SOCIOLINGUISTIC SURVEY OF NORTHERN PAKISTAN
VOLUME 5
LANGUAGES OF CHITRAL

Sociolinguistic Survey of Northern Pakistan

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

Series Editor

Clare F. O'Leary, Ph.D.

Sociolinguistic Survey
of
Northern Pakistan
Volume 5

Languages of Chitral

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of
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PREFACE

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

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

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

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

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

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

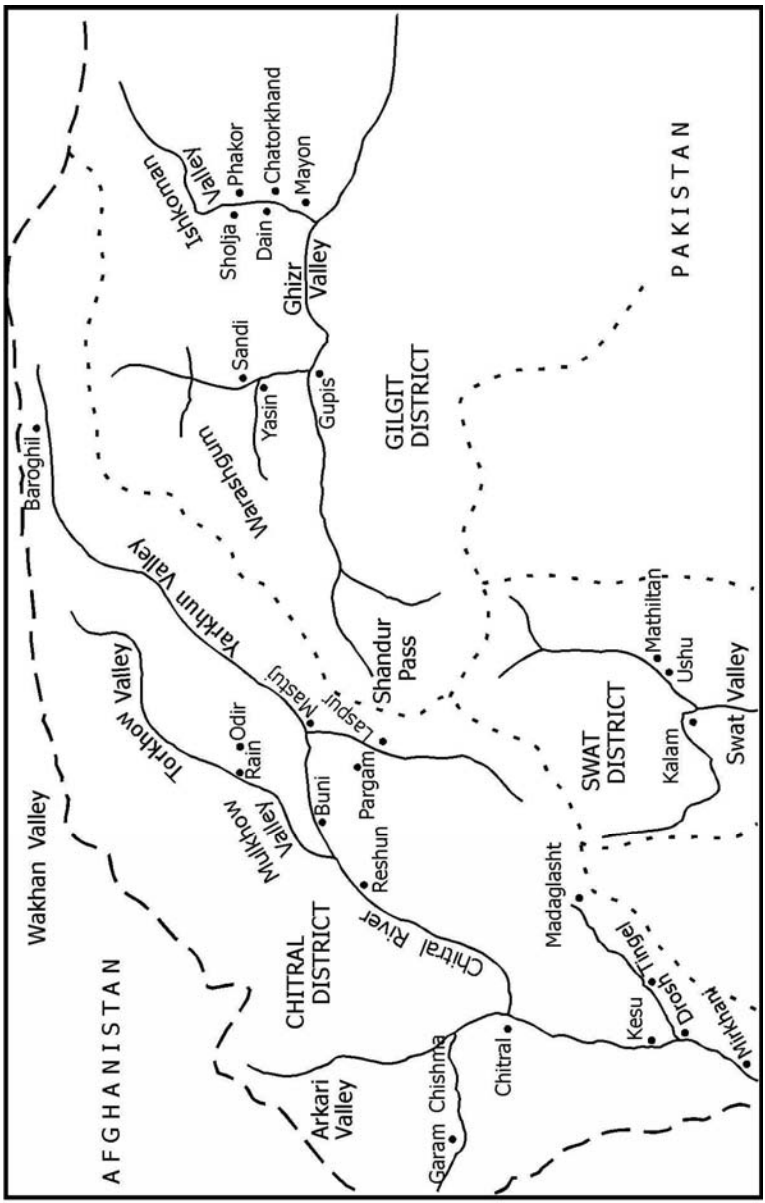
Work of such a magnitude is not possible without cooperation and devotion on the part of scholars and experts in this field. The National Institute of Pakistan Studies, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad acknowledges with gratitude the assistance and cooperation of many who helped the team to conduct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

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

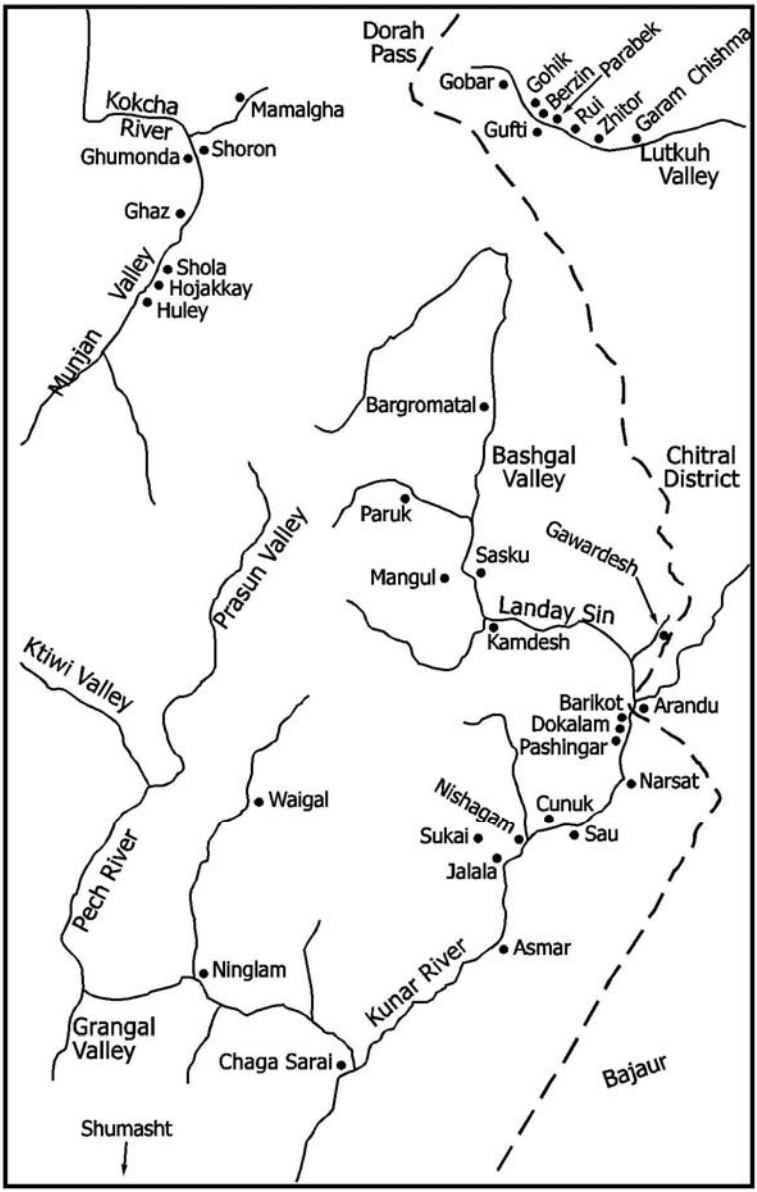
Dr. Ghulam Hyder Sindhi
Director
National Institute of Pakistan Studies
Quaid-i-Azam University
Islamabad, Pakistan

MAPS

MAP 1. Pakistan, showing inset for maps in this volume.



MAP 2. Northern Pakistan: reference map for Khowar.



MAP 3. Hindu Kush region.

MAP 4: Southern Chitral.

INTRODUCTION

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

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

The largest number of Indo-Aryan languages dealt with in these volumes belong to the Northwestern Group, Dardic branch: Shina, and its historical relations, Phalura and Ushojo; Indus Kohistani, and its smaller neighbors, 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 northwestern frontier; within Pakistan that group is represented by Eastern Kativiri and Kamviri/Shekhani. This classification outline for members of the

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Clare F. O'Leary
Series Editor

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The National Institute of Pakistan Studies of Quaid-i-Azam University has a continuing commitment to the promotion of quality research; without the assistance of NIPS, these volumes would not have been completed. Special thanks are due to Professor Fateh Mohammad Malik, who made initial arrangements for the publication of these studies, and to Dr. Ghulam Haider Sindhi, who has worked with the research team to see the publication through to completion.

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Dr. Calvin Rensch served as the project director for the Sociolinguistic Survey of Northern Pakistan. Ongoing leadership was also provided by Mr. Donald Gregson and Mr. Daniel Hallberg. Mr. Donald Johnson gave timely assistance in the initial stages of the project. The preparation of the final manuscripts was coordinated by Miss Carla Radloff, who was ably assisted by Mrs. Sandra Decker. Mr. Peter Mielke and Ms. Beverly Garland each provided critically needed help in the preparation and checking of these volumes. Special thanks are due to Mr. Kendall Decker for map production and cover design. It has been a privilege to work with such a team of colleagues.

Clare F. O'Leary

Acknowledgments for this volume

This study could not have been completed without the dedicated assistance of Pakistani co-workers. I wish especially to thank Mr. Imtiaz Afridi, Mr. Fazal-ur-Rahman, and Mr. Rahmanullah Shinwari who assisted in interpretation, data collection, and for the help they gave with life in general through the two summers in Chitral.

My gratitude is also extended to Mrs. Linda Stewart for the many hours spent checking over this volume and for her suggestions which improved the volume greatly.

Kendall D. Decker

July 1992

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION TO THE LANGUAGES OF CHITRAL

1. INTRODUCTION AND PURPOSE

This study of the languages of Chitral was concerned with several sociolinguistic issues. The first purpose was to confirm the geographic locations of the languages previously identified as being spoken in Chitral. A second purpose was to investigate language variation. Through the collection of descriptive linguistic data (word lists and texts), and by reviewing the literature of previous studies, comparisons were made revealing linguistic similarity or divergence. A third purpose was to assess the general language vitality of the linguistic communities. Evidence considered in this aspect of the study included reported language use in various social domains, intermarriage between language groups, and the relative amounts of contact between groups. Supporting sociolinguistic data were collected regarding reported proficiency in more dominant languages, and evidence of language attitudes favoring or inhibiting assimilation.

Other capable linguists, such as Morgenstierne, Grjunberg, etc., have done excellent work in laying solid foundations concerning the phonological and grammatical structures of the languages of Chitral and the Hindu Kush region. This study does not attempt to address these linguistic concerns, except in the presentation of lexical similarity between collected word lists. Texts and word lists which were collected for this study of the languages of Chitral are presented in the appendices.

2. A SHORT HISTORY OF LINGUISTIC STUDIES RELATED TO THE LANGUAGES OF CHITRAL

The history of the study of the languages of northern Pakistan has been one of a few individuals slowly building on the work of their predecessors and always working with scant information. Often the data gathering has been accomplished by brief dashes into the rugged land of the Hindu Kush, Karakoram, and Himalayan mountain ranges. Even though the researchers involved in this present study were able to live for several years in Pakistan, the data collection trips still maintained this tradition of short dashes into the mountains. As the earlier investigators had to deal with limited access, this present researcher was also occasionally unable to enter some of the areas where a certain language or dialect is spoken.

There are ancient reports of the tribes inhabiting this mountainous region. Grierson (LSI VIII.2:1) discusses reports of people living in the mountains north of Kashmir called Darada in ancient Greek and Sanskrit literature. Jettmar (1980) and Dani (1989) have presented evidence of the early history of the Northern Areas of what is now Pakistan. As for the histories of the individual tribes, little is known with certainty. Morgenstierne (1932) began to gather traditions and linguistic evidence which began to paint a picture of the movements and relationships of languages and people in the Hindu Kush region. Some of these traditions were collected by men who lived for some time amongst the people, such as Biddulph (1880), O'Brien (1895), Robertson (1896), and Gurdon (cited in Morgenstierne 1932).

The earliest samples of the languages were collected outside of the region.[1] In 1878 Biddulph became the first European to enter Chitral[2] (Keay 1979:82,106). He (Biddulph 1880) collected word lists from Narisati (Gawar-bati), Khowar, Bushgali

[1] For example Burnes 1838 and Leitner 1876 (cited in Biddulph 1880); see Grierson LSI VIII.2:30-32 for a more extensive list.

[2] He was followed several years later, in 1885, by W. McNair, who made a short trip into the Bashgal Valley, becoming the first European to enter what is now called Nuristan (Keay 1979:120).

(Eastern Kativiri), and Yidghah (Yidgha). The next major contribution to the study of the languages of the Hindu Kush region came out of Morgenstierne's visit to Chitral in 1929, documented in books (1932, 1938) and numerous articles (1941, 1942, 1945, 1950, etc.[3]). With the foundation for linguistic studies laid by Morgenstierne, other linguists have continued with studies of individual languages.[4]

Although the focus of this previous research was more in the direction of collection and analysis for the purpose of determining historical descriptions of the languages and their affiliations, they often gathered some sociolinguistic-type information as well. These glimpses have been useful in the direction of this study. This study builds upon these earlier works by enlarging the area of knowledge of the sociolinguistic environment of these languages. The earlier reports are also useful when compared to information on the present situation for estimating population growth, trends in people movements, and indications of change in ethnolinguistic vitality.

3. METHODOLOGY USED FOR THE STUDY OF THE LANGUAGES OF CHITRAL

3.1 Literature review and map information

Due to the remote location, rugged environment, and difficulty of data collection in northern Pakistan, it is of the utmost importance that research begins with a review of the literature. Although there have not been many people who have done research in northern Pakistan, the numbers are growing[5]

[3] For a complete listing of Morgenstierne's work, see Morgenstierne 1973 and Kristiansen 1978.

[4] For a listing of the most recent studies, other than those works listed in the References section of this volume, see Fussman 1972 and 1989, Strand 1973, Schmidt and Koul 1984, and Jones 1966.

[5] There have been several graduate students from American and European universities (especially German) doing research in the languages of northern Pakistan, although the results of their research is frequently difficult to find. There are also an increasing number of Pakistanis doing research in these areas;

and the work that many of these people have done is quite thorough and insightful.[6] Finding some of this information can be difficult. The most useful source of information for this study was found in the University of London, School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) library. There are excellent libraries in other locations. In each of the chapters a short review of the significant studies is included.

The maps are adapted from the map in Edelberg and Jones (1979), *Nuristan*, and the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers maps Series U502, 1:250,000 scale. For visual ease and simplicity many unrelated features have been eliminated from the maps.

The geographic names and spellings used in the maps and texts can often force difficult and arbitrary choices. For example: the area where the Bashgal Valley meets the Kunar River in Afghanistan has many names: Landay Sin, Satrgrom, and Narisat. A village on the west side of the Chitral River a short distance south of Drosh is called [s^{u}wir]; it is sometimes spelled *Sweer*, *Suwir*, or *Swir*. Rivers sometimes have different names depending on the territory through which they are flowing; the Chitral River in southern Chitral becomes the Kunar River in Afghanistan. Different authors have used different spellings for village names. In this study the attempt has been made to use the most common spellings, or romanized spellings which most closely resemble the phonetic representation of the name.

3.2 Choice of data collection sites, respondents, and co-workers

Respondents interviewed for this study were simply the individuals who were willing to help. Almost all of the respondents were men. The villages used as data collection sites frequently were determined by being: where the jeeps could take us, the villages of willing participants, or the only places for

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often their work can be found in Pakistani university libraries or bookstores in the larger cities.

[6] In fact, the data that have been collected in the country have provided sufficient material for a few scholars (such as Turner) to engage themselves in lifelong research in the languages of South Asia without even setting foot in Pakistan.

which permission could be obtained. For the language groups which are wholly in Pakistan (Khowar, Kalasha, Dameli, and Phalura), there was an attempt to get a wide sampling of information so as to gain an accurate understanding of the whole language community. The other language groups extend into Afghanistan (Gawar-bati, E. Kativiri/Shekhani) or are closely connected groups separated by the Afghanistan-Pakistan border (Munji and Yidgha). The amount of information available on these groups was more limited.

For this Chitral survey, two of the Pakistani co-workers held graduate degrees from the University of Peshawar and the third had post-matriculation education. Two of the men were Pashto-speakers and one was a Khowar-speaking Chitrali. Communication with these co-workers was in Urdu and English. For this study they were given introductory training in phonetics, in the appropriate administration of questionnaires, and in the use of tape recording equipment for the collection of linguistic data. Their knowledge of regional norms of cultural behavior was invaluable.

3.3 Observation

Observation is useful for identifying areas which need further investigation. Sometimes it can give clues toward understanding a certain situation, but one must be careful not to base conclusions simply on limited observation. Observation was used to see if people commonly participated in bilingual activities and to initially identify the kinds of situations in which they used a second language rather than their own. Impressions gained from observation, when pieced together with other quantitative data, are helpful in clarifying the larger picture of the interactions of languages in society. In addition, much of the background information included in the *Social Factors* sections of each chapter was gathered from observation.

3.4 Word list collection

For this study a standard list of 210 lexical items was used for elicitation of word lists.[7] This list included various classes of nouns, adjectives, numerals, and verbs. Usually word lists were collected from one participant and then checked with another participant from the same location. If the second participant gave a different response from the first participant, then the discrepancy was investigated. Word lists were also collected from the glossary sections of several articles to compare what other researchers had elicited for the same language. Turner (1966-71), *A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages*, was especially helpful for gathering information from the word lists collected by previous scholars, and for eliminating some suspicious lexical items from word lists collected in this study. Most word lists were tape recorded for further checking if necessary.

The phonetic system used is similar to that used by Morgenstierne and Turner with some slight modification for specific phonological features.[8]

3.5 Word list comparison

Word list comparison has been used to provide an empirical measure of the amount of lexical divergence between speech varieties. These numbers, combined with the opinions of respondents, give preliminary indications of the possibility of comprehension difficulties between different speech communities. The identification of the boundaries between linguistic varieties is important for determining the locations and sizes of speech communities. If people are not speaking a similar variety, they cannot be considered to form a unified speech community which is maintaining one common language.

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[7] The 210-item elicitation list is included in appendix A.

[8] A complete chart showing the phonetic transcription system used in this study is presented in appendix A.

A question remains as to how much difference is required between speech varieties to say that the speakers form different speech communities on the basis of limited intelligibility. Such a question cannot be answered on the sole basis of word list comparisons, but, in general, it is felt that when lexical similarity decreases to around 60 percent or below, there is probably also a notable loss of comprehension between the communities involved. The lexical similarity percentages calculated for this study are only used as possible indications of divergence or unity in speech varieties; they must be considered with other information and testing for greater confidence.

3.6 Text collection

Texts were recorded in many locations and transcriptions and rough translations were attempted.[9] A few of these texts were played for participants to get their impressions and opinions of other speech varieties. It is not suggested that such informal procedures be used in determining intelligibility, but one can gain preliminary kinds of information through such methods. After hearing a text, the participant was asked if he could identify the location in which the text had been recorded and if he thought the speech of that location was a good form of his language. In a few cases the participant was asked to retell the story in his own words to get an indication of his comprehension.

3.7 Interviews and questionnaires

3.7.1 Interviews

In this study several different types of interactions with participants are described as interviews. There were some interviews which lasted no more than five minutes and pursued a

[9] All texts are found in appendix C. It should be noted that these texts, the product of rough field work, have been transcribed and translated as carefully as possible. Some amount of variation is expected, however, due to idiolectal features of the narrators, to the informal style of the taped narratives, or to inaccuracies of transcription and translation.

specific item of information. There were several interviews which involved an entire evening of conversation which wandered through numerous topics. Most of the interviews were conducted in the format of oral administration of a prepared questionnaire. Interviews which required the Pashtoon co-workers to assist with translation were conducted in Pashto, or sometimes Urdu. The Chitrali co-worker conducted numerous interviews in Khowar. There were a few interviews conducted in English. R. Trail assisted in several interviews with Kalasha participants by translating questions into Kalasha.

Information gathered through interviews which did not follow the format of the questionnaires was tabulated with the questionnaire responses when the information gained answered a relevant question.

3.7.2 Questionnaires

The first questionnaire designed for this study in 1989 had fifteen items. This was later expanded to a larger questionnaire[10] which was adapted specifically for each language. The questionnaires were designed to gather a variety of information, including personal information, dialect information, language use situations, second language choices, travel information, and questions designed to investigate language attitudes. All questionnaires were administered orally, with the researchers and co-workers recording written responses based on participants' answers.

The primary interest was the investigation of the types of situations, or *domains*, in which people use a second language. In each domain the individual has a choice about which language he or she will use. The domain typically has a somewhat limited and specialized set of vocabulary and style of speech. The language used in a religious setting, like the mosque, is probably not interchangeable with the language used on a logging work site. The people one has contact with in the bazaar are not necessarily

[10] A sample questionnaire is presented in appendix D.

the same people one meets at the work place. As commonly happens in South Asia, the people of Chitral often use different languages for different domains. The ability of an individual to communicate in another language in a certain domain does not necessarily mean that the person is fluent, or fully bilingual, in that language. Some domains do not require a high level of second language proficiency. Some domains are encountered outside of the village and therefore do not directly affect village language use. Domains in which the individual must choose another language are domains in which the first language is not useful. Another language may be chosen in specific situations to communicate with outsiders, while the mother tongue is maintained for in-group functions. When another language is chosen for in-group functions, especially in the domain of the home, then there may be concern for the long term maintenance of the first language.

The second language proficiency of participants in this study was not tested. Nor was it possible to evaluate the pervasiveness of bilingualism in light of a demographic profile of the various communities. Therefore, the issues of bilingualism were investigated through questionnaires, observation, and occasional evaluations from co-workers. Questions concerning second language usage approached the topic from different angles: what second languages the people speak, how the people learn their second languages, self evaluations of second language proficiency, second language usage and proficiency of women and children, and domains where second languages are used.

Due to their involvement in other language research projects, the Pashtoon co-workers who worked on this study had had some exposure to bilingualism testing. Based on their experience and their understanding of differing levels of second language proficiency, they were often asked to give their opinions on the participants' abilities in Pashto. While this method may not be totally adequate by itself, it gives some indication of the relative levels of Pashto proficiency of some of the minority language speakers involved in this research.

To explore the area of attitudes, the focus of attention is on the prestige or stigma which people associate with linguistic varieties. Understanding people's attitudes about language is always a difficult matter to grasp, especially through the use of a questionnaire. For this study, the responses related to attitudes are recorded and evaluated in the context of the rest of the data to provide a greater understanding of the sociolinguistic environment of Chitral.

Information on marriage patterns may give some indication of language attitudes. Frequently marriage is allowed with certain groups but not with other groups. Primarily, the attitudes are for or against the people group as a whole, but the use of that group's language can be connected to those attitudes. When a husband and wife speak different languages there is a question as to which language the children will speak. This choice can be a crucial factor in the continuation of the mother tongue. The prevailing custom is that women learn the language of the husband after marriage and use his language with their children. In some of the language groups, it was found that men expressed a preference for marrying Khowar-speaking women so that their children will be Khowar speakers. This shows the degree of prestige that is attributed to Khowar. Intermarriage also brings contact with the relatives of the spouse, which often results in a situation encouraging further acquisition of the second language.

3.8 Population figures

There are no accurate census figures which count people by their mother tongue in Pakistan. In this volume, the information provided for population estimates for each of the language groups is only meant to give an approximate size of the language community, i.e., to indicate that this is a group of about 6000 people, rather than 100,000 or 500 people. The three main sources of figures for population estimates were: the 1981 census figures from the Chitral District Council offices,[11] population estimates presented in the publications of other researchers, and

[11] These figures were reapportioned in 1987 for local body elections.

the opinions of the participants. These figures usually correlated closely enough to give a rough approximation of the size of the language communities. Wherever possible the figures are given for specific villages to show how the population is distributed within the area where the language is spoken. Frequently a range has been given to approximate the population size. Chart 1 lists the population estimates for speakers of the languages of Chitral.

Chart 1

Estimated populations for language groups of Chitral[12]

Eastern Kativiri	3,700	to	5,100
Shekhani	1,500	to	2,000
Dameli	5,000		
Gawar-bati	1,300	to	1,500
Kalasha	2,900	to	5,700
Phalura	8,600		
Yidgha	5,000	to	6,000
Madaglashti Persian	2,057	to	3,000
Wakhi	450	to	900
Gujari	3,000		
Pashto	3,000		
Khowar	173,000	to	200,000
Rounded Total:	209,500	to	243,800

3.9 Interpretation of data

On-site data collection for each of the languages was often limited, prompting the realization that more time in a language community would be needed to fully understand the complex interactions of language usage and to become better acquainted with the language itself. It was hoped that, even with this limited study, at least a good overview of the sociolinguistic factors at

[12] These figures do not include Pakistanis from other regions who are assigned to duties in Chitral, refugees from other countries, or speakers of these languages outside of Chitral.

work within the linguistic environment of Chitral could be formulated. With the various types and sources of information that have been collected, there are good indications of what the true sociolinguistic situation is. No one piece of information is conclusive by itself. The purpose for collecting different types of information from different sources is to see if the information correlates and supports the other data to which it is compared.

The information presented in this report is not intended to be the final word on the topic. It is hoped that an accurate representation of the situation at this point in time has been presented and that it will be useful toward future research.

4. OTHER LANGUAGES SPOKEN IN CHITRAL

The languages covered in this section were not included in this study. However, they are languages which are spoken in Chitral and, therefore, have some effect upon the sociolinguistic environment of the region. The information presented here is mainly taken from published sources. Some additional information on these languages was gathered to supplement the research discussed in the subsequent chapters.

4.1 Persian / Farsi

Persian must be looked at in several different ways in Chitral. There is the Madaglashti dialect of Persian spoken in the village of Madaglasht in the upper Shishi Koh Valley. This community has been present in Chitral for over 200 years. There are also a large number of Persian speaking Afghan refugees living in the Garam Chishma area of the Lutkuh Valley. But even previous to the influx of refugees, there was a strong Persian influence from traders coming into the area and speaking the Badakhshani dialect of Persian. Persian was also the official language of Chitral until 1952 (Munnings, 1990:18), so it has had some influence on the languages and culture of Chitral. The ability to use some Persian is considered prestigious. It is frequently used in poetry and some religious books.

4.1.1 Geographic location

Madaglasht is located at the northern end of the Shishi Koh Valley in southern Chitral (see map 2), approximately 30 miles (45 kilometers) north of Drosh.

4.1.2 Name of the language

According to Mackenzie (1969), Persian is commonly called Farsi in Iran. The dialect spoken in much of central Afghanistan is called Dari. Another dialect in northern Afghanistan and the former Soviet Union is called Tajiki. People often refer to the name of their language simply as the language of the place they are from: Kabuli, Badakhshani, and Madaglashti. Different names should not necessarily be considered as linguistically different varieties.

4.1.3 History

The only study of the Madaglashti variety of Persian was done by D. L. R. Lorimer in 1922.

Lorimer (1922:127-128) reports the following information regarding the history of the people of Madaglasht:

> This Persian settlement is of modern origin. Four families are said to have immigrated to Chitral from Zibak in Badakhshan. They found employment with the Mir i Kalan, the great Kator Mehtar of Chitral, as iron-workers, but depressed by poverty, some, or all, of them wandered on further afield to Chutiatan on the Malakand-Chitral road in Dir territory. There two of their number died and were buried, and the remainder were invited back to Chitral by the Mehtar, who gave them land to settle on in Madaglasht, where they continue to exercise their craft as iron-workers. Six generations have elapsed since the immigration, and the colony has increased to some thirty families.

Lorimer dates these events six generations previous, which would be about 1740. Israr-ud-Din (1969) concurs that these people came from Badakhshan about 200 years ago.

4.1.4 Population distribution

Lorimer (1922:128) estimated that there were thirty families in Madaglasht. Israr-ud-Din (1969) reports that there are about 3000 speakers of Madaglashti. The Chitral District Council (1987) reports a population of 2057 people in Madaglasht.

4.1.5 Linguistic relationship

Persian is an Iranian language in the Indo-Iranian branch of the Indo-European family. Lorimer (1922:128) tried to work with his Madaglashti informants through the use of what he called "the colloquial of Modern Persia". He said that they had difficulty understanding him. He felt that Madaglashti is similar to the Badakhshani dialect and that further study would reveal both of these dialects would be found to be similar to Kabuli Persian (Dari).

4.1.6 Interaction with neighboring languages

There are Khowar- and Gujari-speaking villages down the valley from Madaglasht in the Shishi Koh Valley. Lorimer (1922) said that the Madaglashti informants he worked with were quite familiar with Khowar.

4.2 Wakhi

4.2.1 Geographic location

In Chitral, Wakhi is spoken by a small group living in the far northeastern end of the Yarkhun Valley. (See map 2.) Elsewhere in Pakistan it is spoken in the Shimshal Valley to the east of the Gojal area north of Hunza. (See Backstrom and Radloff 1992: map 2.) There is a population concentration in

Gojal and in the valleys to the north extending to the Pakistan border. There are also Wakhi speakers in the northern Yasin and Ishkoman Valleys west of Gilgit. It was traditionally spoken in the Wakhan Corridor area of Afghanistan, but since the war in Afghanistan, there are reports (Nyrop 1986:106) that the entire local population left that area. Possibly the largest group of Wakhi speakers are located in the Gorno-Badakhshan region in the former Soviet Union and along the far western border of the Xinkiang Province of China from Pakistan to Kashgar.

4.2.2 History of study

The number of studies on Wakhi has been growing through the last century. In 1876 R.B. Shaw (cited in Lorimer 1958) published a book on Wakhi and other languages which he called *Ghalchah* languages. He did not mention where his information came from, so it cannot be compared with information from other areas to determine variation. From 1921 to 1935 D. L. R. Lorimer (1958) collected information from participants from Gulmit in Gojal. He also had information from one man from Sarhad, a village in the northeastern end of the Wakhan Corridor. His data were supplemented by information collected by Lieutenant R. Carter in the Ishkoman, Yasin, and Yarkhun Valleys. In 1929, Morgenstierne (1932) collected information from men coming from villages in the Wakhan Corridor. In 1936, S. I. Klimchitskiy (cited in Lorimer 1958) published an article on the Wakhi in the Soviet Pamirs. In 1988, A. L. Grjunberg published two volumes on Wakhi; the second volume is a two-way Wakhi-French dictionary. Other research has been done by Skold, Geiger, Zarubin (all cited in Lorimer 1958), Schomberg (1935, 1938), and Shahrani (1979). There has not been any study that has integrated information on the entire Wakhi community.

Wakhi, as spoken elsewhere in northern Pakistan, is covered more thoroughly by a study included in volume 2 of this series (Backstrom 1992).

4.2.3 History of the people

Morgenstierne (1938:435) says that Wakhi "is derived from the dialect of the very earliest wave of Iranian settlers in these regions, and that it has developed in relative isolation for a considerable period." There are no reports of the earliest movement of the Wakhi into Chitral. However, Lorimer (1958:7-10) and Schomberg (1935:288-289) have documented the immigration of the Wakhi into other valleys in northern Pakistan from about 1860 to 1935.

4.2.4 Related social factors

Israr-ud-Din (1969) reports that the Wakhi are involved primarily in raising livestock but they also do some farming. They generally live in high valleys.

The Chitral District Council (1987) gives the figure of 504 residents of Baroghil, which is a predominantly Wakhi-speaking village. Israr-ud-Din (1969) says that the average family has eight members and that Baroghil has a total Wakhi-speaking population of 450. Inayatullah Faizi (1988) gives a population of 900 Wakhi in the Yarkhun Valley.

4.2.5 Linguistic setting

Wakhi is an archaic Iranian language in the Indo-European family. It is in fact distinct from its neighboring Iranian languages, showing isolated development and little borrowing of words. It is placed in a group of languages which are called *Pamir* languages (Comrie 1981:165-166); this group was called *Ghalchah* by Shaw (1876) and Grierson (LSI X).

4.2.6 Dialectal Variation

Both Morgenstierne (1938:442) and Lorimer (1958:3) presume that there is some dialectal difference between the widely distant Wakhi locations. Both state that there is still too little known to make much of a comparison. Words which

Lorimer (1958:3) read to his informants in Hunza from Shaw's earlier work were identified as being Sarikoli, which is in the Pamir region.

4.2.7 Relationships with neighboring languages

Morgenstierne (1938:441-2) notes that the words shared between Wakhi and Khowar are of an interesting nature. These words give evidence that a large population of Khowar speakers were previously in frequent contact with Wakhi speakers. Morgenstierne suggests that this was probably by way of Baroghil Pass. However, Israr-ud-Din (1990:10) notes that long ago there were passes between the Mulkhow and Torkhow Valleys, and the Wakhan Corridor. Morgenstierne (1932:68) noted that the speech of several of his language helpers was very mixed with other neighboring Pamir languages.

4.2.8 Second language proficiency

The Wakhi are reported to use Tajik Persian as their literary language in the former Soviet Union (Akiner 1983:379). There were no reports regarding the Khowar proficiency of the Wakhi in the Yarkhun Valley.

4.3 Gujari

4.3.1 Geographic location

Gujari is spread across a very large area from India to Afghanistan. There is a difference between where Gujars live and where the language is spoken, since a great number of ethnic Gujars on the plains no longer speak Gujari. In Chitral District, Gujari is spoken in approximately fourteen villages in the Shishi Koh Valley north of Drosh. There are also groups of Gujars living around Drosh and in villages south of Drosh along the Chitral River to Arandu. Nagar is reported to have the largest concentration of Gujars in the Chitral Valley. There are a few families of Gujari speakers in the Bumboret and Ashret Valleys.

Edelberg and Jones (1979:100) report Gujars moving into Afghanistan from the Lutkuh Valley, but the presence of Gujars northwest of Chitral town was not confirmed in this study.

4.3.2 History of study

Grierson (LSI IX.4) included samples of Gujari from Kashmir and from the Hazara and Swat Districts of present day Pakistan. Morgenstierne (1932:63) made mention of Gujars in Chitral, but other than checking a few words he did no further study on Gujari. In 1982, Sharma produced a grammar of Gujari (Gojri) as spoken in Poonch District in Jammu and Kashmir.

A more thorough study of Gujari in northern Pakistan is found in volume 3 of this series (Hallberg and O'Leary 1992). Included there are data on Chitral Gujari which were collected from participants from Tharo, Ashriki, Dambirga, and Bela in the Shishi Koh Valley, and from Drosh, Domshigur, and Nagar (see map 4) in the main Chitral Valley. Data was collected at various times from 1987 to 1990.

4.3.3 History of the people

Some scholars (Grierson LSI IX.4, Sharma 1982) believe that Gujari spread from the Rajasthan area in India northward into the mountains. Israr-ud-Din (1969:55) says that the spread of Gujars in southern Chitral has been within this century and that they came from Dir, Swat, and Hazara areas. Their entry into Chitral must have been earlier than the beginning of this century, however, because Robertson (1896:297-8) reported that in the late 1800s the Mehtar of Chitral was responsible for moving Gujars into the neighboring region of Nuristan in Afghanistan.

4.3.4 Related social factors

The Gujars of Chitral living in the Shishi Koh Valley are mostly involved in goatherding; there are also some involved in farming. Gujars were observed herding goats for Kalasha in the Bumboret Valley. Israr-ud-Din (1969:55) reports that the Gujars

do not own their own land but lease it from others. Those that have moved down around Drosh work as servants and laborers. Israr-ud-Din (1969:55) estimates that there are 3000 speakers of Gujari in Chitral. A participant in this study from Nagar reported that about 60 of the 150 homes in Nagar are Gujar.

4.3.5 Linguistic setting

According to Grierson (LSI IX.4) and Bailey (1908, cited in Sharma 1982) Gujari is thought to be related to Rajasthani in India. It is an Indo-Aryan (Indic) language in the Indo-European family.

4.3.6 Interaction with neighboring languages

In Chitral, the Gujar villages are surrounded by villages of Khowar speakers. There are about 18 Khowar-speaking villages alternating in position with the 14 Gujar villages in the Shishi Koh Valley. Five or six of the Gujar villages in the Shishi Koh Valley also have Pashto speakers living in them. There are a few families of Gujars living in Phalura-speaking Ashret and Kalasha-speaking Bumboret Valley. In the lower Chitral Valley, south of Mirkhani, there are several small clusters of homes of Pashto speakers living near the Gujars, as well as Shekhani, Dameli, and Gawar-bati speakers. Respondents reported that very few speakers of other languages learn to speak Gujari, although some claim to be able to understand some Gujari.

4.4 Kirghiz

Inayatullah Faizi (1989b) reports that there are a few Kirghiz[13] families living in the area of Baroghil Pass at the northeastern end of Chitral District. (See map 2.) The Kirghiz

[13] In the same article, Faizi mentions that there are Sarikoli Ismailis living nearby, but nothing more is known about these families. Sarikoli is a Pamir language in the Iranian branch of the Indo-European family. The majority of Sarikoli speakers live in the far western end of the Xinjiang-Uygur Autonomous Region of China.

were dislocated from Andijan in the Kirgizskaya Republic in the former Soviet Union. The main body of Kirghiz speakers spreads over a large area of the Kirgizskaya Republic and the Xinjiang-Uygur Autonomous Region in China. They reportedly came to Chitral in the 1940s as a result of Soviet military raids upon their homeland. According to Faizi, they live a difficult life relying on help from neighboring Wakhi speakers. Kirghiz is a Turkic language in the Altaic family. The Kirghiz people are Sunni Muslims.

4.5 Pashto

Pashto has not been studied as a language of Chitral. However, in recent years, it has been spreading into Chitral and influencing the sociolinguistic situation; thus some information concerning Pashto is applicable to this study. D. Hallberg (1992) has reported on the dialects of Pashto in volume 4 of this series.

4.5.1 Geographic location

Pashto, the language of the Pashtoons, is spoken over a large area of Pakistan and Afghanistan. In Chitral, there are small, scattered Pashtoon villages, or simply clusters of homes, along the Chitral River between Langorbat and Mirkhani. (See map 4.) This section of the Chitral River runs through a narrow gorge and there is little arable land. In this study, there were reports of Pashtoon families living in Arandu, the Damel Valley, Ashret, Suwir, Ziaret, Drosh, Chitral town, and in the Urtsun Valley. Israr-ud-Din (1969:55) reports that there are also Pashtoons living in Mastuj and Reshun in northern Chitral, and Bach Uch in the Arkari Valley. (See map 2.)

4.5.2 Related historical information

Biddulph (1880:163) reports that in the 15th and 16th centuries the Pashtoons began invading the Kunar Valley in Afghanistan and the Panjkora (Dir) Valley in Pakistan. This forced some of the smaller language groups to move north, particularly the Gawar. Morgenstierne (1932:67) reported that in

1929 there were only a few Pashto-speaking settlers in the Ashret Valley, possibly having moved there from Dir. Several Pashtoons were interviewed for this study; they reported that their families had lived in Chitral for many years, probably immigrating in the 1930s.

4.5.3 Present social factors

Israr-ud-Din (1969:55) reports that while the 3000 Pashto speakers comprise only about one percent of the population in Chitral, they control about eighty-five percent of the trade in the district; thus he observes that Pashtoons "try their best to dominate the rest of the population commercially." Munnings (1990:17) notes that in past decades the Pashtoons who immigrated to Chitral for business would learn Khowar to be able to communicate with their customers, but that more recent immigrants and refugees do not learn Khowar. Instead, their customers learn Pashto to communicate with them. Pashtoons generally prefer marriages within their own group, but many of the non-Pashtoon respondents reported having Pashtoon relatives.

Munnings (1990:21) observes that people in Chitral seem to have a general dislike for Pashtoons and their language. Some Chitralis reported that they prefer to use Urdu or Khowar with a Pashtoon unless he is monolingual in Pashto. However, they will learn Pashto if they are in a situation which requires it, such as living in Peshawar or some areas of southern Chitral.

4.6 Urdu

In Chitral, Urdu is not spoken as a mother tongue except possibly by a few merchants and government personnel who are temporarily residing there. It is the national language of Pakistan, the medium of higher education in government schools, the language of many government functions, and the language of wider communication throughout the country, including newspapers and radio. To gain a coveted civil service position one must have a knowledge of Urdu, but outside of its use in infrequent civil interactions (such as speaking with a policeman

from the Panjab Province), in school or for reading and writing most people in Chitral have no need for Urdu. Nevertheless, Urdu retains the prestige of being the symbol of national unity and the badge of literacy and education for the different language groups in Chitral.

4.7 English

In Chitral, English is not spoken by anyone as a mother tongue. It is, however, an international language with great prestige. Some private schools use English as the medium of instruction, and in the government schools, it is an important language of higher education. Because it is an unofficial language of many government functions, knowledge of English is useful for getting a civil service job. Some English is also useful for anyone who wishes to deal with foreign tourists who visit Chitral. For these reasons, some people in Chitral have a strong desire to learn English and to have their children educated in an English-medium school (Munnings 1990:23).

4.8 Arabic

In Chitral, Arabic is not spoken by anyone as a mother tongue. However, it has great prestige as a religious language for Muslims. Many people gain some degree of proficiency in Arabic for studying religious books.

4.9 Languages of refugees

There are a number of languages discussed in this volume which have traditionally been spoken in Afghanistan; due to the war there, substantial numbers from those language communities, if not virtually all, have moved into Pakistan. The future of these language groups will be drastically altered if these refugees settle permanently in Pakistan. Three of these languages, Sawi, Munji, and Kamviri, are discussed more fully in other chapters. The Gawar-bati speaking community, which has been present historically in a few villages in both Pakistan and

Afghanistan, has also been significantly impacted. These changes are the most recent examples in the long history of such people movements in South and Central Asia. It remains to be seen what the long term effects will be on the sociolinguistic environment of Chitral and on the linguistic map of Pakistan.

5. GENERAL CONCLUSIONS REGARDING THE LANGUAGES OF CHITRAL

This study is a snapshot of the sociolinguistic environment of Chitral at one point in time. The view has been a limited one: limited by an outsider's viewpoint, limited by time, and limited in scope. There are many factors at work, some affecting the maintenance of languages, others causing language shift. There are increasing language choices available to the people of Chitral. Most of the people are proud of their particular language and desire that it be maintained as part of their ethnolinguistic identity. Along with such interests in protecting their unique cultures, many language group spokesmen expressed a desire for economic and educational development in Chitral. There is a low literacy rate within Chitral and the education system is not equipped to adequately handle education in such a multilingual environment. Munnings (1990:42) lists some key factors identified by the people of Chitral which are important for the development of the region:

1. The return of the Afghan refugees to Afghanistan.
2. The completion of the Lowari Tunnel.
3. Improvement of the local economy (in agriculture and in small industry).
4. Improvement of transportation and health services.
5. Reform of the educational system to promote basic literacy (in Khowar and Urdu) and the acquisition of occupational and technical skills that will benefit the local economy.

In his Welcome Address to the guests at the Second International Hindu Kush Cultural Conference, Israr-ud-Din (1990b) spoke of these issues of development and cultural preservation and gave a clear explanation of the motivations which underlie this research. It is fitting to end with his words:

> This entry of Chitral into the larger cultural arenas of the nation and of the world is inextricably related to the second aspect of our cultural and developmental dilemma. With rapid change comes dislocation and discontinuity. We are in a period in which our various cultures, in which we take pride for their ancient roots and their unique customs and institutionalized values, are under tremendous pressure. We see around us the beginnings of cultural loss and deterioration, and the prospect of their eventual extinction. . . . For these reasons, every group is rightly concerned about maintaining the continuity of those aspects of its cultural heritage which are deemed essential to maintaining its distinctive identity. At this particular historical juncture, we in the northern mountains of Pakistan find ourselves facing the problem of how to preserve the best elements of our traditional cultures while adopting selectively the beneficial elements of the new.
>
> This is not to say that we want to remain in a cultural vacuum or to preserve a past status quo forever. This is neither a healthy nor a possible goal. Cultural change is inevitable, but we hope and believe that with thoughtful and enlightened leadership among our scholars and educationists, the progress of cultural change can be shaped and guided to produce a positive and healthy synthesis of the old and the new.

Further research into the languages of Chitral is in keeping with the proposed resolutions of the Second International Hindu Kush Cultural Conference (19-23rd September, 1990), which called for "the protection of living cultures and cultural traditions in the diverse societies of the Hindu Kush."

CHAPTER 2

KHOWAR

1. INTRODUCTION AND PURPOSE

This chapter discusses Khowar, the predominant language of the Chitral District and the Chitrali people. The primary purpose of this portion of the study was to describe the sociolinguistic environment of the language of wider communication which is influencing, to a large measure, the other language communities in Chitral. Aspects of language variation, multilingual proficiency, language vitality, language use, and language attitudes are described.

Information for this study was collected during the summers of 1989 and 1990. Word lists were collected from: Kesu, near Drosh; Garam Chishma, in the Lutkuh Valley; Pargam, near Harchin in the Laspur Valley; Odir, near Rain in the Torkhow Valley; Chatorkhand, in the Ishkhoman Valley; and from Ushu, near Kalam in the northern Swat Valley. Questionnaires and interviews were conducted with forty-two Khowar speakers from these aforementioned villages and elsewhere throughout Chitral District, Yasin Valley, Ishkhoman Valley, Gilgit, and Peshawar. Supplemental information from interviews with speakers of the other languages in Chitral District concerning Khowar's influence on these languages is addressed more thoroughly in the respective chapters of this volume.

2. GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION

Khowar is the predominant language of Chitral District in northwestern Pakistan. (See map 2.) It is spoken as far west as Garam Chishma in the Lutkuh Valley. To the north, Khowar is the language of the Torkhow, Mulkhow, Laspur, and Yarkhun Valleys. South of Shandur Pass, Khowar is spoken on the west side of the Hindu Raj Range down to Arandu (see map 4),

although it is a minority language in most of the villages south of Mirkhani. Between Mirkhani and Chitral town, Khowar meets the Kalasha language along the west side of the Chitral River.

East of Chitral, in Gilgit District, Khowar crosses over Shandur Pass into the Ghizr Valley as far as Gupis. (See map 2.) Schomberg (1935:68) reported that in the 1930s Khowar was spoken in the villages of Yasin and Sandhi in the Yasin Valley. According to information gathered by a colleague, Backstrom, the majority of the people in Thaus (see Backstrom and Radloff 1992:map 2) are Khowar speakers; Khowar speakers also live in other villages in the central and northern Yasin Valley. In the Ishkoman Valley, the respondents reported, Khowar is the predominant language in Shonast, Phakor, Dain, Chatorkhand, Mayon, and Hatoon, and a minority language elsewhere. There are Khowar speakers in some of the villages in the Punial area west of Gilgit, and in Gilgit itself.

In Swat District, there are small communities of Khowar speakers in the northern Swat Valley, namely, at Ushu and Mathiltan.[1] There are ethnic Kho who no longer speak Khowar in other locations in Swat (S. Decker 1992). Buddruss (1988:14) mentions a report by a Soviet scholar that there are Khowar speakers in the Gorno-Badakhshan region in the former Soviet Union. There are also permanent communities of Khowar speakers in Peshawar and Rawalpindi.

3. HISTORY OF STUDY

The first studies of Khowar by Europeans were short vocabularies and grammatical notes by Leitner (cited in Endresen and Kristiansen 1981) and Biddulph (1880). In 1895 Captain D. J. T. O'Brien wrote an introductory book entitled *Grammar and Vocabulary of the Khowar Dialect (Chitrali)*. Grierson's *Linguistic Survey of India* included material collected by Colonel B. E. M. Gurdon who lived in Chitral from 1895 to 1902. A few other Europeans collected Khowar songs and

[1] Stahl (1988:16) also lists Bishin Mul and Shon.

ethnographic information; however, apparently no one went to Chitral for the express purpose of studying the Kho or their language. When Morgenstierne visited Kabul, Afghanistan, in 1924, he collected a few songs and texts in Khowar from a Chitrali servant. In 1929 he collected more texts and vocabulary, but, according to Endresen and Kristiansen (1981:216), he never focused his full attention on Khowar. Morgenstierne obtained some information from D. L. R. Lorimer, who, between 1915 and 1924, collected a large volume of material on Khowar from Yasin and Chitral town. Unfortunately, most of Lorimer's material has never been published and lies in the University of London's School of Oriental and African Studies library stacks. Since Morgenstierne's death in 1978, Endresen and Kristiansen have further analyzed some material collected by Morgenstierne. In 1981 Mohammad Ismail Sloan published a Khowar-English dictionary. Recent studies of the language have been done separately by Bashir (cited in Masica 1991) and Munnings.

One interesting aspect of Khowar studies has been the involvement of South Asians and, later, Chitralis themselves as the researchers of Khowar. Gurdon's information from 1895, was revised for the *Linguistic Survey of India* (LSI VIII.2) by Khan Sahib Abdul Hakim Khan, a native assistant political agent, who was very knowledgeable about Khowar, as well as many other languages of northwestern India (present-day northern Pakistan). Morgenstierne (cited in Endresen and Kristiansen 1981:216) maintained correspondence with certain influential Khowar speakers who began to take up the torch of Khowar research and language development. Two of them, Prince Hisam-ul-Mulk and Wazir Ali Shah, wrote extensive collections of Khowar folklore. Morgenstierne and Wazir Ali Shah collaborated on a publication of Khowar songs in 1959. Sometime in the 1950s Prince Samsam-ul-Mulk wrote a grammar of Khowar and a course book for primary classes. Although the precise date is unclear, it is certain that by the late 1950s an alphabet had been adapted for Khowar based on Arabic and Urdu writing systems. Khowar speakers were responsible for this development. Prof. Israr-ud-Din, a Chitrali, has written several studies on the history of Chitral (1979) and the cultures

of Chitral (1969). Today there is a small but growing number of local writers.

4. HISTORY OF THE PEOPLE

4.1 Name of the people and language

The language is usually called *Khowar* (sometimes spelled *Kohwar*) by the people who speak it as their first language. The people and language are also commonly referred to as *Chitrali* by Khowar speakers as well as others. Leitner (LSI VIII.2:112) called the language *Arniya*, which is the name given to Khowar speakers by the Shina-speaking people. Pashtoons call the people and language *Kashgari* (sometimes spelled *Qashqari*). The Kalasha call Khowar speakers *Patu*. In Swat, Khowar speakers call themselves and their language *Kashgari* or *Chitrali*. A number of different ethnic groups speak Khowar. *Khowar* means "language of the Kho people," but the Kho are not the only people who speak it as their mother tongue; for example, many Khowar speakers in southern Chitral are commonly believed to be ethnically Kalasha. (See also Israr-ud-Din 1990:28.)

The words *Kho* and *Khowar* are spoken with an initial aspirated velar stop [k^h]. In South Asia the kh sequence is often used as a grapheme to represent the velar fricative [x]. In Khowar /xowar/ means "the poor one" or "the inferior one" (Munnings 1990:3). Therefore, the pronunciation /xowar/ should be avoided. This study will use *Khowar* to refer to the language and *Chitrali* to refer to the people who speak Khowar.

4.2 History

Khowar is believed to have been spoken in Chitral for a very long time. It is generally accepted that Khowar spread throughout Chitral from the northern part of the region, specifically from the Torkhow Valley. Most researchers believe that the original Khowar speakers came to Chitral as part of the Aryan invasion into South Asia. Morgenstierne (1932:47) says

that the original home of the Kho was northern Chitral in the valleys around Mastuj, although their settlements in the Ghizr Valley are also ancient (Morgenstierne 1938:442). He suggests that at some point some of the Kho crossed Baroghil Pass and occupied part of the Wakhan Valley, in what is now Afghanistan. Israr-ud-Din (1990:10) notes that long ago Chitralis could cross to the Wakhan Valley by mountain passes from the Mulkhow and Torkhow Valleys. According to Kho and Kalasha traditions, historically, the Kho did not extend south of Reshun; in the south the Kalasha were dominant. The Kalasha language has since receded into a few small valleys south of Chitral town, and Khowar has extended south of Drosh. This displacement of Kalasha may have begun in the early 14th century. (See Chapter 5, §4.2.)

The people of the Yasin and Ghizr Valleys and the Punial area frequently had Kho rulers who came from Chitral. E. O. Lorimer (1939:19) relates that the Chitrali *Khushwaqt* ruling family conquered these areas in the early 1700s. According to Schomberg (1935:172) and respondents interviewed in this study, Khowar speakers have been moving eastward into the Gilgit District for several centuries.

Chitrali interviewees living in Swat said that their ancestors had been sent as a gift to the ruler of Kalam from the Mehtar of Chitral because they were good water mill builders. Another story related in Swat is that the ruler of Kalam had a confederation with the rulers of the Chitral, Yasin, and Tangir Valleys against the Wali of Swat, and their forefathers came as part of the arrangement to cooperatively fight against any aggressor. Barth (1985:102) relates that whenever a ruler of Chitral was exiled, he would take refuge in Kalam. From this evidence we see that there has been a historical relationship between the peoples of Chitral and the northern Swat Valley.

5. PRESENT SOCIAL FACTORS

5.1 Agriculture and economics

Most of Chitral is dry and mountainous. Crops cannot be grown without irrigation in this mountainous region. Southern Chitral is more fertile and developed than northern Chitral, which is dry and barren. Those who live in unirrigatable places depend on livestock for their livelihood.

While some Chitralis are employed as shopkeepers and artisans, I observed that outsiders — Pashtoons in Drosh, Persian speakers in Garam Chishma, and both groups in Chitral town — are taking a major portion of the bazaar business.[2]

Munnings (1990:17) points out that in the past Pashtoon immigrants tended to learn Khowar in order to live peacefully in Chitral, but recent Pashto-speaking Afghan refugees who have begun to compete in business are less willing to accommodate themselves to the local situation.

5.2 Religion and politics

Approximately sixty-five percent of Chitralis belong to the Sunni sect of Islam; the other thirty-five percent are Ismaili Muslims. The Ismailis live mostly in the northern valleys.

In 1969 Chitral became a district of the Northwest Frontier Province of Pakistan; district headquarters are in Chitral town. There is a special branch of the Pakistan Army called the Chitral Scouts, made up predominantly of Chitrali men. The deputy commissioner, the superintendent of police, the commander of

[2] One man in Drosh explained that the Chitralis have many social commitments to maintain, such as extending credit and throwing large wedding parties, that deplete the capital they could otherwise use to expand their business. In contrast, Pashtoon immigrants can live very simply. They have few local social commitments and few, if any, family members nearby to spend money on. Pashtoon businessmen are also more likely to have good business contacts down-country, enabling them to get better wholesale prices. The Pashtoons are thus able to develop and enlarge their businesses while Chitrali businesses stagnate.

the Chitral Scouts, and the officer in charge of the regular army unit stationed in the area are all non-Chitralis as a matter of policy. Chitrali politicians are active in all levels of the national government.

5.3 Population distribution

There are no accurate estimations of the number of Khowar speakers. The 1983 Chitral District Council census, as well as the Chitral District Council's 1987 rearrangement for local body elections, lists a population of 215,000 people in Chitral. This figure includes speakers of all languages, but excludes Afghan refugees. Israr-ud-Din (cited in Munnings 1990:5), professor of geography at the University of Peshawar, estimated the district's population at 200,000 in 1984; he said that 90 percent of the residents are Khowar speakers. As reported in the other chapters, there are 36,500 to 43,700 speakers of languages other than Khowar in Chitral. This would mean that there are 173,000 to 200,000 first-language speakers of Khowar in Chitral.

To estimate the number of Khowar speakers in the Gilgit District, the populations of villages respondents reported to be ninety percent or more Khowar-speaking were totalled, using statistics from the 1981 District Census Report of Gilgit. The populations of Hatoon, Chatorkhand, Dain, Phakor, Shonast, and Thaus total 8600. There are many more Khowar speakers in other villages in the Gilgit District, so the estimate is rounded to 10,000.

The Wali of Swat (cited in Barth 1985:102) states that about 400 households in the Kalam area speak Khowar. Using an estimate of seven members per household (Israr-ud-Din 1990:28), this is 2800 Khowar speakers. The respondents in Swat estimated that there are 700 to more than 1000 Khowar speakers in Ushu and Mathiltan.

Chitralis interviewed in Peshawar estimated that more than 400 families and possibly as many as 5000 individuals in Peshawar are Khowar speakers; there are as many in Rawalpindi also. According to Buddruss (1988:14-15), there may be a group of Khowar speakers in the former Soviet Union; we do not know

what size group.[3] Chart 1 lists the above estimates. A practical estimate for the total population of Khowar speakers is 200,000.

Chart 1

Population Estimates

Chitral District	173,000	to	200,000
Gilgit District	8,600	to	10,000
Northern Swat Valley	700	to	2,800
Peshawar and Rawalpindi	5,700	to	10,000
TOTAL	188,000	to	222,800

5.4 Availability of education

There are elementary schools in most Khowar-speaking villages in Chitral. There are high schools in many larger villages. There are colleges at Buni, Chitral town, and Drosh. Some Chitrali men and a few women pursue higher education at the University of Peshawar and other Pakistani universities. A 1983 survey by the Chitral District Council gives the following list (Chart 2) of schools for all of Chitral, regardless of the dominant language of the community:

[3] Meillet and Cohen (1952:22) said that there were 6956 speakers of Khowar in India; the geographic area they were referring to is present-day Pakistan. Given the number of speakers there are today, this estimate must be incorrect.

Chart 2

Number of Schools in Chitral District

Girls primary schools	55
" middle "	1
" high "	3
Boys primary schools	132
" middle "	20
" high "	19

Most of the respondents in southern Chitral and in the Khowar-speaking areas outside of Chitral reported that all or most boys in their villages go to school. Respondents in northern Chitral reported that only a few boys in their villages are being educated. Respondents from the Ishkoman Valley and southern Chitral reported that most of the girls in their villages are being educated. Participants from the other Khowar-speaking areas in Swat and Gilgit District reported that few or none of the girls in their villages attend school. The 1983 Chitral District Council's survey in Chitral gives the following attendance (Chart 3) for all schools, regardless of the students' mother-tongue:

Chart 3

Attendance Figures for Schools in Chitral District

	Primary	Middle	High	College	Total
Males	14,951	7,268	4,003	1,820	28,042
Females	3,337	554	231	87	4,209

The 1983 survey also lists 44,651 males and 55,730 females as being illiterate. I assume this refers to school age children who are not attending school.

Munnings (1990:39) estimates that one percent of Chitrali women and fifteen percent to twenty percent of Chitrali men are literate. Of the 42 respondents involved in this study, 12 had

post-matriculation education. Another 12 had less than two years of education.

5.5 Development organizations

Numerous development projects have been accomplished throughout the district by the government and by aid from foreign governments. These projects include roads, electrification, bridges, and irrigation projects. The Agha Khan Rural Support Program (AKRSP) is active in many areas with similar projects.

One of the major development projects that has concerned the people of Chitral is referred to as the Lowari Tunnel. Chitral is connected to the rest of Pakistan by a dirt road going over Lowari Pass. This pass is closed by snow five months a year. A tunnel under the pass was begun in the early 1970s, but progress has been delayed for technical and financial reasons for many years. There is an airport in Chitral town, but flights are irregular at best, and essentially nonexistent in the winter; planes cannot be depended on to transport supplies to the people of Chitral in the winter. Life in Chitral is difficult through the winter, and particularly toward spring, as supplies become depleted before the pass opens again. During the winter of 1989-1990 supplies were brought by road from Peshawar to Chagha Sarai, Afghanistan and then up the Kunar Valley to Chitral.

6. LINGUISTIC AFFILIATION

Khowar is an Indo-European, Indo-Iranian, Indo-Aryan (Indic) language of the Dardic, Chitral sub-group (Morgenstierne 1961:138-139; Emeneau 1966; Strand 1973:302; Voegelin and Voegelin 1965:284-294; Ruhlen 1987:325). Morgenstierne (1947:6-8) states that although Khowar has been strongly influenced by the Iranian languages to the west, its general structure is purely Indo-Aryan. He bases his classification on Khowar's preservation of several archaic phonological features and of the old Indo-Aryan case system. The only other Dardic

language that Khowar is closely related to is Kalasha. They share certain unique grammatical features, but there is not much lexical similarity.

Although Kalasha is considered to be in the same subgroup as Khowar, there is no doubt that the two languages are separate and mutually unintelligible.

7. REPORTED LINGUISTIC VARIATION OF KHOWAR

Several researchers have observed that there is little or no variation to the language (E. O. Lorimer 1939; Morgenstierne 1932; Munnings 1990). A recent article by Inayatullah Faizi (1989), a Khowar speaker, compares the Khowar spoken in six different areas: Chitral town and Drosh (southern Chitral); the Torkhow and Mulkhow Valleys (northwestern Chitral); Biyar which includes the Yarkhun Valley (northeastern Chitral), the Lutkuh and Arkari Valleys (west-central Chitral); the Laspur area (east-central Chitral); and the Ghizr, Yasin, and Ishkoman Valleys (western Gilgit District). (See map 2.) He concludes that there is only slight variation between these areas, with the most divergence in the Lutkuh Valley and Gilgit District.

Participants interviewed in this study had definite opinions about where the purest and least pure Khowar is spoken. Nearly all of the respondents in Chitral said that the Khowar spoken in the Torkhow Valley is the purest; most also mentioned the Mulkhow Valley. Participants from outside of Chitral simply said that the best Khowar is spoken in Chitral. As for the least pure Khowar spoken in Chitral, some respondents said the speech of the Lutkuh Valley; others said southern Chitral. The people of Pargam told me that the speech of Garam Chishma is somewhat different from theirs and is a little difficult to understand. They all said that the reason these people speak impure Khowar is that they mix it with different languages. Chitral town is central in the travel patterns of Chitral, but the Khowar spoken there is also said to be mixed with Urdu and other languages. The Khowar spoken in the Laspur and Lutkuh Valleys is sometimes identified as unusual. This is possibly due to influence from other languages; Yidgha was formerly spoken

in some villages in the Lutkuh Valley, and Phalura may have been spoken in the Laspur Valley. The respondents from the Ishkoman Valley said that various locations in the Gilgit area, and the Ishkoman and Yasin Valleys speak impure Khowar because the people mix it with neighboring languages.

Most participants said that they had no difficulty understanding the speech of Khowar speakers from other areas, although the Chitrali respondents from Swat said they rarely meet Khowar speakers from outside of their area.

Munnings (personal communication) reports that people from northern Chitral generally regard their brand of Khowar as more original and "correct". Some northern Chitralis refer to the people of southern Chitral as ethnically Kalasha, or say that their Khowar has been negatively influenced by Kalasha, Pashto, and Urdu. The people of southern Chitral seem to recognize that the original home of Khowar is in the Mulkhow and Torkhow Valleys, but are not prepared to admit that their own brand of Khowar is inferior. They regard people from northern Chitral as a bit rustic, quaint, or unsophisticated.

Morgenstierne (1932:50) explains the homogeneity of the language by the fact that, historically, peasants were transferred from one part of the district to another by members of the ruling class. Fussman (1972:23) explains the homogeneity by relating that the sons of noble Kho families were always raised in a family other than their own. Munnings (1990:11) believes that, in addition to these factors, the practice of obtaining brides from distant villages helps account for Khowar's minimal dialectal variation.

8. RELATIONSHIP BY LEXICAL SIMILARITY

The Khowar word lists were collected from seven locations. After checking the written word lists with Munnings' (1987) and Sloan's (1981) dictionaries, some words were eliminated as poorly elicited. Following is a list of the actual number of words compared from each location: Chatorkhand 203, the Swat Valley

195, Pargam 168, Odir 203, Garam Chishma 203, and Kesu 202. Each word list was compared with all the others, pair by pair, in order to determine the extent to which the corresponding 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.[4] A lexical similarity comparison is represented in chart 4, with the percentage of words considered similar between each of the locations.

Chart 4

Lexical Similarity Percentages

Chatorkhand (Ishkoman Valley)					
86	Ushu (Swat Valley)				
90	87	Pargam Nisar (Laspur Valley)			
94	91	93	Odir (Torkhow Valley)		
91	88	93	98	Garam Chishma	
91	89	94	98	97	Kesu

The motivation behind a count based on phonetic similarity is that such comparisons aim to indicate how well speakers from different locations might understand each other. These lexical similarity percentages show that there is a small amount of variation among the different locations. This information, considered with other information concerning the uniformity of grammatical forms and respondent opinion, indicates that speakers from different areas have little difficulty understanding one another. Swat Khowar shows the greatest difference from the other locations.

[4] The complete Khowar word lists are included in appendix B. See appendix A for a more thorough description of the word list comparison method.

9. INTERACTION WITH AND USE OF NEIGHBORING LANGUAGES

In Chitral District, Khowar is the regional *lingua franca*, but there are several other languages in the region as well: Dameli, Eastern Kativiri, Shekhani, Gawar-bati, Kalasha, Phalura, Gujari, Yidgha, and Wakhi. Several major languages that are spoken outside of Chitral influence the sociolinguistic situation of Khowar in Chitral. South of Chitral, Pashto is the *lingua franca*, and today many Pashto speakers are moving into southern Chitral. Urdu, as the national language of Pakistan, has an influence in Chitral through education. Chitral is a popular tourist spot, and due to tourism, English has become influential. Persian was the official language of Chitral until 1953; Persian has had some linguistic effect on Khowar.

The Chitrali participants in the Gilgit District reported contact with Shina, Burushaski, and Wakhi speakers. The Chitrali respondents in Swat reported frequent contact with Kalami speakers. Khowar-speaking participants in Peshawar reported daily contact with Pashto, Punjabi, and Hindko speakers.

Munnings (1990:17) reports that Pashto-speaking Afghan refugees who have moved into southern Chitral in the last decade differ from Pashtoons who have lived in Chitral for several decades. Previously, when Pashto speakers moved into Chitral, they learned Khowar to fit into the society; the new immigrants and refugees, however, do not learn Khowar, which requires some Chitralis to learn Pashto. Typically, speakers of minority languages in Chitral have learned Khowar for use in the bazaars of Drosh and Chitral town.

Some neighboring groups speak Khowar as their second language. This is true of the Phalura, Yidgha, and Kalasha communities; some degree of second language proficiency in Khowar is also occasionally found in parts of the Shekhani, Dameli, Gawar-bati, Wakhi, Kalami, Burushaski, and Shina communities. Respondents from Phalura-speaking Ghos and Yidgha-speaking Zhitor reported that some men in their villages

marry Khowar women so that their children will be raised as Khowar speakers.

10. SECOND LANGUAGE USE PATTERNS

People seem to be proud of their ability to speak other languages, but to have only a pragmatic use for those languages. There was no evidence that Khowar speakers are interested in completely switching to another language.

More than half of the respondents reported that they would allow their children to marry a person from any other language group; however, quite a few said that they want their children to marry a Khowar speaker. Many said that language preservation is an important reason for their decision. In mixed marriages, generally the wife is expected to learn the language of the husband, but in some situations the marriage is arranged to encourage the use of Khowar in the new family.

The majority of teachers in the schools in Chitral are Khowar-speaking Chitralis. It was reported that teachers in the lower levels do not have very good second language ability in Urdu. Also, the students have had very little exposure to Urdu when they first enter school. Therefore, for ease in communication, it can be expected that teachers' explanations in the lower levels are often in Khowar. This must be helpful to Khowar-speaking students, enabling them to progress faster and further than students from other minority languages with less or no proficiency in Khowar. In the upper levels, Urdu is used as the medium of instruction. Nearly all of the Chitral respondents said that they believe their children will need to be able to speak Urdu and English when they become adults.

The Khowar speakers in the Ishkoman Valley and Gilgit area have varying degrees of contact with Shina, Burushaski, and Wakhi speakers. Some of the Chitrali villages in the Ishkoman Valley are predominantly Khowar-speaking, other villages are more mixed. Several of the Chitrali respondents from the Ishkoman Valley reported that they did not learn Shina until they

became adults; others learned Shina from classmates in school. The Chitrali participants said that they can do most of their shopping with Khowar-speaking shopkeepers, except in Gilgit, where they sometimes use Shina, Pashto, or Urdu.

The Chitralis in Swat live amongst Kalami speakers. The respondents there reported that even in their childhood they were able to speak Kalami with their neighbors. There is a bazaar in Mathiltan. Most of the shopkeepers are reported to be Khowar speakers. The largest bazaar town in the area is the village of Kalam, which has Kalami- and Pashto-speaking shopkeepers. In different social settings the Chitralis may use Pashto, Kalami, or Khowar, depending on who is present. One man said that only some Kalami people learn to speak Khowar. Several respondents reported that more Chitrali men marry Kalami-speaking women than Chitrali women, but these women learn Khowar.

The Chitralis in Peshawar reported that they use Pashto or Urdu daily with the different people they meet. One of the men said that Pashto and Urdu are used frequently by all family members in his home. However, many of the Chitralis work in the same general area in Peshawar and they use Khowar amongst themselves.

11. SECOND LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY

Some segments of the Khowar community have become proficient in other languages; no one language is most common, with the possible exception of Urdu. As more men are educated, there will be a higher standard of Urdu ability throughout the community. Pashto may become more common as the Chitralis travel outside of their district to other areas where Pashto is the *lingua franca*. Because Urdu and Pashto are both important to know, it is unlikely that Chitralis will find it advantageous to switch to exclusive use of only one of these languages.

In the rural areas of Chitral District some men learn a little Urdu, Pashto, or Persian. In the Drosh area there is more pressure to learn Pashto. Some Chitralis learn the minority language

spoken in surrounding communities to facilitate social and business interactions. In the larger towns, educated men frequently have the ability to speak some Urdu and English. Khowar-speaking participants from the Swat villages reported that Kalami is the second language in which they have the best proficiency. Several of the respondents in the Ishkoman Valley reported that Shina is their best second language, while others felt that they could speak Urdu best.

Most of the participants reported that their women do not speak a second language, with the exception of Swat women, who are reported to have some ability in Kalami. Several respondents in the Gilgit District reported that their women have some proficiency in Urdu.

Most of the Chitral respondents reported that their children can speak some Urdu. The Drosh participants said that their children can also speak some Pashto and Persian. Those interviewed from central Chitral mentioned English as another language in which their children have some ability. The fact that the fathers mentioned these languages may indicate their aspirations rather than actual fact. Khowar speakers from Swat reported that their children can speak some Kalami and Pashto. Young people have few opportunities to use Urdu or English, so it is likely that their ability is minimal.

12. EVIDENCE OF LANGUAGE VITALITY

Khowar is the predominant language of the Chitral District and the language of a sizable population. A large portion of the population of its speakers are monolingual in Khowar. The language is linguistically quite uniform throughout the community of speakers. It is a written language with a growing body of literature. The people are very proud of their language. There are some radio and television broadcasts in Khowar from Peshawar. These facts are evidence of a very vital language community.

Even the smaller Khowar-speaking communities outside of Chitral District evidence that the language has vitality for those

people. Khowar speakers from Swat and the Gilgit District said that Khowar will continue to be the language their children use most when they become adults. One Chitrali man in Swat said, "We are strict to speak only Chitrali [Khowar] in our homes." Munnings (personal communication) reports that some Chitralis living near Gilgit have been quite active with writing and promoting written Khowar, possibly as a measure of resistance to immersion in the Shina-speaking community. However, the Khowar-speaking communities in Peshawar and Rawalpindi may have somewhat less vitality due to their relatively small numbers in the midst of much larger communities of other-language speakers. A Chitrali in Peshawar said that his children are able to speak Khowar but rarely do.

13. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Khowar is one of the major languages of northern Pakistan; it is the *lingua franca* of Chitral District. For a language spoken throughout such a large area, it appears to have a great degree of uniformity. The political and cultural environment in Chitral has been fairly stable for many centuries because of its geographic isolation. The Chitrali people are proud of their history and language. Khowar language use is active. A small but growing group of men are active in developing Khowar as a written language and in establishing a literary tradition. Conferences have been held to encourage research into Chitrali culture and to provide a forum for the promotion of the language.

Although some members of the Khowar-speaking community have some degree of second language proficiency in at least one other language, there appear to be many monolingual people, mainly in rural areas. In Chitral District, men with some amount of education most commonly reported Urdu as their second language. In the areas outside of Chitral District there is some second language proficiency in the languages of their neighbors: Shina in Gilgit District, Kalami in Swat District, and Pashto in Peshawar.

CHAPTER 3

YIDGHA

1. INTRODUCTION AND PURPOSE

This chapter examines some aspects of the sociolinguistic environment of the Yidgha-speaking community in western Chitral. Information regarding the location and demographics of the speakers of Yidgha is presented as a foundation for understanding the sociolinguistic data. The primary purpose of this chapter is to examine evidence of the language vitality of Yidgha. Data for this study were gathered during several brief research trips to the Lutkuh Valley during the summers of 1989 and 1990. A word list was collected and questionnaires and interviews were conducted with seven respondents from Zhitor, Gufti, Berzin, and Rui all in the Lutkuh Valley. Data collected from two respondents on the related Munji language of Afghanistan are also included for comparison with Yidgha.

2. GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION

The people who speak Yidgha live in the Lutkuh Valley of western Chitral. The 12 to 18 Yidgha villages are located in the Lutkuh Tehsil between Garam Chishma and Dorah Pass (see map 3) at an elevation of from 2400 to 2500 meters (7600 to 7900 feet). Garam Chishma is 45 kilometers (28 miles) by road northwest of Chitral town. The area is a very rugged region of the Hindu Kush Mountains. The problem with identifying the number of villages where the language is spoken is that different sources give different names for some villages, and some sources list as separate entities villages considered to be parts of larger villages. Figure 1 is a list of village names, from east to west, and their sources.

Figure 1

Comparative Listings of Yidgha Villages

Respondents' reports	Chitral District Council (1987)	Sultan-Ul-Arifin (1988)	Morgenstierne (1938)
Burbunu	Burbono Postaki	Burbunu Postaky	Burbunu
Zhitor	Zhitor Zitorsaik	Zhetor Zhetorsahik	Zhitr
Waht	Wakht Koch Khatekh	Woht Koch	Wart
Rui		Rui	Rui
Khoghik	Kohock	Lohok	
Gestami			Gistini
Gulugh			Gulyu
Gufti	Gofti	Gufty	Gurtio/Gufti
Parabek	Parabeg	Parabeg	Parabek
Berzin	Birzine	Berzen	Birzin
Ughuti	Aughti	Aughuty	Avghato
Gohik	Gohiek	Gohek	Goik
Gobar	Gobore		Imirdino/Imurjin[1]

The area of continuous habitation from easternmost Burbunu to Gobar in the west is not more than 12 miles long. Each village, except for Gobar, is inhabited only by Yidgha speakers. According to Morgenstierne's (1938) respondents, in 1929 more Yidgha people lived farther east than the village of Burbunu, at Drushp, Chirwul, and Murdan but they spoke Khowar as their mother tongue.

3. HISTORY OF STUDY

The first publication of linguistic information on Yidgha was a list of words and a few phrases by Biddulph in *Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh* (1880). Several other linguists, namely Tomaschek, Van den Gheyn, and Geiger (cited in Grjunberg 1972), used Biddulph's material in articles concerned with the classification of Yidgha and the related Munji language. Grierson (LSI X) included Biddulph's material and added a bit more information in his *Linguistic Survey of India*. Morgenstierne

[1] Imirdino or Imurjin refer to the same village as Gobar.

(1938) appears to have been the first linguist to actually collect material in the Yidgha area in 1929. In 1988 Mohammad Sultan-Ul-Arifin, a Chitrali, wrote a thesis on the Yidgha language and culture.

4. HISTORY OF THE PEOPLE

4.1 Name of the people and language

Morgenstierne (1930) reported that the name of a member of the tribe is [ɪdəɣ], plural [ɪdɣë]. He said this is also the name of the tribe and the valley. Phonetically, [ɪdəɣ], or [yïdg], points to an ancient form [ɪndug], which derives from (h)induka. Morgenstierne suggests that this name was first given by the Munji, of the Munjan Valley in Afghanistan, to fellow tribesmen who settled on the Indian side of the Hindu Kush Mountains. The language is called *Lutkuhwar* by Khowar speakers, and sometimes by the Yidgha also. One of the respondents involved in this present study said that they sometimes call themselves *Lutkowi*. Sultan-Ul-Arifin (1988) reports the name *Derwesh* for the tribe; however, none of the participants in this study had heard of this name. For the purposes of this study *Yidgha* will be used for both the people and language.

4.2 History

Not much is known about the history of the Yidgha people or language. It is unclear if the language came to the Lutkuh Valley with a group of people or if the people of the Lutkuh Valley adopted the language. Some of both may be true. Biddulph (1880) was the first to describe the Yidgha as the same race as the Munji, who live on the northwest side of the Hindu Kush Mountains west of Dorah Pass. He reported that the Yidgha claim to have migrated from the Munjan Valley (see map 3) seven generations previous to his visit as a result of an invasion of that district by the rulers of Badakhshan. Morgenstierne (1938) said that this tradition is probably true, although his respondents could not confirm it.

Morgenstierne (1938) noted linguistic evidence indicating a long history of contact between Yidgha and Khowar speakers. Two of his respondents claimed that their families had originally come from the Torkhow Valley of Chitral. He said that the Yidgha are socially divided into clans in the same manner as the Kho, the speakers of Khowar. Morgenstierne also noted that although the Lutkuh Valley is in a small, outlying area of Chitral, Yidgha has influenced Khowar; numerous Khowar words are Yidgha in origin. He observed that, to a great extent, the Yidgha have been culturally assimilated into the Kho population. They never seem to have enjoyed any political independence or to have produced any powerful chiefs. Their position on the ancient trade route between Chitral town and Dorah Pass may have contributed to their subjugation.

Although the history of how Yidgha came to be spoken in the Lutkuh Valley is unclear, it seems that there may be a difference between the spread of the language and the movements of the people. Sultan-Ul-Arifin (1988)[2] believes that during the reign of Mahmud of Ghazni, in the 11th century, Afghan soldiers moved into the Yumgan area of Afghanistan (the central area of the Kokcha Valley, see map 3). The presence of the soldiers may have caused some people from the Munjan Valley to move from there to the Lutkuh Valley. Grjunberg (1972) relates a similar Yidgha tradition that the Yidgha moved to the Lutkuh Valley after people from Badakhshan attacked and destroyed villages in the Munjan Valley.

Sultan-Ul-Arifin (1988) relates another story describing how the Yidgha language may have come into the Lutkuh Valley. He tells of Ismaili religious teachers, one of whom spoke Munji, coming into the Lutkuh Valley in the 11th century.[3] It is thought that this Munji man's descendants may have stayed on in

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[2] Sultan-Ul-Arifin (1988) mentions three books that discuss Yidgha history, giving the following reference information: Zabiullah Safa, Dr. 1339 A.H. *Tarikh-e-Ababiyat Dar Iran. (Persian) Vol. II, 3rd Edition*. Murtaza Mirza Ghulam. 1963. *Nai Tarikh Chitral*. (Urdu) Peshawar. Gul Nawaz Khan Khaki. 1981. *Yidghah*.

[3] Jettmar (1989) relates two accounts of someone called Taj Moghal who brought the Ismaili faith to the northern areas of Pakistan. He says that this may have been about 1300 A.D.

the Lutkuh Valley, perhaps being joined by other Munji speakers and that the original inhabitants of the valley learned the language along with the Ismaili teachings. If this story is true, then Yidgha, which was derived from Munji, has been spoken in the Lutkuh Valley for more than 900 years.

A couple of respondents in this present study believe that this story is true. They said that before becoming Yidgha speakers their ancestors had been Persian-speakers. A man in Rui said that he was ethnically Kho and that his family, and fourteen other families in the village, had originally come from the Torkhow Valley. He said that five generations ago the Mehtar of Chitral had given their ancestors land in Rui. Now they all speak Yidgha. These accounts would indicate that the Yidgha language developed out of Munji and that, over time, it spread to become the main language of the inhabitants of the western Lutkuh Valley.

5. PRESENT SOCIAL FACTORS

The central part of the Lutkuh Valley around Parabek is wide and well cultivated. The Yidgha grow a variety of crops, including wheat, maize, and apricots. There is not much rainfall in the area, but sufficient water for irrigation is available from melting snowfields.

The Yidgha are followers of the Ismaili sect of Islam. Sultan-Ul-Arifin (1988) reports that the Yidgha observe several festivals and hold beliefs that diverge from orthodox Ismaili beliefs.

The Lutkuh Valley has been a major route through the mountains for hundreds of years. There is now a dirt road beside the river all the way through the valley. Garam Chishma was an important staging area for Afghan *mujahedin* caravans supplying military operations during the recent war in Afghanistan. The caravans passed through some of the Yidgha villages on their way to and from Afghanistan.

5.1 Population distribution

There are no census figures that count the people by their language. Over one hundred years ago Biddulph (1880:64) estimated the Yidgha population at 1000 families. Based on data collected by Gurdon, who was in Chitral from 1895 to 1902, Morgenstierne (1938) estimated that the population in 1904 was not more than 600 to 700 people. He estimated the 1929 population at 200 to 300 Yidgha-speaking households or 800 to 1000 people. He believed that with 30 years of peace the population could have increased this much from Gurdon's numbers. Possibly Biddulph's estimate was somewhat high.

Figure 2

1987 Chitral District Council Population Figures

Burbunu	134	Gestami	—
Postaki	293	Gulugh	—
Zhitor	621	Gufti	482
Zitorsaik	94	Parabek	533
Waht	277	Berzin	556
Koch	89	Ughuti	396
Khatekh	230	Gohik	277
Rui	—	Gobar	1530
Khoghik	—		

TOTAL (Individuals in all villages) 5512

Figure 2 lists the 1987 Chitral District Council population figures for most, but not all,[4] of the villages. Gobar is a mixed village of Yidgha, Khowar, and Shekhani speakers. Nevertheless, as many as 5000 to 6000 speakers of Yidgha may be estimated.[5]

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[4] The villages of Rui, Khoghik, Gestami, and Gulugh were identified as being Yidgha-speaking villages, but the Chitral District Council population figures were not available for these villages. A respondent estimated 330 people in Rui. The locations for some of the villages named in the District Council figures were not confirmed. (See §2.)

[5] As is discussed in §10.2, some of the Yidgha were reported to have married Khowar wives but these villages were not specified as having mixed populations.

5.2 Availability of education

The only information about the schools obtained for this study was from respondents. They reported boys' primary schools in Zhitor, Parabek, and Berzin. There are girls' primary schools in Zhitor, Rui, and Gufti. There is a boys' middle school in Gufti and a boys' high school in Garam Chishma. In Zhitor it was reported that most of the boys and girls attend school; however, in the other villages it was reported that few of the children attend school. The teachers at the Zhitor schools are all mother-tongue Khowar-speakers.

6. LINGUISTIC AFFILIATION

6.1 Linguistic classification

Yidgha is closely related to Munji, which has historically been spoken in the Munjan and Mamalgha Valleys on the northwest side of the Hindu Kush Mountains in Afghanistan. (See §7.) These languages are described by Payne (1987) as Indo-European, Indo-Iranian, South-East Iranian, Pamir (or Ghalchah) languages. Morgenstierne (1938) considers Munji and Yidgha closest to the *Sanglechi* (also called *Zebak*) and *Ishkashimi* languages, in the Pamir group of Indo-Iranian languages. He considers Munji and Yidgha to be highly archaic, and describes ancient forms of Munji and Yidgha words to support his theory.

6.2 Reported linguistic variation in Yidgha

Morgenstierne (1938) states that there is practically no dialectal variation within the limited area in which Yidgha is spoken. He noted a few words that differ between the western and eastern villages and the tendency of one respondent to nasalize final vowels; these were the only differences he found.

During word list collection for this study there were no significant differences noted. The respondents said that there is no difference from village to village in the way people speak

Yidgha; however, they were able to identify villages where they think Yidgha is spoken with greater purity. Three respondents said that the best Yidgha is spoken in Ughuti; one of these respondents also mentioned Berzin and another included Zhitor. A fourth respondent said that the best Yidgha is spoken in Rui; a fifth respondent said Gufti and Berzin.

7. THE RELATED LANGUAGE OF MUNJI

The two Munji respondents interviewed in this study said that, due to the recent war in Afghanistan, all of the Munji have left Afghanistan and moved to various places in Chitral. Many Munji were killed and many of the villages were destroyed. They said that the people's intention is to return to their traditional villages after peace returns to the area. Therefore, the language will be treated as still being spoken in Afghanistan, though the current research was conducted with Munji-speaking refugees in Pakistan.

7.1 Geographic location

The Munji dialects are spoken in Afghanistan in the Mamalgha (also called *Maghnawul* or *Tagaw*) Valley and in the Munjan Valley south of an area called *Kuran*, where the Kokcha River begins. (See map 3.) The Munjan River is the southeastern source of the Kokcha River. According to Grjunberg (1972), the Munjan Valley is approximately 60 kilometers (37 miles) long and fairly wide. About 22 kilometers (13.5 miles) of the valley were inhabited; there were 13 or 14 settlements or villages in this area. The lowest settlement, Ghumonda, was situated at an elevation of 2775 meters (8769 feet) above sea level. The highest village, Huley, was at more than 3000 meters (9480 feet). In the Mamalgha Valley there were two or three more Munji villages. The Munjan Valley is surrounded by mountains of 5000 to 6000 meters (15,800 to 18,960 feet) in elevation, and there are few passes into the area. At the south, or highest, end of the Munjan Valley there is a fairly easy pass that gives access to the Prasun (also called *Parun*) Valley. At the east, or highest, end of the

Mamalgha Valley there is a pass that gives access to the upper end of the Sanglech Valley; from here there is access, through Dorah Pass, into the Lutkuh Valley. At the north, or lowest, end of the Munjan Valley, where the river enters the Kuran area, there is a gorge that is so narrow as to be virtually impassable. Above this gorge the Pajika Pass gives access to the Kokcha and Anjuman Valleys.

Various sources give different names or spellings for some of the villages. The Munji names are listed (according to Grjunberg 1972) with the Persian names in parentheses. In the Mamalgha Valley, from west to east, are Tagaw (Tagau), Wilf (Wulf or Peip), and Mamalgha (Maghnawul). In the Munjan Valley, from north to south, are Ghumonda (Ghamond), Shoron (Shar-i-Munjan), Dashk (Dasht), Lavowont (Diambi), Vilgva (Wilu), Ghaz, Spazmina (Sho-i-Pari), Waya (Shar Jangal), Shola (Miyondi), Yughdak (Ighdak), Panim (Panam or Panom), Hojakkay (Kala-i-Shah), and Huley (Thili).

7.2 History of study

Shaw (cited in Grjunberg 1972) published the first information on Munji in 1876. He traveled only part way up the Kokcha River and did not enter the Munjan Valley. In 1892 Robertson (1896) visited Wilf for one night. In 1924 two Russian botanists, N. I. Vavilov and D. D. Bukinich (cited in Grjunberg 1972), traveled through the Munjan Valley from the Sanglech Valley to the Prasun Valley. None of these men collected any linguistic information. In 1929 Morgenstierne (1938) was given permission to travel as far as Dorah Pass. He spoke to several Munji men, from whom he collected a large amount of linguistic information. His extensive analysis of Munji was published with his Yidgha analysis in 1938. In 1962 and 1963 a group of West German ethnographers worked in the Munjan area and collected a wealth of anthropological data but very little linguistic data (Snoy 1965). In 1966 Grjunberg (1972) began his studies of Munji while working with a geological expedition in Badakhshan. In 1967 he visited most of the villages in the

Munjan Valley during a one-week stay in the area. His research and analysis of the language appears to be thorough and extensive.

The information gathered for this study was collected during the summer of 1990. A word list was collected from a 45-year-old man from Hojakkay and a teenaged boy from the Munjan Valley (the name of his village is unknown) who were living as refugees in the Arghutsh camp a few miles south of Chitral town.

7.3 History of the people

7.3.1 Name of the people and language

Morgenstierne (1930), in a detailed article about the historic phonological derivation of the name *Munji*, states that it comes from the ancient Persian word for meadow. He says that the Yidgha call the Munjan Valley *Breɣɛyo* and the Kati call it *Mrugul*. Various scholars have used variations of these language names: Grjunberg (1972) called it *Munjhan*, Geiger (cited in Morgenstierne 1938) called it *Munjani*, Gauthiot (cited in Morgenstierne 1938) called it *Mindjani*, Morgenstierne (1930) and Fussman (1972) called it *Munji*. Respondents interviewed for this present study called the language *Munjiwar*, but this seems to be a Khowar version of the name. *Munji* will be used here for both the people and language.

7.3.2 History

There is evidence that the political and economic influence of the Munji in the Hindu Kush region has declined in the last century. Although little is known of their history, Morgenstierne (1930, 1938), Grjunberg (1972), and Snoy (1965) have shown evidence that there was a time when the Munji must have had a wider influence. The Chinese traveler Huan Tsang (cited in Morgenstierne 1938) first mentioned the Munji in the 7th century A.D. Morgenstierne (1938) said that place names to the north of the Munjan Valley give evidence that the language previously extended farther north. Grjunberg (1972) listed Munji place names in the Prasun Valley, interpreting this as evidence of

contact with, not occupation of, the valley. Snoy (1965) notes that the main trade route of the Munji passed through the Prasun Valley to the various Nuristani tribes. Before the Nuristani peoples were converted to Islam (between 1895 and 1900), the Munjan Valley was a center of trade for the tribes of Nuristan. Snoy believes that there was a time when the Munji were strong enough to have raided their Muslim neighbors to the west. After the Islamic conquest of Nuristan, the Nuristani tribes turned their trade toward the south, cutting off trade with the Munji.

The Islamic conquest of the area evidently ushered in a period of war. Some Yidgha traditions related to such battles were reported by Grjunberg (1972) and Sultan-Ul-Arifin (1988) in §4.2. There may have been wars between the Munji and the Nuristani tribes to the south. When Robertson (1896) visited the Mamalgha Valley in 1892, the Munji were frightened by the presence of this British officer and his Nuristani guides. The Munji feared that their Afghan overlords, from Badakhshan, would punish them for allowing Robertson's group into their territory, and they also feared the Nuristani men. Grjunberg (1972) interprets this as showing that, by the end of the 1800s, the situation had changed from a time when they had better relations with their neighbors.

Grjunberg (1972) related that some of the people he met could remember a time when they enjoyed prosperity. Morgenstierne (1938), however, reported that the Munjan Valley was an excessively poor district at the time of his research. He was told that the people of Huley, where the snow remains for three to six months, have sufficient bread for only nine months; the rest of the year they subsist on grass and roots. Huley inhabitants could not keep large flocks owing to the scarcity of pasture. Grjunberg (1972) reported that the Munji bred and raised cows, sheep, goats, and some yaks. They grew few fruits in the lowest villages because of the cold climate. They grew a few grains in small, rocky patches of ground. The Munji traded with Faizabad, on the Kokcha River, to the north and some with Nuristan to the south. They carried salt south to exchange for wool, butter, hides, cows, felt, and wooden utensils. Morgenstierne (1938) said that he saw them transporting rock-

salt to Chitral town. He also reported that they worked in the lapis lazuli mines in the Kokcha Valley.

7.4 Demographic information

Respondents involved in this study said that, due to the war in Afghanistan, some of the men return to the Munjan Valley from Chitral to tend fields during the summer, but none of the Munji live there now. Most of the men find some type of work to supplement the supplies given to them as refugees.

The Munji, like the Yidgha, are Ismaili Muslims. As with the Yidgha, religious and political control has historically come from outside of their area; both their religious leaders and the political offices were previously located in Kuran on the Kokcha River.

In 1924, Vavilov (cited in Grjunberg 1972) counted 464 houses in the Munjan Valley. He estimated two or three people per house, for a total population of 1000 to 1500 people. A few years later, in 1929, Morgenstierne (1938) estimated 172 Munji households. He used a higher per-household estimate of six to nine people, for a similar total population of 1000 to 1500 people. In 1967, Grjunberg (1972) estimated that the population was 278 households. He did not estimate the number of individuals. If Morgenstierne and Grjunberg's counts were accurate, there may have been a fifty percent increase in the population between 1929 and 1967. If this growth rate has continued, there may be 2000 to 2500 Munji speakers today. However, the population may have decreased due to the war. There is no confirmation of the size of the Munji-speaking population.

Grjunberg (1972) reported that in 1967 there were no schools in the Munjan Valley and very few people were literate. Today some refugee children from other language groups from Afghanistan are getting education in Chitral, but nothing is known specifically about Munji children.

7.5 Linguistic classification

As described in §6.1, Munji is classified with Yidgha as an Indo-Iranian, South-East Iranian, Pamir (or Ghalchah) language. Munji and Yidgha have a close historical connection, but according to Morgenstierne (1938) the languages show considerable differences.

7.6 Reported linguistic variation in Munji

Morgenstierne (1938) divided Munji into two dialects on the basis of phonetic differences between the villages of the lower Munjan Valley and the Mamalgha Valley and the higher villages in the Munjan Valley.

Grjunberg (1972) divided Munji into four dialects: a lower variety in Shoron, Dashk, and Ghumonda; a central variety in Spazmina, Ghaz, and Vilgva; and an upper variety in Waya, Shola, Yughdak, Panim, and Hojakkay.[6] He said that there is a fourth variety in the highest village of Huley, but he was not able to collect any information from that village. According to Grjunberg, the lower and central varieties are quite close, but the difference is greater between the lower and upper varieties.[7]

In this study, a word list was collected from a respondent from Hojakkay. He had not been in his village for thirteen years and said that nowadays he speaks Persian more frequently than Munji. This word list was compared with Morgenstierne's (1938) data. There were 142 items in common between both lists. The items were compared, pair by pair, in order to determine the extent to which the corresponding lexical items are similar.[8] The comparison between Morgenstierne's Munji word list and the

[6] He does not mention Lavowant, but presumably it would fall in either the lower or the central variety due to geographical location.

[7] For further information regarding features separating the dialects of Munji consult Grjunberg (1972).

[8] See §8 and appendix A for explanations of the purpose and methodology for lexical similarity counts.

Hojakkay Munji list collected for this research shows 68 percent lexical similarity.

Such a low percentage of lexical similarity between varieties of Munji is somewhat puzzling. Both Morgenstierne (1938) and Grjunberg (1972) reported that the differences between the Munji speech varieties are minor and probably cause little difficulty in comprehension between speakers of the different forms.

The Hojakkay word list collected in this study, and Morgenstierne's (1932) Miandeh (Shola) data, represent what Grjunberg called his upper Munji variety; however most of Morgenstierne's data came from villages in the central and lower variety areas. Morgenstierne notes phonological differences between Miandeh (Shola) and the lower villages. In any case, the lexical similarity comparisons calculated for this study do not seem to support the conclusion that variations within Munji are minor, as has been reported by Morgenstierne and Grjunberg.[9]

7.7 Interaction with and use of neighboring languages

The frequency of social interaction with speakers of other languages is both a reason for learning and a means of learning another language. The regional Badakhshan variety of Persian is spoken by a large portion of the population of northern Afghanistan, including villages in the Kuran area, to the north of the Munji area. Historically the Munji have traded and found employment in the Kokcha Valley and other Persian-speaking areas. For centuries, the Munji have had contact with Persian speakers traveling through the Mamalgha Valley to Garam Chishma in Chitral for trade. Robertson (1896) and Grjunberg (1972) reported that all the Munji are bilingual in Persian. The older respondent interviewed for this study said that he commonly speaks Persian. Both participants said that the women are as fluent as the men in Persian and that the children learn

[9] It may be that the speech of the Hojakkay man who gave the word list for this research has been influenced by contact with other languages, especially Persian, due to his many years away from his homeland as a refugee. How representative this man's speech is of other Munji speakers is difficult to evaluate.

Persian by the time they are five years old. These reports indicate a significant amount of contact with Persian speakers, and that the Munji place a high value on the ability to use Persian.

The Munji have been in contact with speakers of other languages as well. Grjunberg (1972) reported that Nau, the highest settlement in the Munjan Valley, is inhabited by speakers of the Nuristani language, Western Kativiri. Morgenstierne (1930), Grjunberg (1972), and Snoy (1965) have reported contact between Munji and Nuristan through the *Prasun* Valley, southeast of the Munjan Valley, where the Nuristani language called Prasun (also called *Wasi-weri*) is the predominant language. There does not seem to be any research on the linguistic influences between these neighboring language communities.

7.8 Evidence of language vitality

There are not much data available on the vitality of Munji. The Munji respondents said that Munji is still the language of the home, but that outside of the home it is used only for secret conversations. Bilingualism in Persian may be widespread, but it is not clear whether an increase in the use of Persian has coincided with a shift away from the maintenance of Munji. The extent of proficiency in Persian among Munji speakers has not been researched. It is difficult to assess the vitality of any language on the basis of speakers who are living as refugees in areas where other, more dominant, languages are spoken.

8. RELATIONSHIP OF YIDGHA AND MUNJI

Morgenstierne (1938) states that Munji is distinct from Yidgha in phonology, morphology, and particularly vocabulary; words borrowed from Khowar are rare in Munji. The processes of borrowing from different languages have contributed to the divergence of Munji and Yidgha according to Morgenstierne. Munji has borrowed vocabulary from, and been influenced by Persian. Whereas Yidgha has been influenced by, and borrowed vocabulary from Khowar. In some cases, Munji and Yidgha use different forms of Persian words; some Yidgha words are

borrowed from Khowar but are Persian in origin. Where Munji has borrowed a Persian word, Yidgha retains ancient forms of words from a proto-Munji-Yidgha. Yidgha, not Munji, has borrowed some words from Nuristani languages.

8.1 Relationship by lexical similarity

The Yidgha and Hojakkay Munji word lists,[10] collected for this present study, were checked with Morgenstierne's (1938) Yidgha and Munji word lists, and with Grjunberg's (1972) Munji word list. Through these checks some items were discarded due to uncertain responses to elicitation. There were a total of 187 words compared between Yidgha and Munji. The Munji and Yidgha words were compared, pair by pair, in order to determine the extent to which the corresponding lexical items are similar. In this procedure no attempt was made to identify true cognates based on consistent sound correspondences. Rather, the items are compared only for obvious phonetic similarity.[11] This comparison revealed 56 percent lexical similarity between Yidgha and Munji.

8.2 Indications of comprehension between languages

Neither lexical similarity percentages, nor respondent opinions can empirically predict comprehension between languages. However, they may give indications of whether or not comprehension may be possible. A short text was recorded in Yidgha and was played for the Munji respondents to get their opinions regarding its comprehensibility. This is not intended to be considered as conclusive evidence of intelligibility, only as a preliminary subjective response from the Munji respondents. The older man said that Yidgha sounded a little different from Munji but he could understand it. He gave a brief but concise description of the story. Interestingly, after listening to the text, the Munji teenager, reported that he could not understand it, even though his mother is Yidgha.

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[10] The complete Yidgha and Munji word lists are included in appendix B.

[11] See appendix A for a more thorough description of the method.

Some of the Yidgha respondents said that they had heard that there was a similar language spoken on the other side of the mountains, but only two of them had ever met a Munji speaker. These two men said it was difficult to understand Munji. The reported lack of contact with Munji speakers is curious because there is evidence that the Munji frequently pass through the Yidgha villages on the way to and from Chitral town for trade. Possibly the Munji are aware that the languages are different enough, and speak only Persian when they are in Chitral. Thus, the Yidgha would think that the people traveling through their villages are Persian speakers from Badakhshan. Clearly, more research is needed into the linguistic relationship between Munji and Yidgha.

9. INTERACTION OF YIDGHA WITH NEIGHBORING LANGUAGES

The Yidgha are surrounded by several different language groups, and speakers of other languages travel through the Yidgha area. However, there is very little interaction with most of these other language groups. Northwest of the Yidgha area, is the Sanglech Valley. In the northern end of this valley the Pamir language *Sanglechi* is spoken. There was no reported contact of Yidgha speakers with Sanglechi speakers.

Munji is spoken in the Munjan and Mamalgha Valley, to the west of the Lutkuh Valley. One respondent reported that he speaks Yidgha with people from the Munjan Valley but that it is difficult to understand them.

Farther west, and in much of northern Afghanistan, the Badakhshan variety of Persian is spoken. Many Persian speakers travel through the Yidgha area to Garam Chishma and Chitral town to transport supplies for trade. Many of the merchants in Garam Chishma are Persian speakers. The Yidgha respondents reported that they use the little bit of Farsi (Afghan Persian) that they know for the infrequent interaction with Persian speakers.

Southwest of the Yidgha area is the Bashgal Valley. Eastern Kativiri (also called *Bashgali*), a Nuristani language, is spoken

there. Gobar, the westernmost village in the Lutkuh Valley, has a mixture of Eastern Kativiri, Yidgha, and Khowar speakers. Eastern Kativiri-speaking goatherders reportedly graze their flocks in the high pastures on the south side of the Lutkuh Valley. Respondents reported that they only occasionally have any contact with Eastern Kativiri speakers. One respondent said that he knew a little Bashgali for speaking with people from Gobar.

Khowar is the predominant language to the north and east of the Yidgha area. The respondents reported that their most frequent out-group contact is with Khowar speakers. Yidgha has borrowed many words from Khowar. Most of the schoolteachers in the Yidgha villages are Khowar speakers. Much of the instruction is given in Khowar, especially at the lower levels. Based on information collected through interviews, observation, and questionnaires, Khowar seems to be considered prestigious among the Yidgha.

Although there are probably no mother-tongue speakers of Urdu in the Yidgha area, the fact that it is the national language of Pakistan bears some influence. The administrative offices of the *tehsil* are in Garam Chishma, and possibly some political affairs are handled in Urdu. Urdu is required for higher education and government jobs; therefore, some Yidgha men reported that it is desirable to learn Urdu.

10. SECOND LANGUAGE USE AND ACQUISITION

A common means of second language acquisition and a purpose for second language use is social interaction with speakers of that language. Social contact with neighbors, business acquaintances, civil servants, or educators can take place within or outside of the local community. This kind of contact appears to be more common between Yidgha and Khowar speakers in the eastern villages. The two respondents from Gufti said that they have weekly contact with Khowar speakers, whereas, in Rui and the villages east of it, daily contact is reported. There are a few Yidgha-speaking shopkeepers in the valley, but most men do some shopping in Chitral town, where

they have contact with Khowar speakers. There is also language contact through radio and music cassettes. Most participants said that they listen to Khowar radio programs sometimes or often. Three of the interviewees reported that they listen to Urdu programs often. Several of the men said that they like to listen to Urdu and Khowar music cassettes.

The respondents said that politicians and government officials speak Khowar or Urdu when in the Yidgha villages. Even a Yidgha man giving a political speech in a Yidgha village will usually speak in Khowar. There is a government border control post at Parabek that is staffed by Khowar speakers. The participants said that they would speak Khowar with policemen passing through their villages.

Respondents said that Yidgha is useful for explaining religious teaching, but that preaching in the mosque is in Khowar. They said that they would speak to their religious leaders in Khowar.

One man said that Yidgha men rarely leave the Lutkuh Valley for work. The respondents said that they speak Yidgha or Khowar with their co-workers in the Lutkuh Valley. Given all of the other information, this does not necessarily imply that they work with mother-tongue Khowar speakers. Four participants said that Urdu is the most important language for getting a job; two said that Khowar is also important.

Travel to other areas is sometimes a means and a reason for learning other languages. Only one of the respondents had traveled outside of Chitral District. He visited Peshawar for three months, where he spoke Urdu. Other interviewees said that they often go to Chitral town, but that only a few men travel as far as Peshawar, Karachi, Quetta, or Lahore. When traveling on local transportation and in Chitral town, they speak Khowar. One man said that if he is traveling with another Yidgha man and wants to tell him something secretly, he will speak in Yidgha.

10.1 Education and language choice

The Yidgha's primary motivation to acquire a second language is the desire to improve their standard of living; education is seen as opening up opportunities for better jobs. This perception is particularly true in the eastern villages; respondents reported that few children from the western villages go to school. Several of the respondents reported that they want their children to be able to speak Khowar so that they will have better opportunities for education in the high schools and colleges located in Khowar-speaking areas.

Khowar and Urdu are the languages of education in the Yidgha area. Khowar is used for explanations in the lower grades, and in the upper grades both Khowar and Urdu are used. One respondent said that explanations may be given in Yidgha only if the teacher is Yidgha. Many of the teachers are mother-tongue Khowar speakers. The Yidgha perceive Khowar as the avenue of access to mastery of Urdu; there is a desire for more proficiency in Khowar. Respondents reported that children are allowed to speak Yidgha in school. There are a few Khowar-speaking children in some of the schools.

10.2 Marriage patterns and language choice

The interviewees said that many (possibly as many as fifty percent) of the Yidgha men marry Khowar-speaking women. However, converse to the usual pattern of ethnolinguistic groups in Chitral, the language of the mother, Khowar, is reported to be the language used with children in these homes. Some of the men reported that these marriages are preferred so that their children will be Khowar speakers and then the children will have better education and employment opportunities. Two of the respondents have Khowar-speaking wives. The participants said that they would allow their daughters to marry only Yidgha or Khowar speakers. One respondent specified that the Yidgha did not allow marriages with Munji, but the mother of one of the Munji respondents is Yidgha.

11. SECOND LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY

The interviewees said that all Yidgha can speak Khowar. All but one of the respondents said that Khowar is their best second language. Other languages which respondents reported having some ability in are: Urdu, Farsi [Persian], and Bashgali [Eastern Kativiri].

Interview information and the opinion of the Khowar mother-tongue co-worker involved in this study indicate that many of the Yidgha are not fluent in Khowar. The co-worker said that he could understand the respondents' Khowar but that they used unusual pronunciation and grammatical constructions. Some of the respondents were aware that they do not speak Khowar well and said they want to improve their ability. One respondent said Chitralis laugh at them when they speak Khowar.

The respondents reported on the second language proficiency of their family members. Two of the participants have Khowar-speaking wives. All of the respondents said their wives and children are able to speak Khowar. Several of the men said that they usually speak Khowar with their wives and children.

Several respondents reported that their parents were also able to speak Khowar. The respondents said that in their childhood Yidgha had been the language of their homes and neighborhoods, but today Khowar is more frequently used. Therefore, it appears that the use of Khowar may have increased in Yidgha communities.

12. EVIDENCE OF LANGUAGE VITALITY

Interview and questionnaire information based on the seven Yidgha respondents indicate a mixed picture, including some indications of decreasing vitality. The respondents' attitudes toward Yidgha seemed ambivalent toward the possibilities of loss of their language and the shift to Khowar.[12] On the positive

[12] The case is similar to that of Phalura speakers in the village of Ghos. (See Chapter 4.)

side, Yidgha is seen as useful for numerous in-group functions. The respondents said they would use Yidgha for communicating an important message to people in their area. They use Yidgha when explaining religious beliefs within the community. They use it when speaking with their parents, village elders, friends, neighbors, and some co-workers. Several of the respondents said that it would not be good for their people, as a group, to lose their language. They felt that if they ceased using their language, the result would be the loss of their culture. Some of the respondents said they did not believe it was possible for another language to replace their language. However, the same respondents who were so positive about the value of Yidgha later said that Yidgha would probably not be the language that their children would use most frequently in the future.

Other respondents said that they clearly see the end of their language. One man said the use of Khowar rather than Yidgha is "good for the young and future generations because of their education." Most of the respondents said that Khowar is the language commonly spoken in their homes. They said that many of the men prefer to marry Khowar-speaking wives so that their children will be Khowar speakers. They said that their children cannot speak Yidgha purely; they mix it with Khowar. They predicted that their children will generally speak Khowar in adulthood. One respondent from Zhitor said that Yidgha is most endangered in the five eastern villages because more Khowar speakers live near those villages. While the respondents identify with Yidgha, they appear to be resigned to the loss of its usefulness in many domains. Two respondents said that the changes coming to their community are good. They were specifically referring to new roads, schools, and health care, but the implication was that language shift was part of the change. These two men said that they want to use Khowar more, and that they want to improve their ability in Khowar. They said "this is progress" and "this is development." All these responses favoring the use of Khowar need to be evaluated in light of evidence that Khowar proficiency is limited within the Yidgha community, as noted in the previous section.

13. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Yidgha seems to be distinct enough from Munji to be classified as a separate language. Through the years of separation from its sister language, Yidgha has diverged in lexicon and phonology. There is some inconclusive evidence that the Munji refugees in Pakistan can understand Yidgha better than the Yidgha can understand Munji. There does not seem to have been any significant contact between the two groups for many generations.

The Munji relocated to Chitral as refugees from the war in Afghanistan. There is no way of knowing how long they will stay and whether they will return to the Munjan and Mamalgha Valleys. Persian appears to be the second language of choice for the Munji.

There are indications that the Yidgha desire to maintain the use of their mother-tongue. However, there are also indications of shift toward the use of Khowar. The levels of Khowar proficiency among the Yidgha community have not been fully researched, but questionnaires and interviews indicate that many Yidgha have functional but non-native proficiency in Khowar. Khowar and Urdu are perceived as having prestigious status to the Yidgha. The Yidgha perceive access to Urdu to be through the mastery of Khowar. Both languages offer educational and employment possibilities that the Yidgha obviously feel they cannot obtain through their mother tongue.

A more complete description of the sociolinguistic environment of the Yidgha community is needed. These limited observations show that the Yidgha, in some villages, may be switching to the use of Khowar. Are the Yidgha really speaking primarily Khowar in their homes? Is it true that, as one respondent reported, as many as fifty percent of marriages are between Yidgha men and Khowar-speaking women? It would be an unusual and interesting situation if Yidgha is truly used more for neighborhood communication than for communication in the home. If it is true that, historically, Yidgha was not the original language of this ethnic group, then this may explain why some

indicate resignation to the loss of Yidgha, rather than fighting to maintain its use. Since some of the forebears of the present day speakers of Yidgha seem to have shifted from their ethnic group language to the use of Yidgha, the current generation may not feel so strong an attachment to the language. Perhaps in light of the upward mobility advantages of other languages, the community will undergo language shift once more. Obviously much more could be learned from further research.

CHAPTER 4

PHALURA

1. INTRODUCTION AND PURPOSE

This chapter discusses the sociolinguistic environment of Phalura, a language spoken in southern Chitral, and the related language, Sawi, spoken in Sau, Afghanistan. Through the collection of descriptive linguistic data, this study investigated language variation and relationships of several related linguistic varieties. To evaluate the vitality of Phalura, various forms of evidence were considered, including: reported language use, certain customs, and language attitudes. Sociolinguistic data related to multilingual proficiency, language use, and language contact were collected and are discussed in this study.

Information for this survey was collected during the summers of 1989 and 1990. Word lists were collected from Purigal, Biori, Ashret, and from refugees from Sau, Afghanistan. Questionnaires and interviews were conducted with twenty-seven respondents from the Phalura-speaking villages, Sau, and Badrugal.

2. GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION

Phalura is spoken primarily in eight villages on the east side of the Chitral Valley near Drosh in southern Chitral. (See map 4.) The southernmost village is Ashret, located on the main road between Dir and Chitral. Ashret is approximately 18 kilometers south of Drosh, part of the way up a large side valley that leads to Lowari Pass. The next village to the north that is inhabited by Phalura speakers is Kalkatak. It is in the main valley, situated on cliffs above the Chitral River about six kilometers south of Drosh; it is also on the main road. About two kilometers north of Kalkatak and four kilometers south of Drosh is the Biori Valley. There are three villages of Phalura speakers along a dirt road

accessible by jeep in this valley. One kilometer into the valley is Lur (lower) Biori. Another kilometer up the valley is Muz (middle) Biori, and two kilometers more, at the end of the dirt road, is Bur (upper) Biori. The valley eventually connects with Lowari Pass at the top. The next village of Phalura speakers is Ghos, which is on the mountainside about one or two kilometers east of the Drosh bazaar. There is no road to Ghos. The northernmost village of Phalura speakers is Purigal in the Shishi Koh Valley. It is about 20 kilometers north of Drosh and about one or two kilometers' walk up the east hillside from the dirt road. By road the distance from Purigal to Ashret is about 38 kilometers, which takes about two hours by jeep.

Three other villages should be mentioned. Respondents involved in this study described a village called Gumendand in Dir District. It is said that one family from Ashret moved to Gumendand and that Phalura is now its language. Morgenstierne's (1941) respondents also referred to this place. These reports are still unconfirmed.[1]

The second village of note, Badrugal, is located halfway between Kalkatak and Ashret. (See map 4.) The respondents reported that the people of Badrugal came from the Gawardesh area nearby in Afghanistan. Although Shekhani is the first language of the village, Phalura has become the common second language of many of the people because of the frequent contact with the Phalura-speaking people from Ashret, Kalkatak, and Biori.

Finally, the village of Sau, Afghanistan will be discussed occasionally throughout this chapter. Sau is located on the Kunar River about 20 kilometers south of Arandu, which is on the Pakistan-Afghanistan border. (See map 3.) The language spoken by the people of Sau, called Sawi by Morgenstierne (1941), is related to Phalura. The language is not spoken in Chitral except by refugees, and it is uncertain how long they will be in Pakistan.

[1] There is a village in Dir north of Patrak called Gwaldai, which may be the same village. A man from Dir reported that he knew of Gumendand. He said it was located a two-hour walk up the valley from Patrak, but he did not know anything about the language spoken there.

Some information was collected about Sawi and will be discussed as it relates to Phalura.

3. HISTORY OF STUDY

In *Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh*, John Biddulph reported a language spoken by a group of people in Chitral whom he called *Dangariké*. He said that these people speak a language cognate with Shina (1880:64). Unfortunately, he was not able to collect any linguistic information from them. Captain B. E. M. Gurdon (cited in Morgenstierne 1941), a British officer working in Chitral from 1895 to 1902, reported a language he called *Palola* or *Dangarikwar*. In 1929 Morgenstierne (1941) visited the Chitral Valley and collected linguistic information from speakers of Phalura from the villages of Ashret, Biori, and Purigal, and of Sawi from Sau, Afghanistan. Morgenstierne's study of the language, *Notes on Phalüṛa: an Unknown Dardic Language of Chitral*, was published in 1941.

4. HISTORY OF THE PEOPLE

4.1 Name of the people and language

What is referred to in this report as the Phalura language also has several different names and spellings. *Phaluṛa* is used in most of the literature. Most of the respondents involved in this study called the language and the people *Dangarik*. Some of the interviewees knew of the name Phalura for the language, but a few of them said that this name is no longer used. Several men also said that the term *Dangarik* is somewhat derogatory.[2] The name Phalura has also been written as: Phalula, Phalüra, Phalüṛa,

[2] In a paper concerning the language vitality of the Phalura-speaking community submitted by this author at the Second International Hindu Kush Cultural Conference in September, 1990, the people and language were called *Dangarik* (Decker 1990). Prof. Karl Jettmar, and a couple of men from Ashret at the conference, said that the proper term for the language is Phalura. The men from Ashret added that the people should be referred to as *Phalulo*. They said that *Dangarik* is what Khowar-speakers call them.

Palula, and Palola. Khowar speakers sometimes call the language *Dangarikwar*. Two respondents said that some people used to call the language *Tangiri* or *Tangarik* and *Chilasi*, reflecting the group's tradition that they originally came from the Indus Valley in the area of Chilas and the Tangir Valley. The term *Ashreti* is also commonly used for the speech of the people of Ashret and *Biori* for the speech of the people of the Biori Valley.

4.2 History

Biddulph (1880:113-114) knew of no interaction between the Phalura and the Shin of Gilgit. He felt that the term *Dangarik* suggested that the Phalura had previously been Hindus like the Shin. He referred to the area around Chilas, south of Gilgit, as *Dangaristan* and discussed how the term *Dangarik* has been applied to the Shina-speaking people. He (1880:65) also noted a tradition that the valley around Mastuj was at one time ruled over by Dangariks, whom he felt were probably Shin from the Gilgit Valley.

Morgenstierne's (1941) respondents, as well as many of the respondents who participated in this study, agreed that their people had come from Chilas. Neither Morgenstierne's respondents (1941), nor those involved in this study knew when this migration had taken place, the route they had taken, or the reason they had left the Indus Valley. Morgenstierne believed that Phalura is probably an early offshoot of Shina.

Buddruss (1967:11) hypothesized that the Phalura-Sawi group left the main Shina group in the Chilas region and traveled west. Soon thereafter the groups split, with the Sawi group going toward the southwest. The separation of the Phalura-Sawi group from the main Shina group must have taken place a long time ago, since Fussman (1972:398) shows that changes in the Mayiã-Indus Shina group (another dialect of Shina geographically and genetically close to Chilasi Shina) have occurred since the Phalura-Sawi group separated from it. He says that Phalura has been spoken in the Drosh area of Chitral long enough for some vocabulary to be exchanged with the neighboring languages and

for slight dialectal differences between some of the villages to develop.

Small bits of information concerning the history of the Phalulo were collected from respondents. Several of them said a village called *Dangari*, located near Gilgit in the Ghizr Valley, may have been an earlier location of their tribe. The existence of this village was not confirmed. One respondent said that their Phalulo forefathers had come to Chitral from Chilas by way of Shandur Pass, spreading to Ashret, then to the other villages. According to Inayatullah Faizi (1990), many of the people who now live in the area of Laspur near Shandur Pass consider themselves members of the Phalulo tribe, but have adopted Khowar as their language. This may be the same group referred to by Biddulph (1880:65) as living in the area of Mastuj.

One respondent said that originally several brothers came to the area; one settled in Purigal, one in Bur Biori, one in Muz Biori, and another in Ashret. He thought that Ghos was settled by people from either Biori or Purigal. He thought that originally one person from Ashret settled in Gumendand 40 or 50 years ago. It would have had to be earlier than that because Morgenstierne (1941) had heard of Phalura being spoken at Gumendand in 1929. A man in Kalkatak said that he thought that the people in Biori had originally moved there from Kalkatak, but respondents in Biori vigorously denied this. One of the respondents said that his people had come to Chitral "…before our grandfathers' grandfathers, before there was a king in Chitral." Another respondent said that possibly it had happened 500 years ago. The Phalulo may have once inhabited a larger area. Schomberg (cited in Morgenstierne 1973:189) reported that the Kalasha Rumbur Valley "…was formerly in the possession of the Dangariks."

A member of the *Union of the Descendants of Choke and Machoke*, Ahmad Saeed, from Ashret, has provided me with a history of the Phalura people and a geneology that records all the generations from the brothers Choke and Machoke, the original migrants from Chilas on the Indus River (Saeed ms.). Apparently, the two brothers, or possibly they were father and son, lost a bid for the leadership of the tribe. The brothers and

their followers migrated west, some going through Swat and others into northern Chitral. Machoke left his eldest son in Laspur, near Shandur Pass.[3] One of the brothers, or another son, settled in Kalas in the Shishi Koh Valley. Choke went to Ashret and Machoke, or another son, went to Afghanistan.

According to Ahmad Saeed, the Phalulo of Biori and Ghos came from Bihar in Dir. The legend tells of several battles with the Kalasha through which Choke gained control of the Ashret Valley. The story of another battle tells how the Phalulo subdued the Gawar of Arandu for the Khowar-speaking Rais Mehtar. Other Phalura ancestors have held religious and political offices in the Chitral government.

It is interesting to see how the parts of the puzzle have come together over the last 100 years. It appears that the traditions have a certain amount of validity. Apparently the Phalura came from the Tangir-Chilas region of the Indus Valley. There may have been two or three routes taken west: one group going northwest to Shandur Pass then south, first to southern Chitral, then some people may have gone on to Sau. Another group may have gone west from the Indus Valley through Swat and Dir. This second group may have then split into two groups, one group going into southern Chitral, and the other group going to Sau.

The geneology provided by Ahmad Saeed lists fifteen or sixteen generations since the brothers Choke and Machoke. Calculating thirty years per generation the migration would have begun in the early sixteenth century A.D. Ahmad Saeed says that the migration from Chilas to Chitral began in the thirteenth century A.D. According to Prof. Israr-ud-Din (1979:4) the Rais Mehtar did not expand into southern Chitral until the fourteenth century; this could have been in conjunction with the movement of the Phalura into the area. So there is a 300 year period (1200–1500 A.D.) when the Phalulo may have entered and settled in Chitral.

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[3] Ahmad Saeed also describes two villages, Awi and Riri in Oveer in northern Chitral, inhabited by descendants of Kachote, whose tale is very similar to that of Choke and Machoke.

5. PRESENT SOCIAL FACTORS

5.1 Agriculture and economics in villages south of Drosh

Ashret is at the end of the main paved road in southern Chitral. It is the first large village one enters after crossing the Lowari Pass on the road into the Chitral District. The Ashret Valley has an ample supply of water for irrigation, so many fruits and grains are grown on the terraced hillsides. The bottom of the valley is wide enough and the road is built far enough up on the hillside that floods do not affect travel into the main Chitral Valley. Therefore, the farmers can take their produce to the bazaars of Drosh and Chitral, and the people of Ashret can get to these bazaars for their needs.

Kalkatak is on the main paved road of southern Chitral. It has a small bazaar and some fairly level land for farming. There is an ample water supply for irrigation of fields and orchards. The village is situated high enough above the Chitral River that flooding is not a problem. The village is also low enough that snow in winter does not block travel to Drosh.

The Biori Valley, in which the three Biori villages are located, is narrow, especially at the end where it meets the Chitral River. In the past, the trail out of the valley at this end was often washed out, cutting the Biori people off from the Chitral Valley, although there are higher trails that cross the shoulders of the mountains. There is a dirt road to the upper village that at best is only accessible by jeep and still sometimes gets washed out. The valley has sufficient space for fields to support a small community and has a good water supply for irrigation.

5.2 Agriculture and economics in villages north of Drosh

The village of Ghos was not visited as part of this study; therefore, information is minimal. However, it can be said that the area surrounding Ghos appears to be steep and dry. A respondent from Ghos said that it is not good for farming. The

people apparently rely on the sale of firewood in Drosh to supplement their resources. There is no road to Ghos.

Purigal, in the Shishi Koh Valley, is built in a small glen alongside some cliffs. The stream coming down through the glen is small and there does not appear to be much room for fields. The situation is not great for farming, but the land seems to be sufficient to provide for the small community.

5.3 Religion and politics

The Phalura are Sunni Muslims. Some men, especially from Biori, have gone to Peshawar to get religious training.

Some men from Biori, Ashret, and Kalkatak have been involved in local politics and held government service jobs. All government and police offices are in either Drosh or Chitral town. Some Phalura men have served their country in the Chitral Scouts and other divisions of the Pakistan Army. There is a large Afghan refugee camp near Kalkatak that has brought problems associated with a sudden rise in population, such as crime and inter-tribal friction.

5.4 Population distribution

There are no census figures that count the people by their language. There are 1987 population figures available for certain villages from the Chitral District Council, but because some of the Phalura villages are multilingual communities, these figures need to be adjusted. These population figures along with respondent estimates have been interpreted to arrive at some estimation of the number of people who speak Phalura. Chart 1 compares the population estimates for locations where Phalura is spoken.

Chart 1

Population Estimates for Locations Where Phalura is Spoken.

Respondent Opinion (Phalura speakers)		1987 Chitral District Council
Ashret	2000-4000 individuals	4863*
Kalkatak	300-2000 individuals	6779*
Bur Biori	120 families	658
Muz Biori	80 families	
Lur Biori	70-100 families	696
All Biori	1500-2000 individuals	1354
Ghos	48-60 families	244*
Purigal	45 families, 6 to 7 people per family	251

*Includes speakers of other languages

There are a number of difficulties in attempting to interpret these figures. According to respondent opinion Ashret includes 30 to 50 Pashto speakers, 20 to 30 Khowar speakers, 20 Gujari speakers, and 10 Dameli speakers. In Kalkatak there are also Kalasha and Khowar speakers. There is a great discrepancy concerning the number of Phalura speakers in Kalkatak; one respondent said that thirty percent of the village is Phalura-speaking, but another respondent said that there are only 11 to 13 non-Phalura-speaking families in the village. Thirty percent may be closer to accurate, since none of the respondents estimated anything close to 6000 Phalura speakers in Kalkatak. It is unclear if either of the Chitral District Council figures for the Biori villages includes Muz Biori. It may be assumed that Muz Biori has been grouped with Lur Biori in the Council figures. It is difficult to say what percentage of Ghos is purely Phalura-speaking, as there has been intermarriage with Khowar speakers. Finally, according to Israr-ud-Din (1969:55) the average Phalulo family has four members. No information was obtained on Phalura speakers in Gumendand, so they are not included in these calculations.

According to respondent estimates, there are 4200 to 10,400 Phalura speakers. The median figure of this range is 7300. The

total of the District Council figures (using thirty percent of the Kalkatak figure), is an estimated 8600 speakers of Phalura.

5.5 Availability of education

Schooling has been available to Phalulo children in Drosh since the mid 1940s, and for quite a few years in some of the Phalura villages. There are elementary and middle schools near to all villages, if not actually in the village. The respondents reported that many of the adult Phalura-speaking men have received some education. More than half of the respondents were educated beyond fifth class level. Several of the men had university degrees. Today most of the Phalura boys and some of the girls attend school. Apparently only a few of the teachers in Ashret, Biori, and Kalkatak are Phalura speakers. Education seems to be less prevalent in Ghos and Purigal.

5.6 Contact between villages

There is not a great amount of contact between people from different villages due to their disconnected locations. There is more contact between people in the southern villages but the respondents in the south reported that they rarely have contact with Phalura speakers from Purigal. Respondents from Ghos and Purigal said that they meet people from Biori and Ashret occasionally in the bazaar in Drosh. The important cultural contact occurs when people from many villages gather for weddings and funerals.

6. LINGUISTIC SETTING

6.1 Linguistic affiliation

Morgenstierne was certain that Phalura is closely related to Shina, but noted that it is more archaic than any dialect of Shina (1941:8). As a Shina-related language (Strand 1973:302), Phalura is in the Dardic family in the Northwestern zone of Indo-

Aryan (Indic) languages. Fussman (1972:393) makes a more specific grouping, placing Phalura with Shina in an Eastern Dardic group.

6.2 Language group

Biddulph (1880) identified Phalura as being cognate with Shina. Morgenstierne (1941) later confirmed this by comparing the phonetics, phonology, morphology, grammar, and lexicon of Phalura with various Shina dialects. While he did believe the traditions were true that Phalura had originally come from the Chilas area, he did not find that it in any special way resembled the present Chilasi Shina. Morgenstierne felt that Phalura is probably an early offshoot of Shina that escaped from its influence before Shina reached its present stage of development (1941:8-9). Some words in the lexicon of Phalura are obviously borrowed from the surrounding languages and are not traditional Shina words.

7. THE LANGUAGE OF SAU

Knowledge of the language of Sau, Afghanistan, is not very complete. Morgenstierne's (1941) respondent was not a mother-tongue speaker of Sawi, but of Gawar-bati. Buddruss (1967) collected information on the language in Chaga Sarai during the winter of 1955-1956. His one respondent was originally from Sau but had not lived in the village for several years, and Buddruss was able to work with him for only a day and a half. Lentz (cited in Buddruss 1967) is the only linguist who has been able to collect data in Sau, which he did in 1935; unfortunately he published only a short word list. In August 1989, two men from Sau were interviewed for this study for a few hours one day in Drosh. The word list collected from them agrees with the information collected by Buddruss.

7.1 Social information concerning Sawi speakers

Morgenstierne (1941) and Buddruss (1967) used the name *Sawi* (or *Savi*) for the language. The respondents involved in this

study said that the proper name is *Sauji*.[4] They said that other people sometimes call their language *Kohistani* or *Gawar-bati* because they live surrounded by Gawar-bati speakers, but they said their language is very different from Gawar-bati. Sawi has been spoken in the area long enough to have been influenced by Gawar-bati. (See §7.2.)

The respondents said that since the war in Afghanistan all the people of Sau have moved to either the refugee camp near Kalkatak in Chitral or a refugee camp near Timargarha in Dir. A few are also reported to be living in a refugee camp between Drosh and Chitral town in Chitral District. They said that when it becomes safe, they hope to be able to return to their village. There is a school for refugee children in Drosh, and several of the teachers are from Sau. Buddruss reported that in 1956 there were 100 homes in Sau. The Sawi-speaking participants involved in this study estimated that before the war there had been 2000 homes accounting for 8000 to 12,000 people. There is no verification of these numbers.

7.2 Linguistic affiliation of Sawi

Morgenstierne (1941:9) felt that Sawi had been influenced to a large extent by Gawar-bati, but that it is really a dialect of Phalura. Buddruss (1967) noted some influence of Gawar-bati on the phonology of Sawi, plus a few loanwords from Gawar-bati. He felt that Morgenstierne was correct in identifying Sawi as a dialect of Phalura. While Sawi may very well be historically related to Phalura, linguistic evidence presented by Morgenstierne (1941) and Buddruss (1967) show that the two languages have diverged significantly.

[4] Sauji has not previously been reported as a name for this language. The *-ji* affix on the location name may be related to the *-ože* affix on the location Gid used by Pashtoons for Dameli (Morgenstierne 1942:116).

8. RELATIONSHIP BY LEXICAL SIMILARITY

In this present study a standard list of 210 words was collected from Phalura-speaking respondents in Ashret, Bur Biori, and Purigal, and from Sawi-speaking respondents from Sau, Afghanistan. Each word list was checked with at least one other respondent from the same village. Portions of the Ashret list were checked with a third respondent, and portions of the Bur Biori list were checked with a man from Muz Biori. These lists were also compared with lists taken from Morgenstierne's (1941) article on Phalura, Turner's (1966-71) *A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages*, and Fussman's (1972) *Atlas Linguistique des Parlers Dardes et Kafirs*. A comparison was also done with a Palasi Shina word list.[5] Palasi Shina was chosen over Chilasi Shina because in a comparison between Biori Phalura and Gilgiti, Chilasi, and Palasi Shina word lists, it was found that Biori Phalura was more similar to Palasi Shina than to Chilasi Shina.

8.1 Relationship by lexical similarity

Numerous checks of these word lists eliminated a few items from each location. This left 203 words from Ashret, 203 words from Biori, 200 words from Purigal, 198 words from Palas, and 202 words from Sau.[6] Each word list was compared with all the others, pair by pair, in order to determine the extent to which the corresponding lexical items are similar. In this procedure no attempt was made to identify true cognates based on consistent sound correspondences. Rather, the items are compared only for obvious phonetic similarity.[7] A lexical similarity comparison is represented in chart 2 with the percentage of words considered similar between each of the locations:

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[5] The Palasi Shina word list is included in an accompanying volume which includes research describing Shina. (See Radloff 1992.)

[6] The complete Purigal, Biori, Ashret Phalura, and Sawi word lists are included in appendix B.

[7] See appendix A for a more thorough description of the method.

Chart 2

Lexical Similarity Percentages

Ashreti Phalura				
95	Biori Phalura			
92	95	Purigali Phalura		
56	57	58	Sawi	
42	42	38	33	Palasi Shina

When looking at the word lists, it is easy to see that there is a historical cognate relationship between a greater percentage of the words than this chart shows. The motivation behind a count based on phonetic similarity, rather than historical cognates, is that phonetic comparisons aim to indicate how much speakers from different locations might understand each other in the present. By looking at the lexical similarity percentages it can be seen that there is little significant variation among the Phalura locations. Sawi appears to be more similar to Phalura than to Palasi Shina. Sawi appears to be sufficiently different to suggest that speakers from Sau would have some difficulty understanding speakers from any of the Phalura communities, but this hypothesis has not been tested. These figures also indicate that both the Phalura and Sawi communities would have significant difficulty understanding the speech of Palas or any of the other Shina-speaking communities to the east of Chitral.

8.2 Phonological variation

Morgenstierne (1941) did an analysis of Phalura that included some comments on the dialectal variation within the Phalura community and on the relationship of Phalura with Shina and Sawi. His analysis of Phalura was based on the speech of Ashret; he did not have a great deal of information on Biori Phalura, Purigali Phalura, Sawi, or the varieties of Shina spoken in the Indus Kohistan. Buddruss (1967) has added to that knowledge of Sawi. For more information the reader is referred to these works.

8.3 Reported comprehension between languages

Although respondent opinion is not empirical evidence, it reveals perceptions. Respondents from Kalkatak, Biori, and Ghos said that Ashreti Phalura was slightly different, but most of them felt that they have no difficulty understanding the speech of Ashret. A few respondents from the southern villages said that the speech of Purigal is a little different but not difficult to understand. A respondent from Biori said that the speech of Kalkatak has a slight influence from Kalasha. One respondent from Biori said that some words in Ashreti Phalura sound like they have Pashto influence. The respondents generally agreed that the variations consisted of a few words being different or differences in pronunciation from village to village.

Short texts[8] were recorded from Ashret, Biori, and Purigal for the purpose of comprehension testing, but they were not used for that purpose. The texts were played in several locations to get respondent opinions; this was not intended to be considered as conclusive evidence of levels of comprehension. After hearing the text the respondents were asked if they could identify the location and how well they could understand the text. They were also asked to briefly retell the story to check if they had any problems with comprehension. Most of the respondents correctly identified the village from which the text had been recorded. They all reported that they completely understood the stories.

Questionnaire information indicates that Biori Phalura was felt to be the best and purest form of the language. Some respondents from Ghos and Purigal felt that their speech was the purest. Most respondents felt that the speech of Ashret is altered from its pure form and is not good Phalura.

Based on the low percentage of lexical similarity (less than 50 percent) between Phalura and Palasi Shina, it would not be expected that there would be any significant comprehension between speakers of these languages. Although there is a historical connection between these languages, they have

[8] The texts are found in appendix C.3.1-3.

diverged in many ways. Respondents from Ashret said that they could understand only a little bit of the radio programs they had heard in Gilgiti Shina. However, when one man was asked if he thought that Phalura was like Shina, he said, "It is Shina". Several other respondents in Ashret agreed that Phalura is like Shina but said they could understand only a little Shina. One respondent from Kalkatak said he could understand about half of the Shina on the radio. Other respondents said that they had heard the Shina broadcasts but could not understand them so never listened to them.

Since Sawi has a lexical similarity of 56 percent to 58 percent with Phalura, there could be a limited degree of comprehension between Phalura and Sawi speakers. Respondents from Sau said that Ashreti Phalura is somewhat different from Sawi and that it is difficult for them to understand. The respondent Buddruss (1967) worked with said that he could understand the "words of Ashreti (Phalura)" and that it was only a bit different from his language.

9. NEIGHBORING LANGUAGES

The Phalura community lies in the midst of a linguistic whirlpool. At least eight other languages are spoken in and around the Phalura villages. Historically, Khowar originated in northern Chitral; in 14th century (Israr-ud-Din 1979:4) Khowar speakers moved south into the southern Chitral area. Today many neighboring villages are predominantly Khowar-speaking. Khowar is the dominant *lingua franca* of the Chitral region.

Kalasha is presently spoken in valleys on the western side of the Chitral River opposite the valleys where Phalura is spoken. Before the Kho migrated into the area, Kalasha was also spoken in many villages on the eastern side of the Chitral River neighboring the Phalura villages. (See Cacopardo 1990.) In fact, when Morgenstierne (1941) visited the area in 1929, his respondents said that Kalkatak was a Kalasha-speaking village. There are still some people in Kalkatak who speak Kalasha as their first language. Morgenstierne (1941) showed that Phalura

has been in contact with Kalasha long enough for Phalura to have picked up some words from Kalasha. Some portion of Kalkatak is Khowar-speaking.

Several smaller language communities are located near some of the Phalulo villages, namely speakers of Gujari, Dameli, Shekhani, Gawar-bati, and Sawi. There are Gujar communities in the Shishi Koh Valley near Purigal. There are also Gujars living around Drosh and Nagar on the Chitral River and in the area of Lowari Pass. Dameli is spoken in the valley immediately south of Ashret. The Shekhani-speaking community of Badrugal is located between Kalkatak and Ashret. There is a large (approximately 5000 people) Afghan refugee camp near Kalkatak. The refugees are Gawar-bati and Sawi speakers.

Pashto is particularly important in the very southernmost parts of the Chitral Valley. It was reported that Pashtoons, looking for summer work, started filtering into the southern Chitral area in the 1960s. In about 1980 some Pashtoons began opening shops in the Drosh bazaar. There were a few individual Pashtoon families living in the southern Chitral Valley before these dates. Today, there are quite a few Pashto-speaking shopkeepers in Drosh. The fact that this population of Pashto speakers is from a fairly recent immigration is supported by Morgenstierne's (1932) statement that in 1929 no Pashto was spoken north of Lowari Pass.

The impact of Pashto on Phalura-speaking villages is particularly evident in Ashret, the southernmost Phalulo community. Ziaret, located above Ashret, is Pashto-speaking. A number of families living in Ashret speak other languages as their first language including Pashto, Khowar, and Gujari.

10. INTERACTIONS WITH AND USE OF OTHER LANGUAGES

The frequency of social interaction with speakers of other languages is both a reason for learning and a means of learning another language. Respondents from each of the villages reported that they have daily contact with Khowar speakers. However, the frequency of reported interactions with Pashto speakers varies

according to the different Phalura villages from which respondents came. In Ashret, the location farthest south, all of the respondents said that that they have daily contact with both Khowar and Pashto speakers. Respondents from the other villages north of Ashret reported only occasional contact with Pashtoons.

10.1 Second language use patterns

Use of Khowar is widespread throughout the different Phalura villages in communication situations involving individuals from other ethnolinguistic groups. Khowar was reported as the language most frequently used in Drosh bazaar, the regional economic center for all the villages. In two Phalura communities where the village population is ethnolinguistically mixed, Kalkatak and Ghos, Khowar was reported as the language frequently used with non-Phalulo neighbors. In the mixed village of Ashret, Khowar is used with Khowar-speaking neighbors, while Pashto is used with Pashtoons. For civil functions in the region, such as contact with local government officials or policemen, Khowar is widely used. Many Phalulo, especially men from Biori and Purigal, which are farther up the side valleys, leave their home village area daily for employment; Khowar is most frequently used with co-workers, along with Pashto, which was reported less frequently. Khowar is the language used most frequently when Phalulo use public transportation throughout the Chitral region, although Pashto is used more frequently south of Drosh.

Naturally, Pashto use is more frequent in the southern part of Chitral Valley where contact with Pashtoons is more common. Even respondents who evaluated their Pashto proficiency as poor, those from Ghos and Purigal, reported that they used Pashto in some contact situations. Pashto is needed to communicate with the Pashtoon shopkeepers in Drosh bazaar. It is reportedly used in some employment situations and for contact with Pashtoon policemen or officials. As mentioned above, it is commonly used by Ashret Phalulo for interaction with their Pashtoon neighbors.

Many of the respondents have worked elsewhere in the country for a season or extended periods; the work periods mentioned ranged from one month to fourteen years. Peshawar, Rawalpindi, Lahore, and Karachi were cities commonly mentioned outside of Chitral where Phalulo men go for work. The respondents said that they used Pashto in these other places. Several of the men said that they also used Urdu in some of the cities they had visited or worked in. Urdu is perceived as the best language to know for employment outside of the Chitral Valley.

Several respondents noted that women leave their villages only occasionally, for weddings, funerals, visiting relatives, and doctor visits. These respondents said that, when outside of their language areas, some women might be able to use Khowar or Pashto, but others would require someone to translate for them.

Throughout the minority language groups of southern Chitral, it was found that the minority language is generally used in the mosque as long as there are only speakers of that language present. If other men come into the mosque to participate, the preaching is in the language of wider communication for that area, Pashto or Khowar. Respondents from Ashret and Biori said that Phalura is the language commonly used in the mosque; in Kalkatak the respondents said Khowar is used. Religion has had an unusual impact on language use in Kalkatak. The ethnic Kalasha community of Kalkatak chose to shift to the use of Phalura when they converted to Islam.

In summary, it appears that Khowar is the second language used most frequently by Phalulo when interacting with speakers from other language backgrounds within the Chitral region. Pashto is also used, particularly in the farthest south village of Ashret. The reported use of these other languages does not necessarily imply a high level of proficiency in a wide range of domains. It is likely that the Phalulo are proficient in domains where there is interaction between language groups (e.g., negotiating in the bazaar), and less proficient in other domains requiring little or no out-group interaction.

10.2 Language contact through radio

In addition to social interactions with speakers, exposure to other languages takes place through the broadcast media. There is no electricity to any of the Phalura villages, so television is not used. Most of those interviewed in this study have battery-operated radios and frequently listen to radio programs in their homes. Respondents from each of the villages reported listening to radio programs from Peshawar. Among the respondents there was a fairly equal distribution of interest in Urdu, Pashto, and Khowar programs. Some of the respondents mentioned that their wives and children listen to these programs, with varying degrees of comprehension. The impact of such passive contact on proficiency in these languages is difficult to evaluate.

10.3 Second language use and acquisition in education

Education is seen, rightly enough, as an avenue toward better employment, economic gain, and a better life. The availability of schools and education has increased in the Phalura villages, and more of the children are receiving some education. In the schools there can be language acquisition from the other students, from the teachers, via the medium of instruction, and through a language taught as a subject. Children in Ashret, Kalkatak, and Purigal attend school with children who speak a different first language. Respondents from each of these villages said that the other children learn to speak Phalura and their children are learning these other languages, Khowar and Pashto. According to respondents, there are Phalura-speaking teachers in all of the schools in the Phalulo villages except Bur Biori. The children of Purigal go to school in Pursat, a Khowar-speaking village, and the teachers are Khowar speakers. There are also Khowar- and Pashto-speaking teachers in the schools in the Phalulo villages.

Urdu is the prescribed language of education in Pakistan. The children begin school unfamiliar with Urdu since they have little, if any, prior exposure to it. In the lower grades the teachers frequently teach and give explanations in Khowar, or possibly in

Phalura if the teacher is a Phalura speaker, until the children begin to learn and understand Urdu. According to the respondents, only in the Muz Biori, and possibly Kalkatak, primary schools do the teachers use much Phalura as a medium of instruction. English is taught as a subject in secondary schools and becomes more important for the few who attain higher levels of education.

11. SECOND LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY

It is evident in discussion of interactions between Phalulo and their neighbors, that many members of the Phalura-speaking community speak more than one language. Most of those interviewed said that they speak at least three languages other than Phalura. Nearly all of the respondents listed Khowar as the second language in which they are most proficient. Most of the respondents said that they also had some ability in Pashto. More than half of the respondents said that they could speak some Urdu. Five said that they could speak some English. The other languages mentioned, by one respondent each, were Farsi, Panjabi, Hindko, and Kalasha.

The respondents from Ashret said that Pashto was their best second language. The Pashtoon co-workers, who conducted the interviews in Pashto, gave the opinion that these respondents did have very good ability in Pashto. In contrast, all of the respondents from Biori said that Khowar was their best second language, but some said that they speak Pashto with equal proficiency. The co-workers felt that these respondents generally had poor ability in Pashto. Respondents from Kalkatak, Ghos, and Purigal said that Khowar was their best second language.[9] Interviews in Kalkatak were conducted in a mixture of Pashto and Urdu, which worked satisfactorily. The interviews in Purigal, and with the Ghos respondents, were conducted with some

[9] There was not a Khowar-speaking co-worker involved in this study during the Phalura portion of this survey, so no comment on the Khowar second language proficiency of the respondents can be made.

difficulty because of the respondents' lack of ability in any language other than Phalura or Khowar.

It was not possible to interview Phalura-speaking women as a part of this study, nor were any men younger than nineteen years old interviewed. Some information on these groups within the Phalulo community was gathered by asking respondents for their opinions regarding the bilingual ability of their family members. Many of the respondents said that their children had at least some second language proficiency in Khowar. Four of the respondents from Ashret said that Pashto was their children's second language. A few of the respondents from Kalkatak and Biori also mentioned Pashto as a language in which their children had some proficiency. Two men from Kalkatak and another from Biori said that their children do not speak Phalura at all, they speak Khowar. One respondent from Ghos said that his children speak mostly Khowar but they know Phalura. Two respondents from Ashret and two from Biori said that their children speak only Phalura.

Second language proficiency among Phalulo women appears to pattern similarly to that among men, although it is likely that theirs' are lower levels of proficiency than those displayed by the men. At least some proficiency in Khowar was reported for some women in each of the Phalura villages. Khowar proficiency among women may be most widespread in Ghos, where one respondent reported that all Phalulo women there know Khowar. Following the expectations that Pashto proficiency among women would be highest in the farthest southern village of Ashret, a respondent reported that most of the women there can speak Pashto, while only some can speak Khowar. In contrast, only a few women in Biori were reported to speak any Pashto.

Aside from those respondents whose mothers came from different language groups, few respondents reported that their parents could speak other languages. Only in Biori did any of the respondents' mothers have reported proficiency in another language. Several of these mothers could speak Khowar; a few of them could also speak at least a little Pashto. Several respondents

from Biori and Kalkatak reported that their fathers spoke Khowar, but only a few of their fathers could speak any Pashto.

Therefore, it appears that the Phalura-speaking community has become increasingly multilingual over time. Pashto currently has prominence as a second language in Ashret. In Ghos and Purigal, Khowar is the primary second language. In Kalkatak and Biori, Khowar is the more prominent second language, but Pashto is useful to some people as a second language. These generalities are also found amongst women and children.

12. MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND LANGUAGE CHOICE

The language chosen for in-home communication between family members can be an indication of the amount of contact with, and the level of prestige of a second language. The choice of taking a wife from another language group is one way in which language choice decisions are brought into the home. Several respondents had Khowar-speaking wives and one had a Pashto-speaking wife. Other respondents confirmed that Phalulo intermarriage with Pashto and Khowar speakers occurs frequently. One respondent said that it is the educated Phalura-speaking men who tend to marry educated Khowar-speaking women.

Those respondents who have Khowar-speaking wives, said that in their homes they use some Khowar and some Phalura. Two of them emphasized that their wives are learning Phalura. One respondent from Kalkatak has a Pashto-speaking wife; they do not use Phalura in their home. Several respondents reported that their wives frequently speak Khowar in their homes.

A few of the respondents had Khowar- or Pashto-speaking mothers. This demonstrates that even though there is intermarriage with speakers of other languages, it does not necessarily mean that the other language will dominate in the new family situation. Many of the respondents said that in these mixed-language marriages the wife learns the language of the husband.

However, several respondents in Ghos and Kalkatak reported that intermarriage with Khowar-speaking women is becoming more prevalent in their villages and that marriages with Khowar-speaking women are becoming preferred for the purpose of changing the family language to Khowar. Only a few of the respondents felt that marriage with Phalura speakers is preferred over marriage with Khowar speakers. The respondents explained that the parents want to give the children better opportunity for education by making the children's first language Khowar. This is important because most of the teachers are Khowar speakers and do not speak Phalura.

In contrast to families in the past in which the parents' bilingualism did not significantly impact the language of the home or children, there appear to be indications of a change in the attitudes of parents toward the language they pass on to their children. This change is revealed in the reports of Phalulo children who speak Khowar as their first language, and in the attitudes expressed by the younger respondents who want their children to be Khowar speakers.

13. ATTITUDES TOWARD OTHER LANGUAGES

People's attitudes toward other languages can give some indication of resistance to the use of those languages or the desire to shift to another language. A number of situations have been mentioned in which members of the Phalura community are using a second language. There seems to be a willingness to learn Khowar and, for some people, Pashto. This can be contrasted with the lack of interest in learning other neighboring minority languages, for example, Gujari. One young man who was interviewed in this study felt that he had no future use for Phalura. He said that he would prefer to have a Khowar-speaking wife so that his children would speak Khowar. He also said that he would encourage the use of Urdu and not use Phalura in his home when he has his own family. What he will actually do in the future could be different, but his attitude at present shows a lack of interest in maintaining his language. It also illustrates that he feels there is value in the knowledge and use of Khowar and

Urdu. His explicit negative attitudes toward the maintenance of Phalura fits in with the evidence discussed previously, in which the people of Ghos are reported to be purposefully trying to shift to Khowar.

Two negative comments concerning other language groups could be interpreted as supporting the maintenance of a separate ethnolinguistic identity among the Phalulo. When asked about the differences between the Phalura and the Kho, one respondent said that the Kho are weak but the Phalura are "…strong like the Pashtoons." The other comment was that since the refugees (speaking Gawar-bati, Sawi, and Shekhani) had come to Chitral, there were all sorts of problems and crimes that were unknown before. This awareness of each language group's separateness could actually provide motivation for maintaining their own language among some segments of the Phalulo community.

14. USE OF PHALURA BY OTHER LANGUAGE GROUPS

Although the Phalura-speaking community is small compared to Pashto- and Khowar-speaking groups, it has influenced pockets of the other language communities surrounding it. Respondents from Ashret reported that the Pashto-, Khowar-, and Gujari-speaking children living in the village learn to speak Phalura as a second language.

It was reported that many of the Phalura speakers in Kalkatak are ethnically Kalasha. Sometime between 1950 and 1960 the Kalasha in Kalkatak and in Suwir, which is on the west bank of the Chitral River opposite Kalkatak, converted to Islam. At that time they decided to stop speaking Kalasha because it was associated with the beliefs of their former religion. The people of Suwir took an oath in the mosque to speak only Khowar from that time forward. The Kalasha of Kalkatak, who were already living among the Phalura, decided not to make such a drastic change. They decided that they would not encourage the future use of Kalasha but would encourage the use of Phalura. Today the Kalasha older than 30 years are still reported to be able to speak Kalasha. One respondent said that Kalasha is still

used in nine or ten homes in Kalkatak. Phalura is now the dominant language in Kalkatak.

Many of the Shekhani speakers of Badrugal were reported to use Phalura as a second language. The respondents also said that there is frequent intermarriage between these Shekhani speakers and Phalura speakers from neighboring villages. One respondent from Badrugal said that in those homes both languages are used. The acquisition and use of Phalura by non-Phalulo in Kalkatak and Badrugal, and to some extent in Ashret, support the interpretation that Phalura is a regionally dominant language in those areas.

15. EVIDENCE OF LANGUAGE VITALITY

Interview and questionnaire information based on the twenty-seven Phalura respondents indicate a diverse picture of language vitality, although in the present situation continued use of Phalura is fairly strong. Phalura was most frequently reported as the language of the home, used with spouses, children, and elders. Outside of the home, for conversation with neighbors and co-workers and for public gatherings, respondents in Biori and Purigal reported that they generally use Phalura. Respondents from other villages said that they would speak Phalura with other Phalulo, and that Phalura is used for public gatherings, such as in the mosque and local political meetings if only Phalulo are present. Several respondents said that Phalura is important for use with Phalulo from other villages and helps to maintain their cultural unity. There are only a few Phalura-speaking teachers in the schools available to Phalulo children. Respondents reported that those teachers do use Phalura for teaching the Phalulo children at the elementary level until the children are able to make the transition to Urdu. There may be a few monolingual women and children in Biori, Purigal, and Ashret.

In Kalkatak and Badrugal, Phalura has some of the prestige of a language of wider communication. Phalulo in Kalkatak are aware that the ethnic Kalasha who live amongst them have chosen to switch to Phalura. People in Ashret and Biori know

that the Shekhani in Badrugal speak Phalura as their second language. This awareness that people from other language groups learn Phalura may give the Phalulo a feeling of pride in their language. The fact that these other people find it useful in some domains indicates that Phalura is a vital language which dominates communication in those domains. These factors of widespread use of Phalura in many domains and the acquisition of Phalura by non-Phalulo point toward strong language vitality.

However, there is also evidence of weakened language vitality under pressures from Khowar and Pashto. In some of the villages, questionnaire responses seem to indicate a decrease in the use of Phalura. Respondents, primarily from Ashret and Kalkatak, reported that in their villages there is frequent contact with speakers of other languages and that they generally use that person's language. Due to the residence of speakers of other languages in their villages, most public meetings are held in Pashto or Khowar. In some homes in these villages there is also less use of Phalura. Several respondents reported that they use Khowar as well as Phalura in their homes. A few respondents from Ashret reported that they occasionally use Pashto in their homes. Respondents from all of the villages except Purigal noted that some people from their villages had quit using Phalura. As noted above, intermarriage with Khowar-speaking wives has led to the increased use of Khowar in some homes, especially in the villages of Ghos and Kalkatak. The preference for such intermarriage, particularly among the more educated, may threaten the language vitality of Phalura.

As a result of their poor agricultural position and increasing population, the people of Ghos seem to have become economically dependent on contact with Drosh and thus more frequently choose to use Khowar. Historically, lower economic dependence has been a factor in the maintenance of Phalura in Purigal, Kalkatak, Biori, and Ashret. Based on growth in population seen in a comparison of Morgenstierne's estimates and today's estimates and on increased accessibility due to roads and improved transportation, it would be expected that these villages have become economically less self-sufficient. Among

those who must travel and work outside of the Phalura villages, there is naturally an increase in the contact with other languages.

The responses of several respondents indicate that they do not feel that Phalura will continue to be used in the future. Some respondents from Biori, Kalkatak, and Ghos said that Khowar will be the most commonly used language of the next generation. The four respondents younger than age 25 felt that their children will not speak Phalura when they become adults. A couple of the respondents felt that Phalura will be replaced by Khowar, and they are content with the change.

16. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Phalura is significantly altered by its separation from the related Shina linguistic varieties. Although there are identifiable variations in the speech of the different Phalulo villages, they do not seem to be significant enough to cause problematic loss of comprehension. Sawi shows considerable lexical differentiation from Phalura, though it has been referred to as a Phalura dialect. The expected result of such lexical deviation would be inadequate intelligibility between speakers of these two historically related linguistic varieties.

Although many members of the Phalura community have some proficiency in other languages, there may be monolingual men in Purigal and monolingual women in Biori and Purigal. It seems from this study that there are a number of homes in which there is at least occasional use of a second language in the home. However, there may also be many homes in Biori, Purigal, and even Ashret in which the children do not have any significant contact with a second language for a number of years. Except for contact with Phalulo from other villages, Phalura speakers must use some second language when they are out of their villages. Khowar is the most commonly used second language. In Ashret, Pashto is also commonly known and used. The emergence of Pashto as an alternative seems to have occurred in the last 30 years at most.

The picture of language vitality for Phalura is somewhat mixed. The more isolated communities of Purigal and Biori evidence the strongest ethnolinguistic vitality and indicate that Phalura may be maintained, at least for several generations. In contrast, Ghos may be the least vital community, with Khowar use becoming more prominent. The ethnically mixed communities in Ashret and Kalkatak fall somewhere in between on this continuum, with both Khowar and Pashto use frequent in certain domains.

CHAPTER 5

KALASHA

1. INTRODUCTION AND PURPOSE

This chapter investigates the sociolinguistic environment of Kalasha, with a focus on those people who speak the language rather than defining the community as those who practice the traditional Kalasha religion. This study describes a larger geographic distribution of speakers than has usually been reported. Through the collection of descriptive linguistic data, comparisons were made to measure the linguistic divergence of the varieties of Kalasha.

The general language vitality of the Kalasha-speaking community is described in this chapter. Evidence considered in this aspect of the study includes reported language use in various social domains, intermarriage and language choice, the role of religion in language maintenance, and contact with more dominant language groups. Such sociolinguistic data are evaluated in light of reported levels of multilingual proficiency and indicators of language attitudes amongst the Kalasha.

Information for this survey was gathered during the summers of 1989 and 1990. Word lists were collected in: Krakal, in the Bumboret Valley; Guru, in the Birir Valley; and Zugunuk, in the Urtsun Valley. Questionnaires and interviews were conducted with ten men from these aforementioned valleys and from the Jinjeret Koh Valley, and Suwir. Interviews conducted while studying neighboring languages have also provided insight into the sociolinguistic situation of the Kalasha.

2. GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION

The Kalasha live in the Chitral and Drosh Tehsils of the Chitral District in the North-West Frontier Province of Pakistan. They are concentrated in several small valleys on the west side of

the Chitral River south of Chitral town: in the Rumbur and Bumboret Valleys (above the point where the two valleys meet west of Ayun), in the Birir Valley, and in the Urtsun Valley. (See map 4.) A few elderly speakers are reported to remain in the Jinjeret Koh Valley and in the village of Suwir. There are some Kalasha speakers in the village of Kalkatak south of Drosh on the east side of the Chitral River. People who are ethnically Kalasha live outside of these areas, but they no longer use the Kalasha language, nor call themselves Kalasha.

3. HISTORY OF STUDY

Leitner (cited in Morgenstierne 1973) first described Kalasha in 1877. He called the language *Bashgali*, but according to Morgenstierne it was, in fact Kalasha. Grierson (LSI VIII.2) documented his analysis of Kalasha from data collected by a respondent who was knowledgeable about Kalasha but was not a mother-tongue speaker. In recent years there have been numerous studies of Kalasha culture and customs, but few of the language. An exception is Morgenstierne's work of 1973, which clarified earlier writings on the language. Other recent linguistic research has been conducted by Bashir, and by R. Trail.

4. HISTORY OF THE PEOPLE

4.1 Name of the people and language

Nothing is known about the origin of the name *Kalasha*. The people are sometimes called *kafir* or *Kalash Kafir*. *Kafir* is an Islamic term meaning *unbeliever*. The language is called *Kalasha* or *Kalashamon* and the country *Kalasha-desh*. Kalasha speakers in the Urtsun Valley sometimes call their language *Urtsuniwar*. The neighboring Chitralis call the language *Kalashwar*. Kalasha speakers who have converted to Islam are no longer considered Kalasha. The Kalasha interviewed in this study call them *Shektiao*.

4.2 History

The Kalasha have a tradition that they originally came from a place called *Tsyam*. G. Trail (1990) believes that Tsyam is Syria and that the Kalasha represent the remnant of a Seleucid colony. Morgenstierne (1973:189) reported that according to their own traditions the Kalasha came from Tsyam, located somewhere to the south of their present location. From there they moved into the Chitral area from the Waigal area in present-day Nuristan in Afghanistan. The people of Waigal, who also call themselves *Kalaṣa-ala* (Strand 1973:299), support this with a tradition of their own; they say they migrated into the Waigal Valley from settlements in the south, near present-day Jalalabad, and that some of them continued farther north, settling in Chitral (Edelberg and Jones 1979). Yet another Kalasha tradition, reported by Schomberg (1938) is that the Birir people originally came from Manjam, a plateau in the Bashgal Valley. Prior to the 14th century the Kalasha are thought to have inhabited southern Chitral all the way to Reshun or Mastuj in the northeast (see map 2) and the Lutkuh Valley in the northwest. Israr-ud-Din (1969) reports that the Kalasha ruled southern Chitral for three hundred years. In 1320 A. D. (Israr-ud-Din 1979), the Kalasha were invaded by *Rais Mehtars* (Khowar speakers). They retreated into the few southern valleys they presently occupy. Many of the villages of southern Chitral still retain their Kalasha names (e.g., Drosh, Ghairet, Jinjeret).

According to Israr-ud-Din (1969:49) the Kalasha were not displaced by *Rais Mehtars*; rather, they came under political or religious influence and eventually accepted Islam and became Khowar speakers. Many Khowar speakers south of Reshun are reported to be ethnically Kalasha. Chitrali respondents reported that the Khowar spoken in the southern half of Chitral is not pure; it has been influenced by Kalasha.

This shift of language and religion is still happening today. One man from the Shishi Koh Valley said that his grandfather spoke Kalasha, but he and his father had never learned it; they speak Khowar now. Cacopardo (1990) reports that the Kalasha in the Shishi Koh Valley were Islamized between 1860 and 1890. It

is probable that the language shift happened later. The Kalasha in Suwir and the Jinjeret Koh Valley converted to Islam in about 1960. At that time the Suwir residents all took an oath to stop speaking Kalasha, which they associated with their former traditional beliefs, and to speak only Khowar. A respondent interviewed for this study reported that children younger than fifteen years in the Jinjeret Koh Valley are not very familiar with Kalasha. In Kalkatak, the Kalasha who have converted to Islam are switching to Phalura; Kalasha is still spoken, but the young people are learning primarily Phalura and possibly Khowar. Interestingly, the Kalasha speakers of the Urtsun Valley have all converted to Islam but continue to use Kalasha as their first language.

5. PRESENT SOCIAL FACTORS

5.1 Population distribution

Chart 1 lists the Kalasha population given by Captain B. E. M. Gurdon in 1904 (cited in Morgenstierne 1973). Gurdon wrote that for the first three valleys, these figures represent no more than 3000 people. That would give an average family size of 23 people, which seems rather high.

Siiger (1956) estimated the entire Kalasha population at 3000 to 4000 in 1950. Graziosi (cited in Morgenstierne 1973) gave a 1955 estimate of 2000 Kalasha speakers and a 1960 estimate of 1391 Kalasha speakers plus 2230 ethnic Kalasha who had converted to Islam.

Chart 1

Population of Kalasha families by village from Gurdon (1904), cited in Morgenstierne (1973:187)

Rumbur Valley	20	families
Bumboret Valley	59	"
Birir Valley	48	" (=401 persons)
Jinjeret Kuh	3	"
Suwir	26	"
Urtsun (20-some Bashgali fam.)	15	"
Kalkatak	16	"
Lawai	27	"
TOTAL	214	families

Chart 2 lists the Chitral District Council's 1987 population figures for Rumbur, Bumboret, and Birir Valleys. There are some Khowar speakers included in these counts.[1]

Chart 2

Population in three Kalasha Valleys according to Chitral District Council 1987

Rumbur Valley:	656	individuals
Bumboret Valley:		
Krakal	291	"
Batrick	230	"
Brone	792	"
Pahlawanan Deh	617	"
Kalashanan Deh	617	"
Paraklak	309	"
SUBTOTAL	2866	"
Birir Valley:	1178	"
TOTAL	4689	individuals

[1]These figures may be incomplete; lack of familiarity with some village names impeded confirmation of these figures.

Respondents in this study gave the following estimates for Kalasha speakers in their villages and valleys:

Bumboret Valley: 200 to 300 homes; Krakal: 45 homes, 15 of these homes have converted to Islam and may be switching to Khowar.

Birir Valley: 1000 traditional Kalasha and 1000 who have converted to Islam but are still speaking Kalasha.

Jinjeret Koh Valley: 80 families; 200 individuals, all of whom are converts to Islam, few of them are still speaking Kalasha.

Urtsun Valley: 200 families; 800 individuals, all of whom are converts to Islam and are still speaking Kalasha.

Suwir: a few old people remember Kalasha, but it is no longer used there.

Kalkatak: about 10 families still use Kalasha sometimes in their homes.

From all these figures a population range of 2900 to 5700 speakers of Kalasha can be estimated.[2]

5.2 Agriculture and economics

The Kalasha are almost exclusively farmers and goatherders. Their valleys are fertile, and they grow a variety of crops plus nut trees, especially walnuts. Barley, wheat, and rice are the common grain crops. In the lower half of the Bumboret Valley, the Kalasha are able to grow two crops each year. A plant nursery in the Bumboret Valley, managed by the

[2]It is probable that an estimate of 4500 to 5000 Kalasha speakers is close to accurate. Others have presented population figures that show a dramatic decrease in the size of the Kalasha-speaking population. The difference may be that the present counting includes Kalasha speakers even if they have converted to Islam. It seems that the population figures given by other researchers within the last 100 years refer only to those Kalasha who follow the traditional religion.

government, supplies vegetable plants and fruit trees and teaches the people new and better agricultural practices.

There are good forests for timber harvesting in the Kalasha valleys; however, legal problems have arisen between the Kalasha and neighboring Chitralis over the ownership of the forests and lumbering rights. Government officials have called for a ban on lumbering (Lines 1990) to protect the environment.

Many tourists from around the world visit Chitral District each year to observe the unique Kalasha culture. They hire jeeps to travel to the Kalasha valleys; some of the drivers are Kalasha. There are now a few shops, hotels, and rest houses in the Kalasha valleys. A few hotels are run by Kalasha. The tourists stay in the hotels, buy food, and may purchase souvenirs such as native dresses or headdresses made by the Kalasha women. Most of the businesses are run by non-Kalasha.

5.3 Religion and politics

The Chitral District government regulates permits and collects a fee from tourists visiting the Kalasha area. There is a police post at the entrance to the Bumboret and Rumbur Valleys and one farther up the Bumboret Valley. These police watch over tourists, monitor traffic over a nearby pass into Afghanistan, and maintain peace in the area.

The Kalasha practice the last animistic religion left in Central Asia. The people of nearby Nuristan had similar religious beliefs and practices up until the 1890s, when there was conversion to Islam in Afghanistan. (Israr-ud-Din 1969:51. See also Jones 1974.) All the Kalasha in the Urtsun Valley, as well as some in the other valleys, have converted to Islam. Historically, as Kalasha communities have converted to Islam, many have shifted from using their mother tongue.

5.4 Availability of education

There are several primary schools in the Bumboret and Rumbur Valleys; there is also one in the Birir Valley and one in

Urtsun. There is a high school in the Bumboret Valley. In the fall of 1989, the government granted permission for Kalasha to be used as the medium of instruction in new Kalasha-staffed schools. Krakal, in the Bumboret Valley, has the first such school. Some Kalasha have sent their children to schools in Rawalpindi and Mardan. According to the respondents, fewer than half of the boys are being educated and very few girls go to school.[3]

5.5 Development organizations

The Agha Khan Rural Support Program has executed a few bridge and irrigation projects in the Kalasha valleys. Other aid organizations have built a small hydroelectric power station that supplies electricity at night for Krakal and have provided a system for piping fresh spring water to Krakal. The government has sponsored many projects for the Kalasha, including clean sources of drinking water, flood control, irrigation, schools, and training of women health workers and midwives. There are government health clinics in the Bumboret, Rumbur, and Birir Valleys.

6. LINGUISTIC SETTING

Fussman (1972) has described Kalasha as a member of the Chitral or Western sub-branch of the Dardic branch of the Indo-Aryan (Indic) language group. Khowar is the only other language in the Chitral sub-branch. There is no report of intelligibility between these two languages. According to Morgenstierne (1973), it is possible to reconstruct common Kalasha-Khowar forms of words, and there are similarities in the grammars of the two languages. Before Morgenstierne's investigations into Kalasha, Grierson (LSI VIII.2) included Kalasha with the other *Kafir* (now called *Nuristani*) languages (Strand 1973), such as the Kati languages, in the Iranian language group.

[3]A case was reported of a young Kalasha girl who went to a nearby government school. She endured much ridicule due to her different dress; she was greatly embarrassed and quit going to that school.

7. REPORTED LINGUISTIC VARIATION OF KALASHA

Kalasha respondents interviewed in this study had clear perceptions of different varieties of Kalasha. There is general consensus that the speech of Rumbur and Bumboret Valleys is similar, and can be considered a northern variety. An elderly respondent in Suwir identified two other perceived varieties of Kalasha spoken to the west of the Chitral River: a central variety spoken in the Birir and Jinjeret Koh Valleys and a southern variety spoken in Suwir and the Urtsun Valley.[4]

Morgenstierne (1973) and R. Trail (1989) agree with the perception of the respondents that the speech of the Bumboret and Rumbur Valleys is similar. Morgenstierne found no evidence that the speech of the Birir Valley was any different than that of the Bumboret and Rumbur Valleys, but his language helper from the Rumbur Valley said he had difficulty understanding the speech of the Birir Valley. A female Kalasha respondent from the Birir Valley, who is now married and living in the Bumboret Valley, said that there was much difference between the speech of the two valleys.

7.1 Relationship by lexical similarity

A standard list of 210 words was collected from Kalasha-speaking respondents in Krakal in the Bumboret Valley, Guru in the Birir Valley, and Zugunuk in the Urtsun Valley.[5] The word lists were also checked with Morgenstierne's (1973) Rumbur and Urtsun Valley word lists, although Morgenstierne collected very few words from the Urtsun Valley. Each word list was compared with all others, pair by pair, in order to determine the extent to which the corresponding lexical items are similar. In this

[4]A respondent in the Urtsun Valley said that the Kalasha spoken in Kalkatak is different from his speech. The Kalasha spoken in Kalkatak, and what used to be spoken more widely on the eastern side of the Chitral River, may have represented a fourth variety. However, a word list was not collected in Kalkatak, so this has not been investigated.

[5]R. Trail assisted with the collection of the Bumboret and Urtsun Valley word lists. He also checked the word lists for any obvious errors. The complete Bumboret, Birir, and Urtsun word lists are included in appendix B.

procedure[6] no attempt is made to identify true cognates based on consistent sound correspondences. Rather, the items are compared only for obvious phonetic similarity. The motivation behind a count based on phonetic similarity is that such comparisons aim to indicate how much speakers from different locations might understand each other. A lexical similarity comparison is represented in chart 3 with the percentage of words considered similar between each of the locations.

Chart 3

Lexical Similarity Percentages

Bumboret		
89	Birir	
76	74	Urtsun

Birir has a greater lexical similarity percentage with Bumboret than with Urtsun. However, the difference between Birir and Bumboret may be enough to cause some comprehension difficulties between speakers from these two valleys. The difference between the lexical similarity percentages of Urtsun and the other two valleys is rather large and would probably cause greater comprehension problems between speakers from these locations.

The lexical similarity percentages tend to confirm the perceptions of different speech varieties as identified by the respondents. Tentatively, the speech of the three northern valleys will be referred to as the *northern variety*. The Kalasha of the Urtsun Valley will be considered a *southern variety*. Further research should be done to more clearly identify the varieties of Kalasha.

[6]See appendix A for a more thorough description of the method.

7.2 Comprehension between linguistic varieties

A short text[7] in the Bumboret Valley speech variety was recorded and was played for a man in the Urtsun Valley in order to gather preliminary evidence of the potential for intelligibility between the northern and southern varieties of Kalasha. After the Urtsun Valley man listened to the text, he was asked to retell the story in his own words. The Bumboret man who had originally told the story was present. As the Urtsun subject retold the story, the original storyteller repeatedly interrupted him to correct errors in details of the story. The Bumboret Valley man reported that he had difficulty understanding everything the Urtsun Valley Kalasha speakers said to him, even though he knows these men and has visited them once or twice before. These reports seem to indicate some general understanding between northern and southern Kalasha speakers, mixed with significant comprehension loss.

8. INTERACTION WITH NEIGHBORING LANGUAGES

The Kalasha-speaking community is surrounded by several other language groups. The frequency of contact between language groups may be an indication of the amount of influence the languages exert upon one another. To the east of the area where the northern variety is spoken, Khowar is the predominant language. Khowar speakers have been moving into the Bumboret Valley. The Kalasha there say they have daily contact with Khowar speakers.

There is quite a bit of contact between the people living in the Eastern Kativiri-speaking village, Shekhanan Deh, in the upper Bumboret Valley, and the highest Kalasha village, Krakal. During this study Eastern Kativiri speakers were observed daily, moving up and down the Bumboret Valley, passing through the Kalasha villages, and occasionally conversing with the villagers. Another Eastern Kativiri-speaking village, Kunisht, is reported to be located at the upper end of the Rumbur Valley. It can be

[7]The Kalasha text is included in appendix C.5.

assumed that there may be a similar amount of contact between this village and the Kalasha villages in that valley.

A few families of Gujari speakers live in the Bumboret Valley; they do goatherding for the Kalasha and are reported to learn to speak Kalasha. There was no report of any Kalasha who speak Gujari, although there are reports that a few can understand it. The Bumboret Valley respondents noted that tourists from all over the world come to their valley, and the ability to communicate with them, usually in English, is important, although only a few are able to speak any English.

Only a few Khowar-speaking families live in the Birir Valley. In Kalkatak, the few Kalasha-speaking families are surrounded by Phalura and Khowar speakers.

The area in which the southern variety is spoken is surrounded by a greater mixture of languages. There are Pashto, Khowar, Eastern Kativiri, and possibly Kamviri speakers living in the Urtsun Valley. The Pashto speakers live separately, but the others live as neighbors with the Kalasha. Just south of the Urtsun Valley are villages of Gujari, Shekhani, and Dameli speakers. The Urtsun Valley respondents said they have daily contact with speakers of all the languages surrounding them.

9. SECOND LANGUAGE USE PATTERNS

9.1 Language use in business and civil affairs

A couple of small shops in the Bumboret and Rumbur Valleys are run by Kalasha speakers, but most are run by Khowar speakers. It was reported that the Khowar-speaking shopkeepers can speak some Kalasha. The fact that some shopping can be done within the valleys in Kalasha decreases contact with Khowar. Shopping outside of the northern valleys is done in Ayun or Chitral town. The Kalasha in the southern area shop in Drosh. All of the respondents said that they speak Khowar with market traders outside of the Kalasha valleys.

Language choice in civil situations is generally determined by the outside party. In the Bumboret Valley, a government official visiting the valley will speak his own language. The official's comments will have to be interpreted unless his language is Khowar. Some of the police in Chitral District come from the Panjab Province and do not speak any local language; others are Pashto speakers. Some policemen who work in the Kalasha valleys have learned some Kalasha. Generally, though, Khowar is spoken with policemen, and in the Urtsun Valley, Pashto instead of Khowar.

Language choice in work and job-related situations depends largely on where the work is. Respondents in the Birir and Bumboret Valleys, who generally work only in their own valley, said that Kalasha is the language of their workplaces. Respondents in the Jinjeret Koh and Urtsun Valley said they speak Khowar with their co-workers. If an individual leaves his valley, he has to use a language other than Kalasha. The respondents said that few Kalasha ever travel outside of the Chitral District. The most popular outside destinations for short-term work are Peshawar and Islamabad. Kalasha who go to these or other cities are reported to learn the language there, usually Pashto or Urdu.

9.2 Education and language use choices

According to the respondents, there are two Kalasha-speaking teachers at the primary school in Krakal and one at a private school in the Rumbur Valley. Although information about the language use of teachers in the Birir Valley was not obtained, it would seem that they must, at least sometimes, use Kalasha, as the children of that valley more often tend to be monolingual. All the other teachers in Kalasha village schools are Khowar speakers. Respondents reported that instruction is in Khowar and Urdu. Kalasha children also learn Khowar from their classmates. It was reported that most students in the Kalasha valley schools speak Khowar. The respondent from the Jinjeret Koh Valley said that the children are not allowed to use Kalasha in schools there.

9.3 Marriage patterns and language use choices

Marriage patterns among the Kalasha are largely conditioned by religion. They prefer marriages within their own religious group. In marriages between Kalasha speakers, Kalasha is maintained as the language of the home. This is frequently true even if the couple have converted to Islam. The Muslims of the neighboring language groups prefer that the women from their communities marry Muslim men. It was reported that there have been cases of Kalasha women being given as wives to Muslim men, necessitating the conversion of the bride to Islam. Some Kalasha converts to Islam marry Eastern Kativiri, Pashto, and Khowar speakers. Three of the respondents had Eastern Kativiri-speaking relatives, and one of the men from the Urtsun Valley had a Khowar-speaking mother and another relative who is a Pashto speaker. Frequently intermarriage, in conjunction with religious conversion, results in a shift away from the use of Kalasha in those homes.

9.4 Religion and language use choices

As previously discussed in several places, the choice of religion has had a significant effect on the Kalasha language community. Several communities which have converted to Islam have ceased using Kalasha over time. As a community, the people of Suwir and the Jinjeret Koh Valley have chosen not to maintain their ethnic language for religious reasons. Considering the strong link between religion and language felt by traditional Kalasha, as well as those who have converted, it is not surprising that the Kalasha continue to use Kalasha for religious purposes and that those who have converted to Islam use Khowar for religious purposes.

Speaking Kalasha is an integral part of the Kalasha identity in the northern valleys, although it is not as important as participation in religious beliefs and festivals. Although historically communities have tended to shift from Kalasha after converting to Islam, some individual families in the Bumboret Valley who have converted still speak Kalasha. Formerly,

converts to Islam were expelled from the Kalasha villages. Presently, they are not allowed to attend the religious festivals. All of the Kalasha speakers in the Urtsun Valley have converted to Islam. The traditional Kalasha festivals are no longer observed in that valley. For the traditional Kalasha, giving up their language is equated with becoming a Muslim.

9.5 Indications of increased language use choices

The respondents reported that their fathers spoke the same second languages they do, and that their mothers spoke some Khowar (except in the Birir Valley, where the women are reported to be monolingual). Respondents from the Urtsun Valley said that their children speak Kalasha and Khowar with equal fluency. One respondent from the Urtsun Valley said that the children today use other languages more than he did when he was a child. The present adult and younger generations in the Bumboret and Birir Valleys do not appear to be any more bilingual than the oldest generation.

10. REPORTED SECOND LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY

Respondents from all the areas said that Khowar is their best second language; however, those from the Birir Valley said they could speak only a little Khowar. In the Bumboret and Urtsun Valleys, respondents said they also could speak Eastern Kativiri and Pashto. Three respondents said they could also speak Kamik, the Kalasha name for Kamviri. Only the respondents with at least several years of education could speak any Urdu. The few men who have some ability in Pashto, Urdu, and English are those who have spent some time in Peshawar or Islamabad. They are in great demand for communication with tourists in the northern Kalasha valleys.

Respondents were not tested on their second language proficiency. A Khowar speaker commented that Kalasha speakers could not speak Khowar very well. It is a safe assumption that there is a wide range of bilingual abilities among the Kalasha-speaking community. The men in the Birir Valley

said they know very little Khowar. The women and children of this valley are said to be monolingual. A respondent from the Urtsun Valley said that the men there speak better Khowar than the women. A respondent in the Bumboret Valley said that the women there can speak Khowar satisfactorily. A respondent told of three young ladies from the Bumboret Valley attending midwifery school in Chitral town; apparently, one was not doing well because of her limited Khowar ability. According to one respondent, the children in the Bumboret Valley learn Khowar by the time they are seven to ten years old. This would suggest that there is significant contact with Khowar speakers, even for children.

11. ATTITUDES TOWARD THEIR OWN LANGUAGE

The Kalasha in the Bumboret and Birir Valleys seem to be proud of their language. A man in the Bumboret Valley was asked if he could ever remember being embarrassed to be heard speaking his language. He said, "No, I am proud of my language." The headman of the valley was present and said, "Why should we be ashamed of our language? We were the rulers of the area."

During data collection in the Urtsun Valley, the Bumboret Valley Kalasha assistant showed no apprehension about speaking Kalasha publicly in order that he might identify those who understood any Kalasha. In contrast, while in Drosh during that trip, two young men who had been identified as Kalasha speakers from the Urtsun Valley would not agree to participate in this study and were obviously ashamed at being identified as Kalasha speakers in a public place. During the data collection in Kalkatak, it was reported that only a few speak Kalasha or that some of the people knew it but they no longer use it. Possibly these reports are more an indication of low esteem on the part of local Kalasha speakers than a true reflection of how many people still speak Kalasha in their homes.

The Kalasha respondents in the northern valleys felt that the loss of their language or a decrease in its usage would be bad. Some of the respondents who had converted to Islam felt that it

was not necessary to stop using Kalasha. The older respondents from the Jinjeret Koh Valley and Suwir both expressed that it was not good that they had quit using Kalasha. The only negative comments about the use of Kalasha were from young men in Suwir and Kalkatak who had grown up using Khowar and whose parents had converted to Islam. These young men felt that it was good to leave the language behind.

12. EVIDENCE OF LANGUAGE VITALITY

In the Kalasha villages of the Birir, Bumboret, and Rumbur Valleys, Kalasha is the predominant language of the home and village. Another language may be used within the village when talking to non-Kalasha outsiders. Kalasha was frequently reported as the language used for conversations with neighbors and co-workers. Kalasha is used for communication with Kalasha from other villages in their valley and is considered important for maintaining cultural unity.

In Krakal, Kalasha is being used for education in the primary school. In recent years a script has been developed for writing Kalasha. A few shops in the Bumboret Valley are run by Kalasha speakers. Kalasha is used for religious teaching. The tradition of the Kalasha in the northern valleys is that they may marry only non-Muslim Kalasha speakers. There have been some marriages with speakers of other languages, but this results in the loss of Kalasha identity, according to the respondents. Even among individual families who have converted, if both parents are Kalasha speakers, Kalasha is sometimes maintained as the language of the home. It was reported that some men in the Bumboret Valley, who are more proficient in Khowar, sometimes prefer to speak in it; they say they can speak faster in Khowar.

The Birir Valley seems to be the most monolingual of the Kalasha valleys. There are reportedly only three Khowar-speaking families in the valley and they have learned Kalasha for conversation with the Birir Valley Kalasha. Kalasha children there do not learn any other language. The Birir Valley respondents reported that they rarely have contact with speakers

of other languages; few of the men learn much of any other language.

Although they have retained their language even after converting to Islam, the Kalasha in the Urtsun Valley did not indicate a strong desire to continue speaking Kalasha. Kalasha is still the common language of the home, but is seen as useful only for conversation with other Kalasha speakers within the village. One respondent from the Urtsun Valley said he would prefer that his children marry Khowar speakers and shift to the use of Khowar.

13. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Kalasha is spoken mainly in several small valleys on the west side of the Chitral River in southern Chitral. There is a fairly long history of study into this interesting language and culture. At least two varieties of Kalasha are spoken today: a northern and a southern. There may have been more dialects in the past when the language was spoken over a wider area. Historically, the size of the language community has been greatly reduced, but it is difficult to say whether the language group has decreased or increased in the recent past.

Khowar is the most common second language among the Kalasha. In the Birir Valley, there does not seem to be much contact with Khowar speakers, and therefore there is little need to know Khowar. In the Bumboret and Urtsun Valleys, women and children, as well as men, have sufficient contact with Khowar speakers and are reported to have learned to speak Khowar proficiently. In the Urtsun Valley, Pashto is another useful language. The fact that the people are generally involved in subsistence agriculture and herding means that few have been forced to learn other languages to survive in the marketplace.

The fact that education is becoming more available will bring a greater awareness of Urdu and Khowar to the community. The development of literacy materials in Kalasha could encourage the use of the language, help to educate the children, and promote the community's esteem of the language.

Over the years the Kalasha have been under social and economic pressure to convert to Islam; conversion has often meant giving up their language.

In the Rumbur, Bumboret, and Birir Valleys, Kalasha is the main language of the home and community. In the Birir Valley, there are many monolingual women and children. The language is also used in Kalkatak and the Jinjeret Koh but perhaps not as actively.

The traditional Kalasha have positive attitudes toward their language. Those who speak Kalasha in the Urtsun Valley do not indicate strong positive attitudes toward the language. In consideration of the historical trend of a decline in population and prestige of Kalasha, there is reason for concern for the vitality of the language. However, with language development, the Kalasha may retain positive attitudes and maintain the use of their language. A change in the out-group attitudes towards the Kalasha may decrease pressure on them and help to establish a position of relative stability in the vitality of the language community.

CHAPTER 6

DAMELI

1. INTRODUCTION AND PURPOSE

This chapter examines some general aspects of the sociolinguistic environment of the Dameli-speaking community in southern Chitral. The primary purpose of this chapter is to examine evidences of the language vitality of Dameli. Other objectives include the investigation of language variation, multilingual proficiency, language use patterns, and language attitudes. Information for this study into Dameli was gathered during several brief trips in southern Chitral in the summers of 1989 and 1990. A word list was collected, questionnaires were administered, and interviews were conducted with eight respondents from Aspar, Dondideri, Shintero, and Swato in the Damel Valley.

2. GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION

Early in the 1900s Captain B.E.M. Gurdon (cited in Morgenstierne 1942) mentioned a language called *Damerbasha* spoken by a small group of people living in a village called *Daman*.[1] Morgenstierne (1942) identified this language as *Dameli*. He said that this language is spoken in several isolated villages in a side valley on the east side of the Chitral River a few miles below Mirkhani in Arandu Tehsil, Chitral District.

The Damel Valley is situated between Drosh and Arandu (see map 4), about 20 kilometers south of Drosh. Morgenstierne mentioned three villages in the Damel Valley: Panagram, Harigram, and Kuru. The respondents involved in this present study identified eleven villages in the valley. From bottom to top

[1]There is a village called Daman across the border in Afghanistan, but there is no information on the language spoken there.

they are: Damel Nisar, Birao, Swato, Shintero, Karagram, Dondideri, Zarimbag, Aspar, Lechigram, Pushotan, and Kamsai. None of the village names are the same as those identified by Morgenstierne, although Karagram may be Morgenstierne's Kuru.

There may be some Dameli families living elsewhere. Strand (cited in Fussman 1972:23) said that there are several Dameli families in Gawardesh (see map 4), which is located in a side valley in Afghanistan northwest of Arandu and parallel to the Chitral River. Morgenstierne (1942:118) said that some Dameli intermarried with the people of Kamdesh, which is in the lower Bashgal River area near Gawardesh; this could explain their presence in Afghanistan. Several respondents involved in this study reported that the Dameli still intermarry and have contact with Shekhani people, which is what people who came from Kamdesh are called. None of these respondents mentioned Dameli families living in Afghanistan. There were several Dameli men working in Peshawar during the time of this study. Phalura-speaking respondents from Ashret said that there are one or two Dameli-speaking families living in Ashret.

3. HISTORY OF STUDY

The only previous study was Morgenstierne's visit to Chitral in 1929, described in his 1942 article, *Notes on Dameli*. His research was based on interviews with two men. He did not visit the Damel Valley.

4. HISTORY OF THE PEOPLE

4.1 Name of the people and language

Morgenstierne (1942:116) said that the people call their language Damia-baṣa or Damẽḍi. Respondents interviewed for this study were familiar with the names Dameli, Damia-baṣa or

Damya for the language, but they usually called it GʌḍoǰI[2] or GʌḍoǰO. Local Khowar speakers used GʌḍoǰI or Dameli for the language of the Dameli. This study will use the name *Dameli* to refer to both the language and people because it is a term widely used in the literature and is acceptable to the Dameli themselves.

4.2 History

The history of the Dameli is uncertain. According to a tradition reported by Captain Gurdon (cited in Morgenstierne 1942:115), the original habitation of the Dameli was Gabar in Swat. According to Fussman (1972:23), they were expelled from there around the middle of the 15th century by the Pashtoons. This is similar to the tradition reported by Morgenstierne (1942:118), that the Gawar of Arandu came from Bajaur in the 15th century. (See map 3.) Israr-ud-Din (1969:54) relates that the Jashi, a tribe who inhabited the Bashgal area before the arrival of the present inhabitants, may have been the forefathers of some of the Dameli who came from Afghanistan. He says that the Dameli claim to have originated from two groups: the Shintari and the Swati, or Afghans, and he implies that the Jashi and the Shintari are the same group. Israr-ud-Din says that the Jashi were invaded by the Kati in the eleventh century and suggests that the Dameli could be Jashi who retreated to the present location. The Swati could be part of the *Gubbers*, discussed by Biddulph (1880:163), who came from Swat in the 15th century. Morgenstierne (1942:119) also believed that Dameli may be the remnant of a language spoken by the Jashi that was much influenced by both the Nuristani Kati and the Dardic Kalasha languages.

[2]GʌḍoǰO has not previously been reported as a name for this language, although Morgenstierne (1942:116) gave the Pashto translation ‘muŋ giḍože yu’ for the phrase ‘I am Dameli.’ It appears that this name has gained wide acceptance among the Dameli.

5. DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

There has been very little ethnographic study of the Dameli. They support themselves primarily by farming and goatherding. The sale of grapes in the Drosh bazaar was the only reported crop being exported from the Damel Valley. The valley has extensive timber reserves and is the only place in Chitral District where oranges are grown. In 1989 the first road was built into the Damel Valley. It is still a long rough drive to and from Drosh or Arandu. While the people are quite poor now, the presence of the new road may enable the Dameli to take products to market and to be involved in a lumber industry in their own valley. Such changes may impact the Dameli by bringing more money into the valley and more contact with other languages. The people are Sunni Muslims.

There are no census figures that count the people by their language. Gurdon, in the 1890s (cited in Morgenstierne 1942:116), gave a population estimate of 70 families with 40 "fighting men" in the Damel Valley. Israr-ud-Din (1969:54) says that the average Dameli family consists of four members. This would indicate a population of 280 people in the 1890s. Respondents involved in this present study gave widely differing estimates of the population — from 3000 to 22,000 Dameli speakers. An engineer with Agha Khan Foundation, who had been working on a project in the valley, said that there are about 500 households in the valley; using Israr-ud-Din's estimate of four members in a Dameli family, this would be 2000 people. The 1987 Chitral District Council population figure for the entire Damel Valley is 5534. Pashto, Gujari, Khowar, and Shekhani speakers account for some of that number; however, at the time of this study there may have been as many as 5000 Dameli speakers. In any case, it appears that the population is much larger than was indicated by Gurdon a century ago. Morgenstierne (1942:116) called Dameli the smallest separate linguistic community in the Hindu Kush region; it may retain that distinction.

The first school in the Damel Valley was built in 1965. Respondents said that there are now eight primary schools, a middle school, and a high school in the valley. One man reported

that some boys but no girls attend school. Another respondent gave a figure of 40 boys, and two others gave the figures of 120 or 130 boys going to school. Respondents in Dondideri and Swato said that a few girls attend school. Each of these comments probably refers to the respondent's own village. These figures indicate that few of the children are being educated. Three of the respondents had at least six years of education, and one of these had completed matriculation. Some of the teachers are Dameli speakers, others are Khowar or Pashto speakers.

6. LINGUISTIC AFFILIATION

6.1 Morgenstierne's classification of Dameli

Dameli is in the Indo-Iranian branch of the Indo-European family, but a placement in the Nuristani group or Indo-Aryan (Indic) Dardic group is more difficult:

> It is difficult to decide whether it ought to be taken as a Kafiri [Nuristani] language strongly influenced by Dardic, or as a Dardic one which has adopted a greater amount of Kafiri [Nuristani] words than any other Dardic language. (Morgenstierne 1974:6)

Morgenstierne (1942:119) hypothesized that a language once spoken by the Arom and Jashi, but now extinct, is the basis for the Nuristani elements in Dameli. He also proposed that similar features in Gawar-bati are related to the same extinct language.

Morgenstierne (1942:146) said that Dameli has incorporated numerous phonological and morphological elements from its neighbors. Lexically it has borrowed from all of the nearby languages, especially Phalura, Gawar-bati, and Kalasha. Dameli also shares lexical and phonological features with the Nuristani languages.

6.2 Lexical similarity with neighboring Dardic and Nuristani languages

Dameli is described as sharing much lexically and phonologically with neighboring languages, but these similarities should not be misunderstood. In order to show a representation of the difference between Dameli and the Dardic and Nuristani languages surrounding it, word lists[3] were collected and compared. The Dameli word list was collected in Dondideri and checked in Shintero. Each consistent 210 item word list was compared with word lists from the other locations pair by pair in order to determine the extent to which the corresponding 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.[4] A lexical similarity comparison between Dameli and several neighboring languages shows the percentage of shared vocabulary (see Chart 1).

Chart 1

Lexical Similarity Percentages

Dameli					
44	Biori Phalura				
44	40	Arandu Gawar-bati			
42	36	30	Urtsun Kalasha		
33	25	26	23	Langorbat Shekhani	
29	22	22	24	59	Bargromatal Eastern Kativiri

From these low percentages of shared lexical similarity, it is clear that Dameli is quite distinct from the neighboring languages. Undoubtedly, there are lexical borrowings between these languages. The higher percentages do not necessarily

[3]The complete Dameli word list is included in appendix B. Word lists from the neighboring Dardic and Nuristani languages are included as well.

[4]See appendix A for a more thorough description of the procedure for establishing lexical similarity.

indicate a stronger genetic relationship with either the Dardic Phalura, Gawar-bati, or Kalasha, than with the Nuristani Shekhani or Eastern Kativiri. The slightly higher percentage of similarity between Dameli and Shekhani, than between Dameli and Eastern Kativiri, may be attributed to words borrowed through intermarriage. Gurdon (cited in Morgenstierne 1942:118) reported that the Dameli intermarried with the Kam tribe, which are closely related to the Shekhani.

7. PHONOLOGICAL VARIATION

Although Morgenstierne had only two language assistants, he was able to discern slight phonological differences in the speech of the two men from whom he collected his linguistic data. The word list collected for this study, given by Dameli men from two different villages, reveals some of the same phonological variations that Morgenstierne (1942:119) identified. (See Example 1.)

The pronunciation [o] and [i] were identified from his "informant M", whereas [u] and [e] were used in those same words by Morgenstierne's "informant G". Similar fluctuations between [o] and [u] and between [ɪ] and [e] were discovered in the data for this study. However, the patterns were not consistent with those recorded by Morgenstierne, in that the speaker from Dondideri used the [u] and the [ɪ] pronunciations while the speaker from Shintero used the [o] and [e] forms. Unfortunately, the villages from which Morgenstierne's language assistants came is not known.

These phonological differences are minor and are unlikely to impede communication between speakers of Dameli. None of the respondents involved in this study mentioned any difficulty in understanding the speech of any other Dameli speaker. Some of them said there is no difference in the speech of the villages. However, two men in Dondideri said that the speech of Aspar sounds a little different, and one said Shintero is also a little different. Several respondents said that the Dameli spoken in Swato is the purest because there are no Pashto or Khowar

speakers living in that village. Morgenstierne (1942:119), noting differences in the speech of his language assistants, said that the Dameli community is too small for there to be local varieties of the language. He preferred to refer to Dameli as a language that is "...not altogether uniform".

Example 1

1) Morgenstierne noted
[o] from "informant M" = [u] from "informant G"

		Word List Locations	
		Shintero	Dondideri
No.	*Gloss*		
26	house	kol	kul
87	hen	kokor	kukur
95	dog	t͡sona	t͡suna

2) Morgenstierne noted
[i] from "informant M" = [e] from "informant G"

		Word List Locations	
		Shintero	Dondideri
No.	*Gloss*		
31	mortar	enḍori	ɪnḍori
44	star	estari	ɪstari
50	rainbow	edran	ɪdran

8. INTERACTION WITH AND USE OF NEIGHBORING LANGUAGES

8.1 Neighboring languages

Dameli is in close contact with several neighboring languages. There is evidence of long-standing contact with Kativiri to the west, Gawar-bati and Shekhani to the southwest,

the Kalami Kohistani of Dir (sometimes called *Bashkarik*) to the east, and Kalasha to the north. Contact with Phalura, to the northeast, Khowar, to the north, and Pashto, to the south, is more recent. Drosh, which is predominantly Khowar-speaking, has the main bazaar available to the Dameli for outside commerce. In the past Arandu may have played a more significant role. Urdu is the national language and is prescribed for use in the schools.

According to respondents, within the Damel Valley itself, the villages of Kamsai, at the top of the valley, and Birao, near the bottom of the valley, are Pashto-speaking villages. Swato, Shintero, Dondideri, and Aspar may have only Dameli-speaking inhabitants. Zarimbag, Damel Nisar, and Lechigram were reported to have both Pashto and Dameli speakers. There are also a few Shekhani, Gujari, and Khowar speakers living in the valley. Respondents said that about ten to thirty percent of the valley's population is Pashto speaking. They reported that they have daily contact with Pashto speakers. A few of the respondents reported that they have daily contact with Khowar speakers.

8.2 Frequency of second language use

Questionnaire information indicates that Pashto is the dominant second language in the Damel Valley, although Khowar has some influence in some domains with some people. Most of the respondents reported that Pashto is their best second language; others said Khowar or Shekhani is their best second language. The respondents reported that for business in the bazaar in Drosh they must choose to speak in Khowar or Pashto. Most of the respondents reported that they had learned Pashto either in the Drosh bazaar or from neighbors within the Damel Valley. The fact that these respondents had gained some proficiency in Pashto from these situations indicates that this may be frequent and significant language contact.

There does seem to have been some increase in the use of Pashto and Khowar in recent years in the Damel Valley. Respondents were asked about the second languages spoken by their parents. Some of the respondents' parents only knew Dameli, while today, the respondents reported, all the men speak

Pashto. However, the number of women who speak a second language may not have increased. According to respondents, in the past it was uncommon for children to speak a second language; today some of the young people are learning Pashto or Khowar. The respondents said that, in their childhood and continuing through the present, Dameli was the language of their homes and neighborhoods. They said that they do not feel that Pashto or any other language is replacing Dameli. However, two of the men predicted that Pashto will be the language their children speak most as adults, and another man said Urdu will be the language used most frequently.

8.3 Language use patterns

Generally, interest in the use of other languages is pragmatic; the Dameli want to be able to communicate with the people they meet most frequently — primarily, that is Pashto speakers, and secondarily, Khowar speakers. Contact comes in many different situations or domains. The following situations reveal that Dameli is not very useful outside of the Damel Valley.

There are a only few small shops in Dondideri, so much of the shopping must be done in Drosh. Most of the respondents said that they use Pashto when speaking with market traders in Drosh. Some of the respondents said that they speak Khowar well enough to trade with Khowar-speaking shopkeepers in their language, but other respondents said they would have to use Pashto because of their inability to speak Khowar. All of the respondents reported that while traveling on local public transportation they generally use Pashto with the drivers and non-Dameli-speaking riders.

The respondents agreed that Pashto is the language most commonly used for civil affairs. Local officials and police speak either Pashto or Khowar. The few Dameli men who know Urdu are called on to communicate and mediate with Urdu-speaking officials. None of the respondents reported that any of the police or officials learn Dameli.

While schooling has been available in the valley since 1965, the respondents said that few of the Dameli are educated. According to the respondents, there are Dameli-speaking teachers in each of the schools in the Dameli villages. There are Khowar- and Pashto-speaking teachers in some of the schools. Dameli is frequently used for instruction and explanation in the schools. This occurs primarily in the lower levels, and as students progress there is a transition to Urdu as the medium of instruction. Pashto and Khowar are also sometimes used for instruction by Pashtoon and Chitrali teachers with the few Pashto- and Khowar-speaking students. Dameli students have some opportunity to learn Pashto and Khowar from teachers and classmates. The respondents said that Pashto- and Khowar-speaking children attending school learn Dameli from their classmates. Urdu is primarily learned in school and school is one of the few situations where anyone who has learned it has the opportunity to use the language interactively. The respondents felt that Urdu is the most useful and important language for education and literacy, although they also expressed support for the continued use of Dameli in the schools.

According to the respondents, most of the men work in the Damel Valley with other Dameli-speaking men. Occasionally some of the Dameli men temporarily leave the valley for employment as unskilled laborers. The respondents indicated that, outside of the Damel Valley, Khowar or Urdu may be as important as Pashto for getting a job, depending on where the individual is looking for a job and what type of job he desires. Some of the respondents reported that they have traveled and worked outside of Chitral District. Peshawar was the most commonly mentioned destination, but some have gone as far away as Saudi Arabia for temporary work. They said they would use Pashto, and any Urdu they know, while in those distant places.

9. SECOND LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY

Interview information and the opinion of the Pashto-speaking co-worker involved in this study indicate that these Dameli men are somewhat proficient in Pashto. Several of the

respondents gave the self-evaluation that they have good ability in Pashto. Some of the respondents said that they would have to speak Pashto with a Khowar speaker because they are not fluent in Khowar. Only a few of the men said that their wives could speak any Pashto or Khowar. They said that most of the women are monolingual in Dameli. Only a couple of the respondents reported that their children can speak any Pashto or Khowar. Respondents reported that only those who have been educated can speak any Urdu.

10. EVIDENCE OF LANGUAGE VITALITY

Interview and questionnaire information based on the seven Dameli respondents indicate a situation in which language vitality for Dameli is fairly strong. All of the respondents reported that Dameli is the language of their homes, used with wives, children, and extended family members. Dameli is generally used for many functions within their own communities, i.e., speaking with neighbors, preaching in the mosque, public speeches concerning politics or other announcements, and other similar local communication. The respondents also spoke of the usefulness of Dameli within the Damel Valley for acquiring jobs, performing job related tasks, and speaking to fellow workers. The respondents explained that when someone is speaking to a group of people within their own community Dameli will be used unless speakers of another language, such as Pashto, are present. Then the speaker will use that person's language. Children are able to use Dameli at school with their fellow classmates and some of the teachers who are also Dameli speakers. Respondents said that there are some teenagers and women who are still monolingual in Dameli. This would seem to indicate that an individual can live for many years in the Damel Valley without being influenced by other languages.

Marriages with members of another language group can bring language choice decisions into the home. The respondents reported that there are some marriages with speakers of the different neighboring languages. However, there is cultural preference for marriages within their own group. Women from

other language groups who marry Dameli speakers are expected to use only Dameli in their homes. Pashtoons living in the area reportedly prefer to avoid intermarriages with Dameli speakers, although such marriages do occur.

The maintenance of Dameli within the community, in domains outside of the home, is significant because there are a few speakers of other more dominant regional languages living around them and involved in community activities. There are Pashtoons and a few Chitralis living in the valley. In a multilingual setting like this there are situations which require frequent language use choices, and Dameli is generally preferred within the Damel Valley.

11. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The Dameli live in a few small villages in a valley on the east side of the Chitral River a few miles north of Arandu. The history of this people group is rather clouded. There has been little research to verify the traditions or theories. Classification of the language remains uncertain because it mixes features from several other languages. There are a few slight variations in the language from one village to another, but hardly enough to consider as separate linguistic varieties. The Dameli population is small (2000 to 5000) but apparently growing.

Dameli appears to be an actively used language. The people seem to have positive attitudes toward their language. The secluded Damel Valley provides a fine environment for the language to flourish among its people while limiting the amount of contact with other language groups. Based on respondents' reports, many of the women and children are monolingual. Dameli is the language of the home and neighborhood. Having Dameli-speaking teachers, who can explain things to the children in the mother-tongue, is an asset to the students' learning and provides another domain in which the language is used. Dameli is not a written language.

While Pashto, Khowar, and Urdu are important in various situations and interests outside of the valley, Pashto is the second

language used most frequently by the Dameli men. The people seem to have varying abilities in Pashto as their second language, although respondents reported high Pashto proficiency among the men. There does not appear to be any definite indication that the Dameli are shifting to the use of Pashto or any other language. There are domains in which they must use another language, but they encourage the use of their first language wherever possible. There does not seem to be any awareness of Dameli being replaced or threatened by any other language. The Dameli think it would be bad to lose their language; and in fact, they believe that its use is increasing due to the population growth of their language community.

Although Dameli is spoken by a relatively small community surrounded by larger and more regionally dominant language groups (Pashto and Khowar), the available evidence indicates that it is a viable and relatively vital minority language at present. Within the valley where it is spoken, Dameli is the undisputed choice in all in-group domains, other languages being chosen only when there is a pragmatic need to communicate with non-Dameli. As long as the Dameli maintain positive attitudes and language choices are not threatened by negative out-group attitudes towards them, Dameli should maintain its position of relative stability in this highly multilingual region.

CHAPTER 7

EASTERN KATIVIRI AND KAMVIRI / SHEKHANI

1. INTRODUCTION AND PURPOSE

This chapter examines sociolinguistic factors and language variation between two varieties of the Nuristani eastern Kati languages[1] as spoken in Pakistan, Eastern Kativiri (Bashgali) and Kamviri / Shekhani. Through the collection of descriptive linguistic data, comparisons are made revealing some of the differences between these language varieties. Factors influencing the general language vitality of Shekhani are discussed. There is also some mention of the language vitality of the Eastern Kativiri communities in Pakistan. Evidence considered in this aspect of the study included questionnaire responses regarding reported language use in various social domains, multilingual proficiency, and language attitudes.

Information for this study was collected during several brief research trips in Chitral during the summers of 1989 and 1990. Word lists were collected in Eastern Kativiri and Shekhani. Questionnaires and interviews were conducted with eight respondents from Gobar, Bargromatal, Shekhanan Deh, Badrugal, and Langorbat. Interviews conducted while studying neighboring languages have also provided insight into the Eastern Kativiri and Shekhani sociolinguistic situation.

To facilitate understanding of the distinctions between the sociolinguistic situations of Eastern Kativiri and Shekhani, this chapter has been divided, initially presenting these varieties separately. Then the comparison of the word lists from these two varieties is discussed. The chapter concludes with a summary evaluation and comparison of the Eastern Kativiri and Shekhani communities in Pakistan.

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[1] For a description of the classification of Kati languages see §2.1.

2. EASTERN KATIVIRI

2.1 Geographic location

According to Strand (1973), there are three related languages in the Kati language group: Kativiri (also called *Kati*), Kamviri, and Mumviri. Mumviri is spoken in the villages of Bagalgram, Mangul, and Sasku in the central Bashgal Valley in the Kunarha Province of Afghanistan. (See map 3.) Kamviri is spoken in the southern Bashgal Valley (also called the Landay Sin region), primarily around the village of Kamdesh.[2] Kativiri is divided into two subgroups: Western Kativiri (W. Kativiri) and Eastern Kativiri (E. Kativiri). W. Kativiri, in its various varieties, is spoken in the Ramgal, Kulam, Ktiwi (also called *Kantiwo*), and Paruk Valleys in the Nuristan region in the Laghman and Kunarha Provinces of Afghanistan. E. Kativiri is spoken in the Bashgal Valley of eastern Nuristan, north of the Mumviri area; it is also spoken in villages in the Bumboret, Rumbur, Urtsun, (see map 4) and Lutkuh Valleys (see map 3) of the Chitral District in Pakistan. The main areas where W. and E. Kativiri are spoken predominantly are separated by the Prasun (also called *Parun*) Valley, where the Prasun (also called *Wasi-weri*) language is spoken.

The main town in the Bashgal Valley where E. Kativiri is spoken is Bargromatal. In Pakistan (see map 3), E. Kativiri is spoken in Gobar, at the far western end of the Lutkuh Valley; Kunisht (see map 4), at the western end of the Rumbur Valley;[3] and Shekhanan Deh (called *Brumotul* by Morgenstierne (1932) and *Tatruma* by the neighboring Kalasha), at the western end of the Bumboret Valley. Morgenstierne (1932:63) reported E. Kativiri speakers living in Urtsun in the center of the Urtsun Valley. The Kalasha respondents from the Urtsun Valley

[2] For further description of the geographic location of Kamviri and Shekhani see §3.1.

[3] Reported by Morgenstierne (1932) and Israr-ud-Din (1969) but the presence of E. Kativiri speakers in the Rumbur Valley was not confirmed by this study.

involved in this research said that E. Kativiri speakers live in many locations in the valley.

2.2 History of study

In 1902 Col. Davidson, a British officer, compiled a dictionary of E. Kativiri, which he called *Bashgali*. Grierson's *Linguistic Survey of India* (LSI VIII.2) included information on E. Kativiri taken from Davidson. Morgenstierne (1932) spent some time studying E. Kativiri during his tour of Chitral in 1929, visiting each of the villages where it is spoken in Chitral.

2.3 History of the people

2.3.1 Name of the people and language

According to Strand (1973:298-299), E. Kativiri and W. Kativiri are spoken by members of the Kati tribe. Kamviri is spoken by the Kom tribe and some of the Kshto [kṣ̌to] tribe. Mumviri is spoken by the Mumo tribe. The E. Kativiri respondents from Bargromatal and Shekhanan Deh called their language *Kati* [katə], *Kativiri*, or *Nuristani*. The E. Kativiri spoken in the Bashgal Valley is also called *Bashgali*. The respondent from Gobar called his language *Shekhaniwar*. This is probably the name given them by Khowar speakers; the [-war] ending means "language of" in Khowar. Israr-ud-Din (1969:51) also gives the names *Shekhan* and *Bashgaliwar*. The respondent from Bargromatal, and Strand (1973:297), said that the people who speak Kativiri prefer to be called *Nuristanis*. Before their conversion to Islam the people of Nuristan were known collectively as *Kafirs*, and their language as *Kafiri*. *Kafir* is a contemptuous term meaning "infidel." The Kalasha respondents referred to E. Kativiri speakers in the Bashgal Valley as *Kati*, but they called the people of Shekhanan Deh *Shekhano*. The term *Shekhani* is given to people and groups who have converted to Islam. For this study, *E. Kativiri* is used to refer to the language of the upper portions of the Bashgal Valley (including

Bargromatal), Gobar, Kunisht, Shekhanan Deh, and portions of the Urtsun Valley and *Nuristani* to refer to the people.

2.3.2 History

Robertson (1896:158) reported a tradition that both the Kati and Kom tribes came to the Bashgal Valley from the west. Traditions collected by Morgenstierne (1932:40) and Fussman (1972:19) agreed with participants involved in this study, that the Kati tribe originated in the Ktiwi Valley. According to traditions reported by Fussman (1972:19) and Morgenstierne (1932:40), some of the Kati tribe emigrated to the Bashgal Valley about 12 or 13 generations ago, in approximately 1600 A.D. Morgenstierne (cited in Fussman 1972:19) reported that the absence of significant dialectal differences between E. Kativiri and W. Kativiri makes it probable that the two groups lived contiguously to each other at a comparatively recent date.

Until late 1893, the Bashgal Valley was considered to be under the dominion of the *Mehtar* of Chitral. Due to a mistake in the wording of the Durand Agreement, the British Government of India agreed to give the Bashgal Valley to Afghanistan (cited in Jones, 1974:6). The *Mehtar* of Chitral invaded the lower Bashgal Valley and some inhabitants were taken prisoner and resettled in Gobar in the Lutkuh Valley (Robertson 1896). Morgenstierne (1932:63) reported that some E. Kativiri speakers had emigrated to the Urtsun Valley before 1895. Jones (1974:8-19) reports that from mid-1895 to late 1898, Nuristan was invaded by Afghan forces under Amir Abdur Rahman, who were intent on converting all the peoples to Islam. Seven hundred E. Kativiri speakers from Bargromatal fled to the Bumboret, Rumbur, and Lutkuh Valleys in Chitral. E. Kativiri is still spoken in these valleys in Chitral.

2.4 Present social factors

Most Nuristanis are farmers and sheep or goat herders. The villages in the Bumboret, Rumbur, and Lutkuh Valleys have sufficient water for irrigation, but due to the high elevation, only one crop can be grown a year. The villages in the Urtsun Valley

are much lower; the Nuristanis there are able to grow two crops a year.

Access to the Nuristani villages in Chitral requires at least a three-hour jeep ride from Drosh or Chitral town. The respondents said that people from Shekhanan Deh and Gobar travel to Bargromatal in the summer to trade with the people there.[4] One respondent reported that people from Bargromatal frequently travel to Chitral town to buy supplies.

Between 1895 and 1930 all of the Nuristanis converted from their traditional religion to Islam. Most are now Sunni Muslims, although the Gobar respondent said that some of the Nuristanis there follow the Ismaili teachings.

2.4.1 Population distribution

The Kalasha respondents in the Urtsun Valley said that 800 of the 3000 residents of the valley are Kalasha speakers. Most of the rest are E. Kativiri speakers, but there are also Pashto, Khowar, and possibly Kamviri speakers living in the valley. There may be 1000 to 2000 speakers of E. Kativiri in the Urtsun Valley.

A respondent in Shekhanan Deh estimated the population of his village at 1200 individuals. The Chitral District Council (1987) gives a figure of 1590 residents. There are a few Khowar speakers living in Shekhanan Deh. There may be 1200 to 1600 E. Kativiri speakers in Shekhanan Deh.

The entire population of the Rumbur Valley, including Kunisht, is listed as 656 by the Chitral District Council (1987); most of the population speak Kalasha. There may be as many as 100 E. Kativiri speakers in Kunisht.

A respondent from Gobar estimated that 200 families in his village are E. Kativiri speakers. Israr-ud-Din (1969:51) reports that an average E. Kativiri-speaking family has fifteen members. This would suggest that there are 3000 E. Kativiri-speaking

[4] The same may be true of Kunisht and Urtsun as well, but this was not confirmed.

individuals in Gobar, which is much higher than the 1530 figure given by the Chitral District Council (1987) for the total population of Gobar. There are also a few Khowar speakers living in Gobar. An average family size of seven may be closer to accurate and would result in an estimate of 1400 E. Kativiri speakers in Gobar.

Adding these figures together gives us an estimate of 3700 to 5100 speakers of E. Kativiri in Pakistan. Israr-ud-Din (1969:51) estimates 2000 speakers of E. Kativiri in Chitral. A respondent reported 15,000 speakers of E. Kativiri in the Bashgal Valley, however, there is no verifiable estimate for the number of E. Kativiri speakers in Afghanistan.

2.4.2 Availability of education

The participant in this study from Shekhanan Deh reported that about 65 to 70 boys and 10 to 15 girls attend the primary school in Shekhanan Deh. There is a government high school farther down the Bumboret Valley at Brun, which about 20 boys from Shekhanan Deh attend. There is a primary school in Urtsun, but no other information is available on education in the villages where E. Kativiri is spoken.

2.4.3 Contact between villages

The respondents from Shekhanan Deh and Gobar said that during the summer many people from their villages go to the Bashgal Valley. In fact, the man from Gobar said that members of extended families living in both Gobar and the Bashgal Valley maintain close ties. The respondent from Bargromatal confirmed that many E. Kativiri-speaking people from the Pakistan side come to the Bashgal Valley in the summers. Possibly herders from both sides of the border share the same high mountain pastures in the summer.

2.5 Linguistic setting

2.5.1 Linguistic classification

For many years not enough was known about the languages of Nuristan to confidently classify them. In 1961 Morgenstierne (cited in Strand, 1973:297) proposed that they are distinct from the Iranian and Indo-Aryan (or Indic) languages of the Indo-Iranian branch of the Indo-European family. Fussman's (1972) study of the languages of Nuristan and northern Pakistan has further confirmed the uniqueness of this third group of Indo-Iranian languages. Previous to the people's conversion to Islam, the languages were classified as *Kafir* languages. Strand (1973:297) recommended that *Nuristani* would be a less insulting name, and it conforms better to present terminology used by the people for themselves and their area.

2.5.2 Language group

According to Morgenstierne (1961), Strand (1973), and Fussman (1972) the Nuristani languages include Kati, Prasun (Wasi-weri), Ashkun, Waigali (Kalaṣa-ala), and Tregami (including Gambiri). These languages form a group based on similarities of vocabulary and phonology. However, the Kati speech varieties do not show any special relationship to any one of the other languages in the Nuristani group.

Morgenstierne (1932), Strand (1973), and Edelman (1983) agree that there are three main divisions of Kati: Mumviri, Kamviri, and Kativiri. Kativiri has two major subgroupings: E. Kativiri and W. Kativiri. Strand (1973:298-299) and Morgenstierne (1974) report that there seems to be little dialectal variation between these two groups; however, thorough studies have not been conducted. W. Kativiri is understood to have several subdivisions based on geographic and subtribal groupings: Ramgal, Kulam, Ktiwi, and Paruk. There has not been any study to confirm variation in the speech of these groups.

The differences between Kamviri and E. Kativiri will be further discussed in section 4 of this chapter. According to Strand (1973:299), Mumviri is apparently a transitional dialect between Kamviri and E. Kativiri. The characteristics that differentiate Mumviri from Kamviri and E. Kativiri have not been studied.

2.6 Reported variation in E. Kativiri

Morgenstierne (1932:64) reported that the E. Kativiri spoken in Kunisht, Shekhanan Deh, and Bargromatal appears to be uniform, although he noted some possible variation between the speech of the younger and older generations in Kunisht and Shekhanan Deh. The respondents involved in this study from Gobar and Shekhanan Deh said that their speech is the same as that of Bargromatal and the northern Bashgal Valley. They said that E. Kativiri is the same wherever it is spoken. They do not have any trouble understanding E. Kativiri speakers from other villages. The frequency of contact between villages (as described in §2.4.3) and the fairly recent geographic separation of the communities (as described in §2.3.2) provides evidence that Morgenstierne's evaluation is probably accurate.

2.7 Relationship by lexical similarity

For this study, a list of 210 words was collected from a man in Shekhanan Deh and then checked with a man from Bargromatal. Only two words were completely different; several words had slightly different forms, and there were slight phonetic differences in several other words. This seems to indicate minor variation between the speech of the two locations. The Bargromatal word list[5] was compared with the Kati vocabulary listed in Turner (1966-71), *A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages* and Fussman (1972), *Atlas Linguistique des Parlers Dardes et Kafirs*. The word lists included in these sources were collected primarily from Davidson (1902) and Morgenstierne (1932). There were 117 lexical items in common

[5] The complete Bargromatal word list is included in appendix B.

between Turner's and Fussman's word lists and the Bargromatal word list collected for this study.

Each word list was compared with the others, pair by pair, in order to determine the extent to which corresponding 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.[6] Chart 1 gives the percentage of words considered similar.

Chart 1

Lexical Similarity Percentages

Bargromatal	E. Kativiri
99	Shekhanan Deh E. Kativiri
85	Turner's and Fussman's Kati

The percentages presented in the chart indicate that there is little variation in the forms of E. Kativiri that have been elicited for word lists. The difference between the Bargromatal word list and that taken from the literature may indicate some lexical changes over the years between the times when these lists were collected.

2.8 Interaction with and use of neighboring languages

There are numerous languages spoken in the Nuristan region; however, due to the mountainous terrain, there is relatively little contact between the language groups. The Nuristani languages Prasun (also called *Wasi-weri*) and Waigali (also called *Kalaṣa-ala*) are spoken in valleys to the west and southwest of the Bashgal Valley. The Iranian languages Farsi (Afghan Persian), Munji, and Yidgha are spoken to the north of the Bashgal Valley. Pashto is spoken in the Kunar Valley to the

[6] See appendix A for a more thorough description of the procedure for establishing lexical similarity.

south. The Dardic languages of Khowar, Gawar-bati, and Kalasha are to the east. Some Gujari speakers are reported (Edelberg and Jones 1979:100) to live in the southern end of the Bashgal Valley. There is little information on the relationships of the people from these language groups with the E. Kativiri speakers.

E. Kativiri speakers living in scattered communities on the Pakistan side of the border reported regular contact with speakers of several different regional languages: Kalasha, Khowar, Gujari, Yidgha, and Pashto. Those living in the Urtsun, Bumboret, and Rumbur Valleys have daily contact with the Kalasha. According to the Kalasha respondents in the Urtsun Valley, Khowar is the *lingua franca* in that valley. There are occasional contacts with Khowar speakers living in the Bumboret and Rumbur Valleys, though the predominant population is Kalasha-speaking.

The respondent from Shekhanan Deh said that the Nuristanis there rarely intermarry with Khowar speakers. Intermarriage with Kalasha speakers would not be allowed unless the potential spouse has converted to Islam. The respondent from Bargromatal said that Nuristanis from his village rarely intermarry with Prasun speakers. He expressed strong negative attitudes toward social interaction with Pashto speakers and with Gujars. He said that the Nuristanis are concerned that Pashtoons may try to move into their area and buy their land and begin to dominate their culture.[7] He also said that Nuristanis do not like the Gujars because they sided with the Communist government in the late 1970s, at the beginning of the war. The Nuristanis have been trying to force the Gujars to leave their area.

Nuristanis living in Pakistan are exposed to several other languages if they attend schools. Urdu is the prescribed medium of education. Provided the teachers know the student's mother-tongue, they will use it for explanations in the lower grades; this

[7] Before the war, Pashtoons had begun to open small shops in the Bashgal Valley, and some had attempted to buy land. The respondent said that the late Bacha Khan, a Pashtoon leader, had encouraged Pashtoons to move into Nuristani valleys and buy land. When the war began the Pashtoons left the area, and he reported that the Nuristanis do not want them to return.

could mean increased contact for Nuristani schoolchildren with the regional language spoken by a locally more numerous group. In the higher grades they move toward the exclusive use of Urdu. English is taught as a subject in the higher grades. The respondent from Shekhanan Deh is a teacher, and the two other teachers in the school are Khowar speakers with some ability in E. Kativiri. The respondent from Bargromatal said that Pashto is the medium of instruction in schools in the Bashgal Valley.

As for the reported proficiency of Nuristanis in these other languages, several relevant comments were made during questionnaire interviews. The respondent from Gobar said that E. Kativiri speakers in his village understand Yidgha but cannot speak it. Shopkeepers interviewed in Garam Chishma said that the Nuristanis who come into town do not have very high ability in Khowar, so it is difficult to communicate with them. The respondent in Shekhanan Deh said that few men or women can speak Khowar well, although some can speak Kalasha, Urdu, or Pashto. All in all, it seems that there is no one second language in which most Nuristanis have reached high levels of proficiency.

The respondent from Shekhanan Deh said that Pashto is the most important language to know if someone leaves their area to find employment, particularly in Peshawar. Some men from Shekhanan Deh have traveled to Peshawar. Some men from the Bashgal Valley have traveled to Peshawar and to Jalalabad and Kabul, Afghanistan, where Pashto would be a useful language.

In conclusion, E. Kativiri speakers in different areas come into contact with speakers of several different languages. However, there does not seem to be any second language that dominates in any one village. E. Kativiri speakers seem to maintain their separate ethnolinguistic identity in their scattered communities. In general, there appears to be some usefulness for second language proficiency in Pashto for Nuristanis in the southern valleys and in Khowar for those in the other locations.

2.9 Evidence of language vitality

While there appear to be indications of positive language vitality, there is very little direct evidence. Although the E. Kativiri-speaking community is small compared to Pashto- and Khowar-speaking groups, it has influenced pockets of other language communities surrounding it. The respondent from Shekhanan Deh said that the few Khowar speakers in his village have learned E. Kativiri and regularly use it in conversation with their Nuristani neighbors. Kalasha respondents in the Bumboret and Urtsun Valleys, and some of the Yidgha respondents, said that they have learned E. Kativiri to be able to speak with the Nuristanis in their valleys. That Nuristanis may expect others to learn their language indicates their pride in E. Kativiri.

There are strong opinions concerning who is ethnically Nuristani and who is not. The respondent from Bargromatal said that speakers of Gawar-bati and Waigali are Nuristanis, but that Kamviri and Prasun speakers are not Nuristanis. He considered the Kom to be a Pashtoon tribe and believes that Prasun speakers came from Europe because they are fair skinned. He considers Nuristanis to be more courageous and to have higher values than non-Nuristanis. These statements specifically reflect ethnic pride, and may also represent pride in E. Kativiri as a language.

3. KAMVIRI / SHEKHANI

3.1 Geographic location

Strand (1973:299) identified Kamviri, the language of the Kom and Kshto tribes, as being spoken in the villages of Kamdesh (also called *Kombrom*) and Kushtoz (also called *Kštorm* or *Keshtagrom*) in the southern Bashgal Valley (also called *Landay Sin*) in Afghanistan.[8] (See map 3.) He said there are Kom families, who now speak Pashto, living along the west

[8] There may be some people from Kamdesh living in the Urtsun Valley, but this was not confirmed.

bank of the Kunar River from Pashingar to Cunuk, although Morgenstierne (1950:5) considered this a Gawar-bati-speaking area. These are possibly the people called *Siah Posh* by Biddulph (1880:65).

At some time in the past people from this area moved into Chitral and settled in Langorbat (also called *Lamerot*) and Badrugal [baḍruɣal]. (See map 4.) These people are now called Shekhani. Several respondents reported that there are individual families who still speak the language living in the Damel Valley, Ashret, and along the Chitral River between these two places.

Langorbat is a small village approximately five or ten kilometers north of Arandu in the Arandu Tehsil, Chitral District. Langorbat is on the west side of the Chitral River. A bridge gives access to the road on the east side of the river. Badrugal is located halfway between Kalkatak and Ashret. The village is some distance up the hillside from the road and is accessible only by footpath.

3.2 History of study

Morgenstierne (1932:63-64) reported the presence of immigrants from Kamdesh living in Chitral. He said the people of Kamdesh and the immigrants living in Chitral do not belong to the Kati tribe, although their language is a variety of Kati. Strand (1973) collected information on the languages of Nuristan during 1967 to 1969. He concentrated his study on Kamviri, spending most of this time around Kamdesh, in the southern end of the Bashgal Valley. He has published only brief comments regarding the results of his research.

3.3 History of the people

3.3.1 Name of the people and language

Strand (1973:299) says that the speakers of Kamviri are members of the Kom and Kshto tribes, and speakers of Shekhani are members of the Jaží tribe. He calls the language, as it is

spoken in Afghanistan, *Kamviri*. The Nuristani respondents involved in this present study called it *Kamviri*, *Kamdeshi*, or *Kamik*. The Kalasha respondents also called it *Kamik*. Strand (1973:299) calls the variety of Kamviri that is spoken in Chitral *Lamə́rṭiviri*. The respondents from Langorbat involved in this study used only the name *Shekhani* for their language. *Shekhani* is a term used by most people in Chitral for both E. Kativiri and Kamviri speakers. Morgenstierne (1932:64) points out that Shekhani means "language of the sheikhs, or converts." The respondents sometimes referred to themselves as *Nuristanis* and other times as *Kohistanis*. In this chapter the term *Kamviri* will be used for the language as it is spoken in Afghanistan, and *Shekhani* for the variety of Kamviri spoken in Chitral. There does not seem to be an adequate term for referring to these people. For lack of more accurate terms, *Kom* will be used to refer to Kamviri speakers in Afghanistan and *Shekhano* to refer to Shekhani speakers in Chitral.

3.3.2 History

Fussman (1972:19) reported a tradition that the Kom pushed the Wai tribe (Kalaṣa-ala speakers) out of the area around Kamdesh. According to a tradition collected by Morgenstierne (cited in Fussman, 1972:21), the Wai occupied the area around Kamdesh until 1860. Morgenstierne (1974) believed that the Kom entered the Bashgal Valley before the Kati. It seems unclear when and from where the Kom arrived in the Bashgal Valley.

At some time in the past the Shekhano spread into Chitral and settled in the villages of Langorbat and Badrugal. Individual families have settled along the Chitral River between Langorbat and Badrugal. However, it is unknown if these are recent immigrants or if they are a remnant of an earlier, larger distribution of Shekhano. Biddulph (1880:64) reported that, "The villages of Jinjuret, Loi, Sawair, Nager, and Shishi are also inhabited by Siah Posh." (See §3.1.) However, these are generally believed to have been Kalasha villages.

3.4 Demographic factors

The Shekhano are farmers and goat herders. Langorbat is at a low enough elevation that two crops can be grown a year; there is sufficient water for irrigation. All of the Kom and Shekhano are Sunni Muslims.

Strand (1973:299) reports that Kamviri is spoken by 4000 people in the Kamdesh area. The respondents from Langorbat estimated that there are about 750 to 1000 Shekhani speakers in their village, plus a few Pashto and Khowar speakers. The Chitral District Council (1987) counted 881 inhabitants in Langorbat and 740 inhabitants in Badrugal. A conservative estimate for Shekhani speakers in Chitral is 1500 to 2000.

There are primary schools in Langorbat and Badrugal. The Langorbat respondents said that 50 to 80 boys, but no girls, attend school.

3.5 Linguistic setting

3.5.1 Language classification

It appears that Shekhani is a variety of Kamviri, which is in the Kati group of languages. These language varieties are in the Nuristani group in the Indo-Iranian branch of the Indo-European family. See §2.1, §2.5.1, and §2.5.2 of this chapter for more on the classification relationships.

3.5.2 Linguistic variation

Strand (1973:299) says that Kamviri is fairly uniform throughout the villages where it is spoken, with only slight regional variation. He refers to Shekhani as, "…a somewhat divergent dialect of Kamviri."

3.6 Interaction with and use of neighboring languages

3.6.1 Neighboring languages

Each Shekhano village is surrounded by different language communities. Gawar-bati is the predominant language in Arandu, south of Langorbat. Northeast of Langorbat is the Damel Valley, where Dameli is spoken. The respondents from Langorbat said that a few Pashto- and Khowar-speaking families live in their village. Badrugal is located between two Phalura-speaking villages, Ashret and Kalkatak. The respondent from Badrugal reported four or five Pashto-speaking families and one Gujari-speaking family living in his village. Between Badrugal and Langorbat are many small clusters of Pashto, Gujari, and Khowar speakers.

3.6.2 Second language use patterns

The respondents reported that Pashto is the language commonly used for civil affairs, such as dealing with police and government officials. These same participants reported that they learned Pashto from contact with the few Pashtoons who live in their village and by talking with market traders in the Drosh bazaar, where they buy most of their supplies. Because they cannot speak Khowar, respondents said they would speak Pashto with shopkeepers in Drosh and with school teachers, even though many of these people are Khowar speakers.

Khowar is seen as valuable in some domains, such as getting a job in Chitral town, speaking to some government officials or talking with Khowar speakers, but it is seen as secondary in value to Pashto.

The respondents in Langorbat said that some children can speak Urdu. Any reported ability in Urdu reflects how much education the person has received, as school is frequently the only place where people in Chitral have contact with Urdu. There are Pashto-speaking children and teachers in the schools; this contact may assist the Shekhano children in learning Pashto. The

teachers in Langorbat are Pashto and Khowar speakers, but are reported to be able to speak Shekhani. The respondents reported that Pashto and Shekhani are major languages used for explaining things in the lower grades. The respondent from Badrugal said that one of the teachers there is a Shekhani speaker; the other speaks Phalura.

Some of the respondents have traveled to cities outside of Chitral, including Swat, Peshawar, Lahore, and Karachi. They said that they used Pashto to communicate with people in those places. They said that they would use Pashto with non-Shekhani speakers when traveling on local transportation vehicles.

3.6.3 Second language proficiency

All of the Shekhani-speaking respondents reported that Pashto is their best second language. The Pashtoon co-workers involved in data collection for this project said they were able to communicate with the Shekhano men in Pashto, but evaluated their ability as moderate, not very good. Two of the respondents said that they did not feel they, or other Shekhani-speaking men, had very good ability in Pashto.

Two of the Langorbat respondents said that they could not speak Khowar; the other two reported that they could speak some Khowar and a little Urdu. The respondent from Badrugal said that some of the people in his village speak Pashto as their best second language, but others are more fluent in Phalura.

It was not possible to interview Shekhano women or children, so information was gathered from adult male respondents who gave their opinions regarding the second language proficiencies and language use choices of their family members. Some of the respondents reported that the women in their households rarely or sometimes speak Pashto; a couple of them also have some ability in Khowar. The respondent from Badrugal said that all the women in his village can speak some Pashto and Phalura.

Two respondents from Langorbat said that their children can speak some Pashto. One can also speak some Urdu. Most of the

respondents reported that their parents had some ability in Pashto. One of the men said his parents could also speak some Khowar. One respondent said his parents could speak only Shekhani. These responses would seem to indicate that there has been no apparent increase of dominance of Pashto in the area over the last generation.

3.6.4 Marriage patterns and language use choices

The respondents said that their people prefer to marry within the Shekhani language community, but some do marry outside of it. The mother of one of the participants is a Pashtoon. Another respondent reported that he has a Khowar-speaking relative. In Langorbat, it was reported that women who marry Shekhani-speaking men are expected to learn Shekhani and use it in the home with their children. The respondent from Badrugal said that many of the people in his village marry Phalura speakers. Some of the respondents reported that they improved their second language ability by talking with relatives who speak that language.

3.7 Evidence of language vitality

Interview and questionnaire information based on the five Shekhano respondents indicate good vitality for the Shekhani-speaking language community. In the opinions of the respondents involved in this study, Shekhani will continue to be the first language of their people in the future. They feel that the language will not die because their population is growing. They believe that the young people desire to and will continue to use Shekhani as their primary language. The respondents said that Shekhani is useful for maintaining their unique identity and spreading their cultural values, and that a shift away from the language would be bad.

The respondents from Langorbat reported that Shekhani is the language of their homes. It was reported that some Shekhano children in Langorbat are monolingual in Shekhani. Respondents said that they usually speak Shekhani with neighbors and village

elders. They reported that they sometimes meet people from other villages where their language is spoken, and they prefer to use Shekhani when speaking with other Shekhani speakers. Shekhani is used for public meetings in Langorbat, including sermons in the mosque, so long as only Shekhani speakers are present. If Pashtoons are present the speaker will use Pashto because the Shekhani and Khowar speakers can typically understand Pashto better than Pashtoons can understand Shekhani. One respondent noted that Shekhani is frequently used in school to explain things to the children. The respondents said that they prefer to use Shekhani for songs, reciting poetry, and joking.

The respondents reported that the Pashto- and Khowar-speaking teachers in Langorbat are able to speak Shekhani. One Dameli-speaking respondent said that Shekhani is his best second language, indicating that second language proficiency in Shekhani is (or has been in the past) useful in the Damel Valley. The acquisition and use of Shekhani by non-Shekhano indicates that Shekhani holds a position of some dominance in the small area where it is spoken.

In Badrugal, Phalura may be gaining some dominance as frequent intermarriage with Phalura-speakers was reported. However, there is very little information on the sociolinguistic situation in Badrugal.

4. RELATIONSHIP OF E. KATIVIRI AND SHEKHANI

4.1 Relationship by lexical similarity

Strand (1972:299) reported that Kamviri and E. Kativiri are separated by the transitional dialect called Mumviri. He provides several examples revealing the phonological differences between E. Kativiri and Kamviri. Another way of measuring the similarity of the languages is by determining the percentage of words that are similar. Morgenstierne (1932:64) noted that the vocabularies of E. Kativiri and Kamviri are not significantly different. Since Shekhani represents a speech variety which has diverged further

from E. Kativiri than Kamviri, a comparison between E. Kativiri and Shekhani should reveal much more divergence.

A word list was collected and checked with Shekhano participants from Langorbat.[9] The Bargromatal E. Kativiri word list[10] was checked against the Kati presented in Turner (1966-71) and Fussman (1972). A few items were eliminated from the list due to elicitation problems. There were 194 words to compare between Bargromatal E. Kativiri and Langorbat Shekhani. The word lists were compared with each other, pair by pair, in order to determine the extent to which corresponding 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.[11] This comparison showed 59 percent lexical similarity between Langorbat Shekhani and Bargromatal E. Kativiri. These differences indicate that there would probably be some loss of comprehension between speakers of these languages. One would expect there to be a greater percentage of similarity between E. Kativiri and Mumviri, or Kamviri than that shown in comparison with Shekhani.

4.2 Reported comprehension between languages

Although respondent opinion is not empirical evidence, it reveals perceptions. A short text was recorded from a Langorbat participant and another from the Bargromatal participant.[12] These texts were recorded for the purpose of comprehension testing, but they were not used for that purpose. The Shekhani text was played for one E. Kativiri-speaking respondent, and he was asked

[9] The complete Langorbat Shekhani word list is included in appendix B.

[10] The Bargromatal version of the E. Kativiri word list was chosen over the Shekhanan Deh version of the E. Kativiri word list because the elicitation work was more successful with the Bargromatal respondent, and thus the results are deemed more reliable.

[11] See appendix A for a more thorough description of the procedure for establishing lexical similarity.

[12] The Langorbat and Bagromatal texts are included in appendices C.7 and C.8.

to report on his understanding of the text. Although this is not considered as conclusive evidence, he reported he could understand most of the text. However, this respondent had reported earlier that he had learned to speak Kamik, which was the collective name he used to refer to Kamviri and Shekhani. The fact that he reported learning the language indicates that he perceived it as significantly different from his mother-tongue. Further investigation into the levels of intelligibility between speakers of these related varieties is warranted.

5. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

E. Kativiri is spoken in the Bashgal Valley of Afghanistan and in the Urtsun, Bumboret, Rumbur, and Lutkuh Valleys of Pakistan. In the Bashgal Valley a linguistic variety related to E. Kativiri is spoken in the area around the village of Kamdesh; this is called Kamviri. Shekhani, which is a variety of Kamviri, is spoken in Pakistan in the villages of Langorbat and Badrugal.

Based on respondent opinion, Strand (1973), and the data collected for this study; there seems to be little variation in E. Kativiri. A word list comparison between the E. Kativiri varieties spoken in Bargromatal and Shekhanan Deh shows only minor variation in surface-level lexical forms. Respondents reported frequent contact between E. Kativiri speakers from the different locations.

A comparison of word lists of Langorbat Shekhani and Bargromatal E. Kativiri indicates that these two linguistic varieties are quite different.

Among E. Kativiri speakers in Pakistan, Khowar appears to be the most common second language. Among Shekhani speakers, Pashto is most common; Phalura is also used in Badrugal. While Pashto is an important language for people in Langorbat, it does not seem to threaten the future use of Shekhani.

Although both E. Kativiri and Shekhani are spoken in Pakistan by relatively small communities surrounded by larger and more regionally dominant language groups (Pashto and

Khowar), the available evidence indicates that they are viable and relatively vital minority communities. The respondents maintain that E. Kativiri and Shekhani are still the only languages of the home and that it would jeopardize their ethnic identity to switch to using another language in such domains. As long as the Nuristanis and Shekhano maintain positive attitudes toward their language and ethnic identification, and as long as these attitudes and choices are not threatened by negative out-group attitudes towards them, E. Kativiri and Shekhani should maintain their respective positions of relative stability in this highly multilingual region.

CHAPTER 8

GAWAR-BATI

1. INTRODUCTION AND PURPOSE

This chapter examines some general aspects of the sociolinguistic environment of the Gawar-bati-speaking community in southern Chitral. The primary purpose of this chapter is to examine evidences of the language vitality of Gawar-bati. The other overall objectives of this study, such as examining evidence of language variation, the investigation of multilingual proficiency, language use, and language attitudes, are also discussed. Information for this investigation of Gawar-bati was gathered during brief research trips in southern Chitral during the summers of 1989 and 1990. A word list was collected and questionnaires and interviews were conducted with seven respondents from Arandu, Pakistan and Narai, Afghanistan.

2. GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION

The people who speak Gawar-bati live along the Kunar River, predominantly in the Afghanistan-Pakistan border area (see map 4) near the village of Arandu[1] in the Chitral District of Pakistan. The war in Afghanistan has forced many people in the area to move north into Chitral. In 1990 there were many Gawar refugees living in the Kalkatak Afghan refugee camp.

The villages in the border area of Arandu, Barikot, Dokalam, and Pashingar are probably predominantly Gawar-bati speaking. (See map 3.) Narai, about 10 kilometers down the

[1]Research was not possible in the area where Gawar-bati is spoken. Therefore, information regarding the villages in which people are reportedly still speaking Gawar-bati is unconfirmed. The scarcity of reliable maps also creates some difficulty in defining exactly where the language is spoken. This researcher has used the map provided in Edelberg and Jones (1979) as a primary reference.

Kunar Valley, and Nishagam and neighboring villages farther down the valley may also have Gawar-bati-speaking inhabitants.

There is some discrepancy concerning these locations. Biddulph (1880:64) said that the language was spoken in the villages of Pashingar, Birkote, Langorbat, Gud, Narisat, Maimena, Sukai, Nawakali, and Choondak. This agrees with the map in Edelberg and Jones (1979), which locates the Gawar-bati language as being spoken from Jalala, Afghanistan, on the Kunar River in the south, to near Damel, Pakistan, in the north (excluding the town of Sau, Afghanistan). Morgenstierne (1950:5) said that Gawar-bati is spoken around Arandu in Chitral, in Birkot and Dokalam, across the Afghan border, and in Nishagam and Palazgor, farther down the Kunar Valley. Respondents involved in this study said that Biddulph's *Choondak* is actually Kati-speaking. According to Morgenstierne, *Narai* is the Pashto name for Narsat. Respondents involved in this study said that Gawar-bati is spoken in Arandu, Dokalam, Barikot, Narai, Nishagam, and Sau. The Sau respondents, interviewed for another aspect of this study, did not mention Gawar-bati being spoken in their village. Biddulph said Gawar-bati is spoken in Langorbat, which is predominantly Shekhani-speaking. Biddulph's *Gud* may refer to the Pashto name *Gid* for the Damel Valley, where Dameli is the predominant language. None of the respondents interviewed for this present study from Damel or Langorbat said that Gawar-bati was spoken in their villages. One of the Eastern Kativiri-speaking respondents said that Pashto is the predominant language spoken in Barikot. Strand (in Fussman 1972:24) reported that in 1969 only 10 to 12 elderly people in Nishagam were still speaking Gawar-bati.

There are several languages that other researchers have called *Gawar-bati-type* languages. Some of these languages (Ningalami and Grangali) are found in the Pech Valley area (see map 3) of Afghanistan. This valley meets the Kunar Valley at Chaga Sarai, about 40 kilometers south of Arandu. Another Gawar-bati-type language, Shumashti, is found in the upper part of the Darra-i-Mazar Valley, which meets the Kunar River about 50 kilometers south of Chaga Sarai. The village of Shumasht is

about 20 kilometers across a mountain pass from the side valleys of the Pech Valley.

3. HISTORY OF STUDY

In 1878 Biddulph visited Chitral, and at that time he apparently collected some information on Gawar-bati. In *Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh* (1880) he included a short vocabulary of what he called *Narsati*. A short account of Gawar-bati was given by Grierson (LSI VIII.2) in *Linguistic Survey of India*. Morgenstierne's (1950) *Notes on Gawar-Bati* records the information on Gawar-bati that he collected from three men while he was in Chitral in 1929. In 1937 Lentz (cited in Morgenstierne 1950) collected some information on Gawar-bati-type languages spoken in the Pech Valley area of Afghanistan. His report included a few phrases of Gawar-bati. In 1970 Buddruss (cited in Fussman 1972) visited the Pech Valley and studied some of the Gawar-bati-type languages. Information collected by Morgenstierne during 1964 and 1970 visits to the Pech Valley area is presented in *Atlas Linguistique des parlers Dardes et Kafirs, Vol. 2* (Fussman 1972:24). Grjunberg (1971) has also studied these Gawar-bati-type languages. In the 1960s Professor Israr-ud-Din (1969), of the Geography department of the University of Peshawar, did research on the various peoples of Chitral, including the Gawar of Arandu.

4. HISTORY OF THE PEOPLE

4.1 Name of the people and language

Biddulph (1880:64) referred to the people who speak Narsati as *Gubber* (Biddulph's term for the *Gawar*). Grierson (LSI VIII.2) called the language *Gawar-bati*. Morgenstierne (1950:5-6) called the people *Gawar* and said that the country they inhabited was called *Gawardesh* or *Narsat*. Israr-ud-Din (1969) calls them *Gowari* or *Arandui* people and says that the language is also called *Aranduiwar*. It is common for speakers of

Khowar to add the suffix *-war* to location names to refer to the language of that place.

Mother-tongue respondents interviewed in this present study called their language *Gawar-bati*. The word *bati* means *speech of*. They said that Narsati was not the name of their language, but was simply the name of a place where their language is spoken. The respondents said that in Pakistan they call themselves *Kohistani* but in Afghanistan they call themselves *Nuristani*. The Kati, who also call themselves *Nuristani*, call the Gawar *Sutr*. One respondent from Narai called his people and his language *Kohistani*; he did not know any other name. An Eastern Kativiri speaker from Bargromatal called Gawar-bati *Satr*. Morgenstierne (1950) also mentioned that the Kalasha call the Gawar *Satra*, the Kati call them *Sätre*, and the Prasun call them *Satre*.

4.2 History

The Gawar have a history of movement during the last several centuries. This is revealed by cross-referencing traditions and historical evidence. The evidence describes a general northward movement which has brought the Gawar to their present location between the larger Pashto- and Khowar-speaking communities.

Israr-ud-Din (1969:52) reports that the present-day Gawar group is made up of three original groups: the Suniardari, who came from Asmar, Afghanistan, which is about 25 kilometers south of Arandu on the Kunar River; the Sultana, who came from the area of Jalalabad, Afghanistan; and the Afghan or Swati, who emigrated from the Panjkora-Swat area.

Morgenstierne (1950:6) reported a tradition held by the Gawar that they had come from Bajaur (and perhaps Swat) in the 15th century.[2] At that time the invading Pashtoons pushed the people out of Bajaur. Some time later the Gawar moved up the Kunar River to the present location, driving out the previous

[2]Bajaur is located west of the area where the Panjkora and Swat Valleys meet in Pakistan. It is south of the present Gawar-bati-speaking area. See D. Hallberg 1992:map 2.

inhabitants. According to Biddulph (1880:163), it was in the 16th and 17th centuries that the *Gubbers* were forced out of their traditional area of the Panjkora Valley by increasing pressure from the Afghans moving into the area. Israr-ud-Din's three original groups mentioned above seem to be consistent with parts of this tradition. Fussman (1972:394) takes issue with the belief that the Gawar came from Swat, noting that this tradition is inconsistent with the language classification of Gawar-bati. If Gawar-bati came from Swat, it would be a Kohistani-type language, but Gawar-bati is more closely related to Pashai.

Actually, the tradition of the people coming from Bajaur is very compatible with the evidence. Present-day Bajaur is north of the Kabul River, and west of the Swat River after it joins with the Panjkora River. If in past times the area extended to the Kunar River, which is possible, then Bajaur would have included the area where the Pech River joins the Kunar River (see map 3), and would have stretched all the way to the Panjkora and Swat Rivers. A group in this area would not necessarily be in frequent contact with the Kohistani languages of Swat. This evidence would agree with the presence of Gawar-bati-type languages in the Pech Valley. The Pech Valley area would have been a natural location for the Gawar to relocate to when Pashtoons moved into the Swat area. This would also explain how Gawar-bati could have come into contact with Eastern Pashai and Ashkun languages, as Fussman (1972:392, 394, 395) asserts that the linguistic evidence shows. Another related people movement was described by Morgenstierne (in Fussman 1972:25). He was told in 1949 that people speaking Grangali, a Gawar-bati-type language, had moved to Ningalam from the Grangal Valley five generations earlier. This would mean that groups speaking a language linguistically related to Gawar-bati have been in the Pech Valley area, possibly in contact with Pashai, for several hundred years.

Morgenstierne (1950:6) relates another tradition, which said that the Gawar came from Hindostan to Chakan [Chaga] Sarai, where they were converted to Islam. This would also place an earlier habitation of the Gawar in the area of the confluence of the Pech and Kunar Rivers and would maintain that they moved to that area from the southeast, which is the Bajaur area. Today

there is a road that passes from Bajaur to Chaga Sarai, and now that the war in Afghanistan has subsided in the area, it is being used occasionally for traffic from Peshawar to Chitral. If it is passable enough for a road to traverse the area, it is not difficult to imagine people on foot also crossing the area.

5. DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

There has been little ethnographic study of the Gawar. They are predominantly farmers. They are members of the Sunni sect of Islam. Israr-ud-Din (1969:53) reports that an average family includes five members. None of the earlier studies provide any information on the population of the Gawar. Therefore, with the inaccurate population figures available today, it is difficult to assess the extent to which the population of the Gawar-bati-speaking community has been affected by the recent war in Afghanistan.

There are no census figures that count the people by their language. Therefore, the figures presented here are based on respondent estimates and interpretation of these numbers to arrive at some estimation of the number of people who speak Gawar-bati. Respondents said that the Gawar-bati-speaking population of Arandu is about 1500 to 2500. These estimates do not differ greatly with the 1987 population figures from the Chitral District Council office. These figures show 1298 people living in Arandu village proper. If a possible 1000 Arandu inhabitants are Gawar-bati speakers, and added to this number are the residents of the many small clusters of houses in the area, who likely also speak Gawar-bati, then there is a possible estimate of 1500 speakers in Pakistan. Two respondents gave estimates of 8000 to 10,000 total speakers of Gawar-bati. Subtracting the estimate for Pakistan, this would suggest a population of 6500 to 8500 speakers of Gawar-bati in Afghanistan. These are very rough estimations.

The only information about the availability of education that was obtained for this study was from the respondents who participated in this study. Arandu is reported to have three

schools: a primary, middle, and high school. Most of the boys are reported to be going to school, but the girls do not attend. Three of respondents, who were under 30 years of age, had some education, but none of them had reached matriculation.

6. LINGUISTIC SETTING

6.1 Linguistic affiliation

Grierson (LSI VIII.2:80) includes Gawar-bati as a Kafir language in the Dardic family of Indo-Aryan (Indic) languages. Morgenstierne (1950:7) considered Gawar-bati to form an intermediate link between Pashai and the Kohistani languages in the Dardic branch. In his later writings (1961; cited in Strand 1973:302), he more specifically grouped Gawar-bati with Dameli, Ningalami, Shumashti, and Pashai as the Kunar group of Dardic languages. Fussman (1972:393) also groups Gawar-bati with Pashai, forming a Kunar group of the Dardic branch of Indo-Aryan languages.

6.2 Language group

Although Gawar-bati shows some relationships with several languages (Pashai and Dameli) spoken nearby, the relationship is quite ancient. The languages referred to as Gawar-bati-type languages are genetically of a much closer relationship. According to Fussman (1972:24-25), they include Ningalami, Shumashti, and Grangali. Lentz (cited in Morgenstierne 1950:58) states that “Gelangeli” [Grangali] is identical to Ningalami and Shumashti. According to Morgenstierne (1974:3), a similar dialect was spoken in Grangal, Ningalam, and Shumasht. In 1970 Buddruss (cited in Fussman 1972:24) confirmed that Grangali was still spoken in the Grangal Valley. Morgenstierne (cited in Fussman 1972:25) reported that in 1970 he could no longer find anyone in Ningalam who could remember more than a few words of the language.

7. LEXICAL VARIATION AMONG GAWAR-BATI-TYPE LANGUAGES

Mother-tongue respondents interviewed in this present study said that Gawar-bati is the same wherever it is spoken; by this they would mean Gawar-bati proper, not the Gawar-bati-type languages discussed above. One respondent noted that he does not have any problem crossing back and forth over the border and therefore has frequent contact with Gawar-bati speakers from other villages; he said that he has no difficulty communicating with Gawar-bati speakers from other locations. Morgenstierne (1950) made no mention of any dialectal variation across the Gawar-bati-speaking community. Edelman (1983) says that the Gawar language is subdivided into a number of dialects; she may be referring to Ningalami, Shumashti, and Grangali in comparison to Gawar-bati proper.

A list of 210 words was collected from a resident of Narai. Then this list was checked with a resident of Arandu. The differences were few. This list of 210 words was compared with comparable lists taken from Morgenstierne's Shumashti (1945)[3] and Ningalami (1950) studies. After checking the Gawar-bati word list against those recorded by Fussman (1972), Morgenstierne (1950), Biddulph (1880), and Grierson (LSI VIII.2), there were a total of 200 words from Gawar-bati, 82 words from Ningalami, and 113 words from Shumashti to compare.[4] Each word list was compared with the others, pair by pair, in order to determine the extent to which corresponding 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.[5] Chart 1 gives the percentage of words considered similar.

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[3]The Shumashti words were taken from Turner (1966-71) *A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages*.

[4] The complete Gawar-bati word list is included in appendix B.

[5] See appendix A for a more thorough description of the procedure for establishing lexical similarity.

Chart 1

Lexical Similarity Percentages

Gawar-bati		
42	Ningalami	
47	63	Shumashti

It can be seen that Ningalami and Shumashti share more vocabulary than either of these languages does with Gawar-bati. It is possible that speakers of Ningalami and Shumashti would understand one another to some extent, probably better than speakers of either language would understand Gawar-bati. Ningalam and Shumasht are geographically closer to each other than to the area where Gawar-bati is spoken.

8. INTERACTION WITH AND USE OF NEIGHBORING LANGUAGES

The Gawar-bati-speaking community is in contact with a number of languages. There are Pashto speakers living in Arandu, and Pashto is the predominant language spoken to the south along the Kunar River. There is evidence (see § 4.2) that the Gawar community has been pushed up from the south by Pashto speakers, who have been migrating north following the Kunar River for several centuries. To the west there is some contact with Eastern Kativiri and Kamviri speakers of the Bashgal Valley, especially near Arandu, where the Bashgal River meets the Kunar River (see map 3). There is some contact with the Shekhani-speaking community of Langorbat and Dameli speakers from the Damel Valley, both of which are just a few kilometers north of Arandu. There is contact to the north with Khowar speakers, and some Khowar speakers are now moving into Arandu. According to Fussman (1972:395), there is evidence of contact to the east with Bashkarik [Kalami], but this language has been separated from Gawar-bati by a Pashto

advance in Dir for quite some time. Finally, Urdu is the national language and the language prescribed for use in the schools in Pakistan.[6]

Questionnaire information indicates that Pashto is the dominant second language in the Gawar area. Respondents reported that they have daily contact with Pashto speakers in the village, in the bazaar in Drosh, and traveling to and from the bazaar on public transportation. However, they reported that Khowar is the most useful language for getting supplemental employment and for other business activities in southern Chitral. Urdu was reported to be the most useful language for getting an education, although several respondents said that they would like Pashto to be taught in the schools.

Generally, the Gawars' interest in other languages is pragmatic: they want to be able to communicate with those they meet most frequently in a language those people understand. The situations discussed in the following sections reveal which languages have more dominance in various domains common to daily Gawar activities. Evidence indicates that Gawar-bati is often a viable option.

There are only a few small shops in Arandu, so much of the shopping must be done in Drosh, which has a large bazaar. Several of the respondents reported that Khowar is the most useful language for communication in the bazaar. All of the respondents said that while traveling on local transportation from Arandu to Drosh, they can use Gawar-bati. Some of them said that they also use Pashto and Khowar.

Most school-age children in Arandu are Gawar-bati speakers; however, some have Pashto or Khowar as their mother tongue. Respondents reported that in school the instruction is given in Urdu with Gawar-bati used for explanations. Some Pashto and Khowar is used for the few Pashto- and Khowar-speaking students in classes. The teachers are said to be Gawar-bati and Khowar speakers. There is no restriction against the children using Gawar-bati at school.

[6] On the evidence that one respondent reported that he can also speak Gujari, we can assume that there is some contact with Gujari also.

Respondents reported that contact with police or other civil and government officials depends on the language of that official. It was reported that in the Gawar area some of the police are Pashto speakers and others are Khowar speakers. None of the respondents reported that any of the police or officials learn Gawar-bati.

Many of the respondents reported that they have traveled and worked in cities elsewhere in Pakistan outside of the Gawar area (e.g., Peshawar, Rawalpindi, Lahore, Karachi). Most of the men said that Pashto was the most important language for them to know for traveling to those cities, gaining employment, and conversing with co-workers. Several mentioned that Urdu is also sometimes useful in some cities.

9. SECOND LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY

Each of the respondents reported that his best second language is Pashto. Most of them could also speak some Khowar. A few of the men reported being able to speak some Urdu and Persian.

Interview information and the opinion of the Pashto mother tongue co-workers involved in this study indicate that there is a wide range of second language proficiencies among Gawar-bati speakers. These Pashtoon co-workers reported that some of the respondents had very good ability in Pashto but that others did not. The respondents' self-evaluations agreed with those given by the Pashtoon co-workers. Some of the respondents reported that their children could speak some Pashto, but very few of the respondents said that their children can speak Khowar or Urdu. Most of the respondents said that their wives can speak some Pashto. The respondents reported that their second languages were learned by casual social contact with mother tongue speakers of those languages, generally in the bazaar.

10. MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND LANGUAGE CHOICE

The language chosen for in-home communication between family members can be an indication of the vitality of the mother tongue or the amount of contact with, and the prestige of a second language. The choice of taking a wife from another language group is one way in which language choice decisions are brought into the home. One respondent had a Pashto-speaking wife. He said that both Pashto and Gawar-bati are used in his home. The wives of several of the respondents were reported to have some speaking ability in Pashto, but the respondents said that Pashto is rarely used in those homes. All of the Gawar-bati respondents agreed that intermarriage with Pashto speakers is not uncommon for people from their language group; intermarriage with Khowar speakers is less common. A respondent explained that in these mixed-language marriages the wife learns the language of the husband. Occasional marriages with speakers of other languages may not be a recent change in the customs, as a few of the respondents had Pashto-speaking parents or grandparents. However, the respondents said that they prefer that their children will marry Gawar-bati speakers. In contrast to the situations reported by members of some minority language communities discussed elsewhere in this volume (e.g., some Yidgha and Phalura speakers), there was no evidence of perceived benefit through intermarriage with spouses from a dominant language group. Gawar-bati appears to be a vital language choice in homes, even for marriages of Gawar with non-Gawar-bati speakers.

11. EVIDENCE OF LANGUAGE VITALITY

Interview and questionnaire information based on the seven Gawar-bati respondents indicate a situation in which language vitality for Gawar-bati is fairly strong. All respondents reported that Gawar-bati is the language of the home, used with wives, children, and extended family members. However, men who have Pashto-speaking wives or relatives reported that Pashto is also used in the home, although infrequently.

Gawar-bati is usually used for many functions within their own communities, i.e. speaking with village elders, preaching in the mosque, bargaining in the local bazaar, and other similar neighborhood contacts. The respondents explained that when someone is speaking to a group of people within their own community, Gawar-bati will be used unless speakers of another language, such as Pashto, are present. Then the speaker will use Pashto. Children are able to use Gawar-bati at school with their fellow classmates and some teachers, who are also Gawar-bati speakers. Respondents indicated that their language is important for use with Gawar-bati speakers from other villages and is important for maintaining a sense of ethnic unity and identity.

The maintenance of Gawar-bati within the community in domains outside of the home is significant because there are speakers of other more regionally dominant languages living around them and involved in community activities. In Arandu there are Pashto- and Khowar-speaking families. South of Arandu, if there are not Pashto-speaking families living within the Gawar communities, they are living close beside them. In a multilingual setting like this there are situations which require language use choices. The fact that Gawar-bati is frequently the language chosen indicates a measure of linguistic vitality which may enable the language group to resist domination by the more populous language groups surrounding it.

12. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The Gawar live in a few villages scattered along the Kunar River from Arandu in Pakistan south into Afghanistan. There is some evidence that the Gawar have been pushed to their present location by movements of Pashto speakers. Because there are no population estimates from any time in the past, it is difficult to say if the group is increasing or decreasing in size. The population is currently estimated to be 8000 to 10,000 people. The village of Nishagam may have shifted from the use of Gawar-bati within the last 20 years.

Although other linguists have found historical linguistic connections between Gawar-bati and other languages, the word list data indicate that the languages have diverged, so that there is considerable difference between Gawar-bati and other related languages (e.g., Shumashti, Ningalami). However, there only seems to be very slight, if any, variation from village to village within the Gawar-bati language.

The Gawar seem to have a positive attitude toward their language. It is useful to them in many domains, not only in the home but also in many local social situations. Although there is intermarriage with speakers of other languages, Gawar-bati continues to maintain precedence as the language of the home. Having Gawar-bati-speaking teachers, who can explain things to the children in the mother tongue, is an asset to the students' learning and provides another domain in which the language is used. Gawar-bati is not a written language.

The Gawar-bati community is surrounded by a number of languages; of primary significance are Pashto to the south and Khowar to the north. Evidence from interviews indicates that Pashto is the most common second language. There are varying degrees of reported ability in Pashto among the Gawar men; some of the women and children also have some Pashto ability. The contact with speakers of more widely spoken languages requires frequent language choices for the Gawar. Pashto is seen as the most useful language for travel and employment outside of the Gawar area. The ability to speak some Khowar is also useful for some domains. There does not seem to be an increased need to learn Pashto in recent years relative to the amount of Pashto reportedly used by the parental generation of respondents in this study. On the Pakistan side, there may be more interest in the future to learn Urdu, as it is seen as valuable for education and literacy.

Although Gawar-bati is spoken by a relatively small community surrounded by larger and more regionally dominant language groups (Pashto and Khowar), the available evidence indicates that it is a viable and relatively vital minority language at present. Within the areas where it is spoken, Gawar-bati is the

undisputed choice in all in-group domains, other languages being chosen only when there is a need to communicate with non-Gawar. As long as the Gawar maintain positive attitudes toward their language and ethnic identification, and as long as these attitudes and choices are not threatened by negative out-group attitudes towards them, Gawar-bati should maintain its position of relative stability in this highly multilingual region.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A
METHODOLOGIES

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

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Dental	Alveop./ Palatal	Retro-flexed	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Stops	p		t		ʈ	k	q	ʔ
	b		d		ɖ	g	ɢ	
Fricatives	ɸ	f	θ			x		h
	β	v	ð			ɣ		
Grooved			s	š	ʂ			
Fricatives			z	ž	ʐ			
Affricates			t͡s	č	ʈ͡ʂ			
			d͡z	ǰ	ɖ͡ʐ			
Nasals	m		n	ñ	ɳ	ŋ		
Laterals			ɬ l		ɭ			
Flaps			ɾ		ɽ			
Trills			r̃					
Semi-vowels	w			y	ɻ			

Vowels

	Front		Central		Back	
High	i	ü	ɨ	ʉ	ï	u
	ɪ				ï	ʊ
Mid	e	ö	ə		ë	o
	ɛ		ʌ			
Low	æ	ɔ̈	ɑ		ӕ	ɔ

[t^h]	aspiration	[e̥]	voicelessness
[t^w]	labialization	[iː]	extra lengthening
[t^y]	palatalization	[iˑ]	lengthening
[zʌˈbɑn]	stress	[i̯]	shortening
[x̟]	fronting	[í]	rising tone
[ĩ]	nasalized vowel	[ì]	falling tone
[i̩]	retroflexed vowel	[ǐ]	falling then rising tone

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

	Urdu	*Pashto*
1. body	jɪsm	badʌn
2. head	sʌr	sʌr
3. hair	bal	wextə
4. face	čɛhrʌ	mʌx
5. eye	ek ãk^{h}	stʌrgʌ
6. ear	ek kan	ɣwʌg
7. nose	nak	pozʌ
8. mouth	mũh	xo̲lə
9. teeth	ek dãt	ɣax
10. tongue	zʌban	jɪbʌ / žɪbʌ
11. breast	č^{h}ati	sina
12. belly	peṭ	xeṭʌ / geḍʌ
13. arm/hand	bazu	las
14. elbow	kohni	sʌŋgʌl
15. palm	hʌt^{h}eli	tʌle
16. finger	ʊŋgli	gotʌ
17. fingernail	naxʊn	nuk^{h}
18. leg	ṭaŋ	xpa
19. skin	jɪld	sarmʌn
20. bone	hʌḍ·i	aḍuke
21. heart	dɪl	zʌṛə
22. blood	xun	wina
23. urine	pešab	tʌše mutiaze
24. feces	pexana	ḍʌke mutiaze
25. village	gaũ	kʌle
26. house	g^{h}ʌr/mʌkan	kor
27. roof	č^{h}ʌt	čʌt^{h}
28. door	dʌrwazʌ	wʌr / dʌrwaza
29. firewood	jʌlane wali lʌkṛi	dʌ swʌzedo lʌrgi
30. broom	j^{h}aṛu	ǰaru
31. mortar	masala pisne gol čiz/lʌŋgri	lʌŋgʌre^{i}
32. pestle	hʌt^{h}·i/dʌsta/hat^{h} ka hɪs·ʌ	čɔtu
33. hammer	hʌt^{h}ɔṛa/-i	saṭʌk
34. knife	čaqu/č^{h}uri	čaku / čaṛʌ
35. axe	kʊlhaṛa/-i	tʌbʌr
36. rope	rʌs·i	pʌṛe
37. thread	d^{h}aga	tar
38. needle	sui	stʌn
39. cloth	kʌpṛa	kapṛa
40. ring	ʌŋguṭ^{h}i	gota
41. sun	surʌǰ	nwʌr
42. moon	čand	spogma^{i}
43. sky	asman	asman
44. star	ek tara/sɪtara	store
45. rain	barɪš	baran
46. water	pani	ubə

47. river	dʌrya	sind
48. cloud	badʌl	wʌryʌz
49. lightning	bɪǰɪli ki čʌmʌk	pɽʌkigi
50. rainbow	qɔsɪ quzʌh	dʌ buḍa^{i} ṭʌl
51. wind	hʌwa (tufan nehĩ)	hawa
52. stone	pʌt^{h}ʌr	kaṇe
53. path	rasta	lar
54. sand	ret	šʌgʌ
55. fire	ag	o^{u}r
56. smoke	d^{h}uã	luge
57. ash	rak^{h}	ira
58. mud	kičʌɾ	xʌṭa
59. dust	mɪṭ·i	gʌɽd / duṛa
60. gold	sona	srʌ zʌr
61. tree	dʌrʌxt/peṛ	wʌnʌ
62. leaf	pʌt·a/-i	paṇa
63. root	dʌrʌxt ka ɛk ǰʌɾ	ǰʌrʌɾe
64. thorn	kã·ṭa	azɣe
65. flower	p^{h}ul	gwʌl
66. fruit	p^{h}ʌl	mewa
67. mango	am	am
68. banana	kela	kela
69. wheat (husked)	gehũ / gʌndum	ɣʌnʌm
70. barley	baǰra	warbʌši
71. rice (husked)	čawʌl	wriǰe
72. potato	alu	alu
73. eggplant	bæŋʌn	tor baṭiŋgãɾ
74. groundnut	muŋ p^{h}ʌli	mumpali
75. chili	mɪrč	mʌrčʌke / mrʌč
76. turmeric	hʌldi	kurkʌmʌn
77. garlic	lɛhsʌn	uga
78. onion	piaz	piaz
79. cauliflower	p^{h}ul gobi	gobi / gwʌl gopi
80. tomato	ṭʌmaṭʌr	sur baṭiŋgãɾ
81. cabbage	bʌnd gobi	bʌn gobi
82. oil	tel	tel
83. salt	nʌmʌk	malga
84. meat	gošt (k^{h}ane ke lie)	ɣwʌxa
85. fat (of meat)	čɛrbi (gošt ka hissa)	wazdʌ
86. fish	mʌč^{h}li	kʌb
87. chicken	muryi	čʌrgʌ
88. egg	ek ʌṇḍa	hɔ / age
89. cow	gae	ɣwa
90. buffalo	b^{h}ɛ̃s	mexa
91. milk	dud^{h}	pe
92. horns	ek siŋg	xkʌr
93. tail	dum	lʌke
94. goat	bʌkri	biza
95. dog	kut·a	spe

96. snake	sããp	mɑr
97. monkey	bʌndʌr	bizo
98. mosquito	mʌčʰˑʌr	maše
99. ant	čiũṭi	mege
100. spider	mʌkṛi	ǰola
101. name	nɑm	num
102. man	ɑdmi / mʌrd	saṛe
103. woman	ɔrʌt	xʌzʌ
104. child	bʌčˑʌ	mašum
105. father	bɑp	plar
106. mother	mã	mor
107. older brother	bʌṛɑ bʰai	mʌšʌr ror
108. younger brother	čʰoṭɑ bʰai	kʌšʌr ror
109. older sister	bʌṛi bʌhɛn / bɑǰi	mʌšra xor
110. younger sister	čʰoṭi bʌhɛn	kʌšra xor
111. son	beṭɑ	zwe
112. daughter	beṭi	lur
113. husband	šohʌr / xɑwʌnd	xɑwɑnd
114. wife	bivi	xʌzɑ
115. boy	lʌṛka	halʌk / alʌk
116. girl	lʌṛki	ǰine
117. day	dɪn / roz	wrʌz
118. night	rɑt / šʌb	špɑ
119. morning	subʌh / sʌwerɑ	sʌhar
120. noon	dopʌhɛr	ɣarmʌ
121. evening	šam	mɑxam
122. yesterday	(gʊzarɑ) kʌl	parun
123. today	aǰ	nʌn
124. tomorrow	(aindʌ) kʌl	sʌbɑ
125. week	ek hʌftʌ	hʌftʌ
126. month	mʌhinɑ	miašt
127. year	sal / bʌrʌs	kal
128. old	pʊrɑnɑ (čiz ke lie)	zoṛ
129. new	neɑ (čiz)	nʌwe
130. good	ʌčʰˑɑ (čiz)	xə
131. bad	xʌrɑb (čiz)	xɑrɑb
132. wet	bʰigɑ	lund
133. dry	xʊšk / sukʰɑ	wʌčʰ
134. long	lʌmbɑ	ugud
135. short	čʰoṭɑ	lʌnḍ / čit
136. hot	gʌrʌm (čiz)	tod / gʌrʌm
137. cold	ṭʰʌɳḍɑ / sʌrdi (čiz)	yʌx
138. right	dɑẽ / dɑẽʸɑ	xe
139. left	bɑẽ / bɑẽʸɑ	gʌs
140. near	qʌrib / nʌzdik	nizde
141. far	dur	lʌre
142. big	bʌṛɑ	ɣʌṭ
143. small	čʰoṭɑ	wʌrkoṭe / waṛuke
144. heavy	bʰɑri / wʌzni	drund

145. light	hʌlkɑ	spʌk
146. above	upʌr	učʌt / pɑs
147. below	niče	lɑnde
148. white	sʊfɛd	spin
149. black	kɑlɑ	tor
150. red	lɑl	sur
151. one	ek	yʌo
152. two	do	dwɑ
153. three	tin	dre
154. four	čɑr	sɑlor
155. five	pãč	pinzə
156. six	$č^{h}ɛ$	špʌg
157. seven	sɑt	uwə
158. eight	$ɑṭ^{h}$	ɑtə
159. nine	nʌo	nʌhʌ
160. ten	dʌs	lʌs
161. eleven	gyɑrʌ	yɑolʌs
162. twelve	bɑrʌ	dolʌs
163. twenty	bis	šʌl
164. one hundred	ek so	sʌl
165. who	kɔn	sok
166. what	kyɑ	sə
167. where	$kɪd^{h}ʌr$ / kɑhã	čɑrtʌ
168. when	kʌb	kʌlɑ
169. how many	kitne	somrɑ / so
170. which	kɔnsʌ	kʌm
171. this	ye	dɑ
172. that	wo	ɑɣɑ
173. these	ye (sʌb)	dɑ
174. those	wo (sʌb)	ɑɣɑ
175. same	ek hi / bʌrɑbʌr	yɑo šɑn / yɑo rʌŋ
176. different	mʊxtʌlɪf	muxtʌlɛf / biɛl kɪsʌm
177. whole	mʊkʌmˑʌl / sɑlɪm	roɣ / sɑbʌt
178. broken	ṭuṭɑ	mɑt
179. few	t^{h}oṛɑ / kʊč / kʌm	lʌg
180. many	ziɑˑdʌ	ḍer / ziɑt
181. all	sʌb	ṭol
182. to eat / eat!	tʊm k^{h}ɑo	xoṛʌl / tʌ uxṛʌ
183. to bite / the dog bites / bit	kaṭnɑ / kutˑɑ kaṭɑ hɛ	čičʌl / spi očičʌlo
184. to be hungry / you are hungry	$b^{h}uk^{h}$ lʌgnɑ / tʊm ko $b^{h}uk^{h}$ lʌgtɑ hɛ	oge kedʌl / tə wʌge ye
185. to drink / drink!	pinɑ / tʊm pio / pi lo	skʌl / tə wʌskʌ
186. to be thirsty / you are thirsty	piɑs lʌgnɑ / piɑs lʌgtɑ hɛ	tʌge kedʌl / tʌge^{i} ye
187. to sleep / sleep!	sonɑ / tʊm so jɑo	udʌ kedʌl / tə udʌ šɑ
188. to lie / lie down!	leṭnɑ / tʊm leṭ jɑo	sʌmlastʌl / tə sʌmlɑ
189. to sit / sit!	$bæṭ^{h}$nɑ / tʊm $bæṭ^{h}$ jɑo	kenɑstʌl / tə kenɑ
190. to give / give!	denɑ / tʊm de do / do	wɑrkɑwɑl / tʌ wɑrkʌ

191. burn (the wood)!	ǰalana / tʊm lʌkɻi ǰʌlao	tʌ largi oswazʌwʌ
192. to die / he died	mʌrna / vo mʌr gea	mɻʌ kedʌl / haɣa mʌɻ šo
193. to kill / kill the bird!	marna / tʊm čiɻia mar do	wʌǰʌl / tʌ maryʌⁱ uwala
194. to fly / the bird flies / flew	ʊɻna / čiɻia ʊɻti hai	ʌlwʌtʌl / maryʌⁱ walwatʌ
195. walk!	čʌlna / tʊm čʌlo	tə piadʌ larša
196. to run / run!	dɔɻna / tʊm dɔɻo	mʌnḍa wʌhʌl / tʌ mʌnḍʌ uwa
197. to go / go!	ǰana / tʊm ǰao	tʌlʌl / tə larša
198. to come / come!	ana / tʊm ao	ratlʌl / tə raša
199. to speak / speak!	bolna / tʊm bolo	wayʌl / tʌ uwayʌ
200. to hear / hear! / listen!	sʊna / tʊm sʊno	awredʌl / tʌ wawrʌ
201. to look / look!	dekʰna / tʊm dekʰo	kʌtʌl / ta ugorʌ
202. I	mæ̃	zə
203. you (informal)	tʊm / tu	tə
204. you (formal)	ap	taso
205. he	vo	haɣa
206. she	vo	haɣa
207. we (inclusive)	hʌm (hʌm ɔr vo)	muŋgʌ
208. we (exclusive)	hʌm (hʌm, vo nehĩ)	muŋgʌ
209. you (plural)	tʊm (tʊm log)	taso
210. they	vo	haɣwi

APPENDIX B
CHITRAL WORD LISTS

Language Name, Village, Location, Reliability Code

KSW Khowar, Ushu, northern Swat, A
KIS Khowar, Chatorkhand, Ishkoman Valley, A
KPN Khowar, Pargam Nisar, near Mastuj, eastern Chitral, C
KTR Khowar, Odir, Torkhow Valley, northern Chitral, A
KGC Khowar, Garam Chishma, western Chitral, A
KDR Khowar, Kesu, near Drosh, southern Chitral, A
BBK Kalasha, Krakal, Bumboret Valley, A
BRK Kalasha, Guru, Birir Valley, B
URK Kalasha, Zugunuk, Urtsun Valley, A
ASP Phalura, Ashret, south of Drosh, A
BIP Phalura, Biori, Biori Valley, A
PUP Phalura, Purigal, Shishi Koh Valley, B
SSS Sawi, Sau, Afghanistan, B
GWB Gawar-bati, Arandu, B
DML Dameli, Dondideri, Damel Valley, B
SHK Shekhani, Langurbat, near Arandu, B
KAT Eastern Kativiri, Bargromatal, Bashgal Valley, Afghanistan, B
YDG Yidgha, Zitor, near Garam Chishma, A
MNJ Munjani, Kali Shar, southern Munjan Valley, C

Missing numbers indicate lexical items excluded from the similarity count.

	1. body	2. head	3. hair
KSW	kalip	kʌpal	p^{h}ʊr
KIS	kalip	kʌpal	p^{h}ur
KPN	qalip	sor	p^{h}ʊr
KTR	qalip	kʌpal / sor	p^{h}ʊr
KGC	qalip	kʌpal / sor	p^{h}ʊr
KDR	qalip	kapal / sor	p^{h}ur
BBK	ǰan	ṣɪṣ	ǰʌǰ
BRK	ç̌ẹ̃^{ʌ}	ṣɪṣ	čawʌr
URK	ç̌ẹ	ṣɪṣ	ç̌ụ
ASP	ʊǰʊd	ṣɪṣ	bola
BIP	ʊǰʊd	ṣɪṣ	bula
PUP	ʊǰʊd	šɪš	bula
SSS	ʊǰut	ṣɪṣ	joaroṭo
GWB	uǰut	šoˈṭʌ	kẽs
DML	ʊžʊt	ša	lʊm
SHK	ʊǰʊd	še	zu
KAT	jit^{h}	ṣe	ẓ̌u
YDG	qalip	pusor	kušqi
MNJ	pɪšk^{y}o	pusur	pʌgʌ

	4. face	5. eye	6. ear
KSW	mʊx	ɣɛč^{h}	kar
KIS	mox	ɣɛč	kar
KPN	mox	ɣɪč	kar
KTR	mox	ɣɛč^{h}	kar
KGC	mox	ɣɛč^{h}	kar
KDR	mox	ɣɛč^{h}	kar
BBK	ru	eč	kʊ̃
BRK	ru	ɛč	kʌ̨
URK	uruk	ɛč	k^{h}ʌ̃
ASP	mʊx	ʌč̣^{h}i	kaṇ
BIP	mʊx	ʌč̣^{h}i	kaṇ
PUP	mʊx	ʌč̣i	kaṇ
SSS	mux	ɛ̃ˑč̣i	kaṇ
GWB	mʊk^{h}	yi͡tsin	kʌmtʌ
DML	muk^{h}	ĩč	kar
SHK	mik^{h}	ɑčẽ	kʌrmʌṛik
KAT	nʌskor	ʌč̣ẽ	kor
YDG	roˈi	čam	ɣo
MNJ	rui	čom	ɣoi

	7. nose	8. mouth	9. tooth
KSW	nʌskɑr	ʌpʌk	don
KIS	nʌskɑr	ʌpʌk	don
KPN	nʌskɑr	----	don
KTR	nʌskɑr	ʌpʌk	don
KGC	nɛskɑr	ʌpʌk	don
KDR	nɪskɑr	ɑpʌk	don
BBK	nɑst	ʌši	dɑdʊ̲ɪ̲k
BRK	nɑst	ɑši	dʌndoṛɪk
URK	nəst	hɑsi	dʌn
ASP	nɑst	dʊt^{h}	dɑnd
BIP	nɑst	dʊt^{h}	dɑnd
PUP	nɑst	dʊt^{h}	dɑnd
SSS	nɑs	õẽ	dɑn
GWB	nɑsi	ɑnsi	dʌnt^{h}
DML	nɑs	ãs	dʌn
SHK	nɑzuṛ	ãzi	dut
KAT	nʌso	ɑši	dut^{h}
YDG	fesko	pəkor	lʌt
MNJ	fɔskʌ	yʌrv	lod̲ʌ̲

	10. tongue	11. breast	12. belly
KSW	lɪɣɪni	pɑp	ɪškʌmɑ
KIS	lɪgɪni	pɑp	pɑyɑnu
KPN	lɪgɪni	pɑp	ṣ̌ʌkʌmʌ
KTR	lɪgɪni	pɑp	ɪṣ̌kʌmʌ
KGC	lɪgɪni	pɑp	ɪṣ̌kʌmʌ
KDR	lɪɣɪni	pɑp	ɪṣ̌kʌmʌ
BBK	j̲ɪ̲p	čuču	kuč
BRK	jɪp^{h}	čuču	kuč
URK	jɪp / jɪp^{h}	čũčũ	kuč
ASP	jɪb	čiči	ḍ^{h}ɛr
BIP	jɪp	čiči	ḍ^{h}ɛr
PUP	jɪp^{h}	----	ḍ^{h}ɛr
SSS	jɪp	čuču	ḍ^{h}amo
GWB	zɪp	hɛṛʌ	wʌr
DML	žɪp	čuču	wʌr
SHK	di͡ʦ	čʊk	ṭol
KAT	di͡ʦ	čuk	kʊṭʌl
YDG	zebiɣ	fiz	elir
MNJ	zubən	fuz	škʌmbʌ

	13. arm	14. elbow	15. palm
KSW	bazu	kurkun	pʰan
KIS	bazu	kurkun	pʰan
KPN	bazu	kurkun	pʰan
KTR	bazu	kurkun	pʰan
KGC	bazu	kurkun	pʰan
KDR	bazu	kurkun	pʰan
BBK	baza	harkın	pẽ̯
BRK	baza	harkın	pẽ̯
URK	baza	----	hast
ASP	hatʰ	mušo	hʌtetoɽo
BIP	hatʰ	mušo	hʌtetoɽo
PUP	hatʰ	mušo	hʌtetoɽo
SSS	hatʰ	mušɛɽi	xʌpaɽo
GWB	ast	----	torʌ
DML	bazu	kušʊrık	čʰotʌ
SHK	duš	ʌɣʌpṭi	dʌšpa
KAT	gotʌr	q̃ṗṭi	dušpar
YDG	lʌst	rʌzʌn	pʌno
MNJ	lost$_{\underline{\Lambda}}$	----	----

	16. finger	17. fingernail	18. leg
KSW	čamot	dʊɣur	ḍeˑk
KIS	čʌmʊṭ	dʊɣur	ḍeˑk
KPN	čʌmʌt	dʊɣur	deˑk
KTR	čʌmuṭ	dʊɣur	ḍeˑk
KGC	čʌmuṭ	dʊɣur	ḍeˑk
KDR	čamuṭ	dʊɣur	ḍeˑk
BBK	q̃gu	naŋgužɛk	kʰur
BRK	aŋgu	nagužɛk	kʰur
URK	ʌŋguık	naʷžik	kʰur
ASP	ʌŋguɽi	nõŋg	kʰur
BIP	ʌŋguɽi	nõŋg	kʰur
PUP	ʌŋguɽi	nãŋg	kʰur
SSS	ʌŋguɽi	nak	kʰur
GWB	ʌŋguⁱk / aŋguɽ	nʌk	kʰur
DML	aŋgu̯i	nʌŋ	kʰur
SHK	ãŋgio	nʌčẽ	kʸuɽ
KAT	q̃yũ	nʌčĩ	zʌpo
YDG	ʌgosčo	ʌnʌxni	polo
MNJ	aguškʸo	----	pɛlo

	19. skin	20. bone	21. heart
KSW	pʰost	kó·l	hʌrdi
KIS	pʰʊst	ko·ḷ	hʌrdi
KPN	post	kó·l	hʌrdi
KTR	pʰost	ko·l	hʌrdi
KGC	pʰost	kʰó·ḷ	hʌrdi
KDR	pʰost	kʰó·ḷ	hʌrdi
BBK	post	ʌṭʰi	hi̯ʌ
BRK	post	ʌṭʰi	hi̯ʌ
URK	post	ɑṭʰi	hɛ̃
ASP	pu·sto	hʌḍuŋk	hɪɻo
BIP	pu·sto	hʌḍuŋk	hɪɻo
PUP	pu·sto	hʌḍuŋk	hɪɻo
SSS	gɑł	hʌḍ	hɛɻo
GWB	gʌł	hʌḍuki	hɛɻi
DML	gʌdrɑ	ʌ̃ṭʰi	zà·di
SHK	čom	ʌɻi	zʌrɨ
KAT	čʊm	ʌṭi	ziri
YDG	kʌrʌst	yɑsti	zel
MNJ	pʰost	yʌsti	dil

	22. blood	23. urine	24. feces
KSW	lei	meᵠru	lot meru
KIS	lei	mɪɻu	rɪč̣
KPN	lei	mɪɻu	mɪɻu
KTR	lei	mɪru	rič̣
KGC	le	miɻu	reč̣
KDR	lei	mɪɻu	rɪč̣
BBK	lui	mutrʌ	rɪč̣
BRK	lui	mutrʌ	rɪč̣
URK	loi	muṭrʌ	irɪč
ASP	rɑtʰ	mutr	č̣ʰik
BIP	rɑtʰ	mutr	č̣ʰik
PUP	rɑtʰ	mutr	č̣ʰik
SSS	rɑtʰ	muł	gu
GWB	lo	činɪ kɑ mʊš	dʌl mʊš
DML	loⁱ	motr	gu
SHK	l̥ui	t͡sõĩõ	giu
KAT	lui	t͡sũĩõ	gɨi
YDG	ino	mizɣo	ɣʌ
MNJ	yinʌ	kuštʸu ɣo	stɪruštʸu ɣo

	25. village	26. house	27. roof
KSW	deh	dʊr	ɪstan
KIS	holat	dur	ɪstan
KPN	de	dʊr	stan
KTR	deh	dʊr	ɪ̲stan
KGC	deh / gram	dʊr	stan
KDR	deh	dʊr	ɪstan
BBK	grom	dur	drami
BRK	grom	dur	drami
URK	grom	ont	ḍrami
ASP	diš	góˑšṭ	šan
BIP	diš	góˑšṭ	šan
PUP	diš	góˑšṭ	šan
SSS	gur̲am	goš	šʌn
GWB	lam	amo	hɪn
DML	gram	kol	šaran
SHK	grʌm	amo	kirom
KAT	grom	amũ	krum
YDG	lʌmo	ke	esčeɣ
MNJ	kʌšlok	kyai	iskiɣo

	28. door	29. firewood	30. broom
KSW	dowat	dar	mažini
KIS	dowaɾ̰x̰t^{h}	dar	mažini
KPN	dowaxt	dar	--
KTR	dowaht	daru	mʌžini
KGC	dowaht	dar	mʌžini
KDR	dowaht	dar	mʌžini
BBK	dur	šula	ṣaṣ̌koni
BRK	dur	šula	ṣaṣ̌koni
URK	durwat	šula	sum^{w}ani
ASP	dar	šaka	ǰargi
BIP	dar	šaka	ǰargi
PUP	dar	šak	ǰargi
SSS	dʌr	šõk	babori
GWB	dʌr	dar	barik^{h}
DML	dʌr	daro	pʌšawʌni
SHK	du	dao	saŋgo
KAT	du	da	skã
YDG	lɪvor	ezma	refo
MNJ	lowʌr	skʊt	rəfiko

	31. mortar	32. pestle	33. hammer
KSW	-----	-----	sʌtʌk
KIS	ʌɳḍor	musul	hʌṭoɽɑ
KPN	ʌɳḍor	musul	hʌṭolɑ / bɪḍir
KTR	ʌɳḍor	musul	čoṭʌ / bɛḍir
KGC	ʌɳḍor	musul	čoṭʌ / bɪḍir
KDR	ʌɳḍor	musul	čoṭʌ / bɪḍir
BBK	bãčʊni	muso	čotɑ / bɛdɪr
BRK	dipɑ	muso	bʌlkɑ
URK	bačani	musul	čʌṭʌk
ASP	bargoli	muzʌl	t͡sʌṭʌk
BIP	bʌrɣe	musʌl	sʌṭʌk
PUP	bʌrɣe	muzʌl	čʌṭʌk
SSS	hɪnḍoreɽi	hɪnḍorɛɽʌ baṭ	t͡sʌṭke
GWB	hindurik	hindurik wat	t͡sʌṭʌk
DML	ɪɳḍori	omali	t͡sʌṭʌk
SHK	ɪru	čoɪš	t͡sʌṭʌk
KAT	aru	wo	bʊḍɪl
YDG	bʌɳḍux	bʌnḍux čarxo	bʌlqo
MNJ	ǰozʊk	čobi ǰozʊk	pʌtk

	34. knife	35. axe	36. rope
KSW	kuṭɛr	bɑrdox	šɪmeni
KIS	čɑku	bɑrdox	šɪmeni
KPN	čɨnɛ	bɑrdox	šɪmeni
KTR	čɑku / kutɛr	bɑrdox / ṭɔŋgi	šɪmeni
KGC	čɑku / kutɛr	bɑrdox	šɪmeni
KDR	čɑku / kuṭer	bɑrdox / ṭʰɔŋgi	šɪmeni
BBK	čɑku / kʌtɑr	wɑdok / bɑdok	rɑǰuk
BRK	čɑku / kʌtɑr	bɑdok	rɑjuk
URK	čɑku / kʌtɛr	wɑdok	aruˈti
ASP	čɑku / kʌṭɛr	ṭɔŋgi	rɑǰ
BIP	čɑku	ṭɔŋgi	rɑǰ
PUP	čɑku	ṭɔŋgi	rɑj
SSS	čɔku	ṭoŋgoɽi	dʰomoɽi
GWB	čɑˈku	t͡sɑreṭɨ	kiwɽi
DML	čɑku / kʌṭɛri	čosi	roˈtʰ
SHK	čɑku	wʌnzu	kãnik
KAT	čɑku / kʊṭo	wʊzã	mɪnʌ
YDG	čɑqu / kɛḷo	tuwɛr	loso
MNJ	kiḷo / kiɽo	tɨviro	lʌso

	37. thread	38. needle	39. cloth
KSW	šutur	šunǰ	zʌp
KIS	šutʊr	šunž	zʌp
KPN	sʊtur	šunǰ	zʌp
KTR	šutur	šunǰ	zʌp
KGC	šutur	šunǰ	zʌp
KDR	šutur	šunǰ	zʌp
BBK	sutr	sužik	čɛlegɑr
BRK	sutr	sužik	čɛlegɑr
URK	sutr	sužik	čɛleɣɑr
ASP	sutr	sɛleni	rʌxt
BIP	sutr	sɛleni	rʌxt
PUP	sutr	sɛleni	rʌxt
SSS	d^{h}ò·	sunɛli	rʌxt
GWB	dɑu	sʊ̲ĩ	ṭoṭʌ
DML	sʊtr	čũči	rʌx
SHK	pʌče	čemis	rʌx
KAT	pčičẽ	čɨ̲mčič	pizisnɑ
YDG	yuržʌ	šinǰo	čelʌɣɑr / zʌp
MNJ	uṛẓ̌o	šižno	žʌgʌf

	40. ring	41. sun	42. moon
KSW	puluŋguštu	yor	mʌs
KIS	puluŋgušṭu	yor	mʌs
KPN	puluŋguštu	yor	mʌs
KTR	puluŋgušṭu	yor	mʌs
KGC	puluŋgušṭu	yor	mʌs
KDR	puluŋgušṭu	yor	mʌs
BBK	ʌŋgušt^{y}ʌr	su·ri	mʌstruk
BRK	ʌŋgušt^{y}ɛr	suri	mʌstruk
URK	uštumrik	su·ri	mʌstruk
ASP	ʌŋgušteri	su·ri	yun
BIP	ʌŋgušteri	su·ri	yun
PUP	ʌŋgušteri	su·ri	yun
SSS	ʌŋguši	suri	yuṇ
GWB	ʌŋgustʌr	suri	mɑsɨ̲e
DML	ʌŋgušter	sɛr	mɑs
SHK	ʌšte	su	mos
KAT	ãŋgɨšṭĩ	su	mõs
YDG	porgoče	mirɑ	imoɣo
MNJ	pʌrɣušk^{y}o	mirɑ	yumʌgʌ

	43. sky	44. star	45. rain
KSW	asman	ɪstari	bošik
KIS	asman	ɪstari	boṣik
KPN	asman	ɪstari	bošik
KTR	asman	ɪstari	boṣik
KGC	asman	ɪstari	boṣik
KDR	asman	ɪstari	boṣik
BBK	di	tari	baṣi̱k
BRK	di	tari	piliwẹ
URK	asmam	tari	dira
ASP	ag^{h}a	toro	baš
BIP	ag^{h}a	toro	baš
PUP	ag^{h}a	toro	baš
SSS	asmõn̰	tɔro	bʌṣ̌
GWB	asman	tarʌ	wʌš
DML	asman	ɪštari	baṣ̌
SHK	di	rʌštʌ	ʌɣʌl
KAT	asmã	rušto	agol
YDG	ʌsmino	estari	baran
MNJ	asmɔn	ɪstʌrʌ	bɔrɪš

	46. water	47. river	48. cloud
KSW	uɣh	sin	koṭ
KIS	ux	sɪnt	koṭ
KPN	uɣ	sin	koṭ
KTR	uɣ	sin	koṭ
KGC	uɣ	sin	koṭ
KDR	uɣ	sin	koṭ
BBK	uk	patišoi	mi̱nj̆
BRK	uk^{h}	----	mɪnj̆
URK	uk^{h}	patišoi	mɪnč
ASP	βi	dʌriab	abro
BIP	βi	dʌriab	abro
PUP	βi	dʌriab	abro
SSS	i	nehɛ^{a}li	abro
GWB	au	dʌ^{y}ab	ʌlβenʌ
DML	ao	nali	ʌbrena
SHK	o	nani	niru
KAT	o	nã̰o	naru
YDG	yʌɣo	dʌryʌ / sin	meɣ
MNJ	yoɣo	daryo	yobʌr

	49. lightning	50. rainbow	51. wind
KSW	bilpʌk	drohan	gʌn
KIS	bilp^{h}ák	drnhanu	gan
KPN	bilpʌk	----	gan
KTR	bilpʌk	dronhanu	gan / hʌwa
KGC	bilpʌk	ɣernʌno	hʌwa
KDR	bilpʌk	ɣernʌno	gʌn
BBK	i̲ndočɪk	ɪndrʊ̃	sĩrʌ
BRK	ɪndočɪk	ɪndrʊ̃	sirʌ
URK	i̲ndočɪk	ɪndrʊ̃	sirʌ
ASP	biji	zɪran	ho·ši
BIP	biji	lɪndraṛ / ḍṛan	ha·ši
PUP	biji	draṇi	ha·š
SSS	rʌmt͡sɪlɪk	šindʌṛ	u·ši
GWB	tʊlɪk	sonket͡si	hadimʌn
DML	ɛnḍoč	ɪdran	bàdʌm
SHK	pɪt͡sɪl	ɛndrõ	d^{h}ʌmu
KAT	dʌšpulsɛlʌ̲	ɪndrõ	dimi
YDG	belpʌk	zʌrnʌnu	hʌwa
MNJ	otašʌk	----	bot

	52. stone	53. path	54. sand
KSW	boṣt	pon	šuɣur
KIS	boṣt	p^{h}ont	šuɣur
KPN	boṣt	pon	--
KTR	boṙt	pon	šuɣʊr
KGC	boht	pon	šuɣur
KDR	boht	pon	šʊɣur
BBK	bat	pon	ši̲go^{w}
BRK	bʌt^{h}	pon	šigo
URK	bʌt^{h}	pant^{h}	šigur
ASP	baṭ	pand	šɪgi
BIP	baṭ	pand	šɪgi
PUP	baṭ	pand	šɪgi
SSS	baṭ	pa·nt	sɪgʌl
GWB	wat	fant^{h}	seõ
DML	baṭ	p^{h}ʌn	t͡sẽyã
SHK	wʌṭ	put^{h}	t͡siu
KAT	wʌt	put^{h}	t͡süyü
YDG	ɣʌr	pʌdo	sɛɣio
MNJ	koiko	podo	-----

	55. fire	56. smoke	57. ash
KSW	angar	kušun	p^{h}ɪru
KIS	aŋgar	kušunt	p^{h}ɛru
KPN	angar	kušun	pɪru
KTR	aŋgar	kušun	p^{h}ɛru
KGC	ʌŋgar	k^{h}ušun	p^{h}ɪru
KDR	aŋgar	kušun	p^{h}ɛru
BBK	ʌŋgar	t^{h}um	ṣuṭik
BRK	ʌŋgar	t^{h}um	ṣuṭik
URK	ʌŋgʌr	t^{h}um	šuṛik
ASP	aŋgor	d^{h}umi	či
BIP	aŋgar	d^{h}umi	dal
PUP	aŋgar	d^{h}umi	dal
SSS	hʌŋgor	d^{h}um	či
GWB	hʌŋgar	dum	sagɨ
DML	aŋgar	dum	bʌlt͡sʌn
SHK	aŋgo	dim	ʌzɨ
KAT	aŋõ	d^{y}um	asɨ̃
YDG	yuṛ	kušun	yʌxyo
MNJ	yuḷʌ	loi	xokis tar

	58. mud	59. dust	60. gold
KSW	toq	gɪrt^h	sorum
KIS	ṭʊk	gɛr̥x̯t^h	sonʌ
KPN	tʊk	----	sorum
KTR	tʊq	g^{h}ɪrt^h	sorum
KGC	toq	gɪht^h	sorum
KDR	toq	gɪht^h	so^{ɛ}rum
BBK	krɛš	ud^{h}ụ̃	sụ̃a
BRK	tʊk	k^{h}atur	sụɛ̣̃
URK	kreš	ud^{h}ụ̃	sụ̃ã
ASP	čičʌl	duṛi̱	sɪrʌzʌr
BIP	čičʌl	duṛi̱	sɪrʌzʌr / sowan
PUP	čičʌl	duṛi̱	sowan
SSS	xʌṭo	duṛo	lo^{y}lo zʌr
GWB	čakʌṛ	pisin / duṛa	son
DML	xʌṭʌ	pɪsɪn	son
SHK	šur	pʌrzɨ	sum
KAT	šur	pʌrʌ̱s	sun
YDG	xelaroɣo	gehtɨ	sorʌm / suwɛrum
MNJ	čalʌf	ɣʌbor	nʌkrʌ

	61. tree	62. leaf	63. root
KSW	kan	ʧ^{h}aɳ	iwak
KIS	kʌn	ʧ^{h}aɳ	iwak
KPN	kan	ʧ^{h}aɳ	iwak
KTR	kan	ʧ^{h}aɳ	iwak
KGC	kan	ʧan	yowʌk
KDR	kan	ʧ^{h}aɳ	iwak
BBK	muṭ	pʊ̃	ɪsnõs
BRK	muṭ^{h}	pʊ̃	ɪznos
URK	muṭ	pʊ̃	isnos
ASP	moṭ	pala	zele
BIP	moṭ	pala	nɛɽʌ^{i}
PUP	moṭ	pala	nɛɽʌ^{i}
SSS	jul	pałɔ	nhɔɽe
GWB	moṭʌ	fʌṭʌ	naɽ
DML	moṭ	p^{h}ʌṭ	sãsi
SHK	kanɨ	por	ḷu
KAT	kʌnü	pur	ḷu
YDG	draxt	pəɳëk	o^{w}xe
MNJ	dʌrʌxtɨ	bʌrɣiko	wix

	64. thorn	65. flower	66. fruit
KSW	zʊx	gʌmburi	mewa
KIS	zox	gʌmburi	mewa
KPN	---	gʌmburi	mewa
KTR	dzʊx	gʌmburi	mewa
KGC	zʊx	gʌmburi	mewa
KDR	zʊx	gʌmburi	mewa
BBK	čʊ̃k	gʌmburi	mẽwʌ̃
BRK	čʊ̃k	gʌmburi	mɛ̃wʌ̃
URK	hãčər	pušɪk	mewʌ̃
ASP	k^{h}à·ɳḍo	pɪšik	mewa
BIP	k^{h}à·ɳḍo	pɪšik	mewa
PUP	k^{h}à·ɳḍo	pɪšik	mewa
SSS	kaɳḍõ	pʊš	mewo
GWB	hʌnčʌɽ	pušʌ	mewo
DML	kãṭa	pʊš	mewa
SHK	tʌĩ	piš	mewa
KAT	tᾓ	piš	miwʌ
YDG	ʌkʌde	gʌmbur	mewa
MNJ	xor	gɨl	miwa

	67. mango	68. banana	69. wheat (husked)
KSW	ɑm	kelʌ	gó·m
KIS	ɑm	kɪlɑ	go·m
KPN	ɑm	kelʌ	gó·m
KTR	ɑm	kelʌ	gó·m
KGC	ɑm	kelʌ	gó·m
KDR	ɑm	kelʌ	gó·m
BBK	ʌm	kelʌ	gum
BRK	--	----	ɣum
URK	--	----	gó·m
ASP	ɑm	kelɑ	g^{h}ó·m
BIP	ɑm	kelɑ	g^{h}ó·m
PUP	ɑm	kelɑ	g^{h}ó·m
SSS	ʌm	kelo	gom
GWB	ɑm	kelɑ	gom
DML	ɑm	kelɑ	gom
SHK	ɑm	kelɑ	gum
KAT	ʌm	kilʌ	gum
YDG	ʌm	kelɑ	ɣʌdʌn
MNJ	ɑm	kelɑ	ɣodʌm

	70. millet	71. rice	72. potato
KSW	lo / bɑro	grinǰ	ɑlu
KIS	olin	grɪnč	ɑlu
KPN	gʌrɑs	grinǰ	ɑlu
KTR	grɑs / oḷin	grinǰ	ɑlu
KGC	grɑs / oṛin	grinǰ	ɑlu
KDR	grɑs	grinǰ	ɑlu
BBK	ɑ̣'n	šʌli / gr̲inž	ɑlu
BRK	ɑ̣ɪn	grɪnž	ɑlu
URK	hɑ̣'n	gr̲inč	ɑlɑw
ASP	ɑ·n̤o	ruǰi	ɑlu
BIP	----	ruǰi	ɑlu
PUP	ɑ·n̤o	ruǰi	ɑlu
SSS	baž̲ɑro	tɑluṇ	ɑlu
GWB	baǰrɑ	ṭunḍʊl	ɑlu
DML	ɑ̣in	tʌlun	ɑlu
SHK	baǰrɑ	mo	ɑlu
KAT	ro	mõ	ɑlu̲k
YDG	yurzon	grinč	ɑlu
MNJ	ʌrzʌn	brɪnǰ	ɑlu

	73. eggplant	74. groundnut	75. chili
KSW	bɑṭiŋgʌn	mum p^{h}ʌli	mʌrč
KIS	pɑṭigɑn	mum p^{h}ʌli	mʌr̥x̭č
KPN	----	mum p^{h}ʌli	----
KTR	pɑṭigɑn	mum p^{h}ʌli	mʌhč / mʌrč
KGC	pʌṭigɑn	mum p^{h}ʌli	mɑhč
KDR	pɑṭigɑn	mum p^{h}ʌli	mɑhč / mʌxč
BBK	----	bum pʌli	mʌ̃č
BRK	----	bum p^{h}ʌli	mʌč
URK	k^{h}ɑliɑ	bum pʌli	mʌč
ASP	pɑṭigɑn	muŋ p^{h}ʌli	mʌrčʌkɑi
BIP	pɑṭigɑn	muŋ p^{h}ʌli	mʌrč
PUP	pɑṭigɑn	muŋ p^{h}ʌli	mʌhč
SSS	bonǰɔ̱ṇã	mum p^{h}ʌle^ɑ	mʌruč
GWB	wɑṭiŋgri	mum p^{h}ʌli	mu̱rɪ̱č
DML	bɑtiŋgʌṛ	mum p^{h}ʌli	mʌ̱rʌ̱č
SHK	wɑṭiŋgṛi	mum p^{h}ʌli	mʌrʌč
KAT	bʌnǰon	mom p^{h}ʌli	mʊrč
YDG	pɑṭiŋgʌn	mom p^{h}ʌli	mɑhč
MNJ	----	----	mʊlč

	76. turmeric	77. garlic	78. onion
KSW	zɛhčɑwɑ	uɣi	trɛšṭu
KIS	zɛhčɑwɑ	wrɛẓ̌nu	tɛšṭu
KPN	----	----	trʌšṭu
KTR	zɛhčɑwɑ	wrɛẓ̌nu	ṭ^{h}ɛṣ̌ṭu / t^{h}r̃ɛšṭu
KGC	zehčʌwɑ	brɛẓ̌nu	trʌšṭu
KDR	zɛhčɑwɑ	vrɛžnu / wɛšnũ	tɛšṭu / trɛšṭu
BBK	zẹčɑwɑ	wɛṣ̌nụ̃	kʌčɪnḍuk
BRK	zẹčɑwɑ	vrɛẓ̌nu	kʌčɛnḍuk
URK	zɛˑčɑwɑ	vrɛšnu	kʌčinḍuk
ASP	kʊrkɑmɑn	ug^{h}i	piɑz
BIP	kʊrkɑmɑn	ug^{h}i	piɑz / kʌčʌnḍuk
PUP	kʊrkɑmɑn	ug^{h}i	kʌčʌnduk
SSS	hʌrɪl	lɑ^{o}ṣ̌uṇ	pɑlõṇ
GWB	kurkɑmɑn	lɑušuŋ	fɑlɑn
DML	kurkɑmɑn	ugɑ	kʌčʌnḍok
SHK	kurkʌmon	ug^{h}ɑ	----
KAT	zʌrčɑwɑ	----	čɛknuk
YDG	zɛhčɑwɑ	wežnu	piɣ
MNJ	zʌrčwɑ	wežnu	pioz

	79. cauliflower	80. tomato	82. oil
KSW	gopi	batiŋgʌl	tɛl
KIS	gobi	balugun	tɛl
KPN	gobi	patiŋgʌl	tɛl
KTR	gopi	paṭiŋgɛl	tɛl
KGC	gobi	patiŋgɛḷ	tɛl
KDR	gobi	paṭiŋgɛḷ	tɛl
BBK	gobi	patiŋgɛl	teo
BRK	gobi	paṭiŋgɛl	tɛo
URK	gobi	paṭiˑŋgʌr	tɛl
ASP	gopi / gobi	bɛtiŋgʌlʌ	tɛl
BIP	gopi	bɛtiŋgʌlʌ	tɛl
PUP	gopi	bɛtiŋgʌlʌ	tɛl
SSS	gope[a]	botiŋgʌṛe[a]	tɛl
GWB	gop^{h}i	wʌṭiŋgṛi	tɛl
DML	gʊlgopi	baṭiŋgʌr	tɛl
SHK	gopi	waṭiŋgʌri	tel
KAT	gʊlpi	patiŋgʌl	til
YDG	gopi	paṭiŋguṛe	roɣon
MNJ	----	bonžan	tɪl

	83. salt	84. meat	85. fat
KSW	trup	p^{h}ušur	huč̣
KIS	trup^{h}	pušur	----
KPN	----	p^{h}ušur	ɣʌp
KTR	trup	pušur	ɣʌp / hoč̣
KGC	trup	p^{h}ušur	ɣʌp
KDR	trup	p^{h}ušur	ɣʌp
BBK	lõ̤	mõs	mẽ
BRK	lʊ̤	mos	mẽ
URK	lõ̤	mos	mɛ
ASP	ḷoˑṇ	mhas	mi
BIP	ḷoˑṇ	mhas	mi
PUP	ḷoˑṇ	mhas	mi
SSS	ḷɔṇ	mos	sɪkɔ
GWB	lon	ʊndʌ	sikʌ
DML	lon	mas	eskʊ
SHK	u̲zik^{h}	ʌno	eskeo
KAT	ẓ̌uk^{h}	bətə	skə
YDG	nəmalɣo	ɣuš	wʊzd
MNJ	nʊmalɣo	ɣoš	sʌpron

	86. fish	87. chicken	88. egg
KSW	mʌt͡si	kahʌk	ayukun
KIS	mat͡si	kahʌk	ayukun
KPN	mʌt͡si	kahʌk	ayukun
KTR	mʌt͡si	kahʌk	ayukun
KGC	mʌt͡si	kahʌk	ayukun
KDR	mʌt͡si	kahʌk	ayukun
BBK	mʌt͡sʰi	kʌkʌwɑ̃k	ɔ̰ḍrʌk
BRK	mat͡si	kʌkʌwɑ̃k	ayukun
URK	mut͡si	kʌkwʌk	hɑ̃ḍruk
ASP	remʌt͡s	kakoᵉki	hʌn̥o
BIP	remʌt͡s	kakoᵉki	hʌn̥o
PUP	mʌt͡si	kakaʷẽki	hʌn̥o
SSS	mɛt͡sɪn̥	kukuṛi	ʌn̥ḍo
GWB	mʌčoṭʌ	----	hanḍʌ
DML	ɑˑmrʌs	kukur	ʌnʌk
SHK	omʌsik	kok	ʌzo
KAT	omʌt͡sʌ	koˑk	kakʊk puḍuk
YDG	kʌp	kiryo	ʌɣurɣ
MNJ	kop	kɨryo	ɑɣurɣ

	89. cow	90. buffalo	91. milk
KSW	lešu	gamɛš	ʧ̣ʰir
KIS	lešu	gamɛš	ʧ̣ʰiṛ
KPN	lešu	gamɛš	ʧ̣iṛ
KTR	lešu	gamɛš	ʧ̣ʰir
KGC	lešu	gamɛš	ʧ̣ʰir
KDR	lešu	gamɛš	ʧ̣ʰir
BBK	gʌk	gamɛ̃š	ʧ̣ɪr
BRK	gʌkʰ	gamɛš	ʧ̣ʰɪr
URK	gʌkʰ	mɛ̃š gʌkʰ	ʧ̣ʰɪr
ASP	gʰao	mɛxi	čɪr
BIP	gʰao	mɛxi	čɪr
PUP	gʰao	mɛxi	čɪr
SSS	goe	mɪṣ̌	čɪr
GWB	het͡si	mexa	čir
DML	ga	mexa	ʧ̣iˑr
SHK	go	meži	zu
KAT	go	mʌšĩ go	zu
YDG	ɣawo	gʌmešek	xʌšira
MNJ	ɣowo	----	xšira

	92 . horns	93. tail	94. goat
KSW	sʊrʊŋ	rum	pai
KIS	sruŋk	rum	pai
KPN	----	rum	pai
KTR	sʊrʊŋg	rum	pai
KGC	sʊruŋg	rum	pai
KDR	sruŋk	rum	pai
BBK	ʂi̲ŋ	dʌmẽ̞ĩ	pai
BRK	ʂiŋ	dʌmɛ̟i	pai
URK	ʂiŋ	gušik	pai
ASP	šiŋgʌ	lʌmeˑṭi	čʰɛˑli
BIP	šiŋgʌ	lʌmeˑṭi	čʰɛˑli
PUP	šiŋgʌ	lʌmeṭi	čʰɛˑli
SSS	ʂɪŋg	lomɛˑṭi	čəli
GWB	šiŋ	lemoṭʌ	he̲ni
DML	ʂɪŋ	lemeṭ	pai
SHK	šiŋg	dʌmãi	wʌzɨ
KAT	šiŋ	dəmə̰ə	wʌsɨ
YDG	šũ	lim	wizo
MNJ	ʂʊx	dʊmbikɑ	vəzo

	95. dog	96. snake	97. monkey
KSW	reˑni	ɑi	mukuḷ
KIS	reˑni	ɑi	mukuḷ
KPN	reˑni	----	mʊkuḷ
KTR	reˑni	ɑi	mʊkuḷ
KGC	reˑni	ɑiˑ	mukuḷ
KDR	reˑni	ɑiˑ	mukul
BBK	šə̰ɑ	gok	mʌ̲kụyɛk
BRK	ʂʊ̰ɑ	gokʰ	mɐ̰ˑkɑ
URK	šə̰ɑ	čuɑnɑ	mɐ̰̃ˑkʌ
ASP	kučuro	ǰʌnd̲ʊra	mɑˑkʌɻ
BIP	kučuro	ǰʌnd̲ʊra	mɑˑkʌɻ
PUP	kučuro	ǰʌnd̲ʊra	mɑkʌɻ
SSS	kučoro	ǰɑnd̲ʌrɑo	šɑdo
GWB	šunʌ	zentʰ	mɑkʌɻ
DML	t͡s̲unɑ	žʌn	mɑkʊɻ
SHK	koi	bɑmɪst	mʌɣʌɻ
KAT	kʊ̯i	bibimstʌ	mʌkʌ̰
YDG	ɣɑlf	iž	šodo
MNJ	ɣʊlf	mor	----

	98. mosquito	99. ant	100. spider
KSW	----	pilili	šubinʌk
KIS	----	pɪlili	šɪpinʌk
KPN	kʌ̲gunu	----	----
KTR	kugunu	pilili	šubinʌk
KGC	kʌ̲gunu	pilili	šubinʌk
KDR	kogunu	pɪlili	šubinʌk
BBK	trʌkmɑ̃gʌš	pililʌk	upalʌk
BRK	trʌkmaŋgʌš	pililʌk	upalʌk
URK	mawžik	piulik	pa^{o}lak
ASP	puti	pililo	buḍoḽo
BIP	puti	pililo	buḍoḽo
PUP	puti	pililo	baḍõ
SSS	p^{h}ut^{h}o	pilo	buḍo
GWB	mʌsa	p^{h}ila	ǰola
DML	ḍũ	pɪp^{h}ili	bižal
SHK	nʌšṭeor	rʌmik^{h}	ǰola
KAT	tʌrʌk	ramik^{h}	parkɛmuk
YDG	mʌxši	moryo	ustada
MNJ	paša	murčɪk	tortʌnɪk

	101. name	102. man	103. woman
KSW	nam	moš	aurʌt
KIS	nam	moš	kimeri
KPN	nam	moš	kimɪri
KTR	nam	moš	kimɛri
KGC	nam	moš	kimɪri
KDR	nam	moš	kimɪri
BBK	nõm	mõˈč	ɪstriža
BRK	nom	mʊč	ɪstiža
URK	nom	mũč	ɪstriža
ASP	nõ	mĩš	kuṛi
BIP	nõ / nam	mĩš	kuṛi
PUP	nam	mĩš	kuṛi
SSS	nom	manuš	łɪṛi
GWB	nam	manu̲ṣ	šɪgali
DML	nam	mʌč	žami
SHK	num	mʌnǰi	ǰoṛ
KAT	nom	mʌnši	ǰukur
YDG	nam	mʌl̩ʌ	žiŋgiko
MNJ	nom	mɛra	žiŋkiko

	104. child	105. father	106. mother
KSW	masun	boɑ	nʌn
KIS	t͡sɨq	tʌt	nʌn
KPN	t͡sɪt͡sʌk	tʌt	nʌn
KTR	t͡sɨq	tʌt	nʌn
KGC	t͡sɨq	tʌt	nʌn
KDR	t͡sɨq	tʌt	nʌn
BBK	suda	dada	aya
BRK	suda	dada	aya
URK	ažita	da·da	aya
ASP	koɳak	baba	yei
BIP	kʰo	ba·ba	yei
PUP	koɳak	baba	yei
SSS	lao	ba·ba	yei
GWB	ṭɪkor	bap	ǰʌi
DML	zatʌk	daḍi	yi
SHK	parmai	tot	nu
KAT	pɪrmĩ̤	to	nũ
YDG	zʌmon	tʌt	nino
MNJ	dɪkdɛra	tot	nenʌ

	107. brother	109. sister	111. son
KSW	brar	ispisar	žao
KIS	brar	is·ar	žʲao
KPN	brar	ist͡sar	žao
KTR	brar	ɪspsar	žao
KGC	brar	ispesar	žao
KDR	brar	ɪspɪsar	žao
BBK	baya	baba	putr
BRK	baya	baba	putr
URK	baya	baba	putr
ASP	bro	bʰɛ·n	putr
BIP	bro	bʰɛ·n	putr
PUP	bro	bʰɛ·n	putr
SSS	bra	bʰɛɳ	puł
GWB	bʌlaya	sʌsi	puš
DML	bra	pʌs	putr
SHK	bra	sus	pitrɨ
KAT	bro	sus	pitr
YDG	wrai	exo	pura
MNJ	vɪroi	ɪxa	pur

	112. daughter	113. husband	114. wife
KSW	žúˑr	moš	bóˑk
KIS	žúˑr	moš	boˑk
KPN	žúˑr	moš	bóˑk
KTR	ẓ̌uˑr	moš	boˑk
KGC	ẓ̌uˑr	moš	bóˑk
KDR	žúˑr	moš	boˑk
BBK	ču	bɛru	ǰa
BRK	ču	bɛru	ǰa
URK	jur / č^{h}u	baru	ǰa
ASP	d^{h}íˑ	b^{h}ʌrib	kuṛi
BIP	d^{h}íˑ	b^{h}ʌrib	kuṛi
PUP	d^{h}íˑ	b^{h}aṛev	kuṛi
SSS	d^{h}íˑ	miš	łɛṛi
GWB	zu	hɛreo	mʌši
DML	žu	bʌre^{o}	ištri
SHK	ǰuk	moč	ǰʊr
KAT	ǰuk^{h} / ǰi	mʌč	štɪri
YDG	luɣdiko	šifɨ	wuḷo
MNJ	lʌɣdiko	šɪ̲fi	wʊla

	115. boy	116. girl	117. day
KSW	ḍʌq	kumoro	anus
KIS	ḍʌq	kumoru	anus
KPN	dʌk	kumoro	----
KTR	daq	kumoro	anʊs
KGC	ḍʌq	kumoro	ʌnus
KDR	ḍʌq	kumoro	anus
BBK	pu̲ru̲ṣ̌guak	ɪ̲strižaguak	bas
BRK	pu̲ruṣ̌gu̲ɛk	ṣ̌trižagu̲ɛk	bas
URK	pu̲ruṣ̌gu̲ˑk	ɪ̲strižgu̲ˑk	basɛ̲
ASP	p^{h}oˑ	p^{h}ai	des
BIP	p^{h}oˑ	p^{h}ai	des
PUP	p^{h}oˑ	p^{h}ai	des
SSS	p^{h}o	p^{h}oi	d^{h}ɪs
GWB	ṭekorɨ	ṭekori	des
DML	poi	bʌre	di̲o
SHK	aṛi	ǰuk	gʌǰar
KAT	midɨ	ǰuk^{h}	giǰur
YDG	ida	idiko	miš
MNJ	idʌ	kiŋkiko	mišɐ̃

	118. night	119. morning	120. noon
KSW	čʰi	čʰuči	grɛnɪš
KIS	čui	čuča	grɛnɪš
KPN	čui	čʰuči	grɛnɪš
KTR	čʰui	čʰuči	granɪš
KGC	čʰui	čʰuči	granɪš
KDR	čʰui	čʰuči	grɛnɪš
BBK	rat	adua	hulukuna
BRK	řat	adua	hulukuna
URK	ərat	adũ.	huluk
ASP	rot	roši	dʰɛdi
BIP	rot	roši	dʰɛdi
PUP	rot	roši	dʰɛdi
SSS	rɔtʰ	laºlapar	bʰɛroṇ
GWB	yɛl	rot͡s	diàdi
DML	rɛt	gurum	diwɛl
SHK	radar	proča	gʌreš
KAT	radʊr	pučkʊl	grɨš
YDG	tiro	sʌhʌr	mišʌn
MNJ	turiko	sʌrpʌgʌ	----

	121. afternoon	122. yesterday	123. today
KSW	šam	wezin	hʌnun
KIS	buto wʌxt	wɪzɛ	hʌnunt
KPN	šam	doš	hʌnun
KTR	šam	doṣ / wezen	hʌnun
KGC	šam	doṣ	hʌnun
KDR	šam	doṣ	hʌnun
BBK	čʌkdigweo	doṣ	õja
BRK	čʌkdiwio	doš	õja
URK	----	doṣ	hãja
ASP	maxam	dʰoṛ	aǰ
BIP	maxam	dʰoṛ	aǰ
PUP	maxam	dʰoṛ	aǰ
SSS	maxɔm	dʰoṛ	až
GWB	šam	dosɪki	nʌnɪki des
DML	makam	dos	mudya
SHK	maxom	dus	stru gʌjar
KAT	šom	dus	širʌk giǰur
YDG	šam	uzir	dʌr
MNJ	šom	sʌrpʌgʌbigʌ	---

	124. tomorrow	125. week	126. month
KSW	piŋgaši	hʌfta	mʌs
KIS	čuči	hʌftʌ	mʌs
KPN	čuči	sʊt bʌs / hʌfta	mʌs
KTR	čʰuči / piŋgačui	sʊt bʌs / hʌfta	mʌs
KGC	peŋačoi	sʊt bʌs / hʌfta	mʌs
KDR	piŋgačʰui / čuči	sʊt bʌs	mʌs
BBK	čopo	sʌt bʌs	mastruk
BRK	čopo	sʌt bas	mastruk
URK	čupeli	sat bʌs	mastruk
ASP	roši	afta	yũ
BIP	roši	afta	yũ
PUP	roši	afta	yũ
SSS	laˑpɔre	šukoᵠr	yuɲ
GWB	roʦ	šukowar	masui
DML	gorma	sʌt bas	mas
SHK	pročʌl	ʌɣʌɾ	mos
KAT	dʌlke	ʌgʌr	mos
YDG	sʌba	hʌfto	mox
MNJ	yodar sar	abda	mo

	127. year	128. old	129. new
KSW	sal	paɽaɳũ	noɣ
KIS	sal	paɽaɳõ	nox
KPN	sal	paɽaɳũ	noɣ
KTR	sal	paraɳũ	noɣ
KGC	sal	pʌrʌno	noɣ
KDR	sal	paɽaɳũ	noɣ
BBK	kao	šumbɛrʌn	nɔ̰a
BRK	kao	šumbɛrʌn	nɔ̰a
URK	kʌl	šumbɛrʌn	nɔ̰a
ASP	kal	pʌrõɳõ	nao
BIP	kal	pʌrõɳõ	nao
PUP	kal	pʌrõɳõ	nao
SSS	kɔl	ḍago	nao
GWB	kal	aᵘl̲uk̲i	nuŋgi
DML	kal	žʌrʌ	nõwã
SHK	si	purdu	nui
KAT	si	sʸuma	nũi
YDG	sʌlo	kohno	no
MNJ	sol	kunoɣo	nʌve

	130. good	131. bad	132. wet
KSW	ǰam	šum	zɑ
KIS	žam	šum	zʌ
KPN	ǰam	šum	zʌ
KTR	ǰam	šum	zah
KGC	ǰam	šum	zah
KDR	ǰam	šum	zah
BBK	prušṭ	šum	grilɑ
BRK	prušṭ	šum	grilɑ
URK	prušṭ	šum	grilɑ
ASP	šo	xɑrob / kačo	sɪndo
BIP	šo	xɑrob / kačo	sɪndo
PUP	ši	xɑrob / kačo	sɪndu
SSS	bɑlo	qoʲdo	nɔlo
GWB	lʌflʌ	hʌrɑb / kɑʲdɨ	bilɑ
DML	ʌbʊt	kʌčʌ	grilɑ
SHK	les	ḍʌgʌr	žʌlɨ
KAT	lʌstʌ	dɪgʌr	žəlɨ
YDG	ɣʌši	šum	xust
MNJ	ɣɑš	liut	čal

	133. dry	134. long	135. short
KSW	ču̯ču̯	druŋ	iskurdi
KIS	ču̯čʰu̯	druŋ	t͡sɨq
KPN	ču̯ču̯	druŋ	t͡sɨk
KTR	ču̯čʰu̯	druŋg	ɪskurdi / t͡sɨq
KGC	ču̯čʰu̯	druŋ	ʊskurdi
KDR	ču̯čʰu̯	druŋ	ɪskur
BBK	šu̯šta	drigɑ	bᵽt͡sʌk
BRK	šu̯šta	drigɑ	bᵽt͡sʌk
URK	ɑšu̯šʌl	drigɑ	tʰɑwrik
ASP	šuko	drɪgo	kʌṭɑnõ
BIP	šuko	drɪgo	kʌṭɑˑnõ
PUP	šuko	drɪgo	kʌṭɑˑnõ
SSS	šukʰo	dʌrgo	kʌṭɑnõ
GWB	šukuwʌ	ligʌlɑ	kʌṭʌnɨ
DML	šuki	drigɑ	tʰʌwɑrɑ
SHK	xoški	dʌrgɑ̃	turt͡sũ
KAT	drīšt	dʌrgɑ̣̃	mõtɬ
YDG	ušk	ven	kuik
MNJ	wušk	vɑnǰ	----

	136. hot	137. cold	138. right
KSW	peč	ušʌk	horki
KIS	pɛč	uṣʌk	hoškᵢ̯
KPN	bɛč	ušʌk	----
KTR	pɪč	uṣʌk	froski
KGC	peč	uṣʌk	hoski
KDR	peč	uṣʌk	hoski
BBK	tapala	oš	drʌčʷi
BRK	----	oš	drʌč
URK	tapiri	oš	drʌ̣č
ASP	taˑto	šɪdalo	dɛčini
BIP	taˑto	šɪdalo	dɛčini
PUP	taˑto	šɪdalo	dɛčini
SSS	tàˑto	šidalo	daču̯oṇo
GWB	tʌpo	šʌlʌ	dačiniᵢ̯
DML	tʌpʌ	šɛli	dʌčani
SHK	tabis	yut͡s	pʌčudɪš
KAT	----	yuz	dʌčɪn
YDG	pʌč	yox	urzox
MNJ	gʌrʌm	yʌx	urzuk

	139. left	140. near	141. far
KSW	koli	ṣoi	dudɛri
KIS	kʰoḷi	ṣoi	dudɛri
KPN	----	ṣoi	dudɛri
KTR	kʰoḷi	ṣoi	dudɛri
KGC	kʰoḷi	ṣoi	dudɛri
KDR	kʰoḷi	ṣoi	dudɛri
BBK	kɻʷi	tadʌka	dešʌ
BRK	kaʷṛi	ṣoiuna	dešʌ
URK	kʰɑwi	ɑjanda	dɛšʌ
ASP	kʊši	nihaṛa	dʰura
BIP	kʊši	nihaṛa	dʰura
PUP	kʊši	nihaṛa	dʰura
SSS	kuṛɔki	nɪhɪṛo	dʰuro
GWB	kaᵒṛaki	nɪṛa	duraiᵢ̯
DML	kʊši	kɻi	dùˑrʌ
SHK	kuar	tore	bʌdriŋgiᵢ̯
KAT	ka	tɛvɪrẽ	bʌdʸur
YDG	čop	nʌzdika	luro
MNJ	čap	nʌzdik	lʊrʌ

	142. big	143. small	144. heavy
KSW	loṭ	t͡siʌq	qai
KIS	luṭ	t͡siq	qai
KPN	lut	t͡sik	kai
KTR	loṭ	t͡siq	qai
KGC	loṭ	t͡siq	qai
KDR	luṭ	t͡siq	qai
BBK	gonɑ	čutʸʌk	guraka
BRK	gaḍa	čutʸʌk	aŋguraka
URK	gana	aluik	ʌŋguruk
ASP	gaḍo	loˑko	ʊŋguro
BIP	gaḍo	loˑko	ʊŋguro
PUP	gaḍo	loˑko	ʊŋguro
SSS	gʰano	lao	huguro
GWB	ḍʌl	polʌ	gʌndala
DML	bʌlo	učʊṭ͟ʌn	ʊgura
SHK	ol͟o	turt͡so	alõŋgo
KAT	alɪ	pʌrmi	gʌnwo
YDG	ustur	riza	ɣʌrɣɨ
MNJ	stir	dɪkdɛra	wʌzmin

	145. light	146. above	147. below
KSW	lot͡s	sorʌ / ʐaŋg	mula
KIS	loˑt͡s	žʌŋk	pʌst / muḷi
KPN	lot͡s	----	pʌst
KTR	lot͡s	sorʌ	muḷa
KGC	lot͡s	sorʌ	muḷʌ
KDR	lot͡s	sorʌ / žʌn	muḷi / mula
BBK	pĭštʸʌk	tara	nũ̯nɻ̩
BRK	lot͡s	tara	nũ̯ᵒna
URK	učik	tara	ʌndrɪta
ASP	ubo	utalo	ṭopa
BIP	----	utalo	ṭopa
PUP	----	utalo	ṭopa
SSS	upʰo	unḍi	bʰuni
GWB	ubʌ	dʌrai	malai
DML	ubʌ	pʊču	bun / nyɛ
SHK	luko	utulu	yure
KAT	lukʌ	ulɑ̃	vɪrɨ
YDG	sʌbuk	skosor	ɪʂ̌tinʌn
MNJ	sɑbʊk	blʌnd	pʌst

	148. white	149. black	150. red
KSW	ɪšpɪru	ṣá·	kuṛui
KIS	špɪru	ṣá·	krui
KPN	špɪru	ṣá·	kɪṛui
KTR	ɪšpɛru	ṣɑ·	kroi
KGC	špɪru	ṣá·	krui / kɪṛui
KDR	špɪru	ṣɑ·	kṛui / kɪṛui
BBK	goⁱrʌk	kɪrɪšnʌ	laẓia
BRK	goⁱṛʌk	kriẓnʌ	laǫ̈ia
URK	gora	krinḍa	lʌǫ̈iʌ
ASP	pʌṇalo	kɪṣɪnõ	loʸlo / lohiḷu
BIP	pʌṇalo	kɪṣɪnõ	lohiḷu
PUP	pʌṇalo	kɪṣɪnõ	loʸlo
SSS	paraṇõ	kʌšʌṇõ	loʸlo
GWB	uzɛlʌ	kanʦ͡sʌ	lutrʌ
DML	gò·ra	krina	laⁱǰʰa
SHK	kʌǰɪr	žikʰ	zʌn
KAT	kašɪr	ži	zɑ̃·
YDG	spi	nʌrʌu	golgun
MNJ	spi	nʌrow	sʊrx

	151. one	152. two	153. three
KSW	i	ǰu	troi
KIS	i	žu	troi
KPN	i	ǰu	troi
KTR	i	ǰu	troi
KGC	i	ǰu	troi
KDR	i	ǰu	troi
BBK	ɛk	du	tre
BRK	ɛk	du	trɛ
URK	ɛk	du	tre
ASP	ɑk	du	tro
BIP	ɑk	du	tro
PUP	ɑk	du	tro
SSS	yʌk	du	ło
GWB	yʌk	du	łe
DML	ɛk	du	trɑ
SHK	eo	du	tre
KAT	ɛw	duⁱ	tɛrɛ
YDG	yu	loʰ	šuroi
MNJ	yu	lʊ	šɪroi

	154. four	155. five	156. six
KSW	čó˙r	põž	ç̌^{h}oy
KIS	čo˙r	ponč	ç̌oi
KPN	čó˙r	põč	čoi
KTR	čo˙r	põč	ç̌^{h}oi
KGC	čó˙r	põč	ç̌^{h}oi
KDR	čó˙r	põč	ç̌^{h}oi
BBK	čɑo	poĩn	ṣo
BRK	čɑo	ponč	ṣo
URK	čɑo	pʌnč	ṣo
ASP	čʊr	pɑnǰ / pɑnč	ṣo
BIP	čʊr	pɑnǰ / pɑnž	ṣo
PUP	čʊr	pɑnǰ	ṣo
SSS	čor	pɑ̃ǰ	ṣo
GWB	t͡sur	pɑnt͡s	šo
DML	čor	pɑ̃č	ṣo
SHK	što	poč	šu
KAT	štɛ^{w}o	puč	ṣu
YDG	čir	pɑnč	uxšo
MNJ	čfur	ponž	oxšɑ

	157. seven	158. eight	159. nine
KSW	sot^{h}	ũṣ̌ṭ	niʊ
KIS	sot	õṣ̌ṭ	niʊ
KPN	sot^{h}	ʊ̃št	niʊ
KTR	sot	ʊšt	niʊ
KGC	sot	ʊṣ̌ṭ	niʊ
KDR	sot^{h}	ʊ̃št	niʊ
BBK	sʌt	ʌ̃ṣ̌ṭ	nõ
BRK	sɑt^{h}	ʌṣ̌ṭ^{h}	nõ
URK	sʌt	ʌ̃ṣ̌ṭ	nõ
ASP	sɑt^{h}	ɑṣ̌ṭ	nũ
BIP	sɑt^{h}	ɑṣ̌ṭ	nũ
PUP	sɑt^{h}	ɑṣ̌ṭ	nũ
SSS	sɑt^{h}	ɑṣ̌	ṇũ
GWB	sʌt^{h}	ɑṣ̌ṭ	nũ
DML	sʌt^{h}	ʌṣ̌ṭ^{h}	nõ
SHK	sot^{h}	o˙ṣ̌ṭ	nu
KAT	sut^{h}	uṣ̌ṭ^{h}	nũ
YDG	ʌfdo	ʌščo	no
MNJ	ovdʌ	oškyɑ	no

	160. ten	161. eleven	162. twelve
KSW	ǰʊš	ǰuši	ǰohoǰu
KIS	ǰʊš	ǰʊšʔi	ǰoh ǰu
KPN	ǰʊš	ǰuši	ǰoh ǰuh
KTR	ǰʊš	ǰuši	ǰoh ǰu
KGC	ǰʊš	ǰuši	ǰoh ǰuh
KDR	ǰʊš	ǰuši	ǰoh ǰu
BBK	dʌš	dʌšyegʌ	dʌš yeduʌ
BRK	dʌš	dʌšyegɑ	dʌš yedua
URK	dʌš	dʌšyegʌ	dʌš du[a]
ASP	daṣ	ɑkoš	boš
BIP	daṣ	ɑkɑš	baš
PUP	daṣ	ɑkoš	boš
SSS	deš	yʌkoš	boš
GWB	dʌš	ǰʌš	baš
DML	dʌš	yɑš	baš
SHK	dut͡s	yɑnit͡s	dit͡s
KAT	dut͡s	yʌnit͡s	dit͡s
YDG	los	losyu	los loh
MNJ	dɑ	yozdɑ	dwoz dɑ

	163. twenty	164. one hundred	165. who
KSW	bɪšɪr	šor	kɑ
KIS	bɪšɪr	šor	kɑ
KPN	bɪšɪr	šor	kɑ
KTR	bišɪr	šor	kɑ
KGC	bɪšɪr	šor	kɑ
KDR	bɪšɪr	šor	kɑ
BBK	biši	šor	kurɑ
BRK	biši	šor	kurɑ
URK	biˑši	sor	kurɑ
ASP	b^{h}iš	sɑo	kóˑ
BIP	b^{h}iš	šor	kóˑ
PUP	b^{h}iš	šor	kóˑ
SSS	biš	pɑ̃ǰ bišɑ	ko
GWB	iši	pɑ̃ši	kʌrʌ
DML	bɪši	sɑo / pɑ̃ž bɪši	kure
SHK	wit͡si	pot͡si	ketɨ
KAT	vʌt͡sɪ	put͡sɨ	kʌt͡si
YDG	wisto	šor / pɑnǰ wist	kedi
MNJ	bist	sʌt	kɔdi

	166. what	167. where	168. when
KSW	kyara	kuri	kia wʌxt
KIS	kia	kura	kia wʌt
KPN	----	----	kia wʌt
KTR	kiaɣ	kura	kia wʌht
KGC	kiaɣ	kura	kia wʌt
KDR	kiaɣ	kura	kia wʌt / kia wʌht
BBK	ki	kʌwa	kayo
BRK	kia	kʌwa^{i}	kayo
URK	ke	kʌm	ka^{i}
ASP	gʌše	ki	kʌre
BIP	gʌše	kʌsʌ	kʌre
PUP	gʌše	kʌsʌ	kʌre
SSS	kene	gʌša^{i}	kare
GWB	kene	ki	kol
DML	kya	k^{i}a	ker
SHK	kor	ka	kui
KAT	ka^{ı}	kor	koi
YDG	----	k^{h}u	kelo
MNJ	----	ku	kəlo

	169. how many	170. which	171. this
KSW	kanduri	kiɣʌlu	haya
KIS	kanduri	kiwalu	haya
KPN	kanduri	kiwaḷu	haya
KTR	kanduri	kiwali	haya
KGC	kanduri	kiwalu	haya
KDR	kanduri	kiwali	haya
BBK	kimon	kure	iʌ
BRK	kimon	kureɛse	iʌ
URK	kʌde	kure	hay
ASP	kʌti	kayʌk	anũ
BIP	kʌti	kayuʌk	hanũ
PUP	kʌti	kayuʌk	anũ
SSS	keti	kodek	la
GWB	kʌtʌ	kʌrʌk	we
DML	kʌti	kɛra	ye
SHK	čok	kʌt yo	eni
KAT	čuk	gʌǰɪstɐ̃	enɪ
YDG	čʌnd	kemo / kədi	mo^{h}
MNJ	čet	kiyom	ma

	172. that	173. these	174. those
KSW	ɑhes	hʌmi	he / het
KIS	hɛs	hʌmi	hɛ
KPN	hɪs	----	hɛ
KTR	hɛs	hʌmɪt	hɛt
KGC	hɪs	hʌmit	hɛt
KDR	hɪs	hɑmɪt	hɛt
BBK	sɛ	emi	ɛli
BRK	sɛ	emi	ɛli
URK	sɛ	hemi	hek
ASP	ɛɻo	ɑni	ɑɻɑ
BIP	ɑɻo	ɑni	ɑɻɑ
PUP	ɑɻo	ɑni	ɑɻe
SSS	se	le	se
GWB	se	yemi	te
DML	se	ye	se
SHK	iyi	ʌmnʌ	ʌŋgi
KAT	iki	ɑmni	ɑmki
YDG	wo	me	woi
MNJ	wʊrɑ	mɑe	wɑ

	175. same	177. whole	178. broken
KSW	----	----	čirdu
KIS	----	purɑ	čɪrdu
KPN	----	----	očite
KTR	----	purɑ	č^{h}irdu
KGC	bɑrɑbɑr	purɑ	č^{h}irdu
KDR	bɑrɑbɑr	purɑ	čɪtišɛ
BBK	bɑrɑbʌr	tɑzɑ	bišunɑ
BRK	bɑrubɑr	tɑzɑ	č^{h}inɑ
URK	bɑrbɑri·	tɑzɑ	ʌčis
ASP	ɑk kɪsm	sɛri	poṭ^{h}ɪli
BIP	ɑk kɪsm	suru / purɑ	poṭ^{h}ɪli
PUP	ɑk kɪsm	suru	poṭ^{h}ɪli
SSS	yʌk qe̲sim	sɔro	poṭežilo
GWB	yʌk šɑn	roɣ	foṭisʌn
DML	sɑm	roɣ	čɪ̲sɑn
SHK	ɛrʌnŋt͡sʌ	---	pʌrʌŋges
KAT	e̲rŋɛst	sɑi / purɑ	pʌtiŋgustɨ
YDG	bɑrɑbɑr	pl̥ɪk	wrešči
MNJ	bɑrubɑr	pʌrʌ	ɑrfoš

	179. few	180. many	181. all
KSW	kʌm	bo	---
KIS	kʌm	ziadʌ	sʌf
KPN	kʌm	boh	sʌf
KTR	ikamɑ	bo	sʌf
KGC	ikamɑ / kʌm	boh / ziadɑ	sʌf
KDR	ikamɑ / kʌm	boh	sʌf
BBK	tičʌk	bo	sɑo
BRK	čut^{y}ʌk	bo	sɑo
URK	pu̲su̲k	bo	sɑo
ASP	učo	biḍo	but^{h}e
BIP	učo	biḍo	but^{h}e
PUP	učo	biḍo	but^{h}e
SSS	učo	čɑto	same
GWB	kʌm	ziɑt^{h}	sɑf
DML	učɑ	lɛ	sʌp^{h}ʌn
SHK	čok	šene	sundi
KAT	ɛčok	bʌluk	t͡sʌk
YDG	kestɑ	ʌmbox	sʌf
MNJ	čɛt	----	sʌf

	182. eat	183. bite	184. hungry
KSW	žibik	----	ču̯i
KIS	----	oyoi	ču̯i
KPN	žɪpɛ	oyoi	----
KTR	žɪbik	oyoi	ču̯yi
KGC	žibik	oyoi	ču̯^{h}ui
KDR	žibɪk	oyoi	ču̯i
BBK	žuk	----	ɑnorɑ
BRK	žuk	ɑšɑṭo	ɑnorɑ
URK	žuik	ɑšɑṭʌ	ɑnɑrɑ
ASP	k^{h}ɑ	k^{h}olo	bučɛlilo
BIP	k^{h}e	k^{h}olo	bučɛlilo
PUP	k^{h}u	k^{h}ulu	bučɛlilo
SSS	k^{h}ɔli	k^{h}ɔlo	buču̯ɔlo
GWB	žunus	t͡sepus	hʌwɑtɨ
DML	žin^{y}ɑ	----	ʌwʌt^{h}ɑ
SHK	yɑ̃	ʌtʌmšio	otobisi
KAT	yu	ɑṭuš'ɪo	iõ
YDG	xuɾʌm	xoḷo	ušyade
MNJ	xʌɾʌm	xud	ušedʌm

	185. drink	186. thirsty	187. sleep
KSW	pi-	----	ore-
KIS	pi-	----	porɪs
KPN	pi-	----	----
KTR	pi-	truṣ-	ore-
KGC	pi-	troš-	ure-
KDR	pi-	truš-	ore-
BBK	pi-	dɑn	ḍuḍɪ-
BRK	pi-	ḍɑn	ḍuḍi
URK	pi-	dɑˈn	purs-
ASP	pi-	trɪš-	suto
BIP	pi-	trɪš-	suto
PUP	pi-	trɪš-	suto
SSS	pi-	torč-	suto
GWB	pi-	hɑoḍɑ	piuwɑ
DML	pi-	ʌʷḍɑ	kočinɑ
SHK	pi-	ɑupi-	šoyõ
KAT	pi-	oˑpi-	pruš-
YDG	šʌm-	----	loɣode
MNJ	šom-	truš-	ure-

	188. lay down	189. sit down	190. give
KSW	pɑr-	niš-	dɪ-
KIS	por-	nɪš-	prɑ-
KPN	por-	nɪš-	----
KTR	por-	niš-	di-
KGC	por-	niš-	di-
KDR	por-	niš-	di-
BBK	drʌk dɛ	nʌs-	dɛ-
BRK	drɛk dɑ	nis-	prɑ-
URK	drɛk ǰi	nɪs-	di-
ASP	dre dɪ-	bɛṭo	dɪ-
BIP	dre dɪ-	bɛṭo	dɪ-
PUP	dre dɪ-	bɛṭo	dɪ-
SSS	pɑr-	bɛṭo	di̲-
GWB	ḍʌḍʌ šʌ-	niš-	de-
DML	ḍɑk prɑ-	nɪš-	prɑ-
SHK	pʌr-	----	tʰo-
KAT	či-	nɪš-	prɛ-
YDG	loɣo-	niɑs-	lio-
MNJ	xubʌm-	nɪš-	liʌ-

	191. burn	192. die	193. kill
KSW	----	bri-	mɑr-
KIS	pɑle-	obrɪ-	mɑr-
KPN	----	obrɪ-	mɑr-
KTR	pɑle-	brɪ-	mɑr-
KGC	----	bri-	mʌr-
KDR	pɑle-	bri-	mɑr-
BBK	upu^{w}ɛk	nɑšɪ-	nɑš-
BRK	upwiɛk	ɑnɑši-	nɑš-
URK	ɑkɑ^{ɪ}s	ɑnɑšɪ-	nɑš-
ASP	šɑkɑ leɑ	mʊro	mɑhṛ-
BIP	šɑkɑ leɑ	mʊro	mɑhṛ-
PUP	šɑkɑ leɑ	mʊro	mɑhṛ-
SSS	šɔ̃kɑ jukeˈle	mɔṛo	mɔr-
GWB	loš-	miru-	mɑr-
DML	luṣ-	nʌš-	žʌn-
SHK	žʌyɑ	mɑ-	j̃ɑ̃i-
KAT	luš-	mɨ̱s^{ɪ}-	j̃ʌ̃i-
YDG	go^{w}-	muḷo-	mɑhsč-
MNJ	----	mʌro-	mošk

	194. he flew	195. walk	196. run
KSW	uli-	kosi-	de-
KIS	uli-	kosɪ-	de-
KPN	----	----	dɑ-
KTR	uli-	kosi-	de-
KGC	uli-	kosi-	de-
KDR	ului-	kosi-	de-
BBK	upul-	kɑsɪ-	ɑdyɑɛ-
BRK	upul-	kɑsɪ-	ɑdyɑe-
URK	upri-	kɑsi-	ɑdyɑi-
ASP	ɔrbi- / urbɑ-	gũ-	ʊtrɑpɪlo
BIP	urbi-	gũ-	ʊtrɑpɪlo
PUP	ubri-	gɑ-	ʊtrɑpɪlo
SSS	upre-	go-	ɬepɪlo
GWB	----	gʌ-	ḍe-
DML	ondr-	gʌ-	trʌpʌ
SHK	undr-	go-	ʌčo-
KAT	undr-	ɛstɨ	ačʊ-
YDG	wroft	ɣu-	ɣɑzd-
MNJ	ušk^{y}o	yo-	bʌd-

	197. go	198. come	199. speak
KSW	bi-	gi-	lu-
KIS	bɑ-	----	rɛs-
KPN	bo-	gɪ-	lu-
KTR	bi-	gi-	lu-
KGC	bi-	gɪ-	lu-
KDR	bi-	gɪ-	lu-
BBK	pɑr-	----	mɑ-
BRK	pɑr-	ɑ-	ɑmɑ-
URK	pɑr-	ɑ-	mɑ-
ASP	bɑ-	yɑ-	mɑn-
BIP	bɑ-	yɑ-	mɑn-
PUP	bɑ-	yɑ-	mɑn-
SSS	go-	wɑl-	min-
GWB	gʌ-	ɑyʌ-	ǰʌ-
DML	go-	ʌgʌ-	gɑ-
SHK	go-	ozo-	gɑ-
KAT	ɛtu-	hʌt͡sɪ-	wi̲l'ʌ
YDG	šoi	ʌɣoi	ɑnšṭo
MNJ	šoi	ɑɣoi	roži

	200. heard	201. see	202. I
KSW	kɑrɑ-	pošɪ-	ɑwɑ
KIS	kɑrɑ-	pošɪ-	ɑwɑ
KPN	kɑrɑ-	----	ɑwɑ
KTR	kɑrɑ-	pošɪ-	ɑwɑ
KGC	kɑrɑ-	pošɪ-	ɑwɑ
KDR	kɑrɑ-	pošɪ-	ɑwɑ
BBK	sɑŋgɑ-	pɑšɪ-	ɑ
BRK	sɑŋgɑ-	----	ɑ
URK	sɑŋgɑ-	pɑšɪ-	ɑ
ASP	ʂũto- / kãt^{h}ɑ-	dɑčɪ-	mʌ
BIP	ʂũto- / kãtɛ-	dɑčɪ- / dɑhɛ	mʌ
PUP	kãṭɛ	dɑhɛ	mʌ
SSS	budo	dɛršo-	mɑ
GWB	šõɖu-	bɑlu-	ã
DML	uštro-	dɑčyɑ-	ɑi
SHK	sʌŋgɑ-	wãyi-	ʌ̃
KAT	siŋʌ-	wq̃ʌ-	ũt͡s
YDG	ɣoilʌt-	lešč̣-	zo^{h}
MNJ	ɣoilɛt-	lišk^{y}-	zʌ

	203. you (inf.)	204. you (formal)	205. he
KSW	tu	bisʌ	se
KIS	tu	tu	hɛs
KPN	tu	tu	hɪs
KTR	tu	tu	hɛs
KGC	tu	tu	hɪs
KDR	tu	tu	hɛs
BBK	tu	tu	ʌsʌ
BRK	tu	tu	ɑsɑ
URK	tu	---	ʌsʌ
ASP	tu	tus	ɛɻo
BIP	tu	tus	haɻo
PUP	tu	tus	ɑɻo
SSS	tu	tusi	se
GWB	tu	me	se
DML	tu	bi	se
SHK	tu	šo	ʌgi
KAT	t^{w}i	t^{w}i	iki
YDG	tu	tu	wo
MNJ	tʊ	tʊ	wɑ

	207. we (incl.)	209. you (plural)	210. they
KSW	ispɑ	bisʌ	hɛt
KIS	ɪspɑ	----	hɛ
KPN	spɑ	tu	---
KTR	ɪspɑ	pisʌ	hɛt
KGC	spɑ	pisʌ	hɛt
KDR	spɑ	pisʌ	hɛt
BBK	ɑbi	ɑbi	eli
BRK	ɑbi	ɑbi	eli
URK	ɑbi	ɑbi	tɛ
ASP	bɛ	tus butɛ	ɛɻʌ
BIP	bɛ	tus butɛ	ɛɻʌ
PUP	bɛ	tus butɛ	ɛɻɛ
SSS	ʌsi	tusi pɑk	tini
GWB	ʌmɨ	me	temi sɑf
DML	ɑi	bi sʌp^{h}ʌn	se sʌp^{h}ʌn
SHK	mo	šo	ʌŋgi
KAT	imũ	šo	ɑmki
YDG	mʌx	mʌf	woi
MNJ	žɪmʌn	tʊ	wɑi

APPENDIX C
TEXTS

Appendix C.1 Khowar text

KHOWAR, ODIR (TORKHOW VALLEY)

Hunting Story

1. kiča ki haya ɪspa sʌfʌntʰe pʌtʌ o ɪškar bo qadi mar
   manner of this we all known (pause) hunting very old for
2. yɪri šɛr. wa ɪspa ke-ki ʐʌŋgo roi ʌsusi xaskori
   long-time is (pause) we of upper-area people are especially
3. odir mʌlpʰ bʌlai ilako roi, ɪškar konih. wa he qɪsmʌ
   Odir Mehlp upper territory people, hunting do (pause) this way
4. tʰan i dʌfʌ ɪspa ɪškʌrotʰe. boɣʌk-hotʌm nɪkʌ aw oči mʌʰ
   self one time we for-hunting ready-to-go ? I and my
5. čɪro brar i-biti. nɪkʌ hʌte wʌje hate bʌče ɪspa bo
   younger brother become ? that ? that purpose we many
6. ɪžɛnari-ʌn teyar kore lɪk hoi. xaskori tuɛkʌn teyar kore lik
   things-of ready done did it-was especially guns ready done did
7. hoi. hor hate bʌče seman ganɪko zʌrurʌt hoi.
   it-was every that purpose provisions take necessary it-was
8. semanan gʌntʌm. gʌni haṣki filhal hokumʌtʰo wɪltiar
   provisions-of taken taking deer(?) presently government side
9. bʌnd-šir. hate ɣɛne dɪti koštiɛn boɣʌ lɪk hoi. hate ɣene dɪti
   prohibited that reason give secretly went did it-was that reason give
10. čʰuyo sura šam-u-tʰɪma batɪm. bikʌr ačʰi pona i-žʌɣa
    night during evening-time went having-gone after on-the-way a-place
11. bʌs be lik ošoi. hʌtera tortʌm o tori hʌtera bʌs
    stop become did it-was there arrived (pause) arrive there stop
12. hotʌm. čʰuči haški raɣʌštʰi aʲhrupi hʌtɛra čai-mai bʌndubʌs
    became morning as early to-get-up there tea arrange

13. artʌm. bo ziat uʂaki ošoi. o čai-mai pi hʌtɐɣar rʌhi
we-did very much cold it-was (pause) tea drink from-there going

14. artʌm. rʌhi kori bo duderi žaɣa boɣɛ lik oši. kura ki yani
we-did going doing very far place go did it-was where of as

15. ɪspa umet^{h} ošoi ki hʌtera he ižnare ʌsuni re. hate ɣɛn
we hope it-was of there this thing(deer) is said that reason

16. dɪti batʌm bi. kewʌt ki hʌtʌ ǰʌɣʌ tortʌm wa tori bo
give went became when of that place reached and arrive much

17. kuši-šar ʌči poštam ki ižnari hʌtera pori ʌsuni. biko ke-ki
wander-? after saw-it of things there laying is then of

18. fa^{i}sala korono hoy. lotoro brar fa^{i}sala kortai ki ɪspa haya
decision made became elder brother decision did that we this

19. ǰaɣʌ bisi. hamɪš falan ǰʌgʌ ataras toriko ʌči dʌndʌr pasusi.
place go such sort-of place ? arrive(?) after ? ?

20. hai go ǰam. hʌto luo kar-kore lik hoy. biko batʌm bo
came ? good whose idea ?-made did became then went very

21. dudɛrin kose lik hoy. kosikar ʌči hʌte ǰʌɣa tortʌm tori
long-distace walk did became walking after that place arrived reach

22. hʌtɛtante. hʌse tuwekɛn hʌse pesta^{i} pɛsi-kar ʌči ju-in marta^{i}. i
all-of-them that gun that fired fired-? then two-of hit one

23. lot ošoi wa i sʌxro ošoi mari-kar. ʌči hʌtet bo dudɛri ǰaɣo
big was and one smaller was hit-? then those very far place

24. ɣɛrtʌni bo dudɛri ǰaɣo ɣɛriko. hate loto wolt^{h}i
fell very far place fell that big-one towards

25. hʌse-tan bai hʌse mʌ-sar taǰribakar ošoi biko hate
himself(the-one-who-shot) went he me-? experienced was then the

26. t͡sexo wolti awʌ batʌm. bikar ʌči kewʌt ki awa hʌte ǰʌɣa
smaller towards I went went after when of I that place

27. tortam tʌrʌ ǰʌgʌ hʌse par tori hʌto
arrived ? place he(elder-brother) there arrive whose

28. hɪlal kori nʌsi neɪwe. wa mʌ hase kia ki
in-the-proper-way killed complete finish and my that(animal) ? of

29. zʌxmi biru birai bo ziat wa hʌtera tori-pa hase ane
injury became became very much and there arrive(?) the(deer) ?

30. mɑ-serɑ hʌmle kortʰe. koriko ɑwɑ bo boṣtitʌm wɑ hɪš-kiɑɣ
me-? attack did having-done I very afraid and I-did

31. koriko no-bitʰi. ʌči hɑtʌm ʌči gɪti hʌtote ludiko.
having-done not-be then came after come he (elder-brother)

32. filler hʌse ʌči hɑi ʌči gɪti hʌterɑ gɪti hʌtodi nʌsinetʰɑⁱ.
told he after came then come there come other finished

33. hʌtum-kori hʌterɑ i rʌštʰun ošoi, rʌštʰunõ mužtʰu pošitʰʌm.
having-killed there one snowfield was, snowfield middle-of dug

34. poši hʌtetʌn hʌte bʌnd-kortʌm yɑni gʌrmiyo. tʰɛm šehʌr
having-dug them he buried because(?) hot-was time was

35. hɑrɑb bošʌm hʌte bʌnd-kori. ɪspɑ tʰɑn koštbɪti ʌči durʌt
spoiling they-were that buried we ourself secretly back home

36. hʌtʌm. biko dur-ɑ gɪti horeʌntʰe luprɛtʌm hɑyɑ čɛlbišɪr.
went then home-of coming many-peoples told this happened

37. ɪspɑ hʌmoš kor-ʌsusi. re-ko dur-ɑř roi ɑhibɑni.
we thus did-by-us having-told home-of people go-towards

38. ɑhibi hʌtɛrɑ torikʌr ʌči hʌtetʌn gɑni čio-sorɑ. wɑ
going-towards there arriving then they took night-during and

39. košbɪti hɑni yɑni kɑ hɪtɑn pošelɪk no ošoi. poši-ko-sorɑ
secretly went because anyone them see not was see-do-during

40. hokumʌto wʌltiɑr hʌtʰɛrnɑk. bɑošoi biko čoyo-surɑ hʌtet koštiɑn
government side dangerous ? then night-during they secretly

41. gʌni-alʌni. ɑŋgikɑr ɑči hʌtetɑn boži sɑf dehote di prɑni wɑ
taking bringing after they divide all village also gave and

42. tɑn muži yɑɣo goni oyotɑm di.
ouselves middle-of ? together ate also

Free Translation

As we all know, hunting has been done for a long time. We, the people of the upper area of Odir, Mehlp, especially, do hunting. This is the way we went hunting one time. My younger brother and I made preperations to go. ? for that purpose, we prepared many things. Especially the guns were made ready. For every purpose, the necessary provisions were taken. Provisions were prepared. Presently the government prohibits taking deer. For this reason we went secretly. For this reason, we went at night, during the evening. After going on

the way, we found a place to stop. When we arrived there we stayed. We got up early in the morning and we arranged tea. It was very cold. After drinking tea we left that place. We were going to a place very far away. That place, we hoped, was where it is said there are these things (deer). That is the reason we went. When we reached that place, after much wandering, we saw the things (deer) laying there. Then we made a decision. My elder brother decided the place to which we should go. We arrive(?) at that place after ? . We went easily(?). That's whose idea we acted upon. Then we walked a very long distance. After walking we arrived at the place where they all were. We fired, and firing two of them were hit. We hit one that was big and one that was smaller. Then they fell down a long distance away. He went towards the big one, (because) he was more experienced than me, then I went towards the smaller one. As I went and arrived at that place, he (elder brother) he had already finished killing it in the proper manner. And my animal had a very bad injury and when I got there it attacked me. Having done that I was very afraid and couldn't do anything. Then after he (elder brother) came I told him. He came there and finished the other one. Having killed it there was a snowfield, we dug in the middle of the snowfield. Having dug (a hole) he buried them because it was hot. It was time, they were spoiling when we buried them. We secretly went back home. When we came home we told many people what had happened. That is what we did. Having told the people they went that way (toward the meat). They went there and got it during the night. And they went secretly because they did not want anyone to see them. Being caught by the government is dangerous. Then they secretly brought it (deer meat) during the night. After bringing it (deer meat) they divided it among the whole village and together we all ate it.

Appendix C.2 Yidgha text

YIDGHA, ZHITOR

The Flood

1. dʌ paǰʌn moх yuwisto lʌs-wilʌ lʌsyu tarix dɔ žɪtor dɔ žɪtor
   on fifth month twenty ten-? eleven date on Zhitor in Zhitor

2. welo yogo ʌɣoi. yogo ʌlminʌ ɣoi ke, nɪɸdʌ vio no, yogo
   stream flood came flood like-this came that, rain was not, flood

3. tadidɛ ikot no ev-ojivɛt. serʌɸ dʌ mišʌn šoroi bʌǰʌ yogo ʌɣoi,
   ? ? not ?-looking(?) about at mid-day three hour flood came,

4. pamam ʌdemʌɸ malum čivio ke yogo istʌrʌ. ʌdmɨ dʌ
   ? people-of know not-was that flood this-side people at

5. hʌrɣʌɸ viat dʌ wʌlo hʌlkɪmɪǰio čačanʌk yogo ʌɣoi. yogo
   work were in stream hard-work-doing suddenly flood came flood

6. ʌɣoi xo ʌdmɨ leščʌt ke molo yogo rʌsio. žiʌn piro, x^{y}al
   came and people saw that here flood reached there before, think

7. kenʌt θeθɪd ǰehaz estɨ wo yogo či-lesčʌt. keloko yogo
   doing sound(?) airplane heard(?) that flood not-seen when flood

8. ʌɣoi ʌdmɨ rostʌt žʌɸ melʌn yu žiŋko dʌ wolo zʌpu
   came people run-away them between one woman in stream cloths

9. uzdi-vio wʌo ɣord šoi. dʌ ɸado wʌo xʌlʌs kʌlɨt wo zindɑ noɣot.
   washing she carry did in way she free did she alive came-out

10. bat zeʌn de yogo yu xoro čʌnd wʌzɨ yogʌn yaye.
    after that-from in flood one donkey some goats flood-by carried

11. yogʌn moʌθ wʌo paidʌ čɪkʌlʌ. yogo ke aɣoi de dʌrya ki
    flood killed they find could-not flood that came in river near

12. risi, dʌ dʌrya mʌlʌn lo admɪ xork kenʌd. yu yuo sɪɣyo
    reached, in river between two men work doing one ? sand

13. šʌžio, vio yo ɣʌn nowʌn drʌzai vio. yo drʌzʌo duɣoz
    bringing, was one ? ? loading was one loading fellow

14. pʌego pʌ dʌrʌxt šoi. pʌ dʌrʌxt yogo ʌsʌt šamu. wo dir
    climbed(?) on tree went on tree flood came(?) ? that other

15. ʌiɣɨ šoɣo šiɣo wul xo dʌ pɑdo rʌsio we yogo molo
coming became sand stream when on way reached ? flood here

16. rʌsio. yogo wʌo wʊl vʌdɛ žironʌn pʌ ɣʌr ɑiɣo
reached flood him stream-in caught other-side-of-river at stone came

17. boɣo leseθo. bɑžoũ yeɣo bod-šoi wo mʌlɑ dʌ dʌryɑ melʌn ʌɣoi.
out(?) thrown ? flood closed that place of river middle came

18. xo ʌlmin šoi šoi skʌm vɪrʌn noɣɨ lʌgʌ ʌdmɨ wʌo
then like-this became became ? other-side out lay(?) man that

19. nolʌt. ʌlmin šoi yo mʌɻʌ bʌč šoi wo dir mʌlʌ dʌ
? like-this became one man safe became that other place at

20. bʌč šoi.
safe became

Free Translation

It was the thirty-first of May that a flood came to Zhitor in the Zhitor stream. The flood came like this, there was no rain, there was no evidence(?) to see. About three o'clock in the afternoon the flood came, the people did not know that the flood was coming their way. The people were doing hard work in the stream when suddenly the flood came. The flood came and people saw that the flood had reached them. Before, we thought we heard the sound of an airplane, they could not see the flood. When the flood came people were running out, in the middle one woman was washing clothes in the stream and she was carried away. Further along she was rescued. After that the flood carried away a donkey and some goats. The flood killed them and they could not be found. When the flood came into the river nearby, two men were working there. One was bringing sand, the other was loading it. The fellow that was loading climbed up a tree. He was in the tree when the flood came. The other was carrying(?) sand in the stream, when, on his way, the flood reached him. The flood caught him in the stream, at the other side of the river he came out on a stone. At that place the flood caused another stream to be blocked. It (the water) came up and the man came out on the other side. This is the way that the man became safe at that other place he became safe.

Appendix C.3 Phalura texts

C.3.1 PHALURA, ASHRET

Avalanche near Lowari Pass

1. ʌk kal hatʰenu qisa bʰilu ki ma dɛr weli hẽsilu de. mʌsot
   one year this-like story became that I Dir was-in been was masud
2. bʌṭʌlian-tekadara saŋgi molazem de. ma tʌi ṭilifun ma te bʰili
   contractor with serving was I to telephone me to did
3. zyarʌti ti, ki to teṇi rašen bʌnd tʰe to yʌ-tʰʌni. jʌnwʌri
   ziaret from, that you own operation close do you came-do January
4. fʌrwʌri yun de ma maŋga nʌ bʰaõ. hʌtʌyu ma
   February month was I remember not is from-there I
5. tɪlulʌ tili pyada a biḍo kir hẽsilu de. hʌtayo
   start-walking walking by-foot and very snow became was from-there
6. ma tɪli gujrũ tʰe rohotʌšnam tili. tʌkribʌn ak bʌje ṭemi
   I walked Gujar did morning walked almost one o'clock time
7. ma gujrũ pɛdulo. gujrũ tʌ pɛdulo ta biḍo xʌlʌqa bʌre manosʌ
   I Gujar reached Gujar to reached to very people loads people
8. hẽsela de. se bara gini tʰa yula-ye. se telela ta tʌnam
   been was they loads took did came-had they start-walk then them
9. sʌŋgi ma bi talilu. tili mosim dʌčelo tʌ mosim biḍo
   with I also start-walk walking weather looked and weather very
10. xʌrab de. sʌxt muče de. kir dide biḍo kir dide hẽselo
    bad was hard raining was snow falling very snow falling became
11. de didi de. ɛtai se xʌlaqa dondona bʰɪla ki be bea
    was falling was that-place from people thought became that we go
12. ki nʌ bea tʰʌni. te ba axeri hʌṛo rʌisʌla tʰilu ki goba
    or not go became after that last those decide did that what
13. bʰilʌ; ta be biḍa mušʌ hena, panj šo biča ǰana hina, ase
    become; that we many men are, five six twenty body are, we
14. benḍeyo. tiṇi tai tililа tili pandʌ yula yula. bʌto so mosem
    commanded own to walked walk in-way came came after ? weather

15. biḍi xʌrab b^{h}ili. ta aṛʌ-ti maǰi notʌla. tro
very bad became then some-of-them middle(?) turned-back(?) three

16. biša čor biš ǰanʌ be moǰud hẽselʌ de. ti mʌǰara baḍor
twenty four twenty people we ? became was ? ? Bador

17. gao ča hẽsʌla de, ase mušʌ de. te tʌnam-te mi mʌnitu
village ? became was, our people were then them-to I said

18. ki fa^{i}sʌla hʌḍot-teya; ki wapʌs baya. tɪpa mosem biḍi xʌrab
that decide will-do; that back will-go now weather very bad

19. hini wapʌs baya tʌnito. ta tʌnim mʌnito ki na baya tʌnitu.
is back go ? then they said that not will-go ?

20. tʌnim biḍo zor titi aw mi bi. aṛo tilo ta nʌ bilo nʌ
they very insist did and I also there walking to not going not

21. bilo. tʌ mi mʌnito ki yʌra ma ta nʌ baya. tʌṇi ma
going then I said that come I to not will-go ownself I

22. wapʌs taye noṭelo noṭi. bas sʌbʌ yolo. ye ziarʌti ta
back that-place returned return that's-all night came those Ziaret to

23. tʌrʌp bi yolo. ma ba du rat-em, bʌs te b^{h}elo baz,
side also came I went ? night, that's-all then became that's-all,

24. te rohotʌše mosem tro reti ti xʌrab de biḍi, biḍi xʌrab
then morning weather three nights did bad was very, very bad

25. bʌyani. waǰa ǰuli mʌ tro reti guǰuro we bʌnd b^{h}e hẽsula
became reason ? I three nights Gujar ? trapped became been

26. de. čorum disa ta ma wapʌs aṛa-te gom, dɛr uli-te gom. dɛr uli
was fourth day then I back there went, Dir ? went Dir ?

27. be, ṭilifun tikadara ta t^{h}ilo. ki t^{h}i we ta ṭilifune ma te
go, telephone contractor to did that did ? after telephone I to

28. t^{h}ili xo ma nʌ yaye bulo. xo mosem biḍi xʌrab de, te ʌṛe
did but I not come go but weather very bad was, then that

29. wʌǰa ǰuli ma wapʌs b^{h}olo. a biḍa xʌlʌqa parigra tro čor
reason ? I back became and many people ? three four

30. biša ǰana parigra yula. se kʌna b^{h}ela kana bolta. ṭekadara
twenty people ? came they what became what asked contactor

31. ma ta wapʌs ṭilifun t^{h}ili ki, šo b^{h}ilu t^{h}i tu nʌ yulu,
me to back telephone did that, good became was you not came,

32. ɑse xʌlaqa buṭe hemeli be. tɪpa tene talaš šor hine
those people all avalanche go now them search start is

33. pʌta ga bi nʌ lʌge yao. tani ma te mʌnito tʌ biḍo
information any ? not known came of-them me to said ? very

34. ma xʌpa b^{h}ilo. te mosem šo sat reti pʌs geʌra ma
I sad became then weather good seven night after ? I

35. tʌyu wapʌs yohlo. ye ziarʌti yoholo. tʌ se xʌlaka: tʌkribʌn
from-there back came ? Ziaret came ? those people: about

36. čur panǰ yuna, jun ǰola^{i} yuna, te so kir libilo lehela
four five month, June July month, then ? snow melting find

37. pʌtu te tʌnam maharu paši te unde. te tʌnam ɑk
information then them-to killed from then from then them-to one

38. ɑk do do te wia we hẽsela de. kene šɪkʌl ba malum
one two two then water water became was whom features we known

39. b^{h}ile, kene šɪkʌl ba malum nʌ b^{h}ile. biḍa ɑṛe be te
became, whom features we known not became many tries(?) we after

40. tʌnam kaiba na ǰeniye ḍ^{h}ʌŋgola. waresano nʌ ǰʌinai b^{h}ola nʌ
they what not know buried heir not know become not

41. ǰʌinai b^{h}a. tenam ḍ^{h}ʌŋgola ḍ^{h}ʌŋge. hʌrɪ mi ɑk yadgari
know become them buried bury that my one remembered

42. kisa de biḍa xʌlʌq ɑṛɪ b^{h}ila de.
story was very people those became was

Free Translation

One year a story like this happened when I was in Dir. I was working for Masud Contractor. He telephoned me from Ziaret, and told me to stop the operation and return. I don't remember if it was January or February. From there I started to go on foot and there was a lot of snow. In the morning I walked from there to Gujar. It was about one o'clock when I reached Gujar. When I reached Gujar there were many people with loads. They had come carrying loads. They started to walk so I also started to walk with them. As we were walking we saw that the weather was very bad. It was raining hard. It was snowing hard and much snow had already fallen. Then the people began to wonder if they should go on or not. At last they decided what they would do; there were many men, a hundred or a hundred and twenty men, we were ordered. On our own we walked on and on. After that the weather became very

bad. Some of the people had turned back. There were sixty or eighty people with us. Some of them were from Bador village, and the others were our people. Then I told them what I had decided to do; that I will go back. Now the weather was very bad but I was going back. They said that they would not go. They were very insistant and I was also. I was not going to walk there. I said, "come, I will not go." Then I went back from there by myself. I went on until night. Those people came to the Ziaret side. I went until night, that's all, then in the morning, the weather ... for three nights it was bad, it became very bad. For this reason I was trapped at Gujar for three nights. Then on the fourth day I went back to Dir. In Dir I telephoned the contractor. "You(?) telephoned me, but I did not go." "The weather was very bad, for that reason I came back." "Many people, sixty or eighty, came to that side." I asked, "What happened to them?" The contractor called back and said, "It was good that you did not come, all those people were caught in an avalanche." The search began for them, nothing more was known. When he told me what happened to them I became very sad. The weather became good after seven nights and I came back from there. I came to Ziaret. Concerning those people: after four of five months, in June or July, then when the snow was melting signs were found, how they were killed. Then one or two were found in the water. Some of them we knew by their features, some of their features were not recognized. They were trying to recognize them before burying them. Their heirs could not recognize them. They were buried. This is the story I remember. That's what happened to many people.

C.3.2 PHALURA, BIORI

The Avalanche and Hunters

1. tʌkribʌn unis so tre-hʌtʌr-e ʌk ɣʌm-nʌk wʌqeʌ mɑ
   about ninteen hundred three-seventy-of one sad-? story I

2. yɑd t^hɑnu. mɑ eskuli sʌbʌk mʌnɑm dɛ, fʌrwʌri yun
   remember doing I school education study was, february month

3. dɛ. ʌsɑm te xʌbʌr p^hedeli ki bihuṛi šɪkɑr bɪbʌ. xʌlʌkʌ
   was we to message arrived that Biori hunt they-went people

4. himeli giyʌ t^hɛni. moxʌ zʌmɑne, ʌse ʌlekʌ šɪkurʌ j^huli gʌ
   avalanche went did before time, our area hunt on-to any

5. xɑs pɑbʌndi nʌ hẽsali. kir dɛ ziyɑt kir dɪtu sindo hɛwɑndʌ
   special restriction not was snow was very snow fell wet winter

6. xʌlikʌ bɛm dɛ. diš-e xʌlʌkʌ bolʌ-di o ɪtifɑq t^hɛ duwɑ-e
   people went was village-of people spoke-gave and unity do pray-for

7. xer t^hɛ. ɪškɑr bem dɛ. gir čapɛr dʌndɑ g^hʌši
   peace did hunt gone had go-around surrounding mountain ?

8. mirgʌ meji gʌli meri bɑ. tʌxsim t^hɛ whɑlɛn dɛ. hʌtɑyu
   deer between surrounded kill go divided did brought had ?

9. p^hʌnte xʌlʌqʌ giyɑ ɪškɑr giyɑ ɪškɑr bɑ. himeli turi b^hilʌ dɛ.
   path people went hunt went hunt go avalanche under became had

10. goši turi ʌk ḍʌbi we himɑl wʌhɑi-bɑ. tru čar ǰʌnɑ
    Goshi under one Dabi in avalanche fall-go three four people

11. tʌkribʌn bʌč b^hilʌ, o tru ǰɑnʌ himeli giyɑ kʌre gʌ
    about safe became, and three people avalanche went when any

12. lʌ bem dei-u ɪskulɪ xʌbʌr bewo pʌrʌ giyɑ-tɑ. o
    found will-go from-? school message go there went-having and

13. hʌr goṣṭʌ šiṭi rowʌnʌ. ɣʌm hinu, bɪṛʌ xʌlʌkʌ prešɑn hɪnɑ. o
    every house inside weaping sad are, ? people worry is and

14. kʌre gʌ le tʌbɑ koǰu-lʌte pʌtʌ ɣugɑl ki. ʌk tʌ rʌhʌmʌt
    when any found there asked-? information ? ? one of Rahamat

15. wʌli, ʌk bʌ ɑhmʌd xɑn, o ʌk bʌ hɑšʌm xɑn, se tru
    Wali, one ? Ahmad Khan, and one ? Hasham Khan, those three

16. hɪmeli bibʌ moɽʌ. o be kʌbrus teni te giyʌ kʌbʌr konšolo.
avalanche ? killed and we graveyard own to went grave dug

17. te ʌk ɑwʌl ʌk wehelɪlu tes dʌfʌn t^{h}ilu. te bʌ dowi
Then one first one put-in him bury did Then we second

18. wehelɪlu tes bʌtʌ dʌfʌn t^{h}ilu. te bʌ trʌye moɽe bʌtʌ wehelɪlu
put-in him ? bury did Then we third dead ? put-in

19. tes bʌtʌ dʌfʌn t^{h}e. be-nisʌ nikɑtʌ tɑ tʌkribʌn mɑxʌm b^{h}ilu.
him ? bury did we-all free became about evening became

20. o ʌɽo ʌse diš-e ʌk xɑs wɑqeʌ ɑlo pʌto tʌkribʌn
and this our village-of one special story this information about

21. mʌjmui tore tɪpɑnti ɪškɑr bi bʌn. o tipʌ ɪškɑr nʌ t^{h}ɑnʌ
collectively until now hunt we stopped and now hunt not doing

22. ke-ke xʌlʌkʌ b^{h}ešo-hʌ b^{h}ʌmʌ. o duhei bʌ hukmʌtie
because people settled(?) become and second matter government

23. weškiɑr bi pɑnbʌndi heni. o tipʌ ɑne zɪmɑne hʌsʌ kirʌ bi nʌ
ruling too restriction are and now this time that snow too not

24. dɑnʌ. o moxɑk kirʌ beḍu zɪyɑd den-de. o xʌlki me
falling and before snow very much fallen-had and people in

25. šoɣ bi hẽseli dɛ. mʌsrufiyʌt bi biḍi zɪyɑt nʌ hẽseli dɛ.
interest too been had busy-ness too very much not been had

Free Translation

I remember a sad story from about ninteen seventy-three. I was studying in school, it was the month of February. A message came to us that (some people from) Biori went hunting. The people were carried away by an avalanche. Before, there was not any restriction on hunting. There was snow, much snow fell, it was wet and winter when the people went. The people of the village were called and together prayed for peace. They had gone hunting. They circled the mountain, surrounded the deer and killed them. It had been divided and brought. Going on the path the people went on hunting. They had been swept away by an avalanche. Below Goshi at Dabi the avalanche fell. About three or four people became safe, and three people went in the avalanche. When anything was found, at school we got a message, and we went there. And there was weeping in every home. It was sad, the people were worried. And when we found someone we got the information. One Rehmat Wali, one Ahmed Khan, and one Hashim Khan, these three were killed in the avalanche. And we went to

our graveyard and dug graves. We took the first one and put him in the grave and buried him. Then we took the second and put him in the grave and buried him. Then we took third and put him in the grave and buried him. We finished at about evening time. This was a special story about our village and how we hunted collectively until now that we have stopped. And now we are not hunting because people have become more settled(?). And the second reason is that the government has restricted it. And at this time snow is not falling. And before very much snow had fallen. And people had been very interested in it (hunting). They were not so busy.

C.3.3 PHALURA, PURIGAL

Difficulties on Lowari Pass

1. mʌ ɑǰ unɑtis tʌrixiye ʌno teṇi ʌk kɪsɑ yʌni ke nʌšʌr
   I today twenty-nine date my own one story means that telling

2. tʰʌno teṇi zʌbe niǰoli mi loʰkero boru, nʌm kerɑm udin
   is own language in my younger brother, name Keram Udin

3. de, tʌs fʌleǰie-lehezi yʌni tʌs gʌšilu de. tʌ ɑndo yʌ mʌ
   was, he illness means he became-ill was then from came I

4. tʌs gini-gɑu čʌtrulʌ. čʌtrulʌ hʌri ḍʌktʌrʌ pʌšulu. ḍʌkṭʌrʌ mʌnitʊ,
   he carried Chitral Chitral in doctor showed doctor said,

5. ki nes gʌni bʌʰ pexʌwʌr-tʌ. pexʌwʌr-tʌ hʌr tʌnitutʌ mʌ tʌs
   that ? carry ? Peshawar-to Peshawar-to take told I him

6. gɪn pi ɑᴵ e ṭikʌṭ gʰɪnu. pi ʌi e bʰɛši tʌs gɪni-gɑu pexʌwʌrʌ-tʌ.
   carry P I A ticket bought P I A sat him carry Peshawar-to

7. pexʌwrʌ hʌri ḍʌktʌr bʌšir ʌhmʌdʌ pʌšulu. yʌni hʌḍe dʌktʌr
   Peshawar took doctor Bashir Ahmed showed means bones doctor

8. de hʌso tʌs pʌšʌʊlu-tʌ. so yʌni ke du yun-oku elʌǰ
   was he him show-to he means that two month-? treatment

9. bʌndʌyʌlo. gobʌ goliʌ-moliʌ šʌrbʌk-mʌrbʌk tʌs ditu. du yun
   commanded some tablet syrup him gave two months

10. pʌduše ɑṭʰe tɛṇe tʰɑo. pʌt-mʌtɛ sɪwɪ šerpɑᵒw hʌspʌṭeli, tʌu
    after bring own to returned looked(?) Sherpao hospital, then

11. tʌs pʌtrɑ leḍɪ reḍeŋ ʌṭɪlu. ʌṭi tru rɛt yʌnɪ lẹḍ
    him returned Ladi Reading brought brought three nights means Lady

12. rɪnḍɪŋ. gə tɛs-e šɑḍ-mɑḍ wʌɣerʌ hʌtenɑm detʌ. gʌ ṭʰik
    Reading some him-to injection treatment(?) to-him gave some good

13. bʰemi gʌ kunžʸɑeš nʌ bʰile nʌ bʰile. tʌ piʌdʌ mʌ
    becoming some chance not become not become then by-foot I

14. tʌs gʌni rʌhi tʰilo. liǰe de ukʌi dir-ʌ ukɑtu. dir-ʌ
    him carry footsteps did from-there was came Dir-to coming Dir-to

15. ukʌtu tʌ dir-ʌ hoṭʌli bɑs ditu. bʌs de musem xʌrʌb de
    came then Dir-to hotel night spent night was weather bad was

16. muče de. sintʌ ʌk mʌzdur mʌ teṇi sʌŋge genu. tʌ bɑs de
rain was then one laborer I own with took then night was

17. roši bʰele tʌ mʌzdur teṇe sʌngi ɡeni pɪyʌdʌ. mʌ liǰe
morning became then laborer own with took by-foot I from-there

18. de ukʌtu ɑgʰʌ muče de kir dide. ɑur liǰe de lʌwrɪʌ
was come sky rain was snow falling and from-there was Lawori

19. ṭekʌ yulo. lʌwuri ṭekʌ yʌyi čʌi pelu hoṭʌli ʌk du pʌilʌ čʌi
Top came Lawori Top came tea drank hotel one two cups tea

20. pili. tʌu nisʌtʌ nikeyɑ ɑni duše lɑŋgelu-tʌ šʌzdʌ mʌhudin
drank then ? came-out that side crossed-to Prince Mahudin

21. yʌni mɪ muxʌ dʌši yulu. yʌyi so mɑ tʌ mʌnitu mosem xʌrɑb
means my front side came came he me to said weather bad

22. bini, nʌgʌ himɑl wi, tu nʌ bʌ ɑni, we tu dendʌṛ
is, beware avalanche flow, you no go here, flow you will-fall-down

23. yɑ gubʌ beṛ. tʌnitu tʌ mʌ mʌnitu nʌ xer xodʌi te
or some will-become when to I said no problem God of

24. hʌwɑlʌ. tɛ mʌ-hʌ tɑo-lʌkɑr tʌs gini wʌhʌtu. wʌheli
winter(?) then I-? from-there him took sliding(?) sliding(?)

25. tiwe de muče de hʌtɑ kɑ wʌheli pɑndʌ wʌheli. hʌsu
from-there was raining was that of sliding way sliding that

26. mʌzdʌr bi pʌturʌk bʰelu. yʌni wʌx nʌ wʌx de mʌzdur
laborer also return(?) became means time not time was laborer

27. pʌri ʌṭi hẽsulu de. mʌ teṇi sʌŋgi somʌ teʰ mʌnitu ki mi
return bring became was I own with to-me ? said that I

28. ʌṛo wʌpʌs bʌyni teʰ mi pʌn beḍu dʰurʌ, tu ʌndoyʌ bonte
there back going ? my way very far, you from-there down

29. kelʌi bʌ ʌur mʌbʌ ʌṛo tʌm ʌndoyʌ wʌpʌs bʌm. tʌnitʌ mɑ
alone go and I there from here back go from-there I

30. tʌs ɡeni wʌhʌtu ziyɑrʌte ziyɑrʌte yʌyi. hoṭʌle yʌyi čʌi pilu
him carried came Ziaret Ziaret came hotel came tea drank

31. tɑ goli-mɑli kulu. teṇi zɑnte tʰilu. dobʌlʌ-moblʌ mi biṛu sinzi
then food ate own warm did clothes my very wet

32. hẽsilʌ. sʌx tʌklif de tərtɛ di hẽsʌlu de.
become-had difficult trouble was fording(?) other became was

33. hʌtʌwude, hʌtʌ guli-muli kulu čʌi mʌi pilu pili. hʌtʌ
therefore, there food ate tea I drank drank there

34. bʌḍʌr-ʌn wʌtan-dʌrɑ hẽselʌ. hʌtɪnam sʌŋgi mʌšqul b^{h}ilu
border-police our-area-fellows were there-from with difficult became

35. betʌ. jip-mip mɪlaw b^{h}ili hʌtizɛ de, yʌni rutʌ mɑohustʌn
going jeep got became from-there was, means night dinner-time

36. de, mɑustʌniʌ tɑow rʌhɪ t^{h}ilo. oḍ^{h}ɑl-moḍ^{h}ɑl wehi hẽsʌli
was, dinner-time from-there start became flood came became

37. de wʌhi pʌnd mind biši. sɑz nʌ de xʌrɑb hʌneṇi de. biṛi
was came way closed was okay not was bad like was very

38. tʌklifi juli lije de okʌi de drušʌ hoṭʌli p^{h}edʌlu. drušʌ
trouble with there-from was came was Drosh Hotel reached Drosh

39. hoṭʌli wʌhi bonu wʌhi. ʌhʌse rʌtʌ-reti mʌ tʌs ɡeni ḍutʌ
hotel came down came that night I him took from-there

40. li-pʌrʌ de. yulu yʌyi ʌzordʌmʌ pʌrʌ kelʌyi rɑt de. lʌwo
came was came came Azordum on alone night was there-from

41. yʌyi šišiyʌ yulu šišiyʌ yʌyi. miso yɑni miso loko bru
come Shishi came Shishi came I means my younger brother

42. mʌde kojulu tʌ mʌ kʌsʌ hʌrʌnu. mʌ yɑni ki mʌ tu ɡoštʌ tʌ
said asked you me where carrying I means that I you home to

43. hɑrɑmu. te jede^{h} ʌndʌ ukelu ʌndʌ. uk^{h}eli ɡoštɛ p^{h}ɛdu šiš^{y}ʌ
carrying then ? here came here came village arrived Shishi

44. p^{h}ɛdulɪ šɪš^{y}ɛ p^{h}ɛdul. tʌ bɪ yʌni ki mɑos yɑni rɑt
reached Shishi reached then also means that ? means night

45. brʌbʌr de. hʌtʌ tʌs ɡini bɑs ditu. bɑs de roši
different(?) was there he came night gave night was morning

46. b^{h}eni tʌs ɡʌni ʌndʌ ukʌt. ʌndʌ ukeiy ʌk yun yʌni
became to-him took-with here came here came one month means

47. tʌse elʌj sɪlu. yunʌ di bɑd yʌni xudiʌ ɑmʊr xʊdɑɪ tʌ se
him treatment did month of after means God this-like God to us

48. diti ɑmɑ nʌ ɡɪsini yʌni ʌsɑm di ɡɑo.
gave we not take means we from ?

Free Translation

Today on the twenty-ninth I am telling a story in my own language. My youger brother, whose name was Keram Udin, caught a disease. From here I carried him to Chitral. In Chitral I showed him to the doctor. The doctor said, "Take him to Peshawar." I said I would take him and I bought P.I.A. tickets. I went with him on P.I.A. to Peshawar. I took him to Peshawar and showed him to Dr. Bashir Ahmed. It was an orthopedic doctor I showed him to. He advised a two month treatment. He was given some tablets and syrup. After two months I brought him home. I returned and checked(?) at Sherpao Hospital, then I brought him to Lady Reading (Hospital). He was in Lady Reading for three nights. He was given some injection treatment. There was no chance of his getting better. Then by foot, I carried him, retracing our steps. From there I went to Dir. We came to Dir and spent the night at the Dir Hotel. After the night the weather was bad and it was raining. Then I hired a laborer. After night, in the morning, I set off by foot with the laborer. As we were going the sky was raining and snow was falling. From there we came to Lowari Top. At Lowari Top we drank one or two cups of tea at the hotel. Then we went out and crossed to the other side we met Prince Mahudin, we came to our side. He came to me and said, "The weather is bad. Be careful there is an avalanche, you should go from here, you might get caught in the flow (avalanche), or something will happen." I said there would be no problem with winter conditions. I went from there pulling him. We were sliding along from there, it was raining. The laborer also wanted to go back. There was not time for the laborer to return from there. He said to me that "I am going back, I have a very long way to go," "You will go down from here alone and I will go back." I took him with me and went to Ziaret. We went to the hotel, drank tea and ate food. We warmed ourselves. Our clothes had become very wet. It had been a great difficulty fording things to get there. Therefore, we ate food and drank tea there. The border police there were from our area. Going with them from there it became difficult going. We got a jeep there, it was night about dinner time, after dinner time we started. There was a flood and the way was closed. It was not good, it was bad like this. It was with great trouble that we reached the Drosh Hotel. We came through the Drosh Hotel. We went on through the night from there. We came alone to Azordum in the night. From there we went to Shishi. My younger brother asked, "Where are you carrying me?" I said, "I am carrying you home." Then we came here. We came to the village and we arrived at Shishi. We got there at night. We stayed there for the night. In the morning I took him and came here. When we came here we did the treatment for one month. After a month, it is like this, as God gives we do not take, we get from him(?).

Appendix C.4 Sawi text

SAWI, SAU (AFGHANISTAN)

Death of Father

1. leṇi ɛk wʌxt bete, waleni tʌ wʌxto ma lao alo. tʌnu
   this-like one time was, this-like that time I young was my
2. babi simili čalusi ʌlo bane. ɛk du mušaṛe wale, du mušaṛe
   father with goats to meadow one two thieves came, two thieved
3. wale, lɛno še alo yɛmi. me babi lʌy-ʌki gešelo. čalõṭe
   came, this-like ? was ? my father one-to caught goats
4. walʌle. lae ʌk jɛni dimi babi yõ gɛšiloye. se tʌbi eṭe
   were-coming ? one man my father by caught he other one
5. meno yoʌ mʌlʌ moš̌ ɛṛia xlaste te. tʌsʌra te tobʌkun diti,
   said ? ? man ? free do he from gun shot,
6. tobʌkun yon ditie mi babi marelo. marelo tae joe tʌ
   gun from shot my father killed died-after that place from
7. maidone čole me bi. dʌ^{h}rilo mal bi dʌ^{h}rili. šoko xʌlʌq
   ? goats I went left livestock also left wood people
8. ale tenoṭi mi šaŋg-eṛilo. šaŋg-eṛilo yu mi babe mar. tini
   were them-to I call-did call-did that my father killed they
9. gʌrã me xʌbʌr diti. gʌrã mi te xʌbʌr diti. gʌrã ma
   home my message gave home in was message gave home my
10. xʌlʌq wale hɛṛo maṛayalo heṛio xʌx tilo. čalibi čalebio če mi
    people ones there dead-body took-there bury did goats goats ? my
11. mal bidya da^{h}rili xoše dʌ^{h}rili. giri se liṇi wʌxte eli yo
    livestock meadow left alone left that it this-like time was that
12. be laoya le. nʌ čalõ pɪtedid wa na lemɪri tʌ no zɪmiθareṭ
    we young was not goats reached ? not could that not farming
13. peθi ne buʌnʌle. zɪmidaraṭe uṭʌ nʌ lebo jo bana-se ne-ba
    reach not able farming do not became if meadow-to not
14. nʌlo. bane tʌ uṭa nʌlebo gošʌ se ne-bʌ nalo. no ʌsõ rʌte
    able meadow to do able home it not able ? we on

15. leŋo dʌwran bɪtʰe walʌn. tʌdõ pʌtkʸom leŋo merabani te
this-like time also came that after this-like kindness of

16. xodʌi, nomediõ zarbomno čʌṭi geni mehrabani asarʌte xodʌi geni.
God, name-from sacrificed very many kindness on-us God gave

17. se asi babo yʌk alo be ɬʌ brʌ uale, xo ɬʌ minji
that our father one was we three brothers were, but three between

18. tepi. leŋõ merabani te se du leŗe hine mʌ gʰʌnero hino.
now this-like kindness do that two young are I elder am

19. tʌ wʌxtã tʌnu mʌrʌsʌ ne-hale. tepe xo šokure nam be ta nom
that time own help not-able now but thanks name ? ? ?

20. rasa de sere rene. kačo bio balo bi pionane. pionane mʌsʌd
? ? ? ? bad also good also know know ?

21. lʌnɛ oyo se bohage. bio se dʌoram kodɨ kʌloi ter ɪbi
this-like ? that days-spent also that time days that passed ?

22. de. tʌse diõ pʌt kyaŋi neŗo šʌi teyõ. se hʌrgʌ dɪhɛrilo
was our days after ? there-like work did that anything left

23. beyewo lʌde dui some betene. dui some yãm beṭene lade
became here other country set-in other country are sat here

24. biṭe bɪṭʌno čaṭo ʌtyate sʌrʌ rʌhme sʌrʌ. bʌyd čʌlye satanu čʌluke
sat sit very carefully with kind with ? passed own passed

25. bage bio tʌpu-ke bi pak sʌnjʌwʌl tiye, mʌxsʌd sẽ bage
days also now-? we always compare do, meaning that days

26. kudɪ-kale tini bio limibi, čʌṭi tʌpʌ wateni tʌɣir bio tʌp
which-were our these days, very now area different and now

27. dilimežio. xo mʌtlʌb lʌhe noyõ šukuro hɪnu tʌfɪl, čor panj pʊł tʊm
? but means this is thanks are ? four five sons ?

28. babo se me brʌ hino. čor panj mi hene leŋo merabani
father that my brother are four five my are this-like kindness

29. teyõ le gʌnebile bo.
did that grow-up became

Free Translation

It was like this one time, at that time I was young. I went with my father and goats to the meadows. One or two thieves came, two thieves came, it was

like this. My father caught one of them. The goats were coming. My father caught one man. The other man said that he should let that man go free. He shot and killed my father with his gun. After he died, I left that place. I left the livestock. There were some wood-cutters that I called to. I called to them (and said) that my father was killed. They sent a message to my home. The message was given in my home. People from my home got the body and buried it. I left my goats and livestock alone in the meadow. It was like this at that time, when I was young. I could not go to my goats and could not go to my farming. If I do farming, then I cannot go to the meadows. If I go to the meadows, I cannot care for my home. A time like this came upon us. After that it was the kindness of God, I gave myself to the name and kindness of God. Our father was one and we are three brothers, but there are three of us now. This is the kindness that two are younger and I am the elder. At that time we were not able to help ourselves. But now, thankfully, ?. We are able to know what is good and bad. We have spent the days like this. Such is the way we spent our days. After those days we did work. We left everything and came here and we sit in another country. We are sitting here in another country, we are careful and grateful. If we compare the days passed with the present days, I mean the the way things were and these days, there is a great difference in our area. We are thankful my brother has four or five sons. I have four or five who are kind, they have grown up.

Appendix C.5 Kalasha text

KALASHA, KRAKAL (BUMBORET VALLEY)

Dog Bite Story

1. ɑ goṣt-unɑ pɑi ɑis. goṣt-unɑ pɑi ɑis ʧaṣa-ɛri doɑ
   I barn-to going was barn-to going was cheese-ADJ package

2. oɪnɪm-dɑi gʰoi. tɑrɑo šõã. wɑwɑ ɑ-ɑw. wɑwɑ ɑ-ɑw
   bring-ing saying there dog grandfather came-he grandfather came-he

3. e, šõã ɑgri-s. ɑ ɑgri-s. se šõã mɑi ɑbrɑl-ɑw. ɑbrɑl-ɑw
   when, dog grabbed-I I grabbed-I that dog me bit-he bit-he

4. e wɑwo pɑi dukur-ɑy ɑt-ɑw. dukur-ɑy ɑt-ɑw e ɑ to
   when grandfather go shed-in at-he shed-in at-he when I that

5. šõã gri, tɑrɑ ni ɑbon-is. ɑbon-is e, tɑrɑ ɑpɑw-pr-ɑw.
   dog grab, there taking tied-I tied-I when, there rest-put-he

6. wɑwo pɑi dukur-ɑy nisɑ-ɑw. nisɑ-ɑw e, šõã bonio
   grandfather going shed-in sat-he sat-he when, dog tied

7. šõã-ɑs p-ɑ˙. p-ɑ˙. sɪzɑyɑ hɑw-ɑw. ɛk gʰʌnta šõã
   dog-DAT hit-I hit-I unconscious became-he one hour dog

8. bɪlkul ɑḍuḍ-ɑw. ɛk gʰʌnt-ɑni šõã ušti ʌndiaḷ-ɑy jʌgɑ-ɑw.
   completely slept-he one hour-from dog get-up around-in looked-he

9. ʌndiɑl-ɑy jʌgɑyɑ-i, mɑy lui drʌžn-imɑn ɑšis, mɑi to lui
   around-in looking-did, my blood come-out-ing was, my that blood

10. ɑpɑš-ɑw. pɑši se šõã lɑč-unɑ ɑpɑw-pr-ɑw. ɑpɑw-pr-ɑw, e ɑ
    saw-he seeing that dog shame-in rest-put-he rest-put-he, when I

11. trupɑi ɑu oni pr-ɑ tɑsɑ ɑu oni tɑsɑ pr-ɑ. ɑu
    hurting food bringing gave-I to-him food bringing to-him gave-I food

12. ni ɑš-ɑw ɑde wɑt. nɪ ɑš-ɑw e, ɑ gɪri tɑrɑ hɑi pr-ɑ
    take eat-he long time take ate-he when, I again there taking gave-he

13. pr-ɑ bo wɑt-ɑno ɑš-ɑw to ɑu ɑš-ɑw e, tɑḷ-ey tɑro
    gave-he much time-for ate-he that food ate-he when, there-from there

14. pɑi wɑwɑ kɑy mɑy mɑy šõã ɑbrɑl-ɑw goi tɑsɑ sum mon
    go-to grandfather to me my dog bite-he told him with talk

15. pr-a mon pr-a e, se au žui, may baza abon-ime. baza
gave-I talk gave-I when, that food eat, my arm tied-we arm

16. aboni a p^{h}ato č^{h}ak pr-aw e ʈaʂa astɪgi o-mi. ita
tie I then shadow put-he when cheese bearing came-we come

17. gromo nɪ ita, učaw ašis. učaw-na ʈaʂa
village taking come, Uchaw-festival it-was Uchaw-festival-in cheese

18. aš-imi ʈaʂa maʂa žui rat nat arʌn. labɐ̨
were-we cheese etc eat night dance did-this play-music

19. haw-ʌn. maia baza trupai labɐ̨ ne aba-is. pura rat
happened-they my arm hurting play-music not able-I all night

20. moč učaw luž-una ža učaw ar-an. pruš
people Uchaw-festival morning-to until Uchaw-festival did-they good

21. nat aran kalaša moč. ao may baza trupa-aw. ao pura
dancing did-they Kalasha people I my arm hurt-it I all

22. rat baza trupai nat karik ne aba-is. učaw nasi
night arm hurting dance do not able-I Uchaw-festival ?

23. drʌʐn-aw. šasami la baya.
emerge-it it dear brother

Free Translation

I was going to the barn. I was going to the barn thinking that I would bring the cheese. There was a dog there. Grandfather came. When grandfather came, I grabbed the dog. I grabbed (him). That dog bit me. When he bit, grandfather went into the shed. When he went into the shed, I grabbed the dog, took him there and tied him. When I tied him, there he stayed. Grandfather sat down in the shed. When grandfather sat down, I tied the dog and beat him. I beat him. He passed out. The dog slept for a whole hour. After an hour the dog got up and looked around. Looking around, I was bleeding, he saw my blood. Seeing that, the dog was ashamed. He remained silent, then I, hurting, brought and gave him food. I brought him food. He ate for a long while. When he took and ate, again and again I gave food and he ate a long time. When he ate the food, I went from there and told grandfather that my dog had bitten me. I told him, he ate the food, and we bandaged my arm. I bandaged my arm then at sunset we brought the cheese. I came to the village taking (the cheese), and it was Uchaw festival. Feasting, they danced through the night. They played music. My arm was hurting so I was not able to play music. All night, until

morning, the people celebrated the Uchaw festival. The Kalasha people danced well. As for me, my arm was hurting me. As for me, all night my arm was hurting and I could not dance. That's how the Uchaw festival was. That's it dear brother.

Appendix C.6 Dameli text

DAMELI, ASPAR

A Trip Over Lowari Pass

1. ɑyɑ tʌ pexʌwʌr ɑgem. pexʌwʌrʌ tʌrʌ skul mʌ tri. ley wʌx
here at Peshawar I-came Peshawar there school my three much time

2. bʌi tʌrʌ. nɑt͡sʌp bimɑr bom. bimɑr bʌi trʌ tʌ wʌpʌs
LOC there suddenly sick became sick became there at return

3. mʌrgʌri mũ giyʌ ɑge giyʌ t͡si lʌwori ṭʌp wie bumɑ. lʌwori
companion my bring came bring ? lowari top there became Lowari

4. ṭʌpʌ mʌrgʌri mili gɑḍi tʌ nʌgumʌ. nʌgi
Top companion together-with streams at arrived from-there-on-foot

5. wɑpʌs rɑt͡si binɑ fʌn tʌ bʌrfikɪ prʌžʌrmʌ. nimɑ fʌn tʌ
return from-there fear path on ice sick-became half way on

6. prʌžʌri. pre mʌrgʌri tʌ mɑšʌ xʌbʌrẽ-ki grʌm bʌi ɑgʌ. ɑi
sick start companion at people to-give-news village LOC came I

7. bʌ tʌrʌ dui žʌn prʌžʌrisʌn. otinumʌ. oti ek trʌki
became there two people had-become-sick I-got-up ? one old

8. ḍokri yɑn nʌtinumʌ. nʌti trʌ ret nʌt͡sʌp bʌš pre
cottage inside went-inside inside three night suddenly rain at-that-time

9. kir nʌgʌ. kir prʌi ɑmʌ bʌn-koriyʌ. bʌn-kori prʌi
snow fall-down snow at-that-time we blocked blocked at-that-time

10. ʌŋgʌr kori mʌ gʌni dʌro-ki bɑrʌn nesomʌ. nesi kir nʌm
fire did my wood bring-do outside went-out gone-out snow ?

11. mʌ-tʌ kʌti, dʌšʌmʌ te ị̃č̣ nʌm sã kɑṇ ɑt͡sɪm-bʌ. kɑṇ
here-there looking, saw then bear ? its sound came sound

12. ɑt͡sɪm-bʌ. te pre bine bertʌ ɑnɑti koki-numʌ. koki
came then at-that-time afraid returned inside lay-down sleep

13. zʌmʌn bɑ-te. berfʌki bɑrɑn nesomʌ. bɑrɑn nesomʌ te ɪte
little has-become snow outside went-out outside went-out then ?

14. ki ị̃č̣ nʌm sã ʌwʌs ɑt͡sembʌ. te k^{y}ɑ ɑn nʌti šʌlɑ
to bear ? whose sound came then to ? inside cold

15. roštʌli ṭuṭuki rãzem. rãzi nim-ret bui-tʌi grʌm tʌ
night-time ? shivering shivering midnight shouting village of

16. maš agen at͡si. prei te agen te ai te rohʌ-bumʌ.
people arrived come at-that-time of arrived of I of became-healthy

17. sek mʌ mʌrgiri keratʌ se bimar bʌ. bimar bʌ
next my companion who he sick became sick became

18. tʌstʌ-leḍʌ kuremʌ. ai bʌs piadʌl yede mile nimai
carried-on-back did I slowly on-foot go together-with half

19. fantʌ bi prʌžʌrum prʌžʌri tʌrʌ tʌ mu bʌ tʌ leḍʌ kormʌ.
the-way on sick-became sick there from I ? of load did

20. leḍʌ kori gigɛ akeṭi tʌni ben tʌnʌ webomʌ. tʌnʌ
load did brought together-with in-this-way forest place arrived place

21. webʌi. prei kiyʌ bʌ tʌni ye dʌdi-sʌ tuni
arrived at-that-time which became in-this-way this parents their-own

22. bra-su wʌtʌn tʌ mas sʌti. šumo xʌn tʌ bertʌ gigɛn
brothers country of people gathered Shumo Khan of returned brought

23. tʌnʌ. prei gingi wegemʌ. gingi wewa dʌčima le maš
place at-that-time ? ? ? ? saw many people

24. tʌrʌ aŋgar ko nisʌn weči. tʌrʌ tʌ bon ye-de malogušʌ
there fire did sat ? there from below gone-having Malogusha

25. ki webuma. malogušʌ ki we tʌrʌ kʌnʌ maš tʌrʌ
to arrived Malogusha to arrived there amount people there

26. sotun. tʌrʌ far ye-de^{h} ma ek žami-tatʌ tʌ suna čai
gathered there after gone-having my one in-laws-parents of ? tea

27. pinuma. čai pinuma far ye-de^{h} tʌrʌ tʌ tame piadʌle
drank tea drank after gone-having there from their-own by-foot

28. tunʌgi. p^{h}ar ye-de^{h} dʌčinumʌ. pre tʌnʌ tʌrʌ
going-down after gone-having looking-around from-then place there

29. ti ek kʌti mudʌ bʌi-te rohbuma bertʌ. rohobɛr
were one how-much days later feeling-better returned feeling-better

30. trʌ mʌs bʌi se mʌnorʌ pre mu ki kowʌ koryʌn.
three months LOC it between from-then me to engagement did

31. kowʌ kori tʌrʌ te se kowʌ mʌnorʌ ti čor mʌs
engagement did there of it engagement between were four months

32. bʌs. bɛrtʌ ɑrewɑn pexʌwʌr we pexʌwʌre tʌ eskulʌ dʌxelʌ
that's-all returned ? Peshawar ? Peshawar at school admission

33. korʌm. dʌxelʌ kori eskul mʌtri tɑkribʌn pɑnč mʌs bʌs
did admission done school read about five months that's-all

34. ɪmtehɑn prʌtemʌ. ɪmtehɑnʌ pre ɪmtehɑnʌ pɑs bʌi
examination given examination given examination passed became

35. sʌrṭifikeṭ gi a͡tsi bertʌ ɑgemʌ.
certificate took ? return came

Free Translation

I came here to Peshawar. I was there at school three...there for a long time. Suddenly I became sick. When I became sick I prepared to travel with my companion back there. Bringing our things we arrived at Lowari Top. I arrived at the streams at Lowari Top with my companion. We turned back due to fear of the ice on the path and I became sick. When we were halfway I became sick. My companion had to go to the people at the village to tell them to come. When I got there two people had become sick. I got up. I went up to go into an old cottage. We stayed inside for three nights when suddenly the rain turned to snow falling down. When the snow started we were blocked in. Being blocked in I needed to bring wood and make a fire. I went outside. I went outside in the snow and was looking around, I saw a bear and I heard it. I heard it. Then I became afraid and went back inside and lay down. I slept a little while. I went outside in the snow. Then I went out looking(?) for the bear I heard. At night-time it became cold inside, we were shivering. Shivering at midnight, I heard the shouting of the people from the village as they came. When they arrived I became healthy. Next it was my companion who became sick. He became sick and was carried on the back. I went slowly on foot with them, half way there I became sick. Being sick, I was carried from there. I was brought on a back. In this way, going together, we arrived in the forest. We arrived in that place. In time we came to our own country, to our own people. Shumo Khan brought us back to that place. At that time ? we saw many people there sitting at a fire. Going down from there we arrived at Malogusha. When we arrived at Malogusha there were some people gathered there. Having gone there I drank tea with my in-laws. After drinking tea, going down from there, they went by foot. As we were going down we were looking around. Then, at that place, after many days our health returned. I had been feeling better for three months when I became engaged. I got engaged there and was engaged for four months, that's

all. I returned to Peshawar. At Peshawar I got admitted into school. Having been admitted to school, I studied for about five months, that's all, then the examination was given. The examination was given and I passed the examination and got a certificate, then I returned.

Appendix C.7 Eastern Kativiri text

EASTERN KATIVIRI, BARGROMATAL (AFGHANISTAN)

War in Nuristan

1. ĩstʌ mʊtʰɨstʊkʰ sɛrguzɛšt. ɛ zor ǰe nusʌtʰɛ
   my short story-my-happened one thousand and nine-hundred

2. tɛrɛtsoʂtits risʌvi sɛtɑ̃ kɑ vʌltʌče komunistono dɑod
   seventy-eight since-Jesus in-that-year which-is time-in communists Daud

3. psur kudetɔ kʌti. mɛrwor bʌduwi ɑwɛ̨tɑ ũts stɪvɪltʰɑ
   against overthrew did kings-rule in-hand having-taken me in-that-time

4. kɑbʊl ɑfɣʌnistʌn ɪstɨ visɔret dɔxilʌ tʰʌ mɔmur ʌsiõm.
   Kabul Afghanistan for ministry interior in worker clerk

5. komʊnistono pimiš ʌtsɪstɛ mɛ̃ ʌmikio mɛ̃ ziri ɛpʊr ni ɛsistɛ
   communist control coming with them with heart united not have

6. bʌdʸuk. ũts kudʸum pɑtɪti. ĩstɨ tot wo gul tɑ nũrɪstɑn
   for-that me work left my father grandfathers area into Nuristan

7. ɑʸosõm. ʌtkidi komunist hɔkumʌt tɑ tɛti. ũts
   came there-is-also communist givernment into for-that me

8. nʌlusʌ gulɨ pɑtɛti pɑkistɑn guʷosom. ostɨ psɛ̃ siptɛmbʌr
   for-this-reason area left Pakistan went that year September

9. mos ɪstɨ oxɛri wɛl tʌ ãts imũ gul tɑ ǰɪhɑd obǰiti
   month at end time in-was me our area in-was holy-war began

10. pʌlɛkʌ bugul ɑʸosũm. imu bugul ĩškutumbo komunist hɔkumʌt
    again in-area came our area-in I-saw communist government

11. pɔrɪstɑ̃ bʌluk dɨgʌrwʌr bisio. bʌluk tɑ̨ɛmu ǰe kruǰe
    from-that alot bad-things happened alot houses and farms

12. bɑmbori kʌti nʌšisiʌ. bʌlʸuk mʌnšɪ di ǰĩisiʌ. kʌlɨ di
    by-bombing did layed-down alot people also were-killed war also

13. ʌstɨpiʌl bʌluk kʌr̨wo kʌti ʌsio. un di ɪmustɨ muǰɑhɑdin
    like-that alot powerful did was me also our freedom-fighters

14. mɛ ɛ̨por bosɪm. imu ɛrŋɛ brɑso wʌr kʌti. ɛmkʸo mɛ
    with joined did we together brothers like did them with

15. š^{y}osɨmɪš ʌtk^{y}u stɪǰɑ^{i}tɑmi i bʌl^{y}uk brɑso itɑũ šɑhid
fighting there in-that-place me alot brothers in-front-of-me martyred

16. bulɨ vʌreʌ̃. imu šu mɑsɑ pturẹ ʌmk^{y}o mɛ̃ kʌlɨ
happening I-saw we six months continuously them with fighting

17. k^{h}ʌti. ptɪwɛrɪk ʌmki nurɪstɑn stʌ nuksɛʌ. imustʌ gul ʌmk^{y}õ
doing in-the-end they Nuristan from pushed-out our area them

18. tɑstɑ̣̃ wʌŋtɑ.
from-then we-took

Free Translation

This is my short story. In 1978 the communists overthrew Daud. At the time when they had taken control of the kingdom I was working for the Interior Ministry in Kabul, Afghanistan as a clerk. I did not have the heart to join with the communists when they had taken control. I left my work. I went to Nuristan, the land of my fathers and grandfathers. The Communist government was there also. For this reason I left the area and went to Pakistan. In the end of September of that year I was back in our area again when the Holy war came to our area. In our area I saw that the communist government had done many bad things. Many houses and farms were knocked down by bombing. Many people were also killed. There had been alot of serious fighting. I also joined with the freedom fighters. We were like brothers. I was fighting with them there in that place, I saw many of my brothers martyred in front of me. We were fighting them continuously for six months. In the end they were pushed out of Nuristan. We took our area from them.

Appendix C.8 Shekhani text

SHEKHANI, LANGORBAT

Recovery from Gunshot Wound

1. itʌ dušmʌni oši ɑkise gɑdiã pɑšiŋger gom. pɑšiŋger sʌ
   my enemy came from-there went Pashangar went Pashangar from

2. dušmʌn ɑti kise ɑti. tʌpke wenom tʌpke widi osʌm de-yʌm
   enemy came there came gun shot gun fired ? hit-me

3. sʌndem. tosʌ hɑ kɪseõ moṭʌr ḍʌṭsʌn tʌ pɑṇledi. ɑrnu
   ? ? ? from-there car Datsun in climbed Arandu

4. ʌromnu su čʌtrɑl bʌm. čʌtrɑl hɑspɪtɑl tɑ tre wɑz bestʌr
   carried from Chitral arrived Chitral hospital in three days on-bed

5. ʌzim. bestʌr tʌsʌ bɑd ʌki es ilɑj ni bo. ni bito
   laying bed ? after there ? health not became not became

6. ɑkɪsie hʌŋgiɑ ḍɑkṭʌr ɑ pexʌwʌr ni meyʌm. pexʌwʌr ʌspʌtɑl tʌ
   there treatment(?) doctor I Peshawar ? sent Peshawar hospital to

7. ãki bestʌr bom bestʌr te ʌprešʌn kɑm. ʌprešʌn toso bɑd
   me bed arrived bed from operation did operation from after

8. ondi pɑmonʌ miom. ʌŋgio pʌmo ɑti. e moz bo
   ? to-home sent from-there home came one month became

9. moz bide ɑkise čime di čʌtrɑl gom čʌtrɑl sʌ ǰɑz sɑ
   month past there-from then ? Chitral went Chitral from airplane on

10. ṭikʌṭ ni nʌzem-zɑ. tikʌṭ ni bɑki ṭikʌṭ ni bito wɑpʌs bi.
    ticket not obtain ticket not became ticket not became back went

11. moṭʌr tʌ ǰeli dir gom ɑkise čime pexɑwʌr gom. dir se
    car to rode Dir went there-from then Peshawar went Dir from

12. gɪdi pexwʌr pʌɑm. pexɑwʌr pʌɑm ɑkise gedi ʌspʌtɑl tʌ
    went Peshawar reached Peshawar reached from-there went hospital to

13. gom. ʌspʌtɑl tʌ gedi e moz bestʌr bom. bestʌr tʌ se bɑd
    went hospital at went one month bed became bed in from after

14. ʌki se di ɑprešʌn kɑiki. ʌprešʌn ti ã lesʌ bom lesʌ
    me from ? operation did operation from my good became good

15. bibi ɛk^{h}i e moz boĩ. e moz tʌsʌ badõ wɪdip
had-become one-of one month became one month ? after ?

16. pamonʌ meyomo pamoa tidi. drʌwis ʌspʌtal dʌ̃ hiyumẽ ji pʌṭai
to-home sent home ? Drosh hospital ? ? ? bandage

17. konazim pʌṭai konazim. inšal'a lesʌ drʌwis ʌ̃ derʌzʌm.
was-doing bandage was-doing Allah-willing good Drosh I here-stay

18. makɪɻɛ dɛra-beɻea har prʌčʌl bʌr gedi ʌspɪtal, drʌwis ʌspʌtʌl
? ? every morning down going hospital, Drosh hospital

19. tʌ gedi pʌṭai konʌm sʊrʊ. ḍʌktʌre ine hɪdayʌt prošɑ ʌči alʌŋo
to going dressing doing ? doctor this advice ? ? heavy

20. kodim na-ši sʊra. alʌŋgo kodem toyẽ nuksan azĩ. ɛ se tʌ
work not-do ? heavy work for-me danger is one year to

21. wikʌ to sʊrʊ karu latri nayo rʌsʊmo. ni sʊrʊ hʌr gʌjʌr gɪdi se
up-to ? ? hard thing not eat ? ? every day went from

22. bʌrɨ gedi pʌṭʌi konum. nʌmas inšal'a stuge pʌšik
down go bandage do now Allah-willing ? ?

23. olesʌm.
well-become

Free Translation

My enemy came when I went to Pashangar. My enemy is from Pashangar, and I came there. He had a gun and fired and I was hit by him. I was taken from there in a Datsun. I was taken from Arandu to Chitral. I was in Chitral hospital laying in bed for three days. After being(?) in bed I did not get healthy. Treatment was not available so the doctor sent me to Peshawar. I got a bed in Peshawar hospital and had an operation. After the operation they sent me to home. From there I came home. After one month I went to Chitral. But I could not get an airplane ticket from Chitral. When I could not get a ticket I went back. I rode in a car to Dir then from there to Peshawar. From Dir I went to Peshawar. When I arrived in Peshawar I went to the hospital. At the hospital I was in bed for one month. After being in bed I had an operation. As a result of the operation, I became well after one month. After one month I was sent home. I went to Drosh Hospital to have my bandages changed. As Allah wills, it is good that I am staying here in Drosh. For this(?) every morning I am going to the hospital, (I am going to) Drosh Hospital to have the bandages changed. The doctor advised me to not do any heavy labor. Heavy work is dangerous for me.

For one year I am not to eat hard things. Every day I am going to have my bandages changed. Now, Allah willing, I will be healthy.

Appendix C.9 Gawar-Bati text

GAWAR-BATI, ARANDU

Difficulties in Arandu

1. monʌ nam osman tʰʌnʌ. ɑ ɑrɑndu ɑnʌ tɑsil ɑnɨ tʰenem droš
   my name Usman is I Arandu from *tehsil* from am Drosh

2. ɑnɑ čʌtral ɑnɨ zilɑ ɑnɨ tʰinem. digʌr bo ɑ bikili
   from Chitral from District from am afternoon became I field

3. ɑnke dibom. ɑw yʌk-dʌm orusʌnɑ jɑz ɑyɨ ɑw bʌs bʌmbɑri
   to went and suddenly Russian jet came and ? bombardment

4. kerus. bɑmbɑre nɨ pʌtɑi gɪri rɑzɑ, neyɽ yʌk ɖɑt͡sun du
   did bombardment from after then ? near one Datsun two

5. ɖɑt͡sun, ɑw gul sʌmbʌrʌ nɨ bɑbes mir bo šɑhid bo.
   Datsun, and Gul Sambar POSS father dead became martyr became

6. gɪri du bɑgɨ pʌtʌi lʌwʌs ʌnki di-bɑmbom. pʌn-tʌ gʌlʌṭɑkɑ monɛš
   then two days after Drosh to go-? road-on kalkatak ?

7. bɑgɑⁱ. bʌgʌ nɨ pʌtʌi rot͡sɑ šo bʌjʌ monɑ lʌkʌ tɪmbɑgɑrʌ
   night night from after morning six o'clock my such-as ?

8. swɪre ke gɪri ǰʌz unɑɛ ɛt bɑmbɑri kerus. bɑmbɑri
   Suwir to again jet brought here bombardment did bombardment

9. ɑnɨ pʌtʌi gɪri bɑš zʌn šo šegɑli boi ɑw šo zʌn bo
   from after again twelve men six women were and six men were

10. bɑš zɑn miri ɑw išot͡sur zɑn zɑxme bo. pʌtʌi gɪri sɑnʌ
    twelve men died and twenty-four men injured were after next that

11. ɪfɑzʌt ʌnki ziyɑ seb bi ɑyo. ɑo pʌtʌi gɪri podʌme ǰonejo
    defend to Zia sahib also came and next then first Junejo

12. seb bi ǰi bo. pʌti gɪrʌn bɑmbɑri ɑnʌ mene pʌtɑⁱ
    sahib also came was then ? bombardment brought ? after

13. gɪri ɑčɪ lʌwõs ɑlɑvi gæm bo. ʌmɨ nʌ lɑmo bɪrikoṭɑ neɽʌi
    again ? Drosh ? wound were we from village Barikot near

14. šemɑnɑ lɑm tʰʌnʌ. ʌrʌndu nʌ neɽʌi bɪrikoṭɑ tʰʌnʌ. ɑw
    Shemana village is Arandu from near Barikot is and

15. bʌrikoʈa gɪri tɪni lʌo fɑwj̃^{y}ɑn bo. ɑw fɑwj̃^{y}ɑn yʌk kɑl bo
Barikot then there many soldiers were and soldiers one year were

16. ši lʌkʌ di wo gɑ sumɪ geʌt. nui ʌmɨ nʌ neɻʌi šiɑ
what such-as go this went all they-went now we from near ?

17. bɑrikoʈ woworeyʌ sə xlɑs bo. nui ʌmɨ bi dimek^{h} ɑw time bi
Barikot ? that free did now we also going and ? also

18. j̃imet. nui ɑ ʌrʌndu t^{h}inem ʌrʌndu ʌnʌ lɑwɑ̃s ʌnki j̃i.
come now I Arandu am Arandu from Drosh to came

19. p^{h}ʌtiɣʌn tɑnu ɬʌm kemem. ɬʌm ɑmʌ nʌ pʌtɑi monɨ mo
continue(?) own work doing work home from after my me

20. bʌlɛmɪm tɑnu blʌg ɑ boxɑri sɑz t^{h}enem. boxɑri sɑz nʌ
looking-after own nephew I stove maker am stove maker from

21. pɑdeš momɑn monɨ ɑmo podɑme ki ɬʌm ɑyo. tɑnu ɬʌm
learned(?) uncle mine home front-of LOC work he-came own work

22. kemem. wʌre bi ʌmʌ nʌ lɑm ki wo bo lʌo mɑnuš-ɑm
doing other also home of village LOC this are many men-OBL

23. šɑhid bo. mʌgʌr-ɑm bɑd tɪ wi-bwišɪ ʌmɑn ke lʌwɑ̃s ʌnki
martyrs became but-OBL after ? ? our to Drosh to

24. ʈʌn ɬɪmɑm bo. ʌmɑn ke lʌwɑ̃s ʌnki tæm nɛ ɬʌm bom. j̃oj̃
place give become our to Drosh to ? no work became ?

25. j̃ʌun či tɑnu lɑmɨ niši merimɑn bio ke dʌrimʌn bio. wɑre lʌkʌ
said ? own village set die be to live(?) be other such-as

26. misɑl tʌno ʌmɑ nɨ tʌno lɑmʌ nɨ tʌno wʌtʌnʌ nɨ hefɑzʌt ɑ ʌnki
example own home in own village in own country in defence I to

27. tine niši tinek. bʌs tɑno wʌtʌnʌ nɨ defɑ kemek.
there set watching(?) that's-all own country of defend doing

28. fʌn-tʌ bi lʌo mɑnuš lʌo bʌŋgʌrʌ-met, lʌkʌ fʌn-tʌ bi
road-on also many people much afraid, because road-on also

29. nɑšɑn t^{h}enɑ, kol ɑu j̃imɑn, kol mʌxrunɑn j̃imɑn, kol kɪj̃ɑ
bad is, when water comes, when fugitives come, when ?

30. j̃imɑn, ɑw kol o mʌgʌr mɑnuš-ɑm lʌo bʌŋgʌri sʌn
come, and when (pause) meaning people very frightened ?

31. dimɑn ɑo j̃imɑn. fʌn-tʌ mɑlum ni bimʌn mɑlum ni timʌn
going and coming road-on know not become know not is

32. pʌrʌzosɑ. pʌtʌi lʌkʌ ɪnsɑn lʌo mosibʌt lɑ, tʌklif nʌm
understrand after such-as life(?) much ? ? trouble ?

33. lʌri-met lʌwɑ̃s ʌnke ǰi, ɑw p^{h}ʌtiɣʌn ǰi, ɑw lʌkʌ ɪnsɑn mʌnuš
men(?) Drosh to go, and continue(?) go, and such life(?) people

34. łʌm bo-bo ǰimɑn bi nʌi. lʌkʌ p^{h}ʌn-tʌ lʌo sʌxtenɑm
work has-become(?) coming is not such-as road-on very difficult

35. tɪnɛm pʌrzosɑ. p^{h}ʌtiɣʌn bɑti wi-bwiši lʌkʌ, ɑmʌ lʌmɔ lʌo
is understand continue(?) talk ? such-as, our village very

36. sʌxtenɑm tɪnɛm. sʌxtenʌm mʌnǰe ʌmi niši tinek ɑw bʌs. ɑlʻɑh
hardness is difficulty with we sit are(?) and that's-all Allah

37. pɑk rizʌk łemɑn, tene pišimek ɑw žimek. pʌrzosɑ.
Holy food give, there drinking and eating understand

Free Translation

My name is Usman. I am from Arandu Tehsil, Drosh and Chitral District. One afternoon I went to the field. And suddenly a Russian jet came and bombed. From the bombing near a Datsun (pick-up truck), two Datsuns were damaged(?), and Gul Sambara's father died and became a martyr. Then after two nights I went to Drosh. On the way I stayed(?) in Kalkatak for night. After the night at six o'clock in the morning, I somehow(?) went to Suwir, again a jet came and bombed. After the bombing happened again, twelve men and six women and six men were...twelve men died and twenty-four men were injured. After that Mr. Zia came to defend us. And Mr. Junejo also came first. After the bombardment the wounded were taken(?) to Drosh. We are from a village near Barikot, it is Shemana village. Barikot is near Arandu. And then in Barikot there were many soldiers. The soldiers were there for one year, but(?) what, they all went away. Now ? Barikot is free. Now we going and coming. Now I am in Arandu, from Arandu I came to Drosh. I continue to do my own work. After working at home I apprenticed, I am a stove maker. I learned(?) stove making from my uncle, he came to work in front of my home. I do my own work. There were others in my home village, these many men became martyrs. But after this (?) we wanted a place (to stay) in Drosh. Our people went(?) to Drosh but there was no work. They said we sould stay in our own village whether we die or live. Other such examples are: To defend of our homes, our village, and our country I set watching. That's all, we defend our country. On the road also, many people are afraid, because the road is bad, when the water (floods) comes, when fugitives come, when ? come, and when ... I mean people

are very frightened, ? going and coming. They do not know if the road is clear or not. Furthermore, life is very hard(?), there is much trouble as men continue to go and come to Drosh, and such is life and how peoples work has become. That's the way it is, the road is very difficult. Do you understand? Continuing what I was saying, it is very difficult in our village. With difficulty we sit (exist), and that's all. Holy Allah gives food, there we are drinking and eating. Do you understand?

APPENDIX D
CHITRAL SURVEY SAMPLE QUESTIONNAIRE (ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS)

1. Name: Sex: M F

2. MT: Spouse's MT:

3. Age: a) 10-20 b) 20-30 c) 30-40 d) 40+

5. Your birthplace:

6. Father's MT: Mother's MT:

7. Do you have any relatives who have another first language?
   Who? What language?

8. Current residence:

9. Education:

10. What name(s) do you give your language?

11. How many people here speak your language?
    (village, *tehsil*, or district)
    a) a few c) almost everyone
    b) most d) everyone

12. Where are the nearest schools?
    primary secondary college
    12a. How many are being educated?
    Boys Girls

13. What language do the social/political leaders of your group speak in the following situations:
    13a. public speeches
    13b. among themselves
    13c. informally w/members of your community
    13d. w/members of other communities

14. What other lang. groups do you come in contact with most frequently?
    14a. What is the frequency of the contact?

15. What was the first language(s) that you learned to speak? If you learned more than one language simultaneously, which of them do you consider to be your MT?
    15a. Where/How did you learn the languages you know?

16. What other languages do you know?

17. What language feels easiest for you? (Or, what is your best language?)

18. What are the languages known to your parents?

19. What are the languages which your children:
    understand: speak:

20. What language(s) do you speak:
    at home with friends with neighbors
    20a. now:
    20b. in childhood:

21. Is the use of languages other than mother tongue increasing at home? Which language?
    If yes, what is responsible for it?
    e.g. a) necessary for better jobs
    b) necessary for (higher) education
    c) desire social status & prestige
    d) desire business/economic gains
    e) social pressure
    f) political pressure

22. How much do you speak _____ in your home?
    1. never 4. half the time (50%)
    2. rarely 5. most of the time (70-80%)
    3. sometimes (20-30%) 6. always

23. How much do women speak _____ in your home?
    1. never 4. half the time (50%)
    2. rarely 5. most of the time (70-80%)
    3. sometimes (20-30%) 6. always

24. What language do you usually use to speak to:
    a) your spouse
    b) your children
    c) your parents
    d) schoolteachers
    e) elders in your village
    f) market traders
    g) government officials
    h) your friends/peers
    i) those over you at work
    j) your fellow workers
    k) those under you at work
    l) religious leaders

25. What language do you most often speak when you are speaking to _____-speaking people?

26. What language is used in mosque for preaching?

27. What languages are used for instruction and at what levels?

28. Do the teachers in your schools belong to:
    a) your language group?
    b) other language groups? Which ones?

29. How useful do you think your language is for the following purposes?
    1) very 2) some 3) not at all
    29a. getting jobs
    29b. higher education
    29c. communication w/other communities
    29d. spreading your cultural & social values
    29e. creating a sense of unity among your community
    29f. integration w/other communities
    29g. other (specify)

30. Would you want your son to marry a _____-speaking girl?
    Why or why not?
    Would you want your daughter to marry a _____-speaking boy?
    Why or why not?

31. Which villages speak the same language as you, but it is slightly different?

32. What language is best to know if you want to find employment?

33. Where do they speak the purest/most impure MT?
    Purest Why? Impure Why?

34. When the children grow up, what language do you think they will speak the most?

35. Are there people here who don't use your language any more? How many?
    a) a few b) most c) almost everyone

36. Do people from here go to other places? Where? For how long?
    36a. What lang. do you use there?

37. How frequently do you listen to radio, television, or tape recorder and in which languages?

38. How often do you meet people from another village where your language is spoken? What language do you speak with them? Can you understand them?

39. Are there children with a different mother tongue attending the same school as your children? What language do they speak?

40. Do many of your people marry speakers of other languages? Which languages?
    40a. What language do they speak with their children?

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