THE GAWRI LANGUAGE OF KALAM AND DIR KOHISTAN

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1. The language, its speakers, and its environment

1.1 Linguistic environment

Kalam and Dir Kohistani (also called *Gawri* /gāwrī/) is one of about two dozen languages that are spoken in the mountain areas of northern Pakistan. The name *Kohistan* in Urdu and Persian means 'land of mountains', and *Kohistani*, when used as the name of a language, can be translated as 'mountain language'.

The subject of the current essay is the Kohistani language that is spoken in the Kalam tahsil in district Swat, and also in the Kohistan tahsil in district Dir, in the North-West Frontier Province.

As one leaves *Pashto*-speaking Mingora, the major market town in district Swat, and travels up the Swat valley, Pashto remains the predominant language up to and including the village of Madyan. After Madyan one enters another language area, namely that of *Torwali*. Bahrain village is the centre of the Torwali-speaking area. Travelling further up one eventually leaves the Torwali area, and passes a number of settlements (Asret, Laikot, Peshmal), where *Gujari* is the predominant language. Finally, one reaches the point where the Karan Duki /qāran duki/, a small tributary of the Swat river, comes gushing down the mountain, driving the turbines of the Kalam power house. Here, one passes from Bahrain tahsil into Kalam tahsil, and at the same time into the Gawri language area.

Even before this point, across the river from Peshmal in the village of Ariani, one can find homes where a form of Gawri called *Dachwa* /dāçwā/ is spoken.

While Gawri is the predominant language in Kalam tahsil, it is certainly not the only language. Over the centuries, groups of people from different ethnic backgrounds have found their way to the Kalam area and settled there. Among them, *Pashto*, *Gujari*, and *Khowar*-speaking communities are the most numerous. Many of these people have learned Gawri as a second language. In addition, Pashto is spoken as a second language by virtually all the men and a lesser number of women of Kalam tahsil, as this is the *lingua franca* of district Swat, and the North-West Frontier Province in general.

Traditionally, the Gawri-speaking area in Swat is divided into three major clusters of villages and hamlets, each named after its principal village: the lower cluster is *Kalam* /kālām/ *proper*; up from Kalam there is the *Utrot* /utrōṭ/ cluster in the West, and the *Ushu* /ūṣū/ cluster in the North-East. The three communities have different traditions regarding their historical descent, and each has its own political organisation.

Although the dialect of Utrot and the dialect of Ushu are perceptibly different from each other and from the dialect of the Kalam cluster, all three are very much the same language, in the opinion of the people as well as according to more formal sociolinguistic criteria (see Rensch 1992).

As mentioned above, the language is spread over a larger area than just Kalam tahsil. When one crosses over the mountains westward from Utrot, one reaches the upper part of the Panjkora valley, which belongs to district Dir. This area is often called *Dir Kohistan*. Here too, in a number of villages (Thal, Lamuti, Barikot, Biar, Kalkot and Rajkot/Patrak), the same Kohistani language is spoken.

1.2 Geographical area

Kalam Kohistan is the name given to the northern-most parts of the Swat district in the North-West Frontier Province, including Kalam and the areas beyond Kalam. To the North it is bordered by the mountains of Chitral and the Gilgit Agency. To the East, several high mountain passes lead into the Kandia valley of Indus Kohistan. Frequently-travelled mountain passes also connect to the West, to the villages of Thal and Lamuti in Dir Kohistan. *Kalam* is the name of a village located at the confluence of the Ushu and Utrot rivers, which form the river Swat. The Kalam Kohistani people occupy most of the upper-most parts of the Swat valley. However, some of the highest permanent settlements are not inhabited by Kalamis but by Gujars, who speak their own language, Gujari.

Kalam village is located at an altitude of approximately 7,000 feet above sea level. The scenery in Kalam is dominated by the glaciers of the nearby Mankial range, east of Kalam, and by the more distant peak of the Falakser. The peaks of Mankial and Falakser reach an altitude of just under 20,000 feet.

Dir District, of which Dir Kohistan forms a part, also comprises a section of Pakistan' North-West Frontier Province. Chitral borders it in the North, Swat in the East, Afghanistan and Bajaur in the West, and Malakand in the South. The Kohistani people of Dir live in the northern part of Dir District, in the upper reaches of the Panjkora valley. A jeep road leading from Lamuti over a mountain pass to Utrot in Kalam Kohistan is presently under construction.

1.3 Population

Stahl (1988:40) and Rensch (1992:33) estimate the number of Gawri speakers in Swat to be 40,000. A regional development project (KIDP) gave an estimated (supposedly more reliable than the 1981 census figures) total population of Kalam tahsil in 1982 of around 40,000. However, from this figure we have to subtract the population of the non-Gawri speaking communities in Kalam tahsil.

On the basis of the KIDP data, we arrive at a number of between 26,000 and 30,000 mother-tongue speakers of Gawri in Kalam tahsil in 1982. Assuming an average annual population growth rate of three percent (which roughly approximates the figure for Pakistan as a whole), the number of Gawri mother-tongue speakers in Kalam tahsil in 1995 may have been in the range of 38,000 to 44,000. To this we need to add the Gawri-speaking population of Dir Kohistan and the Dachwa speakers in Ariani (which belongs to Bahrain tahsil).

According to Keiser (1986:493) the population of village Thal in Dir Kohistan was approximately 6,000 in 1984. In July 1995, two men from Kalam visited Dir Kohistan and on our request inquired about numbers of Gawri speakers. Based on the number of forest royalty shares, the number of Gawri speakers was said to be 8,000 for those living in Thal, 7,000 for Lamuti, and 2,000 for Kalkot. We do not have up-to-date figures for the other Gawri-speaking villages in Dir Kohistan (Barikot, Biar, Patrak). On the basis of the available information, the

total number of mother-tongue speakers of Gawri, including both Swat and Dir Kohistan, may be estimated to be in the range of 60,000 to 70,000 in 1995.

1.4 Language names

In the linguistic and ethnographic literature, the language has been given different names. Morgenstierne (1940) uses the name *Bashkarik* (baškarīk), a name that was also used by Biddulph (1880/1971:70,71). Grierson in the Linguistic Survey of India (LSI 8/2:507ff) called the language *Garwi* (gārwī). Barth (1956:52) and Barth & Morgenstierne (1958:120) gave *Gawri* (gāwrī) as a more accurate version of the latter and also found that the name Bashkarik is not known by the Gawri speakers in the Kalam area. Rensch (1992:5) and his co-workers found that the name Gawri was regarded as pejorative by some speakers of the language. Rensch and his co-workers use *Kalami* and *Kalami Kohistani* in their work. The name *Bashkari* is used by Khowar speakers in Swat Kohistan for *speakers* of Gawri, while the Gawri *language* is called *Bashkarwar* in Khowar.

Apparently both these names, Gawri and Bashkari, have a long history. The name *Gauri* occurs in the Vedas, and in the work of Panini (late 5th or early 4th century BC) and other Indian sources, as a name of the river Panjkora in what is now district Dir. In 327 BC Alexander the Great fought a battle in this area at a place called Massaka, with a tribe called the *Gauraioi* (also called *Gretai*). In the work of Ptolemy (c. 150 AD), the region directly to the west of the river Swat is called *Goryaia* (see Schwartzberg 1992 for more information on these references). About the tribal name *Bashkar*, Bloch (1965:23) says that it is a relic of the Vedas and "no doubt the same as that of the school, which preserved the Rgveda."

The Gawri-speaking people themselves most commonly use the name *Kohistani* to refer to their language. Originally the name Kohistani was used by the Pathans that lived in the lower parts of the Swat valley for the tribes that lived higher up (Biddulph 1880/1971:69; Barth 1956:52).

1.5 History

The predecessors of the Gawri-speaking people are perhaps the same as the *Gauraioi* (Gawri), who inhabited the lower, more fertile parts of Dir from as early as the days of Panini and Alexander the Great, as mentioned above. In the 11th century AD, the area was conquered by Afghan troops under Mahmood of Ghazni and the original population was forced to flee to the remote, mountainous parts of the Panjkora valley. Local traditions confirm that from there, groups of Gawri settlers passed over across the mountain passes into the Utrot, Kalam, and Ushu valleys in what is now district Swat, while others stayed in the upper Panjkora valley.

From the 14th century onward, a new wave of Afghan invaders (the Yusufzai Pathans) gradually took over the lower parts of Dir and Swat. Under pressure from the Yusufzais, the Pathans that had settled there before fled the area, and some of them arrived in the upper reaches of the Swat and Panjkora valleys. Due to the influence of these Muslim immigrants, the Kalam and Dir Kohistanis converted to Islam, probably in the 15th or 16th centuries.

The Kalam Kohistanis have been able to maintain a large degree of political independence during many centuries. Finally, in 1947, when the British left India, the Wali of Swat was able to establish his rule over Kalam Kohistan. At that time, Swat was an autonomous state. The Wali built roads, schools, and hospitals in the area. Subsequently, Swat was incorporated as a part of Pakistan in 1969.

Till the present day, the people of Kalam and Dir Kohistan have retained their independent spirit. The local administration and police do not have much authority in day-to-day affairs in the area. In many ways tribal traditions still take precedence over official Pakistani law.

1.6 Socio-economic conditions

Traditionally the Kalamis were subsistence farmers. Some thirty or forty years ago, the potato was introduced as a cash crop and adopted by almost all farmers. Nowadays, one can see a few other cash crops as well, such as turnip and cabbage.

Due to increasing population pressure, the Kalami people are forced to look for other sources of income besides agriculture. In the winter season, many Kalamis travel to Mingora, Peshawar, Rawalpindi, Lahore, and other cities of Pakistan, to look for jobs.

In the 1980s and 1990s, there has been an explosive growth of tourism in Kalam. There are presently more than 200 hotels in the Kalam area. Tourism does create income for the Kalamis: some find jobs in hotels and restaurants, some earn an income as guides and jeep drivers, or as shopkeepers catering to the tourists. Unfortunately, only a few hotels are owned by Kalamis; most are owned by outsiders, and most of the income from tourism leaves the area.

Probably less than ten percent of the Kalami men and very few women have received education. Government schools are operating in the larger villages of the area, but due to a lack of teachers and lack of facilities, the quality of education is poor. In 1996, a private school was opened in the Kalam area that is run on a commercial basis; two other such schools were established in 1997. These commercial schools have been quite successful in attracting sizeable numbers of students.

There are only two functioning primary schools for girls in the entire area. A programme of home tuition centres for girls was started by the Kalam Integrated Development Project (KIDP) around 1990. This programme gained some popularity with the local people. However, after the closure of the KIDP in 1998, the fate of these centres is uncertain. In the schools, as well as in the home tuition centres, the medium of education is Pashto. To the younger children, teachers often provide verbal explanation in the Gawri language as well. The higher grades in school are taught in Urdu.

1.7 Religious and political aspects

There are no sectarian divisions in the Kalam area. All Kalamis are Sunni Muslims belonging to the Hanifi school of Islamic law.

People participate actively in provincial and national politics. Major political parties which are represented in Kalam are: Pakistan Muslim League, Awami National Party, Pakistan People' s Party, Jamaat-i-Islami, and Jamiat Ulma-e Islam.

A familiar sight in Kalam is a man going on the road with a Kalashnikov slung over his shoulder. Men carry these weapons so as to protect themselves against their enemies. These enemies are usually the members of some other Kohistani family with whom they have a feud. Most of these feuds develop from a dispute over land, or from a perceived violation of the modesty of a man' s wife, sister, or daughter. An in-depth study of death enmity within a Kohistani society can be found in Keiser (1986 and 1991). In recent years, the Kalam Kohistanis have been taking measures against the carrying of weapons in the bazaars of the

main villages, as it was felt that the carrying of weapons might offend the tourists that visit these bazaars.

1.8 Relationship to other languages

According to its genetic classification (Strand 1973:302), Gawri belongs to the Kohistani branch of the Dardic group of languages, along with several closely related languages in its geographical vicinity: Kalkoti (spoken in the village of Kalkot in Dir Kohistan), Torwali (in Swat Kohistan south of Kalam), Indus Kohistani, Bateri, Chilisso, and Gowro (the latter four in Indus Kohistan). Dardic in turn also includes such languages as Pashayi across the border in Afghanistan, Khowar and Kalasha in Chitral, Shina in the Northern Areas, and Kashmiri across the line-of-control.

Dardic languages belong in the Indo-Aryan language group, which means that they are genetically more closely related to Urdu, Punjabi, and Sindhi, than for instance to Pashto and Balochi, the latter two being Iranian languages. Within Indo-Aryan, Dardic is related more closely to Hindko, Punjabi, Sindhi, and Siraiki, which are said to belong to the north-western zone of Indo-Aryan, together with Dardic. Urdu, the main literary language, and Gujari, which is also spoken in the Kalam and Dir Kohistan areas, are somewhat more distant, as these languages belong to the central rather than the north-western zone of Indo-Aryan (see Masica 1991:446ff. for a discussion of Indo-Aryan subclassifications).

Of course, similarities between languages do not only arise because of genealogical relatedness, but also under the influence of other factors, such as language contact. One general observation is that Gawri shares a number of features with most other languages within the South Asian linguistic area, be they Indo-Aryan, Dravidian, Iranian, or even the isolate Burushaski. Examples of such features are the occurrence of retroflex consonants such as *ṭ*, *ḍ*, *ṛ*, and the fact that subject-object-verb is the unmarked word order within the sentence.

Finally it is no surprise to find that many words have been borrowed into the Gawri language from languages of particular religious, political, or economic importance, notably Arabic, Persian, Pashto, English, and Urdu.

1.9 Literature on the Gawri language

Prior to our own research, few linguistic descriptions of Gawri had been published (Leech 1838, Biddulph 1880, LSI 1919, Morgenstierne 1940, Morgenstierne & Barth 1958). The most extensive treatment in the English language was Morgenstierne (1940), which has 17 pages of text followed by a 35-page word list. The actual field work on which that treatment was based was carried out in 1929, and his principal language consultant was from Lamuti in Dir Kohistan.

More recently, a sociolinguistic survey of Kalam and surrounding areas has been carried out by Rensch and co-workers (Stahl 1988, Rensch 1992). These studies focus on bilingualism and language use, but give little information on the language itself.

Quite rich in information is Shaheen (1989), which is written in Urdu and discusses the history and languages of the Kalam area at a popular level. He devotes many pages to a list of Gawri words and phrases.

A recent account of the sound system and grammar of the Gawri language can be found in the work of Baart (1997, 1999a, 1999b).

2. Phonology and script

2.1 The sounds of Gawri

2.1.1 Vowels

The Gawri vowel system consists of six basic vowels to which a distinction of length is applied. (In this essay, vowel length is represented by writing a horizontal bar over the vowel symbol, as in /ā/.)

TABLE 1: Gawri oral vowels

	Front	Back
Close	i, ī	u, ū
Mid	e, ē	o, ō
Open	ä, ǟ	a, ā

There are two open vowels: one is pronounced in the front of the mouth (/ä/ and its long counterpart /ǟ/) and the other one is pronounced in the back of the mouth (/a/ and its long counterpart /ā/). The distinction between these is contrastive, as can be seen in /xār/ ' city' vs. /xǟr/ ' charity' and /nan/ ' naked' vs /nän/ ' river' .

The front vowels have a palatalizing effect on preceding velar consonants. /k, g/, and /ŋ/ are pronounced [kʸ], [gʸ], and [ŋʸ] when a front vowel follows, as in /gǟn/ ' big' which is pronounced [gʸǟn].

Probably all vowels can have nasalized counterparts. In this essay nasalized vowels are written with a tilde (~) following the vowel symbol, as in mā~ ' my' .

2.1.2 Consonants

Table 2 presents the inventory of Gawri consonants. Gawri has a voiceless lateral fricative, which is written /ɬ/. It contrasts with /l/ as in /lām/ ' village' vs /ɬām/ ' cedar wood' .

/f/ and /q/ mainly occur in loan words and tend to be replaced by /p/ and /x/, respectively. /ɣ, z/, and /x/, too, mainly occur in loan words. The phonemic status of /ɳ/ (the retroflex nasal), /ŋ/ (the velar nasal), and /ɽ/ (the retroflex flap) is not fully clear. /ɳ/ and /ŋ/ might be analysed as sequences of two phonemes (n+ḍ and n+g, respectively). /ɽ/ might be analysed as a variant of /ḍ/. There are arguments for and against these analyses. Further discussion can be found in Baart (1997).

TABLE 2: Gawri consonants

	labial	dental	retroflex	palatal	velar	post-velar
plosives	ph	th	ṭh		kh	
	p	t	ṭ		k	q
	b	d	ḍ		g	
affricates		tsh	çh	čh		
		ts	ç	č		
				ǰ		
fricatives	f	s	ṣ	š	x	h
		z			ɣ	
glides	w			y		
nasals	m	n	ṇ		ŋ	
laterals		l				
		ł				
flaps		r	ṛ			

2.2 Tone

It has been observed that tonal phenomena occur in quite a few languages of the north-western corner of the South-Asian 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 a level, mid tone. A relation was noted between the loss of voiced aspirates (*bh*, *dh*, etc., which are pronounced as *p*, *t*, etc. in word-initial position) and the emergence of tone in Punjabi. In the Northern Areas, Shina and Burushaski appear to have tone systems that are quite similar to each other, where long vowels may sometimes bear a conspicuous low-rising tone, contrasting with the more frequent falling pattern. In Chitral district, Khowar and Dameli are languages for which a distinctive low-rising tone has been observed.

Gawri has no less than five contrastive tones. These contrasts are exemplified by the words given in (a) - (e) below. With the examples, we give a description of the phonetic pitch that is observed when these words occur in non-final position in the sentence. (In final position, intonation normally adds a low pitch, which may then cause a modification of the lexical pitch of the last word.)

(a)   bōr   (high level pitch)   ' lion' (singular)

(b)   bōr   (high-to-low falling pitch)   ' lions'(plural)

(c)   bōr   (delayed high-to-low falling pitch)   ' deaf'

(d)   bōr   (low level pitch)   'Pathan'

(e)   gōr   (low-to-high rising pitch)   ' horse'

There is a distinction between the high-to-low falling pitch and the *delayed* high-to-low falling pitch, in that the delayed falling pattern typically falls so to speak from the last syllable of a

word onto the first syllable of the next word, while the regular falling pattern is fully executed within one and the same word.

As in many other tone languages, the pitch contours of Gawri words are not static entities. They may change their shapes through the influence of sentence intonation, the influence of neighbouring words, and also as a characteristic feature of the inflection of nouns. In addition, interactions between tone and segmental structure (consonants and vowels) can be observed in Gawri. For further information, we refer the reader to Baart (1999a).

2.3 Script

Unlike some of the other languages of northern Pakistan (such as Balti, Burushaski, Shina, and Khowar), the Gawri language does not have a tradition of writing. Although a few people are known to have been writing Gawri in the past (using the Urdu alphabet and creating their own systems for representing the sounds that are peculiar to Gawri), this has always been a private activity and until very recently nothing was ever published in this language.

In the summer of 1995, seven educated native Gawri speakers from Kalam formed a *spelling committee* and discussed a proposal for a writing system. They discussed the question as to which symbols should be used for representing the sounds and tones of Gawri, and also defined *spelling rules* to decide a number of cases where there might be more than one way to spell a word.

It was agreed by this committee that a Perso-Arabic script should be used for their language, rather than a Roman script. In general, it was felt that there should be maximum conformity of the Gawri writing system with that of Urdu. Urdu is the national language of Pakistan and also by far the major literary language in the Kalam area. On the other hand, the committee recognized the uniqueness of the Gawri language and chose to preserve this uniqueness by designing a writing system that can accurately represent all the distinctive sounds of the language.

We will here present a short summary of the decisions taken by the Gawri spelling committee in 1995, with a few comments here and there. The system that we are sketching here should be seen as a *working orthography* that is likely to undergo further additions and modifications as more experience is gained with writing and reading the Gawri language. In what follows, we begin with a discussion of consonant and vowel symbols that were adopted for Gawri but do not occur in the Urdu alphabet.

Special consonants in the Gawri alphabet

The inventory of characters used to represent the Gawri consonants and vowels is given in a chart at the end of this essay. A circle is placed around those symbols which do not occur in the Urdu alphabet.

The shape of *Bari He* (ح) is used for the dental and retroflex affricates: /ts/ is written with

three *nuqtas* above the character (ڞ), as it is in Pashto. /ç/ is written with two vertically

arranged *nuqtas* under the character (ﺝ). The shape of *Sin* with two vertically arranged *nuqtas*

above the character (ﺱ) is used for the retroflex fricative /ṣ/.

Retroflex fricatives and affricates occur in many languages of northern Pakistan, and many different symbols have been proposed for writing them. The symbols chosen by the Gawri

spelling committee (ﺱ and ﺝ) were adapted from work by Karimi (1982/1995) on the

neighbouring Torwali language.

Finally, the shape of *Laam* with a strike-through (ﻝ) is used for the lateral fricative /ɬ/.

The writing of Gawri vowels

The writing of vowels poses a special challenge in Gawri, as the language has six basic vowel qualities, and a length distinction (short vs. long) is applied to all of them, giving a total of twelve pure vowels (not counting nasalized vowels). This contrasts with Urdu, which has a total of only eight such pure vowels. A way had to be designed, then, to mark those extra vowels of Gawri in the writing system.

As Gawri has two open, that is *a*-like, vowels, it was decided to introduce a new vowel diacritic for the *front* open vowel. This new vowel diacritic has the shape of a *Zabar* with a

little dot on each side, as in ﺑﭦ /bäṭ/ 'stones'. A regular *Zabar* is used to indicate the *back*

open vowel, as in ﺑﭦ /baṭ/ 'stone'.

Also, it was decided to use *Jazm* where necessary for marking *shortness* of a vowel, as in ﭩﻮﭖ

/ṭop/ 'cap', which contrasts with ﭩﻮﭖ /ṭōp/ 'jump'. *Pesh* always designates the *u*-quality, as in

ﻛﻞ /kul/ 'round object'. In order to write the *o*-quality one has to write *Wau* without *Pesh*, as in

the examples above. In order to mark it as a short vowel, one has to place *Jazm* on top of *Wau*,

also shown above. Likewise, *Zer* always designates the *i*-quality, as in ﻛﻞ /kil/ 'pill'. For the *e*-

quality one uses a *Ye* without *Zer*, and to make it short one puts a *Jazm* on top of *Ye*, see ٹیپْ

/ṭep/ 'small cap', which contrasts with ٹیپ /ṭēp/ 'tape recorder'.

The writing of tone in Gawri

A set of special diacritics was made available for the writing of tone (see the chart at the end of this essay). Although it was felt that on most words the tone marks would not need to be used, it is likely that in some cases tone marks will be necessary for disambiguation. In quite a few cases there is only a tonal distinction between the singular and the plural form of a word, as in /bōr/ H 'lion' (singular) vs. /bōr/ HL 'lions' (plural). In other cases tone may be the only distinction between two different words altogether, such as /bōr/ H 'lion' and /bōr/ H(L) 'deaf'.

The writing of Perso-Arabic vocabulary

Gawri has many borrowings from Arabic and Persian. In Gawri writing the traditional spellings of these words could be left intact. Alternatively, the spelling of these words could be based directly on Gawri pronunciation, doing away with superfluous symbols such as *Se*, *Zaal*, *Suaad*, *Zuaad*, *Toe*, *Zoe*, *Ain*, and *Bari He*. The spelling committee decided that those words which are clearly identical with words in the Perso-Arabic stock should be written in the traditional way. The reason is: (1) these traditional spellings have to be learned anyway when people learn Urdu and Arabic; (2) the traditional spellings are easy for those people who already know Urdu or Arabic; (3) by keeping the traditional spellings intact, there will be similarity between Gawri spelling and other languages.

The retroflex nasal

The retroflex nasal /ṇ/ is written as a combination of *Nun* and retroflex *Re* (نڑ). The advantage

of this solution (creating a digraph by putting together two existing symbols) is that it avoids the addition of yet another special character to the alphabet. The disadvantage is that it potentially creates an ambiguity: the digraph might also be read to represent a full syllable, such as /naṛ/. English spelling has similar ambiguities. For instance, it has the digraph *th* which represents a dental fricative, but in the word *lighthouse* the sequence *th* actually stands for *t* followed by *h*. Mostly such ambiguities do not create reading difficulties in English. It remains to be seen to what extent the writing of the retroflex nasal in Gawri will cause reading difficulties.

In the years following the Kalam spelling committee meetings, three books have been published in the Gawri language by a local organization in Kalam called the Kalam Cultural Society. These books use the script described here.

3. Some grammatical features of Gawri

3.1 Morphology

The words of a language may be built up from smaller chunks (*morphemes*), each of which contributes a part to the meaning of the word as a whole. The term *synthesis* refers to the number of morphemes that a word can contain.

At one end of the scale of synthesis we have the *isolating* languages, which are languages in which words can normally not be divided into smaller meaningful parts (each word consists of only one morpheme). At the other end we have the *polysynthetic* languages, in which words often consist of many morphemes strung together. In between these extremes there is a continuum of languages that exhibit different degrees of synthesis.

When we inspect Gawri texts, we see that Gawri is not a strictly isolating language; there are nouns that consist of a stem and a suffix, such as the plural noun in (1). Also, there are verb forms that consist of a stem plus endings that indicate aspect, tense, number and gender, as in (2). Sometimes a noun stem is derived from another noun by attaching a suffix to the end of the latter, as in (3), where /iǰ/ is itself a plural noun meaning 'lies', and /-gār/ is a suffix indicating a person engaged in a certain activity (an *agent*); the combination of the two refers to 'someone telling lies'.

(1)   ǰa̋ū   'brothers'
         ǰa̋-ū
         brother-PL

(2)   ǰāna~š   '(he) used to know'
         ǰān-a~-š
         know-IMPERF.M.SG-PAST

(3)   iǰgār   'lier'
         iǰ-gār
         lies-AGT

Still, many words (fifty percent or more) occurring in Gawri texts cannot be broken up into smaller meaningful chunks, and those that can be broken up normally do not contain more than two or three morphemes. So, while Gawri is not highly isolating, it is not highly polysynthetic either, but perhaps it can be characterized as being 'somewhat polysynthetic'.

Another dimension of variation is *fusion:* in highly *fusional* languages different grammatical meanings may find expression in a single morpheme. In highly *agglutinative* languages, each component of meaning is expressed by a different morpheme. Gawri exhibits examples of fusion in its systems of noun and verb inflection. In (4), for instance, the suffix /-u/ indicates *perfective aspect* (completed action), but at the same time it indicates that the object of the verb (in this case the person or thing that was thrown) is expressed by a word that bears *masculine gender*. If the object is feminine, then the form of the perfective suffix is /-i/. In other words, one suffix (/-u/) expresses aspect as well as gender in this example.

(4)   tälu   'threw'
         täl-u
         throw-PERF.M

Another example of fusion is shown in (5). The plural of many nouns is formed, not by adding a plural ending as in most English words (*table - tables*), but by modifying the shape of the stem itself (English has a few examples of this, such as *man-men*). In Gawri, this stem

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modification may affect both the quality of vowels (for instance, /ä/ becomes /i/), as well as the shape of the tonal melody of the stem (High becomes High-Low in the example).

(5)   nän H   'river'   →   nin HL   'rivers'

While processes of vowel change and tone change affect a wide range of forms of nouns, verbs, and adjectives, there are word forms that are not affected by them, and most of these have a straightforward one-on-one correspondence between chunks of form and units of meaning. An example is given in (6). /gir/ is the stem of an intransitive verb that means 'turn (oneself) around'. The causative suffix /-ā/ creates a transitive verb, meaning 'turn (something) around'. The suffix /-ǰ/ creates a passive form of this verb ('be turned around'). Finally, the suffix /-ūg/ is used to create infinitives.

(6)   girāǰūg   'to be turned around'
        gir-ā-ǰ-ūg
        turn-CAUS-PASS-INF

Given that Gawri word forms cannot always be neatly chopped up into chunks, each of which carries one part of the meaning, and that sometimes different components of grammatical meaning (such as aspect, gender, number, case) are attached to a single chunk, we may say that Gawri is to some extent a fusional language.

3.2 Word order features

The first thing to observe about Gawri word order is that the language, like most languages of the South Asian subcontinent, is overwhelmingly verb-final; in a sentence, the main verb is almost always placed at the end, with noun phrases and other elements preceding the verb. A simple example is shown below in (1), where S=subject, O=object, IO=indirect object, and V=verb.

(1)   S   IO   O   V
        tu   mäkä   iǰāzät   kär
        you   to.me   permission   make!
        'Give me permission!'

The unmarked (neutral) order of major clause constituents in Gawri can be characterized as SOV (Subject - Object - Verb). However, this order is not rigidly fixed. One or even two constituents may be ordered after the verb, and the relative order of subject and object may also be reversed. These alternative orderings seem to be motivated by factors such as emphasis, de-emphasis, and information status.

In Gawri noun phrases, the head noun is normally the rightmost element. The numeral /ä/ 'one' often functions as an indefinite article, as in (2a). (In 2a-d, the illustrative noun phrases are surrounded by square brackets.) The preferred position for the indefinite article is directly before the head noun, with other elements—if present—preceding it, as shown in (2b). The position in between a modifier and the head noun can also be taken by other numerals, if the noun phrase is indefinite, as in (2c). In definite noun phrases the preferred order is as shown in (2d) and can be summarized as: *Genitive Phrase - Demonstrative - Numeral - Adjecive Phrase(s) - Noun*. Examples (2e-f) serve to show that the order of elements in Gawri noun phrases is not rigid; (e) has a demonstrative preceding a possessive, while (f) has the opposite order. Both are well-formed.

(2)   a.   [ä   gīl-ä]   [ä   bāča]   āš.
                  a   place-LOC   a   king   was
                 'Once upon a time there was a king.'

b. [bā̄r   silix   ä   bire]   nikes.
    very   pretty   a   girl   came.out.F
    'A very pretty girl appeared.'

c. mäkä   [gā̄n   dū   pätilā̄]   päšā̄.
    to.me   big   two   pots   show!
    'Show me two big pots.'

d. [jändūl-ā̄~   täthī~   dū   gā̄n   pätilā̄]   mäy   habīb   kä   dit.
    Jandool-GEN those   two   big   pots   I.AG   Habib   to   gave
    'I gave those two big pots of Jandool to Habib.'

e. ī~   tānī   bire
    this   self's   girl
    'this daughter of his'

f. tānī   äthē~   bire
    self's   this.other   girl
    'this other daughter of his'

3.3 Typological classification

In terms of Greenberg (1963), Gawri is a consistent O-V language. While the language allows for a range of word order variations, the pragmatically neutral word orders include the following (in this list, "relative clause" refers to a participial relative clause only):

1. Object precedes verb.

2. Postpositions rather than prepositions.

3. Genitive precedes head noun.

4. Modifier (adjective) precedes head noun.

5. Relative clause precedes head noun.

6. "Standard" precedes "quality" in comparatives.

7. Question particles occur sentence-finally.

8. Question words may occur sentence-internally.

9. Suffixes rather than prefixes.

All these orders are consistent with the typological classification of Gawri as an O-V language.

4. Gawri literature

Some thirty years ago, a Pakistani scholar by the name of *N.A. Baloch* published an article titled: *Some less known dialects of 'Kohistan'* (Baloch 1966). In this article he pointed out that Pakistani scholars need to give special attention to the languages spoken by their own people, and in particular to those languages that are little-studied or not studied at all.

> "The languages spoken by our own people, being the primary media for expressing their thoughts and feelings, provide the basis of our rich cultural variety and the very foundation of our national literature. Of these languages, the less known dialects need our special attention because of their philological and anthropological importance and also because of their importance in the local folklore and literature."

Of course, words of similar meaning have been repeated by many other scholars as well, but after thirty years we must say that a great deal of work still remains to be done.

This is certainly true of Swat Kohistan, the area about which N.A. Baloch was writing. Baloch had a remarkable way of advertising this area for scholarly research. He said:

> "If some local scholar undertakes to collect folk poems composed in these tongues, his efforts will be amply rewarded. The early romance of Aman Maluk of Kishkar with Khush Begum and the love poems composed by Aman Maluk seem to have started almost a chain reaction through Kohistan and, since then, a number of actual love stories have provided interesting topics for verbal tales as well as inspiring themes for poetry. Indeed, Swat Kohistan could as well be described as the ' land of lovers' , and almost every lover was a poet in the bargain."

Who would not want to come to a ' land of lovers' and study their poetry? Within the limits of this essay, we do not have the space to share many of the results of our research on this subject. It is true, though, that in the area of Swat Kohistan, where most of the people are completely illiterate, one will find the most remarkable people, that are producing remarkable literature. In the Kalam area, one such person is Abdul Haq Mankirali. This man of some 60 or 70 years old, lives in the village of Buyun, which is located on a plateau approximately one thousand feet above the village of Kalam proper.

Mr. Abdul Haq is a man of many careers. The people call him "Maulana" because he is a religious scholar of high standing, to whom people from far-away places come to seek guidance and to be cured from their ailments. He is an innovator who was the first to introduce the growing of potatoes in his village. He is also a scholar of history, who has compiled a number of hand-written works, in Pashto, about the political history of Kalam. One of these works has even been published in Germany in an English translation. Finally, he is famous as a poet. His songs, most of which are composed in the Gawri language, are extremely popular among the local people.

Traditional Gawri romantic poetry, which is called *rō*, is still very much alive and is vigorously being continued by the younger generation. However, the poetry of Abdul Haq is of an entirely different genre, and can be seen as an act of innovation, just like the introduction of the potato.

This man from the ' land of lovers' does not have many words to spend on romantic love. For him the lovers of Kohistan are a bunch of *fuzul* (idle) people who forget that "death is on our heads", that the "graveyard is our final place", and that one day all of us will have to answer the *imānē~ täpōs*, the query about our faith. Much of this poetry is concerned with criticizing and mocking the practices of the people and exposing hypocrisy, but it is done in such a humorous way that the people, instead of being offended, love to recite and sing these poems.

A few lines of Abdul Haq's poetry, as well as a few examples of the classical Gawri *rō* are provided at the end of this essay. A number of proverbs and a short Gawri text are also found there. Literary publications in the Gawri language are Abdul Haq (1997), Sagar (1998), and Lal Badshah (2000). For a published version of Abdul Haq's history of Kalam see Mankiralay (1987). (See the next section for publication details.)

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Appendix 1: Gawri Alphabet Chart

گاؤری حروف تہِّجی

ٹ	ت	پ	ب	اَ	آ
ح	خْ	جْ	چ	ج	ث
ڑ	ر	ذ	ڈ	د	خ
ص	تْں	ش	س	ژ	ز
ف	غ	ع	ظ	ط	ض
م	لْ	ل	گ	ک	ق
ہ	اُو	و	س	ن
	ھ	اے	ای	ی	ء

TONES

High Tone	شیر (واحد)	بوؔر
Falling Tone	شیر (جمع)	بوؔر
Delayed Falling Tone	بہرا	بوؔر
Low Tone	پٹھان	بوؔر
Rising Tone	گھوڑا	گھوؔر

شعر و شاعری

شاعر: مولانا عبدالحق آف بیوں کالام

پچ اُوکس

(مہمان آئے)

پچ اُوکّے من تھی مھاں ھیکُو کُور

آم کہ حلال کرم یہ تانی کُوکُور

(مہمان آئے ہیں اور میرا دل چاہتا ہے کہ ان کیلئے اپنی مرغی ذبح کروں۔)

مُیری نات خُدائے چھاں ناہم رہ شُکر

آم کہ حلال کرم یہ تانی کُوکُور

(اللہ کے فضل سے میرے پاس سب کچھ بہت ہے۔ میں ان کیلئے اپنی مرغی ذبح کروں۔)

مُنافقاّن سہ مھاں کہ کار نات

سَمئی گرو کہ یہ تیار نات

(منافقوں سے مجھے کچھ لینا دینا نہیں ہے۔ اور میں قسمیں کھانے کو تیار نہیں ہوں۔)

مینہ مُحبّت خلقہ رّات کِیت

جب دہ جُھوا پتائے غیبّت کِیت

(پیار محبت لوگوں نے ختم کی ہے۔ زبان سے دھوکہ دے کر پھر پیٹ پیچھے برائی کرتے ہیں۔)

گاؤری گیت

شاعر: لعل بادشاہ، اتروڑ، کالام، سوات

میں رب انگار ّکر لینگ تیریچ کہ آج مُوشیداں زراں پالنگ

ٹولیناں شأن رہ ِیچ کہ بسروت لعیناں ترِناݨ ّکٹر

(میرے رب خوبصورت (حسینہ) کیلئے میرے رقیب کا پلنگ آگ کا بچھونا بنا۔ اس نے پھٹّی چارپائی پر ِیچ بچُ شیطان کے کانٹے بچھا رکھے ہیں۔)

مکہ بنوسیں خاپریاں باݨر آہمسوس نہ مِن وزیر یئی

ہیکو کورآں پردہ ِنت انگار پَتی عمر گران بینت

(میری پیاری ماں مجھے بنوس کی پری کی افسوس بھری داستان مت سنا۔ میرے دل کے پردوں میں آگ لگی ہے، اب آنے والی زندگی بِتانا مشکل ہے۔)

مصراں باچیں بی بی ا آج انوج قصّہ کاݨ دِیت

منہ ّڈیس مُوشیہ چھدنتھر نیم بُوہار زریں رومیل رہ

(مصر کے بادشاہ کی بیگم نے آج عجیب قسم کی کہانی سنائی۔ اس نے کہا کہ میرا رقیب سونے کی رومال پر نقش و نگار بنا رہا ہے۔)

20

گاؤری ضرب الامثال

(۱): اَک بُوسہ مُورش دی ڈِب شی ٹیس باتاش۔

ایک بھوکا مرا تھا اور دوسرا اس کے بغل میں روٹی ڈھونڈ رہا تھا۔

(۲): اَگاَ ما ڈبوی او چھاَڑہ شت۔

بارش سے بھاگ کر آبشار تلے آنا۔

(آسمان سے گرا کھجور میں اٹکا)

(۳): دیال شاَن اڑ ریتاں۔

پرائے کی چارپائی آدھی رات کیلئے ہوتی ہے۔

(اُدھار محبت کی قینچی ہے)

(۴): ناٹ نہ جینی منہ کِٹ لیل تھی ار۔

(ناچ نہ جانے آنگن ٹیڑھا)۔

(۵): کھن تھُو میہ پِن تھی۔

پہاڑ کے بیچ میں راستہ ضرور ہوتا ہے۔ (جہاں پانی وہاں راستہ)۔

Appendix 6: Gawri Story

رواج

زوڑ زْماْن مئی ارو کُون کم اِسپوجا یا جاْتیک گھنڑ ہُوش تے تام گھِچو ٹھوکہ تِلْنش، ارو اْئ گھنڑ ہُوت۔ مُھوٹو اْئی کہ پکاْرہ نہ ینت۔

اِنچھلہ باْر وخت لَنگو۔ ا دیر ا میش گھنڑ ہُو، اِیں مِیشہ پا تانی بوب گھِچو ٹھوکہ تلوش۔ کُون اِیں مِیش گھنڑ ہُو تے اساْں پو اْس گھی ٹھوک رہ گا اُوں اْس ٹھوکہ تلم۔ کُون سہ اْس ٹھوکہ تلوشات تے بوب ارو " کومئی تانی بوب ٹھوکہ نہ تلوش تے آج تُو پا مھئی ٹھوکہ تِلْنش"۔ تتھی پوأ سوچ کیر اُوں کومئی تانی بوب ٹھوکہ تلو تے مھاْں لوُکوٹور پا مھئی ٹھوکہ تلاْں۔ تن تاْس ٹھوکہ نہ تلو تے تن تھی بعد اِیں رواج خَتم ہُو۔

رواج

پرانے زمانے میں کہیں اگر کوئی مرد یا عورت بوڑھے ہو جاتے تو انہیں لے جاکر پہاڑ سے نیچے پھینک دیا جاتا۔ کہتے کہ یہ بوڑھا ہو گیا ہے اب یہ کسی کام کا نہیں رہا۔

اس طرح بہت عرصہ بیت گیا۔ ایک دفہ ایک آدمی بوڑھا ہوگیا تو اسے اس کا بیٹا لیکر پہاڑ پر گیا تاکہ اسے پہاڑ سے نیچے پھینک دے۔ جب وہ اپنے والد کو پہاڑ سے گرا رہا تھا تو اس کے والد نے کہا کہ " اگر میں اپنے والد کو پہاڑ سے نہ گراتا تو آج تو بھی مجھے پہاڑ سے نیچے نہیں گراتا"۔ اس لڑکے نے سوچا کہ اگر میں اپنے والد کو پہاڑ سے نیچے پھینک دوں تو کل کو میرے بچے بھی مجھے پھینک دینگے۔ لہذا وہ اپنے والد کو گھر واپس لے آیا۔ اس کے بعد یہ رواج ختم ہوا۔