III. Languages and Linguistics

Kalasha Case-Marking System

*Ron Trail**

We would like to look at case marking in Kalasha[1] from the point of view of classical usage — the morphological marking of nouns regardless of whether these cases subcategorize the verb or not. In some instances, case will subcategorize the verb (see Section 6, Verbal subcategorization, below), but that is not our primary focus here. Our focus will be to determine how much of a classical case system is still in use in Kalasha. That is, we will try to answer such questions as: must a noun in the accusative (objective) case be morphologically marked? How are other cases such as dative, genitive, ablative, locative, and vocative cases marked? First of all then, it would be good to look at an example of what cases might be included in a full case system.

Vocative: Case of address, as in, '**O** Brother!'
(Sanskrit sg. -**#**; dual -**au**, -**a**)
Nominative: Case of the subject of the sentence, '**She** laughed.'
(Sanskrit sg. -**s**, / -**#**; pl. -**as**)
Genitive: Case of possession, as in 'The **man's** goats.'
(Sanskrit sg. -**as**; pl. -**am**)
Dative: Case of the indirect object, 'They gave **him** a book.'
(Sanskrit sg. -**e**; pl. -**bhyas**)
Accusative: Case of the object the sentence, 'He loved **her**.'
(Sanskrit sg. -**am**, -**m**; pl. (Indo-European -**ns**))
Ablative: Case of separation, as in, '**From** there.')
(Sanskrit sg. -**as** / -**at**; pl. -**bhyas**)
Instrumental: Case of the instrument, as in '**With** an axe.'
(Sanskrit sg. -**a**; pl. -**bivis**???)
Locative: Case of location, as in, '**In** the house.'
(Sanskrit sg. -**an**, -**aNi**, -**Ni**; pl. -**su**)
Oblique: Case of words occurring before postpositions
(Sanskrit has no case by this name)

In addition to these cases, a full system might include such notions as number (singular, plural, and dual), and gender (masculine, feminine, and neuter). Case marking in Kalasha includes the notion of number (singular and plural only, not dual), but not gender. All of the above cases are present in Kalasha and are indicated by bound morphemes (though at times these are realized by a zero morpheme).

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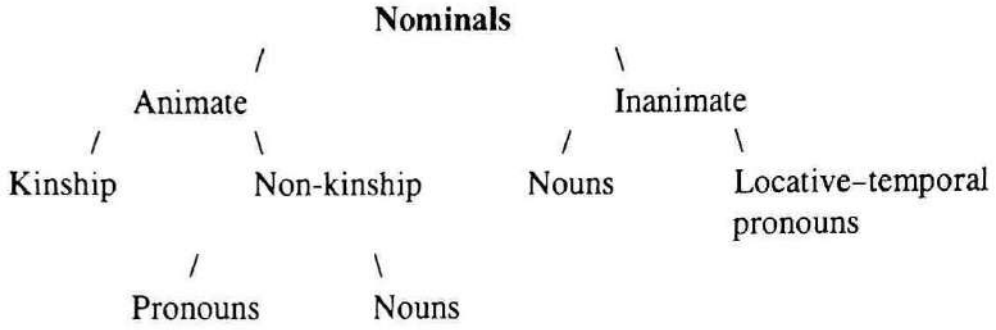
Case marking in Kalasha must be looked at from several perspectives. The first division involves the concept of **animacy** versus **inanimacy**. The case marking of animate nouns then differs in turn by the division of **kinship** versus **non-kinship**; while the case marking of inanimate things differs by the division of **nouns** versus **locative–temporal** pronouns (Table 1).

Table 1. Kinds of nouns marked by case



1. Animate kinship nouns

We treat kinship nouns first because their case endings, although complex, are all genitive or possessive in meaning, and are not marked further for any other case.

A factor which tends to baffle the analyst initially in his search for case marking ion Kalasha, is this system of kinship suffixes. It seems that Morgenstierne himself did not fully understand that there was a distinction between the case-marking of kinship nouns versus the case-marking of other nominals. The reason it is confusing is that a rather complex system of kinship suffixes appear on nouns which play different roles in the sentence. It is tempting to conclude that these suffixes are marking subject, or object or some other role in the sentence. The truth is that they indicate possession (which is to be expected in kinship relationships), and are immune to further case-marking. This means that a kinship noun in a sentence is permitted — either subject, object, or dative case. Once this is recognized, it reduces considerably the number of suffixes to analyze. This probably indicates that the notion of kinship in Kalasha takers precedence over the notion of case. Note the following kinship suffixes.

*tása pútr-**as***[2]
his/her son-**3rd person singular**
'His/her son.'

*tása pútr-**asi***
his son-**3rd person plural**
'His/her sons.'

Note that the suffixes vary according to the number of possessed sons. When this type of phrase occurs in a sentence, it is not marked further regardless of what role it plays in the sentence. Note the following 3rd person singular kinship phrases ('his son')-though

the role of each is different in each example, the form of the suffix stays the same. (Although *tása* 'his', changes in form to *tan* in the last three examples, its meaning remains the same, that is, 3rd person singular possessive).

Nominative:	*tása* ***pútr-as*** *ita áaw*. 'His **son** came.'
Genitive:	*tása* ***pútr-as*** *put paráw*. 'His **son's** son left.'
Dative:	*se tan* ***pútr-as*** *Chet praw*. 'He gave a field **to his son.**'
Accusative:	*se tan* ***pútr-as*** *aLA'aw*. 'He punished his **son.**'
Oblique:	*se tan* ***pútr-as*** *pi bat agriaw*. 'He took a stone from **his son.**'

One more case needs to be noted as a possibility with kinship terms — vocative. This is probably limited to 1st person.

Vocative:	*Ey, may put-#, andáy i*. 'Hey, my son, come here!'

All kinship suffixes apply only within the kinship phrase and are determined by two factors: (1) the person of the possessor (down the left side of Table 2 below); and (2) the number of the person possessed (across the top of the table). If, for example, the possessor is 1st person, the suffix can either be, **-#**, **-a** or **-ay**, depending on whether the thing possessed is one or many.

Table 2. Kinship suffixes

	Number	
Person	Singular	Plural
1st	-a/-#	-ay/-#[3]
2nd	-aw-#*	-aLi
3rd	-as	-asi

It seems then that the notion of *kinship* in Kalasha overrides the notion of *case*, and other means are used to distinguish the case or role of kinship nouns in the sentence. Our present analysis is that order or position in the sentence indicates role when kinship nouns are the actors. The cardinal order is: S(ubject), O(bject), I(ndirect object), V(erb). We have noted then, that kinship nouns are only marked for the genitive or possessive case (even thought the suffixes are complex).

2. Animate personal and impersonal pronouns

The case marking system for 3rd person pronouns is more complete than that of animate nouns. Both the nominative and accusative case pronouns have separate forms, while animate nouns are unmarked for either.

Table 3. 3rd person pronoun case marking*

	Singular		**Plural**	
Nominative	se	'he, she, it'	te	'they'
Genitive	tása	'his, hers, its'	tási	'their'
Dative	tása	'to him, her, it'	tási	'to them'
Accusative	to	'him, her, it'	te	'them'
Oblique	tása	'him, her, it'	tási	'them'

* For a full chart of all personal pronoun case forms, see Appendix 1. Table 3 only displays the absent 3rd person pronoun forms.

The following sentences illustrate the five pronominal cases:

Nominative: *se paráw* **'He** went.'
Genitive: *tása Chet* **'His** field.'
Dative: *dádas **tása** Chet praw* 'His father gave a field **to him**.'
Accusative: *se **to** níLa* 'He took **him** (so I heard).'
Oblique: *may put **tása** som paráw* 'My son went with **him**.'

Summing up, we have seen that 3rd person animate pronouns, while indicating five cases, have only three distinct forms in the singular and two in the plural.

3. Animate non-kinship nouns

A. Proper nouns. The case endings used for proper nouns are given in Table 4.

Table 4. Proper noun case marking

Case	Singular endings
Vocative	-#
Nominative	-#
Genitive	-a
Dative	-a
Accusative	-#
Oblique	-a

The.following sentences illustrate these:

Vocative: *Ey Khoday-# tu ek ásas* 'O God, you are one!'
Nominative: *Sumalbek-# áaw* 'Sumalbek came.'
Genitive: *Sumalbek-a dur* 'Sumalbek's house'
Dative: *a Sumalbek-**a** tak pra* 'I gave the gift to Sumalbek.'

Accusative: *dádas Karim-# aLÁaw* 'Karim's father punished him.'
Oblique: *Sumalbek-**a** som* 'With Sumalbek'

It is evident that while as many as six cases can be indicated in proper nouns, only three are distinctly marked by a single morpheme, *-a*, while the rest are unmarked or have what we have called a zero morpheme, *-#*. Nevertheless, it is important that one know for example, that accusative case is unmarked (or marked by zero) if he wishes to speak correct Kalasha.

B. Common animate nouns. The Kalasha verb phrase displays a distinction between animateness and inanimateness. Different verbs are used if the subject of the sentence is animate or is inanimate. For example:

tása bo pay áan 'He has many goats.'
*tása bo bribó muT **shían*** 'He has many walnut trees.'

Similarly, the case suffixes of animate nouns differ from those of inanimate ones. The following table summarizes the case suffixes of common animate nouns.

Table 5. Animate common noun case marking

	Singular	Plural
Vocative	-#	-#
Nominative	-#	-# / -an*
Genitive	-as	-an
Dative	-as	-an
Accusative	-#	-#
Oblique	-as	-an

* Usually nominative plural is unmarked. But in some exceptions the plural suffixes are used on certain frequently used nouns, for example, *gaDerakán* 'elders'.

The following sentences illustrate these six cases:

Vocative: *ey moc-#!* 'O man!'
Nominative: *tása bo pay-# áan* 'He has many goats.'
tása ek pay-# áaw 'He has a goat.'
Genitive: *páy-**as** khur* 'The goat's foot'
*páy-**an** khur* 'The goats' feet'
Dative: *buzúruk mizók-**as** ahú díta* 'The saint gave food to the mouse.'
*jamíl-**an** ásta bribó dan* 'They give walnuts to their female relatives.'
Accusative: *a waLmóc-# nisáy áam* 'I have hired a shepherd.'
Oblique: *páy-**as** hátya* 'For the goat'
*kakawánk-**an** hátya khurák gri!* 'Buy food for the chickens!'

We have six cases with only two distinct suffixes in the singular (either *-as* or *-#*), and six cases two separate suffixes in the plural (*-an* or *-#*).

4. Inanimate common nouns

Here the case system is best represented. Although we have tried to account for all case marking of inanimate nouns, there are still somė areas of indeterminacy which remain in the residue box. This indeterminacy is reflected in the high number of examples. The vocative and dative cases are borderline here, as they only function if the nouns are personified, that is, treated as though they were animate.

Table 6. Inanimate noun case marking

	Singular	**Plural**
Vocative	*-#*	*-#*
Nominative	*-#*	*-#*
Genitive	-as	-an
Dative	-as	--
Accusative	*-#*	*-#*
Ablative	-ani	-aw
Instrumental	-an	--
	-en	--
Locative	-una	-ay
	-a	-ay
	-asa	
Oblique	-as	-an

The following sentences illustrate these cases:

Vocative: *O súirak-#, ménjas pAgÓian tye!* 'O sun! Drive the clouds away!'

Nominative: *tay mon-# shái* 'Your word(s)is/are true.'

Genitive: *mastrúk-**as** phreLík hiu* 'The moon gives light.'
*tayr-**an** phreLík hiu* 'The stars give light.'

Dative: *O súirak, ménj-**as** pagÓian tye!* 'O sun! Drive the clouds away!'

Accusative: *may hátya ek jahás-# sawzáy na?* 'Make an airplane for me, won't you?'
sútr gri shumán-# kárin 'They take thread and make a band.'

Ablative: *mizók kAgÁas náSu-**ani** páLiLa* 'The mouse fell from the beak of the crow.
*uts-**ani** uk* 'Water from the spring'

*uts-**aw** uk* 'Water from many springs'
*ek warek mulúk-**ani** bácaas pútras iSkar kárika áLa* 'Another country's king's son' came to hunt.'
*a bazá-**ani** gri to uSTés* 'I took him by the hand and helped him stand up.'
*a bazá-**aw** gri to uSTés* 'I took him by the hands and helped him stand up.'
*pay són-**ani** íta áan* 'The goats have come from the high pasture.'
*pay són-**aw** íta áan* 'The goats have come from the high pastures.'
*ónza thár-**ani** thum kumbA-aw draZníu* 'The smoke from the top of the griddle goes out from the smoke holes.'
*may gehen-**aw** Gel bába, tay kay bo ishpáta!* 'Greetings from me to Gail and you!'
*són-**ani** muThík* 'A sapling from the high pasture.'

Instrumental: *sháwak-**an** ahú zhun* 'They eat with pleasure.'
*ek moc kré-**an** niu* 'He will take a man for a price.'
*a tay gonDík-**an** tyem* 'I will beat you with a stick.'
*tazagí-**an** mumorét azháLimi* 'We arrived in Bumburet in good health.'
*ek isáp-**an** bi dye dÁAo mo káre!* 'Sow the seed equally all over, don't leave gaps!'
*tazagi-**an** khayr-as thára áya áaw* 'With health and happiness she came here.'
anor-én náshim day 'I am dying from hunger.'
*kimón bas-**an** nokphéTi tayár ári? Ek mastruk-**an*** 'In how many days did you make the new field? In one month.'
*may bazá-**an** sawásh háwaw* 'She kissed me on the hands.'

Locative: *a dur-**á** párim day* 'I'm going home.'
*kitáp mes thar-**a** shíaw* 'The book is on the table.'
*se pay asta gri són-**ay** paráw* 'He took his goats and went to the high pastures.'
*se són-**una** hátya paráw* 'He went to the high pasture.'
*dur-**ay** moc* 'The people in the house.'
*a isprap-**asa** hic kía ne páshim* 'I do not see anything in dreams.'
*har mastrúk-**asa** se may paysá del day* 'Every month he gives me money.'
*cir-**ay** iu* 'He will come late.'
*tu and-**ay** nisí a pishtyak-a im shohón* 'You sit here until I return.'

Oblique: *tazagían khayr-**as** thára áya áaw* 'With life and in well-being she came here.'
*sháwak-**as** thára ahú zhum* 'I eat with pleasure.'
*soc-**an** móc-ay pay ásan* 'They fell into thought.'
*shëhë'-**is** bati...* 'Because of this situation...'

We have here a total of nine distinct morphemes (not counting plural forms), marking seven cases (not counting vocative and dative).

5. Locative–temporal pronouns

Case-marking suffixes for locative–temporal pronouns are given in Table 7.

Table 7. Locative–temporal pronoun case marking

	Plural
Ablative/Oblique	-ey / -aw
Locative	-ay

The following sentences illustrate these cases:

Ablative: *taL-**éy** géri uchúndi húLa* 'From there he will come down again.'
*káy-**aw** andáy tu lahás* 'How long have you been sick? (lit. from when to now)'
Locative: *káyaw and-**áy** tu lahás* 'How long have you been sick?
*homo taL-**áy*** 'In there where we live.'
Oblique: *thár-**ey** day dúra hátya parík* 'Let's go home by the upper way.'
*pren-**aw** day parík* 'Let's go from the downstream direction.'
*and-**ey** pi, tará pruST* 'It is better there than here.'

Here are three distinct suffixes marking two cases. This category presents perhaps the most indeterminacy. Why the distinction in the oblique, for example, between *-ey* and *-aw* when they both occur on locative pronouns?

6. Verbal subcategorization

There are two distinct classes of transitive verbs in Kalasha subclassified by case. These are distinguished by the fact that the object of one is in the accusative case, while the other is in the dative. The verbs with dative case objects seem to involve some kind of motion toward the object. Those taking accusative case do not.

Transitive class one: *se to níLa* 'He took him (accusative).'
Transitive class two: *a tása pA* 'I hit him (dative).'

7. Conclusion

It seems then that Kalasha has the remnants at least of quite a full case-marking system, not unlike the classical languages. And much of this is intact, especially with inanimate nouns, in spite of the tendency of a language (noted by Skalmowski [1985:10]) to move away from '...a synthetic type with rich inflection to an analytic one with very reduced morphological means.' I had hoped that this paper might answer all questions about case

in Kalasha. It does not: there is still residue. But hopefully this helps point the way, at least, to a more complete understanding of the system.

NOTES

1. Kalasha is a language spoken in Chitral District in the Northwest Frontier Province of Pakistan, by about 2500-3000 people. It is an Indo-Aryan language, a member of a small group of languages referred to in the literature as 'Dardic'. Also included in this group are: Khowar, Shina, Dangarik, Pashai, Kashmiri, and Kohistani. Of these, Kalasha is most closely related to Khowar. The credit for the Kalasha texts in this paper goes to numerous language helpers from the valleys of Bumburet and Rumbur, namely Abdul Khalek Khan, Said Khan, Shitgul Khan, and Shahzada all from Krakal; Shahzada of Rumbur; and Faizi Khan, Amadan Shah, and Lader Khan of Brun.
2. A note on the phonetic transcription used to represent Kalasha in this paper: the symbol /'/ (apostrophe) over a vowel indicates that the syllable is stressed; a capital letter, either vowel or consonant, indicates that the sound is retroflexed (spoken with the tongue farther back in the mouth, or in the case of a vowel, with the tongue tip curled back slightly); lower case /l/ indicates the clear 'l' of Urdu, while upper case /L/ indicates a dark 'l' approximating the pronunciation of the 'l' of English as in 'Paul'; /Ö/ indicates a nasalized retroflexed 'o'; and '-' (hyphen) indicates a morpheme break. /sh/ represents the voiceless sibilant /š/, while /ž/ is represented by /zh/.
3. The 1st person singular and plural vocative, nominative, and accusative suffix is -#, that is, a zero morpheme, while 2nd person singular nominative and accusative suffixes are -#, or **-aw** (although with second person the suffix **-aw** suffix seems to be preferred.) This might to indicate that role in the sentence does determine the case suffix in kinship nouns. But because it only applies to 1st, and to a lesser extent to 2nd person, and is optional, we feel it is only a matter of usage, and does not indicate role.

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APPENDIX

Personal Pronoun Case Chart

		Number					
		Singular			Plural		
Person/Case		Nominative	Accusative	Oblique/ Dative/ Genitive	Nominative	Accusative	Oblique/ Dative/ Genitive
1st		*a* 'I'	*may* 'me'	*may* 'me-obl', 'to me' *tan** 'my'	*ábi* 'we'	*hóma* 'us'	*hóma* 'us-obl' 'to us', *tan** 'our'
2nd		*tu* 'you'	*tay* 'you'	*tay* 'you-obl' 'to you' *tan** 'your'	*ábi* 'you'	*mími* 'you'	*mími* 'you-obl' 'to you' 'your' *tan** 'your'
3rd	Pres near	*ía* 'he/she/it' 'this'	*áma* 'him/her/it', 'this'	*ísa* '3rd-obl' 'to 3rd','3rd poss', '*tan** 'this'	*émi* 'these', 'these aj.'	*émi* 'them', 'these'	*ísi* 'them-obl', 'to them', 'their' *tan** 'these'
	Pres far	*ása* 'he/she/it', 'that'	*áLa* 'him/her/it', 'that'	*ása* '3rd-obl', 'to 3rd', '3rd poss', *tan** 'that'	*éli* 'those', 'those aj.'	*éli* 'them', 'those'	*asi* 'them-obl', 'to them', 'their', *tan** 'those'
	Absent	*se* 'he/she/it', 'that'	*to* 'him/her/it', 'that'	*tása* '3rd-obl', 'to 3rd', '3rd poss', *tan** 'that'	*te* 'they', 'those aj'	*te* 'them', 'those'	*tási* 'them-obl', 'to them', 'their', *tan** 'those'

**tan* 'one's own' is always the same person as the subject of the sentence. Thus, *mic a tan adat púra káriman áis* means, 'I was only doing what is customary to me.' Its use is limited to genitive and oblique only (not dative as the chart shows).

Some Observations on Language Vitality in Chitral

*Kendall Decker**

1. Introduction

1.1 Linguistic studies in Chitral. There are many languages spoken by small groups of people tucked up in isolated valleys of the Hindukush mountains. The national and provincial languages of the country have not yet had major influence on the peoples of the region. Therefore these small groups of people have maintained the use of their ancient languages. The earliest studies of the region were carried out by British agents and officers who were stationed in Chitral in the late 1800's and early 1900's. The most significant linguistic study of the languages of Chitral was carried out by the Norwegian linguist, Professor Georg Morgenstierne in 1929 (Morgenstierne 1932). He continued to write on the languages of Chitral into the 1970's. In the last thirty years there have been a number of Europeans involved in anthropological studies, mainly concerning the Kalash, and several linguistic studies, primarily concerned with Khowar. Recently there have also been a number of articles and books written about Khowar by Khowar-speaking authors.

1.2 A sociolinguistic approach. In 1986, the Sociolinguistic Survey of Northern Pakistan was begun under the auspices of Lok Virsa (Institute of Folk Heritage). As a team of language researchers we have been concerned with dialectology, bilingualism, and other sociolinguistic factors in our study of the languages spoken in northern Pakistan. During the summers of 1989 and 1990 I was able to conduct a small sociolinguistic survey of language use in Chitral. I used observation, interviews, and orally administered questionnaires to collect information while I visited many communities and studied various languages spoken in southern Chitral. The information I will present here comes from the responses of twenty-two interviews with Dangarik men from each of the Dangarik villages. I was unable to do actual bilingualism testing because this is very time-consuming and requires a more intimate knowledge of each of the languages involved than I have. Therefore my comments on the levels of bilingualism are approximation based on informant opinions.

In a sociolinguistic study, focus is placed on the way language is used in society, rather than on describing the phonological or grammatical patterns of the language. More specifically, this study concern the ways that people in a multilingual situation such as in southern Chitral communicate with one another. Related to this issue is the question of whether or not the smaller language groups are maintaining their languages. A term closely related to language maintenance is language vitality. The study of language vitality is concerned with the factors which preserve the use of the language and the factors which encourage the shift to the use of another language. Some of the factors which commonly

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are influential in language shift are: education, economics, contact, intermarriage, and religion (cf. Dorian 1981 and others). The focus of this paper will be to examine the effect that some of these factors have had on the Dangarik[1] language community of Chitral and by this to make some general statements about language vitality in the area.

2. The Dangarik communities

2.1 History. The Dangarik villages occupy an interesting location on the east side of the Chitral River Valley around Drosh. They are situated east of the area which was historically Kalash territory. To the south are the smaller language communities of the Dameli, Gawar, and Shekhani. In more recent history, the Khowar language has become the dominant language in Drosh and to the north. To the south of Drosh, Pashto is becoming the dominant language. This puts the Dangarik villages straddling the area where Khowar and Pashto meet. The very presence of the Dangarik people in Chitral is something of an anomaly in itself. The Dangarik people of Chitral were first mentioned to the outside world by John Biddulph in his 1880 book *The Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh*. He did not collect any language samples and in fact did no more than mention their existence. In 1929 Morgenstierne visited Chitral and collected linguistic data from three of the Dangarik villages and also some data on the related dialect of Sawi from further down the Kunar River in Afghanistan. From his observations, interviews, and study of the data, he was able to make some comments about the possible history of the Dangarik people in Chitral and their contact with the other neighbouring language communities. 'In several important respects it is much more archaic than any dialect of Shina, and it presents few points of special resemblance with Chilasi Shina (Morgenstierne 1941:8).'[2] The language has been spoken in the Drosh area of Chitral for a fairly long time, long enough for the exchange of some vocabulary with the neighbouring languages and to develop slight dialectal differences between some of the villages.

2.2 Geographic and social situation of the villages. There are five Dangarik villages in the Drosh area (see Fig. 1). The farthest south is Ashret, located on the main road between Drosh and Lowari Pass, approximately 18 kilometres south of Drosh. Ashret has a population of about 4800 people, which along with the Dangarik-speaking families includes a few Pashto-speaking families, fewer Khowar-speaking families, and a couple of Gujari-speaking families. A respondent in Ashret said that these families learn and use Dangarik in the village also. The village does not have an abundant area for agriculture

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1. Phalura is the commonly used name for the language when referred to in the literature; however, none of my informants ever used that name. They used Dangarik or Phalula. Ashreti, Byori, Purigali, Chilasi, and Tangirik were also given as names for the language. Some of my informants used the term Dangarik as a name for their people but other informants felt that Dangarik is a derogatory term. For lack of any better term, and because it is the most commonly used term, I will use Dangarik to refer to both the people and the language. I apologize to any who might be offended.

2. There is an oral tradition that their forefathers came from the Chilas region of the Indus Valley many generations ago.

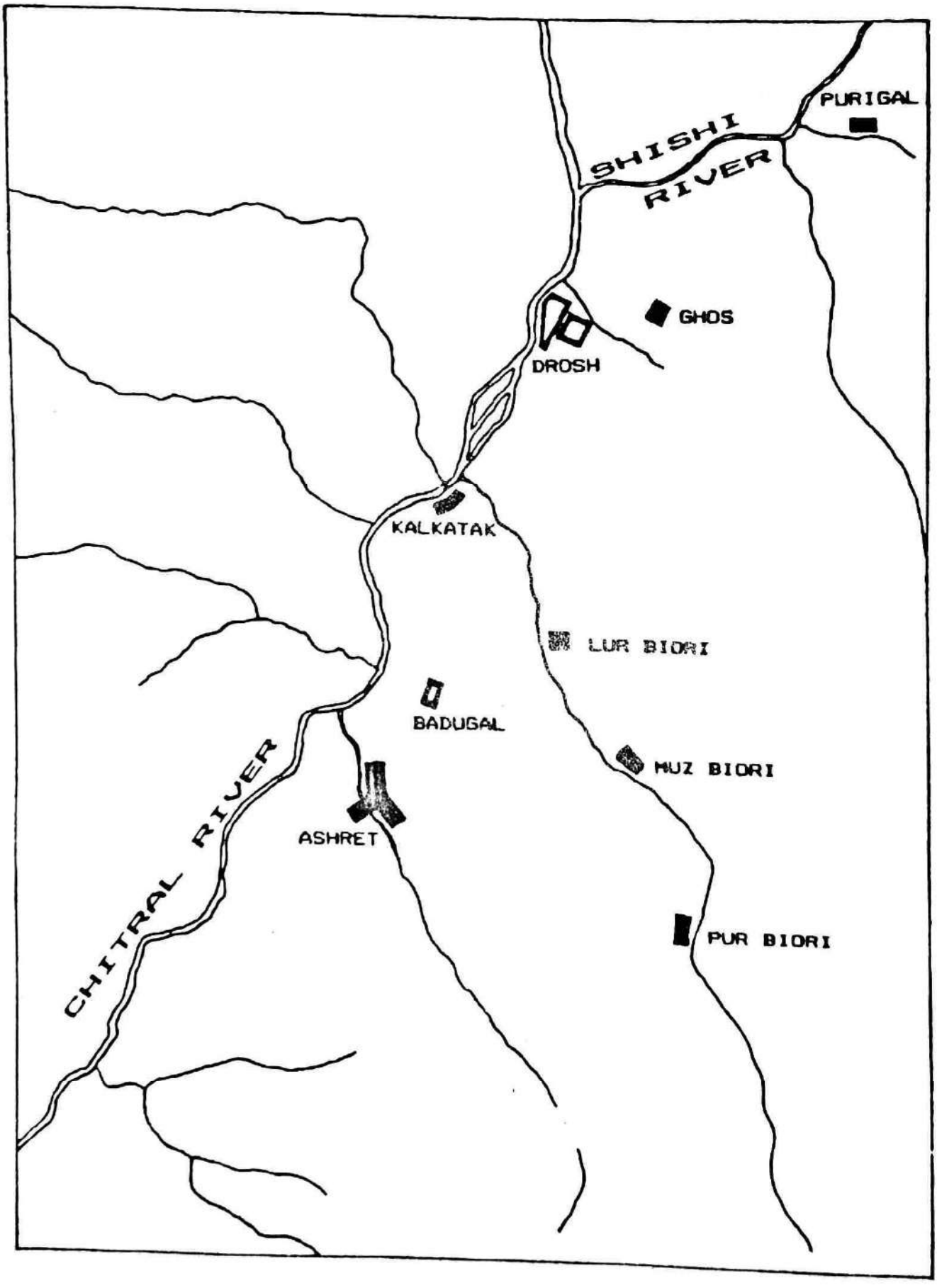

Figure 1 Sketch map showing locations of the Dangarik villages.

but there is sufficient water for irrigation, the hillsides are well terraced, and the village seems adequately self-sufficient. My Pashto-speaking co-workers said that all of the men they spoke with in Ashret seemed to be capable in their use of Pashto, although they would not be considered mother-tongue speakers by another Pashto speaker.

The next village north, Kalkatak, is also located on the main road 6 kilometres south of Drosh. The village of Kalkatak has a population of about 4000 people. Less than half of the village is reported to be speaking the Dangarik language and many of those people are ethnically Kalash who have switched from Kalasha to Dangarik. Some of the older ethnic Kalash do still speak Kalasha. The other large portion of the village is Khowar-speaking. Kalkatak has a large area of well-watered fields and orchards high above the Chitral River. The second language of the Dangarik-speaking people in Kalkatak is Khowar, although there is also some ability in Pashto on the part of many of the people of Kalkatak.

Just north of Kalkatak, about 5 kilometres south of Drosh, is the mouth of the Byori valley. In the Byori valley there are actually three Dangarik villages, but they can be considered as one community. The valley has a population of about 1500 people all speaking the Dangarik language. The valley is very narrow, especially at the end where it meets the main valley of the Chitral River. In the past, the trail out of the valley at this end was often washed out by floods, cutting the Byori people off from easy access to Drosh. The valley has sufficient fields and good water supply for irrigation to support a small population. The Byori valley is also a well forested area. According to the estimates given by villagers I spoke with in each of the Dangarik villages, Byori has the largest number of Dangarik monolinguals of any of the villages. Those that do speak other languages have varying abilities in Pashto and Khowar. While Byori is the most isolated of the Dangarik villages, some of its members are also more widely traveled than people from the other Dangarik villages. There are also nine or ten Byori Dangarik families living in Peshawar.

The next village is Ghos. It is situated about 2 kilometres east, up the mountainside, from Drosh bazaar. Ghos has a population of about 350 people. It is difficult to say what percentage of the village is purely Dangarik as there has been intermarriage with Khowar speakers. Ghos is poorly situated for agricultural purposes and some of the families have had to supplement their income by woodcutting for lumber and firewood. Access to Ghos is through Drosh and the people have historically had much contact with the neighbouring Khowar-speaking population. Therefore, there is a high level of bilingualism in Khowar.

The Dangarik village farthest north is Purigal. It is located about 20 kilometres, by road, north of Drosh in the Shishi Valley. Purigal is the smallest Dangarik village, with a population of about 300 people. It is also the only Dangarik village without a school. The children go to a nearby Khowar-speaking village for schooling. The agricultural situation of Purigal is not very good, but it has been sufficient to provide for the small community. There is some bilingualism in Khowar among the Dangarik people of Purigal.

At the turn of the century, Captain B.E.M. Gurdon, a British political agent in Chitral, reported a population of 168 Dangarik families, or approximately 1200 people. I estimate that the entire Dangarik population of the five villages in the Drosh area is approximately 8150 people. The community seems to have been fairly sedentary for quite a long time since they have no tradition of having lived in any other neighbouring areas

though there has been some expansion[3]. The distance between Ashret and Purigal is probably not more than 25 kilometres straight across the mountains, but by road it is about 38 kilometres and takes about two hours by jeep. The villages are quite separate, but the people report that there is frequent contact between the villages as it is their custom for many of the people to gather for weddings and funerals. There is also much intermarriage between the villages.

There are two other communities that should be mentioned. There is reported to be a village called Gumendand located in Dir District. It was said that one family from Ashret had moved to that place and that Dangarik is now the language of Gumendand. I was not able to visit this village, and so at this point nothing more can be said about it. The other village which needs to be mentioned is called Badugal and is located halfway between Kalkatak and Ashret. It is a community of Shekhani speakers who have moved into the area from the Gawardesh area nearby in Afghanistan. Although Shekhani is the first language of the village, Dangarik has become the common second language of many of the people because of the frequent contact with the Dangarik people from Ashret, Kalkatak, and Byori.

3. Sociolinguistic dynamics in Dangarik villages

3.1 Language maintenance. We can generalize that Khowar is the most common second language overall. It is reported to be more widely known in the northern villages. In the southern villages, Pashto is also a common second language. However, in all these villages Dangarik continues to fill the role of in-group mother tongue.

There are a number of factors which are working for the maintenance of the Dangarik language in these communities. To assess the vitality of the Dangarik language, I have looked at the question of in which areas, or domains, the Dangarik language is used and in which areas a second language is used. The population has been increasing, therefore more children learn the language in their homes. There seems to be a close sense of community among the Dangarik villages, and the use of their own language is a part of their identity. The awareness that speakers of other languages learn Dangarik (e.g. Badugal, Kalkatak, and Ashret) can also be a factor which gives the language relative prestige in contrast to other minority languages in the area. Presently there is no published literature in the Dangarik language, although there is a man in Byori who has been attempting to write poetry in the Dangarik language. But, unfortunately, only a small portion of the total Dangarik community is literate in any language. Education is available to all of the Dangarik children; there are even Dangarik teachers in several of the schools. The asset of having a teacher who can explain things to the children in the mother tongue will assist in the learning of the children and provides another domain in which the lan-

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3. Although today it is an ethnically mixed community, Morgenstierne's informants said that Kalkatak was a Kalash village. I was told that people from Ashret took the Dangarik language to Gumendand in Dir and that this had occurred before Morgenstierne's investigation. Ghos was possibly founded by Dangariks from Purigal or Byori.

guage can be used. Historically, the relative isolation of Byori helped to maintain the singular use of Dangarik there, but this has not been a factor in the other villages.

3.2 Domains requiring the use of a second language. The decrease of the use of the first language is measured here in the number of domains in which another language must be used (e.g. business, transportation, mass media, civil services, religion). When a Dangarik man goes to the bazaar in Drosh he may find a few shopkeepers who understand Dangarik, but he will have to speak in Khowar with the majority of the shopkeeper and Pashto with some others. When he is travelling in a local wagon or jeep, he will probably speak in Pashto or Khowar with the other passengers. If he wants to listen to the radio, there are no programs in Dangarik. If a Dangarik man has some legal problem or needs to speak with a policeman, he will have to use Khowar or Pashto. It was also reported by a man in Byori that if a Khowar speaker enters an otherwise all Dangarik audience at a mosque during the Friday sermon, then the message will be given in Khowar. Most of these domains do not require a high level of bilingual ability in the second language and they are generally encountered outside of the village, but they are domains of the individual's life where Dangarik is not useful and another language must be used.

3.3 Various degrees of language shift. There are several stages in the decrease of Dangarik language use exhibited in the different villages. Byori shows the fewest signs of change. Several of the men reported that many of the women and children are still monolingual. But for those men who do regularly travel out of the valley and those who have some education, bilingualism in Pashto and Khowar is found to be useful. Ashret has speakers of other languages living in the village and it is situated on a major route of travel. Historically there has been more contact between the Dangarik people in Ashret and speakers of other languages, not only because people ar travelling through Ashret, but also because transportation is more available to other places. But it is possible that the multiplicity of languages, none of which fills a clearly dominant position, diffuses the pressure to master and use one particular non-mother tongue language; thus the mother tongue continues to be used somewhat in most domains. Kalkatak is similar to Ashret in this regard. The situation is different, however, in Purigal where only one other language is learned. The informants there felt that Khowar would continue in the future to be the most important second language for them, but there is not a sense that Khowar is replacing Dangarik. This is probably due to the self-sufficiency of the people. The village of Ghos shows the greatest amount of language shift. The people of Ghos are dependent on daily contact with Khowar speakers. Informants from Ghos told me that they did not think the people of Ghos would continue to use Dangarik much longer because they were switching to the use of Khowar. Many of the men are marrying Khowar-speaking wives. They are doing this to establish family ties with neighboring Khowar-speaking families so that their children will learn Khowar for education.

4. Factors which permit or require a language choice

Focusing on the general factors which permit or require a language choice, I will begin with education. Education is seen rightly enough as an avenue toward better employment, economic gain, and a better life. Urdu is the prescribed language of education, but most

of the teachers are Khowar speakers and the children are quite unfamiliar with Urdu since they have very little, if any, exposure to it. In the lower grades, the teachers will frequently teach and give explanations in Khowar until the children begin to learn and understand Urdu. Therefore the parents want their children to know Khowar so that they can more easily get an education. Even if some of the teachers are Dangarik speakers, their use of Dangarik in the schools seems limited to explanations given in order to facilitate a child's comprehension and thus transition into Urdu use.

We can see that economic self-sufficiency or dependency can also have secondary influence on the vitality of a language. As a result of their poor agricultural position, the people of Ghos are economically dependent on contact with Drosh and are forced to use another language. Historically, the lack of dependence has been a feature of the maintenance of Dangarik in Kalkatak, Byori, and Ashret. In recent years, however, these villages have became less economically self-sufficient. As some of the people have begun to travel and work outside of the Dangarik villages, there is naturally an increase in the use of other languages by these people.

Religion can be another reason for changing languages. This is a factor which has influenced the language ecology in Kalkatak, and ironically, has positively impacted the vitality of Dangarik. In Kalkatak there are a number of families who were previously speakers of Kalasha; after converting to Islam from the Kalash religion, these people decided to change their language as a further means of distancing themselves from the Kalash religion. Such intentional shifts have occurred on a wide basis throughout southern Chitral for any many years. In Kalkatak these ethnic Kalash switched to the use of Dangarik in their homes, whereas in most other cases in southern Chitral the Kalash people have switched to Khowar.

Intermarriage is both a means and a reason for language shift. Among the Dangarik there does not seem to be any cultural restriction to marriage with speakers of other languages. While marriage seems to be preferred within the Dangarik community and has been a means of uniting the somewhat distant communities, there are also villages (e.g. Ghos) and individuals who prefer to marry with speakers of other languages. This is often being done for the express purpose of changing languages. Some older educated boys whom I interviewed felt that they have no future use for Dangarik. They said that they would prefer to have Khowar-speaking wives so that their children would speak Khowar and they would encourage the use of Urdu and not use Dangarik in their homes when they have their own families. What these young men will actually do in the future could be different, but their attitude at present shows a decrease in the interest in maintaining their language.

A factor influencing language shift is the amount of social contact that one group of people has with another group. Men from each of the Dangarik villages can be found daily in the Drosh bazaar socializing with men from other language groups. Today roads reach all but the most remote high mountain villages and regular transportation services enable the people to have more social contact while travelling and more frequent out-group interaction in social centres such as the Drosh bazaar. The greater the amount of contact, the more likely it becomes that the people will use the language of wider communication.

5. Conclusion

Although this study focuses on the Dangarik community, many of these factors are also at work in the other language communities of Chitral. Where language communities are remote and confined or have relative economic self-sufficiency, the local language appears to be actively maintained. In places where there is greater contact between language groups, the smaller language group must learn the language of the larger group. It should be noted that this phenomenon is not necessarily a threat to the smaller language group. Indeed, usually it is done for the pragmatic reason of being able to speak with people from other language groups while the mother tongue is maintained for in-group functions. As education becomes available to all people in the district, it brings in the need or opportunity to learn another language, Urdu, which historically has not had a role in Chitral. In addition, when teachers from outside come to an area, they bring their language with them, be it Pashto or Khowar. These then are two other languages for the children to learn and use.

In the interviews I have conducted, I have often asked the people if they thought their language would ever die (no longer be spoken). Repeatedly the respondents did not believe that their language would ever be finished. Through this paper I have shown that there is more involved in the maintenance of a language than the romantic ideal that a language will always persist. Combinations of social, cultural, and economic factors variously affect each language community creating environments that promote either language maintenance or shift. There are many states which a language will go through as its usefulness diminishes. Changes in a language and the shift to another language can be nearly imperceptible. Dorian (1981), in her study of the death of a Scottish Gaelic dialect, documented nearly 1000 years of decrease in the use of the language, and the language is still not quite dead! Languages are living things like people: they live, they change, and they die. But also like a person who takes care of his health, we can promote language vitality by making more information available in that language and by encouraging its use in more domains. All languages cannot be kept alive, but if the speakers of a language have the will and means to cultivate their language, then the choice is theirs to try.

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Khowar and Areal Linguistics

*Elena Bashir**

Khowar is the major language of Chitral District, and is also spoken by small groups of people in upper Swat and in Yasin in the Northern Areas, with a total of perhaps 300,000 speakers in Chitral and the Northern Areas. Khowar is a Northwest Indo-Aryan language belonging to the 'Dardic' region, a geographical cover term which refers to the NWIA languages spoken in the Hindukush, Karakoram, and Kohistan mountains.

Khowar presents a rewarding area for linguistic scholarship. It (still) preserves essential 'missing links' in the development of the modern Indo-Aryan languages, the study of which is essential to fill in the historical picture of the development of the Indo-Aryan and the Indo-Iranian branches of Indo-European. This paper is one small contribution to this effort. In addition to providing new data on Khowar itself, and on how it compares to its neighbouring languages, I hope it will serve as an example of how linguistic analysis can interact with historical studies.

The field of areal linguistics

Areal linguistics concerns itself with questions of how the distribution of language features correlates with geographical position. Areal linguists deal with the practical and theoretical problems of distinguishing similarities among languages due to geographical proximity from those due to shared inheritance (having a common ancestor), those due to typological feature clustering or to language universals, and from those due to mere coincidence.

One important concept in areal linguistics is that of the ***sprachbund*** or linguistic area. In a classic paper (1956) Emeneau defines a linguistic area as 'an area which includes languages belonging to more than one family but showing traits in common which are found not to belong to the other members of (at least one) of the families. South Asia is one of the better studied examples of a linguistic area. It includes languages belonging to the Dravidian, Munda (Austro-Asiatic), Indo-Aryan, Tibeto-Burman, and Iranian language families. Certain features, for example retroflex consonants, are common to all the languages of the contiguous area, although they may not be found in other languages of some of the families. Pashto and Balochi, Iranian languages which are part of the South

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Asian linguistic area, have retroflex consonants, while Persian, one of the major Iranian languages, does not.[1]

One of the basic methods employed by areal linguists is the geographical plotting of linguistic data in such a way that either 'yes-no', presence or absence evaluations, or quantitative statements about the intensity of a feature's presence can be made. For example, if one is concerned with the question of retroflex consonants (like Urdu /T/ and /D/, Khowar /S/ and /J/, or Panjabi /N/,[2] he could note for each language or language variety either a [+] or a [-] value; that is, retroflex consonants are either present or absent. Or, he could note for each language the number of retroflex consonants present, either as an absolute number or as a percentage of the total number of consonant phonemes. Then he would be able to either (a) draw a boundary between the region having retroflex consonants and the region not having them, or (b) establish a numerical gradient or continuum from a region having a higher percentage of retroflex consonants to a region having a lower percentage. Ramanujan and Masica (1969) have plotted the distribution of different classes of retroflexes, finding that certain retroflex consonants ([T] and [D]) are found all over South Asia, while retroflex sibilants ([S] and [Z]) and affricates ([C] and [J]) are found only in a strongly defined cluster of languages in the Hindukush and Karakorams. This cluster of languages includes Khowar, Kalasha, Shina, Burushaski, Yidgah, Wakhi, and several Kohistani languages.

Any quantified linguistic feature which exhibits a clear spatial gradient across language or language group boundaries is a strong candidate for an areally influenced

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1. The Balkan area is another well-documented example of a *sprachbund*. It includes languages from the Greek, Albanian, Italic, and Slavic branches of Indo-European and some dialects of Turkish; and the traits common to the *sprachbund* are not common to the other members of the Slavic or Italic branches, or to other dialects of Turkish.

2. In this paper, retroflex consonants are represented by capital letters, except in the case of <L>, which represents the velarized or 'dark l' sound of Khowar. As in standard usage, <c> and <j> represent the voiceless and voiced palatal affricates respectively; <š> the voiceless palatal fricative, and <ž> its voiced counterpart. Retroflex counterparts of these sounds are thus <C>, <Z>, <S>, and <Z>. The voiceless dental affricate is represented by <ts>, and its voiced counterpart by <dz>. The voiceless velar fricative (Urdu *xe*) is represented by <x>, and the voiced velar fricative, (Urdu *ghain*) is represented by <γ> (Greek gamma).

Sounds represented as having phonemic status are enclosed in diagonal slashes, e.g. /t/, and those represented only with regard to their phonetic characteristics in square brackets, e.g. [t]. Symbols in angle brackets, e.g. <L> refer to graphemes or letters.

Vowel length is represented by a macron over the vowel symbol; thus *ā* represents 'long a', while *a* represents 'short a'. Stress is indicated by an acute accent over the vowel of the stressed syllable. In Khowar, the stress mark has two functions: (1) for short vowels it simply indicates stress, e.g. in *hasé* 'he, she, it; that'. (2) Tone is also indicated by the use of a stress mark on either the first or second mora of a vowel represented by a doubled symbol. For example in *žuúr* 'daughter', low-rising tone is indicated by the stress mark on the second mora of the (long) 'u' sound. High-falling tone is indicated by a stress mark on the first mora of a doubled vowel symbol, as in *intezáar* 'waiting'. Nasalization is indicated by a tilde <~> over the affected vowel, e.g. Panjabi *nūū* 'to', and Urdu *māī* 'I'. In Urdu examples, where both length and nasalization are to be indicated, length is indicated by doubling the vowel, as in Panjabi *nūū* 'to'.

feature. One study employing this methodology is that reported in Hook (1985). This article reports the results of a survey covering the area from southern India through parts of Sindh and Balochistan in Pakistan. Translation equivalents of a standard set of English sentences were elicited from a fairly large number of speakers over an extended geographical area which includes Dravidian, Indo-Aryan, and Iranian languages. The results are presented in terms of frequency of occurrence, expressed as a percentage, of the feature in question, namely the positioning of the subordinate clause relative to the main clause in the two sentences: 'Wait here until he gives you the letter' and 'I was afraid that you might give him the letter'. In the English sentences the order is main clause ('wait here') followed by subordinate clause ('until he gives you the letter'). Mapping of the percentage results shows a regular frequency change with distance, of the type argued above to be a clear indication of spatial features as a causal element. In the southernmost part of India, where Dravidian languages are spoken, the subordinate clause preceded the main clause 100% of the time in both sentences (for Kannada, Tamil, Telugu, and Malayalam), while in the parts of Sindh and Balochistan surveyed by Hook, 0% of the time (in Balochi, Pashto, and Brahui). This result points to an areal effect such that decreasing proximity to the Dravidian-speaking core area and increasing proximity to the Iranian area correlate with decreasing frequency of subordinate clause preceding main clause. Conversely, increasing proximity to the Dravidian area correlated with a higher frequency of subordinate clause preceding main clause responses. This is particularly telling in the case of Brahui, genetically a Dravidian language but surrounded by Western Indo-Aryan and Iranian languages.

Khowar did not fall within the scope of this survey. If it had, the results would have indicated that Khowar (as does Kalasha) places the subordinate clause before the main clause very frequently. Consider the Khowar sentence ***hasé xató tá-te díka pat hayára intezáar koré*** 'Wait here until he gives you the letter', in which the subordinate clause ***hasé xató tá-te díka pat*** 'until he gives you the letter' precedes the main clause. This sentence represents the most common way of rendering this idea in Khowar. The sentence 'I was afraid that you might give him the letter' can be expressed in two ways in Khowar: (a) ***tu xató hatoɣoó-t doós reé buhtuí astám***, or (b) ***awá buhtuí astám ki tu xató hatoɣoó-t doós reé***. In sentence (a) the subordinate clause precedes the main clause, while in (b) the subordinate clause is introduced by ***ki*** and follows the main clause.[3] The first version, sentence (a) was judged a more natural and forceful Khowar sentence than the second.[4] From this, we see that in Khowar, the order SUBORDINATE CLAUSE - MAIN CLAUSE seems to characterize an older stratum of the language, while the order MAIN - SUBORDINATE reflects patterns introduced later, probably originally from Persian and now increasingly from Urdu.

Since Khowar is even more distant from the Dravidian area than Brahui and Pashto, this result indicates that Khowar is subject to the influence of some variable(s) other than the two factors — proximity to modern Dravidian and to modern Iranian — in terms of

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3. Notice that the (b) version includes both the (imported) ***ki*** complementizer and the indigenous Khowar complementizer ***reé*** (conjunctive participle of ***reék*** 'to say').

4. I am grateful to Noor Shaheddin, Lecturer in Rural Sociology, NWFP Agricultural University, for confirming these sentences and judgements.

which the pattern in the Indo-Gangetic plains area was explained. What this other factor might be is discussed later in this paper.

The South Asian linguistic area

Masica (1976a:187–90) identifies the following features as defining the South Asian linguistic area and having a distribution (almost) coincident with the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent.

1. Retroflex consonants (e.g. Urdu /T/, /D/ as in ***Topī*** 'hat', or ***Dālnā*** 'to pour, put').
2. Echo-words, in which a word is repeated with only a change in the initial consonant (e.g. Urdu ***čai vai*** 'tea and accompanying things').
3. An enclitic particle (from Sanskrit ***api*** or Dravidian ***um*** which functions as 'even' or 'also', indefinite 'and' (e.g. Urdu ***bhii***, Panjabi ***vii***).
4. Pervasive use of the 'dative-subject' construction. 'Dative-subject construction' refers to an expression type in which the experiences of emotions, bodily states, or afflictions receives a dative (or other oblique) case marker (e.g. Urdu ***ko*** or Panjabi ***n ʉ ʉ***), rather than being the nominative-case subject of the sentence. The following examples from Urdu illustrate the 'dative-subject' construction. ***mujhe ɣussā ā rahā hai*** 'I am getting angry', or ***mujhe sardī lagī hai*** 'I am feeling cold'. Notice that the experiencer of the emotion or sensation is expressed as ***mujhe*** rather than as nominative ***māī***, and that typically the verb (in these examples ***āuā*** 'come' and ***lagnā*** 'to attach to') is intransitive.[5]

Masica also lists the following additional features which characterize the South Asian linguistic area but are not limited to it.

5. Exclusive use of suffixes rather than prefixes.
6. The use of two different stems for nominative and oblique in the personal pronominal system, (e.g. Sanskrit ***aham*** 'I' and ***ma-*** 'first person oblique stem', or English ***I*** 'I (nominative)' and ***me*** 'me (objective)' (Emeneau 1956:112).
7. The use of the same case-marking morphemes with both singular and plural stems. For example, in Urdu we have both ***laRke-ko*** 'to the boy', and ***laRkõ-ko*** 'to the boys', the point being that the same morpheme ***ko*** 'to' occurs with both singular ***laRke*** and plural ***laRkõ***.
8. Morphological causatives. For example, from Urdu ***karnā*** 'to do' a causative form ***kar(w)ānā*** 'to make someone do, to have something done' is created by morphological (word-forming) means rather than syntactically or analytically as is done in English, as in 'to have someone do', 'to make someone do', 'to get someone to do'.
9. Phonaesthetic (onomatopoeic) forms, either reduplicated or ending in ***-k***, (e.g. Panjabi ***dágaR dágaR*** (sound of something heavy jumping or thumping).

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5. Heston (1980) has pointed out that echo words are also found in Iranian languages, e.g. Tajik, Persian, and Ossetic, and in a 1983 paper has added that 'dative-subject' constructions can be found in modern and classical Persian and thus should not be considered diagnostic for the South Asian linguistic area.

10. The extensive use of conjunctive participles to connect and sequence clauses. A conjunctive participle is a form like the Urdu ***jā kar*** 'having gone', or ***kar ke*** 'having done'.
11. The absence of a verb 'to have', so that possession is expressed with constructions in which the possessor is marked with the dative or genitive case (as in Urdu ***mere tīn bhāi hāĩ*** 'I have three brothers' or ***mere pās māčis hai*** 'I have some matches.'
12. A constellation of word-order features including basic SUBJECT - OBJECT - VERB order of major sentence constituents; GENITIVE - NOUN and ADJECTIVE - NOUN order, and postpositional rather than prepositional phrases.
13. The existence of compound verbs. A compound verb is a complex verb which consists of the stem or conjunctive participial form of the main verb plus a finite form of one of a small set of auxiliary or 'vector' verbs. Urdu ***kar denā*** 'to do (for someone)', ***kar lenā*** 'to do (for self)', and ***mar jānā*** 'to die' are examples of compound verbs.
14. In a later study (1976b), Masica adds another feature, identified object marking, to the list of features characteristic of but not definitive of the South Asian linguistic area. To illustrate what is meant by identified object marking, consider the difference between the Urdu sentences ***māĩ ne billī dekhī hai*** 'I have seen **a** cat' and ***māĩ ne billī ko dekhā hai*** 'I have seen **the** cat'. In the first sentence, the subject is non-specific and unidentified, and it appears in its direct or nominative case form. In the second sentence, the cat referred to is a specific, identified one, and the noun ***billī*** 'cat' is marked with ***ko***, the Urdu dative/accusative postposition.

Other areal affinities

As Masica has stressed, many of those features which are characteristic of but do not define the South Asian linguistic area are much more widely distributed. That is, features 5–14 are also found in areas outside of the South Asian subcontinent. The following list gives a brief indication of how widely some of these features are distributed.

Feature	Occurrence outside of South Asia
5. absence of prefixes	Altaic
6. two stems in personal pronouns	Indo-European
7. identical case morphemes for singular and plural stems	Altaic, Uralic
8. morphological causatives	Iranian, Altaic, Uralic
9. phonaesthetic forms	Austroasiatic
10. conjunctive participles	Altaic, Uralic, Russian, Japanese, Korean
11. absence of verb HAVE	Altaic, Uralic, Russian, Arabic, Ethiopic
12. word order features	Altaic, Tibeto-Burman, Iranian, Uralic, Ethiopic, Altaic
13. compound verbs	Altaic, Iranian (Central Asia), Japanese, Korean, Chinese, Burushaski
14. identified object marking	Altaic (particularly Turkic), Persian, Ossetic

It is clear that many of the features found in South Asia also characterize Central Asia. For this reason, Masica and others have been led to postulate a larger 'Indo-Turanian' area, commonalities within which would suggest language contact and interaction of long standing and at a great time depth. Given the vast extent of the Central Asian/South Asian macro-area and the small number of definitive features for the South Asian linguistic area, it will be helpful to identify and define sub-areas within the macro-area.

One such putative sub-area is a 'Central Asian Linguistic Union', a configuration proposed by the Soviet scholar Edelman (1980). Edelman finds that the languages of the Hindukush, Pamirs, Karakorams, and part of the Himalayas share certain features which she attributes to substratal influences.[6] Among these are:

1. Retroflex sibilants and affricates. These sounds are characteristic of Burushaski, but are not found in Indo-Aryan languages outside this small geographical area.
2. The construction of the numerals from 11-20, which follow the pattern 10 + n, rather than the inherited Indo-Aryan (and Indo-European) n + 10 pattern.
3. Word-formation patterns (e.g. in Wakhi) analogous to prefixal Burushaski patterns.

Several features are attributed to the (partial) acquisition of the characteristics of a language of the 'active' type.[7] They include:

4. Treatment of some grammatically intransitive verbs, like 'to laugh', 'to cough', 'to weep' as transitives. This phenomenon is also observed in Urdu to a limited extent. For example, the past tense of the verb ***hɑ̃snā*** 'laugh' can be ***us-ne hɑ̃sā*** '(s)he laughed', in which the form agentive ***us-ne***, usually found with the past tense subjects of transitive verbs, is used.
5. Change from grammatical to semantic gender based on animacy.
6. Obligatory affixal elements with inalienably possessed entities (like body parts or kinship terms), presumably under the influence of Burushaski.

Khowar vis-à-vis the South Asian linguistic area

Let us now examine the extent to which Khowar exhibits the features of the South Asian linguistic area.

1. **Retroflex consonants**. Khowar has eight pairs of consonants which are distinguished by the opposition dental-retroflex or palatal-retroflex. They are ***t/T, d/D, th/Th, c/C,***

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6. 'Substratal influences' means the influence of an earlier language upon one which is acquired later. For example, the construction *māī ne jānā* 'I want to/have to go' is considered to be a substratal influence of Panjabi on Urdu. In the case of Khowar, the language possibly exerting substratal effects may be Burushaski.

7. In an 'active' language, grammatical properties are correlated not with a distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs (as they are in nominative-accusative languages like English or split-ergative languages like Urdu, Panjabi, or Burushaski), but with the semantic distinction between verbs which have an active (agentive) subject participant and those which have an inactive (stative) (experiencer) subject. For a fundamental and accessible discussion of the concept of 'active language', see Klimov (1974).

ch/Ch, j/J, š/S, and ž/Z. Of these, five pairs involve retroflex sibilants and affricates, which are characteristic of the 'Dardic'[8] area rather than South Asia as a whole. Phonetically, the retroflex stops ***T***, ***D***, and ***Th*** are closer to alveolars than to the 'true' retroflexes of Dravidian. Thus, although Khowar does participate in the larger retroflex-consonant region, its possession of retroflex sibilants and affricates is the most salient characteristic of its consonant system.

2. **Echo-words.** Echo-words are freely used in Khowar. As in Persian and Pashto, the second, echo component begins in ***m-***, e.g. ***čei-mei*** 'tea and related things'. In Khowar, echo words can be constructed on nouns, on infinitives, e.g. ***kosík-mosík*** 'to walk/roam around' (cf. Urdu ***ghūmnā phirnā***); on the conjunctive participial form of the verb (***kosí mosí goósi***) 'we will walk/roam around and then come' (cf. Urdu ***čal phir ke ā-e ge***); and on the imperfective participial form (***kosáu mosáu boγáutani*** 'they used to roam around'; and with adjectives (***loT moT darán čhiné*** 'Cut the (relatively) larger logs'. Thus in Khowar, the distribution of these echo-forms is wider than it is in Urdu, for example.
3. **Enclitic 'also'.** Khowar employs the particle ***di*** in a manner analogous to Sanskrit ***api***, Dravidian ***um***, and Urdu ***bhī***, in the sense of 'also'; for example, ***awá di bíman*** 'I am also going' (cf. Urdu ***māī bhī jā-tā gā*** 'I am also going').
4. **Dative-subject.** With regard to the 'dative-subject' construction, Khowar participates to a certain extent in this pattern in its general sense. Expressions of the form ***ma oráaru góyan*** 'I am feeling sleepy' fit the typical dative-subject pattern in that the experiencer is encoded with an oblique form and the verb is intransitive. On the other hand, a class of very common expressions like ***ma Chúi areér*** 'I feel hungry' (lit. 'Hunger has done to me' or ***uSák kóyan*** '(I) am feeling cold' (lit. 'cold is doing to me') involve the transitive verb ***korik*** 'do' instead of an intransitive.[9]

Now let us turn to those features which do characterize the South Asian linguistic area but extend beyond it.

5. **Lack of prefixes.** Khowar makes significant use of prefixal mechanisms. (a) It has an important set of preverbs. For example: ***yoór yíi nisái*** 'The sun rose', and ***yoór af γeritai*** 'The sun set' in which the elements ***yíi*** and ***af*** 'upward' and 'downward' respectively are directional preverbs. (b) Khowar employs a prefixing partial reduplicative process in at least three functions: pluralization, intensification, and attenuation. For example, from ***tseq*** 'small', we have ***tsetseq*** 'children', in which the reduplication indicates pluralization. With adjectives, if the vowel of the reduplicated syllable is elongated, the resulting reduplicated form indicates an intensive meaning. For example, from ***loT*** 'big' we have ***loóloT*** 'very big', as well as the pluralized

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8. Here the term 'Dardic' is being used only as a geographical cover term, not as a linguistic classification. The region indicated includes speakers of Nuristani, Iranian, and Indo-Aryan languages, and of Burushaski.

9. This pattern involving a transitive verb in expressions of sensation or involuntary experience is also characteristic of Kalasha, even more so than of Khowar.

lilóT 'elders'. Sometimes, however, the effect of reduplication on adjectives is attenuation as well as pluralization, as in ***phuphúk alú*** 'smallish potatoes'.[10]

It is noteworthy in this connection that Turkic languages employ a similar prefixal reduplicative process in forming intensive adjectives and adverbs. Examples of this are Turkish ***beyaz*** 'white' and ***bembayaz*** 'completely white', ***çabuk*** 'fast' and ***çarçabuk*** 'very fast' (Kornfilt 1987:629); and Uzbek ***kok*** 'blue, green' and ***kóm-kok*** 'very blue', ***barawar*** 'similar, equal' and ***bábbarawar*** 'very much alike' (Sjoberg 1963:27, 65).

Thus in its employment of prefixal mechanisms, Khowar differs from the South Asian pattern. Also, its partially reduplicated adjectives bear both structural and semantic resemblance to forms found in the Turkic languages.

6. **Two pronominal stems.** In the first person singular, Khowar employs different stems for the nominative and the oblique cases: ***awá*** in the nominative and ***ma*** in the oblique. The second person singular nominative is ***tu***, while ***ta*** serves as a genitive and oblique base for postpositions. In the third person singular, the nominative is ***hasé***, while the oblique is ***hatoγoó***.
7. **Case-marking morphemes.** Khowar's system is mixed: there are only two basic inflectional endings other than the nominative — an oblique and an instrumental. The singular oblique ends in ***-o*** and the plural oblique in ***-an***. For example: ***kitáb-o tá-te doóm*** 'I will give the book to you', and ***kitáb-an tá-te doóm*** 'I will give the books to you'. The instrumental ending ***-en*** attaches to both singular and plural nouns. For other case relations, postpositions are employed. These govern the oblique form of the noun, but are themselves invariable. For example: ***kumóro sáar kitáb-o gané*** 'Take the book from the girl' and ***kumorán-an sár kitában gané*** 'Take the books from the girls.'
8. **Morphological causatives.** In contrast to Urdu and many other South Asian languages, which have two layers of causative morphology, Khowar has only one layer. Thus Urdu has sets of forms like ***paknā*** 'to ripen, get cooked', ***pakānā*** 'to cook (transitive)', and ***pakwānā*** 'to have cooked, to have someone cook', as in ***čāwal pak gaye hāĩ*** 'The rice is cooked', ***us-ne čāwal pakāe*** '(S)he cooked the rice', and ***us-ne xānsāme-se čāwal pakwāe*** 'He got the rice cooked by the cook'. In Khowar, however, from ***počík*** 'to ripen, get cooked', we have one derived causative ***pačeéik***, which serves as both derived transitive and 'true causative'. Thus ***awá pušúran pačeéitam*** 'I cooked the (pieces of) meat' and ***awá hoó Cakeéi pušúran pačeéitam*** 'I got him to cook the (pieces of) meat'.
9. **Phonaesthetic forms.** Khowar has some phonaesthetic forms involving reduplication, e.g. ***thrišku thrášku*** 'the sound of rustling or scraping'. Notice that this form involves a stem-vowel change rather than simple reduplication. Also, reduplication is employed in many other words in which the iconic relationship is not a simple imitation of a natural sound. For example, ***TungTáng***, a word which intensifies the

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10. I am grateful for these Khowar data to Maula Nigah, Senior English Teacher, Government High School, Zondrangram.

salient characteristics of a word it modifies, e.g. ***Tungtáng čhúi*** 'pitch black dark', or ***šešeheér*** 'a fit of weeping'.

10. **Conjunctive participles.** Khowar makes extensive use of conjunctive participles to link and sequence clauses. For example, the following sentence is from a folk narrative text.[11] ***dití hatétan haté jindáan yíi ganí tan bareéi kištío góLo dreé rahí areér*** 'After giving it, he picked up their patchwork (begging) garments, put them on himself, put the begging bowl around his neck and set out.' In this example, the forms ***dití, yíi ganí, bareéi,*** and ***dreé*** are all conjunctive participles, and there is only one finite verb, ***rahí areér***. A language like English, on the other hand, tends to use a finite verb for each of the actions reported in the sequence.

11. **Absence of HAVE.** Khowar agrees with the South Asian areal pattern in this feature. To indicate inalienable possession, the oblique form of the noun denoting the possessor is followed by existential BE. For example, ***ma troi žurgíni asúni*** 'I have three daughters' (lit. 'My three daughters are'). To indicate alienable possession, a locative postpositional expression is employed, e.g. ***ta sum mačís šéni-aá*** 'Do you have any matches?' (lit. 'With you are there any matches?').

12. **Word-order features.** Khowar shares the same cluster of word-order features that characterize the South Asian linguistic area — SUBJECT - OBJECT - VERB order of main constituents, GENITIVE - NOUN and ADJECTIVE - NOUN, and postpositional word order.

13. **Compound verbs.** Khowar appears to form a limited number of compound verbs. I have so far identified compound verbs formed with the vectors ***bik*** 'go', ***laákik*** 'release, let go', and ***nišík*** 'sit'. For example, alongside the simple formation ***tu puluís*** 'You will get burned,' we have ***tu puluí bis*** 'You will get burned'. We have the simple sentence ***paloóγan bezemítam*** 'I sold the apples', as well as a compound verb formation, e.g. ***thúu, paloóγan bezemí laákitam*** 'Alas, I sold the apples (by mistake).' Use of the vector ***laákik*** 'to let go, release' conveys a sense of regret at having made a mistake. Illustrating the use of ***nišík*** 'to sit' as a vector, we have a sentence like this: ***hasé boóko laáki nišaái*** 'He divorced his wife (the action has been completed)'. The vector ***nišík*** contributes a sense of finality and completion.[12]

    But in Khowar these constructions appear infrequently, in contrast to their pervasiveness in Indo-Aryan languages like Urdu or Panjabi, and Dravidian languages like Telugu or Tamil. Therefore we must say that Khowar participates but very weakly in this feature.

14. **Identified-object marking.** Khowar distinguishes between identified and non-identified objects regularly. For example, parallel to the Urdu examples above, we have ***awá reéni poší asúm*** 'I have seen a dog (i.e., I have had the experience of seeing a/any dog)' and ***awá ta reéni-o poší asúm*** 'I have seen your dog (as specific identified dog)'. Thus Khowar exhibits the identified-object marking feature strongly.

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11. From the author's field notes.

12. The semantics of the incipient Khowar and Kalasha compound verbs is discussed in detail in Bashir (1988:218-51).

Khowar vis-à-vis the Central Asian Linguistic Union

Now let us see the extent to which Khowar possesses the characteristics of the putative Central Asian Linguistic Union.

1. **Retroflex sibilants and affricates.** Khowar possesses a full set of these—the phonemes /C/, /Ch/, /S/, /Z/, and /J/. It also has the dental affricates /ts/ and /dz/.
2. **Numerals.** The Khowar numerals from 11–20, as do those of Kalasha, Yidgah, Wakhi, Burushaski, Balti and other Tibeto-Burman languages, and Iranian languages of the Shugni-Roshani group, are formed on the pattern 10 + n, (Khowar ***jošponj*** '15') rather than the inherited Indo-Aryan pattern of n + 10 (e.g. Urdu ***pandara***).
3. **Prefixal word-formation patterns.** Khowar's directional preverbs are distinct from systems in the plains languages. They seem to group more with languages like Kalasha and the Nuristani languages, especially Prasun, which has an elaborate set of directional prefixes, than with Burushaski.[13]
4. **Transitive treatment of intransitives.** This characteristic cannot be observed in Khowar, since it has a nominative-accusative (rather than a split-ergative) case-marking system, and treats the subjects of both transitive and intransitive verbs alike.
5. **Semantic gender.** Khowar displays the change from grammatical gender to semantic gender based on animacy. This is manifested in the use of two separate forms of the verb 'be': ***asik*** for animates and ***šik*** for inanimates. Since these verbs serve as auxiliaries in many complex verb tenses, the distinction pervades the verbal system.
6. **Obligatory affixal elements with inalienably possessed entities like body parts or kinship terms.** The pronominal prefixes of Burushaski are prototypical examples of this feature. For example, in ***ā-riŋ*** 'my hand', ***gu-riŋ*** 'your (sg.) hand', and ***mu-riŋ*** 'her hand', the root ****-riŋ*** 'hand' must have a pronominal prefix indicating the possessor of the hand.[14] Khowar, however, does not have this characteristic.

One highly important characteristic of Khowar not previously considered is its possession of the grammaticized verbal category of **inferentiality**. This category, under which are grammaticized distinctions between direct and hearsay knowledge as well as between old and newly-acquired knowledge, does not exist in any of the languages of the Indo-Gangetic plain, that is, is not found at all in the South Asian linguistic area. In both Khowar and Kalasha this category is highly developed. For example, in Khowar, the two sentences ***hes kitáp nivešák*** '(S)he is a writer' and ***hes kitáp nivešák birái*** '(I have just found out that) (s)he is a writer' carry different meanings. The former signifies that the information is old knowledge for the speaker, already well-integrated into his personal knowledge structure, while the latter indicates that it is something he has just learned. In order to indicate such distinctions in languages like Urdu, or English, one has to employ a separate phrase or clause, like ***mujhe abhī pata čalā hai ki . . .*** or ***it turns out that . . ., it seems that . . .***.

This category is strongly grammaticized in most of the languages of Central and Eastern Asia—the Turkic, Finno-Ugric, Samoyedic, Tungus, and Caucasian languages,

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13. These have been described by Buddruss in a well-known lecture. Publication of a full-scale grammar of Prasun by him is eagerly anticipated.

14. Example from Lorimer (1935, I:133).

Indo-European languages in contact with Turkish, like Bulgarian, and in the Nuristani language Waigali (Buddruss 1987:33–4, 37–8).

In possessing this category, Khowar participates in another, yet larger, areal configuration—one including all of Central and Eastern Asia, and parts of Eastern Europe. Haarmann (1970) describes in detail how the category of inferentiality is realized in all the major language families of this macro-area.

One other characteristic of Khowar—the left-branching structural relationship between subordinate and main clause—(recall the discussion of the sentences 'Wait here until he gives you the letter' and 'I was afraid that you might give him the letter' in which it was pointed out that in Khowar the order with subordinate clause preceding the main clause is at least as common if not more so, than the order with main clause preceding the subordinate clause) points to Khowar's participation at great time depth in the large left-branching area including Central Asia and Eastern Asia.

Summary

The following table summarizes what has been said about Khowar's areal characteristics.

Feature	Status of Khowar
South Asian Linguistic Area	
1. Retroflex consonants	✓
2. Echo words	+
3. Enclitic 'also'	+
4. Dative subject	✓
5. Absence of prefixes	–
6. Two pronominal stems	+
7. Identical case markers	✓
8. Morphological causatives	✓
9. Phonaesthetic forms	✓
10. Conjunctive participles	+
11. Absence of HAVE	+
12. Word-order features	+
13. Compound verbs	✓
14. Identified-object marking	+
'Central Asian Linguistic Union'	
1. Retroflex sibilants and affricates	+
2. Numeral structure (11–19)	+
3. Prefixal patterns	✓
4. Transitive treatment of intransitives	NA
5. Semantic gender	+
6. Obligatory affixes for inalienable possession	–

Feature	Status of Khowar
Larger Eurasian Area	
1. Grammaticization of inferentiality	+
2. Left-branching structures	✓

Key: + strong presence of feature
- absence of feature
✓ partial or mixed manifestation
NA not applicable

As can be seen, Khowar participates in at least three levels of areal convergence. None of these areal relationships is unambiguous or exclusive. What they point to is successive layers of historical structural accretion in the language. The largest-scale and oldest pattern in which Khowar participates is the extensive left-branching area including Altaic, Tibeto-Burman, Burushaski, and the Dravidian languages. The next largest area is that of northern Eurasia — the area in which the category of inferentiality is grammaticized. Since, with the exception of Kalasha, and possibly Dangarikwar (Palola, Phalura), this feature is not found in any other Indo-Aryan languages, its presence in Khowar today must be due to a long-standing period of interaction with a language or languages possessing that feature, probably some form(s) of Turkic. The next historical layer is that represented by the features clustered under what has been called the 'Central Asian Linguistic Union'. It is possible that Burushaski is the source of some of those features. Finally, and reflecting more recent historical associations, is Khowar's partial assimilation to the South Asian linguistic area.

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