

SOCIOLINGUISTIC SURVEY OF  
NORTHERN PAKISTAN  
VOLUME 1  
LANGUAGES OF KOHISTAN

# 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 1*

*Languages  
of  
Kohistan*

Calvin R. Rensch  
Sandra J. Decker  
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*National Institute of  
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*Summer Institute  
of  
Linguistics*



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## PREFACE

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

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

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

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



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

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

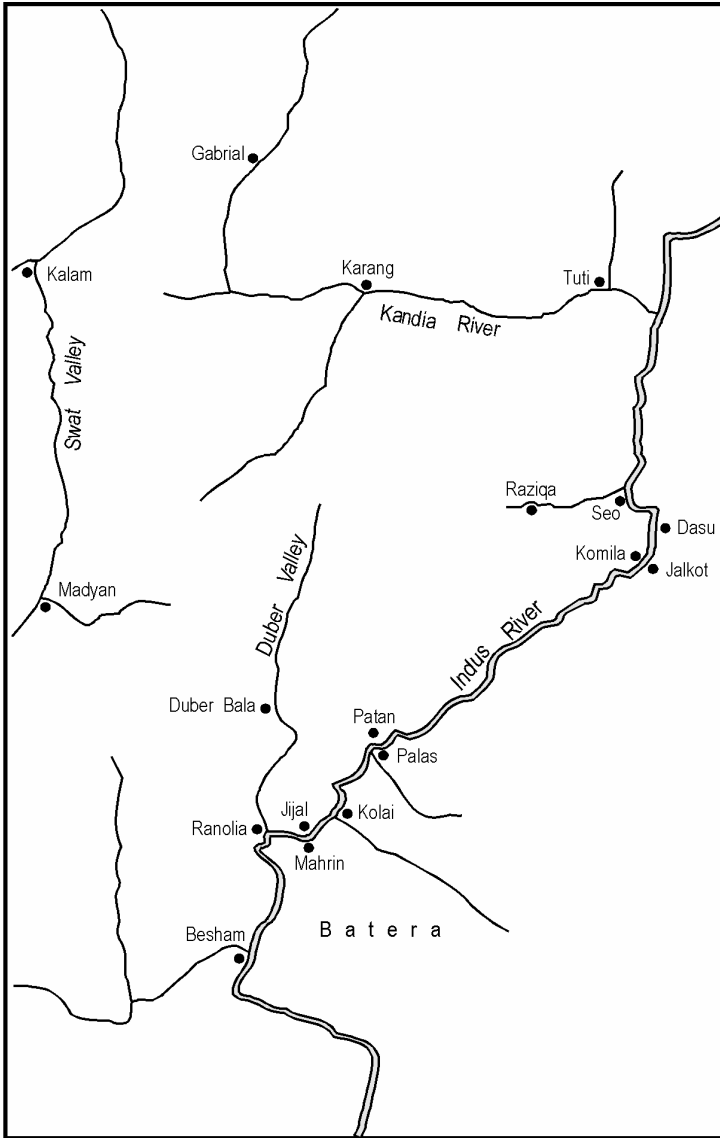
Work of such a magnitude is not possible without cooperation and devotion on the part of scholars and experts in this field. The National Institute of Pakistan Studies, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad acknowledges with gratitude the assistance and cooperation of many who helped the team to conduct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

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

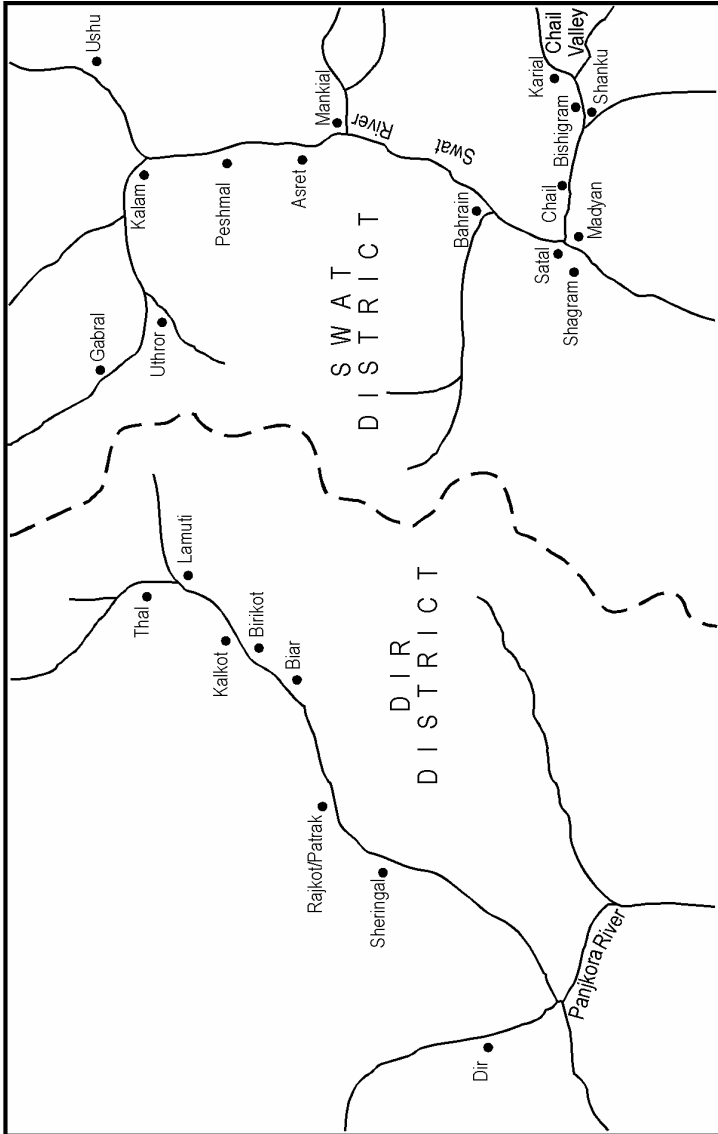
*Dr. Ghulam Hyder Sindhi*  
*Director*  
*National Institute of Pakistan Studies*  
*Quaid-i-Azam University*  
*Islamabad, Pakistan*



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



MAP 2. NWFP: Reference map for Indus Kohistan.



MAP 3. NWFP: Reference map for Swat and Dir Kohistani and Ushojo.

## 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 Wañeci. Others are from the Southeastern Iranian Pamir subgroup: Wakhi and Yidgha. Ormuři 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 wholistic 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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Calvin R. Rensch

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Daniel G. Hallberg

July 1992



PATTERNS OF LANGUAGE USE  
AMONG THE KOHISTANIS OF THE SWAT  
VALLEY





# **PATTERNS OF LANGUAGE USE AMONG THE KOHISTANIS OF THE SWAT VALLEY**

*Calvin R. Rensch*

## **1. Setting**

Northern Pakistan is justly famous as a mountainous area where the Hindu Kush, the Himalayas and the Karakorams form a knot. At the southern edge of that mountain mass, about equidistant between the eastern and western borders of Pakistan, lies a region popularly called Kohistan — a Land of Mountains. This area includes the upper valleys of the Swat and Panjkora Rivers and the valley of the Indus as it turns finally southward in its rush toward the plains.

Kohistan is the home of several ethnic groups. The predominant group is the Kohistani people, who speak a variety of dialects and languages, sometimes given distinct local names but often called simply Kohistani.

These Kohistani dialects were said by Grierson to be part of a sub-group of the Indo-European family of languages called Dardic. Grierson (LSI VIII.2:7-8) states that “the Dardic languages possess many characteristics which are peculiar to themselves, while in some other respects they agree with Indo-Aryan, and in yet other respects with Eranian languages.” This Dardic group is said to form a linguistic link between the Indic languages, which are located largely to the east, and the Iranian languages, located largely to the west. In Grierson’s arrangement the Kohistani languages are linked in the Dardic group with Shina and Kashmiri and more distantly with Khowar and some languages of lower Chitral and Nuristan (LSI VIII.2:2).

Morgenstierne, however, doubts the distinctiveness of the Dardic grouping and would group these languages with the Indic languages to the east. He states (1961 quoted in Strand [1973:298]) that, “There is not a single common feature distinguishing Dardic, as a whole, from the rest of the IA languages ... Dardic is simply a convenient term to denote a bundle of aberrant IA hill languages.” In this view he is followed by most recent scholars, such as Gerard Fussman (1972:12), Ruth Laila Schmidt (1983:17), and Richard Strand (1973:297)

A third position is taken by Kachru (1969:286) and Zograph (1982:113-15), who feel that a lack of information about the languages involved makes it premature to make such classificatory judgments.

This study focuses especially on language use in the Swat Valley — and tangentially the upper Panjkora Valley, or *Dir Kohistan* — as opposed to the Indus Valley to the east, where a number of related linguistic varieties are spoken<sup>1</sup>. Within the Swat Valley it focuses on the Kohistani-speaking communities as opposed to their Pashto-, Gujari- or Khowar-speaking neighbors.

Others have written about some aspects of the structure of these languages and of their historical development within the Indo-Iranian branch of the Indo-European languages. Many involved in these descriptive and historical studies agree that much remains to be done.<sup>2</sup> It is the purpose of this study, however, to focus on sociolinguistic issues rather than on language description and history.

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<sup>1</sup> See Hallberg, this volume.

<sup>2</sup> “The writer ... proposes to invite attention of our learned scholars to the great need of studying the languages of this country. Arabic and Persian, being the repositories of the common cultural heritage of Pakistan, would continue to be studied by the Pakistani scholars. But the languages spoken by our own people, being the primary media for expressing their thoughts and feelings, provide the basis for our rich cultural variety and the very foundation of our national literature. Of these languages, the less known dialects need our special attention because of their philological and anthropological importance in the local folklore and literature.” (Baloch 1966:45).

Commenting more specifically on the need for further research into the Dardic and Nuristani languages, Strand (1973:304) warns that “our knowledge of the Dardic and Nuristani languages is certainly in a retarded state.”

The Swat Valley is located in District Swat in the northern part of North-West Frontier Province (map 3). The valley can be divided both geographically and ethnically into Swat Kohistan and the remainder of the valley. The broad, more gently sloping lower part of the valley is populated almost entirely by Pashto-speaking people. The sizable village of Madyan can be considered as the upper limit of this lower part of the valley. The more rugged and narrow upper section of the valley is the home of the Kohistani people.

The upper valley of the Swat River is roughly Y-shaped with one stream coming from the west and joining at Kalam town with another coming from the northeast and flowing southward to the lower valley. Meltwater from the nearby snow-capped peaks, which feeds the Swat River, supplies the extensive system of irrigation canals that support agriculture in the narrow river valley, on terraces on the mountain slopes, and plateaus overlooking the river.

## 2. Mother Tongues

The Kohistani spoken in the Swat and Dir valleys is characterized by considerable dialect differentiation.<sup>3</sup> In general, however, the linguistic varieties at the southern end of Swat Kohistan, called Torwali, are quite distinct from those spoken in the northern end and in some communities in Dir Kohistan. The spoken dialects of this northern group do not have a commonly recognized name. They were called *Garwi* by Grierson (LSI VIII.2:3). The similar terms *Garwa*, *Gaawro*, *Gowri* have also been used, but such terms are regarded by some speakers as pejorative. They seem to prefer to call their language simply *Kohistani*, or more commonly *Kohistana*. The dialects of this area were called *Bashgharik* by Biddulph (1880:158) and *Bashkarik* by Morgenstierne (1940:106). However, research in the course of the present study follows that of Barth (1956:52),

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<sup>3</sup> Grierson (LSI VIII.2:507), in discussing the various dialects of Kohistani, put it this way: "They are all closely connected together, and have numerous dialects, almost every little side-valley possessing its peculiar 'jib'."

who found that the speakers “were unfamiliar with this term as applied to themselves, insisting it means ... a Chitrali.” In this study these speech forms will be called *Kalami Kohistani*, a term which seems to be acceptable to the speakers themselves and makes reference to the principal town where the linguistic variety is spoken.

## 2.1 Kalami/Dir Kohistani

The communities where Kalami is spoken usually also include other linguistic groups, such as speakers of Pashto, Gujar, Khovar or other Kohistani languages. However, the Kalami speakers are usually in the majority. Dialects of Kalami are spoken by all the Kohistani clans of Kalam *tehsil* and also in Thal, Lamuti, Biar, and Birikot villages in Dir Kohistan (map 3). Comparison of word lists, observation of interaction between speakers of these varieties and their personal testimonials all indicate that the minor phonological and lexical differences that distinguish these varieties of Kalami do not hinder communication in any significant way.<sup>4</sup>

The variety spoken in Rajkot/Patruk,<sup>5</sup> the western-most village in Dir Kohistan, while generally considered to be allied to Kalami, seems to differ more substantially than other local varieties of that language. Comparison of word lists, as well as personal reports from inhabitants of Dir Kohistan, indicate that there are enough lexical and pronunciation differences in Rajkoti to make it difficult for unfamiliar speakers of other Kalami varieties to understand.

*Dashwa* is a dialect spoken by some members of the Akarkhel clan in Kalam *tehsil*.<sup>6</sup> In general, members of that clan

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<sup>4</sup> Reflecting his experience with a few speakers of the language here termed Kalami, Morgenstierne concluded that “Bashkarik appears to be uniform, and without any important sub-dialects.” (1940:208).

<sup>5</sup> *Rajkot* is the traditional name for this village, but in recent times it is more commonly referred to as *Patruk*, a name given by the majority Pashtoons in the area.

<sup>6</sup> Members of this clan report that they originally came to Kalam from Rajkot/Patruk in Dir Kohistan. Investigation in the course of the present survey found no current references to *Dashwa* within Rajkot/Patruk.

seem to have assimilated their speech to that of the majority, although individuals do allude to certain speech forms that are distinctive.

The linguistic variety spoken in the village of Kalkot in Dir Kohistan seems to be quite distinct from that spoken in the surrounding villages of Dir Kohistan and in Kalam, although it is obviously related. Ten men from Dir Kohistan, including two from Kalkot, stated that Kalkotis understand Kalami but that Kalami speakers do not understand *Kalkoti*. One young man from Kalam who visited Kalkot verified that he could understand only a little of Kalkoti speech. It seems that, in general, old Kohistani men of Kalam can understand and speak a little Kalkoti, but the young men can not. Before the highway up the Swat Valley to Kalam was built, men used to travel regularly across the high mountain passes between Kalam and Dir Kohistan. All of this points to the fact that those Kalamis and Kalkotis who understand each other's speech do so mainly because of dialect learning through contact. This matter will be explored further in sections 2.3 and 2.4.

Conditions in the upper Dir Valley do not presently permit the collection of all the data needed to clarify the dialect questions entirely. Nevertheless, the evident linguistic diversity of Dir Kohistan seems to present the classic picture of a linguistically variegated heartland from which settlers have gone out to form the linguistically more homogeneous colonies in upper Swat Kohistan.

In Kalam there are three patrilineal descent groups: (1) the Drekhel, (2) the Nilor or Niliyor, and (3) the Jaflor or Jafalor. The Drekhel are further divided into the Kalamkhel, the Akarkhel and the Chinorkhel. Each of these is further divided into several sub-groups, only a few of which will be mentioned here: The Kalamkhel, who claim to be the first inhabitants of Kalam and to have descended from an apparently mythical ancestor called Kal, are said to incorporate also descendants of a refugee from Chitral. The Akarkhel lived originally in Rajkot/Patruk, which was formerly a power center for seven towns of Dir Kohistan. A part of the Akarkhel moved from Dir to

Kalam, but others remained behind. That process of relocating in the Kalam area is still going on today, with some Kohistanis from Dir leaving their homeland to escape the blood feuding in the Dir Valley. The Chinorkhel are said to have come from the Lower Swat Valley. The constituent clans of the Nilor/Niliyor and Jafloor/Jafalor are said to have migrated to Kalam, some from lower Swat and some from Thal, driven to the Kalam area by the Afghan invasions at the time of Mahmood of Ghazni.<sup>7</sup>

Barth presents another perplexing strand of information concerning another possible location of Kalami-speaking people. In 1956 he reported the following: "According to several informants in Kalam, a related people is also found in the Chinese Central Asian area, at a place called Khata Khotan. This had formerly been unknown to the Gawri, but pilgrims from Khata Khotan had recently been observed by a Gawri in Karachi on their way to Mecca, and were recognized by their clothing and language." (Barth 1956:53)

Another clan of Kalam, the Mullakhel, should be mentioned at this point. They are Pashtoons from Lower Swat who trace their founding ancestor back to Kabul in Afghanistan and who migrated to the Kalam area two or three hundred years ago. The majority of this group can speak and understand Kalami and seem to have no hesitation to speak or to be identified with that language, yet maintain Pashto as their first language and speak it in their homes. Members of a clan by the same name in Dir reportedly do not speak Kohistani, nor want to.

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<sup>7</sup> "Bushkar is the name given to the community which inhabits the upper part of the Punjkorah Valley, whence they have overflowed into the upper part of the Swat Valley, and occupied the three large villages of Otrote, Ushoo, and Kalam ... The three villages of the Swat Valley pay tribute to Yassin, and the three northernmost villages in the Punjkorah Valley pay a double tribute to Yassin and Chitral. Birkot, Biar, and Rashkot pay a double tribute to Chitral and Dir, and the five Bushkar villages below Rashkot pay tribute solely to Dir. Rashkot is better known under its Pushtoo name of Patrak." (Biddulph 1880:69).

## 2.2 Torwali

The speakers of *Torwali* live in the main Swat Valley and in the tributary Chail Valley. These two valleys join at Madyan, a Pashto-speaking town, and thus the two clusters of Torwali-speaking communities are not directly linked geographically because of the Pashto area lying between them. The Torwali-speaking villages in the Swat valley begin at Asret, just south of the Gujari-speaking area around Peshmal, and continue southward to Satal, just north of Madyan. In the Chail valley the Torwali-speaking villages begin just east of Madyan and continue up to Bishigram, where Pashtoons predominate and Ushojo<sup>8</sup> and Gujari speakers begin. As one progresses up the valley above the Ushojo-speaking communities, one encounters settlements of Kashkari immigrants from Chitral, who now speak Torwali. At the higher elevations are found exclusively Gujari-speaking communities.

Biddulph (1880:69) reported that Chail was the center of the Torwali population, but that place has now been taken by Bahrain (Biddulph's *Branihal* [1880:69]), located as it is along the highway in the main valley, where tourism and government functions have brought considerable growth.

There are various theories concerning the place from which the Torwali people have come. Biddulph suggests that the Torwali people, because of their large number, must have "once occupied some extensive valley like Boneyr" [Buner in Lower Swat] (1880:69), from where they were pushed up into the hills by the Afghans.

Jettmar (1980:72) believes that the main body of Torwalis came from Patan in Indus Kohistan. This is not inconsistent with the suggestion of Biddulph (1880:69) that the linguistically distinct Chiliss clan of Indus Kohistan is an "offshoot" of the Torwali. However, word list comparisons between the Kohistani languages of Swat and Indus Kohistan do not indicate a close

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<sup>8</sup> See Decker, this volume.

relationship between Torwali and either Chilisso or any other Indus Kohistan variety.<sup>9</sup>

Grierson reported that a Torwali folktale collected by Sir Aurel Stein indicates that “the Torwal country itself was once inhabited by Kafirs that were conquered by Torwals coming from Badakhshan.” (1929:2). This view, of course, is consonant with widespread beliefs that the Dardic peoples migrated to what is today northern Pakistan from the northwest across the Hindu Kush.

### 2.3 Language Similarity

As noted above, Kohistani is characterized by considerable dialect differentiation. In this research the extent of the dialect differences was investigated specifically in terms of lexical differentiation. A word list was collected in each location where a distinctive variety was reported, and the lists were then compared to determine lexical similarity or difference. These word lists are presented in appendix B.1. The methodology for elicitation and analysis of word lists is discussed in appendix A.1. In particular, the criteria used for determining lexical similarity are presented, noting that the focus of analysis is the determination of phonetic similarity between lexical items, not an historical cognate count.

After pairs of items on two word lists had been determined to be phonetically similar or not, the percentage of items judged similar was calculated. The procedure was repeated for each pair of word lists.

Word lists were collected in this way from the following linguistic communities: Torwali Kohistani from Bahrain and Chail; Dashwa<sup>10</sup> and Kalami Kohistani from Kalam; and

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<sup>9</sup> Lexical similarity counts between Swat and Indus Kohistani varieties range between 25 and 29 percent. See Hallberg, this volume.

<sup>10</sup> It was difficult to find speakers of Dashwa since very few seem to remember their ethnic group language and most have adopted the local Kalami speech. The elicitation of the word list included here was difficult and, thus, the data may be somewhat less reliable. Although the Dashwa word list is included in appendix B.1 and the lexical similarity percentages are displayed in figure (1), Dashwa has been excluded from subsequent discussion of dialect groupings.



additional Kohistani varieties from Ushu, Thal, Lamuti, Rajkot/Patruk, and Kalkot.

The percentages of phonetically similar items from the various Kohistani word lists are presented in (1).

(1) Percentages of shared phonetically similar items  
in Kohistani word lists

Bahrain Torwali									
89	Chail Torwali								
47	45	Dashwa Kohistani							
44	44	77	Kalami Kohistani						
44	43	77	93	Ushu Kohistani					
44	43	80	91	88	Thal Kohistani				
43	43	75	91	90	88	Lamuti Kohistani			
43	43	75	75	78	75	75	Rajkoti Kohistani		
44	44	68	69	69	69	70	73	Kalkoti Kohistani	

From (1) it can be readily seen that 89 percent of the items of the Bahrain and Chail word lists meet the matching criteria and that these varieties can be considered to be quite similar in vocabulary. Similarly, Kalam, Ushu, Thal and Lamuti all have between 88 and 93 percent matching items, and these can also be considered similar speech forms.<sup>11</sup>

On the other hand, the percentages of phonetically similar items that emerge when comparing between pairs of languages from Bahrain-Chail (Torwali), Kalam-Ushu-Thal-Lamuti (Kalami), Rajkoti, and Kalkoti clusters show that these four groups are rather distinct. The average percentages of similarity between members of the four groups is shown in (2).

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<sup>11</sup> Interview participants from Thal and Lamuti confirm that their speech is basically the same as that in Kalam. Also, more than once respondents to the questionnaire from these two villages referred to their speech as “our own Thal and Lamuti language”, demonstrating that they consider the language of their two villages to be the same.

(2) Average Percentages of Similarity among  
Torwali, Kalami, Rajkoti, and Kalkoti Dialect Clusters

Torwali cluster			
67	Kalami cluster		
43	76	Rajkoti	
44	69	73	Kalkoti

From (2) it can be seen that the Kalami and Rajkoti clusters of Kohistani dialects are most similar to one another, followed by the Rajkoti and Kalkoti varieties. The Kalami cluster is nearly equally distinct from both the Torwali and Kalkoti clusters. The Torwali varieties show the greatest differentiation, with very low similarity to Rajkoti and Kalkoti in particular.

These patterns of similarity agree with the testimonials by speakers of Torwali and Kalami, that their varieties of Kohistani are distinct. It also agrees with speakers of Rajkoti, who claim that their speech is close to that of the Kalami cluster. Speakers from Thal and Lamuti describe a greater difference between their speech and that of Kalkot than that of Rajkot.

## 2.4 Dialect Intelligibility

Linguistic similarity, including lexical similarity, between two dialects influences to a considerable extent inter-dialect comprehension. It is not, however, the only contributor. Degree of previous contact between speakers of those dialects, previous experience in understanding other languages whether related or not, and attitudes of speakers of one dialect toward (the speakers of) the other dialect also affect their ability to understand the other dialect.

The extent to which speakers of Kohistani dialects understand one another — without attempting to sort out the various contributing factors — was studied by means of tape-recorded texts. The degree to which speakers of one Kohistani dialect could understand a narrative text in another dialect and answer questions about the content of that text was taken as an

index of their comprehension of that dialect. The rationale and methodology of these recorded text tests is detailed in appendix A.2.

Recorded text testing was performed using a Torwali Kohistani text from Bahrain and a Kalami Kohistani text from Kalam. Testing was performed with subjects from Bahrain and Shanku (Chail) in the Torwali area and Kalam in far northern Swat Kohistan. The scores of the testing are presented in (3).

(3) Recorded text test scores among Kohistani dialects  
*n=number of subjects, sd=standard deviation*

<i>Location of testing</i>	<i>Text played</i>	
	Torwali	Kalami
Bahrain & Shanku	97% n=14 sd=7.3	46% n=14 sd=16.0
Kalam	60% n=10 sd=15.6	

From the scores in (3) it can be seen that there would be poor comprehension between most speakers of the Torwali and Kalami varieties. The distribution of scores shows that most Torwali-speaking subjects (9 of the 14) scored at either the 40 or 50 percent level, with two receiving lower scores and three performing at higher levels. The scores of Kalami speakers on the Torwali text indicate similar dispersion, centering around a somewhat higher mean of 60 percent. Such results suggest low inherent intelligibility between these two varieties. This agrees very well with the lexical difference indicated by the word list comparisons. These results are further confirmed by the claims of speakers of Kalami, who say that they must have contact with Torwali Kohistani over a period of several years before they can understand it well. In general, when Kalami speakers

communicate with Torwali speakers, they do it by speaking Pashto.

It was not possible to accomplish standard recorded text testing between Kalam and any of the Dir Kohistan dialects. It was possible, however, to play a speech sample from both Rajkot and Kalkot to Kalam speakers and obtain their opinions regarding ease of comprehension. The responses by these Kalam speakers indicated that they understood most of the Rajkot text, but had marked difficulty understanding the Kalkot text. In fact, when listening to the Kalkot text, some of the men in Kalam looked puzzled and asked what kind of language it was.

Questionnaire respondents from Dir Kohistan generally expressed the opinion that Rajkoti was basically the same language as that spoken in Thal and Lamuti, but that it was a quite different dialect; that is, vocabulary and pronunciation differences were significant enough to hinder understanding among people who had not had much contact with it. Kalkoti, on the other hand, was generally considered to be a different language altogether, although obviously a related one, with a good deal of shared vocabulary. It may be that its grammar is quite different from that of the neighboring Kohistani varieties. This was not a focus of the present study, but would be a worthy topic of further linguistic research. If it proves to be true, it could help explain why people in Kalam expressed such difficulty with understanding the Kalkoti recorded text, while appearing to understand most of the Rajkoti text.

A few men from Thal and Lamuti listened to the texts from Kalam, Rajkot and Kalkot and gave their opinions about ease of comprehension. They indicated that they had little difficulty understanding all three texts.<sup>12</sup> As mentioned above, the word lists from Thal and Lamuti demonstrate a high percentage of similarity with those from Kalam and Ushu. Respondents to the questionnaire from Thal and Lamuti confirmed that their speech was the same as that of Kalam, but also said that their speech

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<sup>12</sup> Two men from Kalkot listened to the texts from Kalam and Rajkot and gave their opinions of ease of comprehension. They apparently were able to understand most if not all of both texts.

was similar to that of Rajkot. Further questioning revealed that there is much travel between the villages of Dir Kohistan and much contact between speakers of all the different varieties of Kohistani spoken there. Additionally, there is an historical travel route over the pass to Kalam, and respondents indicated that they often travel there. This type of extensive contact would help explain the apparent ease speakers from all the dialects in Dir Kohistan have in understanding Kalami, as well as the other varieties of Dir Kohistani. It also helps to explain the contrasting difficulty the Kalami speakers expressed in understanding the Dir varieties since there is little reported travel from their side to Dir.

Questionnaire respondents from Kalkot reported that Kalkot has a mixed population of which slightly more than half speak *Kalkoti*, while the remainder speak the same language as is spoken in Thal and Lamuti, called *Daragi* in Kalkot. Men who speak Kalkoti as their mother tongue are reported to be able to understand Daragi as well, and use it when speaking to people from Thal and Lamuti. Many, but not all, Kalkoti-speaking women and children are also said to be able to understand the Thal/Lamuti language.

In conclusion, it appears that because of patterns of contact as well as linguistic similarity, speakers of the speech varieties found in Dir Kohistan are able to understand each other to a great extent. This is particularly true for men. These speakers from Dir also apparently understand the Kalam variety of Kohistani better than people from Kalam understand the Dir varieties. This could be largely due to the non-reciprocal patterns of contact between Kalam and Dir. On this basis, it could be suggested that the dialect of Kalam is the more widely understood dialect of the northern Kohistani area.

As demonstrated through recorded text testing and underscored by reports, the Torwali and Kalami varieties of Kohistani are not inherently intelligible. Only speakers who have learned to comprehend each other's variety seem able to adequately understand the speech form which is non-native to them. This confirms the division of Swat Kohistan into two

language communities, the Kalamī to the north and the Torwali community to the south.

### 3. Other Tongues

Pakistan is a land of many languages and many multilingual people. Most people in Swat Kohistan call upon other languages in addition to their mother tongue to carry on their full range of activities. There are Pashtoons who live in many Kohistani-speaking communities, and many Kohistanis have learned to communicate with these and speakers of other languages, most commonly in Pashto.<sup>13</sup> Others have learned to communicate in the language of their Gujarati- or Khowar-speaking neighbors or in related Kohistani dialects or languages. Still others have learned the national language, Urdu, to one extent or another.

Inherent intelligibility between related language varieties due to shared linguistic features is rather evenly distributed throughout a speech community since the ability in the second language does not result from learning. However, the ability to speak or understand another language which has been learned through formal or informal means is usually quite unevenly distributed. The proficiency of different groups, and ultimately of individuals, in the community must be studied separately.

Accordingly, this study of bilingualism in Swat Kohistan proposed not only to discover generalized levels of proficiency in Pashto and Urdu, the languages of wider communication most often used in the region, but also to learn how proficiency in those languages is distributed through various groups in selected Kohistani communities. The communities in the vicinity of Bahrain and Kalam were selected as representative of the Torwali and Kalam areas, and a series of interviews was conducted with representatives of many households. Through the

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<sup>13</sup> Barth and Morgenstierne (1958:120) reported that "All male Torwali and Gawri-speakers are fluent Pashto-speakers."

In his discussion of the location of the Swat Kohistani communities Grierson (LSI VIII.2:507) made this comment on the relationship between Kohistani and Pashto: "The linguistic boundary between these [Kohistani] languages and Pashto is very ill-defined, for all over the Kohistans of the three rivers the inhabitants are bilingual, and speak Pashto in addition to the dialect peculiar to each tract. All are much mixed, not only with that language but also with the Indian languages immediately to the south."

interviews, information was gathered concerning factors which commonly affect proficiency in the languages of wider communication of the area.

### 3.1 Sociolinguistic Profile of Kalam

Initially, interviews were conducted with leaders of the community, who are in a position to know about social factors and movements in the community of Kalam.<sup>14</sup> Interviews were conducted with the *tehsildar*, the government forest ranger, several school teachers, a university student, a hotel owner, workers in a local development project, and others. From these interviews, considerable information was gleaned concerning population figures, the ethnic make-up of the community, education, commerce, and winter migration patterns and other kinds of travel.

Then, representatives from thirty-five households were interviewed in order to learn about levels of education of members of their households as well as about the other significant social factors that emerged from the interviews with community leaders.

#### 3.1.1 Composition of households

The total size of the household was not investigated in each interview. The man who was interviewed was only asked about the number of his children and his siblings living in the household.

However, three households were studied from the standpoint of total household composition. All of these households were joint families. Twenty-two people lived in the first household: four couples, twelve children, one single man and one single woman. In the second household there were five

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<sup>14</sup> The total population of Kalam town is estimated at about twelve thousand. The larger population of the Kalam, Ushu and Utror valleys is estimated at about forty thousand.



families, represented by “five fireplaces”, thus, five married women. In the third household, again, five families were reported.

The men interviewed had an average of 3.5 children. Five nuclear families each were reported in the second and third households studied. If each of those families had an average of 3.5 children, the total population of the households would be twenty-seven or more in each. However, apparently the three joint families studied are larger than average for Kalam. The entire group of thirty-five households studied had an average of eight members per household.

A socioeconomic survey of the Ushu Valley (Elahi, et al. 1986:46) reports an average of 8.5 members per family. However, that study reported that there are 4.6 children per family in the Ushu Valley. In the community of Ushu eighteen of the families studied were joint while twelve were nuclear. Interestingly, however, a trend was reported toward increasing numbers of nuclear families, noting that only the wealthier families tend to have joint households.

### **3.1.2 Education**

Educated people are a small but increasing segment of the population in Kalam. Government schools were started there in 1968. By 1978 about twenty students were being graduated from high school each year, and by 1986 about forty.

The sampling of Kalam that was interviewed includes 145 people. Of these, twenty-four (seventeen percent) have received some education. On the other hand, only five percent of the population is estimated to have completed matriculation.

Education in Kalam is restricted largely to males. There is only one school for girls, and about fifteen girls attend. The estimate that seventeen percent of the total population has received some education suggests that perhaps one-third of the males of Kalam have been educated to some extent.

The educational levels of the population of Kalam can be summarized as follows: completed matriculation, five percent; less educated, twelve percent; not educated, eighty-three percent.

Regarding education in Dir Kohistan, it is reported that there is a primary school in each of the villages. Schoolboys in Thal are said to be able to speak Pashto as a result of their schooling. Rajkot/Patruk and Kalkot have high schools, but the other communities reportedly do not.

### 3.1.3 Winter migration

Another factor that significantly affects proficiency in Pashto and Urdu is the migration during the essentially snowbound months of the winter. Kalami Kohistanis travel to the Mingora area, Mardan, Peshawar, or the Panjab in search of work that will supplement their annual income. They stay in these warmer areas and work for four to six months; it is difficult to travel back to Kalam during the winter because of the snow and slides.

In Kalam town it is considered prestigious if the family does not need to send even one member to migrate to warmer areas for the winter. The families in which all members remain in Kalam for the entire winter are generally those which own land and are more prosperous.

It is estimated that approximately one third of the population of Kalam migrates to lower elevations each winter. In the course of the interviews, ninety-two percent of the men interviewed stated that they had traveled outside of the Kohistani-speaking area for more than one month. Only two men reported that they had never traveled outside Kalam, but it was reported that many women had not. Therefore, since about one-third of the total population migrates each winter and more women than men stay, it may be estimated that perhaps half of the men of Kalam travel during any given winter to areas where Pashto and/or Urdu is widely spoken (questionnaires are presented in appendix B.3).

A factor operative in Dir Kohistan is a related contact phenomenon, viz., proximity to Pashto-speaking villages. Residents of villages at the upper end of the valley have long

distances to travel to reach the villages near the town of Dir, where they can speak Pashto on a regular basis.<sup>15</sup> It requires a nine-hour bus ride over poor roads to travel from Thal to Dir. On the other hand, those who live in Rajkot have frequent contact with Pashto speakers who live in their own or in neighboring villages. Accordingly, people from Rajkot reportedly speak Pashto better than those from Thal.

There are two other factors in Swat Kohistan which clearly affect bilingual proficiency: the sex and the age of the individual. These, however, did not figure directly in the household interviews. It can be assumed that approximately half of each household was male and half female. However, the male researchers, who collected nearly all of the information about households, were not able to interview women, nor were they generally free to collect much information about female members of the households. Most of the information collected pertains to the male members of the households, and most of the subjects who participated in the testing were male. For this reason, a separate program of interviewing women had to be developed (see sections 3.6 and 3.12).

Age was generally estimated by the research team rather than asked directly in the interview. The estimates were based partly on appearance and partly on information concerning the ages of children (e.g., no children, young children, grandchildren, etc.).

### 3.2 Bilingualism in Kalam

Bilingualism in the community of Kalam was studied through involvement as a participant-observer<sup>16</sup> and by administering two kinds of tests to a sample of the male members

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<sup>15</sup> Nevertheless, bilingualism in Pashto is reported to be quite high among men in Thal and Lamuti, but much lower among women. Also, in Kalkot virtually all the men are reported to be able to speak Pashto as well. Women in Kalkot are said on the whole to speak Pashto well, whereas it is estimated that only five percent of the women in Thal speak Pashto.

<sup>16</sup> See James L. Stahl. 1988. *Multilingualism in Kalam Kohistan*. Arlington, Texas: University of Texas at Arlington, unpublished Masters thesis.

of the community and, on a supplementary basis, to female members of the community.

Subjects were asked to listen to recorded text tests in Urdu and Pashto, similar to those administered in investigating intelligibility between Torwali and Kalam Kohistani. They were also asked to repeat a calibrated set of sentences in Urdu and Pashto. This latter test, a sentence repetition test, was designed to reveal levels of second-language proficiency by the accuracy with which the subject could repeat the sentences. The detailed description of the methodology and rationale of recorded text tests is presented in appendix A.2; that for the sentence repetition test is presented in A.3.

### **3.2.1 Urdu recorded text testing in Kalam**

An Urdu-speaking university lecturer recorded a narrative text, which was developed into a comprehension test by developing an appropriate set of questions. The text was found to be a clear and representative sample of standard Urdu as validated by Urdu-speaking subjects, who had little difficulty in answering the questions.

Before the Urdu recorded text test (RTT) was administered to non-mother tongue speakers of Urdu, each subject was asked to listen to a text in his own local Kohistani variety and answer questions about it. In this way it was ascertained that the subject understood the testing process sufficiently and also that he was indeed a speaker of the language of the community being tested.

The Urdu recorded text test was administered to thirty-five subjects in Kalam. These represent a range of age and education categories. The profile of these subjects, including the percentage of the test sample each category represents, is given in (4).

From (4) we can see that the subjects used for recorded text testing in Urdu represent a range of age and education categories. Those listed as educated have completed five or more years of schooling. Those listed as less educated have completed four years of schooling or less.

(4) Kalam: education and age groups for male Urdu RTT subjects

<i>age groups</i>	<i>educated</i>		<i>less educ.</i>		<i>total by age groups</i>	
	<i>n</i>	<i>sample %</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>sample %</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>sample %</i>
12-20	6	17%	5	14%	11	31%
21-30	6	17	4	12	10	29
31-45	4	11	3	9	7	20
46+	3	9	4	11	7	20
<i>total by ed. groups</i>	19	54	16	46	35	100

n=number of subjects

The results of the Urdu recorded text testing in Kalam are presented in (5).

(5) Scores of Kalam subjects on Urdu RTT  
*scores in percent correct*

<i>age groups</i>	<i>educated</i>			<i>less educ.</i>			<i>total by age groups</i>
	<i>n</i>	<i>av</i>	<i>sd</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>av</i>	<i>sd</i>	
12-20	6	88	9.8	5	78	21.7	84
21-30	6	90	6.3	4	73	19	83
31-45	4	100	0	3	83	5.8	93
45-	3	100	0	4	63	44	79
<i>total by educ.groups</i>		93			74		84

n=number of subjects  
sd=standard deviation

After listening to the Urdu text, many potential subjects said that they did not understand Urdu. One man even indicated that he thought he was listening to another Kohistani language. (On

the other hand, most subjects had no trouble in recognizing the Pashto text nor in answering the questions about it.)

From (5) it can be seen that education has a marked influence on the performance of subjects on the Urdu recorded text test. The mean scores for educated men are approximately twenty percentage points higher than their non-educated fellows. Inasmuch as schooling is the principal means of learning Urdu, this is hardly surprising.

The more telling statistic in these results, however, is the measure of dispersion, the standard deviation. The standard deviations for the less-educated groups are high in almost every group. In every case they are higher than those for the educated groups. This suggests that the less-educated groups learn Urdu by various means other than through education. These other means do not provide the uniform exposure to Urdu that the schools do. A man working in the tourist industry in Kalam or one employed by an Urdu-speaking employer in the Panjab will certainly have greater exposure to Urdu than will one working entirely in agriculture in Kalam.

### **3.2.2 Urdu sentence repetition testing in Kalam**

A sentence repetition test is based on the premise that people's ability to repeat sentences in a second language is limited by the level of their mastery of the morphology and syntax of that second language. The greater proficiency they have in that language, the better able they are to repeat sentences of increasing length and complexity. A sentence repetition test is developed separately for each language to be tested. The sentences selected are calibrated against an evaluative instrument called the Reported Proficiency Evaluation (RPE). The half-levels of the RPE describe increasing levels of proficiency in a second language. These range from RPE 0+, which describes a level of very minimal proficiency, to RPE 1+, which describes a limited, basic proficiency, to RPE 2+, a good, basic proficiency, RPE 3+, very good, general proficiency, and the highest RPE 4+, which describes a level approaching native speaker proficiency.

The development and calibration of sentence repetition tests<sup>17</sup> as used in the present study is detailed in appendix A.3.

The Urdu sentence repetition test as calibrated to RPE levels was administered to thirty-five subjects in Kalam. This is the same test group to whom the Urdu recorded text test was administered. The scores of the subjects in the various age and education groups are displayed in (6).

(6) Kalam: scores of male subjects on Urdu SRT

<i>age groups</i>	<i>educated</i>			<i>less educated</i>	
	<i>n</i>	<i>ave SRT score</i>	<i>RPE level equiv.</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ave SRT score</i>
12-20	6	32	3	5	insig.
21-30	6	37	3+	4	insig.
31-45	4	39	3+	0	
45+	3	40	3+	4	insig.
<i>total by educ. groups</i>	36		3		

n=number of subjects  
ave=average  
insig.=insignificantly small score

From (6) it can be seen that education has a very strong impact on subjects' performances on the Urdu sentence repetition test. This seems to have been true even more than in the case of the Urdu recorded text test. Some of the uneducated men could not score any points at all on the sentence repetition test, and withdrew completely from the testing. Clearly, the sentence repetition test is more demanding than the recorded text test in that the SRT requires performance in the second language in addition to comprehension.

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<sup>17</sup> The Urdu and *original* Pashto sentence repetition tests were used in this study. They were both calibrated up to RPE level 3+; see appendix A.3 for more details.

The averaged scores of the educated men were all above RPE level 3, indicating a good general proficiency in Urdu, with the ability to use it and understand it in almost any situation.

It is also of interest to note that the mean scores of the educated men on both the Urdu recorded text test and sentence repetition test show a slight increase with age. This suggests that educated young men, who develop Urdu proficiency in school, may have the confidence to take advantage of opportunities to continue speaking Urdu and, thus, increase their proficiency over the years after leaving school.

### 3.2.3 Pashto recorded text testing in Kalam

A recorded text test in the Pashto language was administered to the same set of thirty-five subjects in Kalam who had received both the Urdu recorded text test and sentence repetition test. Their scores are presented in (7).

#### (7) Kalam: male subjects on Pashto RTT

<i>age groups</i>	<i>educated</i>			<i>less educ.</i>			<i>total by age groups</i>
	<i>n</i>	<i>ave</i>	<i>sd</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ave</i>	<i>sd</i>	
12-20	6	93	12	5	98	5	95
21-30	6	95	5.4	4	100	0	97
31-45	4	98	5	3	100	0	99
45+	3	100	0	4	90	12.9	94
<i>total by</i>	19	96		16	97		96

*educ. groups*

n=number of subjects

ave=average score in percent correct

sd=standard deviation

The results of Pashto recorded text testing in Kalam permit some interesting observations. First of all, educational differences seem not to affect levels of proficiency in Pashto. Although Pashto is used as a medium of instruction in the earlier years of schooling before shifting into Urdu, education is not the



only, and probably not even the principal domain in which Pashto is learned. Although the standard deviations are not high in general, it can be noted that they are about the same for the more educated and less educated groups. This further suggests that the men of Kalam have learned Pashto to a rather uniform extent which is not significantly influenced by differences in education.

More importantly, it should be noted that the Pashto recorded text test scores are noticeably higher than the Urdu recorded text test scores, especially so for the less educated men. Whereas the educated men scored rather well on both Urdu and Pashto recorded text tests, the performance of the less educated men on the Pashto recorded text test was strikingly better than on the Urdu.

### 3.2.4 Pashto sentence repetition testing in Kalam

The Pashto sentence repetition test was administered to forty-two men in Kalam. This group of subjects was different from that to which the other three second-language proficiency tests were administered. However, the same age and education groupings were preserved in analyzing the scores. The average scores of the subjects from Kalam on the Pashto SRT are presented in (8).

#### (8) Kalam: male subjects on Pashto SRT

<i>age groups</i>	<i>educated</i>			<i>less educated</i>			<i>total by age groups</i>	
	<i>n</i>	<i>ave score</i>	<i>RPE level</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ave score</i>	<i>RPE level</i>	<i>ave score</i>	<i>RPE level</i>
12-20	7	40	3+	9	34	3	36	3
21-30	8	41	3+	5	37	3+	39	3+
31-45	1	37	3+	7	37	3+	37	3+
45+	0			5	33	3	33	3
<i>total by educ. groups</i>	16	40	3+	26	35	3	37	3+

The scores on the Pashto sentence repetition test seem to suggest that education affects proficiency in Pashto since the educated men on the average scored nearly five points higher than the men with less education, resulting in a half-level higher RPE equivalent. This conclusion, however, is not supported by the Pashto recorded text test results. Although education is not the primary means of learning Pashto in Kalam, Pashto is the medium of instruction in the lower grades. It also may be that educated men are more likely to travel and be in situations where Pashto can be learned and where it is important. The five men of the test group who stated that they regularly migrate to lower elevations in the winter have on the average 6.4 years of schooling; their mean score on the Pashto SRT was 39 points, which is equivalent to RPE level 3+, indicating a very good, general proficiency in Pashto. This might further suggest a connection between education and travel to places where more Pashto is spoken.

There is one other way in which education favors higher performance in sentence repetition testing. Educated men seem to be unaffected by the testing situation. However, in some situations the performance of less-educated men seems to be affected by it. In those cases the ones who are uneasy about the testing situation or the test administrator receive lower scores than those who are not.

The scores for Kalami men on the Pashto SRT were generally RPE level 3 and above, indicating a good, general proficiency in the language, the ability to speak it and understand it in almost any situation.

### **3.2.5 Bilingualism evaluation among women of Kalam**

Female members of the research team made two field trips to Kalam in order to interview and test women. As expected, no small amount of time was required to gain the permission of the men of the households for the women to be interviewed and to wait until the women had time free from household tasks. The daily routines of the women usually left them about a two-hour period between 2:30 and 4:30 in the afternoon when they were

free from food preparation or other chores. The month of Ramazan was also found to be a suitable time for interviewing women since the women seemed to have more of the daylight hours free from food preparation.

Women were also in general less confident than the men concerning their ability to take a test which would assess their ability to speak a second language. This further reduced the number of women willing to take part in the study.

Some male members of the research team had spent a total of several months in Kalam at the time of the work with female subjects, and the friendships they had established with the men of the community were indispensable in gaining permission for interviews to be carried out among women in some of the households.

One of the women researchers spoke Urdu, and that was especially helpful in interviewing women with some education, i.e., who could speak some Urdu, and in communicating with men of the household who could speak Urdu. Another of the women researchers spoke Pashto, and that seemed to make the Kohistani women more willing to invite the female research team into their homes. On some occasions, also, the researcher who spoke Pashto was able to form an informal evaluation of the level of Pashto spoken by a woman who was either not able or not willing to take any of the bilingualism tests.

A man from Kalam reported to one of the male researchers that about twenty-five percent of the women of Kalam can speak good Pashto. Many others agreed that the group of women who know Pashto is just a minority. They also stated that perhaps half the women of Kalam can understand Pashto but cannot speak it well.

Four out of the thirty-two women interviewed in Kalam were educated, which is doubtless a higher percentage of educated women than is found in the general population. Only four Kohistani women of the Kalam area are known to have completed primary schooling, and two of these were part of the sample. The numbers of educated women of course may be

changing. A girls' primary school has been in operation in Kalam for the past four years, and fifteen girls now regularly attend.

Few women of Kalam know Urdu since that language is largely associated with education. The Urdu recorded text test was administered to only three women, all educated. They scored an average of 83 percent correct. That places them somewhat below the educated men of Kalam, who have higher levels of schooling and greater opportunity to use Urdu; men scored an average of 93 percent correct on the Urdu recorded text test.

Those three women obtained scores of 29, 30 and 32 on the Urdu sentence repetition test. The first two scores are equivalent to RPE 2+ and the third to RPE 3. The sentence repetition test, which seems generally to discriminate better the levels of proficiency in Urdu than the recorded text test, places these three women, with an average of 30 points, somewhat behind the educated men of the test group, with an average of 36 points. It shows them, however, to be greatly advanced over the less-educated men, who were not able to score any significant number of points on that sentence repetition test.

Pashto is clearly the only effective second language for Kohistani women of Kalam. Four women of the test group completed the Pashto recorded text test. Three of them had been educated, and the fourth had lived outside of the Kohistani language area for a significant period of time. All of these answered all of the questions on the Pashto recorded text test correctly.

Ten women completed the Pashto sentence repetition test. The scores and evaluations are displayed in (9).

## (9) Scores of women from Kalam on Pashto SRT

<i>age groups</i>	<i>educated lived out-side Kalam</i>		<i>uneducated lived out-side Kalam</i>		<i>lived only in Kalam</i>	
	<i>SRT score</i>	<i>RPE level</i>	<i>SRT score</i>	<i>RPE level</i>	<i>SRT score</i>	<i>RPE level</i>
15-30	40	3+	34	3+	0	below scale
			37	3+	20	1+
			40	3+	21	1+
31-45			10	0+	9	0+
45+					19	1+

The scores ranged from the equivalent of RPE 3+ and above (one woman), to no proficiency at all, indicating the wide dispersion in Pashto proficiency that would be expected due to differing amounts of contact with the language. Living outside of the Kohistani-speaking area of Kalam, presumably in a Pashto-speaking area of lower Swat or the Peshawar area, seems to be a potent factor in facilitating the learning of Pashto for women. Half of the women tested had lived outside of the Kalam area, and all but one demonstrated RPE level 3 or 3+ proficiency. These women were also in the youngest age group and one of them was the only female subject who had received education. One woman who had lived outside Kalam performed at a low level on the Pashto test, demonstrating proficiency of 0+, or minimal proficiency. The explanation for her performance may be in differences related to age, since she was older than the others, or in the type of contact with Pashto speakers she had while living outside Kalam. On the other hand, the half of the women tested who had lived only in Kalam scored at RPE levels ranging from 0 to 1+, indicating, at best, limited, basic proficiency in Pashto.

The Pashto-speaking interviewer was able to engage fifteen other women in conversation in an informal interview in order to

determine whether they had some conversational ability in Pashto even though they did not take the sentence repetition test. Even this inexact means of evaluation produced results consistent with the patterns in the Pashto SRT data. Of the women evaluated in this informal way, all three who had lived outside of Kalam demonstrated basic conversational ability in Pashto. Of the twelve Kalami women who had lived only in Kohistan, only half demonstrated some Pashto conversational ability; all four of the younger women living only in Kohistan showed some Pashto ability.

Thus, it seems that age plays a part in the picture of multilingualism among the women of Kalam. Older women, those above forty-five years of age, generally do not speak Pashto. However, it is not unusual in this age group for women to be able to speak Gujari or the Kandia variety of Kohistani from the Indus Valley. That is not true of younger women, who usually regard Pashto as the language for inter-ethnic communication. Whatever factors may have promoted the use of other local languages by women when communicating with other language groups in the past apparently are now fading, and among the younger women, these second languages are being replaced entirely by Pashto.

### **3.2.6 Summary — multilingualism in Kalam**

In observing various aspects of multilingualism in the Kalami Kohistani community, the importance of formal education is evident. Educated men achieved an average score of 36 on the Urdu SRT. The range of their scores would be equivalent to various RPE proficiency levels, but this average score is equivalent to RPE 3. This level should be adequate for most everyday purposes on ordinary topics, primarily in conversation and narrative forms of discourse. The educated men would probably be somewhat handicapped in communication on abstract or culturally unfamiliar topics.

Men in Kalam generally learn to communicate in Pashto. Apparently, those with less education are able to communicate in Pashto at about the level of proficiency as that shown by their

educated fellows in Urdu. The minority of men who are educated also seem to be more fluent in Pashto than the uneducated ones.

The few young women who have been educated or who have resided outside of the Kalami Kohistani-speaking area seem to have learned to communicate rather well in Pashto. The other women, who are the overwhelming majority, apparently are quite limited in their ability in Pashto and do not speak Urdu.

### **3.3 Sociolinguistic Profile of the Torwali Area**

Over one hundred years ago Biddulph estimated the Torwali to have “upwards of 20,000 souls” (1880:69). The number of speakers now is probably well over twice that number. The 1981 government census indicates that 15,676 (8.7 percent) of the households in District Swat speak languages other than Pashto, Hindko, Panjabi or Urdu (1981 Census Report of Pakistan). If one estimates eight people to a household, those households included 125,000 people. This group of people may be estimated to include 40,000 Kalami Kohistanis, 20,000 Gujars, 60,000 Torwalis, and 5,000 speakers of other languages.

The largest groups of Torwali speakers are found in the main Swat valley. However, considerable numbers are also found in the Chail valley along a stream that flows westward and joins the Swat river at Madyan (map 3).

Interviews were conducted in Bahrain gathering information concerning the various factors at work in the area which influence the use of Torwali and the languages of wider communication used in the area, Pashto and Urdu. Information on age and education was gathered for 291 males of all ages. Two hundred ten of those included in this aspect of the study live in the Swat valley and eighty-one of them live in the Chail valley. The distribution of the entire group of 291 males according to age and years of schooling is presented in (10).

**(10)** Distribution of Torwali males  
according to years of age and education

<i>Age Groups</i>	<i>Years of education</i>											<i>Total</i>		
	<i>0</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>10</i>		<i>11+</i>	
0-4	25													25
5-9	19	7	9	5	2									42
10-14	6	1	1	9	6	12	2	3						40
15-19	9		2	4	4	6	4	4	5	1	2			41
20-24	8			1		6	4	1	4	3	4	2		33
25-29	10		1			2	1	1	1	2	5	3		26
30-34	10					2	1		3			1		17
35-39	11		1	1		3			2		1			19
40-44	8										2	1		11
45-49	4					1	1		1					7
50-54	6											1		7
55+	23													23
<i>Total</i>	139	8	14	20	12	32	13	9	16	6	14	8		291

This information was analyzed to determine the percentage of the sampled population in each of the different age and education categories. In formulating this demographic profile for sampling purposes, only the adult men of the community were included. The group included 181 men fifteen years of age and above, 131 from Bahrain and 50 from Chail. The group with four years of schooling or less (less educated) was distinguished from a group with five or more years of schooling (educated). They were further divided into three age groups: younger men (15-24), middle aged men (25-39) and older men (40 and above).

Information concerning age and education factors among these 181 men in both valleys is combined and displayed for the entire Torwali-speaking area in (11). This grouping serves as the basis for the test samples.



(11) Torwali adult male community profile:  
age and education groups

<i>age groups</i>	<i>educated</i>		<i>less educated</i>		<i>total by age groups</i>	
	<i>% of</i>		<i>% of</i>		<i>% of</i>	
	<i>n</i>	<i>men</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>men</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>men</i>
15-24	45	25%	28	16%	73	40%
25-39	27	15	33	18	60	33
40+	7	4	41	23	48	27
<i>total by ed. groups</i>	79	44	102	56	181	100

It appears that the proportion of educated men is larger for the younger group than for the two older groups. This is probably due to two factors: (a) education is more available for the young men of today than it was ten to twenty years ago, and (b) some of the educated men of the older age groups have left the area to seek employment elsewhere.

More than two-thirds of this partial census of the male members of the community live in the main valley; only twenty-eight percent live in the side valley. This is probably rather close to the actual population distribution.

Further, it should be noted that both education groups are nearly of the same size in the main valley. However, in the side valley, the less educated group is more than twice as numerous as the more educated. This is probably due not only to the distribution of educational facilities but also to the greater demand for educated people in the employment opportunities of the main valley.

### 3.4 Bilingualism in the Torwali Area

In the course of this survey, the primary researcher lived for a time in Bahrain and repeatedly visited other communities of Torwali people over a period of several months. This extensive contact provided the researcher considerable opportunity as a

participant-observer to study the ways in which various languages were used in the Torwali area. In addition, the same recorded text tests and sentence repetition tests in Urdu and Pashto used with Kalam Kohistanis were also used in the Torwali-speaking area (see appendices A.2 and A.3).

### 3.4.1 Urdu recorded text testing in the Torwali area

The number of Torwali male subjects to whom the various tests were administered varied somewhat from test to test. The Urdu recorded text test was administered to forty men, the smallest group of subjects for any of the tests. The results of the Urdu recorded text testing in the Torwali area are presented in (12).

#### (12) Torwali area: male subjects on Urdu RTT

<i>age groups</i>	<i>educated</i>			<i>less educated</i>			<i>total by age group</i>
	<i>n</i>	<i>av</i>	<i>sd</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>av</i>	<i>sd</i>	<i>av</i>
15-24	13	87%	18.9	8	56%	30.7	75%
25-39	5	90	12.2	7	64	27.0	75
40+	2	100	0	5	88	21.7	91
<i>all age groups</i>	20	89%		20	67%		78%

The effect of education on the performance of subjects on the Urdu recorded text test is clearly seen in the Torwali area, as it was in Kalam. The more educated subjects scored on the average more than twenty percent higher than the less educated subjects. The scores also improved slightly with each successive age group, indicating not only that Urdu proficiency in the younger men is established through schooling but that it seems to improve over the years through use.

It is also worth noting that the standard deviations for the less educated men are consistently higher than those for the more educated men, reflecting the fact that there is a greater variety of

primary contexts in which the less educated men learn Urdu. Also, their opportunities for learning Urdu vary to a greater extent. Generally speaking, almost all educated men demonstrated a basic proficiency in Urdu, whereas the less educated men, apart from some men in the oldest group, did not.

### 3.4.2 Urdu sentence repetition testing in the Torwali area

The Urdu sentence repetition test was administered to forty-four male subjects in the Torwali area. The scores of these subjects are displayed in (13). The scores are stated in terms of RPE levels (appendix A.3). The number of subjects of each age-education group who achieved a score equivalent to each RPE level is indicated.

#### (13) Urdu RPE levels for male Torwali speakers by age and education groups

		<i>SRT Scores in RPE Levels</i>							
<i>more educated</i>	0+	1	1+	2	2+	3	3+&up	<i>total</i>	
younger	1	2	1	1		2	8	15	
middle				1		1	4	6	
older				1			1	2	
<i>less educated</i>									
younger	5	2	1					8	
middle	5				1		1	7	
older	2		1		3			6	
<i>total</i>	13	4	3	3	4	3	14	44	

From (13) it can be seen that the Torwali men are not distributed evenly through the range of RPE levels on the Urdu SRT. Of the total, one large group was rated at RPE 0+; all but one of these men were in the less educated group. A second large group was rated at RPE 3+ and up; all but one man demonstrating this highest level of proficiency were from the more educated subgroup. Smaller groups of men at intermediate levels of proficiency were distributed in between these extreme points. This bimodal distribution pattern reflects the wide

divergence in Urdu proficiency between the educated and less educated groups.

The group of subjects reflects in a general way the community profile developed for the Torwali area. For example, the six middle aged educated men who served as subjects represent fourteen percent of the forty-four subjects. That group (middle aged educated men) constitutes fifteen percent of the men of the community profile. In the case of this age-education subgroup, the number of subjects reflects rather accurately the proportion of that group within the total population.

However, it is notoriously difficult in certain kinds of field data collection to gain the cooperation of groups such as older uneducated men. Such shy groups are often under-represented in the group of subjects. The six older uneducated men who served as subjects constitute fourteen percent of the group of subjects. However, the older uneducated men are twenty-three percent of the men of the community profile. Not surprisingly, then, there would need to be about ten older uneducated male subjects in the test sample if their number were to be proportional to the size of their group within the total population.

In (14) can be seen the actual number of the subjects in each category and their distribution over the range of scores on the Urdu sentence repetition test. However, the subjects do not quite accurately reflect the proportion of the men in the various age and education categories. The scores of the subjects can be weighted according to the percentage of the population that they represent in order to give a more accurate estimate of proficiency levels for the community as a whole. This weighted distribution of the forty-four subjects, which adjusts the sample number to represent the corresponding proportion of the population, is presented in parentheses under the actual number of men in the sample in each category of performance at a given RPE level of proficiency.

(14) Actual and weighted distribution of Torwali males  
at each RPE proficiency level (from Urdu SRT)  
reflecting proportions of community profile

	0+	1	1+	2	2+	3	3+&sup	total
<i>more educated</i>								
younger	1 (.7)	2 (1.5)	1 (.7)	1 (.7)		2 (1.5)	8 (5.9)	15 (11)
middle				1 (1.1)		1 (1.1)	4 (4.4)	6 (6.6)
older				1 (.9)			1 (.9)	2 (1.8)
<i>less educated</i>								
younger	5 (4.3)	2 (1.7)	1 (.8)					8 (6.8)
middle	5 (5.7)				1 (1.1)		1 (1.1)	7 (7.9)
older	2 (3.3)		1 (1.7)		3 (5.0)			6 (10)
<i>total</i>	13 (14)	4 (3.2)	3 (3.2)	3 (2.7)	4 (6.1)	3 (2.6)	14 (12.3)	44 (44)

It is interesting to observe that both the middle age group of educated men and the older uneducated men had six subjects in the actual test. However, the first group accounts for fifteen percent of the men in the community profile while the second group accounts for twenty-three percent. In other words, the second group was under-represented vis a vis the first. Accordingly, if the subjects were to be distributed proportionately throughout the sample, there would be 6.6 subjects representing the middle age group of educated men while there would be ten subjects representing the older uneducated men. These weighted numbers of subjects will be utilized later, as in figure (19), to project Urdu proficiency from the sample to the population.

### 3.4.3 Pashto recorded text testing in the Torwali area

The Pashto recorded text test was administered to a group of forty-eight Torwali men representing the usual age and education categories. The averaged scores are presented in (15).

(15) Torwali area: male subjects on Pashto RTT  
by age and education groups

<i>age groups</i>	<i>educated</i>			<i>less educated</i>			<i>total by age groups</i>
	<i>n</i>	<i>ave</i>	<i>sd</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ave</i>	<i>sd</i>	
15-24	17	95%	12.8	9	89%	12.7	93%
25-39	7	96	5.3	7	90	18.3	93
40+	2	100	0	6	95	5.5	96
<i>total by ed. groups</i>	26	95%		22	91%		93%

Only a small and perhaps insignificant difference is noted between the scores of the educated and less educated groups of subjects. However, once again the slightly higher mean scores of the older men should be noted. Previously it was observed that the group of three older educated men in Kalam scored perfectly on the Urdu and Pashto recorded text tests. So, it should be pointed out here that the group of two older educated men in the Torwali area also scored perfectly on the Urdu and Pashto recorded text tests. Although the number in both groups is small, it does seem to be further evidence of the powerful combination of education and years of experience in promoting facility in a second language.

#### 3.4.4 Pashto sentence repetition testing in the Torwali area

The Pashto SRT was administered to eighty-seven men in the Torwali area, a much larger test group than was involved for any of the other tests. Levels of bilingual proficiency are of considerable interest in the Kohistani communities of Swat Kohistan. Pashto is clearly the second language in which greater proficiency has developed. Since the sentence repetition test discriminates a wider range of levels of second-language proficiency than the recorded text test, a larger group of subjects was sought so as to produce as revealing a profile of Pashto proficiency in the Torwali area as possible.

The scores of the Torwali male subjects on the Pashto sentence repetition test stated in terms of RPE levels are displayed in (16). The number of subjects of each age-education group who achieved a score equivalent to each RPE level is indicated.

(16) Pashto RPE Levels of Torwali-speakers by age and education groups

	<i>SRT Score in RPE Levels</i>						<i>total</i>	
	<i>0+</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>1+</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>2+</i>	<i>3</i>		<i>3+&amp;up</i>
<i>more educated</i>								
younger					1	5	12	18
middle			1	1	7	8		17
older						1	2	3
<i>less educated</i>								
younger	1				3	1	8	13
middle					2	9	12	23
older			1	4			8	13
<i>total</i>	1		2	11	23	50		87

From (16) it can be observed that the Torwali men are grouped toward the upper end of the RPE level scale. The distribution is unimodal, unlike the bimodal distribution of scores on the Urdu SRT.

More than ninety-six percent of the men received a score rated above RPE level 2. More than half of them were at the very highest level, 3+ and above. This indicates a widespread command of Pashto among the men of the sample. All but one subject demonstrate RPE level 2 proficiency, representing an adequate, basic proficiency; more than half test at the highest proficiency level, indicating very good, general proficiency, equipping them to function well in Pashto in almost any situation.

As observed previously, the subjects for the various tests do not quite accurately reflect the proportion of the men in the various age and education categories. The scores of the subjects can be weighted according to the percentage of the population

that they represent in order to give a more accurate picture for the community as a whole.

In (17) the actual numbers of subjects in each of the age-education groups distributed among the RPE levels is again presented. Beneath each of those numbers is the number from the weighted group of subjects that would represent the age-education groups of the community profile on a proportional basis at each RPE level.

**(17) Actual and weighted distribution of Torwali males  
at each RPE proficiency level (from Pashto SRT)  
reflecting proportions of community profile**

	SRT Score in RPE Levels							
	0+	1	1+	2	2+	3	3+&up	total
<i>more educated</i>								
younger					1 (1.2)	5 (6)	12 (14.4)	18 (21.6)
middle			1 (.8)	1 (.8)	7 (5.3)	8 (6.1)		17 (13)
older					1 (1.1)	2 (2.3)		3 (3.4)
<i>less educated</i>								
younger	1 (1)				3 (3.1)	1 (1)	8 (8.3)	13 (13.4)
middle					2 (1.4)	9 (6.2)	12 (8.3)	23 (15.9)
older			1 (1.5)	4 (6.1)			8 (12.2)	13 (19.8)
<i>total</i>	1 (1.2)	0	0	2 (2.3)	11 (12.6)	23 (19.6)	50 (51.6)	87 (87)

Figure (11) gave the percentages of men in each age-education group of the community profile. Figures (12) through (17) gave the scores of the sample of the population selected to take the Urdu and Pashto bilingualism tests. The scores of the subjects in each category can be weighted according to the percentage of the population that they represent as depicted by the community profile (as in figures (14) and (17)). This



weighting, then, allows the scores to be extrapolated to project a picture of the Urdu and Pashto proficiencies of the male community as a whole.

The following two figures present the projections for the recorded text tests and the sentence repetition tests. An examination of these figures gives a better understanding of the significance of the scores for the wider community. Figure (18) displays projections for recorded text test scores on a community-wide basis.

**(18)** Projections for male Torwali community  
scores from Urdu and Pashto RTTs  
*in percent projected at each level*

Score on RTT	Urdu RTT % of men	Pashto RTT % of men
0-10%	0%	0%
20%	4	0
30%	7	0
40%	2	0
50%	6	4
60%	5	0
70%	12	4
80%	4	3
90%	21	29
100%	39	60
Total	100%	100%

Figure (19) projects levels of proficiency in both Urdu and Pashto based on sentence repetition test scores from the sample. Projected proficiency is expressed in terms of RPE levels (see appendix A.3).

(19) Projections for male Torwali community  
RPE levels from scores on Urdu and Pashto SRTs  
*in percent projected at each level*

RPE Proficiency Level	Urdu SRT % of men	Pashto SRT % of men
0+	32	1
1	7	0
1+	7	0
2	6	3
2+	14	15
3	6	23
3+&up	28	59
Total	100%	100%

In examining these community-based projections, again it is seen that the sentence repetition tests for both Pashto and Urdu provide a finer discrimination of the population than do the recorded text tests. The bimodal distribution of Urdu ability with one-third of the men having no ability and a similar group with well developed ability is again seen. Similarly, the greater overall proficiency in Pashto is highlighted, with ninety-six percent of the men at RPE level 2+ or above, indicating at least a good, basic proficiency in Pashto.

Fifty-nine percent of the men scored at the highest level at which the Pashto sentence repetition test discriminates (RPE 3+ and up). The level RPE 3+ should be adequate for most everyday communication purposes but perhaps not for communication that involves overly abstract or culturally foreign concepts. Of course, it is possible that some of the men actually have a proficiency level of RPE 4 or even RPE 4+, but this cannot be determined since this test does not discriminate these higher levels. About forty-two percent of the men are between RPE levels 2 and 3. Their Pashto abilities would be more suited to straightforward kinds of communication, ranging from an adequate, basic proficiency to a good, general proficiency.

### 3.4.5 Bilingualism evaluation among women in the Torwali area

The Pashto sentence repetition test was administered to twenty-six women in Bahrain. In connection with the testing there was considerable opportunity to gather information concerning language use among women.

Apparently the majority of Torwali women have some ability in Pashto. Several women said, "We can understand Pashto; we just can't speak it." In every household visited there was at least one woman who could converse with the researchers in Pashto. There were usually also women who never entered into any conversation in Pashto; it is not known whether they were simply shy with strangers or whether they are unable to converse in Pashto.

A young man in one of the households, who is pursuing a B.A. degree program in statistical economics, offered the figures presented in (20), which he may have gained from a previous study:

- (20) 50% of Torwali women do not know Pashto  
 30% of Torwali women have a limited knowledge of Pashto  
 10% of Torwali women speak good Pashto  
 10% of Torwali women are educated (have at least five years of education) and can speak good Pashto and also Urdu.

The female researchers visited Shanku, a village in the side valley of Chail, but were not able to test or even meet any Kohistani women. They were told by Pashto-speaking women that the Kohistani women of that area could not speak Pashto. These Pashtoon women further clarified that the Kohistani women usually understood when they were addressed in Pashto, but they responded in Kohistani. This confirms the opinions expressed in Bahrain that Torwali women can understand some Pashto but they do not speak it readily. One can assume that such conversations, in which each partner in the conversation is listening to a language she does not speak, are limited to a rather rudimentary level.

In addition to the twenty-six women from Bahrain to whom the Pashto SRT was administered, there were five women who either declined to listen to the tape, saying that they had insufficient ability in Pashto, or else listened to one or two sentences but were unable to repeat the sentences.

The scores of the female subjects of the Pashto sentence repetition test in the Bahrain area are presented in (21). The number of subjects of each age-education group who achieved a score equivalent to each RPE proficiency level is indicated. The scores are stated in terms of RPE levels.

(21) Torwali area: female subjects on Pashto SRT  
with corresponding RPE proficiency levels

	<i>Scores in terms of RPE levels</i>								
	<i>0</i>	<i>0+</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>1+</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>2+</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>3+&amp;up</i>	<i>total</i>
<i>more educated</i>									
younger							1	1	2
<i>less educated</i>									
younger		3	1	5	4	1		1	15
middle		1		2	1	1			5
older	1	1	1	1					4
<i>total</i>	1	5	2	8	5	2	1	2	26

Education seems to be a major factor that might facilitate proficiency in Pashto among women. Although education of women is not widespread, schooling is made available to some. There is, for example, a school for girls in Panjigram.

The only two women in the group to complete five years of schooling achieved high scores on the Pashto sentence repetition test (40 and 34). Surprisingly, the only other woman with schooling (four years) scored only 13 points. There was one young woman with no education, who had lived in Nowshera with Pashto-speaking relatives, who also scored 40 points. All other scores were 30 points (RPE 2+) or less; the median proficiency level was at RPE 1+, indicating limited, basic proficiency.

Youth seems to have been a favorable factor since the two younger groups scored considerably better than the older group. However, that may simply be a reflection of education for some and greater opportunities for learning Pashto, which have probably come more recently.

In view of the comparatively low scores of the men on the Urdu tests, no attempt was made to administer Urdu tests to women. However, quite a few of the women could converse in Urdu with an ability that varied from very little to quite fluent. Out of the limited group of women introduced to the female research team, five had lived in Karachi, Rawalpindi or Nowshera and spoke Urdu. At least three women in another family were educated up to the fifth class and so knew Urdu and spoke it with Urdu-speaking relatives in the plains. In still another family at least three women had not traveled nor were they formally educated, but their father and brothers had made sure that they learned to speak Urdu and to read and write it. The presence of electricity and with it Urdu videos (and television in Mingora) and other types of media have brought greater exposure to Urdu to the people of Bahrain in recent years. The many tourists who come to Bahrain from the Panjab and Karachi also bring some contact with Urdu-speaking people for some women. Furthermore, while there is not the seasonal migration to lower elevations during winter as there is in Kalam, the people of Bahrain do visit the sizable groups of Torwalis settled in the large cities of Pakistan. For those who travel, that may be the most potent factor in promoting the learning of second languages among Torwali women.

#### **4. Language Use and Attitudes**

It has already been observed that people in Swat Kohistan in most cases have more than one language at their command. It is of some interest to know the factors which motivate people to learn languages other than their mother tongue and also to know the situations in which people use one language or another.

Biddulph long ago anticipated the replacement of the Swat Kohistani languages by Pashto (1880:158).

The process of the disappearance of a language seems to be that the tribe first becomes bilingual, as is the case at present ... in the Swat, Kooner, and Punjkorah Valleys, where many of the Dard tribes speak Pushtoo in addition to their own dialects. In the course of time, increased intercourse with the outer world causes the more widely-spread of the two languages to be preferred, and finally altogether adopted, to the exclusion of the native tongue, which falls into disuse. Such a process must be accelerated by the absence of writing.

The course of linguistic acculturation, however, is much influenced by language attitudes of the speakers. In many ways now, one hundred years later, those same Kohistani languages are in vigorous use alongside Pashto largely because of the strong positive attitudes of the Kohistani people toward their own languages, as reported in this section.

Two approaches were used in gathering information concerning the patterns of language use. At the outset of the study in Swat Kohistan, the principal researchers spent one month in Bahrain and Kalam in initial language learning and in making observations about language use patterns. Much of the visiting and friendship-making that was an important and enjoyable part of that first month's activities revealed the basic patterns of the interplay between mother tongue and second language in the daily life of Swat Kohistan. The process of observation, of course, continued throughout the succeeding periods of field work. This approach was supplemented by the use of questionnaires and interviews. In general, the questionnaires were short, and the questions, while not completely open-ended, did encourage the respondent to offer more than a simple, short answer. (The questionnaires are listed in appendix B.3.)

#### 4.1 Language Use in Kalam

In Kalam the questionnaire was orally administered to thirty-two respondents. The questions asked about the language(s) used in inter-ethnic communication and also in the home. If the home language was not said to be Kalami, the situation was explored further. If the response was Kalami, the question of whether Pashto was also used at times was discussed. Language use in domains other than the home were not explored by questionnaire but rather by observation and informal conversations.

Kalami is the only language used in the home for the overwhelming majority of the population of Kalam. The languages of the Kohistani homes of Kalam according to the responses to the language-use questionnaire are displayed in (22).

(22) Kalam: reported language use in Kohistani homes

Kalami	85%
Kalami and Torwali	6
Kalami, Torwali and Pashto	6
Kalami and Pashto	3

Three respondents reported using Pashto at times in the home. One of them was a school teacher in Kalam. In another, the mother tongue of the wife is Torwali. In the other the parents of the male respondent are mother-tongue speakers of Torwali; Torwali is probably his mother tongue, although he is a long-time resident of Kalam.

Four respondents reported using some Torwali in the home. One of them is the Torwali respondent mentioned above. The second is the man married to a Torwali woman. The mother of the third man is a Torwali. The wife of the elder brother of the fourth man is a Torwali. Because of her important position in the household, Torwali is used in some discussions of family affairs.

The shops of the Kalam bazaar are perhaps the most neutral linguistic domain. If both speakers know Kalami, then Kalami is

the language of interaction. If not, Pashto is the dominant language of inter-ethnic communication. Urdu is used for communicating with Pakistani visitors from the Panjab or Sind, and English is used with foreign visitors. Of course, far from all shopkeepers in Kalam control both of the latter two languages. However, it is considered important that either the shopkeeper himself know Urdu or have an employee who does.

Pashto is used in the mosque when many Pashtoons are present, especially during the warmer months of the year. In the winter, when those Pashtoons who do not understand Kohistani have largely left, Kalam Kohistani is often used in the mosque.

At school Pashto is the medium of instruction during the lower grades, while Urdu dominates in the higher grades. However, some of the school teachers come from Kalam and use Kalam in the classroom for explanation of new material. Kalam-speaking teachers also use Kalam while communicating with one another while at school. Kohistani is also often used during play activities, and this is an important context in which Mullakhel children learn to speak Kohistani.

Pashto is the primary language used in government offices. In fact, the first impression of the primary researcher was that Pashto was the only language used for government purposes in Kalam. However, some of the officials are Kalam men. They use Kalam among themselves and when dealing with Kalam-speaking people.

Although a variety of languages are used in the Kalam area, clearly Pashto is the language which carries nearly all the significant second-language roles. Kohistani clearly dominates in the home domain. Pashto dominates in all others. However, it is interesting to note that Kalam Kohistani is also used in most other domains (bazaar, school, government, mosque), but usually under special circumstances.

Pashto is the primary language of inter-ethnic communication. However, some respondents reported using other languages at times when dealing with non-Kalam Kohistanis. Kohistanis from the Torwali area and from Indus



Kohistan form sizable groups of people in the Kalam area. Figures (23) and (24) display the languages that Kalami respondents reported they use when communicating with Torwali and Indus Kohistanis, specifically those from the Kandia Valley. (See map 2 for Indus Kohistan.)

**(23) Kalam: reported language use with Torwali Kohistanis**

Pashto	53%
Torwali	29
Pashto and Torwali	12
Kalami	3
Pashto and Kalami	3

**(24) Kalam: reported language use with Kandia Valley Kohistanis**

Pashto	85%
Pashto and Kalami	9
Kalami	3
Kandia Kohistani	3

It is interesting to note that a large percentage (41 percent) of the respondents reported that they at least sometimes use Torwali when communicating with Torwali speakers. This contrasts with the much less frequent report for use of Kandia Kohistani with those from Indus Kohistan; only one respondent reported speaking Kandia Kohistani. When we combine this forty-one percent reported for inter-ethnic communication with the information that twelve percent report using Torwali at times in the home, we see a picture that Torwali is a rather significant language for some Kalami Kohistani speakers.

Some Kalami speakers use Torwali at times in their homes. Some use it with mother tongue Torwali speakers in other situations. Recorded text testing indicates that, on average, the sample of Kalami speakers understood Torwali somewhat better than Torwali speakers understood Kalami (see section 2.4),

though neither community evidenced uniformly high comprehension in the other Kohistani variety. As will be shown later, some Kalamis respondents evidenced rather positive attitudes toward Torwali.

This special position for Torwali on the part of Kalamis speakers does not seem to be matched by a similar situation in the Torwali area. The lower mean score on the Kalamis recorded text test indicates that Torwali speakers may understand Kalamis speakers less well than vice versa. No Torwalis mentioned to the researchers that they had learned Kalamis (although there may be some who have). In other words, Kalamis does not seem to be in focus for Torwalis in a way that Torwali is for Kalamis.

For Kalamis, Torwali seems to be in a position intermediate between that of Thal-Lamuti Kohistani and the Kandia Valley variety of Indus Kohistani. The dialects of Thal and Lamuti are so similar to that of Kalam that one hundred percent of the Kalamis asked reported that they just speak their own dialect with speakers of those dialects without reporting any effort to adjust their speech. On the other hand, the Indus Kohistani variety from the Kandia Valley is even more distinct from Kalam than is Torwali; word list comparisons indicate only twenty-eight percent lexical similarity between Kandia and Kalam.<sup>18</sup> Thus, learning Kandia Valley Kohistani requires greater effort. Furthermore, contact with speakers from Kandia who have not learned Kalamis is certainly less frequent than contact with Torwalis, thus providing less opportunity or need for Kalamis to learn the Kandia variety of Indus Kohistani. In addition to greater lexical difference and less opportunity for learning Kandia Kohistani, there seems to be a factor of prestige. Some Indus Kohistani speakers in Kalam have learned Kalamis. When Kalamis meet those who have not, they use Pashto.<sup>19</sup> However, when Kalamis meet Torwalis who have not learned Kalamis, some of them communicate with the Torwalis in Torwali.

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<sup>18</sup> See Hallberg, this volume.

<sup>19</sup> A doctor in Kalam who has learned some of each of the languages used in Kalam seems to be an exception. He reports communicating with Kandia speakers in Indus Kohistani.

Some women now in Kalam have experienced an abrupt shift in language use patterns at the time that they married. Some of these women were Torwali speakers, some Khowar speakers. Generally, the wife learns the language of her husband but often teaches her mother tongue to her children and to other women in the household. In a few cases Pashto is also used in the home as a result of such an interlingual marriage.

Apparently second-language use patterns among women have changed somewhat during recent decades. If young women know a second language, it is almost universally Pashto and rarely Urdu. The older group of women are not generally bilingual in Pashto. It is not unusual, however, for them to report that they have learned Gujari or Kandia Kohistani, languages now not generally known by either women or men in Kalam.<sup>20</sup>

Finally, the question may be raised of how women learn other languages. Those who have learned Urdu have done so almost entirely in school. Those who have learned Torwali have done so in the home, usually because of Torwali women living in the household.

The learning of Pashto comes about in a greater variety of situations. Women who live in villages with many Pashtoon residents in some cases learn Pashto from their neighbors. One effective form of learning comes through the winter migrations to areas where Pashto dominates. However, a few women who have not lived outside of Kalam have learned to speak Pashto well through education. Some women, when they were young, accompanied their fathers or older brothers to the bazaar area frequently and thus learned some Pashto.

Some of the households in the Kalam area are arranged such that guests or agricultural workers from outside the area may be accommodated in the home. Especially if women are part of the

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<sup>20</sup> One elderly woman reported that she spoke these languages with people who used to work for her father in the days before the road linked them with southern Swat. In those days, there was more foot traffic over the pass to the Kandia valley than there is now.

visiting party, the women of the household often succeed in learning a bit of a second language from the guests.

## 4.2 Language Use in the Torwali Area

Two questions regarding language use were studied in the Torwali area: (a) which language is selected when multilingual people communicate and (b) how and why Kohistanis learn other languages and non-Kohistanis learn Torwali.

These issues were studied both through observation and through three orally administered questionnaires which focused especially on language use in the home: a longer one used while testing men in late 1986, a short one used while testing women in July 1987, and another short one used while testing men with the Pashto sentence repetition test in August 1987. (Questionnaires are presented in appendix B.3.)

Some languages are restricted to limited environments and thus do not figure in the usual communication patterns of daily living in the Torwali area. Arabic is used for religious purposes. English is used for government documents (and for dealing with guests from outside of the country). Urdu is used for education (and for dealing with guests from outside of the province).

Torwali and Pashto are the two languages in relatively unrestricted use in daily pursuits. The choice of language is usually determined by the identity of the speakers and their language repertoire.

Torwali Kohistani is usually used between people raised in the immediate area, but Pashto is used when a Torwali is speaking with a person not raised in the area, i.e., originally from another part of the province. Almost without exception a Torwali speaks Torwali with another Torwali. The principal researcher reported that he never observed two Torwali Kohistanis speak to each other in Pashto. A Kohistani will address a mixed group of Kohistanis and non-Kohistanis in Pashto, but if he turns to address a specific Kohistani, he will speak in Kohistani.

A group of forty-one Kohistanis was asked which language they use when speaking at home or with members of various linguistic groups. One question asked the language used “With Torwalis from same valley”. Another question concerning “With Torwalis from other valley” was asked in the Swat Valley concerning those from the Chail Valley and vice versa. The question concerning “With local Pashto speakers” was asked about those Pashto speakers who had been raised in the Torwali area. The number of individuals offering each response is displayed in (25).

**(25) Language use by Torwali speakers  
at home and with speakers of various languages  
in number of responses given**

	Kohistani	Kohistani & Pashto	Pashto
At home	24	4	0
With Torwalis from same valley	20	2	0
With Torwalis from other valley	38	0	0
With local Pashto speakers	27	7	3
With other Pashto speakers	3	2	31

From (25) it can be seen how overwhelmingly Torwali speakers report using Torwali at home and with all others raised locally, including Pashto speakers. It is only with Pashto speakers not raised in the Torwali area, who could not be expected to understand Torwali, that they report speaking Pashto. Four indicated that they use some Pashto and Kohistani at home, and two others said that they speak some Pashto and Kohistani with other Kohistanis from their same valley. Three reported that they speak Kohistani with Pashto speakers from elsewhere, and two others reported that they use both Kohistani and Pashto. It may be that these individuals feel themselves to be so limited in

Pashto that they must use Kohistani primarily or exclusively in dealing even with those who cannot be expected to know Kohistani.<sup>21</sup>

In summary, then, Torwali Kohistanis generally speak Kohistani to all who can speak Kohistani and only to the rest do they speak Pashto.

Kohistanis regularly speak Kohistani and Pashto. Many of them also speak one or more of the following languages: Urdu, Arabic, Persian, English, or another Kohistani language. Urdu is the language *par excellence* that is learned in the Torwali area through formal learning. Pashto is taught in the early grades of schooling. Arabic, Persian and English are also taught in local schools. On the other hand, other Kohistani languages are always learned informally. Pashto, Urdu, and English are often learned or enhanced by informal learning locally. Arabic is learned informally by those who have gone to work in the Persian Gulf. As is usually the case, languages learned informally are the instrumental ones and are often the ones in which greater proficiency is achieved.

There is considerable variety in the extent to which Torwali is learned by those speakers of other languages who come into the area. The more significant variables are length of stay in Swat Kohistan, age at arrival in the area, and mother tongue. The longer the stay and the younger the age at time of arrival, the more likely the person is to learn Kohistani.

The mother tongue of the non-Kohistani is also significant. Most Pashto-speaking people do not learn Kohistani even after having lived in the area for several years unless they were young when they came to the area. However, children from Pashto-speaking homes usually learn Kohistani quite well. The fact that the principal researchers learned to communicate on basic matters in Kohistani evoked some interesting reactions. Some educated Pashto-speakers expressed some embarrassment to the researcher over their not having learned to speak Kohistani even after having lived in the area for several years. However, the

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<sup>21</sup> Or perhaps these respondents misunderstood the question.

more common reaction was puzzlement as to why the researcher would bother to learn a language of such limited geographic scope.

Speakers of other local languages are more likely to learn Torwali than are Pashtoons. Some Gujars, Chitralis, and Kalam and Kandia Kohistanis who have moved into the Torwali area have all learned to speak Torwali.<sup>22</sup> Interestingly, a group of Chitralis (generally known in Swat Kohistan as Kashkaris) that has settled in Gurnal in the main valley is reported to be bilingual in Khovar and Kohistani. However, a group of Chitralis that has settled above Bishigram in the side valley is reported to have abandoned Khovar entirely in favor of Torwali.

In spite of the widespread multilingualism of the Torwali area, the use of Kohistani is well entrenched. Adult Kohistanis speak their Kohistani language to all who can understand them. Apart from a few exceptions caused by interlingual marriages, Kohistanis also speak their language to their children to the extent that many Kohistani children begin school knowing only Kohistani. In one primary school the lower grades are taught by a Kohistani and the upper ones by a Pashto speaker. When asked about the arrangement, the Pashto speaker replied, "My language doesn't reach them."

### **4.3 Language Attitudes in the Kalami Kohistani Area**

Speakers of Kalami Kohistani exhibit uniformly positive attitudes toward their own language. Its function as a language of solidarity is important to them, and in the upper end of Swat Kohistan it is also an effective language. As one old man told the principal researcher, "We need Kohistani to talk to each other and to make us distinguished from other communities. It's fun to talk in Kohistani."

Although Kalami is used for essentially oral communication only, Kalami people exhibited positive attitudes toward using the

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<sup>22</sup> One particularly interesting example is a speaker of Kandia Kohistani (from Indus Kohistan), who not only has learned Torwali, Pashto, and Urdu, but also learned some Persian while working for an Afghan hotel manager.

language in written form. When asked, all but one of the respondents stated that they would like to see Kalam written.<sup>23</sup> One Kohistani man has written an alphabet book in Kalam, using a modification of the Nastaliq script. A teacher in the primary school in Kalam commented that Kalam should be written so that the form of the grammar would be standardized. A doctor in Kalam has been thinking of writing a grammar of Kalam, in which he would include a section on Kohistani culture. He feels that such a book would encourage others to write in Kalam. He told the researcher, "It would be good to have a text in our own language. Kalam people would be encouraged by that."

There are some mildly negative attitudes that are reflected among Kohistanis concerning other Kohistani dialects and languages. Some people of Kalam avoid using certain Ushu words, stating that they find them "awkward". Ushu Kohistanis also expressed some negative feelings about the speech of Kalam. Similarly, some Torwali people exhibit negative attitudes toward Kalam people which are projected onto their language. They think of Kalam people as "wild" and less civilized. This is probably not surprising in view of the blood feuding that has taken place, especially in the past, some of it antedating the arrival of the Pashtoons in the Swat Kohistan area.

Interestingly enough, some Kalamis exhibit positive attitudes toward Torwali. Through the questionnaire a small group indicated that they would like to know more Torwali, that it is pleasant to listen to, and that they would like their children to learn it. Positive attitudes were also expressed toward a number of non-local languages: Pashto, Urdu, Farsi, Arabic and English.

Questions designed to reveal attitudes about languages used in the area were interspersed among the bilingualism tests administered in the Kalam area (questionnaires listed in appendix B.3). The responses to the question about the languages the subject would like to know better are displayed in (26). The responses are presented in terms of the percentage of respondents

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<sup>23</sup> The response of one man was rather indifferent to the matter.



who expressed a preference for a given language or group of languages.

(26) Kalam: languages they would like to know better  
*in percent of responses*

Urdu	29%
English	19
Urdu and English	14
Pashto	10
Torwali	10
Arabic and English	10
Arabic, Farsi and English	5
No response	3

A total of forty-three percent expressed an interest in knowing Urdu better. This probably reflects the fact that they know Pashto better than they do Urdu. Many tourists come to Kalam from outside the North-West Frontier Province, and a knowledge of Urdu or English facilitates communication with them. Hence, the fact that forty-eight percent mentioned a desire to know English better. Arabic is of value for religious functions and in recent years for communication purposes for those who go to work in the Persian Gulf region.

In another question subjects were asked which language(s) they would like their children to learn. Respondents were asked to respond, whether or not they had children at the time. So, for some it was a hypothetical situation. Their responses are presented in (27).

It was interesting that only five percent of the subjects stated that they would like their children to learn Kalami, since such positive attitudes had been expressed concerning Kalami. When asked about this low percentage, the respondents replied that it was assumed that their children would learn Kalami Kohistani and, thus, did not need stating.

(27) Kalam: languages they would like their children to learn  
*in percent of responses*

Urdu and Pashto	20%
Pashto	15
Urdu and English	15
English	10
Urdu, English and Arabic	10
Urdu	5
Arabic	5
Torwali	5
Urdu, English and Pashto	5
Torwali and Pashto	5
Kalami	5

Subjects were also asked which language was “sweetest” to them, i.e., which was most pleasant to listen to. This question, deliberately metaphorical, was designed to evoke an emotional response. The responses are displayed in (28).

(28) Kalam: languages they prefer to listen to  
*in percent of responses*

Urdu	45%
Kalami	10
Arabic	10
Urdu and Arabic	10
Pashto	5
Torwali	5
Urdu and Pashto	5
Urdu, English and Arabic	5
Kalami and Pashto	5

From (28) it can be seen that Urdu was the popular response to this question. It was included in sixty-five percent of the responses. One respondent explained that this relates to the popularity of listening to Urdu songs on the radio or on tape

recordings. The cinema may also be a contributing factor. For some, Urdu poetry may have been a factor. In any case, it appears that the responses here reveal attitudes concerning affective rather than effective roles of language.

Finally, subjects were asked about their knowledge of speakers of Kalami who had married speakers of other languages. All indicated that they knew of such cases, but the overall number was small, perhaps ten or eleven. No negative feelings were expressed regarding such exogamous marriages. This seems to reflect a general feeling of appreciation for all languages used in the area, with the exception of some attitudes toward other varieties of Kohistani. In other words, the strong appreciation of Kalami is not reinforced by negative attitudes toward other languages. Rather, Kalami fits into a general scheme of language ecology in which all languages have useful roles.

#### **4.4 Language Attitudes in the Torwali Kohistani Area**

In the Torwali area also there is an appreciation of every language used in the area. They see that the larger a person's linguistic repertoire, the greater the variety of people with whom he is able to communicate.

Pashto is valued as the provincial language, useful for business and for travel throughout the province. Some also expressed an emotional attachment to Pashto. One man described it as the symbol of "our code of life". This is no doubt a reference to the *Pakhtunwali* code of behavior since many Torwalis view themselves as being Pakhtun even though Pashto is not their mother tongue.

Urdu is appreciated as the national language, important for communication outside the province. One man termed it the "international" language of Pakistan. Its role in education and writing further enhances its status.

Kohistanis exhibit a strong attachment to Arabic as a symbol of their faith. Persian is also viewed positively. Some Kohistanis, on learning that the researcher could speak Persian, took opportunities to communicate with him at times in that

language. English is valued for its role in higher education and in government service.

At the same time, Torwali Kohistanis reflect strong attachment to their mother tongue. This includes both written and oral forms of the language. There is a local group which is producing and publishing literature in Torwali Kohistani. Some felt that the effort was not worthwhile because of the limited geographic scope of the language. Many, however, expressed appreciation for this endeavor. One man expressed the belief that efforts to develop the area should begin with efforts to develop their language.

Even more widespread were the expressions of attachment to the spoken language. Some view it as a symbol of their identity, appreciating the fact that through their own language they are able to communicate with “insiders” without being understood by “outsiders”.

When asked about the benefit of speaking Kohistani, one man explained, “It is our language.” Another replied more simply, “I’m Kohistani!”

USHOJO



# USHOJO

*Sandra J. Decker*

## 1. Introduction

In the years between 1986 and 1990, members of the Sociolinguistic Survey of Northern Pakistan became aware of the possible existence of a previously unrecorded language called Ushojo in the Swat Valley of the North-West Frontier Province. The previously known and predominant languages of this part of Swat are Pashto and Torwali; further north is Kalami.

The primary purpose of this study is to document this language in terms of geographic location, historical setting, linguistic affiliation, current social factors, and sociolinguistic situation.

Due to cultural constraints, nearly all the data were collected by Mr. Ken Decker, Mr. Imtiaz Afridi, and Mr. Rahmanullah Shinwari. Mr. Afridi and Mr. Shinwari are mother-tongue Pashto speakers who also speak Urdu and English. The data were collected in three different trips, one in the summer of 1989 and two in the summer of 1990; a total of twelve days were spent in the area collecting data. Much of the data was collected in very informal interviews with approximately twelve respondents. Each respondent gave different bits of information; they were not all asked a standard questionnaire.

As Barth put it so well, "In the brief time at my disposal, it was not always possible to control the information given — the following must be regarded as preliminary, to be superseded in the event of intensive field work in the area." (1956:6)

## 2. Geographic Location

About half-way up the Swat Valley in northern Pakistan, at the town of Madyan, the Chail River joins the Swat River. (See map 3.) The Chail River Valley, to the east of the main Swat Valley, is also known as the Bishigram Valley (Keiser 1991). There is a dirt road from Madyan to Shanku; the first Ushojo village, Bishigram, is two miles from the end of this road.

Ushojo is spoken by an estimated 2,000 people in twelve villages. The names of the villages which are predominantly Ushojo are as follows: Bishigram, Shepiza, Kas, Derai, Nalkot, Karial, Sore, Tangai Banda, Kappal (Kafir) Banda, Moghul Mar, Tukai, and Danda. Each Ushojo village has Torwali speakers living in it and Bishigram also has speakers of Pashto living there. Keiser reported that Bishigram had Gujari and Khowar speakers too (1991:12,13).

## 3. Literature Review

In the published research concerning the peoples and languages of the the NWFP, references to Ushojo are conspicuously absent. Scholars have previously described the history of the Swat Valley, including the arrival of the Pashtoons in the sixteenth century (e.g., McMahon 1901, Barth 1959). Pashto is exerting an influence on Ushojo that will be discussed more fully in §7.1.1, §8 and §9. McMahon states that the Torwal and Garhwi [Kalami] were likely the original inhabitants of Dir and Swat and were driven further up the valleys by the Pashtoon conquests (1901:17). Barth (1959) notes that there are still non-Pashtoon peoples living in the uppermost section of the valley and mentions they speak two distinct languages. He also states that “they have a tradition that they formerly occupied the more fertile areas to the south ...” (1959:8) The two languages referred to were probably Torwali and Kalami.

The only previous publication which may make a veiled reference to the existence of the Ushojo language is an article by W.H. Hay in which he says, “The majority in the Swat Valley



employ a dialect which is known as Torwali, but the inhabitants of one side-valley use Khilliwal, the language of the Indus Kohistan, while there is at least one village in the extreme north of the main valley which speaks Khowar, the language of Chitral” (1934:240). Barth (1956:15) says Khilliwal merely means ‘villager’ and is not a proper name. He said that these people said their language was called /kohistəi/, or Kohistani. Though the respondents in this present study never mentioned the name Khilliwal, they did report having come from the Indus Kohistan, specifically Palas and/or Kolai.

In the only work specifically mentioning the ethnolinguistic group referred to in this paper, Keiser (1991) mentions a group in the Chail Valley called the *Gekis* who speak a language called *Ushuji*. He reports that they came “from Koli in Indus Kohistan via Ushu, a community in Northern Swat Kohistan” (1991:12). The name *Gekis* was never encountered in this study, but it would appear to be the same people group.

#### 4. Self-reported History

According to the oral histories related by respondents in this study, several centuries ago ancestors of the present-day Ushojo speakers began coming over into Swat from the Kolai area in the Indus Valley. As recently as nineteen years ago people from Kandia would cross over into the Chail Valley to Madyan for supplies. The stories tend to vary somewhat, but generally speaking, tradition has it that long ago two or three brothers of the Kali *Khel*<sup>1</sup> moved to the Chail Valley because they had enemies in Kolai. There are reportedly 300 to 400 homes that are descendents of those brothers. A folk tale relating the migration, why they came, and that they came via Kalam (near Ushu, as reported by Keiser) is found in Appendix C.3. The major migration probably did occur long ago; comparison of word lists

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<sup>1</sup> There is some confusion regarding the words *qom* and *khel*. Barth (1956:28,70) and Keiser (1991:8-9) try to make some distinctions. *Khel* is perhaps more of a Pashto term. Our respondents only mentioned *khels*, so that is the word I will use.

from the two locations indicates that though there is some similarity, the present day languages are quite divergent (see Table 1). There are still people of the *Kali Khel* found in Kolai in the Indus Kohistan (see Hallberg this volume). There apparently are two Ushojo speaking *khels* in the Chail Valley: *Kali Khel* and *Bara Khel*.

## 5. Socioeconomic Factors

### 5.1 Availability of Education

There are two primary schools within Ushojo territory; one in Bishigram (built in 1970) and one in Bela (1988), but there is no teacher for the school in Bela. There is one middle school in Chail, built in 1953. The middle school teacher is a Torwali speaker and said the teaching is done in Pashto and Urdu. He reported sixty to seventy students coming from Bishigram, however, it is not clear how many are Ushojo speakers.

Generally, men over twenty years of age do not report having any education; some of those under twenty have some education. A few have gone on to FA and BA levels in Faisalabad and Gilgit. No women were reported to have education.

### 5.2 Economy and development

During the summer the men are involved in subsistence agriculture, growing corn, spinach, tomatoes, walnuts, and apples. Walnuts are grown as a cash crop.

As noted by Barth (1959:8), settlements in Swat above 5000 feet [1538 meters] in elevation are too high to grow two successive crops in one year. This is true for all Ushojo villages, the lowest of which, Bishigram, is at 5500 feet [1700 meters]. Keiser (1991:6) notes that Shanku (5000 feet) is too high for winter wheat. So in the winter a number of men, from Shanku and higher elevations, leave the valley for work elsewhere, mainly in the Panjab and Sind. Some men have gone as far away

as Saudi Arabia for several years at a time. The young men begin going elsewhere for work when they are fifteen or sixteen.

Women always stay in the village, except if they become sick, when they go to a small hospital in Madyan.

There is a dirt road going from Madyan to just before Shanku. This road apparently was built after 1984, as Keiser reports no road in the area (1991:3). There is intermittent bus service up and down the road. The bus goes whenever full; the ride is about forty-five minutes long. The people of Karial expressed a need for the road to go all the way to their village.

Electricity is not available in any Ushojo village. The town of Madyan does have electricity. Keiser reports that the village of Chail has electricity (1991:4).

## 6. Linguistic Affiliation

In Section 4 it was mentioned that the Ushojo speaking people migrated from the Kolai area of Indus Kohistan. People on the Kolai side of the Indus River speak a language called Shina, whereas on the opposite side of the Indus people speak Indus Kohistani. Shina is spoken not only in Indus Kohistan, but also upstream along the Indus valley to the north and east. Kohistani is a general term that means ‘mountain land language’ and there are several different varieties. The Torwali and Kalami spoken in Swat are also referred to as Kohistani (Swat Kohistani). Strand (Keiser 1991:12) postulated that *Ushuji* was a dialect of Shina, a Dardic language in the Indo-Aryan group. Initial inspection of the Ushojo data does indicate a close resemblance to Shina. Ushojo is surrounded by Torwali, also a Dardic language.

It seemed reasonable to compare Ushojo with Shina, Torwali, Kalami and other linguistic varieties from Indus Kohistan. Phalura is a Shina group language found in Chitral District of Pakistan. It is considered an archaic form of Shina (Morgenstierne 1941:8-9); comparison of Ushojo with Phalura may give some indication of the age of Ushojo. Lexical

similarity was determined by comparison of a 210-item wordlist taken in each location<sup>2</sup>. The procedure for counting similarity is based on pair by pair phonetic comparison between lexical items, not on the principles of historical cognicity. It is described more fully in Appendix A. Percentages of phonetic similarity between word lists from each location are shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Lexical Similarity Percentages

Ushojo											
35	Chail Torwali										
23	30	Kalami									
22	27	48	Kalkoti								
42	16	15	17	Gilgiti Shina							
50	21	20	19	63	Kolai Shina						
48	18	19	18	64	91	Palas Shina					
31	25	27	32	29	29	31	Biori Phalura				
31	31	27	27	27	40	38	33	Kandia Kohistani			
28	29	26	24	27	38	35	30	90	Seo Kohistani		
27	31	28	27	24	31	30	30	58	61	Bateri	
20	15	15	13	15	16	16	19	16	16	17	Urdu
15	14	11	9	9	16	14	12	17	17	15	12 Pashto

The lexical similarity percentages clearly indicate that Ushojo is quite distinct from Swat and Dir Kohistani (Torwali, Kalami, and Kalkoti), Indus Kohistani (Kandia, Seo), Bateri, Phalura, and Shina. Ushojo is most closely related to Shina, specifically that spoken in Kolai and Palas (Kohistani Shina). Interestingly, the lexical similarity with Biori Phalura, also a Shina-related language, was no higher than that with some of the Indus and Swat Kohistani varieties, a very low 31 percent. No intelligibility testing was done to determine how well speakers of

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<sup>2</sup> The 210-item word list is included in Appendix C.1. A supplementary word list is included in Appendix C.2. As many words as possible were checked with Turner's *A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages*. Kalami, Torwali, and Kalkoti lists are taken from Rensch (this volume). Shina word lists are taken from Radloff (1992). The Phalura word list is from Decker (1992). The Kohistani and Bateri word lists are from Hallberg (this volume).

Ushojo would understand other Shina-related linguistic varieties.<sup>3</sup> A comparison of a few short sentences also reveals a similarity with other Shina group varieties.

## Example 1

Ushojo	ma	šo	hano
	I	good	am
	'I am fine.'		
Gilgiti Shina	ma	mišto	hANUS
	I	good	am
	'I am fine.'		

## Example 2

Ushojo	goṭ	šo	ašpoe	kara	diš	hani
	house	white	horse	saddle	place	is
	'In the house is the saddle of the white horse.'					
Shina from Grierson (1919:232) <sup>4</sup>	gotero	šeio	ašpei	tilen		hano
	house	white	horse	saddle		is
	'In the house is the saddle of the white horse.'					

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<sup>3</sup> One man who recently moved from Kolai to Bishigram thought the Ushojo people in the Chail Valley had lost their language and were speaking Torwali. Perhaps this man's mistaken impression that the language being spoken must be Torwali can be explained by the lexical similarity count between Ushojo and Kolai Shina which is a low fifty percent. Ushojo is surely distinct enough for him to realize that Ushojo is not the same language he speaks and he thinks it must be Torwali.

<sup>4</sup> Grierson's phonetic transcriptions have been adapted to our phonetic system.

## Example 3

Ushojo	ana	ase	goṭ	hani
	this	our	house	is
	‘This house is ours.’ or ‘This is our house.’			

Phalura from Morgenstierne (1941:18)	anu	g <sup>h</sup> oṣṭ	asi	hinu
	this	house	ours	is
	‘This house is ours.’			

## Example 4

Ushojo	so	tuti	kitab	dono
	we	you-to	book	give
	‘We will give you the book.’			

Phalura from Morgenstierne (1941:18)	be	kitab	tusam	diya
	we	book	you-to	give
	‘We will give you the book.’			

The proposed classification for Ushojo, following the system for Dardic languages presented by Strand (1973:302), would be Indo-European, Indo-Iranian, Indo-Aryan (Indic), Northwestern group, Dardic, Shina group.

## 7. Phonology

### 7.1 Sound System Charts

The following charts are a listing of the phonetic sounds found in the Ushojo data. A complete phonological analysis has not been done. Sounds with question marks have very few occurrences and may be due to idiolectal pronunciations or transcription errors. These remarks should be interpreted as preliminary hypotheses, requiring more extensive field work before phonological conclusions can be confidently proposed.

## 7.1.1 Consonants

	Bilabial	Dental	Alveop./ palatal	Retro.- flexed	Velar	Glottal
Stops	p <sup>h</sup>	t <sup>h</sup>		t̪ <sup>h</sup>	k <sup>h</sup>	ʔ?
	p	t		t̪	k	
	b	d		d̪	g	
		d <sup>h</sup> ?			g <sup>h</sup> ?	
		d <sup>w</sup> ?			g <sup>w</sup> ?	
Fricatives	f?	s	š	t̪ <sup>y</sup> ?	x	h
		z	ž	ʃ	ɣ?	
			č <sup>h</sup> ?	ç <sup>h</sup>		
Affricates		(ts)	č	č̣		
		(dz)	ǰ	ǰ̣		
Nasals	m	n	ñ?		ŋ	
		n <sup>w</sup> ?		ɲ		
Laterals		l		l̪		
Flaps		r		r̪		
		r <sup>w</sup> ?				
Trills		r̄?				
Semi-vowels	w		y			

The [l̪] is not a common feature of Dardic languages (Masica 1991:97).

The lack of aspiration on voiced sounds is a notable feature in the Dardic family of languages. Grierson (1929:12) stated that Dardic languages had no voiced aspirates, though Torwali did have a few examples. Masica (1991:203) records:

In most Dardic, including Kashmiri, the voiced aspirates have lost their aspiration. That this is a recent development is shown by the retention of voiced aspirates in Kalasha, Phalura, and some dialects of the Kohistani group (Maiyā, Kanyawali, Torwali), and by

some older respondents or in earlier accounts of Tirahi, Gawarbati, and Bashkarik [Kalami].

The presence of voiced aspirates is barely noticeable in Ushojo, if they exist at all. The examples that do occur were given by respondents ages sixteen to sixty. With the apparent lack of voiced aspirates, Ushojo does not appear to be as ancient as Phalura or Torwali.

There is a feature of labialization occurring, as indicated above. It is doubtful that this is distinctive. Neither Schmidt (1981) nor Bailey (1924) comment on the feature in their descriptions of Palasi Shina and Gilgiti Shina. These sounds occurred in words elicited in isolation and in stories. Seven different respondents, all over the age of thirty, had this feature in their speech. Several of these men have some facility in Pashto, the dominant language of the area. Pashto does have the feature of labialization, described by Penzl as initial clusters (1955:15-16). The labialization appearing in Ushojo is likely due to the influence of Pashto.

### 7.1.2 Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	i    ĩ    i'		u    ũ    u'
	ɪ		ʊ?
	e <sup>i</sup> ?		
Mid	e    ě    e'	ʌ <sup>i</sup> ?	o    õ    o'
	ɛ    ẽ    ɛ'	ʌ    ʌ̃	
Low	æ?	ɑ <sup>i</sup> ?	
		ɑ    ɑ̃    ɑ'	ɔ'?

It may be hypothesized that Ushojo has a six vowel system, centering on [i, e, ʌ, ɑ, u, o] with a certain amount of phonetic variation recorded for most of these six. A nice pattern occurs in that nearly each one has a full complement of nasalization and length which may be distinctive based on a parallel with Schmidt's analysis of Palas Shina (1981).



There also appears to be a great deal of free fluctuation between some of the vowels. It was difficult at times to distinguish between [i] and [e], [ɑ] and [ʌ], and [u] and [o]. Schmidt (1981:160) and Bailey (1924:1) make note of this in Shina and Grierson (1929:8) mentions a similar feature in Torwali.

## 7.2 Tone

An analysis of tone in Ushojo was not attempted. Use of Computerized Extraction of Components of Intonation in Language (CECIL) (Hunt 1990) indicates there is some sort of tone factor at work in Ushojo. Based on the work of Schmidt, who has identified three tonemes in Palas Shina (Schmidt 1981:170), it would seem possible that tone is distinctive.

## 8. Multilingualism

In evaluating Ushojo speakers' use of other languages, three languages are of interest: Torwali, Pashto, and Urdu. No language proficiency testing was actually done, so these comments are based purely on observation, self-reporting, and the opinions of our co-workers who were mother-tongue Pashto speakers.

As mentioned earlier, each Ushojo village also has Torwali speakers living in it. In addition, the first village, Bishigram, has Pashto speakers in it. Madyan is the nearest town with a bazaar and most of the shopkeepers speak Pashto. The Ushojo people therefore must learn Pashto to do any business in Madyan. Contact with these neighboring languages impacts the use of Ushojo to varying degrees.

Respondents did not say much about Torwali. The men from Karial were the only ones who mentioned being able to speak Torwali; men from Bishigram did not mention it. We were not aware of anyone speaking Torwali in our presence.

Nearly all of our communication with the Ushojo speakers was done in Pashto, because that was the language they felt most comfortable with. When Urdu was tried, preference was

expressed for the use of Pashto. Our co-workers felt that the Ushojo speakers' ability in Pashto was "very good". In 1989, while in the village of Karial sitting in the *hujira*<sup>5</sup>, most of the conversation was in Pashto. This may have been due to our presence, though at one point an old man came into the *hujira* and then the conversation switched to Ushojo.

It was reported that Ushojo women also speak Pashto and Torwali, though this seems doubtful, at least in regards to Pashto. Among women from other Swat Kohistani language groups, the Sentence Repetition Testing method (Radloff 1991) was used to assess Pashto proficiency (see Rensch this volume). Regarding Kalami-speaking women, it was found that they are quite limited in their ability in Pashto. It was reported that Torwali women living in Shanku (the village where the road ends, just before Bishigram) did not speak Pashto, though they could understand it a little bit (see Rensch this volume). Based on these findings, it would be quite surprising to find that the Ushojo women were fluent in Pashto, particularly since their villages are even more remote from Pashto areas. However, it would seem advisable to investigate the situation further.

This researcher spent two hours with some women in an Ushojo home in the village of Bishigram, the only village with Pashto speakers living in it. These women gave a few phrases in Ushojo, but the majority of the conversation was in Pashto. This was quite surprising due to the above findings with Kalami and Torwali women. It is likely that these women were mother-tongue Pashto speakers who married into the Ushojo family, though it was not possible to definitely determine that this was the case. An old woman who came to visit was identified as a relative who only spoke Pashto. It had been reported that the Ushojo do intermarry with Pashtoons. Again, it would be fitting to speak with women in higher villages to get an impression of their Pashto proficiency.

In regards to Urdu, most men reported that they learned it when they went to other places for work. The usual way Urdu is

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<sup>5</sup> a room for entertaining male guests

learned is in school, but none of these men had been to school. The men did not seem to know Urdu as well as Pashto and preferred to speak in Pashto. It seems likely that women would have little or no ability in Urdu since they do not leave the village nor attend school.

Nothing conclusive can be said regarding the extent of bilingual proficiency for the Ushojo community in any of these languages, except that more observation and perhaps some testing in this situation may be appropriate.

## 9. Language Vitality

As mentioned in the introduction, no formal questionnaires were administered. These comments are based purely on observation and self-reporting, and as such, must be considered preliminary.

The vitality of Ushojo may be somewhat threatened by the use of Pashto, the dominant *lingua franca* of the Swat region. There are some differences between Bishigram, which is closest to Madyan and the Pashto-dominated Swat Valley, and Karial, which is more remote and has no Pashtoon families living in it. However, indicators of language vitality are quite mixed from both locations.

An old man from Bishigram reported that the young people there know Ushojo but speak Pashto, and said this is because they live close to a Pashto-speaking area. Presumably, this means that they understand Ushojo, but are better at and/or prefer speaking Pashto. This may be further corroborated by a situation in Bishigram in which some teenage boys were asked to give some stories. They said they did not remember Ushojo very well and refused to give any stories. These boys had been living elsewhere for schooling and so probably did not use Ushojo as frequently as if they were living in the village. Eventually a 22 year old man gave a text, but he was prompted through the whole narration by an older man. A 35 year old man from Bishigram gave several texts with some initial prompting. The man who was over 60 quite freely gave texts. These hesitations and

difficulties evidenced by young Ushojo men in relating stories in the language of their ethnic group contrast with situations encountered in researching other languages of Northern Pakistan.

Even in Karial, Pashto was often heard in the *hujira* (though again, our presence may have been the determining factor). When checking the word list, the men appeared to have difficulty deciding which words were really Ushojo, versus Pashto or Torwali. Confusion with Torwali seemed more of a concern here than in Bishigram. Generally, there was less difficulty eliciting stories in Karial, where no one said they did not remember Ushojo. *Jirgas*<sup>6</sup> there are still held in Ushojo. However, in the mosque Pashto is used as the *maulvi*<sup>7</sup> in Karial is a Pashtoon.

Despite the above factors, it appears that attitudes toward Ushojo may be fairly positive. Respondents from both locations felt that Ushojo will not die out. Older men said that people would not stop using Ushojo. Children are reportedly still learning Ushojo in their homes; not mixing their languages, but speaking Ushojo purely. The younger men said they wanted their children to learn Ushojo first (they also want them to learn Pashto and Torwali); they also expressed a preference for Ushojo wives.

A few Torwali-speakers have been known to learn Ushojo. Women who marry into Ushojo families are expected to learn Ushojo. In regards to marriage patterns, the Ushojo will intermarry with Pashtoons, Torwali, and Kashkari<sup>8</sup>, but not with Gujars.

Indicators of language vitality are thus somewhat varied. Subjects evidenced difficulty in isolating Ushojo words (versus Pashto or Torwali) during word list elicitation. Some subjects needed prompting to express things without using Pashto or Torwali, others refused to give stories because of fear of too much language mixing or claims of forgetting Ushojo. While sitting around, it was observed that the main language being

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<sup>6</sup> tribal council

<sup>7</sup> leader of a mosque

<sup>8</sup> These are people whose ancestors came from Chitral.

spoken was Pashto, but this may have been due to our presence. The greatest difficulties in speaking Ushojo were experienced by the younger educated men from Bishigram. This is not too surprising given that Bishigram has Pashto speakers living in it. It is also the only village with a functioning primary school where there is more exposure to Pashto and Urdu. If these evidences of increased use of Pashto at the expense of Ushojo are substantiated by further research and if the intrusion of Pashto further up the Chail Valley is documented in the future, then the long term prognosis for continued maintenance of Ushojo will be bleak.

## 10. Conclusion

The previously unrecorded language of Ushojo is spoken by approximately 2000 people. It is found in the Chail Valley, off the main Swat Valley in the North-West Frontier Province of Pakistan. The oral history of the Ushojo is that several centuries ago their ancestors began migrating to Swat from the Kolai area of Indus Kohistan. The socioeconomic status of the Ushojo is quite depressed — there are no roads or electricity and the only cash crop is walnuts. It is not possible to grow successive crops in one year due to the high elevation of the villages. Their socioeconomic status has improved somewhat as the men have begun travelling elsewhere for winter work.

Linguistically, Ushojo should be classified as Indo-European, Indo-Iranian, Indo-Aryan (Indic), Northwestern group, Dardic, Shina group according to the classification system presented in Strand (1973:302). It is most closely related to the variety of Shina spoken in Kolai of Indus Kohistan.

In regards to second language use, Pashto is the main language of interest. Madyan is the nearest town with a bazaar and most of the shopkeepers speak Pashto. The Ushojo people therefore must learn Pashto to do any business. Our co-workers, who were mother-tongue Pashto speakers, said that the Ushojo men in Bishigram and Karial spoke ‘very good’ Pashto, though no language proficiency testing was actually done. Torwali has

less of an impact on Ushojo, though there was some confusion at times as to what was Ushojo and what was Torwali. Urdu was learned in the places where men go to work in the winter, but was not a preferred language. The actual extent of proficiency in a second language remains to be tested.

Some subjects had difficulty isolating Ushojo words, versus Pashto or Torwali. There was also some difficulty eliciting narrative texts. These problems were more evident in the younger, educated men from Bishigram, the first Ushojo village which is closest to Madyan, has Pashtoons living in it and has the only functioning primary school. It would be interesting for someone to study Ushojo for a longer period of time to find out if these problems are indicative of a loss in language vitality.

However, attitudes toward Ushojo seem to be positive. No one expressed embarrassment at speaking Ushojo. People felt that Ushojo would not die out. Younger men said they want their children to learn Ushojo first, though they saw a need for them to learn Pashto and Torwali as well. It would seem that the future of Ushojo is in the hands of the younger generation. If they see an importance to teaching it to their children, Ushojo may indeed continue to be vital.

# THE LANGUAGES OF INDUS KOHISTAN





# THE LANGUAGES OF INDUS KOHISTAN

*Daniel G. Hallberg*

## Chapter 1

### A General Introduction to Indus Kohistan

#### *Purpose*

This study of the languages and dialects of Indus Kohistan is the result of a number of brief research trips into District Kohistan over a period of time between the end of 1986 and the beginning of 1991. The purpose of this study was to explore the dialect and sociolinguistic situation which characterizes four languages in the District of Kohistan, Pakistan. These four are Indus Kohistani (Maiyā), Chilisso, Gowro, and Bateri. Indus Kohistani is the major language on the west bank of the river in District Kohistan, while Chilisso, Gowro, and Bateri are three smaller language groups on the east bank of the Indus River in District Kohistan. Shina, the major language on the east bank, will be discussed in a peripheral way in this report, since the scope of Shina is much larger than District Kohistan. Discussion of the Shina language will be largely reserved for a separate report. (See Radloff 1992.)

The main objective of chapter 1 will be to examine some general characteristics of the environment in which these languages co-exist. Chapter 2 will explore the dialect and sociolinguistic situation surrounding the Indus Kohistani language, which in the literature is often identified by the name Maiyā. This is the language that is spoken by most people on the west bank of the Indus River in District Kohistan. Chapter 3 will

be given to a discussion of the sociolinguistic situation surrounding the Chilisso language. Chapter 4 will focus on Gowro, and, chapter 5 will examine Bateri.

## 1.1 Language Classification

The languages of Indus Kohistan have been traditionally classified as Dardic languages. According to Grierson (1919:1), this term has its roots in the word *Dard*, which is the name given to the speakers of languages in this group. According to Biddulph, the origins of the name *Dard* are not known precisely (1880:157). On a higher level, Kohistani languages have been classified as being from the Northwestern group of Indo-Aryan (Indic) languages (Strand 1973:302). This differs from languages like Pashto, which is classified as an Iranian language, not an Indo-Aryan language. On the highest levels, the languages of Kohistan as well as Pashto have been classified as Indo-Iranian and Indo-European languages.

## 1.2 Existing Literature

Relatively little has been written about the people and languages of Indus Kohistan. Concerning the Indus Kohistani language (Maiyã), Gerard Fussman writes, “Maiyan is the least known of all the Dardic languages” (1989:49). Those who have written anything very extensive about the Kohistan area and languages are few indeed. G. W. Leitner, in his book *Dardistan*, was perhaps the first to actually document the Indus Kohistani language as that spoken on the west bank of the Indus River in Kohistan. In that volume he gives the name *Shuthun* to this language (Leitner 1893:10-8).

The first, however, to record a general description of the area, peoples, and languages of Indus Kohistan would appear to be Colonel Biddulph in his 1880 book, *Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh*. In this volume he mentions, and gives word list data for, the languages *Gowro* and *Chiliss*, both of which are found in the Indus Kohistan area on the east bank of the Indus River. (See

chapters 3 and 4 for more detailed discussion of these two languages.) He also mentions the village of Batera, which is on the east bank of the Indus River as well, and says that a language peculiar to this village alone is spoken, but he did not obtain any sample of the language. In the same way he says, "... the people along the right [west] bank of the river — that is to say, those of Bunker, Doobeyr, Puttun, Seo, and Kandia — speak a separate language". He also says, however, that he did not succeed in obtaining a sample of this language (Biddulph 1880:12). It is interesting that he was able to collect data from two relatively smaller language groups, Gowro and Chiliss, and did not succeed in obtaining data from Indus Kohistani, the major language spoken on the west bank of the Indus River in the Kohistan area.

After Biddulph and Leitner, the next person to give any great attention to this area would seem to be Sir George Grierson, both in the *Linguistic Survey of India* (LSI VIII.2) and in his work entitled *The Pisaca languages of North-western India*. Particularly in the LSI, Grierson offers a grammatical sketch for the language he calls Maiyã (that is, Kohistani) along with a word list. In this same work he also gives some discussion to dialect differences within this language type. The main distinction of importance here is the difference between the Duber-Kandia variety and the Seo-Patan-Khayal-Jijal-Bankar variety of Indus Kohistani. (This distinction is discussed in more detail in chapter 2, §2.2) In the LSI, Grierson also includes Biddulph's Chilisso and Gowro word lists for comparison with Maiyã.

Following Grierson, there is a gap of time in which it would seem that very little was recorded about this area. Concerning the Maiyã language (Kohistani), Fussman says in his 1972 *Atlas Linguistique des parlers Dardes et Kafirs* that the only language data we have is reported by Grierson in LSI (1919:522-49). He also says that some Kohistani words appear in the 1958 article, *Vocabularies and Specimens of Some S. E. Dardic Dialects* by Barth and Morgenstierne. The only other article mentioned by Fussman is a 1959 article entitled *Kanyawali: Proben eines Maiyã-Dialektes aus Tangir (Hindukusch)* by Georg Buddruss, in which Buddruss explores the language spoken in the village of Ban̄kaṛi in the Tangir Valley. In this article, Buddruss speculates

that the language spoken in this village is the same as that spoken in the villages of Seo, Patan, etc., along the main course of the Indus River. (See §2.2.5 below for further discussion of Kanyawali.)

Along with these articles, there are at least two others which contain important information about Indus Kohistan.<sup>1</sup> One is *Indus and Swat Kohistan: An Ethnographic Survey* by Barth, which was published in 1956. Barth's article, however, deals mainly with ethnographic issues, not with language. The other article of importance is a 1983 work by Jettmar entitled *Indus Kohistan: Entwurf einer historischen Ethnographie*. Contained in this article is a short section of general discussion about the languages of Indus Kohistan along with a somewhat specific discussion about two slightly different varieties of Indus Kohistani and where they are spoken. (See §2.2.1 in this present work for further discussion of these two varieties of Indus Kohistani.)

Although works such as those just mentioned have been written about Indus Kohistan, it would appear that few of the more recent articles offer much new information about the languages of the area. Most simply reiterate what past articles have already said. One exception, however, is a 1985 article by Fitch and Cooper entitled *Report on a Language and Dialect Survey in Kohistan District*. Although this article is brief, it would seem that it is a valuable first attempt at a comparative study of the languages of Kohistan. This article will be discussed more fully in section 2.2.7 below.

### 1.3 Geography

As the name Kohistan suggests, the area is very mountainous. Even today many parts of Kohistan are virtually inaccessible to those from outside the area. If it were not for the Karakoram Highway, which cuts through the center of District

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<sup>1</sup> Zarin and Schmidt (1984) also present valuable information about Indus Kohistan, but the main concern of their work is on certain ethnographic issues which characterize the Shina-speaking peoples on the east bank of the Indus River in District Kohistan. In contrast, this present study does not focus on the Shina people of Kohistan, but instead on other language groups in the area.

Kohistan today, very few outsiders would have the opportunity or the stamina required to visit the area. The Karakoram Highway was finished in 1979 and took twenty years to complete. Even so, the area is rugged and the existing road is subject to frequent rock and mud slides. A ready crew of workers is normally able to clear a slide within a few days or less, but it is not unusual for travellers to be stuck at some midpoint for that length of time.

In spite of the difficulties that remain, it should be noted that the Karakoram Highway has served to greatly open up the Kohistan area. Numerous transport trucks travel back and forth daily hauling goods from various points along the road as well as to and from China. While at one time it may have meant several days on foot to obtain supplies, goods can now be purchased fairly readily from bazaar areas along the highway.

Travel into the side valleys is on foot for the most part, with the exception of those few valleys which are accessible by jeep along a dirt road running part way up the valley. Such roads have made life somewhat easier for those living in these side valleys, but even now the remoteness of many of the villages and difficulty of travel in the area serves to somewhat isolate those who live there.

It is also important to note that the Indus River itself has served as a natural boundary for centuries, separating those living on either side. In the District of Kohistan even today, the Indus is a natural barrier between Indus Kohistani on the west bank and Shina on the east bank. However, since the completion of the Karakoram Highway which snakes through the Indus Valley, there are several bridges which have served to give more free access back and forth. Along with these bridges, there is also passage back and forth by raft (*jala*) and cable car (*zango*). Even so, aside from contact in the bazaar areas along the Karakoram Highway, the people on either side of the river have limited interaction.

## 1.4 Education

In general, it can be said that the level of education in District Kohistan is relatively low when compared with that in the surrounding areas. This is no doubt partially due to the fact that the area is remote and very rugged. It is also partially due to the fact that the area is viewed as a difficult place to live. Those who go there to teach face a certain amount of hardship, something to which such outsiders are not always accustomed.

In spite of these facts, there are several high schools and a number of primary schools in the district today. However, according to the headmaster of one of the high schools, attendance at school is sporadic and dedication to learning is poor. Evidence also suggests that those in the area who have received education are generally men below the age of thirty. This would suggest that public schools have existed in the area only in more recent times.<sup>2</sup>

It should also be noted that public education for girls in Kohistan is virtually non-existent. A schoolmaster at one of the boys' high schools in Kohistan reported that at one time there were over 100 girls' schools built in the district, but that only four were in use. The veracity of this statement was not confirmed, but the decided absence of girls' education in the area was evident. One village where boys' education was rather prevalent was said to have made the formal decision that girls would not be allowed to attend school.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Data collected in a partial community profile of Seo village, in the heart of Indus Kohistani territory, indicate that generally most Indus Kohistani men over thirty years of age in Seo have no education. (See §2.3.2 for a display of the community profile data for Seo.) It is important to note here that a high school does exist in the village of Seo and that in comparison to some more remote parts of Kohistan, Seo might be considered somewhat progressive in the area of education.

<sup>3</sup> A partial community profile of Seo village in Kohistan reveals that none of the females reported in the profile were said to have any formal education. (See chapter 2, §2.3.2 below.)

### **1.5 Population**

According to the 1981 census figures provided by the Rural Development office in Kohistan, there are 468,365 people in District Kohistan. The population broken down by Union Council indicates that roughly half of this total number live on each side of the river. There are those who have cast doubt on the accuracy of the official figures, but if they are somewhat accurate, this means there are more than 200,000 Indus Kohistani speakers (west bank of Indus River) and more than 200,000 speakers of the Kohistan variety of Shina (east bank of Indus River). Also, these figure indicate that there may be between 20,000 and 30,000 speakers of Bateri/Batera Kohistani (east bank of Indus River).

## Chapter 2

### Indus Kohistani (Maiyā)

#### 2.0 Introduction

Indus Kohistani is a language that is spoken mainly on the west bank of the Indus River in District Kohistan.<sup>4</sup> As mentioned above, according to the 1981 census figures supplied by the local government office in Komila, there are more than 200,000 individuals living in this region, most of whom are Indus Kohistani speakers.<sup>5</sup> Some sources from the literature also suggest that there may be some speakers of this language on the east bank of the Indus River, although no one encountered in this present study offered such information.<sup>6</sup> In an attempt to draw some conclusions about the general dialect and sociolinguistic situation amongst the Indus Kohistani people, word lists were collected from five locations on the west bank of the Indus River in District Kohistan. In addition, word lists were collected from surrounding language communities and compared with these five Indus Kohistani lists. Also, mother tongue Indus Kohistani

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<sup>4</sup> Little is known about the precise history and origins of those who speak the Indus Kohistani language. Barth (1956:28-31) offers some information linking the *Eastern Group* (Seo, Patan, Jijal) of Indus Kohistani speakers with the Torwali of the Swat Valley, but beyond this, the picture is somewhat unclear. Although there may, in fact, be a relationship between Indus Kohistani and Torwali, it should be noted that word list data collected in this present study indicate that Indus Kohistani and Torwali have a rather low degree of shared lexical similarity (26 to 28 percent).

<sup>5</sup> Official census figures from 1981 indicate that there may be more than 200,000 speakers of this language. However, it has been suggested by a few from that area that these figures are inflated. Whatever the case may be, simple observation shows that there are many thousands of speakers of this language.

<sup>6</sup> In Jettmar's 1983 article on Indus Kohistan he argues against the usefulness of Barth's (1958) labels *East dialect* (Seo-Patan-Jijal) and *West dialect* (Duber-Kandia). According to Jettmar, Barth made the false assumption that the East dialect is also spoken on the east side of the Indus River and thus should be given the label *East dialect*. Jettmar says that according to his own information, the *East dialect* is not spoken on the east side of the Indus River. Thus it would be misleading to give it this label.



speakers were tested on their ability to understand stories in several of the surrounding languages/dialects. Indus Kohistani speakers from a sample community were also tested as to their bilingual ability in both Urdu and Pashto. In addition, more than fifty Indus Kohistani individuals were formally interviewed in order to gather information on the topics of dialect opinion, language attitudes and use, bilingualism, language vitality, etc.

## 2.1 Language Names

*Kohistani* (*Kohistē* is the indigenous pronunciation) is the name most commonly used for the major language spoken on the west bank of the Indus River in District Kohistan. It should be noted, however, that the term *Kohistani* is a general term which is also used for other mountain languages in the North-West Frontier Province (e.g., Torwali, Kalami, etc.). In order to differentiate this language from others, the term Indus Kohistani will be used throughout this report.

As mentioned in chapter 1, perhaps the first to document samples of this language was G. W. Leitner in his book entitled *Dardistan*. Although he too uses the general name *Kohistani* to refer to this language, he also calls it *Shuthun*. In the book *Dardistan*, he gives several pages to discussion of those who speak this language along with ballads, proverbs, riddles, and dialogues recorded in this language. He also gives three pages to a list of *Shuthun* words (1894:5-18). It should be noted that the origins of the name *Shuthun* are not known to this author. No one interviewed in this present study offered this as a name for their language.

Another name which has been attributed to this language in some of the literature is *Maiyā*. In the course of this present study, no one from the Indus Kohistani group was found who used this name for their language. Mother tongue Kohistani speakers who were asked about this name usually looked a bit confused and said that it is a word used to mean “another’s” by the people of the Kandia Valley. Although the exact origins of this name being applied to the Kohistani language are not known,

one can imagine that it could have been wrongly applied to it at some point in the past. If, however, it was at one time correctly applied to the language, it would appear that time has changed the language labeling situation. Buddruss in his 1959 article on Kanyawali and Barth and Morgenstierne in their 1958 article entitled *Vocabularies and Specimens of Some S.E. Dardic Dialects* mention that they were also unable to confirm the use of the name Maiyā as a language name in the Indus Valley.

This Indus Kohistani language is also referred to by more localized names. This is a fairly common phenomenon. For example, the Kandia Valley is known as *Khil* and the language spoken in Kandia is sometimes referred to by the name *Khiloch*. In addition, the people of Seo village, for example, refer to their language as *Seois*. The people in both Seo and Kandia speak Indus Kohistani; *Khiloch* and *Seois* are simply more specific, localized names for one and the same language. Kohistani appears to be the most common general term used to identify this language.

## **2.2 Indus Kohistani Dialects and Comparison with Neighboring Linguistic Varieties**

In the course of this present study of Indus Kohistani, word lists were collected from five locations on the west bank of the Indus River in District Kohistan. Word lists from surrounding language groups were also collected and compared with those of Indus Kohistani. Also, recorded text testing was carried out, testing Indus Kohistani speakers on their ability to understand other language varieties found in District Kohistan. In addition, dialect opinion information was gathered in the course of interviewing more than fifty mother tongue speakers of Indus Kohistani.

### **2.2.1 Comparison of Indus Kohistani Word List Locations**

Indus Kohistani word lists were collected in the following five locations on the west bank of the Indus River: Kandia, Duber, Seo, Patan, and Jijal (See appendix A.1 for an

explanation of word list collection methodology and appendix D.1 for a complete display of the Kohistani word lists collected at each site.) The resulting similarity counts indicate that there is little lexical variation throughout this language community. All word list counts, with only one exception, were at least 90 percent similar with each of the others. The one exception was 88 percent similarity between the sites of Jijal and Kandia.

### (1) Indus Kohistani Word List Percentages Matrix

Kandia				
98	Duber			
90	91	Seo		
91	92	100	Patan	
88	90	95	95	Jijal

Although there is little overall variation, the word list similarity counts support the opinion that there are two slightly different varieties of Indus Kohistani. One is that spoken by the people in the valleys of Kandia and Duber, and the other is that spoken by those living along the main course of the Indus River in villages such as Seo, Patan, and Jijal. The word lists from Kandia and Duber share 98 percent lexical similarity between themselves and around 90 percent similarity with Indus Kohistani word list locations along the Indus River (i.e., Seo, Patan, Jijal). The word list locations along the Indus River share from 95 to 100 percent similarity amongst themselves. Although the Duber-Kandia and Seo-Patan-Jijal varieties are identifiably distinct in some ways, having a few lexical distinctions and some slight phonological differences, it is clear that all five locations share a high degree of lexical similarity. It can also be seen from questionnaire responses obtained from mother tongue speakers that the people in both areas are identified as speaking one and the same language. (See also appendix D.2 for example texts in Indus Kohistani from Seo, Duber, and Kandia.)

One further point that should be noted is that the name *Mani* has been attributed to the variety of Indus Kohistani spoken in

the Seo and Patan areas, and the name *Manzari* has been attributed to the variety spoken in the Duber and Kandia Valleys (Jettmar 1983, Fussman 1989:49). According to individuals interviewed in this present study, these are not names which local people use to refer to the language, but are instead names of two descent groups who settled in these two respective areas. In support of this, Leitner in his book *Dardistan* says that the name *Mani* refers to the people of Patan and the name *Banzari* (a slight variation on *Manzari*) refers to the people of Kandia. These terms are not ones which appear to be used for local dialect names.<sup>7</sup>

### 2.2.2 Comparison of Kohistani Word Lists with Other Languages of the Area

In the course of this research, word lists were also collected from other language areas surrounding the west-bank, Indus Kohistani area. Comparison of these word lists with those from the Indus Kohistani area indicate quite clearly that Indus Kohistani is distinct from most linguistic varieties around it. This can be seen in the highlighted percentages in figure (2).

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<sup>7</sup> In his 1983 article entitled *Indus Kohistan: Entwurf einer historischen Ethnographie*, Jettmar attributes the name *Mani* to the Seo/Patan/Bankar variety of Indus Kohistani and *Manzari* to the Duber/Kandia variety. He also criticizes Leitner's assertion that these are ethnic, not language names. In this present study, no mother tongue Indus Kohistani speaker was found who offered one of these as a name for their language. Instead, every indication pointed to the fact that these terms are, in fact, ethnic designations. However, it is not hard to imagine that there are Indus Kohistani individuals that might use one of these terms to refer to their language. The use of language names in Kohistan does not appear to be a fixed issue. For example, the name Kohistani is used by many to refer to their language, but quite often more specific village or area names, such as *Seots* (Seo) or *Kiloch* (Kandia), are used for language names instead of the more general term Kohistani. In the same way, it is easy to believe that an Indus-Kohistani speaker might use the name *Mani* or *Manzari* for his language if it were deemed necessary to emphasize this ethnic distinction. However, as already stated, no one was found in this present study who offered that they use either of these names to specify their language.

(2) Languages Of District Kohistan  
Word List Percentages Matrix

*Kandia*

98 *Duber*

90 91 *Seo* *Indus Kohistani*

91 92 100 *Patan*

88 90 95 95 *Jijal*

71 70 71 71 71 Chilisso (Jalkot)

69 69 71 71 71 87 Chilisso (Mahrin)

61 61 63 63 62 65 68 Gowro

58 59 61 61 60 55 54 60 Bateri

40 40 37 37 38 56 49 41 30 Jalkot (Shina)

38 38 36 36 37 55 48 40 29 100 Palas (Shina)

40 41 38 38 39 53 52 43 30 97 97 Kolai (Shina)

28 28 27 26 27 25 26 24 27 16 15 16 Kalami

28 27 28 27 27 27 26 25 29 17 17 19 44 Torwali

17 17 18 18 18 17 16 18 18 16 15 15 15 12 Urdu

14 14 12 12 12 11 12 11 12 12 11 13 7 9 11 Pashto

Chilisso, a linguistic variety spoken by a relatively small number of people (perhaps a few thousand) on the east bank of the Indus River in District Kohistan, shares 69 to 71 percent lexical similarity with most Indus Kohistani word list locations. Of all the languages compared to Indus Kohistani, the lexical similarity with Chilisso was the highest. (See chapter 3 for further discussion of Chilisso.)

Gowro, another language found in District Kohistan on the east bank of the Indus River, is also spoken by a relatively small number of people (perhaps only 200 or less). Lexical similarity counts between this language and that of Indus Kohistani were 61 to 63 percent. (See chapter 4 for further discussion of Gowro.)

Bateri or Baterawal, another linguistic variety spoken in District Kohistan on the east bank of the Indus River, is spoken by perhaps as many as 20,000 or 30,000 people. Similarity counts between Bateri/Baterawal and Indus Kohistani word list

locations were generally around 60 percent. (See chapter 5 for further discussion of Bateri.)

Shina (the Kohistan variety) is the major language spoken on the east bank of the Indus River. In every case, Shina has 41 percent or less shared lexical similarity with the five word lists collected from Indus Kohistani sites.

In addition to the above language varieties, which are all found in the Indus Valley, the five Indus Kohistani word lists were also compared with both a Torwali word list and a Kalami word list. Kalami and Torwali are language varieties found in the Swat Valley, the next major valley west of the Indus River Valley. In Swat, these languages are known as *Kohistani*. (See Rensch in this volume for further discussion of Kalami and Torwali. See also appendix B.1 for a display of Kalami and Torwali word lists.) In all cases, similarity counts between these two language varieties and Indus Kohistani word lists were below 30 percent.

### **2.2.3 Phonological Characteristics — One Indicative Dialect Distinction**

The scope of this report does not cover the phonology of Indus Kohistani. But, there is at least one phonological variation which is worth mentioning since it serves to point directly to a distinction between the variety of Indus Kohistani which is spoken in Duber-Kandia and that spoken in Seo-Patan-Jijal-etc. In short, the Duber-Kandia people tend to use a palatal pronunciation of certain sounds in certain words whereas the Seo-Patan-Jijal people tend to use an alveolar pronunciation in those same words. For example, in the Kandia and Duber Valleys in certain words the sounds [č] and [ž/j] are used, whereas in those same words in the Seo-Patan-Jijal area the same segments would be pronounced [ts] and [z] respectively. Some examples from the word lists are presented in figure (3).

(3)	<i>Gloss</i>	<i>Duber-Kandia</i>	<i>Seo-Patan-Jijal-etc.</i>
19.	skin	čam	tsam
35.	axe	čao	tsa
95.	dog	kučuru	kutsuru
140.	near	kΛč	kΛts
154.	four	čaur	tsaur
10.	tongue	žib / jīb	zib
96.	snake	jan	zan
123.	today	aĵ / až	az
155.	five	pāž	pāz

No doubt there are other phonological differences between these two slightly different varieties of Indus Kohistani, but since phonology is not the subject of this report, no further distinctions will be discussed here. However, it is worth mentioning that as data were collected in this present study, instances occurred where this distinction alone was sufficient to indicate in which of the two areas individuals lived. It should also be noted that although the distinction between the Duber-Kandia variety and the Seo-Patan-Jijal-etc. variety has been mentioned previously in other literature, very little has been said about specific characteristic differences between these two varieties of Indus Kohistani. The above items have been presented as clear examples of one of these differences. (See discussion of Kanyawali in §2.2.5.)

### 2.2.4 Comprehension of Recorded Speech

In this present study, a personal experience narrative was collected (tape recorded) from an Indus Kohistani speaker from the village of Seo, on the west bank of the Indus River in the heart of Kohistan. (See appendix D.2 for a transcription of this Indus Kohistani text as well as sample Indus Kohistani texts from both Kandia and Duber.) This story was then developed into a recorded text test by the method described in appendix A.2. In this particular study, this Seo story test was used as a hometown test for screening. That is, test subjects from Seo listened to this story first. If they scored well on this test, the

assumption was that they understood the test methodology and could go on to listen to recorded text tests which had been developed in other languages of the area. Tests were also developed in Chilisso, Gowro, and Bateri. (See appendix D.2 for a display of each of these texts.) By then comparing the average hometown score on the Seo story, which was 95 percent (with a standard deviation of 5), with the average score on the other language/dialect tests, one has an indication of how well Indus Kohistani people comprehend these other language varieties. As is discussed further below, Indus Kohistani subjects did score very well on their own hometown test, and, on average, did not score as well on tests which were developed in other languages/dialects of the area.

Comprehension tests of related linguistic varieties, such as the languages of Indus Kohistan, can be used as an indicator of the degree to which one variety is intelligible to speakers of different varieties. However, the results of such testing require some interpretation. If test subjects have had contact with the variety in the recorded text, they may have become familiar with that speech form; thus their comprehension of a recorded text may be more a product of learning than of the inherent similarity between varieties that would make the text intelligible to subjects even with no previous contact. Therefore, one of the requirements for an accurate measure of the inherent understanding test subjects may have of a second language or dialect is that those test subjects have little prior contact with the second language. (See appendix A.2 for a more thorough description of recorded text test methodology.)

In this present study, testing was done in the direction of least expected contact, that is, testing Indus Kohistani subjects on how well they comprehend the linguistic varieties of Chilisso, Gowro, and Bateri, since each of these language varieties is spoken by a small number of people relative to the number who speak Indus Kohistani. The reverse assumption, which is supported by all the evidence, is that many individuals from these smaller language groups have had considerable exposure to the Indus Kohistani language, since it is the main language used on the west bank of the Indus River in District Kohistan. Thus, to



test in this direction would not likely be an accurate indicator of the inherent limitations on intelligibility between Indus Kohistani and one of these smaller language varieties.

The results of this testing show the uniqueness of these other language varieties. Indus Kohistani speakers generally had at least some difficulty understanding stories that they listened to from both the Bateri and Gowro-speaking groups. The average score of 11 subjects on the Bateri story was 51 percent with a standard deviation of 12. On the two Gowro stories, two different sets of 11 subjects each scored an average of 78 percent and 65 percent with standard deviations of 8 and 9 respectively. The difference in average scores here may be due to a difference in the subject matter of the two stories or possibly to some other unknown factor(s). Test subjects (10 in number) seemed to have less difficulty understanding the Chilisso story (average score of 87 percent, standard deviation 10). This may be due to the fact that Indus Kohistani appears to be more similar to Chilisso than to other language varieties in the area; lexical similarity counts between the two were near 70 percent. People from the Chilisso language group seemed to feel generally that their language is only a little different from that of the Indus Kohistani group. The higher scores on this Chilisso story might, however, also be attributed to some unknown factor(s).

### 2.2.5 The Case of Kanyawali

The language known in the literature as *Kanyawali* deserves some mention since it is the object of study in the widely recognized article entitled *Kanyawali: Proben eines Maiyã-dialektes aus Tangir (Hindukusch)* by Buddruss (1959). In this article, Buddruss identifies Kanyawali as being a language which is spoken in the village of Baŋkaŋi in the Tangir Valley (a Shina-speaking area). He says that this language represents the most northeastern branch of the Maiyã language.<sup>8</sup> He also speculates

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<sup>8</sup> As has been noted, Buddruss did not find anyone in this area who used Maiyã as a name for their language. He apparently uses Maiyã because it is a name that has been used in past literature. Its exact origins are not known to this author.

that this variety of Maiyā probably originated in the Seo-Patan area (1959:7–8).

On this last point, the evidence gathered in this present study tends to be supportive. As discussed above, there are at least a few consistent phonological manifestations which are characteristic of the Seo-Patan-Jijal-etc. variety of Indus Kohistani. Those same manifestations are also present in the word list samples displayed in this article by Buddruss. It would seem, in fact, that Buddruss himself had a notion of this characteristic distinction between [č̣] and [ṭṣ]. In his listing for the Kanyawali word ‘fourteen’, [ṭsạụdẹṣ̌], he includes the line “Kandia čandaš (č!?)” (1959:48), which might be interpreted as some recognition of this distinction.

It should also be noted that in this present study a mother tongue speaker of Indus Kohistani from Seo went carefully through the Kanyawali word list presented in Buddruss’ article and found that a high percentage of the words listed there were the same as the words used in his village, Seo. However, this mother tongue speaker did identify some lexical and phonological differences, so it seems that the Seo-Patan-Jijal-etc. variety of Indus Kohistani and Kanyawali are not exactly identical.

### 2.2.6 Dialect Opinion

In the course of the study of Indus Kohistani, three dialect opinion questions were included in the interviews. These questions were designed to explore whether or not mother tongue opinion about dialects coincides with other data on the subject. These questions asked subjects where people speak the same as they themselves speak, where people speak a little differently, and where people speak very differently. The results of this questioning can be summed up by saying that dialect opinion did coincide closely with both the recorded text test results and the word list results; mother tongue speaker opinion helps confirm the idea that there are two slightly different varieties of Indus Kohistani, but the difference between the two is not perceived as being very great. The two are thought to be one and the same language. These data also point out that Indus Kohistani speakers

feel both Shina and Bateri are quite different from their own language.

### **2.2.7 Cooper and Fitch: Report on a Language and Dialect Survey in Kohistan District**

One significant article published in 1985 is *Report on a Language and Dialect Survey in Kohistan District* by Cooper and Fitch. Some aspects of this article are worth mentioning here since this present research is a similar type of study. In Cooper and Fitch's study they, too, gathered word lists and dialect opinion information. Although the number of respondents was small, the findings from their dialect opinion data show that Indus Kohistani speakers recognize the difference that exists between the Seo-Pattan-etc. dialect and the Kandia-Duber dialect. As discussed above, this present study also shows this in a more extensive and explanatory way.

It should also be noted that Cooper and Fitch's word list comparisons show that Indus Kohistani is distinct from both Shina and Bateri. They were unable to find Chilisso and Gowro speakers and, thus, were unable to collect any data on these two language varieties. However, one point which needs to be mentioned about Cooper and Fitch's data is that it would appear that the word list data they collected from Duber may not really be representative of the Duber-Kandia variety of Indus Kohistani. Their similarity count between Duber and Kandia is only 82 percent; one would expect a higher percentage of similarity since the two are thought to be the same. In Cooper and Fitch's study, dialect opinion indicates that Duber and Kandia people think of the two as being identical. Also, in this present study, the lexical similarity count between the two was 98 percent, much closer to what one would expect in light of the opinions that mother tongue speakers seem to have.

There is at least one possible explanation for the fact that Cooper and Fitch have a relatively low similarity count between Duber and Kandia. In this present study it was found that since the Duber Valley joins the main Indus Valley, people from the Seo-Patan-Jijal-etc. variety intermingle with people from the

Duber Valley. In fact, at least some who live in the lower Duber Valley (in the area of Ranolia) speak a variety of Indus Kohistani that is more like the Seo-Patan-Jijal-etc. variety than the Duber-Kandia variety. Thus, if a word list were collected from an individual who does not live far enough up the Duber Valley, one may not really be getting representative Duber-Kandia language data. In this present study, care was taken to collect word list data from an informant from Duber Bala (upper Duber), which is about an hour or so up the Duber Valley by Suzuki (small vehicle). In Cooper and Fitch's study it would appear that an individual from the lower Duber Valley may have given the word list.

### **2.2.8 Dialects — Summary and Conclusions**

In summary, it can be said that there are basically two varieties of Indus Kohistani, that of Duber-Kandia and that of Seo-Patan-Jijal-etc. However, these two would appear to be only slightly different from one another. (See appendix D.2 for examples of Seo, Duber, and Kandia texts.) In addition, Indus Kohistani is distinct from those languages which surround it, although it would appear to share a higher degree of similarity with Chilisso than it does with other linguistic varieties in the area. It can also be concluded with some degree of certainty that Kanyawali is a form of Indus Kohistani which is similar to the variety spoken in Seo-Patan-Jijal-etc.

### **2.3 Proficiency in Other Languages — Bilingualism**

Concerning the second language proficiency of Indus Kohistani speakers, it is apparent from the data at hand that proficiency in Urdu, Pashto, and English is neither generally high, nor universal within the Indus Kohistani speaking community.

### 2.3.1 Interview Data

Generally, interview subjects from the Indus Kohistani group indicated that not all men could speak or read Urdu, and even fewer women and children had any ability in Urdu. Since levels of education tend to be low among the Indus Kohistanis and since education is one of the primary vehicles for learning Urdu, it is not surprising that ability in Urdu is also low. Many subjects said that no women can speak or read Urdu — not a surprising revelation since all the evidence indicates that few women or girls in District Kohistan have opportunity to attend school at all.<sup>9</sup> Nor do these women travel much, particularly not to areas where they may be exposed to the regular use of Urdu. Questionnaire responses indicate that Indus Kohistani people do not marry outside of their language community very often and so would not have natural opportunities to be immersed in another language.

With respect to Pashto, the same proficiency patterns are also found. Many men indicated that they could speak at least some Pashto, but responses show that Pashto is not the dominant language of use in any of the domains examined in this study, although it is said to be taught as a subject in school. Respondents also said that very few women or girls had any ability in Pashto.

Regarding English, general knowledge of the area along with personal experience strongly suggests that few Indus Kohistani people have much opportunity to learn and become proficient in English. For many interviewees, it was named as one language they wished they knew.

### 2.3.2 Community Profile: An Indus Kohistani Community

In order to get an accurate picture of community-wide bilingualism amongst the Indus Kohistani community, a

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<sup>9</sup> The results of a partial community profile of Seo village, in the heart of Kohistan, indicate that a large percentage of the population has little or no education. The women in particular are said to have no education. But even among the men of Seo, education levels are generally low — it would appear that men over 40 years of age generally have no education.

representative sample of the population must be identified and tested. In this study, the goal was to obtain such a sample from the Indus Kohistani speaking community of Seo, in the heart of Kohistan. Seo can be thought of as representative of other Indus Kohistani villages in the area.

A partial demographic profile for Seo was obtained by having a member of the Seo community specifically identify the members of as many households as possible along with the particulars of those individuals' age, education, sex, etc.<sup>10</sup> In this case the individual who carried out this task was a working member of the research team as well as being a member of the Seo community. In the end, the partial community profile was based on 371 individuals from 47 different households in Seo. In this group, 201 of the 371 total were identified as being male, 170 were female; 297 out of 371 were judged to be illiterate and 308 out of the total were identified as having no education. Although this is only a partial community profile, it can be assumed that these figures are representative of the population breakdown of Seo as a whole. (According to informal estimates, Seo has a total population of around 4000.) These partial community profile figures can be summarized as in (4).

(4) Partial Community Profile of Seo Village:  
Population by Gender  
(Population of 47 households in Seo village)

Gender	Count
Male	201
Female	170
$n =$	371

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<sup>10</sup> It should be noted that this may be one of the most accurate ways to gather community profile information in a very conservative Islamic area such as Kohistan. It is difficult to imagine obtaining accurate information about the members of specific households, especially where women are concerned, by going door to door and asking questions.

Figure (5) gives a summary of age stratification for the female population of Seo. All 170 women were uneducated, and none were reported to be literate. Since testing women was deemed to be an improbable task under the circumstances, and since all other evidence indicates that women are more or less monolingual in their own language, they were eliminated from the desired test group.

**(5) Partial Community Profile of Seo Village:  
Female Population by Age**

<i>Age Categories</i>	
1-12 yrs	55
13-19 yrs	23
20-29 yrs	33
30-39 yrs	17
40-49 yrs	14
50+ yrs	28
<i>n</i> = 170	

The statistics for the partial community profile of the male population are presented in figure (6).

**(6) Partial Community Profile of Seo Village  
by Age and Education**

<i>Age Groups</i>	<i>Years of Formal Education</i>								<i>Total by age group</i>	
	0 yrs		1-5yrs		6-10yrs		11+yrs			
	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>		
13-19	4	3%	7	5%	8	5%	0	—	19	13%
20-29	26	19	2	2	17	13	6	5%	51	39
30-39	17	13	3	2	0	—	3	2	23	17
40-49	12	9	1	1	1	1	0	—	14	11
50+	27	20	0	—	0	—	0	—	27	20
<i>Totals by ed.group</i>	86	64	13	10	26	19	9	7	134	

It should be noted that the total male population for 47 households in Seo village was 201. However, 67 of those individuals were below the age of 13. Since the desired test group was to be 13 years of age or above, these 67 individuals were eliminated from that total. The age and education breakdowns of the remaining 134 men were then used to figure the desired breakdown in the test group. An attempt was made to select a final test group which would match the above profile percentages as closely as possible. The final test group statistics are presented in figure (7).

(7) Seo Test Sample Distribution: Age and Education Table

<i>Age Groups</i>	<i>Years of Formal Education</i>								<i>Total by age group</i>	
	0 yrs		1-5yrs		6-10yrs		11+yrs		<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>
	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>		
13-19	2	3%	3	5%	3	5%	0	—	8	13%
20-29	10	17	2	3	7	12	2	3	21	35
30-39	7	12	2	3	1	2	2	3	12	20
40-49	5	8	2	3	2	3	0	—	9	14
50+	10	16	0	—	0	—	0	—	10	16
<i>Total by ed.group</i>	33	56	9	15	13	22	4	7	59	

Although this test sample was taken from one Indus Kohistani speaking village in the heart of Kohistan, for the purposes of this study, it can be considered to be representative of other Indus Kohistani speaking villages in general. In particular, the levels of education throughout District Kohistan are low, as is exemplified in Seo. It is entirely realistic to assume that more than half of the total Indus Kohistani male population has no education. It is also realistic to assume that, amongst the male population who do have any degree of education, most are between the ages of 20 and 40. It would appear that most Indus Kohistani men over the age of 40 generally have no education at all.



### 2.3.3 Sentence Repetition Testing for Bilingualism

In addition to interview information, the sample group from the Indus Kohistani community of Seo was tested on their second language proficiency in both Urdu and Pashto. The test method used was the sentence repetition test (SRT). This methodology requires test subjects to listen to tape-recorded sentences of increasing length and difficulty and to repeat them. The final score for each subject is based on how precisely he can repeat the total of fifteen sentences. The results are interpreted in terms of Reported Proficiency Evaluation (RPE) levels, which verbally describe how well an individual ought to be able to function in a particular second language. As mentioned, in this study the two second languages in question were Urdu and Pashto.<sup>11</sup> (See appendix A.3 for a more complete description of SRT methodology and RPE levels.)

Following the identification of a representative test group, the actual testing was carried out. Analysis of the test results indicates that most of the fifty-nine subjects who made up the final test group (all men) had medium to low proficiencies in both of these languages (under RPE level 3). Subjects who had opportunity to go to school, especially those who were able to complete nine school years, scored significantly better on both the Urdu and Pashto tests than those with either very little or no education.<sup>12</sup> This is illustrated in figures (8) and (9).

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<sup>11</sup> The *revised* Pashto SRT, as described in Appendix A.3, was used in this study of bilingualism in Pashto within the Indus Kohistani community.

<sup>12</sup> Some of those in the uneducated group scored better than might normally be expected on the Urdu SRT, since Urdu is a language acquired through education. Using Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) to evaluate the effect of the amount of time spent in an Urdu-speaking area on Urdu SRT scores, a significant effect was demonstrated with better than 95 percent certainty.

**(8) Histogram of Urdu RPE Levels  
and Mean Urdu SRT Score by Education**

Urdu RPE Level	Uneducated	4-6 yrs ed.	9 yrs+ ed.
0+	5 *****	0	0
1	3 ***	0	0
1+	5 *****	2 **	0
2	5 *****	0	1 *
2+	6 *****	6 *****	3 ***
3	7 *****	1 *	4 ****
3+	2 **	1 *	8 *****
	<i>n</i> =33	<i>n</i> =10	<i>n</i> =16
Urdu SRT mean =	21	27	35
sd =	11	7	7

**(9) Histogram of Pashto RPE Levels and Mean Pashto SRT  
Score by Education**

Pashto RPE Level	Uneducated	4-6 yrs ed.	9 yrs+ ed.
0+	0	0	0
1	3 ***	0	0
1+	14 *****	5 *****	2 **
2	11 *****	5 *****	4 ****
2+	3 ***	0	6 *****
3	2 **	0	4 ****
	<i>n</i> =33	<i>n</i> =10	<i>n</i> =14
Pashto SRT mean =	13	12	20
sd =	7	4	7

Using Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) to evaluate the effect of education on SRT scores, a significant effect was demonstrated for both languages with better than 99 percent certainty. This is not surprising since Urdu is the main language

of education and Pashto is reported to be taught as a subject in school. But even with education playing a significant role here, the distribution of scores within the male test group demonstrates that there are medium to low levels of ability in both of these languages for the majority of the community. A relatively small percentage of the male population has had any opportunity to attend school to a great degree. Perhaps as few as 30 percent or less of the male population have had six or more years of education. The number of adult Indus Kohistani women with any education at all is negligible.<sup>13</sup> Thus it can be said that there is a relatively small percentage of the population as a whole with a high degree of Pashto or Urdu ability.

For cultural reasons no women were tested. However, from all indications, women would appear to be more or less monolingual in the Indus Kohistani language and would therefore, without doubt, score much lower than the men, who have many more opportunities for language contact through education and travel. Interview data as well as general knowledge of the area point to the fact that the women of Kohistan do not travel often, nor do they have very extensive contact with individuals from outside of their own language group.

### **2.3.4 Recorded Text Testing for Shina Bilingualism**

Thirty Indus Kohistani men from the villages of Patan and Seo were tested on their ability to understand a story told in the Kohistan variety of Shina. The two languages, Indus Kohistani and Shina, have a fairly low degree of lexical similarity (36 to 41 percent), so one would not expect that inherent similarity would allow for easy understanding. Results of the recorded text testing, however, reveal that many testees understood the Shina story rather well. Test subjects scored an average of 84 percent with a standard deviation of 14 on the Shina test, after scoring an average of 94 percent with a standard deviation of 7 on their own Indus Kohistani hometown test. Responses to interview

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<sup>13</sup> In the village of Seo in particular, a decision was made that girls would not be allowed to attend school.

questions asked in the Seo village reflect the community perception that many men from their community can understand and to some degree speak the Shina language. The main explanation given for this is that the two groups share common bazaar areas and have much contact in business. It should be stated, however, that probably due to varying degrees of contact, bilingual ability in Shina was not uniformly high among those tested, nor do attitudes suggest that anyone from the Indus Kohistani community would prefer speaking Shina rather than their own language. Also, questionnaire responses along with general observation strongly indicate that very few women from the Indus Kohistani community are likely to have much ability in the Shina language. This would be expected since few women travel outside of their own village and most marriages take place within the Indus Kohistani community itself. As Barth puts it when speaking about the descent groups within the Indus Kohistani community, "Let it be emphasized that these groups are not exogamous; there is on the contrary a general preference for endogamy" (1956:28).

## **2.4 Language Use and Attitudes**

Formal interviews were conducted with more than fifty individuals from the Indus Kohistani community. Individuals were asked questions which pertained to language use and attitudes. These data, along with a good deal of personal observation, indicate that Indus Kohistani speakers have a strongly positive attitude toward their language. This is reflected, in part, by the fact that in most domains explored in this present study, many subjects reported Kohistani as the only language used. The only domain, where another language was said to be used to any great degree was in the school domain where Urdu is the reported medium of instruction and Pashto is reported to be taught as a subject. Those who have had some opportunity to go to school, therefore, often have at least some ability in Urdu and, perhaps to a lesser degree, Pashto. As mentioned above, a relatively small percentage of Indus Kohistani people goes to school and, thus, most people have little if any opportunity to learn or become proficient in either of these languages.

It should also be noted that Indus Kohistani is broadcast from Peshawar on the radio. Although given little air time relative to the major languages of Pakistan, the simple fact that it is broadcast at all reflects the relative importance given to this minority language.<sup>14</sup>

A strongly positive attitude toward Indus Kohistani is also reflected in responses to more direct questions about the subject's feelings. Nearly every Indus Kohistani subject responded that the main advantage in speaking Kohistani is that it is their mother tongue or own language, reflecting at least some pride in ownership. Almost every subject also expressed that if their language was used as the medium of instruction in local schools, they would be interested in sending their children to such schools. Virtually everyone felt that their children will speak Indus Kohistani more than any other language when they grow up. Also, nearly all said that if books were produced in their language, they would be interested in buying them.<sup>15</sup> Nearly everyone asked expressed the opinion that all Kohistanis should learn to read and write in their language. Responses to other language attitude and use questions reflect this same positive attitude toward Indus Kohistani.

Responses to interview questions indicate that Indus Kohistani speakers also have a generally positive attitude toward several other languages. When asked which languages they wanted their children to learn, many interview subjects mentioned Urdu, Pashto, English and/or Arabic. Most subjects also said they wanted to learn more Urdu and Pashto. In the cases of Urdu, Pashto, and English, it is apparent that people felt these languages were important for travel and for communication with people from outside the Kohistan area. It is likely that many feel that knowledge of these languages is a vehicle for upward mobility. In the case of Arabic, it is obvious that this language

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<sup>14</sup> Two of the Indus Kohistani broadcasters assisted in this present research. One of these, Javed Iqbal of Seo village, was particularly instrumental in helping to collect the language and sociolinguistic data required to complete this study.

<sup>15</sup> Many Indus Kohistani interview subjects reported that there is one religious book which has been written in the Seo variety of Indus Kohistani.

plays a central role in Islam and is thus very important to them. Most subjects also named Urdu as being the best language for written material, often giving the reason that it is easy or it is the national language. No doubt this response reflects the fact that Kohistanis who receive education are trained in Urdu and that few individuals have had the experience of reading in any other language. In no way did this generally positive attitude toward other languages seem to overshadow the positive feelings Indus Kohistani speakers have for their own language. Multilingualism seems to be an accepted fact of life in Indus Kohistan, as it is in most of Pakistan.

### **2.5 Language Vitality**

At present, it is quite clear that Indus Kohistani is a very vital language. Without exception, Indus Kohistani interview subjects claimed that all Indus Kohistanis maintain the use of their ethnic group language and that none have shifted away from its use. All subjects also claimed that Kohistani was the language spoken in their home when they were children and that it still is today. Vitality is further supported by the fact that Indus Kohistani is reported as the language used in most other domains as well. There is also a brief daily radio broadcast in Indus Kohistani, which would seem to promote it at least in some small way.

It should be noted that both Urdu and Pashto may be slowly encroaching on the Indus Kohistani area, although current evidence shows no tendency to shift from the continued use of Kohistani among those who have acquired proficiency in either language. It has already been stated that most subjects considered Urdu to be the best language for written materials. It is also the official medium of instruction in the schools, although Indus Kohistani was reported to be used by many of the teachers in primary school. At present, this emphasis on Urdu appears to have had little effect on language use in most other domains. The use of Indus Kohistani remains high. However, the advantages which may be offered to those who know Urdu (i.e., better jobs,

ease of travel, etc.) may have a noticeable effect over time on the general use of Kohistani.

Pashto may also pose some threat to the use of Indus Kohistani over time. Pashto is the main regional language in Pakistan's North-West Frontier Province, and it has long been a major second language for many. Since the days of the Wali of Swat's rule, Pashto has had a major influence in the Indus Kohistan area. Today, Pashto is the major language to the west and south of District Kohistan. There are reportedly at least some pockets of Pashto speakers living within District Kohistan itself.<sup>16</sup> This might be taken as one example of the slow encroachment of Pashto influence in this area.

## 2.6 Further Study

Some further attention could be given to documenting the slight pronunciation and lexical differences that exist between the Indus Kohistani that is spoken in the Duber and Kandia Valleys and the Indus Kohistani spoken along the main course of the Indus River. Present evidence suggests that the differences between the two are only slight.

Recorded text testing was done in the direction of assessing how well Indus Kohistani speakers can understand other language varieties in the area. Further exploration could also be done into how well some of the other language groups in the area can understand Indus Kohistani.

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<sup>16</sup> Interview subjects from the Duber Valley and Ranolia reported that the village of Jarg in the Duber Valley is Pashto-speaking. This village is in the midst of Indus Kohistani territory. Biddulph mentions this village in his book *Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh*, but he does not specify the language spoken in Jarg (1880:9). Barth discusses this group in more detail in his 1956 article about Indus and Swat Kohistan. He mentions that the people of that village are indeed Pashto-speaking and that the "Pathans of Jag [Jarg] are regarded as inferior in status" to the Kohistani people in the area (1956:49-51).

## 2.7 Summary and Conclusions Concerning Indus Kohistani

In summary, Indus Kohistani (Maiyā) is a language that is distinct from all other linguistic varieties which surround it. However, it does share a higher degree of similarity with Chilisso than with any other linguistic variety in the area. Within the linguistic confines of Indus Kohistani itself there are also two slightly different recognized varieties — that of Seo-Patan-Jijal and that of Duber-Kandia. Although this distinction is readily recognized by mother tongue speakers, it is quite clear that the two varieties are only slightly different from one another; mother tongue speakers view them as one and the same language.

It is also evident that, in general, most Indus Kohistani speakers do not possess a high degree of proficiency in any second language. Urdu is the prescribed medium of instruction in school and Pashto is taught as a subject, but relatively few Indus Kohistani people have had opportunity to attain education to any great degree and therefore have limited ability in either of these languages. This is especially true for Kohistani women, who have had almost no opportunity for education. Those in the Indus Kohistani community who have had more opportunity for education would appear to be younger males under the age of thirty.

It is also true that Indus Kohistani speakers have fewer opportunities to learn a second language due to the fact that travel outside of Kohistan is limited. Men travel outside of the area for business or work, but with the exception of those who have lived outside of the area for a long period of time, this exposure would seem insufficient to give most individuals a high degree of proficiency in any second language.

Within the confines of Kohistan itself, it would appear that at least some Indus Kohistani men have some passive understanding of Shina, the major language on the opposite side of the Indus River. In Kohistani communities such as Seo, it is not surprising that individuals would have such passive



understanding, since they live near Shina-speaking people and share a common market area with them.

Concerning language attitudes and use in the Indus Kohistani community, it is quite evident that language use patterns along with real expressed feelings reflect that Indus Kohistani speakers have a strongly positive attitude toward their language. As might be expected in a multilingual society, the importance of learning Urdu, Pashto, and English is also recognized, but this does not appear to have diminished the desire that Indus Kohistani people have to learn their own language.

The positive attitude that Indus Kohistani speakers have toward their own language plays a part in assuring that, at present, Indus Kohistani is a vital language. Although there may be pressure from outside languages of wider use, such as Urdu and Pashto, this pressure does not appear to be great enough to seriously threaten the language in the near future.

As mentioned earlier, in addition to Indus Kohistani there are three smaller languages which also exist within the confines of District Kohistan, Chilisso, Gowro, and Bateri. All of these three, in addition to Shina, have been compared with Indus Kohistani and discussed briefly in this chapter. In chapters 3 (Chilisso), 4 (Gowro), and 5 (Bateri), a more detailed discussion of each of these three can be found.

## Chapter 3

### Chilisso

#### 3.0 Introduction

Chilisso is a language spoken by a relatively small number of people in scattered locations on the east bank of the Indus River in District Kohistan.<sup>17</sup> These individuals live right in the midst of the majority Shina-speaking population. The name Chilisso comes from Chiliss Khel, which is the clan name of those who speak this language.<sup>18</sup> Estimates by mother tongue speakers suggest that there may be only a few thousand active speakers of this language at best. Most of these would appear to be in the Jalkot area. Chilisso people are also found in the Kolai area in the village of Mahrin, but according to interview data collected in this present study, there may be only fifteen to twenty actual speakers of the language there, at best. Not all people from the Chiliss Khel speak the language today.

In the course of this study of the Chilisso language, Chilisso word lists were collected from two sites, Jalkot and Mahrin, both

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<sup>17</sup> Biddulph (1880:69) speculates that the Chiliss are “an offshoot of the Torwalik [Torwali], and take their name from Chahil [Chail], the principal village of Torwal.” He makes this speculation largely because of the tradition he ascertained that the Chiliss came from Boneyr in the Swat Valley (1880:10). However, Biddulph also says that the separation of the Torwali and the Chiliss has “produced considerable differences in the dialects now spoken” (1880:69). In this present study, those from the Chiliss Khel who were interviewed did not seem to know where they came from before their presence in the Indus Valley. It should also be noted that word list data collected in this study indicate that Torwali and Chilisso have a rather low degree of lexical similarity between them (just over 25 percent). One might imagine that there would be a higher degree of lexical similarity today if, as Biddulph says, the Chiliss and Torwali are two branches of the same tribe.

<sup>18</sup> Chilisso should not be confused with the language spoken in Chilas, farther north in District Diamer. Shina (the Chilas variety) is the language that is spoken in Chilas, not Chilisso. The two are quite different. (See, for example, Radloff 1992.)

on the east bank of the Indus River in District Kohistan.<sup>19</sup> Also, a Chilisso story was collected from Jalkot; speakers of Indus Kohistani (chapter 2) were tested on their ability to understand it. In addition, fourteen individuals from the Chiliss Khel were formally interviewed in order to obtain information on language use and attitudes, language vitality, bilingualism, etc. It was difficult to find individuals from this community since there are few of them relative to the larger Shina-speaking population in the area.

The only hard data on the Chilisso language, which existed before this present study are the comparative word list provided by Biddulph in *Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh*. This word list is also displayed in Grierson's *LSI VIII.2* for comparison with word lists from other languages in the Kohistan area. Aside from the very brief mention of the Chiliss people provided by Biddulph, no other source provides any new information about them. It is hoped that this present study will be a helpful addition to what is already known about the Chilisso language and the people who speak it.

### 3.1 Comparison with Related and Neighboring Languages

#### 3.1.1 Word Lists

As mentioned above, Chilisso word lists were collected from two separate locations in District Kohistan, one from Jalkot and one from Mahrin (in Kolai). (See appendix D.1 for a display of the Chilisso word list data.) These two word lists share 86 percent lexical similarity. Perhaps one reason why they are not more similar is that some distance (perhaps thirty miles or so) separates the two areas, and it would appear that there is limited

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<sup>19</sup> The most frequently mentioned villages in Jalkot where Chilisso was reported to be spoken were: Gujar Banda, Ajalgat, Pashot, and Dader. Other villages or areas mentioned were: Pashkare, Zharo, Bara, Mashoane, Shilu, Baro Ga, Bak, Dotch Ba, and Tial.

contact between the two. (See map 2 at the beginning of this volume.)

**(10) Languages Of District Kohistan  
Word List Percentages Matrix**

Kandia

98 Duber

90 91 Seo

91 92 100 Patan

88 90 95 95 Jijal

**71 70 71 71 71 Chilisso (Jalkot)**

**69 69 71 71 71 87 Chilisso (Mahrin)**

61 61 63 63 62 **65 68** Gowro

58 59 61 61 60 **55 54** 60 Bateri

40 40 37 37 38 **56 49** 41 30 Jalkot (Shina)

38 38 36 36 37 **55 48** 40 29 100 Palas (Shina)

40 41 38 38 39 **53 52** 43 30 97 97 Kolai (Shina)

28 28 27 26 27 **25 26** 24 27 16 15 16 Kalami

28 27 28 27 27 **27 26** 25 29 17 17 19 44 Torwali

17 17 18 18 18 **17 16** 18 18 16 15 15 15 12 Urdu

14 14 12 12 12 **11 12** 11 12 12 11 13 7 9 11 Pashto

Comparison of the two Chilisso word lists with word lists collected from the other languages of District Kohistan indicates that Chilisso is quite distinct from these other language varieties. The percentages of similarity are highlighted in figure (10). The two Chilisso word lists have from 69 to 71 percent lexical similarity with the five Indus Kohistani word lists. (See chapter 2; Indus Kohistani is the major language on the west bank of the Indus River in District Kohistan.) The two Chilisso word lists also have from 48 to 56 percent lexical similarity with the three Kohistan Shina word lists. (Shina is the major language on the east bank of the river in District Kohistan. See Radloff 1992, in this series, for a display of the Shina word list data.) Also, these Chilisso word lists share 65 and 68 percent similarity with the word list collected from the Gabar Khel (Gowro) and 54 and 55 percent similarity with Bateri. (Both Gowro and Bateri are

languages spoken by smaller groups of people on the east bank of the Indus River in District Kohistan. See chapters 4 and 5 for a more detailed discussion of each of these language varieties.) In addition, the two Chilisso word lists have 25 to 27 percent similarity with Kalami and Torwali, two languages spoken in the Swat valley. (See Rensch in this volume for further discussion of Kalami and Torwali. See also appendix B.1 for a display of Kalami and Torwali word lists.)

### **3.1.2 Comprehension of Recorded Speech**

Recorded text testing was done testing speakers of Indus Kohistani on how well they could understand a story told in the Chilisso language.<sup>20</sup> (See appendix A.2 for a description of recorded text test methodology and appendix D.2 for a transcription of the Chilisso text.) Results indicate that the 10 Indus Kohistani subjects who were tested, on average, had a fair understanding of this story. They scored an average of 87 percent with a standard deviation of 10.<sup>21</sup> By comparison, these same 10 Indus Kohistani subjects scored an average of 96 percent on their own hometown story with a standard deviation of 5. The fact that

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<sup>20</sup> In order to obtain results which reflect comprehension based on the inherent similarity between two language varieties, it is important to test individuals from one language variety who have had little contact with the other language variety. In the case of Chilisso, it is likely that many Chilisso speakers have had considerable contact with Indus Kohistani, the major language on the west bank of the Indus River. In contrast, it is not very likely that Indus Kohistani speakers have had much contact with Chilisso since the use of Chilisso seems to be more confined to the Chilisso-speaking community itself. In light of these facts, in this study recorded text testing was done in the direction of least likely contact — testing Indus Kohistani subjects on their ability to understand Chilisso.

<sup>21</sup> Nine Chilisso subjects from Jalkot scored an average of 99 percent with a standard deviation of 2 on their own story. This average score is based on the 11 final questions which were selected for testing with other language groups (i.e., Indus Kohistani); the original test had 17 questions, 6 of which were eliminated because they were found to be inadequate or unnecessary.

It should also be noted that all of the hometown Chilisso test subjects claimed to be from the Chiliss Khel. However, not all claimed to be active speakers of the Chilisso language. In spite of this, these subjects were tested because they claimed to understand the language and because there was an apparent scarcity of Chilisso subjects to test. The Chilisso-speaking population is quite small when compared with the much larger Shina-speaking population.

most of these subjects scored rather well on the Chilisso story may have been due to the subject matter of the story, to contact between speakers, or to some other unknown factor(s). But it is also probable that since Chilisso and Indus Kohistani share from 69 to 71 percent lexical similarity, they are enough alike that understanding between the two is enhanced by their inherent similarity.

### 3.1.3 Dialect Opinion

In the course of interviewing individuals from the Chiliss Khel, several questions were asked which pertain to dialect opinion. Nearly all the subjects seemed to feel that the Chilisso language is much more like the Indus Kohistani language than it is like the Shina language. This opinion is supported by the word list findings as summarized above.

Another point that was revealed was that those who were interviewed in Jalkot seemed to be somewhat unaware that Chilisso is also spoken in Mahrin, further to the south. When asked in which villages their language is spoken, Jalkot subjects named villages in Jalkot only. However, several of these same individuals said that they felt their ancestors had come from the Kolai area, which is where Mahrin is situated. In spite of the fact that Chilisso-speaking individuals in Jalkot do not seem to be fully aware of those in Mahrin, word list data support the idea that the two are one and the same language.

## 3.2 Other Language Ability — Bilingualism

In this present study, little information was gathered concerning the state of bilingualism amongst the Chiliss people. However, from the interview data which were collected, it can be said that those who speak Chilisso most likely also speak the Kohistan variety of Shina. Many interviewees claimed that all who speak Chilisso also speak Jalkoti (Shina) or the Kolai language (Shina). For many subjects, in fact, it is very much a question as to which of these two languages really is their first language. Also, from general observation during the course of

data collection, it seemed as though some were uncertain about which language to call their own. Chilisso is one form of identity marker, but it would appear that many of those who identify themselves as from the Chiliss Khel do not now speak Chilisso in their home.

Concerning the state of Urdu and Pashto bilingualism amongst the Chilisso-speaking population, little direct information was gathered in this study. More extensive investigation in this area, however, was done amongst the Indus Kohistani population on the west bank of the Indus River in District Kohistan, a group whose circumstances are much the same as the Chilisso-speaking group. The results of this investigation into Urdu and Pashto bilingualism revealed that, generally, most Indus Kohistani speaking men had medium to low ability in both. (See chapter 2, §2.3.3. above.) From interview data collected from this same community, it can be concluded that Indus Kohistani speaking women generally have very little to no ability in either language. There is little doubt that this picture reflects the situation amongst the Chilisso-speaking population as well.

### **3.3 Language Use and Attitudes**

From the evidence at hand it would appear that there is neither a strongly negative nor a strongly positive attitude toward Chilisso. Although most interviewees identified Chilisso as their language, their responses were elicited mainly in the context of discussing Chilisso as a language; if Chilisso had not been discussed, it may be that people would have identified their language as Jalkoti (Shina) or the Kolai language (Shina). It should be noted that most of the interviewees claimed that they do not speak Chilisso in their homes now, but instead speak Shina, the major language on the east bank of the Indus River. Most also felt their children would likely speak Shina most of the time when they grow up. A few said that both Chilisso and Shina would be used. Some also said that if forced to choose, they preferred that their children learn Jalkoti (Shina) instead of Chilisso. Chiliss people and Shina-speaking people do intermarry, and in such cases it was reported that Shina is often

the language spoken in the home. The majority also felt it was an advantage to speak Shina since the Shina-speaking people are in the majority on the east side of the Indus River.

### **3.4 Language Vitality**

As stated above, it seems apparent from interviews with Chilisso speakers that there is not a strongly positive attitude toward maintaining the Chilisso language. Nearly everyone interviewed claimed that there are Chiliss Khel people who no longer speak the language. In the village of Mahrin it was suggested that there may be only fifteen to twenty of the older people who still speak it. In Jalkot it would appear that there are still a number of people who speak the language to some degree; most mother tongue estimates were under 1600. But even there, it seems that many have shifted from speaking Chilisso in favor of Shina, the major language on that side of the river. Interviews also revealed that people of the Chiliss Khel do intermarry with Shina-speaking people, and in such cases it is often Shina that is spoken by the children in the home. A few respondents said that in such cases a mixture of the two languages would be spoken by the children. One question that exists for many of these people is which language really is their first language. Although Chilisso might be thought of as the first language for some, there are no doubt many from the Chiliss Khel who grow up primarily speaking Shina. Even if Chilisso is used primarily in some homes, Shina is the major language of use in the wider community.

It should also be noted that most of those interviewed thought it possible that one day their language would cease to be actively spoken. Although this by itself does not prove that it will in fact one day cease to exist, it does serve as an indicator of declining vitality. It would not be typical for the people from this area to make such a statement about a language they identify as their own, if it did not have some basis in their perception of reality.

A point that further underscores the idea that language shift is taking place in this community is the fact that of the thirteen



individuals who were asked, four said that they spoke Chilisso in their home as a child but speak Shina in their home today.

### **3.5 Further Study**

It is recommended that more investigation be done amongst the Chilisso population in both Jalkot and Kolai to determine more accurately how many speakers of this language there really are. The highest estimate obtained in this study was around 3000 for Jalkot; most estimates were much lower.

More investigation could also be done into just how different this language is from (Indus) Kohistani; they share around 70 percent lexical similarity.

Further investigation is recommended exploring the question of how many people from the Chiliss Khel presently speak Chilisso as their first language. The evidence suggests that many have left the language completely in favor of Shina. Current evidence also suggests that bilingual ability in Shina may be virtually complete amongst the Chilisso population. Since, however, present data are limited, more investigation is necessary to confirm the actual levels of Shina bilingualism within the Chilisso community. In addition, because Chilisso may be in danger of falling into disuse at some point in the future, it would be desirable to collect language samples and as much information as possible before it reaches that point.

### **3.6 Summary and Conclusions Concerning Chilisso**

Chilisso is a language spoken by at least some members of the Chiliss Khel, an enclave of people who live scattered in various communities amongst the majority Shina-speaking community on the east bank of the Indus River in District Kohistan. The Chilisso language is distinct from all other linguistic varieties around it, although it does share a certain similarity with Indus Kohistani and, perhaps to a lesser degree, Gowro.

The state of bilingualism within the Chilisso community would seem to be one where most, if not all, Chilisso speakers are bilingual in Shina. For many, there is a question as to which of the two languages really is their first language since Chilisso speakers readily mix with and intermarry with the larger Shina-speaking population.

Concerning language use, attitudes, and vitality, it would appear that Chilisso speakers have neither a strongly positive nor a strongly negative attitude toward their language. This is reflected by patterns of language use as well as expressed feelings about the future of their language. Many of those interviewed in this study said they do not speak Chilisso in their home now and seemed to feel that their language may cease to exist at some point in the future. A number of these interviewees also expressed their preference for the Shina language over Chilisso. At this point, Chilisso seems to still be maintained in some homes, but with the pressure that presently exists from other languages, especially Shina, it would seem that the future viability of Chilisso is questionable.

## Chapter 4

### Gowro (Gabar Khel language)

The Gabar Khel language, also known in the literature as *Gowro*<sup>22</sup>, is spoken by a relatively small number of people on the east bank of the Indus River in District Kohistan.<sup>23</sup> It would appear that the main place it is spoken is in the village of Mahrin by people from the Gabar Khel, a particular clan in that village.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> The name Gowro is believed by this researcher to be a quickly spoken rendering of Gabaro.

<sup>23</sup> Gowro should not be confused with *Gawri* which is another name for Kalami, a language spoken in the Swat Valley. The name Gabar Khel should likewise not be confused with other places in the Indus Valley which are given the name Gabar. To the knowledge of this researcher, people from the Gabar Khel do not live in these other places, nor is Gowro spoken there.

<sup>24</sup> Two subjects also reported that there are a few homes of Gowro speakers in Helo, which is said to be near Batagram. One interview subject (a Gowro speaker) now living in Mahrin also reported that he himself was born in Helo. Since it was not possible at the time to actually make a trip to Helo, the fact that there may be Gowro speakers living in Helo today was not confirmed. It should also be noted that three subjects reported that the Gabar Khel people previously lived in Alai, near Thakot. One individual, however, said that there are no Gowro speakers now living in Alai. Since no trip was actually made to Alai, this information also was not confirmed. It is possible that Gowro speakers originally came from Alai since this is consistent with Biddulph's description of events written some 100 years ago in his book *Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh*:

One branch of the Alai Valley stretches up towards the head of the Palus [Palas] Valley, which is separated by a low pass. Increase of population and the scarcity of land cause the men of Alai to cast longing eyes on the Palus [Palas] land, and disputes are already beginning to arise concerning settlers from Alai, who have found their way across the pass (1880:6).

It should also be noted that one Gabar Khel interview subject from Mahrin reported that there are a few homes of Gabar Khel people in Tawa and Jabri, which he said are near Besham. This information was not confirmed, and it was not clear whether the inhabitants of Tawa and Jabri are speaking Gowro today.

More than 100 years ago, Biddulph reported that there were supposedly Gowro speakers in the villages of Pato and Bhimkot. In this present study, it was learned that the present recognized pronunciation of these two villages is

In this present study, it was difficult to find members of the Gowro language community because they are few in number relative to the Shina-speaking population of the area as a whole. The large majority of the population of Mahrin village is Shina-speaking. Mother tongue speaker population estimates suggest that there may be only 200 or fewer actual speakers of Gowro, as opposed to more than 200,000 speakers of the Kohistan variety of Shina. Also, the people of the Gabar Khel live far from the road in the higher regions of the village of Mahrin. Travel to this upper portion of the village is on foot up a very steep mountain trail requiring no small effort. Also, enmity is very prevalent in the village, making travel for some in the community hazardous. For these, and no doubt other reasons, the Gowro people do not frequent the bazaar areas which are closer to the valley bottom, near the Karakoram Highway.

In spite of the fact that it was difficult to find members of this language community, some valuable data were obtained. In the course of this study, a Gowro word list was collected and checked. Also, two Gowro stories were tape recorded, transcribed, and translated. Members of the Indus Kohistani language community on the west bank of the Indus River were tested on their ability to understand these two stories. In addition, a small number of individuals were interviewed in an attempt to obtain information about language attitudes and use, language vitality, etc.

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*Tato* and *Bhinkot*. These two locations are reportedly very small villages nearby one another on the east bank of the Indus River across the river from a place called *Chakai*, which is perhaps twenty to thirty minutes north of Besham by Suzuki (small vehicle). Personal observation confirmed that these two villages are indeed small. The important point to note here is that all interview subjects who were asked reported that there are no Gabar Khel people presently living in either of these two villages. Those who were asked clearly stated that only Kali Khel people live there.

Biddulph (1880:10) also reports that Gowro speakers have a tradition that they came from Rashung in Swat. However, Gowro speakers interviewed in this present study did not seem to be aware of this tradition. Also, it should be noted that in this present study both Torwali and Kalami, spoken in the Swat Valley, have a rather low degree of shared lexical similarity with Gowro (24 to 25 percent).

## 4.1 Relationship to Related and Neighboring Linguistic Varieties

### 4.1.1 Word Lists

As mentioned above, a Gowro word list was collected and checked. (See appendix A.1 for a description of word list methodology and appendix D.1 for a display of the Gowro word list data.) This word list was then compared with word lists collected from other language communities in the Districts of Kohistan and Swat. These comparisons reveal that Gowro is quite distinct from these other language varieties. The percentages of similarity are highlighted in figure (11).

(11) Languages Of District Kohistan  
Word List Percentages Matrix

Kandia												
98	Duber											
90	91	Seo										
91	92	100Patan										
88	90	95	95	Jijal								
71	70	71	71	71	Chilisso (Jalkot)							
69	69	71	71	71	87	Chilisso (Mahrin)						
<b>61</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>Gowro</b>					
58	59	61	61	60	55	54	<b>60</b>	Bateri				
40	40	37	37	38	56	49	<b>41</b>	30	Jalkot (Shina)			
38	38	36	36	37	55	48	<b>40</b>	29	100Palas (Shina)			
40	41	38	38	39	53	52	<b>43</b>	30	97	97	Kolai (Shina)	
28	28	27	26	27	25	26	<b>24</b>	27	16	15	16	Kalami
28	27	28	27	27	27	26	<b>25</b>	29	17	17	19	44 Torwali
17	17	18	18	18	17	16	<b>18</b>	18	16	15	15	12 Urdu
14	14	12	12	12	11	12	<b>11</b>	12	12	11	13	7 9 11 Pashto

Gowro shares 61 to 63 percent lexical similarity with the five Indus Kohistani word lists which were collected from sites on the west bank of the Indus River in District Kohistan. It also

has 60 percent similarity with the Bateri word list and 65 and 68 percent similarity with the two Chilisso word lists. Gowro also has from 40 to 43 percent lexical similarity with the three Shina word lists that were collected from the east bank of the Indus River in District Kohistan. In addition, Gowro has 24 percent similarity with Kalami and 25 percent similarity with Torwali, both of which are spoken in the Swat Valley. (See Rensch in this volume for further discussion of Kalami and Torwali. See also appendix B.1 for a display of Kalami and Torwali word lists.)

#### 4.1.2 Comprehension of Recorded Speech

In this study, limited recorded text testing was carried out. However, some testing was done among Indus Kohistani speakers on their ability to understand two different Gowro stories.<sup>25</sup> (See appendix D.2 for a full display of these two Gowro stories.) Average scores for 11 Indus Kohistani subjects on these two stories were 78 percent (Gowro Hunting Story) and 65 percent (Gowro Enmity Story) with standard deviations of 8 and 9 respectively. Although these averages do differ somewhat, both reflect that Indus Kohistani speakers did not fully understand either of these two stories.<sup>26</sup> This is further underscored by the fact that a mother tongue Indus Kohistani speaker who was

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<sup>25</sup> The testing in this case was not conventional recorded text testing. It was not possible to hometown test the two Gowro stories because of the apparent scarcity of speakers. However, a mother tongue Indus Kohistani speaker attempted to translate as much of each story as possible so it was somewhat clear where Indus Kohistani speakers would likely have difficulty understanding the text. The stories were then translated more fully with the help of a mother tongue Gowro speaker. Results indicate that it was indeed at points where the Indus Kohistani translator had trouble translating the two stories that Indus Kohistani test subjects had the most difficulty understanding these two Gowro texts.

<sup>26</sup> One prime example of a point where comprehension broke down was where the Gowro word *gu*, meaning 'home/house', occurred in the Gowro Enmity story. The story begins with a man's home (his *gu*) being torn down by another hostile group. For Indus Kohistani speakers this caused some confusion because in their language a similar sounding word, *gū*, means 'wheat', not 'home'. Several Indus Kohistani individuals responded at this point in the story by saying that the man's wheat had been pulled up or destroyed. (See appendix D.2 for a full display of the two Gowro stories used in this study.)

trained in the skill of transcribing text from tape could neither fully translate nor transcribe either of the two Gowro stories.

### **4.1.3 Dialect Opinion**

Based on the few interviews obtained, it appears that there are no perceived differences in the way that Gowro is spoken from place to place.

## **4.2 Other Language Ability — Bilingualism**

Concerning bilingualism amongst Gowro speakers, it is likely that most, if not all, Gowro speakers are also able to speak Shina. One individual said that all know the Kolai language (Shina). The village where they live is mainly Shina-speaking; thus, those from the Gabar Khel must use Shina in order to communicate in the wider community. For many of these individuals Shina may, in fact, be their first language since at least some Gabar Khel people no longer speak Gowro.

Proficiency in languages of the area other than Shina is most likely not high. Since Gowro speakers share a bazaar down on the Indus River with speakers of Indus Kohistani, it is likely that Gabar Khel men have at least some understanding of the Indus Kohistani language. However, because of limited contact, their proficiency is probably not high. It is also possible that some Gowro speakers have some understanding of the Chilisso language, the other clan language spoken in Mahrin. (See chapter 3.) But since it appears that very few Chilisso individuals in Mahrin today actually speak the Chilisso language, it is not likely that Gowro speakers would have any high degree of proficiency in that language through sustained contact.

Concerning the larger languages of Urdu, Pashto and English, there are no doubt individuals in the Gowro community who have some ability in one or more of these languages, but it is unlikely that very many possess any high degree of proficiency. The village of Mahrin, where the Gabar Khel people live, appears to be less developed in most every way than Seo,

the Indus Kohistani community on the west bank of the Indus River where more extensive bilingualism testing in Urdu and Pashto was carried out. In the Indus Kohistani community of Seo, most men had moderate to low abilities at best in these two languages. Although testing was not done amongst the women, interview data suggest that Indus Kohistani women have very low, or no, ability in Urdu and Pashto. There is little question that the Gowro speakers in Mahrin exhibit similar or even lower levels of Urdu and Pashto proficiency. In Mahrin, like Seo, women have very little opportunity to travel, and according to interviews, no opportunity to attend school. Although no formal bilingualism testing in English was carried out in District Kohistan, observation confirms that there are very few individuals who possess any high degree of ability in this language.

### **4.3 Language Use and Attitudes**

Limited information was collected from the Gabar Khel people concerning language use and attitudes. However, six individuals from the Gabar Khel were interviewed. Only four of these six claimed to actually still speak the Gowro language. In addition, at least three children present at various of these interviews were also said to speak the language. Although the number of interviews was not great due to the apparent scarcity of active speakers, what resulted from these interviews was revealing. All indications from the present data point to the probability that the Gabar Khel people are quite proficient in Shina, the major language on the east bank of the Indus River. One subject reported that all Gabar Khel people also learn the Kolai language (Shina). Indeed, for some, perhaps most from the Gabar Khel, Shina is actually their first language. Two Gabar Khel individuals interviewed in this study said they do not speak the Gowro language. However, another individual said that Gowro was spoken in his home as a child and still is today. Yet another subject also commented that people from the Gabar Khel know the Kolai (Shina) language and the Indus Kohistani language, but members of those two language groups do not know the Gabar Khel language.



Interview data concerning language attitudes amongst the Gabar Khel people suggest that there is a favorable attitude toward the Gowro language; however, it appears this attitude is not resulting in strong language use and maintenance. As mentioned above, this researcher encountered individuals from the Gabar Khel who said they could not speak the Gowro language. It was stated that the young people prefer speaking the Kolai language (Shina). One older subject exhibited a note of sadness that his language appeared to be waning, even saying something to the effect that those who leave the language are lazy. Two other individuals from this community, however, expressed their sentiment that the language would not cease to be actively used, which seems to suggest at least some positive feeling on their part. One of these individuals also said that he wanted his children to learn his own language (Gowro) and claimed that if a school existed which taught his language, he would send his children.

#### **4.4 Language Vitality**

On the topic of language vitality, it would seem that the dominance of Shina may be slowly erasing the use of Gowro. One interview subject reported that Gabar Khel people intermarry with Shina-speaking people and, in such situations, it is the Kolai language (Shina) that is spoken by the children in the home. Another subject said that a mixture of the two languages is spoken in such situations. One elderly subject said that he preferred that his children learn the Gabar Khel language, but that his children prefer speaking the Kolai language (Shina). This same older man also reported that he himself mixes the two languages when he speaks. He also said that he felt that one day the Gabar Khel language might cease to be spoken, noting that some people no longer use it. Another subject said that many no longer speak the language. In contrast to these reports, however, one Gowro speaker said that he thought the language would continue to be used and that his children would speak their own language (Gowro) most when they grow up. He also claimed that

Gowro was spoken in his own home when he was a child and still is today.

#### **4.5 Further Study**

More information should be gathered to find out just how many actual speakers of this language there really are. An attempt should be made to explore all of the localities mentioned above to see if there are actually speakers in each location. Also, more investigation should be done to determine just how proficient speakers of Gowro are in Shina, the dominant language on the east bank of the Indus River. It may be that many, if not most, individuals from the Gabar Khel have in fact shifted from actively speaking the Gowro language in favor of Shina. It is also important to investigate the patterns of language use among the young children to determine how many are actually hearing Gowro spoken in the home and are learning and speaking it themselves. Because Gowro appears to be a language that is in danger of falling into disuse at some point in the future, it would be desirable to collect language samples and as much information as possible before it reaches that point.

#### **4.6 Summary and Conclusions Concerning Gowro**

Gowro is a language spoken by a small enclave of people of the Gabar Khel who live mainly in the village of Mahrin, which is predominantly Shina-speaking. Gowro is a language that is distinct from all linguistic varieties which surround it. The state of bilingualism in the Gowro-speaking community is that most, if not all, speak Shina as well. For at least some Gabar Khel people, Shina might, in fact, be thought of as their first language. This may be partially due to the fact that Gabar Khel people were said to intermarry with the Shina population. The mixed variety of language use patterns would suggest that although attitudes do not seem to be negative toward Gowro, it may be in danger of being eclipsed in the future by Shina. Further exploration is needed in the future to see what effects time and pressure from other language groups will have on the existence of the language.

## Chapter 5

### Bateri

#### 5.0 Introduction

*Bateri* (also known as *Bateri Kohistani*, *Baterawal*, or *Baterawal Kohistani*) is a language spoken by an estimated twenty to thirty thousand people on the east bank of the Indus River in an area called Batera. This area is in the southernmost part of District Kohistan, just north of and across the river from the Pashto-speaking town of Besham.<sup>27</sup> Although this area is relatively close to Besham, it is somewhat isolated due to the fact that the only access at present is via *jala* (a raft which floats on inflated water buffalo hides), or *zango* (hand-pulled cable car) across the Indus River. A road is presently under construction from south of Besham, which will greatly increase the accessibility of this area.<sup>28</sup>

In the course of this present study of *Bateri*, a word list was collected, some recorded text testing was carried out, and over forty individuals from the Batera community were formally interviewed. Previous to this present study, very little has been said about this language group. In *Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh*, Biddulph mentions the village of Batera and says that a language peculiar to that village is spoken there (1880:10). In addition, an article by Cooper and Fitch entitled *Report on a Language and Dialect Survey in Kohistan District* contains the results of a brief dialect survey of a number of the languages of Kohistan, including *Bateri*. In Cooper and Fitch's (1985) study, a *Bateri*

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<sup>27</sup> It was also reported in interviews that there may be some *Bateri* speakers living near Srinagar, India. However, this information is unconfirmed.

<sup>28</sup> Based on interview data, the most often mentioned villages within Batera where *Bateri* is spoken were: Batera Pain, Batera Bala, Kuz Masham, Bar Masham, Kamat, Zir, Barcho, Medan, and Sadiqabad. Other villages mentioned were Dungal, Karfu, and Lorin. The *Bateri* people were also said to travel to higher villages in the summer time. The names of these villages were said to be Chansar and Dungal.

word list was compared with word lists from other languages of the area. To the knowledge of this researcher, aside from these two references, no new information has been published. It is the hope of this present author that the discussion contained in this chapter will be a valuable addition to what has already been written about Bateri.

## **5.1 Relationship to Related and Neighboring Linguistic Varieties**

### **5.1.1 Word Lists**

A 210-item Bateri word list was collected, checked and compared with word lists collected from other language communities in the Districts of Kohistan and Swat. The percentages of similarity are highlighted in figure (12). (See appendix A.1 for a description of word list methodology and appendix D.1 for a display of the Bateri word list.)

(12) Languages Of District Kohistan  
Word List Percentages Matrix

Kandia												
98	Duber											
90	91	Seo										
91	92	100Patan										
88	90	95	95	Jijal								
71	70	71	71	71	Chilisso (Jalkot)							
69	69	71	71	71	87	Chilisso (Mahrin)						
61	61	63	63	62	65	68	Gowro					
<b>58</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>Bateri</b>				
40	40	37	37	38	56	49	41	<b>30</b>	Jalkot (Shina)			
38	38	36	36	37	55	48	40	<b>29</b>	100Palas (Shina)			
40	41	38	38	39	53	52	43	<b>30</b>	97	97	Kolai (Shina)	
28	28	27	26	27	25	26	24	<b>27</b>	16	15	16	Kalami
28	27	28	27	27	27	26	25	<b>29</b>	17	17	19	44 Torwali
17	17	18	18	18	17	16	18	<b>18</b>	16	15	15	12 Urdu
14	14	12	12	12	11	12	11	<b>12</b>	12	11	13	7 9 11 Pashto

The results of the word list comparisons show that Bateri shares from 58 to 61 percent lexical similarity with the five Indus Kohistani word lists, which were collected from sites on the west bank of the Indus River. It also has 60 percent lexical similarity with the Gowro word list and 54 and 55 percent similarity with the two Chilisso word lists. Bateri also has from 29 to 30 percent lexical similarity with the three Shina word lists, which were collected from sites on the east bank of the Indus River in District Kohistan. In addition, Bateri has 27 percent lexical similarity with Kalami and 29 percent similarity with Torwali, both of which are spoken in the Swat Valley. (See Rensch in this volume for further discussion of Kalami and Torwali. See also appendix B.1 for a display of Kalami and Torwali word lists.)

**5.1.2 Comprehension of Recorded Speech**

In this study of Bateri, some recorded text testing (RTT) was carried out. (See appendix A.2 for a description of RTT)

methodology.) Indus Kohistani speakers were tested on their ability to understand one Bateri story.<sup>29</sup> (See appendix D.2 for a transcription of this Bateri text.) The average score for 11 subjects was 51 percent with a standard deviation of 12. By comparison, these same 11 subjects scored an average of 94 percent with a standard deviation of 6 on their own hometown, Indus Kohistani story. This indicates quite clearly that Indus Kohistani speakers did not fully understand this Bateri story. Generally, test participants seemed to think that the Bateri language sounded strange. (Both the Indus Kohistani and Bateri stories used in testing can be found in appendix D.2.)

### 5.1.3 Dialect Opinion

In the course of interviewing Bateri speakers, several questions were asked which speak to the topic of perceived dialect differences. Several who were interviewed reported that Bateri is spoken the same way in all of Batera. Also, it was virtually universal amongst these interview subjects that Bateri is more like the Indus Kohistani language (west bank of Indus River) than it is like the Shina language (east bank of the Indus River). This is also supported by word list data.

Approaching the topic from a different angle, Indus Kohistani subjects were asked where their language is spoken differently. A number of these individuals said that Batera was such a place. These same subjects were also asked where their language is spoken badly. Most named Batera as being one such place. The reason most often given was that they felt the people of Batera speak a mixed language. Indus Kohistani subjects were

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<sup>29</sup> In order to obtain results which reflect the inherent similarity between two language varieties, it is important to test individuals from one language variety who have had little contact with the other language variety. In the case of Bateri, it is likely that many Bateri speakers have had considerable contact with Indus Kohistani, the major language on the west bank of the Indus River. In contrast, it is not very likely that Indus Kohistani speakers have had much contact at all with Bateri since the use of Bateri seems to be more confined to the Bateri-speaking community itself. In light of these facts, recorded text testing was done in the direction of least likely contact, testing Indus Kohistani subjects on their ability to understand Bateri.

also asked specifically whether or not they could understand the language of Batera. Virtually all who responded to this question claimed that they either did not understand it or understood very little.

## **5.2 Proficiency in Other Languages — Bilingualism**

Some interview data pertaining to bilingualism were collected from the Bateri community. These data confirm the hypothesis that although there are individuals in the community with at least some ability in Urdu, Pashto, and possibly English, this second language ability is not universal, nor is it generally a high-level skill. With respect to Urdu, many interview subjects felt that half or more of the men could speak it, but they felt few children and no women could speak Urdu. Concerning Pashto, the opinion was that more than half of the men could speak it and at least some women and children. The fact that women are said to generally possess low or no ability in Urdu and Pashto is not surprising since women have limited language contact because they rarely travel outside of their village area. Concerning English, general observation and knowledge of the area strongly suggest that few possess any high degree of proficiency.

Although the Indus Kohistani community of Seo (discussed in chapter 2) may not be exactly the same as the Bateri-speaking community, it is unlikely the two are dramatically different with respect to Urdu and Pashto language proficiency. The results of the testing in Seo indicate that, in general, most men of that community possess medium to low ability in both Urdu and Pashto. Those in Batera may have more contact with Pashto speakers since they live closer to Pashto-speaking territory, but it is unlikely that a high degree of ability in this second language is acquired simply through casual or business contact.

From the data at hand, it seems unlikely that most Bateri-speakers possess a generally high degree of ability in either Shina (the major language on the east bank of the Indus River) or Indus Kohistani (the major language on the west bank of the

Indus River). Bateri interview subjects confirmed that people in their community do not marry outsiders very often. Thus, there would not appear to be much second language acquisition due to intermarriage. Most interview subjects, however, reported that there are many men in the community who do have at least some ability in these two languages. This is no doubt due to the fact that they live in close proximity to one another and have contact in business. It should be noted, however, that most of those who were asked said that Bateri-speaking people generally have a higher degree of ability in Shina than in Indus Kohistani. Even though Bateri may be more similar to Indus Kohistani, this would seem logical, since the Batera area is on the same side of the river as the larger Shina-speaking community.

### **5.3 Language Use and Attitudes**

Data collected on language attitudes and use strongly suggest that Bateri is used almost exclusively in domains within the Bateri-speaking community, including the home. The only exceptions are the school domain, where Urdu is said to be the medium of instruction, and the business domain when Bateri speakers must communicate with those outside of the Bateri language community. Outsiders are reported to have no proficiency in the Bateri language.

The positive feeling toward Bateri is also reflected in the fact that interview subjects felt Bateri would be the language used most by their children when they grow up. Subjects also said they would send their children to a school where their own language was used as the medium of instruction and that they would buy books in their own language if such books existed. Additionally, no Bateri speakers felt that their language would one day cease to exist. Most also seemed to associate some of their identity as a group with their language since the main advantage they saw in speaking it was that it is their own language or mother tongue.

It should be noted that the Bateri-speaking people also expressed positive attitudes toward Pashto, Urdu, and English. Many interviewees mentioned one or more of these languages as



ones they want their children to learn. Nearly everyone who was asked seemed to feel that Urdu was the best language for written materials. This is most likely due to the fact that most of what they see in print is in Urdu, and it is Urdu that is formally used in the schools. Pashto, too, was seen by many as an important language due, most likely, to the fact that it functions as a *lingua franca* in the area. Most interviewees seemed to recognize the importance of both Pashto and Urdu for communication in places outside of Batera.

#### 5.4 Language Vitality

Concerning the topic of language vitality, it can be said that Bateri appears, at present, to be a very viable language. The Bateri-speaking community is not large when compared to the much larger Pashto, Indus Kohistani, and Shina-speaking communities which surround it, but it would seem that very few, if any, from the Bateri-speaking community are giving up the use of their language in favor of one of the more major languages. As mentioned above, Bateri is used almost exclusively within the Bateri community, and all subjects felt their children would use Bateri most when they grow up. Also, the opinion of everyone asked was that no one from the community has shifted from speaking Bateri in favor of some other language. In addition, as mentioned above, no Bateri speakers felt that their language would one day cease to exist.

#### 5.5 Further Study

More exploration could be done into the state of bilingualism amongst Bateri speakers. Interview subjects reported that many have ability in Pashto and Shina. Some are also said to have ability in Indus Kohistani. More should be known about the levels of bilingualism in these languages. It should be noted that the language attitudes of Bateri speakers appear to be strongly positive toward their own language and there is currently no evidence of general language shift. However, further study should also be done at some future point to examine how the new road, which is presently under

construction, may impact the general language situation in Batera.

More might also be done to further explore the similarities and differences between Indus Kohistani and Bateri. The two appear to be fairly different lexically, although not as different as Shina and Bateri. What other kinds of similarities and differences exist between Bateri and Indus Kohistani?

### **5.6 Summary and Conclusions Concerning Bateri**

It is quite clear that Bateri is distinct from all linguistic varieties which surround it. It is also evident that the Bateri community is relatively small when measured against the neighboring Indus Kohistani, Shina, and Pashto-speaking communities, yet Bateri speakers appear to have been able to preserve their language even in the face of dominance by these three larger groups. This might be attributed at least partially to the fact that Batera is not easily accessible; at present, the only access from the Indus River side is by cable car or raft, and Batera does not lie directly in the path of any major thoroughfare.

Less is known about actual levels of bilingualism amongst Bateri speakers, but it might be assumed that many of the men can function in at least one second language. The nearest major bazaar is in Besham, which is a predominantly Pashto-speaking town. It can be said, however, that if bilingualism patterns are similar to other parts of District Kohistan, it is doubtful whether proficiency levels in any second language are generally high amongst those in the Bateri community.

Concerning language attitudes and use, it would appear that Bateri-speakers have a strongly positive attitude toward their language. This is reflected in both language use patterns and in actual expressed feelings about their language. It is also important to note, however, that Bateri speakers also expressed a positive attitude toward other second languages such as Urdu and Pashto, no doubt reflecting that fact that these languages are also

important for communication with those outside of their own community.

Given the circumstances at present, it would appear that Bateri is a vital language. All expressed attitudes toward it were positive and current language use patterns suggest that it is not in danger of being dispensed with in the near future. One must wonder, however, what will actually happen as access to the area improves and if pressure from other language groups increases.



## APPENDICES



## **APPENDIX A METHODOLOGIES**

### **Appendix A.1 Procedure for Counting Lexical Similarity**

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

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

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

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

## (1)

## Category 1

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

## Category 2

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

## Category 3

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

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

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

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

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



**A.1.1 Phonetic Chart**

*Consonants*

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

*Vowels*

	Front		Central		Back	
High	i	ü	i	u	ĩ	u
	ɪ				ĩ	ʊ
Mid	e	ö	ə		ẽ	o
	ɛ		ʌ			
Low	æ	ö	ɑ		ä	ɔ

[t <sup>h</sup> ]	aspiration	[i̥]	voicelessness
[t <sup>w</sup> ]	labialization	[i:]	extra lengthening
[t <sup>y</sup> ]	palatalization	[iː]	lengthening
[zʌ <sup>1</sup> ban]	stress	[ḭ]	shortening
[x]	fronting	[i̠]	rising tone
[ĩ]	nasalized vowel	[ḭ]	falling tone
[ḭ]	retroflexed vowel	[ḭ]	falling then rising tone

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

	<i>Urdu</i>	<i>Pashto</i>
1. body	jism	badan
2. head	sar	sar
3. hair	bal	wextə
4. face	čehrə	max
5. eye	ek āk <sup>h</sup>	stargə
6. ear	ek kan	γwag
7. nose	nak	poza
8. mouth	mūh	xolə
9. teeth	ek dāt	γax
10. tongue	zaban	jibə / žibə
11. breast	č <sup>h</sup> ati	sina
12. belly	peṭ	xetə / geḍə
13. arm/hand	bazu	las
14. elbow	kohni	səḡgəl
15. palm	hət <sup>h</sup> eli	tale
16. finger	uḡgli	gotə
17. fingernail	naxun	nuk <sup>h</sup>
18. leg	taḡ	xpa
19. skin	jild	sarman
20. bone	həḍi	aḍuke
21. heart	dil	zəṛə
22. blood	xun	wina
23. urine	pešab	tašə mutiaze
24. feces	pexana	ḍake mutiaze
25. village	gaū	kale
26. house	g <sup>h</sup> ar/makan	kor
27. roof	č <sup>h</sup> ət	čət <sup>h</sup>
28. door	darwazə	war / darwaza
29. firewood	jəlane wali lakri	da swazedo largi
30. broom	j <sup>h</sup> aru	jaru
31. mortar	masala pisne gol čiz/laḡri	laḡgare <sup>i</sup>
32. pestle	hət <sup>h</sup> i/dasta/hət <sup>h</sup> ka hisə	čətu
33. hammer	hət <sup>h</sup> əra/-i	saṭak
34. knife	čəqu/č <sup>h</sup> uri	čaku / čəra
35. axe	kulhaṛa/-i	tlbar
36. rope	ras-i	paṛə
37. thread	d <sup>h</sup> aga	tar
38. needle	sui	stan
39. cloth	kapra	kapra
40. ring	laḡguṭ <sup>h</sup> i	gotə
41. sun	suraj	nwar
42. moon	čand	spogma <sup>i</sup>
43. sky	asman	asman
44. star	ek tara/sitara	store
45. rain	bariš	baran
46. water	pani	ubə
47. river	darya	sind
48. cloud	badal	waryaz

49. lightning	bijili ki čΛmak	prakigi
50. rainbow	qosi qozΛh	dΛ buđa' tΛl
51. wind	hΛwa (tufan nehī)	hawa
52. stone	pΛt <sup>h</sup> Λr	kaņe
53. path	rasta	lar
54. sand	ret	šΛga
55. fire	ağ	our
56. smoke	d <sup>h</sup> uā	luge
57. ash	rak <sup>h</sup>	ira
58. mud	kičΛr	xΛtΛ
59. dust	miṭ'i	ğΛrđ / duřa
60. gold	sona	srΛ zΛr
61. tree	dΛrΛxt/peř	wΛnΛ
62. leaf	pΛt'a/-i	paņa
63. root	dΛrΛxt ka ek jΛr	jΛrΛrē
64. thorn	kā'ta	azye
65. flower	p <sup>h</sup> ul	gwal
66. fruit	p <sup>h</sup> Λl	mewa
67. mango	am	am
68. banana	kela	kela
69. wheat (husked)	gehū / gΛndum	γΛnΛm
70. barley	bařra	warbaši
71. rice (husked)	čawΛl	wrije
72. potato	alu	alu
73. eggplant	bæηΛn	tor baṭiņgāř
74. groundnut	muņ p <sup>h</sup> Λli	mumpali
75. chili	mirč	marčΛke / mrač
76. turmeric	haldi	kurkΛman
77. garlic	lehsΛn	uga
78. onion	piaz	piaz
79. cauliflower	p <sup>h</sup> ul gobi	gobi / gwal gopi
80. tomato	ṭΛmaṭΛr	sur baṭiņgāř
81. cabbage	bΛnd gobi	bΛn gobi
82. oil	tel	tel
83. salt	nΛmak	malga
84. meat	gošt (k <sup>h</sup> ane ke lie)	γwΛxa
85. fat (of meat)	čerbi (gošt ka hissa)	wazdΛ
86. fish	mΛč <sup>h</sup> li	kΛb
87. chicken	muryi	čΛrgΛ
88. egg	ek Λṇđa	hō / age
89. cow	gae	γwa
90. buffalo	b <sup>h</sup> ēs	mexa
91. milk	dud <sup>h</sup>	pe
92. horns	ek siņg	xkΛr
93. tail	dum	lΛke
94. goat	bΛkri	biza
95. dog	kūt'a	spe
96. snake	sāāp	mar
97. monkey	bΛndΛr	bizo
98. mosquito	mΛč <sup>h</sup> Λr	maše
99. ant	čiuṭi	mege

100. spider	makri	jola
101. name	nam	num
102. man	admi / mard	sarə
103. woman	orat	xaza
104. child	bač'a	mašum
105. father	baþ	plar
106. mother	mā	mor
107. older brother	baɽa b <sup>h</sup> ai	mašar ror
108. younger brother	č <sup>h</sup> oɽa b <sup>h</sup> ai	kašar ror
109. older sister	baɽi baɽen / baǰi	mašra xor
110. younger sister	č <sup>h</sup> oɽi baɽen	kašra xor
111. son	beɽa	zwe
112. daughter	beɽi	lur
113. husband	šoɽar / xawand	xawand
114. wife	bivi	xaza
115. boy	laɽka	halak / alak
116. girl	laɽki	jine
117. day	ɽim / roz	wɽaz
118. night	rat / šab	špa
119. morning	subah / sawera	sahar
120. noon	ɽopaher	ɽarma
121. evening	šam	maxam
122. yesterday	(guzara) kal	parun
123. today	aǰ	nan
124. tomorrow	(ainda) kal	saba
125. week	ek haftā	haftā
126. month	māhina	miašt
127. year	sal / baɽas	kal
128. old	purana (čiz ke lie)	zoɽ
129. new	nea (čiz)	naɽwe
130. good	lač <sup>h</sup> a (čiz)	xə
131. bad	xarab (čiz)	xarab
132. wet	b <sup>h</sup> iǰa	lund
133. dry	xušk / suk <sup>h</sup> a	wlač <sup>h</sup>
134. long	lamba	ugud
135. short	č <sup>h</sup> oɽa	lanɽ / čit
136. hot	garam (čiz)	tod / garam
137. cold	t <sup>h</sup> anɽa / sarɽi (čiz)	ɽax
138. right	daē / daē <sup>v</sup> a	xe
139. left	baē / baē <sup>v</sup> a	gas
140. near	qarib / nazdik	nizde
141. far	ɽur	larə
142. big	baɽa	ɽaɽ
143. small	č <sup>h</sup> oɽa	warkoɽe / waruke
144. heavy	b <sup>h</sup> ari / wazni	drund
145. light	halka	sɽak
146. above	urar	učat / pas
147. below	niče	lande
148. white	sufed	spin
149. black	kala	tor
150. red	lal	sur

151. one	ek	yao
152. two	do	dwa
153. three	tin	dre
154. four	čar	salor
155. five	pǎč	pinzə
156. six	č <sup>h</sup> ε	špaɣ
157. seven	sat	uwə
158. eight	aɫ <sup>h</sup>	atə
159. nine	nao	naɦa
160. ten	das	las
161. eleven	gyara	yaoɦas
162. twelve	bara	dolɦas
163. twenty	bis	šal
164. one hundred	ek so	səl
165. who	kən	sok
166. what	kya	sə
167. where	kɪd <sup>h</sup> ar / kahã	čartɦa
168. when	kab	kɦla
169. how many	kitne	somra / so
170. which	kənsɦ	kɦm
171. this	ye	da
172. that	wo	aɣa
173. these	ye (sɦb)	da
174. those	wo (sɦb)	aɣa
175. same	ek hi / bɦrabar	yao šan / yao rɦɲ
176. different	muxtɦɦɦf	muxtɦɦɦf / biel kɦsɦm
177. whole	mɦkɦm'ɦɦ / salɦm	roɣ / sabɦt
178. broken	tuɦa	mat
179. few	t <sup>h</sup> oɦa / kuč / kɦm	ɦɣ
180. many	ziɦ'ɦɦ	ɦer / zɦt
181. all	sɦb	ɦol
182. to eat / eat!	tum k <sup>h</sup> ao	ɦoɦɦ / tɦ uɦɦɦ
183. to bite / the dog bites / bit	kaɦna / kut'ɦ kaɦa he	čɦčɦ / spi očičɦɦo
184. to be hungry / you are hungry	b <sup>h</sup> uk <sup>h</sup> ɦɦɦna / tum ko b <sup>h</sup> uk <sup>h</sup> ɦɦɦta he	oɦe kedɦɦ / tə wɦɦe ye
185. to drink / drink!	pɦna / tum pɦo / pi lo	skɦɦ / tə wɦɦskɦ
186. to be thirsty / you are thirsty	pɦas ɦɦɦna / pɦas ɦɦɦta he	tɦɦe kedɦɦ / tɦɦe <sup>i</sup> ye
187. to sleep / sleep!	sonɦ / tum so ɦɦo	udɦ kedɦɦ / tə udɦ šɦ
188. to lie / lie down!	leɦna / tum leɦ ɦɦo	sɦmɦstɦɦ / tə sɦmɦɦ
189. to sit / sit!	bɦɦ <sup>h</sup> na / tum bɦɦ <sup>h</sup> ɦɦo	kenɦstɦɦ / tə kɦna
190. to give / give!	denɦ / tum de do / do	wɦrkɦwɦɦ / tɦ wɦrkɦ
191. burn (the wood)!	ɦɦɦɦna / tum ɦɦkɦɦ ɦɦɦɦo	tɦ ɦɦɦɦ oswɦzɦɦɦ
192. to die / he died	mɦɦɦna / vo mɦɦ ɦɦe	mɦɦɦ kedɦɦ / ɦɦɦɦ mɦɦɦ šɦ
193. to kill / kill the bird!	mɦɦɦna / tum čɦɦɦɦ mɦɦ do	wɦɦɦɦɦ / tɦ mɦɦɦɦ <sup>i</sup> uwɦɦɦ
194. to fly / the bird flies / flew	oɦɦna / čɦɦɦɦ oɦɦti hai	ɦɦwɦtɦɦɦ / mɦɦɦɦ <sup>i</sup> wɦɦwɦtɦ
195. walk!	čɦɦɦna / tum čɦɦo	tə pɦɦɦɦ ɦɦɦɦɦ

196. to run / run!	dəɾna / tum dəɾo	manɔa wəhəl / tə manɔa uwa
197. to go / go!	jana / tum jao	tələl / tə larša
198. to come / come!	ana / tum ao	ratləl / tə raša
199. to speak / speak!	bolna / tum bolo	wayəl / tə uwayə
200. to hear / hear! / listen!	sunə / tum suno	awredəl / tə wawrə
201. to look / look!	dek <sup>h</sup> na / tum dek <sup>h</sup> o	kətəl / ta ugorə
202. I	mæ	zə
203. you (informal)	tum / tu	tə
204. you (formal)	ap	taso
205. he	vo	hayə
206. she	vo	hayə
207. we (inclusive)	həm (həm ɔr vo)	muŋgə
208. we (exclusive)	həm (həm, vo nehī)	muŋgə
209. you (plural)	tum (tum log)	taso
210. they	vo	haywi

## Appendix A.2

### Recorded Text Testing

The extent to which speakers of related dialectal varieties understand one another can be studied by means of tape recorded texts. The degree to which speakers of one variety understand a narrative text in another variety and answer questions about the content of that text is taken as an index of their comprehension of that speech form. From this, the amount of intelligibility between related speech forms can be extrapolated. The recorded text test methodology, as used in the present surveys, is based on that described by Casad (1974).<sup>1</sup>

Short, personal-experience narratives are deemed to be most suitable for comprehension testing of recorded texts in that the content must be relatively unpredictable and the speech form should be natural. An attempt is made to avoid folklore texts or other material likely to be widely known. A three- to five-minute story is recorded from a speaker of the regional vernacular, and then checked with a group of speakers from the same region to ensure that the spoken forms are truly representative of that area. This story is then transcribed and a set of comprehension questions<sup>2</sup> is constructed based on various semantic domains covered in the text. To ensure that measures of comprehension are based on the subjects' understanding of the text itself and not on a misunderstanding of the test questions, these questions are always recorded in the regional variety of the test subjects; this requires an appropriate dialect version of the questions for each recorded text test (RTT) for each test location.

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

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<sup>1</sup> For more detailed information, the reader is referred to Casad, Eugene H. 1974. *Dialect intelligibility testing*. Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics. For elaboration on the use of recorded text tests in the study of bilingual communities, see Blair, Frank. 1990. *Survey on a shoestring: A manual for small scale language surveys*. Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics and University of Texas at Arlington.

<sup>2</sup> A set of approximately fifteen questions is normally prepared, more than the minimum of ten that will be needed in the final form of the test. Some of the questions will prove unsuitable — perhaps because the answer is not evident or the question is confusing to native speakers of the test variety. Unsuitable questions may then be deleted from the larger set of questions without failing to have at least the needed ten questions.

Thus the RTT aims to be a closer reflection of a subject's comprehension of the language itself, not of his or her memory, intelligence, or reasoning.<sup>3</sup>

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

It is possible that a subject may be unable to answer the test questions correctly simply because he does not understand what is expected of him. This is especially true with unsophisticated subjects or those unacquainted with test-taking procedures. Therefore, a very short (pre-test) story with four questions is recorded in the local variety before beginning the actual testing, in order to acquaint the subject with the test procedures. If he is able to answer these pre-test questions correctly, it is assumed that he is capable of functioning as a suitable subject. Each subject then participates in the hometown test in his native speech form before participating in recorded text tests in non-native varieties. Occasionally, even after the pre-test, a subject fails to perform adequately on an already validated hometown test. Performances of such subjects were eliminated from the final evaluation, the assumption being that uncontrollable factors unrelated to the intelligibility of speech forms are skewing such test results.<sup>4</sup> Thus, validated hometown tests are used for subject screening, in an attempt to ensure that recorded text testing results reflect as closely as possible the relative levels of comprehensibility of the speech forms represented.

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

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

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

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<sup>3</sup> Recorded texts and associated comprehension questions will vary in terms of their relative difficulty and complexity or in terms of the clarity of the recording. Comparisons of RTT results from different texts need to be made cautiously and in the context of other indicators of intelligibility.

<sup>4</sup> For the purposes of this research, recorded text test subjects performing at levels of less than 80 percent on their hometown test were eliminated from further testing or were excluded from the analysis.



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

However, when some subjects have had significant previous contact with the speech form recorded on the test, while others have not, the scores should vary considerably, reflecting the degree of learning that has gone on through contact. For this reason it is important to include a measure of dispersion which reflects the extent to which the range of scores varies from the mean — the standard deviation. If the standard deviation is relatively low, say 10 or below on a test with 100 possible points (that is, 100 percent), and the mean score for subjects from the selected test point is high, the implication is that the community as a whole probably understands the test variety rather well simply because the variety represented in the recording is inherently intelligible. If the standard deviation is relatively low and the mean comprehension score is also low, the implication is that the community as a whole understands the test variety rather poorly and that regular contact has not facilitated learning of the test variety to any significant extent. If the standard deviation is high, regardless of the mean score, one implication is that some subjects have learned to comprehend the test variety better than others.<sup>5</sup> In this last case, any inherent intelligibility between the related varieties is mixed with acquired comprehension which results from learning through contact.<sup>6</sup>

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

### **RTTs in Second Language Testing**

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

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<sup>5</sup> High standard deviations can result from other causes, such as inconsistencies in the circumstances of test administration and scoring or differences in attentiveness or intelligence of test subjects. The researchers involved in recorded text testing need to be aware of the potential for skewed results due to such factors, and control for them as much as possible through careful test development and administration.

<sup>6</sup> Questionnaires administered at the time of testing, then, can help discover which factors are significant in promoting such contact. Travel to trade centers, radio broadcasts, and intermarriage are examples of the type of channel through which contact with another dialect can occur. Sample questionnaires are given in the appendices of the different surveys.

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

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

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

## Appendix A.3

### Sentence Repetition Testing

A sentence repetition test is based on the premise that people's ability to repeat sentences in a second language is limited by the level of their mastery of the morphology and syntax of that second language. The greater proficiency they have in that language, the better able they are to repeat sentences of increasing length and complexity. A sentence repetition test is developed separately for each language to be tested. Detailed procedures for developing and calibrating a sentence repetition test are presented in Radloff (1991).<sup>1</sup> The sentences selected are calibrated against an evaluative instrument called the Reported Proficiency Evaluation (RPE), where mother tongue raters are provided a detailed framework of proficiency descriptions against which to evaluate the proficiency of their second language speaking acquaintances.<sup>2</sup> The half-levels of the RPE describe increasing levels of proficiency in a second language, as elaborated in (2).

(2) *RPE proficiency*

<i>level</i>	<i>Brief description</i>
0+	Very minimal proficiency
1	Minimal, limited proficiency
1+	Limited, basic proficiency
2	Adequate, basic proficiency
2+	Good, basic proficiency
3	Good, general proficiency
3+	Very good, general proficiency
4	Excellent proficiency
4+	Approaching native speaker proficiency

A sentence repetition test provides a rapid assessment of a person's second language proficiency, suited to the purposes of a bilingualism survey. It is often the goal of a bilingualism survey to obtain a profile of the second language proficiencies in the community under investigation, that is, a picture of what percentage of the population can be projected to be at each of the different levels of proficiency. In order to obtain this, a large and representative sample of the population must be tested. This speaks to the need for an assessment instrument that is quick and easy to administer.

A short administration time, however, is offset by careful attention to the development and calibration of a sentence repetition test. The SRT provides a general assessment, thus, the researcher must be able to place full confidence in the results through strict attention to the quality of each developmental step. A

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<sup>1</sup> Radloff, Carla F. 1991. *Sentence repetition testing for studies of community bilingualism*. Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics and University of Texas at Arlington.

<sup>2</sup> RPE levels as assigned by mother tongue raters show an internal consistency, but have not yet been correlated with any other, more widely recognized, scale of second language proficiency. The rationale and methodology for the Reported Proficiency Evaluation is also included in Radloff (1991).

complete step-by-step methodology for developing and calibrating a sentence repetition test is given in Radloff (1991).

The development and calibration of a sentence repetition test proceeds through several steps: A preliminary form of the test is developed through the assistance of mother tongue speakers of the test language. A large group of second language speakers of the test language have their proficiency assessed through a second, more descriptive proficiency standard instrument, in this case, the Reported Proficiency Evaluation. These people are then administered the preliminary form of the test. Based on their performances, fifteen sentences are selected, which prove to be the most discriminating of performance and also represent increasing complexity and length. These fifteen sentences are calibrated against the proficiency assessments from the RPE. This fifteen-sentence final form of the test is used in the bilingualism survey, and the resulting test scores are interpreted in terms of equivalent RPE proficiency levels.

During the course of the sociolinguistic survey of northern Pakistan, three sentence repetition tests were developed, one in the Urdu language and two in the Pashto language. Actually, the second Pashto SRT is a revision of the first Pashto SRT with the purpose of making it more discriminating; thus a distinction is drawn between the two by referring to the first-developed test as the original Pashto SRT and the second as the revised Pashto SRT.

The calibration of a sentence repetition test results in a range of scores on the SRT reflecting an equivalent RPE level of proficiency. The ranges of scores corresponding to RPE levels for the Urdu, original Pashto, and revised Pashto SRTs are presented in (3).

(3) Score ranges corresponding to each RPE proficiency level for the Urdu, original Pashto, and revised Pashto SRTs.

RPE level equivalents	Urdu SRT scores	Original Pashto SRT scores	Revised Pashto SRT scores
0+	1- 8	10-13	0- 1
1	9-14	14-17	2- 5
1+	15-19	18-22	6-12
2	20-25	23-27	13-19
2+	26-30	28-32	20-25
3	31-36	33-36	26-32
3+	37-45	37-45	33-39
4	40-45		

In the course of calibrating the Urdu SRT and the *original* Pashto SRT, it was determined that they do not differentiate between RPE levels 3+, 4 and 4+, yet they do discriminate satisfactorily between all the levels from RPE 0+ to 3+. Therefore, results of SRT testing using these two forms report scores at the highest end as being equivalent to "RPE level 3+ and above". Similarly, the revised Pashto SRT discriminates all the RPE proficiency levels from 0+ through 4, but not 4 from 4+.

## APPENDIX B SWAT KOHISTAN SURVEY DATA

### Appendix B.1

#### Swat and Dir Kohistan Word Lists

*Location Code, Location, Village, Reliability Code*

TOR	Torwali Kohistani, Bahrain (Swat), B
CHL	Chail Torwali Kohistani, Chail Valley (Swat), C
DSH	Dashwa Kohistani, Kukinel (near Kalam), C
KAL	Kalami Kohistani (Garwa), Kalam (Swat), B
USH	Ushu Kohistani, Ushu (Swat), B
THL	Thal Kohistani, Thal (Dir), C
LAM	Lamuti Kohistani, Lamuti (Dir), C
RAJ	Rajkoti Kohistani, Rajkot/Patruk (Dir), B
KLK	Kalkoti Kohistani, Kalkot (Dir), B

Missing numbers indicate lexical items excluded from similarity count.

	1. body	2. head	3. hair
TOR	w <sub>Λ</sub> 'jud	ʃa	bal
CHL	wo'jud	ʃa	bal
DSH	o'jut	ʃiʃ	baʔl
KAL	u'juɪt	tos	baʔl
USH	u'juɪt <sup>h</sup>	t <sup>h</sup> os	bal
THL	'u'jut	to's	baʔl
LAM	b <sub>Λ</sub> 'd <sub>Λ</sub> n	t <sup>h</sup> o's	t <sup>h</sup> osan bæʔ
RAJ	u'jut	ʃiʃ	bal
KLK	w <sub>Λ</sub> 'jud	ʃiʃ	baʔɾ / bal

	4. face	5. eye	6. ear
TOR	mu	æʃi	kan
CHL	mu	æʃi	kʌn
DSH	muk <sup>hy</sup>	iʃi	k <sup>y</sup> æn
KAL	muk <sup>hy</sup>	εç	k <sup>y</sup> ɛn
USH	mai muk <sup>h</sup>	aç	qan
THL	muk <sup>hy</sup>	εç	k <sup>y</sup> ʌn
LAM	meg muk <sup>h</sup>	εç	kɔn
RAJ	muk <sup>h</sup>	εʃi	kan / kaʔn
KLK	muk <sup>h</sup>	'iʃi	kan
	7. nose	8. mouth	9. teeth
TOR	netkel	æ	dan
CHL	nɔt <sup>h</sup>	ē	dan
DSH	nʌ'zorʔ	ʔɔi	dʌn
KAL	nʌ'zor	ʔɔi	dʌn
USH	ʃu'muɾ	ʔɔi	dʌn
THL	nʌ'zor	ʔɔi	dʌn
LAM	ʃu'mur	ʔɔi	dʌn
RAJ	ʃʊmbɔr	oe	dʌn
KLK	ʃu'muɾ	ʔē	dan
	10. tongue	11. breast	12. belly
TOR	jib	buk <sup>h</sup>	d <sup>h</sup> e
CHL	jib	bukt <sup>y</sup> æn	d <sup>h</sup> e
DSH	jib	çiç	dʌr
KAL	jib	çiʃ	dʌr
USH	jib	—	dʌɾ
THL	jib	çiç	dʌr
LAM	jib	—	dʌr
RAJ	jib	sina	ɖer
KLK	jib	çiç / sina	dʌɾ / ɖer
	13. arm	14. elbow	15. palm
TOR	hat <sup>h</sup>	t <sup>h</sup> e	tel
CHL	hat <sup>h</sup>	t <sup>h</sup> ɛ	tɛl
DSH	t <sup>h</sup> ɛr	bu't <sup>hy</sup> in	til
KAL	t <sup>h</sup> ɛʔr	bo'k <sup>y</sup> in	til
USH	t <sup>h</sup> ɛɾ	t <sup>h</sup> i'n	til
THL	t <sup>h</sup> ɛr	'bok <sup>h</sup> in	til
LAM	t <sup>h</sup> ɛɾ	'bok <sup>hy</sup> in	ti'l
RAJ	ter	bu'kin	tʌli / has
KLK	bʌ'k <sup>h</sup> in	bʌn	te'le

	16. finger	17. nail	18. leg
TOR	æŋgi	nok <sup>h</sup>	k <sup>h</sup> u
CHL	'æŋgi	nok <sup>h</sup>	ku
DSH	ɑ'ŋiŋ	nok <sup>hy</sup>	k <sup>h</sup> uŋ
KAL	ɑ'ŋir	nek <sup>h</sup>	k <sup>h</sup> ur
USH	'aŋgiŋ	nāk <sup>h</sup>	kuŋ
THL	ɑ'ŋir	nAk <sup>hy</sup>	k <sup>h</sup> ur
LAM	'aŋir	nāk	k <sup>h</sup> ur
RAJ	aŋgvir / aŋ'gir	nuk / nak	jeŋg
KLK	ɑ'ŋir / ʌŋ'gir	nūŋk / nʌŋ	k <sup>h</sup> ur
	19. skin	20. bone	21. heart
TOR	čam	harok <sup>h</sup>	hʌi
CHL	čam	hʌr	hʌi
DSH	čʌmp	haɖ	hu'kur
KAL	čʌm	haɖ	iku'kur
USH	čʌmp	haɖ	i'ku'kur
THL	čʌm	haɖ	i'kur
LAM	čʌmp	haʔ	li'kur
RAJ	čʌmp	haʔ	kukur
KLK	čam	?ʌɖ	i'kur / u'kur
	22. blood	23. urine	24. feces
TOR	žɑ't	muš	γut <sup>h</sup>
CHL	žat <sup>h</sup>	šuk muš	γut <sup>h</sup>
DSH	rot <sup>h</sup>	muʔ	ga'buʔ <sup>h</sup>
KAL	rʌt <sup>h</sup>	mulʔ	gut <sup>h</sup>
USH	rat <sup>h</sup>	mulʔ	gut <sup>h</sup>
THL	rʌt <sup>h</sup>	šʌg muʔ <sup>h</sup>	gut <sup>h</sup>
LAM	rʌt <sup>h</sup>	muʔ	—
RAJ	rʌt	mul	guʔ
KLK	raʔ <sup>h</sup>	č <sup>h</sup> ʌn mut	guʔ
	25. village	26. house	27. roof
TOR	gam	šir	šʌn
CHL	gam	šir	šʌn
DSH	'dieš	šiʔ	šʌn
KAL	lam	šiʔ <sup>h</sup>	šʌn
USH	lam	šiʔ <sup>h</sup>	šʌn
THL	gaũ / lam	šiʔ <sup>h</sup>	šʌn
LAM	lamp	šiʔ <sup>h</sup>	šʌn
RAJ	lam	šiʔ	šʌn
KLK	dram	ši	šʌn

	28. door	29. firewood	30. broom
TOR	dɒr	ʃela	'leyil
CHL	dɒr	ʃela	lehil
DSH	dɒr	ʃellɔ	ge'lɒs
KAL	dɒr <sup>ʌ</sup> wɔ'z	ʃe'lɒ	'ge'lɒs
USH	dɑɾ	ʃe'lɒ	'gɒlɒs
THL	dɒrɒ'wɒz	ʃe'l'lɒ	'ge'lɒs
LAM	dɒr	ʃe'l'lɒ	'ge'lɒs
RAJ	dɒr / dɒr wɒzɒ	ʃak	buber / j <sup>h</sup> arugen
KLK	dɒr	ʃak	dɒi / dain
	31. mortar	32. pestle	34. knife
TOR	d <sup>ʌ</sup> ræn	hendɔ	keræ / čæku
CHL	musul	hendo	keles
DSH	leŋgeɾɒy	bɒt	'čaku
KAL	če't <sup>h</sup> u	lɒŋg <sup>ʌ</sup> ɾay	ka'ter / ča'k <sup>h</sup> u
USH	če't <sup>h</sup> u	lɒŋg <sup>ʌ</sup> ɾay	ča'k <sup>h</sup> u
THL	leŋge'ɾɒy	'čeɾu	ka'ter / 'čaku
LAM	'punɛs	dɒbɒ'le	ča'ku
RAJ	lɒŋgɒ're	muzel	čaku
KLK	nɒŋgri	muzɒl	čaku
	35. axe	36. rope	37. thread
TOR	toŋ	pɒ'ɾe	luŋ
CHL	t <sup>h</sup> oŋ	peɾe	g <sup>h</sup> un
DSH	t <sup>h</sup> o'iŋ	k <sup>h</sup> æ'ɾeɾ <sup>h</sup>	sig
KAL	t <sup>h</sup> oŋ	k <sup>h</sup> yɒ'ɾeɾ <sup>h</sup>	dɒ
USH	t <sup>h</sup> oŋ	k <sup>h</sup> a'ɾeɾ <sup>h</sup>	dɒ
THL	t <sup>h</sup> o'yŋ	k <sup>h</sup> yɒ'ɾeɾ <sup>h</sup>	dɒ
LAM	t <sup>h</sup> o'i	'luŋdar	dɒ
RAJ	toŋg	xareɾ / luŋdar	dɒ
KLK	t <sup>h</sup> oŋ	'luŋdar	dɒ
	38. needle	39. cloth	40. ring
TOR	peɾɿ	tukɒy / rax	æŋidɿ
CHL	peɾ	tukɒy / rax	æŋgiɿ <sup>h</sup>
DSH	'silɛn	'kočɛr	ɒŋ'usir
KAL	sūi	ko'čɒɾ	ɒŋgu'sir
USH	sūi	'kočɒɾ	'ɒŋgusir
THL	si'	'kočɛɾ	'ɒŋgusir
LAM	'su'i	'kočɒɾ	'ɒŋgusir
RAJ	silin / sun	kwečɒr / rɒxi	ɒŋgu'sir
KLK	si'lɒn	ko'čɛɾ	'ɒŋgusir



	41. sun	42. moon	43. sky
TOR	si	yun	'asman
CHL	si	yun	as'man
DSH	si'r	yun	as'man
KAL	siɽ	ye'sun	asman
USH	siɽ	yu'sun	asman
THL	si'r	ye'sun	asmān
LAM	siɽ	ye'sun	'ɔ'smɔn
RAJ	sir	yun	asman
KLK	si'r	yū / yun	'asman
	44. star	45. rain	46. water
TOR	ta	'aga	u
CHL	t <sup>h</sup> a	a'ga	u
DSH	taɽ	'aɣo	u'a
KAL	taʔɽ	'aɣo	u
USH	taʔɽ	aɣo	u'g
THL	taʔɽ	'aɣΛ	u
LAM	taʔr	a'ɣΛ	u'
RAJ	tar	bΛš	weʔ
KLK	taʔɽ / tar	'Λga	βe / weʔ
	47. river	48. cloud	49. lightning
TOR	nΛt <sup>h</sup>	'aga	b <sup>r</sup> exu
CHL	sin	a'ga	aga pΛɽΛku
DSH	nΛn	'aɣo	lo'iɽan
KAL	nΛn	aɣΛ	aɣΛ lowΛ'iɽΛn
USH	nΛn	aɣΛ	aɣΛ lowΛ'iɽΛn
THL	nΛn	'aɣΛ	aɣΛ 'loweɽɽur
LAM	nan	aɣo	'aɣΛ 'lo'iɽΛn
RAJ	nin	aga	lanɽΛ / lunɽwΛɽ
KLK	neʔ / nen	aɣo	aɣΛ 'loweɽɽun / 'lunɽΛ
	50. rainbow	51. wind	52. stone
TOR	'inΛn	'belay	bΛt <sup>h</sup>
CHL	hinan	belay	bΛt <sup>h</sup>
DSH	hidan	'bΛl'Λ	bΛt <sup>h</sup>
KAL	hi'dan	'ba'lΛ	bΛt <sup>h</sup>
USH	hir'dan	'ba'lΛ	bΛt <sup>h</sup>
THL	hi'dan	'bala	bΛt <sup>h</sup>
LAM	higdan	'bala	bΛt <sup>h</sup>
RAJ	hedōʔ	'bale	bΛt
KLK	hidran / hedran	'balo	bΛt

	53. path	54. sand	55. fire
TOR	pan	si'gɒl	a'ŋ
CHL	pan	'sigɒl	aŋga
DSH	pɒn	si'git <sup>h</sup>	a'ŋaŋ
KAL	pɒn	sigit <sup>h</sup>	ɒŋ'gɑ'r
USH	pɒn	'sigit <sup>h</sup>	aŋ'gɑ'r?
THL	pɒn	si'git	ɒŋ'aŋ
LAM	p <sup>h</sup> ɒn?	si'gi't <sup>h</sup>	ɒŋɑ'r?
RAJ	pɒn	sigit	aŋgar
KLK	pɑ'n	si'git	ɒŋ'gar
	56. smoke	57. ash	58. mud
TOR	di'mi	pɒ'ŋo	'xɒtɒ
CHL	di'mi	pɒ'ŋo	'xɒtɑ
DSH	di'mi	čɛ'	čɑ'min
KAL	di'mi?	či'	čɒ'kaŋ
USH	di'mi?	či'	čɑ'min
THL	di'mi	čɪ'	čɒ'kaŋ
LAM	di'mi	či'	čæ'kaŋ
RAJ	d <sup>h</sup> imi	či / čɛ	čɛmin
KLK	di'mi	č <sup>h</sup> e	čɒ'ket / čɒ'kaŋ
	59. dust	60. gold	61. tree
TOR	pizim	le'gur zɒr	t <sup>h</sup> am
CHL	ɔ <sup>h</sup> ir	lehur zɒr	t <sup>h</sup> am
DSH	duɔ	lou zɒr	ɒɒm
KAL	sum	'lɛw zɒr	tɒm
USH	sum	'lɒu zɒr	tam
THL	sum	'lɒu zɒr	tɒm
LAM	sum	'lɒu' zɒr	tɒm
RAJ	sum	ɒɒho zɒr	tom / lo
KLK	sum	ley zɒr / zɒr	tɒm / lo
	62. leaf	63. root	64. thorn
TOR	pɑʃ	ŋo	kɒŋ
CHL	pɑʃ	na	kɒŋ
DSH	pɒʃ	na'r	kaŋt
KAL	pɒʃt	naŋ	k <sup>hy</sup> ɒŋt
USH	pɒʃt	naŋ	kɒŋt
THL	pɒʃt	naŋ	k <sup>h</sup> ɛŋt
LAM	pɒʃ	ne'r	k <sup>y</sup> ɒŋt
RAJ	'pɒlo	neʔr	kɒŋ
KLK	pɑ't <sup>h</sup>	naŋ	kaŋ

	65. flower	66. fruit	67. mango
TOR	pʌʂu	me'wʌ	am
CHL	po'ʂu	me'wa	am
DSH	ϕōŋʈ	'mawʌ	am
KAL	p <sup>h</sup> ōŋ	mawa	am
USH	p <sup>h</sup> ōḍ	mawa	am
THL	p <sup>h</sup> ōŋʈ	ma'wʌ	—
LAM	p <sup>h</sup> ōḍ	mawa	am
RAJ	p <sup>h</sup> uŋ	mewʌ	am
KLK	p <sup>h</sup> oŋ	mæ'wʌ	am
	68. banana	69. wheat	70. barley
TOR	kela	gamo	—
CHL	kela	gom	ju'a'r
DSH	kela	gom	yow war'buʂi
KAL	kela	gōm	jo'aŋ
USH	kela	gōm	jo'aŋ
THL	kela	gōm	—
LAM	kela	gām	jo'aŋ
RAJ	kela	gum	—
KLK	kelo	gamaʈ / gom	—
	71. rice	72. potato	73. eggplant
TOR	to'nol	æ'lo	kiʂʌn baḍiŋʌn
CHL	tænol	a'lu	kiʂʌn baḍiŋʌn
DSH	t <sup>h</sup> a'lun	ʌ'lu	kiʂʌn batiŋŋer
KAL	tɛ'lun	ʌ'lu	kiʂʌn batiŋ'ŋer
USH	tɛ'lun	ʌ'lu	—
THL	t <sup>h</sup> ɛ'lun	ʌ'lu	kiʂʌn batiŋŋer
LAM	t <sup>h</sup> ɛ'lun	ʌ'lu	kiʂʌn batiŋŋer
RAJ	tʌ'lun	a'lu	kiʂin batiŋŋaŋ
KLK	te'lun	'ʌlu	kiʂiŋ batiŋŋer
	74. groundnut	75. chili	76. turmeric
TOR	mumpʌli	maŋʈcekʌl	hæliʂ
CHL	mompele	maŋʈceke	hæliʂ
DSH	mompʌli	maŋʈjekʌi	hilil
KAL	mumpʌli	maŋʈseke	hilil
USH	muŋʈʌli	maŋʈseke	hilil
THL	mumpʌli	maŋʈsike	hilil
LAM	mump <sup>h</sup> ʌli	maŋʈceker	hili'l
RAJ	mumpʌli	merčʌke	he'lil
KLK	mumpeli	maŋʈike / muruč	ilil

	77. garlic	78. onion	79. cauliflower
TOR	lešim	pʌlænʂo	gopi
CHL	lešim	pʌlænçø	gopi
DSH	lašim	p <sup>h</sup> iaz	gopi
KAL	lašim	p <sup>h</sup> yaz	p <sup>h</sup> ul gobi
USH	—	p <sup>h</sup> iyaz	p <sup>h</sup> uđ gopi
THL	lašim	p <sup>h</sup> iaz	gopi
LAM	uge	p <sup>h</sup> iaʔzʔ	gopi a p <sup>h</sup> uđ
RAJ	ʔuge	piaz	gob <sup>h</sup> i
KLK	ʔigʌ	p <sup>h</sup> iaz	gopi
	80. tomato	81. cabbage	82. oil
TOR	bađigʌn	ban gopi	tel
CHL	lʌhur bađigʌn	band gopi	tel
DSH	ʂamaʔʌr	band gopi	tal
KAL	ʂamaʔar	band gopi	tel
USH	batiŋger	band gopi	tal
THL	ʂamaʔʌr	band gopi	tal
LAM	ʂamaʔar	band gopi	taʔ
RAJ	batiŋgʌr	gob <sup>h</sup> i	tel / 'tail
KLK	ʂamaʔer / batiŋgʌr	band gopi	tal
	83. salt	84. meat	85. fat
TOR	lon	mas	mē
CHL	lown	maʔs	mē
DSH	lon	māʔs	ma
KAL	lun	mās	mā
USH	lon	mas	mā
THL	lō	mās	mʌ <sup>ε</sup>
LAM	lōʔn	mōʔs	māʔ
RAJ	lon	mas	mʌʔ
KLK	lun	mās	mēʔ
	86. fish	87. chicken	88. egg
TOR	maš	kuʔi	an
CHL	mač <sup>h</sup>	kʌkʌi	aŋ
DSH	ʔmasin	kuʔkur	ʔon
KAL	mʌʔsin	kuʔkuṛ	ʔan
USH	maš	kiʔkiṛ	ʔan
THL	mas	kikir	ʔʌn
LAM	mʌʔsin	ʔkukur	ʔʌn
RAJ	ʔmašsin	kikir / kukur	ʌŋ
KLK	mēʔʔsin / ʔmesin	kiʔkir / kuʔkur	ʔʌŋ

	89. cow	90. buffalo	91. milk
TOR	ga	mēš	çi
CHL	gaw	mēs	açi
DSH	gai	'mɬieš	çir
KAL	goi	mɬiç	šir
USH	goi	maiç	çir
THL	goi	mɬiž	çir
LAM	goi	mɬiž	çir
RAJ	gaʔ	mɬiš	šir
KLK	gai / ga	mēs	çir
	92. horn	93. tail	94. goat
TOR	šin	lemæt	čæl
CHL	šin	lɬkɬi	čæl
DSH	šinŋ	lu'muɬ <sup>h</sup>	ča'l
KAL	šinʔ	lumɬɬ <sup>h</sup>	čel
USH	šin	lumɬɬ <sup>h</sup>	čel
THL	šin	lu'meɬ <sup>h</sup>	čel
LAM	šin	lumã'nd	če'l
RAJ	šinŋ	lu'maɬ	čil / bel
KLK	šin	lu'maɬ	čel
	95. dog	96. snake	97. monkey
TOR	kuyu	jan	šado
CHL	kuču	jan	šado
DSH	kučuŋ	naik <sup>hy</sup>	mɬ <sup>h</sup> k <sup>hy</sup> er
KAL	ku'čuŋ	nɔk <sup>hy</sup>	mɬ <sup>h</sup> kir
USH	ku'čuŋ	nɔk <sup>h</sup>	mɬ <sup>h</sup> ka'r
THL	kučuŋ	nɔk <sup>hy</sup>	mɬ <sup>h</sup> kir
LAM	'kučuŋ	naŋ	mɬk <sup>y</sup> ɬr
RAJ	ku'čur	naŋŋ	šado
KLK	'kučuŋ	naŋŋ	mɬkɬr
	98. mosquito	99. ant	100. spider
TOR	p <sup>h</sup> it <sup>h</sup>	p <sup>y</sup> ol	gɬŋa'pur
CHL	p <sup>h</sup> it	'piwɬ	jo'la
DSH	p <sup>h</sup> it <sup>h</sup>	pi'lilɬ	geŋer'buɬ <sup>h</sup>
KAL	p <sup>h</sup> iɬ <sup>h</sup>	pi'lil	geŋger'but <sup>h</sup>
USH	p <sup>h</sup> it <sup>h</sup>	pi'lil	gaŋgar'but <sup>h</sup>
THL	p <sup>h</sup> it	pi'lil	geŋger'but <sup>h</sup>
LAM	p <sup>h</sup> it <sup>h</sup>	pi'lil	g <sup>y</sup> eŋger'puɬ <sup>h</sup>
RAJ	p <sup>h</sup> it	p <sup>h</sup> i'lil	geŋger'puɬ / jola
KLK	p <sup>h</sup> it <sup>h</sup>	pi'lil	'jolo

	101. name	102. man	103. woman
TOR	nam	maš	č <sup>h</sup> i
CHL	nɒm	maš	ʃɒɾɒɾɒ
DSH	nam	miʔš	is
KAL	nɒm	miš	is
USH	nɒmp	miš	is
THL	nam	miš	is
LAM	nɒʔm	miʔš	is
RAJ	nam	miš	is
KLK	naʔm / nam	meš	trɛr
	104. child	105. father	106. mother
TOR	po / low	bab	yei
CHL	low	bab	ɾɒ
DSH	po	bop	y <sup>e</sup> i
KAL	p <sup>h</sup> o <sup>·</sup>	bop	y <sup>·</sup> ɒ
USH	p <sup>h</sup> o <sup>·</sup>	bɒp	y <sup>e</sup> i
THL	po	bɒp	y <sup>e</sup> i
LAM	po <sup>·</sup>	bap	yei
RAJ	pu	bɒb	ye
KLK	'puçur / pu'toʔš	bop / bob	yɛʔ
	107. older brother	109. older sister	111. son
TOR	g <sup>h</sup> ɒn ba	g <sup>h</sup> æn šu	po
CHL	g <sup>h</sup> ɒn b <sup>h</sup> a	g <sup>h</sup> æn šu	puš
DSH	gan daiʔ	g <sup>y</sup> en ban	pu
KAL	g <sup>y</sup> en jaʔ	g <sup>y</sup> en išpo	po
USH	gan ja	g <sup>e</sup> n išpo	po
THL	g <sup>y</sup> an dor	g <sup>y</sup> en išpo	po
LAM	g <sup>y</sup> an ja	g <sup>y</sup> en išpo	po
RAJ	gɒn daʔ	g <sup>y</sup> en bɛn	pu
KLK	gɒn dra	g <sup>y</sup> en bæn	p <sup>h</sup> u
	112. daughter	113. husband	114. wife
TOR	seran	bwe	č <sup>h</sup> i
CHL	d <sup>h</sup> u	be	či
DSH	'teker	miš	is
KAL	b <sup>·</sup> i're	miš	is
USH	b <sup>·</sup> i're	miš	is
THL	b <sup>·</sup> i're	miš	is
LAM	b <sup>·</sup> i're	miš	is
RAJ	'tikir	miʔš	is
KLK	pe	meš / 'berɒ	trɛr

	115. boy	116. girl	117. day
TOR	po	seran	dī
CHL	po	seræn	dī
DSH	pu	'tɛker	dos
KAL	po	bɪ're	dos
USH	po	bɪ're	dos
THL	po	bɪ're	dos
LAM	po	bɪ're	dos
RAJ	pu	'tɪkir	dos
KLK	p <sup>h</sup> u	peteʔš	dos
	118. night	119. morning	120. noon
TOR	ʒa'd	ʒa't	pēši
CHL	ʒat <sup>h</sup>	ʒaʔt <sup>h</sup>	ardi
DSH	ra't <sup>h</sup>	saɾɣ	baɾ'dad
KAL	rɔ't	sɔ'r	piš
USH	rɔ't	sarʔ	piš
THL	ra't	sar	baɾdet
LAM	rɔ't <sup>h</sup>	sa'r	piš
RAJ	rat	saʔr	ɣarma / baɾdet
KLK	ra't	saɾɣ	ɣarma / baɾdet
	121. evening	122. yesterday	123. today
TOR	næšam	bɛl	aš
CHL	n <sup>y</sup> æšam	b <sup>y</sup> ɛl	aʃ
DSH	nimašam	'lupara	až
KAL	nima'šɔm	jal	ɔž
USH	nima'šɔm	jɔl	o'č
THL	'nimʌšam	jal	až
LAM	ni'mašɔm	jal	až
RAJ	nimašam	bial	aʃ
KLK	'nimašam	bial	až / aʃ
	124. tomorrow	125. week	126. month
TOR	lolo	hafta	mā
CHL	lalo	aʃta	mā
DSH	'sarʌ	hʌʃta	yū'n
KAL	'reda	haʃta	mɔ
USH	're'tʌ	haʃta	mɔ
THL	'redʌ	aʃta	mɔ
LAM	re'jara	haʃta	mɔ'
RAJ	reʔet	hʌftʌ	maʔ / yun
KLK	lo'par	hʌfta	mɔʔ

	127. year	128. old	129. new
TOR	kal	po'ran	nɒm
CHL	kal	puran	nɒm
DSH	kal	pu'ran	nɒm
KAL	kəl	lešim	nɒm
USH	kəl	zoʔ <sup>h</sup>	nam
THL	kal	zoʔ	nɒm
LAM	kal	zo'ʔ	nɒm
RAJ	kal	dɒ'mok / lɒšɒn	nɒm
KLK	kal	lašin	nɒm
	130. good	131. bad	132. wet
TOR	ɣora	laš	ɒš
CHL	ɣora	laš	ɒš
DSH	ran	lɒʔ	ɔdʔ
KAL	rɒn	lɒlʔ	ɒl
USH	ranʔ	lɒlʔ	ɒl
THL	ran	lɒlʔ	ɒ'lu
LAM	re'ʔn	lɒʔ	'ɒlut <sup>h</sup>
RAJ	ræʔn	lɒš / xɒ'rap	ɒt
KLK	ranʔ	lɒ'tʁ	ɒ'dr
	133. dry	134. long	135. short
TOR	šugel	jik	k <sup>h</sup> ɒɾɒn
CHL	ču'kel	žig	kɒʔɒn
DSH	ši'sal	dik	ke'ʔɒn
KAL	ši'sal	lik <sup>y</sup>	če'ʔɒn
USH	ši'sal	lig <sup>y</sup>	k <sup>h</sup> ɒ'ʔɒn
THL	šuk <sup>hy</sup>	—	—
LAM	ši'saʔl	lig	—
RAJ	ši'saʔl	dik	kɒʔɒn
KLK	ši'salʔ	drɪg	ke'ʔɒn
	136. hot	137. cold	138. right
TOR	t <sup>h</sup> at <sup>h</sup>	šidɒl	su'wɒn
CHL	t <sup>h</sup> at <sup>h</sup>	ši'del	so'bɒn
DSH	tɒt <sup>h</sup>	'šidel	'dɒštɪm
KAL	u'šun	ši'del	lašɪm
USH	u'šun	ši'dal	laçum
THL	u'šun	'šidɒl	laçɪm
LAM	gɒɾɒm	ši'dal	laçum
RAJ	ušun / tɒbijel	šidɒl	'lašin
KLK	gɪɾɒm	ši'del	'drɒšum



	139. left	140. near	141. far
TOR	ɑ'wʌn	niō	d <sup>h</sup> u
CHL	ɑ'bʌn	nʌ	d <sup>h</sup> u
DSH	k <sup>h</sup> oŋ	nɪar	dur
KAL	k <sup>h</sup> o'ri	'ne'rʌ	dur
USH	k <sup>h</sup> or	nir	dur
THL	k <sup>h</sup> ori	niʌŋ	du'r
LAM	ko'r	nir	dur?
RAJ	k <sup>h</sup> or / xer	niɛr	duʔr
KLK	k <sup>h</sup> or / k <sup>h</sup> ɛr	niɛŋ	duʔŋ / dur
	142. big	143. small	144. heavy
TOR	g <sup>h</sup> ʌn	low	ugu
CHL	g <sup>h</sup> ʌn	low	o'gu
DSH	g <sup>y</sup> ʌn	loik <sup>hy</sup>	u'ɣur
KAL	g <sup>y</sup> ɛn	lukuʔ	u'ɣur
USH	gʌn	lukuʔ	u'ɣur
THL	g <sup>y</sup> ʌn	luku'toʃ	u'ɣuŋ
LAM	g <sup>y</sup> ɛn	lukuʔ	u'gur
RAJ	gʌn	lukuʔ	u'gur
KLK	gʌn	lukuʔ	u'gur
	145. light	146. above	147. below
TOR	ufuʔ	ʒɛt <sup>h</sup>	ten
CHL	ofut <sup>h</sup>	ʒɛt	ten
DSH	'ubuʔ	'uɕʌt	tua
KAL	u'buʔ	rʌʌ	tua
USH	'ubuʔ	rʌʌ	tua
THL	'ubuʔ	rʌʌ	tua
LAM	'ibiʔ <sup>h</sup>	rʌʌ	'tu'bʰɔʔr
RAJ	'umuʔ	'uʒin	'tu'pʌr
KLK	'ubuʔ	'rʌlpʌr	'ɕɛpʌr
	148. white	149. black	150. red
TOR	u'ʒal	ki'ʒʌn	logur
CHL	o'ʒʌl	kiʒʌn	lʌ'hur
DSH	'pʌnʌŋ	kiʒʌn	low
KAL	'pʌnʌŋ	ki'ʒʌn	lʌu
USH	'pʌnʌŋ	ki'ʒʌn	lʌu
THL	'pʌnar	'kiʒʌn	low
LAM	'pʌnʌŋ	ki'ʒʌn	lʌu
RAJ	'pʌner	'kiʒin	lʌʔu
KLK	'pener	kiʒin	le'il

	151. one	152. two	153. three
TOR	ek	du	ča
CHL	ek	du	ča
DSH	Λk <sup>hy</sup>	du	ta
KAL	Λyk <sup>h</sup>	du	ta
USH	Λk <sup>h</sup>	du	ta
THL	Λik <sup>h</sup>	du	ta
LAM	Λik <sup>h</sup>	du	ta
RAJ	æk	du	ṣta
KLK	ayk <sup>h</sup>	du	tra
	154. four	155. five	156. six
TOR	čao	pāī	šo
CHL	čaw	pān	šo
DSH	čor	pānč	šo
KAL	čorʔ	pānč	šo
USH	čorʔ	panč	šo
THL	čorʔ	poŋč	šo
LAM	čorʔ	pa'nč	šo
RAJ	čor	penč	šo
KLK	čor	pānč	šo
	157. seven	158. eight	159. nine
TOR	satʔ	at <sup>h</sup>	nom
CHL	sat	aṭ <sup>h</sup>	no'm
DSH	sΛt <sup>h</sup>	Λsst <sup>h</sup>	num
KAL	sΛt <sup>h</sup>	Λṭ <sup>h</sup>	num
USH	sΛt <sup>h</sup>	ač	num
THL	sΛt	æč	num
LAM	sΛt	aṭ <sup>h</sup>	num
RAJ	saʔt	eš	nom
KLK	sat	eṣ	num
	160. ten	161. eleven	162. twelve
TOR	dΛš	Λ'gaš	du'waš
CHL	dΛš	Λgaš	duaš
DSH	dΛšst <sup>h</sup>	i'ka'	ba'
KAL	dΛš	i'k <sup>y</sup> ahΛ	'bahΛ
USH	dΛš	i'k <sup>hy</sup> ah	bah
THL	dΛš	i'k <sup>hy</sup> ah	bah
LAM	dΛš	ik <sup>y</sup> a'	baha
RAJ	deš	ikaʔ	baʔ
KLK	deš	a'kaš	baš

	163. twenty	164. one hundred	165. who
TOR	biš	pān biš	kam
CHL	biš	pāi biš	kam
DSH	biš	panč biš	kom
KAL	biš	pΛŋž biš	k <sup>h</sup> Λm
USH	biš	pan biš	kΛm
THL	biš	pəŋj biš	kΛm
LAM	biš	panš biš	kom
RAJ	biʔš	penj biš	kāʔ
KLK	biš	panj biš	ko
	166. what	167. where	168. when
TOR	ka	ket <sup>h</sup>	k <sup>y</sup> e
CHL	ka	ket <sup>h</sup>	key
DSH	'kuba	k <sup>hy</sup> æ	kon
KAL	k <sup>h</sup> ε <sup>1</sup> nɔ	'k <sup>h</sup> εnΛ	ko <sup>n</sup>
USH	k <sup>h</sup> ε <sup>1</sup> nɔ	—	koΛn
THL	k <sup>h</sup> ε <sup>1</sup> nɔ	—	kon
LAM	k <sup>h</sup> εlɔ	k <sup>h</sup> εnΛ	koΛn
RAJ	kwaʔ	kΛmbaʔ	koʔn
KLK	go'wa	k <sup>hy</sup> æʔ	'kera
	169. how many	171. this	172. that
TOR	kedek <sup>h</sup>	æ	pwe
CHL	kedek <sup>h</sup>	æ	pwe
DSH	ki'tik <sup>h</sup>	ʔi	a't <sup>h</sup> ɔŋ
KAL	ki'tik <sup>h</sup>	ʔi	'šimā
USH	kitik <sup>h</sup>	ʔāi	Λšimā
THL	ki'tik <sup>h</sup>	ʔai	a'tɔn
LAM	ki'ti	ʔāi	Λši
RAJ	kΛt <sup>y</sup> et	ai	šīēʔ
KLK	ki'tek	un	a'tun / ar
	173. these	174. those	176. different
TOR	æ	pwe	—
CHL	æ	pwe	—
DSH	'ɔmi	omt <sup>h</sup> ā	judā
KAL	'ami	aši	ɸaraq <sup>h</sup>
USH	'Λmi	Λšimi	ɸaraq <sup>h</sup> / hΛrΛŋa
THL	'ami	Λmta	ɸarak <sup>h</sup>
LAM	—	Λmši	—
RAJ	ai	ši	wΛræk wΛræk
KLK	ušē / unun	atu / arar	muxtaliʔ / p <sup>h</sup> Λrakim

	177. whole	178. broken	179. few
TOR	ro	p <sup>h</sup> orel	ʌʂuʃ
CHL	rox	p <sup>h</sup> orel	æʂud
DSH	se'ip	p <sup>h</sup> o'tel	'u'čut
KAL	su'wa	po'tal	u'čut <sup>h</sup>
USH	sʌ'wa	po'talaʀ	—
THL	su'ra	ʃo'tal	'uʂut
LAM	sʌ'ra	p <sup>h</sup> o'to	u'čut
RAJ	roʔk	p <sup>h</sup> oʔ'el	'u'čut
KLK	roy	p <sup>h</sup> o'tal	'uʂut / atiʂ
	180. many	181. all	182. eat! / to eat
TOR	čer	ʃol	k <sup>h</sup> o'w
CHL	čer	ʃol	kʌo
DSH	bɑʔʃ	'suwa	k <sup>h</sup> agi
KAL	barʔ	'sʌwɔ	k <sup>h</sup> ʌʌn
USH	bɑʔʔ	su'wa	k <sup>h</sup> ak <sup>h</sup>
THL	bɑʔʃ	'sura	k <sup>h</sup> ɔi
LAM	bɑʔr	se'raʀ	k <sup>h</sup> a'k <sup>hy</sup>
RAJ	b <sup>y</sup> εʔr	sueʔ	k <sup>h</sup> a
KLK	bɑʔʃ	su'wa	k <sup>h</sup> a
	184. to be hungry / you are hungry	185. drink! / to drink	186. to be thirsty / you are thirsty
TOR	biʂæ ho	pu	tiʂæ ho
CHL	biʂ <sup>y</sup> æ ho	pu	tiʂæ owu
DSH	buʂɔg hut	p <sup>h</sup> u	ʃi'čoiʔ hut
KAL	bu'ʂɔg hu	po'n	ʃi'ʂɔg hu
USH	buʂɔg hu	pug	ʃi'čɔg
THL	bu'ʂɔg hu	po'n	ʂi'ʂɔg hud
LAM	bu'ʂag ut <sup>h</sup>	p <sup>h</sup> u'g	ʂi'ʂa'g ut <sup>h</sup>
RAJ	buʂe g <sup>y</sup> ε	pu	ʂiʂago / ʂiʂak
KLK	buʂe g <sup>y</sup> al	pi'lil	tru'ʂilit / truʂ

	187. sleep! / to sleep	188. lie down! / to lie down	189. sit! / to sit
TOR	hoyo	dar tɬlu	b <sup>h</sup> ayu
CHL	hupu	ɖær ta'lu	bayu
DSH	nin	—	bai
KAL	nin bɬ <sup>h</sup> jant	da'ya:r dit <sup>h</sup>	bai
USH	nin bɬjant	likir gɔt <sup>h</sup>	bai
THL	nin čoi	—	baiuk <sup>hy</sup>
LAM	nind	likʔɬ čoi	bɬi
RAJ	nind čo / nind bič	lika bɬčət	bɛʔ
KLK	nin čo / nind	—	biš
	190. give! / to give	191. burn (it)! / to burn	192. (he) died / to die
TOR	dīo	dɬʒu	mu
CHL	diyau	daʒu	mu
DSH	dɬ	ɖot	mɬ'rek
KAL	dɬ	ʒɬlut <sup>h</sup>	mɬ'rɔn
USH	dɬ	ʒɬ	mɬ'rɔnt
THL	dɬi	ʒu'kui	mur
LAM	dɬ	ʒa'l	mur
RAJ	dɛ	dɬɛj / ʒɬɬa	mɬriga / mur
KLK	dɛ	ʒo / ʒɬ	mur
	193. kill! / to kill	194. (bird) flies / to fly	195. walk! / to walk
TOR	mow	šišdeo	t <sup>h</sup> ilu
CHL	mɬo	'šišdɬo	t <sup>h</sup> ilu
DSH	'maru	šiš	'giru'k <sup>hy</sup>
KAL	damar	'šišdit	čo
USH	damar	šišdɬ	čo
THL	ma'roiŋ	'šišdɬl	'giroi
LAM	dit <sup>h</sup>	it <sup>h</sup> i	čo
RAJ	maʔr / maro	šiš dain	čo
KLK	bɬ'kal	'šišdɬ / šiš	čo
	196. run! / to run	197. go! / to go	198. come! / to come
TOR	daidio	bɬʒu	yeo
CHL	d <sup>h</sup> āndio	baʒu	yao
DSH	dɬamin	bɬ'čuiɣ	yai'k <sup>h</sup>
KAL	dagu	bɬ'čɔn	yeiyɔn
USH	dag	bɬčɔn	yeiyɔn
THL	da'min	bɬ'čoi	yai
LAM	ɬɬb	čoi	i'yɬ
RAJ	ɬɬp	čo	e
KLK	trɬp	čo / be'il	yɛ / yal

	199. speak!	200. hear! / to hear	201. see! / to see
TOR	bʌnu	bužu	bu
CHL	banu	bužu	pašu
DSH	mʌ'noyk <sup>hy</sup>	'bujoik <sup>hy</sup>	bišoik <sup>hy</sup>
KAL	'jola	buǰ	biš
USH	'jola	buǰ	biš
THL	mʌ'noyk	bu'jui	'birui
LAM	jola	buž	bi-š
RAJ	jola / mʌn	sun	taʔr
KLK	mʌn	buǰ / 'buǰin	nal / na'lin
	202. I	203. you	205. he
TOR	a	t <sup>h</sup> u	pwe
CHL	a	t <sup>h</sup> u	pwe
DSH	čo	tu	'at <sup>h</sup> a
KAL	ya	tu	a'ši
USH	yʌ	tu	a'ši
THL	yʌ	tu	ši
LAM	yʌ	tu	'ʌši
RAJ	mɛʔ / u	tu	hi
KLK	mɔ	tu	aʔ / so
	207. we	209. you (plural)	210. they
TOR	mo	t <sup>h</sup> o	pwe
CHL	mo	t <sup>h</sup> o	pwe
DSH	moʔ	t <sup>h</sup> o	tʌm
KAL	mʌ	tʌ	t <sup>h</sup> ʌmt <sup>h</sup> i
USH	mʌ	t <sup>h</sup> a	t <sup>h</sup> ʌmt <sup>h</sup> i
THL	ma	ta	tʌmti
LAM	ma	t <sup>h</sup> ʌ	ʌ'ši
RAJ	mo / ma	ta	tom
KLK	bɛ	tis	'tet <sup>h</sup> in / tɛn

## Appendix B.2 Swat Kohistan Texts

### B.2.1 Kalami Kohistani, Kalam Swat

#### The Akbar Khan Story

1. xalag buja ya toni soxtia qisa keron. san čoratar  
people listen I my-own disappointing story describing. in 1974  
People listen to my disappointing story. In 1974 or 1975 I was in the
2. pačatar mai ya tezerat keroz. tan maik<sup>hy</sup> bis pačis hazar  
1975 in I commerce did In-this me-to 20 25 thousand  
commercial business. The business failed and I lost 20-25,000 rupees.
3. rupaya tawaniu hu ma walisaba yi manu yi karewar ztit čor  
rupees lost became my father this said this work ? ?  
My father advised me to leave the work and hand it over to my younger
4. log ja-k<sup>ya</sup> awalek<sup>yer</sup>. bope manil gint hodai bača tati  
younger brother-to handed-over father's advice gave god king this  
brother. I followed the advice of my father and got back the 20-25,000 rupees.
5. bis pačis hazar ma mai losar. oz šukurā ala ham-do-lila ya  
20 25 1000 me me-to found today thanks God's grace I  
Today I live comfortably by God's grace.
6. aramrai t<sup>hu</sup>. titi čele soxti me no. tati bis pačis  
comfortably am now like problems with-me is-not that 20 25  
Now I don't have problems like before. Due to the loss of 20- 25,000 I went to
7. hazar me tawani huš ya lene lahor-wə gə. lahor  
thousand with-me loss became I ? Lahore-down went Lahore  
Lahore. In Lahore I spent one year and six months as a chowkidar.
8. maik<sup>ya</sup> a kal te šo ma ma sukidari mai hu. tanti ye  
me-to 1 year and 6 months my chowkidar with-me became there I  
From there I returned.
9. da ugus. tati qaraz maraz hoda' bača lasai banai ya hu.  
? arrived which loan ? God king success due I became  
God helped me to earn back that money. This is my sad story.

10. ma saxtia štori. tanti bad boḡara lou ja kʸε  
my sad story that after father-up? younger brother to  
After that my father advised me to hand over the business to my younger
11. hawalekʸar mai taz-kʸa awalakʸεr. mai toni hotela karewar  
handed-over with-me him-to handed-over with-me own hotel work  
brother. I have started my hotel work.
12. šoroker. hudara ʔai mə laz xalekʸa qarās malās az kel šukura  
started borrow ? I finished people loan ? today for thanks  
Today I am free from borrowing from people and am living comfortably by the
13. ala ham-do-lila ya aramra tʰu. ʔi ma saxtia jolaik ʔini-ker  
God grace I comfortably am this my sad saying this-for  
grace of God. This is my sad story which I am taping for today.
14. oz tep kerond. ʔini-ker mai luku ja zimindirikʸa  
today tape-record doing. this-for I younger brother farming-to  
For this I prepared my younger brother for farming.
15. pas kid. yi ʔini ker hotela toni qaribi čelan. tʰuku hodai  
prepare did I this for hotel-of own poorly continue then God  
Due to my poverty I'm working in the hotel. Then may God bless you.
16. tesa nikʰa amale. tʰuku lok ja pə xəz tʰakara nəʔ  
you ? bless then younger brother not much strong is-not  
My younger brother is not so strong. Such time had come that his brother
17. išili tem yegum mai du ma le ʔa dos jella ked.  
such time had-come with-me 2 months and 3 days prison-in did  
was in jail for two months and three days. Nobody helped me or acted as my
18. kʰania ʔinsan na yaranəš nai dostanəš maḡʸar  
nobody human not close-friends-were neither friends-were but  
friend then. But today these people come to me each one saying,
19. az tati digʸera yaran dostan xalaḡ digʸera akʸero  
today which again close-friends friends people again each-one  
“I am your friend.”
20. yeyar dera yo dos. maḡʸar me es mukʸa mo  
your-close-friend said your friend but my front face-of my  
But now I consider that they are not my friends.
21. yar dos komi nəʔ. titi ma yar dos titi  
close-friend friend nobody is-not those my close-friend friend those  
My friends are my own—like—my own relatives.



22. ma tani. titi saxteΛ tem me mesat dui pas him dot kiš sΛmɔ  
 my own those sad-of time me me-with who help gave done he my  
 Those who helped him during those troubled times are his friends.
23. tɔni. kʸen me sΛ a dos du λΛm kiš sΛ mɔ tɔni. dima na  
 own who me he 1 day 2 work done he my own moreover no-one  
 Those who worked with me for 2 or 3 days are my friends. Otherwise no one
24. yar tu nΛi dos ba ala tetAsA habiba parkʸer di  
 close-friend is neither friend except God his prophet moreover no  
 is my friend. Except for God and his prophet no one seemed like his friend.
25. komi ma tɔni nɔt. piʃia pul ʔinʃela apɔn gʸan kerɔn te amuli  
 one my own is-not uncle's son this-like alone big do and ability  
 My cousin acts boldly and shows off to me.
26. tʰu. ye tΛti nΛilɔz akbar kʰan  
 is I that poor Akbar Khan  
 I am that poor Akbar Khan.

### Questions for Kalamī Story (English translations)

1. What happened to his business?
2. What did his father advise him to do?
3. How is he living today?
4. Where did he go to work?
5. How long did he stay in Lahore?
6. What work did he do there?
7. What did he prepare his younger brother to do?
8. Where did his younger brother go?
9. Who was his friend then?
10. What did they say to him?
11. Who are his friends now?
12. What does his cousin show to him?

## B.2.2 Torwali Kohistani, Bahrain Swat

### Torwali Kohistani Story

1. mulšum kal še bad še. maymi dost megemez t<sup>hi</sup> bunu yara mo  
last year of past was my friend Megemez is said friend we  
It was a year ago. My friend said to me, "Friend, let's go to Kalam."
2. kalam ge bui. da muem sari-taslim-xam k<sup>y</sup>alam ge mexay do mue  
Kalam to let's-go ? we acceptance kalam to ? 2 we  
We accepted his proposal to go to Kalam. I was sitting in my shop early in
3. bi. se žad me a dukan-me b<sup>h</sup>uel ne ašu ne seθe ugot<sup>h</sup>. t<sup>hi</sup>  
go that morning in I store-in sitting ? was there he came he  
the morning and he came in. He made me accept his proposal to go to Kalam.
4. mai kalam dlbui-si maĵbur ki. mošam teti šer xarab ašu.  
me Kalam going-of compulsion he-did weather then very bad was  
The weather was very bad that day. On that day he forced me to accept his
5. asi biyum tisi maĵburi t<sup>hi</sup> myæm maĵburi ki yara a  
more on-that day compulsion he ? compulsion did friend I  
proposal to go to Kalam.
6. kalam-na bwi a<sup>thi</sup>a-hu. kalam de mumila num baya zet  
Kalam-in go became Kalam for ? 9 o'clock morning  
It was nine o'clock in the morning when we were sitting in the van.
7. avigam na beč. mi amantses fru<sup>t</sup> fru<sup>t</sup> am gin mo kalam de  
van in sitting my us-with fruit fruit also we-took we Kalam in  
We took fruit with us and started off for Kalam.
8. reəri. kalam-de mo awe de pan ki baraf him mu na miri ši wa  
? Kalam-in us ? in road ? snow snow ? not ? was and  
When we reached Kalam, there was no snow and we were fine.
9. kalam-de itse salamat o<sup>hi</sup>. kalam weo wai tawa garam t<sup>h</sup>awa bešte  
Kalam ? okay was Kalam ? ? ? warm ? ?  
When the wagon reached Kalam, we took our tea in a hotel.
10. wegan-na weđe m<sup>w</sup>e hotel me če p<sup>h</sup>u. če abad mu čakar t<sup>h</sup>e ni  
wagon ? we hotel in tea drink tea after we walk to ?  
After taking our tea, we walked about on the upper road of Kalam.
11. git moi čakar baʔaf kalam se g<sup>h</sup>an rote bečte moi čeker dit.  
went we walk ? Kalam of large road ? we walk saw  
When we were walking on that road, the snow began to fall.

12. t<sup>h</sup>et mō čeker t<sub>Λ</sub> r<sub>Λ</sub>wan idart čin šen him šoro hi. t<sub>Λ</sub> mon  
there we walk ? going ? ? ? snow began became this our  
We thought that this snow would not be a heavy one.
13. xyala dho yera him ašud ašud ši da i čere n<sub>Λ</sub> honin. m<sup>w</sup>a  
idea was ? snow little little was but it much not become we  
We went on our walk.
14. tonu čekera mo hoi. t<sup>h</sup>imi mun prinsiple m<sup>w</sup>e buni gerat  
one's-own walk our became ? our principal to-us said ?  
In the meantime our principal told us that it was time to eat, let's eat.
15. t<sup>h</sup>woi gila si woxt noa t<sup>h</sup>u ma gil k<sup>h</sup>i. mō t<sup>h</sup>u hotel ligg<sub>Λ</sub>i te  
? food of time near was we food eat we ? hotel went ?  
We went to a hotel and asked the hotel keeper (about food) and there were
16. hotel wala keš mai gilasi b<sub>Λ</sub>nu te gilās kebab aši žit. mōi  
hotel keeper ? we food-of said ? food kebabs were ? we  
only kebabs. We ate kebabs.
17. kebab ko. a te hotel wara par zas šize te ot es gæn net če šu te  
kebabs ate ? ? hotel ? ? ? ? ? ? ? big river ? ? ?  
Where the hotel was located we could see the river (Swat) in a better way.
18. pala te šuzit. m<sup>w</sup>e gel koe sabme ora niazara ki him si gan  
? ? ? we food eat ? good view do snow of big  
We enjoyed the scenery of that river along with the
19. g<sub>Λ</sub>n fut azman ne wodut ačer se d<sub>Λ</sub>ndar wut te t<sup>h</sup>er t<sup>y</sup>n koi yut.  
big flakes sky in ? much ? ? ? ? ? ? ?  
falling snow and it was pleasant. When we ate our lunch, again we took
20. d<sub>Λ</sub> moi gel mel k<sup>h</sup>el art da him šoro aši gel mel k<sup>h</sup>yel aat  
? we food etc eat ? ? snow began was food etc eat ?  
a walk and the snow was falling.
21. b<sup>h</sup>i omia čekara t<sup>h</sup>e. čekera t<sup>h</sup>e pa<sub>n</sub> ni mo aik dusera himiam  
again ? walk ? walk doing road on we one two snow  
When we were walking we threw snowballs at each other.
22. him-mi<sub>Λ</sub>n<sub>0</sub>dusat. t<sup>h</sup>ea mō weawō ka<sub>r</sub>iba<sub>n</sub> čey beya ši mwō a wiat  
balls throw ? we ? about 3 o'clock was we ? ?  
It was about 3 o'clock when we decided that we should
23. mwa wapesi t<sup>h</sup>eari ek<sup>h</sup>ei. wap<sub>Λ</sub>si-si t<sup>h</sup>eari-se kyæ m<sup>w</sup>i weg<sub>Λ</sub>n-si  
we return ready ? return-of ready-of purpose we van-of  
go back. When we were coming back we waited for a van.

24. int<sup>h</sup>ezar ki. t<sup>h</sup>e me b<sup>h</sup>arein se wegan gət t<sup>h</sup>e me wegan-e mō  
wait do then in Bahrain of van come then in van-in we  
And then a van for Bahrain came and we sat in the van.
25. be<sup>h</sup>. mō rever aši še mu čo man suxti b<sup>h</sup>arein če šit t<sup>h</sup>awa  
sit we ? were ? ? ? ? ? Bahrain ? ? ?  
On the way, we were thinking that we could reach Bahrain quickly.
26. onin. a se m<sup>w</sup>e kapeta yera mun ea t<sup>h</sup>ul ε men šiža e (s)iza šita  
become ? ? we ? friend our ? all ? ? ? ? ? ?  
It was not known that our hopes would be destroyed.
27. na-ođi. mō t<sup>h</sup>era ginde pušmal ma garhi ne pan de him  
not-become we ? ? Peshmal in vehicle ? road ? snow  
When we arrived in Peshmal, the roads were covered with
28. medek hiri ši kariban du ça fut. yera mon-se gari  
so-much deep was almost 2 3 feet friend our vehicle  
heavy snow, nearly 2-3 feet. Our vehicle absolutely could not go on.
29. bilkul na širi set<sup>h</sup>. pušmal čere muḡ garhe k<sup>h</sup>am-ša  
completely no ? ? Peshmal much our vehicle break-down  
On the steep hill to Peshmal the van stopped working,
30. ho tsa p<sup>h</sup>yada mwe dusra garhe dyala mašin mwō pyadal  
became that by-foot we another vehicle another car ? by-foot  
and we walked up the hill to the police station at Peshmal
31. mwō pušmal-se č<sup>h</sup>oki u-gyad. t<sup>h</sup>et mō bwet<sup>h</sup> ala t<sup>h</sup>i jala  
? Peshmal-of police-station arrived there we sat ? ? fire  
to get another van. We sat there for a while with a guard around the fire.
32. šu ɔlda mō te aḡai beṭ. a gara-se sin koi sat. takriban  
was ? we it ? sat ? vehicle-of waiting did ? about  
And we waited for the van. It was about 9 o'clock, but no van came for us.
33. žæt-se nom baya hut k<sup>h</sup>i gari hu nea. mwe bayala aši  
night-of 9 o'clock was that vehicle became not we sitting ?  
While sitting there, we drank tea and such.
34. tim če p<sup>h</sup>ia če me p<sup>h</sup>u. p<sup>h</sup>i nom baya zit ba't t<sup>h</sup>rak bar  
? tea drank tea etc. drink ? 9 o'clock night ? truck ?  
At nine o'clock a truck came loaded with logs.
35. te trak mi milet aši. te milat trak me mō dipen ašo mō  
this truck in wood was this wood truck in we ? weren't we  
There was no place for us inside so our principal sat in the front

36. prinsipal mušte baḷ moe te mese ts<sup>h</sup>eto yat. moe četo g<sup>y</sup>at t<sup>h</sup>eθe  
 principal front-in sat we this this-of roof ? we roof ? there  
 and we sat on top of the truck. We were sitting on top of the truck and the
37. moya meski četo beḷ no him-se ba gan gan fut wuḍu mo  
 ? this-in roof sat then snow-of above big big flakes became we  
 snow was falling heavily. It was very cold and we suffered,
38. k<sup>h</sup>ol laḷi ši a šidel se čer saxtari hal aši. ini si di  
 all ? were that cold of much difficult condition was like of day  
 though we wore our coats. The weather that day was like the day of
39. musama k<sup>hy</sup>amāt ašu. mō sax šidal ašu m<sup>w</sup>o ek bi bilkul  
 weather judgement was we hard cold were we I ? completely  
 judgment. It was too cold out there and we were huddled together.
40. jak te dai ašu. mō t<sup>h</sup>ao tak te tofali žat me mō kaḷribā žat-si  
 ? ? ? were we ? ? ? stormy night in we almost night-of  
 That stormy night we arrived in Bahrain
41. dua baya bahrein de ab<sup>wi</sup>. bahrein-de abwai te deal dos  
 12 o'clock Bahrain to arrived Bahrain-to arrived this other friends  
 around midnight. When we arrived in Bahrain, I left my other friends and
42. miduri ai tuni šir-te nigat. ai šir-te nigot tu me tem  
 left I my-own house-to arrived I house-to arrived ? in time  
 went to my home. When I reached home, it was 1 o'clock.
43. buwe e bayo. ahal e mi zindigi-se tunima učit te ne wo keš.  
 ? I o'clock ? ? my life-of ? ? ? not ? ?  
 This was a story I will never forget in my whole life.

Questions for Torwali Story  
(English translations)

1. How long ago did this story take place?
2. Where did his friend want to go with him?
3. What time of day was he in his shop?
4. What was the weather on that day?
5. What did they do when they reached Kalam?
6. Where did they walk in Kalam after drinking tea?
7. What happened as they were walking?
8. What did their principal say to them?
9. What beautiful thing could they see from that restaurant?
10. What did they throw at each other?
11. Where did they decide to go then?
12. What happened on the hill to Peshmal?
13. What was in the truck?
14. Where did their principal sit?

## Appendix B.3

### Swat and Dir Kohistan Questionnaires

#### B.3.1 Kalam Questionnaires

##### Personal Questionnaire

1. Have you ever lived outside of Kalam?
2. Where have you spent the most time outside of Kalam? How long did you stay?
3. Do you know of any Kohistanis married to Pathans, Torwalis or Khandiawalas or other non-Kohistanis (from Kalam)?
4. If so, are there any in this household?

##### Language Use Questionnaire

1. What language do you speak in your home?
2. Do you ever use any other language in your home?
  - 2b. If so, which language do you speak?
  - 2c. And with whom do you speak it?
3. What language do you use to speak with Gujars?
4. What language do you use to speak with Khandiawalas?
5. What language do you use to speak with Torwalis?
6. Can you read or write? In what language?

##### Language Attitude Questionnaire

1. What languages do you want to know better? What advantages are there?
2. What languages do you want your children to learn? daughters? sons?
3. Which language sounds the sweetest to you, i.e., most pleasant to listen to?
4. Would you like your language to be written?
  - 4b. If so, what advantage would there be to that?
5. Do you know of any Kohistanis (from Kalam) married to Pathans, Torwalis or Kandiawalas or other non-Kohistanis?

### B.3.2 Torwali Questionnaires

#### Language Use and Attitude Questionnaire

1. Name
2. Father's name
3. Sex
4. Marital status
5. Age
6. Education
7. Occupation
8. Places traveled outside area
9. Do you know of any (Torwali) Kohistanis who have intermarried with speakers of other languages?
10. Is there any such intermarriage in your family?
11. Do the women in your family know Pashto?
12. Do the women in your family know Urdu?
13. Do the women in your family know how to read?
14. What language do you usually use in your home?
15. What language do you usually use with other (Torwali) Kohistanis?
16. What language do you usually use with Pashto-speaking people from outside of this area?
17. What language do you usually use with Pashto-speaking people who were born here?
18. What language do you usually use with people from the other Torwali-speaking valley?
19. What are the advantages of Pashto?
20. What are the advantages of Urdu?
21. What are the advantages of (Torwali) Kohistani?
22. Some people are writing books in (Torwali) Kohistani. Do you think this is a good idea?



### Census and Language Use Questionnaire

1. Name
2. Relationship to other household member interviewed
3. Age
4. Education
5. Sex
6. Marital status
7. Does subject have children? grandchildren?
8. Completeness of family information supplied
9. Language most commonly used in the home
10. Any other language(s) used in the home
11. Birthplace
12. Any other place lived for six months or more

### Questionnaire Used with Women

1. Name
2. Age
3. Marital status
4. Number of children
5. Do you have grandchildren?
6. Education
7. First language
8. Other languages
9. Language(s) used in the home
10. Places traveled

### B.3.3 Dir Questionnaire

1. Name?
2. Age?
  - 2b. Do you farm? If not, what profession?
3. Date of Interview
4. Education level?
5. Tribe? / Family?
6. Where were you born?
  - 6b. Where did you grow-up?
7. Present Village / Tehsil / District
8. What do you call your language?
  - 8b. Does that have a special meaning?
  - 8c. Do you have other names for your language?
9. Do other people have a different name for your language?
  - 9b. What do they call it?
  - 9c. Who calls it that?
  - 9d. Does that have a special meaning?
10. Are there any other places where your language is spoken? Where?
11. Where else do people speak just the same way as you do?
12. Where do people speak your language just a little bit differently?
  - 12b. Have you yourself gone to these places?
  - 12c. Do people from there also come here?
13. Where do people speak your language very differently?
  - 13b. Have you yourself gone to these places?
  - 13c. Do people from there come to your area?
  - 13d. When you talk with a man from ———, how much of his language do you understand?
  - 13e. In what way does he talk?
14. Where do people speak your own language the most purely?
15. Where do people speak your own language the best?
  - 15b. Why do you say that is the best?
16. Where is your language spoken badly?
  - 16b. Why do you say that it is bad?
17. What do you call the language people speak in Tal and Lamuti?
  - 17b. What do you call the people who speak that language?

18. Do you go there often? How many times in a year?
  - 18b. Do your fellow villagers go there frequently?
  - 18c. For what purpose do you go?
  - 18d. How long do you stay there?
  - 18e. What language do you speak with them?
  - 18f. Do people understand you when you speak your own language there?
  - 18g. Do you understand their language?
  - 18h. Can you speak their language?
  - 18i. How did you learn this language?
  - 18j. Do your women go there?
  - 18k. For what purpose do they go?
  - 18l. Do your people marry with those people?
  - 18m. If not, why not?
19. Do people from there live in your village?
  - 19b. If a man from there comes to your village, can everyone understand his speech?
  - 19c. Even the women and children?
  - 19d. How different is their language from what you speak?
- 20-22. (Questions 17-19 repeated regarding Kalkot)
- 23-25. (Questions 17-19 repeated regarding Rajkot/Patrak)
26. What do you call your own people?
  - 26b. Do all —— people speak the same as you?
  - 26c. If not, what do they speak?
27. Do all the people in your village speak the same as you?
  - 27b. If not, what other groups are there?
28. How many people live in your village (who speak your language)?
  - 28b. How many people total speak your language?
29. What other languages are spoken in your area? (Mother tongues)
  - 29b. Where are they spoken?
  - 29c. Do you know these other languages?
  - 29d. Do your children know these other languages?
  - 29e. If so, how did they learn them?
30. Where did your own people come from?
  - 30b. When did they come?
  - 30c. Why did they come here?
31. Do you speak the same language as your grandfather did?
32. What is the name of your father's language?
33. What is the name of your mother's language?
34. (If parent's language is different from local lg.) What language did you speak in your home as a child with your parents?
35. What language do you speak in your home now?
  - 35b. Is there someone else in your family who speaks a different language?
  - 35c. Then what language do you speak with them?

36. What other languages do you speak?
  - 36b. How well do you speak them?
37. What do you call the people who speak your own language?
38. What language do you use for:
  - 38b. explaining things to women?
  - 38c. to children?
  - 38d. for singing?
  - 38e. for jokes and stories?
  - 38f. for religious teaching in the mosque?
  - 38g. who does religious teaching? local or outsider?
  - 38h. for religious teaching at home?
  - 38i. for political talk?
  - 38j. for getting a job?
39. Do you speak Urdu?
  - 39b. Do you often speak Urdu?
  - 39c. Where do you usually speak Urdu?
  - 39d. Do you find Urdu easy to speak?
  - 39e. Can you read Urdu?
40. How many of the people in your village speak Urdu?
  - 40b. How many of the people in your village read and write Urdu?
41. How many of the children in your village go to school? Percent?
42. How many of the women in your village speak Urdu?
  - 42b. How many of the women in your village read and write Urdu?
43. Do you speak Pashto?
  - 43b. Do you often speak Pashto?
  - 43c. Where do you usually speak Pashto?
  - 43d. With whom?
  - 43e. Do you find Pashto easy to speak?
44. How many of the people in your village speak Pashto?
  - 44b. How many of the people in your village read and write Pashto?
45. How many of the children in your village speak Pashto?
46. How many of the women in your village speak Pashto?
47. Do your people marry with Pashto-speakers?
  - 47b. If so, what language is spoken in home with children?
48. Which languages do you want your children to learn?
49. When your children grow up, what language do you think they will use the most?
50. Are there books in your language? What type?
  - 50b. Have you tried to read them?
  - 50c. Do you think your language would be easy to read?
51. Do you think people would buy books in your language?
  - 51b. Would you?
52. What kind of things should be written in your language?

53. If there were classes to teach men how to read and write your language, would you go?
  - 53b. If there were classes to teach children how to read and write your language, would you send your children?
54. What is the best language for writing things?
  - 54b. Why do you think so?
55. Are there any of your own people who have stopped speaking your own language and started speaking another language?
56. Is your language broadcast on the radio?
  - 56b. Do you listen to it?
57. If you wanted to give an important message to the people in your area, what language would you use? Why?



**APPENDIX C**  
**USHOJO SURVEY DATA**

**Appendix C.1 Ushojo Word List**  
**Karial, Swat (A)**

Missing numbers indicate lexical items excluded from similarity count.

1. body	'wajut <sup>h</sup>	30. broom	'lahu'li
2. head	ʃuš	31. mortar	čΛ'tu
3. hair	'ba'le	32. pestle	ʔi't <sup>h</sup> ɪl
4. face	muk <sup>h</sup>	33. hammer	sΛ'tΛk
5. eye	'eʃi'	34. knife	'čaku
6. ear	ko'ŋ	35. axe	't <sup>h</sup> oŋgo
7. nose	'noti	36. rope	pΛre
8. mouth	'āzi'	37. thread	'gunɔo
9. teeth	do'n	38. needle	sū
		39. cloth	t <sup>h</sup> 'kæe
10. tongue	jib	40. ring	Λŋgu'ti
11. breast	bux't <sup>h</sup> ian	41. sun	'su'ri
12. belly	dɛɾ	42. moon	yun
13. hand	hΛt	43. sky	as'man
14. elbow	't <sup>h</sup> u'ri	44. star	'ta'ro
15. palm	'tΛle	45. rain	'Λžo
16. finger	Λŋ'gu'li	46. water	wi
17. fingernail	nok <sup>h</sup>	47. river	suɾɔdu
18. leg	joŋ / pã	48. cloud	'Λžo
19. skin	čom	49. lightning	asman 'palakin
20. bone	'Λn <sup>h</sup> i	50. rainbow	hi'nɑ'n
21. heart	'hilo	51. wind	oš
22. blood	luɫ	52. stone	g <sup>(h)</sup> iri
23. urine	ʃi'noɔo moš	53. path	po'ŋ
24. feces	bΛɾo moš	54. sand	si'gΛl
25. village	ko't	55. fire	Λŋ'gar
26. house	go't	56. smoke	d <sup>(h)</sup> um
27. roof	'beli	57. ash	dΛl
28. door	dΛr	58. mud	'čičΛl / 'xatΛ
29. firewood	'ka'ɕe	59. dust	'pisin

60. gold	li'olo zar	100. spider	jo'la
61. tree	t <sup>h</sup> o'm	101. name	no'm
62. leaf	pλto	102. man	'manužo
63. root	nia'ri	103. woman	ʒλpai
64. thorn	koŋ	104. child	ši'noŋo
65. flower	pu'suru	105. father	'ma'lo
66. fruit	me'wa	106. mother	'ma'li
67. mango	λm	108. brother	ʒa
68. banana	'kela	110. sister	sλs
69. wheat	gum		
71. rice	'tanol	111. son	puč
72. potato	'alu	112. daughter	p <sup>hw</sup> i
73. eggplant	'kino 'batiŋλr	113. husband	kλ'mλn
74. groundnut	mum'pali	114. wife	'čλi
75. chili	mλr'čake	115. boy	p <sup>h</sup> o
76. turmeric	hλ'liš	116. girl	p <sup>hw</sup> i
77. garlic	li'sim	117. day	dez
78. onion	'palan	118. night	'rati
79. cauliflower	pu'sur <sup>wi</sup> 'gopi	119. morning	lo'čeki
80. tomato	'tλmatλri	120. noon	a <sup>r</sup> 'dez
81. cabbage	bλn gopi	121. evening	'nia'sam
82. oil	tel	122. yesterday	bea'luku
83. salt	'luni	123. today	až
84. meat	mō's	124. tomorrow	'dōči
85. fat	mē	125. week	ap'ta
86. fish	'mače	126. month	mo'z
87. chicken	ku'kuri	127. year	ka'l
88. egg	aŋ'do	128. old	pu'ro'no
89. cow	'gao	129. new	no' / nou
90. buffalo	mēš	130. good	šo
91. milk	dud	131. bad	kλčato
92. horns	'šiŋge	132. wet	'λžo
93. tail	la'kai	133. dry	šu'kalo
94. goat	'li	134. long	'žugo
95. dog	šū	135. short	'k <sup>h</sup> uŋo
96. snake	jon	136. hot	'tato
97. monkey	ša'du	137. cold	ši'dalo
98. mosquito	p <sup>h</sup> uti	138. right	su'bλno
99. ant	piwλl	139. left	a'bλno



140. near	'ne'ro	180. many	'la'lo
141. far	dur	181. all	'buṭo
142. big	'bAṭo	182. (you) eat	k <sup>h</sup> a
143. small	ši'noṭo	183. (he) bites	k <sup>h</sup> e
144. heavy	u'goro	184. (he) was hungry	beše'lalo
145. light	la'oko	185. (he) drank	pi'
147. below	'karen	186. (he) was thirsty	teše'lalo
148. white	šo	187. (he) slept	'suto
149. black	'kinono	188. lay down!	bA'jala bo
		189. sit down!	be
150. red	le'olo	190. give!	de
151. one	e'k	191. burn wood!	'kaṭe 'dae
152. two	du	192. (he) died	'mu're
153. three	če	193. (you) killed	'ma're
154. four	čar	194. (bird) flew	hun 'bili
155. five	poš	195. walk!	pi'ada bo
156. six	ša	196. run!	mAṇḍa t <sup>h</sup> e
157. seven	sa't	197. go!	bo
158. eight	a't <sup>h</sup>	198. come!	e
159. nine	'nAō	199. speak!	řaz
160. ten	'dae	200. hear!	šuna
161. eleven	A'gaš	201. see!	'čAke
162. twelve	d <sup>w</sup> aš	202. I	mA / mā
163. twenty	bi	203. you (informal)	tu
164. one hundred	pož bi	204. you (formal)	so / tso
165. who	'koe	205. he	sA
166. what	ji	206. she	sA
167. where	ko'n te	207. we (incl.)	'aso
168. when	ka're	208. we (excl.)	'aso
169. how many	ka'ča'k	209. you (plural)	so 'buṭe
		210. they	si
170. which	'ka'mik		
171. this	a'na(m.) / ani(f.)		
172. that	'pila / la		
173. these (things)	a'ni 'šei		
174. those (things)	'pili 'šei		
175. same (thing)	ek 'šei		
176. different	'gAḍwAḍ		
177. whole	řoṭ		
178. broken	p <sup>h</sup> o'talo		
179. few	'a'po		

## Appendix C.2

## Ushojo Supplementary Word List

adz	<sup>t</sup> hɛç̣i	chimney	pep
almond	ba'dam	churn (n.)	man'daɲu
anger	ka'ɾa	churn (v.prs)	man'dema
ankle	'paɾke	clever	u'saro
apple	'pɒlu	comb	'kuŋgi
apricot	ju'lu	corn	jo'ar
arrow	'ɣɒše		
attach (v.pst)	ʃɒ'šege / ʌ'šege	corn cob	'šišo
awake (v.)	hun bilo	cornsilk	ʃɒʃ
		crack	çik
back (small of)	'çhuno dak	cream	ʃi'lari / ʃilari
ball	'paɲdos	crow	kag
barber	ɖom	cut (v.fut)	ç'h'i'nino
bark (tree)	paɬ <sup>h</sup>	cut (v.pst)	'çh'inege
bear	'içɒ		
beat (v.pst)	ku'tege / ku't <sup>h</sup> ege	dagger	ç'o'ɾakɒi
before	mu'šo	day before	ç'e'moŋgo des
bird	ç'u'ruti	yesterday	
blind	'še'lo	deaf	'boro
blister	'tsolo / 'soʃo	donkey	'žɒkun
bone	ãti	down	'k <sup>h</sup> are
bow	lin'dɒ	dream (v)	'niši pašini
bowstring	'guɲɖo	duck	bɒ't <sup>h</sup> ɒki
brain	mim	dumb (not speak)	'çəto
bring (v.fut)	ʌ'tono		
bury (v.prs)	spa'rema	earth	'dɒrin
bury (v.pst)	spa'rege	earthquake	'dɒrin phi'tikini
butter	še'san	eighteen	ʌ'taš
		eighty	çer bi
calf (leg)	'pini	eyebrow	'ʌšk <sup>w</sup> ok <sup>h</sup> e
camel	ox		
carry (v.fut)	ha'rono	fear (v.pst)	bi'zilo
cat	'pišo	fever	šal
centipede	pi'se	field	ç <sup>h</sup> ɛš
chaf	k <sup>h</sup> i'are	fifteen	pěš
chase (v.pst)	šiga'rege	fifth	poš'moŋgo

fifty	'dege du bi	lip	'truṭo
fight	'rʌbʌr	louse	jū
first	a'wʌl	lung	p <sup>h</sup> ʌp <sup>h</sup>
flea	ʃʌŋd		
flood	ka'ʃar	markhor	'marxor
flour	'āṭhi	millstone	ʒem'baṭ <sup>h</sup>
fortnight; half a moon	'horomos	mirror	mo'ṭ <sup>h</sup> aro
forty	du bi	mountain	k <sup>h</sup> on
		mustache	p <sup>h</sup> uŋge
fourteen	'čadʌš	navel	ṭ <sup>h</sup> uni
fourth	čar'moŋgo	nineteen	ʌn'biš
fox	lu'i	ninety	'dege čer bi
frog	sin'dʌxa		
full	fu'rʌlo	owl	guŋ'ge
funeral bier	ʒi'nazo / ji'nazo		
fur	ʃʌṭ	parrot	ṭ <sup>h</sup> ot <sup>h</sup> i
		peach	'aro
get (v.fut)	ga'ṭono	pinch (v.pst)	ʃʌku'lege
grape	dʌš	pine cone	'ʃiʃo
grind (v.pst)	pe'ʃege	plum	ali'čʌ
		post, pillar	t <sup>h</sup> un
handle of ax	'dʌnu	pull (v.pst)	'ʒiŋdege
heel	'k <sup>h</sup> uni	pumpkin	gaŋdu'li
honey	mea'ʃi		
honeybee	maʃu'li	raspberry	p <sup>h</sup> a'gan
honeycomb	ḍʌḍ	rat	mū'ʒo
horse	'ʌʃpi (f.) / 'ʌʃpo (m.)	sap	k <sup>h</sup> ʌŋ
		scorpion	'lʌrʌm
insect	'kimi	scratch (v.pst)	ke'nege
inside	'guʃi	second	du'moŋgo
internal organs	'lʌrʌmun	sell (v.fut)	kir'nino
knead (v.prs)	ki'ʃema	seventeen	sʌ'taš
knot	goŋ	seventy	'dege če bi
know (v.prs)	's <sup>w</sup> ema	shake (v.pst)	p <sup>h</sup> iṭka'rege
		sharp	'tinu
lamb	u'ran	sheep	ili (f.) / miŋ'dal (m.)
lame, dwarf	'k <sup>h</sup> uṭo		
laugh (v.)	'ha'si	sheep (fat tail)	lʌ'mor miŋ'dal
lentil	naš		

shield	ɖal	third	ɕe'moŋgo
shin bone	'juŋgi āɕi	thirteen	'ɕeiš
sickle	'uŋgi	thirty	'dege bi
sieve (for grain)	'paɽu	throat	'turuɽ
sink (v.pst?)	ɖuɣ'bile	tree (cedar)	'liɭo
sixteen	šeš		
sixty	ɕe bi	upward	hu'nati baɭjema
skin bag	ba'runo		
sledgehammer	'ɖoko	very	'la'lo
smooth	pi'ɕelo	vomit (v.pst)	ɕa'rege
snow	him		
soft	ka'malo	wasp	hi'la
some	ka'ɕak	waterchute (mill)	taɽ'nao
son's wife	nuš	weaver	jo'la
spleen	'trixe	web; nest	pon
sticks on rafters	ko'nale	widow	'riɽɖi
stool (small)	'biɕi	wife's brother	ɕama'ɕo
stupid	ka'makal	wife's mother	paš
sugar cane	'gane	wool	paš
sweep (v.pst)	kaš tege	wrinkle	'gonje
		write (v.prs)	li'k <sup>h</sup> ona
tall	'žugo		
take (v.pst)	gi'nege	yellow	ɕa'noro
tear (v.pst)	tsirege	yes	hã
thief	ɕoɽ		
thigh	'maldal		

## Appendix C.3

### Ushojo Text Karial (Swat)

#### Ushojo Folk Tale

1. halim ga bai a rasul bai žari asili ek ga sas asili  
Halim and both (pause) Rasul both brothers were one and sister was
2. sinoi halim ga rasul-i x<sup>w</sup>orai asolo x<sup>w</sup>orai došmano marege  
their Halim and Rasul-of nephew was nephew enemy killed
3. sasi razigi miana puče gaṭa t<sup>h</sup>a sinoi razigi ase sani gaṭa  
sister said my son revenge do they said we then revenge
4. t<sup>h</sup>ano ye čhuke palu p<sup>h</sup>uṇḍili xa manja deze gai lahale  
will-do (pause) sour apple flower (pause) in-that days went many
5. e wax sači ali likone niaje gai sele niaji ma ali  
(pause) time truth came they hunt went were hunt from came
6. niašama sas asili xapa sisi tapos tege ža roja tapos tege e  
evening sister was sad they asked did brother from asked did oh
7. sase to ke xapa hani razinu mi puč marene a lino gaṭa  
sister to why sad is said my son killed (pause) him revenge
8. t<sup>h</sup>a sinoi razigi asa sane gaṭa t<sup>h</sup>ano e ana čhuki palo  
do they said we then revenge do(fut) (pause) this sour apple
9. p<sup>h</sup>uṇḍili xa sisi ta miyad lahalo asolo basonda te  
flower (pause) his-unseen to time many was spring to
10. sisi ane hano p<sup>h</sup>uṇ t<sup>h</sup>onde xa bai dage razige ma  
his-unseen this is flower will-do (pause) then old-woman said I
11. to te qanun pašarem ue teti t<sup>h</sup>a lisi neyarote hola la bajul  
you to job teach water heat do? its-seen roots put it ?
12. čemoṅgo deze p<sup>h</sup>uṇḍono ba p<sup>h</sup>unde sab toṭka t<sup>h</sup>ege se  
3rd day will-flower then to-flower all method did it
13. čemoṅgo des te p<sup>h</sup>onḍili xa žaro du wal harodo badnam  
3rd day to to-flower (pause) brothers 2 ? lost blame
14. haradi e ba razige aso-ya kalči tona čin si tena  
lost (pause) then said we-? lie do now will? do(prs?)

15. kalčio xatam hani e      asai yani hano wat<sup>h</sup>an p<sup>h</sup>ato hano  
lies finished are (pause) we this is area leaving are
16. bɾastani ga ana ginono jago wat<sup>h</sup>ana te bujono e  
bedding and this take(fut) resettle area to go (pause)
17. saja p<sup>h</sup>ato asai dušmani t<sup>h</sup>ono lada aso gai aso du jani  
this-from after our enemy will-do this-like we went we 2 men
18. hani asi ga kam gar hani asai dušmani a saja p<sup>h</sup>ato  
are we of little many are our enemy (pause) this-from after
19. gaina safar t<sup>h</sup>ege e tomo k<sup>h</sup>on te gai ai watana de  
went travel did (pause) here hill on went (pause) area on
20. šaront<sup>h</sup>eya t<sup>h</sup>ege ale če žare asili du žare asile če ga  
migrated did came 3 brothers were 2 brothers were 3 and
21. žahuli asili du patote gai če patote gai pon dar žare  
nephews were 2 turn-back went 3 turn-back went path on brothers
22. ga du čar žare diša te ale ana wat<sup>h</sup>ana te kalama te  
and 2 4 brothers place to came this area to Kalam to
23. abarili sasi razigi tai ana x<sup>w</sup>orai gača ni t<sup>h</sup>ege a la  
reached sister said your this nephew revenge not did (pause) this
24. ji šatai hisab hanu šunwai razini asai kačo diša t<sup>h</sup>e t<sup>h</sup>ono  
what ? plan is ? said we family place to will-do
25. saja pato asai gača t<sup>h</sup>ono ladama t<sup>h</sup>amu ja ale kalama  
that-from after we revenge will-do this-like? hope on came kalam
26. te abarili kalama dar umar lanjege kačak monda neča lanjili ba  
to reached kalam in time spent some time time spent then
27. aji ali šagama te šagama dar umar umar lanjege saja  
up came Shagram to Shagram in time time spent that-from
28. pato le niajir tene sele pake niajir asile saja pato ana  
after they hunting doing doing expert hunter were this-from after this
29. se'de pato đag gđene anuno jag baže sene kače te a  
Sayed after back tying these people went that firewood to (pause)
30. jako ye pato đalo t<sup>h</sup>ege razena ana manužo mara sas maron  
people the after crowd did said this persons kill they kill
31. te gai aja balwa was ni abarilo lapilieto šagama te ačege  
to went them-on arrest can not reached catch? Shagram to brought

32. šAGAMA DAR šinoi SALA t<sup>h</sup>ege BAŦO BAŦO žA-i RAZigi šinoŦo  
Shagram in they decision did elder elder brother-of said younger
33. te e adAi kar t<sup>h</sup>ai la napoha ĵak hANI se'di hANI  
to (pause) this work do this stupid people are Sayed are
34. a la RAZA RAZEΔ KΔĉAK ĵeni ASo-se pAto mARg te  
(pause) they/he? said said how-much people our after kill to
35. Ale sele le napoha ĵak hANE KATAi ĵako bono  
came are this stupid people are stand-in-line people will-do?
36. SAĴA lINDA ŶAŠΔi patono KΔĉAK ĵa marege ASo ta  
that-from bow arrow will-return how-many people? killed we to
37. mARale hani ŶARAZ ΔDAi hani RASul-i RAZigi nA? alima na xun  
died are talk this is Rasul said no Halim not? murder
38. bino ASo ĵumyati Δ lADamo konali nĪk<sup>h</sup>ate sili  
doing-sg we mosque (pause) this-like? woodbeam pull-out were
39. ĵumyati ma ASAi ĉoŦ dono li boĵi tomo lo ASAi ŶAŠΔi nikale  
mosque from we shot will-do they went here? ? our arrow pull-out
40. to ASo te AŦAi t<sup>h</sup>oŋgi ni harono taĉe ni harono e ara  
will? us to bring-pl axe not carry adze not carry (pause) saw
41. ni harono ĵumat šed bini xali ĝAi KA ni AŦo bAHata  
not carry mosque martyr doing-pl only went if? not bring very
42. wAs ni abARilo wAPAsi ASo te etla t<sup>h</sup>A tino šAi ni  
able not arrived turn us to message do gave? thing not
43. AŦono ĵumat šed ni bAi SAĴA pAto li ĝAi košiš  
will-bring mosque martyr not became that-from after they went try
44. t<sup>h</sup>ege wAs ni abARilo wAs ma bAHAR ya hano ba  
did able-can not reached able from out he/these? were then
45. pAtote ali etla dege ASA-i wAs ma bAHAR hano šino-i boĵi to  
after came message gave our able from out is they went ?
46. KAlImA razigi SAĴA pAto tAMO ŶAŠΔi hAT<sup>h</sup> de nikalege wAPAs  
Kalma said that-from after own arrow hand on pull-out turn
47. ĉ<sup>h</sup>AM te RAWAN bili o kerama<sup>t</sup> ASOLO lino pĀo k<sup>h</sup>are  
village to walk became (pause) miracle were them foot down
48. konale poŦ<sup>h</sup>ili ĉ<sup>h</sup>AM ĝigi sili SAĴA pAto se'de ana AMAl  
beams breaking village fell-down did that-from after Sayed this action

49. t<sup>h</sup>ege ʌʌ ʒi balai hani ʌn ka marege la marali nušo ʒia  
did they some demon are they if killed they killed not some
50. was bino sawa saʒa ana gini to ba patote kam  
able reach ? that-from they take(pst?) ? then again work?
51. e watanʌ te harʌ se watan-ʌ te harʌ ʌbra e se'de  
(pause) area to carry they? area-of to carry reach (pause) they?
52. ʒa patote ʌbraege diša te ʌbraege kačak munda neša nicate  
from again reached place to reached some time time spent
53. saʒa pato lino niaʒir xatam bili saʒa pato li  
that-from after them hunting finished became that-from after they
54. ale šagame ser te saʒa pato t<sup>h</sup>omi čhimege e ek  
came Shagram river to that-from after trees cut(pst) (pause) one
55. t<sup>h</sup>om brabar alo t<sup>h</sup>o maʒa ek awar laŋgilo šinošo ʒa-i  
tree connect came it between? one cross crossed small brother-of
56. razigi baro te tu nie t<sup>h</sup>ai ʌšig azigi bina ma bujema ka ma  
said big to you not your eyes ? doing I go(prs?) if I
57. laŋgilo ba pač toʒi hat<sup>h</sup> dono ma ni buj bahai masalo t<sup>h</sup>ai  
cross then ? ? hand will-give I not go after ? you
58. bai saʒa pato ni hano saʒa pato lahala ta če čar  
then? that-from after not is that-from after very that 3 4
59. žonžo ui ana ser ma lahale ʌsili saʒa pato likoni čar pōš  
mill water this river from very was that-from after him 4 5
60. če roʒa ɖilteyarege ba patote ya to awaz tege ʒa-i to ni  
3 from? washed-away? then after he ? call did brother-of ? no
61. a' xatarʌ hani la waraʒa t<sup>h</sup>omi činino ʌsiʒa paraʒa t<sup>h</sup>omi  
come danger is I? this-side trees will-cut you that-side trees
62. činino ek des ʌsolo sisi ʒa najoʒa bilo pata  
will-cut one day came his-unseen brother sick became information
63. ni gaʒili lise t<sup>h</sup>om činege t<sup>h</sup>om brabar alo saʒa pato  
not receive(pst?) he tree cut(pst) tree connect came that-from after
64. la gao lisi razigi lakone ɖera dar šolale najur hano ya sat<sup>h</sup> te  
he went? he said he? belly in pain ? is he there to
65. gai ta bela dar baʒalo hano može nito baino  
went ? rock-overhang in layed was talks cannot do(fut?)



66. žΛ-i ji čΛ bili sΛ tΛ može nito bΛisilo hΛt<sup>h</sup>e  
brother-of what happen came he ? talks cannot do hand
67. pΛšārege e ič halal te Λsili sise lΛřmun pΛi Λsili sΛ  
showed (pause) bear? slaughter to did his liver cooked did that
68. kēge nōto ja e kōno ja Āzi ja bale Λle sili sΛja  
ate nose in (pause) ear in mouth in hair came did that-from
69. pΛto luņi pešege tele dege bale kača šite sΛja pΛto yΛni  
after salt rubbed palm gave hair from remove that-from after means
70. možo ja alo žΛ-i Λe t<sup>h</sup>Λi ΛnΛ ji krom t<sup>h</sup>ege řΛzino  
talk start came brother-of (pause) you this what work did said
71. ma biš-Λle gΛ bΛrbad bom Λsolo iž Λlo ji paidΛ  
I hunger-came? and destroy ? was bear? came nothing find
72. ni bili sΛlo myΛ ΛnΛ nikalege kēge sΛja pΛto žΛ  
not became did I this pulled-out ate that-from after brother
73. šo bilo ba řΛwan bile ga gΛi pila liste pila myadama te  
good became then walk came ? went that that that Myadam to
74. myadama dΛř ji moz Λpi lΛhale dezi mozi lΛřgege  
Myadam in some month some many days months spent
75. sΛja pΛto gΛi šΛnku te šΛnku ma laware gΛi bižgam  
that-from after went Shanku to Shanku from that-side went Bishigram
76. te yadara buje nΛ sele hΛlim gΛ řΛsul sΛja pΛto  
to remember went ? became/did Halim and Rasul that-from after
77. čenta qomi lΛhale hani sino Λwlad nΛwΛsΛi gΛ kΛřosΛi sΛ  
now tribe many are their sons grandson's-son and grandsons that
78. wΛxΛ dΛř li du jΛni Λsili linoi du jΛno ja hano wΛtΛn qΛbzΛ  
time in they 2 men were these 2 men on are area inhabited
79. t<sup>h</sup>ege xoda pak sino qΛbul t<sup>h</sup>u  
did God holy they accept do

### Free Translation

Halim and Rasul were two brothers. They have one sister. They have a nephew. Their enemy killed their nephew. Their sister said, “Revenge my son.” They said, “We will revenge him when this sour apple plant flowers.” After some time they went hunting. They came from hunting in the evening and their sister was sad. They asked, “Why are you sad? Oh, Sister, why are you sad?”

What happened to you?" She said, "My son was killed and you should revenge him." They said, "We will revenge your son when this sour apple plant flowers." It was a long time to spring when the plant would flower. Then an old woman said, "I will teach you a method. Put hot water on the tree roots, then the plant will flower on the third day." She used this method and it flowered on the third day. The two brothers were sad because they had lied to her. And then they said, "We lied, now the lies are finished. We should leave this area and resettle in another area when we have gone. After that we will fight our enemy. We went because we are two and our enemies are many."

After that they traveled from their area and they went up on a mountain. They were three brothers migrated. The brothers left and came to a place. They reached the area of Kalam. Their sister said, "You did not revenge your nephew." They arrived at Kalam, they spent time in Kalam. Then after some time they came up to Shagram. And they spent time there in Shagram. They were hunting often. They were expert hunters.

After that the Sayed prepared themselves to kill those two brothers. And the crowd said, "Kill these men." They went to kill them, but could not find them. They decided and the elder brother said to the younger, "This is what we'll do. These are stupid people. [I want to know] how many people came to kill us. I will tell them to stand a line. When they stand in a line I will pull the bow and will kill all of them, because they are killing us." Rasul said, "No, Halim. Don't do this murder. You will shoot the mosque wood beam and we will tell them to pull it out. And we will say they cannot use a saw, an axe, or an adze. But pull the arrow out by hand because otherwise the mosque will be desecrated. They will be not able to pull the arrow from the beam then they will send a message to us to please come here and pull the arrow, otherwise the mosque will be desecrated." After that they did it. When they reached the mosque they tried to pull the arrow out. But they could not pull the arrow out. Then they sent the message to them to please come and pull the arrow out from the mosque. Then they went and said the Kalima. And they pulled the arrow out by hand. Then they turn back to their village. When they were walking on the roofs they were breaking the beams. Then the Sayed people decided they are not human, they are some other things like a demon or some other things.

When they reached the Shagram river they were cutting the trees. After some time a tree connected. The younger brother said to the elder, "Your eyes don't see, I will go. If I cross, then I will give you a hand and then cross the river." When he tried there were three or four mills water and it was too much

for this river. He crossed the river with much difficulty. He [almost] washed away. After this he called, “Brother, don’t come. It’s dangerous. I will cut trees on this side, you will cut trees on that side.”

One day his brother became sick. He did not receive any information. He cut the tree and the tree connected. After that he went there. When he went there he had pain in his belly. He went there and layed in the cave. He couldn’t talk. He asked his brother, “What happened to you, you cannot speak?” His brother showed him a bear that he slaughtered. He cooked the liver and ate. When he ate it hair came out from his mouth, nose, ears and his face and he could not say anything. Then he brought some salt and rubbed it in his palm. Because of the salt the hair was removed and he started talking. Then he told the whole story to his brother, “I was too hungry and then one bear came. The bear came and I did not find anything. I pulled this out and ate.” After that the brother became good.

Then they started walking and came to Myadam. They spent much time in Myadam. After that they went to Shanku. From Shanku they went to Bishigram. There went Halim and Rasul. After that they are now a tribe with many of their sons. Their grandsons and great grandsons are too many but in that time they were just two men. These two men inhabited that area. This is our prayer that they accept the holy God.



## APPENDIX D INDUS KOHISTAN SURVEY DATA

### Appendix D.1

#### Indus Kohistan Word Lists

*Location Code, Location, Village, Reliability Code*

KAN	Kandia Kohistani, Kandia Valley, A
DUB	Duber Kohistani, Upper Duber Valley, A
SEO	Seo Kohistani, Seo Village, A
PAT	Patan Kohistani, Patan Village, A
JJ	Jijal Kohistani, Jijal, A
CHM	Chilisso (Mahrin), Mahrin Village, B
CHJ	Chilisso (Jalkot), Jalkot, B
GAB	Gowro, Mahrin Village, B
BAT	Bateri, Batera Village, B

Missing numbers indicate lexical items excluded from similarity count.

	1. body	2. head	3. hair
KAN	su'rAt <sup>h</sup>	šiš	bal
DUB	su'rAt / ba'dAn	šiš	bal <sub>Λ</sub> / bal
SEO	su'rAt / wəjut <sup>h</sup>	šiš / šiš	bal
PAT	su'rAt	šiš	bal
JJ	su'rAt	šiš	bal
CHM	su'rAt	šiš	bal
CHJ	su'rAt	šiš	bal
GAB	su'rAt	šiš	bal
BAT	su'rAt / wəjut <sup>h</sup> / ba'dAn	šiš	bal

	4. face	5. eye	6. ear
KAN	m <sup>h</sup> ũ·	ã·'ç̣i / ã·č̣	'kaŋΛ
DUB	m <sup>h</sup> ũ·	ã·'ç̣i / ã·č̣	kaŋ
SEO	mũ·	ã·č̣	kaŋ
PAT	mũ·	ã·ç̣i / ã·č̣	kaŋ
JIJ	mũ·	aç̣i / ač̣	kaŋ
CHM	m <sup>h</sup> ũ·	ãč̣	ka·ŋ
CHJ	mũ·	a·č̣	kan
GAB	mũ·	ãṣ̌	kan
BAT	mũ·	ã·ṣ̌ / ãč̣	kan
	7. nose	8. mouth	9. teeth
KAN	nΛ'sur	ʔãĩ	dan
DUB	na'sur	ʔãĩ	dan
SEO	na't <sup>h</sup> ur	ʔãĩ	dan
PAT	na't <sup>h</sup> ur	ʔãĩ	dΛn
JIJ	na't <sup>h</sup> ur	ʔaĩ	dan
CHM	'not <sup>h</sup> u	ʔãĩ	dan / dΛnΛ
CHJ	not <sup>h</sup> i	ʔãĩ	dan
GAB	'not <sup>h</sup> u	ʔaĩ	dan
BAT	nΛ't <sup>h</sup> ur	ʔΛ / ʔãĩ	dan / dΛn
	10. tongue	11. breast	12. belly
KAN	žib	č̣ič̣	'weri
DUB	žib	č̣ič̣	'wΛri
SEO	zib	ʔswiʔs	'weri
PAT	zib	ʔsiʔs	'weri
JIJ	zib	ʔsuts	'weri
CHM	zib	—	d <sup>Λ</sup> her
CHJ	zib	—	d <sup>h</sup> er
GAB	zip <sup>h</sup>	ʔswiʔs	d <sup>h</sup> er
BAT	zib	ʔsufs	d <sup>Λ</sup> her
	13. hand	14. elbow	15. palm
KAN	ha	t <sup>h</sup> uŋ'guri	tΛ'li / (hate)tΛli
DUB	ha	t <sup>h</sup> uŋ'guri	(hate)tΛli
SEO	ha	t <sup>h</sup> uŋ'guri	har'zeli
PAT	ha	t <sup>h</sup> uŋ'guri	hatʔzΛli
JIJ	ha / hΛt <sup>h</sup>	tʊŋ'guri	hazΛli / hazΛl
CHM	hat <sup>h</sup>	t <sup>h</sup> uŋguri	ha'twa·
CHJ	hat <sup>h</sup>	tʊŋ'guri	ha'to
GAB	hat <sup>h</sup>	t <sup>h</sup> uŋ'guri	ha'twa·
BAT	hat <sup>h</sup>	'k <sup>h</sup> õĩ	ha'tel

	16. finger	17. nail	18. foot
KAN	aŋ'gwi	nak <sup>h</sup>	k <sup>h</sup> uŋ
DUB	aŋgwi	nak <sup>h</sup>	k <sup>h</sup> uŋ
SEO	aŋ'gwi	nak <sup>h</sup> / na <sup>·</sup> k <sup>h</sup>	k <sup>h</sup> uŋ
PAT	aŋ'gwi	nak <sup>h</sup>	'k <sup>h</sup> urΔ
JJ	aŋ'gwi	nak <sup>h</sup>	k <sup>h</sup> ur
CHM	ha'gwi	no'r	k <sup>h</sup> ur
CHJ	ha'gwi	no'r	pā
GAB	haŋ'gwi	nak <sup>h</sup>	k <sup>h</sup> uŋ
BAT	haŋ'gwi	nak <sup>h</sup>	k <sup>h</sup> uŋ
	19. skin	20. bone	21. heart
KAN	čam	haŋ	halal <sup>y</sup> u
DUB	čam	haŋ / haŋΔ	hala'lyu
SEO	ŋsam	haŋ	hΔla'li
PAT	ŋsam	haŋ / haŋΔ	hala'li
JJ	ŋsam	haŋ	hala'li
CHM	ŋsam	haŋ	hala'li
CHJ	ŋsam	āŋ <sup>h</sup> <sub>i</sub>	hala'li
GAB	ŋsam	ha'ŋ	hala'li
BAT	ŋsam	haŋ	hala'li
	22. blood	23. urine	24. feces
KAN	rat <sup>h</sup>	muž	bΔhar / gu'
DUB	rat <sup>h</sup>	muž	bΔhar / bol
SEO	rat	mūž	bΔ'har / bol
PAT	rat <sup>h</sup>	muž	bΔ'har / gūū
JJ	rat <sup>h</sup>	muž	bΔ'har
CHM	rat <sup>h</sup>	muž	bΔ'har
CHJ	rat <sup>h</sup>	muž	bol
GAB	rat <sup>h</sup>	muž	bΔhar / bol
BAT	rat <sup>h</sup>	muž	gut <sup>h</sup>
	25. village	26. house	27. roof
KAN	—	b <sup>h</sup> au	šan
DUB	gāū / gā	b <sup>h</sup> au / b <sup>h</sup> ha	'šand
SEO	gā	ba	šΔn'dal / čΔt <sup>h</sup>
PAT	gā	ba	šΔn'dal
JJ	gā	ba	šan'dal
CHM	'gāū / gā	go't <sup>h</sup>	'beli
CHJ	gāū	go't <sup>h</sup>	šen
GAB	'gΔū	gu'	'bΔli
BAT	gā	go't <sup>h</sup>	šan

	28. door	29. firewood	30. broom
KAN	dʌ'rāu	šʌ'la	lʌ'huli
DUB	dʌ'rāu / dʌrā	šʌ'la	lʌ'huli
SEO	dʌ'rā	šʌ'la	lʌ'hūli
PAT	dʌ'rā	šɛ'la	lʌ'hūli
JIJ	dʌ'rā	šɛ'la	lʌwʌl
CHM	dar	šū·	lo'hoš
CHJ	dar	šū·	lewāš
GAB	dʌr	dʌzʌ sō	lʰoš
BAT	dar	da'zez lʌkai / da'zez so	lʰel
	31. mortar	32. pestle	33. hammer
KAN	doŋ	—	ʔsaʔko / ʔsaʔʌk
DUB	doŋ/hi'ro	musʌl	ʔsaʔko
SEO	—	musʌl	ʔsaʔʌk / ʔsaʔko
PAT	laŋ'gri	'musul	ʔsaʔʌk / ʔsaʔko
JIJ	lʌŋgʌ'ri	'pulʌk	saʔko / saʔʌk
CHM	laŋgri	'muzʌl	sʌʔko
CHJ	—	muzʌl	saʔko
GAB	laŋ'gri	'muzʌl	ʔsaʔko
BAT	'laŋgri	'musul	ʔsaʔʌ'ke / ʔsaʔʌk
	34. knife	35. axe	36. rope
KAN	kʌ'rai	čʰao	ra'žuli
DUB	kʌ'rai	čʰao / čʰa	ra'žuli
SEO	kʌ'rai	ʔsʰa	raz
PAT	kʌ'rai	ʔsʰa	raz
JIJ	kaʔa·r / ka'rai	ʔsaʔu / ʔsa	raz
CHM	ka'tar	kʰa'duā	'čeō·
CHJ	čuri	kʰadua	kʰeo / čeō·
GAB	ka'ʔʌr / karai / čur	ga'du	'dʌū
BAT	čur'kil / čur	ʔʰuŋ	dā'wel
	37. thread	38. needle	39. cloth
KAN	gū	swī	rʌx
DUB	gū	swī	ʔukai
SEO	gū	swī	'tukai
PAT	gū	swī	'tukʌi
JIJ	gō	swī	ʔukai
CHM	gau	swī	tipʰ
CHJ	'gūʔi	swī	tip / rʌx
GAB	tʌn	swī	tipʰ
BAT	gwā	swī / swē	tipʰ



	40. ring	41. sun	42. moon
KAN	aŋgu'li	'suri	yū
DUB	aŋgu'li	'suri	yū
SEO	aŋ'guli	'surɨ	yū
PAT	aŋ'guli	'surɨ	yū
JJ	aŋ'guli	surɨ	yū'
CHM	hak'sari	su'ri	yu
CHJ	hak'sari	su'ri	yū
GAB	haŋgo'tʌi	'suri	yū'
BAT	haŋ'twi	'suru	ju
	43. sky	44. star	45. rain
KAN	as'man	taʃ	'aʒo
DUB	as'man	taʃo / taʃ	'aʒo
SEO	as'man	taʃ	'aʒʌ
PAT	as'man	taʃ	'aʒʌ
JJ	as'man	taʃ	'aʒo
CHM	as'mā	ta'r	'aʒo
CHJ	as'man	ta'r / ta'ro	aʒu
GAB	as'māũ	taʃ	'aʒʌ
BAT	as'mā	taʃ	baʃ
	46. water	47. river	48. cloud
KAN	we	sin	'aʒo
DUB	we	sin	'aʒo
SEO	vi	sin	aʒo
PAT	vi	sin	'aʒo
JJ	wi'	sin	aʒo
CHM	we	sin	'aʒo
CHJ	wi	sin	aʒu
GAB	vi' / wi'	sin	'aʒʌ
BAT	pāi	sin	aʒu
	49. lightning	50. rainbow	51. wind
KAN	'mili	bi'ʒon	ʔuʃɨ
DUB	'mili	bi'ʒon	ʔuʃɨ
SEO	'mili	bi'ʒon	'ʔuʃɨ
PAT	'mili	bi'ʒon	ʔuʃɨ
JJ	mili	bizwan	uʃɨ
CHM	milyu	bi'ʒon	ʔuʃi
CHJ	bi'çuʃ	bi'ʒo'n	uʃ
GAB	mili	raũnd <sup>h</sup> o	ba'yau
BAT	'mil'ũ	rand <sup>h</sup> u	ba'le

	52. stone	53. path	54. sand
KAN	baɬ <sup>h</sup>	pan	'sigal
DUB	baɬ <sup>h</sup> / bʌɬʌ	pan	'sigal
SEO	baɬ <sup>h</sup>	pan	'sigal
PAT	baɬ <sup>h</sup>	pan	'sigal
JJJ	baɬ <sup>h</sup>	pan	'sigal
CHM	baɬ <sup>h</sup>	pan	si'gal
CHJ	baɬ <sup>h</sup>	pan	si'gal
GAB	baɬ <sup>h</sup>	pan	'sigal
BAT	baɬ <sup>h</sup>	pān	'sigal
	55. fire	56. smoke	57. ash
KAN	a'gar	d <sup>h</sup> u'hā	'nigal
DUB	a'gar	d <sup>h</sup> u'hā	'nigal
SEO	aŋ'gaŋ	d <sup>h</sup> u'hā	'nigal
PAT	aŋ'gaŋ	d <sup>h</sup> u'ā	'nigal
JJJ	aŋ'gar	d <sup>h</sup> u'ā	'nigal
CHM	nar	d <sup>h</sup> u'	b <sup>h</sup> an
CHJ	nar	d <sup>h</sup> u'	b <sup>h</sup> an
GAB	nar	d <sup>h</sup> ū;	swa'
BAT	āŋ	d <sup>h</sup> u	ʽtsʌi
	58. mud	59. dust	60. gold
KAN	čʌ'kaɾʌ	'dʌɾʌ	'sirʌ zʌr / suan
DUB	čʌ'kaɾʌ	duɾʌ	'sirʌ zʌr
SEO	čʌkʌ'ɾa	'duɾʌ	sirʌ zʌr / su'an
PAT	čʌkʌ'ɾa	'duɾʌ	sirʌ zʌr / su'an
JJJ	čʌk <sup>h</sup> 'ɾa	'duɾʌ	zʌr
CHM	ʽtsiʽtsʌl	duɾʌ / nas	su'a'n
CHJ	čʌ'kɾa	duɾʌ / nas	su'a'n
GAB	ʽtsiʽtsʌl	duɾʌ	liu' zʌr
BAT	'xʌɬʌ	'duɾi	ra'tū zʌr
	61. tree	62. leaf	63. root
KAN	gʌi	'paŋʌ	nʌi / nāũ
DUB	gʌi / giu	'paŋʌ	'nʌi
SEO	gʌi / giu	'pʌŋʌ	nʌi
PAT	giu / 'gʌi	'paŋʌ	'nʌi / nā
JJJ	gi	paŋʌ	na / nʌi
CHM	gẽy	paɬ <sup>h</sup>	çi'riš
CHJ	mũɬ <sup>h</sup>	paɬ <sup>h</sup>	çiriš
GAB	biç <u>u</u>	paɬ <sup>h</sup> / paŋ	'zeli
BAT	bi-ç	pʌn	zil

	64. thorn	65. flower	66. fruit
KAN	'kaŋɖʌ	p <sup>h</sup> uŋɖo	me'wʌ
DUB	'kaŋɖʌ / kaŋɖo	p <sup>h</sup> uŋɖo / p <sup>h</sup> uŋɖʌ	me'wʌ
SEO	'kaŋɖʌ	p <sup>h</sup> uŋɖo	me'wa
PAT	'kʌŋɖʌ	p <sup>h</sup> uŋɖo	me'wa
JIJ	k <sup>h</sup> ʌŋɖʌ	p <sup>h</sup> ũŋɖu	me'wa
CHM	kaŋɖʌ / kaŋɖo	p <sup>h</sup> uŋɖo	me'wa
CHJ	kaŋɖʌ	p <sup>h</sup> uŋɖo	me'wa
GAB	kʌŋɖʌ	p <sup>h</sup> ũŋɖo	me'wa
BAT	kaŋɖ	p <sup>h</sup> ũŋɖ	me'wa
	67. mango	68. banana	69. wheat
KAN	am	kelʌ	gũ
DUB	am	kelʌ	gũ
SEO	am	'kelʌ	gũ
PAT	am	ke'ʌ	gũ
JIJ	am	kela	gũ
CHM	am	kelʌ	gaũ
CHJ	am	kela	gaũ
GAB	am	kelʌ	gũ
BAT	am	kela	gũ
	70. barley	71. rice	72. potato
KAN	yʌou	ta'lõ	a'lu
DUB	yʌow	ta'lõ	a'lu
SEO	yau	ta'lõ	a'lu
PAT	yau	ta'lõ	a'lu
JIJ	yau	talõ	a'lu
CHM	yau	ta'lũ·	a'lu
CHJ	yau	—	a'lu
GAB	yau	talõ·	a'lu
BAT	jo	ta'lõ	a'lu
	73. eggplant	74. groundnut	75. chili
KAN	kišũ batigʌɽʌ	mumpʌ'li	maɽçe'ki
DUB	kišõ batiŋ'gʌɽ / kišẽ batiŋgʌɽʌ	mumpʌli	maɽçe'ki
SEO	ki'sẽ bati'gʌɽʌ	mumpʌ'li	maɽçe'ki
PAT	ki'sõ bʌnd'gʌɽʌ	mumpʌ'li	maɽçe'ki
JIJ	kišo batin'gʌɽ	mump <sup>h</sup> ʌli	maɽçikʌi
CHM	kišẽ bʌtiŋgʌɽ	mumpʌli	maɽçeki
CHJ	kišĩ bʌtiŋgʌɽ	mumpʌli	maɽʌç
GAB	kin bʌtiŋgʌɽe	mutpʌle	maɽçʌ'kai
BAT	kal batiŋgʌɽ	mumpʌli	maɽçekʌi

	76. turmeric	77. garlic	78. onion
KAN	haližu	'hugi	piaz
DUB	haližu	'hugi	piaz
SEO	ha'liž	'hugi	piaz
PAT	haliž	'hugi	piaz
JJ	ha'liž	'hugi	p <sup>h</sup> iaz
CHM	haližu	'hugi	p <sup>h</sup> iaz
CHJ	haližu	hugi	p <sup>h</sup> iaz
GAB	haliž	'hugi	p <sup>h</sup> iaz
BAT	haliž	hugi	piaz
	79. cauliflower	80. tomato	81. cabbage
KAN	go'pi	bat <sup>^</sup> gāɽΛ / ban <sup>^</sup> gāɽΛ	bānd gopi
DUB	gopi / p <sup>h</sup> unḡo gopi	l <sup>h</sup> ōō bat <sup>^</sup> gāɽΛ	bānd gopi
SEO	go'pi	bat <sup>^</sup> gāɽΛ	bānd go'pi
PAT	gopi	ban <sup>^</sup> gāɽΛ	bānd gopi
JJ	'gupi	batiŋ <sup>^</sup> gāɽ	bānd 'gopi
CHM	gopi	'leli bat <sup>^</sup> gāɽΛ	gopi
CHJ	gobi	batigāɽΛ	bānd gobi
GAB	gobi	lio bat <sup>^</sup> ŋgāɽe	bānd gobi
BAT	gopi	ṭamaṭar / batiŋgāɽ	bānd gopi
	82. oil	83. salt	84. meat
KAN	til	lō·	mas
DUB	til	lō·	mas
SEO	til	lū·	mΛ'su
PAT	til	lū·	ma'su
JJ	til	lū·	masi
CHM	tel	lāū	mas
CHJ	tel	laū	mas
GAB	til	lū·	mas
BAT	tel	lū·	mas
	85. fat	86. fish	87. chicken
KAN	'miū	'čumba / čumbo	kū'kū / kūkwi
DUB	'miū	čimbΛ / čimbo	ku'ko / kukuī
SEO	'miū	ṭsimo	kū'kū / ku'kwi
PAT	mi'ō	ṭsimb	ku'kwī / kū'kū
JJ	mīō	ṭsim	ku'kū·
CHM	mī·	'čub <sup>^</sup>	ku'kū· / ku'kwi
CHJ	waz	'čub <sup>^</sup>	ku'kū
GAB	mī	ma'ṭsi	ku'kū·
BAT	mīū	maṭs	ku'kūī

	88. egg	89. cow	90. buffalo
KAN	'ʔāɾʌ	ɡʌu	mɪheš / meš
DUB	'ʔāɾʌ	ɡʌu / ɡʌi	mɪheš
SEO	ʔā'ɾʌ	ɡa / ɡʌi	mɪ'heš
PAT	'ʔāɾʌ	ɡa	m <sup>ʌ</sup> heš
JJ	ɑ'ɾʌ	ɡa	m <sup>ʌ</sup> hež
CHM	ha'ŋo	ɡau / gore	m <sup>ʌ</sup> 'heš
CHJ	ha'ŋo	ɡau	m <sup>ʌ</sup> hiš
GAB	ʔɑ'ta	ɡau	m <sup>h</sup> εš
BAT	ʔāŋɖ / ʔāɾ	ɡʌi	m <sup>ʌ</sup> 'heš
	91. milk	92. horn	93. tail
KAN	čɪɾ	'šɪŋɡʌ	la'wʌt <sup>h</sup>
DUB	čɪɾ	šɪŋɡʌ / šɪŋ	la'wōt <sup>h</sup> u
SEO	čɪɾ	'šɪŋɡʌ'	la'wʌt <sup>h</sup>
PAT	čɪɾ	'šɪŋge	la'wʌt <sup>h</sup>
JJ	čɪr	šɪŋ	lawʌt <sup>h</sup>
CHM	čɪr	šɪɡʌ / šuɡu	'lamut <sup>h</sup> ɪ
CHJ	čɪr	'šɪŋɡʌ	lamut <sup>h</sup> i
GAB	čɪr̄	šɪŋ	la'mut <sup>h</sup> ɪ
BAT	čɪr	šɪŋ	la'kʌi
	94. goat	95. dog	96. snake
KAN	čaili	ku'čuru	ʃan
DUB	'čaili / (tsa'l	ku'čuro	ʃan
SEO	'ts <sup>h</sup> a'l	ku'tsuru	zan
PAT	(tsa'li	ku'tsuru	zan
JJ	(ts <sup>h</sup> a'l	ku'tsuro	zan
CHM	(ts <sup>h</sup> a'l	ku'tsor	zan
CHJ	(ts <sup>h</sup> a'li	ku'tsor	zan / jidra
GAB	(ts <sup>h</sup> a'l̄i	ku'tsuro	sāp
BAT	(ts <sup>h</sup> el	ku'tsuro	zan
	97. monkey	98. mosquito	99. ant
KAN	'mʌko	p <sup>h</sup> u'ti	pɪ'hɪli
DUB	'mʌkʌ / mʌko	p <sup>h</sup> u't <sup>h</sup> i	pɪ'hɪli / pɪhɪl
SEO	'mʌka	p <sup>h</sup> u'ti	pɪhɪ'li
PAT	'mʌka	p <sup>h</sup> u'ti	pɪhɪ'li
JJ	'mʌka	'p <sup>h</sup> u't <sup>h</sup> i	pɪhi'li
CHM	'moku	'p <sup>h</sup> ičʉ	pɪ'bɪli
CHJ	'moku	'p <sup>h</sup> ičʉ	pim'bɪli
GAB	mʌ'kʌ <sup>u</sup>	'p <sup>h</sup> ičʉ	'pɪl̄i
BAT	'mʌko	p <sup>h</sup> ut <sup>h</sup>	p <sup>h</sup> iel

	100. spider	101. name	102. man
KAN	ža'lau	nāū	maš
DUB	ža'lau	nā·ū / nā	maš / mašΛ
SEO	ža'la	nā	maš
PAT	žo'la	nā	maš
JIJ	že'la	na	maš
CHM	žo'la	nom	meš
CHJ	žo'la	naū	maš
GAB	žo'la <sup>u</sup>	nāū	meš
BAT	'jola	nā	mūš
	103. woman	104. child	105. father
KAN	g <sup>h</sup> Λri'ō	ma'sum	m <sup>h</sup> al
DUB	g <sup>h</sup> Λri'ō	ma'sum	m <sup>h</sup> al
SEO	g <sup>h</sup> Λri'ō	ma'sum	m <sup>h</sup> al
PAT	g <sup>h</sup> Λriō	ma'sum	m <sup>h</sup> ala
JIJ	g <sup>h</sup> a'ri	ma'sum	m <sup>h</sup> alo
CHM	g <sup>h</sup> Λri'ū	leku naṭu (m.) / noṭu (f.)	'mha'lu
CHJ	g <sup>h</sup> Λriō	ma'sum	m <sup>h</sup> al'u
GAB	mu'lai	pΛ'lōt <sup>h</sup>	'm <sup>h</sup> a'lo
BAT	d <sup>h</sup> ebi'ū	p <sup>h</sup> i't <sup>h</sup> u	'm <sup>h</sup> hal
	106. mother	107. older brother	108. younger brother
KAN	m <sup>h</sup> ali	'g <sup>h</sup> hero ža	laku ža / lak <sup>y</sup> ero ža
DUB	m <sup>h</sup> ali	'g <sup>h</sup> hero ža	le'kyero ža
SEO	m <sup>h</sup> ali	g <sup>h</sup> ero ž / g <sup>h</sup> hū ža	lak <sup>h</sup> ža
PAT	m <sup>h</sup> ali	g <sup>h</sup> ero ža / g <sup>h</sup> hō ža	lak ža
JIJ	m <sup>h</sup> ali	g <sup>h</sup> e'ro ža / g <sup>h</sup> ō ža	lak <sub>o</sub> ža / lakyero ža
CHM	'm <sup>h</sup> a'li	g <sup>h</sup> hō ža	'lek <sub>y</sub> ža
CHJ	m <sup>h</sup> a'li	gō· ža	lek <sub>y</sub> ža
GAB	'm <sup>h</sup> a'li	g <sup>h</sup> hero žo	po'lōt <sub>o</sub> žo
BAT	m <sup>h</sup> e'l	g <sup>h</sup> hēr žo	p <sup>h</sup> iṭo žo

	109. older sister	110. younger sister	111. son
KAN	g <sup>h</sup> eri bi'hū	leki bi'hū / lekiri bi'hū	pūç
DUB	g <sup>h</sup> eri bi'hū	lekiri bi'hū	puç
SEO	g <sup>h</sup> eri bihū / g <sup>h</sup> ē bi'hū	'leki bi'hū	pūç
PAT	g <sup>h</sup> eri bihū / g <sup>h</sup> ē bi'hū	lekir bēṅtu / lek bi'hū	pūç
JJ	g <sup>h</sup> eri b <sup>h</sup> hi / g <sup>h</sup> ai b <sup>h</sup> i	l <sup>h</sup> ki b <sup>h</sup> hi	puç
CHM	b <sup>h</sup> ri bihū	leki bihū	puç
CHJ	g <sup>h</sup> ai b <sup>h</sup> ha <sup>u</sup>	leki b <sup>h</sup> ha <sup>u</sup>	puç
GAB	g <sup>h</sup> eri b <sup>h</sup> ai	po'lō't b <sup>h</sup> ai	puç
BAT	g <sup>h</sup> er 'bihū	p <sup>h</sup> eṭē bihū	puç
	112. daughter	113. husband	114. wife
KAN	d <sup>h</sup> i	xa'wan / b <sup>h</sup> ri'u	g <sup>h</sup> h <sup>h</sup> riō
DUB	d <sup>h</sup> i	xawan / b <sup>h</sup> riu	g <sup>h</sup> h <sup>h</sup> riō
SEO	d <sup>h</sup> i	xawand / b <sup>h</sup> riu	g <sup>h</sup> h <sup>h</sup> riō
PAT	d <sup>h</sup> i	xawand	g <sup>h</sup> h <sup>h</sup> ri'ō
JJ	d <sup>h</sup> i	xawan	g <sup>h</sup> arī
CHM	d <sup>h</sup> i	xawan	g <sup>h</sup> h <sup>h</sup> ri'ō
CHJ	d <sup>h</sup> i	xawan	g <sup>h</sup> arīō
GAB	d <sup>h</sup> i	xawan	mu'lai
BAT	d <sup>h</sup> i	'bariu	nā
	115. boy	116. girl	117. day
KAN	ma'tu'	mai'ti'	dis
DUB	ma'tu	ma'ti'	dis
SEO	ma'tu'	ma'ti'	dis
PAT	ma'tu'	mai'tiu'	dis
JJ	maṭu	maṭiku	dis
CHM	na'tu	na't <sup>h</sup> i	dis
CHJ	na'tu	na't <sup>h</sup> i	dis
GAB	mu'lot <sup>h</sup> u	mo'let <sup>h</sup> i	dis
BAT	naṭ	na'kut <sup>h</sup>	dis

	118. night	120. noon	121. evening
KAN	ral	aɾ'dis	ma'xam
DUB	ral	aɾ'dis	ma'xam
SEO	ral	aɾ'dis	no'sā
PAT	ral	aɾ'dis	no'sā
JJ	ral	aɾdi	nošā
CHM	ral	aɾdis / ɣarma	ma'xam
CHJ	ral	ɣaɾ'ma	ma'xam
GAB	'raʌ	—	nošāū
BAT	ra	ma'sin	ne'sā
	122. yesterday	123. today	125. week
KAN	bi'ya	až	žu'ma / haft
DUB	bi'ya	až	žu'ma
SEO	bi'lal	az	žu'ma
PAT	bilal / bi'al	az	žu'ma
JJ	bi'lal	az	žuma
CHM	bia'l	az	žu'ma
CHJ	bia'l	az	žu'ma
GAB	ho'rian	az	haft
BAT	'bial	az	haft
	126. month	127. year	128. old
KAN	yū	kal	po'rō
DUB	yū	kal	pu'rō
SEO	yū	kal	po'rā
PAT	yū	kal	po'ra
JJ	yū	kal	pu'rā
CHM	'māū	kal	—
CHJ	māū	kal	po'rā
GAB	ṭsan	kal	po'rā
BAT	ṭsan	kal	pu'rō
	129. new	130. good	131. bad
KAN	'naū	maɾ'nai / maɾa'nai	a'ṭsak <sup>h</sup>
DUB	'naū	maɾa'nai	a'ṭsak <sup>h</sup> y
SEO	naū	maɾ'nai	a'ṭsak <sup>h</sup>
PAT	naū / naī	maɾ'nai	a'ṭsak <sup>h</sup>
JJ	nōu	maɾa'nai	a'ṭsak
CHM	nō	šut <sup>h</sup>	lačū
CHJ	nō <sup>u</sup>	maɾa'ne	a'ṭsak <sup>h</sup> y
GAB	nō	maɾa'na <sup>i</sup>	laš
BAT	naū	maɾana <sup>i</sup>	lač



	132. wet	133. dry	134. long
KAN	bil'žel	šr'šelu	'žig <sub>o</sub>
DUB	bil'jelo	šr'šelu	'žig <sub>o</sub>
SEO	bil'zel	ši'šel / šr'kel	'jig <sub>Λ</sub>
PAT	bil'zel	ši'k <sup>h</sup> el	'jige
JJ	bil'zel	ši'kel	'žig <sub>Λ</sub>
CHM	bil <sup>h</sup> 'zelu	ši'šelu	'žigo
CHJ	bil <sup>h</sup> 'zel	ši'šelo	žugu
GAB	bil'zel	ši'kil	žugu
BAT	ča'kuzg <sub>Λ</sub> / čakuzel	ši'kel	žΛg
	135. short	136. hot	137. cold
KAN	k <sup>h</sup> at <sup>h</sup> āō	tΛ <sup>h</sup> o	tu <sup>·</sup>
DUB	k <sup>h</sup> at <sup>h</sup> āō	tat <sup>h</sup> o	'tuho
SEO	k <sup>h</sup> a't <sup>h</sup> ō	tΛ <sup>h</sup>	tu <sup>·</sup>
PAT	k <sup>h</sup> a't <sup>h</sup> ō	tΛ <sup>h</sup>	tu <sup>·</sup>
JJ	kar'to	t <sup>h</sup> Λ <sup>h</sup>	tu
CHM	k <sup>h</sup> a't <sup>h</sup> āō	'tato	tu <sup>·</sup>
CHJ	'k <sup>h</sup> ut <sup>h</sup> u	tato	t <sup>h</sup> u
GAB	k <sup>h</sup> atō	tΛ <sup>h</sup>	ši'li
BAT	k <sup>h</sup> a't <sup>h</sup> ō	tΛ <sup>h</sup>	šΛl
	138. right	139. left	140. near
KAN	dΛčiu	kΛ'bu	'kΛč
DUB	dΛ'čiu	kΛ'bu	'kΛč
SEO	dΛ'čiu	k <sup>h</sup> a'bu / k <sup>h</sup> a'bwi	kΛts
PAT	dΛ'čiu	ka'bu	kΛts
JJ	da'čui	ka'pwi	kΛts
CHM	dΛ'čiu	k <sup>h</sup> a'pΛt	kΛts
CHJ	dΛčū <sup>·</sup>	k <sup>h</sup> a'bot <sup>h</sup>	εlΛ
GAB	dΛ'čū	k <sup>h</sup> a'bΛt	le / l <sup>w</sup> e
BAT	sΛz	k <sup>h</sup> Λb	l <sup>h</sup> e
	141. far	142. big	143. small
KAN	dur	g <sup>h</sup> hū	'lΛk <sup>h</sup> ū
DUB	duḡ	g <sup>h</sup> hū	'lΛk <sup>h</sup> ū
SEO	dur	g <sup>h</sup> hū	lΛk <sup>h</sup>
PAT	dur	g <sup>h</sup> hō	lΛk <sup>h</sup>
JJ	'duru	g <sup>h</sup> o	lΛk <sup>h</sup>
CHM	dur	g <sup>h</sup> hō	lu'kū
CHJ	du <sup>·</sup> r	g <sup>h</sup> hō	lekū
GAB	duṛ	g <sup>h</sup> hō	lu'kū
BAT	duḡ	g <sup>h</sup> hō	p <sup>h</sup> i'to

	144. heavy	145. light	147. below
KAN	u <sup>g</sup> huru	'ačų	'čoro
DUB	u <sup>g</sup> huru	'ačų	'čoro / ma'nA
SEO	u <sup>g</sup> huru	Δts	tsor / mu'ni
PAT	u <sup>g</sup> huru	Δts	tsor
JJ	hu'guru	'ats	tsor / mini
CHM	ha'guru	ačsų	čor / mine
CHJ	ha'guru	ačsų	tsor / minA
GAB	ha'gurΔ	o'sAł	ko'lař
BAT	u <sup>g</sup> hur	up <sup>h</sup> / re	tsē
	148. white	149. black	150. red
KAN	pa <sup>n</sup> đAro	ki'sō	lAmA'lu
DUB	pa <sup>n</sup> đAro	ki'sō	lAmA'lu
SEO	pa'nAɾ	ki'sū	l <sup>h</sup> AmA'lu
PAT	pa'nAɾ	ki'so	lAmA'lu
JJ	pa'nAɾ	kišo	l <sup>h</sup> A'mulu
CHM	pa'naro	ki'šū·	l <sup>h</sup> ilu
CHJ	pa'naro	ki'šū·	l <sup>h</sup> ilu
GAB	o'zAł	'kino	l <sup>h</sup> ilu
BAT	o'zAł	ka'l	ra'tō
	151. one	152. two	153. three
KAN	ek <sup>h</sup>	du	ča
DUB	ak <sup>h</sup>	du	ča
SEO	ek <sup>h</sup>	du	ča
PAT	ek <sup>h</sup>	du	ča
JJ	Δk <sup>h</sup>	du	ča
CHM	ek <sup>h</sup>	du	čā
CHJ	ek <sup>h</sup>	du	ča
GAB	ek <sup>h</sup>	du	čwa
BAT	ya <sup>k</sup>	du	ča
	154. four	155. five	156. six
KAN	čaur	pāž	šo
DUB	čaur	pāž	šo
SEO	tsaur	pāz	šo
PAT	tsor / tsaur	pāz	šo
JJ	tsor	pāz	šo
CHM	čor	pāz	šwa
CHJ	čor	pāz	šo
GAB	tsor	pāz	šwa
BAT	tsor	pāz	šo

	157. seven	158. eight	159. nine
KAN	saʔt	aʔ <sup>h</sup>	nãũ
DUB	saʔ <sup>h</sup>	aʔ <sup>h</sup>	nΛũ
SEO	sat	aʔ <sup>h</sup>	nãũ
PAT	saʔt	aʔ <sup>h</sup>	nãũ
JJJ	saʔ <sup>h</sup>	aʔ <sup>h</sup>	nΛu
CHM	saʔt	aʔ <sup>h</sup>	naũ
CHJ	saʔt	aʔ <sup>h</sup>	nãũ
GAB	saʔ <sup>h</sup>	aʔ <sup>h</sup>	nãũ
BAT	saʔ <sup>h</sup>	aʔ <sup>h</sup>	naũ
	160. ten	161. eleven	162. twelve
KAN	dΛš	εʔgaleš	doʔaleš
DUB	dΛš	aʔgaleš	doʔaleš
SEO	dΛš	aʔgaleš	doʔaleš
PAT	dΛš	aʔgaleš	doʔaleš
JJJ	dΛš	agaleš	doʔaleš
CHM	dΛš	aʔyaš	doʔaš
CHJ	dΛš	aʔyaš	doʔaš
GAB	dΛš	aʔyaš	doʔaš
BAT	dΛš	yeʔš	ʔduaš
	163. twenty	164. one hundred	165. who
KAN	biš	šΛl	kaũ
DUB	biš	šΛl	kaũ
SEO	biš	šol	kā
PAT	biš	šol	kā
JJJ	biš	šΛl	ka
CHM	biš	šΛl	kwē / kãũ
CHJ	biš	šΛl	kãũ
GAB	biš	šau	ko
BAT	biš	šΛl	kāʔ
	166. what	167. where	168. when
KAN	gi	goʔlu	ʔkΛΛ
DUB	gi	goʔlu	kΛΛ
SEO	gi	goʔlu	kΛl
PAT	gi	goʔlΛ	kΛl
JJJ	gi	ʔgulu	kΛl
CHM	gi	golu	kΛΛ
CHJ	gi	goʔlΛ	kΛΛ
GAB	gi	g <sup>h</sup> ã	kΛΛ
BAT	čõ	keʔr	kaʔdi

	169. how many	171. this	173. these
KAN	k <sup>h</sup> a'tuk <sup>h</sup>	šū	šē
DUB	k <sup>h</sup> a'tuk <sup>h</sup>	šo	šē
SEO	k <sup>h</sup> a'tuk <sup>h</sup>	šō	šē
PAT	k <sup>h</sup> a'tuk <sup>h</sup>	šū	šē
JIJ	k <sup>h</sup> atuk <sup>h</sup>	šo	še / šai
CHM	k <sup>h</sup> a'tuk <sup>h</sup>	a'nu	a'niē / āno
CHJ	k <sup>h</sup> a't'yūk	ando	'ande
GAB	k <sup>h</sup> At <sup>h</sup> e	ai	—
BAT	k <sup>y</sup> it <sup>h</sup>	o	e
	178. broken	179. few	180. many
KAN	še'relo	o'gut <sup>h</sup>	čo
DUB	še'relo	o'gut <sup>h</sup> / k <sub>AM</sub>	čo' / čei
SEO	š <sup>h</sup> 'rel	ligut <sup>h</sup> / kam	(tsei / tso
PAT	š <sup>h</sup> 'rel	u'gut <sup>h</sup> / k <sub>AM</sub>	tso / tsei
JIJ	š <sup>h</sup> 'rel	igut <sup>h</sup> / k <sub>AM</sub>	tso
CHM	š <sup>h</sup> 'ril	lu'gut <sup>h</sup> u	ž <sup>h</sup> ō.
CHJ	šerel	i'gut <sup>h</sup>	jo.
GAB	š <sup>h</sup> ril	t̄sor	jo.
BAT	'šerg <sub>A</sub>	pi <sup>h</sup> k	j <sup>h</sup> ō.
	181. all	182. You eat!	183. The dog bites.
KAN	bu <sup>h</sup>	tu k <sup>h</sup> a	ku'čure ča'bač
DUB	bu <sup>h</sup> <sub>A</sub>	tu k <sup>h</sup> a	ku'čure ča'pač
SEO	bu <sup>h</sup>	tu k <sup>h</sup> a	ku'tsure tsapigil
PAT	bu <sup>h</sup>	tu k <sup>h</sup> a	ku'tsure tsapate
JIJ	bu <sup>h</sup>	tu kah	ku'tseri ts <sup>h</sup> a'ba <sup>h</sup> ts
CHM	bu <sup>h</sup>	tu k <sup>h</sup> a	ku'tsuro ts <sup>h</sup> a'pulo
CHJ	bu <sup>h</sup> <sub>Q</sub>	k <sup>h</sup> a'ts	ts <sup>h</sup> a'pa <sup>h</sup> ts
GAB	sau	tu ka <sup>h</sup>	ku'tsur ts <sup>h</sup> a'puro
BAT	bu <sup>h</sup>	tu 'k <sup>h</sup> are	—
	184. You are hungry.	185. You drink!	186. You are thirsty.
KAN	tu bu'tšo t <sup>h</sup> u	tu p <sup>h</sup> o	tu čišwo t <sup>h</sup> u
DUB	tu bu'čo t <sup>h</sup> u	tu p <sup>h</sup> o	tu čišo t <sup>h</sup> u
SEO	tu bučo t <sup>h</sup> u	tu p <sup>h</sup> u	tu či'šo t <sup>h</sup> u
PAT	tu bu'čo t <sup>h</sup> u	tu p <sup>h</sup> o	tu ču'šo t <sup>h</sup> u
JIJ	tu bu'čo tu	tu po <sup>h</sup>	tu či'šo tu
CHM	tu bu'čo t <sup>h</sup> u	tu p <sup>h</sup> o	tu ču'šo t <sup>h</sup> u
CHJ	tu bu'čo t <sup>h</sup> u	tu p <sup>h</sup> o	ču'šo t <sup>h</sup> u
GAB	tu bu'čo t <sup>h</sup> u	to p <sup>h</sup> u	tu ču'šo t <sup>h</sup> u
BAT	tu bu'tšo t <sup>h</sup> u	tu p <sup>h</sup> u	tu čušo t <sup>h</sup> u

	187. You sleep!	188. You lie down!	189. You sit!
KAN	tu 'nežbΛ	tu wɑ <sup>h</sup>	tu b <sup>h</sup> hai
DUB	tu 'nežbΛ	tu wɑ <sup>h</sup>	tu b <sup>h</sup> hai
SEO	tu sut <sup>h</sup> ba	tu lua	tu b <sup>h</sup> hai
PAT	tu 'sutba	tu luΛ	tu b <sup>h</sup> ai
JJJ	sutba	tu lui	tu bai
CHM	tu sutbΛ	tu žɛ·k <sup>h</sup>	tu b <sup>h</sup> he
CHJ	tu sutba	žɛ·k <sup>h</sup>	tu b <sup>h</sup> he
GAB	tu sutba	tu pɑ'ɾΛt	tu biš
BAT	tu 'sutba	tu čɑ'terba	tu 'bΛi
	190. You give!	191. You burn the wood!	192. He died.
KAN	tu de <sup>h</sup>	tu šΛlā dΛžɑ / tu lΛ'kai dΛ'žɑ	<sup>w</sup> o mΛ'rigɑ
DUB	tu de <sup>h</sup>	tu šΛlā dΛžā	so mΛrigΛ
SEO	tu de <sup>h</sup>	tu šΛ'lā dΛžā	so 'mere t <sup>h</sup> u
PAT	tu de <sup>h</sup>	tu šΛlā dΛ'žā / tu lΛkai dΛžā	so mΛr <sup>Λ</sup> t <sup>h</sup> u
JJJ	tu de <sup>h</sup>	tu šΛlā dΛžā	so mεrΛ tu
CHM	tu dɑ <sup>h</sup>	tu sū dΛ'zɑ	so 'mΛrigɑ
CHJ	tu dɑ <sup>h</sup>	tu šΛlā dΛzɑ	maš mari t <sup>h</sup> u
GAB	tu dɑ <sup>h</sup>	tu šΛlā dΛzɑ	so mΛrgΛ
BAT	tu de / tu 'deri	to so dΛzɑre / tu lΛkΛi dΛ'zɑre	so 'mεrgΛ
	193. You kill the bird!	194. The bird flies.	195. You walk!
KAN	čāuṭo 'marΛ	čāuṭo pΛlo i t <sup>h</sup> u	tu t <sup>h</sup> i'Λ
DUB	tu čāuṭō mare	čāuṭu pΛlo hue	tu t <sup>h</sup> iΛ bΛ / tu t <sup>h</sup> iΛ / tΛ peadΛ bΛ
SEO	tu (s)akulu mɑ'rΛ	(s)akulu pɑ'paden / (s)akulu pΛr hunt <sup>h</sup>	tu t <sup>h</sup> i'Λ
PAT	tu (s)akΛ'lu 'marΛ	—	tu t <sup>h</sup> i'Λ
JJJ	tu (s)aklu mɑ're	(s)akulu parhon	tu tila <sup>h</sup>
CHM	tu čā mΛre	čā pɑpaden	tu t <sup>h</sup> i'ɪbΛ
CHJ	tu čai mare	čai tordets	t <sup>h</sup> iΛi / tu paig ba
GAB	tu (s)aikwi mɑ'rΛ	(s)aikwi bΛr hige	tu t <sup>h</sup> iΛ
BAT	tu zɑŋgΛ'le 'mar	zɑŋgΛ'le pɑpadi <sup>h</sup> / zΛŋgΛle pΛpade	tu t <sup>h</sup> iΛ

	196. You run!	197. You go!	198. You come!
KAN	tu 'mΛɾΛ dɛ <sup>h</sup>	tu bɑ <sup>h</sup>	tu ɛ <sup>h</sup>
DUB	tu mΛɾΛ dɛ <sup>h</sup> / tu du'du	tu bɑ <sup>h</sup>	tu ɛ <sup>h</sup>
SEO	tu 'mΛɾΛ dɛ / tu dudu	tu bɑ <sup>h</sup>	tu ɛ <sup>h</sup>
PAT	tu 'mΛɾΛ dɛ	tu bɑ <sup>h</sup>	tu ɛ <sup>h</sup>
JJJ	tu 'mΛɾΛ dɛ	tu bɑ <sup>h</sup>	tu ɛ <sup>h</sup>
CHM	tu 'dudu bΛ	tu bɑ <sup>h</sup>	tu yɑ <sup>h</sup>
CHJ	tu hɛl dΛ	tu bɑ <sup>h</sup>	tu yɛ <sup>h</sup>
GAB	tu hɛl dΛ / tu dudu	tu bɑ <sup>h</sup>	tu i'naya
BAT	tu mΛɳde / tu hɛl	tu bɑ <sup>h</sup>	tu ye
	199. You speak!	200. You hear! / Listen!	201. You see! / Look!
KAN	tu bΛ'na	tu šwē	tu n <sup>ʌ</sup> halΛ
DUB	tu 'bΛnΛ	tu šwē	tu n <sup>ʌ</sup> halΛ
SEO	tu mΛ'na	tu šō·	tu n <sup>ʌ</sup> halΛ
PAT	tu mΛ'na	tu šō·	tu n <sup>ʌ</sup> halΛ
JJJ	tu mΛ'na	tu šo	tu n <sup>h</sup> ala
CHM	tu mΛna	tu šōgΛ	tu n <sup>ʌ</sup> hala
CHJ	tu manΛ	—	tu n <sup>ʌ</sup> hala
GAB	tu alɑ <sup>h</sup>	tu šwī	tu 'sig <sup>h</sup> a
BAT	tu mΛn / tu 'mendΛre	tu 'šwēre / tu šō	tu 'bišre
	202. I	203. you	204. you (formal)
KAN	ma	tu	tus
DUB	ma	tu	tus
SEO	mā	tu	tus
PAT	ma	tu	tus
JJJ	ma	tu	tus
CHM	ma	tu	tus
CHJ	ma	tu	tus
GAB	ma	tu	tus
BAT	mā	tu	tus

	205. he	206. she	207. we
KAN	so	so	bɛ <sup>h</sup>
DUB	so	so	bɛ <sup>h</sup>
SEO	so	so	bɛ <sup>h</sup>
PAT	so	so	bɛ <sup>h</sup>
JIJ	so	so	bɛ
CHM	a <sup>l</sup> so	a <sup>l</sup> so	bɛ
CHJ	aso	aso	bɛ
GAB	so	—	bɛ
BAT	so	so	bɛ
	209. you (pl)	210. they	
KAN	tus	sẽ	
DUB	tus	sẽ	
SEO	tus	sẽ	
PAT	tus	sẽ	
JIJ	tus	se	
CHM	tus	a <sup>l</sup> so	
CHJ	tus	sẽ	
GAB	tus	sɛ <sup>h</sup>	
BAT	tus	sẽ	

## Appendix D.2

### Indus Kohistani Texts

#### D.2.1 Indus Kohistani, Seo village

##### Seo Story (Indus Kohistani)

1. be te mi mama mačo na ās tso daziri t<sup>h</sup>u taqriban  
I and my uncle matcho name was very hunter is approximately  
I and my uncle named Matcho.... He is a very good hunter. He has killed
2. šare panz šo šol šare sē martš [Question-1] ek dis sē man  
deer five six hundred deer he shot \* one day he said  
approximately five or six hundred deer (in his lifetime). [Question-1] One day
3. če uk<sup>h</sup>at<sup>h</sup> bedo biz zahre zaŋgale Razeq man ās  
that tomorrow we-both go zahria forest-in Razaq (name) in was  
he told me that tomorrow we will both go to Zahria. It (Zahria) was in Razaq.
4. berša waxat ās zahre zaŋgle be ge<sup>h</sup> kē rawan  
Summer time was Zahria-to forest we went then start-walk  
It was summertime. Then we started walking to Zahria forest.
5. hoge miqe ēis nel šariz-donaliz-šariz tasiga ēis panzdazi be  
happened to-me was gun shotgun to-him was rifle(7MM) we  
I had a shotgun and he had a rifle. We started walking.
6. nel hen rawān hoge bazi bazi pan tal ge ek  
rifle with start-walk became walking walking path on went one  
We were walking and walking on the path. There was also a telescope with us.
7. durbin hom kiŋge ās sope sope bel še kor nahala  
telescope also with-us was slowly slowly went that mountain look  
We went very slowly in order to see where on the mountain
8. kor nahala begol meka<sup>i</sup> ešat kare nahala ge  
mountain look where forest-goat come-will do looking walking  
the forest goat would come. We were looking and walking and we finally
9. ge axer zahriā zaŋgle sē man če šo bariš mik<sup>h</sup>  
walking at-last Zahria forest-to he said that this summer forest-goat  
reached Zahria forest. He told me that in summer time there are many



10. hun zΛhriā zΛŋgle maN be tu šΛ zΛŋgle gaḏ huš be  
available Zahria forest in we both this forest-in enter happened we  
forest goats in Zahria forest. We both entered the forest.
11. sople sople mutyo so t<sup>h</sup>u hā pa<sup>t</sup>yo ma t<sup>h</sup>u [Question-2] be  
slowly slowly ahead he was and behind I is \* we  
Slowly we (went), he was ahead and I was behind. [Question-2] We
12. ra<sup>w</sup>an hoge zΛŋgla wa<sup>r</sup> še tsor ka<sup>ḅ</sup>nde sople sople  
start-walk happened forest into like-this rustling heard slow slow  
started walking (and) we heard a rustling in the forest. We heard a slow
13. tsor ka<sup>ḅ</sup>nde ek muti ašara kerā tsor ka<sup>ḅ</sup>nde ka<sup>ḅ</sup>nde  
rustling heard one another indication did rustling heard heard  
rustling (and) we signaled to one another. We heard rustling.
14. ka<sup>ḅ</sup>nde i ek jītō ke baš hoge jītū d<sup>h</sup>ot  
heard ? one small-mountain to appear became small-mountain edge  
A small mountain appeared. On the edge
15. ta<sup>l</sup> gohō beče gai ēis [Question-3] mūḏ lak ta<sup>s</sup> gai  
on big diar-(tree-name) trees were \* trunk like that tree  
of that small mountain, there were big trees. [Question-3] I was behind
16. ye kiŋgi pa<sup>t</sup>yo ma t<sup>h</sup>u sē mi kerā ešara<sup>t</sup> ka<sup>ḅ</sup>regel če tu  
of side behind I am he my for indication did that you  
the trunk of the tree (and) he gave me a signal to stop behind (the trunk).
17. pa<sup>t</sup>u wa<sup>r</sup> de mityō mik<sup>h</sup>Λ the šΛre the me wa<sup>r</sup> di<sup>t</sup> hā  
behind stop gave ahead deer are deer that I stop did and  
Ahead there were deer and I stopped. And it (he?) stopped.
18. šo wa<sup>r</sup> de maN sē zino guzar ka<sup>r</sup>gil [Question-4] guzar ka<sup>r</sup>il  
it(he?) stop did. ? he quickly fired did \* fired did  
And then he fired quickly. [Question-4] Having fired,
19. me p<sup>h</sup>uṭker k<sup>h</sup>ē ek šΛro ga<sup>l</sup>Λgil [Question-5] ga<sup>l</sup>lil k<sup>h</sup>ē ek šΛro  
I saw that one deer fell \* fell after one deer  
I saw that one deer fell down. [Question-5] After it fell down,
20. gil kē aluz so šΛro čap ho pirō ba<sup>z</sup>i i ta<sup>l</sup>  
fell and other that deer jumped became little-ahead went came above  
the other deer jumped out, went a little ahead, and came back
21. oli hoga uli hund ge<sup>h</sup> [Question-6] ga<sup>ḅ</sup>Λ sē da<sup>ḅ</sup>gil hā me  
stand became stand became went \* then he fire and I  
and stood above the first deer. [Question-6] Then he fired and I also

22. dΛgil zai ěs sĕ kΛts̄ ni rigil gΛΔΛ pero ĉΛp hoge ĉΛp  
 fired place was he near not hit then ahead jumped became jumped  
 fired. The place was nearby, but he did not hit it. Then it jumped ahead
23. ho gΛΔΛ i tΛl b<sup>h</sup>heṭ gΛΔΛ sĕ guzar kir me guzar kir  
 became then came above sat then he fire did I fire did  
 and sat on (the other deer). Then he fired again and I also fired.
24. zai ěs t̄se kΛts̄ hā gΛΔΛ ni riṅgil hasil bal še ĉe še  
 place was very near but then not hit last talk this that this-like  
 The place was nearby, but again we both missed. Finally, we fired
25. ĉa t̄sor fer zū kΛrgil ĉe t̄sor war guzar sĕ kir me kir ni  
 three four fired we did that four time fire he did I did not  
 like this three or four times, but we fired four times and it was not hit.
26. riṅgil k<sup>h</sup>ĕ hā šΛro wΛi-t<sup>h</sup>u mūn sō gΛn tΛl weluk  
 hit then but deer fell below he fallen-tree above fall  
 But the deer fell down. It fell down behind a fallen tree.
27. gΛn ās tes tΛl wΛi-t<sup>h</sup>u ĉe se maṅ ĉe šo šΛro ni t<sup>h</sup>u šo  
 fallen-tree was he on fell ? he said that this deer not is this  
 He fell. He said, "This is not a deer. This is
28. big bΛli t<sup>h</sup>i [Question-7] be te nΛ mut šo šΛro  
 another evil(ghost) is \* we both from another that deer  
 a ghost or something." [Question-7] We both wounded that deer and (we
29. hošΛt gΛhlit murdal hošΛt kĕ e be tu biz  
 will-become wounded spoiled will-become therefore came we you go  
 should slit its throat or) it will become impure (spoiled?), so we went (toward
30. be te sĕ nΛili uĉe ĉΛp ho maṛΛdes maṛΛdes kĕ sō  
 we both he gun took jumped became ran ran then he  
 the wounded deer). We took our rifles and jumped and ran (toward the deer)
31. dit<sup>h</sup>u pi bΛze zō tΛs hΛlΛl kΛre wΛx ās nΛwΛx nΛwΛx ās  
 went there went we he slit-throat did time was late late was  
 and (the second deer) left. We went (to the first deer) and we slit its throat.
32. kĕ zō šiš t̄siṭe rΛwan hoge šiš t̄siṭe be rΛwan hogale bΛzige  
 then we head cut walk became head cut we walk became went  
 It was late. Then we cut off (the deer's) head and began to walk. We cut its
33. še beṛi zĕ zai ěs [Question-8] so beṛi bΛzi be ĉelige  
 this beṛ-to our place was \* it Baṛ-to went we reached  
 head off and began to walk to Baṛ. It was our place. [Question-8] When we

34. čelil k<sup>h</sup>ē wax nAWAX ās xAlqo mAN t̄sō gin t̄sir kARGil  
reached then time late was people said you why late did  
reached Bar, it was late. People asked, “Why are you late?”
35. [Question-9] zū mAN mAs šu šana zō tAl waqatok pex  
\* we said people this like we on one-incident faced  
[Question-9] Then we told the people that an incident had happened.
36. hu ek zō še marigel hā ek zō dit<sup>h</sup> dit<sup>h</sup> guzar kARE  
became. one we like-this killed and one we did did fire did  
We killed one (deer) and we fired on a second many times, but we did
37. riḡgil ne sō de bAZiGA k<sup>h</sup>ē sē mAN zē tAlA rAl hogA hā  
hit not it ? went then he said our there night became and  
not hit it (and) it went. Then he said (that) we would spend that night there.
38. so t̄siz tAl ar zō t̄sAdAr gAle zō ši-ši pat<sup>h</sup> kARE wAX  
that thing on there we cover put-on we like-this left did time  
And we put a cover over the deer (and) we left it there because it was late.
39. nAWAX ās pat kir k<sup>h</sup>ē uk<sup>h</sup>At ut<sup>h</sup>iGale be t̄sor maš tAlA  
late was left did then tomorrow got-up we four men from-there  
Then the next day we got up. Four men came from there (Bar)
40. i če ās ušAgAle āej kARE [Question-10] iGale še  
came that were quartered carried did \* came like-this  
with us in order to skin (the deer) and take it. [Question-10] We walked slowly
41. sople sople i tAlā čeli sAs ušē zū šero kARAgil šero  
slowly slowly came there reached it skin we start did start  
and arrived there and started to skin it.
42. kARAgAle ma b<sup>h</sup>heḡ ga hā se mARGAliō tAs uše bARABAR kAR  
did I sat did and those friends to-him skin equal did  
Then I sat and those friends divided the meat.
43. ās t̄so genḡ bAREšuk wAXt ās t̄so genḡ ās [Question-11] ā  
was very hearty summer time was very hearty was \* that  
It was very hearty. It was summertime. It was very hearty. [Question-11]
44. zai nA zū rAWAN kARGil kē sē tAbAXA<sup>i</sup> se sit<sup>h</sup> du ma  
place from we walked did then he buttocks with thigh two I  
We walked from that place. Then he and I took the hind quarters and
45. d<sup>h</sup>Λ<sup>i</sup>ḡil muth seo kAM-kAM kARE rAWAN hoge rAWAN  
took another they small did start-walk became start-walking  
they took small pieces. We started walking. After we began walking,

46. hon k<sup>h</sup>ē maṭyu pandu giran ēs kor war še sople  
after then ahead way hard was mountain in like-this slowly  
the way was difficult. We walked slowly on the mountain.
47. sople sople sople še be rawan hoge igale ar be  
slowly slowly slowly like-this we walk began came there-(to-Bar) we  
Coming slowly, we had not yet reached (our village).
48. lačil t<sup>h</sup>e nai tal muṭyo zā paṇḍi hum xalaq ige če šo  
reached are not from ahead our way also people came that this  
The people came to us on the way in order to know
49. gi raṅga šaro aio marigel paṇḍi xalaq i tal zai na  
what kind deer they shot on-way people came from place from  
what kind of deer we had shot. The people all came together. We took the
50. be hare par čeli ju gi wal kir če ju muṭyo t<sup>h</sup>ale te  
we took there reached ? did prepare did that ? before pots and  
meat from that place. When we reached there, the pots were ready and
51. še tal delās maṅluq jama ās ju so jama maṅluk  
like-this put-on did people together were ? they together people  
we put the meat in and (cooked it). The people were together. Together they
52. ju ladagale tas ju k<sup>h</sup>agil xodayā na tal buṭ jam hu  
? cooked they ? ate God name on all together became  
cooked and ate. All came together in God's name. (Each one) received
53. juk ek du čelil [Question-12] ju k<sup>h</sup>a a zai na xatam  
handful one two received \* ? said that place on end  
one or two handfuls. [Question-12] At that place it (the meat) was finished.

### Questions for Seo Story (English translations)

1. How many deer did he kill?
2. How were they walking?
3. What was on the edge of the small mountain?
4. What did his uncle do?
5. When he fired, what happened?
6. What did the second deer do?
7. What did the uncle say about the second deer?
8. Where did they go after they cut the deer's head off?
9. What did the people at Bar ask?
10. Why did the four men go with them?
11. What quality was the meat?
12. How much meat did each man receive?

## D.2.2 Indus Kohistani, Kandia Valley

### Kandia Hunting Text

1. ek waruk be nahir baige-wai ek war be nahir bai bai be čor  
one time we hunt went one time we hunt went went we four  
One time we went hunting. One time we went hunting.
2. maš bai ek ma ā ek šakbar ā ek paṇḍaro ā ek  
men went one I and one shakber and one paṇḍaro and one  
We were four men, Shakber, Pandaro,
3. walyap nahir bai bai bai paro šo šalčai rogiū ma ek zaikela  
Walyap hunt went went went there that šalčai place in one place  
Walyap, and me. We started to go. When we reached *šalčai rogiū*,
4. baš hun kēē par k<sup>h</sup>iŋgla šara tho g<sup>h</sup>ē g<sup>h</sup>ē šara t<sup>h</sup>o wale  
appear became then there side deer were big big deer were but  
we saw many deer, which were big.
5. šo gi sat gi a<sup>h</sup>uk t<sup>h</sup>o te sai b<sup>h</sup>eṭe ā ma nahiri ās beya  
six or seven or eight were then they sat and I hunter ās went  
There were six, seven, or eight deer. They sat there and I went after the deer
6. g<sup>h</sup>ero bai pa se šarū ma čiliyās nai ā ek žukam bai  
elder went there that deer I reached not and one place went  
because I was a hunter. I had not reached the deer yet,
7. baš hun hā muṭ<sup>h</sup>i k<sup>h</sup>iŋg ečok e baš hun me ek  
appear became and front side bear came appear became I one  
and suddenly a bear appeared in front of me.
8. guzar kaṛače eč la ā eč la xaṭa kaṛače ā eč mila  
fire did bear on and bear on missed did and bear on-me  
I fired at the bear, but I missed, and the bear came toward me.
9. tali et<sup>h</sup>u duī guzar me kaṛače ha šara če k<sup>h</sup>abu k<sup>h</sup>abu ha  
on came second fire I did hand broke did left left hand  
I fired a second time and injured its left paw. When I injured its paw,
10. šara če eč miye čili t<sup>h</sup>u ā me čāē kaṛak kaṛače ā  
broke did bear to-me reach is and I third pull-trigger did and  
the bear reached for me. I pulled the trigger a third time, but the gun
11. nali γal hut<sup>h</sup>i ā bete eč γaṛ-γaṛi bai t<sup>h</sup>o γaṛ-γaṛe bai  
gun missed became and we bear wrestle went became wrestle went  
misfired. And the bear wrestled me. In wrestling with the bear,

12. mili eče mi mani žu maĵ čura če čorali kēē ya xudai  
with bear me down place in down did fell-down then Oh God  
it knocked me down. When the bear knocked me down, I was badly frightened
13. kare xo b<sup>h</sup>ya sax ās zai giran me eĵa la diči ā so  
did then afraid severely was place difficult I load on pull and that  
and called out to God. The place was very difficult. I tried to load (the gun),
14. g<sup>h</sup>ol maĵ xo kaltos nikai bai t<sup>h</sup>o ā mut kaltus ĵux  
struggle in then cartridge out went was and another cartridge fit  
and in the struggle the first cartridge fell down, but another cartridge fit in.
15. hut<sup>h</sup>u ā me řu āe řaya če parā mī řo muhē kařap  
became and I that mouth stuck did there my that face catch  
I stuck the gun in the (bear's) mouth. The bear was trying to claw my face,
16. kiryās lal gilyās tal me řo āe řaya kařak  
did mouth-water flowing on I that mouth stuck pull-the-trigger  
and saliva was flowing from its mouth. I fired in its mouth
17. kařače ā eč gal čoi eč wapas gil kēē enda mī sai margale  
did and bear fell did bear return fell then here my that friends  
and the bear fell down. After this, my friends came and they
18. tala eĵa ban gi čal t<sup>h</sup>u ma ban řu řu qasa hut<sup>h</sup>i  
there came said what happen became I said this this story became  
asked me what happened, and I explained the whole situation. The deer
19. te xo so řara ři baiye be we we čotī-d<sup>h</sup>ar ma ek  
after then that deers ran away we down down name-of-place in one  
ran away and we started to come back. When we reached to *čotī-d<sup>h</sup>ar*,
20. zaiuk t<sup>h</sup>u axer řaral mī tala řaraĵtok mari ta řaraĵtu zai  
place was last autumn I there small-deer killed that small-deer we  
it was autumn season. There I killed a small deer. We cooked the deer
21. tal daĵale b<sup>h</sup>eĵ t<sup>h</sup>o me ban hī et<sup>h</sup>i ĵaři ažo t<sup>h</sup>u ā  
put-on did sit were I said now coming raining rain is and  
and sat there. I said, "Rain is now coming.
22. bitus big amai wapas tā b<sup>h</sup>ai ya patu řu sam zai nikagale  
we go our return our homes or back that good place go  
We should go back to our homes or to some safe place; otherwise
23. bitus řamřam ni hog k<sup>h</sup>eē ban nai-woma hūi aže te ai ni  
we disturb not became then said no now rain and that not  
we will become disturbed." But they said, "It is not

24. dēto maya ā hūi aĵ bīṣai ral t<sup>h</sup>i muna as tAMAI war  
raining said and now today our night is down this dark in  
raining now and we should stay here for the night.
25. as mas d<sup>h</sup>a čit<sup>h</sup>i b<sup>h</sup>et ā bu harat ā bow muna wat  
this meat take upward go and up took and up down come  
It is difficult to go up and down with this meat in the dark.”
26. giran hoit<sup>h</sup>i wAXti boi ut<sup>h</sup>il k<sup>h</sup>ēē še dit<sup>h</sup>u hiyū ā gi  
difficult became morning up get then this became snow and what  
When we got up in the morning, snow had fallen. We had a
27. lik<sup>h</sup>ilak gAroiklak ral ami zā kira so guzara lak-huge šu zai  
little ? night our us for that help become that place  
little (something) that night and it helped us.
28. be šAĵi ge wo šAĵil šAĵil šAĵil so dis bai  
we stranded became oh stranded stranded stranded that day pass  
There we were stranded for a long time—until evening
29. bilal dis nimali huye xo pan wozgar ni hun  
evening day good-weather became then way open not became  
of that day. The weather cleared, but the way was not open. It was very
30. giran āsi so dis bai bilal zai ral tALA padis bai bilal  
difficult was that day pass evening our night there next pass evening  
difficult. (We) passed that day there.
31. zai ral tALA ča ral huin-nā čoraī ral be ukege tā masā  
our night there three night became fourth night we come our meat  
For three days and nights we remained there. On the fourth day, we left that
32. saī bučre d<sup>h</sup>a zurdē zurdē so kor maĵi ige ige  
that pieces took difficultly difficultly that mountain in came came  
place and started to walk with meat into the mountains; and at last we reached
33. ukai tal nilili gin hiyū ās k<sup>h</sup>ac kArās p<sup>h</sup>oi āis  
come-up on reached because snow was sweeping did snow was  
the top of the mountain. We were sweeping the snow.
34. šArłuki p<sup>h</sup>oi āis k<sup>h</sup>ac kArā zurdē ukai šai nAk<sup>h</sup>A dAĵi  
autumn snow was sweeping did difficult came these nails burn  
It was autumn snow. It was difficult. Our hands and feet became
35. k<sup>h</sup>urA dAĵi ukai zāi tal dit<sup>h</sup>i tal dit<sup>h</sup>i k<sup>h</sup>ēē duī ral huge  
feet burn came our on reached on reached then two night became  
very cold. And we reached there. When we reached there, we two men

36. ek zai ā du mašūi ral zāi huge muti zai man  
one place and two man night place became another place in  
remained in one place and two remained in another place for the night.
37. dođai-bek na patiyū čarđuŋa la ral huni k<sup>h</sup>ēē ral ek  
place from behind place on night became then night one  
We passed the night just behind the *dođai-bek* in *čarđuŋa*.
38. baĵā tem ās amai ha asū amai masumu iqale amai še  
o'clock time was our hand was our child came our there  
It was one o'clock and I saw a child came and
39. b<sup>h</sup>eṭe agar tal ā gaṭa hē p<sup>h</sup>isri wāt šar-šar hūt hī ya  
sit fire on and again snow pieces falling rustling became now Oh  
sit just near the fire. Once again we heard snow starting to fall. I said,
40. xuda nali pa kēē maĵi d<sup>h</sup>aril margale mī niži la d<sup>h</sup>arilo  
God gun there rock in remain friends my sleeping on remain  
“Oh my God, my gun is in the rock and my friends are sleeping.”
41. ā ma ut<sup>h</sup>elo šoqa so k<sup>h</sup>iŋgna še t<sup>h</sup>i ā huī ē tsize ti  
and I got-up big-coat that side he was and now this thing you  
I got up with my big coat. I was afraid that this thing would eat me.
42. k<sup>h</sup>aqil čō-nila bala parā še tal ole tho g<sup>h</sup>alē sahat mī ha  
eat green hair there that on stand were long time my hand  
Green hairs were standing on his body. For a long time my hand could not
43. ni čilil mē ayat kursi mane kalimā mane amā war p<sup>h</sup>u  
not reached I verses of-Quran read word read own on phu  
reach (the gun). I read verses from the holy Quran on my own and did phu.
44. kare l<sup>h</sup>ab<sup>h</sup>or hin mī pa šo čaṭu čakiyū šayali  
did piece-of-wood with I there that touch between-the-legs press  
Then with a piece of burning wood, I touched (the ghost) between the legs.
45. l<sup>h</sup>ab<sup>h</sup>or ha čioĥ huni ā margale mī ot<sup>h</sup>ilo zat zāi  
piece-of-wood and noise come and friend my woke after-this we  
I pressed the burning wood and a noise came and my friends woke up.
46. niž nera č<sup>h</sup>e bai taĥ lo šalā be ju wapās et<sup>h</sup>o  
sleep not did went til morning from-there we then return come  
After this, we could not sleep until morning. From there we then returned.



## D.2.3 Indus Kohistani (Upper Duber) Story

### Duber Bala Accident Story

1.  $\text{d̪isuk} \quad \text{ʃila ma d̪uʃi la d̪uberā asi-man} \quad \text{asi j̪jalā haspital}$   
one-day ? I duty on Duber-of at-that-time ? Jijal-of hospital  
One day I went from Duber for duty in the Jijal hospital.
2.  $\text{māz} \quad \text{ʃasi} \quad \text{man} \quad \text{bazar ma} \quad \text{suzuki mē nazar iye nazril}$   
in-was at-that-time down bazar in suzuki I see come having-seen  
At that time I saw a Suzuki come down into the bazaar. Then I came out to
3.  $\text{talā ma baʃ} \quad \text{j̪ūi bali kēē d̪uberā} \quad \text{ča} \quad \text{maʃ āso mī punyak}$   
then I come out edge then Duber-of three men were my known  
the edge and looked down. There were three men of Duber that I knew.
4.  $\text{āso s̪āi man} \quad \text{gaḍi} \quad \text{māz} \quad \text{t̪ʰu} \quad \text{talā ma man} \quad \text{waygale} \quad \text{mē}$   
were they down vehicle in were then I down coming-toward I  
They were down in the vehicle. Then I went down to them (and) shook
5.  $\text{sayō mila ha} \quad \text{milaḡale} \quad \text{mini wai} \quad \text{čai mai po} \quad \text{bai ya}$   
them shake hand was-shaking down come tea etc. drink go or  
hands with them. (I told them) come, stop and drink tea and (have) food.
6.  $\text{guli} \quad \text{h̪isar hoe} \quad \text{s̪āi h̪isar n̪i h̪ünd} \quad \text{kēē mē sayō d̪is}$   
bread-for stop happened they stop not became then I them to  
(But) they would not stop. Then I said to them,
7.  $\text{mē ban tus h̪isar n̪i hont} \quad \text{kēē te} \quad \text{guli} \quad \text{muli k} \quad \text{ba} \quad \text{kēē}$   
I said you stop not became then then bread etc. eat go then  
“Why don’t you stop, eat food, then go?”
8.  $\text{man} \quad \text{n̪āile s̪āi di} \quad \text{baye s̪āi mē roxsat karil ā ma}$   
they-said no they from-there went they I sent-off did and I  
Then they said, “No.” They left there. I sent them off, and I went back to
9.  $\text{talā bo hospatali} \quad \text{baigale} \quad \text{gaḷa} \quad \text{b} \quad \text{ʃasi-māz} \quad \text{bazar māz}$   
from up hospital-to went again sat was suddenly bazar in  
the hospital and sat there again. Suddenly there was a noise in the bazaar.
10.  $\text{ʃur} \quad \text{ʃiro hoga} \quad \text{talā ma bali baʃ} \quad \text{h̪ünd} \quad \text{kēē bazar}$   
noise start happened then I edge appeared became then bazar  
Then I came to the edge. All the people in the bazaar
11.  $\text{wala buʃ} \quad \text{banāt} \quad \text{če} \quad \text{para} \quad \text{suzuki ulʃi} \quad \text{d̪uberā} \quad \text{bazarā na}$   
person all said that there suzuki fall is Duber-of bazar from  
were saying that a Suzuki had fallen there. It fell from

12. parwis k<sup>h</sup>ɪŋ moɾ la ā tasi m̄az a<sup>t</sup>h māš halaq hoge  
another side curve on and it it eight men died happened  
the curve near the Duber bazaar and eight people inside died.
13. yane mariye ā mu<sup>t</sup>h zaxmi t<sup>h</sup>u ā siraf ek kælendar bač  
that-is died and another injured was and only one conductor safe  
And another was injured. And only the conductor was uninjured.
14. hu t<sup>h</sup>u-lu ā šasi-ma unda ak suzuki gola mē m<sup>h</sup>halo  
happened was and at-this-time here one suzuki on my father  
At that time, my father was on a Suzuki here.
15. so suzuki na mūt<sup>y</sup>u bayās gi patyō suzuki man bayās xo mi  
that suzuki ? before he-went if/or after suzuki in he-went but my  
(I did not know) if he went before, after, or in this Suzuki, but (I knew) my
16. m<sup>h</sup>halo hom paro bayās duberā bazari kēē me ban če mi  
father also there went Duber-of bazar-to then I said that my  
father had also gone to the Duber bazaar. Then I said that my
17. šo aba bayās šo suzuki mā ā šo suzuki ju marak  
that father went that suzuki in and that suzuki ? upside-down  
father went in that Suzuki and the Suzuki rolled over.
18. hoge šo wažhin mē gi saman yane pa<sup>t</sup>i ma<sup>t</sup>ā saman  
became that reason I ? stuff namely sticking etc.-of supplies  
So I prepared some bandages, and so on.
19. barabar kare mē talā amamil dahagale<sup>i</sup> mana bazari  
prepare did I then myself caught/took-by-hand down bazar-to  
From there I carried them down to the bazaar,
20. walil kēē gađi ak haram bu<sup>t</sup>h it<sup>h</sup>e unda so kaū zai  
bring then vehicle one not-present all came there that which place  
but there was no vehicle available. All (the vehicles) had come to the place
21. če suzuki ul<sup>t</sup>i t<sup>h</sup>i so zai talā ma pieda rawan hoga  
that suzuki fall was that place from-there I on-foot went happen  
where the Suzuki fell down. From there I walked to the
22. še i unda jījalā hai skul la mu<sup>t</sup>hyu il kēē ak foji  
they come here jījal-of high school of before reached then one army  
Jijal high school. Then an army vehicle came up
23. gađi patiō ige mē tasi hadagalei sē orliagıl saī ban  
vehicle behind came I that hold-hand-up they stopped they said  
behind me. I held up my hand and they stopped. They said,

24. golu bi t<sup>h</sup>u lu kēē mē wapas šo zax suzuki ulṭi t<sup>h</sup>i ā māz  
 where go are ? then I ? ? ? suzuki fell is and in  
 “Where are you going?” Then I said, “A suzuki fell down
25. zaxmi t<sup>h</sup>u kēē ma bām t<sup>h</sup>u bai sayō paṭi karagalam ā  
 injured are then I going am went then dressing doing and  
 and in it (people) are injured. And I am going to dress (the injured). And
26. hī gaṛḍi nī t<sup>h</sup>i kēē mī ama mū haregalam mayo kēē sāi  
 now vehicle not is then me you with take I-said then they  
 now there is no vehicle. Can you take me with you?”
27. ban če ukā botali ukaley te sāi gaḍi agaley mī inda  
 said that come on-top came-on then that vehicle took me there  
 They said, “Get up on top!” Then that vehicle took me
28. duberā bazarā na patyō so moṛ la wal gīl wal kēē  
 duber-of bazar from behind that curve on down stopped down then  
 to the Duber bazaar. We stopped near the curve (Duber curve),
29. tamam šo bazar wale te šōi žam t<sup>h</sup>o buṭ<sup>h</sup> ā sāi  
 all that bazar people and that ? they-were all and that  
 and all the people from the bazaar were there.
30. moṛai bo roṛi waleč ā ban če zaxmi zē pa bazari  
 dead-bodies up road-to ? and say that injured we there bazar-to  
 And the dead bodies were on the road. And they said that the injured were
31. haračele ā šē paṭe maṭe yā saman d<sup>h</sup>a pa bazari ba  
 taken and these sticking etc. of luggage catch there bazar-to go  
 taken to the bazaar. “Take the bandages, etc. and go to the bazaar.”
32. talā ma jūi bali baš hund kēē mana dariyob man mē  
 from-there I out edge go become then down river in I  
 From there I went to the edge of the cliff. Down in the river,
33. yane suzuki yā t<sup>h</sup>er ak duk nazri il ā mut<sup>h</sup> gi čiz nazri  
 namely suzuki of tire one two saw came and other any thing saw  
 I saw one or two Suzuki tires. I saw nothing else.
34. ni il mē tapus kir mayō suzuki gi huṇi kēē  
 not came I asked did thought suzuki what-(where) became then  
 I asked, “Where is the Suzuki?”
35. man so šund gai ma mini bai yeb hu t<sup>h</sup>i dariyab  
 said that place this in down go disappear happened was river  
 Then they said, “The Suzuki fell down here and disappeared in the river.”

36. man te ma talā wapas gata piyaidā undā duberā bazari  
in then I from-there return again on-foot here duber-of bazar-to  
Then I walked back to the Duber bazaar.
37. il kēē ek gi du zaxmi hotla mā t<sup>h</sup>u ā ek gi du dukano  
came then one or two injured hotel in are and one or two shop  
One or two injured were in a hotel. One or two were
38. mūtyo futfari la b<sup>h</sup>etil thu mini galače ā xalak čapera t<sup>h</sup>e  
in-front foot-path on sitting were down putting and people around are  
sitting down on the foot path in front of a shop. And people gathered around.
39. talā sāi xalak zē patu karagale wi ah te deṭol  
from-there that people we push did water brought and detol  
From there we pushed the people back. We brought water and Detol and
40. ah safai kare sāi zaxmiō kasē met<sup>h</sup>  
brought clean did that injured-of someone inside-stuff-(brain)  
cleaned (the wounds). I could see the brain matter of one injured person.
41. līhui ās kasī yane če čax-pax āso sayō paṭai zē  
could-see was someone that-is that crushed was them sticking we  
Someone that was crushed, we completely dressed.
42. karai tam kir kēē sa xalke<sup>i</sup> ban sāi swatā xalke<sup>i</sup> če  
did finished did then those people said those swat-of people that  
Then they said, "Those from Swat we should
43. āi hareeḷ paro talā sāi zaxmi zē gaḍi māz uk<sup>h</sup>alei  
those take there then those injured our vehicle in put/carried  
take to Swat!" Then we put the injured in our vehicle,
44. sāi paro ruxsat karagil sāi paro ruxsat kare zē i indā  
those there sent-off did those there sent-off did we came here  
(and) we sent them off. (Then) we came back
45. duberā bazara mā aluz tā duberā se muṛa<sup>i</sup> če  
duber-of bazar-to in another our duber-from ? dead-person that  
to the Duber bazaar. There was another dead person from Duber.
46. kāū ās sāi gaḍi man gale k<sup>h</sup>uni ruxsat karagil ā  
the-one was that vehicles in put inside sent-off did and  
We put him in a vehicle and sent him off.
47. paṭā maṛa<sup>i</sup> zē paṭāi roxsat gaḍe mā gali k<sup>h</sup>uni  
Pattan-of dead-ones we Patan-to sent-off vehicle in put inside  
And the dead from Patan, we put in a vehicle and sent to Patan.

48. roxsat kir ā jījelā moḡ<sup>i</sup> čē kāū ās tas jījale haril ā  
sent-off did and jījal-of dead that the-one was that jījal-to taken and  
And the ones from Jījal, we sent off to Jījal.
49. ruxsat kare bē<sup>h</sup> so zai beṭil t<sup>h</sup>u digrā ṭem t<sup>h</sup>u  
sent-off did we that place sat were late-afternoon time was  
We sat there at that place. It was late afternoon.
50. šasi-mā paḡā xabar il čē šangla la čē kāū t<sup>h</sup>u  
at-that-time from-there news came that Shangla on that the-one was  
Then we came to know that one person was from Shangla.
51. sāi zaxmi čour ās sayō-ma du intiqal ho t<sup>h</sup>u ā du  
those injured four were out-of-these two died happened was and two  
Out of the four who were injured, two died and two
52. bač t<sup>h</sup>u ā so miṅgorā haspatali yane daxil karače  
safe were and that Miṅgora-of hospital-to that-is admitted did  
lived and were admitted in the Miṅgora Hospital.
53. taḷa talā be di zē xabar ige bē di jījeli bezil  
there from-there we ? us news come we ? jījal-to left  
From there (Miṅgora) the news came to us. (Then) we left for Jījal.

## D.2.4 Chilisso, Jalkot

### Chilisso Story

1. tANmuṭ<sup>h</sup>iu āzō sALΛ ki sALΛ ki pANješ meše d<sup>h</sup>āzer bAšAT  
first-of-all our proposal did proposal did fifteen men hunting go-will  
First of all, we made a proposal that we fifteen men go hunting.
2. ke [Question-1] rAWane kiu sat<sup>h</sup>i ame xARčĀi ḍAKi ek  
do \* start did among our-self necessary-things took one  
[Question-1] We took one rifle each and some food (necessary things) with us.
3. ek nali ḍAKi ḍAKE be rAWAN huge b<sup>h</sup>ulu bAZi bo bAZi ek  
one rifle took took we start became up to-go up to-go one  
And went up. When we reached near Pashkari Mali
4. zekAM bAš hon to rōZAK nili pAšKARI-mAYle neyale le  
one-place appear became and rōZ-one saw name-of-place looked ?  
we saw a rōZ there. When that thing looked at us, it got ready (to run).
5. so ṫsīZ bARABAR ke azō biṭ<sup>h</sup>i rAWAN hu pāZ guzar ki  
that thing ready did suddenly shake start became five fire did  
Suddenly it started to shake. I fired five bullets at it,
6. me so ṫsīZ t<sup>h</sup>u be čōī čōī meLA asĀ mARAK<sup>h</sup>u ye  
I that thing was we missed missed target it turned became  
but we missed. It turned. Then it went in front of Kabro.
7. pAR kADRō mumiṭ<sup>h</sup>iu yo kADRū mumiṭ<sup>h</sup>iu yo kADRē ḍA  
there name-of-person front went name front went Kabro did  
When it came in front of Kadro, he fired and the bullet
8. ḍere čīURAR ḍA pARANili [Question-2] čōī šō ḤAT kie azā  
belly under did out-other-side \* ? ? left did suddenly  
passed under his belly. [Question-2] Suddenly the rōZ turned and ran away.
9. so rōZ mARAK hu yAO not<sup>h</sup>i azō gio pADON  
that rōZ turned became went again suddenly went behind  
Again it turned and went behind Pirdad,
10. perdADte nailodi pHAṬAliu de gALduṭh ki so ṫsīZ [Question-3]  
name-of-man fired leg did wounded did that thing \*  
and he fired and hit it on the leg and wounded it. [Question-3] When it
11. gALduṭ<sup>h</sup> ke wAPAS asĀ mARAKO bo kuri-KAMAN āZō rAṭi  
wounded did back it turned up mountain-in by-us stop  
became wounded, it turned back toward the mountain and stopped,

12. [Question-4] raṭe čaper hū warpar hā nali gye baṛaḅar  
\*  
stop around became all-sides and gun with ready  
[Question-4] and we surrounded it and made ourselves ready to fire.
13. hu b<sup>h</sup>eṭ āsōsom māmyaze manil če mo baḅat a ṭsize  
became sat in-that-time name-of-man said that I go that thing  
At that time, Mamriaz said, “I should go catch that thing.
14. baḅe kašape ke aḅda na dāhā to čari gi de aš ṭopol ke  
to-go grab did catch not catch if shotgun with beat that fell did  
If I cannot catch it, then I will hit it with my shotgun.”
15. gaḅa ki soša zu p<sup>h</sup>at ki baḅi sē bo so rōz to nailiu dithi  
put did ? ? left did to-go he up that animal and rifle fired  
He went up to shoot the rōz. When he pulled the trigger,
16. nailiu kaṛakman ašo naili ogilzil ne [Question-5] ogilzil ne  
rifle pull-trigger that rifle missed-fire not \* misfire not  
the rifle misfired. [Question-5] When it misfired, he grabbed for it,
17. mišar se kašap ki kašap ki hate zau i [Question-6] yaṛo  
with he caught did caught did in-hand hair came \* friend  
but only caught hair in his hand. [Question-6] Friend,
18. so ṭsiz dio mini raḅwan hu to mirik-maṛak ki mutkasi  
that thing ran down start became and in-that-time did another  
that thing ran down. And no one was able to fire at it.
19. guzar kehā ne kišwar piče bohā de man āsā higat<sup>h</sup>i k<sup>h</sup>un dit<sup>h</sup>i  
fire did not name uncle above did in its back inside did  
Only uncle Kishwar fired from above and hit it on its back.
20. [Question-7] de ṭopol ki seš p<sup>h</sup>al ki minā gio minā ge ašhā  
\*  
did fell did it throw did down fell down went it  
[Question-7] And that thing fell down. It went down and Sherpo
21. čorar šerpo so šerpo d<sup>h</sup>ala so rōz minā wali wale be  
down name he name catch that rōz down brought brought we  
caught it and brought it down. And we brought it to Pashkari.
22. paškarim buṭ ṭol hund ṭol hu so čiza ityat šan  
place-name all together became together became that thing care like  
We all gathered and we carefully kept the meat
23. gi mas bede lade ityat gi buṭ jam hu k<sup>h</sup>a  
did meat keep cooked care with all together became ate  
and cooked it. And we ate together.

24. [Question-8] ashā čor pāz disū palyu be wāt<sup>h</sup> andu paškeryan  
\* we four five days after we came from place-name  
[Question-8] We came from Pashkari after four or five days.
25. [Question-9] hoi inda kəhēlim wāt<sup>h</sup> hoi so tsizā yote  
\* ? here Komila came ? that thing particular-thing  
[Question-9] We came to Komila and
26. so tsiz moli diti [Question-10] āzō takriban du zer rupe  
that thing sold did \* to-us about two thousand rupees  
sold that certain special part [Question-10] for two thousand rupees.
27. ho de so tsiz muli de azān bege kadro do wapas gi  
became did that thing sold did us both Kadro two back went  
When we sold that certain part, both of us, Kadro and I, went back. When we
28. baži k<sup>h</sup>ona ge šakbar piče pereni i [Question-11] pāndama  
went in went name uncle ghost came \* on-the-way  
started back on the way, a ghost came into uncle Shakbar. [Question-11] Then
29. azān be rawan hu k<sup>h</sup>oni gi baži k<sup>h</sup>oni paškari ma  
from we start became in went went in place-name in  
we went and reached to Pashkari.
30. al det<sup>h</sup> al de be beyam asgewar b<sup>h</sup>etelās  
reached did reached did we relaxed on-that-place sat  
When we reached there, we sat and relaxed.

### Questions for Chilisso Story (English translations)

1. What did the men plan?
2. When Kadro fired, what happened?
3. What happened to the *rōz*'s leg?
4. Where did the men stand and sit?
5. What happened when he pulled the trigger?
6. What did he use to catch the *rōz*?
7. Which man shot the *rōz* in the back?
8. What did they do with the meat?
9. When did they come from Paskari?
10. When they brought that thing to Komila, what did they do?
11. What (thing) came into Uncle Shakbar?



## D.2.5 Gowro, Mahrin village

### Gowro Hunting Story

1. ek mašak ās mī p<sup>h</sup>ayu ās j̄amdaro nā ās tasī [Question-1]  
one person was my cousin was Jumdarō name was his \*  
There was a man. He was my cousin. His name was Jumdarō. [Question-1]
2. so natsapi nali g<sup>h</sup>in ega. so nali g<sup>h</sup>in yaiga so eda yaiga k<sup>h</sup>ēn  
he suddenly gun with came he gun with came he here came then  
Suddenly he came for hunting. He came for hunting. When he came here we
3. mum agarbišel t<sup>h</sup>u m<sup>h</sup>i mlahāli t<sup>h</sup>i bišil [Question-2] sē mizo tu  
I sat was my mother was sat \* she said you  
both, my mother and I, were present. [Question-2] She asked, “Where
4. g<sup>h</sup>ā boyū sē alo če ma nali g<sup>h</sup>in yaī t<sup>h</sup>u užū patyū  
where going he said that I gun with came was partridge after  
are you going?” He said that he had come for the hunting of the partridge.
5. [Question-3] užū patyū yaī t<sup>h</sup>u miyā tasī alo če miše  
\* partridge after came was I him said that man  
[Question-3] He was coming for partridge. I said to him that we should go
6. rō pat bij betu nali g<sup>h</sup>in pari kē sē alo če til  
(name) behind go you-and-I gun with there then he said that walk  
there for the hunting of rō (an animal). Then he said, “Let us go there.”
7. bij para baige k<sup>h</sup>ē mušyū agarhiro k<sup>h</sup>ē saida ase so saida  
go there went then ahead ahead then sayid were that sayid  
And we went. There were *sayid* people that were dancing.
8. naṭā ut<sup>h</sup>ige tazai naṭilkṭi ek waxat maz [Question-4] sayū be  
dance started there danced one time in \* them we  
After the dance, [Question-4] they saw us off, and we started to go.
9. roxsat hu baige para baite korso be baš hun  
saw-off became went there go mountain we appeared became  
We went and came to a mountain.
10. [Question-5] k<sup>h</sup>en mī j̄amdaro čero wo j̄amdaro tu ba parauš  
\* Then I Jumdarō sent ? Jumdarō you go there  
[Question-5] Then I sent Jumdarō to go to a particular place.
11. zaiman biš hā mo uzai kola rō hō saigō m<sup>h</sup>iyā mu  
place ? and I down-from-that-place animal was see my face  
And there was a rō down from where I was. There was a

12. tAl yOgA<sup>i</sup> asu kularbe mu baš hoīga zAI-so orahiro k<sup>h</sup>enAk  
on mask was down-went I appeared became place hiding side  
mask on my face. I came down to that place and could not see it, but there was
13. m<sup>h</sup>erok si baḷAMAZ paḡā ek l<sup>h</sup>eṭAk awaz g<sup>h</sup>arA awaz g<sup>h</sup>are  
hole was rocks there one peacock voice doing voice doing  
a hole in the rocks. A peacock was calling from there.
14. [Question-6] k<sup>h</sup>en me ili so m<sup>h</sup>erda sAI g<sup>h</sup>eroik<sup>h</sup>en paḡA l<sup>h</sup>eṭAk  
\* Then I here that hole see see there peacock  
[Question-6] Then I saw the peacock through the hole.
15. paḷžon me l<sup>h</sup>et tAl guzar g<sup>h</sup>ui so l<sup>h</sup>eṭo ulṭi kuli baīga  
seem I peacock on fired did that peacock fall down went  
I fired at the peacock. The peacock fell down.
16. [Question-7] taš paṭar mo baīyū baī kuli hAlal g<sup>h</sup>uā  
\* that after I went went down cut-throat did  
[Question-7] I went down after it and cut its throat. During this time there was
17. tetar paḡA guzar hui kulā so l<sup>h</sup>eṭ g<sup>h</sup>in mA ukaiḡa  
in-this-time there fire became from that peacock with I come-up  
also firing off in one direction. I carried the peacock up the mountain. When I
18. ukAI b<sup>h</sup>ol paḡA ga k<sup>h</sup>en sē g<sup>h</sup>ū ek rō agarhīr k<sup>h</sup>en maḡA  
come ? there went then he big one animal see then killed  
reached there I saw that he had killed a big rō.
19. šo tAZAI so rō asō so tsam nāhalās [Question-8] tsam  
was that-place that animal we that skin put-off \* skin  
Then we skinned the rō. [Question-8] While we were skinning it,
20. nāhalān bolā ek k<sup>h</sup>adu g<sup>h</sup>ās ā ek gulsatbar g<sup>h</sup>ās sayū bolā  
put-off on one Kadu we-say and one Gulsatbar we-say they on  
one Kadu and one Gulsatbar, they (jokingly) threw
21. baḷak g<sup>h</sup>en žAō g<sup>h</sup>ui k<sup>h</sup>en be so rō tsam nāhalān [Question-9] so  
stone with threw did then we that rō skin put-off \* he  
stones on us. And we were busy skinning the rō. [Question-9]
22. bolā waiḡa kul waiḡa k<sup>h</sup>en asū so mas tAZAI MAZ so  
on came down came then we that meat that-place in the  
He came down and we cooked and ate the meat
23. laḡmun t<sup>h</sup>u b<sup>h</sup>yat k<sup>h</sup>ait<sup>h</sup> te so rō kolarasō aḡg<sup>h</sup>at be  
organs were cooked ate then that animal remaining half we  
and organs in that place. The remaining part they divided in half. We, both

24. ĵΛmdΛro yege so l<sup>h</sup>eṭšok me apā goṭ<sup>h</sup>i aro [Question-10]  
 Jumdarο came that peacock I own home brought \*  
 Jumdarο and I, came. I carried the peacock to my home. [Question-10]
25. aṛog<sup>h</sup>a so rō ĵΛmdΛro nero aṛo me apā goṭ<sup>h</sup>i asus asixo teṭat  
 half that rō Jumdarο took half I own home-to took after this  
 Jumdarο took half and I took half to my own home. After that, I came
26. mΛ apā goṭ<sup>h</sup>i yiga t<sup>h</sup>e mī mΛhālo zΛndus [Question-11]  
 I own home came was my father alive \*  
 to my home. (At that time) my father was alive. [Question-11]

### Questions for Gowro Hunting Story (English translations)

1. Who was Jumdarο?
2. What were he and his mother doing when Jumdarο came?
3. What did Jumdarο say?
4. What did the *sayid* people do?
5. Where did the two men appear?
6. Why could he not see the peacock?
7. What happened to the peacock after it was shot?
8. What did he do with the *rō* after he killed it?
9. What did Kadu and Gulsatbar do?
10. Where did he bring the peacock?
11. What condition was his father in at that time?

## D.2.6 Gowro, Mahrin village

### Gowro Enmity Story

1. asā pARozoi bAkani g<sup>h</sup>AS mešok sus so banđo MAZ pARozAI  
our there Bakani we-called person was he property in there  
There was one person from our place named Bakani. He was making some
2. banđok sANOS [Question-1] tAZAI yi te dik<sup>h</sup>AN xelo so  
property making \* that-place came then dikan khel that  
property (a home). [Question-1] The Dikan Khel people came to that place
3. kale lADERE so gu des bAZala deren [Question-2]  
small-beams tore-down he home making big-beams did \*  
and tore down the small and big beams of the house. [Question-2]
4. sAI yi te mAĥĥ qASA g<sup>h</sup>ui hi qASA huni me apāt alu  
they came then to-me story told that story became I own said  
They came and then told the story to me. I said,
5. sAbARG<sup>h</sup>a biš hušā ya gu wAṭizyž ya duigi kamaK tu g<sup>h</sup>iš  
wait sit his or home destroy or another work you will-do  
“Wait and then we will destroy his home or do something else.”
6. [Question-3] tASMAZ kaluk bAiga MAZ selu aṛite bAkaniS puče  
\* in-this one-year went in they fighting name son  
[Question-3] One year passed and they were fighting. Bakani’s son
7. de te so asARjan nAO asus miš maro [Question-4] so miš  
did then that Asarjan name was man killed \* that man  
killed a man whose name was Asarjan. [Question-4] When that man was killed
8. mara k<sup>h</sup>ĕn tAl xo pulus-mulus yege ek wAXAt MAZ be bAND  
killed then there then police came one time in we hiding  
then the police came there. At that time we were in hiding.
9. hiyāse [Question-5] tAl sAyū de hANAN ghes so maru du  
were \* there they did Hanan we-called that kill two  
[Question-5] They killed Hanan there. After the two
10. mare mA bAND hiyaso pato aze pišis niwāz boyūs dARAOZAI  
killed I in-hiding was after here noon prayer going outside  
were killed, I was in hiding till noontime. Going for prayer, I
11. niKAI te fSun-adus šare me adus šiša yā MAZ uzAI bali t<sup>h</sup>i  
came then urinated cut I ablution dry ? ? here edge is  
came outside and urinated. I dried myself and then came to the edge (roof).

12. yiga parā nalyū dit<sup>hi</sup> dēilΛ mihi-Λš̄ tsΛm tΛl riŋgaroi [Question-6]  
 came there fired did fired my-here back on hit \*  
 From a certain direction a shot was fired and it hit on my back. [Question-6]
13. hundiŷā-loinda ʔol hoit<sup>h</sup> hundyā mΛ ɖΛŋgi tΛl gΛnɖΛ buli  
 from-here-and-there all together became I board on fold lifted  
 All came together from here and there and put me on a board, lifted me,
14. g<sup>h</sup>aniro par albat mΛ ge aɖar t<sup>h</sup>andarok su [Question-7]  
 took there Albat in went there police-inspector was \*  
 took me, and went to Albat. There was a police inspector there. [Question-7]
15. sēil gi qΛsΛ huni mizū hi-hi qΛsΛ hi t<sup>h</sup>i tΛše so  
 he-asked what story became I-said this story this is to-him that  
 He asked what had happened and I told the story. After I told the story
16. qΛsΛmΛsΛ g<sup>h</sup>ate mΛ niro abboʔabad tΛ abboʔabad sΛ pāz des mi  
 story did me took Abbottabad to Abbottabad ? five days my  
 I was taken to Abbottabad. I remained for five days
17. bΛise tΛl tΛzΛi aspatal mΛ [Question-8] tiŷā mΛ nuʔi pulusū  
 went there there hospital in \* then me again police  
 in the Abbottabad hospital. [Question-8] Then the police
18. d<sup>h</sup>a giriftar g<sup>h</sup>aru mΛtΛl asoi rapuʔ [Question-9] giriftar g<sup>h</sup>a mΛ  
 catch arrest did on-me was report \* arrest did I  
 arrested me because there was a report on me. [Question-9] After I was
19. hΛwlat mΛz su malakmalΛs ʒel mΛ tΛŷā nuʔi dΛš dis mΛ  
 jail in was Malakmalas jail in then again ten day I  
 arrested, I was put in the Malakmalas Jail. I was there for ten days.
20. tΛzΛi su tΛŷā pulusū d<sup>h</sup>a yat mΛ patāi mΛz ča  
 that-place was then police caught brought me Patan-to in three  
 Then the police caught me and brought me to Patan. I was in that place
21. ral mi tΛzΛi hoit<sup>h</sup>i paʔais nuʔi mΛ tΛzΛi mΛtΛl rimaɖ  
 night my that-place became Patan again I there on-me remand  
 for three nights. In Patan, they remanded
22. g<sup>h</sup>aro guzar-dere aso ʒobul tΛl [Question-10] tēŷā ʒalkoʔ t<sup>h</sup>Λnio  
 did beat that injured on \* then Jalkot take  
 and beat me, even though I was already injured. [Question-10] Then I was
23. ʒalkoʔ t<sup>h</sup>eni te tΛzΛi so hΛwlat mΛz su duwaš dis mi tΛzΛi ge  
 Jalkot took ? there that jail in was twelve day my there pass  
 taken to Jalkot. I was there for twelve days. Then they released me

24. teyā mī zamanat hu mā yai t<sup>h</sup>u  
 then me bail became I came was  
 on bail.

Questions for Gowro Enmity Story  
 (English translations)

1. Who was making a property?
2. What did the Dekan Khel people do?
3. What did he tell the man who came to him?
4. What happened to Asarjan?
5. Where were they at that time?
6. Where did the bullet hit him?
7. What happened after he was shot in the back?
8. How long did he remain in the hospital?
9. Why was he arrested?
10. What condition was he in?

## D.2.7 Bateri, Batera

### Bateri Story

1. yək dīs mæz o mi xwore baren æzo kano čiti sa  
one day I and my sister's-son Bahren from village holiday of  
One day my nephew and I went from Bahren to Kamad on holiday.
2. dīsre kāmataē rawan hunda [Question-1] te tis dīs ba mi SAXA  
day-on Kamed-to went became \* in those day on my hard  
[Question-1] In those days, because of a big feud I had, I could not go
3. dušmani si disa bes na huinū rare mas e me xwore ge  
enmity so in-day go not became night-in I and my nephew went  
in the daytime. My nephew and I went by night to Monemashe.
4. monemašē bi oredat tesa mi mam si peču goṭ asu  
Monemashē we arrived there my uncle of son house was  
We arrived. My cousin's house was there.
5. [Question-2] t<sup>h</sup>er mazxotan teza asu goṭe ze k<sup>h</sup>a æzu čea zu  
\* late night there we food also ate we tea also  
[Question-2] Late at night, we ate there and also drank tea.
6. p<sup>h</sup>uo [Question-3] ama səḟa teyar g<sup>y</sup>u šesΛ moSAM azu  
drank \* my self ready made winter season was  
[Question-3] I got ready. It was winter season.
7. [Question-4] nial azu g<sup>w</sup>oṭ ge niælu hat b<sup>h</sup>a pās pās kaltos  
\* rifle we oil did rifle hand test 5 5 cartridges  
[Question-4] We oiled the rifle. We checked the rifles and loaded five
8. azu niali uk<sup>h</sup>yæli [Question-5] a belaz hūe k<sup>h</sup>āimaṭe bəza te  
were rifle-in loaded \* and we-up now Kamed-to go ?  
cartridges in each gun [Question-5] and then went up to Kamad
9. ma pe derzo k<sup>h</sup>a se ba'za [Question-6] k<sup>h</sup>irye mexetma t<sup>h</sup>er  
I self mother to ? go \* which time at  
to see my mother. [Question-6] It was late evening, about 8 or 9 o'clock.
10. mazxotan tækribæn laka aṭ noḟ baḟa ṭem asu æbe tez æn  
evening almost as 8 9 o'clock time was we there to  
We started to go.
11. rowan huada a tame ašez aši asu mo ka t<sup>h</sup>ul čokano  
start became there darkness that way was eyes-in who point strike  
It was so dark that someone could strike your eyes with a point without you

12. hun pǣtā reōni be tezanu 'ge 'ge ge ke ma wexet  
also aware not-become we from-there went went ? which ? time  
knowing it. We went from there, at which time we reached
13. ma φazɛ̄lɾ ali k<sup>h</sup>æ zi kaɾe çe be oɾɛ̄ɖa ta tis nu ço ɾe  
in Faizle Ali uncle of ditch when we reached from that place ? up  
Uncle Faizle Ali's ditch. When we went up a little through the trees,
14. reši ge· ta tūama nasapi kaš kaš hōwa beni u  
little went then trees-in suddenly sound sound happening bEni tree  
suddenly we heard a noise in the *beni* tree.
15. ma [Question-7] azu boɟ čenu k<sup>h</sup>iɛ̄ndi alase keš keš hō̄nu  
in \* we all three with-gun were sound sound happening  
[Question-7] We all three had rifles when we heard the sound there.
16. tes zašara sa mu'sum ma beni u ma φaλškoɾe hu-e t<sup>h</sup>e eɟe  
there autumn of season in beni tree in seeds there are bear  
In autumn you can find seeds in the beni tree. You can see bears and
17. zia<sup>h</sup>a ba'la ziaɾ<sup>h</sup>e har ki iya k<sup>h</sup>ero zi  
coming dangerous-animals coming every thing coming lion too  
other carnivores there. Every animal is coming; lions and jackals
18. ata solen zi ata haru φati ati te ze· teti zama  
coming jackal also coming every dangerous ? ? there there place  
are also coming there. When we heard the sound, we sat and we thought,
19. keš keš hunu juba beɟe asule kã dušman t<sup>h</sup>u  
sound sound happening then sat we-thought somebody enemy is  
“Our enemy is going to kill us.”
20. xo asu ma'ra ya asu kaltuz uk<sup>h</sup>yali kanža kũre ǣŋgui t<sup>h</sup>i be  
as us killed ? we cartridges loaded trigger on finger put we  
We loaded the rifles and kept our fingers on the triggers. First we
21. buɟ ça jũ b<sup>h</sup>eɖge bayima çe b<sup>h</sup>alid ta ase aɾæn g<sup>h</sup>o  
all 3 ? sat about-to-sit when look then we in-front-of big  
all three sat down. We were about to sit when we saw a big animal (thing)
22. ak tsiz iye ut<sup>h</sup>iɾgə ɾeɟe nu ratũ· asu [Question-8] ate be ɖas  
a thing come stood color of red was \* as we to-fire  
standing in front of us. It was red. [Question-8] As my friend and I were
23. gɾeɾɛ̄ɖ a meso me'o melgere ɖas gɾen te mĩ mamsapuš mənɔs  
about ? I my friend to-fire about ? mine cousin said  
about to fire, my cousin told us



24. *če des ne gariap* [Question-9] *pat<sup>h</sup>er goṭ salo mani aš čīʔe*  
that fire not fire \* there house people say (fut) that  
not to fire. [Question-9] The people at home worried that their
25. *geṭ ta utur iowi dušman o-ko pen me diṭir t'oiz am'na*  
went (pst) new their enemy surprisingly path on killed them to  
enemy has killed them suddenly on the path. The people at home will also
26. *ʔam sa taklif tioiza hōše tsies sez asu petan hiliaš če*  
grief of trouble them-to will-suffer they will-also we behind run on  
suffer the same grief and trouble. They will also run behind us. Someone was
27. *peru kā pen du ma kī me'argju t<sup>h</sup>er dazna gærək*  
other-side anybody path (+pl) in who killed that to-fire do  
killed on the paths of the other side (of the valley). We decided not to fire,
28. *t<sup>h</sup>ə šabak baya t<sup>h</sup>o tsiz æmē bæzi oš šabek be beṭasa*  
? some-time sit this thing himself go will some-time we sat  
and sat down thinking that the thing will go (away) by itself. We waited for
29. *so čiz amažo gʔade* [Question-10] *be az če(gwə) ka'meṭe be*  
that thing himself went \* we up when Ka'maṭ-to we  
some time and the animal left on its own. [Question-10] When we arrived up
30. *gwoṭe worda dedo asu aṗaḷ laṅgir buṭ qisa gi*  
house reached mother-to we ourselves late all story narrate  
at the house in Kamad, he told the whole story to his mother. His mother said
31. *deado ašmanen čioza mazob ek du mazob asa* [Question-11]  
mother so-said at-that-place saint 1 2 saint were \*  
that there were one or two saints (buried) there. [Question-11]

### Questions for Bateri Story (English translations)

1. Where had they gone?
2. When did they go to Monemashē?
3. What did they do when they reached his cousin's house?
4. What season of the year was it?
5. How many cartridges did they load into each gun?
6. Who did he go to see?
7. What did they hear?
8. What color was the animal?
9. What did his cousin say not to do?
10. What did the animal do?
11. Who did his mother say was there?

## Appendix D.3

### Indus Kohistan Questionnaire

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

1. Name
2. Age
3. Date of Interview
4. Education
  - 4b. Medium of Instruction
5. Clan
6. Where were you born?
  - 6b. Where did you grow up?
7. Present Village / Tehsil / District
8. What do you call your language?
  - 8b. Does that have a special meaning?
  - 8c. Do you have other names for your language?
9. Do other people have a different name for your language?
  - 9b. What do they call it?
  - 9c. Who calls it that?
  - 9d. Does that have a special meaning?
10. Where else do people speak just the same way as you do?
11. Where do people speak just a little bit differently?
  - 11b. Have you yourself gone to these places?
  - 11c. Do people from there also come here?
  - 11d. Do you have a name for this other dialect in your own language?
12. Where do people speak very differently?
  - 12b. How much of their speech do you understand? (few words, main ideas, most, all)
  - 12c. Have you yourself gone to these places?
  - 12d. Do people from there come here?
  - 12e. Do you have a name for this other dialect in your own language?
13. Where do people speak your own language the most purely?
  - 13b. Why do you say that is the most pure?

14. Where do people speak your own language the best?
  - 14b. Why do you say that is the best?
  - 14c. Have you yourself gone to these places?
  - 14d. Do people from there come here?
15. Where is your language spoken badly?
  - 15b. Why do you say that it is spoken badly?
  - 15c. Have you yourself gone to these places?
  - 15d. Do people from there come here?
16. In which village in this area would you say your language is spoken the best?
17. What do you call the language people speak in Gilgit?
  - 17b. What do you call the people who live in Gilgit?
  - 17c. Do people understand you when you speak your own language in Gilgit?
  - 17d. If a man from Gilgit comes here, can everybody understand his speech?
  - 17e. Even the women and children?
18. What do you call the language people speak in Chilas?
  - 18b. What do you call the people who live in Chilas?
  - 18c. Do people understand you when you speak your own language in Chilas?
  - 18d. If a man from Chilas comes here, can everybody understand his speech?
  - 18e. Even the women and children?
19. What other places do you travel to?
  - 19b. Do you go often?
  - 19c. For what purpose do you go?
  - 19d. What language do you speak there?
20. Do many people travel outside from here?
  - 20b. Where?
  - 20c. For what reason?
  - 20d. How often?
  - 20e. What language would you use there?
21. Do the women in your home travel to places outside of your village?
  - 21b. Where?
  - 21c. For what reason?
  - 21d. How often?
  - 21e. What language would they use there?
22. What do you call your own people?
  - 22b. Do all —— people speak the same as you?
  - 22c. If not, what do they speak?
23. What other languages are spoken in your area?
  - 23b. Where do these people live?
  - 23c. When you talk with these people, what language do you use?

24. What do you call the language spoken in Batera?  
24b. How much of that language do you understand?
25. Where did your own tribe/clan come from?  
25b. When did they come?  
25c. Why did they come here?
26. Do you speak the same language as your grandfather did?
27. What is the name of your father's language?
28. What is the name of your mother's language?
29. What language did you speak in your home as a child with your parents?
30. What language do you speak in your home now?  
30b. With whom?
31. What other languages do you speak?  
31b. Where do you speak them?  
31c. With whom do you speak them?  
31d. How well do you speak them?  
31e. How did you learn them?
32. What do you call the people who speak your own language?
33. Do all the people in your village speak the same as you?  
33b. What other groups are there?  
33c. Do you know these other languages?
34. Do your children know any other languages?
35. What language do you use for: (If not own language, then why?)  
35b. explaining things to women?  
35c. to children?  
35d. for jokes and stories?  
35e. for religious teaching in the mosque?  
35f. for religious teaching at home?  
35g. for political talk?
36. Do you speak Urdu?  
36b. Do you often speak Urdu?  
36c. Where do you usually speak Urdu?  
36d. With whom?  
36e. Do you speak it well?  
36f. Do you find Urdu easy to speak?
37. Can you read Urdu?  
37b. Do you often read Urdu?  
37c. If not, if they had a class to teach you how to read Urdu, would you go?

38. How many of the people in your village speak Urdu?
39. How many of the people in your village read and write Urdu?
40. How many of the children in your village speak Urdu?
41. How many of the children in your village read and write Urdu?
42. How many of the women in your village speak Urdu?  
42b. How many of the women in your village read and write Urdu?
43. Do you speak Pashto?  
43b. Do you often speak Pashto?  
43c. Where do you usually speak Pashto?  
43d. With whom?  
43e. Do you speak Pashto well?  
43f. Do you find Pashto easy to speak?
44. Can you read Pashto?  
44b. Do you often read Pashto?  
44c. If not, if they had a class to teach you how to read Pashto, would you go?
45. How many of the people in your village speak Pashto?
46. How many of the people in your village read and write Pashto?
47. How many of the children in your village speak Pashto?
48. How many of the children in your village read and write Pashto?
49. How many of the women in your village speak Pashto?
50. How many of the women in your village read and write Pashto?
51. Do your people marry with Pashto-speakers?  
51b. If so, what language is spoken in the home with the children?
52. Do your people marry with Shina speakers?  
52b. If so, what language is spoken in the home with the children?
53. Do you want to learn more Urdu or Pashto? Why or why not?  
53b. Is there some other language that you would like to learn?
54. In what ways is it an advantage to speak Urdu?
55. In what ways is it an advantage to speak Pashto?
56. In what ways is it an advantage to speak your own language?
57. Which languages do you want your children to learn?
58. When your children grow up, what language do you think they'll use most?

59. What language is the medium of instruction in the schools here?
60. What language should be used as the medium of instruction here?
61. If there were schools in which your language was the medium of instruction, would you send your children?
62. Are there books in your language?
  - 62b. Have you tried to read them?
  - 62c. What did you read?
  - 62d. If not, do you think your language would be easy to read?
63. What language is best for written material? Why?
64. Do you think people would buy books in your language?
  - 64b. Would you?
65. What kind of things should be written in your language?
66. Who should learn to read and write your language?
  - 66b. Is this something for women?
67. If there were classes to teach men how to read and write your language, would you go?
  - 67b. If there were classes to teach children how to read and write your language, would you send your children?
  - 67c. If there were classes to teach women how to read your language, would you send your women?
68. What is the best language for writing things?
  - 68b. Why do you think so?
69. Are there any of your own people who have stopped speaking your own language and started speaking another language?
70. Do people marry outside your own language very often?
  - 70b. Are there people from other languages in your own family?
  - 70c. When your women marry men who speak another language, what language do their children speak?
  - 70d. When your men marry women who speak another language, what language do their children speak?

71. Is your language broadcast on the radio?
  - 71b. Do you listen to it?
  - 71c. Do you understand it?
  - 71d. Do the women and children understand it?
  - 71e. Where does it come from?
  - 71f. Where is the speaker from?
  - 71g. Does the speaker speak good Kohistani?
  - 71h. Which type of programs do you like the best?

*The following are extra questions used in the Bateri survey:*

72. How often do you cross the river in a year?
  - 72b. For what reason do you cross the river?
  - 72c. Do most men cross the river as much as you?
  - 72d. How often do most women cross the river?
73. How many people live in all of Batera?
74. How many villages are Bateri speaking?
  - 74b. What are the names of these villages?
75. What is the name of the main valley in Batera?
  - 75b. Do all the people in that valley speak Bateri as their mother language?
76. Are some of the Bateri villages far from the river, in the high country?
  - 76b. Do the people in those high villages speak only Bateri?
  - 76c. If not, what other languages do they speak?
77. Do the people in Batera travel to a higher village in the summer?
  - 77b. What is the name of that village?
78. Do the people in the higher villages come to the road (KKH) often?
  - 78b. Are there people who have never come out of Batera?
  - 78c. What kind of people never come out of Batera?
79. How do you feel about the Kolai people—do you like them or not?
  - 79b. Why do you feel this way?
80. How do you feel about the Seo-Pattan-Jijal-Ranolia people—do you like them or not?
  - 80b. Why do you feel this way?

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