</b> ( <i>good, general</i> )	25	33	0	29
<b>3+</b> ( <i>very good, general</i> )	3	50	3	29

Because demographic profiles were gathered for these two communities, the relative percentages of more highly educated subjects for each community are known. Combining these percentages with the proficiency test results indicates the overall percentages expected at each level of Urdu proficiency for the Peshmal versus the Mittikot Gujar communities.<sup>52</sup> In Peshmal, 83 percent of the more educated men and 28 percent of the lesser or uneducated men demonstrated Urdu proficiency at RPE level 3 or above. More highly educated men make up only 18 percent of the Peshmal population, while lesser or uneducated men make up the remaining 82 percent. Using these figures to gain an estimate of the percentage of men who speak Urdu at level 3 or

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<sup>52</sup> These projections yield estimates of Urdu proficiency for men age fourteen and above in each community; evaluation of the expected levels of proficiency for women is dealt with separately.

above, yields 38 percent as the overall percentage of Peshmal men who speak Urdu at good, general proficiency or better.<sup>53</sup>

The projections for Mittikot demonstrate much lower levels of Urdu proficiency. The percentages of more highly educated men in the Mittikot population are somewhat lower than was the case in Peshmal: only 12 percent of the population had six or more years education. In addition, the performances of these educated men indicated fewer who demonstrated good, general proficiency in Urdu: only 58 percent of these more educated men performed at RPE level 3 or above. For the uneducated and lesser educated men, only 3 percent demonstrated RPE level 3 proficiency. Lesser educated and uneducated men make up 88 percent of Mittikot's male population. Thus, the overall percentage of all Mittikot men who are estimated to be at RPE level 3 or above is only 10 percent.

Several factors help explain why these communities have differing levels of Urdu proficiency. Education for males is more widespread in Peshmal than in Mittikot, particularly among the younger generation. While Mittikot is more remote and is not likely to have many visitors from other areas, Peshmal is on a main road, in an area heavily traveled by tourists. Thus, it seems that Urdu proficiency may be more necessary in Peshmal than in Mittikot. This supposition is borne out by the questionnaire responses of subjects regarding the frequency with which they use Urdu: Peshmal subjects reported much less frequent use of Urdu than of Pashto, but they reported much more frequent use of Urdu than did the Mittikot subjects.

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<sup>53</sup> Calculated as follows: 83% (the percent of the higher educated who perform at level 3 or higher) multiplied by 18% (the percent of the population that are higher educated) makes 15% who speak at least RPE level 3 Urdu and come from the more highly educated subset of the population. This figure is added to that for the lesser or uneducated: 28% (the percent of the lesser or uneducated who perform at level 3 or higher) times 82% (the percent of the population that have little or no education) making 23% who speak at least RPE level 3 Urdu and come from the lesser educated or uneducated subsets of the population. Thus 15% plus 23% yield an approximation of 38% of the total Peshmal male population at level 3 proficiency or better.

#### 4.4.2 Relative Proficiency and Use of Local Languages of Wider Communication

The comparison between the local languages of wider communication in these two communities is not so straightforward. In both Peshmal and Mittikot, evidence indicates that there is more widespread proficiency in the local *lingua franca* than in Urdu. But since different types of tests were used, and different languages are involved, the results for Pashto in Peshmal and Hindko in Mittikot are difficult to compare.

The levels of Pashto proficiency for the Peshmal community are displayed in figure (28), according to percents of more educated subjects versus lesser educated and uneducated subjects at each projected RPE level. Again, since no significant differences were found between proficiency levels of uneducated subjects and lesser educated subjects (with one to five years education), these two lesser education groups are combined.

**(28) Peshmal men:**  
percent at Pashto proficiency levels for  
uneducated and lesser educated versus more educated group

Reported Proficiency Evaluation Levels	<b>Peshmal</b> % of subjects by level	
	Uned.& Less ed.	More educated
<b>0</b> ( <i>below minimal</i> )	0%	0%
<b>0+</b> ( <i>very minimal</i> )	0	0
<b>1</b> ( <i>minimal, limited</i> )	3	0
<b>1+</b> ( <i>limited, basic</i> )	3	0
<b>2</b> ( <i>adequate, basic</i> )	19	8
<b>2+</b> ( <i>good, basic</i> )	33	0
<b>3</b> ( <i>good, general</i> )	33	17
<b>3+</b> ( <i>very good, general</i> )	8	75

These results support the conclusion that Peshmal men demonstrate higher levels of proficiency in Pashto than they do

in Urdu. Among the more educated subjects, 92 percent performed at RPE level 3 or above. Eighteen percent of the total Peshmal male population aged fourteen and above were found to be in this more educated subgroup according to the census described in chapter two. Thus, multiplying these percentages yields 17 percent of the Peshmal male population who both are more highly educated and speak Pashto with good, general proficiency (at RPE level 3 or better). Fifteen of the 36 uneducated and lesser educated subjects, or 41 percent, demonstrated such high levels of Pashto proficiency. Lesser educated and uneducated subjects make up 82 percent of the population of Peshmal men. These figures yield a projection of 34 percent of the Peshmal male population who both speak Pashto at RPE level 3 proficiency and have little or no education. The total projected percentage for Peshmal men who are estimated to speak Pashto at a good, general proficiency level is the sum of these subgroup percents, 51 percent. Thus, an estimated half of the male Gujar population in Peshmal speaks good Pashto, considerably more than the 38 percent estimated to speak Urdu at the same level of proficiency.

Hindko proficiency levels in Mittikot are undoubtedly higher than Urdu proficiency levels, but the different testing methods used in the assessment of the two languages do not produce results that are comparable. The Hindko recorded text test results can be stratified according to education subgroups, however the interpretation of the results in terms of the level of proficiency they reflect is difficult. The tallies below indicate the percent of Mittikot subjects achieving scores on the RTT test at the levels displayed.

(29) Mittikot men:  
Hindko RTT scores in percent correct  
by education subgroups

RTT Levels	Education Subgroups		
	<i>Uneducated</i>	<i>1-5 years</i>	<i>6-12 years</i>
40	3%	0%	0%
50	3	0	0
60	5	17	0
70	18	0	0
80	28	0	0
90	26	50	43
100	7	33	57

From these results and the census of the Mittikot population, an estimation can be made of the percent of Mittikot men who might achieve level 80 or above on the Hindko recorded text test. All of the higher education group achieved this threshold level; men with higher education make up 12 percent of the Mittikot male population, and all of them can be expected to perform well in Hindko. Of those with one to five years education, 83 percent scored at 80 or above; this lesser education subgroup makes up 13 percent of the total population. Thus these lesser educated Mittikot men contribute 11 percent (ie., 83 times 13 percent) to a total projected estimate of those who could perform well on an Hindko test. The vast majority, 75 percent, of Mittikot men are uneducated. Only 69 percent of the uneducated men scored at level 80 or above, which comes to a projected 52 percent who are both uneducated and who should score at least 80 on the Hindko RTT. The combined projection is the sum of these projected estimates: 12 percent, plus 11 percent, plus 52 percent, yielding an estimated 75 percent of Mittikot men who should score at least 80 on the Hindko Recorded Text Test. Since 80 percent is considered threshold level for passing a hometown screening test, the fact that an estimated three quarters of Mittikot men may perform so well indicates a moderately high level of comprehension of Hindko.

#### 4.4.3 Language Proficiency of Women in Peshmal and Mittikot

The levels of proficiency exhibited by men in both these communities can only be expected to far exceed those which would be found if representative samples of women were tested. No testing of women was accomplished in Mittikot. However, the Urdu proficiency levels demonstrated by Mittikot men, particularly the uneducated sector of society, indicate that women, most of whom are uneducated, would probably score in a range below the RPE level of 2+, the maximum proficiency level achieved by uneducated men. Mittikot women would have even less need for Urdu than the men; thus it is unlikely that many of them have developed communicative proficiency in it.

The testing of female subjects in Peshmal cannot claim to yield true estimates for the female population in that location, particularly for the evaluation of Urdu proficiency. Since women often opted out of participation, claiming to know little or no Urdu, the scores achieved by the remainder were probably better than would have been achieved had a representative sample been tested. Even so, Peshmal women exhibited very little proficiency in Urdu, the median RPE level indicating 0+, or very minimal proficiency.

It is likely that the women in both communities would demonstrate higher levels of proficiency in the languages of wider communication in their areas than they would in Urdu. The scores of the Peshmal women on the Pashto SRT bear this out. Almost twice as many women participated in the Pashto testing as in the Urdu, and the median RPE level achieved was 2, indicating adequate, basic proficiency for everyday interactions. The median Pashto proficiency level achieved by Peshmal women was still lower than the 2+ achieved by the uneducated men, but the difference was only a half level on the RPE. Since Gujar women in Peshmal practice *purdah* and do not attend school, it is unlikely that many have opportunity to develop as high levels of proficiency as were achieved by the men. Even the median of RPE 2 may be an overestimate for the female population as a whole since it was primarily young women in their twenties who participated in Pashto testing.

In comparison with women in Peshmal, Mittikot women have more contacts with non-kin, some even laboring in the homes of Hindko speakers. Thus, it is likely that they have had more opportunities to be exposed to Hindko than most Peshmal women had to Pashto. However, since few Mittikot women have received much education, which was found to be significantly related to Hindko proficiency among the men, and since most women would still have more restricted contacts with Hindko speakers than would the men, it is expected that the women's Hindko proficiency would generally be lower.

#### 4.4.4 Acquisition of Multiple Languages through Contact

Having stated that unschooled men and women in both Gujar communities achieve significantly lower levels of second language proficiency than are achieved by those with education, it should be emphasized that some of them do achieve good proficiency. In many societies, second language learning is only achieved through schooling; the fact that some members of these communities have acquired good proficiency without schooling speaks of the pragmatic attitudes toward acquiring languages of wider communication evidenced throughout the minority linguistic communities in northern Pakistan. The accomplishment of unschooled persons acquiring two or more languages additional to their native Gujar, however imperfectly they are acquired, is something that astounds many educated monolinguals in the so-called developed world.

In addition, such acquisition through informal means indicates the complex social interdependencies exhibited by these language groups. It is the usual pattern that the more dominant groups will acquire little if any of the minority group languages, while the smaller, lower status, and more dominated groups will try to acquire necessary proficiency in the higher status and larger group languages. In many such cases, the language of the dominated ethnolinguistic minority has become a stigmatized variety from which speakers of that language try to disassociate themselves. Gujars, who have been called a lower status group, fit the expected pattern in terms of the acquisition

of the languages of their more dominant neighbors. However, there is a sense of pride in their own Gujar language evidenced by the participants in this research, both among the residents of Peshmal and Mittikot, and especially among those from Azad Kashmir who were interviewed during other parts of this study. Gujar in northern Pakistan seem to acquire other languages because they serve their needs for contact with non-Gujars and because proficiency in these tongues gives them opportunities for socioeconomic advancement. Gujar is maintained as the most frequently used language and as a symbol of ethnicity for the vast majority of the population.



## 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-					
	Bilabial	dental	Dental	Palatal	flexed	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Stops	p		t		ɸ	k	q	ʔ
	b		d		ɸ̚	g	ɢ	
Fricatives	ɸ	f	θ			x		h
	β	v	ð			ɣ		
Grooved			s	š	ʃ			
Fricatives			z	ž	ʒ			
Affricates			ts	č	ć			
			ɸz	ǰ	ǰ̣			
Nasals	m		n	ɲ	ɳ	ŋ		
Laterals			ɬ l		ɭ			
Flaps			r		ɾ			
Trills			ʀ					
Semi-vowels	w			y	ɻ			

*Vowels*

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

[t <sup>h</sup> ]	aspiration	[i̥]	voicelessness
[t <sup>w</sup> ]	labialization	[i:]	extra lengthening
[t <sup>y</sup> ]	palatalization	[iː]	lengthening
[zΛ <sup>1</sup> ban]	stress	[i̯]	shortening
[x̘]	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	jism	badan
2. head	sar	sar
3. hair	bal	wextə
4. face	čehrə	max
5. eye	ek āk <sup>h</sup>	stargə
6. ear	ek kan	ɣwag
7. nose	nak	pozə
8. mouth	mūh	xolə
9. teeth	ek dāt	ɣax
10. tongue	zaban	ɟɪbə / ʒɪbə
11. breast	č <sup>h</sup> ati	sina
12. belly	peṭ	xetə / gedə
13. arm/hand	bazu	las
14. elbow	kohni	saŋgal
15. palm	ha <sup>h</sup> eli	talə
16. finger	uŋgli	gotə
17. fingernail	naxun	nuk <sup>h</sup>
18. leg	ṭaŋ	xpa
19. skin	jild	sarman
20. bone	haḍ'i	aḍuke
21. heart	dil	zəfə
22. blood	xun	wina
23. urine	pešab	taše mutiaze
24. feces	pexana	ḍake mutiaze
25. village	gaū	kale
26. house	g <sup>h</sup> ar/maḵan	kor
27. roof	č <sup>h</sup> at	čə <sup>h</sup> t
28. door	darwaza	war / darwaza
29. firewood	jalane wali lakṛi	da swazedo largi
30. broom	j <sup>h</sup> aṛu	jaru
31. mortar	masala pisne gol čiz/laŋgri	laŋgare <sup>i</sup>
32. pestle	ha <sup>h</sup> t <sup>i</sup> /daṣta/ha <sup>h</sup> t ka his'a	čətu
33. hammer	ha <sup>h</sup> t <sup>ə</sup> ṛa/-i	saṭak
34. knife	čaqu/č <sup>h</sup> uri	čaku / čaṛə
35. axe	kulhaṛa/-i	taḅar
36. rope	ras'i	paṛe
37. thread	d <sup>h</sup> aga	tar
38. needle	sui	stan
39. cloth	kapṛa	kapra
40. ring	aŋguṭ <sup>h</sup> i	gota
41. sun	suraḷ	nwar
42. moon	čand	spogma <sup>i</sup>
43. sky	asman	asman
44. star	ek tara/sitara	store
45. rain	bariṣ	baran
46. water	pani	ubə
47. river	darya	sind
48. cloud	badal	waryaz

49. lightning	bijili ki čamak	prakigi
50. rainbow	qosi quzalı	də buđa' təl
51. wind	hawə (tufan nehī)	hawə
52. stone	pəth'ar	kaņe
53. path	rasta	lar
54. sand	ret	şagə
55. fire	aq	o'ır
56. smoke	d <sup>h</sup> uā	luge
57. ash	rak <sup>h</sup>	ira
58. mud	kičar	xatə
59. dust	mı'ti	garđ / duřa
60. gold	sona	sra zar
61. tree	daxaxt/peř	wana
62. leaf	pə'ta/-i	paņa
63. root	daxaxt ka ek jər	jəgarə
64. thorn	kā'ta	azye
65. flower	p <sup>h</sup> ul	gwəl
66. fruit	p <sup>h</sup> əl	mewa
67. mango	am	am
68. banana	kela	kela
69. wheat (husked)	gehū / gandum	yanam
70. barley	bařra	warbaši
71. rice (husked)	čawəl	wrije
72. potato	alu	alu
73. eggplant	bəŋan	tor bařingār
74. groundnut	muŋ p <sup>h</sup> ali	mumpali
75. chili	mırč	marčake / mrač
76. turmeric	haldi	kurkaman
77. garlic	lehsan	uga
78. onion	piaz	piaz
79. cauliflower	p <sup>h</sup> ul gobi	gobi / gwəl gopi
80. tomato	taṃa'tar	sur bařingār
81. cabbage	bənd gobi	bən gobi
82. oil	tel	tel
83. salt	namak	malga
84. meat	gošt (k <sup>h</sup> ane ke lie)	ɣwaxa
85. fat (of meat)	čerbi (gošt ka hissa)	wazda
86. fish	mač <sup>h</sup> li	kaɓ
87. chicken	muryi	čargə
88. egg	ek aṇḍa	hə / age
89. cow	gae	ɣwa
90. buffalo	b <sup>h</sup> ēs	mexa
91. milk	dud <sup>h</sup>	pe
92. horns	ek siŋg	xkar
93. tail	dum	lake
94. goat	bakri	biza
95. dog	kut'a	spe
96. snake	sāp	mar
97. monkey	bəndar	bizo
98. mosquito	mač <sup>h</sup> ar	maše
99. ant	čiūtī	mege

100. spider	maḵṛi	jola
101. name	nam	num
102. man	admi / mard	sarə
103. woman	ɔrat	xaza
104. child	bačʼa	mašum
105. father	baṗ	plar
106. mother	mā	mor
107. older brother	baṛa bʰai	mašar ror
108. younger brother	čʰoṭa bʰai	kašar ror
109. older sister	baṛi baḥen / baḵi	mašra xor
110. younger sister	čʰoṭi baḥen	kašra xor
111. son	beṭa	zwe
112. daughter	beṭi	lur
113. husband	šoḥar / xawand	xawand
114. wife	bivi	xaza
115. boy	laṛka	halak / alak
116. girl	laṛki	jine
117. day	din / roz	wraz
118. night	rat / šab	špa
119. morning	subah / sawera	sahar
120. noon	dopaher	ɣarma
121. evening	šam	maxam
122. yesterday	(guzara) kaḷ	parun
123. today	aḵ	nan
124. tomorrow	(ainda) kaḷ	saba
125. week	ek haftā	hafta
126. month	maḥina	miašt
127. year	sal / baras	kal
128. old	purana (čiz ke lie)	zoṛ
129. new	nea (čiz)	naḡwe
130. good	ačʰa (čiz)	xə
131. bad	xarab (čiz)	xarab
132. wet	bʰiga	lund
133. dry	xušk / sukʰa	wačʰ
134. long	lamba	ugud
135. short	čʰoṭa	lanḡ / čit
136. hot	ɣaram (čiz)	toḡ / ɣaram
137. cold	tʰanḡa / sarḡi (čiz)	yaḡ
138. right	daē / daēʷa	xe
139. left	baē / baēʷa	ɣas
140. near	qarib / nazdik	nizde
141. far	dur	lare
142. big	baṛa	ɣaṭ
143. small	čʰoṭa	warkoṭe / waṛuke
144. heavy	bʰari / wazni	drund
145. light	halḡa	spaḡ
146. above	uṗar	učʰat / pas
147. below	niče	lande
148. white	sufed	spin
149. black	kala	tor
150. red	lal	sur



151. one	ek	yao
152. two	do	dwa
153. three	tin	dre
154. four	čar	salor
155. five	pāč	pinzə
156. six	č <sup>h</sup> ε	špaɣ
157. seven	sat	uwə
158. eight	aɫ <sup>h</sup>	atə
159. nine	nao	naħa
160. ten	das	las
161. eleven	gyara	yaoɫas
162. twelve	bara	dolaɫs
163. twenty	bis	šal
164. one hundred	ek so	səl
165. who	kən	sok
166. what	kya	sə
167. where	kɪd <sup>h</sup> ar / kahā	čarta
168. when	kab	kala
169. how many	kitne	somra / so
170. which	kənsa	kam
171. this	ye	da
172. that	wo	aɣa
173. these	ye (sab)	da
174. those	wo (sab)	aɣa
175. same	ek hi / barabar	yao šan / yao ran
176. different	muxtaliɫ	muxtaleɫ / biel kɪsəm
177. whole	mukam'al / salım	roɣ / sabat
178. broken	tuɫa	mat
179. few	t <sup>h</sup> oɣa / kuč / kam	laɣ
180. many	zia'da	ɟer / ziat
181. all	sab	ɟol
182. to eat / eat!	tum k <sup>h</sup> ao	xoɟal / ta uxɟa
183. to bite / the dog bites / bit	kaɟna / kut'a kaɟa he	čičal / spi očičalo
184. to be hungry / you are hungry	b <sup>h</sup> uk <sup>h</sup> laɟna / tum ko b <sup>h</sup> uk <sup>h</sup> laɟta he	oge kedal / tə waɟe ye
185. to drink / drink!	pina / tum pio / pi lo	skal / tə waɫka
186. to be thirsty / you are thirsty	pias laɟna / pias laɟta he	taɟe kedal / taɟe <sup>i</sup> ye
187. to sleep / sleep!	sona / tum so ɟao	uda kedal / tə uda ša
188. to lie / lie down!	leɟna / tum leɟ ɟao	samlastal / tə samla
189. to sit / sit!	bəɟ <sup>h</sup> na / tum bəɟ <sup>h</sup> ɟao	kenastal / tə kena
190. to give / give!	dena / tum de do / do	warkawal / ta warka
191. burn (the wood)!	ɟalana / tum lakɟi ɟalao	ta largi oswazawa
192. to die / he died	maɟna / vo mar gea	mɟa kedal / haɣa mar šo
193. to kill / kill the bird!	marna / tum čiɟia mar do	waɟal / ta marɣa <sup>i</sup> uwala
194. to fly / the bird flies / flew	oɟna / čiɟia uɟti hai	alwatal / marɣa <sup>i</sup> walwata
195. walk!	čalna / tum čalo	tə piada larša

196. to run / run!	dəɾna / tum dəɾo	maŋda wəhəl / tə maŋdə uwa
197. to go / go!	jana / tum jao	tələl / tə larša
198. to come / come!	ana / tum ao	ratləl / tə raša
199. to speak / speak!	bolna / tum bolo	wayəl / tə uwayə
200. to hear / hear! / listen!	sunə / tum suno	awredəl / tə wawra
201. to look / look!	dek <sup>h</sup> na / tum dek <sup>h</sup> o	kətəl / tə ugorə
202. I	mæ	zə
203. you (informal)	tum / tu	tə
204. you (formal)	ap	tasə
205. he	vo	hayə
206. she	vo	hayə
207. we (inclusive)	ham (ham or vo)	muŋga
208. we (exclusive)	ham (ham, vo nehī)	muŋga
209. you (plural)	tum (tum log)	tasə
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).<sup>1</sup>

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 questions<sup>2</sup> 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.

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<sup>1</sup> 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.

<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup>

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.<sup>4</sup> 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

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<sup>3</sup> 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.

<sup>4</sup> 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.<sup>5</sup> In this last case, any inherent intelligibility between the related varieties is mixed with acquired comprehension which results from learning through contact.<sup>6</sup>

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

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<sup>5</sup> 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.

<sup>6</sup> 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 A.3

### Sentence Repetition Testing

A sentence repetition test is based on the premise that people's ability to repeat sentences in a second language is limited by the level of their mastery of the morphology and syntax of that second language. The greater proficiency they have in that language, the better able they are to repeat sentences of increasing length and complexity. A sentence repetition test is developed separately for each language to be tested. Detailed procedures for developing and calibrating a sentence repetition test are presented in Radloff (1991).<sup>1</sup> The sentences selected are calibrated against an evaluative instrument called the Reported Proficiency Evaluation (RPE), where mother tongue raters are provided a detailed framework of proficiency descriptions against which to evaluate the proficiency of their second language speaking acquaintances.<sup>2</sup> The half-levels of the RPE describe increasing levels of proficiency in a second language, as elaborated in (2).

(2) RPE proficiency level	Brief description
0+	Very minimal proficiency
1	Minimal, limited proficiency
1+	Limited, basic proficiency
2	Adequate, basic proficiency
2+	Good, basic proficiency
3	Good, general proficiency
3+	Very good, general proficiency
4	Excellent proficiency
4+	Approaching native speaker proficiency

A sentence repetition test provides a rapid assessment of a person's second language proficiency, suited to the purposes of a bilingualism survey. It is often the goal of a bilingualism survey to obtain a profile of the second language proficiencies in the community under investigation, that is, a picture of what percentage of the population can be projected to be at each of the different levels of proficiency. In order to obtain this, a large and representative sample of the population must be tested. This speaks to the need for an assessment instrument that is quick and easy to administer.

A short administration time, however, is offset by careful attention to the development and calibration of a sentence repetition test. The SRT provides a general assessment, thus, the researcher must be able to place full confidence in

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<sup>1</sup> Radloff, Carla F. 1991. *Sentence repetition testing for studies of community bilingualism*. Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics and University of Texas at Arlington.

<sup>2</sup> RPE levels as assigned by mother tongue raters show an internal consistency, but have not yet been correlated with any other, more widely recognized, scale of second language proficiency. The rationale and methodology for the Reported Proficiency Evaluation is also included in Radloff (1991).

the results through strict attention to the quality of each developmental step. A complete step-by-step methodology for developing and calibrating a sentence repetition test is given in Radloff (1991).

The development and calibration of a sentence repetition test proceeds through several steps: A preliminary form of the test is developed through the assistance of mother tongue speakers of the test language. A large group of second language speakers of the test language have their proficiency assessed through a second, more descriptive proficiency standard instrument, in this case, the Reported Proficiency Evaluation. These people are then administered the preliminary form of the test. Based on their performances, fifteen sentences are selected, which prove to be the most discriminating of performance and also represent increasing complexity and length. These fifteen sentences are calibrated against the proficiency assessments from the RPE. This fifteen-sentence final form of the test is used in the bilingualism survey, and the resulting test scores are interpreted in terms of equivalent RPE proficiency levels.

During the course of the sociolinguistic survey of northern Pakistan, three sentence repetition tests were developed, one in the Urdu language and two in the Pashto. Actually, the second Pashto SRT is a revision of the first Pashto SRT with the purpose of making it more discriminating; thus a distinction is drawn between the two by referring to the first-developed test as the *original* Pashto SRT and the second as the *revised* Pashto SRT.

The calibration of a sentence repetition test results in a range of scores on the SRT reflecting an equivalent RPE level of proficiency. The ranges of scores corresponding to RPE levels for the Urdu, original Pashto, and revised Pashto SRTs are presented in (3).

(3) Score ranges corresponding to each RPE proficiency level for the Urdu, original Pashto, and revised Pashto SRTs.

RPE level equivalents	Urdu SRT scores	Original Pashto SRT scores	Revised Pashto SRT scores
0+	1- 8	10-13	0- 1
1	9-14	14-17	2- 5
1+	15-19	18-22	6-12
2	20-25	23-27	13-19
2+	26-30	28-32	20-25
3	31-36	33-36	26-32
3+	37-45	37-45	33-39
4			40-45

In the course of calibrating the Urdu SRT and the *original* Pashto SRT, it was determined that they do not differentiate between RPE levels 3+, 4 and 4+, yet they do discriminate satisfactorily between all the levels from RPE 0+ to 3+. Therefore, results of SRT testing using these two forms report scores at the highest end as being equivalent to "RPE level 3+ and above". Similarly, the *revised* Pashto SRT discriminates all the RPE proficiency levels from 0+ through 4, but not 4 from 4+.



## APPENDIX B HINDKO SURVEY DATA

### Appendix B.1

#### Hindko Word Lists

*Location Code, Village, Location, (Alternate Language Name), Reliability Code*

JAM	Jammun, Abbottabad District, B
BAL	Balakot, Mansehra District, B
SIG	Singo Di Garhi, Abbottabad District, B
PES	Peshawar, Peshawar District, B
SHP	Sherpur, Mansehra District, B
MAN	Mansehra, Mansehra District, B
KOH	Kohat, Kohat District, B
ATK	Attock, Attock District, B
PAG	Pakha Gholam, Peshawar District, B
WAP	Wad Pagga, Peshawar District, B
DIK	Himat, D.I.Khan District, (Siraiki), B
TAL	Talagang, Attock District, (Punjabi), B

	1. body	2. head	3. hair
JAM	pɪɳɖa / ʃɪsʌ	ser	βal
BAL	ʃusa	ser	bal
SIG	ʃusa / ʃɪsʌm	ser	wal
PES	bʌɖʌn	ser	wal
SHP	wʌʃud	ser	bal
MAN	bʌɖʌn	ser	bal
KOH	ʃɪsm	sɪr	wal
ATK	bʌɖʌn	ser	wal
PAG	bʌɖʌn	ser	wal
WAP	bʌɖʌn	ser	wal
DIK	bʌɖʌn	sɪr	wal
TAL	ʃusa	ser	wal

	4. face	5. eye	6. ear
JAM	čera / mǔ	ʌk <sup>h</sup>	kʌn
BAL	mǔ	ʌk <sup>h</sup>	kʌŋ
SIG	mǔ	ak <sup>h</sup> / aŋǎ	kʌn
PES	mǔ	ʌk <sup>h</sup>	kʌn
SHP	mǔ	ʌx	kʌn
MAN	mǔ	ʌk <sup>h</sup>	kʌŋ
KOH	mǔ	ʌk <sup>h</sup>	kʌn / kʌŋ
ATK	mǔ	ʌk <sup>h</sup>	kʌn
PAG	mǔ	ʌk <sup>h</sup>	kʌn
WAP	mǔ	ʌk <sup>h</sup>	kʌn
DIK	mǔ	ʌk <sup>h</sup>	kʌn
TAL	mǔ	ʌk <sup>h</sup>	kʌn

	7. nose	8. mouth	9. teeth
JAM	nʌk <sup>h</sup>	mǔ	d <sup>h</sup> ʌnd <sup>h</sup>
BAL	nʌk	mǔ	d <sup>h</sup> ʌnd
SIG	nʌk <sup>h</sup>	mǔ	dʌnt <sup>h</sup>
PES	nʌk <sup>h</sup>	mǔ	dʌnt <sup>h</sup>
SHP	nex	mǔ	dʌnt <sup>h</sup>
MAN	nʌk	mǔ	dʌnd
KOH	nʌk	mǔ	dun
ATK	nʌk	mǔ	dʌnd
PAG	nʌk	mǔ	dʌnd
WAP	nʌk	mǔ	dʌnd
DIK	nʌk	wat	dʌnd
TAL	nʌk	mǔ	dʌnt

	10. tongue	11. breast	12. belly
JAM	ʃib	----	ʔeɖ <sup>h</sup>
BAL	ʃib	sinʔʌ	ʔeɖ
SIG	ʃib	----	ʔeɖ
PES	zuban	momẽ	peɖ <sup>h</sup>
SHP	ʃib	----	ʔeɖ
MAN	ʃib	mome	ʔeɖ
KOH	ʃib	sinʌ	ʔeɖ
ATK	ʃib	sinʌ	ʔeɖ
PAG	ʃib	sinʔʌ	ɖɪɖ
WAP	ʃib	sinʔʌ	ɖɪɖ
DIK	ʃib	sinʌ	ɖɪɖ
TAL	ʃib	----	ɖɪɖ

	13. arm/hand	14. elbow	15. palm
JAM	bā	kuṇi	tʰɭi
BAL	bā	qʊṇi	tɭi
SIG	bā	kʰuṇi	tɭi
PES	bāʰ	qoṇi	tɭi
SHP	bʰɿ	kūṇi	tɭi
MAN	bā	kuṇi	tɭi
KOH	hɿtʰ	arokʰ	tʰɭi
ATK	bā	aɾɿk	tɭi
PAG	hatʰ	kuni	tɭi
WAP	hatʰ	arɿk	tɭi
DIK	bā	arɿk	tɭi
TAL	bā	arɿk	tɭi
	16. finger	17. fingernail	18. leg
JAM	ɿŋgɿl	no	ʈɿŋg
BAL	ɿŋgɿl	nū	ʈɿŋg
SIG	ɿŋgɿl	nū	tɿŋg / ʃɿŋg
PES	uŋgɿli	naxun	peɾ
SHP	ɿŋgli	nū	tɿŋg
MAN	ɿŋgʊl	nū	ʈɿŋg
KOH	ɿŋgli	nā	per
ATK	ɿŋgɿl	nō	lɿt
PAG	ɿŋgʊl	nɿxun	per
WAP	ɿŋgʊl	nɿxun	per
DIK	ɿŋgeɪ	nō	ʃɿŋg
TAL	ɿŋgɿl	nōū	tɿŋg
	19. skin	20. bone	21. heart
JAM	čɿmɿɿa	hɿɿi	dɿl
BAL	čɿmɿɿi	hɿɿi	dɿl
SIG	čɿmɿi	ɿɿi	dɿl
PES	čɿmɿɿa	hɿɿi	ɿɿl
SHP	čɿmɿi	hɿɿ'i	dɿl
MAN	čɿmɿa	hɿɿi	dɿl
KOH	čɿmɿa	hɿɿi	dɿl / hā
ATK	čɿmɿi / mas	hɿɿi	dɿl
PAG	čɿmɿa	ɿɿ'i	dɿl
WAP	čɿmɿɿ	hɿɿ'i	dɿl
DIK	čɿmɿa	hɿɿi	hā
TAL	čɿmɿɿ / mas	hɿɿi	dɿl

	22. blood	23. urine	24. feces
JAM	rʌt	mutʌr	gũ
BAL	rʌt	mutʌr	gũ
SIG	ʃo	mutʌr	gũ / tʌʈi
PES	xuŋ	piʃab	ʈʰʌʈʰi
SHP	ʃou	mutʌr	gũ
MAN	xun	mutur	lʌn
KOH	rʌt	mutʌr	gũ
ATK	lou / rʌt	mutʌr	gũ / tʌʈi
PAG	lou	mutʌr	mutʌr
WAP	ʃou	mutʌr	mutʌr
DIK	rʌt	mutrõ	gũ
TAL	lou	mutʌr	ʈʌʈi
	25. village	26. house	27. roof
JAM	gɪrã	kʌr	čʌt
BAL	gʌrã	kar / dera	čʌtʰ
SIG	gɪrã	kʰaɽ	čʌtʰ
PES	gʰerã	kaɽ	čʌt
SHP	gɪra	kʌr	čʌtʰ
MAN	gɪrã	kar	čʌt
KOH	dehat	gʰʌr	čʌt
ATK	gɪrã	kar	čʌt
PAG	gɪrã	kar	čʌt
WAP	gɪrã	kar	čʌt
DIK	šer	gʰʌr	čʌt
TAL	gɪrã	kʌr / dera	čʌt
	28. door	29. firewood	30. broom
JAM	bʰuʌ	baluŋ	bari
BAL	buʌ	lʌqʌɽ	bari
SIG	bʰuʌ	lʌkoɽ / baʃuŋ	bʰaɽi
PES	buʌ	lʌkɽi	čʌɽu / jaɽu
SHP	bʰuʌ	lʌqʌr	bʰari
MAN	bʰuʌ	ʃʌqoɽ	bʰaɽi
KOH	buã / dʌrwaza	ʃokɽi	kučʌ
ATK	bua	lʌkri / baʃuŋ	bokar
PAG	buʌ	lʌkɽi	čʌɽu
WAP	buʌ / dʌrwaza	lʌkɽi	čʌɽu
DIK	dʌrwaza	kʌʈʰi	wari
TAL	bʰuʌ	balun	bokʌr

	31. mortar	32. pestle	33. hammer
JAM	laŋgri	kuṭkula	ʌṭʰora
BAL	laŋgri	mula	atʰora / maltʰor
SIG	laŋgri	kuṭka	baɖan
PES	laŋgri	kuṭka / čʌṭu	haṭʰori
SHP	laŋgri	mula	ʌṭʰori
MAN	laŋgri	mula / salta	haṭora / baɖam
KOH	laŋgri	kuṭka	hatoṛi / ʌtwaɾʌ
ATK	laŋgri	koṭkaḷa	haṭora
PAG	laŋgri	mola	ʌṭʰori
WAP	laŋgri / čʌṭu	mola	ʌṭʰori
DIK	dori	ɖʌɖʌ / ɖʌɖi	hatwaɾa
TAL	laŋgri	kuṭka	hatwaɾi / haṭʰori

	34. knife	35. axe	36. rope
JAM	čaku / kaču	kohari	raɖi / sela
BAL	kaču	kuhaɾa	raɖi
SIG	kaču / čaku	quaɾi	raɖi
PES	čaku / čori	taɖaɾ	raɖi
SHP	čaku	kuarɪ	raɖa
MAN	kaču	kuarɪ	raɖi
KOH	čaku	kuhaɾi	raɖi
ATK	kaču	koaɾi	raɖi
PAG	čaku	kwara / kwaɾi	raɖa
WAP	čaku	kwara / kwaɾi	raɖi
DIK	čaku	kwari	raɖa
TAL	kaču	kwaɾi	raɖi

	37. thread	38. needle	39. cloth
JAM	taga	sui	kaɾpa / čide
BAL	taga	sui	kaɾpa
SIG	taga	sui	kaɾpa
PES	tʰage / silai	sui	kaɾpa
SHP	taga	sui	kaɾpa
MAN	taga	sui	kaɾpa
KOH	taga	sui	kaɾpa
ATK	taga	sui	čide
PAG	tʰaga	sui	kaɾpa
WAP	taga	sui	kaɾpa
DIK	daga	sui	kaɾpa
TAL	taga	sui	čide

	40. ring	41. sun	42. moon
JAM	mundri	d <sup>h</sup> eō	čΛn
BAL	aŋgut <sup>h</sup> i	ḍi	čΛn
SIG	mundri	ḍi	čΛŋ
PES	munderi	surΛč	čΛn
SHP	Λŋgut <sup>h</sup> i	ḍi	čΛnd
MAN	Λŋgut <sup>h</sup> i	ḍi	čΛn
KOH	mΛndri	deō	čΛn
ATK	mundri	deo	čΛn
PAG	mundri	deō	čΛn
WAP	mundri	deō	čΛn
DIK	mundri	ḍi	čΛn
TAL	mundri / čΛla	deō	čΛn
	43. sky	44. star	45. rain
JAM	Λsman	taɽa	bΛdΛl / mĩ
BAL	asman	tara	bΛdΛl
SIG	Λsman	tara	bΛdΛl
PES	asman	tara	mĩ / barĩš
SHP	asman	tara	bΛdΛl
MAN	Λsman	tara	bΛdΛl
KOH	asman	tara	mĩ
ATK	Λsman	tara	mĩ
PAG	Λsman	tara	mĩ
WAP	Λsman	tara	mĩ
DIK	Λsman	tarΛ	mĩ
TAL	Λsman	tara	mĩ
	46. water	47. river	48. cloud
JAM	paŋi	sɪnd	čaɽa
BAL	pani	nΛd <sup>h</sup>	čaɽa
SIG	paŋi	ɖΛria	čaɽ
PES	paŋi	ɖΛria	čΛɽ / bΛdΛl
SHP	paŋi	ɖΛria	čar
MAN	paŋi	ɖΛria / nΛdi	čaɽ
KOH	paŋi	ɖΛria	bΛdl
ATK	paŋi	sɪnd	bΛdΛl
PAG	paŋi	ɖΛria	čΛɽ
WAP	paŋi	ɖΛria	čΛɽ
DIK	paŋi	dria	ʃ <sup>h</sup> Λɽ
TAL	paŋi	ɖΛria	jaɽ

	49. lightning	50. rainbow	51. wind
JAM	bijli / čamki	buđi di piŋg	hawa / čaqaɾ
BAL	bijal / čaɾak <sup>h</sup>	lamtaŋu	čang / čati
SIG	čamuk	buđi mai di piŋg	čang / daŋdul
PES	asmani bijli	biβi di piŋ	hawa
SHP	čaɾak	budi di piŋg	čang
MAN	čaɾak	buđi di piŋg	čang
KOH	taŋdar	pik	hawa
ATK	bijli	piŋg	hawa
PAG	asman čamke / asman ča	bibi di tal	hawa
WAP	čamok	buđi ki tal	hawa
DIK	lasak	piŋg	hawa
TAL	k <sup>h</sup> imaŋ	pik	hawa
	52. stone	53. path	54. sand
JAM	baɽa	ra	reɽ <sup>h</sup>
BAL	baɽ <sup>h</sup> a	ra	reɽ <sup>h</sup>
SIG	baɽa	ra	reɽ <sup>h</sup>
PES	waɽa / paɽ <sup>h</sup> ar	raɽta	reɽ <sup>h</sup>
SHP	gaɽa	ra / d <sup>h</sup> aŋga	reɽ <sup>h</sup>
MAN	baɽa	ra	reɽ
KOH	waɽa	ra	reɽ
ATK	waɽa	ra	reɽ
PAG	paɽ <sup>h</sup> or	ra	reɽ
WAP	giɽa	ra	reɽ
DIK	paɽtar	ra / laɽ <sup>h</sup>	reɽ
TAL	waɽa	ra	reɽ
	55. fire	56. smoke	57. ash
JAM	aɽ <sup>h</sup>	tuā	čai
BAL	aɽ <sup>h</sup>	tua	čai
SIG	aɽ	tūā	čai
PES	aɽ	tūā	čai
SHP	aɽ <sup>h</sup>	tūā	čai
MAN	aɽ	t <sup>h</sup> ūā	čai
KOH	aɽ <sup>h</sup>	tūā / dūā	čai
ATK	aɽ	tūā	čai
PAG	aɽ	t <sup>h</sup> ūā	čai
WAP	aɽ	t <sup>h</sup> ūā	čai
DIK	b <sup>h</sup> a	d <sup>h</sup> ū	sua
TAL	aɽ	dūā	čai

	58. mud	59. dust	60. gold
JAM	čikar	t <sup>h</sup> ur	sonā
BAL	čikar / g <sup>h</sup> ara	t <sup>h</sup> ur / mit <sup>h</sup> i	sona
SIG	čikar	tur / dab	sona
PES	čiqar	mit <sup>h</sup> i	sona
SHP	čiqar	tur	sona
MAN	čiqar	mit <sup>h</sup> i	sona
KOH	čikar	miti / d <sup>h</sup> ur	sonā
ATK	čiqur	d <sup>h</sup> ur	sona
PAG	čiqor	turā	sona
WAP	čiqor	turā / tūr	sona
DIK	čikor	dudar	sona
TAL	čikar	k <sup>h</sup> e / dur	sona
	61. tree	62. leaf	63. root
JAM	buta	<sup>w</sup> atā	jar
BAL	buta	pat <sup>r</sup> ar	jar
SIG	buta	pat <sup>r</sup> or	jar <sup>i</sup>
PES	dara <sup>h</sup> xt	pat <sup>h</sup> ā	jarā
SHP	b <sup>h</sup> uta	pat <sup>r</sup> ar	jar
MAN	buta	pat <sup>r</sup> ar	jar
KOH	buta	patar	jarā
ATK	buta	patar	jar
PAG	buta	pat <sup>r</sup> or	jar
WAP	buta	pat <sup>r</sup> or	jar
DIK	dara <sup>h</sup> xt	patara	jar
TAL	dara <sup>h</sup> xut	patar	jar
	64. thorn	65. flower	66. fruit
JAM	kandā	p <sup>h</sup> ul	p <sup>h</sup> al
BAL	kandā	p <sup>h</sup> ul	mewa
SIG	kandā	p <sup>h</sup> ul	mewa
PES	kandā	p <sup>h</sup> ul	mewā
SHP	kandā	p <sup>h</sup> ul	p <sup>h</sup> al / frut
MAN	qandā	p <sup>h</sup> ul	pāl
KOH	kandā	p <sup>h</sup> ul	mewa
ATK	kandā	p <sup>h</sup> ul	frut / p <sup>h</sup> al
PAG	kandā	p <sup>h</sup> ul	fārut
WAP	kandā	p <sup>h</sup> ul	fārut
DIK	kandā	p <sup>h</sup> ul	mewā
TAL	kandā	p <sup>h</sup> ul	p <sup>h</sup> al



	67. mango	68. banana	69. wheat (husked)
JAM	ʌm	kelʌ	kʌŋʌk <sup>h</sup>
BAL	ʌm	kelʌ	qʌŋʌq <sup>h</sup>
SIG	ʌm	kelʌ	qʌŋʌk <sup>h</sup>
PES	ʌm	kelʌ	kʌŋʌk <sup>h</sup>
SHF	ʌm	kelʌ	kʌŋʌk
MAN	ʌm	kelʌ	qʌŋʌq
KOH	ʌm	kelʌ	kʌŋʌk
ATK	ʌm	kelʌ	qʌŋʌq
PAG	ʌm	kelʌ	kʌŋʌk
WAP	ʌm	kelʌ	kʌŋʌk
DIK	ʌm	kelʌ	kʌŋʌk
TAL	ʌm	kelʌ	kʌŋʌk
	70. millet (husked)	71. rice (husked)	72. potato
JAM	baʃra	čol	alu
BAL	baʃra	čawʌl	alu
SIG	baʃra	čawʌl	aʃu
PES	baʃra	čol	aʃu
SHF	----	čawʌl	alu
MAN	baʃra	čawʌl	aʃu
KOH	baʃra	čoul	alu
ATK	baʃra	čowʌl	aʃu
PAG	baʃra	čol	aʃu
WAP	baʃra	čol	aʃu
DIK	baʃra	čawʌl	alu
TAL	baʃra	čawʌl	alu
	73. eggplant	74. groundnut	75. chili
JAM	---	mʌŋ p <sup>h</sup> ʌli	mɪrč
BAL	bɛŋgʌŋ	mʌŋg p <sup>h</sup> ʌli	mʌrč
SIG	---	mʌŋg p <sup>h</sup> ʌli / mum p <sup>h</sup> ʌli	mʌrʌč
PES	qala wɛŋgʌr	mũ p <sup>h</sup> ʌli	mɪrč
SHF	---	p <sup>h</sup> ʌli	mʌrč
MAN	---	mũ pʌli	mɪrč
KOH	bɛŋgʌŋ / wɪtaũ	mu p <sup>h</sup> ʌli	mʌrč
ATK	wɛgʌŋ	mũm p <sup>h</sup> ʌli	mʌrʌč
PAG	kala wɛŋgor	mum p <sup>h</sup> ʌli / p <sup>h</sup> ʌli	mʌroč
WAP	kala wɛŋgor	p <sup>h</sup> ʌli	mʌroč
DIK	wʌtaon	mʌŋ p <sup>h</sup> ʌli	mʌrʌč
TAL	wʌtaon	mũ p <sup>h</sup> ʌli	mʌroč

	76. turmeric	77. garlic	78. onion
JAM	hardal	t <sup>h</sup> um	piaz
BAL	ledar	t <sup>h</sup> um	pias
SIG	halldi	t <sup>h</sup> um	piazi
PES	halldi	t <sup>h</sup> um	pias
SHP	ledar	t <sup>h</sup> um	piaz
MAN	aledar	t <sup>h</sup> um	piaz
KOH	hardul	t <sup>h</sup> um	pias
ATK	hardal	t <sup>h</sup> um	piaz
PAG	hardul	t <sup>h</sup> om	piaz
WAP	hardul	t <sup>h</sup> om	piaz
DIK	halld	t <sup>h</sup> om	wasal
TAL	halldal	t <sup>h</sup> um	wasal

	79. cauliflower	80. tomato	81. cabbage
JAM	gobi	čangal	band gobi
BAL	gobi	čeggal	band gobi
SIG	p <sup>h</sup> ul gobi	čeggal	band gobi
PES	p <sup>h</sup> ul gopi / gopi	beggar / tamar	band gopi
SHP	----	čeggal	band gopi
MAN	p <sup>h</sup> ul gobi	čeggal	band gobi
KOH	p <sup>h</sup> ul g <sup>h</sup> obi	tamar	band gobi
ATK	gopi	tamar	band gobi
PAG	gopi	tamar	gopi
WAP	gopi	wegor	gopi
DIK	g <sup>h</sup> obi	tamar	gobi
TAL	gobi	tamar	band gobi

	82. oil	83. salt	84. meat
JAM	tel	luṇ	mas
BAL	tel	lūṇ	mas
SIG	ṭel	luṇ	mas
PES	tel	luṇ	goš
SHP	tel	luṇ	mas
MAN	teḷ	luṇ	gošat
KOH	tīḷ	lu'n	mas
ATK	tel	luṇ	bera
PAG	tel	luṇ	goš
WAP	tel	luṇ	goš
DIK	teḷ	luṇ	mas
TAL	tel	luṇ	gošt / gošut

	85. fat	86. fish	87. hen
JAM	čerbi	mači	kukri
BAL	minž	mač <sup>h</sup> i	kukri
SIG	čArbi	mač <i>·</i> i	quqArı
PES	čerbi	ma	kokaArı
SHP	čArbi	mač <i>·</i> i	----
MAN	čArbi	mači	----
KOH	čArbi	mači	kukoři
ATK	čArbi	mači	kukaArı
PAG	čArbi	mač <i>·</i> i	kukaArı
WAP	čArbi	mač <i>·</i> i	kukaArı
DIK	mīj	mač <i>·</i> i	kukaArı
TAL	čerbi	mači	kukaArı
	88. egg	89. cow	90. buffalo
JAM	aṇḍAla	gā	māj
BAL	at <sup>h</sup> Arā	gā	maṇj
SIG	aṇṭArā	gā	māṇj
PES	aṇḍa / gaṇḍa	gā	maJ / madč
SHP	aṭArā	g <sup>h</sup> a	maṇj
MAN	aṭArā	gā	maṇj
KOH	aṇḍa	gā	maJ / mač
ATK	aṇla	gā	maJ
PAG	aṇḍa	gā	maJ
WAP	aṇḍa	gā	maJ
DIK	aṇa	gā	maṇj
TAL	aṇḍiṛa	gā	maJ
	91. milk	92. horns	93. tail
JAM	dut	siṅg	pučAl
BAL	ḍ <sup>h</sup> ut <sup>h</sup>	siṅg	ḍumbAr
SIG	dut	seṅg	ḍumor
PES	dud / ḍut <sup>h</sup>	siṅ / siṅg <sup>h</sup>	pučAl
SHP	dud	siṅg	ḍumAr
MAN	dud	siṅg	ḍumor
KOH	dud	siṅg	p <sup>h</sup> učAl
ATK	dud	siṅg	pučAl
PAG	dud	siṅg	pučul
WAP	dud	siṅg	pučul
DIK	kır	siṅg	puč
TAL	dud	siṅg	pučAl

	94. goat	95. dog	96. snake
JAM	bʌkri	kuta	sʌp <sup>h</sup>
BAL	bʌkɾi	kʊtʌ	sʌp <sup>h</sup>
SIG	bʌkɾi	kʊtˈɑ	sʌp <sup>h</sup>
PES	bʌkɾi	kʊt <sup>h</sup> ˌʌ	sʌp
SHP	bʌkri	kuta	sʌp
MAN	bʌkri	kʊt <sup>h</sup> ˌʌ	sʌp
KOH	bʌkri	kuta	sʌp
ATK	bʌkri	kuta	sʌp
PAG	bʌkɾi	kʊtˈʌ	sʌp
WAP	bʌkɾi	kʊtˈʌ	sʌp
DIK	bʌkri	kuta	sʌp
TAL	bʌkri	kuta	sʌp
	97. monkey	98. mosquito	99. ant
JAM	bijʝo	mʌčʌɾ	peli
BAL	buzna	mʌčʌɾ	pila
SIG	b <sup>h</sup> uʝɑ	mʌčʊr	pila
PES	bijʝo	mʌčʌɾ	kiɖi / kera
SHP	buʝʌ / buʝnʌ	mʌčˈʌɾ	pila
MAN	b <sup>h</sup> uʝnʌ / b <sup>h</sup> uʝʌ	mʌčˈʌɾ	pila
KOH	bizo	mʌčʊr	peli
ATK	bijʝo	mʌčʌɾ	p <sup>h</sup> eli
PAG	bijʝo	mʌčˈʊr	kiɾʌ
WAP	bijʝo	mʌčˈʊr	peli
DIK	ɾič	mʌčʌɾ	pʌpeli
TAL	bijʝo	mʌčʊr	peli
	100. spider	101. name	102. man
JAM	bʌbʊɑ	nā	mʌrd
BAL	bʌbʊʌ	nā	ʝʌɳɑ / bʌndɑ
SIG	bʌbʊɑ	nā	ʝʌɳɑ
PES	ʝʌlɑ / mʌkʌdi	nʌm	admi
SHP	bʌbu	nā	bʌndɑ
MAN	bʌb <sup>h</sup> ʊʌ	nā	admi / bʌndɑ
KOH	mʌkɾɑ	nā	ʝʌɳʌ
ATK	bʌbʊɑ	nā	bʌndɑ
PAG	bʌb <sup>h</sup> ʊʌ / ʝʌlɑ	nā	bʌndʌ / ʝʌɳʌ
WAP	bʌbʊʌ	nā	ʝʌɳʌ
DIK	mʌkɾi	nā	bʌndʌ
TAL	ɾɾidi / dawur	nā	bʌndɑ

	103. woman	104. child	105. father
JAM	trimat	bač̌a / jakat / jatak	pjo
BAL	kudi / trimat	yanak	pe
SIG	quṛi	jatak	pjo
PES	ran	bač̌a	pjo
SHP	trimat <sup>h</sup>	bač̌a / nika	pe
MAN	zinani	ḡandak / jatak	pe
KOH	ṛan	bač̌a	pjo
ATK	zinani	ḡakut / kuṛi	peo
PAG	ran	mašum	pjo
WAP	ran	bač̌a	pjo
DIK	zal	bal	pjo
TAL	kuṛi	bač̌ʼa / bač̌ʼi	pjo
	106. mother	107. older brother	108. younger brother
JAM	maʼ	wada pira	nika pira
BAL	ama / ma	wada pira	nika pira
SIG	ma	bada pira	nika pira
PES	mā	wada pira	nika pira
SHP	mā	bada pira	nika pira
MAN	mā	bada pira	nika pira
KOH	ma	wada bira	nika pira
ATK	mā	wada pira	nika pira
PAG	mā	wada pira	nika pira
WAP	mā	wada pira	nika pira
DIK	ama	wada b <sup>h</sup> ira	čota b <sup>h</sup> ira
TAL	ma	wada pira	nika pira
	109. older sister	110. younger sister	111. son
JAM	wadi pin	niki pinin	putar
BAL	baṛi pin / diḡe	niki pin	putar
SIG	badi pin / apā	niki pin	putuṛ
PES	wadi pin	niki pin	put <sup>h</sup> ar
SHP	badi pin	niki pin	putar
MAN	badi pen / apā	niki pen	putuṛ
KOH	wadi bin	niki bin	putor
ATK	wadi pen	niki pen	putor
PAG	wadi pæn	niki pæn	putor
WAP	wadi pæn	niki pæn	putor
DIK	wadi b <sup>h</sup> in	čoti b <sup>h</sup> in	putar
TAL	wadi pen	niki pen	put <sup>h</sup> or

	112. daughter	113. husband	114. wife
JAM	dī·	jɪɳʌ / xʌsʌm	trimat <sup>h</sup> / kar wali
BAL	ti·	ʃʌna	trim
SIG	ti·	ʃʌna	rʌn / kʌre ali / trimat / zʌnani
PES	t <sup>h</sup> i	xuɳ	rʌn / biwi
SHP	ti·	ʃʌna / xʌsʌm	trimat <sup>h</sup> / bibi
MAN	tī	ʃʌɳā	trimat / zɪnani
KOH	d <sup>h</sup> i·	ʃʌɳā	rʌn
ATK	ti·	mʌɾd / ʃʌɳʌ	zɪnani
PAG	ti·	xond	rʌn
WAP	ti·	xawʌnd	rʌn
DIK	d <sup>h</sup> i·	mosala	zal
TAL	t <sup>h</sup> i	ʃʌɳa/gʌɾiala	kuɾi

	115. boy	116. girl	117. day
JAM	ʃakʌt	kuɾi	tiaɾ
BAL	ɳʌɳɖa	kuɾi	diaɾa
SIG	ʃatʌk	kuɖi	diaɾ
PES	nʌɖa	kuɾi	dɪn
SHP	nɪɳɖʌ	kuɖi	diaɾa / diaɾ
MAN	ʃatʌk / nɪɳɖʌ	kuɾi	diaɾ
KOH	nʌɖa	kuɾi	d <sup>h</sup> eɾa
ATK	nʌɖa / ʃakʌt	kuɾi / ʃagti	tiaɾa
PAG	ɳʌɖa	kuɖi	tiaɾi
WAP	ɳʌɖa	kuɖi	tiaɾi / tiaɾa
DIK	čor	čer	dī
TAL	ʃakut	ʃati	tiaɾa

	118. night	119. morning	120. noon
JAM	rat	suer / fʌzʌɾ	doper
BAL	rat <sup>h</sup>	subʌ	duper
SIG	rat <sup>h</sup>	subʌ/suela / fʌzʌɾ	duper
PES	rat <sup>h</sup>	sʌwer	dupeɾ
SHP	rat <sup>h</sup>	fʌzʌɾ	dup <sup>h</sup> er
MAN	rat	fʌzʌɾi	duper
KOH	rat	wʌɖwela	dupara
ATK	rat	fʌʃɾi / wʌɖwela	dopar
PAG	rat	sʌwela / sʌwele	peši / duper
WAP	rat	sʌwela / sʌwele	dupar
DIK	rat	fʌʃer / sʌweli	dupar
TAL	rat	fʌɖɾi / sʌweɾi	dupar / diar

	121. evening	122. yesterday	123. today
JAM	nomašā / digar	kʌl	ʌj
BAL	digar	kʌl	ʌj
SIG	numašā	kʌl	ʌj
PES	šam	kʌl	aʃ
SHP	numaša	kʌl	ʌj
MAN	nūmaša	kʌl	ʌj
KOH	nišama	kʌl	aite
ATK	nišama	kʌl	ʌj
PAG	šam	kʌl	ʌj
WAP	nešama	kʌl	ʌj
DIK	nīmaša	diā	aʃ
TAL	pʌčea / šam	dēā	ʌj
	124. tomorrow	125. week	126. month
JAM	dīā	ʌftʌ	mʌhīnʌ
BAL	dīʌ	hʌftʌ	minā
SIG	kʌl	hʌftʌ	minʌ
PES	kʌl	hʌftʌ	maīnʌ / mʌhīnʌ
SHP	dīā	hʌftʌ	minʌ
MAN	kʌl	hʌftʌ	minʌ
KOH	dēā	hʌftʌ	mʌhīṇā
ATK	dēā	hʌftʌ	minā
PAG	kʌl	hʌftʌ	mainʌ
WAP	dīʌ	hʌftʌ	mainʌ
DIK	kʌl	hʌftʌ	mainʌ
TAL	dēā	hʌftʌ	mainʌ
	127. year	128. old	129. new
JAM	sal / bʌrʌs	pʌraṇa	nʌwā
BAL	sal	purano	noʌ
SIG	sal	pʌraṇa	nʌwā
PES	sal	pʌraṇʌ	nʌwa
SHP	sal	pʌraṇi	nʌwī
MAN	sal	pʌraṇā	nāwā
KOH	sal	pʌraṇā	nʌwā
ATK	sal	pʌraṇā	nʌwā
PAG	sal	pʌraṇā	nāwī / nāwā
WAP	sal	pʌraṇā	nāwā
DIK	sal	purana	nʌwā
TAL	sal	pʌraṇa	nʌwā

	130. good	131. bad	132. wet
JAM	ʌčʰa / čʌŋga	maŋda / xʌrab	siʃi / sina
BAL	ʌčʰʌ	bura	siʃ
SIG	čʌŋga	maŋda / peʃa	siʃi
PES	ʌča	xʌrab	sinʰʌ
SHP	ači	maŋdi	sinī / siʃ
MAN	ʌčʰa	maŋda / gaŋda	siʃi
KOH	ʌča	xʌrab / gaŋda	sinʰʌ
ATK	ʌčʌ / čʌŋga	gaŋda	sinʰʌ
PAG	ʌčʌ / ʌči	xarab	siʃe / sina
WAP	ʌča / ʌči	xarab / gaŋdi	sina
DIK	ʌčʌ	gaŋda	sina
TAL	čʌŋga	maʃa	siʃʌ
	133. dry	134. long	135. short
JAM	sukʰa	ʌmʰa	nika / čota
BAL	sukʰʰa	ʌma	čuta
SIG	sukʰa	ʌmī	čuta
PES	sukʰʌ	ʌmʰʌ	nikʰa
SHP	sukʰa	ʌmba	nikʌ / čota
MAN	sukʰa	ʌmba	niki
KOH	sukʰa	ʌmā	nika
ATK	sukʰa	ʌmā	nika
PAG	sukʰa	ʌmʰʌ	nika
WAP	sukʰa	ʌmʰʌ	nikʌ / maɖara
DIK	suka	ʌmbʌ	maŋɖara
TAL	sukʰa	ʌmā	nika
	136. hot	137. cold	138. right
JAM	tʌtʰa	tʰʌŋɖa	sʌʃa
BAL	tʌpiar	tʰʌŋɖʌ	sʌʃʌ
SIG	tʌta / kosa	tʌŋɖa	sʌʃa
PES	gʰʌra / gaɾam	tʰʌŋɖa	sʌʃa
SHP	gaɾam / tʌta	tʰʌŋɖa	sʌʃa
MAN	gaɾam	tʰʌŋɖe	sʌʃe
KOH	tʌtʌ	tʰʌɖʌ	sʌʃa
ATK	tʌta	tʰʌɖʌ	sʌʃa
PAG	gaɾam	tʰʌɖʌ	sʌʃʌ / sʌʃa
WAP	gaɾam	tʰʌɖʌ	sʌʃʌ / sʌʃa
DIK	gaɾam	tʰʌɖʌ	sʌʃʌ
TAL	tʌtʌ	tʰʌɖʌ	sʌʃa



	139. left	140. near	141. far
JAM	kʌb'a	nɪɖe	dʊr
BAL	kʌbʌ	nɪɖe / nʌzɪkʰ	dʊr
SIG	kʌba	nɪɖe / nʌzɪk	dʊɾ
PES	kʰʌbʌ	nʌzɪq / nʌzdɪk	dʊr / pʌre
SHP	kʌbʌ	nɪɖe	dʊr
MAN	kʰʌbe	neɾe / nɪɖe	ɖʊɾ
KOH	kʌbʌ	neɾe	dʊr
ATK	kʌba	neɾe	dʊr / pʌre
PAG	kʰʌbʌ	neɖe	dʊr
WAP	kʌbʌ	neɖe	dʊr
DIK	kʌbʌ	nʌzɪk	pʌre
TAL	kʌba	nɪɖe	dʊr
	142. big	143. small	144. heavy
JAM	wʌɖa	nɪk'a	pʰara
BAL	bʌɾa	čuti	pari
SIG	bʌɖa	nɪka / nɪqʌɾa	baɾa / wʌzʌni
PES	wʌɖa	čoɽa / nɪka	para
SHP	bʌɖa	čota / nɪkʌ	bʰari
MAN	bʌɖa	nɪka	para
KOH	wʌɖa	nɪka	bʰari
ATK	wʌɖa	nɪka	para
PAG	wʌɖʌ / wʌɖa	nɪka / nɪkʌ	para
WAP	wʌɖʌ / wʌɖa	nɪka / nɪkʌ	para
DIK	wʌɖa	čota	bʰara
TAL	wʌɖa	nɪka	bʰara
	145. light	146. above	147. below
JAM	lok'a	ʊt'e	tʌle
BAL	hoɽi / hoɽʌ	ʊte	tʰʌle
SIG	ɽoka	ʊt'e	tʌle
PES	hʌlka	uča	tʰʌle
SHP	hʌlka / ɽoki	uta	tʌla
MAN	lok'e	uta	tʌla
KOH	lok'a	ʊt'e	tʌle
ATK	loka	uča	tʌle / čika
PAG	loka	ute	tʌle
WAP	loka	ute	tʌle
DIK	hʌlka	utā	her
TAL	loka	ʊt'e	tʌle

	148. white	149. black	150. red
JAM	čɪɽa	kalˈa	ɾaɽˈa
BAL	čɪɽa	kala	ɾaɽa
SIG	čɪta / gora	kala	ɽaɽˈa
PES	čɪɽa	kala	ɭal
SHP	čɪti	kali	ɾaɽi
MAN	čɪɽa	kala	ɾaɽa
KOH	čɪɽa	kala	ɾaɽˈa
ATK	čɪɽa	kala	ɾaɽa
PAG	čɪɽa	kala	ɾaɽa
WAP	čɪɽa	kala	ɾaɽa
DIK	čɪta	kala	ɾaɽa
TAL	čɪɽa / čɪɽa	kala	ɾaɽa
	151. one	152. two	153. three
JAM	ek <sup>h</sup>	do	tre
BAL	ek	do	tre
SIG	ek <sup>h</sup>	do	tre
PES	ek <sup>h</sup> / ika	ɖo	tre
SHP	ek	do	tre
MAN	ek <sup>h</sup>	do	tre
KOH	ek	do	tre
ATK	hɛk	do	tre
PAG	ek	do	tre
WAP	ek	do	tre
DIK	hɪk	ɖu	tre
TAL	hɪk	do	tre
	154. four	155. five	156. six
JAM	čar	ɾaɽɳ̌j	čẽ
BAL	čar	ɾaɽɳ̌j	če
SIG	čar	ɾaɽɳ̌j	če
PES	čar	ɾaɽɳ̌j	čẽ / če
SHP	čar	ɾaɽɳ̌j	če
MAN	čar	ɾaɽɳ̌j	če
KOH	čar	ɾaɽɳ̌j	če
ATK	čar	ɾaɽɳ̌j	čẽ
PAG	čar	ɾaɽɳ̌j	čẽ
WAP	čar	ɾaɽɳ̌j	čẽ
DIK	čar	ɾaɽɳ̌j	čĩ
TAL	čar	ɾaɽɳ̌j	čẽ

	157. seven	158. eight	159. nine
JAM	sΛt <sup>h</sup>	Λt <sup>h</sup>	noʹ
BAL	sΛt <sup>h</sup>	at <sup>h</sup>	no
SIG	sΛt <sup>h</sup>	Λt <sup>h</sup>	nō
PES	sΛt <sup>h</sup>	Λt <sup>h</sup>	nō
SHP	sΛt <sup>h</sup>	Λt <sup>h</sup>	nō
MAN	sΛt	Λt <sup>h</sup>	nō
KOH	sΛt	Λt <sup>h</sup>	nō
ATK	sΛt	Λt <sup>h</sup>	nō
PAG	sΛt	Λt <sup>h</sup>	nō
WAP	sΛt	Λt <sup>h</sup>	noũ
DIK	sΛt <sup>h</sup>	Λt <sup>h</sup>	noũ
TAL	sΛt <sup>h</sup>	Λt <sup>h</sup>	nō
	160. ten	161. eleven	162. twelve
JAM	dΛ / dΛs	yara	bΛra
BAL	dΛs	yara	bara
SIG	da	yara	bara
PES	dΛs	yara	barΛ
SHP	dΛs	yara	bara
MAN	dΛs	yara	bara
KOH	dΛs	yara	bara
ATK	da	yara	barã
PAG	dΛs	yara	bara
WAP	dΛs	yara	bara
DIK	da	yara	barΛ
TAL	dΛ / da	yara	barã
	163. twenty	164. one hundred	165. who
JAM	wi	so	koṇ
BAL	bi	so	qoṇ
SIG	bi	so	koṇ
PES	βi / bis	so	qoṇ
SHP	b <sup>hi</sup>	so	koṇ
MAN	b <sup>hi</sup>	so	koṇ
KOH	βi / vi	so	---
ATK	vi	so	koṇ / koṛ
PAG	wi	sow	koṇ
WAP	wi	sow	koṇ
DIK	vi	so	koṇ
TAL	vi	so	kor

	166. what	167. where	168. when
JAM	ke	kɪdʌr / kɪtʰe	kʌd'e
BAL	ke	kʊder/ kʊtʰe / koɾ	kʌd
SIG	ke	kɪte	kʌdō
PES	ke	----	kʌdɔ
SHP	ke	kɪtʌ / kɪdʌr / kʊdʌr	kʌdō
MAN	ke	kɪdʌr / kɪtʰe	kʌdū
KOH	ke	kɪdʌr / kɪtʰe	kʌdō
ATK	ke	kɪtʰe / kʌtʰe	kʌdō
PAG	ke	kɪdor / kɪte	kʌdɔ
WAP	ki	kɪdor / kɪte	kʌdɔ
DIK	ke	kɪtā	kʌd
TAL	ke	kʌdʌre / kɪde / kʌtʰe	kʌdō

	169. how many	170. what thing	171. this
JAM	kɪtne	ke še / ke j̥i	e'
BAL	kitni	ke čiz	ye
SIG	kɪtnai	ke ja / ke čiz	e
PES	kɪtna	----	e
SHP	kɪtni	ke j̥i	e
MAN	kɪtne	ke še	e
KOH	kɪti	ke še	e
ATK	kɪtne	ke še	e
PAG	kɪtnʌ	ke čiz / ke še	i
WAP	kɪtne	ki še	i
DIK	kɪtne	ke še	e
TAL	kɪtne	----	i

	172. that	173. these	174. those
JAM	o	e	o
BAL	o	e	o
SIG	o	e	o
PES	o	e	o
SHP	o	e	o
MAN	o	e	o
KOH	o	e	o
ATK	o	ɪn	o
PAG	o	i	o
WAP	o	i	u
DIK	o	e	o
TAL	u	ɪn	un

	175. same	176. different	177. whole
JAM	barabar	wakara	pura
BAL	ek je	alada	puṛi
SIG	ek je	muxtalif	pura / salam
PES	ek še / ek san	ok <sup>h</sup> re wok <sup>h</sup> re	----
SHP	ek je / ek tarīā	alēda alēda	puri
MAN	ek je	kanī muxtalif	puri
KOH	eka je	wakare wakare	pura / sabut
ATK	eka je	wakla wak	pure / sabat
PAG	ekla je / ek šant	wakara wakara	sabat
WAP	ek šan	wakara	sabut
DIK	hiko ji	anji	sabit
TAL	eka je	wakara	sabut
	178. broken	179. few	180. many
JAM	baḷjea / trotea	t <sup>h</sup> ora	j <sup>h</sup> an / b <sup>h</sup> ō
BAL	troti	t <sup>h</sup> ora	muč
SIG	paḷja	tori / kaṭ <sup>h</sup>	ja'n / bū
PES	toṭa	t <sup>h</sup> ora	ziada
SHP	p <sup>h</sup> ut <sup>h</sup>	t <sup>h</sup> ori	muč / ziada
MAN	paḷje	t <sup>h</sup> ore	muč
KOH	b <sup>h</sup> ani	t <sup>h</sup> ora	b <sup>h</sup> ō
ATK	paḷj	t <sup>h</sup> ora / kaṭ	bō
PAG	baḷje	t <sup>h</sup> ora	bot / ziada
WAP	baḷje	t <sup>h</sup> ora	bot / ziat
DIK	bana	t <sup>h</sup> ora	d <sup>h</sup> ig
TAL	paḷj	t <sup>h</sup> ora	bo
	181. all	182. (you) eat	183. (the dog) bites
JAM	sara	k <sup>h</sup> a	larṇa
BAL	sara	k <sup>h</sup> a	k <sup>h</sup> a / beḍgia
SIG	sare	k <sup>h</sup> aṇa	laṛe
PES	sara	qana / qada	laḍa / čuṇḍi
SHP	sare	k <sup>h</sup> a	bir gia
MAN	sare	k <sup>h</sup> a	lar gia
KOH	sara	k <sup>h</sup> aṇa / ka	wex gia
ATK	sare	k <sup>h</sup> a	lar gia
PAG	sare	kale	lar gia
WAP	sare	kale	laṛa
DIK	sare	k <sup>h</sup> a	paṭ
TAL	sare	k <sup>h</sup> a	lar gia / čak pagia

	184. (you are) hungry	185. (you) drink	186. (you are) thirsty
JAM	buk <sup>h</sup> a	pī	trea
BAL	buk <sup>h</sup> lag <sup>h</sup>	pi	tre lagi
SIG	b <sup>h</sup> uk <sup>h</sup> a	pīṇa	tre
PES	buk <sup>h</sup> a	piṇa	t <sup>h</sup> iri
SHP	pok <sup>h</sup> Λ	pi	tre aya
MAN	bok <sup>h</sup> a	pi	tre aya
KOH	b <sup>h</sup> uk	piṇa / pi	tre lagi
ATK	p <sup>h</sup> uk <sup>h</sup> a	pi	tre
PAG	b <sup>h</sup> ukawa	pi le	tre lagi
WAP	puk <sup>h</sup> a	pi le	tare aya
DIK	b <sup>h</sup> uk <sup>h</sup>	pi	tre lagi
TAL	b <sup>h</sup> uk lagi	pi	tre lagi

	187. (you) sleep	188. (you) lay down	189. (you) sit
JAM	soṇā	leṭṇa	betṇa
BAL	se	lamā	be / bet
SIG	se ʃul	lamō / leṭ	be
PES	soṇa	leṭ	beṭ <sup>h</sup>
SHP	se	pe	beṭ <sup>h</sup>
MAN	se	lama	beto / b <sup>h</sup> e
KOH	soṇa / sō	leṭṇa / leṭpo	aṇṇa (come) / ʌč
ATK	se re	leṭ re	be re / aṇ re
PAG	sæ re / sæn ʃa	leṭ	be ʃa
WAP	sæn ʃa	leṭ ʃa	be ʃa
DIK	samΛ / sam po	leṭ jana	bait <sup>h</sup> i
TAL	sæ pΛwo	lame pae wΛṇjo	be wΛṇjo

	190. (you) give	191. (you) burn (wood)	192. (he) died
JAM	d <sup>h</sup> e	b <sup>h</sup> aṭṇa / saṭṇa	marna
BAL	de	saṭge	mar ge
SIG	deṇa	baṭna	marṇa
PES	deṇa	saṇa	marna
SHP	dε	saṭ	mar
MAN	de	baṭ / sar	marge
KOH	de	saṭṇa / saṭ	merṇa / mar
ATK	de	balo	margia
PAG	de	baṭ	margia
WAP	de	saṭge	mar
DIK	de	saṭ / ba	marge
TAL	deo	balo	mar gia

	193. kill (the bird)	194. (the bird) flies	195. (you) walk
JAM	marna	udṇā	todṇa
BAL	mar čorea	udΛr	torna
SIG	mar	udṇa	tʰuṛṇa
PES	marna	udṇa	tʰurna
SHP	mar	udΛr	tor
MAN	mar čore	udur	tor
KOH	marṇa / mar	uṛṇa / uṛḍur	ṭorṇa / toṛ
ATK	maro	uṛḍ geΛ	ṭor
PAG	mar giΛ	ud giΛ	tor
WAP	mar	ud giΛ	tor
DIK	mar	ud ge	turo
TAL	maro	uṛḍ ge	tor

	196. (you) run	197. (you) go	198. (you) come
JAM	dornā	ṣulna	Λ
BAL	doṛṇa	ṣarē	ao
SIG	doṛṇa	ṣol	a
PES	doṛṇa	ṣaṇa	aṇa
SHP	dor	ṣul	a
MAN	doṛ	ṣul	a
KOH	doṛ	we	aṇa / a
ATK	nus	ṣul	a
PAG	dor	ṣa	a / aṣa
WAP	dor	ṣa	a / aṣa
DIK	baṣ	wΛnṣ	a
TAL	baṣ / nΛs	wΛnṣ / wΛnṣo	a / aro

	199. (you) speak	200. (you) listen	201. (you) look
JAM	bolṇa	suṇ'a	dekʰṇā
BAL	bol	suṇΛ	dex
SIG	bol	suṇ'a	dex
PES	keṇa	suṇ'a	dʰekʰṇa
SHP	gΛl kΛr	suṇ'e	dexte
MAN	bol	soṇ	dex
KOH	akʰ	sūṇ	vek
ATK	akʰ / ubΛr	suṇ	tΛk / wekʰ
PAG	akʰ	soṇ	wekʰ / tΛk
WAP	akʰ	soṇ	wekʰ
DIK	Λla	soṇ	dekʰ
TAL	ax / axo	soṇ	tΛkʰ / wekʰo

	202. I	203. you (sing., informal)	204. you (sing., formal)
JAM	mẽ	tũ	tusi
BAL	mẽ	tũ	tusi
SIG	me	tũ	tusi
PES	mẽ	tu	tusi
SHP	mẽ	tu	tusi
MAN	mẽ	tũ	tusi
KOH	mẽ	tũ	tũsĩ
ATK	mẽ	tũ	tusi
PAG	mẽ	tũ	tusi
WAP	mẽ	tũ	tusi
DIK	mai	tũ	tusã
TAL	me	tũ	tusi
	205. he	206. she	207. we (incl.)
JAM	o	o	ʌs'i
BAL	o	o	ʌsi
SIG	o	o	ʌs'ĩ
PES	o	o	ʌs'i
SHP	o	o	ʌsi
MAN	o	o	ʌsi
KOH	o	o	usĩ
ATK	o	o	ʌsi
PAG	u	u	ʌsi
WAP	u	u	ʌsi
DIK	o	o	ʌsq
TAL	u	u	ʌsi
	208. we (excl.)	209. you (plural)	210. they
JAM	ʌs'i	tũ	o
BAL	ʌsi	tusi	o
SIG	ʌs'ĩ	tũ	o
PES	ʌs'i	tusi	o
SHP	ʌsi	tusi	o
MAN	ʌsi	tusi	o
KOH	usĩ	tũsĩ	o
ATK	ʌsi	tusĩ	un
PAG	ʌsi	tusi	u
WAP	ʌsi	tusã	o
DIK	ʌsi	----	--
TAL	ʌsi	tusi	un



## Appendix B.2

### Hindko Texts

#### B.2.1 Hindko, Abbottabad

##### *Abbottabad Story*

1. čodri imtehanda jeře wile dīta jī te mera kar bilkul  
fourteenth examination which time take sir and my home absolutely  
After my fourteenth examination I did not want to stay at home.
2. dīl na lagena ate jī otṇa axya hara jī ma kide nakar  
heart not felt father sir he said good sir me which service  
I said to my father, "Sir, arrange some service for me."
3. kara-čoṛo [Question-1] inhan jī me axya darxas-šarxas likake  
arrange \* to-him sir me said application write-having  
[Question-1] He said to me, "Write an application and give it to me."
4. de darxas-šarxas liki te anha karṁki dāti te ustādā bač  
give application wrote and to-him did-having gave and teacher in  
Having written an application, I gave it to him and was ordered to Majuha as
5. mājuha bič aḍar hogia jī baṛa čak lage yara mājuha paṛsa  
Majuha in order happened sir big shy felt friend Majuha teach  
a teacher. I was feeling very shy: How will I teach the boys?
6. jatakā log kiṛi hesan [Question-2] ute kamre bič xit nahana  
boys people how will-be \* there room in well bathing  
How will the people be? [Question-2] I was bathing in the room,
7. te naha kine halbahar hotri nangi ie<sup>h</sup> na [Question-3] hor  
and bath took however uneasy ? ? ? \* Another  
but it was not easy. [Question-3] One day I said to a servant
8. diyaṛe jī me ute usan axya nokar apna saḍe nal aslam  
day sir I there him said servant own-self us with Aslam  
named Aslam brother...
9. piha jī o wi rinda-ha ate bi osa me axya o aslam piha  
brother sir he also lived here also him I said ? Aslam brother  
He also lived here. I said to him, "Aslam brother,

10. jī ḷj jōla dārya ote hi aḷ nāhawa us j<sup>h</sup>elam jūlde kafi  
sir today go river there ? today bathing that Jhelam goes plenty  
let's go to the river and take a bath." The Jhelam is far away, a man
11. duro admi p<sup>h</sup>onč nāhi sāgda ute kafi ṭaim laga gaṇṭa kī do  
far man arrive no able there plenty time meet hour then two  
cannot get there. After plenty of time, one or two hours, a man reaches
12. bād da punč admi [Question-4] usa kīn te giya jī utu hīk ho  
after of arrive man \* him who and went sir there one ?  
there. [Question-4] I took him and went. A stream
13. kaṭa-we ḷkar mīlas jelum bič [Question-5] o tala jūldī  
stream come-having meets Jhelam in \* ? downward went  
meets the Jhelam there. [Question-5] We went down and arrived there.
14. hare ute jīk wile kaṭe kol pončīā mera bāṭa dīl xuš hoyāna  
? there this time near with arrived my big heart happy became  
My heart became happy when I saw the water,
15. paṇi wix-ke te me us kolu wī pehlo doṛ-kī giā jī  
water saw-having and I him with also before run went sir  
and I ran ahead of him.
16. [Question-6] yera jūlda huṇ dīxā karī ja čara hīk nazurāya  
\* friend go now see which place shower one looked  
[Question-6] Friend, I went now to look at some place. The water of one spot
17. paṇi du [Question-7] čikrena bič te giā goḍya tak [Question-8]  
water of \* mud in ? went knees up-to \*  
looked like a shower. [Ques.-7] I went into the mud up to my knees. [Ques.-8]
18. te hur zara yaaswa halbaḥat me hiki pase ḷṭkī ap<sup>h</sup>ā kinare  
and more little stepped however I one side fell myself bank  
I might have sunk, but I grabbed a stone in the embankment.
19. te hīk gaṭa pakṛa-kīda [Question-9] aṣlam paḷjī ha ḷxya bič  
and one rock caught \* Aslam brother to said in  
[Question-9] I called for Aslam brother, and he ran to me with a pale
20. ārao doṛ kī aya maṭa-maṭa raṇ šuk uḍī da ne čak-kī mana  
? run ? came quickly color ? flew of ? grab-having pulled  
face. He flew to me and pulled me out
21. baṛi ok<sup>h</sup>i tara bar [Question-10]  
big difficult way out \*  
with great difficulty. [Question-10]

*Questions for Abbottabad Story*  
*(English Translations)*

1. Who did he ask to give him a service?
2. After getting the service how did he feel?
3. In Majuha, what was not easy?
4. How much time is it up to Jhelum?
5. What meets the Jhelum there?
6. Having seen the water how did he feel?
7. How was the water running?
8. Up to where did he sink in the mud?
9. What did he grab to save himself?
10. How did brother Aslam help him?

## B.2.2 Hindko, Balakot

*Balakot Story*

1. 83 di ɡal he dɒwɒrtɒlɒ me bɒnda ho ke ayɒ bɒɾ<sup>h</sup>ai kolo kɒɟ  
83 of talk is from-under I free ? then came study with some  
This is a talk from 1983; I was free then I came. I was tired of studying.
2. oto talɒɡ hogiyɒ d<sup>h</sup>eɾe kuɟ ʧɒnge na kud de ase pera mɒɾa  
there tired became days some good no spent of did brother my  
because I didn't spend good days. My brother was here.
3. bi eti asa soʧyɒ ɒʧko ai awrɒ pɒrɒ fer-ʈorke kude wakt  
also here was thought friend go here there wander somewhere time  
I thought to spend some time to wander here and there.
4. gozara-kuna pɒra muka bi ati mɒɒɟud asa bɒɾa [Question-1]  
spend brother to-me also here present was older \*  
Older brother was also present here with me. [Question-1] We both went up
5. asi doɾe guʧ he hɒ uta ɟɒŋɡla ko sub<sup>h</sup>ɒ-sub<sup>h</sup>ɒ eto neɾe biʧ  
we both went ? ? up forest to early-morning here-from dark in  
to the forest. Early in the morning in the dark we left
6. guʧ de hɒ nal toɾi ɟai roʈi-ʧoʈi bi ɡaɟi [Question-2] raʃɒn-kɒɾɒ  
went and ? with little bit food also take \* eating  
with a little bread ... [Question-2] ...for eating. There were our tenants
7. da te ta biʧ aste mɒzre hen ʈɒɳɒ k<sup>h</sup>ɒɾ ɟeta ɡarɒ he ute  
for and ? on our tenants are Thanda Katha where village is there  
on the way where Thanda Katha village is.
8. aste mɒzre hen [Question-3] uto do admi uo ao bi hogai  
our tenants are \* there two men ? come with happened  
Our tenants are there. [Question-3] We took two men from there
9. kohaɾa te ɒra bi nal kiyaɾɒ [Question-4] en da kohar ra  
axe and saw also with took \* Their ? house path  
with us and also an axe and a saw. [Question-4] Their home was on the
10. biʧ ɒnde asɒ ɟulna asa ɟɒŋɡla ko ɟungɒl xasa uta asa te ut<sup>h</sup>a usɒ  
in was we go we forest to forest much up we and there we  
path. We went to the forest. It was a long way up. There we have to cut down
11. soɳ buʧe bi saʈɒn use nal hi [Question-5] halbɒhar utu asi  
? trees also cut we with ? \* after-all from-there we  
the trees. [Question-5] We went from there with our companions.

12. grawana-hogia ona ke kehā ke oto asi nīkal kī ha jūldiyā  
left them with ? ? there we went did ? quickly  
There we went quickly up a steep (path).
13. xasi čarai asi hoja jeta asa buṭe saṣṭede ase uja xasi  
much steep was there then we trees down-fell did that-place much  
There we cut down the trees. That place was very high.
14. uči asi tale ra bič baraf asi talakta asa per [Question-6] te  
high was under path in snow was slip our foot \* and  
There was snow on the path below and our feet were slipping. [Question-6]
15. or asi aparya gapa-šapa marna lag-gia etne biču xofnak ji  
? we ? chatting struck did this-much in frightful kind  
And we were busy chatting. Meanwhile we heard a frightful sound and
16. awaz aya te baṛa d<sup>h</sup>il nar kaṭ awaz aya daxyatī buṭa  
sound came and big heart out when sound came look tree  
at the sound our hearts jumped. We saw
17. čar-gia asa [Question-7] ande-wile nal bāndox kīn ayae asya  
down-fell did \* coming-time with gun take came we  
a tree fall down. [Question-7] We had brought a gun with us. If we meet
18. yara kiṭ t<sup>h</sup>aa pate marsa uta nukar bi asī te asi bi aua  
if some meet then kill that servant also we and we also here  
anything, we will kill it. We, the servants, and brother wandered here and
19. birā fere ṭorne te asa-ko sare geṭ<sup>h</sup>a ek do halbaḥar  
brother went walking and we rabbit saw one two after-all  
there. As we were walking, we saw one or two rabbits. After much effort we
20. kodya-kodya mari-kode [Question-8] unha-ko nal asi moṛa te kīn  
by-effort killed \* that with us turn and took  
killed it. [Question-8] Turning back, we brought them. We were very tired.
21. aya war mač hoṭe de had to ziyada taroṭ-gia jisa [Question-9]  
came ? much tired ? too of excessive broken body \*  
Our bodies were very sore. [Question-9] Slipping often, we returned there
22. talaktiya-talaktiya hi uke tarike dī ute moṛya tak jīn pučya  
slipping-slipping very ? hard of there turned up-to then reached  
with difficulty. When we reached there we wished to have
23. he dīl e<sup>h</sup>i koda asa ke kuṭ talhawe te kawē [Question-10]  
? heart ? want we that some get and eat \*  
something to eat. [Question-10]

*Questions for Balakot Story*  
*(English Translations)*

1. Who was present there?
2. Where did they go?
3. Who was on the way?
4. How many men did they take?
5. What did they have to do in the forest?
6. How was the path?
7. What did they see?
8. What did they kill?
9. How did they feel?
10. What did they wish?

## B.2.3 Hindko, Jammun

*Jammun Story*

1. asa-ne k<sup>h</sup>u k<sup>h</sup>ʌɖia zimidara da k<sup>h</sup>u haia wo paŋjiā gažāč  
we well dug farmer of well was that twenty-five yard-in  
We were digging the farmer's well. Twenty-five yards down
2. us-ne pani dīta [Question-1] te fir roṭi da taim hogia roṭi  
that water gave \* and then food of time happened bread  
we hit water. [Question-1] And then it was time to eat. When it was time to
3. da taim hogia te onʌ saīṇa-ne ʌwaz dīte roṭi aste čaṛo  
of time happened and those people call gave food for climb  
eat, the people called out: 'Climb for
4. [Question-2] roṭi-šoti k<sup>h</sup>a pike ta fir ōnane mā ak<sup>h</sup>ia jʌni  
\* food ate drank-having and then they me said that  
food'. [Question-2] We ate and drank our food, then they told me to climb
5. tu lēh gia dʌnʌ te bē-giā te dʌne te bene nali  
you climb-down went stick and sat and stick and sat with  
down. I sat on the stick... and just as I was being lowered, the rope
6. t<sup>h</sup>ela-pičōn rʌsa le-gia ʈoleto [Question-3] diwaṛ bi nal  
lowered rope slipped tol-from \* wall also with  
slipped from the tol. [Question-3] I fell against the wall
7. g<sup>h</sup>ir-gaye nal apni ʈagīā seṛ mera čeṛ-gia [Question-4] ostō bad  
fell with own fell head my cut \* that after  
and cut my head. [Question-4] After that I fell into the water.
8. panič wanž-ʌgiā sekrā os k<sup>h</sup>ue dʌ malik jīdāē ol  
water-in fell meanwhile that well of owner whose he  
Meanwhile, the owner of the well
9. le<sup>h</sup>ʌ [Question-5] fir bora maŋguaia bora pake os-ne  
came-down \* then sack brought sack put-having he  
climbed down into the well. [Question-5] Then he climbed out with me,
10. mā čaṛai borīč pake [Question-6] borīč pake čaṛias  
me climbed sack-in put-having \* sack-in put-having climbed  
having put me in a sack. [Question-6] Having put me in the sack,
11. mā ute čaṛia ne osā bi nal čikiane p<sup>h</sup>ir o kaṛe te mā  
I up lifted-up ? him also next held then he clay-pot and me  
he held me as he climbed up. Then he laid me over a clay pot

12. paia ne ṭeḍe de paṛ-paṛ pake mā test ki mē pani pitas ya  
laid ? belly of weight put-having me test did I water drank or  
and put weight on me to test if I
13. naī pitas [Question-7] wo pani-šani koi aya nāi te nasā meriā  
not drank \* that water any was not and nostrils mine  
had drunk any water or not. [Question-7] There wasn't any water and my  
nostrils
14. band aya nāsā čo do gite jāe nikālīn te nasā meriā  
closed were nostrils from two stones like came-out and nostrils mine  
were blocked. Two stones came out of my nostrils and then
15. k<sup>h</sup>oḷ gaya [Question-8] te fir ak<sup>h</sup>uṇ lage ke jānā te jīnde  
open went \* and then said started that man and alive  
my nostrils opened. [Question-8] And then they started saying that 'the man
16. [Question-9] o manži tā mā pake girayā anda ne  
\* they cot and me put-having village brought ?  
is alive.' [Question-9] They brought me to the village on a cot. Having
17. girāič ake kar pānčāia ne meri mai oni te meri  
village-in come-having house arrived ? my mother was and my  
arrived at my home, my mother and my
18. bivi te sare rona te pitina paditanio [Question-10]  
wife and all cry and mourn did \*  
wife and everyone were crying and mourning. [Question-10]

*Questions for Jammun Story*  
(English Translations)

1. How far underground was the water?
2. What did those people call him for?
3. What happened to the rope?
4. What was split?
5. Who climbed down to help him?
6. What did they put him inside of?
7. What did they do to see if he drank water or not?
8. What came out of his nostrils?
9. What did the people start saying?
10. What did his wife do?



## B.2.4 Hindko, Kohat

*Kohat Story*

1. asi ito progræm baɽa-ke geā gorgrot<sup>h</sup> paɽa waste ute  
we here program arranged-having went Gorgorot received for there  
We made a plan to go to Gorgorot. We went there in a pick-up.
2. asā jire piknik di pikap kiti-e jiri itū takriban čatis mīl  
we when picnic to pick-up did which here about thirty-six mile  
It is about thirty-six miles to that place.
3. dur e asi če dostā apus-bič [Question-1] wat<sup>h</sup> ute jira ete  
far is we six friends together \* then there when here  
We six friends went together. [Question-1] When we got there we
4. saman asā pikap to la-čoreā jiti samaneā o saman asā jire  
luggage we pick-up so unloaded all luggage that luggage we which  
unloaded the luggage from the pick-up. We lifted the luggage and
5. te wat<sup>h</sup> trikli te čaiā [Question-2] triklā te ča ke koi  
and then back and lifted \* back and lifted having some  
carried it on our backs. [Question-2] We lifted it and carried it on our
6. sira te čai o saman asā toe kafī wadi asā toā  
head and lifted that luggage we stream plenty big we stream  
backs. Some lifted the luggage to their heads. We crossed
7. par-kite [Question-3] ta ute asi pōčgiāl ta saman rakea o  
crossed \* and above we reached and luggage put that  
a fairly big stream. [Question-3] When we arrived at a place higher up, we
8. kite ča pit<sup>h</sup>ie [Question-4] or ča piɽ kolō bad asi jira ete  
did tea drank \* and tea drank ? after we when there  
put the luggage down and drank tea. [Question-4] After we drank tea, we went
9. nīkalgeā paɽā ute paɽ te nīkal-ke paɽ te pōčeā  
left mountain up mountain and left mountain up arrived  
further up the mountain. When we reached a place higher up the mountain,
10. ute asā šīkar kit<sup>h</sup>e čakor mare te titor marī [Question-5] titor  
there we hunting did bird killed and titor killed \* titor  
we began hunting. We killed chukor and titor birds. [Question-5] After killing
11. marke wat<sup>h</sup> wapās ayā tale horeā toe te toe jira  
killed then return came down descending stream and stream which  
the titor bird, we headed back down. We went down to a stream and threw

12. hēte bām sḷeīn ute mḷči mari e [Question-6] muči mar-ke  
 here bomb threw there fish kill that \* fish killed  
 bombs in the stream. We killed fish there. [Question-6] After we killed the
13. wat<sup>h</sup> ḷsi wapḷs ain rati ḷṛṇa kaṇa pakaye [Question-7] sara  
 then we return came night our-own food cooked \* all  
 fish we returned (to camp). At night we cooked our own food. [Question-7]
14. kaṇa-maṇa jiti e asā pe pḷkae kḷṭ wi jira ete ča-ma kḷrke  
 food which ? was ? cooked pot ? which here tea did  
 All the food was cooked. After tea we did other things, then we slept.
15. har čiz kḷrke rati so-peḷ wḷḍane nal jire baṅga wele ḷsi  
 every thing did night slept proper-time with which prayer time we  
 At prayer time we left to go hunting.
16. šikor te nikḷl-geḷ ḷsi nikḷleḷ ṭakriban ḍas bara mil jire  
 hunting and left we left about ten twelve mile which  
 We went along the bank of the Indus river for about ten or twelve miles
17. eḷ<sup>h</sup> ḷ ḍarie sind de kḷnare nal ute paṛ e jīsā aḍin  
 here river Indus ? bank with there mountain ? which called  
 to the mountain called Gorgorot.
18. gorgorot us gorgḷrot de paṛ ute ṭakriban čar gḷte ḷsi  
 Gorgorot that Gorgorot that mountain up about four hours we  
 We went up Gorgorot Mountain
19. ute čar giḷ [Question-8] us-ko bad jira ete ḷsā heṛin weḷin  
 up four went \* this after which here we deer saw  
 for about four hours. [Question-8]
20. [Question-9] una ḷsā jire wele heṛin weḷin te ḷsā itni kuši  
 \* they we which time deer saw and we so-much happy  
 After this we saw deer. [Question-9] When we saw the deer
21. mesus-t<sup>h</sup>en [Question-10]  
 felt \*  
 we were very happy. [Question-10]

*Questions for Kohat Story*  
*(English Translations)*

1. How many friends went?
2. How did they do with their things?
3. Which thing did they cross?
4. What did they drink?
5. What happened to the titor?
6. What did the bomb kill?
7. At which time did they cook the food?
8. How long did it take to go up the mountain?
9. After this, what did they see?
10. Why were they happy?

## B.2.5 Hindko, Peshawar

*Peshawar Story*

1. merɒ nam xalid nazir he t<sup>h</sup>e me it<sup>h</sup>e bazar jahangirpūra salai  
my name Khalid Nazir is and I here Bazaar Jehangirpura sewing  
My name is Khalid Nazir and I have a sewing machine shop here in
2. mašina de dūkan e pečale sal et<sup>h</sup>e 28 okt<sup>h</sup>ubar nū ek d<sup>h</sup>make  
machine of shop is last year here 28 October ? one explosion  
Jehangirpura Bazaar. Last year there was an explosion here on October 28
3. hoveia t<sup>h</sup>akriban koi pune bara baḷe [Question-1]  
happened approximately some quarter-to twelve o'clock \*  
at about a quarter to twelve. [Question-1] In this way, at about
4. es t<sup>h</sup>arɒ ke sara t<sup>h</sup>akriban 11 baḷkar 40 minat t<sup>h</sup>e me baher  
this way that all about 11 o'clock 40 minute and I outside  
11:40, I came from outside the shop
5. se aya t<sup>h</sup>e dūkan na mešine set karna-e t<sup>h</sup>e t<sup>h</sup>akriban koi  
from came and shop ? machine set did and about some  
and set up the machines. And about
6. 12 baḷe pone 12 baḷe ṭaim te ek damake di awaž  
12 o'clock quarter-to 12 o'clock time and one explosion of sound  
12 or a quarter to 12, I heard
7. ayi [Question-2] yede foran bad mat<sup>h</sup>lab e sare bazare gurad  
came \* friend soon after meaning that all bazaar dust  
an explosion. [Question-2] After which the dust and all spread in all
8. vayera jamahugui t<sup>h</sup>e me i samja ke matlab e damaka  
etc. gathered and I this understand that meaning this explosion  
the bazaar. I thought the explosion happened
9. jara e sadi apne dūkan de kar-hoya-e [Question-3] ūs wakat t<sup>h</sup>u  
which is our own shop of happened \* that time you  
in our own shop. [Question-3] At this time you weren't able to see anything.
10. kuč-bi nazar nai anda-e seraf gurad o ḡhubar t<sup>h</sup>e barūd  
anything seeing not came only dust and explosives and gunpowder  
There was only dust and the
11. di bu i [Question-4] agar ek ad<sup>h</sup>a gant ya 45 minat ūr  
of smell is \* if one half hour or 45 minute more  
smell of explosives and gunpowder. [Question-4] If the explosion had occurred

12. der hundai ter zeyad<sup>h</sup>a tabahi mač di kyōke sakūl te  
further had waited great destruction much of because school and  
30 or 45 minutes later it would have caused greater destruction because the
13. čote-čote bače anand es taraf [Question-5] loka-ne flair barged  
small children came this way \* people fire brigade  
small children come this way. [Question-5] People called the fire
14. ūnū-e țilifon karta-e pulis bi ađai pulis-ne matlab e sare  
to-them telephone did police also came police meaning that all  
brigade by telephone. The police also came. The police
15. bazar weč čarū taraf naka-bandi kardī loka na čūr-de  
bazaar in four ways blockade did people not left  
blockaded the bazaar on four sides and
16. [Question-6] te es ag nal takriban 6 dūkanū nū ur bi ag  
\* and that fire with about 6 shops to and also fire  
stopped people (from entering). [Question-6] From that fire six other
17. lag-gai [Question-7] saři dukan te vi kafi nuksan hoyā ūte  
caught \* our shop to also enough damages was there  
shops caught fire. [Question-7] Our shop had a lot of damage also. All the
18. kar sari mašina tūt-gai [Question-8] damake se koč der  
? all machines broke \* explosion from some further  
machines there were broken. [Question-8] A little time after the explosion,
19. bad fer me ađe kar țilifon kiti valida nū take ūnū  
after then I our house telephone did mother ? so-that her  
I telephoned my mother at our house to let her know
20. itla kardā ke matlab e prešan na huja [Question-9] jis  
inform did of meaning that worried not be \* which  
that she should not worry. [Question-9]
21. va me ne kiya ta ūs wakāt vi ūa kafi prešan e [Question-10]  
time I ? did and that time also she enough worried is \*  
At the time I did that, she was very worried. [Question-10]

*Questions for Peshawar Story*  
*(English Translations)*

1. What time did the explosion occur?
2. What kind of sound did he hear?
3. What did he think?
4. What did he smell?
5. Why would it have caused a lot of damage if it occurred after 30 or 45 minutes?
6. What did the police do at the bazaar?
7. What happened to six shops?
8. What happened to the machines?
9. Who did he inform?
10. How did his mother feel?

## B.2.6 Hindko, Sherpur

*Sherpur Story*

1. mē tala manj čar dāsa ta sora mor aia  
I below buffalo grazing did and father-in-law my came  
I was grazing my buffalo below when my
2. [Question-1] šahela muč zaruri kam mē keji usa axea  
\* Shahela very necessary work I what-kind to-him asked  
father-in-law came. [Question-1] (He said to me) Shahela, (there is) very
3. za mat hogaya te he todo xabar k<sup>h</sup>arnea ugiku  
? death has-happened and ? you news take Oghi-to  
necessary work. I said, "What kind?" He said a death had occurred and
4. [Question-2] maha čanga ji do rupi us muku karai dīta rupea  
\* I-said all-right sir two rupies he to-me fare gave rupee  
to take this news to Oghi. [Question-2] I said, "All right." He gave me two
5. mare kol asa [Question-3] mē itu basa ta čareā gia glčria  
me with was \* I here bus and climb went went  
rupees for the fare. I had one rupee with me. [Question-3] I got on a bus
6. ugi leta gia āga čar mīl tre mīl da fesīla asa gia  
Oghi get-down went ahead four mile three mile to distance was went  
and went away. I got off at Oghi, three or four miles distance. When I arrived
7. us je ko pučēā te numaša ji āzan ondi-asi  
that place of arrived and evening sir call-to-prayer was  
at that place, the evening call to prayer
8. [Question-4] salam-walekum alakum-salam kīta te usa axer nīkia  
\* greetings greetings did and he said did-not  
was being done. [Question-4] Greetings were exchanged and he did not say
9. tu ča-ša-ča diti te nal do darne kulče dīte [Question-5] usa  
so tea gave and with two pieces cake gave \* he  
more. He gave tea and two pieces of cake. [Question-5] He said, "Will you
10. axer tu resi mē axer na ji me jūlsa bās us suṇ dobara gal  
said you stay I said no sir I go enough he ? again matter  
stay?" I said, "No sir, I must go." He didn't
11. nī alai [Question-6] mā nīkal aia ugi ko aia numaša ogīā  
no did \* I out came Oghi to came evening happened  
ask me to stay again. [Question-6] I left, and when I reached Oghi it was

12. asia kofta de karib ogiā      bās waleku me axer tu    ĵulsi us axer  
?    night of near    happened bus driver    I    said you go    he said  
evening. It was nearly night. I asked the bus driver, “will you go?” He said,
13. me ĵulsa [Question-7] dās mināt    guzari bāsa wali    axer me axa  
Igo \*    ten    minutes    passed bus driver said I    said  
“I will go.” [Question-7] After ten minutes the bus driver said, “I said I
14. na ĵulda para bariš bi    ogie ra    xarab hai [Question-8] dila bič  
not go    there rain    also ahead way bad    is \*    heart in  
won’t go. There is rain and the way ahead is bad.” [Question-8] In my heart
15. xafa hogia yera is    muku peli    axea onda te    čanga asa  
angry was    friend this me-to before said    was    and good    was  
I was angry. “Friend, you should have told me this
16. [Question-9] xer baral    utu    niklia sočea yera ita  
\*    good however from-there came-out thought friend here  
before!” [Ques.-9] When I came from there, I thought there is a friend
17. par xan mare ečna aen una kol rat    re-gisa [Question-10]  
across Khan my    friend is    them with night stay    \*  
here, a Khan that I know, and I will stay (the night) with him. [Ques.-10]

*Questions for Sherpur Story  
(English Translations)*

1. What was he grazing?
2. What did his father-in-law ask him?
3. How much money did his father-in-law give him?
4. What time did he arrive?
5. What did he get two pieces of?
6. What did the man not ask again?
7. What did he ask the bus driver?
8. How is the way ahead?
9. How did he feel in his heart?
10. Where did he think to stay?



## B.2.7 Hindko, Talagang

### *Talagang Story*

1.  $\Lambda$ si giā čikundi ut<sup>h</sup>e dost eki di šadi o mere ek mamu  
we went Chikundi there friend one of marriage that my one uncle  
We went to Chikundi. The marriage of my friend, who is my uncle's son, was
2. d $\Lambda$  larka [Question-1] mera nal nani si or mai  $\Lambda$ si donō  
of boy \* me with grandmother ? and I we both  
there. [Question-1] I went with my grandmother.
3. geā [Question-2] rasta bič  $\Lambda$ si bot prešan geā top si bot  
went \* road in we much bothered went sunlight ? much  
[Question-2] On the way we were very troubled by
4. [Question-3] ut<sup>h</sup>e ja-ke  $\Lambda$ si počeā bait<sup>h</sup>e bič ča-ša pi<sup>h</sup>i  
\* there gone-having we arrived sit in tea drank  
the sunlight. [Question-3] When we arrived, we sat and drank tea. After
5. ča-ša pi-ke  $\Lambda$ si una nal matlab he han $\Lambda$  mazak karna  
tea drunk-having we them with meaning is laugh joke do  
drinking tea, we started laughing and
6. lakgeā [Question-4] ke ina d $\Lambda$  matlab e girā bič e rawajeweke  
started \* ? their of meaning is village in is tradition  
joking with them. [Question-4] The tradition in their village
7. e poseā marnin ya-ke wa $\Lambda$ te [Question-5] te o jis wele  
is dung threw go-having stone \* and ? which time  
is to throw dung and stones. [Question-5] At the time they
8. nazdik počin te uwa gal t<sup>h</sup>i ki u $\Lambda$  p<sup>h</sup>osiā mariin us admi  
close arrived and that matter was that they dung threw that man  
arrived closer, they threw dung and hit a man
9. nū in $\checkmark$  kar-ke mare ak<sup>h</sup>i ute [Question-6] u $\checkmark$ i čanggi p<sup>h</sup>ali  
? this did-having hit eye above \* there good plenty  
above his eye. [Question-6] There, a big
10. čot<sup>h</sup> aye [Question-7] matlab e ortā san marna-waleā  
injury came \* meaning is women ? stone-throwers  
injury came. [Question-7] I mean to say that the women
11. [Question-8] is tar $\Lambda$  p<sup>h</sup>ir hat<sup>h</sup> bi zakmi hunin matlab e  
\* this way then hand also injured happened meaning is  
were the stone throwers. [Question-8] In this way the women's hands become

12. ɔrtā di bi čuriā paṣ janīa [Question-9] us to bad asi  
 women of also bracelets broken comes \* this ? after we  
 injured and their bracelets are broken. [Question-9] After this, they
13. janab nīkah-šīkah bāna-ke te janṣ le-ke te wapas  
 sir prayer made-having and procession taken-having and return  
 prayed, made a procession,
14. unā kar poče [Question-10]  
 their house arrived \*  
 and returned home. [Question-10]

*Questions for Talagang Story  
 (English Translations)*

1. Why did they go to Chikundi?
2. Who was with him?
3. Why were they bothered?
4. What did they start to do?
5. What is the custom of the village?
6. Where was the man hit?
7. What kind of injury came?
8. Who hit him?
9. What happened to the bracelets?
10. Where did they arrive?

## B.2.8 Hindko, Wad Pagga

### *Wad Pagga Story*

1. e wakyā me san 1973 wič piš aya mere nal o me swanu  
this time I year 1973 in occur came me with that I to-you  
This incident happened to me in 1973. I will tell it to you in my own
2. apni zubani batana e garmi di čuṭiya yena takriban saḍe  
own language tell this summer of holidays here about our  
language. It was the summer holidays of school
3. skol di un waxat me čoti jamat wič paṛnaya [Question-1] te  
school of that time I fourth class in studied \* and  
when I had studied in the fourth class. [Question-1] And one or two years
4. usi ek sal du pehle mera walid-sahab karači čala-gaya  
that one year two before my father Karachi went  
before this my father had gone
5. [Question-2] ete t<sup>h</sup>eyare kar is tara koč mamoli walda de  
\* here our home this way some small mother of  
to Karachi. [Question-2] At our home,
6. nal čagṛa-maḡṛa hoyā [Question-3] so meri jīb wič us wakāt  
with fight was \* so my pocket in that time  
I had a little fight with my mother. [Question-3] So, at that time I had
7. takriban panj ane [Question-4] te us wakāt mera ek mamō-ya  
about five anas \* and that time my one uncle  
about five anas in my pocket. [Question-4] So, at that time my uncle,
8. o barām šā<sup>h</sup> na e us na xuda baxši suṇo hoye fawāt  
he Behram Shah name is his name God bless hear was died  
Behram Shah is his name, God bless him, he has died,
9. hoyā-e wo us wakāt dābgari tāṇe iṣ hoyā tukriban har  
has he that time Dabgari police-station in was about every  
he was at the Dabgari police station. About every Thursday
10. jumarat-wale dīn us wal jāne ewa čakur-wakur waste wat  
Thursday-(mod) day him to goes ? visit for then  
I visited him. Then on Friday I would return home.
11. jume-wale dīn me wapas aṛan-ya us diyari bi me us wol  
Friday-(mod) day I return came that day also I him to  
I went to visit him that day also.

12. giya-wa tu me giā-wā jīra xud tuṇe ḍabgarī ne tu mama  
went so I went who myself police-station Dabgarī ? so uncle  
Then I went to the police station in Dabgarī
13. mera ute nai e-yā [Question-5] us di sel ne dawṭān ek gaḍi  
my there not was \* that of busy ? during one train  
and my uncle was not there. [Question-5] During that time a train came,
14. ai te me sojwe me čal eh gaḍi ič bī ki-ti ite aḡi taru  
came and I thought I go this train in sit did here ahead Taru  
so I thought, "I will go and sit on this train to Taru Jaba, which is ahead
15. jāba e saḍi girā de kol ute me le-jasā gaḍi ču  
Jaba is our village of next there I get-down train from  
near our village, and there I will get
16. [Question-6] esi xyal ič me gaḍi wič bī galyā-wā gaḍi aḡi  
\* this thought in I train in sat went train ahead  
off the train." [Question-6] While I was thinking this, I sat on the train.
17. čali-gayi taru jābe ič na<sup>h</sup>i tihri [Question-7] age jāne-jāna e  
went Taru Jaba in not waited \* ahead going this  
The train went ahead and did not stop in Tara Jaba. [Question-7] It kept
18. takriban naṁšire wič tihri wat ute me yalya yara oṇ ete  
about Nowshera in waited then there I went friend then there  
going and stopped in Nowshera. Then, friend, there I came down
19. me lāwa te mere kol kalya bi na<sup>h</sup>i wapasi na [Question-8]  
I came-down and me with fee also not return of \*  
and did not have the money to return. [Question-8] And I arrived in
20. te ponč-gia pīṇḍi pončae [Question-9] pīṇḍi ičo is rang  
and arrived Rawalpindi arrived \* Rawalpindi in this color  
Rawalpindi. [Question-9] In Rawalpindi some men were walking,
21. koč admi čalan šam na taim huya us wakāt ute me koč  
some men went evening ? time was that time there I some  
and it was evening time. I ate some
22. pikoṛe te koč roṭi liki kaḍi [Question-10]  
pikora and some bread got-having ate \*  
pakora and bread there. [Question-10]

*Questions for Wad Pagga Story*  
*(English Translations)*

1. What class was he in?
2. What did his father do?
3. Who did he fight with?
4. How much money did he have in his pocket?
5. Who did not come there?
6. What did he think to do?
7. Why did he not get down at Taru Jabe?
8. Why was he not able to return?
9. What time was it in Rawalpindi?
10. What did he do at this time?

## Appendix B.3

### Hindko Survey Questionnaire (English Translations)

#### *Travel Questions*

1. Where have you lived or traveled outside this village?
  1. Karachi      2. Lahore      3. Islamabad      4. Rawalpindi
  5. Peshawar      6. Mansehra      7. Abbottabad
  8. Elsewhere (specific places)
2. How long did you stay there? (for each place)
  1. Less than one week
  2. one to two weeks
  3. from two weeks to one month
  4. from one to three months
  5. from three to six months
  6. more than six months (specify amount of time)
3. How many times did you travel to that place?
  1. Less than five times
  2. Five to ten times
  3. Ten to twenty times
  4. More than twenty times

#### *Language Use Questions*

4. What language do you most often speak when you are speaking in your home to your family?
5. What language do you most often speak when you are speaking to *Pashto*-speaking people?
  6. *Urdu*-speaking      7. *Panjabi*-speaking
  8. *Gujari*-speaking      9. *Hindko*-speaking

#### *Mass Media Questions*

10. In your home do you have a radio? Television?
11. What language do you usually (most often) listen to on the radio?

#### *Language Viability Questions*

12. When will Hindko be finished and not spoken by this village? How many more years? What language is going to finish and replace Hindko?

*Language Attitude Questions*

13. Would you want your son to marry an *Urdu*-speaking girl? Why or why not?  
14. *Pashto*-speaking      15. *Panjabi*-speaking  
16. *Gujari*-speaking

*Language Value Questions*

17. In what ways is it an advantage or benefit to know and speak *Hindko*?  
18. *Urdu*    19. *Pashto*    20. *Panjabi*    21. *Gujari*  
22. Would you like to have newspapers or books to read in the *Hindko* language? Why or why not?  
23. Should *Hindko*-speaking children be taught to read and write in *Hindko*? Why or why not?





## APPENDIX C GUJARI SURVEY DATA

### Appendix C.1

#### Gujari Word Lists

*Location Code, Location, Village, Reliability Code*

KUN	Kunar Province, Afghanistan, Batash, C
CHT	Chitral, Shishi Koh Valley, A
DIR	Dir, Shitak (near Sheringal), B
SSW	Settled Swat, Peshmal, A
TSW	Transhumant Swat, Ragushu, B
GLT	Gilgit, Naltar Bala, A
KGH	Kaghan, Mittikot, A
SHZ	Southern Hazara, Tarchatti / Choigari, B
NAK	Northern Azad Kashmir, Subṛi, A
CAK	Central Azad Kashmir, Trarkhel, A
SAK	Southern Azad Kashmir, Kotli, C
GJW	Gujranwala immigrants (from Agra area, India), B
IND	Mendhar, Poonch District, Indian-held Kashmir (Sharma 1979, 1982), B

	1. body	2. head	3. hair
KUN	wʌʃud	ser	baṛ
CHT	ʃin	sʌr	bʌ
DIR	wʌʃud	ser	bʌ
SSW	bʌdʌn / wʌʃud	ser	bʌ
TSW	wʌʃud	ser / sir	baṛ
GLT	ʃin	ser	baṛ
KGH	ʃuso / ʃisʌm	ser	baṛ
SHZ	ʃusa / ʃuso	ser	bal
NAK	ʃusō	ser	bal
CAK	bʌdʌn	sir	bal
SAK	ʃusa	sir	bal
GJW	gatʰ	sʌr	bal
IND	wʌʃud	sir	baṛ

	4. face	5. eye	6. ear
KUN	mũ	ʌk <sup>h</sup>	kʌŋ
CHT	mũ	ʌk <sup>h</sup>	kʌŋ
DIR	mũ	ʌk <sup>h</sup>	kʌŋ
SSW	mũ	ʌk <sup>h</sup>	kʌŋ
TSW	mũ	ʌk <sup>h</sup>	kʌŋ
GLT	mũ	ʌk <sup>h</sup>	kʌŋ
KGH	mũ	ʌk <sup>h</sup> / ʌk <sup>h</sup>	kʌŋ
SHZ	mũ	ʌk <sup>h</sup>	kʌŋ
NAK	mũ	ʌk <sup>h</sup>	kʌŋ
CAK	mũ	ʌk <sup>h</sup>	kʌŋ
SAK	mũ	ʌk <sup>h</sup>	kʌŋ
GJW	čere	āk <sup>h</sup>	kan
IND	---	ʌk <sup>h</sup>	ken
	7. nose	8. mouth	9. teeth
KUN	nas	mũ	dʌnd
CHT	nas / nʌk	mũ	dʌnd
DIR	nas	mũ	dʌnd
SSW	nas	mũ	dʌnt <sup>h</sup>
TSW	nʌk	mũ	dʌnd
GLT	nas	mũ	dʌnd
KGH	nʌk <sup>h</sup>	mũ	dʌnd
SHZ	nʌk <sup>h</sup>	mũ	dʌnd
NAK	nʌk <sup>h</sup>	mũ	dʌnd <sup>h</sup>
CAK	nʌk <sup>h</sup>	mũ	dʌnd <sup>h</sup>
SAK	nʌk	mũ	dʌnd
GJW	nak <sup>h</sup>	mũ	dʌnt
IND	nʌk	---	dʌnd
	10. tongue	11. breast	12. belly
KUN	jib	sino	dɪd
CHT	jib	sino	peɽ / dɪd
DIR	jib	sino	d <sup>h</sup> ɪd
SSW	jib	sino	dɪd <sup>h</sup>
TSW	jib	---	dɪd <sup>h</sup>
GLT	jib	sinʼʌ	dɛd / d <sup>h</sup> ɛd
KGH	jib	sinʼʌ	dɪd / tɪd <sup>h</sup>
SHZ	jib	sinʌ	ɽɛd
NAK	jib	sino	ɽɛd <sup>h</sup>
CAK	jiv / jɪβ	čati	peɽ <sup>h</sup>
SAK	jiv	---	peɽ
GJW	jib	čʌti	peɽ <sup>h</sup>
IND	zʌban	sino	peɽ

	13. arm	14. elbow	15. palm
KUN	bā	quṇi	ṭaḍi
CHT	bā	quṇi	ṭai
DIR	bā	quṇi	toi
SSW	bā	kun	ṭ <sup>h</sup> ai
TSW	bā	kuni	ṭ <sup>h</sup> ori / ṭai
GLT	bā	kuṇi	ṭaṭi
KGH	bā	kuṇi / kuṇi	ṭali
SHZ	bā	kuni / kuṇi	ṭali
NAK	bā	kuni	ṭali
CAK	bā	kuni	ṭali
SAK	bā	kuni	hāt <sup>h</sup>
GJW	bā	quṇi	ṭeli
IND	bā	----	----
	16. finger	17. fingernail	18. leg
KUN	ahgaṛi	nū	per
CHT	ahgaṛi	nū	ṭahg
DIR	ahgaṛi	nū	per
SSW	ahgi	nū	ṭ <sup>h</sup> ahg
TSW	ahgri	nū	ṭahg / ṭ <sup>h</sup> ahg
GLT	ahgri	nū	ṭahg
KGH	ahgli / ahgri	nū / nō	ḥahg / ṭahg
SHZ	ahgli / ahgol	nō	ṭahg
NAK	ahgli	nū	per
CAK	ahgali	nū	jahg
SAK	ahgli	nu	jahg / per
GJW	ahgli	nū	pā
IND	ahgli	---	ṭahg
	19. skin	20. bone	21. heart
KUN	ḥamṭi	haḍi	dil
CHT	ḥamṭi	haḍi	dil
DIR	ḥamṭi	haḍi	dil
SSW	ḥam	haḍi	dil
TSW	ḥam / ḥamṭi	haḍi	dil
GLT	ḥam	haḍi	dil
KGH	ḥamṭa	haḍ'i	dil
SHZ	ḥamṭi / ḥambara	haḍi / haḍ'i	dil
NAK	ṭsambrī	haḍi	dil
CAK	ḥamṭi / ḥambṛa	haḍi	dil
SAK	kal	haḍi / haḍ	dil
GJW	k <sup>h</sup> al	haḍi	dil
IND	ḥamṭi / k <sup>h</sup> al	haḍ'i	dil

	22. blood	23. urine	24. feces
KUN	rʌt	sakɲo mūt	bario mut
CHT	rʌt	niko mūtʌr	gũ / bʌrʌ mutʌr
DIR	rʌt	sakɲo mut	barʌ mutʌr
SSW	rʌt <sup>h</sup>	mūt	gũ
TSW	rʌt <sup>h</sup>	mut	gu / gʌɲ
GLT	rʌt	mut	gũ
KGH	rʌt <sup>h</sup>	mut <sup>h</sup> / mutʌr	gũ
SHZ	ʃo / rʌt	mutʌr	aʒɪt
NAK	ʃo	mutʌr	gũ
CAK	rʌt	mutʌr / mut	tʌti
SAK	xun / lʌo	mutʌr	ʃʌʃi / gũ
GJW	ʃou	mūt <sup>h</sup>	---
IND	rʌt	mut	---
	25. village	26. house	27. roof
KUN	gɪrā	dero	bʌʃi
CHT	gʌrā	dero	koʃa
DIR	gɪrā	dero	čʌt
SSW	gɪrʌ	dero	čʌt <sup>h</sup>
TSW	gɪrā	dero	čʌt <sup>h</sup> / čʌt
GLT	gɪrā	koʃo / dero	tʌl
KGH	gʌrā	dero	koʃa
SHZ	gɪrā	kʌr / dero	čʌt <sup>h</sup> / čʌt
NAK	gɪrā	koʃo	čʌt
CAK	gɪrā	kʌr	čʌt
SAK	gɪrā	kʌr / gʌr	čʌt
GJW	gam	g <sup>h</sup> ʌr	čʌt <sup>h</sup>
IND	grā	kʌr	---
	28. door	29. firewood	30. broom
KUN	bū	ʌkɾi	b <sup>h</sup> ʌʃi
CHT	buo	ʌkɾi	b <sup>h</sup> ʌʃi
DIR	buo / b <sup>h</sup> uo	ʌkɾi	b <sup>h</sup> ʌʃi
SSW	buo	ʌkɾi	b <sup>h</sup> ʌʃi
TSW	buo	ʌkɾi	b <sup>h</sup> ʌʃi / bʌʃi
GLT	bu	ʌkɾi	b <sup>h</sup> ʌʃi
KGH	buʌ / b <sup>h</sup> uʌ	ʌkɾi	b <sup>h</sup> ʌʃi / bʌʃi
SHZ	dʌrwazo / b <sup>h</sup> uo	ʌkɾi	b <sup>h</sup> ʌʃi
NAK	buo	ʌkɾi	b <sup>h</sup> ʌʃi
CAK	dʌrwaza / pit <sup>h</sup>	ʌkɾi	b <sup>h</sup> ʌʃi
SAK	dʌr / pet <sup>h</sup>	ʌkɾi	b <sup>h</sup> ʌʃi
GJW	d <sup>h</sup> ʌr	ɪndʌn	sun
IND	pit	---	---

	31. mortar	32. pestle	33. hammer
KUN	indoļ	dabale	satkui
CHT	---	čatu / lakri	satakio
DIR	uk <sup>h</sup> ri	musari	satakio
SSW	langre	a <sup>h</sup> o	ma <sup>h</sup> or
TSW	langre	a <sup>h</sup> o / dabale	ma <sup>h</sup> or / ma <sup>h</sup> or
GLT	hodo <sup>h</sup> o	bato	hato <sup>h</sup> o
KGH	čatu	lo <sup>h</sup> i	mal <sup>h</sup> or
SHZ	langri / čatu	molo	la <sup>h</sup> o <sup>h</sup> o
NAK	čitu	mulo	tho <sup>h</sup> i
CAK	langri	musli / četu	hato <sup>h</sup> o
SAK	langri	četu	tho <sup>h</sup> o
GJW	so <sup>h</sup> ta	kun <sup>h</sup> i	a <sup>h</sup> o <sup>h</sup> o
IND	---	musli	la <sup>h</sup> o <sup>h</sup> o / la <sup>h</sup> o <sup>h</sup> i
	34. knife	35. axe	36. rope
KUN	čaku	guar <sup>h</sup> i	ra <sup>h</sup> i
CHT	čaku	guar <sup>h</sup> i	seli
DIR	čaku	guar <sup>h</sup> i	ra <sup>h</sup> i
SSW	čaku	gua <sup>h</sup> i	ra <sup>h</sup> i
TSW	čaku	gua <sup>h</sup> i	ra <sup>h</sup> i / seli
GLT	čaku	gua <sup>h</sup> i	seli
KGH	ka <sup>h</sup> u / č <sup>h</sup> uri	kuar <sup>h</sup> i	ra <sup>h</sup> i
SHZ	ka <sup>h</sup> u	kuar <sup>h</sup> i / kuari	ra <sup>h</sup> i
NAK	ka <sup>h</sup> u	kuar <sup>h</sup> i	ra <sup>h</sup> i
CAK	čaku	ka <sup>h</sup> u <sup>h</sup> i	ra <sup>h</sup> i
SAK	čaku	kuar <sup>h</sup> i	ra <sup>h</sup> i
GJW	čaku	k <sup>h</sup> u <sup>h</sup> ar <sup>h</sup> da	jo <sup>h</sup> i
IND	čakū	---	ra <sup>h</sup> i
	37. thread	38. needle	39. cloth
KUN	d <sup>h</sup> ago	sui	čida
CHT	d <sup>h</sup> aga	sui	čida / ka <sup>h</sup> ra
DIR	d <sup>h</sup> ago	sui	čida
SSW	dago	sui	čida
TSW	d <sup>h</sup> aga	sui	čida
GLT	d <sup>h</sup> aga	sui	čida
KGH	thaga / ta <sup>h</sup> go	sui	ka <sup>h</sup> ra / ka <sup>h</sup> ro
SHZ	tago / ta <sup>h</sup> go	sui	ka <sup>h</sup> ro
NAK	sutar	sui	ka <sup>h</sup> ro
CAK	dago	sūi	ka <sup>h</sup> ro
SAK	taga / tago	sui	ka <sup>h</sup> ro
GJW	thaga	sui	ka <sup>h</sup> rai
IND	tago	---	ka <sup>h</sup> ro

	40. ring	41. sun	42. moon
KUN	Ληguṭ <sup>h</sup> i	dī	čΛn
CHT	Ληguṭ <sup>h</sup> i	dī	čΛn
DIR	Ληguṭ <sup>h</sup> i	dī	čΛn
SSW	Ληguṭ <sup>h</sup> i	di	čΛn
TSW	Ληguṭ <sup>h</sup> i / aηguṭ <sup>h</sup> i	dī	čΛn
GLT	Ληguṭ <sup>h</sup> i	dī	čΛn
KGH	Ληguṭ <sup>h</sup> i	dī	čΛn
SHZ	mūndri	dē / diō	čΛn / čΛnd
NAK	Ληguṭ <sup>h</sup> i	dī	čΛn
CAK	ča·p	dī·	čΛn
SAK	ča·p	dē	čΛn
GJW	guṇṭi	surΛž	čan
IND	č <sup>h</sup> ap	---	čΛn
	43. sky	44. star	45. rain
KUN	Λsmaη	tara	mī
CHT	Λsman	tara	barto
DIR	Λsma·η	tara	baṛto
SSW	Λsman	tara	mi baṛe
TSW	Λsman	tara	mi baṛe / mī
GLT	Λsmaη	tara	barto
KGH	Λsmaη / Λsmaη	tara	baɖΛl
SHZ	Λsman	taro	baɖul / baɖul
NAK	Λsman	taro	baɖΛl
CAK	asman	taro	baɖΛl
SAK	sman	taro	baɖɪl
GJW	ambΛṛ	tara	mī
IND	---	taro	bəɖ·əɭ
	46. water	47. river	48. cloud
KUN	paṇi	sin	jaṛ
CHT	paṇi	sin / naɖi	jaṛ
DIR	paṇi	sin	jaṛ
SSW	pani	naɖi	jaṛΛ
TSW	paṇi	ɖaɾiab / sin	jaṛΛ / j <sup>h</sup> aṛ
GLT	paṇi	naɖi	j <sup>h</sup> aṛ
KGH	paṇi	ɖaɾia	čaṛ
SHZ	paṇi	sin / ɖaɾia	čaṛ
NAK	paṇi	ɖaɾia	čaṛ
CAK	paṇi	ɖaɾia	baɖΛl / čaṛ
SAK	pani	ɖaɾia	baɖɪl / čaṛ
GJW	pani	naɖi	baɖΛl
IND	paṇi	ɖaɾya	čΛṛ

	49. lightning	50. rainbow	51. wind
KUN	baɾɛx	pim	ʃakɫɾ
CHT	laskoɳ	pīm	ʃakɫɾ
DIR	baɾɛx / laskɫɳ	pim	ʃakɫɾ
SSW	las'ke	pī	ʃakɫɾɾɾ
TSW	laske / laskɫɳ	pi / pim	ʃakɔɾ / ʃ <sup>h</sup> akɫɾ
GLT	laske	pim / piŋg	ʃakɫɾ
KGH	bijli	pī / pīŋ	čɫɪ
SHZ	biʒɪli	buɖi ki piŋg	čɫkɔɾ
NAK	čɫɾɫɫ ɫɳāi	ɫɫɳū	čɫŋg
CAK	bijli čɫɫɫɫi	piŋg	ɫɫwa / čɫakɾ
SAK	bijli	piŋg	ɫɫwa
GJW	---	tiɾ ɫɫɫɫɫɳ	ɫɫwa
IND	bijli	---	ɫɫwa
	52. stone	53. path	54. sand
KUN	paɾ / gɫɪ	ra	ɾɛt
CHT	gɫɪ	ra	ɾɛt <sup>h</sup>
DIR	gɫɪ	ra	ɾɛt
SSW	gɫ <sup>h</sup> i	ra	ɾɛt <sup>h</sup>
TSW	gɫɪ	ra	ɾɛt <sup>h</sup> / ɾɛt <sup>h</sup>
GLT	gɫɪ	ra	ɾɛt
KGH	paɾ / baɫa	ra	ɾɛt <sup>h</sup>
SHZ	baɫo	ra	ɾɛt <sup>h</sup>
NAK	baɫo	ra	ɾɛt <sup>h</sup>
CAK	paɫ <sup>h</sup> ɾ / giti / baɫo	ra / rasto	ɾɛt <sup>h</sup>
SAK	paɫ <sup>h</sup> ɾ	ra	---
GJW	paɫɾ	ra	ɾɛti
IND	paɫ <sup>h</sup> ɾ / gəɾi	---	ɾɛt
	55. fire	56. smoke	57. ash
KUN	ag <sup>h</sup>	dūā / d <sup>h</sup> ū	sahgo
CHT	ɫg	d <sup>h</sup> ū	sahgo
DIR	ɫg	d <sup>h</sup> ū	suago
SSW	ɫg	d <sup>h</sup> ū	sago
TSW	ɫg	d <sup>h</sup> uā / d <sup>h</sup> ū	sago
GLT	ɫg	d <sup>h</sup> ū	sago / saga
KGH	ɫg <sup>h</sup>	tūā / t <sup>h</sup> uō	čai
SHZ	ɫg / ɫg <sup>h</sup>	t <sup>h</sup> ūō	čai
NAK	ɫg <sup>h</sup>	t <sup>h</sup> ūō	swago / čai
CAK	ɫg	tūā	sɱji
SAK	ɫg	tūā	sɱji
GJW	ag	d <sup>h</sup> uma	rak <sup>h</sup>
IND	ɫg	tūo	---

	58. mud	59. dust	60. gold
KUN	həʈu	d <sup>h</sup> uʀ	rato zar
CHT	čiqaro	d <sup>h</sup> uʀ	rato zar
DIR	xəʈio	d <sup>h</sup> uʀ	rato zar
SSW	katia	d <sup>h</sup> uʀ	rato zara
TSW	katia / čikuʀo	ɖuʀ / miʈ <sup>h</sup> i	rato zara / rato zar
GLT	čakaro	d <sup>h</sup> uʀ / miʈ <sup>h</sup> i	zar
KGH	g <sup>h</sup> ara / čikuʀ	miʈ <sup>h</sup> i	soṇa
SHZ	čikar / čikoro	tuʀ / miʈ <sup>h</sup> i	sonō
NAK	garo	d <sup>h</sup> uʀ	sonō
CAK	garo	tūʀ / dudar	sono
SAK	čikar	tuʀ	sono
GJW	g <sup>h</sup> ara	maʈ <sup>h</sup> i	sonai
IND	---	---	---
	61. tree	62. leaf	63. root
KUN	ruk <sup>h</sup>	paʈar	jaʀ
CHT	ruk <sup>h</sup>	paʈar	jaʀ
DIR	ruk <sup>h</sup>	paʈar	jaʀ
SSW	ruk <sup>h</sup>	paʈar	jaʀ
TSW	ruk <sup>h</sup>	paʈar	jaʀ
GLT	ruk	paʈar	jaʀ
KGH	buʈa	pator	jaʀ
SHZ	būʈō / buʈo	paʈor / paʈar	jaʀ
NAK	būʈō	paʈar	jaʀ
CAK	buto	paʈar / pato	jaʀ
SAK	buʈa	paʈar	jaʀ
GJW	ruk <sup>h</sup>	paʈa	jaʀi
IND	buʈo / daraxt	paʈar	---
	64. thorn	65. flower	66. fruit
KUN	kanʈu	p <sup>h</sup> ul	meo
CHT	kinʈa	p <sup>h</sup> ul	mewa
DIR	kanʈo	p <sup>h</sup> ul	meo
SSW	kanʈo	p <sup>h</sup> ul	mia
TSW	kanʈo	p <sup>h</sup> uʀ	meo / mia
GLT	kanʈo / kanʈa	p <sup>h</sup> ul	mewo / mewa
KGH	qanʈo / qanʈa	p <sup>h</sup> ul	mewa / p <sup>h</sup> ar
SHZ	kanʈo	p <sup>h</sup> ul	p <sup>h</sup> al
NAK	kanʈo	p <sup>h</sup> ul	mewo
CAK	kanʈo	p <sup>h</sup> ul	p <sup>h</sup> al
SAK	kanʈo	p <sup>h</sup> ul	mewo
GJW	kanʈa	p <sup>h</sup> ul	p <sup>h</sup> al
IND	---	p <sup>h</sup> ul	mewo



	67. mango	68. banana	69. wheat (husked)
KUN	---	kele	કાળાક
CHT	am	kelā	કાળાક <sup>h</sup>
DIR	am	kelā	કાળાક
SSW	ɑ'm	kela	કાળાક <sup>h</sup>
TSW	ɑ'm / Δm	kela	કાળાક <sup>h</sup>
GLT	Δm	kela	કાળાક
KGH	Δm	kelo / keļo	qanq / qanΛq
SHZ	Δm	kelo	કાળોક <sup>h</sup>
NAK	Δmb	kelo	કાળાક
CAK	Δm	kelo	કાળાક
SAK	Δm / Δmb	kelo	કાળક
GJW	ɑ'mbi	kela	gehū
IND	Δm	kelo	કાળક
	70. millet (husked)	71. rice (husked)	72. potato
KUN	jūō	čauļ	ajū
CHT	---	čao	ajū
DIR	jūō	čauļ	ajū
SSW	baĵra	čao	alu
TSW	baĵra	čawΛġ	alu
GLT	---	čawΛġ	alu
KGH	baĵro	čaul / čauļ	alu
SHZ	baĵro	čowΔl	alu
NAK	baĵro	čawΔl	ajū
CAK	baĵro	čavΔl	alu
SAK	mΛk	čawΔl	alu
GJW	baĵΛra	čao	ajū
IND	baĵro	čawəļ	alu
	73. eggplant	74. groundnut	75. chili
KUN	baŋjiā	jan wozē	marčΛ kiu
CHT	batŋgΛġ	bum pΛli	mirči kiya
DIR	---	mum p <sup>h</sup> Λli	marči kio
SSW	beŋgΛŋ	mū p <sup>h</sup> Λli	mirč
TSW	---	mū p <sup>h</sup> Λli	mirč
GLT	---	mū p <sup>h</sup> Λli	merič
KGH	čēgΛŋ	mūŋg p <sup>h</sup> Λli / p <sup>h</sup> Λli	marč
SHZ	beŋuŋ	muŋ p <sup>h</sup> Λli	marΛč
NAK	beŋΛŋ	mū p <sup>h</sup> Λli	marč
CAK	beΛŋ / pΛt <sup>h</sup> a	muŋ p <sup>h</sup> Λli	marči
SAK	beΛŋ	mu p <sup>h</sup> Λli	marč / mirč / marči
GJW	---	mū pΛli	mirč
IND	pΛt <sup>h</sup> o	---	marč

	76. turmeric	77. garlic	78. onion
KUN	hɑrd	t <sup>h</sup> um	piɑʃ
CHT	hɑrt	t <sup>h</sup> um	piɑʃ
DIR	had	t <sup>h</sup> um	piɑʃ
SSW	hɑˈd	t <sup>h</sup> um	piɑʃ
TSW	hɑlɖ	t <sup>h</sup> um	piɑʃ
GLT	haɾɖ	t <sup>h</sup> ũm	kʌʂu
KGH	hald / lɛdul	t <sup>h</sup> um	piɑʃʌ
SHZ	hɑrdul	t <sup>h</sup> ũm / t <sup>h</sup> ũ	piɑz
NAK	ʌldi	t <sup>h</sup> um	piɑz
CAK	<sup>h</sup> ʌldi	t <sup>h</sup> um	piɑz
SAK	hʌldi	t <sup>h</sup> um	piɑz
GJW	hʌldi	lʌsʌn	ɡʌnʈʌ
IND	---	t <sup>h</sup> um	ɡʌŋɖo
	79. cauliflower	80. tomato	81. cabbage
KUN	gopi	batingʌɾ	---
CHT	gopi	batingʌɾ	gopi
DIR	gopio	ʈʌmʌʈʌɾ	gopio
SSW	p <sup>h</sup> ul gopi	ʈʌmʌʈʌɾ	bʌnd gupi
TSW	p <sup>h</sup> ul gopi	bʌdigʌn / bʌtigʌn	bʌnd gopi
GLT	p <sup>h</sup> ul gobi	bʌlugʌn	bʌnd gobi
KGH	p <sup>h</sup> ul gopi / gobi	ʈʌmʌʈʌɾ	bʌnd gobi
SHZ	p <sup>h</sup> ul gobi	ʈʌmʌʈʌɾ / ʈʌŋʊɾ	bʌnd gobi / gobi
NAK	gobi	ʈʌŋʌn	gobi
CAK	p <sup>h</sup> ul gobi	ʈʌŋʌn / ʈʌŋʌn	bʌnd gobi
SAK	---	ʈʌŋʌn	---
GJW	gobi	ʈʌmʌʈʌɾ	bʌnd gobi
IND	---	ʈʌŋʌn	gobi
	82. oil	83. salt	84. meat
KUN	tɛl	ʌn	mas
CHT	tɛl	ʌn	mas
DIR	tɛl	ʌn	mas
SSW	tɛl	ʌn	mɑˈs
TSW	tɛl	ʌn	mɑˈs / mas
GLT	tɛl	ʌn	mas
KGH	tɛl	ʌn	mas
SHZ	tɛl	ʌn	mɑˈs / mas
NAK	tɛl	ʌn	mɑˈs
CAK	tɛl	ʌn	mɑˈs
SAK	tɛl	ʌn	mɑˈs
GJW	tɛl	nũn	mas
IND	tɛl	ʌn	---

	85. fat	86. fish	87. chicken
KUN	mīnj	mΛčī	kukorī
CHT	mīnj	mΛčī	kukorī
DIR	mīnj	mΛčī	qoqorī
SSW	minj	mΛč <sup>h</sup> i	kokor / qoqor
TSW	minj	mΛč <sup>h</sup> i	kukri
GLT	mīj	mΛčī	kukri
KGH	minj	mΛčī	kukri
SHZ	čΛrbi / mīnj	mΛčī	kukri
NAK	čΛrbi	mΛčī	kukri
CAK	čerbi	mΛč <sup>h</sup> i	kukri
SAK	čerbi / červi	mΛčī	kukri
GJW	čΛkanai	mΛč <sup>h</sup> i	murgi
IND	---	mΛč <sup>h</sup> i	kukri
	88. egg	89. cow	90. buffalo
KUN	anṭΛlo	gā	m <sup>h</sup> es
CHT	anṭΛla	gā	mes
DIR	anṭlo	gā	m <sup>h</sup> es
SSW	ΛnṭΛla	gā	mes
TSW	ΛnṭΛla / aṭṇo	gā	mes / m <sup>h</sup> es
GLT	anṭlā / anṭΛro	gā	m <sup>h</sup> es
KGH	anṭΛḍo	gā	mes
SHZ	Λṭro / anḍΛro	gā	mē's
NAK	Λnṭro	gā	mē's
CAK	Λnṭo / Λnḍo / Λnṭro	gā	mē's
SAK	Λṇṭo	gā	mē's / maṇj
GJW	Λṇḍai	gā	mes
IND	āṭro	gā	mes / mas
	91. milk	92. horns	93. tail
KUN	dud	siṅg	lΛqai
CHT	dut <sup>h</sup>	siṅg	pučΛṛi
DIR	dud	siṅg	pučīṛi
SSW	ḍud <sup>h</sup>	seṅg	pušīṛi
TSW	dut <sup>h</sup> / dud	seṅg / siṅg	pušīṛi / lΛqai
GLT	dud	siṅg	pučor / pučΛṛi
KGH	dud	siṅ / seṅg	ḍumΛṛ
SHZ	d <sup>h</sup> ud <sup>h</sup>	siṅk <sup>h</sup>	p <sup>h</sup> učΛl
NAK	dud <sup>h</sup>	siṅg	ḍumΛṛ
CAK	dud	siṅg	čufΛṛ / pučΛṛ
SAK	dud	siṅg	čuhΛṛ
GJW	ḍuḍ <sup>h</sup>	siṅg	pač
IND	dud	sīg	---

	94. goat	95. dog	96. snake
KUN	baʁi	kuto	saʁ
CHT	baʁi	kuto	saʁ
DIR	baʁi	kuto	saʁ <sup>h</sup>
SSW	baʁi	koṭ'a	saʁ <sup>h</sup>
TSW	baʁi	koto	saʁ <sup>h</sup>
GLT	baʁi	kuto	saʁ <sup>h</sup>
KGH	baʁi	kuto	saʁ <sup>h</sup>
SHZ	baʁi	kut'o / kuto	saʁ <sup>h</sup>
NAK	baʁi	kut'o	saʁ <sup>h</sup>
CAK	baʁi	kuto	saʁ
SAK	baʁi	kuto	saʁ
GJW	baʁi	kutʌ	sāʁ <sup>h</sup>
IND	baʁi	kuṭ'o	saʁ
	97. monkey	98. mosquito	99. ant
KUN	b <sup>h</sup> ujuno	mačʌʁ	piʁo
CHT	bujuno	mačʌʁ	pi
DIR	b <sup>h</sup> ujuno	mačʌʁ	pe
SSW	būjno	mač'ʌʁ	pi
TSW	buijno / bujno	mačʌʁ	pī / peʁa
GLT	bujanō	mačʌʁ	piʁi
KGH	bujno	mačor / mačʌʁ	piʁi / piʁa
SHZ	bijno / b <sup>h</sup> andor	mač'ʌʁ / mačʌʁ	p <sup>h</sup> elo / p <sup>h</sup> eli
NAK	bujano	mačʌʁ	pili
CAK	bandar / bujo	mačʌʁ	pili / kiʁi
SAK	bujo	mačʌʁ	pili
GJW	bandar	mačʌʁ	qiri
IND	---	---	---
	100. spider	101. name	102. man
KUN	jola	nā	jʌno
CHT	jola	na / nā	jʌno / admi
DIR	jʌla / jola	nā	jʌno
SSW	jola	na	jʌno / admi
TSW	jola	na	jʌna / admi
GLT	jula	nā	jʌno / admi
KGH	bʌbiʌ / bʌb <sup>h</sup> uʌ	na / nā	admi
SHZ	bʌboa / maʁi	na	jʌno / b <sup>h</sup> ando
NAK	bʌbuo	nā	jʌnō / admi
CAK	bʌbuo	nā	bʌndo / admi
SAK	bʌbua	na	bʌndo
GJW	maʁi	nā	maṇos
IND	---	---	admi

	103. woman	104. child	105. father
KUN	trem	ǰatak	bap
CHT	trem	ǰatak	bap <sup>h</sup>
DIR	trem	ǰakʌt / ǰatak	bap <sup>h</sup>
SSW	diani	ǰakʌt	bap
TSW	diari	---	bap
GLT	trem	ǰatek	bap
KGH	diari / buḍi / bedki	ǰatak <sup>h</sup> / bačʰo	bap <sup>h</sup>
SHZ	trimot <sup>h</sup>	ǰakut <sup>h</sup> / ǰatuk	bap <sup>h</sup>
NAK	beṭki	ǰatak	bap
CAK	kuṛi / beṭki	bačʰo	bap / pio
SAK	kuṛi	bačʰo	bap
GJW	biṛ	ǰatak	bap
IND	kuri	ǰatak / bačʰo	babo
	106. mother	107. older brother	108. younger brother
KUN	mā	baḷʱo b <sup>h</sup> ai	naṇdo b <sup>h</sup> ai
CHT	ma	baḷʱo b <sup>h</sup> ai	niko b <sup>h</sup> ai
DIR	mā	baḷʱo b <sup>h</sup> ai	naṇdo b <sup>h</sup> ai
SSW	ma	baḷʱo b <sup>h</sup> ai	naṇḍo b <sup>h</sup> ai
TSW	ma	baḷʱo b <sup>h</sup> ai	naṇḍo b <sup>h</sup> ai
GLT	mā	baḷʱo b <sup>h</sup> ai	ṇaṇḍʌ / niko b <sup>h</sup> ai
KGH	mā / ʌma	baḷʱo b <sup>h</sup> ai	niko b <sup>h</sup> ai
SHZ	ma	baḷʱo p <sup>h</sup> ira	niko p <sup>h</sup> ira
NAK	ʌma	baḷʱo p <sup>h</sup> ai	niko p <sup>h</sup> ai
CAK	mā / ʌma	baḷʱo b <sup>h</sup> ai / lala	b <sup>h</sup> ai / niko pira
SAK	ʌma	lala	pira / niko p <sup>h</sup> ai
GJW	ma	b <sup>h</sup> ai	b <sup>h</sup> ai
IND	mā	pai	pai
	109. older sister	110. younger sister	111. son
KUN	baṛi bin	naṇdi bin	put <sup>h</sup>
CHT	baṛi bin	niki bin	put <sup>h</sup>
DIR	baṛi biṇ	naṇdi biṇ	put
SSW	baṛi bin	naṇḍi biṇ	put / luṛo
TSW	baṛi biṇ	naṇḍi bin	put <sup>h</sup>
GLT	baṛi bin	ṇaṇḍi b <sup>h</sup> e'n / niki bin	put / luro
KGH	baṛi biṇ	niki biṇ	luṛo
SHZ	baṛi peṇ	niki peṇ	put'or
NAK	baṛi biṇ / dīdi	niki biṇ	bačʰo
CAK	baṛi ben	ben / niki pe'n	bačʰo / putar
SAK	boi / bevi	pein	bačʰo / putar
GJW	baḷharṇ	biṇ	pu't <sup>h</sup>
IND	id'i	beṇ	put

	112. daughter	113. husband	114. wife
KUN	d <sup>h</sup> i	xASAM	trem
CHT	d <sup>h</sup> i	ʃAŋo	trem
DIR	d <sup>h</sup> i	xASAM	trem
SSW	d <sup>h</sup> i / beɖki	xASIM / ʃAŋo	d <sup>h</sup> iani / bibi
TSW	d <sup>h</sup> i	xASIM	trim / d <sup>h</sup> iaŋi
GLT	di / beɖki	hASAM / ʃAŋo	trem
KGH	beɖki	ʃano / ʃAŋa	trimat <sup>h</sup> / zAnani
SHZ	ti	ʃano	trimot <sup>h</sup>
NAK	ti	karalo	karali
CAK	ti	xaband / kASAM	tAbri
SAK	kuɾi	xASAM / kASAM	bivi
GJW	d <sup>h</sup> i	malak <sup>h</sup>	bAhu
IND	ti / kuɾi	---	ʃAbri
	115. boy	116. girl	117. day
KUN	ʃuɾo	beɖki	diaɾi
CHT	ʃuɾo	beɖki	diaɾi / dī
DIR	ʃuɾo	beɖki	d <sup>h</sup> iaɾi
SSW	ʃuɾo	beɖki	di
TSW	ʃuɾo	beɖki	di
GLT	ʃuɾo	beɖki	diaɾi / dī
KGH	ʃuɾo / ʃatak	beɖki	tiaɾi / diaɾi
SHZ	nanɖo	kuɖi	tero / deɾo
NAK	gaɖro / niko	gaɖri	tiaɾo
CAK	gero/mundo / gedro	kuɾi / gedri	din / tearo
SAK	gero / mundo	kuɾi	teaɾo
GJW	ʃonɖa	ʃonɖi	din
IND	gero	geri / kuɾi	tere
	118. night	119. morning	120. noon
KUN	rat	nuabro	dupaɾ
CHT	rat <sup>h</sup>	nabo	dopaɾ
DIR	rat	nuabo / nabo	dupaɾ
SSW	rat <sup>h</sup>	nuabe	dop <sup>h</sup> ar
TSW	rat <sup>h</sup>	nuabo / nabo	dop <sup>h</sup> ar
GLT	rat	medre	dup <sup>h</sup> er / dopar
KGH	ʌrat <sup>h</sup>	suba	doper
SHZ	rat <sup>h</sup>	fAzor	dopar
NAK	rat <sup>h</sup>	subo	dopar
CAK	rat <sup>h</sup>	niki lo / swere	daɾper
SAK	rat	lo	kAlyarā wele
GJW	rat <sup>h</sup>	ʃaɾʌqa	daɾeɾa
IND	rat	səbeɾe	---

	121. evening	122. yesterday	123. today
KUN	nūasa	kAl	Λĵ
CHT	nasā	kAl	Λĵ
DIR	nuasa / nāso	kAl	aĵ
SSW	nāsā	kAl	Λĵ
TSW	numaša	kAl	Λĵ
GLT	numāša	kAl	Λĵ
KGH	numaša	kAl	aĵ
SHZ	numašā	kAl	Λĵ
NAK	numāša	kAl	Λĵ
CAK	šam	kAl	aĵ / Λĵ
SAK	nero	kAl	aĵ
GJW	sanĵ	kAl	aĵ
IND	namasyā	kAl	Λĵ
	124. tomorrow	125. week	126. month
KUN	kuḍi	saṭ di	čAn
CHT	kAl / baṭk	haṭa / saṭ di	čAn
DIR	dina	haṭto	čAn
SSW	dina	haṭto	maina / čAn
TSW	dina	haṭto	čAn
GLT	dina	haṭa / saṭ di	čAn
KGH	dina / kAl	haṭto	minō
SHZ	dina	haṭto / aṭ <sup>h</sup> tera	māino
NAK	dina	Λṭ <sup>h</sup> tiaṛa	minō
CAK	kAl / paḷke	haṭto	ma'no
SAK	paḷke	haṭto	minō
GJW	kAl	haṭta	min'Λ
IND	paḷke	---	māina
	127. year	128. old	129. new
KUN	samō	puṛaṇō	nō
CHT	samō	puṛaṇō	nō
DIR	samō	puṛaṇō	nō
SSW	samō	puṛano	nuī
TSW	samō / samo	puṛano	nuī / nō
GLT	samō	puṛano	nōi
KGH	sal	puṛano	nō / nōwō / nāwī
SHZ	sal	puṛano	nāwī
NAK	sal	puṛanō	nō / nāwō
CAK	sal	paṛano	n'o / nāvē
SAK	sal	paṛano	nāwō
GJW	baṛas	puṛaṇa	nāwā
IND	sal	---	---

	130. good	131. bad	132. wet
KUN	čΛηgo	xΛrab	biʃ gio
CHT	čΛηgo	xΛrab	biʃio
DIR	čΛηgo / Λč'o	mando / xΛrab	b <sup>h</sup> iʃio
SSW	Λč <sup>h</sup> o	mando / xΛrab	biʃio
TSW	Λč <sup>h</sup> o / hΛčo	manɖi	biʃio / b <sup>h</sup> iʃ gio
GLT	Λčo	mando	biʃu
KGH	Λčo	mando / xΛrab	peʃ gio / gilo
SHZ	čΛngo / Λčo	xΛrab / bΛndo / maʔo	bΛgio / sino
NAK	Λčo / čεηgo	mando	gili / siʃ'o
CAK	čΛηgo / Λčo	mando / peʔo / maro	gilo / siʃo / piʃo
SAK	čΛηgo	mando / peʔo	siʃ
GJW	ΛčΛ	b <sup>h</sup> undΛ	bigΛ
IND	čΛηgo	buro / peʔo	---
	133. dry	134. long	135. short
KUN	sukgio	uč'o	čoto
CHT	suko	uč'o	mandaro
DIR	suko	učo / lΛm'ō	čoʔo / mandaro
SSW	suk <sup>h</sup> i	lΛmō	čotoi
TSW	suk <sup>h</sup> i	lΛmō / lΛmbo	čita / lΛɖo
GLT	suki	lΛmō	čoto / nΛɖo / niko
KGH	suk'o	lΛmō / lΛmi	čoti
SHZ	suko	lΛmō	čoto
NAK	suko	lΛmō	čoto / čuʔo
CAK	suko	lΛmo / lΛmbo	čoto / niko
SAK	suk	lΛmbo	čoto / niko
GJW	suq'a	lΛmbΛ	čota
IND	suk'a	lΛm'o	mandra
	136. hot	137. cold	138. right
KUN	tΛto	t <sup>h</sup> Λɖo	sΛʃi
CHT	tΛto / gaɾΛm	t <sup>h</sup> Λɖo	sΛʃo
DIR	tΛto	t <sup>h</sup> Λɖo	sΛʃo
SSW	tΛto / gaɾΛm	t <sup>h</sup> Λɖo	soʃi
TSW	taɸai / tΛto	t <sup>h</sup> Λɖo	soʃi / soʃo
GLT	tΛto / gaɾΛm	t <sup>h</sup> Λɖo	sΛʃo
KGH	gaɾΛm	t <sup>h</sup> Λɖo	sΛʃo
SHZ	tΛto	t <sup>h</sup> Λɖo	sΛʃo
NAK	taɸeo / gaɾΛm	t <sup>h</sup> Λɖ <sup>h</sup>	sΛʃo
CAK	koso / tΛto	taɸɖo	sΛʃo
SAK	tΛto / gaɾm	t <sup>h</sup> Λɖo	sΛʃe / sΛʃo
GJW	t <sup>h</sup> Λta	t <sup>h</sup> Λɖa	sΛʃa
IND	tΛto / gaɾmi	t <sup>h</sup> Λɖo	sΛʃ'o / sΛʃ'i



	139. left	140. near	141. far
KUN	kΛbi	nɪɖe	dur
CHT	kΛbo	nɪɖe	dur
DIR	kΛbo	ɳeɖe	ɖur
SSW	kΛbo	nɪɖe	ɖur
TSW	kΛbo	nɪɖe	ɖur
GLT	kΛbo	nɪɖe	ɖur
KGH	kΛbo	nɪɖe	dur
SHZ	kΛbo	nɪɖe / neɖe	ɖur
NAK	kΛbo	nɪɖe	ɖur
CAK	kΛbo	nɪɖe	dur
SAK	kΛbΛ / kΛbo	nɪɖe	dur
GJW	kΛbΛ	nɪɖe	ɖur
IND	k <sup>h</sup> Λbɪ	---	---
	142. big	143. small	144. heavy
KUN	bΛɖo	nΛndo	b <sup>h</sup> aro
CHT	bΛɖo	nɪko	b <sup>h</sup> aro
DIR	bΛɖo	nɪko / nΛɳɖo	b <sup>h</sup> aro
SSW	bΛɖo	nΛɳɖo	b <sup>h</sup> ari
TSW	bΛɖo	nɪko / nΛɳɖo	b <sup>h</sup> ari / b <sup>h</sup> aro
GLT	bΛɖo	nɪki / nΛɳɖo	b <sup>h</sup> aro
KGH	bΛɖo	nɪko / ɕota	bari
SHZ	bΛɖo	nɪko / ɕoto	pari / b <sup>h</sup> aro
NAK	bΛɖo	nɪko / ɕoto	paro
CAK	bΛɖo	nɪko / ɕoto	pari / paro
SAK	bΛɖo	nɪko	paro
GJW	bΛɖa	ɕota	b <sup>h</sup> ari
IND	bΛɖo	nɪk'o	paro
	145. light	146. above	147. below
KUN	hoɖo	opar	taɖe
CHT	hoɖo	Λpar	het <sup>h</sup> / taɳΛ / taɖe
DIR	hoɖo / ho'	opar	het <sup>h</sup>
SSW	ho'i	opar	taɳΛ
TSW	horo / huɖo	uɕat / opar	hiɖ <sup>h</sup> / het <sup>h</sup>
GLT	hΛɖo	uɕo	taɳΛ
KGH	hoɖi / loki	Λpar / upar	taɖe
SHZ	loko / loki	upar / ute	taɖe
NAK	loko	Λpar	taɳΛ / bon
CAK	olo	upar / uɕo	taɳΛ / bu'n / ẽt <sup>h</sup>
SAK	olo	upar / uple	taɳΛ
GJW	hΛɳua	up'Λɖ	taɳΛ
IND	lo	ufrā	het <sup>h</sup> / bun

	148. white	149. black	150. red
KUN	čito	kao	raŋto
CHT	čito	kal / kao / kaŋo	raŋto
DIR	čito	kaŋo	raŋto
SSW	čito	kao	raŋto
TSW	čito	kao / qaŋo	raŋto
GLT	čito	kaŋo	raŋto
KGH	čito	qao / qaŋo	raŋto
SHZ	čito	kalo	raŋto
NAK	čito / čito	kalo	raŋto
CAK	čito	kalo	lal / raŋto
SAK	čito	kalo	suo
GJW	q̣həŋa	kala	lal
IND	čito	---	raŋto

	151. one	152. two	153. three
KUN	ek	du	tre
CHT	ek	do	tre
DIR	ek <sup>h</sup>	do	tre
SSW	ek	do	tre
TSW	ek	du	tre
GLT	ek	do	tre
KGH	ek	do	tre
SHZ	ek	do	tre
NAK	ek	do	tre
CAK	ek	do	tre
SAK	ek	do	tre
GJW	ek <sup>h</sup>	do	tin
IND	ek	do	tre

	154. four	155. five	156. six
KUN	čar	paŋj	če
CHT	čar	paŋj	če
DIR	čar	paŋj	če
SSW	čar	paŋj	č <sup>h</sup> e
TSW	čar	paŋj	č <sup>h</sup> e
GLT	čar	paŋj	če
KGH	čar	paŋj	č <sup>h</sup> e
SHZ	čar	paŋž	če
NAK	čar	paŋj	če
CAK	čar	paŋj	če
SAK	čar	paŋj	če
GJW	čar	pāč	če
IND	čar	paŋj	č <sup>h</sup> e

	157. seven	158. eight	159. nine
KUN	sAt	Λt̪ <sup>h</sup>	nō
CHT	sAt	Λt̪ <sup>h</sup>	nō
DIR	sAt <sup>h</sup>	Λt̪ <sup>h</sup>	nō
SSW	sAt <sup>h</sup>	at̪ <sup>h</sup>	nō
TSW	sAt <sup>h</sup>	Λt̪ <sup>h</sup>	nō
GLT	sAt	Λt̪ <sup>h</sup>	nō
KGH	sAt <sup>h</sup>	Λt̪ <sup>h</sup>	nō
SHZ	sAt <sup>h</sup>	Λt̪ <sup>h</sup>	nō
NAK	sAt <sup>h</sup>	Λt̪ <sup>h</sup>	nō
CAK	sAt <sup>h</sup>	Λt̪ <sup>h</sup>	no / nΛō
SAK	sAt <sup>h</sup>	Λt̪ <sup>h</sup>	nΛō
GJW	sat	at̪ <sup>h</sup>	no
IND	sAt	Λt̪ <sup>h</sup>	nΛō / nō
	160. ten	161. eleven	162. twelve
KUN	dΛ	yara	bara
CHT	dΛ	yara	bara
DIR	dΛ	yara	bara
SSW	dΛ	yara	bara
TSW	da	yara	bara
GLT	dΛ	yara	bara
KGH	dΛs	yara	bar̃
SHZ	dΛ	yara	bara / bar̃
NAK	dΛs	yara	bara
CAK	dΛs	yarā	barā
SAK	dΛs	yara	bara
GJW	dΛs	giara	bara
IND	dΛs	yarā	barā
	163. twenty	164. one hundred	165. who
KUN	bi	so	koṇ
CHT	bi	so	koṇ
DIR	bi	so	qoṇ
SSW	bi	so	qoṇ
TSW	bɪ	so	qoṇ
GLT	bi	so	koṇ / kiṇo
KGH	bi	so	qoṇ
SHZ	bi	so	koṇ
NAK	bi	so	koṇ / kiṇo
CAK	bi	so	kon / kiṇo
SAK	bi	so	kun
GJW	bis	ek saṇkara	kon
IND	bi	sō	kuṇ

	166. what	167. where	168. when
KUN	ke	kɪɖi	kʌɖ
CHT	ke	kɪt	kʌɖ
DIR	ke	kɪte	kʌɖ
SSW	ke	kɪt	kʌɖ
TSW	keɑ	kɪt	kʌɖ
GLT	ke	kɪt	kʌɖ
KGH	ke	kɪt / kɪŋga	kʌɖ
SHZ	ke	kɪt <sup>h</sup> / kɪndʌr	kʌde / kʌdō
NAK	ke	kɪt <sup>h</sup> / kɪŋa	kʌɖ
CAK	ke	kɪŋa / kɪt	kʌɖ
SAK	ke	kʌɾe	kʌɖu
GJW	ke	kɪŋge	kʌɖ <sup>h</sup>
IND	ke	kɪt	kʌɖ / kʌde

	169. how many	170. what thing	171. this
KUN	kɪtnai	ke še	yu
CHT	kɪtnō	ke še	yo
DIR	kɪtnʌ	ke še	yo
SSW	kɪtni	ke še	we / yo
TSW	kɪtni / kɪtne	ke še	we / yo
GLT	kɪtnʌ	ke še	yo
KGH	kɪtnʌ	ke še	ye / yʌ
SHZ	kɪtnō / kɪtna	ke še	yo
NAK	kɪtnʌ	ke čiz	ya
CAK	kɪtʌnʌ / kɪtʌno	ke čiz	ya
SAK	kɪtnʌ	ke še / ke čiz	yo / ya
GJW	kɪtne	ke čiz	ya
IND	kɪtno	---	ya / yo

	172. that	173. these	174. those
KUN	wo	yu	wo
CHT	wo	ye	wē
DIR	wo	yo	wo
SSW	yo	ye	yo
TSW	yo	ye / e	yo
GLT	wu	ye	wu / wi
KGH	o	ye	wo / we
SHZ	o	yo	o
NAK	wa / o	ye	we / o
CAK	wa	yo / ye	wo / we
SAK	wo	ya / yo	wo
GJW	vo	yē	wē
IND	wa / wo	ye	we

	175. same	176. different	177. whole
KUN	ek rʌŋg / ek še	jin jin	puro
CHT	ek rʌŋg / ek šan	mosara / juda juda	puro
DIR	ek rʌŋg / ek šan	jin jinʌ	puro
SSW	barabar	jin jinʌ	roʃ
TSW	barabar	jin jine	saro / rog
GLT	barabar / ek še / ek šan	alag alag	puro
KGH	barabar	maxtalif	saro
SHZ	barabar	bakare bakare	puri / salim / sabat
NAK	ek <sup>h</sup> jio	moxtalif / kani kani	puro
CAK	ek jeso	alag alag / kani kani	saro / puro / sabat
SAK	ek žeso	---	salim / puro
GJW	barobar	ḍaḷ ḍaḷ	pura
IND	---	---	saro
	178. broken	179. few	180. many
KUN	p <sup>h</sup> ut	t <sup>h</sup> oʃo	muč
CHT	fut / put	t <sup>h</sup> oʃo	muč
DIR	put / p <sup>h</sup> ut	t <sup>h</sup> oʃo	muč
SSW	puṭ <sup>h</sup>	t <sup>h</sup> oʃo	muč
TSW	puṭ / tuṭ	t <sup>h</sup> oʃo	muč
GLT	puṭ	t <sup>h</sup> oʃo	muč
KGH	poṭ	t <sup>h</sup> oʃo	muč
SHZ	paḷe	t <sup>h</sup> oʃo	saro
NAK	paḷeo	t <sup>h</sup> oʃo	muč
CAK	tuṭo / paḷjo	toʃo	muč
SAK	tuṭ / paḷj	toʃo	maṭo
GJW	puṭ	t <sup>h</sup> oʃʌ	ḍ <sup>h</sup> eṭ
IND	---	---	muč

	181. all	182. (you) eat!	183. (the dog) bit
KUN	hΛbe	k <sup>h</sup> a	ka
CHT	saro / sara	k <sup>h</sup> a	ka li / kΛdo
DIR	saro / hΛbai	k <sup>h</sup> a	k <sup>h</sup> a
SSW	saro / hΛbi	k <sup>h</sup> a	k <sup>h</sup> ai
TSW	saro / hΛba	k <sup>h</sup> a	k <sup>h</sup> a lio
GLT	saro	k <sup>h</sup> a	k <sup>h</sup> a li / k <sup>h</sup> Λp / kΛdi
KGH	sara	k <sup>h</sup> a	k <sup>h</sup> a lio / laɽ
SHZ	saro	k <sup>h</sup> ao	lΛɽe
NAK	sara	k <sup>h</sup> ao	k <sup>h</sup> ado
CAK	sara	k <sup>h</sup> ao	kado / lΛɽeo
SAK	sara	k <sup>h</sup> ao	kΛt̪io
GJW	sΛb	qaɽa	qaɽɽa
IND	saro	k <sup>h</sup> a	kΛp
	184. (you are) hungry	185. (you) drink!	186. (you are) thirsty
KUN	b <sup>h</sup> uk <sup>h</sup>	pi	tes
CHT	buk <sup>h</sup>	p̪io / pi	tes
DIR	buk <sup>h</sup>	pi	tis
SSW	b <sup>h</sup> uk <sup>h</sup>	pi	tes
TSW	b <sup>h</sup> uk <sup>h</sup>	pi	tes / tis
GLT	b <sup>h</sup> uk <sup>h</sup>	pi	t <sup>h</sup> es
KGH	p <sup>h</sup> uk <sup>h</sup>	pi	tes
SHZ	puk <sup>h</sup>	pi	tre
NAK	p <sup>h</sup> ok <sup>h</sup>	p̪io	tes / treao
CAK	p <sup>h</sup> uk <sup>h</sup>	p̪io	t <sup>ʔ</sup> is / tre
SAK	p <sup>h</sup> uk <sup>h</sup>	piũ / p̪io	tre
GJW	---	pina	tΛs
IND	---	pi	---
	187. (you) sleep!	188. (you) lay down!	189. (you) sit!
KUN	soɽo	pere	bəs
CHT	soɽo / so	p̪ero	bəs
DIR	so	p̪ero	bəs
SSW	so	p̪ero	bəs
TSW	so / sorio	p̪erio	bəs
GLT	so	lΛmo	bəs
KGH	soro	lΛmo	bəs
SHZ	so	lΛmo / p̪ere	bɛɽ
NAK	so	lΛmo	bəs
CAK	sonõ	lΛmõ / p̪ẽɽõ	bɛɽo / b̪eso
SAK	so	lΛmbo / p̪eja	bɛɽ / b̪eso
GJW	sonΛ	pΛɽɽa	bɛɽ
IND	so	---	bəs

	190. (you) give!	191. (you) burn (wood)!	192. (the man) died
KUN	de	saɾ	maɾ
CHT	di / de	saɾ	maɾ
DIR	de	saɾ	maɾ
SSW	de	saɾ	maɾ
TSW	de	saɾ	maɾ
GLT	de	saɾ	maɾ
KGH	de	sar / baɭo	maɾ
SHZ	deʃor	b <sup>h</sup> al	maɾ
NAK	de	saɾo	maɾ
CAK	dečoɾ / deo	saɾno	maɾno
SAK	dečoɾ / deʃor	saɾ	maɾ
GJW	dɪna	pūk <sup>h</sup> ana	maɾna
IND	de	saɾ	maɾ

	193. kill (bird)!	194. (bird) flys	195. (you) walk!
KUN	mar	uɾɖ	ɾawən
CHT	mario	uɾɖ / uɾɖi	čal
DIR	mar	uɾɖ	čal
SSW	mar	uɾde	ɬore
TSW	mar	uɾde / uɾɖ	ɬor ɾe
GLT	mar	uɾɖ	ɬor
KGH	mario / mar	uɾɖ	čale / tor
SHZ	mar	uɖ	čal
NAK	mar	uɾ / uɖe	čalo
CAK	mar / mario	uɖɪno	čalno / tuɾno
SAK	mar	udɾna	čal
GJW	marna	uɾna	čalna
IND	mar	uɖ / ʌɖ	čal

	196. (you) run!	197. (you) go!	198. (you) come!
KUN	maɳde ɾʌ čal	čal	aʃa
CHT	b <sup>h</sup> aʃ	čal	aʃa
DIR	maɳde / b <sup>h</sup> aʃ	čal	aʃa
SSW	b <sup>h</sup> ʌʃ	čal	aʃʌ / a
TSW	b <sup>h</sup> ʌʃ / b <sup>h</sup> aʃ	čal	aʃʌ / a
GLT	b <sup>h</sup> ʌʃ	čal	a
KGH	doɾ	čal	a
SHZ	ɖoɾ	čal	a
NAK	ɖoro / doɾo	ʃao / čelo	ao
CAK	doɾno	ʃano / ʃa	a
SAK	doɾo	ʃaũ	a
GJW	b <sup>h</sup> aɳna	ʃana	ana
IND	peʃ / doɾ / nəʃ	ʃa	a

	199. (you) speak!	200. (you) listen!	201. (you) look!
KUN	ko	suṇ	dɛk <sup>h</sup>
CHT	ko / gɐl ko	suṇ	dɛk <sup>h</sup>
DIR	ko / boɭ	soṇ	dɛk <sup>h</sup>
SSW	boɭ / ko	sōṇ	d <sup>h</sup> ɛk <sup>h</sup>
TSW	bol / boɭ	sōṇ / soṇ	d <sup>h</sup> ɛk <sup>h</sup>
GLT	ko	son / sūṇ	dɛk <sup>h</sup>
KGH	boɭ	suṇ	her
SHZ	bol	suṇ	dɛk <sup>h</sup>
NAK	boɭo / ko	suṇō	dɛk <sup>h</sup> o
CAK	bolo / bol / gɐl ka	sunō	dɛk <sup>h</sup>
SAK	bolo	suno	tɛko
GJW	bolnɐ	sun'ɐ	d <sup>h</sup> ɛk <sup>h</sup>
IND	bol / gɐl	----	dɛk <sup>h</sup> / tɬk
	202. I	203. you (informal)	204. you (formal)
KUN	hũ	tũ	tɐm
CHT	hũ	tũ	tɐm / to
DIR	hũ	t <sup>h</sup> u	tɐm
SSW	mẽ / ã	tu	tɐm
TSW	mẽ	tu	tu
GLT	hũ	tu / tũ	to
KGH	mãĩ	tu	tɐm
SHZ	hũ	tũ	tɐm
NAK	ũ	tɐm / tũ	tɐm
CAK	ũ	tu	tɐm
SAK	hũ	tu / tɐm	tɐm
GJW	mãĩ	tɐm	tɐm
IND	hũ / mẽ	tũ	---
	205. he	206. she	207. we (inclusive)
KUN	wo	wɐ	hɐm
CHT	wo	wo	hɐm
DIR	yo	wɐ	hɐm
SSW	wo	wɐ	hɐm
TSW	wo / o	wɐ / wo	hɐm
GLT	wu	wo	hɐm
KGH	o	wɐ	hɐm
SHZ	o	o	ɐm
NAK	o	wɐ	hɐm
CAK	wo	wɐ	hɐm
SAK	wo	wo	hɐw
GJW	wo	wɐ	hɐm
IND	wo	wɐ	---



	208. we (exclusive)	209. you (plural)	210. they
KUN	hΔm	tΔm	wi
CHT	hΔm	tΔm	we
DIR	hΔm	tΔm	we
SSW	hΔm	tΔm	we
TSW	hΔm	tΔm	we / wo
GLT	hΔm	tΔm	wi
KGH	hΔm	tΔm	we
SHZ	Δm	tΔm	we
NAK	hΔm	tΔm	we / o
CAK	hΔm	t <sup>y</sup> Δm	we
SAK	hΔm	tΔm	wo
GJW	hΔm	tΔm	wē
IND	---	tΔm	we

## Appendix C.2

### Gujari Texts

#### C.2.1 Chitral Gujari, (Ashriki)

##### *Ashriki Story*

1. hon čot pe aya to miri ye xavahiš ti ke hon bando ko  
we holiday on came then my this wish was that we banda to  
We came on a holiday and I wanted us to go to a banda for
2. sel karonj me ini nal ek sanggi lekar hunra to gaio gore nu  
visit do I me with one friend took there to went Gore to  
a visit. I took a friend with me and
3. [Question-1] gore nu yane ek b<sup>h</sup>ai ke dera do rat kai  
\* Gore to we one brother of house two nights spent  
went to Gore. [Question-1] We stayed at a brother's house in Gore for two
4. us-ne mač entezamat mare waste kiyo to mač hamare iza  
he many arrangements us for did ? very our respect  
nights. He made many arrangements for us and showed us very much respect.
5. us-ne kaie naba us gore kona mari ra dasyo mare nañ ek  
he did morning that Gore from to-us way showed us with one  
In the morning he showed us the way from Gore. We also took another friend
6. sanggi us-ne bi kayo [Question-2] ham giyo kačor ka band<sup>h</sup>a ta  
friend he also did \* we went Kachur of banda was  
with us. [Question-2] We went to Kachor banda.
7. no ut ham-ne jakar rat kaie no jeje hamari waste kokri  
then there we went night spent then man us for hen  
We spent the night with a man who cooked a chicken for us
8. en-te awr bandobast mač kio [Question-3] wo rat hoke magari  
and and arrangements many did \* that night spent but  
and made arrangements. [Question-3] We spent the night but we experienced
9. rat nia zarye hame taklifat huče rat ham zamin p<sup>h</sup>a sota  
night to some to-us discomfort did night we ground on slept  
discomfort because we slept on the ground as there

10. maṇja šaṇja naḥi ta [Question-4] naba uṭʰa-ke ni haṃ ayenda  
bed etc. not was \* morning awaking then we again  
were no beds. [Question-4] We got up in the morning and went
11. zaṇyada ek baṇḍa te-yaṇ wo-de čaṇgi ṭʰa maḡar raʰ ma  
another one banda towards there good was but way in  
to another banda. It was good there but our path was still ahead.
12. mayaṇ marg age do šam te wo šam haṃ to uṭ gai  
additional our ahead two sham were that sham we to fly went  
Two shams were there. The sham flew away.
13. maḡar haṃ-ne mač košāš ke marṅgi maḡar uo haṃ te parwaz  
but we much tried to kill but that we from fly  
We tried very hard to kill it, but it
14. kaṛ gai [Question-5] to haṃ kačur ka baṇḍa me jake rat  
do went \* then we Kachur of banda in went night  
flew away. [Question-5] Then we went to Kachur banda and spent the night.
15. karke nabe kuč haṃ ya haṃare naṇ ek saṇgi awar to haṃ  
spent morning some we ? us with one friend and then we  
In the morning we went with one friend and we went up to a banda. There was
16. aḡla baṇḍa maṇʰ gio ut čeri pai ṭʰi [Question-6] no  
up banda into went there glacier lying was \* then  
a glacier there and [Question-6] we went very slowly.
17. we-we-we-we haṃ-ne jake gaie mē jake če kai če pike wat  
very-slowly we went peak to went tea prepared tea took then  
We prepared and drank tea and then we rested.
18. daṃa ti kaṛ haṃ-ne gaie mē čaṛya no gaie ma zaḡardast  
rest ? did we top in climbed but mountain in beautiful  
We then went and climbed up to the top. It was very beautiful
19. aga ko čaṇko ma diṣ ko diṣ in us-ke ṭʰa re saṃačye  
ahead to good in area ? area in that place is Samachai  
and nice in that area. That place is
20. [Question-7] jaṛo maṇḍani alaḱo nu us ma we-we-we-we kʰe te  
\* then plain area to that in very-slowly ? was  
called Samachai. [Question-7] Then we went to a plain area and
21. ut giya pesi ye pesi ki naṇ maṣjad me paṛa-ke  
there went afternoon ? afternoon of prayer mosque in prayed  
went very slowly. We prayed at the afternoon prayers

22. [Question-8] ut sangi to us-ne mare waste çaye anre us  
 \* there friend to he us for tea brought that  
 in the mosque. [Question-8] A friend there brought tea for us.
23. sangi ham-ne alake ke bare me gal kie ke ye kiso alako et  
 friend we area of about in talk did that this which area in  
 That friend told us about the area. He told us where there were Gujar people
24. gujar log re nahi rehta [Question-9] us sangi-ne ham te  
 Gujar people living not living \* that friend we to  
 living and where they weren't living. [Question-9] That friend gave us all
25. tatsil ham-ne bayan ki ki us wakifyat te kað upar deryan  
 detail us said did of that knowing and after above Deryang  
 the details that he knew about. Afterwards, we went up to Deryang
26. ek paxtoon e uska na nazarmula uske ham gao us-ne mari  
 one Pakhtoon was his name Nazirmula his we went he us  
 with a Pakhtoon named Nazirmula. He showed us a lot of
27. rat mac ezat kaie mare waste baro kiyo [Question-10]  
 night much respect did us for slaughter did \*  
 respect that night and killed a goat for us. [Question-10]

*Questions for Ashriki Story*  
*(English Translations)*

1. Who did he go with?
2. What did he show him?
3. What was butchered?
4. What discomfort did they have?
5. What did they try to kill?
6. What was in the banda?
7. What kind of place was Samachai?
8. At which prayer time did they pray?
9. What did the friend tell them about?
10. What did the Pakhtoon do for them?

## C.2.2 Swat Gujari, (Peshmal)

### *Peshmal Story*

1. yu šikaṛ b<sup>h</sup>i muč čengoi še he ek bare ham šikaṛ da gia  
this hunt also very good thing is one time we hunting ? went  
This hunt is a very good thing. Once we went hunting. We went hunting
2. šikaṛ da gia ke gia jiake landa-ke-sere sirpo yu ko-pur ni  
hunt ? went ? ? went-to (name-of-place) peak ? mountain ?  
and went to Linda-ka-sera mountain
3. [Question-1] isko purte paron huria de kan ke yar  
\* this past away away see ? what friend  
peak. [Question-1] We went to this area to find a sham, a very good
4. šame baḳe numina šam [Question-2] ek šam ki kaṛ  
sham-(wild-bird) good thing sham \* one sham of after  
sham. [Question-2] We chased after a sham for the whole day
5. ham saṛi ḍiṛi de<sup>h</sup>-de<sup>h</sup>-de<sup>h</sup>-de<sup>h</sup> eke naḳate hurai duṛi baren  
we all day searching one mountain away other time  
on one mountain. Another time we went on the other side.
6. naṛir lame naḳata horjai ū te abdul kaṛim  
aiming long mountain other-side I and Abdul Kareem  
Abdul Kareem and I went searching.
7. deha-deha-deha saṛi diaṛi ham-ne ḍoṛai jiake koṛta ṭoṛi na  
looking all day we running went evening little ?  
We were running all day. In the evening, at the evening call
8. koṛtan ki baṅg dele waṛas-mora-ke aya mar na saḳi  
evening of call-to-prayer give return come kill no able  
to prayer, we returned, and were not able
9. [Question-3] aya taṇṇā ham-ne koi aṛi aṛḍa gaṭi šaṭi  
\* come below we some shepherd people stone etc.  
to kill it. [Question-3] We came below. There were some shepherds.
10. saṭi aṛi gaṛib daṛia ū-ne kio bare bala a-gai  
throw shepherd poor afraid they said think forest-animal come  
We threw stones on the poor shepherds. They were afraid that it was an
11. [Question-4] di-di-di-di ham ista nikia baṇḍa da nikia aḍi rati  
\* looking we this arrived banda ? arrived mid night  
animal. [Question-4] We kept searching and arrived at the banda at midnight.

12. duja di ham b<sup>hi</sup> gia šikaṛda bi gia šikaṛda ek šam  
other day we again went hunting again went hunting one sham  
Another day we again went hunting. We again went hunting.
13. awas karati deṭ<sup>ho</sup> te šam ai [Question-5] yera šam me  
crying doing saw then sham came \* friend sham I  
A sham cried; we saw the sham. [Question-5] Friend, I saw the sham.
14. deḱ<sup>h</sup>-leno šam po mē bi saṭ kai oṛṭ<sup>h</sup>ama mē ji saṭ kai  
saw sham on I also shoot did flew I sir shoot do  
I shot the sham as it flew. Sir, I shot and killed the sham,
15. šam maṛi bujio šam maṛi yera wa šam ek zat<sup>h</sup>-ki p<sup>ho</sup>i  
sham kill understand sham kill friend this sham one best sweet  
understand? The sham was killed, friend. The sham was the best
16. t<sup>hi</sup> [Question-6] kuda po tera yaqini ji wa baṛa duo qoqorā  
was \* God on your believe sir this big two chickens  
and sweet. [Question-6] Believe on God, sir, it was as big as two
17. ṭaṛoṭ<sup>h</sup> jai t<sup>hi</sup> [Question-7] ek zat<sup>h</sup>-ka liṇḍa-ke-sere gorai  
three same was \* one many (name-of-place) forest-bird  
or three chickens. [Question-7] Some gorre live in Linda-ka-sera, sir.
18. hōi ji b<sup>h</sup>as na kari [Question-8] yaṛā muṭ muṭ lokane baṛi  
lives sir talk not do \* friend many many people big  
Don't tell it. [Question-8] Friend, many people used to hunt a lot,
19. baṛi šikaṛ kai lekīn e šikaṛ mare po peš hue-t<sup>hi</sup> kaṭang-ki-beka  
big hunting did but this hunt we ? meet was (place-name)  
but we hunted at a place called Katang-ki-beka peak.
20. ser po ek ramušo yaṛa wo ramušo ham-ne ḍoṛaio  
peak on one forest-goat friend that forest-goat we running  
There was a ramusho in that forest. We went running after it.
21. ḍoṛaio ḍoṛaio ham do t<sup>h</sup>re admi t<sup>h</sup>a [Question-9] aḱiṛ ham-ne  
running running we two three men were \* last we  
We were two or three men. [Question-9]
22. wo ek k<sup>h</sup>ama baṛio ta ut maṛio [Question-10]  
that one cave inside ? there killed \*  
Finally we killed it inside a cave. [Question-10]

*Questions for Peshmal Story*  
*(English Translations)*

1. For what purpose did he go to the mountain?
2. What was he searching for?
3. When did they return?
4. Why were the Ajri people afraid?
5. What did they hear?
6. What did he do to the sham?
7. How big was the sham?
8. What lives in Linda-ka-sera?
9. What were they running after?
10. Inside what did they kill the forest goat?

## C.2.3 Gilgit Gujar, (Naltar Bala)

*Naltar Bala Story*

1. hū es naltar ko naltar bala ko bašendo æ it<sup>h</sup>ar māl takriban  
This Naltar of Naltar Bala of inhabitant am here in about  
I live in Naltar Bala. My grandfather came here
2. mero dado swat eria te ake it<sup>h</sup>ar māl bašendo hoyo  
my grandfather Swat area from came here in inhabitant became  
from Swat and became an inhabitant
3. [Question-1] hoke bar māl takriban č<sup>h</sup>e čan garmi hove sial  
\* became year in about six months hot is winter  
here. [Question-1] Each year there is six months of hot weather and six
4. māl č<sup>h</sup>e čan t<sup>h</sup>and hove [Question-2] ham usna xial kia  
in six months cold is \* we his thought that  
months cold weather in winter. [Question-2] We think that in
5. sial māl č<sup>h</sup>e čan t<sup>h</sup>and hove te ek samo it<sup>h</sup> p<sup>h</sup>al t<sup>h</sup>ori  
winter in six months cold is and one year here snow little  
six months of winter a little snow falls here,
6. t<sup>h</sup>ori peti peti peti muč p<sup>h</sup>al na pex ačanak ek rat māl  
little fall fall fall much snow not fall suddenly one night in  
but not too much. Suddenly one evening it started to snow
7. nomaša te širu hoi p<sup>h</sup>al bar<sup>t</sup>ige bar<sup>t</sup>ige bar<sup>t</sup>ige mendre ut<sup>h</sup>ke  
evening from begin ? snow falling falling falling morning got-up  
and kept snowing and snowing. In the morning
8. sara zamindar-nē apna bua k<sup>h</sup>olia te bua māl p<sup>h</sup>al bar<sup>t</sup>al bar<sup>t</sup>ke  
all farmers their doors opened then door in snow fall fallen  
all the farmers got up and opened their doors, and much snow had
9. der lage [Question-3] p<sup>h</sup>al bar<sup>t</sup>al bar<sup>t</sup>ke der lage lokane  
much became \* snow fall fallen much accumulated people  
accumulated. [Question-3] The people got up; they thought their houses
10. ut<sup>h</sup>ke kota tut<sup>h</sup> jae ga karke ut<sup>h</sup>ke p<sup>h</sup>erā nal apna k<sup>h</sup>ota  
got-up house break will be having got-up sweep with their house  
would collapse with the snow. Having got up, they shoveled
11. na saf karāḡ na p<sup>h</sup>al t<sup>h</sup>alā samri [Question-4] samarke  
with clean doing with snow down throw \* having-thrown  
the snow off their houses. [Question-4] At that time



12. dī b<sup>h</sup>i lāgo us tem mā te ek vari zamindar na p<sup>h</sup>arde dīto  
sun also rose that time in and one time farmers with there saw  
the sun rose and then the farmers saw
13. samna er fors ka mis ka samna ek pahari æ us pahari  
front air force of mess of front one mountain ? that mountain  
in front of the Air Force mess that snow was falling down a mountain
14. te uparō p<sup>h</sup>al tutge [Question-5] č<sup>h</sup>eri tutge bari tadad  
from above snow breaking \* glacier breaking big number  
above it. [Question-5] A big glacier was breaking
15. mā č<sup>h</sup>eri tut a mā [Question-6] er fors ko ek čokidar t<sup>h</sup>o  
in glacier break ? in \* air force of one chowkidar and  
and falling down. [Question-6] The Air Force chowkidar
16. us kol ek mirk t<sup>h</sup> [Question-7] una mirga ko rasen  
that with one wild-goat was \* those wild-goats of food  
was with a wild goat. [Question-7] He had given food to the wild goats
17. galū kar ka kar-ko aio t<sup>h</sup>o te una-ne hakri mari ki teri  
putting having done came was then they shouted ? ? your  
and had come. Then they shouted, “Your death has come,
18. mot<sup>h</sup> agai tu č<sup>h</sup>ap te nas uparō č<sup>h</sup>eri agai [Question-8] us-ne  
death came you hide and run above glacier came \* he  
you should run and hide, a glacier is coming!” [Question-8] When he heard
19. us zamindar a ka awaz na dexke naske jake kore jari t<sup>h</sup>i  
that farmer ? of voice not seeing running going near bush was  
the farmer's voice he ran towards a bush and
20. va jari napi va jari napi te kudrot ka šan us ki mot<sup>h</sup>  
that bush caught that bush caught and God of will him of death  
caught the bush, but it was the will of God that he should die.
21. agai t<sup>h</sup>i vo bač<sup>h</sup> sake ni t<sup>h</sup>o te us č<sup>h</sup>eri-ne vo ut<sup>h</sup>ar to  
came was he escape able not was and that glacier that place from  
He was unable to escape and the glacier carried from that place a
22. leke ek d<sup>h</sup>ari t<sup>h</sup>i va d<sup>h</sup>ari b<sup>h</sup>i va ga t<sup>h</sup>o vu ga  
carrying one shelter was that shelter also that grass was that grass  
shelter and some grass along with him down here to the river
23. b<sup>h</sup>i us na b<sup>h</sup>i leke tale hit nadi t<sup>h</sup>i le jake us nadi  
also him to also carrying down below river was have going that river  
where they were all

24. nal relaleo [Question-9] te sara zamindar mara  
with combined \* and all farmers our  
piled up together. [Question-9] All the farmers came together
25. jema hoke aya agke d<sup>h</sup>und d<sup>h</sup>undke d<sup>h</sup>und d<sup>h</sup>undke d<sup>h</sup>und  
together having come coming search searching search searching search  
and they searched and searched
26. d<sup>h</sup>undke takriban tre čar g<sup>h</sup>anta te us ki vo laš murdo  
searching about three four hours for him of that corpse dead  
about three or four hours for his dead body until they
27. labi wū [Question-10]  
found ? \*  
found it. [Question-10]

*Questions for Naltar Bala Story  
(English Translations)*

1. Who came from Swat?
2. How long is the cold season?
3. What did the farmers open?
4. What did they do with the snow?
5. What happened with the snow?
6. What size was the glacier?
7. What was with the chowkidar?
8. What did the farmers tell the chowkidar to do?
9. What happened to the shelter?
10. What did they find?

## C.2.4 Kaghan Gujari, (Mittikot)

*Mittikot Story*

1. bas janab o ito tor-giā hamo par-pak hotel bič park hotel  
well sir he here-from walked we Park Hotel in park hotel  
Well sir, we went from here. We went to the Park Hotel.
2. bič giā upar lagi-hoi-t<sup>h</sup>i leṭ<sup>h</sup> muro balo t<sup>h</sup>o-lago diṭ<sup>h</sup>o diṭ<sup>h</sup>o  
in went up went light wood burning was saw saw  
We went up. There was light coming from a fire of muro wood. We saw
3. diṭ<sup>h</sup>o ke gal e nā upar koi lakṛi kape biar  
saw what matter is ? up someone wood cutting (type-of-tree)  
that someone was cutting wood above. They were cutting biar
4. kape ṛi kape ke kare ke ni karto bas jis wakut  
cut (kind-of-tree) cut what do what not do enough this time  
and ri; what should we do? At this time, sir, at 11 o'clock a man came
5. janab-o yera baḷ giā te jano ayo te us-ne yo gal kei  
sir eleven o'clock went and man came and he this matter told  
and he told us a man is above, cutting your
6. yera upar lakṛi jano tari biar kape-lago nal ṭaṭu ṣaṭu  
friend up wood man your (kind-of-tree) cutting with horses etc.  
biar, with his horses tied up.
7. b<sup>h</sup>i badea we janab ut<sup>h</sup>o murge te xan b<sup>h</sup>i ū bi ayo it  
also tied ? sir there return and Khan also I also came here  
Sir, we returned from there, and the Khan also, and came here.
8. aya te is ja tiari-šeri karke par kohistani piče  
came and this place arrangements having-done there kohistani after  
At this place, having made arrangements, we went to the
9. kohistani nā čal-ke ye gal ke yera tam kade čalē  
kohistani with having-gone this matter tell friend you if go  
Kohistanis and told them that they should go with us
10. marna-tā jana pakna un-ne ke ji bilkul tarinal čalā par<sup>h</sup>  
us-with man catch they said sir completely you-with go ?  
to catch the man. They said, "We are ready to go with you. And we will not
11. gal ye ke jano mare jāi te ham zimavar ni te kujo  
matter this if person killed occur and we responsible not and some  
be responsible if the man is killed." "If someone is killed by us, you will

12. is gal ka na te mare ma kuḡ ḡano mare tam zimavar ni  
this matter of not ? kill ? some man kill you responsible not  
not be responsible."
13. te na kuḡ xan te bolio te kaen laga t<sup>h</sup>ik e ḡane nal ū ap  
and ? some Khan and said and ? ? okay is men with I you  
The Khan said, "Okay, I will go with you. We should
14. bi ū te tam asla šasla leo tiari karo te čalā rat ke  
also I and you weapons etc. take ready do and go night of  
prepare to take weapons and go." Sir, we went at 12 o'clock at night.
15. ḡanab-o bara baḡe ham torge ofra ole-ole-ole leṭ šeṭ buḡake  
sir 12 o'clock we went upward slowly light etc. put-off  
We went slowly upward with our lights off.
16. baṭi baṭi šaṭi kuḡ bi na lai buḡake asi torgea ofra  
lantern lantern etc. some any not brought put-off we went upward  
We put off all our lights. We went up
17. boli ko kaṭ<sup>h</sup>o pakreo bas sida sida sida apor gea  
Boli(village) of stream caught just straight straight straight up went  
to Boli. We went with the stream, and just went straight
18. palu palu ḡis wele tareo bas leṭ<sup>h</sup> lage te lagi upar  
Palu(village) Palu this time saw enough light came and ? up  
up to Palu. At that time we saw a light. Up above, we left the
19. ham-ne o ra ofra ko čor-ke tarlo ra pakareo-lio  
we that path upward ? left downward path caught  
upward path and took the downward path. We took the downward path to
20. tarle ka ra če pakareo sida aga gea tami  
downward of path which caught straight ahead went Tami(village)  
Tami. Having arrived in Tami,
21. tami ḡake te pōčeo bas ḡana ageo ḡi ḡana ḡis wela če  
Tami having-gone and arrived then man came sir man this time ?  
the man came, sir. At this time he arrived.
22. pōčea ḡana pakare ḡana marea šarea koṭ<sup>h</sup>ea šoṭ<sup>h</sup>ea ṭaṭu bi  
arrived man caught man beat etc. beat etc. horse also  
We caught the man. We beat the man. We beat him. We returned the horse.
23. morea kundawala bi morea fir uṭ<sup>h</sup>o morke ḡanab  
returned wood-carrier also returned then there-from returned sir  
We also returned from there with the wood carriers. The man went ahead and

24. j̥ana aga t̥area te s̥ida ap̥uro j̥iri ja unane kaṛeo t̥h̥o  
man ahead way and straight up which place they cut was  
straight up. We returned to where they cut the wood. We brought them to
25. naḍi-wali ut le-aya ut ānke j̥is wele biṣaya wele  
(name-of-place) there brought there having-come this time sitting time  
Nadiwala. At the time we sat down
26. gaḷ ṣaḷ kaṛi unā-ne kio ḷa waste čor deo j̥arum čaleo xan-ni  
matter etc. did they said God for leavegive fine take  
khan  
they said to us, “For God’s sake leave us and take a fine.” The Khan replied,
27. keo j̥arum ni tam-na s̥ida le čaḷanga bāmpore utā taḷā  
said fine no you straight carry go Bampore there downward  
“No fine. You go straight to Bampore.” We returned downward, sir,
28. če morea j̥anab s̥ida bapore bapore rat eṣa-ko lo  
? returned sir straight Bapore Bapore night to-us morning  
straight to Bampore. We spent the night in Bampore. In the morning we
29. hoge it ake haṃ pōčeḷ it j̥is wele pōčeḷ j̥anab  
became here having-come we arrived here this time arrived sir  
arrived here and at this time we stayed for some time.
30. te baṣ reḷ is ja čai ṣai pi unā-ne bi čai ṣai  
and enough stayed this place tea etc. drank they also tea etc.  
At this place we drank tea and they also drank tea
31. piali roṭi ṣoṭi kwali  
drank bread etc. ate  
and ate a meal.

*Questions for Mittikot Story*  
(English Translations)

1. What was burning?
2. What was someone doing above?
3. What was tied up?
4. What did the Kohistanis reply?
5. What did they prepare?
6. Which path did they take?
7. Upon arriving above what did they do?
8. What did they say?
9. What did the Khan reply to them?
10. What did they do after arriving?

## C.2.5 Central Azad Kashmir Gujari, (Trarkhel)

*Trarkhel Story*

1. hū niko jo t<sup>h</sup>o te kar pare ni t<sup>h</sup>o hū te ek dīn mēna  
I small ? was then home away not was I then one day to-me  
When I was small I had never been away from home. One day the people of
2. kar waliā-ne mar-ke kadio [Question-1] te ū bazar mā gio  
home people beating expelled \* then I bazaar in went  
my house beat me and threw me out. [Question-1] Then I went to the bazaar.
3. te bazar mā mē dek<sup>h</sup>io kī buzuruk ek alan kare t<sup>h</sup>o  
then bazaar in I saw that pious-man one announce doing was  
In the bazaar I saw a pious man announcing, "I have four pieces of advice;
4. kī mera kol čar naśiat ē te jiro le-lego te kamiab  
that my with four advice is then which having then successful  
whoever takes them will be successful."
5. ojaego mere kol pāj hazar rupe t<sup>h</sup>o te buzuruk ne bi  
will-be to-me with five thousand rupee was then pious-man he also  
I had five thousand rupees with me. The pious man had
6. apni čūā naśiat ka pāj hazar rupeya mukafar kīa  
himself four advice of five thousand rupee fixed-(agreed-upon) did  
fixed the price for the four advices at five thousand rupees.
7. wa t<sup>h</sup>a te mē kuč der sočio te sočan te bad ek  
? was then I some delay thought then thought then after one  
I thought and after some delay I gave
8. hazar rupeyo dito te buzurug kolō naśiat li buzurug-ne  
thousand rupees gave then pious-man from advice took pious-man  
him 1000 rupees. Then I took advice from the pious man. The pious man
9. mera kan mā yo kio kī jis vakat bi tam-na moko mile  
to-me ear in this told that which time also you-to to-me meet  
spoke into my ear, "When you have opportunity
10. te tam dusrā kī madad kario uste bad buzurug-ne p<sup>h</sup>ir  
then you others of help do that after pious-man again  
you should help others." After that, the pious man announced again
11. elan karna šuru kar dito ke dusrā kī naśiat jiri wa ek  
announced doing start did gave then others of advice which that one  
that the second advice is 1000 rupees.

12. hāzar rupeya mā kuḷ der tak te hū sočto-reo ki mē ek  
thousand rupees in some long to-end then I thinking that in one  
I thought for some time. I thought, “I gave 1000 rupees for one advice,
13. hāzar dekī ek nāsīat li lekīn us nāsīat ko matlāb mena  
thousand giving one advice took but that advice of purpose to-me  
but I don’t understand the purpose of that advice.”
14. nī samāḷ aio mē dūso āzar dīto te dūsrī nāsīat li  
not understand came I other thousand gave then other advice took  
I gave another thousand rupees and took another advice.
15. te buzurug-nē kān mā mena kio kī bīstar čānd-ke te soyo  
then pious-man ear in to-me told that blanket shake then sleep  
Then the pious man said in my ear that I should shake the blanket before
16. [Question-2] fir mena yo āndazo oyo ki is mā bī koi  
\* again to-me this guess came that this in also some  
sleeping. [Question-2] Again I guessed that there was nothing in
17. gal nī t<sup>h</sup>o fir karo ogio te fir buzurug p<sup>h</sup>ir p<sup>h</sup>ir-ke  
talk not was again house came then again pious-man wander wander  
that talk (advice). Then I went home. Again the pious man was going around
18. te yo kēn lāgo ki tisrī nāsīat ek āzar rupeya mā mē  
then this telling began that third advice one thousand rupees in I  
saying the third advice is for 1000 rupees more.
19. sočio kī do āzar rupio ū pele de čukio hūā te mena  
thought that two thousand rupees I first give have did then to-me  
I thought, “I have already given 2000 rupees and I haven’t
20. gal tā koi nī labī mumkin ē kī tisrī gal mere waste čāḡgi  
talk ? any not find possible is that third talk my for good  
found any talk (benefit). Could it be possible that the third talk will be
21. owe mē ēk āzar rupeyo āor dīto ki tisrī nāsīat buzurug-nē  
having I one thousand rupees and gave that third advice pious-man  
good to have?” I gave the pious man the 1000 rupees and
22. mere kān mā yo dāsi kī tiārī soyo te rat ḡagio mē ye  
my ear in this told that day sleep then night awake I this  
he spoke the third advice into my ear. “You should sleep in the day and be
23. deke te fir karo ogio te p<sup>h</sup>ir buzurug nā kio kī  
giving then again home did then again pious-man to said that  
awake at night.” I gave it (money) to him and again went home. Then the

24. čot<sup>hi</sup> naśiat do azar rupeya mā [Question-3] ū apra tor  
fourth advice two thousand rupees in \* I ownself method  
pious man said that the fourth advice is for 2000 rupees. [Question-3] I
25. par sočta rio ki tre azar rupeya mē pele de dito te  
on thought ? that three thousand rupees I first gave did and  
thought, "I have already given three thousand rupees, and I haven't found
26. mena gal koi te ni labi mumkin e čot<sup>hi</sup> naśiat e mera waste  
to-me talk any ? not find possible is fourth advice is my for  
any talk (benefit). It is possible that the fourth advice will be much
27. ziada bitar owe te ū ye pesa bi deke buzurug kolō  
much better having then I this money also gave pious-man from  
better for me." I gave the money to the pious man and
28. čot<sup>hi</sup> naśiat bi le-liū čot<sup>hi</sup> naśiat mē do azar rupeya  
fourth advice also took fourth advice I two thousand rupees  
took the fourth advice. For the fourth advice I gave 2000 rupees to
29. buzurug nā dito te us-ne kan mā bula ke mena daseo ke  
pious-man to gave then he ear in spoke that to-me told that  
the pious man. He spoke into my ear that you should put away your anger,
30. yuso pio te fir gal kario ye čar naśiat leke te  
anger finished then again talk do this four advice taking then  
then you can talk again. I took this fourth advice and went out.
31. utō tor peo te buzurug-ne bi aprō kam xatam kar dito  
there start did then pious-man also his work finish do gave  
The pious man was finished with his work.
32. čaltā čaltā samundur ki kinare gio [Question-4] te ut dexia  
going going ocean of side went \* then there saw  
I went to the oceanside. [Question-4] There I saw various
33. ki samundur ka muxtalif čota čota janvar ve ret<sup>h</sup> mā tarap  
that ocean of various small small animals that sand in flopping  
small ocean animals flopping in the sand.
34. rie te mē ek janvar nā sido kar dito te vo janvar  
were then I one animal to straight do did then that animal  
Then I set one animal up straight. That animal was happy.
35. xuš oke te samundur vičō ča ča-ke te sipi bar  
happy having then ocean from taking taking then pearl outside  
Then I was taking pearls from the ocean.



36. kaḍaṇ pegio [Question-5] mē ek sipi paṇ ki dexi te us ke  
carry do \* I one pearl broke that saw then that of  
[Question-5] I broke one of the pearls and saw that inside was
37. bič baṛi soni soni čiz xira aor lal joahrat aor  
inside big beautiful beautiful thing diamond and red valuables and  
a big beautiful diamond and red valuables and
38. is taṛa ki čiz t<sup>h</sup>i mē kafi sari ek čadar mā banke t<sup>h</sup>e a  
this type of thing was I plenty all one sheet in wrapped then I  
these kinds of things. I wrapped them all in my sheet and started to go.
39. tor pio turtā turtā rasta mā mena rat pegai [Question-6]  
start did walking walking path in to-me night came \*  
I was walking on the path and night came. [Question-6]
40. te ek kar mā reṇ waste jaḡa maṅgi [Question-7] ut  
then one house in stay for place asked \* there  
I asked to stay in a house. [Question-7]
41. buzurḡā-ne jaḡa diti te andar giū jis vele te jaḡe jis  
pious-people place gave then inside went which time then place which  
There good people gave me a place to stay. I went inside at this time.
42. vakat bistar par soṇ lago te mena buzurug ki dusri nasiat  
time blanket on sleep start then to-me pious-man of second advice  
Then at the time when I went to sleep on the bed I
43. yad ai [Question-8] ki pele bistar čandio te us-tō bad  
memory came \* that first blanket shake then this after  
remembered the second advice of the pious person. [Question-8] First shake
44. soyo jis vele mē bistar čandio te vakai bistar na ag  
sleep which time I blanket shook then really blanket to fire  
the blanket and then sleep. Then I shook the blanket and it caught fire.
45. lag-gai is waste ki ve meri sipi dex-ke una kar-wala-ne yo  
caught this for that that my pearl saw that house-resident this  
Because they had seen the pearl, the people of the house had
46. bandubast kar-lia ke is nā jela diā te ye baot baṛi dolat  
arrangement did that this to burn do that this very big wealth  
arranged for it to burn. They thought, "In this way great wealth will come
47. hamare at<sup>h</sup> ajeve [Question-9] buzurug ki dusri nasiat min  
our hand came \* pious-man of second advice to-me  
into our hands." [Question-9] The pious man's second advice

48. ut kām ai tē ū kamiab o-ke tē fir āga tor pio  
there help came then I succeed having then again ahead start did  
had helped me and I had succeeded and I again went on. As I was going ahead
49. āga turtā turtā ek bājā to jīs ki ek lāṛki bimār t<sup>h</sup>i  
ahead walking walking one king from which of one girl sick was  
there was a king whose daughter was sick.
50. tē ūs lāṛki ke peṭ mā aid<sup>h</sup>a sapa taip koi čiz t<sup>h</sup>i  
then that girl of stomach in cobra snake type some thing was  
In the stomach of the girl there was a cobra snake or
51. [Question-10] tē ūs-ne pero mukārār kio t<sup>h</sup>o jīro admi bi  
\* then he watchman appointed did was which man also  
something like it. [Question-10] There was a watchman to watch her. The
52. ūs ka kāmra mā rat pero dio t<sup>h</sup>o tē aid<sup>h</sup>a nīkal  
her of room in night watchman doing was then cobra coming-out  
watchman was in the room with her at night and the cobra came out
53. ki tē ūs na k<sup>h</sup>a leto ū jūī kāmra mā gio tē mē  
did then that to ate took I immediately room in went then I  
at night and ate him. I went in the room and
54. ek talvar bi māṅg lei mīna buzurug ki tisri nāsīat yad  
one sword also asked took to-me pious-man of third advice remember  
took a sword. Then I remembered the
55. ai ke tiari soyo tē rat jagio jīs vele ū jāge t<sup>h</sup>o  
came that daytime sleep and night be-awake which time I awake was  
third advice of the pious man that I should sleep in the day and be
56. tē aid<sup>h</sup>a ūs ke mū bičo nīkalīo mēra dar āmla kārān  
that cobra that of mouth from came-out me toward attack start  
awake at night. At that time I was awake and the cobra came from her mouth
57. lagio mēna kaṇ lagio mē forān talvar ko var kar ki tē  
did to-me spoke did I immediately sword of attack do did then  
and was attacking me. He (cobra) spoke to me. I immediately attacked with
58. ūs na mar dīto is tara ū ūs tisri gal mā bi kamiab o-gio  
that to killed did this way I that third talk in also succeed did  
the sword and killed it. In this way I succeeded by the third advice.
59. fir utō suba oi tē badša-ne mīna baot saro inam  
again there morning came then king to-me plenty ? prize  
In the morning the king came and gave me a large reward.

60. dīto tē ū āge tor pio turtā turtā aprā girā ke karib  
gave then I ahead start did walking walking my village of near  
I went out again. As I was going I arrived near my village.
61. jis vele pōchio tē minā ek admi-na dāsio ki teri behñ  
which time arrived than to-me one man told that your sister  
A man said to me, “Your sister is very bad.
62. jīṛi ē va baṛi xarab ē bura kam kare te us vakāt mera  
which is that very bad is bad work do then that time my  
She is doing bad work.” I became very
63. dīl mā baṛo yuso ayo tē mē tiari kar li behñ na  
heart in big angry came then I preparation doing did sister to  
angry. I made preparation. “I will
64. bi ū katal karūgo tē jīro us ke nal galbat ē te us na  
also I kill will-do that which that of with talk is then that to  
kill my sister. And I will kill whoever is doing that thing with her.”
65. bi katal karūgo yo dīl mā irado le-ke ū torio tē minā  
also kill do this heart in decide carry I started then to-me  
I made a decision and started to go. Then I remembered
66. buzurug ki čot<sup>h</sup>i nasīat yad aḡai ki nai bai peḷe  
pious-man of fourth advice remember came that no brother first  
the fourth advice of the pious man.
67. sočo tē us to bad fir gal karo mē soč-ki tē mē yo  
think then that of after then talk do I think then I this  
First, brother, think, then talk. I thought and
68. feslo kar-lio tē-kik karū ki aya ye gal sači ē ki čuṭ<sup>h</sup>i  
decision did research do that whether this talk true is that false  
made a decision. I will study and find out if this is true or false.
69. ē mē jake jis wele malumat kia pučio tē pata lagio ki  
is I going which time know did asked then know came that  
When I asked about this I found out that it was false.
70. va galo čuṭ<sup>h</sup>i t<sup>h</sup>i tē liaza mē us vakāt vo us na behñ  
that talk false was then therefore I that time that him to sister  
Therefore, I stopped myself from killing
71. na bi aor us admi na bi katal karan to ū bač gio is  
to also and that man to also killing doing from I rescue did this  
my sister and another man. In this way

72. tārā bāc-gio sara marālā to ε jīrā vi kām kartā rio te  
 way escape all killing from this which this work doing was that  
 I stopped myself from killing. In this way I succeeded at my work because
73. buzurgā ki nāsiat ki vājā tō kamiab ogio te ina  
 elders of advice of reason from successful became that these  
 of the advice of wise people.
74. nāsiatā-ne mera par yo āsar kio kī ū ek kamiab zindagi  
 advice mine on ? effect did that I one successful life  
 Acting upon these advices I was able
75. gāzaran ke kabul ogio  
 leading of able to-do  
 to live a successful life.

*Questions for the Trarkhel Story*  
*(English Translations)*

1. What did the people of the house do to him?
2. What should he do to the blanket?
3. How much did the fourth advice cost?
4. Where did he go?
5. What was he taking from the ocean?
6. What happened while he was walking?
7. What did he ask for?
8. What did he remember?
9. What did they think would come to them?
10. Where was the cobra?

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