Section VI
Languages and Literature

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INDICATORS OF ATTITUDES TOWARD SHINA DIALECTS

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1. Introduction

Two scenarios from the sociolinguistic survey of Shina:

Participants listened to a tape-recorded text in a dialect of Shina distinct from their own. Questions were asked about the content of the text and the mean score for this group of participants was 90 per cent correct, showing they understood the text well. However, over half of these same participants characterized the text as not being 'good' Shina and being 'very different' from their own variety.

Other participants, from another valley, characterized the Gilgiti Shina broadcast on the radio as 'good' Shina, and entirely understandable to them and their families. Yet at another point in the interview, when asked where their language was spoken very differently, over half of these participants named Gilgit. When asked where their language is spoken 'badly', over half also volunteered Gilgit.

When compared with responses given by participants from other locations, these responses appeared somewhat inconsistent in the way they characterize the dialect in question, sometimes giving a more positive reaction, sometimes a more negative one. Why would participants state such apparently contradictory opinions? Should such responses be dismissed as being 'unreliable'? Or do they reflect underlying dynamics that can and should be investigated?

It is the contention of this study that inconsistencies like these can be indicators of underlying attitudes toward the language variety in question. It is also asserted that it is possible to identify these attitudes by examining trends or patterns in the interview response data; and if this qualitative data is interpreted against the background of more quantitative measures like lexical similarity percentages and comprehension tests, greater insights can be obtained. Following is a brief description of the goals and methodologies of the sociolinguistic survey of Shina. Then, results of the survey showing these patterns of responses are presented. This is followed by a discussion of traditional language-attitude-research methodology and its implications for the current study. Finally, a brief summary is given.

2. Background on Shina

Shina is a Dardic language belonging to the Indo-Aryan, Northwest group (Strand 1973). It is spoken in the watershed of the Indus River in Northern Pakistan, primarily in the greater Gilgit and Astor river valleys and along the Indus in Chilas and other areas of the Diamir

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District of the Northern Areas and on the east bank of the Indus in the Kohistan District of the North-West Frontier Province. There may be 400–500,000 speakers of Shina, according to the 1981 census of Pakistan.

2.1 Background on the Sociolinguistic Survey of Shina

A sociolinguistic survey of the Shina language was carried out over the years 1988–90. The results of this study are published in Volume 2 of the Sociolinguistic Survey of Northern Pakistan (Radloff 1992). Goals of the survey included answering the following questions:

— How many dialects of Shina are there?
— Is Gilgiti Shina the recognized 'standard' dialect?
— Could Chilasi Shina be an alternate 'standard'?
— Are there hindering attitudes which would make one variety preferred over another as 'standard'?

Different types of language data were collected from different groups of individuals at chosen locations to help answer these research questions. These included: percentages of lexical similarity based on lists of words, scores reflecting comprehension of a tape-recorded speech sample, and opinions expressed in response to open questions asked in a structured interview.[1]

Lexical similarity

Local equivalents for a list of 210 words were elicited in twenty-seven different locations where Shina is spoken. Similarity between the words given from any two locations was figured by examining their phonetic closeness according to a set formula. The percentage of lexical similarity represents the number of similar words in comparison to the total. Eighty-five percent similarity was considered the baseline for grouping like varieties of Shina.

Comprehension of a speech sample

A short, personal narrative text in one variety of Shina was tape-recorded, then played in other areas where different varieties of Shina are spoken. Questions were asked about the content of the text.[2] Averaging the number of correct answers given by the ten or so participants from each location where the tape was played gave a mean percentage correct score. This mean percentage score gave an idea of the listeners' comprehension of the variety of Shina spoken in the text. This method of assessing comprehension is termed a recorded text test (RTT). A mean score of about 90 per cent correct was considered to indicate good comprehension of the text. Following each RTT the participants were asked questions about the difference between the test variety of Shina and their own. These are referred to as post-RTT questions in this work.

Opinions expressed during a structured interview

An extensive list of questions were asked during a structured interview.[3] These questions covered such topics as perceived similarity of varieties of Shina, perceived ability to comprehend other varieties of Shina, awareness of literature in Shina, frequency of listening to Shina radio broadcasts, language use in different domains, frequency and direction of travel, second language proficiency, and so on. A few evaluative questions were also asked which required the participants to consider where their language was spoken the 'best' or 'badly' or what they thought about the Shina used in radio broadcasts. These are referred to as interview questions in this work.

2.2 General Results of the Sociolinguistic Survey of Shina

The results of the sociolinguistic survey suggest that Shina can be divided into a series of four slightly overlapping geographical clusters of dialects. These divisions are based on the percentages of lexical similarity and are supported by the results of recorded text testing and opinions stated by Shina speakers during the interviews regarding their perceptions of dialect similarity (see Radloff 1992). They also basically agree with groupings proposed by other scholars (cf. Grierson 1919; Bailey 1924; Lorimer 1927; Namus 1961; Schmidt 1984, 1985). These four divisions comprise the following:

- ❒ Northern cluster (Gilgit valley and Shina speaking areas west and north including the Hunza river valley)
- ❒ Eastern cluster (Astor valley and Shina speaking areas scattered throughout Baltistan including Satpara)
- ❒ Diamir cluster (Chilas area, Darel and Tangir valleys, Harban and Sazin, and other areas of Diamir District)
- ❒ Kohistan cluster (the valleys of Jalkot, Palas, and Kolai)

Results also indicate that the Gilgit variety of Shina is more the de facto standard dialect rather than any consciously chosen prestige dialect. That is to say, because Gilgit is the centre for trade and government in the Northern Areas, and because people from almost all the Shina-speaking areas frequently travel to Gilgit, and because radio broadcasts in the Gilgit variety reach almost all the Shina speaking areas, there seems to be a wide spread ability to understand Gilgiti. There also seems to be an equally wide spread non-negative, even positive attitude toward that variety. This positive attitude toward Gilgiti, however, appears to be paralleled, in certain areas, by a hindering or negative attitude toward the Chilas variety of Shina.

These attitudes were discovered without directly testing or inquiring after them. How they were detected through examining patterns of responses is discussed in the following sections.

3. Attitudes Revealed by Patterns of Responses and RTT Scores

As explained above, an RTT presents a personal narrative text in one variety of a language to speakers of another variety of that language. The listeners are asked questions about the content of the text and the resulting mean percentage correct for that group indicates how well they understood that text, and by extension, that variety of the language.

Standardized questions were asked after the administration of each RTT. These questions focused on the participants' opinions about the speech variety used in the text: whether they thought it was 'good' Shina, where they thought the man who told the story was from, how much of it they understood, how different they thought his dialect was from theirs, how much contact they had with people from that area, and so forth. Responses were analysed by examining trends or patterns in the opinions expressed that came about, specifically, when over half of the participants from each area gave the same opinion.

Answers to three of these post-RTT questions were particularly interesting in that, for most of the testing locations, the pattern of responses paralleled the results of the RTTs themselves. Where the responses did not pattern with the test results, they appeared to indicate attitudes toward the test dialect, usually negative. The three questions were: Does this man speak good Shina? How much of his speech did you understand? Is the way he speaks a little different or very different from the way you speak?[4]

3.1 Response Patterns to Post-RTT Questions Consistent with RTT Scores

Six RTTs were played in six locations where Shina is spoken. The score for each location is displayed along the top of Fig. 26.1, in mean per cent correct. The responses given by the participants at each testing location to the three post-RTT questions mentioned above are also displayed in Fig. 26.1 for each RTT. These trends in response are represented by 'Yes' if over half, and 'No' if less than half of the participants voiced that opinion. So, for example, the three 'Yes' responses listed under Hunza for the Gilgit RTT mean that over half of the participants said that the Shina of the Gilgit RTT was 'good'; over half said they understood most or all of the text; and over half said the language used was the 'same' or only a 'little different' from their own.

These positive responses to the post-RTT questions by the Hunza participants parallel their high mean score obtained on the Gilgit RTT. Likewise, the responses of the Chilas participants to the post-RTT questions about the Gilgit RTT (listed next to the Hunza responses in Fig. 26.1) are also positive. Again, these correlate with a high mean score. Thus, a pattern of high mean scores on the RTT and positive responses to the post-RTT questions emerges.

Fig. 26.1 Responses to Post-RTT questions from over half the participants at each location; mean percent correct RTT score is listed for each location

Post-RTT Question 16 Does this man speak good Shina?
Post-RTT Question 17 How much of his speech did you understand?
Post-RTT Question 18 Is the way he speaks a little different or very different from the way you speak?

	[Location of Testing]					
	Gilgit	***Hunza***	***Chilas***	***Kohistan***	***Baltistan***	***Astor***
Gilgit RTT	96 %	96 %	89 %	**66 %**	93 %	90 %
number of subjects	35	12	21	12	10	11
16 Over half said 'good'	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
17 Over half understood most or all	Yes	Yes	Yes	**No**	Yes	Yes
18 Over half said 'same'or 'little different'	Yes	Yes	Yes	**No**	Yes	Yes
	Gilgit	Hunza	Chilas	Kohistan	Baltistan	Astor
Chilas RTT	88 %	**70 %**	100 %	98 %	88 %	90 %
number of subjects	19	12	21	12	10	11
16 Over half said 'good'	No	**No**	Yes	Yes	No	No
17 Over half understood most or all	Yes	**No**	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
18 Over half said 'game' or 'little different'	Yes	**No**	Yes	Yes	**	No
	Gilgit	Hunza			Gilgit	Astor
Hunza RTT	89 %	97 %	Astor RTT		94 %	99 %
number of subjects	14	22			10	12
16 Over half said 'good'	No	Yes			No	Yes
17 Over half understood most or all	Yes	Yes			Yes	NA
18 Over half said 'game' or 'little different'	Yes	Yes			**	NA

	Gilgit	Baltistan	Kohistan	Gilgit	Chilas	Kohistan
Baltistan RTT	**53 %**	100 %	RTT	61 %	83 %	97 %
number of subjects	10	10		19	10	13
16 Over half said 'good'	**No**	Yes		**No**	Yes	Yes
17 Over half understood most or all	**No**	NA		**No**	Yes	Yes
18 Over half said 'same' or 'little different'	**No**	NA		**No**	Yes	Yes

** exactly half. NA=not asked.

There is also a pattern of negative responses and low mean scores: for four of the RTTs, the mean score for one location was significantly lower ($p < 0.01$)[5] than for the other locations, namely, Kohistan subjects on the Gilgit RTT, Hunza subjects on the Chilas RTT, and Gilgit subjects on the Baltistan[6] and Kohistan RTTs. These percentage scores are in bold print in Fig. 26.1. Interestingly, over half of the subjects from the locations with significantly lower scores also stated that the Shina of the RTT speaker for that test was not good, thought it was very different from their own, and reported understanding half or less of what was said. These responses, listed as 'No,' are also in bold print in Fig. 26.1.

This consistent pattern of negative response, then, is what might be expected from the low RTT scores and holds true for the Gilgit subjects on the Baltistan and Kohistan RTTs, and the Hunza subjects on the Chilas RTT. In other words, a text that is demonstrably hard to understand is also evaluated as very different, difficult to understand, and not 'good Shina.'

The only exception to this pattern of consistency in negative responses with significantly low RTT scores is the evaluation by the Kohistan subjects of the Gilgit RTT. While over half of these Kohistan subjects thought the Gilgiti Shina on the tape was very different from their own and over half also claimed to not understand it well, they nonetheless thought the Shina was 'good.' Responses like these, which pattern inconsistently with the RTT scores and other post-RTT question responses, appear to be indicators of an over-riding attitude, in this case apparently a positive attitude. Such a pattern of seemingly inconsistent responses contrasts with the more consistent pattern of responses from participants from other locations. Similar patterns of responses, which are inconsistent with what would be expected from test scores and responses to other questions, are discussed in the next section.

3.2 Attitudes Revealed through Response Patterns Inconsistent with RTT Scores

Attitudes toward other speech varieties were revealed through responses to the three post-RTT questions in focus which did not square with the scores on the RTTs and other post-RTT questions. That is, the patterns of responses from certain locations to particular questions seemed inconsistent with what would have been expected from the numerical scores and the pattern of responses set by participants from other locations, and could be interpreted as reflecting attitudes toward the speech variety of the RTT.

The prime example of this is found in the responses concerning the Chilas RTT (see Fig. 26.1). The mean scores for the participants from Gilgit, Baltistan, and Astor indicate that there was good understanding of the Chilas text since all three means were about 90 per cent correct. However, when asked if the Shina spoken by the Chilas speaker was 'good' or not, over half the respondents from these three locations said that it was not. In addition, half or more of the respondents from Baltistan and Astor said that the Chilas Shina was 'very different' from their own, even though they appeared to have had little difficulty understanding it.

According to the data presented in Fig. 26.1, the norm is for the patterns of response to the post-RTT questions to be consistent with the RTT scores. Therefore, these seemingly inconsistent or unexpected responses can be interpreted as reflecting somewhat negative attitudes held by participants from some locations toward the Chilas variety of Shina. Such opinions toward the speech variety would stem, very probably, from attitudes held toward the people of that area. Historically, political and religious differences have surfaced between the Chilas/Kohistan areas and other Shina speaking areas to the north and east, and one could surmise that these attitudes are attributable to these differences.[7]

It seems that the reverse is not the case, however, perhaps because Gilgit, as a centre for trade and government, has a much more heterogeneous population. Chilas participants appeared to hold positive opinions toward the Shina spoken in Gilgit, as reflected in the post-RTT responses reported in Fig. 26.1, which are consistent with their high RTT mean score. Even more interesting, though, is the fact that the Kohistan participants thought the Shina used in the Gilgit text was 'good' even though they had significant difficulty understanding it, as evidenced by their low mean score. As described above, this is a case of a pattern of response inconsistent with the RTT score reflecting a positive attitude.[8]

4. Attitudes and Patterns of Responses to Interview Questions

Patterns of consistency or inconsistency between the quantitative RTT scores and the qualitative post-RTT evaluations appear to reveal underlying attitudes toward different speech varieties. Similar patterns were also observed in responses to the questions asked in the structured interview. People from the selected Shina speaking locations who participated in these interviews were different from those who had taken part in the RTT testing.

4.1 Response patterns to interview questions consistent with quantitative measures

Fig. 26. 2 displays answers to selected questions from the structured interviews. An example of a pattern of responses to the interview questions that was consistent with the quantitative measures is provided through those given by the Shina speaking respondents from Hunza. (Quantitative measures in this case include the percentages of lexical similarity displayed at the top of Fig. 26.2.)

Looking at the top of Fig. 26.2, one can see that lexical similarity between Hunza Shina and Gilgit Shina was figured at 88 per cent, which groups them together as like varieties. Also, recall from Fig. 26.1 that Hunza participants were able to understand participants from Gilgit with apparent ease.

In accordance with these quantitative measures, seven of the eight interview respondents from Hunza voiced the opinion that all people from their area, including women and children, would be able to understand the speech of a man from Gilgit (Fig. 26.2, question 22b). Five of the eight volunteered 'Gilgit' when asked where their language was spoken only a little differently (Fig. 26.2, question 12). Two included Gilgit in places where their language was spoken the best, with the rest naming their own Hunza locations (Fig. 26.2, question 14). Additionally, all five respondents replying to questions about the Shina broadcasts stated unconditionally that all could understand, including women and children, and the Shina used in the broadcasts was 'Good' (Fig. 26.2, question 82).

Fig. 26.2 Responses to Interview Questions
(Numbers of Respondents Giving the Stated Answer Out of the Total Who Were Asked That Question)

	Hunza	*Gilgit*	*Baltistan (Satpara)*	*Astor*	*Chilas*	*Harban and Sazin*	*Kohistan*
Lexical Similarity with Gilgit	88 %	x	79 %	77 %	78 %	72 %	64 %
Lexical Similarity with Chilas	71 %	78 %	85 %	86 %	x	87 %	84 %
22b Everybody understand a man from Gilgit?	7/8 Yes	x	8/10 Yes	12/13 Yes	13/15 Yes	6/7 Yes	4/13 Yes
22c Even the women and children?	7/8 Yes	x	6/10 Yes	12/13 Yes	10/15 Yes	6/7 Yes	5/13 Yes
12 Where is your language spoken a little differently?	5/8 Gilgit 2/8 Chilas	4/15 Chilas	5/10 Gilgit 2/10 Chilas	4/13 Gilgit 2/13 Chilas	12/15 Gilgit	2/7 Gilgit 2/7 Chilas	4/15 Chilas 2/15 Gilgit
13 Where is your language spoken very differently?	7/8 Chilas	6/15 Chilas	7/10 Gilgit 7/10 Chilas	3/13 Gilgit 4/13 Chilas	4/15 Gilgit	2/7 Gilgit	9/15 Gilgit 3/15 Chilas
14 Where is your language spoken best/purely?	2/8 Gilgit	x	5/10 Gilgit	1/13 Gilgit	2/15 Gilgit		
16 Where is your language spoken badly?	1/8 Gilgit 2/8 Chilas	2/15 Chilas	1/10 Gilgit 3/10 Chilas	1/13 Gilgit 2/13 Chilas	1/15 Gilgit	4/7 Gilgit	6/14 Gilgit 1/14 Chilas
82d Everybody understand Gilgit radio Shina?	5/5 Yes	x	8/8 Yes	7/7 Yes	9/10 Yes	7/7 Yes	4/11 Yes
82e Even the women and children?	5/5 Yes	x	7/8 Yes	6/7 Yes	8/10 Yes	7/7 Yes	1/12 Yes
82c What think of Gilgit radio Shina?	5/5 Good	x	8/8 Good	5/7 Good	9/10 Good	7/7 Good	8/11 Good
25b Everybody understand a man from Chilas?	4/8 Yes	12/15 Yes	3/10 Yes	9/12 Yes	x	7/7 Yes	6/13 Yes
25c Even the women and children?	2/8 Yes	10/15 Yes	3/10 Yes	7/12 Yes	x	6/7 Yes	6/13 Yes

Note: Only responses relating to Gilgit and Chilas are presented here; for discussion of the complete data, see Radloff 1992.

On the other hand, only half of the eight respondents thought people could understand the speech of a man from Chilas (bottom of Fig. 26.2), and only two of those respondents would extend that understanding to the women and children. It should be kept in mind, however, that Fig. 26.1 shows that Hunza participants had significant difficulty understanding the Chilas RTT, so the evaluations by the interview respondents of Chilas speech are *consistent* with the RTT results. They are also consistent with the lexical similarity counts—the top of Fig. 26.2 shows that Hunza Shina and Chilas Shina showed only 70 per cent lexical similarity, below the 85 per cent level baseline for grouping them as like varieties, as described above. Additionally, seven of the eight interview respondents volunteered Chilas as a place where their language is spoken very differently and two even opined that their language was spoken 'badly' there.

Thus, it can be seen that the opinions voiced by the Hunza interview respondents exemplify responses *consistent* with what might be expected judging from the results of the more quantitative measures, RTT scores, and lexical similarity counts. That is, the more positive opinions of understandability and similarity were consistent with higher scores and percentages.

The less positive opinions were consonant with lower scores and percentages. Such a pattern of consistency seems to be the norm, as it was with the post-RTT question responses discussed above.

Patterns of responses emerging from the Baltistan and Harban and Sazin interviews, however, did not display such expected consistency. These patterns could reveal attitudes, as was seen with the post-RTT responses.

4.2 Attitudes Revealed Through Response Patterns Inconsistent with Quantitative Measures

Baltistan

Fig. 26.1 shows that Shina-speaking participants from Baltistan scored an average of 88 per cent on the Chilas RTT, demonstrating an apparent ease of understanding of that speech variety. Fig. 2 shows that the lexical similarity percentage between Baltistan and Chilas Shina was a strong 85 per cent. Yet, only three of the ten structured interview respondents gave an unqualified 'Yes' when asked if the people of their area, including the women and children, could understand the speech of a man from Chilas. In addition, seven of these ten respondents volunteered Chilas as a place where their language is spoken 'very differently,' and three included Chilas in the naming of places where their language is spoken 'badly.' These evaluations are reminiscent of those given by Baltistan participants after the RTT testing, where responses did not follow the pattern of consistency with high scores set by participants from other locations, revealing a somewhat negative attitude.

These Baltistan respondents displayed a different reaction to Gilgiti Shina, however. Baltistan participants understood the Gilgit RTT text well as evidenced by high scores (see Fig. 26.1). However, the percentage of lexical similarity between that location and Gilgit was only 79, as seen at the top of Fig. 26.2, not great enough for them to be grouped as like varieties. Nevertheless, eight of the ten interview respondents gave an unqualified 'Yes' when asked if people in their area could understand the speech of a man from Gilgit. And all of them said that people could understand the Gilgiti radio broadcasts. In addition, although seven of the ten respondents named Gilgit as a place where their language was spoken 'very

differently,' half of them volunteered Gilgit as a place where their own language is spoken most 'purely.'[9]

These stated opinions about Chilas Shina by Baltistan respondents in the face of demonstrated similarity and ease of understanding, and those about Gilgit Shina in spite of lower lexical similarity, speak to the probable presence of underlying attitudes—positive toward Gilgiti, and more negative toward Chilasi.

Harban and Sazin

Harban and Sazin are Shina speaking areas in the southwest part of Diamir District, just north of Kohistan. Although no recorded text testing was conducted in Harban and Sazin, lexical similarity was figured and structured interviews were carried out; results can be seen in Fig. 26.2. (Results are combined for these two neighbouring areas.)

Six of the seven interview respondents replied with an unqualified 'Yes,' when asked if everyone in their area, including the women and children, could understand the speech of a man from Gilgit. All seven also stated that the Gilgiti Shina broadcast on the radio was 'good Shina' and people, including women and children, could understand it. However, this was countered at another point in the interviews where five of the seven respondents volunteered Gilgit as a place where their language is spoken 'very differently,' and four later even named Gilgit as a place where their language is spoken 'badly.'

While it could be argued that a known speech form—such as Shina radio broadcasts from Gilgit—is easier to identify as 'good' than abstractly trying to think of places where one's language is spoken 'badly,' still a certain amount of unexpected positive-type responses are observed in the pattern of responses given by the Harban and Sazin interview respondents. That is, viewed against the background of a lexical similarity percentage of only 72 per cent (top of Fig. 26.2), more consistent negative responses would have been expected, instead of the mixture of positive and negative responses actually given. This pattern of apparent inconsistency or unexpected responses could be interpreted as a generally positive attitude toward Gilgiti, and at the same time an awareness of how different the two varieties are.

The process of deducing positive or somewhat negative attitudes from patterns of apparently inconsistent (or unexpected) responses by speakers from these various Shina speaking locations is discussed in the following section against the background of traditional methods of investigating language attitudes.

5. Discussion of Language Attitude Research—Methods and Implications

Why is it important to investigate language attitudes? Why is it significant to suggest that attitudes can be discerned from apparent inconsistencies in response patterns?

The attitudes people hold toward other languages or dialects are of interest to language planners, programme directors, and other leaders who deal with multilingual or multidialectal communities. Favourable attitudes toward the language or dialect chosen as the medium for a given project contribute to its success; unfavourable attitudes can slow acceptance of a programme and sometimes stymie progress (Grimes 1985: 165). For example, programmers in the Northern Areas branch of Radio Pakistan have carried out a certain amount of de facto language planning. They have chosen the Gilgiti dialect as the standard for radio broadcasts. Writers and presenters of programmes agree on the style and linguistic 'boundaries' for the

variety of Shina used in broadcasts. This choice, however, has been as much by default as by anything else, since the Northern Areas branch of Radio Pakistan is located in Gilgit and many of the writers and presenters are from Gilgit.

A certain amount of literature has begun to be published in Shina. Again, this is primarily in the Gilgit variety (see, e.g., Zia 1986; Taj 1989) although some works have appeared in the Chilas variety (e.g., Al-Nasir-Chilasi no date). Should educational institutions or cultural associations decide to promote mother-tongue literature at some point in the future, results of studies like the current one would be important to take into consideration.[10] If the goal of such promotion is to include the widest possible audience among the spread-out Shina speaking areas, literature in the Gilgiti variety should prove to be more widely accepted than literature in the Chilasi variety—if the opinions expressed by the sampling of speakers in this study are, indeed, representative of the opinions of the total population.

An important contribution of the current study is to describe how language attitudes can be discerned in the course of typical sociolinguistic-survey data collection. Traditionally, researching language attitudes has involved rather sophisticated methods of testing which are beyond the scope of most field-based research.

5.1 Direct Questioning

Research suggests that direct questioning about attitudes often does not yield reliable results since the people themselves are often not sure just what they feel about a given subject. Alternately, they know what they feel but are constrained by various factors from communicating those attitudes openly. Henerson et al. (1987: 135) note that skeptics dismiss self-report instruments such as questionnaires by arguing that respondents give answers which are socially desirable, not their true feelings. Woolard and Gahng further observe, 'Direct questioning about ideologically charged language issues in surveys or interviews often elicits self-conscious responses that the interviewee considers socially acceptable or politically correct' (1990: 312).

Indeed, in the present study, in five of the seven locations chosen for interviews, one to four respondents declined to state any opinion in response to the question, 'Where is your language spoken badly?' While these same respondents were willing to name the place(s) where they felt their language was spoken most purely, they declined to give this type of negative evaluation.[11] There were only a few such evaluative questions in the current study, however. Rather than through asking directly, attitudes were discerned by assessing the pattern of responses to questions which for the most part focused on similarity and understandability, and the way those patterns were or were not consistent with more quantitative measures of language behaviour.

Because of difficulties encountered by direct questioning, researchers have often opted to approach the investigation of language attitudes from indirect routes. They have then inferred attitudes on the basis of parallel behaviours measured or observed.

5.2 Matched Guise

The standard indirect methodology for investigating language attitudes is the matched guise technique. The history and application of this technique is described by Agheyisi and Fishman (1970), Fasold (1984), Giles et al. (1983), Romaine (1989), Wardhaugh (1986), and other

scholars. The matched guise technique and modifications thereof have been utilized by a vast number of authors, for example, Woolard and Gahng (1990), Showalter (1991), and studies reported by Shuy and Fasold (1973) and Giles and Edwards (1983). In the classic form, a person who is equally fluent in two different languages or dialects tape records the same text in each language/dialect. Subjects are then asked to evaluate personality traits and social characteristics of the speaker of each text without knowing that it is the same person using the guise of two different speech styles/forms. Since the only uncontrolled variable in such a case is the language or dialect spoken, evaluations are presumed to be reflective of language attitudes.

Although researchers, such as those mentioned above, have pointed out various weaknesses of the matched guise technique and have often made modifications, the primary drawback for use in field research like sociolinguistic survey is the difficulty of finding bilingual or bidialectal individuals in each location, as well as the long and involved administration requirements of this technique. Also, some kind of written evaluation is usually expected from subjects, whereas in field-based surveys like the current one, responses from uneducated participants are as valued as those from participants who can read and write.

5.3 Questionnaires

Written questionnaires have probably been more used than the matched guise technique in the history of language attitude investigation. Scholars such as Agheyisi and Fishman (1970), Romaine (1989), and Fasold (1984) describe this technique: questionnaires offer the advantage of easy distribution (they can be passed out in a classroom or even be mailed to participants) and greater ease of comparison and analysis of answers (especially if few open-ended questions are included). Disadvantages include lack of control over the results, in that the researcher may not know who actually filled out the questionnaire or be able to clarify misunderstandings, and the fact that the whole exercise may be foreign and intimidating to the participant. The primary limitation of questionnaires is, of course, that participants must be literate—a requisite that restricts the use of such a technique in field-based research like language survey.

Researchers have endeavoured to circumvent the difficulties of written questionnaires by following up questionnaires with interviews (Roberts 1991; Mansoor 1993) or by using, for example, semantic differential responses[12] instead of open-ended questions (see Lewis 1973; Svanes 1988; and studies in Shuy and Fasold 1973 and Giles Edwards 1983). Other researchers have chosen to read the questionnaires to participants during interviews (see Sibayan 1975; Romaine 1989: 270), an alternative which leads to the discussion of interviews in the next section.

5.4 Interviews

Henerson et al. (1987: 25) cite advantages and disadvantages of word-of-mouth procedures, such as interviews, for obtaining answers to questions. A main advantage is that they 'can be used to obtain information from people who cannot read and from non-native speakers who might have difficulties with the wordings of questionnaires.' A major disadvantage of interviews that they cite is the potential influence the interviewer might have on the respondent.

The technique adopted in the current study of reading the questions to the interview respondent was chosen because it was important to obtain opinions from a broad range of

Shina speakers, both educated and uneducated. An additional factor in a multilingual setting such as this is the possibility that the respondent would be literate in a language other than the one in which the questions were written.

A standard translation of the interview questions was made into both of the main languages of wider communication of the area, Urdu and Pashto; the respondent could choose the language for the interview. In the Shina survey, the interviewer was almost always a Shina speaker; occasionally a respondent did not speak either Pashto or Urdu well, so the questions were presented in Shina.

To help counter the possibility of influence by the interviewer, the interview was quite structured, focusing on answering all the questions on the questionnaire, rather than long discussion. Also, the answers given by the respondents were written down during the interview by the interviewer.

5.5 Investigating Language Behaviours from Different Perspectives

A main strength of the current study was that data collection approached language behaviours from three directions: lexical similarity, comprehension (RTTs), and stated opinions. In a study reported by d'Anglejan and Tucker (1973: 7) a similar orientation was noted: 'in view of the low degree of constancy between attitude measures and actual behavior reported in studies reviewed by Agheyisi and Fishman [1970], we hoped that comparisons of the data resulting from two contrasting measures might help to validate the findings.' Indeed, Henerson dt al. state that the concurrent validity of an instrument is established by 'collecting data to see if the results obtained with the instrument agree with results from other instruments, administered at approximately the same time, to measure the same thing' (1987: 143).[13] A comparable type of validity can be seen in the current study through the fact that, in general, results of the three types of measure employed yielded results consistent with each other. This then made possible the observation that inconsistent results could be indicators of underlying attitudes.

5.6 Distinguishing Attitudes Towards Language From Attitudes Toward People

As noted above, the somewhat negative opinions toward the Chilas speech variety that were discerned may very well be based on somewhat negative opinions toward the people of that area, due to apparent political and religious differences. Edwards notes that language attitudes, including those towards dialects and accents, 'provide a useful perspective on social relations, since evaluations of, or reactions to, given varieties reflect views of their speakers'(1983: 227). Fishman (1989: 250) emphasizes the need to distinguish between 'affect toward particular languages and affect toward the speakers of these languages,' but that was beyond the scope of the current study.[14] The emphasis of the Shina survey was to examine the dialect picture, and in so doing, to discern if the Gilgit dialect was more than just a de facto standard and if the Chilas dialect could be a more acceptable one. The fact that the results indicated that the Chilas dialect was not an acceptable substitute—more on the basis of attitudes rather than on comprehension-based factors—was a finding not entirely anticipated.

6. Summary and Implications

In the course of the sociolinguistic survey of the Shina language, three different types of language behaviour data were collected. These focused on lexical similarity, comprehension of a speech sample, and opinions elicited in a structured interview on a wide variety of language-related behaviours. Consistency among the results of these three types of data underscored the credibility of each type individually, and established the baseline for interpreting those results. Occasional inconsistencies among the results, then, stood out as 'exceptions to the rule.' Further investigation of these inconsistencies or unexpected results opened the door to surmising the dynamics of the language attitudes at work among speakers of the different Shina varieties.

These inconsistencies, or unexpected variations in response patterns, comprised, for example, declarations of inability to comprehend a certain Shina variety in the face of demonstrated ability to comprehend that variety, thus reflecting what could be interpreted as a somewhat negative attitude toward that variety. Particularly positive attitudes were inferred from responses showing preference for a variety even when other measures indicated large differences or difficulty in understanding. However, it must be noted that in spite of the confidence with which these patterns of response have been labelled in this report as revealing attitudes, no separate corroborating tests were conducted to confirm this supposition. The results of this study suggest that examining response patterns in this way can reveal underlying attitudes; it is hoped that other studies would duplicate this effort to confirm or refine these conclusions.

Be that as it may, the implications of this study would be both methodological and specific to the speakers of the Shina language.

In a methodological vein, the implications of this study would pertain to assigning greater credibility to opinions expressed by speakers of a language, since the opinions recorded in the course of the study showed great consistency with other, more quantitative measures. Additionally, the benefit of using both quantitative and qualitative measures, or at least more than one behavioral measure in a study was underscored. Also, apparently inconsistent responses should not be dismissed as anomalous, but rather investigated in order to discern patterns, which could be possible indicators of underlying dynamics such as attitudes.

With particular reference to the Shina language, influential factors have resulted in the status of the Gilgit dialect as de facto standard: Gilgit is the centre for trade and government; the Gilgit dialect is the medium for Shina radio broadcasts, to name a few. Speakers from the various parts of the Shina speaking world appear to have a generally positive, non-hindering attitude toward the Gilgit variety. Those speakers from distant Shina speaking locations whose own variety of Shina is somewhat different from Gilgiti and who do not travel frequently to Gilgit or listen to Shina radio broadcasts, would have the greatest difficulty with Gilgiti as the medium of communication for any given project, even though they might have a positive attitude toward that variety. This is particularly true for people from the extreme eastern reaches of the Shina speaking areas in Baltistan, or those from the more southerly areas in western Diamir or in Kohistan District.

NOTES

1. See Radloff 1992 for detailed descriptions of these methodologies, which are reviewed only briefly here.
2. Questions were always asked in the participant's own speech variety.

3. Henerson et al. describes a highly structured interview as one that has a definite agenda: 'a set of questions to be covered, and often a fixed sequence in which they are to be asked' (1987: 95).
4. Responses to other post-RTT questions are discussed in Radloff 1992.
5. The Mann-Whitney U test and the Wilcoxon signed-rank test, non-parametric analogs to the t-test and paired t-test, respectively, were used for all tests of significance.
6. For the purposes of this paper, all the Shina speaking locations in Baltistan are grouped together and called 'Baltistan,' including Satpara.
7. See Schmidt 1984 for a description of the Shina speaking areas and their differences.
8. It is interesting to note in Fig. 1 that the participants from Gilgit consistently characterized the Shina spoken on all the tapes but their own as 'not good' Shina. This type of attitude should also be kept in mind by language planners (see discussion in section 5).
9. Practically all the respondents from all the other locations only named their own areas as where Shina was spoken best/purely.
10. For forty years, the United Nations has championed mother tongue education for children of minority language groups. Mother tongue education has been shown to be important psychologically by validating the learner's language and culture, pedagogically effective by allowing learners to grasp foundational concepts more quickly, and instrumental in preserving cultural identity. Davis (1994) synthesizes UN reports and other relevant literature on this subject, including the recommendations from the 1992 International Conference on Education in Geneva.
11. These respondents represented 15 % of the total number of interviewees.
12. Semantic differential scales designate opposite extremes of a trait (for example, 'friendly' versus 'unfriendly') at either end of a line and leave a number of blank spaces between them. The participant places the answer along this scale according to his or her opinion of the topic (Fasold 1984: 150).
13. Perhaps this was the motivation behind Lalonde and Gardner (1985) designing a battery of tests for investigating attitudes.
14. One study which evidently has been able to separate attitudes toward the language from attitudes toward the people is that presented by Kraemer (1992). She examined attitudes in Arab and Jewish groups toward the Hebrew and Arabic languages and found that language attitudes did not change as a result of the Intifada, but attitudes toward people did.

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27

SOME AREAL PHONOLOGICAL ISOGLOSSES IN THE TRANSIT ZONE BETWEEN SOUTH AND CENTRAL ASIA

*Bertil Tikkanen**

Introduction: Where to Draw the Line between South and Central Asia

A couple of years ago during one of my field trips in the Karakoram, an educated Hunza man asked me where I thought Hunza is to be reckoned as belonging to, South Asia or Central Asia? I was reminded of Jettmar's, Dani's, and other scholars' studies of the Hindu Kush–Karakoram and Central Asia, but before I had time to think out an apt yet brief reply (in Burushaski), the Hunza man answered the question for me in a simple way: Central Asia. (By Central Asia he apparently meant in the first hand Chinese Turkestan [Xinjiang], Tajikistan, and perhaps Afghanistan and West Turkestan.)

This answer can be understood if we look at cultural and trade routes. It would, in fact, be legitimate to say that the whole multi-ethnic highland region from the Hindu Kush to the western Himalaya has just as close or even closer cultural ties to Central Asia than to South Asia (the Indo-Pakistani subcontinent).

But the seeming paradox is that if we consider only discrete linguistic features, this same highland region has in general more in common with the Indo-Pak subcontinent than with Central Asia. The main reason is that with the exception of Burushaski (central Hunza-Nager, Yasin) and West Tibetan (Baltistan), the languages of this region are mainly of Aryan stock (though of several branches and subgroups thereof). Many of the South Asian areal features go back to Old Indo-Aryan, which partly developed in this region on the prehistorical local substrata. With the spread of dialects and increasing language contacts in this region and on the subcontinent, the northwestern areal features spread and were brought down (or strengthened and modified) on the subcontinent, while distinctly subcontinental features diffused to the northwestern border zone.

By contrast, the present Central Asian languages (especially in the southern-central part) are chiefly of Turkic stock, which have spread over East Iranian territories in comparatively recent times. Their impact on the East Iranian languages has, therefore, been less profound than the impact of Indo-Aryan and even Burushaski on the latter.

Yet even this answer is too simplistic. The said highland region displays a number of areal features that are found neither on the Indo-Pakistani subcontinent nor in Central Asia. It is, in fact, part of what Toporov (1965, 1970) and Èdel'man (1968, 1980) have defined as the 'Central Asiatic (or Himalayan) linguistic union/area,' which also includes parts of the Indo-Gangetic region and the Himalayas.

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Although 'Central Asia' is normally used to denote a quite different, and generally much larger areal complex, the point is that the said convergence area is located in what is geographically and culturally part of (or on the border of) Central Asia rather than South Asia. Long-standing ethnic and cultural contacts between the many heterogeneous tribes of the mountain valleys of this highland complex have also led to a number of unifying cultural traits.

So the question is, does it make sense to draw a clear line between South and Central Asia at all, and thus force, for example, Hunza or Chitral into either one or the other? (Note, incidentally, that there are four quite distinct languages in Hunza: Dardic [NW Indo-Aryan] Shina, Central Indo-Aryan Domaki, East Iranian Wakhi, and the isolate Burushaski.) Would it not be better to identify and name a kind of intervening zone between South and Central Asia?

Before trying to define the diagnostic features of such a zone, let us first ask what the terms South Asia and Central Asia really mean. Unless we clearly state the diagnostic features of these areas, it is useless to try to define any intermediate zone between them.

Defining 'South Asia': Dental vs Retroflex Stops

There is only one linguistic feature that is diagnostic of the whole Indo-Pakistani subcontinent (except the northeastern corner) with surrounding islands (including the Andamans but not the Nicobars). This is the phonological opposition of dental (or denti-alveolar) and retroflex (or postalveolar) stops, that is /t/ versus /T/ (indicated on the isogloss map as t: T) usually also /d/ versus /D/ and, at least allophonically, /r/ versus /R/ (alveolar trill vs retroflex flap), all combinable with aspiration (see Fig. 26.1)

This feature stretches from Sri Lanka to the Wakhan Corridor (South Pamir) and the Tibetan Plateau, leaving only a few small empty patches for some of the Munda and Tibeto-Burman languages as well as westernmost Balochi of Iran (for a more detailed description, see Tikkanen [forthcoming]).

According to this criterion the languages of the above-mentioned northwestern highland region would belong to South Asia (cf., e.g., Burushaski /toq/ 'slime, muddy water' vs /Toq/ '(irrigated) pasture'). (Retroflex stops appear sporadically in Southeast Asia [e.g., Vietnamese word intially for < tr >] and north Asia [North Selkup], but these areas have never formed a contiguous whole.)

In addition to this macroareal isogloss, there is a bunch of morpho-syntactic traits, such as certain word-order features, echo-words, the explicator-compound verb, and the conjunctive participle (cf., e.g., Masica 1976), which are common on the subcontinent (including much of the northwestern border zone). Yet they are not areally diagnostic, since they are neither ubiquitous on the subcontinent, nor restricted to the latter (cf. Heston 1980, 1981). For example, the explicator-compound verb hardly exists as a category in the Munda languages nor in many of the border languages (in Burushaski and Iranian it is totally lacking). The conjunctive participle extends far into Central and parts of East Asia, showing quite a lot of typological heterogeneity in morpho-syntax, semantics, and pragmatics on a local level (cf. Tikkanen 1995: 517ff.).

History of Retroflex Stops in South Asia

The retroflex consonant phonemes are always marked with relation to the dental and/or palatal consonant phonemes. This would mean that no language in the world can have, for example, retroflex stops unless it also has dental stops.

The retroflex stops constitute an inherited feature in Dravidian and Burushaski, a proto-stage innovation in Indo-Aryan and Nuristani, an early innovation in Munda, and a comparatively late innovation in Tibeto-Burman, East Iranian, and Balochi (cf. Tikkanen [forthcoming]).

The retroflex phonemes are usually attributed at least in some degree to external influence in Aryan, Munda, and Tibeto-Burman, but the sources of this influence vary and may include extinct substrata. In East Iranian and Balochi the retroflex phonemes are mainly due to local Middle and New Indo-Aryan influences (Morgenstierne 1970: 339–42; Elfenbein 1989: 358 59; Bashir ms.: 1, 4–5). In Pamir Iranian we find a split so that retroflexes are no longer found north of the South Pamir group (Wakhi, Sanglichi, Ishkashmi, and the Yidgha dialect of Munji [not always grouped with Pamir Iranian]). Otherwise the North Pamir group (Yazghulami, Roshani, Shughni, Sariqoli, Oroshori, Bartangi, and some closely related dialects) shares so many specific areal features with the South Pamir group that linguists talk about a Pamir Sprachbund (cf. Payne 1989: 422). Retroflex phonemes nevertheless seem to have once existed in all Pamir Iranian languages, as they did even in (late) Khotanese Saka (Emmerick 1989: 209).

Unaspirated vs Aspirated Stops: A Partly Overlapping Macroareal Feature in South Asia

The above-mentioned South Asian areal isogloss (/t/: /T/, etc.) partly overlaps with the phonological opposition between unaspirated and aspirated stops (/t/: /th/, etc.). The latter macroareal feature cuts off some of the peripheral western and northern languages and leaves some empty patches elsewhere, but continues east and northeast of South Asia instead.

A subareal split is seen in that in the northwestern border zone of the subcontinent there are characteristically only voiceless aspirates (voiced aspirates being typically deaspirated). Partly connected with the aspirates and laryngeals or their losses, various toneme systemes exist in many of the languages of this zone and some neighbouring regions.

History of Aspirated Stops in South Asia

Indo-Aryan inherited both voiceless and voiced aspirates from Proto-Indo-European. In the Iranian branch (including Proto-Nuristani) all aspirates were lost. In the non-Indo-European South Asian languages, voiceless aspirates are found in Burushaski and Tibeto-Burman, but in the latter they are apparently secondary, and in Burushaski they seem to have had a more restricted status before the proto-stage.

In Dravidian, aspirates have developed in contact with Indo-Aryan, but have not yet reached all sister languages. Similarly, in the Munda languages, the aspirates are absent or secondary.

Defining Central Asia

Central Asia (in the larger and rather diffuse geographical and cultural sense as stretching from the Caspian Sea even to western Manchuria) cannot be defined as a linguistic area as uniformly as South Asia. In fact, it runs into the latter in terms of a bunch of syntactic features, which can be understood if we consider that not only Indo-European (or at least the Aryan branch of it), but perhaps also Dravidian and Burushaski, hail from Central Asia. (Burushaski has little in common in its structure with any of the present languages of either

Central or South Asia, yet it can be considered to be a Central Asian relic language that has partly entered the South Asian linguistic convergence area [cf. Berger 1992.])

A typical feature of many Central and some north(eastern) Asian languages is the phenomenon of vowel harmony. This feature is limited to the non-Indo-European languages, however. Hence it cannot be used to define the border between Central and South Asia, in which region there are so many Aryan languages.

Velar vs Uvular Stops: A Partly Overlapping Macroareal Feature

A more widespread, but somewhat erratic areal phonological feature is the phonological opposition (or at least complementary distribution and thus latent contrast) between velar and postvelar or uvular stops, that is, /k/ versus /q/, potentially also /kh/ versus /qh/ and /g/ versus /G/. (The postvelar or uvular stops are not to be confused with the postvelar or uvular fricatives /x/ and /GH/, which are more widespread, but less diagnostic.) This phonemic contrast is actually a macroareal feature extending from North Africa over southwestern Asia to large parts of (especially middle and southern) Central Asia and—discontinuously—some parts of north Asia (northwestern and northeastern Siberia) and even Southeast Asia (Khmer).

In Central Asia we find it in some of the Turkic languages (e.g., Uighur, Uzbek, and Kazakh) and in most of the Iranian languages, for example, Persian-Tajik, Yaghnobi, Yazghulami, Roshani, Shughni, and Sariqoli. From North Pamir it extends south into South Pamir, Hindu Kush, Karakoram, and parts of Kohistan, that is to say into languages which by virtue of the contrast between dental and retroflex stops were seen to be part of the South Asian convergence area (cf., e.g., Burushaski /Tok/ 'whole, all' vs /Toq/ 'pasture'; /hik/ 'one' vs /hiq méetas/ 'to have a hiccup').

The languages south of North Pamir which exhibit this feature with varying strength are Sanglichi, Ishkashmi, Munji, Yidgha (uncertain), Wakhi, Parachi, Ormuri, Pashto, Kati, Waigali, Khowar, Kalasha, Dameli, Pashai, some Kohistani dialects (at least Kalami of Swat Kohistan and Maiyan of Indus Kohistan), Kohistani Shina, Domaki, Burushaski, and Balti.

Further down on the subcontinent it is also found in the (Persianized) lingua franca Urdu and mainly through the medium of Urdu sporadically in some other subcontinental languages.

The fact that the uvular stop in many cases is restricted to ultimately Arabic and Turkic loanwords, its being a loan phoneme in Pashto, Persian, Urdu, and many other languages is of no consequence for the areal analysis. In places where it is apparently extremely marginal (occurring only in a very few loanwords or only very rarely in speech), it has not been plotted on the isogloss map.

History of Uvular Stops in Central Asia

The phonemic contrast between velar and postvelar or uvular stops is inherited in Burushaski (/k/: /q/, /kh/: /qh/, /g/: /G/) and some north Asian relic languages (e.g., Ket alias Yenisey-Ostyak, which migrated north from the lower Yenisey region bordering on Central Asia some centuries ago).

In the Turkic as well as Mongolic languages (previously usually subsumed with Tungusic as 'Altaic'), /q/ was originally allophonic (occurring only with back vowels), which it has remained in most Turkic languages, such as Turkish, Tatar, Turkmenian, Bashkir, and Kirghiz. In most Mongolic languages (related to Mongolian) it has simply vanished (see, e.g., Poppe

1965: 54f.) In Iranian, Indo-Aryan, and the Tibeto-Burman Balti, it is a comparatively recent innovation, and the opposition /k/ versus /q/ is not always very strongly established in the Aryan languages (except in Persian-Tajik, Pamir Iranian, Khowar, and apparently some Kohistani and Shina dialects).

Defining the Transit Zone between South and Central Asia: Intersection of Retroflex and Uvular Stops

It can now be seen that the intersection of these macroareal features (/t/: /T/, etc., and /k/: /q, etc.) describes a *transit zone* between South Asia and Central Asia. This transit zone extends roughly from the Wakhan Corridor (South Pamir) over the Hindu Kush and Sulaiman to the borders of Balochistan (in the southwest) and over the Karakoram and Kohistan to the borders of Kashmir (in the southeast), and from the Hindu Kush (in the northwest) over the Karakoram to Baltistan (in the northeast).

This would mean that South Asia (proper) stops roughly at the line of Sulaiman–Hindu Kush–Kohistan and Central Asia starts at Wakhan, while the intervening region is a transit zone which would need a separate name. (North Selkup, a Samoyed language in northwestern Siberia far outside the transit zone, has also /t/: /T/ and /k/: /q/; Juha Janhunen, personal communication)

As can be expected, the transit zone has several macroareal features in common with other areal configurations, especially South Asia. But in addition it has some microareal features diagnostic of itself or parts of itself.

Palatal vs Sental Affricates: A Macroareal Feature including the Transit Zone

The most widespread of the macroareal features of the transit zone is the phonemic contrast between palatal (or alveopalatal) and dental (or denti-alveolar) affricates (/ch/ vs. /cs/ [ts], occasionally also /chh/ vs /csh/, rarely /j/ vs /jz/ [dz], cf., e.g., Burushaski /chak/ 'pickaxe' vs. /csak/ 'sluice'). This isogloss extends from the western and northern edges of the transit zone over the Hindu Kush, the Kohistan, Karakoram, the Pamir, and the Himalayas all the way to China, leaving some empty patches in the Himalayas.

The principal languages of the transit zone that fall within this areal isogloss are: Yazghulami, Roshani, Shughni, Sariqoli, Sanglichi, Ishkashmi, Yidgha, Munji, Wakhi, Ormuri, Pashto, Kati, Ashkun, Waigali, Prasun, Khowar, Kalasha, Palula (Phalura), Dameli, Gawar-bati, Pashai, 'Kohistani' (a general term for Diri, Kalami, Torwali, Maiyan, and some other distinct Dardic languages in Swat and Indus Kohistan), Shina (with its many divergent 'dialects'), Domaki, Burushaski, and Balti.

This feature is lacking in Parachi, which otherwise belongs to the transit zone. On the other hand, it continues further southeast to Kashmiri and many 'West Pahari' (Himachali) dialects, which otherwise do not belong to the transit zone. This feature crops up also in another, independent, convergence area, viz., Central India (in Marathi, North Kannada, Telugu, South Oriya, Gondi, and some minor Dravidian and Munda languages).

History of Dental Affricates in the Transit Zone

In Burushaski and probably also Sino-Tibetan (including Tibeto-Burman), the contrast between palatal and dental affricates (with or without aspiration) is inherited from the respective proto-stages. In the Aryan branch it is an innovation, being oldest in the Nuristani branch or subgroup, where it can be reconstructed to the proto-stage (Nelson 1986: 53). Elsewhere in the Aryan languages it is a less ancient innovation, typically connected with the depalatalization of palatal affricates and secondary emergence of palatal affricates through the palatalization of dentals and similar combinatory changes.

Palatal vs Retroflex Sibilants: A Microareal Feature of the Transit Zone

Within the transit zone inside the above-mentioned isogloss /ch/: /cs/ there are some other more or less concentric microareal isoglosses. The largest of these is the presence of a phonemic contrast between palatal and retroflex, and if so, also palatal and dental sibilants (/s/ vs /sh/ vs /S/, often also voiced, cf., e.g., Burushaski /sákaY/ 'roof granary' vs /shak/ 'thigh [of animal]' vs /Sak/ 'noose').

Distribution and History of Retroflex Sibilants in the Transit Zone

This isogloss coincides in the north at the Wakhan Corridor (South Pamir) with the South Asian isogloss dental versus retroflex stops (/t/: /T/). Though the retroflex sibilant phoneme was once widespread in the entire northern part of the subcontinent, it is hardly found south of Kohistan any more. In the west it re-emerges in the southwestern dialects of Pashto (the other dialects having changed the retroflex sibilants into palatals or velars). In the east it extends to West Tibetan (Balti, Purik, and Ladakhi) and it also appears in Chinese, which at the archaic stage had developed a complete series of retroflex stops, sibilants, and affricates (Li 1983: 397). (From the areal linguistic point of view, Chinese belongs to East Asia and is, of course, well outside the transit zone; the misleading letter < q > in the official Pinyin transcription of Chinese signifies an aspirated palatal affricate and not a uvular stop.) The retroflex sibilant is claimed to occur at least as a variant pronunciation of /sr/ in Central Tibetan dialects as well, but on tapes that I have listened to one can still discern the /r/ in this cluster.

The retroflex sibilant phonemes go back to the proto-stage in Burushaski (where the voiced retroflex sibilant /Z/ is an allophone of the voiced retroflex affricate /J/). Usually connected with sound changes especially in combination with other retroflexes and /r/, they constitute a proto-stage innovation in Indo-Aryan and Nuristani, being of more recent origin in East Iranian and (West) Tibetan.

Palatal vs Retroflex Affricates: Another Microareal Feature of the Transit Zone

The above-mentioned areal isogloss is closely matched by another, smaller isogloss that peels off the peripheral western, eastern, and southern languages (Sanglichi, Ormuri, Parachi, Prasun, Pashto, and Balti) of the transit zone. This is the phonemic contrast between palatal and retroflex affricates (/ch/ vs /Ch/, occasionally also as aspirated and voiced: /chh/ vs /Chh/ and /j/ vs /J/), for example, Burushaski /cham étas/ 'to chop' vs /Cham/ 'pain'.

Ramanujan and Masica (1969: 555) have tried to plot phonological isoglosses of South Asia, but fail to clearly state the existence of retroflex sibilants and affricates in much of the northwestern border zone. A similar study, but largely restricted to the Aryan languages, was published by Èdel'man in 1968. (A somewhat more accurate isogloss map of different retroflex typologies in South Asia with explanations of their origins will appear in Tikkanen forthcoming).)

The contrast between palatal and retroflex affricates is highly marked. It implies a contrast between palatal and dental affricates, while the latter contrast does not imply the former. In other words, in terms of markedness, /Ch/ is more marked than /cs/, which is more marked than /ch/ (cf. the series /s/: /sh/: /S/). (These two rare series have evolved independently at a considerable distance from the transit zone in some eastern Finno-Ugric languages, namely, Ostyak/Hanti (which also has /n/: /N/ and /l/: /L/) in northwestern Siberia, and Zyrian/Komi as well as Udmurt/Votyak in the Volga region in eastern Russia; Juha Janhunen, personal communication)

History of Retroflex Affricates in the Transit Zone

Historically, retroflex affricates are original in Burushaski (both as voiceless and voiced, and if voiceless, unaspirated or aspirated). They represent a proto-stage combinatory sound change (c < *Ks < *Ks) in the Nuristani branch or subgroup. Although they may have existed in Proto-Indo-Aryan, they are secondary (Ch < kS, tr, etc.) in Dardic (NW Indo-Aryan) and, of course, East Iranian. In the Lhasa dialect of Central Tibetan, retroflex affricates are claimed to realize the cluster /tr/, and so forth, but on textbook tapes that I have heard, the /r/ is mostly still discernible in these clusters.

Areal Split within the Transit Zone: Dental vs Retroflex Nasal

The transit zone is then split in half by a South Asian areal feature, the phonological contrast between dental and retroflex nasals (/n/ vs /N/). In general this contrast disappears above the line of Kohistani-Shina, except for Sanglichi and Yidgha in northeastern Hindu Kush—southwestern Pamir. Hence this isogloss cuts off most of the northernmost languages (viz., Munji, Ishkashmi, Wakhi, Khowar, Kalasha, Prasun, Burushaski, Domaki, Balti, and some dialects of Shina) of the transit zone.

It can thus be seen that the languages above this isogloss are less closely connected with South Asia, since this isogloss continues south of the Hindu Kush and Kohistan onto the subcontinent, where it is typically expanded into an opposition between dental and retroflex laterals (/l/ vs /L/) as well (found also in Sanglichi and dialectically in Wakhi).

History of Retroflex Nasal in South Asia (including the Transit Zone)

In the Aryan languages the retroflex nasal phoneme is the outcome of early sound changes in combination with especially /r/ or by assimilation to other retroflexes (with simultaneous or subsequent loss of conditioning environments).

In Indo-Aryan and Nuristani these sound changes took place in the respective proto-stages, in East Iranian much later, in the Middle Iranian period.

The retroflex nasal phoneme is lacking in Burushaski and generally in Tibeto-Burman. In Dravidian it is inherited from the proto-stage, where it seems to have evolved mainly through combinatory sound changes in connection with retroflex liquids, which were part of the Proto-Dravidian phonemic inventory (cf. Zvelebil 1970: 102–04, 173–77, etc.). In Indo-Aryan the retroflex laterals are an early (north)western dialectal development mainly of intervocalic/- D(h)-.

Non-phonological Features Partly Overlapping with the Transit Zone

Vigesimal basis in higher numerals

A macroareal non-phonological feature that partly overlaps with and partly exceeds the isoglosses of the transit zone is the vigesimal(-decimal) basis in higher numerals (i.e., counting by twenties or twenties and tens).

This feature, which often goes together with the n0+n rather than n+n0 structure in numerals (especially in the transit zone), skips over some of the peripheral languages and dialects of the transit zone, such as Shughni, Sariqoli, Munji, and dialects of Pashto. As if to recompense that, it occurs dialectically in Lahnda, Balochi, and Tajik as well as many Himalayan languages. It is furthermore found in some central and eastern regions of the subcontinent, and sporadically elsewhere in Eurasia, for example, Caucasia, Trans-Caucasia, and parts of Western Europe (Édel'man 1968: 92f., 1975: 36f., 1993).

Non-split Ergative System

Within or partly overlapping with the transit zone there are also morpho-syntactic areal features, such as the use of the ergative case with transitive verbs irrespective of tense or aspect. This kind of aspectually non-split ergativity connects Burushaski, Domaki, Balti, and Shina with many of the Tibeto-Burman and some Pahari (North Indo-Aryan) languages. This feature is original in Burushaski and quite ancient also in Tibeto-Burman (cf. Lorimer 1937; Bashir 1988; and Tikkanen 1988 for further microareal features in the Hindu Kush–Karakoram.)

The Question of a Burushaski Substratum in the Transit Zone

Now it appears that all the above-mentioned areal features of the transit zone are inherited not only in Burushaski but also in innovations elsewhere (with the exception of the contrast between palatal and dental affricates (/ch/ vs /cs/, etc.), which may be inherited in Tibeto-Burman as well). We might then assume with inter alia Toporov and Èdel'man that at least some of them have diffused from Burushaski (or a Burushaski substratum).

The problem is that it is hard to reconstruct Burushaski on the basis of its three rather closely related dialects to a time comparable to Proto-Indo-Aryan and Proto-Nuristani or, in some ways, even Proto-Dardic and Early Middle East Iranian. By internal reconstruction we can, of course, increase the time depth. But the absolute chronology of changes remains rather obscure, since we have so little external evidence for these changes. Old Indo-Aryan loanwords in Burushaski (and some Burushaski loanwords in Old Indo-Aryan) with retroflex stops and sibilants indicate

that at least these retroflex consonant phonemes existed even before the proto-stage of Burushaski. There is no need to view the uvular series as borrowed in Burushaski either.

The numerous efforts to link Burushaski genealogically with some other language family have not stood up to critical examination in the light of the historical-comparative method. Toporov's (1971) comparisons with the Yeniseyan (as well as Caucasian) languages might hold some promise, but the very meagre lexical evidence is not enough to set up sound laws, without which no genetic relationship can be established. Distant relationships beyond the family level are possible, but we have no scientific method for establishing them. A priori there is no problem in postulating at least as great a density of distinct language families for the highland regions of Central Asia as we postulate for, say, (Trans-)Caucasus or Mesopotamia.

Klimov and Èdel'man (1995) have recently presented a more optimistic view on the perspectives of reconstructing Burushaski with the additional help of the typological and areal methods. Unfortunately, their reconstructions are also, whatever the method, flawed by their exclusively secondary and occasionally erroneous data regarding especially the Hunza and Nager dialects of Burushaski, for which Lorimer's pioneering work (1935–38) is not sufficiently accurate.

A further complication is that Burushaski was hardly the only pre-Aryan language (family or branch) in the Hindu Kush–Kohistan-Karakoram-Pamir when the Aryan tribes arrived there. The toponymy of the Burushaski speaking valleys (Hunza, Nager, Yasin) is full of items without a proper Burushaski etymology. (More etymologies might be established, if a greater proportion of the native vocabulary had been preserved.)

There are, nevertheless, certain syntactic and other features that suggest a Burushaski-type substratum in Pamir (cf. Toporov 1970; Èdel'man 1976, 1980, 1983, 1984) and northeastern Hindu Kush (in Kalasha and Khowar; cf. Bashir 1988, 1995). Burushaski toponyms occur widely in the Gilgit and Ghizer districts and Upper Chitral (Bashir 1995), although Burushaski loanwords are not very common in the transit zone. Yet the strongest Burushaski substratum is in Shina (the language of the Gilgit region).

Conclusion

The conclusion that can be drawn from this brief survey of mainly phonological areal features and their history is that the vast multi-ethnic highland region from the Hindu Kush to the Karakoram and South Pamir to Kohistan constitutes a linguistic convergence area described by the intersection of two macroareal features (/t/: /T/ and /k/: /q/) and a cluster of micro- and macroareal features. These features are largely the outcome of extended contacts, as supported by certain cultural isoglosses in this region.

Historical analysis shows that some of these microareal features are very ancient and have had a wider or different distribution in earlier, Proto- and Old Indo-Aryan, times (e.g. the retroflex sibilants and nasal). Where these features are very early innovations (Proto-Indo-Aryan, Proto-Nuristani), they may originate in a substratum or substrata other than (the present branch of) Burushaski, inasmuch as they cluster with certain other innovations alien to Burushaski (cf. Tikkanen 1988).

This substratum or these substrata could stem from the pre-Aryan northern Neolithic cultures of Kashmir and Swat, the linguistic identities of which are still unknown (for the chronology and cultural connections with eastern Tibet or China, see Xu 1991 and Nakamura 1993). The (controversial) foreign lexical elements in Vedic Sanskrit are still partly unclarified and might in some cases derive from these substrata.

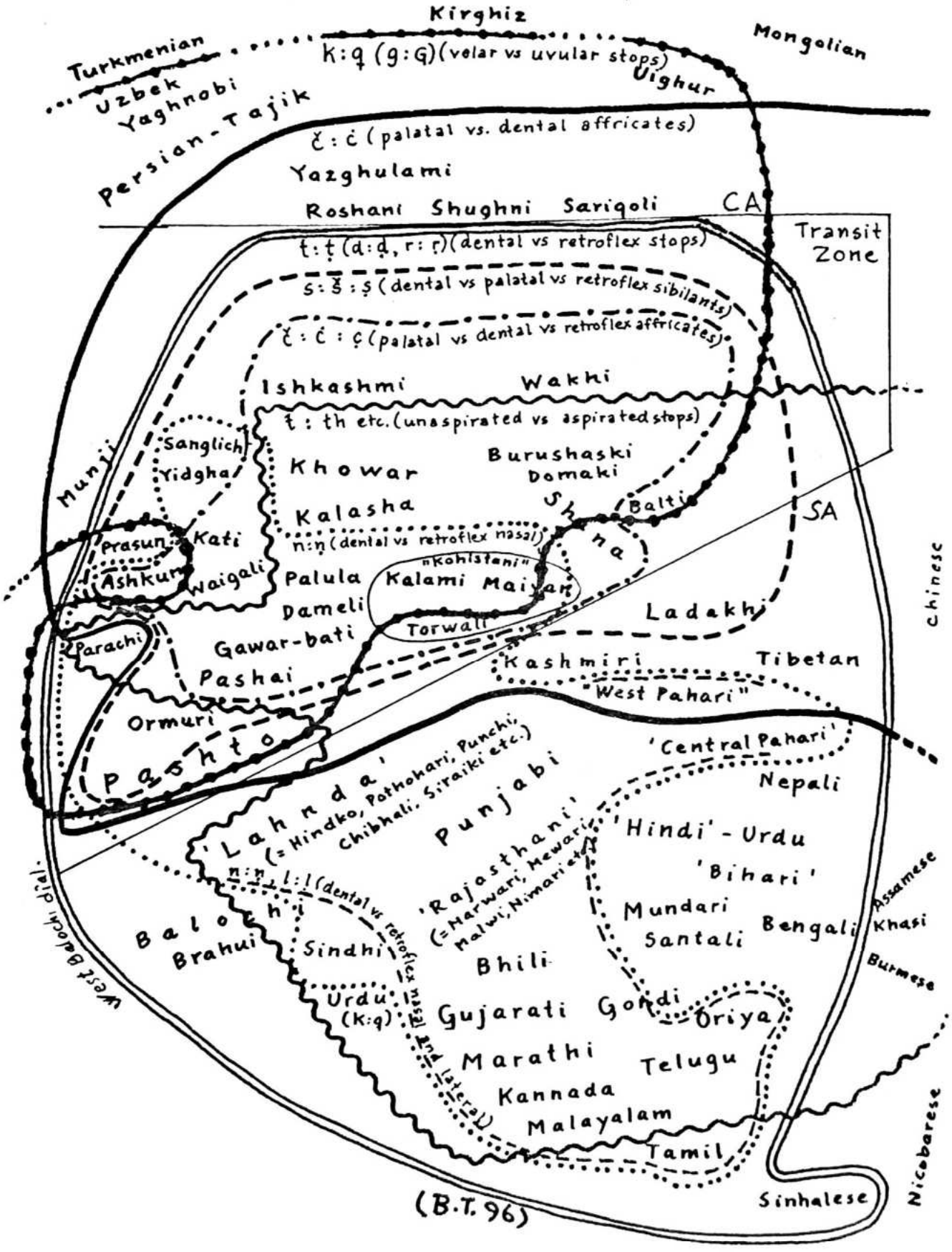
The other areal features are spatially more confined or less ancient. In many cases they ultimately suggest or harmonize with a Burushaski substratum in northeastern Hindu Kush, Karakoram, and Pamir. Such are the tripartite affricate series (especially /ch/: /Ch/), counting by twenties and aspect-wise non-split ergative.

Many other areal features on various levels, including loanwords, have been explored by Èdel'man, Fussman, Bashir, and Tikkanen (see references), but most of these items are confined to the upper portion of the transit zone or represent large Central/north Asian areal features (e.g., the grammaticization of inferentiality in Khowar, Kalasha, the Yasin dialect of Burushaski, Balti, Tibetan, etc.; cf. Bashir 1995). But again corroborating archaeological evidence for postulating a Burushaski substratum in the whole transit zone is lacking, as none of the Burushaski speaking valleys (Hunza, Nager, Yasin) and few of the other mountain valleys of the upper transit zone have been excavated.

One feature (the uvular stop) forms a link between Central and South Asia, reflecting both Burushaski and Central Asian Iranian influence in the transit zone. Burushaski influence would explain its occurrence in Domaki and perhaps in Balti. Khowar has more probably developed this feature under Pamir Iranian influence, although multiple causation cannot be precluded. In the other Dardic languages, many of whose speakers are bilingual in Pashto, one might expect influence from this lingua franca of northwestern Pakistan. A problem is that the uvular stop is said to occur only in educated speech in Pashto, whereas it has, in spite of its rareness and partly borrowed character, no such restriction in Kohistani Shina of Palas (Ruth Laila Schmidt, personal communication). Of course, Urdu influence cannot be excluded either, in spite of the modest rate of literacy in this region. Joan Baart (personal communication) considers it possible that the uvular stop has developed spontaneously in Kalam Kohistani. If that is the case, it should remind us that all areal isoglosses do not necessarily imply externally induced convergence.

Returning to the original question as to which geographical region Hunza is part of, we can answer that it belong neither South nor Central Asia, but rather to an intervening (highland) zone which is still looking for a name. Étienne Tiffou has in a private discussion suggested 'North Intercontinent' for this region. With his permission I here put forward this new name for consideration.

Fig. 27.1 Areal Phonological Isoglosses in Transit Zone between South and Central Asia



List of representative languages on the (schematic) isogloss map according to language families (concentration on the transit zone):
Austroasiatic: Munda branch: Mundari, Santali. Mon-Khmer branch: Khasi, Nicobarese.
Dravidian: North: Brahui; Central: Gondi, Telugu; South: Kannada, Malayalam, Tamil. Indo-European:
Indo-Aryan branch: Assamese, Bengali, Bhili, 'Bihari' (Bhojpuri, Magahi, Maithili, Sadani/Sadri), 'Central Pahari' (Garhwali, Kumaoni), Dameli, Domaki, Gawar-bati, Gujarati, 'Hindi' (Awadhi, Braj, Bundeli, Bagheli, Chattisgarhi, Khariboli), Kalasha, Kashmiri, 'Kohistani' (Diri, Kalami, Torwali; Maiyan, etc.), 'Lahnda' (Hindko, Pothohari, Punchi, Siraiki, etc.), Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Punjabi, Palula (Phalura), 'Rajasthani' (Jaipuri, Harauti, Malwi, Marwari, Mewati, Nimari), Shina, Sindhi, Sinhalese, Urdu, 'West Pahari' ('Himachali': Baghati, Bhadarwahi, Chameali, Jaunsari, Kului, Kyonthli, Kotgarhi, Mandeali, Padari, Sirmauri, etc.).
Iranian branch: Balochi, Ishkashmi, Munji, Ormuri, Parachi, Pashto, Persian, Roshani, Sanglichi, Sariqoli, Shughni, Tajik, Wakhi, Yaghnobi, Yazghulami, Yidgha.
Nuristani branch (or subgroup of Iranian?): Ashkun, Kati, Prasun, Waigali.
Mongolic (previously subsumed with Turkic and Tungusic as 'Altaic'): Mongolian.
Sino-Tibetan:
Tibeto-Burman branch: Balti, Burmese, Ladakhi, Tibetan.
Sinitic branch: Chinese.
Turkic: Kirghiz, Turkmenian, Uighur, Uzbek.
Unrelated: Burushaski.

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28

THE TONES OF KALAM KOHISTANI (GARWI, BASHKARIK)

*Joan L.G. Baart**

Summary

It has been observed that tonal phenomena occur in quite a few languages of the north-western corner of the subcontinent. This paper presents a study of the tone system of one of these languages: Kalam Kohistani. After establishing that Kalam Kohistani has five contrastive tones: a high tone, a low tone, a rising tone, and two types of falling tone, I propose an analysis using concepts from the theory of autosegmental phonology (Goldsmith 1990). Furthermore, some observations are made on the relation between aspiration and tone, and on the functional load of tone in Kalam Kohistani.

1. Introduction

Kalam Kohistani is spoken in the upper parts of Swat Kohistan in Pakistan's North-West Frontier Province. The principal Kalam Kohistani speaking villages in Swat Kohistan are Kalam, Utror, Ushu, and Matiltan. The same language is also spoken across the mountains in the west, in Dir Kohistan, where Thal, Lamuti, Bihar, and Birikot are the main Kohistani speaking villages. In the Linguistic Survey of India, the language goes by the name of *Garwi* (Grierson 1919: 507ff.). Barth (1956: 52) reports that *Gawri* is a more accurate form of this name. Morgenstierne (1940) calls it *Bashkarik*. Among the Kalami people these names are hardly used, if at all familiar. They themselves normally call their language simply *Kohistani* (Barth 1956: 52, Rensch 1992: 5).

Kalam Kohistani, along with Torwali (which neighbours it in the south) and Indus Kohistani (which neighbours it in the east), is classified as belonging to the Central or Kohistani group of Dardic languages (Strand 1973: 302). Dardic in turn, belongs to the north western branch of Indo-Aryan. The exact number of speakers of Kalam Kohistani is not known, but the present-day (1995) figure is probably in the range of 60,000 to 80,000 speakers, including those in Dir Kohistan.

The data on which this study is based was collected between October 1991 and August 1995. In this period, I was able to spend four summers in Kalam, and make several shorter trips to the area. My principal informant was Shahe-Room, a jeep driver from Kalam Kas, who is in his thirties. Data was checked extensively with another speaker, Muhammad Zaman, a young college student from village Shahoo. Both are native speakers of Kalam Kohistani (it should be noted, though, that MZ has a Kalami father and a Torwali mother, and is bilingual from early childhood). In a less formal way, many other Kalami people have shared information about their language.

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The remainder of this paper is organized as follows: in section 2 I briefly discuss the term *tone*. This is followed by a few notes on tone in other languages of the region. Section 3 presents a summary of the Kalam Kohistani phoneme system and how it is symbolized in this paper. In section 4 I discuss the methodology followed in my study of Kalami tone. On the basis of the observations presented in section 5, I argue that Kalam Kohistani has five contrastive tones: a high tone, a low tone, a rising tone, and two types of falling tone. Section 6 discusses how the tones can be represented in a phonological analysis. The subject of section 7 is the correlation between aspiration and low or rising tone, and the use of tone in marking lexical and grammatical contrasts in Kalam Kohistani. Section 8 summarizes the findings and indicates areas for future investigation.

2. Tone

When people speak, we can hear their voice go up and down over the course of an utterance (sentence). These *pitch fluctuations*, as they are usually called, are primarily related to the rate of vibration of the vocal cords. A slower rate of vibration corresponds to lower pitch, a faster rate of vibration to higher pitch.

In language, pitch fluctuations normally perform several functions. In English for instance, pitch functions at the level of the sentence and may convey information about the attitude of the speaker toward the meaning of the sentence. Pitch may also be used to emphasize important words in a sentence; a rise of pitch on such a word, or sometimes a lowering of pitch, has this effect. Pitch may also function at the level of consonants and vowels: in many languages, voiced plosives such as *b* and *d* result in relatively low pitch on the initial part of a following vowel, voiceless plosives (*p, t*, etc.) in relatively high pitch, and this difference may be an important cue in the perception of the voiced-voiceless distinction (cf. Clark & Yallop 1990: 282–84 and references cited there). In *tone languages*, differences in pitch may be used to distinguish different words or grammatical elements.

These different functions of pitch: at the level of the sentence, at the level of the word, and at the level of the individual sounds, may be present simultaneously in one utterance in one particular language. In an analysis of the sound system of a language, they need to be carefully disentangled.

The term *tone* has been defined in many different ways. According to one point of view (e.g., McCawley 1964, cited in Fromkin 1978: 3), tone is distinguished from other uses of pitch by its *lexicalness*, that is: tone is an inherent property of the words of a language. In this view, we speak of tone when a word (or a smaller meaningful unit such as a suffix or prefix) brings its own pitch characteristics to the utterance. In a non-tonal language like English, this is not the case. The shape of the pitch contour with which a word is pronounced in English (for instance a rising pitch, followed by a falling pitch) is not tied to the word as such. It can always be replaced by another contour (for instance a stretch of low pitch, followed by a rise) without affecting the identity of the word, although changing the pitch contour will normally involve a change of intonational meaning.

One way to test for the presence of tone in a language is to use a sentence frame such as 'could you show me the ___ once more', and substitute many different words for the underlined blank (*could you show me the table once more*; *could you show me the boxonce more*; *could you show me the apple once more*; etc.). In English the same pitch contour (for instance involving a rising and falling pitch on the substitution word) could be used for each of the resulting sentences. In a tone language one will find that, when put in the sentence frame, some substitution words necessarily carry a different pitch contour from other words in that slot (although this

difference may not show up in each and every sentence frame that is constructed). One may find, for instance, that many words carry a falling pitch, while some words are consistently spoken with a rising pitch. This constitutes evidence that the language is tonal.

If there is tone in a language, chances are that the different tones are *contrastive*, that is, they may be used as the sole distinction between different words or grammatical elements. Kalam Kohistani has many examples of this, such as *boor* 'lion' (with high tone) versus *boor* 'Pathan' (with low tone). Other languages may have tone but none or only very few of such *minimal pairs*.

Tonal phenomena have been observed in quite a few languages of the northwestern corner of the subcontinent, although most of these have not been extensively studied. Punjabi is a classic example; its words are grouped into three tone classes: those with low-rising tone, those with high-falling tone, and those with *neutral* or *unmarked* tone. A relation was noted between the loss of voiced aspirates (*bh*, *dh*, etc.) and the emergence of tone in Punjabi (cf. Masica 1991: 118–19 and references cited there). In the Northern Areas, Shina and Burushaski appear to have tone systems that are surprisingly similar to each other, where long vowels may sometimes bear a conspicuous low-rising tone, contrasting with the falling pattern occurring elsewhere. In Chitral District, Khowar and Dameli are languages for which a distinctive low-rising tone has been observed (Morgenstierne 1932: 49, 1942).

Concerning Kalam Kohistani (or rather its Dir Kohistan dialect, which he called Bashkarik, as was remarked above), Morgenstierne (1940: 210) noted a distinction between a rising and a falling tone in several monosyllables. He went on to say: 'The short time at my disposal did, however, render a thorough investigation of this interesting problem impossible.' The present paper takes up the challenge that Morgenstierne left us, even though it does not contain the last word on Kalam Kohistani tone, either.

3. The Kalam Kohistani Phoneme System

3.1 Vowels

Kalam Kohistani has a system of six short vowels that each have a long counterpart. These are presented in Table 27.1. In this paper, a long vowel is indicated by writing the vowel symbol twice.

Table 28.1 Kalam Kohistani Oral Vowels

	Front	Back
Close	i, ii	u, uu
Mid	e, ee	o, oo
Open	ä, ää	a, aa

Vowel *changes* play an important role in the morphology. Many nouns form their *inflected form* (used to indicate *plural* as well as *oblique case*) by means of a vowel change, as in *shaak* 'a piece of wood,' *shääk* 'pieces of wood.' Different forms of adjectives (*masculine*, *masculine inflected*, *feminine*) are also related through vowel changes, as in *raan* masculine 'good,' *rään* masculine inflected 'good,' *reen* feminine 'good,' and so are the endings on verb tenses (indicating agreement with a masculine singular, masculine plural, or feminine noun

phrase). Finally, where masculine nouns have feminine counterparts, these too are often related through a vowel change, as in *kukur* 'rooster,' *kikir* 'hen.'

The front vowels all have a palatalizing effect on preceding velar consonants. *k*, *g*, and *ng* are pronounced [ky], [gy], and [ngy] when a front vowel follows, as in *gään* 'big,' which is pronounced [gyään].

Most vowels have nasalized counterparts. In this paper these are written with a tilde (~) following the vowel, as in *maa~* 'my.' In my data only the short vowel *o*does not have a nasalized counterpart.

3.2 Consonants

The inventory of consonants is presented in Table 28.2. For typographical convenience, uppercase characters are used to represent the series of retroflex consonants: *T, Th, D, C, Ch, S, R, N*. Capital *G* is used for the voiced velar fricative.

Aspirated plosives and affricates are written with digraphs: *ph, th, Th,* and so on. The voiceless palatal grooved fricative is written *sh*, like in the English *ship*. *ll* is a voiceless lateral fricative. *l* and *ll* are separate phonemes (for instance *laam* 'village' vs *llaam* 'cedar wood'), but there is a close affinity between the two: *ll* may turn into *l* before a voiced consonant, as in *pall mänää~* (pronounced [paal mänää~]) 'it is called a leaf.'

f and *q* mainly occur in loanwords and tend to be replaced by *p* and *x*, respectively. *G*, z, and *x*, too, mainly occur in loanwords. The status of three elements: *N* (the retroflex nasal), *ng* (the velar nasal), and *R* (the retroflex flap), is not fully clear to me. *N* and *ng* might be analysed as sequences of two phonemes (*n*+*D* and *n*+*g*, respectively). *R* might be analysed as a variant of *D*. There are arguments for and against these analyses and I will keep the question open for the moment.

Table 28.2 Kalam Kohistani Consonants

	Labial	Dental	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Postvelar
plosives	ph	th	Th		kh	q
	p	t	T		k	
	b	d	D		g	
affricates		tsh	Ch	ch		
		ts	C	c		
				j		h
fricatives	f	s	S	sh	x	
		z			G	
glides	w			y		
nasals	m	n	N		ng	
laterals		l, ll				
flaps		r	R			

4. Method

For the investigation of Kalam Kohistani tone, a list of eighty-six nouns was compiled in such a way that words with different numbers of syllables were represented (one-syllable words,

two-syllable words, and three-syllable words), different perceived stress patterns were represented (stress on the last syllable of the word, and stress on the second-to-last syllable), as well as different suspected tone categories (at the time when the list was being compiled, it was already clear from informal observation that there were at least two different tones). This list is given in Appendix I. Nouns were used in this initial study, rather than verbs or adjectives, because they are easier to fit in different kinds of sentence frames.

Eight sentence frames (see section 2 above) were constructed, accounting for different positions in the sentence in which the substitution words could occur. One important distinction here is whether the substitution word is the last word in the sentence or not. In tone languages, sentence intonation may affect the shape of the tones of words, particularly in sentence-final position. So, a frame was included where the substitution word is the last word in the sentence, while in other frames it was not the last word. Also, different syntactic positions for the substitution slot were taken into account, such as subject, object of a verb, and object of a postposition. In order to account for the possibility of tones influencing the shape of neighbouring tones, I tried to vary the words surrounding the substitution slot in such a way that some would always carry high pitch, and some low pitch. The eight sentence frames are given in Table 28.3, with the word *där* 'door' in the substitution slot for illustration.

Table 28.3 Eight Sentence Frames Used to Investigate Kalam Kohistani Tone

Frame A:	ii~ <u>där</u> this door	this is a door
Frame B:	ii~ <u>där</u> ii~maag thuu this door here is	this door is here
Frame C:	ii~ miish kee <u>där</u> thuu this man near door is	near this man is a door
Frame D:	ii~ miish mäkä <u>där</u> päshaant this man to.me door is.showing	this man is showing me a door
Frame E:	ii~ miish <u>där</u> mäkä päshaant this man door to.me is.showing	this man is showing me the door
Frame F:	ii~ poo <u>där</u> kee bääSt this boy door with sat.down	this boy is sitting next to the door
Frame G:	ii~maag <u>där</u> naa~t here door is.not	there is no door here
Frame H:	ääskä <u>där</u> mänää~ to.this door they.say	this is called a door

In all, 8 x 86 different sentences were constructed. These were recorded on audio tape (except for a number of sentences that were deemed unnatural or inappropriate by the informant), with my principal informant SR as speaker.

Next, a phonetic transcription was made of the utterances on the tape, including a transcription of the course of pitch over each utterance. In the transcription of pitch, I greatly benefited from the use of the CECIL acoustic speech analysis system (Summer Institute of Languages 1990). CECIL is a small, portable system that is used in conjunction with an MS-DOS personal computer. Among other things, it produces graphical representations of a number of acoustic properties of speech. One of those properties is *fundamental frequency*, the acoustic correlate of pitch. The pitch graphs that are presented in the discussion below were produced with this system.

On the basis of the data thus collected, it appeared that the words of the word list could be grouped into five different tone classes, each with its own pitch characteristics. Once this had been established, I was able to extend the analysis to most of the other language data that I have collected so far, including grammatical categories other than nouns (verbs, adjectives, etc.). This resulted in the discovery of many minimal pairs that provide ample evidence for contrast between the five tones.

5. Contrastive Tone in Kalam Kohistani

In this section, I present evidence illustrating the different pitch patterns for each of the five tones. One-syllable words will be looked at first, next multisyllable words are discussed. Following this, minimal pairs are presented for each of the theoretically possible contrasts.

5.1 Evidence for Monosyllables

5.1.1 High, level tone

Fig. 28.1 presents the pitch graph for the word *där* 'door', put in the frame sentence C: *ii~ miish kee <u>där</u> thuu* 'near this man is a door.' In Fig. 28.1, the phonemic annotation directly above the graph indicates what part of the graph corresponds to each sound in the sentence. The beginning and end of the substitution word *där* are marked by vertical lines. The two parallel dotted lines in the graph mark the upper and lower extremes between which pitch fluctuates. They are slightly slanted, indicating that average pitch decreases over the course of an utterance. This tendency for average pitch to start relatively high and end relatively low is called *declination* in the phonetic literature, and is assumed to occur universally in the languages of the world (cf. Clark & Yallop 1990: 284).

In this particular frame sentence, pitch is normally low on the word *kee* 'near' that precedes the substitution word, and is also low on the word *thuu* 'is' that follows. What we observe for this example is that pitch rises to a relatively high level early in the word *där*, and remains high throughout the word.

As an aside we may notice that the duration of the vowel *ä* of *där* is quite long in this example. In fact, *där* is one of many words that have a short vowel when spoken in isolation and utterance-finally, and a lengthened vowel utterance-internally. A discussion of this interesting phenomenon is beyond the scope of this paper, though.

Fig. 28.1 Fundamental Frequency Graph for *där* 'door' (High, Level Tone) in Frame C

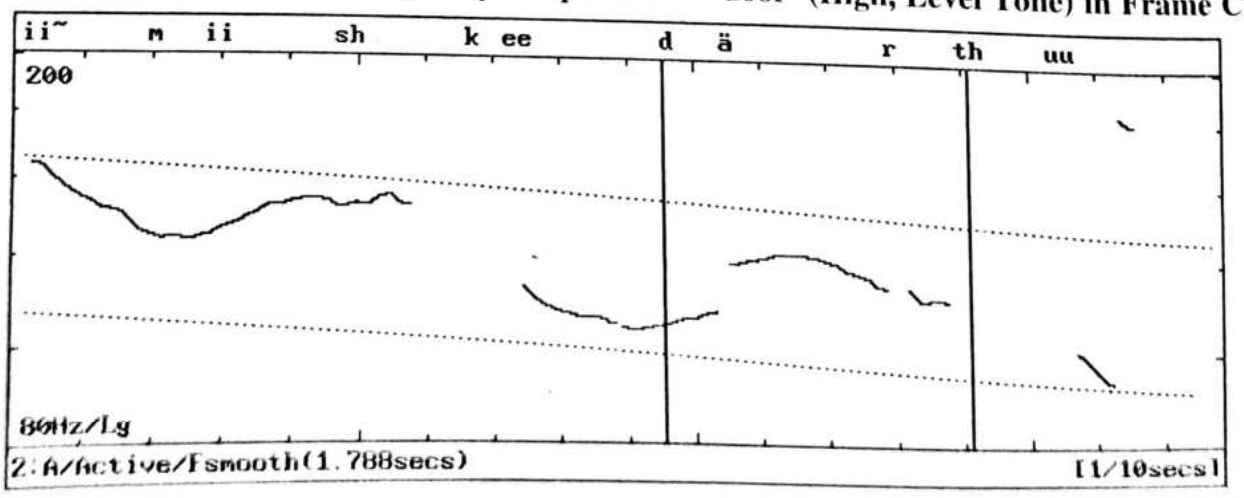
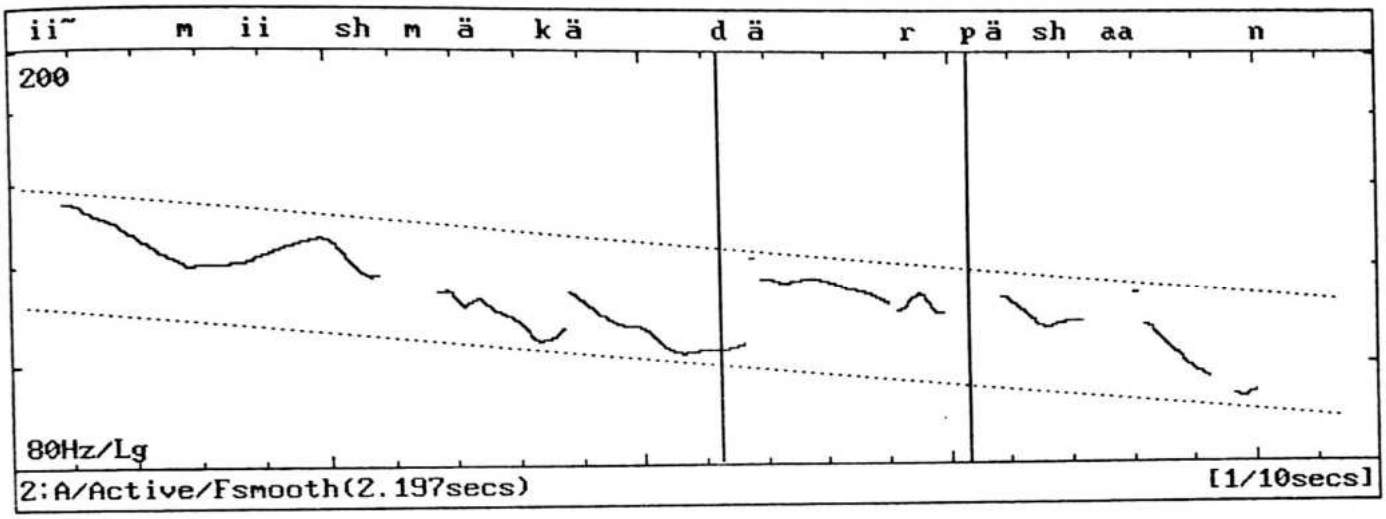


Fig. 28.2 shows another sentence with *där*: *ii~ miish mäkä där päshaant* 'this man is showing me a door' (frame sentence D). In this sentence, too, the high, level pitch on *där* is clearly visible. Note that in this frame sentence, the word that precedes the substitution word (*mäkä* 'to me') has low pitch, but the word that follows (*päshaant* 'is showing') starts out high and then has a falling curve on the second syllable.

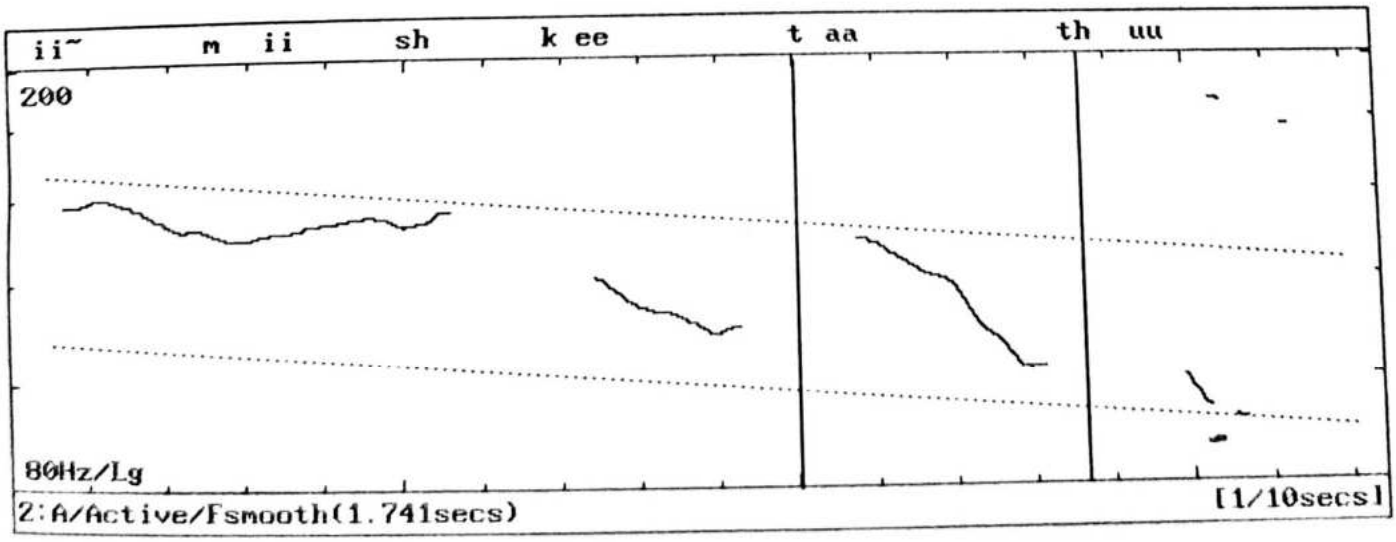
Fig. 28.2 Fundamental Frequency Graph for *där* 'Door' (High, Level Tone) in Frame D



5.1.2 *High-to-low falling tone*

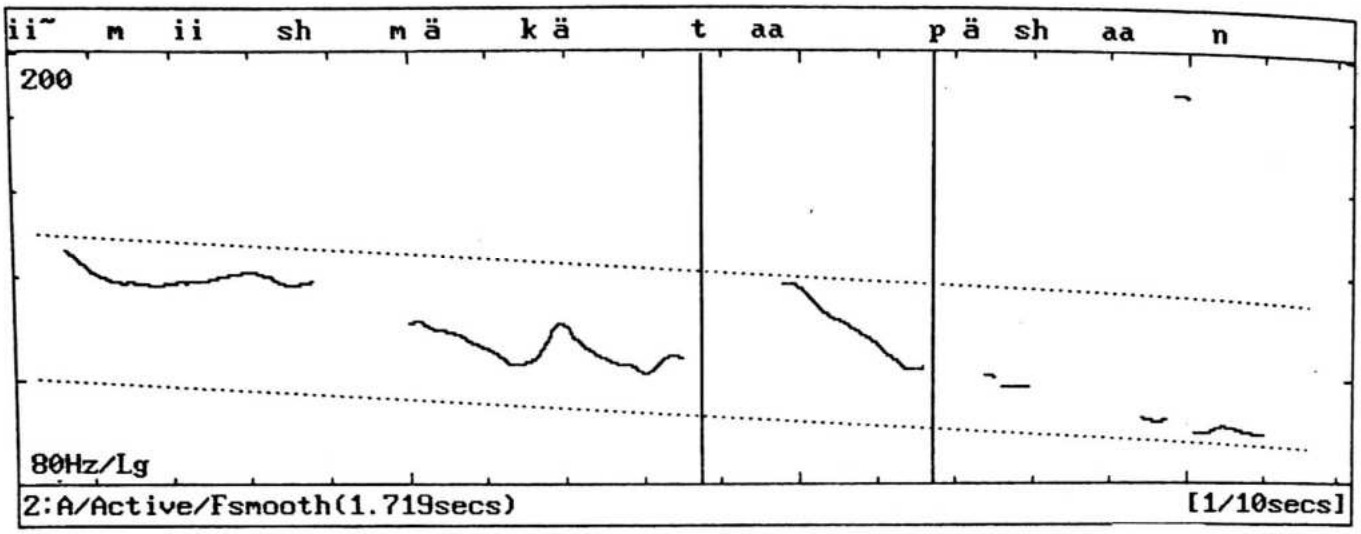
Fig. 28.3 shows the word *taa* 'wrapping blanket' substituted in frame sentence C. Again, pitch starts out high early in the word. The pitch curve is actually interrupted around the sound *t*, which is explained by the fact that *t* is voiceless, so there is no vibration of the vocal cords during the production of this sound. In contrast to the word *där*, pitch falls during the pronunciation of the word *taa* and reaches a relatively low level near the end of the word.

Fig. 28.3 Fundamental Frequency Graph for *taa* 'Wrapping Blanket' (High-to-Low Falling Tone) in Frame C



This high-to-low falling pitch curve can also be observed in Fig. 28.4, which shows the word *taa* in Frame D. Note that the word which follows (*päshaant*) has low pitch throughout, as opposed to the high and falling pitch it has in Fig. 28.2. What we may tentatively hypothesize here, is that *taa* not only has falling pitch itself, but it also has a 'depressing' effect on the pitch of the word that follows.

Fig. 28.4 Fundamental Frequency Graph for *taa* 'Wrapping Blanket' (High-to-Low Falling Tone) in Frame D



5.1.3 *Low, level tone*

Fig. 28.5 shows the word *bään* 'utensils' in frame sentence C. Although some minor pitch perturbations can be observed in the graph, pitch remains relatively low throughout the word, and so is clearly distinct from the pitch curves on both *där* and *taa*. The same pattern can be observed in Fig. 28.6 where *bään* is embedded in Frame D.

Fig. 28.5 Fundamental Frequency Graph for *bään* 'Utensils' (Low, Level Tone) in Frame C

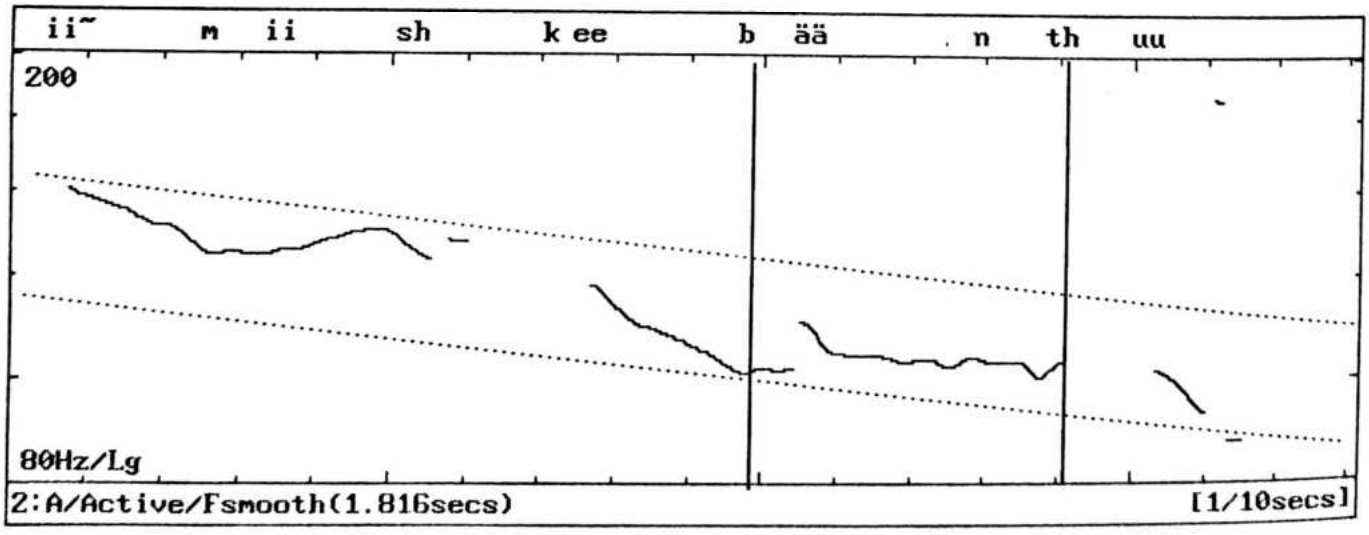
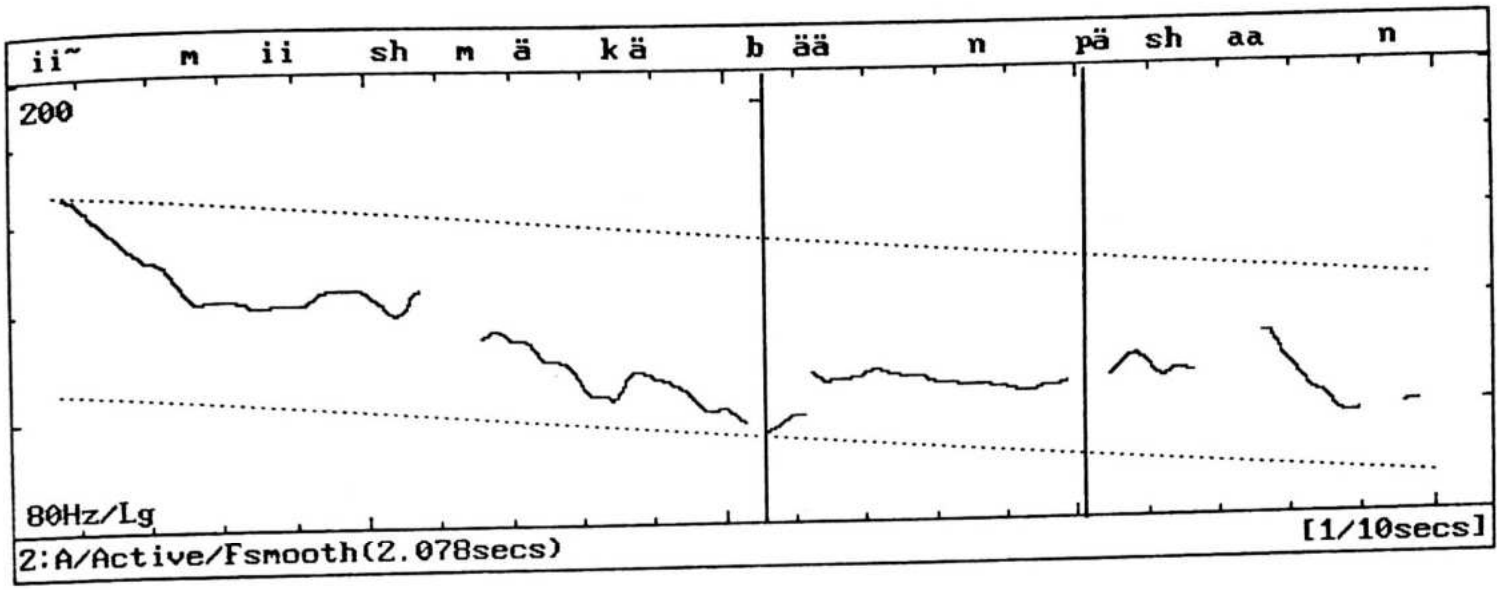


Fig. 28.6 Fundamental Frequency Graph for *bään* 'Utensils' (Low, Level Tone) in Frame D



5.1.4 *Low-to-high rising tone*

Fig. 28.7 gives the data for the word *goor* 'horse' in Frame C. We observe that pitch starts out low at the beginning of the word and gradually rises to become high near the end of the word. The pattern is again distinct from that on the previous three words. The rising pitch is also seen in Fig. 28.8 (*goor* in Frame D).

Fig. 28.7 Fundamental Frequency Graph for *goor* 'Horse' (Low-to-High Rising Tone) in Frame C

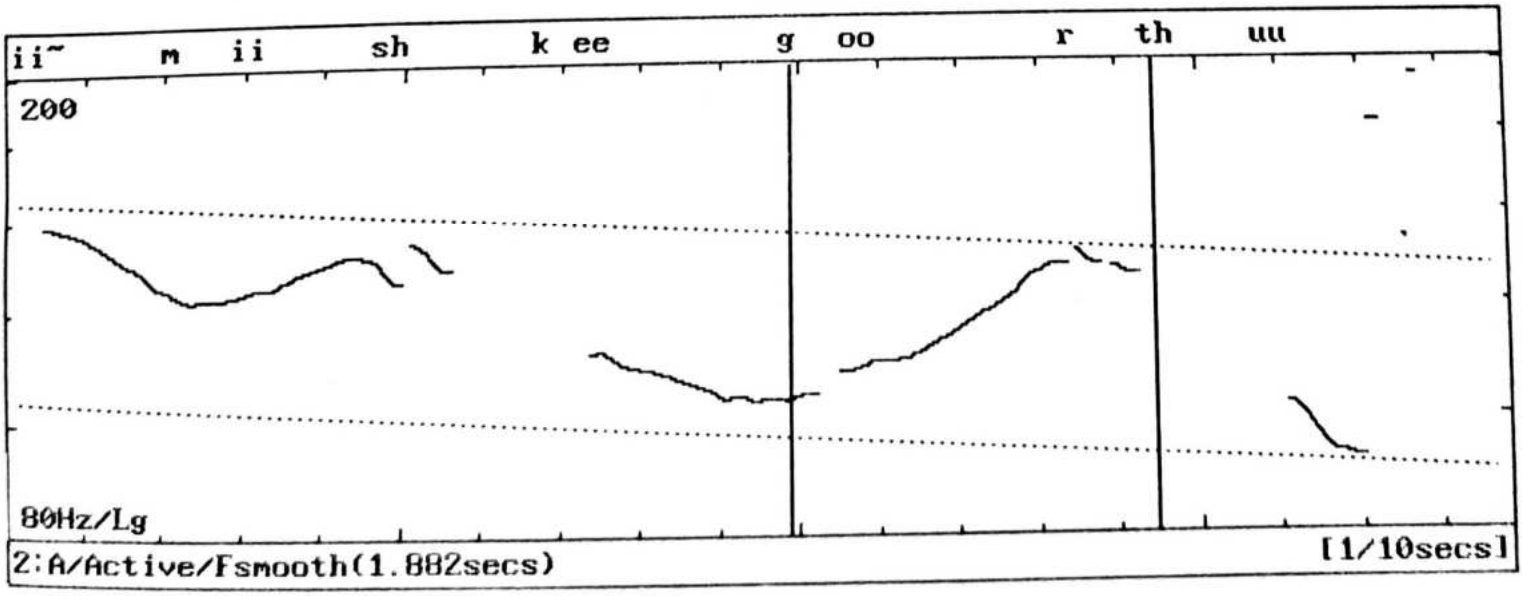
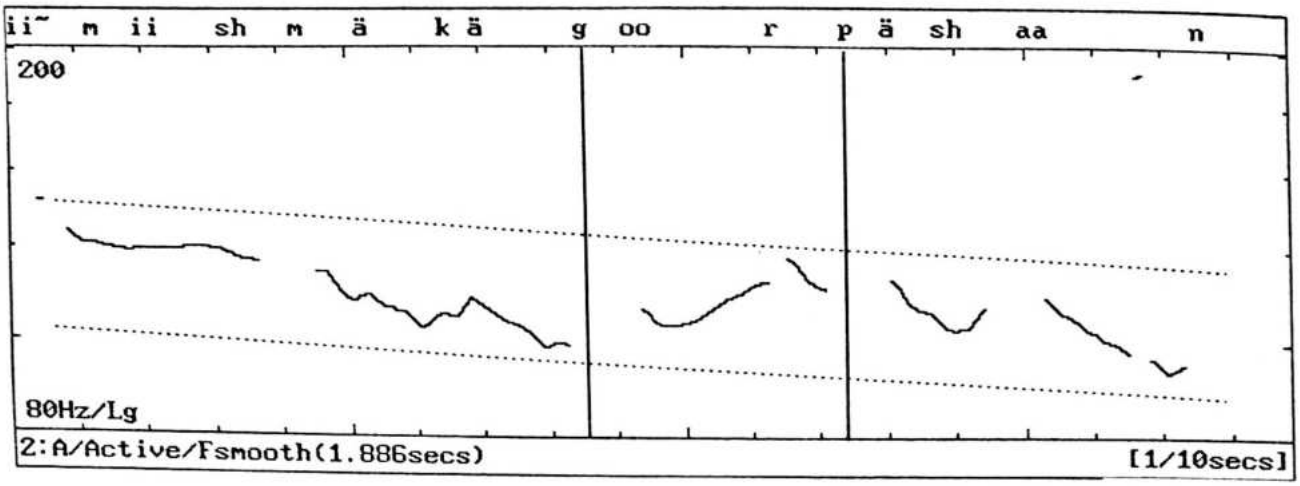


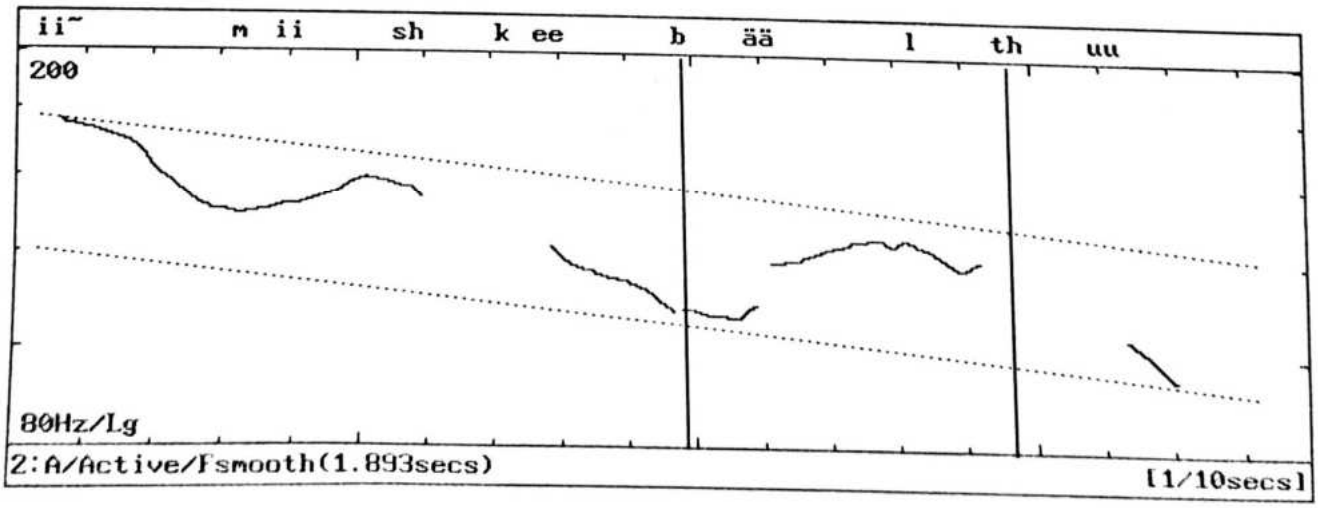
Fig. 28.8 Fundamental Frequency Graph for *goor* 'Horse' (Low-to-High Rising Tone) in Frame D



5.1.5 *Delayed high-to-low falling tone*

There is one more tone to be discussed. However, in Frame C, where low pitch precedes and follows the substitution word, the fifth tone cannot be clearly distinguished from the high, level tone discussed above (5.1.1). Fig. 28.9 presents the data for the word *bääl* 'hair' embedded in Frame C. As is the case with *där* 'door,' pitch rises early in the word and remains steady at a relatively high level. The difference between the high tone and the delayed falling tone can be seen if a word with high tone follows the substitution word. Frame D provides an example of such a word. In Fig. 28.2 we saw the word *där* 'door' in the sentence *ii~ miish mäkä där päshaant* 'this man is showing me a door.' We observed high, level pitch on the substitution word *där*. The following word, *päshaant* 'is showing,' also started out on a high pitch, and then had a falling curve on the second syllable.

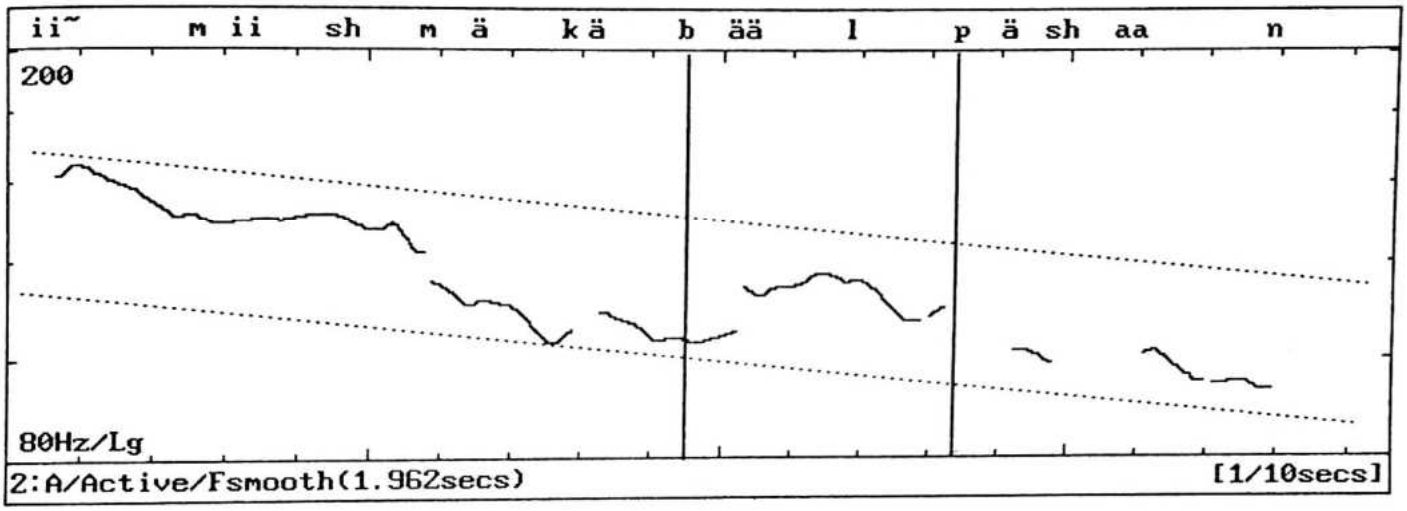
Fig. 28.9 Fundamental Frequency Graph for *bääl* 'Hair' (Delayed High-to-Low Falling Tone) in Frame C



Now look at Fig. 28.10, showing the word *bääl* 'hair' embedded in Frame D. The difference between *där* and *bääl* shows up in what happens with the following word. In Fig. 28.2 the word *päshaant* starts out high. In Fig. 28.10, on the other hand, it bears a low pitch from the beginning. We can say, then, that the word *bääl* is associated with a falling pitch, but the

peculiarity is that pitch falls, so to speak, from the end of *bääl* 'onto' the first syllable of the next word. For this reason, I have labelled this category '*delayed* high-to-low fall.' The difference with the regular high-to-low fall (5.1.2) is that there the fall in pitch is executed fully within the word. Not only does pitch fall from the end of the word *bääl* onto the first syllable of the next word, but it can also be observed that pitch remains low throughout this following word. This 'depressing' effect that the delayed falling tone has on the following high tone was also observed for the regular falling tone (Fig. 28.4).

Fig. 28.10 Fundamental Frequency Graph for *bääl* 'Hair' (Delayed High-to-Low Falling Tone) in Frame D



5.2 Evidence for Multisyllable Words

The substitution list also included two-and three-syllable words. For these, the same five tonal patterns were observed. Fig. 28.11–28.15 present examples of pitch graphs using Frame D with the following words: *bire* 'girl,' *bätshoor* 'calf,' *bubäy* 'apples,' *dätär* 'fireplace,' and *daawaal* 'wall.'

In Fig. 28.11, *bire* 'girl' has relatively high pitch on both syllables and can be grouped in the class of words carrying high, level tone. *bätshoor* 'calf' (Fig. 28.12) has relatively high pitch on the first syllable, falling to low on the second syllable, and thus can be grouped in the class of high-to-low falling tone. *bubäy* 'apples' (Fig. 28.13) has low pitch on both syllables and can be assumed to carry low, level tone. *dätär* 'fireplace' (Fig. 28.14) starts out low in the first syllable, and rises to high in the second syllable. It belongs to the class of words having low-to-high rising tone. Finally, the word *daawaal* 'wall' (Fig. 28.15) shows us the delayed high-to-low falling tone: pitch reaches a relatively high level on the second syllable, then falls onto the first syllable of the next word. The pitch on this next word stays low throughout.

When we look at three-syllable words, we find that the pitch curve which is characteristic for the tone of the word is executed towards the end of the word. For instance, in a three-syllable word with rising tone, pitch is relatively low on the first two syllables, and reaches a high level only on the last syllable. This is illustrated in Fig. 28.16 for the word *älmaarey* 'cupboard,' embedded in Frame D.

Fig. 28.11 Fundamental Frequency Graph for *bire* 'Girl' (High, Level Tone) in Frame D

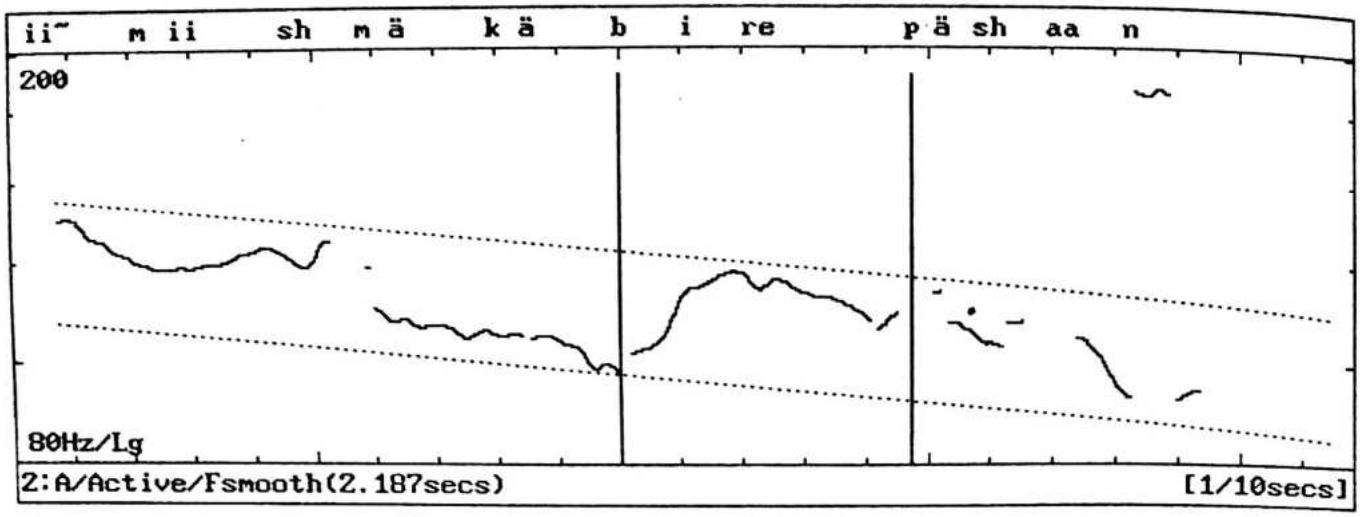


Fig. 28.12 Fundamental Frequency Graph for *bätshoor* 'Calf' (High-to-Low Falling Tone) in Frame D

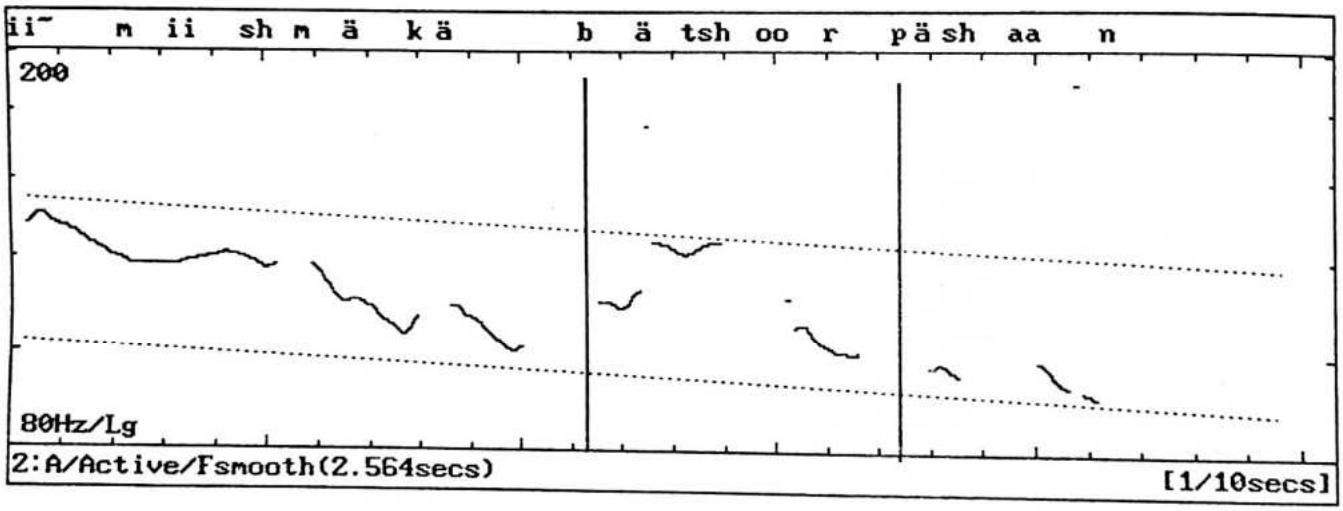


Fig. 28.13 Fundamental Frequency Graph for *bubäy* 'Apples' (Low, Level Tone) in Frame D

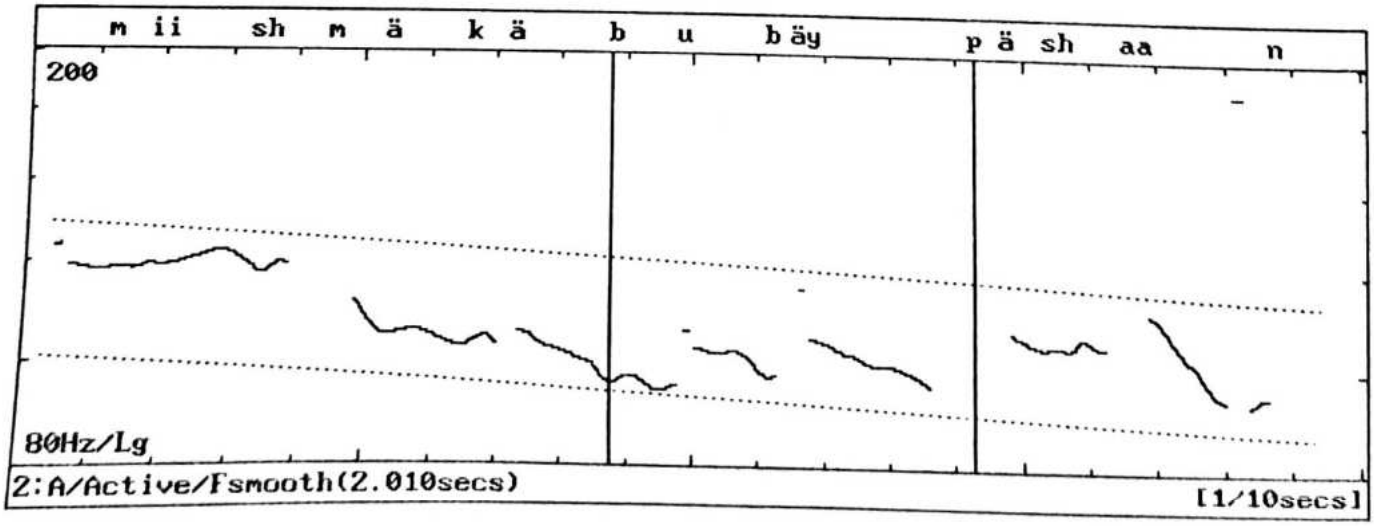


Fig. 28.14 Fundamental Frequency Graph for *dätär* 'Fireplace' (Low-to-High Rising Tone) in Frame D

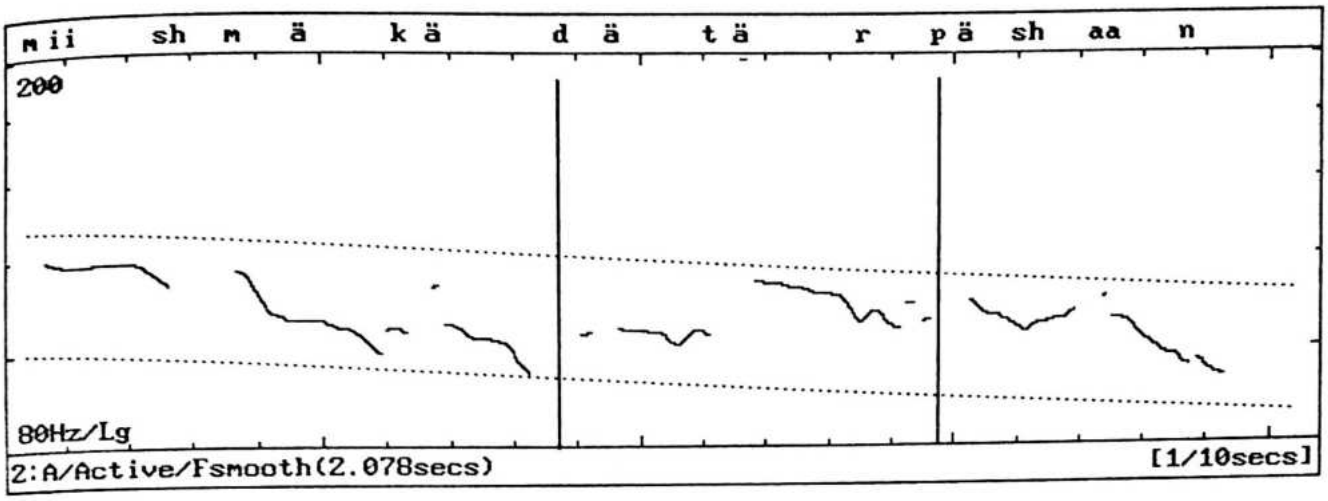


Fig. 28.15 Fundamental Frequency Graph for *daawaal* 'Wall' (Delayed High-to-Low Falling Tone) in Frame D

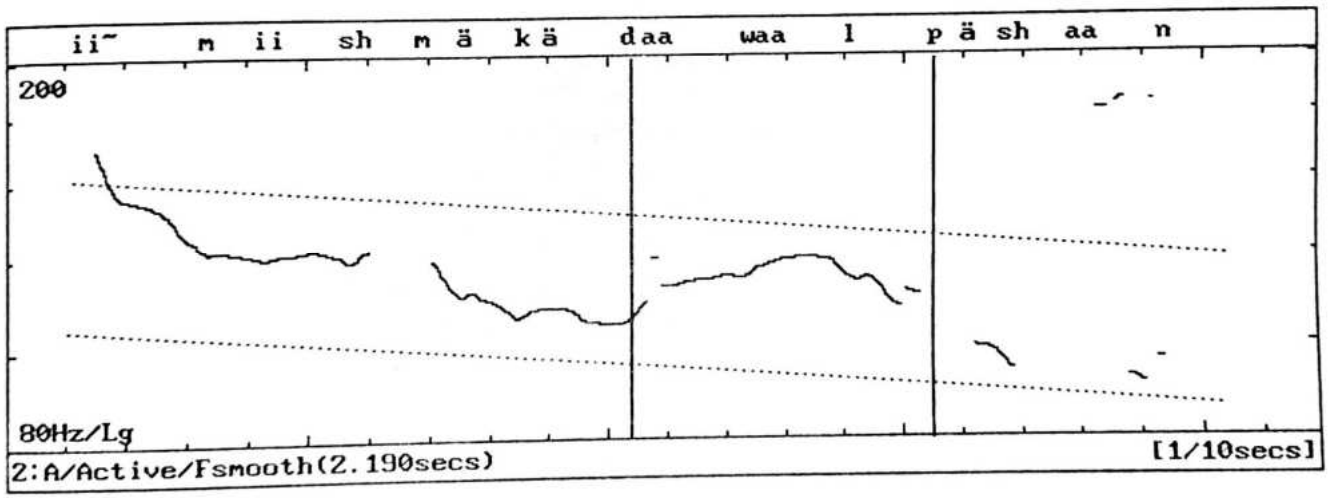
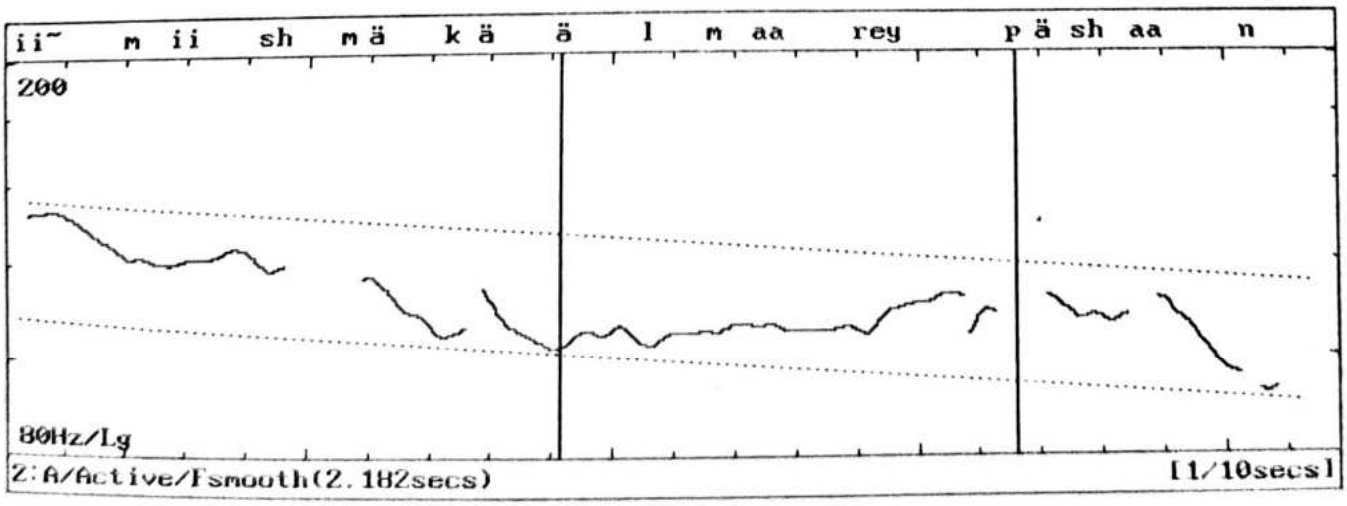


Fig. 28.16 Fundamental Frequency Graph for *älmaarey* 'Cupboard' (Low-to-High Rising Tone) in Frame D



5.3 Minimal pairs

The eighty-six-word list did not include minimal pairs for tone, but further investigation revealed that the language has many minimal pairs to illustrate contrast between the five tones that were established. In examples 1–4, minimal pairs are given for each of the ten theoretically possible contrasts.

(1) high level: *boor* 'lion' — falling: *boor* 'lions' — low level: *boor* 'Pathan' — delayed falling: *boor* 'deaf'

(2) high level: *goor* 'partridge' — falling: *goor* 'partridges' — rising: *goor* 'horse'

(3) low level: *bubäy* 'apples' — rising: *bubäy* 'apple'

(4) rising: *dukaan* 'grave border' — delayed falling: *dukaan* 'shop'

6. Representation

The subject of this section is how the five tones of Kalam Kohistani can be represented in a phonological analysis. I present a proposal using concepts from the theory of Autosegmental phonology, to which Goldsmith (1990) has given a good introduction.

Firstly, I assume that we need to posit no more than two distinct tonal levels for Kalam Kohistani: High versus Low. While for some languages, systems of three distinct tonal levels (High, Mid, and Low) and more have been attested (see Anderson 1978: 145), this does not seem to be the case in Kalam Kohistani. In what follows, I will use the symbol *H* to refer to the High tonal level, and the symbol *L* to refer to the Low tonal level. Phonetically, H normally corresponds to relatively high pitch, and L normally corresponds to relatively low pitch.

It is further assumed that the contour tones (the rising and falling ones) can be decomposed into sequences of level tones: a rise is a low tone followed by a high tone, and a fall is a high tone followed by a low tone. Such sequences of tones are called *melodies*. Using the symbols H and L introduced above, the combination HL designates a falling melody, the combination LH a rising melody. The term *melody* is usually extended to include level tones (H or L), when these function on a par with HL and LH as units that are associated with words or morphemes. H and L can then be said to constitute 'monotonal' melodies, and HL and LH 'bitonal' melodies. I will follow that practice in this paper.

What was called high, level tone above (5.1.1), then, can be represented in a phonological analysis as *H*. The high-to-low falling tone (5.1.2) can be represented as *HL*, the low, level tone (5.1.3) as *L*, and the low-to-high rising tone (5.1.4) as *LH*. The representation of the *delayed* falling tone will be discussed below.

Presumably each morpheme (minimal meaningful unit) of the language is associated with one of these melodies. Which melody goes with which morpheme is unpredictable (although some constraints on the association of tones and words are discussed in section 7.1), so this information has to be specified in the dictionary entry of a morpheme. However, how the tone or tones of a melody associate with the vowels within a morpheme (i.e., which vowel bears which tone) is predictable and can be accounted for by a rule.

Basically, tones associate 'from-right-to-left' in Kalam Kohistani. That is, the last tone of a melody associates with the last vowel of the morpheme, the other tone associates with the second-to-last vowel and any previous vowels (see examples 5 and 6). If a word is monosyllabic, then both tones associate with the vowel of that syllable (see ex. 7). If a melody consists of only one tone, then it associates with all the vowels of a word (see ex. 8). In examples 5–08 I illustrate these associations by drawing lines between the tones and the vowels that are associated.

(5) lukuTor 'children'
L H

(6) ängusir 'finger-ring'
H L

(7) goor 'horse'
L H

(8) bire 'girl'
H

The direction of association is significant; in many other tone languages tones and vowels associate from left to right (Goldsmith 1990: 19), pairing the first tone of a melody with the first vowel of the morpheme, and so on.

Now, the *delayed* falling tone can be represented as *H(L)*. The brackets indicate that the L does not take part in the initial association process (it is *inert,* in Goldsmith's terminology). In other words, the H is initially associated with the last vowel and any previous vowels of a word, while the L remains unassociated or 'floating.' When words are put together in a sentence, the floating L tone may associate with the first vowel of the following word, as in *bääl päshaant* 'is showing hair' (Fig. 28.10), where the first vowel of *päshaant* carries relatively low pitch, instead of its normal high pitch (seen in Fig. 28.11). The analysis is illustrated inexample 9.

(9) bääl päshaant 'is showing hair'
H (L)

Of course, HL and H(L) consist of the same sequence of tones; the only difference is how these tones associate with the vowels of a word. It would be attractive if the analysis could collapse HL and H(L) into a single melody, and could account for the different association by means of some principle or rule. This would reduce the inventory of melodies by one, and produce a nice, symmetrical system, but at the moment I do not see how it can be done without complicating some other part of the analysis.

In my data as presently transcribed (over 2250 words with established tone), the number of occurrences of each melody are as given in example 10. It appears that the odd-behaved H(L) melody is actually the most frequent of all in this database.

(10) H 519 L 111
HL 578 LH 473
H(L) 585

7. Functional Aspects of Kalam Kohistani Tone

The distribution of melodies over the Kalam Kohistani vocabulary is partly constrained by the presence or absence of *aspiration* on certain types of consonants (section 7.1). Even so, there is a fair amount of cases where words are minimally distinguished by tone alone. Also, tone is used grammatically in marking the distinction between the base form and inflected form of some nouns (section 7.2).

7.1 Aspiration and Tone

From a survey of all the monosyllabic words in my data it appears that monosyllables with an initial *aspirated voiceless consonant* (fifty-two cases) all bear an L-initial melody (i.e., L or LH melody); monosyllables with an initial *h*, too, bear an L-initial melody (eleven cases, plus one exception: *heez H(L)* 'menses'). Also, in polysyllabic words a syllable with an aspirated consonant is normally associated with L.

Monosyllables with an initial *unaspirated* voiceless consonant almost always bear an H-initial melody (214 cases); less than ten cases have an L-initial melody, for example, *xat L* 'letter.' In polysyllabic words, syllables with an initial unaspirated voiceless consonant do sometimes bear a low tone, but only when this low tone is part of an HL or LH melody; exceptions are *mooTuu L* 'now,' *tuku L* 'then.'

Syllables with an initial *voiced* consonant may bear all types of tones.

Finally, monosyllables with an initial vowel (thirty-six cases, e.g., *aC H* 'eye') all bear a high or falling melody. In polysyllabic words, vowel-initial syllables may bear other tones, too.

What is most conspicuous among these observations is that aspiration almost always co-occurs with L or LH melody, while lack of aspiration (on initial, voiceless consonants) very often co-occurs with H, HL, or H(L) melody. Consequently it is difficult to find real minimal pairs for aspiration in Kalam Kohistani: the contrast between aspirated and unaspirated consonants is almost always accompanied by a tonal contrast. How this situation arose historically should be the subject of further study.

7.2 Functional Load

7.2.1 *Lexical contrasts*

A search through my database of a total of over 2850 words revealed ninety-six words that are distinguished only by tone from at least one other word in the language. This is a little over 3 per cent. Examples of minimal pairs for tone were given in section 5.3.

For comparison, I conducted searches for minimal pairs involving a few other distinctive features. In these other searches, I was not able to take tonal differences between words into account, so the numbers are actually higher than they, strictly speaking, should be.

There are 343 words in my database that are minimally distinguished (ignoring tonal differences) by *vowel height* from at least one other word in the language; the feature vowel height has three values (open, mid, close) and involves contrasts between *i* and *e*, *i* and *ä*, *u* and *o*, and so on.

There are 148 words in the database that are minimally distinguished by the feature *voice* from at least one other word in the language; this involves contrasts between *p* and *b*, *t* and *d*, and so on.

There are 121 elements that are minimally distinguished by the feature *nasality* from at least one other word in the language; in this count I have included contrasts between consonants (*b* and *m*, *d* and *n*, etc.) as well as between vowels (*aa* and *aa~*, *ää* and *ää~*, etc.).

The feature tone, then, may be a little less productive in minimal distinctions between words as compared to the other three features studied. However, the count for tone is still in the same order of magnitude as that of the other three features, and it should be remembered that the counts for the other features may be inflated.

7.2.2 *Grammatical use*

Apart from marking lexical distinctions, that is, distinctions between different words of the language, tone is also used grammatically to mark the distinction between base form and inflected form of some nouns.

Many Kalam Kohistani nouns have two forms: the *base form* is used for the singular when no postposition follows; the *inflected form* is used for the plural as well as when a postposition follows. Often, nouns are inflected through a vowel change: *shaak* 'a piece of wood,' *shääk* 'pieces of wood.' If the base form has a melody ending in H, then often the inflected form has a melody ending in L. *shaak*, for instance, bears melody H, while *shääk* bears melody HL. There are also cases where the vowel does not change. In such cases, tone becomes the only indication of the distinction between base form and inflected form. Examples are *boor* H 'lion' versus *boor* HL 'lions,' and *bubäy* LH 'apple' versus *bubäy* L 'apples.'

8. Conclusion

In this paper I have presented evidence for the existence of five contrastive tones in Kalam Kohistani: a high tone, a low tone, a rising tone, and two types of falling tone. The two falling tones are distinct in that one involves pitch falling from relatively high to relatively low *within* the word, while the other tone involves relatively high pitch on the word itself, falling to relatively low on the first syllable of the next word.

Next, an analysis of this tone system was proposed that recognizes two tonal levels: H (High) and L (Low). In this analysis, contour tones (rising and falling tones) are seen as being composed of sequences of level tones: a falling tone is a high tone followed by a low tone (i.e. HL), and a rising tone is a low tone followed by a high tone (LH). Such sequences were called *melodies*. It was then shown that a dictionary entry only has to specify a melody for a word; how the tone or tones that make up a melody associate with the vowels of that word can be accounted for by a general rule, irrespective of the number of tones in the melody and the number of vowels in the word.

Finally, the *functional load* of Kalam Kohistani tone was discussed. Even though there is a strong correlation between aspiration and low or rising melody, there is a fair amount of cases where words are minimally distinguished by tone alone. Also, tone is used grammatically in marking the distinction between the base form and inflected form of some nouns.

While this paper hopefully throws some light on the issue of Kalam Kohistani tone, it leaves many questions unanswered. Firstly, the presentation has remained relatively informal and inexact. More can be said about how tones are phonetically implemented. The relations

between stress and tone, vowel length and tone, and syllable weight and tone were hardly touched upon in this paper.

Secondly, much more needs to be said about how neighbouring tones influence each other when morphemes and words are put together to form sentences, and about the interaction of tone and sentence intonation. There are other phenomena, too, that need to be included in a more comprehensive study of Kalam Kohistani tone. In particular, the distribution of *breathy vowels*, *vowel lengthening*, and *creaky voice* seems to be partly conditioned by tone. Much, then, remains to be done, and I hope to touch upon these subjects in another place.

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Finally, I thank my informants and many other friends in Kalam, without whose hospitality and enthusiastic support this work would not have been possible.

Appendix I

Word List (These Are the Words Tested in the Sentence Frames)

See section 3 for an explanation of the symbols; the abbreviation *v.length.* indicates that the last vowel undergoes lengthening utterance-internally.

älmaa'rey	[LH] cupboard. *noun, fem.*
ä'ngir	[H; v.length.] finger. *noun, fem.*
ä'ngaar	[H(L)] fire. *noun, masc.*
ängu'sir	[HL] finger-ring. [*Note:* There is utterance-final laryngealization] *noun, fem.*
aC	[H; v.length.] eye. *noun, fem.*
aa~y	[H(L)] mouth. *noun, fem.*
'bätshoor	[HL] calf. [*Note:* There is laryngealization utterance-finally] *noun, masc.*
bääl	[H(L)] hair. *noun, masc. pl.*
bään	[L] utensils. *noun, masc. pl.*
baag	[LH] place. *noun, masc.*
bi're	[H] daughter; girl. [*Note:* There may be laryngealization utterance-finally; the last vowel is lax, so I assume it is short.] *noun, fem.*
bo'Tään	[H(L)] shoes. *noun, masc. pl.*
bu'bäy	[L] apples. *noun, fem. pl.*
cä'lak	[H; v.length.] spinning wheel; sewing machine. *noun, masc.*
cä'lap	[H; v.length.] turban. *noun, masc.*
cic	[H; v.length.] breast. *noun, fem.*
Choor	[L] walnut. *noun, masc.*
där	[H; v.length.] door. *noun, masc.*

dä'rin [LH; v.length.] land; earth; ground. [*Note:* There may be breathiness in the first syllable utterance-finally] *noun, fem.*

dä'tär [LH; v.length.] fireplace. [*Note:* There may be breathiness in the first syllable] *noun, masc.*

dan [H] tooth. [*Note:* It has laryngealization utterance-finally] *noun, masc.*

daa'waal [H(L)] wall. *noun, masc.*

doos [H] day. *noun, masc.*

du'kaan [H(L)] shop. *noun, masc.*

dut [L; v.length.] lip; edge; side. *noun, masc.*

Daag [H(L)] back of body. *noun, masc.*

gaa [L] grass. *noun, masc.*

'geda [HL] donkey. *noun, masc.*

go [H] ox; bull. *noun, masc.*

goom [L] wheat. *noun, masc.*

goor [LH] horse. [*Note:* There may be breathiness followed by laryngealization utterance-finally] *noun, masc.*

häl [L; v.length.] plough. *noun, masc.*

him [LH] snow. *noun, fem.*

is [H; v.length.] woman. *noun, fem.*

ish'po [H] sister. [*Note:* The last vowel is lax so I assume it is short] *noun, fem.*

jää [LH] brother. [*Note:* There may be breathiness followed by laryngealization utterance-finally] *noun, masc.*

jo'aar [H] maize. *noun, fem.*

kaar [H(L)] work. *noun, masc.*

kaas [HL] large bowl. *noun, masc.*

ke'Too [H(L)] cattle. *noun, masc.*

ko'cer [H(L)] clothing; dress. *noun, masc.*

ku'cur [H(L)] male dog. *noun, masc.*

ku'kur [H(L)] rooster; chicken. *noun, masc.*

kur'si [H] chair. *noun, fem.*

kuT [H; v.length.] knee; angle. *noun, masc.*

kheer [LH] field. [*Note:* There may be utterance-final laryngealization] *noun, fem.*

laam [H(L)] village. *noun, masc.*

laa'Ten [LH] kerosene lamp. *noun, fem.*

luku'Tor [LH] children. *noun, masc. pl.*

'mänuC [HL] men. *noun, masc pl.*

maan [H(L)] skin bag or tyre; raft floating on skins. *noun, masc.*

miish [H(L)] man. *noun, masc.*

'mulan [HL; v.length.] *mullah. noun, masc.*

muk [H; v.length.] face. *noun, masc.*

nän [H; v.length.] river. *noun, fem.*

nä'zoor [H(L)] nose. *noun, masc.*

nak [H; v.length.] fingernail. *noun, masc.*

'päären [HL] shirt. *noun, fem.*

pall [H; v.length.] leaf. *noun, masc.*

pan [H] path. *noun, fem.*

poo [HL] son; boy. *noun, masc.*

pha'kol [LH] Chitrali cap. *noun, masc.*

säb'zii [LH] vegetable. *noun, fem.*

sa [H] bridge. *noun, fem.*

su'nuq [H; v.length.] box. *noun, masc.*

su'raay [H(L)] a kind of water jug. *noun, fem.*

shä'la [H] wood. *noun, masc.*

shään [H(L)] stretcher; *charpai. noun, masc.*

shaak [H] wood; stick. *noun, masc.*

shi'leT [H; v.length.] ladder; stairs. *noun, fem.*

shiT [H; v.length.] village house. *noun, fem.*

tä'bi [H] tool used for making bread. *noun, fem.*

tä'lun	[H; v.length.] rice. *noun, fem.*
tam	[H; v.length.] tree. *noun, masc.*
taa	[HL] woollen wrap. *noun, masc.*
thoos	[L] head; forehead. *noun, masc.*
thun	[LH] pillar; post. *noun, fem.*
tsa'Rak	[H; v.length.] road. *noun, masc.*
Tep	[HL] cap. *noun, fem.*
Tik	[H; v.length.] button; ring. *noun, masc.*
Thong	[LH] axe. *noun, masc.*
u'mär	[H(L)] age. *noun, fem.*
uu	[H(L)] water. *noun, masc.*
uuT	[H(L)] camel. *noun, masc.*
xä'läq	[L] people. *noun, masc.*
yal	[H] mill. [*Note:* There may be utterance-final laryngealization] *noun, masc.*

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29

THE MIRROR OF WRITING

*Ruth Laila Schmidt and Razwal Kohistani**

Introduction

In January of 1994 Razwal Kohistani and I set out to devise a scientifically designed and tested writing system for the Shina of Kohistan District, using Arabic orthography. We then used the writing system to produce a fifty-seven-page primer which teaches literacy along with the basic principles of environmental awareness. Production of the primer was sponsored by the Himalayan Jungle Project of Birdlife International, which will use it to promote environmental awareness in the Palas valley, Kohistan District , in its integrated development activities.

Insofar as was practical, we intended that our writing system accurately represent the contrastive sounds, or phonemes, of Kohistani Shina. We were aware that a writing system which is to be used for everyday purposes cannot be completely phonemic, because once the spellings of individual words are fixed, then for pedagogical reasons, they should be preserved as far as possible.[1] We did, however, expect to find a means of showing the basic consonant and vowel phonemes of the language, as well as its contrastive tones.

The Sound System of Kohistani Shina

The taxonomic phonemes of Kohistani Shina have been analysed by Schmidt and Zarin (1981). A revised overview of this analysis is shown as Table 29.1. We still consider it to be correct in most respects, except for the treatment of the tones. The rising-falling tone identified in that paper is not a separate phoneme, but an allophonic variation of the falling tone. The phonetic description of the rising tone also needs to be revised. Although we continue to call it a 'rising tone' because it corresponds to the rising tone in other dialects of Shina, in most environments it does not rise. Phonetically, a vowel with a 'rising tone' in Kohistani Shina is a long vowel with a medium-high pitch which does not fall, whereas a vowel with a falling tone is a long vowel which starts on a high pitch and falls.

We have also made some minor changes in the definitions of certain phonemes. In this category it is important only to note that the very short or devoiced final vowels *-i*, *-u*, and *-o* can be more economically described as palatalization or labialization.

* Respectively: Dept of East-European and Oriental Studies, University of Oslo, Blindern, Norway, and Himalayan Jungle Project.

Table 29.1 Sound System of the Shina of Palas Kohistan (Roman)

Vowels		Front	Central		Back	
High		/ i			u	
Mid		e			o	
Low		æ	a /			
Diphthongal Glides					w/	
Consonants		/y				
	Labial	Dental	Alveolar & Palatoalveolar	Retracted	Velar & Postvelar	Glottal
Stops	/ p b	t d		ṭ ḍ	k g q	
Fricatives		(f)	s ˇsz	ṣ ẓ	x g̣	h
Affricates		ts	c j	ç		
Nasals	m	n		ṇ	ŋ	
Laterals	l	r		ṛ /		
Aspiration	/ h /, occurs with / p b t d ṭ ḍ k g ts c j ç ṇ m l ṛ /					

Suprasegmentals

/ ' /	Syllable stress
/: /	Vowel length, occurs with all vowels
/ ~ /	Nasalization, occurs with all vowels
/ ´ /	Rising tone, occurs with / i: e: a: u: o: /
/ ` /	Falling tone, occurs with / i: e: a: u: o: /

The Arabic Orthography

The Arabic writing system, or orthography, differs from the Roman one in one important respect. In Roman orthography, both consonants and vowels are represented sequentially in horizontally arranged characters (segmental characters). In Arabic orthography, consonants and semivowels are represented segmentally, but short vowels are added by three signs written above or below the line.[2] Long vowels can be represented (to a certain extent) by ا *alif*, and the semivowels ے *ye:* and و *wa:w*. Initial vowels must be shown by the Arabic character for a glottal stop, ا *alif*, plus the appropriate vowel sign.

Many consonant characters have identical segmental shapes and are distinguished by dots or groups of dots written above or below the line. In effect, for Urdu at least, the Arabic writing system is a syllabary rather than an alphabetical writing system. Short vowels are usually not written unless they are necessary for the recognition of words.

Unless it is modified, Arabic orthography affords fewer possibilities than the Roman one for representing short and long vowel contrasts, or for distinguishing the short mid vowels *e* and *o* from the short high vowels *i* and *u*. Vowel glides such as *ai, a:e, au, a:o, ei, e:i, oe, o:e* present even greater challenges, as most of them must be represented by some combination of vowel marks plus suprasegmental *hamza* (ء).

Theoretically it is no more difficult to show syllable stress and tone in Arabic orthography than in the Roman one, as in both cases it is a matter of adding appropriate symbols above the line. However, in the case of the Arabic writing system, the space above the segmental character is often occupied by vowel signs and/or dots or other symbols which are necessary to distinguish the consonant characters. If additional suprasegmental characters are crowded into this space, the word becomes difficult both to print clearly and to read (However, the *naskh* variant offers more space than *nastaliq*).

Adaptation of the Arabic Orthography for Shina

Scholars of Shina have been working for almost thirty years to establish a writing system for Shina. The first was Namus (1961), who published a detailed description of the Shina language. Namus's work was continued by Al-Nasir-Chilasi, Zia (1978, 1986), and Taj (1989). There have been substantial differences of opinion among these scholars about whether it is more important to represent the tones and differences in vowel length, or whether the writing system should be kept as simple and uncluttered as possible. As a result, there are considerable differences among the various systems. To date, none of them has gained general acceptance as a written medium for Shina.

Rather than modifying an existing orthography, or trying to duplicate a Roman character phonemic analysis of Shina in an Arabic-based orthography, we wanted to discover afresh which sounds are most essential to represent in Arabic characters. We, therefore, started our own work by comparing minimal pairs or minimally contrasting sets of words.

As a practical consideration, we decided not to represent syllable stress in our orthography, in order to leave space for writing short vowels and tones, as well as for the symbols needed to distinguish the consonants. However, this decision had unforeseen consequences, because in Shina syllable stress affects vowel length. Short vowels which receive stress are lengthened to medium. If a stressed long vowel loses its stress, it becomes short. (This happens when a stressed suffix is added to a root with a long vowel, which may be seen in the example given in note 1: *bà:l*, 'child'; *ba'li*, 'children.')

Length is also affected by tone. Phonetically, the longest vowels are those which occur with the rising tone. Those which occur with the falling tone are not quite so long. Vowels which we would like to consider 'long' for lexical reasons, but which receive neither tone, are actually medium-long. This is seen in the infinitive suffix *-o:n*. (In other dialects of Shina, the infinitive suffix occurs with a rising or low rising tone, but we have found only one occurrence of this: *da'hó:n*, 'to burn.')

Working with sets of minimal pairs, we set out to express vowel length contrasts without recourse to syllable stress as a predictor. When syllable stress was ignored, it was necessary to express the phonetic vowel length in terms of a three-way contrast:

Short: Medium: Long

If final palatalization and labialization are analysed as vowels (indeed, in the dialect of Gilgit, they *are* vowels) then a fourth term must be added: extra short/devoiced. Thus, after all our labours, we discovered that by performing taxonomic phonemic analysis in the Arabic writing system, we had re-invented the traditional analysis of Shina vowels by its own scholars, which ignores both stress and tone and treats everything as length: LIGHT (خفیف): SHORT (کوتاہ): STANDARD (معیاری): LONG (طویل)

In this analysis, vowel length predicts syllable stress (in most environments) as well as the occurrence of one or the other of the two tones (it does not predict which tone will occur). It was a pragmatic choice to adopt the traditional vowel taxonomy for our writing system however, we still needed different symbols to elaborate the term 'long' into rising-long and falling-long. We decided to use *ulta: wa:w* (ؤ) and *khari: zabar* (ـٰ), a system which is similar (though not identical) to the representation of these tones by Zia (1986). The resulting five way contrast can be represented in the Arabic writing system if *alif, ye:* and *wa:w* are modified to show them (see Table 29.2).

It is in the treatment of stress, length, and tone that we see the most striking difference between the two analyses. The inventory of consonant characters is identical in both analyses. The basic inventory of vowel phonemes is almost the same, except that *æ* must be treated as a glide in our orthography; and final unstressed *-u* and *-o* are not distinguished.[3]

It is important to observe that both of these phonemic solutions are valid. This is not a case where one analysis must be wrong if the other one is correct. Rather, it is an instance of the phenomenon of the non-uniqueness of phonemic solutions. It is possible to use length to predict stress and the occurrence of tone, and this approach is more appropriate to the consonant-rich Arabic orthography. Representation of a twoway length contrast in Arabic characters can be forced, but is inconvenient to read and write, and a esthetically unsatisfactory.

In the vowel-rich Roman orthography, it is easier to represent a three-way tone contrast, with tone predicting the occurrence of long vowels; in this way only two degrees of length (long and short) need be distinguished. Roman orthography can nevertheless accommodate an analysis of a threeway length contrast. The usual argument against doing it that way is not that it is incorrect, but that stress and tone *can* be used to predict length, and that the analysis becomes more powerful if they are taken into account.

Arguments have also been made concerning the relative merits of both orthographies for representing speech sounds. Some writing systems are held to be more scientific than others. But even the International Phonetic Alphabet, which was designed expressly to represent speech sounds, is no more than a writing system; and because it is alphabetic rather than syllabic, it provides a perspective from which it is most natural to perceive phonetic data as a string of individual sounds which should be identified in a horizontal sequence.

Implications for Comparative Study of Regional Languages

Features such as vowel length contrasts, syllable stress, and lexical tone are taken into consideration in typological language mapping. The occurrence of tone, for example, is a linguistic isogloss that groups Shina with Khowar, Burushaski, Kalam Kohistani, and Punjabi.

Table 29.2 Sound System of the Shina of Palas Kohistan (Arabic)

Vowels					
Short	ـِـ		ـَـ		
Standard	ی	ے	ا	و	ـُـ
Long (falling)	یٔ	ۓ	ا٘	و٘	و٘
Long (rising)	یٓ	ےٓ	اٗ	وٗ	وٗ
Light	ی	—	—	—	و
Glides	ۓ	ئ	ائے	ؤ	اؤ

Consonants

څ ج چ ح خ ب پ ت د ٹ ڈ ق ک گ

م ن ݨ نگ ف س ش س ڑ غ خ ﻻ

ل ر ژ

Aspiration ٹھ پھ تھ ٹھ دھ ڈھ ژھ جھ چھ څھ ڈھ کھ گھ لھ مھ نھ

Nasalization, occurs with all vowels ں ـب

Falling tone, occurs with / i: e: a: u: o: / ـاـ

Rising tone, occurs with / i: e: a: u: o: / ـٔـ

But what is tone in Shina? Can it be observed and analysed independently from vowel length? Can length contrasts be isolated from syllable stress and tone? For reliable evidence, we must return to our sets of minimal pairs. These attest to the contrasts between:

1. long vowels with falling tones and long vowels with rising tones;
2. medium-long vowels (with level tones) and long vowels (with falling or rising tones);
3. short vowels and medium-long vowels;
4. stressed and unstressed syllables.

The minimal pairs demonstrate that tone, length, and stress are phonemic, but they do not tell us which has primacy over the others. That conclusion would be the result of an analysis, which would of necessity be performed through the medium of a particular orthography. It is the argument of this paper that the orthography we use influences the way we construe speech sounds.

Thus, we are on firm ground only when we observe that Shina has phonemic tone, length, and stress. If we try to go beyond that, and say that Shina has a threeway tone contrast, or a three-way length contrast, the typological statement itself loses some of its power.

The reason for this is that, except when we are dealing with minimal pairs, we do not perceive speech sounds directly. We can only observe them through the mirror of writing.

NOTES

1. The stems of Shina nouns often have a variant form before the plural suffix. In some cases it is necessary to represent this stem variation: *pon* (پَوْن), 'road,' *poḍi* (پوڈی), 'roads.' But in other cases the word would become difficult to recognize, for example, *bà:l* (بأل), 'child'; *ba'li* (بالی), 'children.' We felt that in the latter case the *alif* should be preserved, and so we write *ba'li* as (بَلی) (with *alif* but without the falling tone).
2. The Arabic vowels correspond roughly to the concept of suprasegmentals in Western linguistics. Suprasegmentals, in roman phonological notation, are marks added to the roman alphabet to show syllable stress, nasalization, aspiration, retroflexion, palatalization, tone, and other qualities of vowels, consonants, or syllables. These marks are usually added above the horizontally arranged characters, from which we get the term 'suprasegmental.'
3. These need not be distinguished in the Roman analysis either, if both are treated as labialization.

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30

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE VARIATION IN THE PRONUNCIATION OF KALASHAMON AS SPOKEN INSIDE AND OUTSIDE PRESENT-DAY KALASHA SOCIETY

*Ida E. Mørch and Jan Heegaard**

Introduction

In this study we shall deal with two aspects of Kalashamon: 1) observations on the pronunciation of single words that cannot be explained in terms of a geographical division, and 2) observations on some of the dialects of Kalashamon.[1]

We have observed that pronunciation differences exist even in the dialect of the northern most valleys, Ramboor and Bumboret. We can describe this variation phonetically but it is difficult to explain the reasons for the variation. In the first place we could only relate it to the speaker's sex, but after having collected more data we also see it in relation to the speaker's degree of contact with strangers.

In the paragraph dealing with the dialectal variations in the pronunciation of single words we present material from some of those places outside of the present-day Kalasha society mentioned in the 1991 articles by the Italian anthropologists Alberto and Augusto Cacopardo. Word samples from these localities are valuable as they represent the speech of people above 50 years of age. These people are the last ones who speak (and even remember) Kalashamon in those places, and as they have not spoken the language for thirty years or more, their way of pronunciation is thus a relatively old one. In consideration of the age of these people and because the dialects are dying with them, an early extension of the collection of word samples from these former Kalasha societies is very important if we shall ever have a clear picture of the spread of Kalashamon in former times.

In each of the three paragraphs that deals with these aspects of the language we include a brief survey of the literature on Kalashamon that focuses on them.

After the presentation of the observations we sum up and make tentative conclusions regarding the ways in which our observations can enrich the knowledge of the sound system and the dialectal variation of Kalashamon already gained by previous research. But first we will make some comments on the nature of our material, and on the way that we have been working during our fieldwork.

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The Method and the Informants

The method used in the first part of our fieldwork was not an ideal one. The informants, usually two persons at a time, were picked up by our guide[2] and our driver and brought to a suitable place. There they were met by us, and together we went through a word list consisting of sixty-to eighty isolated words, chosen randomly. Luckily, the informants all reacted positively and they accepted the very awkward situation, which included tape- and video recordings, with great calmness. It is, however, important to keep in mind that our data elicited this way by total strangers does not represent natural speech.

In spite of its obvious disadvantages we chose this method because of the intention to cover as many dialects as possible during Professor Rischel's stay in the area.

In the second part of our fieldwork we did not work as intensively with word lists. We concentrated on learning the language and thereby collecting material in more natural situations.

The dialects we investigated are those spoken in Ramboor, Bumboret, Birir, Jinjeret Kuh, Suwir, Urtsun, Lawi, and Birga. In Ramboor and Bumboret we worked with several informants of each sex. The Birir and Suwir data represents the speech of both male and female informants, the rest of the data represents the speech of male informants only.

In Ramboor, Bumboret, Birir, Jinjeret Kuh, and Urtsun people speak Kalashamon in their daily life. According to our informants they stopped using Kalashamon thirty-five to fifty years ago in Suwir, Lawi, and Birga, and now only occasionally speak it for amusement. In these places Khowar has taken over as the main language presumably because of cultural and religous pressure.

Concerning the number of speakers, we had the following figures from our informants: in Suwir only five to eight old people still remember the language, in Lawi approximately 100 people still know the language, and in Birga around twenty to twenty-five people remember some Kalashamon, mostly single words. It should be mentioned that our two male informants from Birga had difficulties in remembering some of the words and were unable to make a conversation with each other in Kalashamon. The fact that the people from these places do not use Kalashamon as their everyday speech must be taken into consideration when analysing the data.

The Transcription

The transcription does not reflect a detailed phonemic analysis but should be read as a simplified phonetic transcription. In particular, the question of the phonemic status of the quality of some of the dialects' a-vowels and the question of vowel length are problems that we cannot give a clear picture of at the moment and, therefore, they will not be discussed further in this work.

The following is a short pronunciation guide to the symbols used. *j* and *c* are voiced and unvoiced alveopalatal affricates, resectively, pronounced approximately like the first sound in the English *juice*. Ž and Š are voiced and unvoiced alveopalatal sibilants, respectively, the unvoiced pronounced approximately like English *sh* in *ship*. *dh* is a voiced aspirated stop consonant. A capitalized letter fx *U* represents a retroflexed sound *u*, made by bending back the tip of the tongue while pronouncing a *u*. Likewise *R*, *S*, and *T* are retroflexed consonants pronounced by bending back the tip of the tongue to touch the palate further back. _ means that the following syllable is stressed. : and ˜ mean vowel length and nasalized vowel respectively. *l* is the dental *l*-phoneme contrasting with the supradental *l*-.

Variation in Kalashamon

Variation Conditioned by Non-geographical Factors

In sociolinguistics it is customary to distinguish between sociolinguistic variation and free variation. Sociolinguistic variation is defined 'as one which is correlated with some non-linguistic variable of the social context: of the speaker, the addressee, the audience, the setting etc' (Labov 1972: 237). Furthermore, outer conditions that are socio-economic or ethnic or concerned with age group must not be disregarded when trying to explain linguistic variations among speakers of the same dialect.

Free variation is defined as variation distinguished by the absence of linguistic conditioning and a lack of meaning difference that correlates with variant choice.

Besides sociolinguistic and free variation there is also linguistic-conditioned variation. The conditioning factor could be a neighbouring sound as when an *a* sounds more 'dark' after a *k* than after a *c*.

In the northern Kalashamon dialect we find variation seemingly random.

The first variation feature to be considered is a throat feature, a so-called glottal stop (marked with ') pronounced just before or simultaneously with a final-stop consonant and here written before the consonant. In the first place it looks as if women have this feature while men do not, as examples 1–5 show.

	Women			*Men*	
1.	'tongue'	ji''p	(W1, W2)	jip	(M1, M2, M3, M4)
2.	'eye'	e'c	(W1, W2, W3)	ec	(M1, M2, M3, M4)
3.	'cow'	ga'k	(W1, W2, W3)	gak	(M1, M2, M3, M4)
4.	'donkey'	ga 'rdo'k	(W1, W2, W3)	gar 'dok	(M1, M2, M3, M4)
5.	'moon'	Ma 'stru'k	(W1, W2)	ma 'struk	(M1, M2)

We do not have W3's pronunciation of examples 1 and 5. The same is the case concerning M3 and M4 with regard to example 5. The parentheses in example 1 *ji''p* shows that one of the informants (W2) does not make the glottal stop consistently in all our notations of that word. Furthermore, we must make a note about example 3 where M2 has a somewhat different voice quality on the vowel (creaky voice—a throat feature related to glottal stop).

The following examples give a more complicated picture.

6.	'water'	u'k	(W1, W2, W3, M2, M4)[1]	uk	(M3, M1)
7.	'man'	mo'c	(W1, W3)	moc	(W2, M1, M2, M3)
8.	'fly'	Manga 'ži'k	(W2)	Manga 'žik	(W1, W3, M1–M4)

In example 6 all three women have the glottal stop but so do two of the men, and two of the men do not have it. In example 7 we see a new situation where two of the women have the glottal stop and one does not. In example 8 the distribution among the women is the reverse.

In the word for 'cup', *kop*, where the contextual conditions for ' are present the pronunciation with ' is variable even among the female informants.

Examples 1–8 show the unclear situation of the distribution of '. The other differentiating feature is a slight diphthongization of the *e*-vowel here written *ea* even though the

diphthongization can be more or less prominent. We have two examples where the distribution seemingly agrees with the sex of the speaker.

		Women		Men	
9.	'mountain'	'dheata	(W1, W2, W3)[4]	'deta[5]	(M1, M2)
10.	'table'	meas	(W1, W2)	mes	(M1, M2)

And then again we have a less convincing distribution in examples 11 and 12.

		Women			Men	Men	
11.	'one'	ea'k	(W1, W2, W3)	ek	(M3)	eak	(M4, Y1, Y2)[6]
12.	'jaw'	'kal-ea'k	(W1)[7]	'kalek	(M1, M2)	'kaleak	(M4, Y1, Y2)

The two young men have variant pronunciations of example 12 'kalek, especially in fast speech. Finally, we have in example 13 a word in which all the informants have the diphthongization.

13. 'eyelashes' ec' phealuk

The variation is thus not unambiguously related to the speaker's sex, but still there is a stronger tendency towards female informants having the variant features than male informants.

The male informant that constitutes the exceptions most often is M4, who is an elderly gentleman that speaks Kalashamon and Khowar, but neither English nor much Urdu. These characteristics concerning foreign languages are shared by the female informants and the two young men Y1 and Y2, who often have a pronunciation similar to the women. To use knowledge of foreign languages as a sociolinguistic relevant variable may seem even more convincing when we add that the three male informants that most often do not have the glottal stop and *e*-diphthongization are between 25 and 35 years of age and are employed in professions that require good knowledge of foreign languages (especially Urdu and English).

The overall tendency to a sociolinguistic variation still leaves space for individual variation. This more subtle variation by single speakers may be due to stylistic or emphatic variation. It could also be due to natural variation in a non-written language.

Dialectal Variation in Kalashamon

The question of the dialectal division of Kalashamon is most intensively dealt with by Morgenstierne (1973) and in the 1991 articles by Alberto and Augusto Cacopardo. The American linguist R. Trail has also made some studies of lexical correspondences between Kalashamon as spoken in Bumboret and as spoken in Urtsun. These studies are the primary basis for the distinction in *Languages of Chitral* (Decker 1992), where a northern and a southern variety of Kalashamon are recognized (Decker 1992: 104–5). The northern variety is spoken in Bumboret and in Birir and the southern variety is spoken in Urtsun. The division is based on phonetic similarity of certain lexical items and on the opinions of the investigators' informants about the varieties of Kalashamon in the different places. For example, it is mentioned that the variety spoken in Urtsun is identical with that spoken in Suwir, but not with that spoken in Kalkatak.

Morgenstierne (1932, 1973) has grouped Ramboor and Bumboret together because of 'apparently no, or only slight difference' (1973: 187) between the language in these two valleys. Birir is also included in the dialect group with Ramboor and Bumboret because 'the limited material at my disposal does not point to any important isoglosses' (1973: 187). Because of limited space we shall not discuss the linguistic arguments behind this grouping, but only shortly mention those of Morgenstierne's observations that are relevant for the observations presented in this paper.

Forming a southern dialect we have the Urtsun dialect where 'Ancient *a* and *a:* are kept apart before a nasal' (1973: 188). We are also informed (1973: 190–238) that words that have an between vowels in Ramboor and Bumboret have an -R- in Birir, and that several words with a long vowel in Birir and Urtsun have a short vowel in Ramboor and Bumboret.

The instances of each of these differences are few, however, and the fact that the words from Kalkatak, Suwir, and Lawi are not taken down by Morgenstierne, but by Mr Wazir Ali Shah in another method of transcription should also be taken into consideration.

In their 1991 articles Alberto and Augusto Cacopardo challenge Morgenstierne's division of the Kalashamon dialects. They claim that there are four dialects of Kalashamon: two varieties of a northern group, where Ramboor, Bumboret, and Birga form one variety, and Birir and Jinjeret another, a southern dialect formed by Urtsun alone, and an eastern group consisting of the villages Kalkatak, Suwir, Lawi, Uzurbekande, and Gromel (a part of Drosh) (Alb. Cacopardo 1991: 279–82).

In contrast to Morgenstierne, Alberto and Augusto Cacopardo speak (the Ramboor/Bumboret variety of) Kalashamon themselves, and their division of the dialects are based on the comparison of their informants' pronunciation with their own, on the answers to their questions on mutual intelligibility between the dialects, and, though not exemplified in the articles, by comparison with their informants' pronunciations with that given by Morgenstierne (1973).

Below we go through some examples of dialectal divisions of Kalashamon. Each example will be followed by brief comments and at the end of the chapter we sum up and relate our findings to those of Morgenstierne and the Cacopardos.

The first dialect feature we shall look at is the variation between *a* and *o* before a nasal consonant (N). This feature has also been noticed by Morgenstierne (1973: 202) as separating the (southern) dialect of Urtsun from the (northern) dialects of Ramboor/Bumboret, and Birir.

14.	'water mill'	15.	'work'
Ramboor/Bumboret, Birir	žontr		krom
Jinjeret, Birga	žõtr		krom (not Jinjeret)
Urtsun	žantr/žãtr		kram
Suwir, Lawi	ža:ntr/žã:tr		kram

Ramboor/Bumboret, Birir, Jinjeret, and Birga go together in having *-oN-* or *õ*. And Urtsun, Suwir, and Lawi group together in having *-a-*, *-ã-* or *-aN-*. The variation between a nasalized vowel and an oral vowel followed by a nasal consonant will be ignored here.

Consider now examples 16 and 17:

16.	'to bring'	17.	'village'
Ramboor/Bumboret, Birir	žonik	Ramboor/Bumboret, Birir, Urtsun, Suwir	grom
Lawi, Birga	žo:ne/žo:ni	Lawi	gram
Urtsun, Suwir	ža:ne		

In example 16 Lawi also has an *o* before a nasal consonant, as opposed to Urtsun and Suwir with an *a* in that position. In example 17 it is Lawi that has the *a*-variant as opposed to the other areas.

In the next example we see the pattern from examples 14 and 15 with Ramboor/Bumboret, Birir, Jinjeret, and Birga going together, this time with the *a*-variant though, and it is now Urtsun, Suwir, and Lawi that have the *o*-variant:

18.	'house'
Birir, Jinjeret, Birga	han
Ramboor/Bumboret	jeSTakhan[8] 'the village temple'
Urtsun, Suwir, Lawi	ond

Examples 14–16 point to a dialectal division that includes Ramboor/Bumboret, Birir, Jinjeret, and Birga in one dialect group and Suwir and Urtsun in another, with Lawi standing in between, sharing forms with both of them. But examples 17 and 18 give rise to some confusion. Example 17 has Lawi alone in a group with the *a*-variant, and in example 18 we have the grouping from example 14, but this time with the *a*-variant in the northern dialect area, and the *o*-variant in the southern dialect area.

Our observations regarding this feature supports only partially the statement made by Morgenstierne (1973: 187–88) about a northern and a southern dialectal division of Kalashamon. And since we have word forms with *-oN-* in Urtsun and Suwir and with *-aN-* in the north, we must say that the distinction between *-aN-* and *-oN-* dialects must be investigated further.

The next dialect feature we shall consider is that distinguishing dialects with a retroflex vowel from those lacking that vowel feature and instead having an *R* and/or a plain vowel. In examples 19 and 20 we have two words which in the Ramboor/Bumboret and Urtsun dialects are differentiated only by the first vowel but which in some of the other southern dialects show some pecularities:

19.	'(wooden or metal) pot'	20.	'plait'
Ramboor/Bumboret	'khUi	Ramboor/Bumboret,	
Urtsun	'khOi	Urtsun	'cUi
Birir, Jinjeret, Birga	'khu:Ri	Birir, Jinjeret	'cu:Ri
Suwir	'kho:Ri	Suwir	cau'ri:k
Lawi	'khoi	Lawi, Birga	'cu:l

In both words Ramboor/Bumboret and Urtsun group together with a retroflex vowel, and Birir and Jinjeret group together with a retroflex *R*. In the word for '(wooden or metal) pot' Birir and Jinjeret are joined by Birga and Suwir. In the Lawi variety of these two words there is no trace of either the feature of retroflexion or the *r*-sound. Instead, Lawi, together with Birga, shows a word form with a final *l* in the word for 'plait.' Suwir has a fourth variety of the same word.

These examples showing a correspondence between *R* in Birir and Jinjeret and a retroflex vowel in Ramboor/Bumboret support Morgenstierne's findings (Morgenstierne writes '_' where we hear a retroflex vowel). But the examples do not support the statements about the overall division of the dialects. In ecample 19 we have five different word forms and in example 20 we have four. And neither of these groupings are in concordance with the statements put forward by the Cacopardos or by Morgenstierne.

Concerning the difference in the vowel height in example 19 it is noticeable that Urtsun groups with Suwir and Lawi, and that Birga groups with Ramboor/Bumboret, Birir, and Jinjeret. The latter grouping supports the suggestion made by the Cacopardos, but the former merges the Cacopardos' eastern and southern dialects.

The Birir and Jinjeret variety do also have retroflex vowels. Consider examples 21 and 22:

21.	'ear'	22.	'throat'
Ramboor/Bumboret,		Ramboor/Bumboret,	
Birir, Jinjeret,	kÕ	Birir, Jinjeret,	
Urtsun, Suwir	kÃ	Urtsun, Suwir	gA
Lawi, Birga	ka''uk	Lawi, Birga	ga'uk

In both examples we have a large group with a retroflex vowel. The group consisting of Lawi and Birga do not show any trace of either the feature of retroflexion or, concerning example 21, the feature of nasalization. In example 21 we also have a difference concerning the vowel qualities, besides another pattern of the *a-o*-contrast from examples 14–16 with the nasalized vowel showing the trace of the historical *-aN* element.

The divisions in these two last examples are threefold: Ramboor/Bumboret, Birir, and Jinjeret in one group, Suwir and Urtsun in another, and Lawi and Birga forming a third group.

Summing up on these observations, we can make only a few generalizations. Ramboor and Bumboret word forms are almost identical, making the speech of these two valleys one dialect. Birir and Jinjeret Kuh also have almost identical word forms which make these valleys a homogeneous dialect area, supporting the observation made by the Cacopardos (Alb. Cacopardo 1991: 281). Sometimes Birir and Jinjeret Kuh group together with Ramboor and Bumboret and sometimes they do not. Owing to our limited material we are not in a position to say whether Birir and Jinjeret Kuh are distinguished from the Ramboor/Bumboret dialect area by 'any important isoglosses' (Morgenstierne 1973: 187) other than the one exemplified in examples 19 and 20, nor whether these two groups are varieties of a larger (northern) group, as is claimed by both Morgenstierne and the Cacopardos.

Our observations also prevent us from concluding that Birga unambigously belongs to the same dialect group as Ramboor/Bumboret, as some word forms from that locality are identical to those from Birir and Jinjeret, and some to those from Lawi. Because of the geographical distance, however, it is remarkable that Birga sometimes can be grouped with Ramboor/Bumboret, Birir, and Jinjeret.

If the speech of Lawi and Suwir should make up one dialect area, as suggested by the Cacopardos, our observations show that this is a heterogeneous dialect area. The same conclusion must be drawn if we, as Morgenstierne suggested, regard Urtsun and Suwir as one dialect area. Our data rather suggests that the speech of each of the localities, Urtsun, Suwir, Lawi, and Birga, should be looked upon as having its own special features.

More research is needed in these areas, though, and of course also in Kalkatak, Uzurbekande, and Gromel, before we consider it safe to suggest any conclusive divisions and subdivisions of the dialects of Kalashamon. In that respect it is also important to consider to what extent each dialect has been influenced by the surrounding languages and thereby has become perhaps more distinct from the other dialects.

Finally, but not least, it is wise to supply the linguistic findings with the results obtained by the research done by geographers, historians, and anthropologists. When the findings of

these fields of research are combined with the linguistic findings we will know a great deal more about the history of the Kalasha language and of Chitral.

Conclusion

These were some of the observations we made during a two month field trip. In our opinion only one conclusion can be drawn, namely, that these observations urge further investigation of Kalashamon, regarding the structure of the sound systems of each of the dialects, and regarding the position of the dialects to each other. Only more fieldwork and larger corpuses of linguistic data will give us more insight into these exciting areas of language study.

NOTES

1. The observations on the pronunciation of Kalashamon that we shall present in this paper have been made during two months of fieldwork in the district of Chitral, in July August 1995. The fieldwork was supported by His Royal Highness Crown Prince Frederik's Fund, by the Danish Research Council of Humanities, and by Det lange Udvalg, DANIDA. We are, of course, grateful for their support.

   In the first two-and-a-half weeks the fieldwork was carried out in close cooperation with Professor Jørgen Rischel, Department of General and Applied Linguistics, University of Copenhagen. In the rest of the period the fieldwork was carried out by us authors alone. Some of the observations presented in this paper were made during the cooperation with Professor Rischel. We thank Professor Rischel for also having commented on earlier versions of this paper, but he is of course in no way responsible for the way that we have chosen to present the material, nor for our interpretations.
2. During the two months school teacher Mr Ingineer Khan, Batthet, Ramboor, worked very closely with all of us. Without his help in guiding, translating, and arranging we would not have accomplished half of what we have done.
3. For informant M4 we used another word ('head lice' ju'k) due to lack of documentation on the word 'water'.
4. All three women have a variant pronunciation of this word: 'dheta.
5. The variation *d* vs *dh* is not an issue here, but indicates the same tendencies as the other features regarding contact with foreigners and foreign languages. See the following.
6. Y means young male informant.
7. Unfortunately we do not have this word documented with W2 and W3 but in similar contexts they have the diphthongization too, for example 'chair' 'hanea'k.
8. In Ramboor and Bumboret the word for 'house' is dur. The other word for 'house' still exists in the compound word for the village temple.

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MAJOR THEMES IN MODERN KHOWAR POETRY

*Ismail Wali Akhgar**

The classic portion of poetry written in Chitral during the last three centuries is mostly in Persian. The following poets have left behind their manuscripts: Mohammad Shukoor (1603–85), Muhammad Si-yar (1780–1847), Tajmmul Shah (1780–1842), and Muazzam Khan Azam (1865–1945). Their poetry shows that they were trained in the informal system of education prevalent at the time and were influenced by the ideas of the great poets and mystics of Persia. The outer form of their poems is also Persian in style. They have expressed their feelings and thoughts both in the form of the lyric and the epic. Their main images, symbols, and allusions have been taken from the same source, for example, the flower and nightingale, the moth and candle, the figures of Majnoon and Laila, Yousaf and Zulikha, and Shireen and Farhad. Their subjects are love, both human and divine, heroic actions, war, the merits of the ruling *mehtar*, the demerits of a rival, the position of man amidst cosmic forces, and love for the native land. Thus, our modern Khowar poetry stretches over three centuries. The basic ideas presented by the modern poets can be traced back to these origins. The art of the above-mentioned poets covers every aspect of imaginative experience, from lyrical uneasiness through cosmic melancholy to heroic grandeur.

Of them, Mohammad Shukoor Gharib seems to be a man of great and admirable inventiveness, as he has tried to get an artistic combination of Khowar and Persian expressions in some of his poems without affecting metrical design and rhythmical beauty. One of his long lovelyrics is, one can say, in pure Khowar. This lyric can be taken as the first example of written poetry in Khowar and thus its writer can be termed as the father of Khowar poetry. The lyric is the expression of his noble and sublime feelings of love. The images in the following lines are of great artististic beauty. They show the poet's delicacy of thought and profunditity of imagination;

ta phreSu giro chuy ta mux rošt anus,
ta chuy anusáante jerum chuy anus

O, my beloved
Your locks are like the darkness of the night while your face is like the brightness of the day. I revolve round your nights and days.

The invasion of Chitral by the British in 1895 was a turning point in the history of Chitral. People reacted to this event in different ways; poets became reactionary, at least on the imaginative plane. Muazzam Khan has expressed his dislike of this intervention in the following verses;

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dar qafài yak farangi se musulmán àamadand
rahamat-u-nūrhayàt-u-sultàn áamadand

Satirizing three historical figures the poet says, 'Three muslims followed an Englishman, They are Rahmat, Noor Hayat, and Sultan.' Gul Azam Khan, another poet of the same period, has expressed a similar reaction by using professional titles:

cháarbu-o-če-Dom bráargini mulko apsaráan

[As the result of the invasion] menials have become elites of the country.

This theme has taken on many colours and different shades with the passage of time and is still an interesting subject of poetic expression in our society.

The first poet who can be called modern in every sense of the word is His Highness Mohammad Nasir-ul-Mulk (1897–1943). He was the first man from Chitral who received modern education. His three books were published in his lifetime. He studied the new ideas and theories prevalent in Europe at that time. His poetry is said to be philosophical in origin. His book, *The Booklet of Creation* (*Sahifatut Takwiin*), itself is a witness to his philosophical bent of mind. Besides his individual approach to his inner observations, the corrupt clergy is the target of his satire. However, the medium of his expression is Persian, not Khowar.

The next poet of note is Mirza Firdous Firdousi. Apart from love and other conventional subjects, his poetry contains verses which reflect his imaginative attraction to the natural beauty and resources of the area. One of his poems, entitled 'My Dear Country,' points to the fact that he loved his native land with full patriotic zeal and this love has found expression in this little poem. The poem also shows that he has not joined his predecessors in following the Persian styles in letter and spirit as his rhyme scheme in the poem conforms with that of the traditional songs in Khowar; for example, the words *Badan* and *Makhzan* have been used to rhyme with *Kaan* (tree) and other such words of long vowel sound. However, his diction is not totally free of Persian expressions. His imagination is fired by the refreshing smell of the flowers of the Russian olive, green meadows, and crystal-clear streams. The beauty of his native land is dearer to him than that of Switzerland. The poetry of his predecessors contains individual verses in praise of their native land, not a full poem of sixteen lines under the same title. Thus he is the first poet who wrote a full poem in Khowar in praise of the valley of Chitral. This forms the basis of all those poems which are written in Chitral on the same theme, though there are many variations in the style in modern Khowar poetry. Thus, Firdousi established a tradition which is followed with full poetic zeal in the present time.

Bacha Khan Huma is Firdousi's contemporary. Love of God is the motive behind his poetry. He has described mystical love and its different shades at the spiritual level of human experience. Most of his poems are entitled either as 'Hamd' ('Praise of God') or 'Naát' ('Devotional Poem for the Prophet Muhammad'). Part of his diction is Arabic in origin and modern readers may find some difficulty in grasping his meanings. Some of his images and symbols are personal and thus reflect his imagination. For example, one of his poems is about the repercussions of premarital sexual contact between a young girl and boy. In this poem, the male character is presented a cat and the young girl as milk. The connection between cat and milk makes its meaning clear. In the same poem, an unmarried young daughter is portrayed as the calf who should not be allowed to eat the maize crop of others by her father. His tone is didactic and his approach to the subject is academic.

Independence from British rule freed the people of this area from royal subjugation and its poets began to pay homage to the new country and its founder. Two poems of Bacha Khan, one in Khowar and the other in Urdu, deal with the ideal leadership of the Quaid-i-Azam. Others have followed him in their poetic eulogies paid to the new country which had been their dream for freedom and democracy. However, Bacha Khan's mind is not free from the thought of class differences, as in one of his poems a man belonging to the lower class of servants is the target of his satire.

One of the main impacts which the British intervention had on our culture was the breakup of our spiritual link with the Persian language and the social values of Central Asia. After this, Persian began to lose its official and academic significance in our society. A few decades ago it was not possible for everyone to acquire modern education. That is why poets were attracted to their mother tongue for the expression of their yearnings.

In the present period, Baba Ayub is amongst the first poets who chose pure Khowar as their medium of expression. His diction is free, to a great extent, from Persian mannerisms. Love, religion, and adherence to the local culture are his main themes. His love is free from sensuality and he is not ready in his imagination to have physical contact with his beloved. One of his love-lyrics, popular amongst both the young and the old, includes the following lines, which are often quoted:

kya maza kišer LoLika gamburio,
gunah horo boi Chini šunkhiin ki hoi

What a pleasure to look at the flower!
But it would be really a sin to pluck it for its smell.

Besides its symbolic importance in the field of Platonic love, the verse gives a lesson in environmental preservation. The flower in the verse can be taken as a symbol of natural beauty whose destruction may result in many disasters.

Baba Ayub seems to be a fundamentalist in his approach to religion. Some of his poems are the expression of his resentment of the alien laws still prevalent in the country. Pure Islamic society is his religious ideal and he yearns for martyrdom during his imaginative *jihad* against the alien and non-Islamic laws. His poem, 'My Yearning,' is a clear reflection of his feelings:

islami inqilàb angiko bače ma armán boyan
tàn frosk ràhbaro ača biko bače ma aramàn boyan

For Islamic revolution
Is my yearning
Submission to the teachings of the Prophet
Is my yearning.

mayun The čuLiràn rošti giko bače
γaflato oraráar angah biko bače ma aramàn boyan

The oriole is chirping for the break of dawn
To wake up from the slumber of ignorance
Is my yearning

Apart from this religious subject, his poetry also deals with his emotional attachment to Pakistan in general and his native land in particular. A few examples:

heràr ači ma Chetràro nowjuwán ma xos
ki hoi tan batháno bače zanu mál qurbàn ma xos

After that every youth of Chitral
Is dear to me
Then the life and wealth sacrificed for my country is dearer to me

In the same poem he has expressed his hatred of the new cultural values symbolized by a modern bowl and an electric fan;

Dongòt armán ma niki qadimi ma γàn ma xos
phankòt šauq no koròm ma anwázo gan ma xos

My yearning is not for a modern bowl
My old wooden plate
Is dear to me
I do not like electric fan
My own morning breeze is dear to me.

The desire for a revival of the indigenous culture and religious values is shared by many poets in the valley.

During the last three decades many poets have presented their poems in *mushairas* (poetry recitation gatherings). There is no space in this study for a historical assessment of the growth of different themes to the present day. The tendency of those poets who are living today is either towards humour or emotional intensity. There are some poets who have their individual styles. They try seriously to revive the ancient values of poetry. Of them, Chishti and Irfan are followers of the mystical traditions. Chishti's use of difficult mystical terms makes his message a little obscure. Irfan's expressions are simple and spontaneous. Chishti's thought is like that of Badil and Irfan's verses have the colour of Hāfiz Sherazi.

Amin-ur-Rehman Chughtai's poetic art is a world in its own. Chughtai is a conscientious poet. He is a master of metrical intricacies. Apart from his love poetry, his art is the expression of his reaction to his imaginative experiences in an objective way. Social evils of laziness, fashion-worship, hypocrisy, and administrative mismanagement are some of his major subjects. There is also a group of young poets who get technical guidance and spiritual inspiration from him. Among his promising pupils is Saleem Kamil, whose subject is imaginative romance. Tender feelings of love find beautiful expression in Kamil's lyrics.

Three poets who follow the traditional patterns of Khowar songs in their art are Amir Gul, Mubarak Khan, and Gul Nawaz Khaki. They are famous singers and have their individual styles. Amir Gul is known for his love lyrics and Mubarak Khan for his poetical attack on mismanagement at different levels of society.

One of Mubarak's long poems is about the defective hydel power station in Chitral which has been a political and administrative nuisance since its installation. Gul Nawaz Khaki's thought can be called progressive in the sense that he represents the problems of the common people in his poetry. Old Khowar words generally appear in his diction.

A versatile genius whose greatness is recognized in many circles is Dr Inayatullah, known as Faizi. He is the 'moving force' behind all literary activities in Chitral. On the surface his poetry is a reflection of his nationalistic feelings. He is greatly concerned by the fact that his

people are not getting their due share from the government treasury. His poem, 'The Cry of a Chitrali,' is an artistic expression of his feelings in which he movingly depicts the socio-economic problems of Chitral regarding its isolation, low level of economic development, and lack of modern facilities. His other poems give us a message of awareness of the demands of the modern age. He deals with impersonal subjects in a personal way. He can turn any subject into poetic art including such diverse topics as Indira Gandhi's murder, the indifference of bureaucracy, the social problems of marriage, and the dirty game of politics. Many sad episodes are hidden under the mask of his humour. His poems are of great symbolic significance for a student of Khowar poetry. His satire is conveyed through irony and his art is the expression of ironies at different levels of human experience. Javed Hayat, a young poet, has been Faizi's student in college. His imagination is also alive to the problems of the valley. He has represented the downtrodden people of Chitral through his personification of the mountain of Rawalai (Loari). The political exploitation of the voters in the area by the promise of a tunnel through the Loari has been a long and bitter experience for the people of Chitral and Javed Hayat has turned the same exploitative manoeuvre into a beautiful poem in which the mountain addresses the people in the followings words:

vote maCkak ma pitai eqtidár ganini
tan Lengak khúrsio ma baxár ganini

Vote seekers ultimately get to power
On the pretext of mine
They get their shaky chair
From the Tunnel of mine

Káa šumuúr baxo súm tante cár ganini
saf maulo sum báγi na bašár ganini

Then nobody would bother about the tunnel
They would be rather concerned to purchase new model cars.
What to speak of me
They would even forget their Creator.

In the same poem the poet further says,

tu zomán qáidi to khiálo qáidi
ta faryaád ta sum toónj tu suwalo qáidi

[O, Chitralis!]: You are prisoners in the mountains
And you are prisoners of your thoughts
And you are prisoners of a demand
which is never fulfilled

tu we-meru kromak tu zawálo qáidi
hai γariib Chetrári máho sálo qáidi

Your toils are without any goal
Because you have no leader
You are a prisoner of a declining fate
O poor Chitrali! you have thus been a prisoner
for months and years

Javed Hayat's tone is personal like that of Faizi. The man who treats such subjects objectively is Saleh Nizam. He possesses a humorous nature. Apart from other things he has inherited humour and wit from his father, Qazi Nizam, who is a great poet as well as a political personality of the region. He uses this wit in his poetry. The embezzlement of funds by concerned officials move his humour and he has devoted a full poem to this subject. Hunting of migratory ducks is the hobby of every Chitrali and Saleh has written a long poem to condemn the practice. Hunting arouses feelings of pity and sadness; however, Saleh's poetry has rendered this sad experience with humour, which makes it both interesting and appealing. Princess Diana's visit to Chitral, a memorable event for many people of the area, also received humorous treatment.

Maula Nigah can be matched with Saleh in his humorous treatment of social themes. Two of his poems are of great interest in this regard. One is on the game of cricket and its adverse effect on the minds of our youth. The other is on the subject of addiction to drugs in our society. The first poem is a combination of English and Khowar expressions generally used by the players of cricket. The second poem is about the physical, mental, and spiritual ills caused by addiction. Many young poets follow Saleh and Nigah in the humorous treatment of their subjects. For example, Mukhtar Ali Baba, a teenager, has written an interesting poem about the 'Dish Antenna' and its adverse effects on our culture.

Human love is a recurring theme in poetry. It has found different expressions in the art of different masters. Poetical feelings would dry up without it. Two young poets are well-known in the valley for the expression of the feelings of love and its numerous shades in their lyrics. Their tone is impassioned and their artistic designs are too natural to be called artless.

There is no end to the eulogies of 'swordlike eyes,' 'rosy lips,' 'curly hair,' 'moon-like face,' and 'tender fingers.' There are two other famous poets known in the area by their pen names of Shahid and Zakhmi. Shahid means 'witness' and Zakhmi means 'wounded.' Both are witnesses to their inner wounds. These inner wounds come out in the form of their love lyrics. Their Shelleyan strain has made them popular among the youth. Another poet who ranks with Shahid and Zakhmi in his depiction of this experience is Sarfaraz Ali Khan. However, he treats other themes, too. Like Shahid and Zakhmi, his expression is full of sorrow and grief, as follows:

γeča hamiš ašruó qitránte γerūm kalapat
zindágio awana durdanánte γerúm kalapat

Always tears in the eyes
How long shall I
Revolve round these drops
My life has nothing but a few
precious drops of pearls
[But] how long shall I revolve around
these pearls.

ma hardio šišo tan hosten chini tu bajao
hazár nas biru nasánte γerūm kalapat

You broke the mirror of my heart
with your own hands and went away
It has turned into thousands of pieces
and how long shall I revolve round these pieces.

ma hardio di tu gani ta hardi boxto sár dáng
tan hardio maSki boxtánte yerdúm kalapat

You took away my heart
while your heart is harder than a stone
[Tell me!] how long would I revolve round
the stones in search of my heart

This brief review is an introduction to one who wants to conduct thorough research work on the themes in our modern poetry. The current trend is that poets are using subjects of everyday life for their poetic expressions. Besides political, ideological, and socio-economic problems of the area, subjects of international interest, for example, environmental crisis, are dealt with in our poetry. Poetry is the only written form of imaginative literature here which can be used for investigating the inner and outer problems of the people. Other forms of literature for example, prose, either are still in their infancy or exist as literary criticism.