Language Shift In the Neelam Valley: A Case Study of the Kundal Shahi Language

by

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DISTRICT NEELUM

DISTRICT MUZAFFARABAD

Indian Administered Kashmir

KUNDAL SHAHI

ABSTRACT

District Neelam is the most linguistically diverse district in all of historic Jammu and Kashmir, with 171,000 people speaking no fewer than seven languages as their mother tongue. Of these, the Kundal Shahi language is the only language that is spoken nowhere outside the district. It is closely related to Kashmiri and Shina and heavily influenced by Hindko. It also shares certain unique features and lexical items with languages spoken far from Kundal Shahi village, from Khowar to the Northwest to Kangri to the Southeast, in Himachal Pradesh, India.

Linguistically speaking, a comparative analysis of the lexical items shows that it shares a slightly higher percentage of lexical items with Shina than Kashmiri. It also shares tonal features with Shina. On the other hand the analysis of the morphology, and case marking in particular, indicates closer affinity with Kashmiri. Interestingly, the umlaut vowel found in Kundal Shahi has not been reported in any other language but in Guresi Shina, a dialect of Shina spoken in Taobutt, the village at the head of the Neelam Valley.

Since the construction of the Neelam Highway in the late sixties and the establishment of the market in the Kundal Shahi village in 1970, there has been an influx of Hindko speakers into the region and Hindko became the local lingua franca. Circumstances forced Kundal Shahi speakers to use Hindko in more and more social contexts. When Kundal Shahi speaking men married Hindko speaking women, Hindko became the household language. As the Hindko speaking community grew, a stigma was attached to speaking the Kundal Shahi language. Kundal Shahi speaking parents came to think of the ability to speak Kundal Shahi as not just an additional cognitive burden but also a social disadvantage to their children. My research revealed   that   the   youngest   fluent   Kundal   Shahi   speakers   are

now in their forties, suggesting that a drastic language shift took place before 1970, a few years after the road came through.

Disrupted intergenerational transmission is the principal indicator that a language is seriously endangered. Other indicators, including the absolute number of speakers, the proportion of speakers within the total population, trends in existing language domains, the response to new domains and media, materials available for language education and literacy, can also show the level of endangerment of a language. This study has established that Kundal Shahi meets the criteria of a seriously endangered language.

While members of the Kundal Shahi community express pride in their ancestral language, which to them represents tradition, collective identity and group cohesion, their actual behavior is motivated by the stigma attached to speaking their language.

Unless there are immediate initiatives within the community to act on their expressed desire for the language to survive, I anticipate that Kundal Shahi will be extinct within half a century.

If language revitalization is to remain a realistic possibility, thorough documentation and description of Kundal Shahi is urgent.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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ABBREVIATIONS

1	1st person	NOM	nominative
2	2nd person	OBL	oblique
3	3rd person	PP	postposition
PL	plural	PRS	present
SG	singular	PST	past
ADJ	adjective	V	verb
ADV	adverb	CP	conjunctive participle
AUX	auxiliary	IPFV	imperfective
DAT	dative	PFV	perfective
DIST	distal	PPTC	perfective particle
ERG	ergative	PTCP	Participle
F	feminine	PROX	proximal
INF	infinitive	M	masculine
INV	invisible	N	noun
KS	Kundal Shahi Lnaguage		

TRANSCRIPTION SYSTEM

I have used indological characters, as used by the most of Orientalists to transcribe Oriental languages. The detail of the symbols with their ipa counterparts is given in table below. The length of vowels is shown by using the double vowel in the text.

Indological	IPA	Indological	IPA
ph bh	p^h b^h	kh gh	k^h g^h
th t	$t̪^h$ $t̪$	š ṣ	$ʃ$ $ʂ$
ṭh ṭ	$ʈ^h$ $ʈ$	ž ẓ	$ʒ$ $ʐ$
dh d	$d̪^h$ $d̪$	ṇ	$ɳ$
ḍh ḍ	$ɖ^h$ $ɖ$	ṛ	$ɽ$
ǰh ǰ	$dʒ^h$ $dʒ$	čh č	$tʃ^h$ $tʃ$
w y	$ʋ$ j		

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INTRODUCTION

The Kundal Shahi language (KS hereafter) belongs to the North-Western group of the Indo-Aryan languages; it is closely related to Shina and spoken as a native language by some 700 people in the predominantly Hindko-speaking village of Kundal Shahi. This village has an estimated population of 4523 as of 2009[1] and is located in the Neelam Valley of Pakistan-administered Azad Kashmir. An earlier study outlining the structure of KS (Rehman and Baart 2005) noticed that almost all the native speakers were aged 40 or over.

This study aims to determine the factors that led to language loss in the community. It describes the precarious situation of the language and the sociolinguistic conditions that precipitated language loss, as well as considering measures that may promote language maintenance and revival.

Chapter 1 describes the geographical location of the language community. It describes the historical background of the Neelam Valley in general and of the village of Kundal Shahi in particular.

The chapter also discusses the linguistic environment of KS and lists all languages spoken in the region of the Neelam Valley with brief notes. These languages include: Kashmiri, Hindko, Gojri, different varieties of Shina and Pashto. KS is the only language in the region facing the threat of extinction.

Chapter 2 describes my methodology, which included questionnaires, interviews and participant observation.

Chapter 3 surveys the literature available on language shift and language loss around the globe, with an emphasis on the small body of work on these

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[1] According to the census of 1998 total population of Kundal Shahi was 3342 with 2.80% yearly growth rate (source: official website of the government of Azad Jammu and Kashmir 2010)

phenomena in Pakistan. *Ethnologue* (Lewis 2009) lists 6,909 living languages, classifying 473 as nearly extinct. Most authors who have studied language loss in Pakistan (cf. chapter 3) have based their analyses on the data provided in *Ethnologue*. Though Pakistan is home to over 72 languages, and among these, many are facing an immediate threat of extinction, no considerable study or research on the topic is available.

Chapter 4 presents brief introductory notes, based on our earlier study (Rehman and Baart 2005) with a few additions, on the lexical, phonological and morphological aspects of the language.

The analysis mainly based upon 199 lexical items and the oral history of the community places the language genetically close to Shina, but morphologically it is closer to Kashmiri. The relationship of the language with Hindko is not difficult to explain. As the community is surrounded by Hindko speakers, lexical and grammatical similarities result from the long contact. On the other hand, contact with Kashmiri and Shina has been more sporadic for at least the last two centuries.

Chapter 5 presents the data collected, showing the current use of the language and prevailing attitudes towards it. Less than half of the community descended from the KS speaking population still claim fluency in KS, while all claim native ability in Hindko. The data show the inexorable incursion of Hindko into different social contexts.

Chapter 6 draws conclusions from the data presented in Chapter 5. Analysis shows that the language is *seriously endangered* on the scale developed by UNESCO in 2003 (Brenzinger et al 2003).

The major factors responsible for the ongoing language shift include: the stigma attached to KS, construction of the Neelam Highway, introduction of a local market in Kundal Shahi, increased exposure to Hindko, intermarriages, modern education, politics of religion, lack of linguistic awareness and partition of the state of Jammu and Kashmir. Though all factors have been playing their part in precipitating the ongoing language shift, the stigma and low prestige attached to KS have been the most important factor in the process.

1 THE GEOGRAPHICAL AND SOCIOLINGUISTIC ENVIRONMENT OF KUNDAL SHAHI

1.1 LOCATION AND ENVIRONMENT

The District Neelam, also known as the Neelam Valley, stretches from Chelhana to Taobutt where it covers 3621 square kilometers and is home to a population of 171,000 (Government of Azad Jammu and Kashmir 2010). Prior to the 1947 Partition of India, the region comprised a part of the Gures Valley and a region known as Drawar or Drawa (Bates 1873: 181); it was collectively known as the Kishanganga Valley after the principal river, the Kishanganga (river of Krishan), which flows through the length of the valley (Bates 1873:234-236). The name, as with several other places in the region, was officially changed to the 'Neelam Valley' and the river to the 'Neelam' (Neelum) as a consequence of the 1947 partition. In some cases name changes have occurred twice, as with the village of 'Islampura', originally called Chittan but subsequently becoming Rampur; a name chosen by colonel Beja Singh, the then *zillahda*r of Muzaffarabad, because of the indelicacy of the former appellation (Bates 1873: 320). Subsequently, on ideological grounds, the village was renamed and has remained as Islampura since. The name Neelam was originally derived from the village Neelam, situated above the right bank of the river on a plateau at an elevation of 1524m and 9km up from Athmuqam, the district head quarters of the Neelam Valley. In addition, there are two other small hamlets known as Neelam in the Neelam Valley.

The elevation of the Neelam Valley along the river and the Neelam Highway ranges from 1000m to 2200m; however many of the surrounding mountain peaks rise to as much as 5000m. In 2005 the area was upgraded to the position of district and subsequently called District Neelam comprising two *tehsils:* Tehsil Sharda and Tehsil Athmuqam.

The Neelam Valley is particularly renowned in Azad Kashmir for its rich flora and fauna with most of the hillsides being covered with alpine trees dominated by pine, fir

and *deodar* 'Himalayan cedar'. The banks on either side of the river are in most places particularly steep with the valley appearing very gorge like. The river Neelam, which flows from Indian administered Kashmir, where it is still known as the Kishanganga, enters the territory of Azad Kashmir at Taobutt. The Gagai Nallah, a river coming from the north east, joins the river at this point and as it flows on down to Muzaffarabad it is further joined by a large number of *nallahs* (tributaries); the principal ones of which being: the Shonther Nallah, the Surgan Nallah, the Lawat Nallah and the Jagran Nallah which collectively provide a major input to the total bulk of the water transported by the Neelam.

Running parallel to the Neelam valley is the Kaghan valley. The two valleys are separated by a range of high mountains, some peaks of which exceed 5000m, and are naturally connected by the Jagran Pass, the Ratti Galli pass and the Noori Top pass; all of which are frequently traveled during the summer months. As a consequence of the Kashmir dispute and the Line of Control (LoC), which in places runs parallel to the Neelam valley thus rendering it vulnerable to cross border firing, a 'fair-weather' road which passes through the Noori Top pass and joins the Neelam Highway at Sharda was constructed to provide safe passage during periods of hostility between Pakistan and Indian troops. The Neelam Highway, which runs parallel to the river, was itself only constructed in the late 1960's, early 1970's in order to connect the area to Muzaffarabad. Historically the valley was accessed from the south, with traditional pilgrim and trade routes coming from Srinagar, the former capital of Kashmir and the current administrative headquarters of Indian administered Kashmir.

The people in the region belong to a great many clans, locally known as *qoom* /koːm/, *qabeela* /kabiːlə/, *brad*ari /bərɑdʌri/ and sometimes *zaat* /zɑːʈ/. These clans include: Butt, Gojar, Dar, Wani, Malyar, Sufi, Awan, Kulgan (Bates 1873: 141) Mir, Chakbari, Matoori, Lone, Syed, Malik, Sheikh, Konshi, Raja, Khawaja, Pathan, Qureshi, Payer, Babzade, Barkoti, Tantre, Naik, Pirzada, Raina, Rubi, Barhaji, etc. but with no single clan constituting a majority. With such a diversity of clans and as a consequence of separation from the south by the LoC this research has identified that many clans have become genetically and culturally isolated and so have sought to

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identify themselves and their lineage to past rulers or to Arab origins, in particular to that of the prophet Muhammad, adopting newly assumed titles, rather than maintaining their traditional ones. This phenomenon is further supported by the records of the local revenue department (the revenue record approached April 21, 2007), where changes to titles and names are clearly documented. This scenario, which can be observed all over Azad Kashmir, is being adopted as a means to increase and strengthen the circle of influence and ancestral prestige of the clans; however this practice is at the expense of Kashmir's true historical lineages.

1.2 LANGUAGES OF THE NEELAM VALLEY

Apart from the Kundal Shahi language the following languages are spoken in the Neelam Valley:

1.2.1 HINDKO

The Hindko language spoken in the Neelam Valley is usually known as *Parmi* , by the communities other than the Kashmiris. The Kashmiri communities ordinarily call it piːrɪm, but sometimes refer to it as Hindko or pɑhaːɽi. The word *Parmi or piːrɪm'* is derived from the Kashmiri word *apiːrɪm*, meaning 'from the other side'. Historically speaking, the Hindko speaking communities lived in the highlands of the Kashmir Valley and these highlanders were referred to by the Kashmiris as ɑpiːrɪm; the use of this word to refer to the people having likely, over time, been extended to include the language spoken by them. Similarly during the course of this research it was found that the word 'piːrɪm' for Hindko appears as an expression in a Kashmiri drama recorded in the Kashmir Valley and so it is probable that the term is also used in Indian administered Kashmir and so most likely has its origins in antiquity. The antiquity of the expression is further supported by the findings of this research which identified the use of similar expression for the Hindko Speakers by the Kundal Shahi speakers.

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The use of Hindko has not however been previously documented in any part of Kashmir. In traditional literature the Hindko language, as spoken in the Neelam Valley, is referred to as Pahari (Bates: 1873, Grierson: 1919). In 2004, and as part of this research, a word list from eight different locations in the Neelam valley was collected. In collaboration with Dr. Joan Baart, who has been working on the languages of Northern Pakistan for the last 16 years, the word list was analyzed with the results indicating that the dialect spoken in the Neelam valley was more closely related to the dialect of Hindko spoken in the Kaghan Valley rather than to the Pahari spoken in the Murree Hills. This similarity was further observed during interviews and informal discussions with the Hindko speakers in the Neelam Valley as well as in the Kaghan Valley and Mansehra.

Given the above there appears strong evidence to suggest that the Northern dialect of Hindko is related to the dialect spoken in Azad Kashmir, a situation that gives support to the hypothesis that the same variety is very probably spoken south of the LoC, thus indicating historical cultural and linguistic links. In Indian-administered Kashmir there are many villages situated along the LoC, at a distance of only a few hundred yards from the villages of Azad Kashmir and with, in some places, the LoC actually dividing villages in two. From a linguistic perspective the differences in speech that have evolved during the last 63 years among adjacent and divided villages lying on either side of the LoC would prove an interesting area for future study into the evolutionary mechanisms and rate of evolution of the languages of Kashmir.

Within the area of study it is possible to distinguish two distinct populations of native Hindko speakers: these being the ethnic Hindko speakers and the Hindko speakers originating from other ethnicities. According to the oral histories the ethnic Hindko speakers came from Mansehra and the Kaghan Valley whereas the non-ethnic Hindko speakers came from either the Valley of Kashmir or other parts of South Asia. In spite of the fact that most of the groups originally speaking languages other than Hindko have shifted to Hindko, they retain a strong ethnic consciousness, identifying more with ethnicity than with linguistic lines.

Unlike other dialects of Hindko, Pahari and Punjabi, the Hindko spoken in the Neelam Valley retains the old Indo-Aryan voiced aspirated stops of /bh/, /ḍh/, /ḍh/, /gh/ and the voiced aspirated affricate /dʒh/, in word-initial positions. However the present research indicates that a rapid shift of the voiced aspiration, in line with that expressed in the other dialects mentioned, is currently in progress; one that is quite evident along the roadside and in the main towns where contact with outsiders is more frequently observed. In contrast settlements set away from the main road or further upstream, roughly above Dudnial, show a much stronger retention of the old Indo-Aryan linguistic feature. This suggests that frequent contact with speakers of other varieties of Hindko, Punjabi and Pahari is a major cause of change. The influence of Punjabi is however not restricted to the phonology but also affects syntax. The dative and accusative marker *ku* of traditional Hindko is being replaced by the *nu:* of Punjabi (Rehman and Robinson 2011).

Hindko is the predominant language of the Neelam Valley and is the main lingua franca amongst speakers of other languages who, with the exception of some women in a few Kashmiri and Shina speaking villages, are usually proficient in Hindko. It is worth noting that whilst the Hindko of the Neelam is itself being encroached upon by other languages from outside the region its dominance within the Neelam has led to it encroaching upon the languages of some smaller communities; thus resulting in virtually all members of the other language communities becoming proficient in Hindko. As a consequence a process of language shift to Hindko is ongoing in many of these communities and whilst this has been occurring for some time in the larger more accessible villages, within the more remote regions this process has started relatively recently. Similarly it is not unusual for people with the same mother tongue (other than Hindko) to chose Hindko over their mother tongue when speaking amongst themselves; a situation identified by Simmon (2003) as a clear indication of language shift.

1.2.2 KASHMIRI

Kashmiri, the second largest language of the area and spoken by the majority of ethnic Kashmiris has, over the last two centuries and in line with the other languages, been similarly eroded by the adoption of Hindko as the primary language. Villages where Kashmiri is still spoken as the sole mother tongue include: Halmat, Sardari, Shund Das, Tehjian, Malik Seri and Khawaja Seri. Among these, the former three are adjacent to each other and lie at a distance of approximately 193km from Muzaffarabad, the capital city of Azad Kashmir. Further upstream at the village of Nekro, where the majority are Kashmiri speakers with a few families of Shina speakers, and in the adjacent village of Karimabad (formerly known as Sutti) where Guresi Shina is spoken as a mother tongue, the residents are less proficient in Hindko than other Kashmiri communities; preferring to use Urdu rather than Hindko when communicating with Hindko speakers. Malik Seri and Khawaja Seri are adjacent villages which within the revenue department of the state are listed separately, however locally they are referred to as just Khawaja Seri. Almost all the residents of these 'two' villages, along with the residents of Tehjian, another Kashmiri speaking village that lies approximately 7km further downstream, are fluent in Hindko. Apart from these three there are a further six villages where Kashmiri is still the majority language.

The dialect of Kashmiri spoken in the Neelam Valley more closely resembles that spoken in northern Kashmir, especially that of the Kupwara District of Indian administered Kashmir, than the dialect of Muzaffarabad city and whilst the Kashmiri spoken in Muzaffarabad is intelligible, the Kashmiris of the Neelam Valley are more comfortable with the dialect of Srinagar. The Kashmiri dialect of the Neelam Valley, unlike Muzaffarabad dialect, shares the retroflex flap /ɽ/ with the dialect of Kupwara.

1.2.3 GOJRI

The third largest ethnic group in the Neelam valley is the Gojars. Basically there are two types of Gojars: settled Gojars and nomads or Bakarwals.

1.2.3.1 SETTLED GOJARS

Local folktales indicate that the settled Gojars are the earliest settlers of the Neelam Valley. They are believed to have descended from migrant pastoralists who came to the Neelam Valley in search of summer pastures for their goats and sheep and over time settled permanently; abandoning large scale sheep and goat herding and adopting a more agronomic lifestyle. Their villages, Marnat, Kharigam, Kuttan and Ashkot, are scattered along the Neelam valley and whilst there are still a few settlements among the Gojars who speak their mother tongue the majority have abandoned it in favour of Hindko. However the settled Gojars who do still speak Gojri, rarely do so in public places, preferring instead to use the language at home and not in the presence of speakers of other languages.

1.2.3.2 THE BAKARWALS

The Bakerwals 'goatherds' are those Gojars who still raise goats and sheep and maintain their pastoral traditions. As such they are not permanent residents of the Neelam Valley, but come up from the Punjab plains and lower regions of Azad Kashmir during the summer months to graze their animals (principally goats, sheep and pack mules) on the summer grass of the high pastures. The Bakerwals are traditional nomads who travel as far as the Northern Areas and the Kaghan Valley in search of pasture. As with their traditional way of life the Bakerwals maintain their language using the Gojri language in their daily communication and show a strong tendency for language maintenance, reducing the probability of language shift in the short term. However as with all nomadic pastoralists, such as the Kalahari Bushmen or the Saharwi of Western Sahara, the Bakerwals are without representation and exist largely without rights. As such no records of their traditions, lifestyle or population

are maintained and political indifference constantly threatens their way of life far greater than that posed by language erosion. Thus the total population of these nomadic Gojars is not available however, according to the crude estimate of the Wildlife Department of Azad Kashmir, the summer of 2005 saw a total of 150,000 goats and sheep traveling into the Neelam Valley (personal communication with Manzoor a local official) but little more is known about them.

1.2.4 SHINA

Although the Gojars are the third largest ethnic group in the Neelam Valley, the third most widely spoken language is Shina. Though Shina is only spoken in three villages, there are two clearly different varieties of Shina: Guresi Shina and the Shina of Phulwei.

1.2.4.1 GURESI SHINA

Guresi Shina is spoken in Taobutt, the last village of the Neelam valley, and in the adjacent village of Karimabad (Sutti). Taobutt is about 215km from Muzaffarabad and both villages are on the right bank of the river Neelam. The language is locally known as Shina /ʃɪɳɑ/ and sometimes Dardi /ɖɑːrɖi/. The total population of these two villages was 1332 in 1998, the majority of whom belong to the Lone tribe.

Most of the Shina speakers of the area are fluent in Kashmiri which they use to communicate with the neighboring Kashmiris and from whom they have borrowed many words. Generally they do not speak Hindko well and prefer instead to use Urdu with Hindko speakers. Moreover, they do not consider themselves grouped in any way with the Shina speakers of Phulwei, being culturally closer to the Kashmiri speakers of Halmat and Sardari, with whom they associate themselves with rather than the Phulweites. Also, there are intermarriages with the neighboring Kashmiri communities whilst there is no record of intermarrying with the Shina speakers of Phulwei. According to my informants, there is a low level of mutual intelligibility with the people of Phulwei and their language is different in vocabulary and

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pronunciation. The Guresi Shina speakers claim to have relatives on the other side of the LoC and that their dialect is similar to the dialect spoken in the Gures valley of Indian administered Kashmir. However, when compared with some words collected from the other side of the LoC (Schimdt: 2002) it was found that most of the words from Guresi Shina were quite different from those originating from Indian administered Kashmir. The Shina speakers of Taobutt also claimed that they can communicate easily with the people from Qamri, a town in the Northern Areas, without any difficulty and that their dialect is closely related to that of Qamri, however no data to support or refute this was currently available.

1.2.4.2 SHINA OF PHULWEI

Phulwei, a large village with many *mozas* 'hamlets' lies at a distance of 180km from Muzaffarabad and according to the 1998 Census has a total population of 2912 residents. Based on the findings of this study it would appear that approximately two centuries ago, the first group of these Shina speakers settled at *Pain Seri* 'lower plain' and that this group included four brothers who had migrated from Niat, a town in the Chilas area, owing to some family feud. The majority of the current population claim to originate from the Lone tribe, as was the case in Taobutt and Karimabad, but many have since assumed the names of local clans, including: Kachray and Nasray.

On the basis of data provided by Sir James Wilson, Grierson (1919) claimed that in Niat and the Chilas area some of the people spoke Guresi Shina. However, the Shina speakers of Phulwei claim descent from migrants who came from Niat and they speak the Chilas dialect, not Guresi. Moreover, recent research (Schmidt 2002, Radloff 1992, 1999) does not report Guresi as a language of the Chilas area.

My respondents belonged to all groups and all claimed to have come from Niat. They report a higher level of mutual intelligibility with speakers from Niat than with the Shina speakers of Taobutt and Sutti/ Karimabad. They have close relations in Chilas and frequently travel there. However, as a result of a feud, which claimed some lives on either side some nine years ago, intermarriage between the people of Phulwei and Niat has ceased.

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The people in the Neelam Valley are normally peaceful but the people of Phulwei are known all over the region for their feuds and fights. They themselves also admit the fact. One of my informants told me that there are frequent murders and narrated that his grandfather had committed seven murders, his father three and even his own son had killed a man.

Locally these people are known as Dards and they themselves call the Hindko speakers Gojars irrespective of their ethnic group. They have no record of intermarrying with the people of Karimabad/Sutti or Taobutt. However there are some instances of their intermarrying with the local Hindko speakers. According to them, the Shina or Dardi spoken in Taobutt and Karimabad is not the standard variety and refer to it as *kachi* 'half-baked'.

In the village there are few Hindko speaking households but they are fluent in Shina.

1.2.5 PASHTO

Dhaki and Changnar are two villages in the Neelam Valley, where Pashto is the mother tongue of all residents. The speakers of the language refer to their language as *Pakhto*. The population of these two villages, according to the 1998 Census, was 1087 in 170 households. The people claim that some two centuries back their forefathers migrated from Swat, a region in Northern Pakistan, and settled in Dhaki. Some others settled in the Kashmir Valley as well. According to the oral history, the main reason for choosing the place was its rich environment conducive to raising livestock. Dhaki is approximately two hours walking distance from the left bank of the river Neelam. Some of these Pashto speakers later shifted to another .nearby village, Changnar, however both villages are located right on the LoC that separates Indian from Pakistan administered Kashmir.

Almost all male members of the group are fluent in Hindko and whilst most of the women can understand Hindko few are able to speak it. This state of affairs is likely due to the men in these villages having more frequent contact with the Hindko

speaking population than the women, who seldom travel outside these villages and have no Hindko speaking community nearby.

During the last fifteen years cross border firing between Indian and Pakistani troops has caused large scale migration from these villages leading to language erosion on a large scale and offering an interesting potential to document the degree to which this migration has influenced language erosion.

The Pashto spoken by this population is quite different from other varieties of Pashto and is a dialect in its own right. These Pashto speakers can communicate with other Pashto speakers but they cannot understand them fully. The current research has identified that the population has assimilated many Hindko words into their Pashto whilst simultaneously retaining some archaic words of Pashto that are no longer used by the other Pashto speakers in Pakistan.

No linguistic literature mentions the existence of Pashto in any part of Kashmir (p.c. with Hook and Koul). However to my knowledge, there are some settlements in the Indian administered part of Kashmir where Pashto is still spoken as a mother tongue but, as with this study[2] there is evidence that they too are subject to language shift with the likely adoption of the Kashmiri language.

In the Neelam Valley, apart from these Pashto speakers, there are some other groups who claim to be ethnic Pathans, but apparently shifted to Hindko a long time ago.

Apart from these local languages Urdu and English are also used as these are the medium of instruction in schools with no indigenous languages being taught. No standard orthography is similarly available for these local languages however some Kashmiri households retain copies of Kashmiri literature, especially poetry books published prior to partition. As a consequence of their use in education, borrowing

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[2] The information was collected by interviewing the individuals who have recently come from the Indian Administered Kashmir (they are also members of the militant organizations operating inside the Kashmir Valley).

from Urdu and English is common in all of these local languages and as such is a major factor in language erosion (Rehman 2006).

1.3   THE VILLAGE OF KUNDAL SHAHI

Kundal Shahi is a village located in the Neelam valley at the point where the Jagran Nallah joins the Neelam River (Kishanganga). It is set at an elevation of approximately 1,350m above sea level with the Gazetteer of Kashmir (Bates 1873: 174) listing its geographical location as lat. 34°33' N., long. 73°53' E. Within the Gazetteer the place name is shown as Darral and in some places Durrol but is at a location that corresponds to a *mohalla* of present day Kundal Shahi that is called Dolur /ɖolʊɽ/ (two branches). The revenue department has listed Dolur separately but locally it is considered a *mohalla* of Kundal Shahi and part of the ward No 1 of Kundal Shahi. The distance from Muzaffarabad, the capital of Azad Jammu and Kashmir, to Kundal Shahi is about 74km by road; it is located 10 kilometers down from Athmuqam. Settlements in Kundal Shahi are not concentrated but scattered throughout the *mohalla*. A road passes up the village to Jagran some 16 kilometers upstream. Initially the road was constructed to facilitate the construction of a power station on the Jagran Nallah. The 30.4 MW Power Project, completed in 1999, supplies power to Muzaffarabad city and its adjacent areas but not to any part of the Neelam Valley. There is another 2 MW power station in the village of Kundal Shahi on the same *nallah* which has been operational since 1997 and supplies electricity to Kundal Shahi and a few other adjacent villages; however for the most part, the Neelam Valley is without power supply.

1.4   POPULATION

The settlements belonging to Kundal Shahi are found on both sides of the Jagran Nallah and are a few minutes walking distance from the Neelam Valley highway. In the census of 1998 the total population of Kundal Shahi, including other clans, was 2666 with Dolur, which has been listed separately, having a population of 676 thus

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giving a total population for the combined settlements of 3342 people. Rehman and Baart (2005:5) estimated a population of 1,500 to 2,000 in Kundal Shahi belonging to the Kundal Shahi community however, my current detailed survey shows that the total population of the KS community is around 3371 living in 537 households that are scattered throughout eight *mohallas* 'hamlets' namely: Rait, Graan, Gujhaan, Sinji Nakka, Dolur, Frashian/Khujhaani, Gheelan and Sattra.

Danna has a few households of the community. Danna is not a part of Kundal Shahi however it is the immediate southern neighbor to Dolur and on the right bank of the Neelam Valley. To the North-West, an immediate neighbor of Kundal Shahi is Dolur Nar /ɖɔlʊɽ naːɽ/. It has eight households belonging to the KS community. Both of these villages do not constitute KS majority. Moreover, there are also a few households of the KS community who have shifted to Kuttan, up the Jagran Nallah. The population of the KS community residing in locations outside Kundal Shahi has not been included in the data.

Approximately 100 years ago a few people from the KS community migrated to Chilas, Babosar (Rehman and Baart 2005) and to my knowledge there are some people who live in Chilas and claim their descent to Kundal Shahi, however they neither speak KS nor Shina as a mother tongue; their mother tongue is Hindko (P.c. with Tahir Mahmmood a member of the community in Chilas presently, living in Rawalpindi 4Nov, 2006). In Chilas they are called Timmer Khel. According to local tradition, the KS community first settled in a place called Timmer Patti 'field of timmer', Timmer being a name of a local tree. The *mohalla* is now called Graan /graː/ 'village' and it would seem that they carried the name to Chilas with them.

The KS community is divided into subgroups: Sirnay, Eidnay, Hamzay, Shamray, Matto, and Mullan Habeebay. The Mullan Habeebay are said to be the descendants of Maulvi Habib who was brought to Kundal Shahi as a religious leader from Raj pyan, a village near Muzaffarabad. Very interestingly they have assimilated themselves into the community and considered KS as there ancestral mother tongue, even though few

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of them admit the fact that their forefather came from Raj Pyan and that they still have relatives there.

Other clans in Kundal Shahi include: Sheikh, Mian, Syed, Abbasi and Malik. Sheikhs are the second largest clan after the KS community in Kundal Shahi. More over, in Gujhan and Gheelan, tribes other than KS community include Sheikh and Mian (in the local revenue record they are listed as Chogattay /tʃoɣʌʈʈeː/). In Rait, Graan, Frashian and Sattra the communities are exclusively KS whilst in Dolur the KS community doesn't constitute a majority, however, when compared to other clans, they are the single largest group. In Nakka only a few houses of the non-KS community can be found.

1.5   SOCIO-ECONOMIC COMPOSITION OF THE COMMUNITY

Traditionally, the people of Kundal Shahi are, just like the majority of the inhabitants of the Neelam Valley, subsistence farmers. With the exception of a few households, each keeps an average of three cows and a bull for milk and drafting work. A few households also keep one or two buffalo or goats again for milk and drafting. Although most of the milk is consumed within the household, some is sold in the local markets but owing to traditional superstition, which holds that selling milk is unlucky for the cows, the practice is restricted, with the Gojars and Syeds being the principal clans, which sell milk. Similarly, the manure from the cattle is also utilized, and used to fertilize arable fields. In the summer months, a few people, particularly the women, retire along with their cattle and goats to the high hill pastures to take advantage of the summer flush of grass, a practice that has been undertaken since antiquity (Bates 1973). The principal advantage of retiring to the upper pastures is to give the livestock access to fresh grazing whilst giving the lower pastures an opportunity to recover from winter use. Furthermore, in the absence of grazing the lower pastures produce unchecked summer growth that is later cut and dried during the months of August and September to be stored and used as winter fodder. However, in recent years most of the people have shifted to being employed within

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the government or private sectors which operate all year round and those that are not employed locally tend to travel outside the village to find jobs. As a consequence of this employment shift the pastoral traditions have been affected with fewer undertaking the summer migration to the upper hill pastures. Whereas only a few decades ago hardly anybody would have stayed down in the valley during summer, in more recent times this tradition has waned with the majority now remaining in the village due to employment obligations. The shift to all year round employment has similarly affected traditional storytelling, once the principal source of entertainment during the winter months.

The shift in employment has similarly affected the arable practices. Historically, rice, wheat and maize cultivation was undertaken but, as with the Neelam Valley as a whole, maize is now the dominant grain grown as it requires less intervention during the growing months than either wheat or rice so frees the population from the land allowing them to take up paid employment. Where wheat is still grown it is done principally as a fodder crop for the cattle. One of the consequences of this shift is to increase the reliance on imported food crops which in turn has led to a dependency on paid employment in order to purchase food stuffs. This shift, which has occurred during the years of partition, means that the once self sufficient communities of the Neelam have now become dependent on seeking paid employment. Such employment has been provided by government jobs, local businesses (such as shops and restaurants in the local bazaar of Kundal Shahi) and forestry and logging with the Azad Kashmir Logging and Saw Mills Corporation (AKLASC) locally known as e:klɑːs and responsible for extracting timber from the forests of the region for the government of Azad Kashmir. AKLASC has its operational centre in Kundal Shahi and so has proved to be a major employer with the residents of the village and surrounding area. Similarly the 30.4 MW Jagran Hydroelectric Power Project, carried out by the Swedish company Skanska provides some additional employment with over 90% of its employees coming from the KS community. Additionally around 40 persons from the community also work in the Middle East.

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Most of the local employment opportunities are afforded only to the men with the women in Kundal Shahi not being engaged in work outside of their homes where they are engaged in traditional activities such as cooking, raising children making milk products (i.e. curd and butter) and tending to the livestock. When they do venture from the house it is usually to gather firewood from the nearby forests of to graze the cattle.

The area has been badly affected by the partition of Kashmir, with prior to 1947 the people associating much more with Srinagar which acted as the administrative, political, and educational center of the state of Jammu and Kashmir. At that time Titwal was the *tehsil* headquarters of the region but following partition Titwal fell under Indian administration and so it, as with the historical links with Srinagar, was cut off and the people had to relate to Muzaffarabad. Although these links were originally severed in 1947 it was not until the late 1960's that the region was linked to Muzaffarabad through the construction of a road link. Whilst the road link facilitated the establishment and flourishing of a vibrant local market in Kundal Shahi, as it became the center of trade and business for the Jagran Valley and adjacent areas of Kundal Shahi, it similarly facilitated the extraction of timber from the valley and the subsequent growth of AKLASC.

As a consequence of the devastating earthquake of 8th October 2005, access to Kundal Shahi from Muzaffarabad has become more difficult and hazardous with a partially paved road having turned into an almost entirely unpaved dirt-track that is constantly vulnerable to heavy landslides. Prior to the earthquake the distance of 74km to Muzaffarabad took by bus under 4 hours but subsequently the reduction in the quality of the road means that it now takes over 5 hours to complete. However, a Chinese company has recently started construction of the Neelam Highway and it is expected that it will be completed within next 5-6 months.

Marriage, as in most of Asia, is by arrangement between the parents of girls and boys, looking for suitable partners within the community. Children are expected to submit before the will of their parents and it is considered imprudent if someone tries to marry at his/her own will. In most cases endogamy is practiced with suitable partners

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being selected on grounds of culture or clan and whilst there have been instances where intermarriages have been taking place, these are rare. Traditionally such marriages would have been arranged with clans and villages further south but with the advent of the LoC these traditional marriage routes have been severed. As a consequence many marriages are now between closely related individuals and so a concentration of the gene pool has taken place during partition. Whilst the process is not yet irreversible, once genetic disorders, which are a consequence of inbreeding, become common place then the health, both physical and mental, will likely deteriorate within the population as a whole.

The traditional houses, called *bandi* /bɑːndɪ/ 'a flat mud roofed single story house' and *lari* /lʌɽi/ 'a house with a pentroof of wooden planks' consisting of two stories have been surpassed by houses built according to semi-modern designs with roofs of aluminum sheeting. However there are still a large number of *bandis* particularly visible in the Gujhan Mohalla. Where a house has two storeys, the lower ground floor is traditionally reserved for the livestock with the family occupying the upper floor. With single story dwellings the livestock are kept in one room with the rest of the house being used by the family members. Modern houses with aluminum roofing are referred to as bungalows, a term that originates from Gujarat in India but has become ubiquitous throughout Asia and is commonly used to denote a fine house. In the high pastures, dhara /ɖhaːra/, 'a single room primitive style house with flat mud roof', also of traditional origin, is usually built for temporary occupancy during the summer stay.

1.6 EDUCATION

In Kundal Shahi there is a high school for boys and a girls' primary school. There are four other private schools namely: the Minhaaj Public School, the Ideal Public School, the Mustafai Public School, and the Help Line Public School. At the time of research the total enrolment in the private schools was 682. Both the government schools and the Help Line Public School use the medium of Urdu to impart education

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whereas the remaining private schools use English as the medium for education. In these schools the students come from Kundal Shahi and its neighboring villages.

Around 98% of all boys receive primary education however many do not go on to receive instruction in later years. Similarly girls also have a high attendance rate at primary level but as with the boys few attend high school. Furthermore there is no separate high school for girls and so those who wish to continue their education have to get admission to the local boy's high school. In some of the private schools the number of girls receiving education exceeds that of boys such as with the Minhaaj Public School where out of a total of 210 students 120 are girls. Two degree colleges, one for women and another for men are located in Athmuqam however few students from the village attend these colleges.

Most of the men in the KS community can read and write, however most of the older women, those above 40 years of age, are illiterate.

In addition to the state and private schools in Kundal Shahi there are also four *madrasas*, one belonging to the Barelvi school of thought while the other three are run by the Deobandi school of thought, two of which are for women/girls. Like the schools, the *madrasas* not only educate students from the village but also attract a large number of students from surrounding villages.

1.7   RELIGION

All of the inhabitants of the KS community belong to the Sunni sect of Islam with the majority of them belonging to the sub-sect of Barelvi (Rehman and Baart 2005). Barelvites are more inclined to follow the teachings of the Sufis and in line with this it is not uncommon for some of the KS community to travel to the major cities of Pakistan in order to study in the Barelvi Madrasas. Similarly the people of Kundal Shahi regard Saadat Ali Shah, the current *pir* of Choora Sharif, in the district of Attock in Pakistan as their spiritual leader (Rehman and Baart: 2005).

On the hillside to the west of Kundal Shahi is a shrine in a village known as Kian Sharif. This is frequented by the local people as well as by people from outside the District.

1.8 HISTORY

According to a local tradition (related to the author in 2004 by the late Jalal-ud-Din, one of the oldest members of the community), the ancestor of the Qureshis in Kundal Shahi was a man called Kamaal Khan. He lived in a village in Kashmir called Tijar, located to the northwest of the town of Sopore. Approximately three hundred years ago, Kamaal Khan left Tijar and traveled to Muzaffarabad, where he lived for a while. After a power struggle with one of his grandsons, Kamaal Khan was forced to leave Muzaffarabad. He surveyed several places in the Neelam Valley, and then chose the location of Kundal Shahi and settled there. Two sons of Kamaal Khan, Sikandar Khan and Hyder Khan, went with him to Kundal Shahi. There was also a third brother, whose name was Hatim Khan. He settled in Kian Sharif, higher up in the Jagran Valley. His son, Shah Gul, moved with his family from there to the Kaghan Valley. At first he was not allowed to settle there, but he went back and obtained a letter of introduction from the then ruler of the Neelam Valley, Raja Sher Ahmad. With this letter, he was able to settle in Andher Bela in Kaghan. From Andher Bela, the sons of Shah Gul proceeded to Babusar, and from there to a place called Gosher in the Chilas area where their descendants are still found today. In Chilas, this community is known by the name of Timray. Likewise a group stayed behind in Andher Bela in the Kaghan Valley and their descendants are similarly still present (Rehman and Baart 2005).

Tahir Mahmood, a software engineer and a member of the community residing in Chilas but presently in Rawalpindi related to me that he had heard from his ancestors that their relatives lived in Kundal Shahi. In Chilas they are called Timmer Khel and speak Hindko as a mother tongue but are not aware of anything about the KS. He was developing his genealogy when he discovered the paper published on the KS language by this author and Joan Baart. He contacted Joan Baart via email and was

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subsequently introduced to me. Following an exchange of emails we held a joint meeting in Islamabad where he explained that he was developing his genealogy with a view to determining when his ancestors went to Chilas Babusar and who the first person to migrate to Chilas was.

There are a few people among the KS community who hold that their ancestors migrated from Chilas and settled in Kundal Shahi. However none could give details of the migration.

1.9   CONCLUSION

In addition to its dramatic scenery, varied flora and fauna and an abundance of natural resources the Neelam Valley is similarly rich in cultural and ethnic diversity making it one of the richest and most diverse areas of Azad Jammu and Kashmir. As this study has shown, it is home to a variety of languages which are widely spoken elsewhere in the South Asia, as well as home to several unique language varieties which are not spoken anywhere else.

The Kundal Shahi language in particular is a separate language and not mutually intelligible with any other language of the region or elsewhere, however it is now heavily influenced by Shina, Kashmiri and Hindko. The influence of Hindko is easy to explain; the linguistic community is surrounded by the Hindko speakers and therefore it is logical that the Kundal Shahi speakers have borrowed some features and lexical items from the Hindko language. However the relationship with Shina and Kashmiri is a more complex and as such is explored in greater detail in chapter five.

2 METHODOLOGY

In the study of human behavior, including language, we often use an exploratory research strategy.

Exploratory research is an appropriate strategy when a problem has not been clearly defined. Exploratory research involves gathering information and developing ideas about a relatively under-researched problem or relatively new subject of study (Babbie 2007: 88). It is a strategy that is primarily concerned with discovery and theory development. It has been dubbed exploration for discovery by Jupp (2006).

Stebbins defines exploratory research as follows: "social science exploration is a broad- ranging, purposive, systematic, prearranged undertaking designed to maximize the discovery of generalizations leading to description and understanding of an area of social or psychological life" (Stebbins 2001:3).

The methodology adopted for this research has essentially been exploratory and descriptive. The aim was to determine the precise nature of the language shift observed in Kundal Shahi, to describe it and, where possible to determine causes. Moreover, I also documented and described aspects of the language itself, in order to determine the typological features of the language and its relationship with other languages, spoken within the region and outside.

The METHODS which I used in this study are divided into two broader categories: Sociolinguistic and linguistic methods.

2.1 SOCIOLINGUISTIC METHODS

In my study, I applied the following sociolinguistic research techniques and methods.

2.1.1 PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION

Participant observation is central to an ethnographic study. The observer engages himself/herself in activities appropriate to the situation and he or she also observes the activities, people, and physical aspects of the situation (Spradley 1980: 54). In scientific research observation is a conscious and deliberate activity (Babbie 2007:6) that is useful for identifying those areas which need further investigation and also for discovering the common practices of a community. Conclusions drawn from the participant observation are helpful for understanding the bigger picture of language use in the society, when put together with other quantitative data.

The involvement of researcher in the process depends upon the nature and situation of the research. Spradley (1980) differentiates degree of involvement of the ethnographer from high to low. According to Wolcott (1995) a high degree of direct personal involvement and a long-term relationship is required in the field research. To collect reliable and good-quality data, I involved myself in community activities by frequently visiting and staying in the community, extending over a period of six years. I became sufficiently unobtrusive to be able to observe the phenomena of interest in unguarded moments. Through observation I tried to understand the patterns of language use among the KS, especially how, where, when and why community members use the KS and shift to other languages (mostly Hindko and sometimes Urdu). Through observation, I also tried to understand the attitude of Hindko speakers towards the language and culture of the KS community and assess the attitudes of community members towards their heritage language (KS) across generations, economic classes, and educational level. I had also an opportunity to examine the degree of solidarity among community members, their political organization and the influence of other groups upon this community. My aim was also to cross-check the information obtained through formal and informal interviews, questionnaires and other secondary sources. Moreover, observation helped me in understanding and identifying the situations in which KS was used and the situations in which language use was embarrassing to the speakers.

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As a resident of the area, I already knew many of the cultural constraints; however, initially I tried to figure out if they had any special constraints which I might have been unacquainted with. I had not much difficulty in making myself acceptable to the community as most of the people would know my background and would not suspect any intention of doing harm. People, and particularly the government authorities, tend to be suspicious of spying, if any outsider is doing research-like things in the region. Usually, people have the perception that the person must have some ulterior motives. Particularly, the state intelligence agencies have reservations about any person coming from the outside world to the area. This is partly because of their alleged involvement with the militant organizations, which are carrying out terrorist activities on the other side of the line of control. Moreover, people are not accustomed to the presence of researchers in the region. It is considered something odd. No one easily buys the idea of carrying out research on a small and 'insignificant' language like KS. In my early period of study I had a bit difficulty in explaining my research project.

In fact, my interaction with the community had started long before commencement of my field work for the PhD Dissertation. I started collecting language data in 2002. However, its focus was purely linguistic, i.e. describing and documenting the language structure. On the basis of this earlier research, the first document entitled 'A First Look at the Language of Kundal Shahi in Azad Kashmir' appeared in 2005. The paper was coauthored with Dr. Joan Baart (Rehman and Baart 2005).

2.1.2 INTERVIEW GUIDES

An interview guide, as opposed to a questionnaire, is not highly scripted. It helps the researcher know what to ask and in what sequence to ask. An interview guide provides guidance in conducting interviews. I conducted interviews with selected community members to elicit information that is not accessible through observation and questionnaires. An interview guide helps to direct conversation and discussion towards the relevant topic. In my field research, interview guides were used to record life histories and case studies.

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To get an in-depth understanding, my interview guides comprised loosely structured questions. I had no predetermined order and specific wording for the questions. The aim was to allow the interviewee to express themselves in the form of conversation. In this way new facts were also revealed. On the basis of the new facts, I would also formulate new questions in order to encourage the interviewees to talk and to probe for more details.

2.1.3 LIFE HISTORY INTERVIEWS

A considerable amount of life-history information was collected, including the respondents' family genealogies both from the mother's side and the father's side, language proficiency variations if any among the siblings, living arrangements in childhood, social activities, marital status, the parental home, education, and employment histories.

2.1.4 CASE STUDIES

The use of case studies in research is a well-established practice, and researchers have been using it to collect different types of information (Tellis 1997). According to Soy (1997) "[c]ase study research excels at bringing us to an understanding of a complex issue or object and can extend experience or add strength to what is already known through previous research". Case studies of individuals from the KS community were carried out. For the case studies, in-depth interviews with key informants were done. The interviews were recorded in Hindko and later transcribed and compiled in English.

2.1.5 INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Through interview schedules, I carried out a basic population survey of the KS community. This included: household size and composition, family structure, landholding, live stock details, household income, sources and principal source of household income, residence history, labor force status, status in employment,

occupation, literacy, educational achievement, age, sex, and a range of language related variables. With the help of the elderly members of the community, I could complete this task. From each *mohalla* a group of community members were helping me in the census. To verify the data, I re-visited every fifteenth household and cross-checked the data collected earlier. Moreover, I also compared some of my data with the data collected by the revenue department for earthquake relief and rehabilitation.

Finally, by carrying out a detailed survey, I was able to construct a baseline demographic profile of the community under study.

2.1.6 QUESTIONNAIRES

Questionnaires are a popular research tool in the social sciences (Dörnyei 2003). Questionnaires are used to gather information in detail, especially information which cannot be collected through the methods discussed above. Therefore, a major portion of my study was taken up by the information elicited through questionnaire based face-to-face interviews. One reason for orally administering the questionnaire was the inclusion of those individuals in the research project who were not only unable to read and write Urdu, but also unable to understand it. Though my questionnaires were translated into Urdu, I had to translate the questions into Hindko for these respondents. As far as the men were concerned, I personally administered the questionnaires with them; however, due to cultural constraints it was not possible to approach the women for the interviews; therefore I trained a few KS members, who conducted the interviews in their respective *mohallas*. Volunteers from each *mohalla* were selected to administer the questionnaires in their *mohalla;* in this way, the information from the women was exclusively gathered by community members.

Most of the questions were closed, i.e. the answer had to be selected from a small number of alternatives. Closed questions are helpful in collecting detailed and accurate information in a short time. Moreover, responses to closed questions are easy to process and analyze. Later, I compiled the data in charts and diagrams to make comparisons and draw conclusions.

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To make my questionnaire more relevant, easier, information-oriented, interviewee-friendly, without superfluous and culturally unacceptable items, I initially ran a pilot project with twenty respondents. The analysis of the responses and reactions during the interviews, helped to modify the questionnaire and make it more precise, relevant and comprehensive. After the pilot project, I rearranged the questionnaire by deleting, rephrasing, reorganizing and adding new questions.

The questionnaire was designed to gather various types of information. The information included personal information, educational background, level of proficiency in different languages including KS, travel patterns, language use across age, gender and *mohallas*, use of languages in different domains , history of the community, marriage practices and language attitudes. The questionnaire also includeed questions to investigate the phenomenon of prestige and stigma associated with different languages. The questionnaire used in the field research, is given in the appendix (see appendix 1).

The collected responses were entered into a computer spreadsheet, to calculate the percentages of the responses. Finally, conclusions were drawn on the basis of the compiled data.

2.2   METHODS IN LANGUAGE DATA COLLECTION

For language analysis and description both texts and elicited data need to be collected. Only text or elicited data are not enough as both are complimentary. Chelliah (2001: 152) argues that reliable and usable field data can only be collected when both of them are used side by side. She further argues that if we base our linguistic generalizations exclusively upon elicitations, they tend to be unreliable. Similarly, linguistic description based solely on text data results in incomplete description and analysis. To describe and analyze the phonology, morphology, syntax and to record wordlists I used both spontaneous, natural speech, as well as elicitations (clauses, words). The data was recorded and afterwards transcribed and translated into English.

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2.2.1 DATA THROUGH ELICITATION

Most of the language data that I analyzed was collected through elicitation. A standard word list, adapted from the Sociolinguistic Survey of Northern Pakistan (O'Leary 1992), consisting of 207 items, was recorded from different proficient KS speakers. I also recorded this wordlist for several varieties of Shina, Kashmiri and Hindko spoken in the Neelam Valley, so as to precisely determine their genetic relationship with, and influence on, KS and vice versa. Also through elicitation I recorded paradigms of verb conjugations and noun declensions in order to discover the inflectional morphology. Moreover, I studied case marking, particularly dative and ergative, and verb agreement. For that purpose I elicited simple sentences with verbs that could take one, two, or sometimes three arguments. For language analysis and description, texts of different genres were used, too.

In the beginning of my study I used a cassette player for recording purposes. However, in 2008, I obtained a digital voice recorder which proved to be more efficient in recording and archiving the texts and other data.

2.2.2 TEXT COLLECTION

It was not possible to accurately gather all required data through elicitation. Through elicitation alone we cannot collect constructions and other relevant features (especially discourse markers) as they occur in natural, unguarded conversations and discussions. To this end I recorded folk tales, anecdotes, life histories and natural conversations. Whenever I collected any text, I would transcribe it with the help of an informant. I would gloss it word-for-word and then make a free translation. Afterwards, I would play the text to another speaker to check whether there was any incorrect interpretation.

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2.3   SAMPLING

For in depth interviews it was not possible for me to talk to all the members of the KS community. I therefore selected a representative sample of community members to whom I administered interview guides of various types in the later part of my research. At various stages of data collection I did different kinds of sampling. The choice of the sampling technique to be used at a particular stage depended on the type of data to be collected. Early in the study, I used the survey form (see appendix 3) to construct a baseline demographic profile of the community under study. No sampling was required at this stage as I had to include the whole community profile in the study.

My selection for the collection of life histories, individual case studies, and informal interviews, was based upon the consideration of different *mohallas*. From each *mohalla* I selected one informant who was voluntarily ready for this. Though my samples were only from males, I tried to select from across the age groups.

A major portion of my study was covered by the questionnaires. In questionnaires, I chose stratified random sampling. *Investopedia* (2010) defines stratified random sampling as "[a] method of sampling that involves the division of a population into smaller groups known as strata". My random samples were stratified by selecting respondents proportionally from subpopulations based on sex, age, residence – *mohalla*- , level of education and profession etc. Firstly, I numbered the households (HHS) 1-537 from the census data I had earlier collected. Every 5th HH was selected for the interview. One male and one female from each HH were selected for the questionnaire-interview. If somehow it was not possible to interview the selected individuals from a HH, the immediate next (sixth) HH was selected. Of these 214 respondents 200 were selected by dropping every 15th HH

For the recording of the language data for analysis and description, proficient KS speakers were selected for elicitation and text collection. To determine the level of proficiency across different age groups and locations *(mohallas)*, wordlists, different lexical items in sentence frames, and texts were recorded.

2.4 SECONDARY SOURCES IN RESEARCH

The relevant literature on language shift, description, and revitalization was hard to come by in the libraries of Pakistan. I could only get a few relevant books from the library of Quaid-i-Azam University, the library of the *Forum for Lnaguage Initiatives* FLI and the library of the SIL International, Islamabad. However, online sources accessed through the HEC digital library proved to be of great value. Moreover, I got relevant books and journals from my international visits: I attended the Pre-ALT 7 Workshop on Language Documentation and the conference on Linguistic Typology from 24-25 September 2007, Ministére de la Recherche, Paris, France. I also benefited from meeting language researchers from around the globe. Apart from obtaining the conference material, I purchased some recent published books on language description, documentation and revitalization.

Moreover, the most helpful and useful material I got was during my two-week course on language documentation and description at SOAS, London University in June-July 2009. Apart from photocopying book chapters from the SOAS library, I had access to electronic resources of the SOAS for three months through institutional login. Through this access I had an opportunity to obtain the latest research on the topic.

2.5 DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

Natural conversations and monologues of the KS community were analyzed not only to document, describe and analyze linguistic structures, but also to discern hidden meanings and underlying worldview. One of the aims of discourse analysis was to decode language use as an indicator of socio-cultural power structures.

There are discrepancies between what people do and what they say they do (Pelto and Pelto 1978: 62). My aim was to observe the behavior of the community and draw conclusions about covert motivations. I tried to look at impersonal, non ideational factors, especially empirically observable material conditions, and determine their role in the life of the community.

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2.6 CONCLUSION

Both qualitative and quantitative strategies were used to collect data. Major focus of my research was to identify the factors in the past that facilitated language maintenance, as well as the factors that caused the recent language shift. Throughout this project, I collected as much data as possible about the language, the history of the community, their culture and religion, and their social and economic conditions in the present and the past.

Specific goals for each fieldwork trip were determined on the basis of analysis of the data collected up to that point.

3 PREVIOUS RESEARCH

3.1 GENERAL LITERATURE ON THE REGION

The region of the Neelam Valley (formerly known as the Kishanganga Valley, which name is still used on the Indian side of the Line of Control), is the least-known part of the present-day Azad Kashmir. Before 1947, this area used to be a part of the Princely State of Jammu and Kashmir. When we look through the old descriptions of the Valley of Kashmir and its surrounding areas, we do not find much discussion on the Neelam Valley region (Stein 1900, Lawrence 1895, Bates 1873, Lakhnawi 1968). The only place described by Kalhana (see Stein 1900) is Sharda, at that time a famous seat of learning and the location of a religious shrine; he also narrates an account of a war fought near Sharda between the king of Kashmir and a rebel, who, having been defeated, fled to Chilas. These places were later identified by Stein in his translation of *Kalhana's Rājataraṅgiṇī*. Lawrence, in his account of the Valley of Kashmir does not mention anything remarkable about the region of the then Kishanganga (present Neelam Valley). We do not find any clue from his account of visiting the Neelam Valley. To my knowledge, the first researcher who visited the region was Major Bates. He entered the Valley from Gures and traveled downstream. However it seems that he left some prominent places undescribed, among which Kundal Shahi is one. A whole range of villages (probably 20 at that time) down from Sardari to Sharda did not find place in his account and he assumed that span of 60 kilometers along the river was uninhabited. However, later on he included some descriptions of this area as an appendix. Language problems are apparent in the account, resulting in wrongly written place names such as *Dolur* (pronounced /ḍoloṛ/), a *mohalla* of Kundal Shahi, which is written as *Durrul*, and sometimes as *Darrul* or *Darral*.

Despite of these gaps, this is the only standard document available on the region even till this time. Bates has described most of the villages in detail with information about daily routines and cultural aspects as well. As I have mentioned earlier, Bates did not mention the Kundal Shahi village. He only mentions a *mohalla* of Kundal Shahi known as Dolur. This *mohalla* is situated along the river Neelam, while the rest of the village is a few minutes' walk upstream the Jagran Nallah, which joins the river Neelam in Dolur. No account of the Neelam Valley is available apart from Bates.

Known history (Stein 1900, Bates 1873, Lakhnawi 1968) tells us that the Neelam Valley has always been a part of the Kashmir State and used to be at war with the people from the region to the North called 'Dardistan'. The Maharaja of Kashmir, Ranbeer Singh, built a castle and stationed a garrison to counter the incursions of the Dards from the North-West, and eventually the Maharaja of Kashmir attacked and occupied the area in order to stop these inroads.

The Neelam Valley region has remained linguistically unexplored until very recently. Grierson's (1919) linguistic survey does not contain any substantial information on the languages of the Neelam Valley. Even after the partition of the Indian subcontinent, the terrain was not researched. Prior to the current research undertaken by the author, no primary data for the languages of the region were available (See Rehman and Baart 2005, Rehman and Robinson 2011, Rehman 2011b, 2006, and Akhtar and Rehman 2007 for the preliminary results of recent linguistic explorations in the Neelam Valley).

There are many reasons for this oblivion in the past and present. The region is rugged and difficult to traverse, and before the partition in 1947 all routes leading to it were quite dangerous. Therefore, researchers were reluctant to go there. After Partition the same situation persisted for a long time and when the road was built, the LoC, which runs right through the valley, made it relatively unsafe for the travelers from outside; and even sometimes the entry of foreigners is denied, not only in the Neelam Valley, but also in Azad Kashmir on the pretext of security. Before the recent devastating earthquake there used to be a billboard on the left side of the river Jhelam, where the

road enters Azad Kashmir, saying "foreigners are not allowed beyond this point". The 8 October 2005 earthquake opened up the area for outsiders to carry out relief and rescue work. However, in 2008 ban on the entry of the foreigners was again imposed. It is pertinent to mention that on the other side of the LoC the situation is quite different, the government over there encourages research and we have available a lot of materials on the languages there (see Schmidt 1981, 2002; Koul 2002, 2004; Hook 2002, Koul and Schmidt 1984). The situation was much aggravated after the uprising in Indian-administered Kashmir. Cross-border firing for around fifteen years made it almost impossible for the foreigners or even for locals to carry out any research work. After 9/11 the situation has relatively calmed down and the cross border firing between the rival armies of India and Pakistan has stopped.

3.2 LINGUISTIC LITERATURE IN THE REGION

3.2.1 THE STATE OF LINGUISTICS IN PAKISTAN

The region of South Asia has a rich heritage in the field of linguistics. Particularly, the area of present-day Pakistan, the cradle of the Gandhara civilization, where Panini (pronounced /pɑːɳini/), an ancient grammarian, lived probably in the 5th or 4th century BC, honed his linguistic and analytical skills, has had an everlasting impact on the field of linguistics. Panini was born in Shalatula (probably present Jehangira) in the Attock District of the present Khyber Pakhtoonkhwa Province (O'Connor and Robertson 2000).

Panini is known for his Sanskrit grammar, particularly for his formulation of the 3,959 rules of Sanskrit morphology in the grammar known as *Ashtadhyayi* (meaning "eight chapters"). The *Ashtadhyayi* is the earliest known work of descriptive linguistics, and together with the work of his immediate predecessors (Nirukta, Nighantu, Pratishakyas) stands at the beginning of the history of linguistics itself (Wikipedia 2010) . This was also referred to by Noam Chomsky, a renowned linguist and social thinker, in an address to the Calcutta University, where he said that he was

happy to be welcomed in the land where his subject had its origin and where the first generative grammar in the modern sense was crafted (namely Panini's grammar) (Chattopadhyay and Kalyan 2001).

Despite of this rich linguistic heritage, Pakistan is now lagging far behind in the field of linguistic research. Moreover, the available research on linguistics, carried out by Pakistani authors, mostly lacks any serious scientific merit. Some of the language research is inspired by ideological concerns (Rahman 2003). However the work of Tariq Rahman himself on social and political aspects of language is of great significance (Rahman 1995, 1996a, 1996b, 1997, 1998, 2002, 2003, 2005, 2006a, 2006b). A major focus of his research has been language and politics, language movements and language planning in Pakistan, but not language shift or pure linguistics. Rahman continues to be working on the languages of Pakistan. Presently he has taken up the task of describing the social history of Urdu (personal communication).

In recent years, much linguistic work in Pakistan has been carried out by the different teams of SIL international. They have helped to establish two institutes: the Institute of Applied Linguistics in Karachi, and the Forum for Language Initiatives in Islamabad. These institutes are the first of their kind imparting linguistic training to activists of minority languages and developing literacy programs for these minority and unwritten languages. Moreover, the SIL teams with the collaboration of the National Institute of Pakistan Studies, Quaid-i-Azam University, carried out a detailed sociolinguistic survey of the languages of northern Pakistan (O'Leary 1992). The survey has been published in five volumes. Dr. Joan Baart has been working on Pakistani languages for the last sixteen years (Baart 2004, 2003, 1999), in particular on Gawri, a minority language spoken in Kalam Kohistan.

In contrast to the situation in Pakistan, a tradition of linguistic research has been established in India and some sound research is going on there. The Central Institute of Indian Languages was established to co-ordinate the development of Indian Languages, to bring about the essential unity of Indian languages through scientific

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studies, to promote inter-disciplinary research, to contribute to mutual enrichment of languages, and thus to contribute towards the emotional integration of people of India (CIIL 2010). The Government of India proposed *New Linguistic Survey of India* (NLSI) in its eleventh five year plan. The Central Institute of Indian Languages was responsible to conduct the survey under the supervision and guidance of Udaya Narayana Singh, former director of the institute, but the initiative was abandoned later. However, People's Linguistic Survey of India (PLSI) is going to undertake this initiative, and the first phase of the project has already been started (Chaturved 2010). The detailed survey of the Indian languages will not only have an impact on Indian linguistics, but will also be greatly beneficial for linguistic research and language planning in Pakistan. It will be the first detailed survey of its kind after Grierson. The PLSI is undertaken by Bhasha Research and Publication Center.

The Indian Institute of Language Studies established in 1980 aims at developing and researching Indian languages and Kashmiri in particular; it has carried out valuable linguistic research under the leadership of Omkar N. Koul (IILS 2009).

3.2.2 RESEARCH ON THE KUNDAL SHAHI LANGUAGE

We do not find the name of the Kundal Shahi language in any standard linguistic literature. To my knowledge, a first attempt to study Kundal Shahi was made when in January 1989 an SIL team, comprising Mr. Kendal Decker, Mr. Peter Backstrom, and Mr. Muhammad Arif, visited Muzaffarabad to learn a little about the languages spoken in northern Azad Kashmir. It was during interviews on this trip that they came to know about the existence of a different language in Kundal Shahi. In April of the same year they returned to Muzaffarabad with the intention to search for the language spoken in Kundal Shahi. They managed to get permission from the Home Secretary for three days in the Neelam Valley. Upon their arrival in Kundal Shahi they began to inquire about the language and reportedly, several men identified themselves as being "Shina" speakers. They collected a word list of 210 words and 2 short stories. Due to the difficulty of obtaining permission for going into the Neelam Valley, and also

because of other pressing duties they could not do further research and publish anything on the language either (Rehman and Baart 2005).

As an inhabitant of the region I was interested in the description of the language and started working in 2002. Later, Dr. Tariq Rahman, presently Distinguished National Professor Emeritus and Director of the National Institute of Pakistan Studies, put me in touch with Dr. Joan Baart, a Dutch linguist, working on the languages of the north Pakistan. Dr. Baart is currently academic director of the West Eurasia Group of SIL International. Dr. Baart and this author worked together, resulting in a first publication about the Kundal Shahi language (Rehman and Baart 2005). In December 2005 I presented a paper entitled "Ergative patterns of Kundal Shahi, Kashmiri and Hindko", to the 11th Himalayan Languages Symposium, held in Bangkok, Thailand. The paper analyzed and compared the ergative patterns of these languages. Later in June 2006, some brief notes on the language were presented in a paper 'A Brief Survey of the Languages of the Neelam Valley', for the 19th European Conference on Modern South Asian Studies in the panel entitled 'Lesser-Known Languages of South Asia' (Rehman 2006). Another paper entitled 'Language Shift among the Qureshi Community of Kundal Shahi' was presented in the 5th International Conference of Asia Scholars' held in Kuala Lumpur. ' 'Kundal Shahi, a Severely Endangered Language' was the title of the paper which was presented by me at the *28th Annual Meeting of the South Asian Language Analysis Roundtable* at the University of North Texas, held 9-11 October, 2009. The paper discussed the prevailing linguistic situation in Kundal Shahi and tried to determine the level of endangerment of KS. This author, while doing fieldwork on the PhD dissertation, has collected a large number of lexical items and is planning to compile a dictionary of the language.

So for the literature available on the language is quite preliminary and no in-depth study has taken place yet.

3.3   LITERATURE ON LANGUAGE SHIFT

3.3.1   WHAT LANGUAGE ENDANGERMENT IS

The Free Dictionary (Free Dictionary 2010) defines **endangered language** as "an endangered language is a language that it is at risk of falling out of use, generally because it has few surviving speakers. If it loses all of its native speakers, it becomes an *extinct language*." While there are no definite parameters for identifying a language as endangered, the Dictionary further gives three main criteria to be used as guidelines to determine the level of language endangerment: a) The number of speakers currently living. b) The mean age of native and/or fluent speakers. c) The percentage of the youngest generation acquiring fluency with the language in question. Crystal (2000) classifies the languages into three major classes: Safe, endangered and extinct. However he has also quoted Wurm's five level classification of endangered languages. This classification includes:

- Potentially endangered
- Endangered
- Seriously endangered
- Moribund
- Extinct
  (Wurm 1998: 192)

Crystal (2000) divides the period, during which a language shift occurs, into three broad stages: In the first stage there is immense pressure on the people to speak the dominant language. The pressure could be political, social, or economic. It might also be in the form of incentives or, in Skutnabb-Kangas' (2000) terms, 'carrots'.

The result of the first stage is a next stage of emerging bilingualism. At this stage, people effectively become bilingual in the dominant language in addition to their own.

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The second stage results in greater proficiency in the dominant language and while people find their heritage language less relevant. This situation leads to semilingualism and finally people shift into a phase of monolingualism in the dominant language by losing their mother tongue.

Crystal (2000) further discusses the concept of language death, controversy over number of languages, level of endangerment, factors causing language death, and stages through which a community moves while on its way to language shift. He defines language death as a situation where a language is no longer spoken. From his definition we can draw the conclusion that a language is dead even if it is used in writing and literature, but not learnt as spoken medium. Sanskrit is a good example of a dead language like this even though it still exists as a language of the Holy Scriptures (Pollock 2006). This view of language death is opposed to that of Aitchison (2001) and Denham (2005). They maintain that when a language is no longer used as a spoken medium, that by itself does not mean language death; it follows that if a language transforms itself into some other language or languages, this does not mean that the language has died. However, if a language disappears without leaving a descendent behind, it is a dead language; in this situation a language dies not because a community has forgotten how to speak it, but because another language has gradually ousted the older one as the dominant language and the speakers of the old language adopt the new one as their first language. Sanskrit, according to the above definition, is not a dead language as it has morphed into a large number of languages, spoken in the region of the South Asia.

Based on his study of minority languages worldwide, Fishman postulated in his landmark book Reversing Language Shift (1991) a continuum of eight stages of language loss from dynamic robustness to total extinction.

Krauss (1996: 19) classifies languages according to their viability as ranging from 'safe' to 'extinct'. He labels these categories, using the letters a-d. This categorization of Krauss was based in particular on studies of endangered languages of North-

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America. In 2007, in view of the wider scenario of the languages around the globe, he refined his model and included the new categories *a+*, *a-* and *e*.

Category *a* includes those languages which are actively learned by the children in a traditional way and in category *b* are those languages which are spoken by the parents actively and sometimes they may speak their language with their children but not always. In category *a+* are those languages whose future is stable. In this classification languages in category *e* are those languages which are no longer spoken or remembered by anyone. At the top of the endangered languages are stable languages, being learned by children as their mother tongue. They not only use their mother tongue with their elders but also with other children. They may be using other languages in school, work, religion etc. The next subclass is *a-* group. Krauss has further divided *a-* into two subtypes: the first subtype is used for situations where only some of the children learn to speak the language, and the second subtype is used for situations where all children speak the language, but do so only some of the time. He calls the first situation 'instable' whereas the latter situation is called 'eroded'. Here the new term 'instable', to my knowledge the term has not been used by anyone else in the classification of the endangered languages and the term is hardly found in any kind of literature of other disciplines as well. The next category is *b*. Language in this group are quite endangered. Children do not learn the language as their mother tongue anymore. The youngest speakers of the language are of the parental generation. The next is class *c*. Languages in this class have speakers of the grand-parental generation. In this situation parents do not teach their language to their children. The last class of endangered languages, class *d* languages, includes those languages which are critically endangered. The youngest speakers in this situation are in the great-grandparental generation. They are very few as well, may be fewer than 10 (Krauss 2007: 1-8).

The recent classification of Krauss, partly discussed above, is useful. He has used wide range of the categories which allows the classification of a great many scenarios.

More importantly, category *a-* , the one incorrectly labeled '*a*' in the table (Krauss 2007: 1) has two names, 'instable' and 'eroded'. In this subclassification 'instable' is defined as 'Some children speak' and 'eroded', defined as 'all children speak in some places'. So if there are communities where some children speak the language, but there is no individual locality where all children do, that would be unclassifiable. As I suspect that there are such languages and they are in a particular situation, precarious, but with a sound basis for revitalization if the community decides their language is worth preserving.

I would go further and say that there need to be more categories to capture different situations where some children speak the language. For example, where there is no locality where all children speak the language, or perhaps where there are certain social contexts where all children speak it. It is probably possible to develop a typology of social situations and determine whether children stop using the language in some of them before others. It might even be possible to generalize, so you could say, for example, that if children speak the language when playing with each other, they speak it at home, or the like. I do not know if anyone has done that kind of research.

The key measure of a language's viability is not the number of people who speak it, but the extent to which the children are still learning the language as a mother tongue (Turin 2007). When children do not learn a language as a native tongue, that language is on its way to death, even though there may be a multitude of biological descendants of the speakers. The obvious sign of language endangerment is that the number of active speakers is declining, but there are other symptoms by which we can conclude whether a language is threatened or not. Crawford (1996) has given the following symptoms of a threatened language:

- fluency in the language increases with age, as younger generations prefer to speak another (usually the dominant societal) tongue;

- usage declines in "domains" where the language was once secure --
  e.g., in churches, cultural observances, schools, and most important,
  the home;

- growing numbers of parents fail to teach the language to their children
  (Crawford 1996: 52).

The UNESCO Ad Hoc Expert Group on Endangered Languages (2003) has submitted a number of insightful findings with regard to language endangerment and language vitality. The report maintains that the loss of languages is the result of external pressures as well as internal factors. However the internal factors are by themselves the outcome of the external factors. Usually the negative attitude of a language community is directly related to the socioeconomic pressures of the dominant speech community. Both external and internal factors halt intergenerational transmission of the language. The report gives six major indicators for assessing language vitality:

- Intergenerational Language transmission;
- Absolute Number of Speakers;
- Proportion of Speakers within the total Population;
- Trends in Existing Language Domains;
- Response to New Domains and Media; and
- Materials for Language Education and Literacy.

Note that none of these indicators should be used alone. A language that is ranked highly according to one criterion may deserve immediate and urgent attention due to other factors.

Tsunoda (2005) brings new insights in the field of language shift by differentiating two types of endangered languages; enclave languages and indigenous languages. Enclave languages are those minority languages which are surrounded by dominant languages, but these languages have their homeland somewhere else and are safer there. These are usually migrant languages. The second type of endangered languages is indigenous languages which are threatened by the surrounding dominant languages and once the population shifts to another language, the language no longer exists. On

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the other hand, enclave languages are those which may be spoken widely elsewhere but cease to be spoken in one location. He classifies the members of a community facing language endangerment, in terms of their knowledge and the use of the language in question, into the following classes:

(a). Non-knowers: they do not know the language

(a-i) Non-acquirers: they never acquired the language

(a-ii) Forgetters: they acquired the language once, but have forgotten it.

(b) Knowers: they know the language.

(b-i) Passive users: they understand the language, but cannot speak it.

(b-ii) Latent speakers: they can speak the language, but donot speak it.

(b-iii) Speakers: they know the language and speak it.

(2005: 117-18)

Classifying the types of language death in terms of cause of language death and speed of language death, he discusses the death of a language due to the death of the population, for which he uses term *glottocide*, and language death due to language shift. In terms of speed the types of language death are classified as: *sudden glottocide* vs. *gradual glottocide* and *sudden shift* vs. *gradual shift*. He also lists fifteen major causes of language shift. These causes almost incorporate all situations of language endangerment. These causes include: dispossession of the land, relocation of the people, decline or loss of the population, break-down of isolation and proximity to town, dispersion of the population, mixing of population of different languages, socio-economic oppression, low status or low prestige, language attitude, assimilation policy and language policy, relative lack of indigenous language literature, social development including civilization and modernization, spread of religion, culture contact and clash.

3.4   CAUSES OF THE LANGUAGE SHIFT

Language death or language shift is not a result of a single factor. Multiple factors are responsible, and moreover these factors vary from region to region. Skutnabb-Kangas has captured some of the factors responsible for language loss in the present globalised world, in her 'linguistic genocide paradigm' (2000: 369). She observes that most of the languages do not die a natural death, and there are agents that cause language death. This kind of death is called in her terms 'linguicide'. The agents for linguicide may be active (attempting to kill the language) or passive (letting a language die). To persuade the individuals to replace their mother tongue by another language is done through invalidation of their own languages and cultures. The goal is achieved through an ideological discourse which presents the dominated/minority languages/cultures as deficiencies, handicaps, or makes them invisible. Another technique or strategy is glorification of the nonmaterial resources of the dominant group and stigmatization of the resources of the dominated, and finally, rationalization of the relationship between the two.

She (ibid: 369) disagrees with the 'language death' paradigm by arguing that the language death paradigm holds that language is like other living beings in nature which are born, flourish and finally perish and are replaced by the next generation; so this paradigm does not necessarily imply a causal agent, other than the speakers themselves. Most of the languages today do not die a 'natural death'; they are killed instead. For language loss or shift she uses the 'linguistic genocide paradigm', as discussed above.

According to Romaine (2007) language shift is symptomatic of large scale processes and pressures of various types (social, cultural, economic and military) on a community that have brought about the global village phenomenon.

Dixon (1997) postulates, that the major cause of the recent widespread language shift is European colonization. This colonization has caused in his term a 'punctuated equilibrium'.

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Dixon's theory of language shift and maintenance which he calls, 'the punctuated equilibrium model', elaborates the phenomenon of language shift and maintenance in a consistent way. The hypothesis postulates that most of the time languages exist in a state of relative equilibrium. After sometime this equilibrium is punctuated and drastic changes occur. The causes of punctuation could be natural calamities, the emergence of aggressive political or religious groups, technological advancement, or entry into new territory, etc.

Tsunoda (2005:1-3) contends that language shift is not a recent phenomenon; it has been going on since time immemorial. However he also agrees with Dixon's point that the present massive shift has been accelerated by the European colonization of the world. The effect of this colonization has according to him been the spread of their language at the expense of minority languages; therefore, he has divided the history of language loss in two periods: the Pre-European colonial period and post-European colonial period.

It is common that smaller communities are threatened by the majority groups/powerful groups and they tend to adopt the culture and language of the dominant group. However, it is not always true; in some cases there is a resistance to change as well. O'Neil (2006) is of the opinion that culture is inherently predisposed to change and, at the same time, to resist change. He concludes that there are three general sources of influence or pressure that are responsible for both change and resistance to it:

- forces at work within a society
- contact between societies
- changes in the natural environment

These factors usually force the smaller groups to adopt the language of the dominant group along with their culture.

Turin (2007) gives the following major causes by which mother tongues become endangered:

- Declining number of speakers
- The transformation of the traditional habitat of a linguistic community through deforestation or natural disasters.
- A state of neglect towards the poor, rural ethno-linguistic communities.

Language shift or language loss is a worldwide phenomenon. It has been going on for all of recorded history. Whenever two populations with different languages come into intense contact, shift is a possibility. Sometimes those who shift are the weaker group, but sometimes it is the more powerful group who shift (Patrick 2010). In some instances a powerful majority may shift to the language of a less powerful minority. In Pakistan the majority language is Punjabi but the speakers of the language consider it a matter of prestige to use Urdu instead of their own language; they sometimes become ashamed of their own language (Rahman 2006b) and raise their children in Urdu or even sometimes try to use English with them.

In the present modern world the factors facilitating language shift and language death include: the growth of nation state, the promotion specific languages, assimilation to larger and more powerful groups nearby, assimilation to smaller but culturally more dominant groups and demographic crises caused by labor migration. On the other hand the factors responsible for language maintenance include: absence of adjacent culturally dominant groups, endogamous marriage practices, maintenance of traditional religious/cultural pride, and existence of orthography, remoteness, access to media, and demography (Roger Blench quoted by Skutnabb-Kangas 2000: 90). Crawford (1998) maintains that language shift is the result of external as well as internal pressures, resulting from migration, military conquest, trade, intermarriages, and religious conversion.

Grenoble and Whaley (1998) list three major factors influencing the languages in terms of shift and maintenance. The factors include economics, access and motivation. Of these three first one (economics) is the single strongest factor, determining the fate of the endangered languages. Dorian (1998) argues a major factor causing language loss is low prestige. When a language becomes associated

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with low prestige, the people consciously or unconsciously distance themselves from their community by adopting and teaching their children another language.

Nettle and Romaine (2000: 8), press the close relationship between ecology and language. So change in language use is driven by environmental, political and economic factors. According to them the environmental factor stands first and they are of the opinion that two waves of change, namely a biological and an economic wave, in the human environment have spread from their centers of origin across the globe, and consequently have endangered the languages of the world. Biological or advance wave means spread or advance of people, crop, diseases and languages. The emergence of agricultural economy has been a key factor behind these types of waves in the past. While talking about language loss/death they distinguish three types of loss: first type of language death is when the people who speak a language cease to exist, which Crystal (2000) calls *glottocide*. The second type is a forced one. The dominant group, through different subversive manners, forces the minority group to leave their language and adopt the dominant one. Finally, the third type of language loss is voluntary shift. In this situation the speakers of a language think that they could have better opportunities by adopting a language other than their own. Almost the same view has been expressed by Crawford (1998). According to him one obvious way of language death is that its speakers can perish through disease or genocide. This happened to most of the languages spoken by the Arawak peoples of the Caribbean, who disappeared within a generation of their first contact with Christopher Columbus. But such cases are relatively rare. More often language death is the result of language shift, resulting from a complex of internal and external pressures that induce a speech community to adopt a language spoken by others. Crawford summarizes the factors as: changes in rituals, or economic and political life resulting from trade, migration, intermarriage, religious conversion, military conquest or changes in attitudes and values that discourage teaching its vernacular to children and encourage loyalty to the dominant tongue.

Aitchison (2001) differentiates between language death and language transformation. This classification is quite important in the description of language loss or death. He

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maintains that the mere disappearance of a language does not constitute language death. It is possible that with the passage of time one language may transform into another language/s. This kind of language loss is not language death, but rather it is linguistic transformation. A classical example of this situation in the South-Asian Subcontinent is Sanskrit. It did not die out but was transformed to many modern languages. Even after it ceased to be used as spoken medium, it used to be a vehicle of politics and poetry (Pollock 2006) and is still used in sacred literary texts.

Much of the research on endangered languages has been carried out in the North-American context with Amerindian languages. These languages, along with many others in the world, are on the verge of extinction simply because parents have chosen for various reasons not to pass their language on to their children. This situation in Fishman's terms leads to "intergenerational disruption."

3.5   NUMBER OF LANGUAGES ENDANGERED AROUND THE GLOBE

The total number of languages still spoken around the globe varies in different published sources. Generally it ranges from 6000-7000, however in some cases it is even 3000-1000. The reason for this discrepancy is the lack of proper and accurate surveys and sometimes language dialect controversies (Crystal 2000).

Ethnologue of the Languages of the world (Lewis 2009) by SIL international reports 6,909 living languages: 33.6 percent of them (2,322) spoken in Asia and 72 in Pakistan. The Language of Kundal Shahi is not among those reported. However, on the basis of information provided by me the name of the language appeared in the linguistic literature in 2003 (Rahman 2003, 2006b). On the request of this author and Joan Baart, the Kundal Shahi language was assigned *shd* as its ISO 639-3 code in January 2010. ISO 639-3 is a standard for assigning three-letter identifiers to all known human languages.

The Ethnologue (Lewis 2009) lists 473 languages as nearly extinct all over the world. Out of these 84 are in Asia, 182 in the Americas, 46 in Africa and 152 in the Pacific

and 9 in Europe. The Ethnologue lists such 7 language for India (from 182 of Asia) and no one for Pakistan.

However, Rahman (2006a), based on his detailed research, gives the total number of languages 61, out of which 55 minority languages are under tremendous pressure. His research shows that in Pakistan some eight languages are on the verge of extinction. The endangered languages of Sindh province are not included in his description. The Kundal Shahi language is among the eight nearly extinct languages.

The latest edition of the UNESCO's *Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger* has listed 2270 languages as endangered and 230 languages as extinct. The Atlas has described 27 languages of Pakistan as endangered; among these seven are vulnerable, 14 (including KS) definitely endangered, and 6 severely endangered. No critically endangered or extinct language has been reported in Pakistan. In India among 191 endangered languages 82 have been reported vulnerable, 62 definitely endangered, 6 severely endangered, 41 critically endangered, and 5 extinct languages (Moseley 2009).Very interestingly, the number of severely endangered languages, both in India and Pakistan, is equal.

Living Tongues Institute for Endangered Languages (2010) in its mission statement says that minority languages are being increasingly replaced by various politically, economically, or socio-culturally dominant ones. Every two weeks the last fluent speaker of a language passes on and with him/her goes literally hundreds of generations of traditional knowledge encoded in these ancestral tongues. Nearly half of the world's languages are likely to vanish in the next 100 years

This large number of languages is not maintained by their speakers and thousands among these are disappearing at an alarming rate. The year 2000 saw some excellent pieces of work by Crystal, Skutnabb-Kangas, and Nettle and Romaine, alerting the world about the alarming situation of these minority languages.

Dixon (1997) puts the figure around 5000, three quarters of which will have ceased to be spoken by the year 2100. The major reason of this heavy shift is European

colonization. This colonization has caused the punctuated equilibrium (cf. 3.5), which consequently causes language shift.

Abrams and Strogatz (2003) estimate that 90% of the languages of the world are expected to disappear within the current generation. Crystal (2000) calculates that 3.2 billion people in the world speak only the top-20 languages of the world. Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) contends that 95% of the population of the world speaks considerably fewer than 5% languages of the world and these few dominant languages in the world are really big killer languages; in 44 countries of the world there is no single language exceeding 50% of the population (Skutnabb-Kangas 2000: 74 quoted from Robinson). Dixon (1997: 116-117) estimates that at least three quarters of the languages spoken today will cease to be spoken by the year 2100.

Hale (1998) argues that half of existing 6000 thousand languages will perish, while another 2400 will come near extinction in the 21st century. Mostly local languages will be the victim of this catastrophic loss. According to this estimate only 600 languages are in the category of 'safe'.

Nettle and Romaine (2000: 8), using SIL's *Ethnologue* data, conclude that at least 6000 languages spoken by only 10 percent of the people on the earth today.

Difficulties in ascertaining the mother tongue sometimes arise in communities, undergoing language shift. Sometimes children speak one language with their father and another with their mother. Such cases should be noted (Blair 1990).

3.6 CORRELATION BETWEEN LINGUISTIC DIVERSITY AND BIODIVERSITY

Linguistic diversity has been observed to occur in those areas which are also rich in biodiversity. We can see, the higher the linguistic diversity the greater the biodiversity (Skutnabb-Kangas 2000, Nettle and Romaine 2000, Turin 2007). Most of the areas with high linguistic and biological diversity are found around the equator and these people all around the world represent only 4% of the world's population

with at least 60% of the languages of the world (ibid). Kollmair (2007) expresses the same views about the Himalayas and maintains that the Himalayas are not only home of biodiversity but also center of linguistic diversity. The theory is corroborated by the fact that we can see a high linguistic-biodiversity in the northern Pakistan (Existing Wildlife in Pakistan: online) and the Neelam Valley is no exception to it (Iftakhar n.d[3]).

If we look at the phenomenon of language death and the extinction certain animal species is quite similar and this connection is well explained by Crawford:

> [T]he phenomenon of language death is strikingly similar – and causally linked to the death of biological species. Modern cultures, abetted by new technologies, are encroaching on once- isolated peoples with drastic effects on their way of life and on the environments they inhabit. Destruction of lands and livelihoods; the spread of consumerism, individualism, and other Western values; pressures forassimilation into dominant cultures; and conscious policies of repressiondirected at indigenous groups–these are among the factors threatening theworld's biodiversity as well as its cultural and linguistic diversity (Crawford 1995: 20).

3.7 LOCAL STUDIES ON THE LANGUAGE SHIFT

Most of the work on the languages of Pakistan is continued to be carried out by western scholars. The works of these scholars generally covers the grammatical and historical comparative aspects. Few studies are available on language shift and maintenance in Pakistan. One of these is Decker's research on language shift in Chitral; he (1992) concludes that the reason behind stronger vitality, in the most remote and densely concentrated Kalasha and Palula villages, is concentration of the speakers in the remote villages. He also maintains that negative attitude held by the outsiders towards the Kalasha language and culture is the most significant factor

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[3] Date not mentioned

affecting Kalasha language use. More recently another south Asian linguist, George Van Driem (2007), has discussed in detail the endangered languages of South Asia. With regard to Pakistan, he is of the opinion that among Indo-Aryan languages, the heterogeneous and archaic Dardic languages, spoken in small alpine communities are the most endangered. In addition to these endangered languages he has also described another kind of loss going on unnoticed i.e. loss through assimilation:

> All the western and central pahaḍi languages are endangered because these areas are increasingly being linguistically being (sic) assimilated by larger communities, e.g. Urdu, Punjabi, and Hindi (P: 339).

In Pakistan the local languages are not used as a medium of instruction with some exceptions of Pashto and Sindhi, people usually learn other language for pragmatic reasons and give less importance to their own languages. This consequently renders their language a liability and burden rather than an asset (Rahman 2003, 2006a, 2006b). Hussain (2006) has carried a detailed survey of a severely endangered language in Krauss's term (2007), named Ushojo, spoken in northwestern part of Pakistan with only 500 active speakers (Lewis 2009). The language is previously undocumented and undescribed. Hussain is trying to determine the causes of the language shift among the Ushojo community (p.c with Hussain).

3.8 LANGUAGE SHIFT AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

Fishman (1991) notes how the emphasis on individual rights in modern western democracies detracts from the recognition of minority group rights. He writes,

> The denial of cultural rights to minorities is as disruptive of the moral fabric of mainstream society as is the denial of civil rights. Civil rights, however, are focused on the individual, while cultural rights must focus on ethno-cultural groups. Such groups have no recognized legal standing in many Western democracies where both establishment capitalist thought and anti-establishment Marxist thought prophesies the eclipse of culturally distinct

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formations and the arrival of a uniformized, all-inclusive 'modern proletarian' culture (1991:70).

Fishman defends the need to recognize "cultural democracy" as a part of general democracy and to see efforts to preserve and restore minority languages as societal reform efforts that can lead to the appreciation of the beauty and distinctiveness of other cultures. He emphasizes that efforts to restore minority languages should be voluntary and "facilitating and enabling" rather than "compulsory and punitive" and that bilingualism should be viewed as life enriching and a bridge to other cultures (ibid 1991: 82). In this Fishman echoes smaller studies such as Colin Baker's (1988) review of compulsory and voluntary efforts to revive Celtic languages in the British Isles.

> Many of the keys to psychological, social and physical survival of humankind may well be held by the smaller speech communities of the world. These keys will be lost as the languages and cultures die. Our languages are joint creative productions that each generation adds to. Languages contain generations of wisdom, going back into antiquity. Our languages contain a significant part of the world's knowledge and wisdom. When a language is lost much of the knowledge that language represents is also gone (Reyhner 1996: 4).

The relationship between language and the people is well explained by Anna M. Gracia in her book Language and identity. She says that the language, the word, carries within it the history, the culture, the traditions, the very life of a people, the flesh. Language is people. We cannot conceive of a people without a language, or a language without people. The two are one and the same; to know one is to know the other. The historical importance of linguistic diversity is well described by Woodbury (2010).

> The thousands of languages spoken in the world today have evolved over the entire course of human history. Every group of related languages is separated from every other group by at least 5000 years of development, usually more. If English were to become the sole language of every person on earth, it would

take tens of thousands of years to produce anything like the diversity that is our heritage—assuming we could somehow reproduce the conditions under which this diversity grew. For all practical purposes, the diversity we have now is absolutely irreplaceable.

Language is a powerful tool and marker of identity. Even when speaking the same language, social groups differentiate themselves by the way they talk. Use of a minority language offers people a way to express their resistance to cultural homogenization (Danielson 2003).

3.9   CONCLUSION

In general literature Stein (1900) has mentioned few places in the region of the Neelam Valley. The description of Bates (1873) has described the major villages of the region in detail however some of the famous villages among which the village of Kundal Shahi is one, did not find place in his famous Gazetteer.

The linguistically rich region of the Neelam Valley has always remained outside the view of linguists and researchers. The reasons for this vary from time to time. Whatever the reasons would have been, it is a greatly underdescribed region, particularly in the field of linguistics. We can hardly find any linguistic description of any language of the Neelam Valley. However, this author has started describing, documenting the languages of the region, however preliminary this work may be. It has been noticed in these preliminary studies that almost all of the languages are being replaced by Hindko, a predominant language of the region. A detailed survey of the languages is required urgently to understand the nature of the ongoing language loss and find some measures to stop or at least slow down this rapid shift.

Most of the authors on language endangerment (cf. 3.5) have based their analyses on the data provided in *Ethnologue*. Few of them however, have added some additional information based on other sources as well. As earlier mentioned the language shift or loss is a worldwide phenomenon and out of over 6,000 almost more than 90% are threatened in some way.

Various scholars working in the field of language shift have tried to discover the causes of language shift and have come up with plausible explanations. Some of the factors facilitating this worldwide loss are of local nature but most of them have universal application and transcend the regional and language specific boundaries. The most common and powerful factors responsible for the present rapid language loss is the current globalization and past European colonization. My understanding is that these two factors have given rise to other factors causing the present language loss/shift in any situation.

4 Kundal Shahi Language

A detailed description of the structure of the language is outside the scope of the present study. However, in light of the diminishing population of speakers, the language should be documented in detail while it is still possible. Keeping in view the highly endangered status of the language, and its lack of documentation, I decided to include some notes on the grammar and phonology of the language in the current work.

KS is the least described language of the region. I carried out a preliminary study of the language with Joan Baart in 2005, when the language was first mentioned in the linguistic literature.

The data used in this chapter was collected from 2002 to 2008 on different field trips to Kundal Shahi. The description provides an introduction to diverse aspects of the language. As such it does not meet the need for a comprehensive analysis and description.

4.1 Name of the people

The Kundal Shahi community has no specific name for their community. They have only recently started to claim that they are 'Qureshi', which is the name of a popular clan tracing its lineage to the companions of the prophet of Islam. Recently I came upon a handwritten document connecting the KS community directly to Abubakar Sidique, the 'first caliph of the Muslims after the death of the prophet of Islam' and also among the four closest friends of Prophet Muhammad. The younger speakers overwhelmingly insist, more than the older speakers, that they call themselves

Qureshi. In my recent interviews, when asked the question 'what do you call your community?' 35 percent of the respondents said that they call their community Qureshi; of these, only 20 percent were aged over 45 years. Of the 65% who do not use the term, only 85% were aged over 45. However, when the interviewees were asked which *qoom* 'clan'[4] they belonged to, all of them invariably replied that they belonged to the Qureshi Qoom. Unlike the younger speakers the elderly members of the KS community do not usually call themselves Qureshi, but when asked directly, then they will say they are Qureshi. Both questions were open and no multiple choices were listed for them.

In the Neelam Valley and elsewhere in Azad Kashmir there are many other groups who call themselves Qureshi, but they have no relationship with the Kundal Shahi people. Therefore there seems to be no relationship between the Qureshi tribe in general and KS. I have observed in Azad Kashmir and particularly in the Neelam Valley that most of the Qureshi communities have assumed the title Qureshi very recently, and locally they are known by some other caste titles having wider currency and prestige especially *Moghul, Rajput* and sometimes *Syed*. The revenue records of Azad Kashmir also bear out this fact. The records show that many groups have recently-after partition in 1947- assumed new clan titles. When people feel that their clan/caste title does not have any wider circle of influence, they try to associate themselves with a caste/clan with more influence or with a glorious past. Therefore some may trace their genealogy directly to the prophet of Islam, Muhammad, or to his tribe in general, and others to some famous ruling families or conquerors or warriors in the past.

A few years ago a man went to Indian-administered Kashmir to see his father after around 40 years. When he reached his old home a leading newspaper published a story of this event in Srinagar with the headline " Mr.--Qureshi meets his father Mr.---Wani after 40 years" (p.c.withAwais Wani on 9 September 2008). Now the man has changed his name back to Wani from Qureshi. It is pertinent to mention here that the

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[4] A group of people claiming to have a shared lineage.

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revenue records in Azad Kashmir have obligatorily been listing the *qoomiyat* 'clanship' of every person, along with other information, since its inception. The phenomenon of changing of identity has also been widely recorded in South Asia as a whole. Rahman (1997:834-35) reports that such identities are changed when it may increase one's prestige or share of goods or services. For example, the adventurers throughout north India sometimes took up the Rajput identity to raise their prestige. Similarly in Bengal during the census of 1972 the number of people claiming to belong to one of the three socially superior categories of Shaikhs increased phenomenally, while the number of the occupational "caste" groups such as *julaha* 'weaver', and *nai* 'barber' registered a sharp decline. The reason for this decline was the lower status of these groups in the society.

Communities other than the Kundal Shahi community call them Qureshi, *kondal ʃʌj de loːk* 'the people of Kundal Shahi', or *raːʊɽe*. According to my understanding, the latter term was originally used by Hindko speakers to refer to the Pashtoons and subsequently its use was extended to include some other non-Hindko languages as well (Rehman and Baart 2005). The term itself is a Pashto word meaning 'to bring'. As a matter of fact, the predominant community in the Neelam Valley, the Hindko speakers, came from the Kaghan Valley. This fact has been substantiated by comparing word lists of Hindko as spoken in the Neelam Valley with Hindko as spoken in Balakot (in the Kaghan Valley), and also by interviews with the elderly people of the Hindko community (cf.1.2.1). Many elderly people of the Hindko community still remember the earlier locations of the ancestors of their clans in the Kaghan Valley. When the Hindko speakers came into contact with the Pashtoons, they did not understand their language and borrowed a Pashto word to refer to them. The term is derogatory and the Kundal Shahi community does not accept the term for their community. In my discussion I will use the term Kundal Shahi community or KS community as a convenient term.

The Kundal Shahi village consists of eight hamlets locally known as *mohallas*. The KS-speaking community comprises over 95% of the population of Kundal Shahi village.

The name Kundal Shahi, actually pronounced as *konḍal ʃʌj*, consists of the words *konḍal* 'bowl' (from Sanskrit *konḍa*) and *ʃaj* 'buttermilk'. The place where the community is said to have settled first has a round shape like a bowl, and the Jagran stream running through it sometimes looks white like buttermilk; the place is presently called *Graaṇ* (pronounced as *grã*) 'village', a mohalla of Kundal Shahi.

4.2 NAME OF THE LANGUAGE

All of my interviewees say that they do not have any specific name for their language. As mentioned earlier other people call the language *konḍalʃʌj ḍɪ zabaːn* 'language of Kundal Shahi', or *raːʋɽi*. In our earlier research (Rehman and Baart 2005) we chose to name the language after the village; therefore the language is referred to as Kundal Shahi (henceforth KS).

4.3 GENETIC CLASSIFICATION OF THE LANGUAGE

In our earlier research we concluded that the KS language is most probably a descendant of an archaic form of Shina (Rehman and Baart 2005), which itself belongs to the Indo-Aryan branch within the Indo-European language family.

In February 2003, a wordlist of 199 items was recorded on audiocassette in Kundal Shahi with seven native speakers of the Kundal Shahi language. This wordlist was based on the one used in the Sociolinguistic Survey of Northern Pakistan (Rehman and Baart 2005, O'Leary 1992).

On the basis of these recordings (which provided seven renderings of each item in the list), broad phonetic transcriptions were made of the words in the list.

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These transcriptions were compared with the wordlists of Shina, Hindko, Gojri and Indus Kohistani as found in O' Leary (1992). A wordlist of Kashmiri was also used for comparison. As the Kashmiri wordlist was not available in the Sociolinguistic Survey, it was based on the speech of this author, who is a native speaker of Kashmiri.

For the comparison, we looked at the Shina wordlist recorded in Astor and Jalkot, the Hindko wordlist in Balakot, the Gojri wordlist in Subri in Muzaffarabad Azad Kashmir, and the Indus Kohistani wordlist recorded in Jijal. The criteria for lexical similarity used in this study were the same as those used for the Sociolinguistic Survey of Northern Pakistan as described in O'Leary 1992. In scoring lexical similarity, we used a simple binary classification for each pair of items, namely *similar* versus *not similar*. The results, given as percentages of similar lexical items, are presented in table 4.1.

TABLE 4.1: Lexical Similarity Scores between KS and Neighboring Languages in Percentages

49	Shina (Astor and Jalkot)
47	Hindko (Balakot)
45	Kashmiri (Khawaja Seri, AJK)
40	Gojri (Subri)
34	Indus Kohistani (Jijal)

(Rehman and Baart 2005)

If we assume a threshold of 80 percent lexical similarity above which two speech varieties may be assumed to be mutually intelligible to a significant degree, then the first conclusion to be drawn from these results is that the language of Kundal Shahi does not even come close to that threshold when it is compared with any of its

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neighbors. In other words, it is highly unlikely that the language is mutually intelligible with any of these languages. This conclusion is corroborated by what the neighboring communities themselves are reporting about the intelligibility of the Kundal Shahi language. The conclusion is further corroborated by local traditions among the Kundal Shahi community, which speak about the use of the language for conveying secret messages. For instance, when KS speakers want to convey some secret message in the presence of others (Hindko or Kashmiri speakers) they use KS. The community members also reported that they have never heard of mutual intelligibility of their language with any other language of the region including the Northern Areas of Pakistan.

A second conclusion to be drawn from the table is that the Kundal Shahi vocabulary shows a somewhat closer affinity with Shina, Hindko, and Kashmiri, than with Indus Kohistani.

However, while the similarity scores for Hindko are not drastically different from those for Shina and Kashmiri, the influence of Hindko on the Kundal Shahi language can easily be explained from extended periods of language contact (cf. chapter 1). In its current location in Kundal Shahi, the community is surrounded by Hindko, the language of wider communication for much of the Neelam Valley and for a large area to the West of that. The evidence shows that the Hindko influence on KS has been increasing with the passage of time. For instance, in my field research, I asked the following questions:

> Have people of your community forgotten some old words of KS? And
>
> if yes, do they use Hindko words instead of these forgotten words?

On both questions 80% of the respondents responded "yes" while 15% said "no" and 5% did not know. Moreover, in my field research I came across several words such as *ḍʌm* 'guts', *baṭkiṛikil* 'lizard', *malʊt* 'dirty', and *kɛkin* 'wife of brother', which I determined to be of KS origin and which are being replaced by the Hindko loan

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words *ejīr* 'guts', *sabslaanḍ* 'lizard', *gend* *'dirty'*, *beeb* 'wife of brother'. Only the elderly people remember these words, and very rarely use them while speaking KS.

Rehman and Baart explains the relatively high lexical similarity scores between KS ,Shina and Kashmiri on the basis of the traditional account of the history of the community, which says that they came from Tijjar in the Valley of Kashmir, where they would have been in extensive contact with the Kashmiri language. While the Shina influence must then go back to a time from before they settled in the Vale of Kashmir. Therefore, KS and Shina have been assumed to be genealogically close (ibid).

Further research and comparison of KS with Kashmiri and Shina shows that some aspects of KS bear closer resemblance with Kashmiri than that of Shina therefore it is not inconceivable that KS might turn out to be genealogically closer to Kashmiri than to Shina.

Schmidt (1985: 19) reports certain phonological features distinctive of the identified dialects of Shina. One is the preservation of the old Indo-Aryan distinction among the three sibilants; *s, š and ṣ*. Another is development of retracted (retroflex) fricatives and affricates *c̣, ẓ* from the old Indo-Aryan consonant clusters *tr, dr* and *dhr*, etc and the development of contrastive tones.

Apart from the contrastive tones (cf.4.4.3), KS does not share either of the other two distinguishing phonological features with Shina. Among old Indo-Aryan consonant clusters *tr, dr and dhr* KS has preserved *tr and dr* while of the three sibilants it has retained only *s* and *š*. Both of these phonological features are shared with Kashmiri. More interestingly its case system sometimes seems quite similar to that of Kashmiri. For instance, the masculine singular ergative marker *–an*, masculine singular dative marker *–as (os ,is)* and feminine plural dative marker *–in*, are similar in Kundal Shahi and Kashmiri (see examples 1-6).

(1) *zamaan-an   mind kheegin* (KS)

Zaman-3.SG M.ERG bread eat.3SG.F.PFV

'Zaman ate food.'

(2) *zamaan-an   khe   t͡suṭ* (Kashmiri)

Zaman-3.SG M.ERG eat.3SG.F.PST bread

'Zaman ate food.'

(3) *koṛ-os/   zamaan-as/   dand-as*   (KS)

boy-DAT/   zaman-DAT/   tooth-DAT

'to the boy'/ 'to Zaman'/ 'to the tooth'

(4) *waziir-as/zamaan-as/   dand-as*   (Kashmiri)

minister-DAT/ zaman-DAT/tooth-DAT

'to the minister'/ to Zaman'/ to the tooth'

(5) *küṛin/kiṛin*   (KS)

girls.DAT/OBL

'to the girls'

(6) *kɔɔṛin* (Kashmiri)

girls.DAT/OBL

'to the girls'

Split ergativity along the lines of durative vs. preterite / perfect is similarly shared by Kashmiri and KS (Hook 1984, Hook and Koul 2002, for KS see examples 10-11), while most of s Shina dialects mark agents ergative in both durative and preterite / perfect clauses (Schmidt 2004; Schmidt and Kohistani 2008). However, Hook and Koul (2004: 213) report that the Shina dialect of Gulteri along with some other easterly varieties has dual ergativity.

The oblique plural in KS *–an (in)* is also similar to that of Kashmiri:

(7) *loog-an*   *sam*   (KS)

people-OBL.PL with

'with the people'

(8) *luuk-an*   *səət*   (Kashmiri)

people-OBL with

'with the people'.

Though borrowing a case system is less likely than borrowing tonal features, (Dixon 1997), there is evidence that cross linguistically influence of case systems is also possible. Like tonal borrowing, we find Urdu affecting the case marking in the Neelam Valley Hindko; in some instances the oblique case marking on proper nouns is omitted, and following the Urdu pattern only nominative case is used instead. On the one hand KS shares higher similarity of the core lexical items including basic numerals (8, 11 and 12), 1PL pronoun and forms of copula 'be' with Shina while on the other hand it shares nominal and verbal suffixes with Kashmiri (cf. table 4.10-11 and section 4.5.1.3, 4.5.5.1).

Though this alternative has enough evidence to consider regrouping the language genetically, I think at this stage there not enough evidence to decide the matter more research is needed.

4.4   THE SOUND SYSTEM

4.4.1   CONSONANT PHONEME INVENTORY

A chart of consonant phonemes of KS is given in table 4.2. It appears from the chart that KS does not have a series of voiced aspirated stops; *bh, dh, ḍh, gh* or the voiced aspirated affricate *j̃h*. Neither does it have retroflex fricatives and affricates (*c̣, ǰ, ṣ, ẓ* etc.). The retroflex fricatives and affricates are present in almost all dialects of Shina and in languages closely related to it such as Palula (Schmidt 1981, 1985; Liljegren 2008).

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TABLE 4.2: Consonant Chart for KS

	labial	dental	alveoler	retroflex	palatal	velar	glottal
plosive	(ph)	th		ṭh		kh	
	p	t		ṭ		k	
	b	d		ḍ		g	
affricate					čh		
					č		
					ǰ		
fricative	f		s		š	x	h
			z				
nasal	m		n	ṇ		ŋ	
lateral			l				
flap				r̤			
trill			r				
semivowels	w				y		

/ph/ occurs only in initial position however, it is yet to be determined whether it is a phoneme or a variant of /f/. Some speakers pronounced it as /f/.

The sounds /ɣ/ as in ɣalat 'incorrect' and /q/ as in waqt 'time' only occur in borrowed words and only the more educated try to retain the Arabic pronunciation in these words. People commonly say /galat/ and /wakat/.

The examples of KS consonants occurring in word initial, intervocalic and word final

TABLE 4.3: Consonant distribution in initial, intervocalic and final positions

		initial	intervocalic	final
ph		*phiṭgol* 'broken'		
p		*pāz* 'monkey'	*rupul* 'beautiful'	*šap* 'wild onion'
b		*baṭwaar* 'Saturday'	*biba* 'marriage'	*gub* 'heavy'
th		*thùun* 'pillar'	*matheer* 'front'	*nath* 'nose'
t		*tō̄* 'now'	*satay* 'seventeen'	*sat* 'seven'
d		*dar* 'door'	*mōdol* 'thigh'	*šad* 'hundred'
ṭh		*ṭhō* 'place'	*kaṭhoo* 'firewood'	*kooṭh* ' house with flat roof'
ṭ		*ṭükir* 'basket'	*xaṭuuṭ* 'small'	*muṭ* 'tree'
ḍ		*ḍʌm* 'guts'	*geḍi* 'digging soil'	*kanḍ* 'thorn'
kh		*khar* 'below'	*nikhiṛ* 'arm'	*trikh* 'waist'
k		*küṛ* 'girl'	*kukuuṛ* 'chicken'	*lok* 'slowly'
g		*gɔɔṛ* 'raw sugar'	*digar* 'late afternoon'	*driig* 'long'
čh		*čhoṭ* 'few'	*mačhar* 'mosquito'	*bičh* 'cow'
č		*čal* 'many'	*čičal* 'mud'	*mɛɛ̆č* 'man'
ǰ		*ǰuu* 'body'	*wɛɛǰi* 'finger rign'	*fiy̆* 'shoulder'

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f	*fataw* 'skin'	*tufaã* 'storm'	
s	*suur̥* 'ash'	*khasar* 'much'	*pees* 'money'
š	*šʋk* 'dry'	*dašan* 'right'	*šooš* 'straight'
x	*xumʋš* 'evening'	*šaxʌr* 'small cow bull'	*ṭax* 'button'
h	*hī̃* 'snow'	*zaahər* 'poison'	
z	*zar* 'fever'	*razaã* 'feces'	*saz* 'sister'
m	*muul* 'root'	*soomu* 'Monday'	*sam* 'with'
n	*noor* 'nail'	*paani* 'water'	*nʋn* 'naked'
ṇ		*kaṇak* 'wheat'	*keeṇ* 'story'
ŋ		*ḍiŋʌr* cudgel'	*šiiŋ* 'horn'
l	*ler̥* 'house'	*piluul* 'ant'	*zaral* 'spider'
ṛ		*šeṛiš* 'sixteen'	*hir̥* 'bone'
r	*rɛɛd* 'tomorrow'	*puraan* 'old'	*šʌr* 'autumn'
w	*war* 'belly'	*hewaan* 'animal'	*sew* 'bridge'
y	*yandᵊr* 'spinning wheel'	*duyō* 'second'	*yagay* 'eleven'

KS has retained old Indo-Aryan consonant clusters of stop $+r$ in word-initial as well as non-initial positions. It also has word-final sibilant + stop and nasal + stop clusters. Examples of KS words with such clusters are given in table 4.4.

TABLE 4.4: Consonant Clusters in KS

trɪkh	'waist'		
drɪ̈g	'long'	āašṭ	'eight'
kraam	'work'	nindr	'sleep'
grèét	'Thursday'	mišṭ	'good'
mutraã	'urine'	latr	'bad'

Kashmiri has retained all these clusters whereas Shina has developed some of them into retroflexes (c.f. 4.3)

4.4.2 VOWEL PHONEME INVENTORY

Table 4.5 presents a chart of the vowel sounds that we have come across in our earlier data (Rehman and Baart 2005). On the basis of limited research it is too early to draw firm conclusions about the phonemic status of each of these. The data include several examples of nasalized vowels (not listed in Table 4.4). In my transcriptions these nasalized vowels are written with a vowel with a tilde on the top, as in pãz 'monkey' and tõõl 'rice'. The words presented in table 4.5 show phonemic vowel length contrast for i, u, a, e, ε and ɔ. Vowel length is represented by a double vowel. All vowels also occur nasalized.

TABLE 4.5: Vowel Chart for KS

	front	central	back
close	*i ii ü üü*		*u uu*
close-mid	*e ee ö öö*	*ə*	*o oo*
open-mid	*ɛ ɛɛ*	*ʌ*	*ɔ ɔɔ*
open		*a aa*	

TABLE 4.6: Examples of Vowel Contrasts in KS

i versus *ii*   *kin* 'black' *šiiŋ* 'horn'

                           jib 'tongue' *driig* 'long'

u versus *uu*   *buṭ* 'all' *buuṭ* 'shoe'

                           kuṛ 'boy' *suuṛ* 'ash'

a versus *aa*   *mar* 'say' *maar* 'kill'

                           ban 'forest' *baan* 'utensil/vessel'

e versus *ee*   *leṛ* 'traditional house' *leel* 'broom'

o versus *oo*   *čhoṭ* 'few' *kooṭh* 'house'

ɔ vs *ɔɔ*   *yɔk* 'one' *pɔɔš* 'flower'

ee versus *ɛɛ*   *teel* 'palm' *tɛɛl* 'oil'

It is interesting, furthermore, to observe the presence of the rounded front vowels *ü*, *üü*, and *ö*, *öö* illustrated in table 4.5. It looks like these may be the intermediate result of a still ongoing process of vowel change. For instance, the KS word for 'girl, woman' /*küṛ*/ must have been derived from an earlier form *kuṛi* (which occurs as such, for example, in Hindko and Punjabi) with subsequent place assimilation (or, alternatively, total assimilation) of the first vowel to the final vowel, in turn followed by loss of the final vowel. The forms *küṛ*, *küṛi* and *kiṛ* seem to co-exist in the current

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stage of the language (Rehman and Baart 2005). I have also recorded a similar phenomenon of assimilation going on in a variety of Shina spoken in Taobutt, the last village in the Neelam Valley that belongs to Pakistan-administered Kashmir. No such process has been recorded in any other variety of Shina so far (Schmidt 1985, 2004, 2008). The same words recorded in Phulwei, a village eight kilometers downstream from the village of Taobutt, have retained the final /i/ and the preceding back vowel. The examples from the Shina varieties, which I call Guresi Shina and Shina of Phulwei respectively, are presented in Table 4.8.

TABLE 4.7: Rounded Front Vowels in KS.

ü	kűṛ/ küűr/ kiṛ 'girl, woman'
üü	aŋgǜűṭh 'ring'
ö	pöṛ 'ladder'
öö	bööl 'speech''

TABLE 4.8: Rounded Front Vowels in the Guresi Shina and Shina of Phulwei

	Guresi Shina	Shina of Phulwei
ü	küṇ 'ear' sür 'sun''bəkhüṇ 'elbow'	kuṇi , suuri, bəkhuṇi
ö	göṇ 'thread' möṭ 'dust nör 'finger nail'	goṇi , moṭi, nori

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4.4.3 Tones

Though most of the words in my data are spoken with a falling pitch, there are few examples of the words which are spoken with a rising pitch. These include: *ašɔ́ɔ́* 'walnut' *bàán* 'dish' *bàán(d)* 'big' *bǐí* 'twenty' *dǐí* 'daughter' *drǐíg* long' *dùúr* 'far' *dɔ́ɔ́l* 'fireplace' *gàáz* 'grass' *gɔ̀ɔ́ṛ* 'horse' *grèét* 'Thursday' *hǐí* 'snow' *jěét* 'she-goat' *kwàáṛ* 'axe' *kòóm* 'vegetable' *lùú* 'red' *màál* 'father' *měél* 'mother' *měéš* 'buffalo' *thùún* 'pillar' *yàá* 'brother'.

KS examples of minimal pairs for tone are *gɔ̀ɔ́ṛ* 'horse' *gɔ́ɔ̀ṛ* 'raw sugar' *màál* 'father' *máàl* 'livestock'.

Rehman and Baart (2005) argue that accent in KS like Shina is phonetically realized as high pitch, and second mora accent on a long vowel produces the distinct low-rising tone that is heard in the words listed above.

4.5 Morphology

4.5.1 Nouns and postpositions

4.5.1.1 Gender

KS nouns have inherent grammatical gender (masculine versus feminine), which can most readily be told from the form of an agreeing verb as illustrated in the examples below:

(9) *(h) aa*   *mɛ̃č mišṭ thu.*

3SG.DIST NOM man good be.3SGM

'He is a good man.'

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(10)   *āy*   *khabʌr*   *yalat thi.*

     3SG.PROX.NOM news wrong be.3SG.F.PST

     'This news is false.'

(11)   *so*   *parafeesar*   *asu.*

     3SG.INV. NOM professor be.3SG.M

     'He was a professor.'

(12)   *So*   *geḍ*   *šar til gi.*

     3SG.INV. NOM vehicle city go went.3SG.F.

     'The vehicle went to the city.'

Some adjectives also show gender agreement as in *čunu yaa* 'younger brother' *čuni saz* 'younger sister'; here *čunu* and *čuni* are the forms of the adjective meaning 'small'. However, there are some other adjectives which do not have gender agreement as in *mišṭ mḗč* 'good man' and *mišṭ kiṛ /kiṛ* 'good girl'.

4.5.1.2 NUMBER

Nouns are inflected for number (singular versus plural) and case (nominative, ergative, dative and oblique). However, for an entire range of words, only the oblique plural has a distinct form. It is created by attaching the suffix *–an* to the noun stem. The quality of the suffix vowel assimilates to the quality of the preceding vowel in the stem (usually *a* after a back vowel, *i* after a front vowel). If the stem ends in a vowel, the suffix vowel usually deletes. In the oblique plural, accent often remains on the stem. However, if the last vowel of the stem is long and stressed on the second mora, accent shifts to the suffix in the oblique plural (Rehman and Baart 2005). The phenomenon is illustrated in Tables 4.9 and 4.10.

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TABLE 4.9: Examples of Regular Noun Inflection

    a) without accent shift

	NOM SING	NOM PL	OBL SING	OBL PL
'head' M.	šɔ́ɔ	šɔ́ɔ	šɔ́ɔ	šɔ́ɔn
'maize' F.	makɛ́y	makɛ́y	makɛ́y	makɛ́yin
'camel' M.	ūūṭ	ūūṭ	ūūṭ	ūúṭan
'girl' F.	kǖṛ	kǖṛ	kǖṛ	kǖṛin
'day' F.	díiz	diiz	diiz	díizin
'boy' M	kuṭ	kuṭ	kuṭ	kúṭan
'place' F.	ṭhɔ̄ɔ̄	ṭhɔ̄ɔ̄	ṭhɔ̄ɔ̄	ṭhɔ̄ɔ̄n
'brother' M.	yàá	yaá	yaá	yaán
'rice' M.	toōl	toōl	toōl	tóōlan

b) with accent shift

	NOM SING	NOM PL	OBL SING	OBL PL
'dish' M.	baán	baán	baán	baanán
'horse' M.	gɔɔ́ṛ	gɔɔ́ṛ	gɔɔ́ṛ	gɔɔṛán

There is another class of feminine nouns ending in an accented long vowel –íi. These nouns have a truncated nominative singular form, where the final vowel is either shortened to –i or deleted altogether. In the latter case the preceding syllable receives a rising tone (second-mora accent) or even a low tone if its vowel is short (in which

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case we would have to call that form unaccented or, perhaps better, post-accented). These truncated nominative singular forms often also show umlaut (vowel assimilation), see Table 4.10.

TABLE 4.10: Nouns with Truncated Nominative Singular Forms

		NOM SING	NOM PL	OBL SING	OBL PL
'cupboard'	F.	*almɛɛrí/almɛɛr*	*almaarǐi*	*almaarǐi*	*almaarǐin*
'ring'	F	*wɛɛjǐ*	*waajǐi*	*waajǐi*	*waajǐin*
'pillar'	F	*thuúɳ*	*thuuɳǐi*	*thuuɳǐi*	*thuuɳǐin*
'lamp'	F.	*betí/bét*	*batǐi*	*batǐi*	*batǐin*
'river'	F	*nʌd*	*nʌdǐi*	*nʌdǐi*	*nʌdǐin*
'chair'	F	*kürsí*	*kursǐi*	*kursǐi*	*kursǐin*

(Rehman and Baart 2005)

It seems that KS is undergoing some sound changes which have already occurred in Kashmiri (for Kashmiri examples see Table 4.11) and this phenomenon is spreading into adjacent Indo-Aryan languages as well (p.c with Peter Hook 25 September 2008).

TABLE 4.11: Examples from Kashmiri

		NOM SING	NOM PL	OBL SING	OBL PL
'cupboard'	F.	*almǝǝr*	*almǝǝri*	*almǝǝri*	*almǝǝrɨn*
'ring'	F	*wǝǝǰ*	*waaǰǝ*	*waaǰi*	*waanǰʌn*
'mortar'	F	*kǝǝǰ*	*kaaǰǝ*	*kaaǰi*	*kaaǰʌn*
'iron rod'	F	*ǰabal*	*ǰablǝ*	*ǰabli*	*ǰablʌn*
'shawl'	F	*tsaadar*	*tsaadrǝ*	*tsaadri*	*tsaadrʌn*
'wall'	F	*dos*	*dosǝ*	*dosi*	*dosʌn*
'daughter in law'	F	*noš*	*nošǝ*	*noši*	*nošʌn*

4.5.1.3 CASE SUFFIXES

4.5.1.3.1 ERGATIVE CASE

Like other languages spoken in the area (except Shina see Schmidt and Kohistani 2008, Schmidt 2004), Kundal Shahi displays the areal feature of split ergativity, where the split is based on the aspect of the verb:

Preterite and perfect tenses: *ergative–absolutive   alignment*
Other tenses: *nominative-accusative alignment*

The subjects of transitive verbs in the active voice take ergative case marking in the preterite and perfect tenses

Apart from the oblique suffixes, there are suffixes for the ergative and dative cases (cf.4.5.1.3.2). The ergative suffix *-an* is used with singular nouns and *-ō* with plural

nouns (13-14). These forms are similar to the Kashmiri ergative markers *-an* for singular and *-aʊ* for plural (19-21) However, in Kashmiri, the singular ergative suffix *–an* is limited to masculine nouns, and furthermore, if the final syllable has a high back vowel, then it does not take the *–an* suffix but rather a vowel change occurs to mark ergative case (22-23).

(13) *sʌliim-an mind kheegin.*

　　　Saleem-ERG bread eat.3SG.F.PFV
　　　'Saleem ate the food.'

(14) *Heeder čiṭ　likhā　　　　　asu.*

　　　Haider.NOM letter write.3SG.M.IPFV　be.3SG.M.PST.IPFV
　　　'Haider was writing a letter.'

(15) *heeder-an　čiṭ　likhii　asiin.*

　　　Haider-ERG letter　　write.3SG.F be.3SG.F.PST.PFV
　　　'Haider had written a letter.'

(16) *asō saagar　maari.*

　　　1PL.ERG snake. F kill.3SG.F.PST
　　　'we killed a snake.'

(17) *saagr-ō　　ǰéeṭ kheegin.*

　　　snake-ERG.PL goat eat.3SG.F.PFV
　　　'The snakes ate the goat.'

(18) *saagr-ō　　moŋgor　　khaagan.*

　　　snakes-ERG.PL he.goat　　eat.3SG.M.PFV
　　　'The snakes ate the he.goat.'

(19) *sarf-an*   *khey* *kəčʸ.* (Kashmiri)

    snake-ERG eat.F.PST goats

    'A/the snake ate the goats.'

(20) *sarf-aʊ*   *khey*   *kəčʸ.* (Kashmiri)

    snake-ERG.PL eat.3.F.PST goats

    'The snakes ate the goats.'

(21) *sarf-an*   *khey*   *kəṭʸ* . (Kashmiri)

    snake-ERG.SG eat.3.F. PST goat

    'A/the snake ate the goat.'

(22) *homʸsond*   *mool* *čho*   *tsʊṭ*   *khewā.*(Kashmiri)

    3SG.GEN.NOM.M father.NOM be.3SG.M bread eating

    'His/her father is eating food.'

(23) *homʸsənd*   *məalʸ*   *khey*   *tsʊṭ.* (Kashmiri)

    3SG.GEN.NOM.M father.ERG eat.3SG.F.PST bread

    'His/her father ate food.'

In ergative constructions, as in most of the Indo-Aryan languages (Masica 1991), the verb in KS agrees with the Patient.

4.5.1.3.2 DATIVE CASE

The Dative case in KS is formed by adding *–as (-is, –os)* to the singular noun stem while the form *–an (-in)* is used as a plural dative case marker.

(24) *Saliim-an*   *kariim-as*   *apẽ foṭo pašagan.*

    Saleem-ERG Kareem-DAT own. photo show.M.PFV

    'Saleem showed his pictures to Kareem.'

(25) *loog dukaandaar-an rupay diĩs.*

people shopkeeper-DAT.PL rupees give.3PL.PRS

'People give money to shopkeepers.'

(26) *ustaad küṛ-in sabak paṛaaso.*

teacher girl-DAT.PL lesson teach.3SG.M.PRS.IPFV

'A/the teacher teaches lessons to the girls.'

(27) *dukaandaar küṛ-is čaadar pašaaso.*

shop keeper girl-DAT shawl show. 3SG.M.PRS.IPFV

'A/the Shopkeeper is showing a/the shawl to the girl.'

(28) *mii koṛ-os kitaab dit.*

3SG.ERG boy-DAT book give.PST

'I gave a book to the boy.'

As shown in 13-15,24-26, and table 4.9 and table 4.10, there is a single form *-an (-in)* that marks the ergative singular, the dative plural, and the general oblique plural case.

The dative case suffixes in KS *–as (-is, -os) and –an (-in)* are similar to that of Kashmiri, except for singular feminine nouns. In Kashmiri singular feminine nouns use a different form for the dative (see example 29 from Kashmiri and compare it with 27).

(29) *dokaandaar čho koor-i tsaadar haawā.*

shopkeeper.NOM be.3SG.M girl-DAT shawl showing

'A/the Shopkeeper is showing a/the shawl to the girl.'

It seems from the data that KS has a separate Dative suffix for at least singular nouns which is different from the singular oblique suffix. On the other hand, Kashmiri uses the oblique case suffix to form dative.

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My hypothesis is that the Kashmiri dative suffix must have undergone change and resulted in a single oblique form while KS has retained the distinction between the dative and oblique.

The dative marking in different dialects of Shina is different from that found in KS (Schmidt 2004, Schmidt and Kohistani 2008) and does not bear any resemblance with KS.

4.5.1.3.2.1 THE DATIVE SUBJECT CONSTRUCTION

In dative subject constructions, one of the noun phrases which is a prime candidate for the syntactic role of subject is marked by the dative case. Like most Indo-Aryan languages (Masica 1991: 346-56), KS also uses dative subject constructions:

(30) *máan zar thu.*

    1SG.DAT fever be3SG.M

    'I have a fever.'

(31) *Asán jõ thio-n.*

    1PL.DAT lice be.1PL.F-not

    we don't have lice

(32) *máan āy kraam thin thu.*

    1SG.DAT 3SG.PROX work do.INF be. 3SG.M

    'I have to do the work.'

(33) *isɛ andri bén thu.*

    3SG.DAT home.　　　go. INF be. 3SG.M

    'S/he has to go home.'

In some instances it is possible in KS to replace dative case-marked subjects with ergative marked subjects (compare 32-33 with 34-35). On the other hand it is not possible for 30-31 to replace the dative subjects:

(34) *mī āy kraam thin thu.*

    I.ERG 3SG.PROX work do.INF be. 3SG.M

    'I have to do this work.'

(35) *hajĩ andri bén thu.*

    3SG.ERG home go INF be. 3SG.M

    'S/he has to go home.'

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The option of exchanging the dative case with ergative must have a semantic basis, as has been studied in detail in Urdu (Butt 2005, Bashir1999). The semantic basis for this fluidity of dative and ergative case in KS needs to be explored. Lack of time and space does not permit me to investigate this matter here.

This exchange of the dative subject with ergative is similar to what happens in Hindko and Urdu. However, Kashmiri does not have this option (Rehman 2011a).

4.5.1.4 POSTPOSITIONS

Postpositions are normally invariant. These usually follow the oblique form of the noun or pronoun. Examples are, *múx mé* in the mouth', *muxón mé* 'in the mouths', *almaarií la* 'next to the cupboard', *almaaríin la* 'next to the cupboards', *waajíi čel* 'on the ring', *waajíin čel* 'on the rings', *kū́ṛ sam* 'with the woman', *kū́ṛin sam* 'with the women', *makɛy sā miṇḍ* 'maize bread' (lit., 'bread of maize'). Only *sā* 'of' has inflected forms: **sē** for possessive masculine plural and **siõ** for possessive plural feminine.

Sometimes a postposition may be followed by another postpositionn.

(36) *mii   tis   laa thi čiṭe   har-i.*

   1SG.ERG 3SG.OBL.INV at from letter bring-3SG.F.PST
   'I brought a letter from him.'

(37) *meez laa ḍek tra kʌp tho*

   table at near three cup be.3PL.M
   'There are three cups next to the table.'

(38) *haa   maán muṭ   čil   thi waalɛ- so.*

   3SG.NOM 1SG.DAT tree on from pull down-3SG.M.IPFV
   'He is making me climb down the tree.'

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4.5.2 PRONOUNS

The KS pronoun system includes personal, interrogative, and relative pronouns. Demonstrative adjectives are used instead of third-person personal pronouns.

4.5.2.1 PERSONAL PRONOUNS AND DEMONSTRATIVE ADJECTIVES

Like other languages of the area, KS has first-person and second-person pronouns, while demonstrative adjectives and third-person pronouns share the same forms. The demonstratives express three degrees of distance, namely proximal, distal (within sight), and invisible. Table 4.12 presents forms collected thus far.

TABLE 4.12: Personal pronouns and demonstrative adjectives (adapted from Rehman and Baart 2005).

	NOM	ERG	DAT	GEN (M, F)	OBL
1SG	mā	míi	máan	meã̂, maî̃	máa(n)
1PL	bɛ́ɛt	asṍ	asán	asḗ	asán
2 SG	tu	tu	táan	teã̂ , tuî̃	táan
2PL	tus	tusṍ	tusɔ́n	tusḗ, tusî̃	tusɔ́n
3SG (PROX)	āy	ejî̃	is (í)	isã̂, isî̃	is
3PL (PROX)	āy	ejṍ	ejĭn		ejĭn
3SG (DIST)	(h)áa	(h)ajî̃	ɛsí	asḗ, ɛsî̃	is
3PL (DIST)	háa	hajṍ	hajĭn		hajĭn

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3SG (INV)	so	tajĩ́	tis	tesã́, tesĩ́	tis
3PL (INV)	so	tajṍ	tejín		tejín

The Invisible singular pronoun *so* is shared by some dialects of Shina, Palula and Kashmiri (Schmidt and Kohistani2008; Lilijegren 2008). It seems that these languages along with KS have preserved the archaic pronoun *so* for *he* in Pali (Duroiselle 1997: 292).

I have noticed in my data that sometimes this form is being replaced by the distal singular form. My conjecture is that this is due the influence of the Hindko language which does not distinguish *distal* from *invisible*.

4.5.2.2 INTERROGATIVES

The following interrogative pronouns have been found in the database.

TABLE 4.13: Interrogative Pronouns in KS

koo 'who'	*kijū́* 'who (GEN.F)'	*kinal* 'where (direction)'	*kiní* 'how'
	kijā́ 'who (GEN.M)'		
kii 'who (ERG)'	*kijḗ* 'who (OBL.)'	*kya* 'why'	*ketila* 'where (location)'
kasɛ́ 'who (DAT)'	*kit, keta* 'how many'	*ket* 'how'	
	kiti 'how much'	*karɛ́* 'when'	*kis* 'which'

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4.5.2.3 RELATIVE PRONOUNS

Table 4.14: the relative pronouns

yã 'who'	*yes* 'who (SG.DAT)'	*yenal* 'where'
yejĩ̄ 'who (ERG)'	*yejʌn* 'who.(PL.DAT)'	*yestiiz* 'when'
yejã 'whose (SG.M)'	*yejĩ* 'whose (SG.F)'	*yɛjõ̃* 'whose (PL)'

4.5.3 NUMERALS

4.5.3.1 CARDINAL NUSMBERS

In KS counting is only up to twenty. However, terms for thirty, forty and hundred also exist. Otherwise, KS speakers use Hindko numerals. The existence of thirty, forty and hundred in KS indicate that they would have once had a full set of numbers at least up to one hundred, but have replaced them with the Hindko numbers. The cardinal numbers in KS are given in Table 4.15.

TABLE 4.15: the Cardinal Numbers

yɔk	'one'	*yagay*	'eleven'	*čiiš*	'thirty'
duy	'two'	*bay*	'twelve'	*čopɛɛr*	'forty'
traa	'three'	*tray*	'thirteen'	*šad*	'hundred'
čoor	'four'	*čodãy*	'fourteen'		
paãy̌	'five'	*pãyi*	'fifteen'		

ša	'six'	*šɛɾiš*	'sixteen'
sat	'seven'	*satay*	'seventeen'
aāšṭ	'eight'	*āšṭay*	'eighteen'
nɔɔ	'nine'	*yokōy*	'nineteen'
day	'ten'	*bii*	'twenty'

When these numbers modify a nominative noun phrase, they are not inflected for case. However when they modify an oblique noun phrase they also assume the oblique case which is similar to the noun inflection. Compare the examples below:

(39) *ãy*   *la duy almaari thio.*

3SG.PROX.NOM at two cupboards be.3PL.F

'Here are two cupboards.'

(40) *aỹ*   *mɛ̃č*   *don*   *almaarin*   *laa ḍek čok gol thu.*

3SG.PROX.NOM man two.OBL cupboard.OBL.PL at near stand PP be.3SG.M

'This man is standing next to the two cupboards.'

Oblique forms of the numerals are derived from the cardinal numerals by adding –an (-on,-en,-in) to the cardinal numeral; the suffix changes into –yan (-yen, -yon) after vowel final cardinal numeral.

The table 4.15 below lists the KS numerals in oblique forms.

TABLE 4.16: Oblique Forms of the KS Numerals.

	oblique case		oblique case		Oblique case
'one'	?	'eleven'	*yagayan*	'thirty'	*čiišan*
'two'	*don*	'twelve'	*bayan*	'forty'	*čopeeran*
'three'	*trin*	'thirteen'	*trɔyan*		
'four'	*čon*	'fourteen'	*čodāyan*		
'five'	*pā̆jan*	'fifteen'	*pā̆jiyon*		
'six'	*šeyan*	'sixteen'	*šoṛšen*		
'seven'	*setan*	'seventeen'	*satayan*		
eight'	*āšṭan*	'eighteen'	*āšṭayan*		
'nine'	*nɔyin*	'nineteen'	*yokōyan?*		
'ten'	*deyan*	'twenty'	*biyan*		

4.5.3.2 ORDINAL NUMBERS

The ordinal numbers in KS are formed by adding *-yō or -ō* to a cardinal number. However, the form for 'first' does not follow this pattern. Some of the ordinal numbers are given in table 4.16.

TABLE 4.17: Ordinal Numbers in KS

yakar	'first'	*yagayō*	'eleventh'
duyō	'second'	*bayō*	'twelfth'
tryō	'third'	*trayō*	'thirteenth'
čoryō	'fourth'	*čodayō*	'fourteenth'
pājyo	'fifth'	*pājiyō*	'fifteenth'
šayō	'sixth'	*šɛrišyō*	'sixteenth'
satyō	'seventh'	*satayō*	'seventeenth'
aāštyō	'eight'	*aštayō*	'eighteenth'
nɔyō	'ninth'		
deyō	'tenth'		

4.5.4 ADJECTIVES

Most adjectives are at least inflected for gender e.g. *béen(d) saz* 'elder sister' *báan(d) yáa* 'elder brother' *čuni saz* 'younger sister' *čunu yáa* 'younger brother', *rupul kukuuṛ* 'beautiful rooster', *rüpil kükiiṛ* 'beautiful hen', *ǰar mɛ̃č* 'old man', *ǰer küṛ* 'old woman', *xaṭuuṭ koṛ* 'short boy', *xaṭüüṭ küṛ* 'short girl', *šal naal* (masculine) 'cold stream' *šel nad* (feminine) 'cold river', *talak dud*

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(masculine) 'thin milk' *telik makεy* (feminine) thin maize' (see also 41-42). There

are some adjectives which are not inflected for gender e.g., *mišṭ küṛ* 'good girl/

woman' *mišṭ koṛ 'good boy'*, *driig mɛ̃č* 'tall man' *driig küṛ* 'tall woman (43-44).

(41) *haa   jar   mɛ̃č thu.*

     3SG.DIST old. M man be.3SG.M
     'He is an old man.'

(42) *haa   jer   küṛ   thi.*

     3SG.DIST old. F woman be.3SG.F
     'She is an old woman.'

(43) *maàlan driig koṛos koṭoon.*

     father.ERG tall boy.DAt beat.PST
     'Father beat the tall boy.'

(44) *maàlan driig küṛis koṭoon.*

     father.ERG tall woman.DAt beat.PST
     'Father beat the tall girl.'

4.5.5 VERB

4.5.5.1 INFINITIVE

The Infinitive is formed by attaching –an (-on) to the root of a verb. For example, *til*

'go' *tilan* 'to go', *kan* 'scratch' *kanan* 'to scratch', *tar* 'swim/float' *taran* 'to

swim/float', *kʋr* 'remain' *kuron* 'to remain', *oth* 'stand', *othon* 'to stand', *noṭ*

'dance' *noṭon* 'to dance', *khir* 'roll down' *khiran* 'to roll down', *čoop* 'suck' *čoopon*

'to suck', *šakar* 'scatter' *šakran* 'to scatter' . However, the suffix reduces to –n after

vowel final verb roots. e.g. *thi* 'do' *thin* 'to do' *só* 'sleep' *són* 'to sleep' *yé* 'come' *yén* 'to come' *di* *'give'* *din* *'to give'* *pí* 'drink' *pín* 'to drink'. The Kashmiri language has an –*on* suffix for the infinitive (Koul 2006: 36, Masica 1991: 322), which shows a close similarity between these two languages. The infinitive suffix in Hindko, Punjabi and Saraiki is -*ṇā* *(-nā)* while in Urdu it is -*nā*.

4.5.5.2· THE FINITE VERB

The finite verb in KS occurs in the following tenses: Future, Present, Past Imperfective, Simple Past, Past Perfect and Present Perfect (see table 4.18). The copular/existential verb 'to be' is used to form the past imperfective, the present perfect and the past perfect.

Table 4.18: Four tenses of the verb *haz* 'laugh'

Future

1SG	'I will laugh'	*mā haz-ō*
2SG	'You will laugh'	*tu haz-ís*
3SG	'S/he will laugh'	*so haz*
1PL	'We will laugh'	*bɛɛt haz-ōt*
2PL	'Your will laugh'	*tus haz-ínə*
3PL	'They will laugh'	*so hɛz-ín*

Present

1SM	'I laugh'	*mā haz-ő sos*
1SF	'I laugh'	*mā haz-őses*
2SM	'You laugh'	*tu haz-sós*

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2SF	'You laugh'	*tu haz-sés*
3SM	'He laughs'	*so haz-só*
3SF	'She laughs'	*so haz-sé*
1PL	'We laugh'	*bɛɛt haz-ősɛt*
2PL	'You laugh'	*tus haz-ínsɛt*
3PL	'They laugh'	*so haz-ínsɛ*

Simple Past

1SM	'I laughed'	*mã haz-ús*
1SF	'I laughed'	*mã haz-ís*
2SM	'You laughed'	*tu haz-ús*
2SF	'You laughed'	*tu haz-ís*
3SM	'He laughed'	*so haz-ú*
3SF	'She laughed'	*so hazí*
1PM	'We laughed'	*bɛɛt haz-ót*
1PF	'We laughed'	*bɛɛt haz-iót*
2PM	'You laughed'	*tus haz-ót*
2PF	'You laughed'	*tus haz-iót*
3PM	'They laughed'	*so haz-ó*
3PF	'They laughed'	*so haz-ió*

Past Imperfective

1SM	'I was laughing'	*mã haz-á asús*

1SF	'I was laughing'	*mā haz-á asís*
2SM	'You were laughing'	*tu haz-á asús*
2SF	'You were laughing'	*tu haz-á asís*
3SM	'He was laughing'	*so haz-á asú*
3SF	'She was laughing'	*so haz-á así*
1PM	'We were laughing'	*bɛɛt haz-á asót*
1PF	'We were laughing'	*bɛɛt haz-á asiót*
2PM	'You were laughing'	*tus haz-á asót*
2PF	'You were laughing'	*tus haz-á asiót*
3PM	'They were laughing'	*so haz-á asó*
3PF	'They were laughing'	*so haz-á asió*

(Rehman and Baart 2005)

The preliminary data suggests that as in Kashmiri and Hindko, but unlike Urdu/Hindi, a distinction between habitual and continuous present tense does not exist in KS.

4.5.5.3 COMPLEX PREDICATES

Complex predicates are extensively and productively used in South Asian languages (Butt 1995, Bhattacharyya et al 2006). Complex predicate refers to a construction that involves more than one grammatical elements, but it functions as a single verb. There are two types of complex predicates, i.e. *conjunct verb* and *compound verb*.

4.5.5.3.1 CONJUNCT VERBS

Conjunct verb comprises a verb preceded by a noun, adjective and sometimes a non-verb element whose grammatical category is not known because it does not occur

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alone in any context. Limited number of verbs can be used in such constructions, and members of this set are usually referred to as vectors (Koul and Wali 2006: 79), verbalisers (Liljegren 2008: 210) and light verbs (Butt 2010). However, I will call them light verbs and the preceding items – nouns, adjectives, etc. – will be referred to as hosts. The function of light verbs in the conjunct verb construction is to license the predication of a non-verbal item (Butt 2010). The light verbs do not contribute any considerable semantic weight to the predicate, while major semantic content is carried by the preceding item (noun, adjective, etc.), and they seem merely dummy verbs. Though I have not complete list of the light verbs, some of them used in conjunct verb combinations are exemplified in table 4.17.

TABLE 4.19: KS Conjunct Verbs

host	light verb	conjunct verb
buš 'hunger' (N)	*šač* 'stick'	*buš šači* 'became hungry'
taŋ 'narrow' (ADJ)	*the* 'do'	*taŋ thɛ* 'troubled'
yaad 'memory'(N)	*yi* 'come'	*yaad aag* 'recalled'
taba 'destroy' (?[5])	*dul* 'become'	*taba duluug* 'destroyed'

The light verb always follows the host (see examples below).

(45) *maán ak čal   buš   šači.*

 1SG.DAT today much hunger.F stick.3SG.F.PST

 'I am very hungry today.'

---

[5] The class of the lexical item *taba* is not known.

(46) *čaniik-õ   maán   čal   taŋ   theeg.*

children-ERG ISG.ACC much narrow do.3SG.M.PST

'The children troubled me a lot.'

(47) *sukuul sā medaan rake-ti kuṛos apē časbiil yaad aag.*

school of ground see-CP boy. DAT own friend memory come.3SG.M.PST

'The boy remembered his friend when he saw the school ground.'

There are certain hosts whose grammatical category is difficult to determine, as they do not function independently as nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs, etc., in any context (see example 48).

(48) *aktomer mēi wadi niilam mēi saxt zoor sā tufaan aag,*   *is*

October in valley Neelam in sever strong of storm come.3SG.M.PST this

tufaan minǰ   buṭ kuǰ taba duluug.

storm in   all some destroy become. 3SG.M.PST.

'A heavy storm hit the Neelam Valley in the month of October, and a lot of (property) was destroyed in the storm'.

In the example above the word *taba* can never occur independently therefore it is difficult to determine its word class.

In KS, like other languages of the region (Butt 2010), deriving verbs from other parts of speech is a productive way of creating new verbs. These verbs necessarily contribute towards the enrichment of the language. However, few may be replacing existing KS verbs. It will be fascinating to investigate the phenomenon and see how frequent the strategy is applied.

4.5.5.3.2 COMPOUND VERBS

The compound verb comprises a main verb and a light verb. The main verb is usually referred to as v1 and the light verb as v2. The v1, occurring in stem form, carries the main semantic content whereas the v2 carries the inflections as a finite verb. The stem

may be infinitive in present tense. Light verbs are always like other South Asian languages (Butt 2010: 75) form-identical to their main verb counterparts. Moreover, the use of light verb in the compound verb construction is optional while the same in the conjunct verb construction is obligatory. As all verbs do not have light verb counterparts, there is only a restricted set of verbs which can function as light verbs in the complex predicates. These light verbs include: *di* 'give', *kur* 'remain', *ra* 'set?', *bõ* 'go'. I have exemplified them in (49-53).

(49) *ejin   goolan   sī waǰa thi duy kooṭh daǰ   ge.*

3PL.PROX.OBL bombs.OBL of cause from two house burn   go.PL.PST

'Because of the bombing two houses burned down.'

(50) *haǰõ   maán   apni sam tilandit.*

3PL.DIST . ERG 1SG.DAT self with go.INF gave

'They let me go with them'.

(51) *maán apĩ sam tilan di!*

1SG.DAT self with go.INF give

'Let me go with you!'

(52) *haǰĩ   maán   mʊṭ čil thi   waalɛ ruu.*

3SG.DIST .ERG ISG.ACC tree on from bring down set.3SG.M.PST

'He made me climb down the tree.'/ 'He brought me down the tree.'

(53) *āy   fering takriban duy gaṇṭa šačā kuriig.*

3. PROX firing about   two hours stick. IPFV. stay.F.PST

'This firing lasted for about two hours.'

The light verbs determine the case of the subject; this is shown by the contrast between (54) and (55), where light verb *ra* 'set' triggers the ergative case on the subject while a non-agentive verb *bo* 'go' does not.

(54) *hajĩ   meã samaan almaari miñ čhore ruu.*

3SG.DIST .ERG ISG.GEN luggage cupboard in place set.3SG.M.PST

'S/he left my luggage in the cupboard.'

(55) *haa meã   samaan almaari miñ čhore go.*

3SG.DIST .NOM ISG.GEN luggage cupboard in place go.3SG.M.PST

'S/he left my luggage in the cupboard.'

At the moment I am not in a position elaborate the semantic basis for the selection of the light verbs in the complex predicates (compound verbs) discussed above. However, it seems evident that like Urdu/ Hindi, Hindko, Punjabi and Kashmiri, adding light verbs, to the main verbs, is a productive strategy in KS and these constructions are commonly formed to create and differentiate subtle shades of meaning, yet to be explored.

4.5.5.4 PERFECTIVE PARTICIPLE

The perfective particle *gol (gil, gəl, gal),* always follows the stem of the main verb to form the perfective participle (see examples 56-61).These perfective participles can also be used as adjectives, for instance *jamgol* 'frozen', *tapgal* 'hot' *phitgol* 'broken', *šačgol* 'stuck', *ubalgol* 'boiled', *kapgal* 'felled', *khagol* 'eaten' In my recent work I have observed a perfective participle formation in the Hindko of the Neelam Valley, employing a particle *da* with an almost similar function. However in Kashmiri and Shina (Schmidt 2004, Schmidt and Kohistani2008, Masica 1991), suffixes are used to form the perfective participle rather than separate particle.

(56) *trin   almaarin   laa ḍeki mẽč čokgol   thu.*

three.OBL cupboards. OBL at near man stand. PPT.M be.3SG.M

The/ a man is standing next to the three cupboards.

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(57) *don almaarin   la ḍeki kü̱ṛ baigil thi.*

   two. OBL cupboards. OBL at near girl sit.PPT.F be.3SG.F

   'The/a girl is sitting next to the two cupboards.'

(58) *mɛ̃̄č-an mind   khe gil thi.*

   man-ERG bread.F eat. PPT. F be. 3SG.F

   'The man has eaten the bread.'

(59) *mɛ̃̄č-an tȭōl   khagol   thu.*

   man-ERG rice.M eat.PPT.M be3SG.M

   'The man has eaten the rice.'

In KS the perfective can be formed also without the perfective particle.

(60) *mɛ̃̄č   hiī la   ḍek bai   thu.*

   man.NOM snow.OBL at near sit.M.PST be.3SG.M

   'The man is sitting next to the snow.'

(61) *mɛ̃̄č   hiī   la ḍek bai gol thu.*

   man snow.OBL at near sit. PPT.M be.3SG.M

   'The man is sitting next to the snow.'

The same phenomenon can be observed in Hindko where da and (di for feminine) functions as a perfective particle. Similarly it can be dropped in perfective clauses. However, I have not seen any study determining the semantic basis for use of the particle **da** and dropping it in the perfective clauses. It would be interesting to study the semantic basis for the use of the perfective particle in KS and see if any similarity exists between KS and Hindko regarding the use of perfective particles.

4.5.6 NEGATION

The negative suffix *–an* attaches to the finite verb in the clause. However, when it follows a vowel, the vowel of the suffix is dropped and if the last syllable of the stem

has a back vowel, the – *a* assimilates to –*on* and sometimes to –*in* which is yet to be explored.

(62) *so*   *kraam the-so*

3SG.INV work do-3SG.M.PRS

'He is working.'

(63) *so*   *kraam the-so-n*

3SG.INV work do-3SG.M.PRS-noT

'He is not working.'

(64) *mā*   *goos*

1SG.NOM go.1.S.M.PST

'I went.'

(65) *mā*   *goos-on*

1SG.   go.1SG,M.PST -not

'I (M) did not go.'

(66) *mā baazaar til-ō-ses*

1SG bazaar go -ISG-F. PRS

'I (F) go to the bazaar.'

(67) *mā baazaar til-ō-ses-an*

1SG bazaar go-ISG-F.PRS -not

'I (F) do not go to the bazaar.'

The negative suffix seems to be unique to KS. Other languages of the region and the languages closely related to it, except Kashmiri, have a negative particle before the finite verb (Masica 1991, Schmidt and Kohistani2008, Lilijegren 2008, personal observation for the Shina varieties of the Neelam Valley). The negative also occurs post-verbally in Tibeto-Burman and Dravidian languages and in some Indo-Aryan

languages (e.g., Bengali, Marathi), but in other Indo-Aryan languages it occurs pre-verbally (Subbarao 2008: 65).

In Kashmiri, too, the negative particle occurs after the finite verb. We can say that with respect to this feature, KS is to closer to Kashmiri than Hindko and different varieties of Shina.

Interestingly, the negative form of certain verbs is homophonous with the infinitive.

(68)   *maán andre til-an   thu*

      3SG.DAT home go-INF be.3SG.M

      'I have to go home'

(69)   *til-an!*

      go-not

      'Don't go!'

4.6   CONCLUSION

This chapter presented brief introductory notes to the linguistic structure of KS, based on our earlier study (Rehman and Baart 2005), with some additions based on data that were collected later on. A detailed study and documentation of the language is urgently required, not only for the sake of preservation of the fast disappearing language data, but also to help understand the otherwise undescribed history of the community. A detailed comparative study of the different linguistic aspects may also throw more light on the place of KS with respect to the languages of the other communities in the area.

A lexical comparison, based on 199 lexical items places the language closer to Shina (Rahman and Baart 2005). However, morphological comparison shows affinity with Kashmiri as well. The relationship of the language with Hindko is not hard to explain. As the community is surrounded by Hindko speakers, similarities at the lexical and grammatical levels are the result of long contact in the present location. On the other

hand, there is no evidence of closer contact of the community with Kashmiri and Shina at least for the last two centuries.

As an aspect of ongoing language shift, I observed a tendency of attrition on the lexical level. Most of the Kundal Shahi language speakers have forgotten a large pool of vocabulary of their heritage language. Only a few elderly people do recall some of these words. Loss of semantic distinctions has also been recorded. For instance, the distinction between *so* 'distal 3rd person pronoun', and *haa* 'invisible 3rd person pronoun is being lost. Except for a few elderly speakers, both pronouns are used in the same sense. This may be because of the non-existence of this distinction in Hindko. Hindko has only *o* for both. A simple case system, verb agreement and the like exists in the Kundal Shahi language when compared to Kashmiri and Shina. I assume that the language has undergone contact-induced structural attrition.

Further investigation is required to determine the complex Kundal Shahi-Kashmiri-Shina relationship and the contact-induced structural attrition that the language has been undergoing in the present location.

5. LANGUAGE USE IN THE KUNDAL SHAHI SPEAKING COMMUNITY

This chapter will look at the prevailing sociolinguistic situation in the Kundal Shahi village as a whole, with a special focus on the status of the KS language. It was already established (see Rehman and Baart 2005, Akhtar and Rehman 2007, and also Chapter 6) that the use of other languages in the KS community is eroding the viability and vitality of the KS language. The field data I will present describe the precise nature of current language use in the community.

5.1 LEVEL OF MULTILINGUALISM

When community members use two or more languages at any level of proficiency, including partial and incomplete fluency, we call the situation multilingualism. We may further divide the multilingualism into receptive multilingual and active multilingualism. Receptive multilingualism is limited fluency in a language or languages while active multilingualism is active command over the languages in question (Braunmüller 2007). A large number of KS community members not only know Hindko, but have also acquired a sound knowledge of Urdu. English proficiency is also emerging among the younger generation, making Kundal Shahi a multilingual community.

KS and Hindko are only used as a spoken medium, while Urdu is mostly used in reading and writing. No orthography is available for writing KS. Slightly different case is with Hindko; few programs are broadcast in Hindko on Radio and local TV in Muzaffarabad, Abbotabad etc. Even though relatively few people read and write Hindko, there are several systems in use to write it. KS is exclusively used within the

community and is not used outside Kundal Shahi in any kind of electronic or print media.

The decreasing knowledge of KS is directly related to an increased proficiency in the Hindko language and in some cases in Urdu. All members of the KS community irrespective of age and gender know Hindko well, as is shown in the table below. In my interviews, all respondents claim that everyone in the community knows Hindko. My own observations confirm this.

With regard to the knowledge and use of the languages, I classified the members of the KS community as follows: 'Speakers', 'Semi-speakers', 'Weak semi-speakers', 'Terminal speakers' and 'Non-knowers'. This classification is based upon the analysis of the responses obtained by using a standard questionnaire (see appendix 1) to collect the information. Some of the labels used in the classification have been borrowed from Tsunoda's (2005: 118-122) and Grinevald's (2007: 50-51) classification of the members of a community facing language endangerment.

By 'Speakers' we mean those individuals who have speaking ability in the language in question and also use it. It is also important to mention that the different individuals categorized as 'Speakers' do not use the language equally. The minimum requirement for 'Speaker' is the ability to use the language fluently. Among the category of 'Speakers' some are fluent, regular speakers, who use the language actively on a daily basis, while others can converse fluently, but do so only infrequently.

'Semi-speakers' are those who do not have complete command over the language in question. They can say things, but cannot converse fluently. The individuals in this group understand the language well, but find it easier to respond in another language.

'Weak semi-speakers' can partly understand the language and cannot respond in the language. However, if they do try to respond, they can respond in broken or incomplete sentences. The category of 'Terminal speakers' includes those who remember only a few words and can understand only a few sentences. They cannot

understand fluent conversation of native speakers. The individuals in this group may use occasional words of the language when speaking with one another.

Finally, the 'Non-knowers' are those individuals who do not speak or understand the language at all.

The table below presents the classification of KS community members on the basis of their proficiency in different languages. The table does not include English as it is almost always limited to the written medium. No one claims proficiency in spoken English.

Language proficiency information was elicited by giving the respondents multiple choices (Know all; Know little/some; can only understand but cannot speak; know only few words; don't know at all) and the respondents were asked to tick the relevant box (see appendix 1).

TABLE 5.1: Proficiency of KS community members in KS, Hindko and Urdu (figures indicate percentage of those interviewed; the total number of people interviewed was 200).

Language	'Speakers'	'Semi-speakers'	'Weak semi-speakers'	'Terminal speakers'	'Non-knowers'
KS	49	23	6	10	12
Hindko	100				
Urdu	43	27			30

As is seen in the table, of the members of the KS community surveyed in Kundal Shahi, 49% were classified as 'Speakers' of KS, 100% as 'Speakers' of Hindko, and 43% as 'Speakers' of Urdu. These results should be further quantified, because the nature of active competence in these three languages varies from language to language. This appears from the responses to the following questions:

a. 'Which language/s feels easiest to you in speaking?'

b. 'Which language/s feels easiest to you in writing?'

In response to the above questions, 66% of the respondents claimed they spoke Hindko most easily, 21% said KS, and 13% said they spoke both KS and Hindko with equal facility. 43% claimed to have complete knowledge of Urdu. This same group (except for one) claiming complete command over Urdu also feel that Urdu is easiest for writing.

Urdu is the language of instruction in the schools, so almost all Urdu speakers in the community were also literate in that language. One respondent who claimed to be a good speaker of Urdu, but could not write it, had never attended school. He married a woman from Karachi and also settled there permanently. Otherwise all who have a good knowledge of Urdu also know how to write and read it.

Only Urdu, English,.and in some cases Arabic and Persian, are taught formally in schools, seminaries, and other institutions of learning. Hindko literature is hardly available, while any kind of written literature in KS is nonexistent.

Of the respondents, 23% claimed to be a 'Semi-speaker' in KS while a slightly higher percentage, i.e. 27% of the respondents, claimed to be a 'Semi-speaker' in Urdu.

It should be kept in mind that self assessment of language proficiency is a notoriously unreliable measure. Because it was not possible for me to observe language use directly for all speakers, I have based most of my conclusions on the survey responses of the community members with a few additional notes and comments.

The use of KS, Hindko and Urdu is limited to specific social domains. Proficiency in one language may be stronger in one domain while weaker in another. Although the use of Urdu along with Hindko is increasing, the functions and domains of both languages are clearly defined. Hindko is used at home, in the market, with friends, and at the workplace, while Urdu is usually used in written texts, in formal conversations and with officials, who either do not know local Hindko or want to assert their higher status by using Urdu. Urdu is considered to be the language of the more "civilized" and "educated" people. English has an even higher status. The domains of Hindko and Urdu are unlikely to remain separate, as some households have already started using

Urdu with their school going children. The reason for using the Urdu language is that parents think their children will learn Urdu better and will make progress in their education.

Degree of multilingualism and level of language proficiency are not uniform across all sections and groups of the society. The data collected in the field and field observation has been helpful in assessing proficiency in spoken KS and spoken Hindko, and spoken as well as written proficiency in Urdu, and the extent of their effects in multilingualism; the variables are discussed in the following section in detail.

5.1.1 DIFFERENT AGE GROUPS

.Classifying the speakers in terms of age may be helpful for understanding the trajectory of language shift and measuring the level of endangerment or viability of a language (Tsunoda 2005: 128). We generally find a range of individuals with differing degrees of proficiency in the ancestral language and varying degrees of bilingualism (Nettle & Suzanne 2000: 91). Usually endangered languages are not used uniformly across different age groups; younger people tend to use the dominant language, while elderly people prefer to use their ancestral language. In a stable situation all individuals across age groups have equal language proficiency. Conversely, proficiency in a particular language may be higher among the lower age groups and lower among the higher age groups; this situation arises when a community starts learning a language especially in schools.

My field surveys on KS have shown that except for Hindko, language proficiencies for other languages vary drastically across different age groups. There is a wide gap in KS proficiency between the 8-20 year age group and the over 60. Table 5.2 summarizes the phenomenon. For Urdu see table 5.3.

TABLE 5.2: KS Proficiency across different age groups (figures indicate percentage of those interviewed).

Age group	'Speakers'	'Semi-speakers'	'Weak semi-speakers'	'Terminal speakers'	'Non-knowers'
8- 20	13	33	27	20	7
21-40	36	25	17	23	
41-60	72	20	8		
Over 60	87	13			

Figure 5.1: Proportion of the KS community speaking KS, by age group
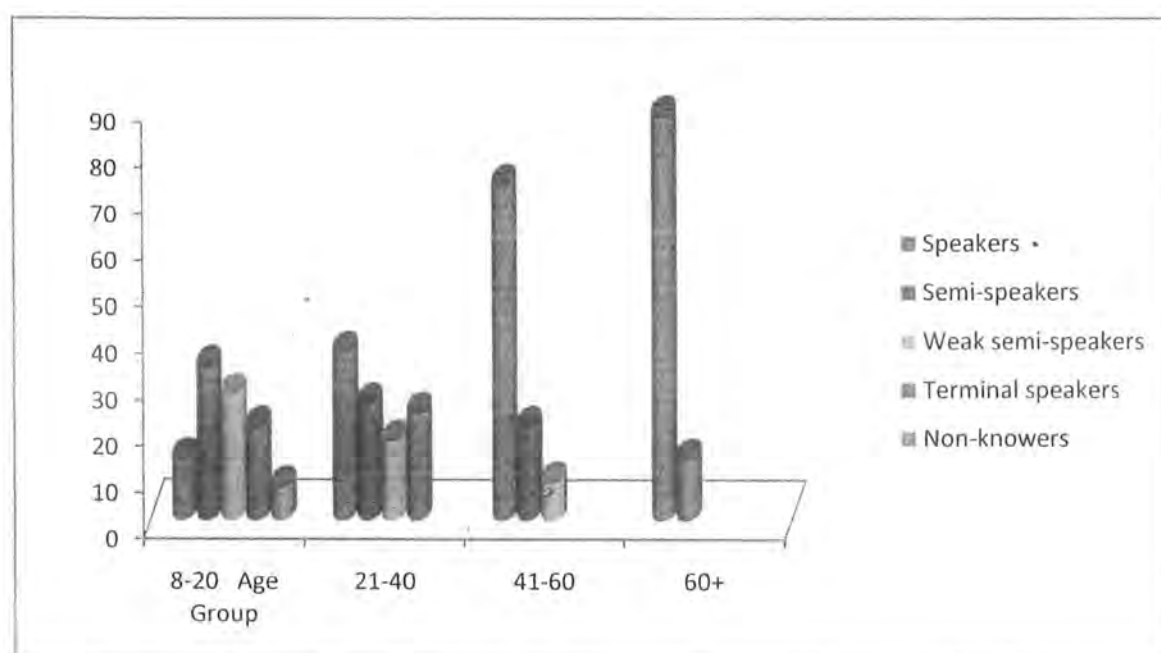
Thirteen percent among the group below 21 claimed to know KS completely; however, this does not mean that all of them use KS actively at home and outside with other KS speakers. My field observations, informal interviews, and language tests show that KS is used actively only by the members of this age group in two particular households; others in this age group who claim to know the language have picked up most of the language through listening to the conversations of the elderly

people among themselves. It usually happens that the elderly people use KS at home among each other while switching to Hindko with the younger members. However they use KS in a situation where secret or private affairs are being discussed in the presence of outsiders, especially guests. In my visits to the households I observed the elderly people using KS with their children to convey certain information which apparently they do not want to share with outsiders, while otherwise communication occurred in Hindko.

Broadly speaking, there is a clear discontinuity in KS proficiency between those up to the age of 40, and those above the age of 40. This observation is confirmed by other data, including recordings of different genres of texts such as life histories and natural conversations.

If we combine the five levels of proficiency into two broader groups, i.e. 'Speakers' and 'Semi-speakers' into a group labeled 'X', and 'Weak semi-speakers', 'Terminal speakers' and 'Non-knowers' into a group labeled 'Y' , we can have a better picture of the prevailing situation. The percentage of the 40-and-under age group comes to 53% in group 'X' and 47% in group 'Y'. On the other hand, the over-40 age group has 96% of its individuals in group 'X' and only 4% in group 'Y'. The chart below shows the situation well.

Figure 5.2
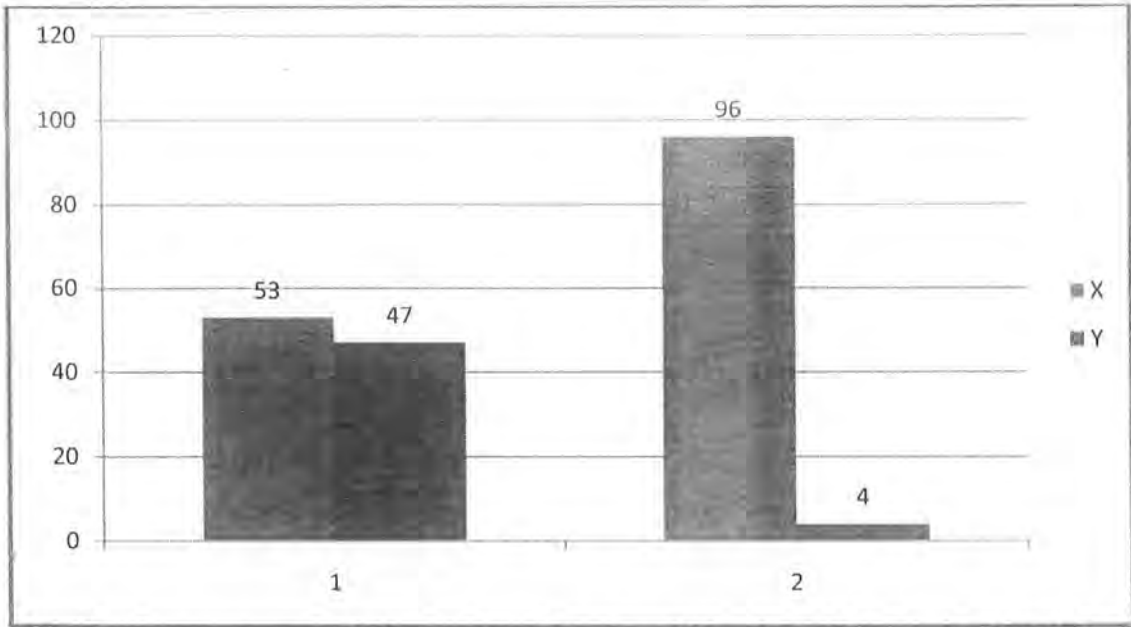
The lowest age group is characterized by a rapidly increasing number of 'non-acquirers', in the terminology of Tsunoda (2005). The data presented so far clearly indicates a highly decreasing proficiency in KS with the younger generations, and even the elderly people are prone to these effects. As a result, the situation is leading to mother-tongue loss and adoption of Hindko as an L1. The phenomenon of L1 loss is defined as one in which an individual's abilities in his/her L1 shrink (Anderson 1999; Kaufman & Aronoff, 1991; Turian & Altenberg, 1991).

Proficiency in Hindko cuts across all age groups almost equally. There is no report of anyone who has no command, or only a partial command, of Hindko. A few respondents, in response to the question 'was there anyone in the past who only knew KS or know very little Hindko?', answered that they remembered or had heard of such person in past. Many respondents recalled a man named Jamal Din who sometime in the past had difficulty speaking Hindko. Otherwise all members know Hindko very well.

Urdu is not the mother tongue of anyone in Kundal Shahi or even in Azad Kashmir as a whole. However, it has been a medium of instruction and also official language since the Dogra rule in the former state of Jammu and Kashmir. Moreover, in Azad

Kashmir, unlike elsewhere in Pakistan, all official business is done in Urdu. English is used in official correspondence with the senior bureaucrats – the Chief Secretary, Inspector General Police, Finance Secretary and the Auditor General – appointed directly by the federal government to oversee and run the top-level official business in Azad Kashmir. Moreover, English is also used in correspondence with the offices outside the jurisdiction of the state of Azad Kashmir. On the other hand, in Pakistan, all official business is conducted in English.

In addition to the official status of Urdu in Azad Kashmir, it is also the predominant language of print and electronic media. Increased exposure to media, outside contact and increasing literacy rate are presently creating space for Urdu. Although there doesn't seem to be prospects of Urdu replacing Hindko as a first language in the near future, its use is gradually increasing. The table below shows the increasing Urdu proficiency among the younger generations in the KS Community.

TABLE 5.3: level of proficiency in Urdu among different age groups (figures in percentage of those interviewed)

Age group	'Speakers'	'Semi-speakers'	'Weak semi-speakers'	'Terminal speakers'	'Non-knowers'
8- 20	80	20	0	0	
21-40	68	20	0	0	12
41-60	44	12	0	0	36
61+	13	45	0	0	42

The data shows that the individuals of lower age group i.e. 8-20 have the highest percentage of 'Speakers', while the over-60 age group have the lowest percentage of 'Speakers'. This indicates the gradual proliferation of Urdu in the community.

The tabulated data on KS and Urdu show a correlation between the loss and gain of these languages. Compare Table 5.2 for KS proficiency with Table 5.3 for Urdu proficiency.

If we further analyze the 8-20 age group with respect to proficiency in Urdu, we can see that in Kundal Shahi children usually start learning Urdu from the school-going age, and within this age group the youngest individuals have a lower proficiency percentage than those at the top. Individuals gain significant command over Urdu when they reach 20.

An interesting aspect of this picture is that with the decreasing percentage of KS speakers, we have an increasing percentage of Urdu speakers in the community. Bilingualism is being maintained by the KS community, but it is now emerging in a new form. Instead of bilingualism in KS and Hindko, we see more and more bilingualism in Hindko and Urdu. Like Welsh speakers in Wales, who according to Nettle and Romaine (2000: 138) deliberately neglected to speak Welsh to their children in order to improve their English, some parents in the KS community have already started speaking Urdu with their children in order to improve their Urdu. However, the role of KS is not being occupied by Urdu; it is Hindko which is replacing it.

Most of the people, proficient in Urdu, do not use it frequently. As indicated by the respondents, only 35% of those who can speak Urdu, use it frequently. 60% of the respondents can read Urdu; the percentage for reading proficiency is slightly lower than that for speaking proficiency. Almost all those who have reading ability in Urdu can also write in it.

Along with Urdu, English is also used in formal education. However, unlike Urdu learners do not attain a high level of proficiency in English. Their skills remain limited to reading and writing. Though speaking English is considered to be a symbol of high status, and people aspire to attain a high spoken proficiency, hardly anyone in the community can actually use English as a spoken medium. People prefer their children to go to English-medium schools rather than Urdu-medium schools. Interviews and visits to different English-medium schools show that those parents who can afford the high fees, send their children to English-medium schools. It also

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came to my notice that some teachers employed in the government schools also send their own children to these schools.

5.1.2 GENDER AND LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY

Gender proves to be a crucial concept in understanding the way in which speakers shift or resist shift from one language to another (Mesthrie 2000). This variable is significant, especially in the study of a language used in a traditional society where roles of men and women are different. In a situation like KS, where women are not expected to work outside their own community, it is expected that they maintain their native language to a higher degree than men (Schmidt and de Bot 2004: 221)

Most of the women, around 99%, are in the household and only infrequently travel outside home; therefore, they differ slightly in language use from their male counterparts. However, increased literacy rate and changes in the traditional ways of living is affecting these roles, as women are assuming roles which were previously solely controlled by men. For instance, women are increasingly adopting teaching as a profession. Two decades back it would be strange for women to do it.

The present study of the correlation between gender and language use in the KS community shows that men and women in the community do not use the languages uniformly. For detail see table 5.4:

TABLE 5.4: Language use across gender (figures in percentage of those interviewed).

	Language	'Speakers'	'Semi-speakers'	'Weak semi-speakers'	'Terminal speakers'	'Non-knowers'
Men	KS	46	25	10	12	7
	Urdu	53	28	6		13
Women	KS	53	20	14	9	4
	Urdu	31	28	3		38 ·

The percentage of women proficient in KS is higher than the percentage of men that are proficient in KS, as shown in table 5.4. Also, the percentage of women who have

not acquired KS is nearly half that of the men. Although language shift is going on in the community rapidly, the womenfolk are still holding on to the language, more than the men.

Unlike the overall situation of patterns of language use, the pattern that emerged by comparing the males and females of the under-20 age group was quite interesting. This study shows that the girls of this group claim to be using Urdu more frequently than their male counterparts of the same age group. All girls in this group claim to have complete proficiency in Urdu, while only 70% of the young males claim to have command over Urdu. The pattern was also evident in cases of actual language use as observed by me. A similar situation can be witnessed elsewhere in Azad Kashmir and Pakistan. Most of the school, college and even university-going female students tend to use more Urdu, sometimes even heavily loaded with English words, than the male students. It is pertinent to mention here that this use of Urdu is replacing Hindko rather than KS.

I have not touched upon the proficiency level of Hindko here as the proficiency in it is equally shared by all age groups and genders etc.

5.1.3 LEVEL OF EDUCATION AND LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY

As a matter of fact the level of literacy /education is directly linked to proficiency in Urdu and to some extent to knowledge of English. All literacy and education programs are conducted exclusively in these two languages. No local or regional language is being taught in the schools, nor is there any literacy program that is run in these languages in Azad Kashmir. Attaining ability to read and write promotes and strengthens Urdu and English proficiency. All but one of the respondents, who claim to be proficient in Urdu have received formal education. As earlier mentioned, one of my respondents, who married in Karachi and lives there, claimed Urdu proficiency with no formal education. Speaking and listening skills in English are usually weaker than reading and writing skills, however, only those respondents claimed some degree

of English speaking proficiency who have received school education above fifth grade.

The data for KS shows that literacy and education have impacted the status and position of KS. We observe that an increase in literacy correlates with a decrease in KS proficiency. The data illustrating this phenomenon are given in the table below.

TABLE 5.5: Relationship between KS language proficiency and literacy/education in Urdu/English (figures in percentage of those interviewed).

Level of education	'Speakers'	'Semi-speakers'	'Weak semi-speakers'	'Terminal speakers'	'Non-knowers'
0 literacy	80	10	5	5	0
1-5	67	13	6	7	6
6-10	28	30	16	23	5
Over 10	13	37	6	37	6

The table shows the relationship between the level of education and proficiency in KS. The second row contains those who do not know how to read and write. The group is classified as zero literates. There are some respondents in this group who reported to have been enrolled and completed 2-3 years of schooling, but afterwards forgot it and cannot read and write. This group has the highest number of fluent KS speakers and everyone knows the language to some degree. The second class is of those who have completed 1-5 years of education and can read and write. This group also includes a large number of the KS children who are presently enrolled in schools. As this group is slightly lower in proficiency in KS, however, it also has higher number of 'Non-knowers' as compared to the next group; the reason being that it also includes the youngest generation of the KS community, most of whom have not acquired their ancestral language. We notice a sheer decline in the proficiency in the next group whose education level is above 5 years of education. The obvious reason for the reduction in KS proficiency is the increased exposure to Hindko and the stigma attached to KS (cf. 6.3 and 6.5).

5.1.4 LEVEL OF KS USE IN DIFFERENT *MOHALLAS*

Although all *mohallas* of Kundal Shahi are adjacent to each other, the present research has shown a wide range of variation in language use and language proficiency between the *mohallas*. When the respondents were asked to list the *mohallas* according to language use and proficiency, all put Khujhaani/Frashian at the top and Gujhaan at the bottom with others in between. Moreover, data collected to determine the language use and proficiency variations in each *mohalla* also confirmed the judgments of the KS speakers. The use of KS broken down by *mohalla* is given in the table below.

TABLE 5.6: Use of KS in different *mohallas*.(figures in percentage of those interviewed).

Mohalla	'Speakers'	'Semi-speakers'	'Weak semi-speakers'	'Terminal speakers'	'Non-knowers'
Khujhaani/Frashian	72	15	4	9	
Sathra	62	30		8	
Rait	60	35	5		
Graan	43	25	10	15	7
Ghelan	26	32	21	15	6
Gujhaan	13	46	20	13	8

Gujhaan, which is lowest in terms of KS 'Speakers' contains the largest portion of the population of the KS community in Kundal Shahi i.e. 1324 out of the total 3371. The *mohalla* is sparsely populated and the population is spread-out over a large area.

The terrain is steep and the whole population of the *mohalla* resides on a precipice. Although the KS population makes up the majority, however, there are a large number of non-KS households in the *mohalla*. More importantly, some households of the family of the Mians, a politically influential family throughout the Neelam Valley, reside there as well; Mian Waheed, a member of the same family, was elected as member of the Legislative Assembly of Azad Kashmir in 2006. During my field research I found that unlike Frashian and many other *mohallas* most of the elderly

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members of the community either have forgotten the language or never learned it. The immediate neighbor to the North-East is Chinjhat, a Hindko-speaking village. The interviews and field research revealed that there is hardly any household in Gujhaan where KS is still used actively. An almost similar linguistic situation exists in Dolur and Nakka; the presence of Hindko speakers is also a common feature shared by these three *mohallas*. Therefore, I selected Gujhaan as a representative sample of the three.

Ghelan, a bit higher in terms of KS proficiency, is located to the West of Gujhaan. The terrain is very similar and the population is scattered as well. It has no non-KS household. Unlike Gujhaan there are few households where KS is still used to some extent. For instance, I would frequently see Sharifullah, a local resident of Ghelan, and watch him using KS with a few elderly KS community members as well as with his wife.

In Graan, the use of KS is higher than in Ghelan, but lower than in Sathra, Rait and Khujhaani. Graan is the very *mohalla* where the community settled first (cf. 1.4). It is located along the road leading to Kuttan and is also closer to the main bazaar of Kundal Shahi. It is relevant to mention that although there is no non-KS household in Graan, it is closer to the Neelam Highway and the Kuttan Road. Interaction with the non-KS community members is visible in the *mohalla*.

Now we come to the next group of the *mohallas, Sathra, Rait and Khujhaani* where the use of KS is wider than in the mentioned *mohallas* above. These *mohallas* are adjacent to each other and most of the houses are in clusters. The people of these *mohallas* have closer contact with each other than the people living in the one discussed above and have more opportunities for using KS. The data indicate that the members of the KS community living in these *mohallas* have at least some knowledge of their ancestral language i.e. ranging from 'Terminal speaker' to 'Speaker'.

5.2   DOMAINS OF LANGUAGE USE

In order to understand the speech behavior of a community it is necessary to investigate, apart from other factors, the domains of language behavior (Sasse 1992). The domains of language include the family, the education/school, work place, the government and media (Fishman 1991, Tsunoda 2005). The status and the nature of an endangered language can be understood by studying its functional domains.

Schematically, a community speaking a local language may adopt one or more other languages to communicate with non-speakers. Factors like employment and market relations, religious observance, the media and education, and interactions with government may confer higher status on these other languages. As interactions with non-speakers increase and extend into more social domains, parents may come to believe that it is more important for their children to learn the higher-status language or languages than their own local language. Speaking the local language can even come to be seen as a social disadvantage. When all parents speak to their children in the dominant language to the exclusion of the local language, the local language dies.

The data and other evidence indicate that in the context of the KS community, KS is a subordinate language and Hindko is a dominant language. However, Hindko is not a sole candidate for the dominant role, as we have Urdu emerging on the scene as well. The use of these three languages varies from domain to domain. Data were collected to establish the exact use of these languages in different domains. The table 5.7 shows the distribution of language use for various domains.

TABLE 5.7: Language Use by Social Context (figures in percentage of those interviewed).

	KS only	Hindko only	Urdu only	Mostly Hindko, some KS	Mostly KS, some Hindko	Mostly Hindko, some Urdu	Mostly Urdu, some Hindko	Half Hindko, half Urdu
Home	3	70		23		4	·	
With children		81		9		10	ˑ	
School							100	
With KS speakers		46		40	10	4		
Informal jokes		70		24		6		
Local market		87		9		4		
Religion (mosque etc.)		84		4				12
Political discussions		82	2	6				10
With officials		52	6					42

5.2.1 HOME

Of the respondents 70% use exclusively Hindko at home while only 3% use exclusively KS. 23% use both Hindko and KS; they do not use Hindko and KS equally, as Hindko is used most of the time while KS is only sometimes used. Most of the elderly respondents using both Hindko and KS, claimed to be using KS only with

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his/her spouse and using Hindko with rest of the family. Only 4% use Urdu sometimes along with Hindko with the school going children and with visitors/guests, especially the government officials. Use of Urdu exclusively was not reported by any respondent currently living in Kundal Shahi. The rapid decline of KS at home was further investigated by asking the following questions:

    a. 'Do you think Hindko is replacing your language (KS) at home?'

         i. 'If yes, is this happening quickly or slowly?'

    b. 'Do you use KS as it was used in the past?'

Invariably, all respondents agreed that Hindko is replacing and of these, 70% told that this process is quick while only 30% said that this is happening slowly. Moreover, some elderly people of the grand-parental generation remember all family members using KS exclusively in the past, but presently, those (3%) who claim using KS, use it with the elderly members of their household while they use Hindko with the younger members and the children. Among the total number of 537 households only three were reported to be using KS actively with their children.

I guess the use of Urdu will increase considerably in the future; however, it will not become the sole home language, at least not among those households who reside in Kundal Shahi. On the other hand, the decreasing use of KS as reported by the respondents indicates the fact that if efforts are not made to reverse this decline, it will disappear within the next fifty years. By then people may have retained only a few words and phrases.

5.2.2 SCHOOL

Like elsewhere in the country, in Kundal Shahi the medium of instruction is Urdu. However, English is also used along with Urdu. In the teaching of English, reading and writing skills are emphasized. These skills are taught through the traditional Grammar-Translation Method. Hardly any student gains proficiency in speaking or listening skills. Generally, teaching, including language teaching, takes place through obsolete traditional methods combined with severe corporal punishments. The

students are encouraged and forced to memorize texts including some erroneous grammatical rules of English and Urdu and in some instances of Arabic. They reproduce the memorized materials in their exams to get promotion to the next grade/class or employment. This results in poor quality of education including poor language skills.

Mostly Urdu is used in the classes; however, sometimes the teacher explains the things to the students in Hindko. In my research all respondents reported that sometimes Hindko is used along with Urdu in schools, but this is limited to verbal instructions and informal conversations. No use of KS is presently reported in the local schools. However, a few elderly respondents remember using KS in the local school with a local teacher, Muhammad Yusuf. Moreover, it is reported that Muhammad Yusuf was concerned about his mother tongue (KS) and would try to revive the language by encouraging the use of KS and arguing in favor of maintaining KS. Reportedly, he also collected some data along with writing notes on the grammar of the language. Despite many efforts, the present author could not locate the data.

All reading material is available either in Urdu or English; local or regional languages are not formally or informally taught in any school or institution. There is a hardly any student who could read or write in Hindko or KS. There are some poetry books available in Hindko and only a few elderly literate people can read them. If an individual other than a student happens to talk to a teacher in school, s/he usually would use Hindko and sometimes Urdu. Moreover, teachers use mostly Hindko in their informal conversations while formal discussions, speeches and conversations always take place in Urdu.

5.2.3 LANGUAGE USE WITH CHILDREN

At the present stage most of the parents of the community usually talk to their children in Hindko. few households use KS with children. In my field survey I could only find two households where parents actively use KS with their children. Though the children of these households know the language well, the use of Hindko is rapidly

increasing. I have observed that the parents /grand parents use Hindko most of the time with their children. Moreover, these children hardly find anyone among their peers outside their homes to use KS with. At home, as shown in Table 5.7, some parents have already started using Urdu with their children with the aim of improving their 'quality of education'. Generally, people in the region consider multilingualism as a liability rather than an asset, and more importantly, the KS members consider learning their heritage language (KS) to be a hindrance with regard to education. Though many do not admit this publically, some of them disclosed it to me in informal conversations.

The percentage of respondents who use KS along with Hindko and of those who use Urdu along with Hindko is interestingly close to each other. My field research has also shown that parents with little or no formal education tend to use KS with their children more than those who are more educated.

The decreasing language proficiency in KS seems to be compensated by acquiring a new language, i.e. Urdu. In schools the teacher usually talks in Urdu, but sometimes Hindko is also used. In the government schools, the children usually talk to each other in Hindko while in the private schools operating in the region the use of Hindko is discouraged and students are encouraged to use Urdu only. Speaking Urdu is considered helpful in education. Moreover, the use of Hindko or any other vernacular language is associated with informal and casual situations, while the use of Urdu by both teachers and students is seen as appropriate in more formal and disciplined situations such as the school room.

5.2.4 LANGUAGE USE AMONG THE ADULTS OF THE KS COMMUNITY

When talking to other members of the KS community, 46% use exclusively Hindko, while 40% use mostly Hindko and sometimes KS. Only 4% use Hindko along with Urdu; they speak Urdu infrequently. If we combine together those who use only Hindko and those who use it most of the time the figure rises to 90%. This indicates the fact that Hindko has assumed a predominant status in the community. On the

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other hand KS is used only by a tiny percentage, i.e. 10% of the population, along with Hindko. No-one reported using KS exclusively with other members of the community. Those who claim to be using KS more than Hindko are the elderly members of the community.

The pattern of language use for the among the KS individuals is almost identical to that of home users (cf. table 5.7).

5.2.5 LOCAL MARKET

The local market in Kundal Shahi is not exclusively owned by the members of the KS community. Some businesses are owned by non-KS community members of the Kundal Shahi village. There are also many people from the surrounding and adjacent areas who have established their businesses in the market; therefore, increased use of Hindko is natural as shown in the table above. The use of KS is limited in the market. Only elderly people use it sometimes with each other. Usually, they use KS to discuss personal and family-related issues and sometimes for jokes. Some of the elderly people report that they feel uncomfortable while using KS in the market and therefore they avoid its use. During my field research I observed that sometimes the use of KS in the market was ridiculed with disparaging comments by Hindko speakers.

5.2.6 RELIGION

Use of KS in the mosque and other religious purposes is less than what is heard on the market. Though most of the discussions, regarding religious issues, are conducted in Hindko, the *khateeb* (a person giving the sermon on Fridays and leading *Eid Prayers*) gives the formal *khutba* (sermon) in Arabic by reproducing memorized Arabic text not necessarily understood by the audiences. However, the *khutba* always follows a formal speech which is invariably in Urdu with occasional Hindko proverbs. The Arabic text includes quotations from The Qur'an and *Hadith* (sayings of Prophet Muhammad) The *Khateeb* usually learns the translations of the memorized texts and also uses Arabic quotes in his speeches to support his arguments. However,

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khateebs usually learn the classical Arabic and hardly understand modern Arabic. The present survey shows that within the community, after schools and official situations, the use of Urdu in this domain is higher than in any other context. The use of KS is limited in religion, as only 4% use it in some instances. This use includes conversations and discussions on religious topics at home and in mosques.

5.2.7 POLITICAL DISCUSSIONS

Political discussions are usually done in Hindko. However, sometimes Urdu is also used in these discussions. On the other hand, the use of Urdu is widespread and even obligatory in formal political speeches. Not to speak of KS, no-one even thinks of using Hindko in these formal political speeches. The use of Urdu in religious speeches is similar to that of the use of Urdu in political speeches, as is demonstrated in Table 5.7. Speakers sometimes tend to use English words in speeches. KS may sometimes be used in informal discussions on political matters, as indicated by the respondents, but its use in formal political meetings is unlikely. This fact is well illustrated by an instance of using KS in a formal political meeting by the late Mian Ghulam Rasool, a former minister and a leading political figure of the Neelam Valley. Many respondents told me that about 20 years ago, a meeting of political workers of the Pakistan Peoples Party with Mian Ghulam Rasool in the chair was in progress in Athmuqam, a nearby town. Mr. Ghulam Rasool asked something from Zia-ud-Din (an elderly man of the KS community) in KS. Reportedly the conversation in KS consisted of barely a single sentence. It is pertinent to mention here that Mian Ghulam Rasool himself did not belong to the KS community although he lived in Kundal Shahi and knew some KS; his grandfather had been invited by the KS community to lead the prayers and finally settled in Gujhaan, a sparsely populated *mohalla* of Kundal Shahi.

Everyone remembers this one particular incident and it is the only instance anyone can remember where KS was used in the context of a political meeting.

5.2.8 LANGUAGES USED WITH THE OFFICIALS

As shown in the table above, Urdu is used most of the time in official contexts such as government offices. Here we find the highest percentage of Urdu being used the use of KS with officials is nonexistent. However, Hindko is also used with the officials from the Neelam Valley, whereas Urdu is usually used with those who come from outside the Neelam Valley as they normally have difficulty in understanding the dialect of Hindko spoken in the Neelam Valley. Though KS is not used with the officials, the KS members sometimes use it for private discussions in the presence of officials; this practice has been observed by this author and confirmed by the officials themselves in their interviews with me as well. Moreover, only those people, who frequently travel to Kundal Shahi or live within the proximity of the village, know about the existence of KS. Most officials, coming to Kundal Shahi for the first time, do not have any information about the language; they are surprised when they hear about a new and different language, not spoken anywhere else. Coming across this new language in Kundal Shahi is a discovery for them. Some officials with a little knowledge of history and languages developed the theory that the language has descended from *ḍrawṛɪ* 'the Dravidian family of languages'. Ostensibly, they infer this from the term *ra:wṛi*, which is used to refer to the KS community (cf. 4.1).

5.2.9 LITERATURE

Literature at least in oral form does exist in all minor to major languages of the Neelam Valley, except for KS. No-one among the KS community reported existence of any kind of poem, song or story in KS. In order to investigate the issue, and to elicit any kind of literature, if there was any, I asked the following questions to the respondents:

a. 'Do you have any song, folk song or folk story in your language [KS]?

    i. If yes, do you remember anyone?

b. 'Do you have any proverb or wise saying in your language [KS]?'

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i. 'If yes, do you remember anyone'?

For both questions only 4% of the respondents' answer was yes. On the other hand, only 2% said that they remembered some. When they were asked to narrate or recite one, they would recite some verses or proverbs that were apparently translated from Hindko. One of the interesting folk songs frequently recited was *Mahya* (a Hindko folk song) The fact that it was translated was admitted by the respondents. In informal discussions, all KS respondents said that they have never heard of any original KS song, story, or any proverb. Even some elderly persons, above 80, also said that they always used songs of Hindko on all occasions e.g. marriages etc.

At this stage it seems at least that there is no-one who remembers any KS song, story etc. If they had any kind of such literature, they must have lost it at least a century ago. The respondents also claim that they have never heard of such literature from their forefathers.

5.2.10 USE OF KS FOR SECRECY

The diminishing functions of a minority language, sometimes, reduce it merely to a tool of secrecy. We have lots of examples of such languages from all around the world, where a language loses most of the domains and as a result it is used only for secret or private conversations. *So* (Thavung) a minority language spoken in Thailand is used as a secret language by some of its members (Tsunoda 2005). Similarly Gaelic used to be a private language before 1930. However, later it was promoted and revived through a literacy campaign (Tsunoda 2005). Qimant, the original language of the Qimant people of Semien Gondar Zone in Ethiopia, is not spoken in public or even at home as a means of daily communication anymore, but is reduced to a secret code (Leyew 2002). Tsitsipis and Elmendorf (1983) also report that the senior members speaking Arvanitika, an endangered language spoken in Greece, use it to conceal information. It seems that using a language for concealing or secret information is common among the obsolescent or disappearing languages.

Most of the functional domains in the KS community are now occupied by Hindko. The surveys, field observation, and interviews have brought forth the fact that the major use of KS is for talking about secrets. The respondents were asked 'When do you need KS?' The percentage of the responses is given in the table below:

TABLE 5.8: Use of KS (figures indicate percentage of the responses)

In the presence of Guest	Secret Conversation	Other uses
16	59	25

16% of the respondents expressed that they require using KS when a guest is present. The purpose is to make arrangements for the guest/s without their knowing. Traditionally, people of the Neelam Valley including the community under discussion offer the guests better food and entertainment; they also do not want to let the guest know the inconvenience caused by his/her hospitality. 59% also expressed that they require KS when they want to discuss some secret/private issues in the presence of non-KS members. The purpose, of using KS in the presence of guests and using it for talking secrets, is to maintain secrecy. So the use of KS required for secrecy comes to 75%. Rest of the 25% either need KS for functions other than secrecy or do not need it at all; these functions include: informal chat, talk to elderly people, etc.

The above findings were further verified by asking the following question in the same questionnaire 'What the benefits of speaking of their own language are'. An almost similar number of the respondents (71%) expressed that the benefit of speaking KS is to maintain secrecy. The phenomenon of using the language for secrecy purposes has not emerged recently. A great many elderly people of the KS community reported using the language for secrecy purposes in the past as well. In this regard an interesting story of 'Cow Slaughter' was narrated to me by 10 elderly members of the community. It is relevant to mention that cow slaughter was banned in the reign of the Dogra rulers of the former state of Jammu and Kashmir. "During the Dogra rule (before 1947) a member of the KS community slaughtered a cow for a wedding ceremony. Somehow the authorities came to know this and raided the house; however, instructions and directions were passed to some other KS members to hide

the cow meat in the presence of the authorities. All conversations were done in KS as the authorities did not know it. The cow meat along with all its traces was removed from the "crime scene" and afterwards when they searched the suspected house, they could not find any evidence of the alleged cow slaughter. Thus a heavy penalty and punishment was avoided". I selected 10 elderly male members from the community who were over 60 and asked each of them if he knew the story of the Cow Slaughter during the Dogra regime. Invariably every one recounted the story. Moreover, many younger members of the community also recounted the story while reminiscing the benefits of KS in their interviews.

However the use of KS for secrecy purposes was not as widespread as it exists at the present stage. As the situation in the past was a bit different in a way that the non-KS individuals living in Kundal Shahi or in the villages adjacent to Kundal Shahi would to some extent understand KS. Presently the situation is quite different, hardly any non-KS individual among the age group of below 40 understands KS. The non-KS members, in 40+ age groups, living in Kundal Shahi can understand KS and in some instances speak fluently especially those above 60 years of age (cf.5.1.1).

Regarding the use of KS for secret talking, an interesting opinion among the KS members is prevalent. Lal Din, an elderly member of the KS community of 67 years old, who deals in bedding in the local market, told me that their forefathers were very clever and intelligent. They intelligently constructed the language on purpose to serve as an argot. When I told him that languages evolve naturally and KS is no exception, he insisted that KS is unique and different from the other languages in a way that it was created on purpose and it did not emerge through the natural process like other languages. He further explained that KS was constructed as an auxiliary language rather than a main language. Similar views were expressed by most of the respondents.

Moreover, I have observed in the local market of Kundal Shahi that the elderly KS members use their language among each-other in discussions and conversations pertaining to their family matters and local feuds.

Not only KS is losing its domains, Hindko is also giving way to Urdu. State policies and lack of awareness among the native speakers of the languages of the region has been a major cause of not introducing the local languages into new domains. People generally think that languages other than Urdu and English do not have grammars and cannot be taught in schools. Moreover, learning to read and write these languages is considered a waste of time. As a consequence the languages are gradually being pushed into disuse, losing traditional vocabulary and not creating and developing new vocabulary and constructions to meet the challenges of the modernity. Speakers of these languages are increasingly feeling at loss to express themselves in these languages In the future we may see not only erosion of minority languages like KS but also predominant regional languages that are limited to the spoken medium.

5.3 THE DIASPORA OF THE KS COMMUNITY

There are many people in Kundal Shahi who have settled outside Kundal Shahi. Zia-ud-Din, an elderly member and head of the community, has left the village some years ago and settled in Kuttan, a village some six kilometers upstream the Jagran Nallah from the Kundal Shahi village. He can speak Hindko very well; however he has still retained a high proficiency in KS. I have observed him using KS in the market with the elderly people of the KS community. The apparent reason being that he keeps visiting Kundal Shahi frequently and has closer ties with the rest of the community members. Moreover, he has shifted there around ten years ago. A few other KS households have also settled in Kuttan but they hardly know the language except for a few words or sentences, as they have shifted earlier than Zia-ud-Din and have severed the relationship with the KS community in Kundal Shahi. Similarly the Diaspora settled in Muzaffarabad, Rawalpindi and a few other places, far away from Kundal Shahi, have forgotten the language. They only remember a few words and even the elderly people of the Diasporas cannot speak KS. Among these people, there are some individuals who had reportedly learned KS but have afterwards altogether forgotten it and we can rightly call them forgetters (Tsunoda 2005). The Diaspora of the KS community usually adopts the language spoken at the new location. For

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instance the 35 year-old Khani Zaman has settled in Karachi and occasionally comes to the village. He speaks Urdu with his children and wife therefore Urdu has become first language of his children. On the other hand back in the village he speaks Hindko. He only remembers few words of KS but do not use it any more.

5.4   INTERMARRIAGES AND LANGUAGE USE

Exogamy is not a new phenomenon in the KS community. Almost all respondents admitted in their responses that the tradition of intermarriage is not a new phenomenon as it was in practice in the past as well. To determine the precise nature of the intermarriages and their influence upon the intergenerational transmission of KS, I collected life histories and genealogies of seven KS individuals. Of the seven interviewees, three had either *ḍaːḍi* 'paternal grandmother or *paṛ ḍaːḍi* 'paternal great-grandmother' from outside the clan. Regarding the relationship between intergenerational transmission of KS and outside marriages all interviewees were over 30 years. Altaf's story was selected as a representative sample. Altaf is 40 years old and lives in *Sathra* (*a mohalla* of Kundal Shahi). He himself, and his grandfather married someone from their own clan, while his father had married two women; one from the KS community, and the second from outside. Altaf's mother was from the KS community. Altaf was raised in KS and has attained complete proficiency in KS. His wife is also from the KS clan, and he uses KS with his wife at home. Altaf's children can understand the language and occasionally use it. On the other hand, Altaf's half brothers (from the second wife of his father) do not understand KS and have completely adopted Hindko. Altaf is of the opinion that there is a wide discrepancy regarding the use of language between those families who have a history of exogamy and those who have a history of endogamy. People with endogamy record tend to be more proficient in KS while those with exogamous history are 'Semi-speaker' or even switched to Hindko completely. According to him though the tradition of bringing wives from the other clans existed in the past but it was limited however presently the trend has increased. Altaf considers the trend of intermarriages

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a major cause of language shift. This view is shared by many other KS members as well.

It is relevant to mention here that the KS society is a patriarchal society and all genealogies follow the father's side. If mother and father are from two different clans, their children will be identified with their father side rather than mother side. So if women marry outside the KS community, she no longer belongs to the KS community. Similarly if a man from the KS community brings his wife form another community, she will be identified with the clan of her husband rather than her father. The traditional concept is that man is made up of *haḍ 'bone'* and *ḍuḍ* 'milk'; bone, which is more important and carries major biological traits, is inherited from the father side while milk, less important in terms of inherited biological traits, comes from the mother side.

All responses of the KS community members indicate that presently if a KS man marries a non-KS woman, Hindko is used at home. They also report that in the past the situation was quite different in most of such instances the non-KS woman would learn KS and occasionally use it at home as well. I also interviewed some non-KS households where KS woman were brought, according to the interviewees all use Hindko with the KS women and no use of KS is reported presently, however in the past the situation was slightly different. To measure the relationship between language shift and intermarriages following questions were asked:

d   Were intermarriages with the Hindko speakers in the past common?

e   Are presently intermarriages with the Hindko speakers common?

f   If yes, what language is used at home?

g   Was it similar in the past?

All respondents reported that intermarriages are practiced in the community and the tradition is not different from the past. However, in the past 13% reported that in case of intermarriage KS was used along with Hindko while currently none reported use of KS in such instances. So presently, if a woman is brought from the Hindko

community, the language used at home will be exclusively Hindko. On the other hand if a KS woman marries to a Hindko man, Hindko is exclusively used at home. This was further clarified by interviewing five individuals from the Hindko community who are married to KS women.

5.5   LANGUAGE ATTITUDE

5.5.1   ATTITUDES OF THE KS MEMBERS

Language attitudes are the feelings people have about their own language or the languages of others (Crystal 1992). These feelings and beliefs are valuable and important in the study of bilingual situations. According to Baker (1992) it is a central explanatory variable and the survey of attitude provides an indicator of current community thoughts and beliefs. The study of attitude helps to measure the health and vitality of a minority language. In the study of language attitude it is not sufficient to study the attitude of the linguistic community under study but also the community whose language is being adopted by the minority group. As a matter of fact the attitude of the dominant group is relevant in understanding the prevailing situation.

To understand the prevailing linguistic situation in Kundal Shahi, I have divided this section into two parts:

- Attitude of the KS community towards KS and other languages (Hindko, Urdu and English etc.)
- Attitude of the Hindko speakers towards the KS community

To measure speakers' attitude towards their language the following questions were asked:

- When they need to use KS.
- Whether they want their children learn KS.
- Whether there are any benefits of the language.
- Whether the phenomenon of replacing of KS by Hindko is good or bad.

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Of the respondents 93% need KS language for various purposes, while 7% never need the language. The most common requirement of the language is for secrecy (cf. 5.2.10). Similarly, responses for the second question 7% do not want their children to learn KS; 2% either did not give their comments or said that they have never thought on this issue earlier. Rest of the 91% told that they wanted their children learn KS and carry it to the next generations. The chart below explains the level of attitude as expressed by the respondents towards teaching their ancestral language to the children:

Figure 5.3: Attitude towards the teaching/learning of KS to the children
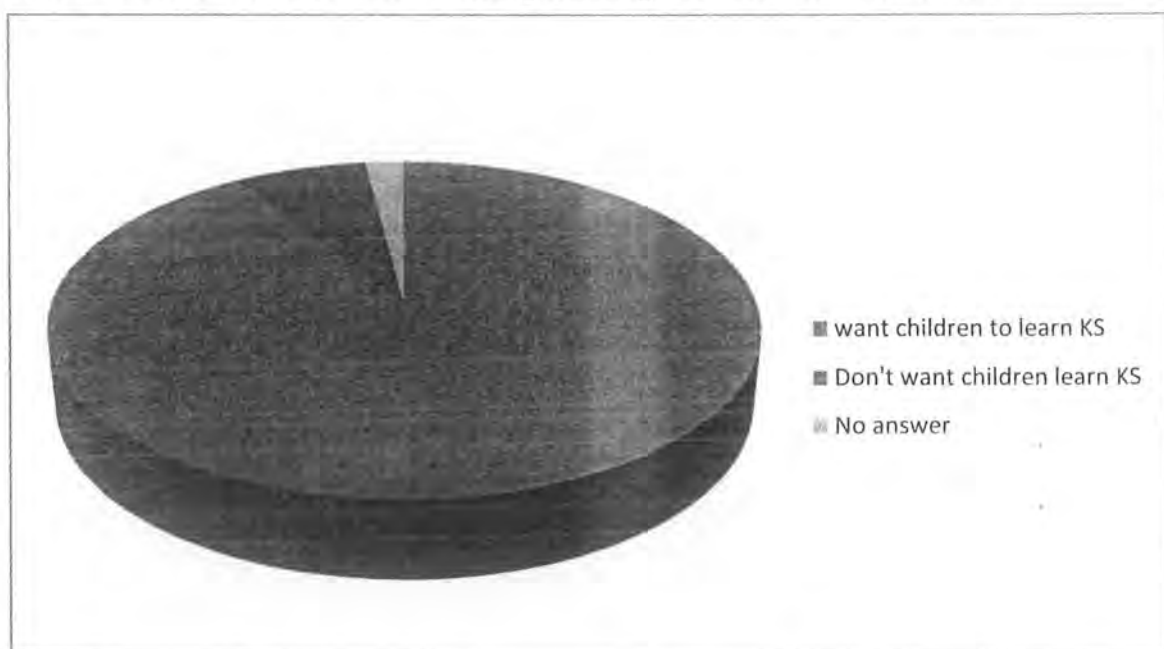
Similarly the responses of the next two questions also confirm the thoughts and beliefs of the community expressed in the earlier responses. 94% think that the present language shift in favor of Hindko is bad, while 3% consider it good, and 2% do not know. On the other hand slightly higher number i.e. 95% thinks that KS is beneficial in one or the other way.

If we compare the figure 5.1 with the figure 5.3 above, we can find clearly contrasting things happening. We see a wide discrepancy between what people say and what they actually do or feel. Here we see only 13% of the respondents below 21 know KS, while rest of the respondents either do not know or have a poor proficiency in KS.

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We can also see that what people actually feel and do, does not actually correspond to what they actually say or believe at the surface level. This kind of dichotomy in attitude has been captured by Baker (1992) in his formal classification of attitude as 'cognitive' and 'affective'. According to him the cognitive part concerns thoughts or beliefs or stated beliefs while the affective component concerns the feelings towards the attitude subject. Both may not be in harmony always. While talking about language attitude Baker contends that a person may express a favorable belief/thought towards a language but more covertly, the same person may have negative feelings about the language. Irrational prejudices, deep-seated anxieties, and fears may occasionally be at variance with formally stated beliefs and thinking. Baker further contends that sometimes formal statements about attitude do not reflect the actual reality as it is possible sometimes overtly stated beliefs may hide covert beliefs. The theory presented by Baker clarifies the disharmony between the expressed attitude and the underlying attitude of the KS members towards their ancestral language.

Moreover, in-depth interview of Ghulam Yaseen, an elder member of a household in Kundal Shahi which is known to be using KS more than any household in the KS community, corroborated the above stated disharmony. "we do not want our children to learn KS as learning KS create hurdles in the learning of the other languages especially Urdu and English and the KS accent is also not appreciated in the society", he reported. The point was further explained by many youngsters in their informal interviews, who complained against their parents and held them responsible for not teaching /trying not to teach them KS at home. They are of the opinion that their parents intentionally kept them away from their ancestral language. Discrepancy between words and deeds is not uncommon as attitudes are always measured through peoples' verbal reports, there is likelihood that attitude and actions often may not correspond (Oskamp and Wesley 2004).

This discrepancy between the stated and covert attitude is not limited to the language. One can find such attitudes also visible in other walks of life e.g. politics, religion, ethics etc. and not only limited to the KS community. If you happen to ask a person, whether he/she wants justice, a system based on fair rules apparently none would

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disagree and even most of the people would support the idea passionately. However, when the same individual's behavior is judged with few exceptions the observation would be always contrary. The fact indicates that human mind accepts not only incompatible and inconsistent beliefs but also inconsistent will (Gensler 1998).

Furthermore an interesting point of view is prevalent among the KS members regarding the structure and nature of the language itself. Many people told me that their language does not have any rules and nobody can work out its grammar, etc. In support of their point of view many among these stated a similar story " A few years ago a team of *Goras* 'English' tried to study the language, they collected data but they could not figure out anything out of the data. In spite of their repeated efforts, they badly failed to come up with any conclusions. Finally, they commented that the language was like putting pebbles in a tin and shaking it". Many KS members think that the language does not have rules like other languages. At the same time another interesting point of view, especially among those who know some English, prevailing about KS is that there exist many English words in KS. To prove their argument they usually quote KS word *go* 'went'. The so-called evidence of the existence of English words gives the members a sense of self-contentment.

Hindko is the predominant language of the region; therefore, all KS members have to learn it for daily interaction and conversation (cf. 5.1). The positive attitude towards Hindko is indicated by the responses given in reply the question whether there are any benefits of speaking Hindko, invariably all respondents replied in yes and considered Hindko useful for daily communication especially for the interaction with non-KS speakers. Although the people have a positive attitude towards Hindko, it is less positive than their attitude towards Urdu and English. For instance when the same respondents were asked which languages they would like to teach their children apart from KS, the responses were quite interesting, below is the detail of the responses.

TABLE 5.9: Attitude towards the teaching/learning of different languages to the children (figures indicate percentage of those interviewed).

English	6
Urdu	2
English and Urdu	65
English, Urdu, Hindko	14
English Urdu and Persian	2
English Urdu and Arabic	6
Don't know for certain	5

The responses show that those who want their children to learn both English and Urdu together make up 87%, while only 14% are in favor of Hindko along with English and Urdu. Arabic is taught in schools and *madrasas* to enable the learners to read and memorize the Arabic texts with purpose of fulfilling and performing the religious duties. Most of the Arabic text is meant to be memorized and reproduced in formal prayers and on the occasions of other rituals. The tradition of memorization, which originally came from *madrasa*, is also applied in the teaching and learning of subjects other than Arabic. This trend has brought about catastrophic effect on the quality of education not only in this country but also in most of the Muslim world. As the role of learning Arabic is only limited to religious texts therefore for pragmatic reasons its learning is not much required in the society as is also evident from the responses. Mostly the purpose of learning Arabic is to be able to pronounce South Asian Arabic script, heavily loaded with diacritics. The main aim of learning Arabic is to be able to recite the text of the Qur'an'an and memorize some sections of the texts in order to reproduce them in *nima:z* 'formal prayer offered five times a day' and other rituals. It is not allowed in *nima:z* to read the printed text from the Qur'an by looking at it. Only memorized texts can be reproduced in *nima:z*. In some instances common people learn the Urdu translation of the Arabic text, however, the *molvies* 'religious scholars' are required to learn the Urdu translation and *tafseer*

'detailed explanation and interpretation of a particular school of thought' of the Arabic text.

South Asia has a long history of colonization. In addition to colonizing the area the colonizers sometimes also left indelible effects on cultural and linguistic aspects of the society. Historically Persian was used in this region through out most of the pre-British history. Not only all Muslim rulers from Ghaznavids to Abdali exclusively used Persian as their official language, but also local non-Muslim rulers such as Ranjit Singh and the Dogras of Jammu and Kashmir used Persian as their official language (Mehdi 2008).

During the Moghul Empire, Persian became the language of courts, administration, and literary creativity in several regions of South Asia (Kachru 2008).

Even in the British rule Persian was the language of elite and associated with civilized upper class nearly like the present status of English in Pakistan and India. During the British rule the status of Persian began to erode and English, language of the new masters, started emerging on the scene and quickly replaced Persian. However, Persian had already heavily influenced the local languages of South Asia especially literary Urdu/Hindi. The major impact of Arabic and Persian on the region has been on the writing system commonly known as Persio-Arabic script. In some instances the script replaced the local indigenous Brahmi-derived scripts. These local scripts are more efficient and workable for the writing of the local and regional languages. Representation of the vowels in most of the South Asian languages is problematic in the Persio-Arabic script (Brown and Ogilvie 2009). It has only three vowel symbols for them while the vowel phonemes present in the languages of the region range from six to twenty (ibid). On the other hand, all Brahmi-derived scripts contain at least basic set of eleven vowels (Salomon 2003:70).

In spite the of fact that Persian has almost disappeared from the scene, the desire to teach children Persian language though by merely 2% of the respondents, indicates the prestige associated with Persian still exists among few people however little it may be.

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The language issue and language policy formation are often closely linked to pragmatic reasons, global needs and volatile political issues in a country (Clampitt-Dunlap 1995). The government is increasingly discouraging the use of local languages especially, in education. At state level, use of Urdu is encouraged for political reasons while English for pragmatic reasons. The KS community members prefer their children learn Urdu and English for proficiency in these languages is considered a key to success in the practical life. We can see that these forces together have resulted in the present language attitudes and other language related issues in the KS community and in this region as well.

5.5.2 ATTITUDE OF THE HINDKO SPEAKING COMMUNITY TOWARDS KS

Though I have not studied the attitude of the Hindko-speaking community towards KS and the KS community, my personal field observation, informal and formal interviews of the Hindko speakers have been insightful in gathering information about their attitude towards the language and the community. As the language does not have its local name the Hindko speakers refer to the language as *raːʊɽi* and its

speakers as *raʊɽe*. These terms are considered derogatory (Rehman and Baart 2005) and offensive. The terms are usually used in the discussions where KS members are not present. However, the KS members are well aware of the fact and consider them insulting. People sometimes extend the use of the term even to the non-KS members living in Kundal Shahi. Many stereotypes also prevail among the Hindko speakers about the KS community. One of them is that they practiced strange rituals and had also strange eating habits. Another being that a word for spoon in KS is homophonous to a taboo word in Hindko. The Hindko speaking members would frequently quote the word in private meetings when talking about the KS language with amuses to ridicule it. Further investigation revealed that the community neither had some special eating habits in the past nor the alleged word exists, instead they have *tʃoːtʃ* ' spoon' which is quite similar to its counterpart Kashmiri word *tʃoːtsə*

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'spoon'. My conjecture is, had they such an alleged word for spoon, they would have borrowed another word to replace the original one from Hindko rather than Kashmiri. It follows that the stereotypes have been created by the majority group as it has been observed in else where in the Neelam Valley that stereotypes are attributed to them to disparage and label them inferior. In order to maintain and strengthen the dominance over the minority groups and keep them subservient, the majority groups create negative stereotypes against the minority groups (Marger 2009).

5.6   WRITTEN MATERIAL IN KS AND ON KS

No orthography is available for the writing of the language therefore nothing is available in any written form. At governmental or non-governmental level no literacy programs are planned or seen to be planned in future. The policy is not only limited to KS but also to other local and regional languages. Hindko, which is presently replacing KS, does not have any literacy program. It is only limited to oral traditions. All school education is given either in Urdu or English. Almost all print and electronic media, except for few radio and television broadcasts, are available in these two languages. In Azad Kashmir, only Hindko, Kashmiri and Gojri programs are broadcasted for very limited time on state run radio and television. Representation of the vernaculars in the print media is nearly nonexistent. Recently, a Muzaffarabad based daily *Subhe Nou* gave some space to Kashmiri and Hindko. Though most of the contents were in Urdu, it regularly published a section on Kashmiri and Hindko. After one year of its publication, the Kashmiri and Hindko sections disappeared and it has now become only Urdu paper. The use of these local vernaculars in reading and writing is not taught in schools and *madrasas*, therefore, even the native speakers of these language cannot read the texts written in their own languages. It is far easier for a reader to reader a newspaper in Urdu. This has resulted in lack of interest on the part of the readers towards their own languages. Selection of English for education is partially due to the colonial history of the region and partly the international status of English, while Urdu, a minority language, has been selected as a national language on ideological basis (Rahman 1996). It has been associated with the Muslim ideology

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and it is believed to be a unifying symbol for the different ethnic and linguistic groups in the country. The language policy adopted in Pakistan is also implemented in Azad Kashmir with few modifications; one among these is giving Urdu an official status. In Azad Kashmir unlike other provinces of Pakistan all official business is carried out in Urdu. Apparently, the government policies encourage minority as well as majority groups to abandon their own languages by providing education in Urdu and English.

First published document on KS appeared in 2005 (Rehman and Baart). This contained only preliminary notes on the language. This author carried on further research and expanded the description of the language (cf. Chapter 4).

5.7 LEXICAL ATTRITION

Language loss, usually, first manifests itself through lexical attrition. Lexical attrition may be massive in an endangered language (Schmidt 1985: 170). However, in some instances it has been recorded low (Hutz 2004: 191-192). In a situation like KS where language shift and attrition are underway the borrowings from the contact language replace the existing vocabulary rather than enrich the lexicon (Sands et al 2007: 55). The lexical attrition includes loss of vocabulary, loss of semantic distinctions and reduced performance ability (ibid).

We already know that KS has undergone contraction in number of speakers and domains of use; we can also see a lexical attrition as a consequence.

KS shares 47% of its vocabulary items with Hindko (Rehman and Baart 2005). The high lexical similarity between these two languages is the result of extended periods of language contact at the present location (cf. chapter 1). The longer contact and predominant position of the Hindko language has resulted in KS borrowing from Hindko rather than vice versa. The fact has been ascertained by the responses of KS speakers in their interviews. Of the respondents 80% admitted that KS people have forgotten some traditional KS vocabulary items and they have been replaced by the Hindko words (cf. 4.3). Moreover, I collected some words of KS origin which are still

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remembered by few elderly KS speakers, but widely replaced by Hindko loanwords (see table 5.10)

Table 5.10: List of KS traditional words replaced by words of Hindko origin

	Traditional KS words	Hindko loanwords in KS	Words in Hindko
'rain'	ay	baariš	baariš
'ghee'	bajǎ	gii	ghii
'lizard'	baṭkiṇkil	sabslanḍ	sabslanḍa
'guts'	ḍʌm	ejir	ojri
'if'	haŋge	agar	agar
'wife of brother'	kɛɛkin	beeb	bhaabi
'dirty'	malʊt	gend	gandi
'immature bull'	šaxʌr	daand	daand (also for bull)
'ring'	wɛɛji	aŋgüüṭh	aŋguuṭhi
'village head'	yišṭɛɛr	lambardar	nimbardaar
'nineteen'	yokōy	onni	onni

Only the elderly people remember these traditional KS words, and rarely use them while speaking KS.

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The fact that a large pool of KS vocabulary has been lost is corroborated by the existing numerals in KS; it retains numerals up to twenty and also for thirty, forty and hundred. Hindko numerals are used for the rest of the counting. The existence of thirty, forty and hundred in KS indicates that it must have had a complete set of numerals at least up to hundred, which have been lost with the passage of time. Moreover, while recording the numerals only two respondents confirmed the existence of KS numeral for nineteen. The rest of the respondents would give all other numerals but nineteen; they used Hindko numeral instead. I recorded numerals from 15 KS speakers (see detailed KS numerals in 4.5.3).

In some instances, loss of grammatical categories has also been recorded. For example traditionally, KS has distinct demonstrative pronouns for the 3rd person demonstrative i.e. 3rd person pronoun distal, proximal and invisible (cf. chapter 4). The distinction between distal and invisible is disappearing fast. The 3rd person invisible pronoun is being lost and the term for the distal is used for both distal and invisible. I recorded spontaneous texts and sentences translated from Hindko from 10 KS speakers who were over 60 years. Only four of them used the three pronouns –3rd person distal, proximal and invisible – correctly. Others used only 3rd person distal and proximal pronouns.

Moreover, loss of semantic distinction is also going on in the language. For instance, at present KS speakers use two words *kaaṭhoo* and *kaaṭhšɛɛɾ* 'firewood' in the identical sense. They must have had distinct shades of meanings, but one of them at least has lost its meanings. Though both terms still exist, they can be used interchangeably; KS speakers cannot tell whether one of these terms is used in any context exclusively.

Apart from the loss of traditional KS vocabulary, loss of grammatical categories and loss of semantic distinctions, the phenomenon of 'reduced performance ability' (Sands et al. 2007) has also been recorded not only among the younger generation but also among the elderly people of the KS community who claim to have complete command over the language. I asked five people among the community of over 60 to

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translate twenty sentences from Hindko to KS. Having recorded these sentences in KS, they were asked to repeat them. Finally, both recordings were compared and the final recording contained more KS origin terms and accurate use of suffixes and correct word order than the earlier one. Evidently they had problem in recalling the terms of KS origin and correct forms. I also noticed, in my language data recordings, on many occasions other KS speakers reminding the interviewees of correct KS words and forms.

Apart from lexical attrition, an obsolescent language also undergoes structural change. The structural change usually leads to structural simplification in an endangered language (Dorian 1980a). It will be interesting to investigate the structural changes occurred in KS due to its contact with Hindko at the present location. Though I did not investigate the phenomenon, I found some speakers tend to drop the dative suffix –as with the adjectives and ergative marker –an in some instances. The tendency of simplification seems to be going on in the language. However, detailed investigation is required to explore the phenomenon.

5.8   CONCLUSION

The data has been collected to determine precisely the present use of the language and prevailing attitudes towards it. Data shows that ability of using KS is fast dwindling and less than half of the population claim to have fluency in KS while invariably all members claim native ability in Hindko. The claim regarding Hindko proficiency is beyond any doubt, however, the reported KS fluency was not corroborated by the further investigation. The situation seems far worse than the stated claims of the speakers. Most of the domains have already been occupied by Hindko and presently Urdu is also making inroads particularly into newly emerging domains. Moreover, the study finds an alarming proficiency decline among the younger generation in particular.

My data covered almost all variables however owing to cultural constraints, I had not access to the women of the community therefore informants within the community

collected the required data for me. I had no option other than to base my conclusions upon the information and observations provided to me. As women are more important variable in a language shift situation like KS. Further investigation by a women researcher might reveal some interesting facts, not covered in this study.

6 CAUSES OF LANGUAGE SHIFT IN THE COMMUNITY

6.1 INTRODUCTION

When speakers of different languages come into regular social contact, then often one language group is more numerous or represents more powerful interests than the other group or groups. Typically, speakers of one language find they need to use another, more widely spoken, language in particular social domains, e.g., business, education, interactions with government officials, media, etc. As the language of the more dominant community encroaches onto more and more domains, especially if there is intermarriage between speakers of the different languages, parents may start using the language of the dominant community with their children, particularly where the mother is a native speaker of that language. Eventually, when the last native speaker dies, the language becomes extinct. Almost all experts on language shift and loss agree that the major indicator of language endangerment is interruption in intergenerational transmission. As long as parents continue to speak a language with their children, it is safe (Tsunoda 2005, Skutnabb-Kangas 2000, Fishman 1991, Moseley 2009).

Language shift and language loss is a worldwide phenomenon and by the end of this century around half of the languages now spoken around the globe will disappear — a loss of one language every 12 days (Krauss 2007b: 12). The UNESCO Ad Hoc Committee (Brenzinger et al. 2003) estimated that as many as 90% of the languages specifically in linguistically rich areas may be replaced by more dominant languages by the end of this century. In America alone, 53 languages have disappeared since 1950 (*The Economist* March 17, 2009). 473 of the languages listed in *Ethnologue* are classified as nearly extinct. These languages are no longer actively spoken and "only

a few elderly speakers are still living." (Lewis 2009). The online version of the *UNESCO Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger* (Moseley 2009) describes language endangerment around the globe. It classifies languages along a continuum from safe to unsafe to definitely endangered, severely endangered, critically endangered and extinct. The Atlas classifies 607 languages as unsafe, 652 definitely endangered, 528 severely endangered, 574 critically endangered and 233 as extinct. Of the estimated 6909 living languages in the world today (Lewis 2009), UNESCO classifies 2361 as unsafe.

Language documentation in Pakistan is poor and most of the research carried out in the region is done by Western scholars; relatively few Pakistani nationals are involved in the research. On the basis of this limited data, of the 73 languages now spoken in Pakistan, the Atlas has identified 27 as endangered: 7 of which are unsafe, 14 definitely endangered and 6 severely endangered. No Pakistani language is known to have died since Partition (cf. chapter 3). Rehman and Baart (2005) classify KS as definitely endangered (Moseley 2009).

6.2   LEVEL OF ENDANGERMENT OF KS

The level of endangerment of KS as listed in the *Atlas* was based upon limited information and moreover, further language attrition has been observed in recent years. This section establishes the precise nature and level of endangerment of KS.

There are currently two dominant frameworks to measure the degree of endangerment of a language. One is the UNESCO scale, the other is Krauss (2007a).

Krauss (2007a: 1-8) classifies languages into three major categories — safe, endangered and extinct. He classifies the endangered languages into five sub-categories: stable, instable/eroded, definitively endangered, severely endangered and critically endangered. Krauss has given designators a+ to e to all categories while his subclassification of endangered category is given a, a-, b, c and d grades. His endangered category also includes those languages which are potentially endangered in the near future. On the top of the scale in the endangered category are those

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languages which are still learnt by the children as mother tongues. Languages in this category are vibrantly used at home. However, another replacing language/s may be increasingly used in work, school, and religion. Though languages in this category may be threatened by external factors, they remain stable. He uses the term instable/ero*ded* (designated *a-*) for the second subclass of endangered languages. This includes two types of situations. Type one situation is where some of the children speak the language for sometimes, e.g., they speak the language with their elders while speak the replacing language among themselves. The second subtype of instable or a- is *a* situation where all children speak the language in some parts of the village/community, while in other parts of it only some children speak the language.

The next subclass of endangered languages is *b*, the definitively endangered. Definitively endangered languages are those which are no longer transferred to the children at home. Sometimes parents may use the endangered language with the children but they are allowed to respond in the replacing language. The fourth subclass on the scale is severely endangered category, designated as c. The youngest speakers are of grandparental generation and middle aged. In this situation the parents cannot teach the language to their children. The age of the youngest speakers ranges from 35 to 60. The last subclass is critically endangered *(d)*, where the youngest speakers are of the great-grandparental generation and are also few in numbers, often fewer than 10. Critically endangered languages are close to extinction.

TABLE 6.1: Krauss's framework for classifying languages'

Safe			a+	
Endangered				
	Stable		a	used at home; replacing language/s may be in increasing use in work, school, and religion
	Instable; eroded		a-	
	Instable	Type 1		some of the children speak the language for sometime e.g. they speak the language with their elders while speak the replacing language among themselves
	Eroded	Type 2		all children speak the language in some parts of the village/community, while in other parts of it only some children speak the language
	Definitively endangered			no longer transferred to the children at home
	Severely endangered		c	youngest speakers are of grandparental generation; age of the youngest speakers 35 to 60
	Critically endangered		d	youngest speakers are of the great-grandparental generation and are also few in number
Extinct			e	

Krauss's model of assessing endangerment does not envisage a situation like KS, where the language is no longer regularly transmitted to the children but a few children still learn it. The proportion of children is not more than 1%. The second problem with the model is that it does not explain the status of speakers clearly. For instance in the KS community we have different categories of speakers. A great many

individuals above 60 can speak KS and Hindko with equal proficiency. On the other hand, those below 60 can speak KS but not usually as well as Hindko.

The second major indicator of language endangerment is language attitude which includes the attitude of the speakers as well as the attitude of the other communities towards the community that speaks the language. The model proposed by Krauss does not include this factor, among others. A single factor cannot provide a full picture of KS's vitality.

The second framework for measuring the level of endangerment is the UNESCO Model. This model has been developed by the UNESCO Ad hoc Expert Group on Endangered Languages (Brenzinger et al. 2003). Including Michael Krauss, the group comprised top experts in endangered languages from all over the world. The adequacy of the UNESCO framework was successfully evaluated in a study that examined "a broad sample of 100 of the languages of the world" (Lewis 2005). Instead of relying upon a single factor, the group has identified nine major factors affecting language vitality. These nine factors capture nearly all possible situations of a language shift. By looking at these factors one can determine the nature of language endangerment with more accuracy. I have therefore adopted the UNESCO model in my analysis. With the exception of two factors, a scale has been proposed in the model which allows us to assign a score from 0 to 5 for each factor.

UNESCO's nine factors include:

1) Intergenerational Language Transmission

2) Absolute Number of Speakers

3) Proportion of Speakers within the Total Population

4) Trends in Existing Language Domains

5) Response to New Domains and Media

6) Materials for Language Education and Literacy

7) Governmental and institutional language attitudes and policies

8) Community members' attitudes towards their own language

9) Amount and quality of documentation.

6.2.1 INTERGENERATIONAL TRANSMISSION

The key measure of a language's viability is not the number of people who speak it, but the extent to which children are still learning the language as their native tongue (Turin 2007).

Table 5.2 shows a wide gap in KS proficiency between age groups. The language is no longer being transmitted to children. Interviews and personal observation have shown that only two households in the village sometimes use KS with their children Almost 98% of households have switched to Hindko completely. Although the youngest speakers of the language are parents themselves, they no longer speak the language with their children. Only a few members of the KS community still use a few phrases for secrecy purposes (cf. 5.2.10). Regarding the intergenerational transmission, as discussed above, it is obvious that the language is more than *definitively endangered* and closer to grade 2, defined as a *severely endangered* language on the UNESCO scale (Brenzinger et al 2003).

TABLE 6.2: UNESCO's Intergenerational Transmission Chart

Degree of Endangerment	Grade	Speaker Population
safe	5	The language is used by all ages, from children up.
unsafe	4	The language is used by some children in all domains; it is used by all children in limited domains.
definitively endangered	3	The language is used mostly by the parental generation and up.
severely endangered	2	The language is used mostly by the grandparental generation and up.
critically endangered	1	The language is used mostly by very few speakers, of great-grandparental generation.
extinct	0	There exists no speaker.

6.2.2 ABSOLUTE NUMBER OF SPEAKERS

The expert report does not elaborate on this indicator, but Lewis (2005) has proposed a more robust system to evaluate population statistics in terms of a scale of endangerment as with the other factors proposed by the committee. He proposes the following factors to be taken into consideration to evaluate the significance of the population regarding the level of language endangerment:

- The general norm for the region for language group size

- The number of speakers who use the language as their first language

- The number of speakers who use the language as their second language

Total population of the KS community is 3371 living in 537 households. Although a few linguistic groups in the Neelam Valley are smaller than the KS community, their

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languages are widely spoken elsewhere and therefore constitute larger communities. KS is the only language not spoken anywhere else, making KS speakers the smallest linguistic community in the region.

So far as the second factor is concerned, in some cases it would be tricky to find out whether the respondents have native speaker proficiency in KS as they claim. For instance, by asking the question which language feels easiest in speaking 700 people claim KS as easiest language. While 400 claim both Hindko and KS. Interviews revealed, however, that the latter are not actually competent speakers of KS. In the total population of 171,000 in the Neelam Valley (Government of Azad Jammu and Kashmir 2010) there are only 700 native speakers of KS and another 400 have less than native speaker proficiency. Small native speaker populations are a strong indicator of endangerment.

6.2.3   PROPORTION OF SPEAKERS WITHIN THE TOTAL POPULATION OF THE KS COMMUNITY

According to the Expert Report the proportion of speakers in a broader population is another significant indicator of language vitality. Combined with the absolute number of speakers, it provides an accurate measure of the level of endangerment (Lewis 2005).

Severely Endangered is the degree of endangerment reserved for those languages whose speakers are in minority within the total reference population. My data suggests that only 49% of the respondent claim to have the status of 'Speakers' (cf. Chapter 5). Even taking the respondents as a representative sample, the KS speakers are not in the majority within the KS community as required for the degree of definitively endangered on the scale (Brenzinger et al. 2003: 9). Keeping in view the absolute number of the competent speakers and proportion of speakers within the total reference population, the level of endangerment of KS is higher than this degree and it comes under grade 2 described as *severely endangered* on the scale. Moreover, it is pertinent to mention that the prevalent situation is even worse than what the

respondents claim. As mentioned earlier (cf. 5.1) around 21 % of the members within the community have actually native speaker proficiency, i.e., the status of 'Speaker'.

TABLE 6.3: UNESCO Chart for the Proportion of Speakers within the Total Population

Degree of Endangerment	Grade	Proportion of Speakers Within the Total Reference Population
safe	5	All speak the language.
unsafe	4	Nearly all speak the language.
definitively endangered	3	A majority speak the language.
severely endangered	2	A minority speak the language.
critically endangered	1	Very few speak the language.
extinct	0	None speak the language

6.2.4   TRENDS IN EXISTING LANGUAGE DOMAINS

The use of a language in different functional domains directly affects whether or not the language will be transmitted to the next generation. The UNESCO report classifies functional domain in terms of the social contexts, the types of interlocutors, and the subject matter for which a language is used. This factor has been graded into universal use, multilingual parity, dwindling domains, limited domains, and highly limited domains and extinct (no use).

If we look at the current situation in the KS community, we can see mostly the language is used in limited domains and for a few functions especially for secrecy purposes (cf. 5.2.10). This limited use is assigned grade 2 in the UNESCO Model which is only one step up from the extinct level (Brenzinger et al. 2003: 10).

TABLE 6.4: UNESCO Chart showing trends in existing language domains

Degree of Endangerment	Grade	Domains and Functions
universal use	5	The language is used in all domains and for all functions
multilingual parity	4	Two or more languages may be used in most social domains and for most functions.
dwindling domains	3	The language is in home domains and for many functions, but the dominant language begins to penetrate even home domains.
limited or formal domains	2	The language is used in limited social domains and for several functions
highly limited domains	1	The language is used only in a very restricted domains and for a very few functions
extinct	0	The language is not used in any domain and for any function.

6.2.5 RESPONSE TO NEW DOMAINS AND MEDIA

If communities do not adjust themselves to emerging domains with their languages, the languages become increasingly irrelevant, out of use and even sometimes stigmatized. It is never used anywhere in the print and electronic media; it is hardly used in formal discussions outside the home in speeches, etc. All evidence indicates that KS is not used in new domains at all, and is therefore classified as *inactive*. All other languages of the area (the Neelam Valley) have created a limited space in the

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new domains. For instance, all of them are used in a few programs in radio and TV broadcasts.

TABLE 6.5: UNESCO Chart for Response to New Domains and Media

Degree of Endangerment	Grade	New Domains and Media Accepted by the Endangered Language
dynamic	5	The language is used in all new domains.
robust/active	4	The language is used in most new domains.
receptive	3	The language is used in many domains.
coping	2	The language is used in some new domains.
minimal	1	The language is used only in a few new domains.
inactive	0	The language is not used in any new domains.

6.2.6 MATERIALS FOR LANGUAGE EDUCATION AND LITERACY

Existence of written material in a language is also an important measure of its vitality. If a language has an established orthography and tradition of literacy, with grammars, dictionaries, texts, literature, and access to everyday media, it is more likely to be safe. And if this language is used in administration and education and has adequate materials for language, education and literacy, it is assigned the highest grade, i.e., 5 (Brenzinger et al. 2003). A language without orthography places it lowest on the scale. KS does not have orthography and has no literary tradition. It does not even have an oral literary tradition (cf.5.2.9). According to the UNESCO report if a language does not have orthography, its grade on the scale is '0' (see Table 6.6). The position of KS on the scale is the lowest, i.e., '0'.

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Because significant populations elsewhere speak the other Neelam Valley languages, they have access 'to written materials, although the only language in which a substantial body of literature is available is Pashto.

TABLE 6.6: UNESCO Grading of Written Material for Language Education and Literacy

Grade	Accessibility of Written Materials
5	There is an established orthography, literacy tradition with grammars, dictionaries, texts, literature, and everyday media. Writing in the language is used in administration and education.
4	Written materials exist, and at school, children are developing literacy in the language. Writing in the language is not used in administration.
3	Written materials exist and children may be exposed to the written form at school. Literacy is not promoted through print media.
2	Written materials exist, but they may only be useful for some members of the community; and for others, they may have a symbolic significance. Literacy education in the language is not a part of the school curriculum.
1	A practical orthography is known to the community and some material is being written.
0	No orthography available to the community.

6.2.7 GOVERNMENTAL AND INSTITUTIONAL LANGUAGE ATTITUDES AND POLICIES, INCLUDING OFFICIAL STATUS AND USE

Governments and other institutions may have more or less clearly stated language policies which may be motivated by ideological and political considerations. For instance, in Pakistan, all the regional, local and minority languages are consciously discouraged, while Urdu, which is the mother tongue of only 7.57% of the total population (Cheema et al 2010) has been adopted as a national language and is used as a medium of instruction along with English, the former colonial language. The state has established Urdu as a symbol of Pakistani identity and national integration (Rahman 2005). Promoting indigenous local languages is thought to threaten Muslim

unity and national interests. At the national level in Pakistan, language and educational policies are meant to enhance a 'national' and 'religious' agenda (Rahman 2005).

The government in Azad Kashmir similarly ignores minority languages, evidenced by the absence of KS from any listing.

The degree of support on the scale devised by the UNESCO expert group ranges from equal support for all languages (all of a country's languages are valued as assets, all languages are protected by law, and the government encourages the maintenance of all languages by implementing explicit policies) to prohibition (minority languages are prohibited from use in any public domain but may be tolerated in private domains) assigning similar grades 0-5. The degrees in between include: differentiated support, Passive assimilation and forced assimilation. The government policies and attitudes regarding the minority languages in general and KS in particular doe not exactly fit into any level. However, it is closer to grade 2, *active assimilation*

While Pakistani language policy does not actively discourage minority languages, only Urdu and English have official status. They are the languages of all official communication and almost all media and education. This situation impinges on the prestige of regional languages and local languages, as well as on the social domains in which they are used.

UNESCO defines 'active assimilation' as "[t]he government encourages minority groups to abandon their own languages by providing education for the minority group members in the dominant language. Speaking and/or writing in non-dominant languages is not encouraged" (Brenzinger et al. 2003: 13). At the institutional level official language policies encourage shift from minority languages and assimilation to the customs, culture and the language of the local majority and dominant group, as well as to Urdu and English.

TABLE 6.7: UNESCO Chart for the Degree of Official Attitudes and Support

Degree of Support	Grade	Official Attitudes toward Language
equal support	5	All languages are protected.
differentiated support	4	Minority languages are protected primarily as the language of the private domains. The use of the language is prestigious.
passive assimilation	3	No explicit policy exists for minority languages; the dominant language prevails in the public domain.
active assimilation	2	Government encourages assimilation to the dominant language. There is no protection for minority languages.
forced assimilation	1	The dominant language is the sole official language, while non-dominant languages are neither recognized nor protected.
prohibition	0	Minority languages are prohibited.

6.2.8 COMMUNITY MEMBERS' ATTITUDES TOWARD THEIR OWN LANGUAGE

Members of a speech community may value their language and see it as essential to their community and identity or they may see it as a hindrance they actively avoid (Brenzinger et al 2003). UNESCO assigns a grade of zero where no one cares if the language is lost; all prefer to use a dominant language. Grade five is a situation where all members value and promote their language. When speakers' attitude towards their language is quite positive, the language may be seen as a key symbol of group identity. Just as people value family traditions, festivals and community events, members of the community may see their language as a cultural core value, vital to their community and ethnic identity. Most KS speakers (cf. 5.5, 5.5.1) have a positive

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attitude towards their language but they do not want to teach their ancestral language to their children (cf. 5.4.1). As a result, the intergenerational transmission has nearly stopped; the language is only spoken by the older generation and parents no longer use it in their daily conversations with their children except for occasional instances where they do not wish outsiders to understand (cf. 5.2.1). Most of the members of the language community want their language to be promoted and have a positive attitude towards it but in practice do not pass the language to the younger generations. In spite of the positive attitude of the community members expressed in formal and informal interviews, in reality only a few members — 2 households — have passed their language to their children and still use it actively with them. The dichotomy between the positive attitudes expressed by the majority and their actual maintenance of the language may be explained by Baker's (1992: 12) concept of 'disharmony between the cognitive and affective part of attitude'. Though no grade set by the UNESCO team covers exactly the situation, it is closer to grade 1 on the scale. In the UNESCO document grade 1 is assigned to a situation where "only *a few* members support language maintenance; others are indifferent or may even support language loss" (Brenzinger et al. 2003: 15).

TABLE 6.8 UNESCO Chart for Community Members Attitudes towards Their Own Language

Grade	Community Members' Attitudes toward Language
5	*All* members value their language and wish to see it promoted.
4	*Most* members support language maintenance.
3	*Many* members support language maintenance; others are indifferent or may even support language loss.
2	*Some* members support language maintenance; others are indifferent or may even support language loss.
1	Only *a few* members support language maintenance; others are indifferent or may even support language loss.
0	*No one* cares if the language is lost; all prefer to use a dominant language.

6.2.9 AMOUNT AND QUALITY OF DOCUMENTATION

The type and quality of existing language materials give a clue to understanding the level of language endangerment. It also helps to formulate policies to promote and strengthen the languages.

Judging within the UNESCO framework KS was in the lowest level, i.e., grade 0 on the scale before 2005 when Joan Baart and I published a working paper (Rehman and Baart 2005). Since then, I have presented papers on the language at international conferences (Rehman 2009, 2007, 2006; Akhtar and Rehman 2007). I have also started compiling a trilingual (KS, English, Urdu) mini dictionary; recorded texts, wordlists, stories and life histories have also been added to the language archives. Consequently, the documentation of KS has risen almost to grade 2, *fragmentary description,* in the framework.

The description of the factors given briefly above is only a guideline for assessing the level of language endangerment and vitality, as the vitality of languages varies

according to different conditions and situations of the speech communities. This has also been pointed out in the case of KS, especially in terms of attitude. However, taken together, the grades are a useful instrument for assessing the situation of a community's language. Table 6.9 presents different grades of KS together. This can help to understand the level of KS clearly.

TABLE 6.9: Estimated Degree of Endangerment of KS

Factor	Grade	Description of the grade
Intergeneration Language Transmission	2	Severely Endangered
Absolute Number of Speakers		Total population of the competent speakers around 700
Proportion of Speakers within the total Population	2	Majority has abandoned KS
Trends in Existing Language Domains	2	KS used only in limited domains for a few functions
Response to New Domains and Media	0	Inactive and never used in new emerging domains
Materials for Language Education and Literacy	0	No oral or written tradition
Governmental & Institutional Language Attitudes and Policies including Official Status & Use	2	Not national language No official use Language policy implicitly discourages use of KS
Community members' attitude towards their own language	1	Nearly all members claim to have positive attitude towards their ancestral language but do not pass their language to the younger generations for pragmatic reasons
Amount and Quality of Documentation	2	Preliminary notes on different aspects of language and unpublished data both written and recorded.

The majority of the population of the community has abandoned the language with only around 700 competent speakers left, no oral or written literary tradition or orthography. It has become completely inactive with regard to emerging domains. Though attitude of the community is positive towards the language, the members

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have almost stopped transmitting the language to the younger generations. This may be the result of the negative official national language policies of the government. Until recently, no documentation of the language existed. However, some work on the language has been going for the last few years. All these factors give rise to a situation where the future of the language seems bleak. Unless there is a radical shift in attitude towards speaking it with children, it is doomed. KS rates at the most endangered end of the UNESCO scale on every indicator. Without urgent moves to arrest and reverse its decline KS is likely to be extinct within half a century.

The current situation contrasts sharply with the situation before the incursion of the road in the 1960s. At that time, the language was not only actively learnt and used by the KS community but also by the members of the other linguistic groups. This small linguistic minority maintained their ancestral language with full vigor and strength for centuries.

The following sections examine the factors leading to the decline of KS.

6.3   SENSE OF STIGMATIZATION ATTACHED TO KS

The most important factor in the present language shift is low prestige and the stigma attached to KS and the KS community. Usually, a minority language suffers low-prestige and its speakers may deliberately distance themselves from the language and adopt another, more dominant and prestigious language. In such a situation parents may consciously or unconsciously avoid transmitting the heritage language to their children which finally leads to language loss (Dorian 1998). When a minority group gets low status in a society, its culture as well as language suffers low prestige and is evaluated negatively. This negative attitude of the dominant community ultimately causes emergence of negative or sometimes indifferent attitude among the speakers of the minority language (Tsunoda 2005); ultimately, this negative or indifferent attitude can lead the community towards language shift.

In South Asia and in the Neelam Valley in particular, linguistic, clan and ethnic minority groups experience low status and the dominant majority ridicules and

stigmatizes the minority groups and their distinct ways of living, including their languages. A similar situation has been recorded by Bonner (2001) in Belize, where ethnic stereotypes have affected language choice among a minority group known as Garifuna. Belize is situated on the Caribbean seacoast between Guatemala and Mexico. As a result of the stigmatization of the Garifuna language, speaking the language has become a source of shame especially for the youth and children. They feel shame while speaking their native language with their community members in the presence of Belizeans and this situation may lead to the demise of the Garifuna language. Low prestige has also been a major determinant factor in language shift in Tanzania (Brenzinger 1992).

In Kundal Shahi village, Hindko speakers refer to KS speakers as *raːʋɽe* and their language as *raːʋɽi* (cf. 4.5.2). Derogatory terms like these and other stereotypes have engendered a negative attitude of the KS speakers towards their language which has resulted in consciously choosing not to use the language and even sometimes pretending that their mother tongue is Hindko rather than KS. Moreover, concocted stories apparently to disparage the community have also contributed towards the low prestige phenomenon of KS. Discussion on the stereotypes and the stories about KS and the community follows.

6.3.1 PUTTING LADLE IN THE POT OF BROTH

A commonly quoted expression meaning 'putting a ladle into the pot of broth' is allegedly said to exist in KS. The expression contains a word for ladle which is homophonous to a taboo word in Hindko. My research reveals that such expression or word for ladle never existed in the language. To my knowledge the stereotype has no basis and has been concocted to denigrate the community (cf. 5.5.2), but embarrasses KS speakers, nevertheless. However, if we assume that the expression existed, it is no longer in use and must have been abandoned long before.

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6.3.2 SHAKING PEBBLES IN A TIN

This is another stereotype about the language widely believed within and outside the community. In my interviews many speakers narrated an interesting story about the language. The story runs:

> Sometime in the past, a group of *Angreez* 'white people 'came to investigate the Kundal Shahi language. They recorded texts, interviewed people and made lots of effort to work out the grammar of language but ultimately failed and could not make anything out of the stuff. Finally, they reached the conclusion that the language was not a natural language and it only consisted of random noises.

By this story Hindko speakers signify their belief that the KS language does not have any grammar and is not a language as other languages are. Even KS speakers sometimes accept such a characterization of their language.

6.3.3 THE COMMUNITY PERFORMED 'WEIRD RITUALS'

Most of the Hindko speakers living in and around the village would tell you among other things about the community a story of 'weird religious practices' in the past. I was privately told by a few Hindko speakers that their ancestors ate monkeys and also worshiped a *deodar* 'Himalayan cedar' even after converting to Islam and after many warnings of maulvi Ilyas- a local *imam* –, they did not leave the worshiping, and subsequently on the orders of the maulvi the tree was felled.

Orientation of the most of the KS community members is Barelvi, while in past they had *imams* of *Deobandi* orientation (Rehman and Baart 2005). The *Barelvis* hold syncretist view of Islam in which *pirs* 'living saints', their *ziarats* 'shrines', tombs and even their *bathaks* 'seating places' are revered. Religious rituals and ceremonies also take place there. The *Deobandi* school of thought, on the other hand, rejects the syncretist Sufi tradition and claims that these practices are un-Islamic and are causing a decline of Islam (Lal 2004). I speculate this religious stereotyping of the community

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is the result of the *Deobandi-Barelvi* controversy. The *imam*, Maulvi Ilyas, must have been constantly prevailing upon the community who he was giving religious education to follow the *Deobandi* version of Islam and leave the 'un-Islamic' practices. Consequently, on his unsuccessful endeavors he must have created the negative myths and promoted these stereotypes to disparage them by deriving evidence of their distinct nature on the basis of a distinct language. Needless to say, the *imam* was a Hindko speaker.

This is pertinent to mention that in past, the KS community revered the *bathak* 'seating place' of Baba Abdullah, a Sufi saint, and frequently went there to pay homage and offer prayers, even sometimes sacrifices. The *bathak* of the Sufi saint happened to be adjacent to a *deodar* 'Himalayan cedar'.

Similarly, the practice of monkey eating has never been recorded in the region of the Neelam Valley (Stein 1900, Bates 1873).

6.3.4 CONSTRUCTED LANGUAGE

Most of the respondents below 50 expressed opinion that KS has been consciously devised by their forebears instead of having evolved naturally. This is claimed more often about languages of which the history is unknown. For instance, there is a similar claim about the Ormuri language, spoken in the town of Kaniguram in South Waziristan (p.c with Baart 20 October 2010).

According to the respondents the purpose of creating the language was to convey, in the presence of strangers, secret messages In this regard, they widely quote instance of using the language for conveying secret message in a famous case of 'Cow Slaughter' during the Dogra regime (before 1947) when cow slaughter was prohibited (cf.5.2.10).Most Hindko speakers share this view. One would hear frequently expressions like 'It is not a language they [KS people] have just put together words from different languages and even created some new words to convey secret messages'. As the language is not considered equal to natural languages, this ultimately leads to the conclusion that it is deficient and cannot serve the purpose of

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day today needs of communication and should be therefore, used for secret purposes rather than daily conversation. Consequently, they tend to abandon KS in daily conversations and retain it only for the secret messaging.

6.3.5 ACCENT OF THE LANGUAGES CAUSES STIGMATIZATION

Accent and other structures of a first language are usually passed to the second language and these L1 transfers are clearly noticeable on those areas where both languages differ to a greater extent. This type of transfer causes deviation from the accepted standards of a language, and is commonly viewed negatively in society. People usually avoid non-standard accent and consciously try to adopt standard or native like accent. Native speakers typically ridicule and laugh at the non-standard accents and even Sometimes, these accents are discussed and ridiculed in the private talks. For instance, in Pakistan, Pashto speakers' Urdu, which they speak with Pashto accent, is ridiculed and widely quoted as jokes.

Presently, the young generation within the KS community learns Hindko as a first language and does not have any accent problem. However, the older generation presumably those presently over 60 had this problem in the past and the accent of KS would affect their Hindko speech. As the phonological rules of both Hindko and KS are strikingly different; in KS there is a tone system which is not present in any other language spoken around KS (cf.4.4.3). However, this tone system is present in Shina varieties, Palula, Burushaski and Indus Kohistani (Baart 2003: 132-144) and perhaps in other languages spoken in further north. Moreover, non-existence of aspirated voiced stops /bh/gh/ḍh/and/dh/ in KS might also have caused KS speakers to pronounce these sounds in Hindko with KS accent, i.e., without aspiration as /b/g/ḍ/and /d/, etc.

Ghulam Yaseen, an elderly member of the KS community, told this author that the reason for disruption in the intergenerational transmission of KS has been the issue of accent. He further explained that the KS members do not want their children to learn

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KS because its accent is transferred to the pronunciation of Hindko which causes embarrassment and shame for the KS members, as Hindko people ridicule the accent. He, therefore, was of the opinion that their children should get rid of the language.

Apparently, in the past when the KS mother tongue speakers started speaking Hindko as a second language and carried their KS accent to the Hindko language, it would be ridiculed, as explained by GhulamYaseen, by the Hindko speakers and consequently discouraged the KS speakers to use their language. Especially they must have consciously stopped the transmission of their heritage language to their children obviously to save their children from being ridiculed for their accent. However, presently, the KS speakers have attained native proficiency in Hindko and the accent problem does not seem to be an issue.

6.3.6   BACKGROUND OF THE NEGATIVE DISCOURSE

I speculate that the stereotypes, pejorative terms, jokes, stories and other discourses aimed at portraying a negative image of the community emerged and in some instances got currency after the KS community came into direct extensive contact with the Hindko speaking community. This happened immediate after the construction of the Neelam Highway and consequently establishment of flourishing market, attracting peoples from the nearby villages.

Historically speaking, the ancestors of the community settled on the best available vacant land in the area. All other groups residing in Kundal Shahi and in the nearby villages have inferior land in any case. The village where the community first settled has even fields as opposed to the rugged and craggy fields around. It has also enough water –the Kundal Shahi *nallah*- fulfilling the irrigational requirements of the cultivable land. All other groups came later, and settled on a less attractive land as the best fields were already occupied by the community. No one among the other groups claim earlier arrival than that of the KS community, at least within the five kilometers proximity except for a few Gojar settlements. However, the earlier settlement of the Gojars lived a nomadic life and would keep travelling along with their goats and

sheep most of the time. They were accustomed to pastoral life rather than settled agricultural life and therefore were not interested in the agricultural land. The Gojars residing within the proximity of Kundal Shahi settled at later stage after they abandoned their traditional goat herding profession. Choudhry Lal Hussain, a Gojar community member, told me the history of the local Gojars in the area in an interview.

Before the contact and intermingling with the Hindko speaking community, the KS community formed predominant majority in the village and almost all members were self-sufficient and self-reliant and had a little contact outside the village. The elderly people frequently recall the past by saying they only needed salt and needles (to sew clothes) from outside. Otherwise all goods of the daily use were locally produced. In this situation the KS people would use KS most of the time even with the tiny minority of the Hindko speaking people living in the village. This is borne out by the fact that most of the elderly people of Hindko speaking community of the Kundal Shahi village know KS far better than the younger KS members. The instances of KS proficiency among the Hindko speaking individuals from Kundal Shahi further attests the wider use of KS before the present on-going decline started. At that time Kundal Shahi village was a kind of 'world' by itself. In the 'world of Kundal Shahi' the community existed with reference to the minority Hindko group living within the village. On the other hand, the larger Hindko community outside Kundal Shahi had limited access and interaction with the KS members and neither KS nor the larger Hindko community was much concerned about each other. In the past the KS community used term *pe:rim* 'from across' to refer to Hindko speaking people in their neighborhood and also extended to those who else used the Hindko language. The term though not derogatory, has negative connotation and is not welcome by the Hindko speakers. Interestingly, Kashmiri speakers also refer to Hindko speakers as pə:rɪm. In the KS community the term has almost disappeared and is only remembered by a few individuals above 50. In response to the question 'what do you call the Hindko speakers?' of the respondents only 25% remembered the term. When

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further analyzed by age group only 4% of them were below 50. This follows that the when KS was robust the members would refer to the minority Hindko group in the village by the less pleasant terms and with the emerging new trends the term went into disuse as the community nearly assimilated itself to the Hindko community and felt like a part of the community rather than a distinct group for the distinct nature started bringing them shame.

On the other hand, the reference group for the Hindko speaking community would have been the Kashmiri speaking group much larger and forming majority elsewhere in Kashmir but a minority in some parts of the Neelam Valley and around Kundal Shahi. Formerly, their stereotypes, jokes and the like would have been directed towards the Kashmiri speaking group resulting in speeding up the language shift among them (Kashmiri speaking people) in the area. When I further analyzed the situation, I found only few elderly individuals of grand parental stage remember some Kashmiri, and none below 60 reported to know Kashmiri. Thus, Kashmiri speaking people living beside the Hindko speakers became first victim of the onslaught of the Hindko stereotypes and negative attitude and successfully assimilated them. However, further up in the Neelam Valley the Kashmiri speaking groups have still retained their ancestral language successfully where they form majority or live exclusively.

After increased interaction with the Hindko people and subsequent identification of the KS community as distinct group particularly speaking different language, unintelligible to the Hindko speakers like Kashmiri, long array of negative stereotypes, pejorative, derogatory and even offensive jokes got activated against this newly perceived different group. In fact stereotyping only begins when a group of individuals is perceived to be different enough to belong to a different social unit (Hamilton and Sherman 1994). At this point as indicated by the field research started sheer decline in KS use.

Another reason for stereotyping the community and directing prejudice towards the community was a fear of competition in the newly emerging market, as economic or

social competition of the majority group with the minority group also promotes and influences the stereotypes (Khan 2002). The emergence of the local market in the village closer to the KS settlements would have created fear of competition among the business class of the Hindko community from the nearby villages, planning or already established businesses there. And as a result of this threat of competition, created and spread in some instances already existing negative stereotypes etc. for the KS community. As opposed to the findings of Pettigrew (2008) on intergroup contact which suggests that intergroup segregation leads to prejudice and conflict while intergroup contact reduces the prejudices, the KS and Hindko speakers' contact created a situation of perceived competition for scarce resources which in turn resulted in emergence of bias and prejudices against the KS community. Kopstein and Wittenberg (2009: 25- 426) have pointed out KS like situation and argued that the consequences of intergroup group contact are not uniform across ethnic groups; for some groups it is positive while for others it has 'deleterious' effects.

Usually, the linguistic, ethnic or racial groups are made target of hostility through the negative stereotypes, jokes, prejudices by the majority group (Blumenfeld and Raymond 2000: 24) within aim of discouraging the distinct feature of the minority and affect their self-esteem by labeling them as inferior and strengthen their own self-esteem (Khan 2002). The situation further aggravates when the minority group become victim of the propaganda campaign and accept the labels created by the majority (Khan 2002). Consequently, the minority group starts viewing the distinctive trait negatively and consciously tries to get rid of its distinct group feature and assimilates to the majority group. Though not all, the KS community has at least accepted some of the negative stereotypes originally created by the Hindko speakers (cf. 6.3.2, 6.3.3). The process has presently been discouraging the KS community to retain its sole distinctive group feature, i.e., KS and they are trying to assimilate in order to avoid the disparaging comments and remarks and regain their self-esteem. The very reason has forced the group to make salient other markers of identity such as clan title '*Qureshi*', with wider influence, rather than the linguistic identity.

In addition, at regional level the phenomenon of low prestige and the sense of stigmatization associated with the indigenous and local languages can be well assessed by the fact that if a person uses Urdu words in conversation while speaking his/her native language (other than Urdu) this act of mixing of language is valued while using English words is highly valued even though the audience do not understand these lexical items. On the other hand if someone happens to mix up vocabulary items from one's native language in Urdu or English, the act is ridiculed and negatively valued; such person is considered backward, illiterate and 'uncivilized', even though the indigenous words may express the intended meaning more precisely than the Urdu and English words do.

The prevalent disparaging expressions, phrases and stereotypes have created a kind of pressure on the KS community and resulted in negative attitude and sometimes even sense of shame and embarrassment among them towards their heritage language. This kind of 'socio-psychological pressure' creates negative attitude in the minority group towards its language and ultimately moves the minority speech community to abandon its language (Sasse 1992). The negative attitudes, on the part of the KS speakers and the Hindko community to which Ager (2005) calls internal and external attitude, have forced the community to abandon KS and adopt Hindko exclusively. Moreover, the Pragmatic reasons have also minimized the chances of resistance to such attitudes on the part of the minority speakers to maintain their language. Shigemoto (1997) also considers the value attached to a minority language determines its rate of shift. If the community is highly valued, the language they speak will also be associated with high prestige and on the other a low or negative evaluation of a community leads to negative attitude to towards the language and as a result of this attitude the language tends to go into disuse gradually.

In short, in response to the stereotypes discussed above the ultimate victim was KS in particular. As the sole reason behind the discriminatory attitude and stereotyping of the Hindko speakers was KS, the KS community members thought it convenient to shift to Hindko to avoid the insult.

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Different factors as discussed in this chapter are to some extent responsible for the present language loss in the KS community; however, the major part is played by the lowest level of prestige and sense of stigmatization in accelerating the ongoing process of language shift.

6.4 CONSTRUCTION OF THE NEELAM HIGHWAY

Isolation is conducive to language maintenance, whereas improved communication and transportation networks require communities to use other languages in unfamiliar social domains (Tsunoda 2005, Grenoble and Whaley 1998).

Crawford (1996) notes when indigenous language communities come into contact with dominant groups, this speeds up the language shift. The road link is the most important factor that broke the isolation of the KS community.

The Neelam Highway extended to the village by the end of the Sixties as mentioned earlier. The construction of the highway removed the barriers between the KS community and the Hindko speakers and facilitated contact of the KS community with the outside. It has been noticed in Southern and Eastern Africa that poor infrastructure has kept many rural communities in isolation and some minority languages are still spoken for that reason (Brenzinger 2007).

The community members were traditionally subsistence farmers; however, construction of the road opened up new job opportunities and increased the mobility of the community members. The traditional way of life required the individuals to stay at home most of the time and spend their time with either their family members or with the immediate neighbors. As KS was understood and spoken by almost every individual (even those from non-KS communities) KS served as the sole medium of verbal communication. Although KS speakers knew Hindko, they did not need to use it within the village. Whenever they travelled outside village or some outsider came to the village, they would use Hindko with them. The construction of the Highway however created a situation which forced the KS members to increase interaction with the non-KS people.

Until the highway reached KS, speakers believed their language was spoken elsewhere. They say it came as a shock to learn how isolated they were and this diminished their motivation to speak KS. The road link of the village with the rest of the region also coincided with the introduction of the new means of communication such as radio, TV, newspapers etc. Unlike the other languages in the Neelam Valley, however, KS was not represented in these media. Among members of the KS community aged 40 and under, only 53% claim proficiency in the language, while 96% of those aged 41 and over can speak it. It is evident from the above data that the construction of the Neelam Highway disrupted the state of stable bilingualism, which had existed in the community for long time by increasing mobility into and out of the community.

Until the construction of the road, a state of 'relative equilibrium' existed for long time (Dixon 1997), but the road 'punctuated' the equilibrium and drastic changes occurred in the patterns of language use and the domains in which KS was used started shrinking.

The stated gap in proficiency between these age groups indicates that the intergenerational transmission of KS and shrinking domains coincided with the construction of the Neelam Highway.

6.4.1   EMERGENCE OF LOCAL MARKET

Another byproduct of the road was the emergence of a local market in the village attracting businessmen and customers from the nearby villages.

When the road was constructed, goods from the nearby town of Muzaffarabad started flowing in by modern transportation, the communities surrounding the KS community found it convenient to establish a market in the Kundal Shahi village. The place was relatively safe and easily accessible for the customers from different parts of the Neelam Valley.

Most of the storekeepers in the market came from outside and spoke Hindko. The establishment of the market in the village especially, affected the language

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proficiency of the men folk. There were and are still very few businessmen from the KS community. However, the establishment of the market opened up new job opportunities for the KS community members as well. As the market was dominated by the non-KS speakers, it facilitated the increased use of Hindko and the traditional KS speakers were forced to use Hindko and even sometimes Urdu with the outsiders. The KS language remained outside the domain of the market. The individuals from the KS community also started using Hindko among themselves in the market except for certain occasions. The field research shows that the KS members only use their ancestral language when trying to hide something from the other people. Otherwise they would use Hindko. Now the situation has risen to a stage where most of the KS members do not want their language to be pointed out or to be mentioned in the presence of others, especially in the market.

While doing field research I came across the head of the clan, Mr.---, in the local market. Initially, he welcomed me warmly, however, when he came to know about my research motives, his attitude suddenly changed and did not pay me any attention and tried to ignore my presence and avoid me. It seemed to me that the mention of the language would really cause him feelings of uneasiness. On the other hand, after a few days, when I met him among his own community members, he was delighted to discuss his language and showed greater interest in the research on KS.

The local market was further strengthened by the recent cross border firing between the troops of Pakistan and India. In the nineties the militants started a movement in the Indian part of Kashmir. These militants were allegedly given support from certain agencies of Pakistan and particularly the Pakistan army was alleged to facilitate the crossing of these militants. Infuriated by the alleged act of the Pakistan agencies and army, the Indian army started shelling the military camps along with the civilian populations around the line of control. Sometimes even the public transport was targeted which resulted in massive civilian causalities. Athmuqam, the then *tehsil* head quarters of the Neelam Valley, was badly hit by the shelling as it was closer to the LoC. Most of the buildings in the town were reduced to rubbles and as a result the *tehsil* headquarters were shifted to Kundal Shahi. This increased the number of stores

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and other business establishments including a sole bank, operating in the lower Neelam Valley, in Kundal Shahi. The greater influx of the people deteriorated the status of the language and further accelerated the language shift. The fact was admitted by the respondents in their formal and informal interviews.

The booming market increased the interaction of the KS speakers with the Hindko speakers from all over the Neelam Valley which ultimately resulted in increased use of Hindko at the cost of KS.

I conducted a survey of the local market in Kundal Shahi and found out that only 10% of the businesses are owned by the local community while rest of the business is owned by the people from the nearby villages.

Finally, the establishment of a bigger market in the village also attracted the KS members. Particularly the men of the community not only found job opportunities but also a source of entertainment. They started spending their leisure in the market. As no recreational activities and opportunities are available in the community, therefore coming to the local market and spending some time in the local restaurants with friends has become a source of recreation. When there was no market in the area, the members would usually spend their leisure time at home, interacting with their family members or with the other members of the community. Story telling used to be a source of recreation. I selected ten male members of the community, not working in the local market and asked them "where do you go when you have leisure? All of them invariably told that they go to the market, sometimes just take a round or spend the leisure with their friends. In the market the common interaction takes place in Hindko. Thus, speaking Hindko became fashion, and apart from being used in the new domains, it also occupied those domains where KS was previously actively used.

6.5 INCREASED EXPOSURE TO HINDKO

Language is acquired through exposure to it. Less exposure results in incomplete language learning. Only early childhood language exposure ensures normal language in mother tongue (Francis 2005). Usually less exposure to the ancestral/heritage language is a direct result of greater exposure to the replacing or dominant language. Even though if a language is learnt completely but later for some reasons its use is reduced, the language fluency may dwindle. Endangered languages normally become endangered when more widely spoken languages encroach on the social domains in which they are used.

> When a dying language declines gradually over a period of generations, it goes through a period when it is not used for all the functions and purposes it was previously. Like a limb not used, it atrophies (Nettle and Romaine 2000: 53).

If a language native or second is well acquired but not used frequently, it is gradually forgotten and becomes gradually difficult for the speakers to use it with fluency even though if they would like to use it. Polinsky makes a distinction between forgetters and incomplete learners (1995). Forgetters are those who once learnt a language and afterwards forgot it due to limited or lack of exposure and use.

One major cause of the language shift observed in the field research is increased exposure to the Hindko language, which is in turn a direct result of the modernization and changing modes of life or semi urbanization, though not globalization.

In January 2009, seventy individuals aged 50 and over were asked the question 'When in the past was KS used more widely'? 48 of the respondents stated that KS was used very much widely before around 40 years or by the end of the Sixties. Moreover, in the past, the village was more isolated and most of the time the community members would interact among themselves. As travel outside the village was much less likely for the men and the women folk hardly travelled outside the village at all. Everyone was almost self sufficient and self reliant. As the local market

and the government offices were in Titwal , now under Indian control, the people of the village would travel to Titwal mostly for some litigations. As a result, the community members had opportunity to use KS most of the time, and had limited exposure to Hindko. Afterwards, changing political and socio-economic conditions increased their exposure to Hindko. It is common that higher exposure to a dominant language causes greater social pressure to learn it at the expense of one's own heritage language (Carol 2009). Similarly, the increasing use of Hindko shriveled KS use and as a result most of the KS members lost the fluency in their heritage language.

I interviewed six Hindko speakers above the age of 60 and asked them if they know KS; all of them know told that they know KS and can more or less communicate or at least understand the language. Each of them provided a list of KS words and a few sentences. However, two of the six could easily communicate with KS speakers in KS.

It was further observed that the elderly people of the KS community, who spend most of their leisure in the community and hardly travel outside the village, can speak KS very fluently while those of the same age group who frequently travel out of the village for various reasons and also spend some time in the local market, feel difficulty in speaking the language and also admit the fact that repeated use of Hindko has been reason for their loss of fluency in KS; they also heavily borrow from Hindko while the former tend to use mostly KS origin words.

Moreover, development of new infrastructures and advances in the technologies has brought about socio-economic changes, resulting in changed and interdependent lifestyles. This interdependency requires the individuals and societies to develop contacts and interaction outside their limited traditional-social networks. Though the modern facilities of life have partially reached the KS community, their lives have at least become interdependent and this interdependency has increased their interaction and contact with the neighboring Hindko community which ultimately has increased exposure to Hindko. Naturally, the increased interaction and exposure to Hindko has

resulted in diminished proficiency in KŠ and increased use of Hindko. The frequency of use of a language matters in language attrition as when the second language lexical items and rules are used more frequently, they are activated more easily when in competition with a less frequently used mother tongue rules and items (Köpke 2007). This follows that language shift depends upon the mechanism of the brain function which is closely related to the frequency of language use and disuse.

When exposure to the second or dominant language increases, people start using it increasingly and as result the first language goes gradually into disuse and in turn its vocabulary and structures are also lost and with the passage of time the language becomes defective and deficient (Sasse 1992, Tsunoda 2005); a stage comes when the speakers are unable to exclusively communicate in that language as they cannot find precise and appropriate lexical items and expressions to communicate their intended message. At some point habits of speaking the second language become so strong that it is no longer possible for the speakers to use their first language fluently even though they may have a positive attitude and do want to maintain their language. This kind of language shift may not be a direct result of economic, educational or prestige factors. The negative consequences of using another dominant language at the expense one's own ancestral language may not be immediately apparent to the speakers themselves until the process is in an advanced stage, often beyond the point of no return. As a result a stage comes where the people without apparent knowledge lose fluency in their ancestral language and start talking in the dominant language rather than their own; at this point disruption in intergenerational transmission of a language starts. I have noticed many elderly KS speakers, though trying sincerely to promote their language, feel difficulty in communicating in KS, trying to remember the original words in KS and even sometimes borrow from Hindko or Urdu. They feel like a situation in which they are struck dumb and unable to continue their conversation and automatically switch to Hindko. They say that in the past they would use KS more fluently and with the passage of time the increased use of Hindko has resulted in their poor command over their ancestral language.

I have also noticed a similar phenomenon going on among the Kashmiri speaking people, who live among the Hindko speakers, in the district of Neelam and Muzaffarabad of Azad Kashmir.

Finally, when we compare the language proficiency of the men and women in the community we find a wide gap between men and women as shown in table 5.4 (cf. chapter 5). The table shows that a larger proportion of women than of men have retained proficiency in KS. The phenomenon is the direct result of language exposure. Men frequently leave the village while women usually stay at home and therefore spend more time in a KS speaking environment than the men.

6.6 INTERMARRIAGES

It is common for the children of minority group that if one of their parents happens to be from the majority group, they will almost always shift to the language of the majority group (Kuo 1978) It follows that intermarriages with the speakers of other languages play a vital and important role in the language shift and is one of the important factor in language loss (McCarty 1997). There has always been a considerably higher language shift for those descended from exogamous marriages than those from endogamous ones (Clyne 2003), which proves that exogamous practices facilitate and accelerate language shift or language loss.

In the KS Community intermarriage with the non-KS people has been in practice for long. The surveys show that the community members would intermarry with the clans in the neighborhood. In the interviews the KS members said that they would only accept bringing wives from the other clans and deny marrying women from their clan to the men of the other clans, however, further research revealed the fact that this is not a one-way matter; the KS women have also been marrying men from the other clans.

Although most of the marriages take place within the community, there is an exogamous tradition at limited level. Among other factors which facilitated the

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present language shift, the limited exogamous tradition has been playing an important role in accelerating the present ongoing language loss in the community.

In the past, though the intermarriages affected KS negatively, presently the effects of the intermarriages on the intergenerational transmission of KS are far greater (cf. 5.4). If an individual brings his wife from outside the KS community, survey has shown the children will altogether abandon the heritage language and adopt Hindko, the language of his/her mother. Here it is pertinent to mention that the community like other groups of the society is patriarchal. On the other hand if a KS woman is married outside the clan, her children will learn Hindko, i.e., the language of his/her father rather than that of mother.

The life histories and the interviews of the elderly people show that in the past, if one's grandmother and mother came from non-KS background, though he did not abandon KS, the process of the shift was accelerated and shifted to Hindko earlier than those whose both parents came from the KS community.

Although a stable bilingualism remained in the community for long time and people used both KS and Hindko alongside, presently the situation is far worse and KS is disappearing fast. In case mother comes from non-KS background, there remains no possibility of learning KS by the children. The relationship between the language shift and the intermarriages is dealt with in detail in chapter 5 (cf.5.4).

6.7   MODERN EDUCATION

Among the various factors which contribute towards language shift and maintenance education has always been one of them (Tsitsipis and Elmendorf 1983, Topping 2003, Romaine 2002). The learners at school are exposed to the language/s which are used either as medium of instruction or for communication with teachers and the peers and gradually develop a strong habit of using these languages at the expense of one which is not used in schools (Grimes 2001). However, if literacy programs are developed in an already endangered language using it as the medium of instruction, it can be

helpful in maintaining and even sometimes revitalizing the threatened language (Grenoble and Whaley 2006, Hinton 2001).

The present study has found a correlation between language loss and modern education in the KS community. The more education they receive, the less proficient they become in KS. This phenomenon has also been recorded elsewhere in the world. In the Pacific region literacy programs even in the vernaculars themselves have proved to be detrimental to these vernaculars and have precipitated their decline (Mühlhäusler 1990: 190).

I administered a KS language proficiency test to 10 individuals, five of whom had completed five years of education and rest of the five had no formal education. Those who had attended school did not perform as well as those who had not, as the respondents also admitted in interviews. The language tests consisted of two parts; in the first part of the test the respondents were given 20 lexical items for translation from Hindko to KS and in the second part they were asked to narrate a short story about some unique experience in their lives. The recordings were played to several highly fluent speakers of KS who were asked to point out language errors in the recorded words and texts. The results are presented in the following table.

TABLE 6.10: Range of Errors Recorded in the Performance of 'Formally Educated' and 'Not Educated' respondents

	'Formally Educated'	'Not Educated'
Errors in the Lexical items	3-8	0-3
Errors in Stories	5-10	1-7

We can see from the table that the educated people made more mistakes in the KS test than the uneducated people.

One possible reason for this is that teachers may denigrate unwritten languages, leading students to consider them useless and to avoid speaking them. The 'educated' members also attribute higher status to those languages they learn formally and show off by using them and avoiding use of the low prestige minority language. Schoolchildren also interact socially with Hindko speaking peers.

Moreover, 'traditionalist' parents speak KS with their children and do not insist on sending their children to school. While 'modernist' parents do not speak KS with their children and do want their children to school, and also encourage their school going children to speak Hindko and even Urdu in some instances.

To further investigate the impact of the education on KS fluency, I interviewed Ikhlaq Ahmed and Zaheerudin from the Frashian *mohalla* 'hamlet'. Both had KS speaker parents and they are 28 and 22 years old, respectively. Zaheerudin is doing his graduation while Ikhlaq Ahmed never attended school and is employed supplying meat in the locality. Ikhlaq Ahmed uses KS sometimes at home and has a good command of KS, while Zaheerudin reported that he knows very little KS and never uses it at home. It is also relevant to mention that Ikhlaq Ahmed reported travelling outside Kundal Shahi more frequently than Zaheeruddin did.

Usually literacy in a dominant language accelerates language loss. However the situation is different in KS where all literacy programs are solely carried out in Urdu and English while the dominant language which is replacing KS is Hindko. Hindko, as discussed earlier, is not used as medium of instruction at any level. The teachers and the students irrespective of their heritage language use Hindko in informal discussions.

6.8   OFFICIAL LANGUAGE POLICIES

Official language policy and planning impacts the future course of minority languages in a country. "Language policies can either direct efforts to strengthen and expand a particular language or can contribute to its demise" (Shigemoto 1997: 5).

Around the globe there are instances where minority language friendly policies and interventions from the concerned governments have saved them from extinction and even brought back into use (Fernando et al. 2010). Among Pakistan's 73 languages (Lewis 2009, Rehman and Baart 2005) over 50 are highly endangered (Rahman 2010), and KS is at imminent risk of extinction.

The threat of extinction faced by these languages including KS is partly the result of the minority-language hostile policies of the country. Urdu and English are promoted at the expense not only of the less widely spoken languages but also other indigenous languages even including Punjabi, spoken by the nearly half of the population in Pakistan. Nearly all indigenous languages are discouraged and most of them are limited to oral repertoire. Urdu is the national language while English is the official language of Pakistan. English is the colonial heritage while Urdu is spoken as a mother tongue by only a group of people who emigrated from India in 1947 and settled in the different cities of the Sindh Province. However, Urdu is the most widely understood language and the major lingua franca in urban areas. Promoting Urdu and English serves two purposes for the ruling elite of the country: Urdu is thought of as a unifying symbol of Pakistani nationalism, so challenging Urdu means challenging the

'Ideology of Pakistan', which provided the very basis for the existence and creation of the country. On the other hand, promotion of English at the same time serves the interests of the elitist groups and excludes the masses from competition for coveted salaried positions where English is the language used in all these domains of power. A common misconception is that modern knowledge only exists in the English language, and knowing English is therefore a symbol of scholarship.

Promoting regional vernaculars is considered unpatriotic, un-Islamic and subversive of national integration. The Bengali language movement was a reaction to this language policy which resulted in the disintegration of Pakistan into two independent states in 1971.

Unlike rest of Pakistan, Azad Kashmir has given Urdu official status and all official correspondence but higher judiciary is in Urdu. One reason for adopting Urdu at the official level in Azad Kashmir is the poor knowledge of English among the ruling elite. More importantly, there is a wish to demonstrate that the Kashmiri elite are more committed and loyal to the ideology of Pakistan than the Pakistanis themselves are, as they always need the blessings of Islamabad to gain and remain in Power in Muzaffarabad. Hardly any government comes into power without the support of the government in Islamabad, though elections have regularly been held since 1985. Part 2 of section 7 of the Azad Jammu and Kashmir Interim Constitution Act, 1974 says "No person or political party in Azad Jammu and Kashmir shall be permitted to propagate against, or take part in activities prejudicial or detrimental to, the ideology of the State's accession to Pakistan". Under section 5 (2) (vii) of the AJK Legislative Assembly Election Ordinance 1970, if a person propagates any opinion or action in any manner prejudicial to the 'ideology of Pakistan and the ideology of state's accession to Pakistan, s/he will be disqualified from the membership of the AJK Legislative Assembly.

Moreover, it is also prerequisite to show loyalty and belief in the ideology of Islam and the *nazriya ilhaqy Pakistan* 'cause of accession of the state of Jammu and Kashmir to Pakistan' to get government jobs especially through the Public Service

Commission (PSC) of Azad Jammu and Kashmir. All those who apply for government jobs through the PSC, have to sign the affidavit declaring their loyalty and belief in the ideology of Pakistan and accession of the state to Pakistan. As language is intimately linked to the ideology of Pakistan and Islam (Rahman 2005: 117), the state looks upon Urdu as a symbol of this ideology and it is seen as one of the reasons for joining the state of Jammu and Kashmir with Pakistan.

In spite of this official status of Urdu and ideological grounds, there is no less demand for English-medium schools than in other parts of Pakistan. Hardly any child from the elite class goes to an Urdu-medium school run by the state. Strong command over English is license to more influential jobs. Moreover, all correspondence with federal officials and those administrative officers appointed by the federal government to oversee the day to day business of the government of Azad Jammu and Kashmir is done in English.

With regard to the indigenous languages, no indigenous language is included in any school curriculum and even documentation and study of these languages is not on the agenda of the state government. Furthermore, in the region of Azad Kashmir, contrary to other parts of Pakistan, where nearly all minority languages are documented and studied (O' Leary 1992, Grierson 1919,), no study or documentation apart from KS (Rahman and Baart 2005) of any local language is available. Interest among the local communities in the study of local languages is non-existent, while foreigners are not allowed to carry out research due to purported security concerns. Typically, most of the standard descriptions of the indigenous languages in Pakistan have been carried out by the Westerners.

Finally, unfavorable language policies of the state government towards indigenous languages have not had the same impact on all languages of the region. The predominant languages of Azad Kashmir – Hindko and Pahari – will become in Rahman's terms 'Urdufied' (Rahman 2010) will remain in use as an oral medium of communication in private domains. There is no instance where speakers of these languages in Azad Kashmir have adopted any other language as a mother tongue, so

these languages at least have a chance to survive as mother tongues. However, the smaller languages and KS in particular are casualties of this policy. The evidence shows that speakers of many smaller languages – Kashmiri, different varieties of Shina, Gojri, Pashto, etc. – have either already shifted to other languages or language shift is underway (Rehman 2007). KS is under tremendous pressure and the state has pushed the language into a situation where chances of its future survival are dim unless some change in the policy occurs or some other intervention comes to its rescue. As traditional language policies and planning have been to reproduce and maintain power and spread ideologies, a policy needs to be developed that supports minority language maintenance, rights and diversity.

6.9 POLITICS OF RELIGION

Religion plays an important role in shaping social and cultural values within society. It can also influence language maintenance and shift. A language not used in religious practices may be marginalized (Marti 2005).Tsunoda (2005:117-133) considers the spread of a religion and culture contact one of the major causes of language shift.

Since the religious institutions wield power in society, the policies they follow impact almost every aspect of society. Sometimes, the impact and influence may be indirect. People of the KS community usually refer to religious authority for guidance. Moreover, religion has always been a principal determinant in the formation of attitudes, which directly affect the daily routines and varieties of behavior including speech behavior of the KS community. More specifically, the impact of Islam on the lives of the people of the Neelam Valley including the KS community is pervasive.

Unlike the indigenous religions of South Asia, Islam was introduced from outside and the Arabic language is regarded as the sacred language of the scriptures. As the scriptures in Islam are considered to be directly dictated by the divinity, it is less likely to be localized to the historical, cultural and psychological circumstances of its receivers when compared to other religions which consider the scriptures as inspired rather than dictated directly (Marti 2005). Nevertheless, the tradition of Islam

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established in South Asia in general and in Kashmir in particular, was a kind of syncretism and emerged in the form of various Sufi sects. The people of the region found this version more acceptable, localized and suitable to their socio-economic and cultural environment. The people, along with the new religion, retained their rich cultural traditions as well as languages. Nonetheless, in the past, movements to 'purify' Islam from the localized traditions and norms were started and the phenomenon of syncretism was condemned as unIslamic or *bidat* 'innovation'. These kinds of movements emphasized creating and showing allegiance to 'the pure Islamic tenets'. Sheikh Ahmed Sarhindi (1564-1624), known as Mujadad-e-Alafe Saani, Shah Waliullah (1703-1762) , and the Deobandi brand of Islam were aimed at 'purifying' Islam from the *bidats* (Encyclopedia of Islam 2001). The major aim of these movements has been to sever the people from these traditional practices and beliefs, and get them to connect themselves to the interpretation of the scriptures aimed at Arabizing the society and also tracing everything to the Arab traditions. This has created social pressures in Muslim society which lead some communities to trace their genealogies to Arab forebears (cf. chapter 1). This can change the speech community's perception of their identity; they separate the link between language and identity. This separation ultimately contributes to language shift (Pandharipande 2002). The very social pressure caused the KS community to insist upon establishing their genealogical link with Arab rather than identity based upon language. The change in the perception of their identity consequently contributed towards language shift to some extent.

Tsitsipis & Elmendorf (1983) argue that some communities value their ancestral languages more than anything else while others do not pay any attention to their ancestral languages and use other cultural areas to build their identity symbols. In such a situation new patterns of behavior including new speech behavior emerge.

The *Deobandi* and the *Wahabi* movements enjoyed popularity in Pakistani society, especially over the last three decades. Moreover, these movements were augmented through the benevolent patronage of some powerful countries of the world such as the United States of America with an aim of using this brand of Islam to counter a

perceived communist threat and Pakistan became an epicenter of their activities. With the money and resources at their disposal, this version of Islam spread at the expense of the traditional one, based upon the teachings of the local Sufis.

These revivalist movements have always been Arab oriented and tried to Arabize the society. By looking at the names of the people one can understand the ongoing process. I have noticed that names of indigenous origin are being increasingly replaced with those of Arab origin. During my field research I found that most of the names of those above 40 years of age both male and female are of indigenous origin, while those aged 40 and under invariably bear names of Arab origin. This is not limited to the KS community, a similar phenomenon can be observed among the Hindko and Kashmiri communities of the Neelam Valley as well. The whole process leads the communities to distance themselves from the traditional ways and traditional practices and create an association with the Arab world. Kurdish and Berber minority languages in Middle East and North Africa have been badly affected by the process of Arabization (Ennaji 2010). Though no evidence is available which would suggest that the people anywhere in the region are adopting the Arabic language at the expense of the local indigenous ones, lots of vocabulary items are coming into use through religious texts. This contributes to indifference towards minority languages. My conjecture is that when the symbols of identity change in this way, the traditional cultures including languages are not valued and people's language loyalty becomes redundant and useless, therefore, the absence of any motivation for using their own language, they start abandoning their heritage language. Similarly, the more religious grip prevailed in the KS community, the more apathy towards the maintenance of KS emerged. KS once a symbol of identity among the community was gradually replaced by *Qureshi*, a clan title of Arab origin.

More convincing instance of this process is the efforts to maintain Kashmiri culture and language on the part of Kashmiri Pandits, who are numerically small and most of whom have left their traditional homeland in the Kashmir Valley and still show loyalty to Kashmiri culture and language. They consider the Kashmiri language a source of their identity and part of their rich cultural heritage (Pandit 2004, Dhar

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2005). Though they are out of their homeland, they have been trying to keep their distinct cultural heritage along with their language alive. In this regard they have been using print and electronic media, have developed useful and comprehensive online resources about Kashmir, its culture, music and the Kashmiri language (Kashmir News Network online). *Kashmir Sentinel, Koshur Samachaar, Unmesh, Vitaṣta, Har Van, Patrika, Milchar and Voice of Jammu and Kashmir* are periodicals published by the diaspora Kashmiri Pandit community. Most of these periodicals contain considerable sections on the Kashmiri language and literature. The Kashmiri Pandits have also formed organizations namely: *Panun Kashmir, Kashmiri Overseas Organization, Satisar Foundation, Virtual Homeland of Kashmiri Pandits, Indo-American Kashmir Forum, Project Zaan, Natyanand Shastri Kashmir Research Institute, and Indian Institute of Linguistics.* A major aim of these organizations is to preserve and promote the cultural heritage, history and the Kashmiri language. Some of them such as the Indian Institute of Linguistics (IILS) are solely devoted to developing pedagogical material in the Kashmiri language and research on the Kashmiri language. These initiatives have been taken by the community itself and without any government patronage. No such initiatives regarding the preservation and promotion of Kashmiri culture or language seems to have been taken by the Kashmiri Muslim Diaspora, which is far greater in number than the Kashmiri Pandits. The interest of the Kashmiri Pandits with the language is corroborated by the fact that most of the academic research on the Kashmiri language has been carried out by scholars belonging to this community (Baart & Baart-Bremer. 2001). The emergence of the 'liberation' movement using militancy as a tool, forced the Pandit minority to leave the valley and settle in different parts of India in the late Eighties and Nineties. Though they are trying hard to associate and identify their community with the cultural heritage of Kashmir and Kashmiri language, their diasporic nature has posed difficulties in maintaining their distinct cultural heritage and language (Koul 2001). In many cases they are shifting to the dominant languages of their respective localities and the community as a whole is struggling to maintain its distinct identity.

KS must have been related to a particular culture and belief system in the past, and spoken more widely, however, after conversion to Islam the symbol of their past association also needed to be changed and create new identity associating more with the distant Arab world (cf. 4.1) rather than the local land. This is evident from the community's recent association with the *Qureshi*, a clan tracing its genealogy back to the family of Muhammad (prophet of Islam), while the revenue records indicate otherwise (the revenue record approached on April 21, 2007).

When Arab totems acquire high prestige, it may erode local cultural heritage, including language and language identity. It is instructive that the Panjabi Muslims on the Pakistani side of the Radcliffe Line place little value on their mother tongue, while for the Sikhs to the east, the Panjabi language is an important part of their cultural and religious identity.

A local language researcher, Fakhruddin, reports that the Kalasha speakers of the Chitral region have progressively abandoned their language in favour of Khowar, the local linga franca, as they have adopted Islam. In his account, the Kalashas of **Suwir** village, who had converted to Islam but still spoke the Kalasha, but were already bilingual in Khowar, one day gathered in a local mosque and collectively took an oath on the Qur'an pledging not to speak their ancestral language from then on. The reason for this mass shift was the stigma attached to Kalasha and the negative attitude of the Khowar speakers towards their language (Fakhruddin p.c. 21 Feb, 2009).

A similar kind of shift has been documented in Northern Nigeria where Islamization has caused local indigenous minority languages to disappear. These local indigenous languages have been labeled as inadequate and un-islamic (Fakuade et al 2003). Another language Yòrúba with about 30 million speakers in Nigeria has also been reported to be affected badly by the introduction of the new religions –Christianity and Islam- in the region. Nearly all speech forms and lexical items depicting their traditional beliefs are being lost progressively (Fabunmi and Salawu 2005).

In Pakistan, not only minority languages, but also the regional languages are under threat. As the country is based upon 'Islamic ideology' and Urdu, which is spoken as

a mother tongue by only 7.6% of the total population, is equated with the ideology of Pakistan (Rahman 2005), encouraging and promoting other languages is sometimes considered against the solidarity and integrity of Pakistan and the Muslim fraternity. Regarding the issue we can see a wide gap of opinion between the right wing parties and those parties inclined towards the secular ideology. The former consider Urdu as a unifying force and struggling to promote it, while the later are friendlier to the local languages, along with English.

Allegiance to the traditional cultural values, including language was eroded, as the new wave of radical Islam arrived in the KS community. Religious authorities indirectly discouraged the use of KS by stigmatizing the KS community on religious pretext –by associating KS with some weird religious belief. Eventually, the community was forced to abandon KS and adopt Hindko as a mother tongue.

Had KS been associated with the religion of the community in any way, it would have been in a better position to resist other factors leading to its loss.

6.10   LACK OF LINGUISTIC KNOWLEDGE AND AWARENESS

Linguistic knowledge sensitizes the people about scientific nature of language and also helps to eradicated erroneous and unfounded attributions and myths about language. Apart from developing friendly point of view towards minority languages, it also helps to take measures to preserve and maintain endangered languages. By raising awareness about the true nature of language, people may be motivated to strengthen and promote small and endangered languages. Moreover, it helps to reduce prejudices and bias along linguistic lines. The more the linguistic knowledge is, the less the prejudices against linguistic minorities are. Moreover, linguists are helpful promote the idea of linguistic diversity.

In the modern world where on the one hand has precipitated the language loss, at the same time it has also helped to devise strategies and methods to sustain and promote the weaker languages through creating scientific knowledge. Lack of awareness, of the importance of the native, minority and heritage languages, dwindles the chances

to resist the language shift, and thus the process of language shift proceeds unabated and finally a language is wiped out on the linguistics map without noticing.

In Pakistan linguistics is the most neglected discipline; no university or any other institute provides training in the field of linguistics. Standard linguistic work on Pakistani languages is either produced by the westerner scholars or by those Pakistanis who do not live in Pakistan (Rahman 2003). Usually, the people in this country are unaware about the new trends and developments in the field of linguistics; they still hold the obsolete view point, long time ago abandoned in the modern world. Modern research in the field of linguistics has shown that learning or acquiring more than one language increases the cognitive ability and is also helpful in the learning of new skills. So the ability to speak two or more than two languages is an asset rather than a liability (De Angelis 2009, Clyne 2004, De Bot 2005).

Moreover, in Pakistan the contents of the school and seminary education do not include any substantive material about the importance and nature of local cultures and languages. Promotion and propagation of the minority or local cultures and languages is considered to be threat to the national integrity as discussed earlier. As a result 'educated' people are usually first who start abandoning their heritage languages.

The prevailing linguistic knowledge among the KS and Hindko community is the traditional one which considers the multilingualism and bilingualism as a liability and learning an indigenous or minority language as a useless activity; this perception and knowledge discourages the use of KS and encourages the speakers to abandon their ancestral language. Modern linguistic knowledge, among even few members of the KS community, could have been helpful in maintaining and preserving the language. Though lack of awareness about the importance of cultures and languages is not a modern phenomenon, the modernism attached to education has rendered minority languages irrelevant and unimportant for the 'well educated' classes of minority communities in particular. Their half-baked knowledge has further enhanced already existing flawed cultural representations, values and stereotypes.

6.11 PARTITION OF FORMER STATE OF JAMMU AND KASHMIR

In 1947 the former state of Jammu and Kashmir, to which the Neelam Valley was a part, was divided between India and Pakistan, usually known as Pakistani administered Kashmir and Indian administered Kashmir. Former is officially known as Azad Jammu and Kashmir (AJ&K sometimes AK), while latter Jammu & Kashmir (J&K) The line that divides these two parts is called the Line of Control (or abbreviated as LoC). As a result of partition the tehsil headquarters of the region Titwal, fell under Indian control and therefore a new tehsil headquarters were established at Kundal Shahi, however, after few years it was shifted to Athmuqam, a nearby town.

The establishment of the tehsil headquarters increased the influx of the people from outside Kundal Shahi, and consequently increased the contact of the KS people with the Hindko speakers long before the construction of the Neelam Highway, and was a first step towards the language shift.

6.12 CONCLUSION

Present study shows that KS is under tremendous threat. If the current situation of language loss continues unabated, I estimate that after 50 years only few words and expressions of KS will survive. Few community members will be using these words, perhaps just occasionally for conveying secret messages or quoting them when they recall their ancestral language.

The degree of endangerment of KS, when measured against the comprehensive model developed by the UNESCO Ad Hoc Committee (Brenzinger et al. 2003), is not higher than the category of *severely* endangered languages. The major indicators which determine the degree of endangerment include: disruption in intergenerational transmission, small proportion of the KS speakers as compared to Hindko speakers in the region and attitude of both Hindko and KS speakers towards KS. We also find in the study that until the intergenerational transmission was robust, a stable

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bilingualism existed and KS was not threatened. The moment parents stopped teaching language to their children decline of KS started. With regard to proportion of KS speakers, even a low-status language can remain stable and robust when the proportion of its speakers is high (Fernando et al. 2010: 71). The smaller proportion of the KS speakers within the larger Hindko population is further eroding fast, and it is anticipated that as a result of the ongoing shift even this smaller proportion will disappear altogether.

The factors responsible for the language loss are so linked together that sometimes it is not possible to separate one from another and in some instances one factor is direct result of the other. For example, 'increased exposure to Hindko' is the direct result of the 'emergence of the local market' and the local market by itself is the by-product of the road link, i.e., 'construction of the Neelam Highway'.

Likelihood of a minority language going extinct increases, when its speakers come into direct contact with the speakers of the dominant language; the minority group chooses not to speak its heritage language and adopts the language of the majority group because they see the dominant language as more appealing and modern (Fernando et al. 2010: 48). Together with the factors mentioned above, intermarriages and the modern education caused increased exposure to Hindko and further stigmatization of KS, which in turn not only enhanced the active competence of Hindko but also increased the attraction for Hindko, and KS speakers thought it more appealing and prestigious to speak Hindko instead of their heritage language. Other factors –modern education, and the partition of the state of Jammu and Kashmir– also played their role in precipitating the language shift, though their role is quite limited. Most of the factors discussed above ultimately affected the attitude of the KS community in particular towards KS. Though they express positive attitude towards the language, their actual behavior shows otherwise i.e., negative attitude towards KS (cf. chapter 5). The change in their attitude had deleterious effects on the maintenance of KS. The formation of negative attitude towards KS is also the result of the popular discourse of the elitist groups and 'educated' class that maintaining traditional ways

including languages is opposed to social mobility and therefore as anti modern and parochial.

Moreover, it is pertinent to mention that elsewhere in the world the economics and the education in the invading dominant language have been recorded as the most compelling factors in language loss; in the KS both of these factors are not of much importance. Hindko to which the community is switching is neither the language of commerce, nor the medium of instruction. The factor of economy is only important to the extent that maintaining KS is not expected to bring any economic benefits to the community, and the role of education is limited to the use of Hindko in informal discussions in schools. Moreover, there is no evidence that the average economic conditions of the KS community members are worse than that of the Hindko speakers.

Threat to the minority languages in the Neelam Valley, KS in particular indicates withering of diversity in the region which is in turn has unmitigated consequences for the future of the inhabitants of the region.

7.   SAFEGUARDING THE KUNDAL SHAHI LANGUAGE

RATIONALE AND STRATEGY

7.1   BENFITS OF MULTILINGUALISM

A variety of factors, discussed in the preceding chapter, have precipitated the ongoing decline of KS. As a result, the KS community members are gradually abandoning their heritage language and adopting Hindko as a mother tongue. No effort can be seen for saving the language, either by the community itself or by any other quarters. Overall indifferent attitude of the community, society and the government in particular has pushed KS into the category of *seriously endangered languages* (cf. chapter 6). If the process continues, the situation will reach a point of no return. When the shift is complete, no one among the community will be able to learn the language, even if they wanted to. After a few decades of its complete disappearance, the members may only be able to mention that they had a distinct language or remember a few words.

Now the question arises whether we should let the language die and encourage a dominant language 'Hindko' to replace it. One argument in favor of this would be that instead of learning many languages, a single language will be more feasible and easier to manage and less costly. In other words, we will encourage linguistic diversity to disappear and promote the concept of a single dominant and powerful language and ultimately encourage monolingualism. The loss of any language reduces overall linguistic diversity (Hale 1992).

Some people believe that diversity is the cause of social friction and the best way to encourage social harmony is by eroding diversity. This position is rejected, however,

on several grounds (Crawford 2000, Bradley and Bradley 2002, Skutnabb-Kangas 2000, Fishman 1991, Roberge and Dick 2009). Firstly and most importantly "those who speak two languages symbolize the essential humanity of building bridges between peoples of different color, creed, culture and language" (Cavaluzzi 2010: 3, quoted from Baker 1995). Secondly, diversity is an essential part of life and vital for long term survival of humanity. Presence of diversity creates opportunities for a kind of learning that occurs through knowledge transfer and is associated with creativity and innovation (Jackson and Schuler 2003). it enables us to cope with the different situations and environments successfully and Its 'performance-increasing' effects have been recorded widely (Roberge and Dick 2009) Life itself is born out of diversity. The need to accept and entertain the phenomenon of diversity proactively is becoming increasingly more important in the modern world. Thirdly, recognition of diversity in worldview and behavior is gradually becoming more acceptable these days (Corson 2001) and is increasingly becoming important for the liberal democracies to thrive. The negation and suppression of diversity on the planet will ultimately lead to strife and chaos within the societies comprising groups of diverse backgrounds. If we exclude the diversity in the world, we will be not only excluding life but also the world itself. Almost in every field of life diversity is required for the healthy environment e.g. even in liberalist free market system. There need to be many players, if the market has to be free; diversity enables choice (Skutnabb-Kangas 2000). The diversity of living things is correlated with the stability and the strongest ecosystems are those which are most diverse (Dixon 1997). There has been lots of debate going on about biodiversity and invariably all people involved in the debate support biodiversity and it is maintained that biodiversity is prerequisite for sustainable environment and balanced ecology on this planet. Extinction of single species from the repository of the life on this planet unpleasant consequences for the whole planet. The diversity of life on the earth does not consist of solely the varieties of plants , animal species and ecosystem found in the nature but it also include cultural and linguistic diversity; these different forms of diversity are closely related and need to be studied together (Skutnabb-Kangas et al 2003). As the biological

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diversity is vital for the sustainable future of this planet, linguistic and 'cultural diversity is a prerequisite for a healthy society (Maffi 2007). For nature, similarly, cultural and linguistic diversity are not less important and is closely related to biodiversity (Nettle and Romaine 2000). Language and cultural diversity maximizes chances of human success and adaptability; it is not only valuable but necessary for the future of our planet, as is biodiversity (Skutnabb-Kangas 2003). The inextricable link between nature and culture has been increasingly emphasized during the last diversity is called biocultural diversity (Schellnhuber et al 2001, Skutnabb-Kangas 2003, Maffi 2007). The cultural diversity including linguistic variations, different belief systems and variations in patterns of actions needs to be protected because they are necessary for preservation and conservation of biodiversity (Schellnhuber 2001). We can see those parts of the world both biological and linguistic diversities coexist. Those regions where biodiversity is found are also home to linguistic diversity. Moreover, the importance of protecting linguistic diversity by saving the rich linguistic heritage is more important than ever before. We can resolve the conflicts amicably only when we respect and allow religious, cultural including linguistic and any other kind of variation. When we try to impose one point of view, one belief system, one culture and reject all other forms as unacceptable behaviors, we will promote hatred and strife on this planet. Promoting and accepting the concept of diversity leads to tolerance and accommodation. Respecting other ways of thinking, behaving, believing and talking will ultimately promote tolerance, harmony and peace in the world. The value and importance of the linguistic diversity has been widely argued for by linguists, language experts and language activists (Smith 2006, Skut-nabb 2000). Almost all of them strongly favor and even take concrete steps to save endangered languages by documenting them and developing literacy materials in the endangered minority language.

Efforts have long been going on to save biodiversity, and the importance of the awareness about the endangerment and loss of biocultural diversity has been realized on international level and initiatives have been taken to save the biocultural diversity on the globe; *Terralingua* organization is one of them which has been working to

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promote, sustain, protect and perpetuate biocultural diversity for the future. The stated goal of the organization is, "to bring about a profound shift in human values through a deeper understanding and appreciation of the vital importance of biocultural diversity for the survival of all life on earth, so that individual and collective action is taken to care for it and sustain it in this rapidly changing world" (Terralingua 2011: online). The strategy of the organization is to develop and deploy its expertise and insights on the issues pertaining to the biocultural diversity on the international forums, through education and field work.

Though, at global level, efforts to save the biodiversity have been underway for a long time, efforts to save linguistic diversity are very recent. The Importance of small or minority languages has started attracting the focus of international organizations like UNESCO. Although UNESCO began to highlight the linguistic diversity as a crucial element of the cultural diversity of the world in the 1980s, in 2001 in the 31st Session of the General Conference of UNESCO stressed the importance of linguistic diversity by adopting the Universal Declaration of Cultural Diversity and in its action plan (Brenzinger et al 2003). UNESCO has started a new phase of action to seriously pay attention to the issue of saving the language diversity. A group of linguists and language supporters worked in collaboration with UNESCO to propose methods of assessing the language vitality. The groups produced viable and practical guidelines in this regard (cf. chapter 6). The goal of the guidelines is to define and reinforce the role of UNESCO in supporting and strengthening the world's endangered languages (Brenzinger et al 2003). The document prepared by the language experts in collaboration with UNESCO drew international attention to the issue of language endangerment and language diversity. The Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity was adopted by the 31st Session of UNESCO's General Conference held in 2 October 2001. Among other things, this declaration holds up cultural rights as defined in Article 27 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The objective of the declaration was to make the nation states commit to the following objectives set by UNESCO:

1. sustaining the linguistic diversity of humanity and giving support to expression, creation, and dissemination of the greatest possible number of languages;

2. encouraging linguistic diversity at all levels of education, wherever possible, and fostering the learning of several languages from the youngest age;

3. incorporating, where appropriate, traditional pedagogies into the education process with a view to preserving and making full use of culturally-appropriate methods of communication and transmission of knowledge; and where permitted by speaker communities, encouraging universal access to information in the public domain through the global network, including promoting linguistic diversity in cyberspace (Brenzinger 2003: 6).

Every year, UNESCO funds projects to ensure the maintenance of linguistic diversity on their part.

Furthermore, recognizing the importance and value of multilingualism and language diversity, the UN General Assembly in its 96th meeting, held on 16th May 2007, declared the year 2008 as the International Year of Languages. The UNESCO was given the responsibility to carry out activities on the language issues and multilingualism such as language education and investigation, language preservation, multilingualism and intercultural diversity promotion. The importance of the multilingualism was underlined by Koïchiro Matsuura (2008), Director-General of UNESCO in the following message:

> Languages are indeed essential to the identity of groups and individuals and to their peaceful coexistence. They constitute a strategic factor of progress towards sustainable development and a harmonious relationship between the global and the local context......UNESCO therefore invites governments, United Nations organizations, civil society organizations, educational institutions, professional associations and all other stakeholders to increase their own activities to foster respect for, and the promotion and protection of

all languages, particularly endangered languages, in all individual and collective contexts etter not say it.

The activities were launched on the occasion of International Mother Tongue Day. Apart from conducting awareness raising initiatives, UNESCO has been funding many projects to save and revitalize endangered languages around the globe.

Realization of the importance of the plurilingualism at wider level shows uncontested vitality and value of languages, particularly minority languages. As discussed earlier, diversity is the essence of the world and the world owes its existence to diversity and is intrinsicly good. So the phenomenon of multilingualism is a norm rather than an exception (Crystal 2004, Hall 2005). In reality we can hardly find a country which is exclusively monolingual. The issue of linguistic diversity has become focus of discussion of the linguists and the language specialists, especially, in the last two decades and they have been trying to warn the world about the catastrophic consequences of the language loss. These scholars have widely and comprehensively discussed the value of linguistic diversity and reasons for maintaining it in the larger interest of the mankind (Tsunoda 2005, wurm 1991, Skutnabb-Kangas 2000, 2002, Skutnabb-Kangas et al 2003, Crystal 2000, 2004, Fishman 1991, Nettle 1999, Nettle and Suzanne 2000, Ansah 2008, Brenzinger 2007, Dixon 1997, Hall 2005, Harmon and L. Maffi. 2002, Maffi 2007). All linguists agree that all languages are of equal worth and they contain diverse world views and pool of knowledge. "Language diversity is essential to the human heritage. Each and every language embodies the unique cultural wisdom of a people. The loss of any language is thus a loss for all humanity" (Brenzinger et al 2003: 1) and it is often said that when a language dies, a world dies.

A language also contains history of the community and the region where it is spoken. An endangered language may provide important archaic phonological material that may be helpful for understanding the history the language family and its speakers (Bradley 2007). We can assess from its original archaic vocabulary and the borrowings, the nature and extent of contact of a group with other language groups

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and also the genetic affiliation of a language; for instance the close analysis of the vocabulary items in KS reveals a closer contact not only with the neighboring linguistic communities but also with the linguistic communities, far away from Kundal Shahi like Kalasha, Khowar and Dameli spoken far away in the northwest. Further curiosity is the word *go:r* 'path' which also occurs in Kangri, a Punjabi-related language in Himachal Pradesh, India (meaning trail for cattle) but not anywhere else in the region (Rehman and Baart 2005); further documentation and analysis may reveal interesting historical facts. Languages, in their structures, vocabularies and unique features, contain a repository of historical facts. We can put right a distorted version of history by analyzing language. For instance, the discovery of the relationship between the languages of Indo European family has been helpful in solving many historical puzzles (Gray and Atkinson 2003). Apart from the historical value of language diversity and multilingualism, it carries the larger benefits and advantages for human well being. Some of these advantages are discussed below.

7.1.1 COGNITIVE VALUE

It has been established in different studies that acquiring more than one language enhances cognitive ability. Herdina and Jessner (2002) argue that multilingual people develop new skills such as metacognitive strategies (strategies and techniques concerning one's own cognitive processes); they also show definite advantage in cognitive flexibility, creativity, divergent thought and problem solving. Multilingual children are more creative and imaginative in their thinking than monolingual children; they are also better in social skills than their monolingual counterparts. Similar arguments have been put forth by Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) and Baker (1996). Crawford (2000) claims that developing bilingualism and cultivating academic excellence are complementary, rather than contradictory goals. There have been various scientific researches to see whether there is any positive effect of learning more than one language on the cognitive abilities. The report of the research team

appointed by the European Commission, presents an analysis of the multilingualism effects based on the available evidence. This research which was conducted within neuroscience presents strong and compelling evidence of versatile knowledge of languages being useful for the usage of an individual's brain. The report concluded that multilingualism has the following salutary effects:

- Enhanced Mental Flexibility

- Enhanced Problem Solving capability

- Expanded MetaLinguistic Ability (understanding and knowledge about language)

- Enhanced Learning Mind

- Enhanced Interpersonal Ability

- Reduced Age-related Mental Diminishment

(Marsh et al 2009).

The age we are living in is the age of innovation and innovations are built upon the above mentioned capabilities. So the enhanced abilities means greater innovations and innovations are the only key factor behind all economic and social success.

Another recent study headed by Dr. Gitit Kavé, a clinical neuro-psychologist from the Herzog Institute on Aging at Tel Aviv University, discovered that elderly people who speak more than one language tested better for cognitive functions. The test was based on a survey carried out during 1998 on people ranging from 75 to 95 of age. Bilingual, trilingual and multilingual respondents were compared and it was found that the more languages an individual spoke, the better his cognitive state was. Further, it was also discovered that correlation between languages and cognitive state was stronger among those who were not educated (Kavé et al 2008). So the enhanced cognitive ability was not the result of education.

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7.1.2 LANGUAGE A RICH POOL OF KNOWLEDGE

Language is a means of transmitting information, knowledge and ideas. The unique experience and environment of community finds expression through the language the community speaks. Thus, knowledge of each language constitutes a unique world view and repository of unique knowledge including traditional ecological knowledge. The traditional ecological knowledge is usually the result of centuries-long close observation of a specific ecosystem (Harmon and Maffi 2001). Moreover, most of the culture, such as songs, riddles, proverbs, and wise sayings, is expressed through language (Fishman 1996). The UNESCO Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger describes the relationship between language loss and loss of knowledge in a comprehensive manner.

> Each language reflects a unique world-view and culture complex, mirroring the manner in which a speech community has resolved its problems in dealing with the world, and has formulated its thinking, its system of philosophy and understanding of the world around it. In this, each language is the means of expression of the intangible cultural heritage of a people, and it remains a reflection of this culture for some time even after the culture which underlies it decays and crumbles, often under the impact of an intrusive, powerful, usually metropolitan, different culture. However, with the death and disappearance of such a language, an irreplaceable unit in our knowledge and understanding of human thought and world-view is lost forever (Mosley 2009).

The languages are formed and affected by the human experiences. Loss of a language will be irrecoverable loss of the rich and unique knowledge that is based upon a particular cultural and historical experience (Brenzinger 2007). Hale (1992) calls the unique embodiment of the knowledge 'intellectual wealth'. This intellectual wealth and the language of the people are inseparable. The rich embodiment of knowledge and intellectual wealth contained in a language is not product of one time or age, it is accumulation of joint production of generations. Our language contains generations'

significant part of knowledge and wisdom, that each generation has contributed (Reyhner 1996).

This loss of language along with rich pool of knowledge which a community has developed for generations not only is detrimental to humanity but also for the ecosystem as whole.

7.1.3 LANGUAGE A SOURCE OF IDENTITY AND SOLIDARITY

Language is a potentially a carrier of group identity and is a force of powerful symbolic value (Leoussi 2001). Apart from the accumulated knowledge and experience embodied in a language, it is also an important marker of identity and solidarity for a community (Tsunoda 2005, Dorian 1980). Not only language culture, ancestry, but religion also plays an important role in the formation of ethnic identity; these markers are not equally important for all groups and for all times. Using these identity markers for a group identity depends upon the context , issues and existing major trends in a society. It is common that for certain reasons some markers of identity are foregrounded while others go into back ground. Using mother tongue as an identity marker varies from group to group. Some people identify themselves so strongly with their mother tongue that they would even give up land to keep their mother tongue alive, on the other hand speakers of another language might pay much less honor to their mother tongue and use other cultural areas to build their identity symbols (Tsitsipis 1983). The symbols used to develop identity may include perceived common ancestry, religion and region. According to Tsitsipis (1983) foregrounding one character or marker and putting the other one into background depends upon two factors: cultural stance and pragmatic stance. In the case of KS the cultural stance is become weaker and pragmatic stance is being enhanced which is causing widespread language shift. Learning KS is considered a useless exercise and members prefer to teach their children modern language for instance Urdu and English rather than KS. It is generally thought that only learning these two languages may be useful while other languages have a low status.

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We have instances where languages abandoned long ago are revived to strengthen and preserve ethnic identity of a group. For instance the main driving force, behind language reclamation efforts among the Kaurna community in Australia, is a statement of identity, to ensure that the community at large knows that the Kaurna people have survived and that they still have connections to the Adelaide Plains (Amery 2001). Language has also become a major marker of belonging to a particular ethnic or national group in the European tradition (Schmidt 2008).

Using language as a marker of identity, and building groupness around it, has also other positive consequences. While constructing identity around sectarian or 'shared ancestral' basis is detrimental to the minority communities like KS and for the society as a whole. The grouping of smaller communities around linguistic marker will help to develop respect for other minority languages and forge intergroup cooperation. A healthy and conducive environment may emerge for the expression of divergent point view as well. Moreover, it will help to promote and forge pluralistic point of view in society. On the other hand, in the context of South Asia, if these smaller groups or individuals within the groups identify themselves with some sectarian groups, it will further communalize and promote intolerance and in some instances promote terrorism in society. The fact that the suppression of minority languages leads to elitism and intolerance, has also been hinted at by the scholars working on the minority languages around the world (Cantoni 1997).

In addition, the grouping of minority communities around linguistic lines will promote sense of coexistence for other communities. This kind of grouping will also be useful for carrying out activities for the life improvement of the community at national level as it will not have any hegemonic confrontation from any quarter. We can see in Azad Kashmir the markers of 'shared ancestries' are usually exploited and used to further political and motives and are usually met with hegemonic attitudes of the rival groups. Even sometimes the groups resort violence. In Mirpur Azad Kashmir there are two strong clans: the *Rajas* and the *Jats*; both are so polarized along the clan lines that they frequently resort to violence against each other. Similarly in the Districts of Rawalakot and Sudhnuti the *Suhdan* clan is a majority group and has been

always trying to marginalize the other minority clans. Hardly anyone among the minority clans can challenge the power of the group. The group does share anything common which may distinguish them from other smaller groups in the region. The belonging of the group is based upon the assumption of their common ancestry. Similarly, in other parts of Azad Kashmir clan title is used as an identity marker and people from diverse backgrounds group themselves together around it. The grouping is sometimes dangerous and gives a good reason of discrimination against people living at a same place, sharing same language and culture, and following same belief but carrying different clan titles.

The present scenario in South Asia warrants the need of developing and constructing identities and grouping around linguistic rather than religious, sectarian and clanship basis. This kind of identity will sometimes cut across the regional, religious, sectarian and clan based boundaries. This grouping will encourage the mutual interaction and also function as a savior of rich linguistic heritage, which is highly threatened in the modern period.

Moreover, rallying around the linguistic grounds will have greater repercussions at global level at least for the those communities which are highly charged with the communal hatred. The phenomenon of the extremism in Afghanistan may be countered by strengthening and restructuring the grouping around linguistic lines. The provincial government of Pakistan in Khyber-Pakhtoonkhwa ,former NWFP, has already been working hard to counter the phenomenon of extremism by the strengthening the Pashtoon identity. The *Tilibans* consider the policy of the provincial goverment as a major threat to their existence and they therefore are constantly attacking and killing the workers and the leadership of the *Awami National Party* (ANP*)*. The ANP is presently running the government in the province.

The clan identity, which is gaining an important role in the politics and every field of life in Azad Kashmir, is vague and subjective. To my knowledge there is not a single feature: cultural, religious, racial, biological, linguistic (except for the Gojars, who have a distinct language, Gojri) which may distinguish one clan from another. Only

entries in the revenue records and in personal records are the sole evidence of the clanships. As I have already mentioned, these clan titles are sometimes adopted to associate oneself with a group wielding more power or prestige or even sometimes with the clans of past rulers and alike (cf. chapter 5, 6). Sometimes people keep switching these titles according to the need and demands of a particular situation. For instance presently a retired judge of the Supreme Court had assumed the clan title of the then chief justice of Azad Jammu and Kashmir Supreme court when he was doing his practice in the Supreme Court; afterwards when the chief justice was no longer in the services, he adopted another clan title and now his clan title is different from the earlier one (p.c. with Advocate Farooq Khan Naezi 20 January 2011).

The cognitive aspect, treasure of rich local knowledge, and concept of the identity are not only the positive outputs of the maintenance and retention of the minority language, it has aesthetic and linguistic value as well. To prevent loss of language would save an artistic pleasure by the presence of diverse languages with diverse vocabularies and diverse worldviews. Moreover, the more the languages are studied, the more information is collected regarding the use of language in general. Study of more languages provides an insight into the way the brain works (Uribe-Jongbloed 2007). Without linguistic diversity it would be impossible for us to formulate realistic theory of human linguistic competence (Hale 1998). Ethics also support the maintenance of the weaker or minority languages. If we let the weaker languages die, we will indirectly support the Darwinian idea ' survival of the fittest' (Krauss 2007); the whole process and thinking will promote the philosophy of might is right. In addition to these issues, the minority language issue is closely related to human rights issue (McCarty 2003, Hinton 2001, 2003; Skutnabb-Kangas 2000, Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas 1995).

Finally, I would add to the discussion the fact that I myself am multilingual and can fluently speak Kashmiri , Hindko, Punjabi, Urdu/Hindi and English, though cannot write in other than Urdu and English as no other language is used in education/literacy, I never feel any obstacle in communication in any situation; I feel rather advantage and can adjust to different situations easily. I usually enjoy talking

with different people in their own language and can communicate better than those who are monolingual or bilingual. It brings me closer to the people when I talk to them in a language which they better understand rather than a language which they feel uncomfortable to use.

The preceding arguments are enough proof for the fact that KS must be saved from extinction and the ongoing shift reversed immediately. Maintenance and revitalization efforts are required to stop the ongoing serious decline bring back the language into use.

7.2   HOW TO REVITALIZE THE KUNDAL SHAHI LANGUAGE

Language revitalization and language maintenance is an effort on the part of the interested parties, groups or individuals to reverse the decline of a language. Revitalization and maintenance efforts are required in situations like KS where language shift has already started. The issue of language revitalization has been an area of interest for sociolinguists and language advocates (Fishman 1991, 2001; Krauss 2007b, Grenoble and Whaley 1998, 2006; Tsunoda 2005, Skutnabb-Kangas 2000, 2003; Amery 2001, Ansah 2008, Cantoni 1997, Crystal 2000, Hinton 2001, Grenoble and Whaley 2006, King 2001, Wurm 2002, Dorian 1994). They have argued and explained the phenomenon of the language revitalization and also devised strategies to carry out language revitalization programs successfully. However, most of them have discussed the language revitalization issues, efforts and strategies adopted either in Europe, the Pacific, Africa, the Equator, the Americas and East Asia. The region of South Asia has found little attention of the academics and linguists on the issue of language maintenance and revitalization. Particularly in Pakistan such studies are almost non-existent.

Presently the world faces new challenges in keeping its languages alive and meaningful. In this modern age it is imperative upon the peoples of the world to jointly use their resources to keep the linguistic and cultural diversity intact and alive

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and proactively counter the new challenges in keeping the declining languages alive and meaningful (Brenzinger et al 2003).

Language advocates and experts have been involved in the language revival and revitalization efforts through out the globe. The modern exponents who have promoted the of the language revitalization and revival have well explained the reasons behind the philosophy of saving , reviving and revitalizing the endangered languages. The strategies and importance has been widely argued by Skutnabb-Kangas 2000, exponents. From the above discussion and the discussion in the preceding chapters, it is clear enough that immediate steps are required to save KS which is in precarious situation. If the situation persists unchecked the language will be lost in the near future.

A language comes into existence through a process of centuries and carries a rich treasure of knowledge and values. If a language disappears the whole array of knowledge is also lost (Harrison 2007). As discussed earlier our life on this planet owes to the phenomenon of diversity. It is a fact that we cannot create a mythical homogeneous world. It would be not more than a lunatic dream to think of single language, single religion, single culture, and similar behavior. This kind of perverted thinking has been resulted in a negative impact on the society.

Finally the loss of language is part of the oppression and disenfranchisement of the indigenous people, who are involuntarily succumbing to the national and international pressures. These pressures are not rational, they are always triggered by 'power' or the philosophy of 'might is right'. The language maintenance or revitalization efforts on the part of the less powerful and endangered groups/their supporters are a part of a larger struggle to regain or retain their political economy, their land base or at least their own sense of identity (Hinton 2001). This struggle ultimately leads to granting the rights of the lesser-powerful and underprivileged groups of a society.

Presently, we see a large number of minority and less privileged communities that are confronted with an increasing loss of language and in many such cases efforts are being made to stop and reverse this shift and bring the languages back into normal

use (Grenoble and Whaley 2006). The issue of language revitalization is gaining global attention and we can see a lots of literature produced on the topic. All of them argue for language revitalization and language maintenance and consider language diversity an asset. The available literature shows that most of the language revitalization programs are being only taken up in Europe, the Americas, the greater Pacific (including Australia) Africa and East Asia (Batibo 2005, Fishman 2000, Bradley 20002, Hinton 2003, Wurm 2002, Valeš 2009, Schmidt 2008). The awareness and concern about the language loss is well The language revitalization efforts going on all around the world set examples for those communities who face imminent language loss. Most of these ongoing efforts are encouraging and we have , with few exceptions, many successful stories of language revitalization around the globe; the widely quoted examples are the revival of Maori in the New Zealand, Hawaiian in Hawaii, Hebrew (McCarty 2003, Obiero 2008), Welsh (Morgan 2001, Jones 1998) and Kaurna, an Indigenous language of the Adelaide Plains in South Australia (Grenoble and Whaley 2006: 66, Amery 2009).However, there are few instances of language revitalization failures and a famous example of such examples is Irish. In spite of coordinated efforts the language is on its way to death (Carnie 1996).

To bring back KS we can draw on the successful programs of the language revival around the globe; however they have their own limitations and are more relevant to the situations in which they are operating as we do not have any instance of successful or unsuccessful revival program in Pakistan or Azad Kashmir.

Recently, few initiatives have been started by the *Forum for Language Initiatives*, Islamabad, formerly known as *Frontier Language Institute* for the maintenance and revival of especially the endangered minority languages of northern Pakistan. However, to date the field of language documentation and language revitalization/maintenance has remained irrelevant to the governments, academics, public and other relevant agencies in Pakistan. In Pakistan, the above mentioned programs are solely initiated by the *SIL International*.

Fishman has worked extensively on the issue of language shift and revival. His theory *Reversing Language Shift (RLS)* (1991: 87-108) presents eight steps towards language revival. Except for the step six which emphasizes on the intergenerational language transmission, all other steps are not much relevant to the situation of KS. His steps are largely based upon the Hebrew RLS model. Another model of language revitalization and maintenance has been developed by Hinton (2001: 6-8). This model unlike earlier proposes nine steps and is relevant to most of the situations of language revitalization program. However, KS situation is quite different and only few steps of these might have partial relevance in devising programs for the retention and revitalization of KS. As it is always important to understand the local history, religion, politics and culture in order to make right decisions for successful language revitalization program (McLaughlin 1995) therefore, local environment has to be kept in mind while devising strategies to revive KS needs. Secondly, the important factor for a language revival program to make successful is to have realistic expectation, participation of the community members/native speakers and tremendous commitment and collaboration (Grenoble and Whaley 2006). If we set such goals which are unrealistic and work with out commitment and mutual cooperation of different groups i.e. linguists, community members and other language planners, the program is definitively deemed to be unsuccessful.

Hinton (2001) argues that the local environment and the context, in which an endangered language exists, must be taken into consideration while forming the language revitalization strategies and program. Therefore, as a resident of the area and long experience of field work stretching over more than seven years in KS and also taking into consideration the nature and level success of the programs taken up elsewhere in the world, I would like to suggest the following strategies, steps and measures to be taken to save KS not only from extinction but also bring it back into use though limited it may be.

7.2.1 LANGUAGE DOCUMENTATION

Language documentation is a record of the linguistic practices and behavior of a speech community. It includes recorded and transcribed texts, word lists, language descriptions and systematic account of the observed practices in terms of the linguistic generalizations such as in a grammar and analytical lexicon (Birds and Simons 2003). Language documentation has gained wider attention of the linguists and has assumed status of a subfield in the linguistic inquiry and practice in its own right (Himmelmann 2006). The purpose of documentation should not be 'documentation for the sake of documentation' as underlined by Batibo (2009: 196):

The process of documentation should aim at not only the preservation of data of the indigenous languages for academic purposes but also, and mainly, the empowerment of the communities so as to be able to use their languages extensively and proactively. The empowerment process should also enable the speakers to value their languages, to build a higher self-esteem and to readily transmit their languages and culture to the younger generations.

The language documentation is a first step towards language maintenance and revitalization. If a language is not documented, we will not have any idea about the nature of endangerment nature of loss of the language. Language documentation is an important step towards language maintenance and revival. Grenoble and Whaley (2006) have underlined the importance of language documentation pointing out that the seriously endangered language should be documented as soon as possible.

The work of language documentation has been found to be both crucial and central in the preservation, safeguarding and revitalization of the endangered languages of Africa (Batibo 2009):195).

As for KS, it is the most poorly documented language of the region. Even the name of the language was not mentioned in any kind of linguistic literature until

2002, when I started field research (Rehman and Baart 2005). The existing documentation of the language consists of the preliminary paper and the documentation for the present dissertation. The data is quite limited and is not enough for a language maintenance and revitalization program to start.

My concept of documentation include measuring the prevailing socio-linguistic situation in the community, complete demographic census with age groups with their level of fluency, assessment of the available resources and finally the attitudes of the speakers and Hindko speakers towards the revitalization efforts. A complete description of the sociolinguistic situation and attitudes is first step towards language revitalization of KS as stressed by Hinton (2001).

A dictionary and a grammar is immediately required to make any further progress. The dictionary may be helpful not only for those who start learning KS but also for those who are semi-speakers of KS. I have observed in the field research that a large chunk of vocabulary and grammatical structures have already been lost; however, some elderly people still retain a large part of this unique vocabulary and grammatical structures and if documentation is not carried out immediately most part of the language will be unavailable for preservation. Language documentation is not an easy job. It requires professional expertise, which is almost nonexistent in the region as a whole. For this purpose trained field linguists will be required. The question arises how can be professional linguists brought to this volatile region. As normally the linguistic research and documentation in Pakistan is carried out by the linguists from the Western countries. It is unlikely to have such linguists hired for the purpose as this would require a large funding which is not possible to generate at the present stage.

One possible way is to involve the research scholars who are pursuing their doctoral research preferably from the developed countries and make a team with the help of local linguists including the *Forum for Language Initiatives* (FLI). The collaboration can be helpful and successful in documenting KS. The FLI is

running a Discovery program aimed at enabling the minority language communities of northern Pakistan to preserve and promote their mother tongues through documentation. Basic aims of the forum are:

- Transferring knowledge and skills
- Developing human resources
- Serving through partnerships and networking
- Affirming the intrinsic worth of all mother tongues and cultures
- Building capable and visionary leaders in the field of language documentation and preservation who are committed to excellence and integrity

(FLI 2009: Online).

With the help of the team the KS community can be involved in the language documentation program and thus the work can become less expensive. We can document maximum language with minimum resources and time. For instance a 'Semantic Domain' workshop of 2-3 days in the community will be enough to collect data to compile a good dictionary. This could be carried out by the trained local language activists under the guidance of some experienced linguists and research scholars.

Language documentation is not possible without financial support. So far as I know, presently, no government agency or local donor is ready to fund such a project as there is no awareness about the importance of language diversity and language preservation. Only source of funding available for such project would be some international agency such as the UNESCO, Fund for Endangered Languages, Endangered Languages Project and alike.

The documentation of KS will not only help to preserve the language data which otherwise faces an imminent threat of loss, it will also help to increase the prestige of the language. Moreover, presence of the international researchers, particularly from the west, will further enhance this prestige not only within the KS community but

also among the neighboring Hindko community. This will also help in dispelling the myth that KS is not a natural language and is only a hodgepodge of noise (cf. chapter 5). Proper documentation of the language will change the attitude of the community as well of the Hindko speakers towards KS.

Finally, even if nothing is done to preserve and revitalize the language, the documentation will at least help to record the language before the last speaker of the language passes away.

7.2.2 RAISING LANGUAGE AWARENESS

Language awareness has been defined by Donmall (1985: 7) as "a person's sensitivity to and conscious awareness of the nature of language and its role in human life".

In the region, there is a widespread misinformation and misconception and negative connotations including stereotypes about smaller languages like KS and minority cultures as wells (cf. chapter 5-6). There is a critical need for informed knowledge about the value and importance of language diversity and unwritten languages particularly minority ones in the public life. It is urgently needed to disseminate scientific-based information on languages and language diversity. Need is to start advocacy initiatives at government level, among the higher educational institutions and the communities to raise awareness of the importance of safeguarding the local, especially, the endangered languages and link the concept of safeguarding languages to the safeguarding of traditional indigenous knowledge and local cultures.

Presently, around the globe and particularly in the Western World growing awareness about the language rights have prompted the educators and policy makers to recognize the importance of minority languages. As a result of this awareness, policies to support teaching of these languages as school subjects, are being formulated. More and more legitimacy and attention is now being given to the minority or heritage languages (Valdés 2001). This growing awareness can be well judged by the fact that when the last speaker of *Bo* an ancient language in India's Andaman Islands dies, concern is not only shown by the linguists but also by the

BBC; a detailed report lamenting the incident is published on its website (Lawson 4 Feb, 2010).

However, story is different in our part of the world. We can see that in Azad Kashmir, the curricula do not include anything about the importance of local/indigenous languages and their importance. For language maintenance and preservation, it is imperative that the relevant government agencies include linguistic and other language related information in the curricula.

By imparting basic linguistic training to few motivated young individuals we can prepare a team of local linguists who may work along with some professional linguist and jointly seek ways and means to make the language awareness campaigns successful. The linguists may not necessarily always remain present in the community. They may have contact with the activists through emails etc., and occasionally visit the village. Moreover, brochures and pamphlets can also be used to raise language awareness.

Fishman (1991) notices that considering minority language as parochial and anti-modern hampers the reversing language shift efforts. In order to save and revitalize the endangered languages we need to create awareness about the prevailing concocted stories and stereotypes regarding these languages. This awareness includes explaining the things scientifically and dispelling all unfounded myths. The negative myths are usually created to stigmatize a minority group. Accurate scientific information about the languages is required to avoid the language loss and create enough motivation to bring KS back home. The erroneous assumptions about the language can only be defeated through spreading and promoting updated linguistic knowledge within the community.

The KS community requires to be made aware of the fact, that the language could be useful in different ways such as with respect to enhanced cognition, self esteem and better knowledge as discussed above. This kind of awareness campaign will in Wurm's term 'rekindle' (2002) the interest of speakers in their language and eventually they will consciously involve themselves in the process of language

maintenance and revitalization. As discussed earlier the attitude of the dominant language group also matters and affects the process of language shift within a minority community. Therefore, awareness raising is not only required within the KS community but also among the neighboring Hindko community. It may help in changing the hegemonic and hostile attitude of Hindko community towards KS and KS community.

Different government agencies can also be helpful for the language revival and language maintenance program. However, it is not possible at the moment as there is a sheer lack of awareness among the government functionaries. The campaign at the government level may be carried out through news paper article, seminars, discussions with the functionaries and introducing the relevant agencies to the updated literature on language endangerment and also familiarizing with the language revitalization efforts going on around the globe. This can be done through an organization, consisting of the language activists from the community other local researchers and the international researchers. The detail of this kind of organization will come in the section below.

Finally, the language awareness campaign will not only promote positive attitude among the KS members and non-KS members equally, but also give them objective linguistic knowledge. This in turn will enhance KS revitalization and foster greater linguistic tolerance and cross-cultural awareness among the KS and the Hindko speakers.

7.2.3 PROMOTING INTERGENERATIONAL TRANSMISSION

The single most important factor in language maintenance and loss is the intergenerational transmission. If intergenerational transmission is robust, the language does not face any threat and shall remain robust, while if the intergenerational transmission of a language disrupts, the language faces imminent danger of loss; the language will gradually disappear from the scene and will be replaced by another.

It is important to understand the dynamics of the intergenerational transmission of language to frame a language revitalization program (Grenoble and Whaley 2006). Most significant point of the RLS theory of Fishman (1991) is the revival of intergenerational transmission of a language. If we rely upon schools and other institutions outside home, the revival effort are deemed to failure. For successful language revitalization efforts the use of language in the home domain is needed. In short, other domains may be helpful in this process however, unless the task is begun and continued in the home, no other effort can accomplish the task.

As It has earlier been discussed that the there is a considerable disruption in intergenerational transmission of KS. The language is hardly being transmitted to the children (chapter 4). The language is increasingly being ousted from the home domain. To bring the language back to into use it is important to start speaking KS at home particularly, with the children.

If parents start speaking KS with their children, the children will start learning it and this will subsequently increase the chances of its survival more than any other language revitalization effort. Use of language at home and outside home with the community members is termed by Spolsky (1995) as 'informal intergenerational transmission'; he considers the 'informal' intergenerational transmission a central feature of language maintenance and we can only bring back an endangered language into use by starting intergenerational transmission of mother tongue (Valeš 2009) rather than just starting mother tongue literacy programs , etc. Use of KS can only be promoted through encouraging individuals especially the children to use the language or words, phrases or whatever they know with their parents, the elder people of the community and their peers. The use of KS can be rewarded in the form of gifts such as sweets and toys and alike. This kind of activity is useful for making a language revitalization program successful (Wurm 2002). The encouragement may also be promoted through arranging competitions among the young people of the KS community and prizes given away on the basis of language performance.

It is pertinent to mention that intergenerational transmission of KS will not occur unless the parents are convinced about the importance of their heritage language and motivated to revive it.

7.2.4 LANGUAGE SOCIETY

No effort, to revitalize KS, will achieve the desired goals unless the community is involved in the process. Maintaining and revitalization of the language requires participation and motivation on the part of the KS community as a whole. Language maintenance and revitalization requires special love, care and protection on the part the concerned communities and success of revitalization needs their support (Reyhner 1999).

It has been demonstrated elsewhere in the world that any effort of language revitalization, which does not involve the concerned community, is deemed to fail. The involvements of the language communities have yielded positive results in the efforts of language revitalization and revival therefore community mobilization is necessary for successful language revival (Obiero 2008, Laoire 2008, Derhemi 2002). In fact any programs introduced by any one, interested in language revival, will remain meaningless with active participation of the community in question. Grenoble (2009: 64) argues that in order to make a language revitalization program successful, it must be driven by the community of people who do and will use the language.

Active participation of the KS community in the language revival program is only possible through an effective organization. Formation of language society, with an aim of reviving and maintaining the language, will be a first step in this regard. The society can create links with language experts and organizations working on language revival programs elsewhere. However, the outside consultations and suggestions will only guide the members through this process. The society will help creating motivation and interest for the revival of KS among the KS community members by arranging culturally acceptable and appropriate programs and events. The society can also guide the researchers, linguists and other relevant individuals, extending their

help and cooperating from outside for the language development programs. The help from the experts will enable the society to devise viable and practical strategies for the revival and revitalization of KS.

The society may form subcommittees to supervise different revival programs. With the cooperation of different institutions working to maintain languages, the society may get its language activists trained and these activists, apart from running campaign for the revival of the language, can take concrete steps to promote the use of KS. Moreover, these local trained language experts will have easy access to the elderly men and women in the community, and they can obtain useful language data from these elderly people. Language data collected from elderly members of an endangered language community is always more reliable and useful for developing dictionaries, story books and material for the literacy.

In addition, the Language society may take up different language revitalization programs such as devising and running literacy programs in the language, documentation or dictionary making projects.

Efforts from linguists or academics from outside the community cannot succeed unless the community is ready to maintain its language (Bradley 2002) therefore program or language revival activity, carried out through the community participation, will give ownership to it and will increase the chances of its success.

The value of the language society in reviving KS is corroborated by the instances in northern Pakistan where minority communities, whose languages face imminent threats, have formed organizations through which they have started successful language promotion programs. The Palula community in Chitral has established *Anjuman-e- Taraqi-e-Palula* 'Palula language society, the Gawri community in Kalam *Gawri Community Development Program* and Torwali community in Bahrain has set up *Torwali Idaara Baray-e-Taleemo Taraqi* 'Torwali Institute for Education and Development'. With the cooperation of the FLI these organizations are running successful language promotion programs in their respective communities. Drawing

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upon the successes of these community organizations, the language society in the KS community, if formed, will save the language from extinction.

7.2.5 LITERACY PROGRAM

Written text in any form is a wonderful and beautiful thing; however, it is not itself a language and is a recent innovation (Bobaljik 1998). We can see in the past languages would survive without committing to paper. On the other hand sometimes, written languages would disappear as a spoken medium such. Sanskrit is one of such instances. The twentieth century witnessed a big shift in the traditional ways and means of communication. Especially, with the invention of the printing press and the modern internet, the importance of written medium of communication has enormously gained importance. One of the major reason for language loss in this globalised world is non-existence of literacy in the lesser-used languages and developing literacy programs, to revitalize the endangered languages, has become an important factor in maintaining and reviving the endangered languages. Inclusion of writing in an endangered language increases the chances of its survival as it has the main aim of developing literacy program for an endangered language is to protect it against the infringement by a dominant language (Grenoble and Whaley 2006). The evidence has shown that inclusion of writing has proven a useful tool to strengthen the indigenous minority languages (Bennett et al. 1999). Moreover, children who study in their mother tongue perform better than those whose school language is a second language (Watkins 2010: 187).

In Azad Kashmir literacy in local indigenous languages is almost non-extent. Absence of literary tradition in the languages other than Urdu and English has not only rendered the future of KS certain but also predominant languages like Hindko. Whole domains of literacy, education and media are occupied by Urdu and English. Eventually, both of the languages are not only occupying the new domains but also making inroads into the traditional domains, slow however the process may be.

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Major factor in language maintenance and loss is attitude of the speakers towards their language. There is a valid reason to develop indifferent or even sometimes negative attitude towards one's mother tongue, if it is not used in education or does not have any literary tradition. In such situation, developing literacy material may help to change this negative attitude into positive (Bradley 2002). "Materials in and on the language have the potential to restore the language's prestige, or to restore its usage through vernacular literacy" (Guérin 2008: 47). In addition to strengthening the position of KS, it will also change the attitude of the community towards the language.

Once KS is committed to writing, it will dispel most of the negative stereotypes (cf. chapter 4, 5) prevalent about the language. Literacy program will also be helpful for those KS members who have either not learnt the language or learnt few words and phrases; the interested individuals may find it an opportunity to get command over their ancestral language. As during my field research many KS members told me that they would like to learn KS, if some literacy program in KS is started.

Starting up literacy program in KS is not an easy job as mentioned earlier the language has no written tradition, therefore, first thing to be done in this regard would be to document analyze and describe the language. Second task which involves lot of hard work would be to devise a viable and practical orthography for the language. The phonological analysis of the language would be helpful in developing the orthography for KS. Before starting developing orthography, the decision has to be taken to choose the script on which the orthography will be based. We have two scripts or writing systems in our education: Roman script –used for English—and Persio-Arabic used for Urdu and for few other local languages. Keeping in view the socio-cultural considerations, the Persio-Arabic script based orthography would be more acceptable to the community members, though it is linguistically less sound than the Roman script. The Persio-Arabic script has fewer symbols for contrasting vowel and overrepresentation of consonant than that of the Roman Script.

The script, which is chosen upon which the orthography of KS will be based, has to be standard and effective. For an effective and practical orthography Cahill and Karań

(2008) suggest that it should be linguistically sound, acceptable to all stakeholders, teachable and easy to reproduce. Orthography is linguistically sound, if it contains symbols for all contrasting sounds and does not contain superfluous and redundant symbols. Apart from the unique phonemes of KS, it has also tonal contrast; the orthography needs to have symbols to mark the tonal contrasts as well. Any outside decision by academics with out consulting the community would render orthography controversial in a community, however, practical it is. To make it acceptable the community should be involved in the decision making process. Moreover, the orthography should be easier to teach and learn. It should not contain symbols, difficult to reproduce. Symbols already in use can be adapted for the new sounds in KS rather than devising new symbols. It would be also beneficial to consult the already developed orthographies for other smaller languages and borrow symbols if possible.

Once orthography is developed, it needs testing. By testing it we can check whether it is acceptable to the learners and any difficulty faced by the learners. Learnablility and acceptability of an orthography can be checked through formal and informal testing (Cahill and Karan 2008).

Once linguistically viable and socially acceptable orthography is devised, literacy program can be started in the community. Literacy in a minority language can not be started without taking account of the other languages which are already medium of instructions e.g. Urdu and English. In such a situation the experts have come up with a new idea of multilingual education (MLE). The concept of MLE has recently emerged. The UNESCO adopted the term 'multilingual education' in 1999 in the General Conference Resolution 12 to refer to the use of at least three languages, the mother tongue, a regional or national language and an international language in education (UNESCO 2003). In the MLE program the students start learning to read and write in their mother tongue/heritage language and then bridge to the national and international languages (Malone 2005) and continue learning all languages, at least through primary school (Kosonen et al. 2007). The MLE programs have been initiated in eight countires of Asai –china, India, Cambodia, Thailand, the Philippines, Nepal,

Indonesia, Bangladesh (Kosonen et al. 2007) In northern Pakistan three minority language communities – Torwali, Gawri , Palula—have started pilot project of MLE. The results of these pilot projects are quite encouraging and the community members are increasingly welcoming the initiative (p.c. with Zaman, Zubeer and Naseem[6]).

Drawing on the experience of the already running MLE programs outside Pakistan and the above mentioned MLE pilot projects, a practical and successful MLE program could be started.

Apart from MLE, adult literacy program in KS can also be started with the interested individuals who are already literate at least in Urdu. This will help and encourage them to further their KS proficiency.

If by using modern techniques and methodologies the learning of KS along with Urdu –English proficiency shows better results, the children from the KS community may willingly and contentedly join the MLE programs as it will fulfill their pragmatic need as well. They will have a valid reason to learn KS.

Manx is an excellent example of language revival through schooling. Manx, an indigenous language of the Isle of Man, a self governing Dependency of the British Crown, had ceased to be a spoken medium with the death of its last native speaker in 1974. The education program in Manx for less than a decade has been succeeded in developing a group of fluent, young Manx speakers (Wilson 2009). Such instances around the globe may provide inspiration and guidelines for language revitalization and maintenance efforts in the case of KS.

Starting up MLE and adult literacy programs by full participation of the community will, apart from increasing and maintaining the KS proficiency, help to increase the self-esteem and will result in a significant change in the attitudes of the community members as well perception and attitude of the others towards KS. Through educating

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[6] Personal communication with Zaman, Zubeer and Nasim who are coordinating the MLE programs in Gawri, Torwali and Palula respectively.

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children in heritage or ancestral language, a negative impact on self-identity and self-image can be reversed (McIvor 2005: 6).

Finally, latest technologies especially computer technology can be used for language promotion purposes. They can be used to document, describe, preserve and develop and disseminate language material. Around the globe, we have instances where the modern technology has been harnessed by the indigenous communities, whose languages are facing imminent threat, to revitalize their languages and they have proven helpful in the language revitalization process (Galla 2009).

7.3   CONCLUSION

The beauty of the diversity including the linguistic one requires us to work to save and promote it. We not only need to be multilingual in the language, we need to be more multilingual in our thinking and behavior and discourage the very spirit of monolingualism (Crystal 2004). Schmidt (2008) argues that language loss is not primarily a linguistic issue, but has to with power, prejudice, competition and sometimes obvious discrimination and subordination. The monolingual behavior encourages narrow-mindedness, biases, and develops a kind of outlook which discourages the pluralistic nature of the society and work for homogenization which is against the very spirit and essence of nature. Maintenance and revival of endangered languages is required at global and regional level for a world with progressive outlook and peaceful environment.

AS mentioned earlier the situation of language endangerment in this region   is complex. It is not only the minority languages which are threatened. The future of the predominantly majority languages is also very much in question. The basic reason for this is that these local languages are hardly used as a medium of instruction and literary tradition in these languages is almost nonexistent. For instance Hindko and Pahari languages of Azad Kashmir are not being used in the new emerging domains and their functions are shrinking. Use of these languages is increasingly considered anti modern and parochial. The middle class of the society is consciously trying to

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distance their children from the native and local tongues. It is considered beneficial for the education of the children to use Urdu at home. We may take steps keeping in mind the local resources and cultural, social and political constraints and also strengths to bring KS back into at least homes. The awareness and the importance of the local indigenous languages is almost nonexistent. If the trend goes on unchecked there will come a time when these majority languages would face threat from Urdu and finally Urdu from English.

Language shift is result of social, political and economic inequality and imbalance of power between the linguistic groups (Bobaljik 1998). In other words allowing the weaker and minority languages to disappear follows that we legitimize the oppressive measures and accept these inequalities and injustices as a natural phenomenon.

Finally, for successful revitalization and reinvigoration of KS requires change of attitude of the KS community and the Hindko community as well. Such policies and strategies are required, which would cultivate positive attitude. A change of negative attitude into positive one leads to language revitalization of an endangered or threatened language by itself (Wurm 2002).

The need is to create awareness about the importance of the local languages and sensitize different agencies about the importance of these languages and work to start literacy programs in these local indigenous languages.

At this point if something is done to preserve and revive the seriously threatened languages like KS , it would start discussion raise awareness about the issue

APPENDIX NO1: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR KUNDAL SHAHI SOCIOLINGUISTIC SURVEY

(English translation)

1.   .Name (optional)_____. Age_____. Profession_____

2.   Date of Interview_____

(Please tick the relevant box)

3.   Did you receive education in school or *madrassa* 'seminary'?   Yes ☐

      No☐

a.   If yes, what level/grade?

4.   Did your teacher use any language other than Urdu in the class room?

       Yes☐ No ☐

a.   If yes, what other language/s?

5.   Current village of residence?_____

6.   Current *mohalla* 'hamlet' of residence?_____

7.   Do you travel to other places?   Yes☐ No☐

    a.   If yes, what places do you travel to?

    b.   How frequently do you go there?

    c.   How long do you stay there?

    d.   For what purpose/s do you travel?

8.   Do many people travel outside?   Yes☐ No☐

    a.   If yes, where do they go to

    b.   How frequently do they go there?

    c.   How long do they stay there?

    d.   For what purpose/s do they travel?

9.   Do your community members use KS as you do?   Yes ☐ No☐

    a.   If no, do they use more/less than you?   More ☐   Less☐

10.   Where did your clan come from?

a. When did they come?

b. Why did they come?

11. What was your mother's mother tongue?   KS ☐   Hindko☐

12. What language according to your information did your mother use in her childhood?   Hindko☐   KS☐

13. What language according to your information did your father use in his childhood?   Hindko ☐   KS☐

14. What language/s did you use with your parents in your childhood? Hindko☐ KS☐   Urdu☐

15. What language/s do you use currently at your home?   Hindko☐ KS☐   Urdu☐

16. Do you use KS as it was used in the past?   Yes ☐ No☐

17. Is use of Hindko increasing at home?   Yes☐ No☐

18. How fluently can you use and understand the following (know all, know some, can only understand some but cannot speak, know only few words and phrases, don't know)

a. KS   _____

b. Hindko   _____

c. Urdu   _____

d. English   _____

e. Any other   _____

19. Do you think that your people have already lost some vocabulary of your language?   . Yes ☐ No☐

a. If yes, do they replace them with the Hindko words while speaking KS?   Yes ☐ No☐

b. Do you remember any words of your language which are no longer used? Yes   ☐No☐

20. How much KS do your children know?   Know all ☐   Know some☐ Can only understand some but cannot speak☐   Know only few words☐ Do not know☐

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21. Which language/s do you use in the following situations?

    a.   With women:

          Always_____, Usually_____, sometimes_____

    b.   With children:

          Always_____, Usually_____, sometimes_____

    c.   In telling jokes:

          Always_____, Usually_____, sometimes_____

    d.   In mosque:

          Always_____, Usually_____, sometimes_____

    e.   In Political discussions:

          Always_____, Usually_____, sometimes_____

    f.   While talking to the school teachers of your local school:

          Always_____, Usually_____, sometimes_____

    g.   With elderly people from the KS community:

          Always_____, Usually_____, sometimes_____

    h.   With the storekeepers in the local market:

    i.   Always_____, Usually_____, sometimes_____

    j.   With the government officials:

          Always_____, Usually_____, sometimes_____

    k.   With your peers:

    l.   Always_____, Usually_____, sometimes_____

22. What language/s feels easiest to you in speaking? KS☐ Hindko☐ Urdu☐

23. What language/s feels easiest to you in writing/reading? KS ☐ Hindko☐ Urdu☐   English☐

24. Do you have any song, folk song or folk story in your language (KS)? Yes☐ No☐

    a.   If yes, do you remember any one?   Yes☐ No☐

25. Can you speak Urdu? Yes ☐ No ☐

    a.   Do you usually speak Urdu? Yes ☐ No ☐

    b.   Do you feel any difficulty in speaking Urdu? Yeas☐   No ☐

c. Can you read Urdu?   Yes☐ No ☐

d. If yes, do you usually read Urdu?   Yes☐ No ☐

26. In your community, how many:

   a. Men still speak KS?   A few ☐   half☐ more than half ☐ all☐

   b. Women still speak KS? A few ☐ half ☐more than half ☐ all☐

   c. Children still speak KS? A few ☐ half ☐more than half ☐ all☐

27. Grade *mohalla*s 'hamlet' of your village according to the frequency of use of KS. 1-6 i.e. highest to lowest (name of the *mohalla*)

   1_____2_____3_____4_____5_____6___

28. Do you remember any point of time in the past when your language (KS) was used widely?

   10 years ago ☐20 years ago ☐40 years ago☐ before partition☐

29. Do you remember any individual from your community in the past that either did not know Hindko or know a little?   Yes ☐, No ☐

30. Were intermarriages with the Hindko speakers in the past common?

        Yes ☐ No☐

31. Are presently intermarriages with the Hindko speakers common? Yes ☐No ☐

   a. If yes, what language is used at home?   Hindko☐   KS☐

   b. Was it similar in the past? Yes☐   No ☐

   c. What names do you give to the Hindko speakers and their language respectively? 1___2__

   d. How many people in your community still want to continue the use of your language (KS)? None☐   a few☐   some☐
        many ☐   all ☐

   e. How many among the elderly people? None☐   a few☐
        some☐ many☐   all☐

   f. How many among those who are above forty? None ☐   very few☐. some☐   many☐   all☐.

   g. How many among the young?   None ☐ a few☐   some ☐
        many ☐   . all☐

h.   How many among the children?   None☐   a few☐ some☐ many☐   all☐

32.   When do you feel the need of using your own language?

33.   How many households in your village still use KS actively at home with their children?

34.   How many households in your *mohalla* still use KS actively at home with their children?

35.   Do you want your children learn your language? Yes ☐No ☐

36.   What language/s other than KS would you like your children learn? (prioritize) 1___2___3___4___5___

37.   Do you think Hindko is replacing your language?   Yes ☐. No ☐

a.   If yes, is this happening quickly or slowly? _____

b.   Is this good or bad? _____

c.   Why (give the reasons)?

38.   When do you feel the need of using your language?

39.   In what ways is it an advantage to speak Hindko?

40.   In what ways is it an advantage to speak KS?

41.   Who makes decisions for your community?   The elderly people ☐ Jirga system☐   The Mians☐   Other system☐.

42.   Who is your *pir* 'spiritual leader'?

43.   Would you like to mention any thing which you think may be relevant to this survey and has not been covered in this questionnaire?

KS CORE VOCABULARY ITEMS (SELECTED FROM SWADESH WORDLIST)

'I'	*ma* (nominative) *miĩ* (ergative)	'not'	*nə*
'thou'	*tu*	'all'	*buṭ*
'he'	*haa/so*	'many'	*čʌl*
'we'	*bɛ̀ɛt*	'some'	*kiš*
'you'	*tos*	'few'	*čhoṭ*
'they'	*haa/so*	'other'	*motok*
'this'	*ãy*	'one'	*yok*
'that'	*haa*	'two'	*duy*
'here'	*ela*	'three'	*traa*
there'	*hela*	'four'	*čoor*
'who'	*koo*	'five'	*paãǰ*
'what'	*kini*	'big'	*baand*
'where'	*kat/ katiila*		
'when'	*kareẽ*	'long'	*drũg*
'how'	*keè*	'heavy'	*gub*

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'small'	*čunu/čuni*	'worm'	*kraầnṭ*
'short'	*khaṭuuṭ*	'tree'	*muṭ*
'woman'	*kiṛ*	'forest'	*ban*
'man'	*mɛɛ̃č*	'cudgel'	*ḍiŋʌr*
'child'	*činiïk*	'fruit'	*mɛo*
'wife'	*gàrweel*	'seed'	*biĩ*
'husband'	*gàrwaal*	'leaf'	*pan*
'mother'	*meél*	'root'	*muul*
'father'	*maál*	'bark'	*šak*
'animal'	*hɛwaan*	'flower'	*pooš*
'fish'	*mɛčhe*	'grass'	*gaaz*
'bird'	*pašiin*	'rope'	*raaǰ*
'dog'	*kučur*	skin'	*fataw/ fatéɛṛ*
'louse'	*ǰoõ*	'meat'	*ǰül*
'snake'	*saagar*	'blood'	*raat*

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'bone'	*hiṛ*	'foot'	*pãã*
'fat (n.);*	*mɛ̄'*	'leg'	*fɛɛš*
'egg'	*ṭhuul*	'knee'	*koṭh*
'horn'	*šiŋ*	'hand'	*hath*
'tail'	*lʋmoṭ*	'wing'	*khʌmleet*
'feather'	*paṭh*	'belly'	*wʌr*
'hair'	*baal*	'guts'	*ḍʌm/ejĭr*
'head'	*šo*	'back'	*ḍaak*
'ear'	*kan*	'breast'	*sma*
'eye'	*aš*	'heart'	*dil*
'nose'	*nath*	'liver'	*kaliĭj̆*
'mouth'	*mukh*	'drink'	*pii*
'tooth'	*daan*	'eat'	*kha*
'tongue'	*jĭb*	'bite'	*čab*
'fingernail'	*noor*	'spit'	*thoki fat*

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'vomit'	*ilti the*	'to scratch'	*kanan*
'laugh'	*haz*	'dig'	*khorʊn*
'see'	*rak ·*	'to swim'	*taran*
'to hear'	*šon*	'to fly'	*ʊḍrʊn*
'to know'	*pyàn*	'to walk'	*tilan*
'fear'	*bỳō*	'to come'	*yèn*
'to sleep'	*son*	'lie'	*draal*
'to live'	*ǰand kʊron*	'to sit'	*byèn*
'to die'	*miran*	'to stand'	*oṭhon*
'to kill'	*maarʊn*	'to turn'	*noṭon*
'to fight'	*bhiṛan*	'to fall'	*khiran*
'to hunt'	*šikaar thin*	'to give'	*din*
'to hit'	*ṭhikörin*	'to hold'	*roṭin*
'to cut'	*kapʊn*	'to wring'	*čoopon*
'to split'	*ičrʊn/faaṛan*	'rub'	*daàk bòn*

'to wash'	*dòon*	'water'	*pàani*
'to wipe'	*khaš thin*	'rain'	*baariš*
'pull'	*limen*	'river'	*nad*
' to push'	*dak din*	'lake'	*sar*
'throw'	*šakron*	'sea'	*sumundar*
'tie'	*gaṇḍon*	'salt'	*nuū*
'sew'	*siran*	'stone'	*baṭoo*
'count'	*kelin*	'sand'	*Sigal*
'say'	*miran*	'dust'	*mit*
'to sing'	*gayin*	'earth'	*zimiin*
'to play'	*naṭon*	'cloud'	*ay*
'to swell'	*Soot ugin*	'sky'	*asmaan*
'sun'	*suur*	'wind'	*čheṭ*
'moon'	*yuun*	'snow'	*hiī*
'star'	*taar*	'smoke'	*dùmaā*

'fire'	*aŋgaar*	'bad'	*latar*
'ash'	*suuṛ*	';dirty'	*molut/gɛnd*
'burn'	*daǰaa*	'straight'	*šooš*
'red'	*luu*	'round'	*gool*
'yellow'	*lider*	'sharp'	*tiin*
'white'	*šit*	'dull'	*khoṇḍ*
'black'	*kin*	'smooth'	*'barabar'*
'night'	*raat*	'wet'	*adr/siǰgal*
'day'	*diiz*	'dry'	*šok*
'year'	*saal*	'near'	*ḍik*
'warm'	*tapgal/garm*	'far'	*duur*
'cold'	*šal*	'right'	*dašan*
'new'	*noow*	'left'	*khabɔṇ*
'old'	*ǰar/puraan*	'at'	*čin*
'good'	*rupul*	'in'	*meī*

'with'	*sam*
'if'	*hangẹ*
'because'	*yelzi*
'name'	naã

Appendix 3

KS SURVEY FORM

Serial N0.	Name of the household head	No of the household members	landholding (kanals)	Details of the live stock				Major source of income
				No of goats	No of cows	No of sheep	No. of buffaloes	

Language Map of Neelam Valley

Kundalshahi

Gojri

Shina of Gures

Shina of Phulwei

Pashto

Kashmiri

Hindko

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